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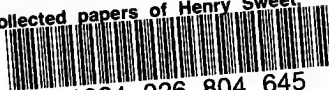
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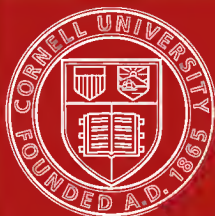
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**COLLECTED PAPERS**  
OF  
**HENRY SWEET**

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OF  
HENRY SWEET

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H. C. WYLD

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TO  
PROFESSOR JOHANN STORM  
OF CHRISTIANIA  
THE VETERAN LINGUIST, PHONETICIAN,  
AND SCHOLAR  
THIS COLLECTION OF HENRY SWEET'S SHORTER PAPERS  
IS DEDICATED  
IN MEMORY OF THEIR  
LONG AND UNBROKEN FRIENDSHIP  
AND  
OF MANY HAPPY DAYS OF KINDLY COMPANIONSHIP



## PREFACE

THIS selection from the shorter writings of Henry Sweet was made at the request and with the approval of Mrs. Sweet, who rightly felt that these papers, containing as they do some of her husband's best and most original work, ought to be collected and published in permanent independent form. No apology is needed to the learned world for reprinting them. All the longer studies are of acknowledged excellence and have gained a permanent place in the literature of linguistic subjects. They were, and remain, valuable contributions to knowledge or to thought. It would be mere impertinence to praise them now.

The shorter notes and etymologies, apart from their intrinsic merits, have an historical value which justifies their inclusion in such a collection as this. A pathetic interest attaches to the paper on '*TH in English*', the first Sweet ever published. The Reports and Presidential Addresses form at once a contribution to the history of philological studies in this country, and to that of Sweet's own mind and widening interests.

The essay on *Linguistic Affinity* will be new, perhaps, to most students, and the paper on Shelley's *Nature-Poetry* to very many.

It is believed that scholars everywhere will welcome this volume, which brings together, in a convenient form, articles hitherto widely scattered, and often inaccessible to many. Taken as a whole, the volume is typical of the wide range of Sweet's attainments and interests.

The great majority of the papers are reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Philological Society. Those on *Old English Etymologies* and *Disguised Compounds in OE.* are reprinted from *Englische Studien* and *Anglia*, with the sanction of their editors. The task of compiling the Index was kindly undertaken by Miss Irene Williams, M.A., of Glasgow.

The Editor wishes to acknowledge most cordially the courtesy shown him by the Secretary of the Clarendon Press, and the great help which he has received from all at the Press who were concerned with the production of the book.

H. C. W.

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# I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES





# WORDS, LOGIC, AND GRAMMAR

[Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875-6, pp. 470-503. The same paper appeared also, with some modifications, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, May, 1877, under the title of *Language and Thought*.]

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## INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most striking features of the history of linguistic science as compared with zoology, botany, and the other so-called natural sciences, is its one-sidedly historical character. Philologists have hitherto chiefly confined their attention to the most ancient dead languages, valuing modern languages only in as far as they retain remnants of older linguistic formations—much as if zoology were to identify itself with palaeontology, and refuse to trouble itself with the investigation of living species, except when it promised to throw light on the structure of extinct ones.

Philologists forget, however, that the history of language is not one of decay only, but also of reconstruction and regeneration. These processes are of equal, often more importance than those by which the older languages were formed, and, besides, often throw light on them. They have further the great advantage of being perfectly accessible to the observer. Thus the growth of a language like English can be observed in a series of literary documents extending from the ninth century to the present day, affording examples of almost every linguistic formation.

But before history must come a knowledge of what now exists. We must learn to observe things as they are, without regard to their origin, just as a zoologist must learn to describe accurately a horse, or any other animal. Nor would the mere statement that the modern horse is a descendant of a three-toed marsh quadruped be accepted as an exhaustive description. Still less would the zoologist be allowed to ignore the existing varieties of the *Equidae* as being 'inorganic' modifications of the original type. Such, however, is the course pursued by most antiquarian philologists. When a modern language discards the cumbrous and ambiguous inflexions it has received from an earlier period, and substitutes regular and precise inflexions and agglutinations of its own, these formations are contemptuously dismissed as 'inorganic' by the philologist, who forgets that change, decay, and reconstruction are the very life of

language-- language is 'inorganic' only when it stands still in its development.

The first requisite is a knowledge of phonetics, or the form of language. We must learn to regard language solely as consisting of groups of sounds, independently of the written symbols, which are always associated with all kinds of disturbing associations, chiefly historical. We must then consider language in its relation to thought, which necessitates some study of the relation of language to logic and psychology. Such investigations, if carried out consistently, will greatly modify our views, not only of English, but of language generally, and will bring us face to face with many of the ultimate problems of language, which have hitherto been rather shirked by philologists. Such problems are those which I propose to discuss in the present paper. I begin with the important question of sentence-, word-, and syllable-division, beginning again with the purely formal, or phonetic criteria.

#### SENTENCE- AND WORD-DIVISION

The first and most obvious is the organic necessity of taking breath—we are unable to utter more than a certain number of sounds in succession without renewing the stock of air in our lungs, which unavoidably necessitates a pause. Speech in its simplest form consists mainly of short questions and answers expressed in simply constructed phrases—in this case there is not merely a pause, but an absolute cessation of voice.

Within these 'breath-groups', or phonetic sentences, there is no pause whatever. This is important to observe, as many people, misled by our ordinary word-division, imagine that they make a pause at the end of every word. But a very little observation will be enough to convince them that the words of a sentence run into one another exactly in the same way as the syllables of a word do. This coalescence is most readily observable in the stopped consonants, which, when sounded alone, or at the end of a sentence, end in a marked explosion of breath, which is sometimes called the 'organic

recoil'. Now if we compare such a sentence as 'he took off his hat' and 'he took his hat off', we see that this organic recoil is quite wanting in the second sentence, the *t* in 'hat off' being pronounced exactly as in the single word 'hatter'.

The second criterion is force or stress—the most important element in the synthesis of speech-sounds. We will now examine some simple sentences, writing them provisionally without division into words or syllables, and see what light is thrown on their structure by the degrees of force with which their elements are pronounced.<sup>1</sup> Let us take the sentences (*kæmtəmorou*) and (*henrikeimhoumyestəde*). It is at once evident that certain syllables are pronounced with greater force than others; marking force provisionally by the use of italics, we have therefore (*kæmtəmorou*) and (*henrikeimhoumyestəde*), disregarding minuter shades of force for the present. We find, in short, that every sentence can be analysed into smaller groups characterized by one predominant stress-syllable, round which the others group themselves. In our first sentence there are two such stress-groups, in the second four; and if we consider the meaning of these two sentences, we see that the number of stress-groups agrees exactly with that of the words they contain—a word is, phonetically speaking, a stress-group. It must now be observed that the stress, although it tells us how many words there are in a sentence, does not tell us where the words begin. Thus in our first sentence there is nothing in the *sound* to enable us to assign the second syllable to the first or the second stress-group—there is, phonetically speaking, no more reason for the division (*kæm təmorou*) than for (*kæmtə*

<sup>1</sup> In the phonetic notation I have here used, the letters are employed as far as practicable in their original Roman values, arbitrary combinations being excluded as much as possible. Words and sentences written phonetically are enclosed in parentheses.

a	as in	<i>father.</i>	æə	as in	<i>bird, burn.</i>	dh	as in	<i>then.</i>
æ	"	<i>hat.</i>	i	"	<i>bit.</i>	zh	"	<i>rouge.</i>
æe	"	<i>hair.</i>	iy	"	<i>beat.</i>	q	"	<i>sing.</i>
ao	"	<i>nought.</i>	o	"	<i>not.</i>	c	"	<i>church.</i>
e	"	<i>bet.</i>	ou	"	<i>note.</i>	j	"	<i>judge.</i>
ei	"	<i>baït.</i>	u	"	<i>full.</i>	x	"	<i>six.</i>
o	"	<i>but, father.</i>	uw	"	<i>fool.</i>			

morou), although the *sense* shows clearly that the first is the only possible one. Word-division is really a very complex problem, involving many considerations, phonetic, logical, and grammatical. We get so accustomed to our received word-division that we regard it as something self-evident. But when we have to deal with unwritten languages, we find it by no means so easy. Thus in Mr. Jenner's paper on the Cornish Language (Trans. 1873-4) it is stated that at the beginning of the last century Cornish was 'a most irregular jargon, the chief peculiarity of which was a striking uncertainty of the speakers as to where one word left off and another began'. I must confess to having encountered the same difficulty in my study of our own language.

It is evident that word-division implies *comparison*. As long as we confine ourselves to the examination of isolated sentences, we shall not advance one step further. But when we compare a variety of sentences in which the same sound-groups are repeated in different combinations, we are able first to distinguish between meaning and unmeaning sound-groups, and finally to eliminate a certain number of groups having an independent meaning and incapable of further division. The test of independent meaning is *isolation*, or the power of forming an independent sentence. We may, therefore, define a word as an ultimate, or indecomposable sentence. Thus the verb (kəm) pronounced with a falling tone is equivalent to the fuller sentence, 'I order you to come'; the adverb (əp) pronounced with a rising tone may signify 'shall we go up?' or may have some analogous meaning determined by the context. The same applies also to nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. Sound-groups, which, although phonetically capable of isolation, are meaningless when so isolated, are not words.

But between these two extremes there is an intermediate class of sound-groups, which, although not capable of being isolated and forming sentences by themselves, are yet not utterly devoid of meaning, and can, therefore, be to a certain extent isolated in thought, if not in form. Thus, if we compare the three groups (mæn), (əmæn), and (dhəmæn), we

see that the two prefixes have an unmistakable, though somewhat vague meaning of their own, which enables us to identify them at once in all other cases in which they are prefixed to nouns, and yet these two syllables would convey no meaning if pronounced alone. If, on the other hand, we attempt to analyse such a group as (*diyvieit*), we find that not only are its elements incapable of logical isolation, but that they fail to suggest any idea whatever. The last syllable is, of course, identical with the preterite of the verb 'eat', but the association is felt to be purely fortuitous. But if we compare (*denai*), (*depouz*), and (*depraiv*), we feel at once the meaning of deprivation and negation in the (*de*), just as we feel the generalizing and specializing meaning of the prefixes in (*əməən*) and (*dhəməən*), although the syllables (*nai*), (*pouz*), and (*praiv*) have no meaning whatever by themselves. We are, therefore, obliged to regard (*denai*), &c., as ultimate, indecomposable words, in spite of the significance of the prefix, while in the case of (*dhəməən*) and (*əməən*) it is, to some extent, an open question whether we have here one word or two words. It seems best to distinguish two classes of words, *full-words* and *half-words*, (*məən*) being a full-word, (*dhə*) a half-word—that is, a word incapable of forming a sentence by itself, or of suggesting an independent meaning.

The next question is, how far do these logical distinctions correspond to the phonetic ones already laid down? The answer is simple enough. Full-words correspond to stress-groups, half-words to stressless syllables. If we wish to know how many full-words there are in a sentence, we only have to count the number of full stresses. Each full stress indicates a full-word, although it does not show where the word begins and ends.

It must be remarked that the test of being able to form a sentence by itself does not strictly apply to all words. The finite verb is an important exception. The third person (*gouz*), for instance, cannot form a sentence by itself; by the sentence-test, therefore, (*gouz*) is not a word; while (*hiygouz*) is. And yet it would be absurd to deny the title of word to (*gouz*) in such a sentence as (*dhəməəngouz*). We feel (*gouz*) to be a full-

word, (1) because it has the full stress, (2) because of the analogy of the imperative (*gou*), which can stand alone, and (3) because of (*hiygouz*), which is felt to be a compound precisely analogous to (*dhæmæn*), &c.

There is, finally, an important phonetic element of word-division to be noticed. This is the fact that certain sounds and sound-combinations only occur in certain positions. Thus the sound (*q*) and the combinations (*tl*), (*x*), &c., never occur at the beginning of a sentence, and others, again, never occur finally. It is, therefore, clear that these sounds cannot begin or end any full-word.

#### DERIVATIVE SYLLABLES AND INFLEXIONS

We must now consider the important question of the relation of half-words to derivative syllables and inflexions. It need scarcely be remarked that no absolutely definite line can be drawn between them, and that the distinctions made in practice are often purely conventional.

We must first consider an important distinction between full- and half-words, which clearly brings out the semi-inflexional character of the latter, viz. that full-words are position-free, half-words not. Compare the varying position of (*gou*) in such sentences as (*gouæwei*), (*ailgou*), (*ailgouæwei*), with the unvarying prae-position of (*dhæ*) in (*dhæmæn*). The same fixity of position characterizes derivatives and inflexions also, but in a higher degree. Thus, although the position of (*dhæ*) before its noun is fixed, the connexion is loose enough to allow an adjective to come between, as in (*dhægudmæn*). Such 'incorporations' are quite exceptional with derivative syllables,<sup>1</sup> and still more so with inflexions.

Derivations may be either initial or final, inflexions are only final. This last is, of course, an arbitrary limitation, which, although convenient enough in treating of the old Aryan languages, in which the most general relations were generally expressed by suffixed syllables, does not apply to other languages, which indicate the same relations by means

<sup>1</sup> The Gothic *ga-u-laubjats* = 'Do ye-two believe?' with its incorporated interrogative particle *u*, is a case in point.

of prefixes. Even in the Aryan languages such formations as the augment and reduplication can only be conventionally separated from the postfixed inflexions. It is, however, undeniable that, in the Aryan languages at least, the end of words is more exposed to phonetic decay than the beginning, and consequently that that intimate fusing together of root and modifying syllable, which is felt to be something more advanced than mere derivation, and which we call inflexion, has a right to be considered rather as a 'final' than as an 'initial' phenomenon.

There are several important distinctions between half-words and derivatives. Half-words can be used everywhere where their meaning allows of it, thus (dhə) can be prefixed to all nouns. Such a derivative as (be), on the other hand, can only be prefixed to certain words without any apparent reason—we have (bekəm), but not (begou). Further, the root often has no independent existence; from (beheiv), for instance, we cannot deduce a verb (heiv). Or else the connexion between the meaning of the simple root and that of the derivative is not evident, as in (kəm) and (bekəm). There are, of course, various degrees of obscurity of meaning; the prefix (be), for instance, is practically almost meaningless in the present English, while (mis) in (misteik), (misfaotyən), &c., has a perfectly clear meaning. But as a general rule the connexion between derivative syllable and root is logically very intimate, more so even than in inflexions. Sometimes the derivative syllable even takes the full-stress from the root, as in the German *ant-wort*, which never happens with half-words and inflexions.

Inflexions differ from derivative syllables, and agree with half-words in being of general, unrestricted application, and in always preserving a more or less definite general signification. Their main characteristic is phonetic variation and obscurity: derivative syllables are invariable in form, inflexions not. Compare the plural forms (hæts), (dogz), (men), (fiyt), so definite in meaning, and so divergent in form, with a group of (be)-derivatives, with their constancy of form and want of meaning. Inflexions often express the same idea in totally



different ways, either from phonetic change, as in the Latin acc. plurals *ovēs*, *equōs*, and the Greek acc. singulars *híppon*, *ópa*, or from confusing the meanings of forms of independent origin, as in the Latin datives *populō* and *patrī*.

If we assume, as we seem to be justified in doing by historical evidence, that derivative syllables and inflexions have developed out of half-words, we may roughly describe a derivative syllable as a half-word which has lost its logical, an inflexional as one which has lost its phonetic independence.

#### SYLLABLE-DIVISION

We may now turn to the important question of syllabification. The definition of a syllable is easy enough: it is a group of sounds containing a vowel, or, in some cases, a vowel-like consonant. To determine the number of syllables in a word, we have simply to count the number of vowels. The difficulty is to tell where the syllable begins. Here I am compelled to differ both from Mr. Bell and Mr. Ellis. Mr. Bell considers that the division into syllables is determined by the nature of the sounds which constitute the syllable, whereas I hold that syllabification has nothing to do with the sounds themselves, but depends entirely on the force with which we pronounce them. (It must be understood that I speak of the natural syllabification of spoken language, not of the artificial syllabification of the spelling-books.) Let us consider the syllabification of a natural, simple sentence, such as (*teikəpdhətiykəp*). Here we at once feel that the first (*k*) belongs to the preceding syllable, that the syllabification is clearly (*teik-əp*), while the second (*k*) belongs to the following syllable, the division being (*tiy-kəp*), the consonant being the same in both cases. The difference is simply one of stress, the first (*k*) being pronounced with weak, the second with strong force. (We may for the present disregard the fact that the stress is in both cases secondary.) The influence of the syllable-stress in determining the meaning of words is so important that if we reverse that of (*teikəp*) by beginning the secondary stress not on the vowel, but on the preceding (*k*),

the word becomes quite unintelligible, or rather, sounds like an Irish pronunciation of 'teacup'. Other examples of varying syllabification are (notətəol)<sup>1</sup> and (ətəolmæn), (ətæk) = 'attack' and (ətæk) = 'at Ack' (name of place). We see, in short, that a syllable is a vowel-group beginning with a certain degree of force, which decreases up to the end of the syllable, till a new stress marks the beginning of another syllable. This decrease of force is observable in monosyllables also: in (kæt), for instance, the (k) is much stronger than the (t)—we do not pronounce (kæt) or even (kæt), but only (kæt). Indeed, it may be stated as a general law that perfect uniformity of force is something exceptional: force is followed by weakness of stress, and uniform weakness, again, cannot be sustained, but requires force to relieve it. These principles are clearly shown in the accentuation of polysyllable words. If we carefully measure the degrees of force with which the different syllables of a word like (impenətrəbiliti) are pronounced, we shall find that every syllable has a different degree of force. Simple sentences, which are phonetically identical with polysyllabic words (or even in some cases with monosyllable ones), follow the same laws. They always have one predominant stress which dominates over the simple word-stress. The great distinction between words and sentences is that in the former the predominant stress is fixed and invariable, while in the latter it varies according to the principle of emphasis, which gives the strongest stress to the most important word.

Before leaving the subject of syllabification, I have only to warn against the error of imagining that the division into the syllables is ever made by any kind of pause—the truth is that there is no more break in (ətəol) than there is in (ətəolmæn), and the idea that we pause between (ət) and (əol) is simply due to the association of the graphic separation in 'at all'. Mr. Ellis considers that there is often a distinction made by omitting the 'glide' from vowel to consonant, or vice versa, but it seems to me that he is confusing *absence* of glide with mere *weakness* of glide. When we pronounce a stopped con-

<sup>1</sup> Generally, however, pronounced (notətəol), just as (ətəoum) becomes (ətoum).

sonant with stress, the air naturally escapes with greater force, which of course makes the glide more audible; but the glide is always there, however weakly it may be pronounced.

#### METRICAL STRESS

I propose now to devote a few words to the analogies of musical accentuation, which will be found both instructive and interesting. The origin of rhythm is no doubt to be sought in the natural tendency to alternate strong and weak stress—rhythm is in fact nothing but the utilization of this instinct for æsthetic purposes by making it regular and symmetrical. As in language we have sentences, words, and sounds, so in music we have phrases, bars, and notes. If we take any sound, say the vowel (a), and repeat it several times in succession with a uniform strong stress, thus (aaaaaa), it gives no impression of rhythm whatever, except that of a succession of isolated bars or musical words, just as in such a word-group as (*bigblækdogz*), with its equally uniform word-stress, we feel that we have a succession of isolated, independent full-words. But if we retain only the first, third, and fifth stresses, thus (aaaaa), we feel at once that instead of six bars we have only three, beginning on each strong stress, just as in language the syllable (and often the word) begins on the strong stress. If we retain only the first and fourth stresses, giving (aaaaa), we get two bars only. It is the regular recurrence of these groups of two or three (or more) ‘beats’ bound together by one predominating stress which constitutes the rhythm of two, three, &c., time. It is also possible to have a rhythm of four beats, thus (aaaaaaaa). But here the principle of alternation of force comes into play, and to break up the monotony of three weak stresses in succession, a secondary accent is placed on the third note of each bar, so that the rhythm really consists of eight two-beat bars (aaaaaaaa) with two predominating stresses on the beginning of the first and third bars.

It is important to observe that the principles of metrical stress apply not only to music and poetry, but also, to a certain extent, to ordinary speech as well. Besides the

purely logical stress which indicates the various relations of full-words, half-words, &c., there is a purely metrical stress, which often runs counter to the other. Thus in the sentence (*itizsou*) the first two syllables are half-words, the second being simply a sign of predication, and therefore hardly a word at all, and the only full-word in the group is the adverb (*sou*). The logical accentuation can therefore only be (*itizsou*). But as a matter of fact the usual accentuation is (*itizsou*), the full-stress falling on the most insignificant syllable in the sentence! The explanation is a purely metrical one: the ear prefers to hear the alternation of weak, strong, weak, to hearing two weaks together followed by a strong. Similarly we often accent (*kænyutelmiydħøweitu . .*) instead of the logical (*kænyutelmiy . .*). And it is probable that certain collocations are preferred to others on purely metrical grounds.

In the ordinary musical notation the bars are divided by vertical lines or bars. The same method is adopted in the tonic sol-fa notation, and the beats are divided by :, thus | a : a | a : a | a : a ||, | a : a : a | a : a : a ||. Although regular and consistent, this method is extremely cumbrous, and my own practice has been for some time to discard the lines, &c., entirely, and write each bar simply as a word with nothing but a space between each group, thus (aa aa aa), (aaa aaa). With the help of a few simple signs for pauses and for holding or continuing a note, and a few diacritics to indicate fractions of notes (which often need not be expressed at all), music can thus be written almost as quickly as ordinary writing.

#### WORD-DIVISION IN WRITING

We may now turn to the practical question of word-division in writing. If we are to be guided consistently by logic, we must either write all half-words, derivative syllables and inflexions as separate words, or else incorporate them into the full-words. The difficulty is that, although word-division is mainly logical, the purely formal side of the question must also be considered. Thus, although it would be as easy to write the plural of (*fish*) in two words (*fish iz*),

as it would be if the (iz) were the verb substantive, it would be impossible with the plural of foot (fut), unless indeed we were boldly to write (ft iy), although even this spelling would ignore the fact that the (iy) is as much part of the word itself as a sign of the plural. Cases in which unpronounceable letter-combinations would have to be written separately have also to be considered. The isolating system is thus found to be impracticable, if carried out consistently, and nothing remains but that of joining the half-words on to the full-words. This method, while offering considerable difficulties of detail, is practicable, although it has not been carried out consistently in any language I know. Our present word-division is a compromise between the two extremes of isolation and agglutination. As a general rule we agglutinate inflexions and derivatives, and isolate half-words, whose connexion with the whole-word to which they belong is less intimate than in the case of inflexions and derivatives. Inflexions are only acknowledged when sanctioned by Latin Grammar. Such purely modern inflexions as the negative (*aikæant*) from (*aikæan*), where the (nt) = (not), although conventionally only a half-word, not a true inflexion, could not be written as an isolated word, are shirked by that convenient compromise the apostrophe ('): by writing 'can't', we keep up the fiction of the divisibility of a monosyllable into two separate words.

All these considerations show the hopeless confusion into which orthography falls when it attempts to overstep its legitimate function—that of giving a faithful graphic representation of the sounds of the spoken language. The attempt to indicate simultaneously the formal and the logical side of language by the same alphabet—an alphabet, it may be remarked, which is barely capable of fulfilling its purely phonetic duties alone—is about as successful as most compromises, that is, instead of doing one thing properly, it does two things badly. If, for instance, it is convenient to denote a substantive by a capital letter in German, why should we not do so in English, and why should not the same principle be extended to the other parts of speech? Adjectives, for

instance, might be written with a turned capital, verbs with an italic, adverbs with a turned italic. Again, in Latin it would be very convenient to have a series of marks to indicate the different cases, independently of their form, and would much facilitate the understanding of Latin. Others, again, think that the spelling of every word ought to give a brief epitome of its etymology and history. If carried out consistently, all this would postulate an entirely independent set of signs, which, for special purposes, would be written between the lines of ordinary phonetic writing, forming a sort of short-hand logical, grammatical, or historical commentary, as the case might be. In the same way I should consider word-division simply as a logical commentary on the phonetic text; in short, I would abolish the ordinary word-division altogether.

But the abandonment of conventional word-division by no means postulates a return to the old system of writing each sentence without a break. On the contrary, it is clear that the great assistance afforded to the reader by presenting the letters in groups of moderate length was the one great reason for abandoning the original system of non-division. As we have seen, the most important element in the synthesis of speech-sounds is stress. I propose, therefore, to follow the analogy of musical notation, and divide our sentences into bars, making the beginning of each group of letters coincide with a full-stress. The accent-mark otherwise required to mark the full-stress would be available for the secondary stress, and the same mark, when placed before a letter-group or 'stress-group', as we may call it, would indicate the emphatic sentence-stress. Thus with a single mark we should be able to indicate no less than four degrees of stress. We should, however, also require a mark to indicate absence of stress at the beginning of a sentence. If we added a sign for breath-taking, and two accents to indicate the rising and falling tones, we should be able to dispense entirely with the present unsatisfactory system of punctuation, &c., and to express clearly and precisely what they indicate only imperfectly and vaguely.

## LOGIC AND LANGUAGE

The great difficulty of all investigations which involve a study of the meanings of language is the want of a satisfactory classification of what is expressed in language. We have not even a classification of the words themselves, except Roget's 'Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases', which, although a wonderfully acute and full work, is now somewhat antiquated, written as it was before the rise of modern psychology, under all the disadvantages of being a first attempt. I have been engaged for some years in trying to devise a more consistent and satisfactory scheme of classification; but as it is still unsettled in many of its details, I will not enter into any details now, but content myself with a few general remarks.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the ultimate ideas of language are by no means identical with those of psychology, still less with those of metaphysics. Language is not in any way concerned with such psychological problems as the origin of our ideas of space and matter; for at the time when language was evolved, these conceptions were already stereotyped in the form of simple ideas, incapable of any but a deliberate scientific analysis. Even such universally known facts as the primary data of astronomy have had little or no influence on language, and even the scientific astronomer no more hesitates to talk of the 'rising of the sun' than did the astrologers of ancient Chaldaea. Language, in short, is based not on things as we know or think them to be, but as they *seem* to us.

But although the categories of language do not require so deep an analysis as those of psychology, they are on the other hand far more complicated. Each word we use suggests a large number of ideas at once, varying always according to the context, and it is a matter of extreme difficulty to select the really characteristic and essential idea or ideas, which can alone be made the basis of classification. It is the great defect of Roget's system that he often classes his words by some extraneous idea which they suggest. Thus 'food' is con-

sidered as something purely mechanical, as a mode of 'insertion', and hence is included under 'directive motion', whereas it clearly comes under 'volitional functions of living beings', with, of course, a cross-reference to 'insertion' and its other mechanical associations. 'Theft' again is naïvely classed as a mode of 'transfer of property', whereas it belongs first to 'ethics' or 'morality', and only subordinately to 'property', ethics being a far wider category than property, although both ideas are equally indispensable to the meaning of the word. It is much as if we were to class frogs and horses together as 'quadrupeds', and then make a special class 'mammalia' to distinguish horses. For many words special compound categories are required. It is, for instance, quite misleading to class 'sharp', 'edge', and 'knife' together under 'superficial form', as Roget does; the essential difference between 'knife' and the other two is that while they denote (or can denote) natural objects, 'knife' always implies human agency: we require therefore a special category, 'inanimate things + volition,' or something of the sort. Similarly 'meadow', as opposed to 'heath', &c., requires a special complex category.

It is further very important to begin with a limited selection of words in popular use. Roget's Thesaurus is full of such words as 'zoohygiantics', 'cicuration', which only tend to confuse the mind, and increase the difficulty of arrangement. In my own lists I have cut out at least three-fourths of the words given in ordinary dictionaries.

I will now discuss the parts of speech, confining myself for the present to the consideration of noun, adjective, and verb. I may remark at once that the real difficulty of determining the meaning of the parts of speech lies in the fact, which logicians and grammarians obstinately ignore, that they often have no meaning at all. Indeed the whole of language is an incessant struggle and compromise between meaning and pure form, through all the stages of vagueness, ambiguity, and utter meaninglessness.

If we confine our attention to material objects and to the simplest nouns, adjectives, and verbs, we see at once that the original function of these classes of words was to denote things



and their attributes; adjectives denoting their permanent attributes or qualities; verbs their changing attributes or phenomena. It must be borne in mind that primitive man did not distinguish between phenomena and volitions, but included everything under the head of actions, not only the involuntary actions of human beings, such as breathing, but also the movements of inanimate things, the rising and setting of the sun, the wind, the flowing of water, and even such purely inanimate phenomena as fire, electricity, &c., in short, all the changing attributes of things were conceived as voluntary actions. Hence the origin of verbs from the simple root with a personal pronoun following. Further, in speaking of things it would be natural to call attention in the first place to their changing rather than to their permanent attributes, which would generally be taken for granted. Primitive man would not trouble himself much with such propositions as 'man is mortal,' 'gold is heavy,' which are a source of such unfailling delight to the formal logician; but if he found it necessary to employ permanent attribute-words, would naturally throw them into what is called the attributive form, placing them in immediate proximity with the noun, whose inflexions they would afterwards assume. And so the verb gradually came to assume the purely formal function of predication. The use of verbs denoting action necessitated the formation of verbs to denote 'rest', 'continuance in a state', and when, in course of time, it became necessary in certain cases to predicate permanent as well as changing attributes, these words were naturally employed for the purpose, and such a sentence as 'the sun continues bright' was simply 'the bright sun' in another form. By degrees these verbs became so worn away in meaning, gradually coming to signify simple existence, that at last they lost all vestiges of meaning whatever, and came simply to be marks of predication. Such is the history of the verb 'to be', which in popular language has entirely lost even the sense of 'existence'. Again, in a still more advanced stage, it was found necessary to speak not only of things, but of their attributes. Thus, such a sentence as 'whiteness is an attribute of snow' has identically the same

meaning as 'snow is white', and 'white snow', and the change of 'white' into 'whiteness' is a purely formal device to enable us to place an attribute-word as the subject of a proposition. We see now that the only satisfactory definition of a part of speech must be a purely formal one: 'snow,' for instance, is not a noun because it stands for a thing, but because it can stand as the subject of a proposition, because it can form its plural by adding *s*, because it has a definite prefix, &c., and 'whiteness' is a noun for precisely the same reasons. By using the technical terms 'noun', &c., in a purely formal sense, and distinguishing words according to their meaning as thing-words, attribute-words, &c., we shall be able to escape the hopeless confusion into which grammarians fall, who appeal alternately to the meaning and the form of the parts of speech in grammatical discussions. 'Snow' then is both a thing-word and a noun, 'white' is a quality-word and an adjective, 'whiteness' a quality-word and a noun. I may notice here that great indignation was roused some time ago by a pedantic school-inspector, who plucked some unhappy children for calling 'cannon' in 'cannon-ball' a noun instead of an adjective. The fact is that he had observed that 'cannon' in 'cannon-ball' was not a thing-word, but an attribute-word, and imagining that thing-word and noun were convertible terms, hastened to make the children feel the weight of his brilliant discovery. He would probably be as much surprised as the children themselves to hear that not only when it comes before 'wall' is 'stone' a quality-word, but also when it follows a transitive verb, in fact, that the accusative case is what he would call an 'adverb', as I hope to show hereafter.

We may now turn our attention to logic, and first of all to that introductory portion which treats of names. Although formal logic is mainly based on language, it has developed some views of its own which have had considerable influence on the grammatical analysis of language. I propose first to examine the theory of denotation and connotation. General names, such as 'man', 'horse', are said to denote an object and connote or imply various attributes. Proper names, such as John, London, are said only to denote an object, and not to

connote any attributes. Here logicians have strangely overlooked the fact that such a word as John connotes at least two attributes, 'human' and 'male', 'male human being.' I maintain also that the name John, to those who know him, connotes an immense number of other attributes, physical, moral, and mental. That the name is practically applied at random to a variety of men is a mere accident, an imperfection of language. The word 'sun', which, like John, is practically a proper name, also connotes, to those who know what the sun is, a number of attributes: to people who had never seen or heard of the sun, it would connote nothing at all, less even than John, which even to those who do not know John personally always connotes 'male human being'. An instructive instance of the dependence of logic on the accidents of language is afforded by the distinction it makes between such words as 'white' and 'whiteness'. 'Whiteness' is correctly described as an 'abstract' name, as signifying an attribute without reference to the things that possess the attribute. 'White,' however, is held to be connotative: it denotes particular objects and connotes the attribute 'whiteness'. How a word can be said to denote an object which is entirely unknown until the name of that object is joined to it, was always a matter of bewildering astonishment to me, when I first began to study logic, and probably has been to many others as well. The truth is, of course, that 'white' is as much an abstract name as 'whiteness' is, the two being absolutely identical in meaning. I consider, further, that all attribute-words are denotative and connotative, they denote an attribute and connote attributes of that attribute. Thus the word 'colour' is the name of an attribute, but it also connotes all the various kinds of colour, red, blue, &c.; 'bright' connotes various degrees of brightness, and so on. These secondary attributes again admit of connotation, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. The terms denotation and connotation thus appear to be applicable to every possible word, and therefore to be practically meaningless and useless. We are now able to understand what an adverb is—it is simply the attribute of an attribute, and bears exactly the same relation to an attribute as a permanent

attribute (adjective) does to a thing-word. Grammarians, misled by a false logic, describe adverbs as denoting the *manner* of an action, or make use of some similar expression, forgetting that manner is as much an attribute as anything else. Hence it follows that when an adjective is joined to a noun which is either entirely or only partially an attribute-word (action-word, for instance), the adjective is in meaning identical with an adverb; 'he is a good runner,' for instance, is identical in meaning with 'he runs well'.

We may now turn to the consideration of the proposition in logic. A regular logical proposition, such as, for instance, 'all men are bipeds,' is clearly nothing but a stereotyped form of the linguistic sentence. In language the subject being originally a permanent thing is stated first; when once stated, its permanence is taken for granted and retained by the mind until the predicate, originally an impermanent attribute or phenomenon, is stated. That there is, however, no absolute necessity for this order is shown not only by the frequency with which it is violated in most inflexional languages, but also by the fact that the finite verb was originally formed by the agglutination of a subject-pronoun coming *after* the predicating root. And now comes the very important consideration that not only is the order of subject and predicate to a great extent conventional, but that the very idea of the distinction between subject and predicate is purely linguistic, and has no foundation in the mind itself. In the first place, there is no necessity for a subject at all: in such a sentence as 'it rains' there is no subject whatever, the *it* and the terminal *s* being merely formal signs of predication. 'It rains: I will therefore take my umbrella,' is a perfectly legitimate train of reasoning, but it would puzzle the cleverest logician to reduce it to any of his figures. Again, the mental proposition is not formed by thinking first of the subject, then of the copula, and then of the predicate: it is formed by thinking of the two *simultaneously*. When we formulate in our minds the proposition 'all men are bipeds', we have two ideas, 'all men' and 'an equal number of bipeds', or, more tersely, 'as many men, as many bipeds,' and we think of the two ideas simul-

taneously, not one after the other, as we are forced to express them in speech. The simultaneity of conception is what is expressed by the copula in logic, and by the various forms of sentences in language. If these views are correct, the conversion of propositions, the figures, and with them the whole fabric of Formal Logic fall to the ground. It by no means follows that logic is entirely destitute of value, but we shall not arrive at the real substratum of truth until we have eliminated that part of the science which is really nothing more than an imperfect analysis of language.

STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH

I now propose to say something about the structure of English, and the proper method of treating its grammar. I may state at once that I consider the conventional treatment of English to be both unscientific and unpractical, starting as it does with the assumption that English is an inflexional language like Latin or Greek. The time is still not very far distant when the grammar of all languages—however diverse their structure—was servilely modelled on that of Latin. It was assumed, for instance, that as Latin had five cases, English must necessarily have just as many and no more. In those days *man* was declined thus :

nom.	man.		acc.	man.
gen.	man's.		voc.	oh man !
dat.	to a man.		abl.	by a man.

After a time, however, when the historical and comparative study of language had opened people's eyes a little, they began to see that on this principle the number of cases in English might be indefinitely extended—in short, that there might be as many cases as there were prepositions. The cases were, accordingly, cut down to three, nominative, genitive, and accusative. As I shall show hereafter, it is very doubtful whether the so-called accusative of the pronouns has any right to be considered a case at all, and when we consider that the genitive inflexion can generally be replaced by the preposition *of*, we see to what narrow limits the English cases, or rather

case, are confined. The verbal inflexions are hardly less limited. The only personal inflexion is the *s* of *he goes*, which is practically a superfluous archaism. The only other inflexions are those which form the preterite and the two participles. These, together with the plural of nouns, are the only essential inflexions of English. No wonder, then, that the historical philologist looks with contempt on English as a language 'destitute of grammar'. Certainly it is so, if judged from a purely antiquarian point of view. That this point of view is inadequate to the requirements of English grammar is tacitly admitted by the grammarians, who, while refusing to allow that 'of a man' is a case, do not scruple to put 'I did love', &c., on a level with the inflexional preterite. And yet most of them ignore the equally important formations of the emphatic and negative forms or moods, simply because such forms are not recognized in Latin grammar.

All this confusion and inconsistency arises from the fact being ignored that the history of language is not merely one of negative decay, but also of positive reconstruction. Every language has the right to be regarded as an actual, existing organism, not merely as the representative of earlier stages. The fact that English was an inflexional language two thousand years ago does not prove that it is so now. The only rational principle is to look at the language as it is now, and ask ourselves, How does this language express the relations of its words to one another? If we examine English on this principle, we shall have no hesitation in characterizing it roughly as an isolating language which is passing into the agglutinative stage, with a few traditional inflexions. Hence the value of English as a preparation for the study of language generally, when studied rationally: it enables us to watch many linguistic phenomena in the very process of formation, which in other languages can only be observed in a stereotyped condition. Another advantage of English for comparative purposes is the many-sidedness of its structure. In this respect it differs essentially from languages whose structure is primitive, not, like that of English, the result of casting off an effete inflexional system. In most agglutinative languages

there is no distinction of meaning made by position, all grammatical relations being expressed by modifying syllables which have a fixed order, from which they never depart. English can, therefore, only be compared with such languages in as far as it is itself agglutinative, while in that part of its grammar which depends on position it can only be compared with 'isolating' languages, such as Chinese. Again, although English agglutination is mostly of a rudimentary type, it is in other cases extremely advanced. Who, for instance, in comparing the positive future (*hiylgou*) with the negative (*hiy-wountgou*), would be able to detect the root (*wil*), which comes out clearly in the emphatic future (*hiywilgou*)? In such forms there is as much obscuration of the formative elements as in the traditional inflexions. These observations show how difficult it is to draw the lines which separate the different stages of linguistic development—languages pass from the isolating to the agglutinative and inflexional stages by insensible degrees, and even during the fullest development of inflexion begin to lay the foundation of future agglutination.

One striking result of the English power of expressing grammatical relations by position is the freedom with which one part of speech may be converted into another. Thus (*sændi*) is a noun, (*dhen*) an adverb, but in (*sændi iivniq, ʌdhə<sup>1</sup> dhen steitəvə faeəz*) they are both attribute-words. In the same way any part of speech may be made into a noun simply by prefixing an article or adjective.

Even groups of words may be treated in this way. Thus in the sentence (*ʌdhə bukyu sentniywəz nou yuws*), (*nou yuws*) is simply equivalent to the adjective 'useless'. When we talk of (*ʌdheëm ploiazlaiə bilitifər injəri bil*) the whole of the group except (*bil*) is nothing but a huge composite adjective. These groups may also be inflected like simple words, as in (*ʌdhə mænai sao yestədəətdhə thiyətəz faadhə*), where on all received principles of grammar (*thiyətəz*) ought to be parsed as the genitive of 'theatre'.

English, in common with the Romance languages, is often

<sup>1</sup> ʌ indicates weak stress.

described as an 'analytical' language, as opposed to a 'synthetic' language, such as Latin. This term is meant to imply that the agglutinations of modern languages are deliberate substitutions for the older inflexions—the inflexions are supposed to be 'analysed' into their simple elements. It is easy to see that this view is quite erroneous. If the characteristic agglutinations of modern English, for instance, were nothing but substitutes for inflexions, there would be exactly as many agglutinations as there originally were inflexions; but, as we see, we have in English combinations to which there is nothing corresponding in the older inflexional languages, while, on the other hand, many inflexional distinctions are entirely lost.

#### CASES

I propose now to examine some portions of English grammar more in detail, beginning with the cases of nouns and pronouns.

It is a curious fact, hitherto overlooked by grammarians and logicians, that the definition of the noun applies strictly only to the nominative case. The oblique cases are really attribute-words, and inflexion is practically nothing but a device for turning a noun into an adjective or adverb. This is perfectly clear as regards the genitive, and, indeed, there is historical evidence to show that the genitive in the Aryan languages was originally identical with an adjective-ending, 'man's life' and 'human life' being expressed in the same way. It is also clear that 'noctem' in 'flet noctem' is a pure adverb of time. It is not so easy to see that the accusative in such sentences as 'he beats the boy' is also a sort of adverb, because the connexion between verb and object is so intimate as almost to form one simple idea, as in the case of noun-composition. But it is clear that if 'boy' in the compound noun 'boy-beating' is an attribute-word, it can very well be so also when 'beating' is thrown into the verbal form without any change of meaning.

Our difficulty in determining the meaning of the accusative has, as far as I know, never been pointed out hitherto, viz.



that in many cases it has no meaning at all, but merely serves to connect a verb with a noun in various arbitrary ways. With such verbs as 'beat', 'carry', &c., the accusative unmistakably denotes the object of the action expressed by the verb, but with such verbs as 'see', 'hear', it is clearly a mere metaphor to talk of an 'object'. A man cannot be beaten without feeling it, but he can be seen without knowing anything about it, and in many cases there is no action or volition at all involved in seeing. And in such a sentence as 'he fears the man', the relations are exactly reversed, the grammatical nominative being really the object affected, while the grammatical accusative represents the cause, but as he is conceived as a *passive* cause, the fiction of object can still be maintained. The meaninglessness of the accusative is further shown by the inconsistencies of its actual use in language. Thus Latin has 'rideo aliquem', English 'laugh at', while 'deride' has the accusative as in Latin. Compare also English 'see' with 'look at' and the divergent use of the dative and accusative in Greek and Latin. It is, indeed, often doubtful *a priori* whether any language in a given case will employ the accusative or not—we can only tell by observing the actual form. Now in English, in the noun at least, the only 'form' of the accusative is its position after the verb. As far as the form goes, then, 'king' in 'he became king', 'he is king', may be in the accusative. And, as a matter of fact, English people who have not been taught grammar, that is to say Latin grammar, in their first attempts to express themselves in such a language as German, do put 'king' in the accusative. They are naturally confirmed in this idea when they find that if they substitute for the noun a personal pronoun, which is supposed to have distinct forms for nominative and accusative, the accusative is used, and it is only the influence of ignorant grammarians that prevents such phrases as 'it is me' from being adopted into the written language, and acknowledged in the grammars. In Danish 'det er mig' is the *only* form known, and 'det er jeg' would be as wrong as 'c'est je' would be in French. Indeed, were it not for Latin grammar, we can easily imagine the grammarians proving that 'king' in 'he

became king' could not possibly be anything but the accusative, the action of the verb 'become' passing on to the object 'king'. That there is really nothing extravagant in this view is shown by the Old English 'hé wearð tó cynninge (gehálgod)' and the German 'er ward zum könig'.

Further we have also a positional dative, as in 'he gave the man a book'. May not then the supposed accusative in 'he flattered the man', 'it pleased the man', be really a dative, as it certainly would be historically?<sup>1</sup> This view might again be supported by an examination of the corresponding pronoun forms, for 'him' is historically a dative, not an accusative, and so with the others also.

But the truth is that, whatever the history may be, the so-called accusative of the personal pronouns is functionally not a case at all, but a special form which may be indifferently nom., acc., or dat., as the case may be. The real difference between 'I' and 'me' is that 'I' is an inseparable prefix used to form finite verbs, while 'me' is an independent or absolute pronoun, which can be used without a verb to follow. These distinctions are carried out in vulgar English as strictly as in French, where the distinction between the conjoint 'je' and the absolute 'moi' is rigidly enforced. The difference between French and English is that French has also a true conjoint accusative 'me', which, as in Basque, is incorporated into the verb. In vulgar English we hear not only 'it is me', but also with the relative, as in 'him that's here' (*aimdhætš iiə*), where the polite language only tolerates 'he'. In the polite language we find such monstrosities as 'it will give my friend and I great pleasure'—the natural result of the artificial reaction against 'it is me'.

And now a few words about the terminology. It will be observed that I have throughout avoided the names 'possessive' and 'objective'. The distinctions implied are historical, and therefore the historical names should be retained. If the names of grammatical forms were to be changed whenever their meanings changed, we should have different names for every period and every language. It is much simpler to

<sup>1</sup> Old English, 'hé ólecte ðám menn' and 'hit lícode ðám menn'.

regard these terms as being what they really are, purely conventional names of forms whose meanings are often vague and sometimes nothing at all. Historically English nouns can only be said to have one case, the genitive. The unmodified base represents historically both nominative and accusative (possibly also dative in some cases), we may therefore call it the 'common' case. Pronouns have three cases, nominative, genitive, as in 'it is his', and dative. The question whether 'his' in 'his book' is a genitive, or a possessive adjective, is really an idle one, for the genitive is in all cases functionally identical with an adjective. If we disregard history, and take position as the criterion of case, we are able to distinguish doubtfully a subject and object case, the former corresponding to the old nominative, the latter sometimes to the acc., sometimes to the dat.

#### PRONOUNS

Pronouns bear the closest analogy to proper names. They are nouns which, in themselves, only connote 'human being', and in some cases sex also. When we hear that 'he is coming', all we learn is that a male human being is coming, and we learn just as much from the proposition 'James is coming'. The main distinction is that pronouns are of general, proper names of special application, for, if the system of giving proper names were carried out perfectly, every one would have a name to himself, which would be shared by no one else. Pronouns are, therefore, even less significant than proper names: 'he' may refer in turn to each individual man there is, if the grammatical structure of the sentence allows it.

All pronouns are relative—they always refer to some noun. 'He' is quite as relative in signification as 'who' is, and the two are really identical in meaning, the distinction being purely formal, viz. that a sentence beginning with 'who' is always accompanied by another sentence containing some statement about the person to whom the pronoun refers, and until we have this sentence, we feel that the first sentence is formally incomplete. 'He' is, therefore, relative in meaning, 'who' in meaning and form also. 'He is here' does not

really convey any more information than 'the man who is here', but it can stand alone, whereas the other cannot.

#### ADJECTIVES

Adjectives may be either special or general attribute-words. Special adjectives are 'bright', 'blue', &c., while such adjectives as 'this', 'that', which connote nothing but the attribute of existing in space, are general. Still more general are such adjectives as the definite article 'the', which connotes nothing but the attribute of forming a member of a class, or something similar. Many of these general adjectives are at the same time pronouns when they stand alone, thus 'some' alone is equivalent to 'some human beings', while in 'some men' it is simply an adjective, or, as it is sometimes absurdly called, an 'adjective pronoun'. Similarly in vulgar English 'them' by itself is a pronoun (*Adhemdhæts on eint duwin nou wæk*), but before a noun (*dhem thiqz*), it is a general (demonstrative) adjective.

The two articles are often so devoid of meaning as to amount practically to nothing more than prefixes for forming nouns, although this is not carried so far as in French and German, where the definite article may be said to have hardly any meaning at all, being not only prefixed, as in English, to the names of things which only occur singly, such as 'the sun', 'the earth', but also to proper names and the names of abstractions.

In 'a good man' 'a' belongs not to 'good', but to 'man'. We have, therefore, here a case of incorporation, which is avoided in 'all the way', 'so great a work', &c. In 'a hundred men', the 'a' belongs to the 'hundred', forming with it a single attribute-word.

#### VERBS

The really characteristic feature of the English finite verb is its inability to stand alone without a pronominal prefix. Thus (*gou*), (*ræn*), (*flai*), by themselves may be either nouns or verbs; if, for instance, the indefinite article is prefixed to any of them, it becomes a noun—(*əgou*), (*əræn*), (*əflai*), are all

nouns. But (*aigou*), (*wiyræn*), (*dheiflai*) are verbs. With the help of other prefixes a great variety of verbal forms may be made without the slightest change of the primitive form. Thus (*wiygou*) is future, (*wiydgou*) is conditional, (*wiydidgou*) is a form of the preterite, &c. If for the pronoun a noun is substituted, the verb is recognized solely by its position after the noun in its common case, thus in (*dhæmenræn*) there is nothing but the fact of (*ræn*) following the uninflected plural (*dhæmen*) to show that it is a verb. Even when there is a noun preceding, the pronominal prefix is often used in common talk, especially among the uneducated; thus we often hear, instead of (*Δmai brædhæz kæmiq houmtæ morou*), (*Δmai brædhæhiyz kæmiq . . .*). The tendency to employ a pronominal prefix is also strikingly illustrated by the impersonal verbs, such as (*itreinz*), (*ithæpnz*), &c., where the (*it*) is quite unmeaning.

These facts illustrate the peculiar complexity of English grammar, and the difficulty of attaining a just and adequate view of its characteristic features. In such a sentence as (*Δdhæ men kæm*) (*kæm*) is a verb mainly through its position, in (*dheikæm*) because of the pronominal prefix, and in (*hiykæmz*) both because of the prefix and of the inflexional (*z*).

It is important to observe that English has no infinitive, except from an historical point of view. (*Kæm*) by itself is, as we have seen, not necessarily a verb at all, still less an infinitive 'mood', and it is certainly most in accordance with the instinct of those who speak English naturally to consider (*kæm*) simply as a base or common form of the verb, just as (*mæn*) is felt to be a common case.<sup>1</sup>

The term 'mood' is, of course, quite a misnomer as applied to the infinitive in any language, for the infinitive is nothing but a sort of nominal form of the verb. On the other hand, there are in English several forms of the verb which, on all sound analogy, ought to be included among the moods. These are the emphatic (*aiduwgou*), the negative (*aidountgou*), the

<sup>1</sup> The form (*tægou*), as in (*Δai wishitæ gou*), might be called the supine. It is not even historically an infinitive.

interrogative (*duwaigou*), the negative-interrogative (*dountai-gou*), the first of which is quite peculiar to English.

The inflected subjunctive is almost extinct in English. In form it is only in a few cases to be distinguished from the indicative, and its original meaning is so completely lost that English people have great difficulty in learning the proper use of the subjunctive in such languages as German and French, where it is still a living element of the language. We still employ it chiefly in a few stereotyped optative phrases, such as 'God save the Queen', and mechanically after certain conjunctions. In the language of the vulgar it seems hardly to be used at all, and such constructions as 'if I *was* you' . . . seem to be gradually spreading even among the educated.

#### PREPOSITIONS

The combination of a preposition and its noun (or pronoun) is identical in meaning with an oblique case of a noun, that is to say, it is a compound attribute. The preposition itself is modified attributively by the noun, and the two together constitute an attribute of some other word. Thus in 'he stood by', 'by' is an attribute-word modifying 'stood', in 'he stood by the gate', 'by' is modified by 'the gate', which is virtually an adverb of 'by', and the two together form a compound attribute of 'stood'. In this example the prepositional compound is equivalent to an adverb, but it may also qualify a substantive, as in 'the church in the town', which is equivalent to 'the town church', or, in German, 'die städtische Kirche.'

#### SENTENCE-WORDS

There are a variety of words which have the peculiarity of always forming a sentence by themselves; they might also be called isolated words. These words are: (1) the imperative mood of verbs, 'come!' for instance, being equivalent to 'I command, or ask you to come'; (2) the 'adverbs' *yes* and *no*, which are equivalent to affirmative and negative propositions; and (3) the interjections, many of which, as, for instance, *alas!* from the adjective *lassus*, are quite erroneously described as

inarticulate imitative sounds, and which have as much right to be considered parts of speech as the imperatives of verbs.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is of great importance to obtain a clear idea of the province of grammar as opposed to that of the dictionary—a subject on which considerable confusion of ideas prevails. The popular notion is that the business of a grammar is to explain *forms*, of a dictionary to explain *meanings*. But it is clear that the study of forms involves also a study of their meanings as well, and, indeed, the whole of syntax is nothing else but an investigation of the meanings of grammatical forms. The real distinction is that grammar deals with the general facts of language, lexicology with the special facts. Thus the fact that 'tree' becomes 'trees' when we speak of more than one tree, is a general one, for it applies, with certain restrictions, to nearly all other nouns as well; but the fact that the combination of sound that constitutes the sound-group 'tree' has the meaning we attach to it and no other, is an isolated one, and there is nothing in the sounds themselves or the way in which they are combined to necessitate one meaning more than another, while even if we were ignorant of the meaning of the word 'tree', we should be able to recognize in 'trees' the meaning of 'plurality', if we met with it in an unambiguous sentence. If we had a rationally constructed Universal Language, in which every letter in a word would be significant and combined according to definite laws, so that the connexion between form and meaning would be at once evident, there would be no dictionary at all—everything would be grammar, and the dictionary would be simply an alphabetical index to the grammar.

The simple question, then, that we have to ask ourselves in determining the scope of the grammar of any language is, how does this language indicate general meanings? The answer to this question is the grammar. If the language chiefly employs what are conventionally termed 'inflexions', its grammar will be mainly an 'inflexional' one; if position, its grammar will be like that of Chinese, and, to a great extent,

of English also, 'positional.' To assert that Chinese has 'no grammar', or 'no grammar *properly speaking*', as it is sometimes cautiously put, is simply an eccentric way of stating that it has no *inflexional* grammar.

An essential part of English grammar is *intonation*. An immense number of general ideas, both emotional and purely logical, are expressed in English by the rise and fall of the tones of the voice. The distinction between affirmation and interrogation, subject and predicate, doubt and certainty, &c., are all expressed either partly or entirely by intonation.

The following are, then, the essential elements of English grammar :

1. Phonology, or an account of the formation of the sounds of the language, their combinations, &c.
2. Phonetic Synthesis, comprising Quantity, Force or Stress, and Intonation. (Voice-timbre, Expression, &c., belong rather to Elocution, which is a special branch of Grammar.)
3. Word Position.
4. Parts of Speech, Inflexion, Agglutination, &c. (including all that is commonly understood as 'Grammar').

The relation of form to meaning may, of course, be considered in various ways. The form may first be considered purely as form, as when we analyse the various degrees of quantity, the exact intervals of intonation, &c., and we may then either consider the various meanings attached to each form, or, starting from the meaning alone, determine what forms are used to express it. In a full grammar all these arrangements must be represented, partially at least. The facts must also be so stated that due prominence is given to the really important elements. Archaisms and fossilized forms must be duly subordinated to the living means of expression.

The different *strata* of the formative elements must also be distinguished. Thus, while the combinations of noun and preposition would be treated at full under the same category as inflexion—'of man' and 'man's', for instance, coming together—the traditional inflexions would also be grouped



together separately, apart from the later agglutinations. Even merely *nascent* forms and tendencies would also be grouped together separately. It is, for instance, important to observe the tendency to indicate the singular of nouns by prefixes, leaving the plural unmodified; 'man,' for instance, means 'man in general', or, in short, 'men,' while 'the man', or 'a man', has a definitely singular meaning. It is of course true that we can also say 'the men' in the plural, but it is at least conceivable that in a more advanced stage of English the use of the articles may be confined entirely to the singular, and in that case it is highly probable that the plural inflexions would be entirely lost, so that the distinction between singular and plural would be denoted entirely by prefixes. Compare the French singulars (əq<sup>1</sup> sha, lə sha) with the plural (de sha, le sha).

If English grammar were treated in this way, it would give the student just notions not only of the structure of his own language, but also of language generally, and a solid foundation would be laid for historical and comparative philology. The ordinary grammars, which ignore many of the most characteristic features entirely, and subordinate others to purely exceptional ones, not only give the student an entirely erroneous idea of the structure of English, but also train him to habits of erroneous and superficial observation, the evil results of which are seen every day both in scientific philology and in the practical acquisition of foreign languages.

<sup>1</sup> I use (q) to denote the French nasal : (əq sha) = 'un chat'.

## THE PRACTICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>

It is remarkable that the rise of modern scientific philology, and its rapid development during the present century, have had but little influence on the practical study of language; and it is a question whether the influence it *has* exercised has not been, on the whole, rather injurious than beneficial. I, for one, am strongly of the opinion that our present exaggeratedly analytical methods, which are the fruit not only of scientific philology, but also of the elaboration of grammars and dictionaries, are a failure compared with the synthetic methods of the Middle Ages, by which sentences were grasped as wholes, not analysed and put together like pieces of mosaic work, and that any real reform will involve, partially at least, a return to these older methods.

But the question of such a reform has even now begun to engage the attention of philologists. I have myself worked at it incessantly for the last fifteen years from every point of view, both practical and theoretical, and in 1876 I even wrote a complete treatise on the 'Practical Study of Language', but on the maxim that example is better than precept, I thought it better to reserve its publication till I had brought out some practical exemplification of the methods I advocate. This I am now doing: my *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (Primer of Spoken English) is already half through the press, and as soon as it is published I hope to bring out my treatise in a thoroughly revised and complete form. Meanwhile I may refer to such brief statements of my views as are contained in my Presidential Addresses<sup>2</sup> and other papers<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1882-4, pp. 577-99.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Address for 1876-7, pp. 16 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Especially *Words, Logic, and Grammar*, Trans. 1875-6. [pp. 1-33 of this reprint.]

read before this Society, in the preface to my *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877), and in my review of Storm's *Englische Philologie* (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881) in the *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen* (1881, Stück 44, pp. 1398 foll.).

But the main impulse has come from the above-mentioned work of Storm, which is a guide to the scientific study of English, the first part (which is all that has appeared as yet) dealing with the living language. The two main features of Storm's method are the prominence he gives to the living language, and his vindication of scientific phonetics as the indispensable foundation of all study of language, whether practical or theoretical. He recommends the following order of the different branches: 'begin with the practical acquisition of the living language and extensive reading, then obtain a knowledge of the older stages of the language through the most important texts, and finally study scientific grammar and the history and etymology of the language in their natural connexion.' Storm rightly blames the older German grammarians for confusing Tudor English, eighteenth, and nineteenth century English in one chaotic mass, which is made the foundation of the practical study of the living language. With equal justice he protests against the tendency of grammarians to regard the spoken language as a corruption of the literary language; he maintains, on the contrary, that the spoken language is always the real source of the literary language. Indeed (as I remarked in my above-mentioned review) the spoken language is (with the exception of occasional abnormal artificialities) the *only* source of the literary language: every literary language arises from a more or less arbitrary mixture of spoken languages of different periods; such forms, for instance, as *thou lovest, he loveth*, which now only occur in the higher literature, were ordinary colloquialisms in Tudor English. Hence the general axiom — equally important for the practical and the scientific study of language — that the living spoken form of every language should be made the foundation of its study. This holds good, even if the ultimate object is the mastery of the literary language

only, for the spoken is the only form of the language which is regular and definitely limited in the range of its grammar and vocabulary.

In speaking of the relation of the theoretical to the practical study of language, Storm comes to the conclusion that the former 'is practical in a higher sense, because it facilitates the comprehension and acquisition of the facts'. This view I criticized in my review as follows (translating from the German): 'It is true that a knowledge of such a language as Latin considerably facilitates the acquisition of Italian . . . , but where the connexion between the two languages is self-evident, no scientific sign-post is required: every one sees at once that *padre* is connected with *patrem*, *aimer* with *amare*; and when the relationship can be established only by means of numerous intermediate stages, and complicated laws of sound-change, it is a question whether it is really practical to seek our object in such a roundabout way. . . [We can explain the irregularities of a language by means of history, and even prove that they are really more correct than the regular forms, but they still continue to be irregularities, that is, they always cause breaks and inequalities in the series of mental associations called forth by the regular forms, which can only be smoothed over by strict attention and continued practice.] Especially instructive in this respect are the numberless grammatical difficulties which do not require any historical illustration, simply because they are in themselves perfectly transparent, such as the periphrastic forms of the English verb. What can historical philology contribute to the analysis of *will love, shall love, is loving, &c.*? And yet few foreigners succeed in mastering the delicate distinctions of the English verb. [The constant application of historical and comparative illustrations is often positively injurious, from the disturbing influence it has on the purity and definiteness of the groups of associations gained by the practical study.] One can imagine the confusion and uncertainty which would result from an attempt to acquire a practical knowledge of English from Mätzner's grammar! The impossibility of a consistent application of the results of scientific philology to practical

study is not generally recognized, simply because such a consistent application is never attempted; but yet, happily, the practice of throwing crumbs of philology into practical grammars, &c., seems to be falling more and more into discredit, even when the language is to be studied solely for scientific purposes.<sup>1</sup> [I believe the best way is to let each branch rest on its own merits: scientific philology should be studied for its own sake, not as an appendix to the practical study.] I would of course admit that wherever scientific etymology, &c., really helps, it ought to be utilized, and that there may be cases in which the practical application of such a law as that ascribed to Grimm may be worth the effort of learning it: but, unfortunately, it often happens that a false etymology is of more practical value than the correct one: every beginner in Greek at once remembers the meaning of *hólos* by its likeness to English *hole*, whereas its relation to Latin *salvus* can only be mastered by an effort. Such accidental likenesses, which are not unfrequent between totally unconnected languages, where, of course, scientific comparison is excluded, are eagerly seized on by the beginner as the natural foundation of his new vocabulary, especially if they appeal to his sense of the ludicrous or paradoxical.<sup>2</sup>]

In the last few years German philologists and teachers have begun to agitate for a reform of their present system of practical instruction in language, which they themselves almost unanimously condemn as unscientific as well as unpractical. I would especially call attention to the anonymous essay 'The teaching of languages must start afresh', and Franke's 'Practical acquisition of language'.<sup>3</sup> The latter goes quite as far as I have ever done in condemning the present system. His work is a brief sketch, in which too much space

<sup>1</sup> See W. Braune's remarks in the preface to his *Gotische Grammatik*.

<sup>2</sup> 'They call their mothers *mares*, and all their daughters *fillies*,' as Hood says of the French. *lucus a non lucendo*. *garstig*: *nasty*. *mährchen*: *mare's nest*. [*hasta*: *hasty*, because you must not be *hasty* with it.] (This was actually put in print once.)

<sup>3</sup> *Der sprachunterricht muss umkehren! von Quousque tandem* (Henninger, 188-). *Die praktische Spracherlernung, auf grund der psychologie und der physiologie der sprache dargestellt von F. Franke* (Henninger, 1884).

is taken up by abstract generalizations, so that it is not easy to form a clear idea of what the practical working of his method would be. He insists on a phonetic basis, and characterizes the older system as the 'translation-method'. There are, besides, a number of essays and pamphlets, some published separately, some in such periodicals as the *Anglia* and *Englische studien*. I may here quote from a review of *Karl Kühn: Zur methode des französischen unterrichts* by H. Klinghardt which has just appeared in the latter,<sup>1</sup> his summary of the three leading principles of reform which he says are now generally accepted in Germany: (1) foreign languages are to be learned primarily by means of connected texts, the grammar being kept in the background; (2) the foreign language should be learned by imitation and thinking in it, not by translating; (3) living languages should be learned before dead ones—all views which I have myself held for many years back. It is to be wished, however, that the Germans would give us fewer generalizations and more facts about their own living speech, which they seem totally to neglect.

I will now turn to the consideration of the different branches of practical linguistic study, beginning with *pronunciation*, which it is now generally admitted can only be taught on the basis of scientific phonetics. The great interest this new science is exciting is sufficiently attested by the fact that there are at the present moment three full treatises on it passing through the press, two in Germany by Vietor and Trautmann, one in Sweden by Wulff. The first attempt to apply phonetics in the teaching of English was made by Vietor in his *Englische Grammatik*, and then by Trautmann (*Anglia*, i. 592 foll.). Lastly, Schröer has brought out a treatise on the method of teaching English pronunciation, based on the work of the English school of phonetics,<sup>2</sup> and embodying the results of his own practical teaching experience. The

<sup>1</sup> *Englische studien*, vii. 3, pp. 491 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber den unterricht in der aussprache des Englischen*, von Dr. A. Schröer (Berlin, 1884).

Norwegian Western's *Engelsk Lydlære* also follows the English school very closely.

But the importance of phonetics in the practical teaching of language is still very far from being recognized to its full extent. The first great step will be to discard the ordinary spelling entirely in teaching pronunciation, and substitute a purely phonetic one, giving a genuine and adequate representation of the actual language, not, as is too often the case, of an imaginary language, spoken by imaginary 'correct speakers'. (To teach the pronunciation of such a language as modern French by means of an orthography which is really a very corrupt representation of the sixteenth-century pronunciation, is as absurd as it would be to teach Dutch with a German grammar, or to explain the anatomy of a horse by a picture of a zebra or an ichthyosaurus.) When the language is firmly fixed in the memory in its phonetic form, it will be time to study the older spelling in connexion with the historical study of the older stages of the language. Of course, the difficulty of the transition from the spoken to the literary language can never be fully overcome, but it is far easier than the unnatural process of basing the study of the spoken language on an imperfect mastery of the literary one. (Experience has certainly shown that a class of children taught reading phonetically will master both phonetic and ordinary reading quicker than a class taught unphonetically will master the latter only.) Similar results are obtained in music by the use of the Tonic Sol-fa method. The success of the phonetic method is largely dependent on the *notation* employed. It is a great step to discard the English values of the vowels, as is now done by nearly all English spelling-reformers, but it will be a still greater step when a universal phonetic shorthand comes into general use. Such a shorthand would serve as a stepping-stone from the ordinary Roman alphabet to such a one as Bell's Visible Speech, which is too cumbersome for popular use, and would at the same time give what I believe to be the only real solution of the problem of spelling-reform.

One very important result of basing the teaching of pronunciation on scientific phonetics is that we make ourselves to

a great extent independent of a residence abroad, and of foreign teachers, for I fully agree with Schröder that [for teaching Germans English, a phonetically trained German is far superior to an untrained Englishman, the latter being quite unable to communicate his knowledge; and this principle applies, of course, with equal force to the teaching of foreign languages in England. Again, a learner who has been trained phonetically will understand the natives, and be understood by them without difficulty, while experience shows that a bad pronunciation often makes the speaker unintelligible (except to waiters at hotels who have learned to understand the jargon of foreigners by long practice), and also retards for a long time his comprehension of native speakers.] Experience also shows that nearly all great linguists have owed their success quite as much to their quickness in imitating sounds as to their powerful memories, and phonetics alone can supply the want of this natural quickness of imitation.

But the gain of a phonetic grasp of language extends far beyond such special considerations. A secure grasp of the sounds of a language is a great strengthening of the general mastery of its forms and meanings, and a minute discrimination of the phonetic differences between closely allied languages (as when the French and Italian *a*, the Dutch *u*, and German *ü* are kept apart) is the surest safeguard against otherwise inevitable confusions. [Phonetics alone can breathe life into the dead mass of letters which constitute a written language: it alone can bring the rustic dialogues of our novels before every intelligent reader as living realities, and make us realize the living power and beauty of the ancient classical languages in prose and verse. Again, phonetics alone enables us to analyse and register the various phenomena of stress, intonation, and quantity, which are the foundation of word-division, sentence-structure, elocution, metre, and, in fact, enter into all the higher problems of language: a psychological study of language without phonetics is an impossibility.]

[*Grammar*, which is merely a commentary on the facts of language, must follow, not precede, the facts themselves, as presented in sentences and connected texts: each sentence



should be analysed and mastered phonetically before its grammatical analysis is attempted. A reference-grammar should contain all the rules; one to be gone through and learned systematically must be strictly limited, so as to include nothing that is not required for the explanation of the texts to be read. Every rule must have its example, generally an unambiguous sentence which will bear separation from its context.<sup>1</sup> The greatest blunder that can be made is that of learning bare lists of words by heart: *house: haus; table: tisch*, &c. But, of course, such a word as *haus* does not require a complete sentence: *das haus, häuser* gives all the information required by any learner who has mastered the elements of the grammar. Accidence and syntax should be taught as far as possible simultaneously, on the principle that it is absurd to teach the names of tools without explaining their use. (As grammar deals with the general laws of language, it must include them all, giving as much prominence to derivation and composition as to inflexions, and including the laws of sentence-stress and intonation.)

The study of the *vocabulary* of a language may be carried on in two distinct ways. We may either learn the meanings of separate words, or else learn the words for each meaning. Thus, we may take the word *good* and go through its various meanings of 'pleasant to the taste', 'useful', 'morally good', 'property', &c., or else we may take, say, the idea of 'morally good', and enumerate the various words and phrases by which it is expressed, such as 'good', 'virtue', 'bad', 'vice'. We may distinguish these two processes as *analytic* and *synthetic* meaning-study.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that the latter presupposes the former. It is difficult to distinguish the mass of formally unconnected words and phrases by which a given group of ideas is expressed without some knowledge of the relation of the various meanings of the individual words. This preliminary study may be regarded

<sup>1</sup> Made-up sentences are generally bad, such as 'the happy children of our teacher sing sweetly enough from their book of hymns', which I quote from a foreign grammar of English.

<sup>2</sup> The latter would, of course, include the grammatical forms as well.

as a sort of lexicographical syntax. It is, of course, only concerned with those words whose variety of meanings causes real difficulty, such as particles and the more primitive verbs, such as *get* in English. The difficulty of drawing the line between this study and ordinary syntax is well shown by the fact that the prepositions are treated of both in the grammar and the dictionary.

The synthetic meaning-study, on the other hand, includes the whole vocabulary of the language. The foundation would be a vocabulary in which the commoner words of the language would be exemplified in sentences grouped under the different categories of space, time, &c., with as much logical continuity between them as possible. As I have said in my paper, *Language and Thought* (p. 12),<sup>1</sup> the study of only 3,000 words in any living language so arranged 'would enable any one to express himself on most of the ordinary topics of life with far greater accuracy than is now attainable, even after years of floundering about in the pages of unwieldy and unpractical dictionaries and grammars'. A reference ideological dictionary with an alphabetical index would of course be required afterwards, but all looking up words in dictionaries would be excluded from the earlier stages. Such a complete dictionary would enable a foreigner to master the special vocabulary of any new pursuit at a short notice, for it would give all the technical terms required, in their natural connexion. A special alphabetical dictionary containing only *rare* words (presupposing a mastery of the common ones) would also be very useful. Our existing dictionaries err in trying to satisfy too many requirements at once.

The sentences of which a language is composed are of two kinds. There are some which may be called *general* sentences, which may be regarded as types from which a number of others may be formed by substituting new words for those they contain. Thus, *I have a book* can be modified into *I have a house*, &c. These sentences can be formed *a priori* by combining their elements. *Special* sentences or *idioms* cannot be formed in this way, and such idioms as *how do you do?* *I can't help it*, *never mind*, are really on a level with simple

[<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 1.]

words, such as *salutation*, *inevitable*, *indifference*, and, like them, have to be learned one by one, like the irregularities in the grammar. The fundamental error of the well-known methods of Ollendorff and Ahn is that they tacitly assume that the natural sentences of languages can be constructed *a priori*; as we see, it is precisely the most elementary, frequent, and necessary sentences which *cannot* be constructed in this way. The results of these methods have been well parodied in Burnand's *New Sandford and Merton: The merchant is swimming with (avec) the gardener's son, but (mais) the Dutchman has the gun*, and so on. Of course, at first only the *necessary* idioms should be taught. The line between necessary and unnecessary idioms is not of course absolute, but is in general easy enough to draw. All proverbial idioms, for instance, and most of those containing similes belong to the latter class. For conversational purposes questions are more necessary than answers: the idioms used in questions must be mastered perfectly, while those used in answers require only to be understood. The distinction between the two classes is, of course, not absolute, and from a practical point of view, it is important to observe how much more limited the natural and usual combinations of most words are than one would suppose: try, for instance, the combinations of the adjectives *white*, *high*, *square*, *angry*, and the substantives *man*, *coal*, *snow*, *word*.

The want of phonetic notation is alone enough to make our phrase-books useless, but they are quite as defective in their idioms. Not only is there an utter want of system in selecting the really useful idioms, and subordinating or rejecting the others, but the idioms and phrases given are often absolutely incorrect from the point of view of educated speech, being archaic, literary, or vulgar, or the result of mistranslation of some foreign idiom. Most phrasebook-writers fail to reproduce the natural spoken language, partly from want of preparatory training, partly from a fear of being thought vulgar, but mainly from over-cleverness and conceit, which leads them into a spurious literary style,<sup>1</sup> so that their dialogues read

<sup>1</sup> Franke remarks that German grammars for foreigners generally give

like extracts from badly written novels. The only exception I know of is Storm's edition of Bennett's Norwegian Phrase-book. [When I was with Storm in Norway last year, we surveyed nearly the whole field of phrase-book literature in the chief European languages, and passed a vote of sweeping condemnation on it all, coming to the conclusion that the only way of mastering idioms was by reading novels and comedies, noting down the necessary ones and learning them by heart. But this is, of course, a very slow and time-wasting process compared with that of studying an ideologically arranged collection such as I now make whenever I learn a new language, using my own classification of English idioms as a basis.]

When the sounds of a language have once been mastered, the main foundation of its study will be connected *texts*, [written in the simplest and directest colloquial style, and containing as few rare words and phrases as possible.] The best texts to begin with are descriptions of nature and natural phenomena, of the different races of man, houses, food, dress, &c., for such descriptions can easily be made to include the whole of the elementary vocabulary of material things, phenomena, and actions. Narrative pieces come next, and, lastly, idiomatic dialogues, and longer pieces which combine all three elements.

[These texts should, of course, be made as interesting and amusing as is consistent with the definite principles on which they are framed. They correspond exactly to the 'studies' of the musician, just as the latter's scales and exercises correspond to the linguist's sound-exercises and first sentences, and just as the musician's studies serve as an introduction to the classical compositions themselves, so do our linguistic

*ölen Sie!*—*dieses is mein Bruder* instead of the colloquially idiomatic *beeilen Sie sich* or *machen Sie schnell* (this is the idiom that is familiar to me)—*das [hier] is[t] mein Bruder*. I find in recently published English phrase-books such fossils as *may I have the pleasure of drinking wine with you, Miss?*—*Your health, Sir!* together with dinner-table comments such as *this beef is delicious: it melts in the mouth*—*I love fat*. In some of these books a man's wife is *his good lady*. On these principles learned Germans might still address an impudent cabman with *sounds sirrah!* or even *sdeth!*

texts serve as an introduction to the literature of the language. 'The ordinary practice of not only introducing the learner to the literature of a language before he has mastered its grammar and vocabulary, but also of making its classics the vehicle of elementary grammatical instruction, is a most detestable one. What should we say of a music-master who gave his pupils a sonata of Beethoven to learn the notes on, instead of beginning with scales? Yet this is precisely our present system of teaching languages.'<sup>1</sup> When the classics of a language are ground into boys who are utterly unable to appreciate them, the result is often to create a disgust for literature generally. ]

At the end of this stage the learner will have acquired a thorough command of a limited number of words and phrases expressing the most necessary ideas. His vocabulary will not be large, but he will command it with ease and certainty. Those who learn a language through its literature often have almost as wide a vocabulary as the natives, but have no real command of the elementary idioms, being often quite unable to describe the simplest mechanical operations, such as 'tie in a knot', 'turn down the gas'. The context of a word in literature is, besides, often so vague as to be little help in defining its meaning. This is especially shown in the epithets of poetry, as in the Homeric *méropes ánthrōpoi*, where *méropes* may mean any quality whatsoever that can be predicated of men generally. So also in the Vēdas we get whole hymns, which, when boiled down, leave not much more than 'the bright shiner (=sun) shines brightly'. Now one of the most fundamental distinctions between literary and colloquial speech is the rigorously limited and definite use of adjectives and other qualifiers in the latter: even so simple a phrase as 'the sun shines brightly' has an uncolloquial ring about it. This, together with its preference for the simple paratactic arrangement of sentences, makes the colloquial language a far better medium of teaching word-meanings. Of course, all simple sentences are not equally suited for this purpose. I once saw an elementary French reading-book in which the furniture, &c.,

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1876-7, p. 16).

in the drawing-room, kitchen, &c., was simply *enumerated*: 'in the kitchen are plates, dishes, saucepans, &c.', the result being that there was nothing to correct the English learner's natural assumption that *plat* means 'plate' instead of 'dish'. In such a sentence, on the other hand, as 'the sun rises in the east and sets in the west', a knowledge of the meaning of only one of the chief words is a clue to that of all the others.

The further progress of the learner will be through *condensed* treatises on special subjects, such as history, geography, natural science, the matter being strictly subordinated to the form.

As he advances he will be able to choose his texts with greater freedom, and with less subordination of matter to form, until at last he is able to read the actual literature itself, unmodified and uncurtailed, beginning, of course, with the ordinary prose, and proceeding gradually to archaic prose and to poetry. Even at this advanced stage no dictionary is required, the necessary explanations being given at the foot of the page in the form of paraphrases in the foreign language itself, translation into the learner's own language being only occasionally had recourse to.

The systematic study of the grammar, idioms, and vocabulary on the lines already sketched must, of course, run parallel with the reading of the texts. In this way the same combinations—with occasional variations—will be presented over and over again to the learner from different points of view, and in different contexts, and the fundamental principle of *repetition* will thus have full justice done to it.

We may now turn to the consideration of some special points, of which one of the most important is, how to deal with the *irregularities* of a language. We have already dealt with the two fallacies: (1) that the practical difficulties caused by irregularities can be got rid of by explaining them historically or comparatively; and (2) that it is possible to teach a language by means of *a priori* constructions which ignore its irregularities. We now have first of all to realize the dilemma that from a methodical point of view the irregularities ought to be ignored until the regular forms have been mastered, while as

a matter of fact they have to be learned at the very beginning, as being generally the most frequent and necessary elements. The solution of the dilemma is that irregularities are difficulties only from a psychological, not from a formal point of view, and should therefore be mastered during the purely formal, or phonetic, stage, that is, *before* the study of the regular forms in the grammar, &c. To a learner who as yet knows nothing of English, and has only just begun the sounds, the regular singular *feat* and the irregular plural *feet* are exactly on a level, and it is not till he has learned the grammar that such a collocation as *hands and feet* causes a psychological break which can only be got over by repeated efforts; to a German beginner *hands* is infinitely more difficult than *feet*. In fact, if the first phonetic exercises are really made to include the commonest words systematically, the difficulty will solve itself: most of the irregularities will be mastered unconsciously, and even when the learner has reached the grammatical stage, he will be able, in a great degree, to overcome cross-associations by concentrating his attention on the mere sounds of his word-group, and repeating it aloud till it runs glibly from his tongue. The fact has to be acknowledged that language is partly rational, partly irrational, and that the irrational element—that is, the irregularities—can only be mastered formally and mechanically. To argue that irregularities are rational because there was once a reason for them, is like maintaining that it is rational of tailors to put buttons at the back of dress coats because in the older forms of dress coats such buttons were used to fasten up the long coat-tails which are now shortened.

Every language has special difficulties of its own: words, inflexions, &c., which are liable to be confused, such as the adjectives *ingenious* and *ingenuous* in English, *amat*, *amet*, *monet*, *regit*, *regat* in Latin. Each form or word should be presented separately in an unambiguous and unconfusing context, and when they are firmly fixed in this way, they should be confronted with one another till all hesitation and confusion disappear. There are also special difficulties in passing from one language to another, which require a similar

treatment. Thus Germans require to be specially trained not to use *seldom* as an adjective, and English people require long training to enable them to grasp the conception of the accusative or the subjunctive.

Every language too has its defects: where one uses a single word, another will have only a periphrasis; where one has a definite idiom, another will have nothing but a variety of vaguer phrases; some are wanting in a general term, as in English there is no verb to express the 'running' of a horse, and in German no general word for 'handle'. All these considerations point to the advisability of basing all study of foreign languages on a thorough knowledge of our own in its relation to the laws of general grammar.

Of course, any *direct* comparison of a foreign language with our own should be postponed till the foreign language has been mastered as far as possible on its own basis. Every sentence would at first have to be accompanied by a free translation into the native language, but these crutches would be thrown away as soon as the learner began to parse the sentence, and would afterwards be only employed when the context, and periphrasis in the foreign language itself failed to explain any passage. When, however, the foreign language has once been mastered, translation to and fro between it and the native language would be not only harmless but positively useful, and would be a great safeguard against the tendency to mix the two languages together.<sup>1</sup>

It need hardly be said that the study of dead languages ought to be carried on as far as possible exactly in the same way as that of living ones. [The first and indispensable condition of a rational study of a dead language is the adoption of an accurate and consistent pronunciation. The student whose associations are solely with the written forms really throws away an equally important series of associations, namely, those between the meanings and the sounds represented by the written forms.] The practical exigencies of teaching make the adoption of some system or other of

<sup>1</sup> I do not, therefore, agree with Franke and other recent German writers in their sweeping condemnation of the 'translation-method'.



pronunciation absolutely necessary, and if, as is still always the case, a pronunciation is adopted which contradicts or confuses the distinctions of the written forms, as when Greek *ei* and *ai* are pronounced alike, or quantity- and accent-marks are neglected, there is the additional difficulty of cross-association to be overcome. This involves, of course, a phonetic notation, which for dead languages naturally takes the form of diacritic modification of the traditional letters. Quantity should be marked as strictly and invariably in Greek and Latin as in Sanskrit. The absurdity of continuing to print Greek in monkish letters which bear hardly any resemblance to those used by the Old Greeks themselves requires no comment. The evil effects of teaching languages through their classical literatures are even greater in dead than in living languages, for in dead languages every natural obscurity is increased tenfold, owing to our unfamiliarity with ancient circumstances and trains of thought. Such a language as Latin ought to be taught by means of the simplest possible descriptions, narratives, and dialogues, from which every literary complexity and artificiality has been carefully weeded, and even after the learner has begun the literature, he should not be allowed to look at such an author as Virgil till he is able to read simple prose and poetry with perfect ease, and is able to converse fluently on elementary subjects.<sup>1</sup> This would be, in the main, simply a return to the methods of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, carried out, of course, in a far more perfect way.

Of course, the complete scheme here briefly sketched would require various modifications and curtailments in practice, but it is impossible to go into such details now.

The general result we have arrived at is the recognition of a science of *living*, as opposed to dead, or antiquarian philology, based on phonology and psychology. This science in its practical application is the indispensable foundation of the study of our own and foreign languages, of dialectology, and

<sup>1</sup> *Viva voce* instruction is too much neglected in teaching languages. If it were made more general, short-sight, that scourge of over-educated communities, might be almost eradicated.

of historical and comparative philology. It is of the greatest importance to England. Our dialects, in spite of the meritorious attempts of the Dialect Society to induce Englishmen to take up their serious study, and in spite of the good work done by individuals, are perishing fast, leaving either no record at all behind them, or at best, very imperfect ones. Even our best dialectal work gives little more than a rough discrimination of the elementary sounds; sentence-stress, intonation, and, generally speaking, the higher phonetic analysis of our dialects are almost ignored. Dialectology which is not based on systematic training is often worse than useless, for its results are not only inadequate but often positively misleading. In future ages it will seem incredible that in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was not a single authorized teacher of phonetics and practical philology at any of our universities. Such teachers are urgently required, if only as adjuncts to the professors of historical and comparative philology; and accordingly in Germany we find Sievers's *Phonetik* heading a series of Indogermanic grammars, and he himself lecturing on phonetics at his university, other German professors doing the same. But in England, which is looked on abroad as, to a great extent at least, the natural home of phonetics, the science is left to a few enthusiasts, who have, it is true, the satisfaction of seeing their work eagerly taken up abroad, but naturally regard this as but a poor compensation for the indifference of their 'practical' countrymen, who, from their neglect of practical philology, allow the teaching of foreign languages to be engrossed by swarms of foreigners, most of them very indifferently prepared for their task. It stirs my indignation to see Germans teaching French in English schools, when they are quite incompetent to teach their own language. I constantly have Americans, Germans, and other foreigners coming to me and expressing their disappointment and astonishment at the entire absence of any regular scientific teaching in English philology and phonetics. Several Americans have said to me that they looked on it as a disgrace to the brotherhood of English speakers that they had to go to Germany to

learn the elements of English philology and phonetics from professors who sometimes can hardly express themselves intelligibly in the language they teach. English philology is certainly showing signs of wake-up, and in the last few years has obtained such a hold of the popular mind that there can be no doubt that in a few years our universities will be obliged by mere force of popular opinion to provide efficient instruction in it. Meanwhile, Cambridge has made a good beginning by starting a tripos of mediæval and modern languages, which will certainly attract many students who feel the want (as most do) of some definite external aim of study. But it is a little disheartening to find a body of English professors drawing up a scheme of modern languages and deliberately omitting from it all mention of phonetics, the very backbone of the study—and this three years after Storm's *English Philology* has been made generally accessible in the German edition! And all the while there is doubtless enough phonetic talent scattered over the country to provide as many teachers as are required, if only regular teaching and a career were open to them. A few years ago I received a letter from a young man of about twenty asking for help in his phonetic studies, and giving an account of his own work, which showed remarkable talent. I, of course, gave what help I could, and had great hopes of him, but after a year he wrote to say that he must give up phonetics and devote himself to the study of the law. This is a sample of the way in which talent is wasted in this country, while the means of preventing such waste lie idle. The Taylor Institution for the study of modern languages at Oxford is an instance. When Max Müller failed to obtain the Boden professorship of Sanskrit, he was appointed professor of Modern Languages in connexion with this institution; when he was made professor of Comparative Philology, the professorship of Modern Languages became vacant, and, as far as I know, has continued so ever since. And yet the study of modern languages has not declined in public estimation of late years, but rather the reverse.

It is evident that a real reform in our method of teaching

languages will not come of itself. Teachers, as a body, are very conservative: their business is to make the best of the present books and methods, not to experiment with new ones. Reform must come from above—from that school of original investigation and experiment which can only be worked through some kind of university system. Such difficult subjects as the formation of speech-sounds, the classification of the ideas expressed by words, the relations of the literary to the spoken language—all of them absolutely essential for our purpose—cannot possibly be dealt with satisfactorily except by trained scientific specialists. Almost every year we have some new system of learning languages, but it nearly always turns out that the author has got some one idea into his head, often—perhaps oftenest—a perfectly sound one, which idea he hastens to embody in a book for beginners, but without properly considering its relation to the other sides of the question, and the consequent modifications of it that may be necessary, or else without carrying it out consistently. Thus many have had the idea of basing instruction on the spoken language, but it never seems to occur to them that the only way of getting at the spoken language is through a system of notation which really represents it, namely, a phonetic one. Again, I once bought a phrase-book which contained a large number of very well selected phrases and idioms, but in an absolutely disconnected succession, which made it almost useless. It is easy enough to point out isolated principles of reform; the real difficulty is to combine them into a harmonious whole: the problem must be attacked from all sides at once; and this cannot be done without long preparatory training. Even when a perfectly sound and complete theory is evolved, its working out demands long toil. This is the reason why so many of the books produced by practical teachers are unsatisfactory, especially as regards clearness of exposition: the writers simply have not time adequately to work out the results of their theories and experience. Nor can the work be done by deputy, as is too often attempted.

It is no wonder that people often revolt openly against all system in learning languages, and go in for what they call

the 'natural method', or 'learning by ear', 'picking it up by talking', &c. The answer to this is that the learning of a foreign language is as unnatural a process as can be conceived, and that to retain several languages perfectly at once is not only unnatural, but impossible—even (or rather, especially) for the most gifted linguist. The genuine natural method followed by nurses and children, and continued through life, is besides a very bad one, and by no means worthy of imitation, being unmethodical and wasteful. It is carried on under the most favourable circumstances (which cannot be reproduced in the later study of foreign languages), and yet is always more or less of a failure, for the incessant changes that go on in languages are nothing else than an accumulation of mistakes, or, in other words, imperfect masteries of details of the language taught by the older members of the community. These mistakes (which go on even after puberty) are developed out of the language itself, and hence have a certain uniformity, and are thus easily distinguished from the mistakes of foreigners, which are uniform only among foreigners of the same nationality, and are due to the influence of the foreign language. Indeed, so imperfect is our natural method, that even with the help of school-training, the great majority of people fail ever to attain a real mastery of their own language. Those few who succeed are called 'eloquent', or are said to have 'a clear style', to be 'good talkers', or to be able to 'tell a story well'.

I, too, have tried that negatively natural method which consists in discarding systematic study and relying on conversation, and have found the results very unsatisfactory. It sounds well to talk of 'picking up a language by ear in the country itself', but most of the good linguists I have questioned have confessed that, especially in the beginning of their study of a language, they learned nearly everything from books, and but little from conversation. In fact, a residence in the country before the elements of the language have been mastered at home is positively injurious, for it forces the learner to employ incorrect phrases and constructions on the spur of the moment, which then become stereotyped, and can

hardly be got rid of. The results of picking up a language entirely by ear from the beginning may be seen in uneducated people, who even after years of residence in a country are often unable to utter anything but a few of the commonest words and phrases. The idea that grammar can be dispensed with is confuted by the fact that Mezzofanti himself used to learn paradigms by heart like any schoolboy. It is very difficult to get at the truth about these 'born linguists', most of whom are surrounded with a mist of exaggeration and fable,<sup>1</sup> and I am certainly more inclined to believe the above statement about Mezzofanti than the contrary one which has been repeated in connexion with other great linguists, that they were *supra grammaticam*. To a certain extent we are all *supra grammaticam*, for no one can learn a language only from grammar, and we all learn our own without it. The difference between a born linguist and an ordinary one is really only one of degree, not of kind, and any one who has the necessary enthusiasm and patience to master half a dozen distinct languages will find that he has acquired a practical insight into the general laws of language which will enable him to master any other without much effort. It will then be mainly a question of time, and this mainly of memory, which can be cultivated up to a certain extent. Of course such memories as those which can retain a folio page after a single reading will give their owners a long start in the race, and, of course, such memories can dispense more or less with systematic training, though it will always be a help even to them.

National aptitude for languages seems not to be determined

<sup>1</sup> The achievements of Mezzofanti himself have been much exaggerated. I was told by Storm, who got his information from a Norwegian who had had an interview with the great man, that the current statements about his being able to distinguish the different Norwegian dialects were pure fable, and that he kept his visitor waiting a long time in the antechamber, while he primed himself with a selection of Norse phrases, which he uttered with considerable hesitation. Nothing is easier than to get the reputation of speaking a language perfectly. An Englishman travelling in the out-of-the-way parts of South Germany only has to speak anglicized book German to be taken for a Prussian, and then to go home and tell people that 'he was taken for a German everywhere'.

by natural quickness, but more by external causes, for the Southern nations do not seem to show any superiority over the Northern. There are few better linguists than among Norwegians,<sup>1</sup> and the French are certainly not better than the English. The external causes are, among others, the *necessity* of learning foreign languages, due to the smallness or barbarism of the country, which causes also foster the natural talent for imitation dormant in all men. Thus, the whole tendency of an educated Russian is towards imitation, while an Englishman or a Frenchman expects other nations to imitate *him* and know *his* language. Another is *opportunity* of hearing foreign languages. It is practically almost impossible for an Englishman to learn educated German colloquially, because all Germans want to practise their English on him, and besides he is generally thrown exclusively among English speakers in foreign schools and boarding-houses.<sup>2</sup> The character of the native language also has an influence, as we see in the bad effects of the imperfect sound-distinctions of Saxon Germans. Systematic training would soon compensate these differences, and enable the natural aptitude of each individual to develop itself freely. When this is done, I see no reason to fear that the English will prove in any way inferior to the other nations; in fact, the richness of our sound-system, both consonants and vowels, the delicacy of our intonation and stress distinctions, and the comparatively rational nature of our grammar ought to give us great advantages.

<sup>1</sup> Witness Schröder in Natal, Skrefsrud, and Storm.

<sup>2</sup> I heard of one case in which an English boy was at school at Bonn for a year; when he came home he said that he had not spoken a *single word* of German the whole time, not even in the shops.

## LINGUISTIC AFFINITY<sup>1</sup>

NOTHING is more remarkable in the history of the science of language than the contrast between the number and accessibility of the linguistic facts and phenomena on which it is founded on the one hand, and the slowness in drawing the inevitable conclusions from these facts on the other. Not only were there abundant materials for the construction of comparative grammars of the Romance, Germanic, and other families of languages, but many linguistic generalizations had been partially formulated long before the foundations of scientific comparative philology had been definitely laid in the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, not only the general idea but also many of the details of 'Grimm's Law' can be traced back through the Scandinavian philologists, Rask and Ihre, to more than a hundred years before Grimm's time; and our countryman, Hickes, gave in his *Thesaurus* a rudimentary comparative Germanic grammar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century: it is certain that without the labours of him and his successors—especially the Netherlander Ten Kate and the Dane Rask—the classical *Deutsche Grammatik* of Grimm could never have been written.

One of the explanations of this slow development is not far to seek. It was the inevitable result of a contradiction between a *a priori* theory and the actual facts of language which made it difficult to form definite ideas of the relationships and affinities of languages. As long as Hebrew was regarded as the parent of all existing languages, a genealogical classification of languages generally, and especially of the Aryan or Indogermanic languages, was impossible: instead of systematically investigating the relationships between such

<sup>1</sup> From *Otia Merseiana* (the Publication of the Arts Faculty of University College, Liverpool), vol. ii (1900-1), pp. 113-26.



languages as Greek, Latin, and the Germanic and Slavonic languages, philologists wasted their energies in vain attempts to find Hebrew roots in each of these languages separately.

Hence there were no recognized canons of criticism by which to distinguish between those similarities in languages which are the result of borrowing and those which are the result of linguistic affinity and descent from a common parent language or *ursprache*. The broad distinction between those similarities which are the result of self-evident borrowing in historical periods and those which reach back to prehistoric periods was of course recognized; but although it was recognized, for instance, that the similarity between Greek *patēr*, *mētēr* and Latin *pater*, *māter* stood on a different footing from that between Greek *mēkhanē* and Latin *māchina*, there seemed no reason against assuming that the former resemblances were as much the result of mixture of vocabulary as the latter. Even such remoter resemblances as those between our first pair and the English *father*, *mother* were generally ascribed to borrowing; and even that bold and independent thinker Horne Tooke only got so far as to suggest that the Greeks and Romans might have borrowed words and roots from the barbarians of the North as well as vice versa.

Such a heresy had at least the merit of widening the speculative horizon by showing the necessity of not only establishing the fact of borrowing but also of determining its direction.

It is well known that it was the discovery of Sanskrit which first led to the definite recognition of the possibility of the resemblances between it and the majority of European languages being the result of common origin. The resemblance between these latter and another Asiatic language—Persian—closely allied to Sanskrit, had long been noticed. Leibnitz, in the seventeenth century, even went so far as to assert that an educated German could understand whole stanzas of Hafiz by virtue of the similarity in vocabulary between the two languages!

The great achievement of Bopp was not the mere statement

of the principle that the similarity of Sanskrit and the other languages was the result of common origin as opposed to borrowing—for this had been more or less vaguely inferred by others—but the establishment of definite canons by which to distinguish between those similarities which are the result of affinity and those which are the result of borrowing.

Bopp's method was practically founded on the argument that while similarities in vocabulary can be accounted for by borrowing, similarities in inflexion and grammatical structure generally cannot be so accounted for, there being no evidence to show that one language ever borrows the inflexions of another.

Meanwhile Rask and Grimm had been comparing the different Germanic languages—where the question of affinity did not require to be discussed—from a phonetic point of view, and were thus able to formulate definite 'laws' of sound-change between them, and the brilliant generalizations embodied in Grimm's Law enabled them to extend the operation of these laws to the other members of the great Aryan family. The fact that these changes came to be regarded—especially by Grimm—as letter-changes rather than as living sound-changes did not much detract from their importance from the point of view of method.

It was evident from the first that these laws did not extend to borrowed words; that is to say, that while Latin *p* regularly becomes English *f* in such cognate words as *father*, *foot*, *full*, it does not undergo this change in a small group of words such as *pound*, *priest*, some of which were certainly, and others probably, borrowed from Latin within historical periods.

The fact of such words as *pound* being borrowed does not of course absolutely preclude the possibility of such words as *father* having also been borrowed—of course in a remotely prehistoric period. But while *pound* expresses an idea which is *a priori* likely to have been expressed by a foreign word—nearly all the Old English names of weights and measures being, as a matter of fact, of Latin origin—and can be definitely referred to Latin *pondus*, the case is exactly the opposite with *father* and the others in which Latin *p* is

replaced by *f*: these words express ideas which could not have required the help of a foreign language, and there is no more reason for referring such a word as *further* to Latin than to Greek or any other of the Aryan languages.

In short, whatever doubt there might be in isolated details, the main result of the new science of comparative philology was to prove the existence of a well-marked Aryan family of languages, whose inflexions, phonetic laws, and morphological structure generally, together with the greater part of their primitive vocabulary, showed such resemblances and connexions as could only be explained on the assumption of these languages having a common origin, so that it was possible by a comparison of them to reconstruct to some extent the parent Aryan language.

These views are so universally accepted now that they seem almost truisms, and it is difficult for us to realize the opposition and incredulity with which they were at first met. Learned Europe was scandalized at the idea of the classical languages of Greece and Rome being allied to that of a race of blackamoors—as the Hindus were popularly supposed to be. Then the very existence of Sanskrit was questioned—it was declared to be a fabrication of the Brahmins—just as in the second half of the century it took ten years' argument to convince German specialists of the existence of the Assyrian language, while at the present day some still profess to disbelieve the existence of Sumerian—the 'so-called Accadian language'. As we shall see further on, these are not the only instances of the history of science repeating itself. Some of those who grudgingly admitted the existence of Sanskrit declared it to be so difficult as to be unattainable by Europeans.

Again, as to the agreement in inflexions, why should not the aborigines of India and the wild tribes of the North have borrowed them from the Greeks and Romans? These rude tribes must have originally spoken harsh and abrupt jargons in which there was no room for niceties of grammar: it was only polished idioms which could have evolved the refinements of case and mood.

The answer was that, as a matter of fact, the languages of

primitive peoples are often richer in cases and other grammatical complexities than those of highly civilized ones, and that the history of the Aryan languages themselves shows a progressive simplification of grammatical structure—at least as regards inflexions—parallel to their speakers' advance in culture.

On the other hand, a wider study of languages has shown that the possibilities of mixture are greater than was suspected by the founders of comparative philology.

It has always been clear from such a language as English that there is no necessary limit to mixture of vocabulary. Turkish is a still more striking example: in literary Turkish any Persian or any Arabic 'full-word'—that is, a word of independent meaning, not a mere particle—may theoretically be used. It need hardly be said that even in the higher literature there are practical limits to this borrowing, and that the more simple and straightforward the literary style, the more limited and definite becomes the foreign vocabulary, while in ordinary speech the foreign elements are comparatively rare and confined mainly to certain categories of ideas—just as in English.

The possibility of syntactic influence is clearly proved by the sentence-structure of most modern European languages, which has been greatly influenced by that of Latin. But here we may notice—in English at least—a reaction against the imitation of Latin periods, and a gradual return to the short and simple sentence-structure of the spoken language. In reading the English prose-writers of the seventeenth century we are often reminded of German prose, which, again, has made rapid advances in ease and lightness during the last few generations.

The influence of Latin and Greek has even led to a partial adoption of the inflexions of these languages. But here again we may notice that the foreign inflexions are confined to the foreign words with which they are imported, and that there are no signs of a tendency to extend them to native words; also that in the natural spoken language there is the contrary tendency to get rid of them in the foreign words

themselves, and to replace them with the native inflexions. So also the occasional Middle English practice of adding a plural ending -s to adjectives was only a temporary literary imitation of French. Even if it had made its way into natural speech, it would have been only an instance of foreign influence causing the extension of the native plural inflexion of nouns to adjectives. The older view of the noun-plural ending -s being of French origin is now universally rejected.

Although there does not seem to be any definite evidence of foreign inflexions being really adopted into a natural form of speech so as to supplant the native ones and become an integral part of the language, there is clear evidence that different languages may influence one another morphologically.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that contiguous languages often show striking phonetic resemblances even when they are not cognate or only remotely so. Thus the many families of languages of the Caucasus have marked phonetic peculiarities in common—such as implosive or ‘choke-stop’ consonants—these peculiarities being shared by Armenian, which is an Aryan language.

In Eastern Asia we are not surprised to find a group of cognate languages, of which Chinese, Tibetan, and Burmese are the chief representatives, agreeing not only in having aspirates, but also in aspirating such combinations as *ts*, *tsh*, besides having monosyllabic structure in common; but it certainly is remarkable to find them sharing all these peculiarities with the neighbouring Siamese and Annamite, with which they are not cognate. These features reappear again in a third group represented by Mōn and Cambodian, which is again unrelated to the other two families, being indeed the aboriginal language of Further India. The two first families agree also in having ‘word-tones’, words which would otherwise be identical being distinguished by differences of intonation—rising, falling, &c., tones. These word-tones are wanting only in Tibetan; and the complexity of the intonation increases as we advance towards the south-east: Burmese has only two tones, Siamese has five, North Chinese four, while

South Chinese and Annamite have the maximum number of tones—often estimated as eight. The unexpected fact that Mōn and Cambodian have no word-tones at all shows that Chinese and the other languages did not, as we might *a priori* be inclined to assume, learn the use of word-tones from the aborigines of Further India, as the Zulus and Kaffirs learnt the ‘clicks’ from the Bushmen and Hottentots; it seems rather to show that the use of word-tones developed in some centre in South-East Asia, and thence spread out without regard to linguistic relationship.

We see, then, that even in such an instance as this there is room for doubt both as to the direction and the extent of the borrowing.

Again, these agreements are in general structure, not in details, and may therefore be mainly the result of tendencies common to all languages. All languages have a tendency to clip their words, and thus have a tendency towards monosyllabism, as we see very clearly in English and French. Hence the agreement in this respect between these Far Eastern languages may merely mean that a tendency developed independently in each of them was strengthened by contiguity and imitation. The growth of word-tones is, again, undoubtedly connected with monosyllabism. Such agreements in phonetic and general morphological structure are a very different thing from borrowing definite inflexions.

Even when comparative philology had been put on a definite footing, there was still doubt as to the number of languages that were to be included in the Aryan family; and this opens up the question as to the degree of similarity we are to expect between cognate languages.

The earlier comparative philologists were naturally inclined on *a priori* grounds to include the Celtic languages in the Aryan family, but these languages in their extant Britannic documents showed such a startling divergence of structure from the Sanskrit and Greek standard, and it was so difficult to establish any but occasional agreements in vocabulary between them and the received members of the family, that it seemed an open question whether they were not a non-

Aryan family which had borrowed largely from Aryan neighbours. Albanian has suggested similar doubts. Now all these languages are admitted without question into the family circle.

When we consider the rapidity with which languages change, or may change, and the long time during which the different members of a family may have been separated, we instinctively distrust any great similarity in detail between two languages whose affinity is not self-evident: when we consider that local dialects of the same language may be mutually unintelligible, we cannot, for instance, expect much resemblance between German and Russian—one belonging to the Germanic, the other to the Slavonic group. If we find two words, one in each language, differing so slightly as to be mutually recognizable, we are inclined to assume either borrowing or purely accidental resemblance. We are long past that naïve period in which such an accidental agreement as that between the forms and meanings of Polynesian *tiputa*, 'cloak,' and English *tippet* would have been adduced as an argument in favour of a common origin of the two languages.

Divergence between cognate languages implies change. This raises the question, how far does the possibility of change of structure extend? The old-established doctrine of the development of isolation through agglutination has been often attacked, but without success, and the theories substituted for it have all been unsatisfactory. The tendency of such inflexional languages as Latin to develop into 'analytical' languages such as French, naturally suggests the possibility of the complete loss of inflexions, and a return to the isolating type of Chinese and its cognates, in which grammatical relations are expressed partly by variations of word-order, partly by the use of independent particles.

But even the most thoroughgoing analytical languages generally show some traces of their old inflexions: even the English inflexions, reduced as they are, still remain an integral part of the language; and there is no reason to suppose that English will ever lose its strong verbs and its

plural inflexions of nouns by any process of internal natural development.

Such, then, are the most important of the general principles on which the science of comparative philology is founded. We will now consider its possible extensions in the future, both as regards scope and methods.

From the first point of view, comparative philology and Aryan philology are in the minds of many still regarded as convertible terms. There are, indeed, many reasons why the Aryan languages should take a prominent part in general comparative philology. They are not only in themselves the most important family of languages on the earth, but they also have the advantage of being easily accessible in varied literary documents of various periods, besides showing great variety of structure. In the latter respect they have the advantage over the Semitic languages, which resemble each other so closely as to be little more than dialects, and hence their comparison hardly carries us further back than the classical Arabic of the Kuran. Hence, although the foundations of comparative Semitic grammar were laid as early—or earlier—than those of comparative Aryan grammar, the Semitic languages have had much less influence on the general development of the science. Yet it must not be forgotten that the reform in our theories of the Aryan vowel-system which ended in the overthrow of the older views embodied in the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* seems to have been suggested by Semitic analogies.

In applying the results of comparative Aryan grammar to other families of languages, it is evident that we must keep clearly before us two main aims: (1) to carry out the methods we have learnt as consistently as possible without regard to traditional prejudices or unproved assumptions; and (2) to be ready to widen or modify our methods with the scope of their application.

Before going any further, it must be remarked that there is an opposite course possible: instead of widening our scope, we may narrow it by confining ourselves to the investigation of a special group of Aryan languages. In this way we already



have comparative grammars of the Romance, the Germanic, the Slavonic, the neo-Sanskrit or Gaurian languages of India. The narrowing of the field is compensated by the greater certainty and definiteness both of material and method, the less hypothetical character of the parent language—the parent of the Romance languages, for instance, being practically identical with classical Latin—and by being always able to fall back on the wider deductions of general Aryan philology. Still more important is the fact that such investigations are mainly founded on living languages; this leads to paying greater attention to phonetics, and to the transformation of Grimm's letter-changes into real sound-changes. The minute observation of living languages has alone made it possible to investigate such fundamental principles as those involved in the influence of stress and accent on sound-changes, by which doublets are formed, such as English *of* and *off*, and which have given rise to such vowel-changes as those in the English *bind*, *bound*. All this has reacted on general Aryan philology, and led to the most far-reaching results; so that narrowing of scope has led directly not only to greater precision but also to greater breadth of method.

If we turn to a survey of the latest extensions of the methods of Aryan philology, we shall find that these extensions are not all progress: we shall find to our surprise that the fundamental principles of Bopp's methods are too often ignored, or applied blindly and mechanically.

The influence of prejudice and conservatism is of course often shown not in extension, but in the resistance to extension—in the resistance that is offered to any attempt to investigate the affinities of Aryan as a whole with other families of languages. This is perhaps partly the result of a reaction from the many unsuccessful attempts that have been made to establish a genealogical connexion between Aryan and Semitic. These attempts were regarded with indulgent eyes by many who would have opposed any affiliation with other families of languages. They argued that the Aryan languages have been for a long time the chief carriers of civilization; that as the Aryan languages were

originally inflexional, the inflexional type is the most perfect. Besides, the Aryans are a white race. The Semites are also white, and speak inflexional languages. It is therefore *a priori* probable, and in no way derogatory to the dignity of Aryan that it should be affiliated to Semitic.

The answer to this is, first, that race and language are not necessarily connected; and, secondly, that though the two families are inflexional, their inflexions are built up on different principles—so different, indeed, as to exclude any but the remotest affinity. The Semitic languages show the inflexional type in its most highly developed and abstract form: their inflexions consist to a great extent of inner modifications of the root by vowel-change, shifting of the relative positions of vowel and consonant, consonant-doubling, &c., as in *salim*, *sallam*, *islām*, *m-uslim*. Compared with Semitic, Sanskrit seems more an agglutinative than an inflexional language; and, in fact, the old Aryan system of inflexions, with its heaping of heavy suffixes one on the other, is more like the purely agglutinative type of the more advanced of the western Altaic languages, such as Turkish.

If we compare the Aryan languages, not with the geographically distant Altaic, but with the latter's nearest cognates, the Ugrian languages, which have been the nearest neighbours of Aryan from the beginning, we find striking resemblances, extending to the details of inflexion and derivation. Such similarities as those between the Finnish and Aryan personal endings of the verb—as when we compare the Finnish first person singular ending *-n* (Lappish *-m*), plural *-mme*, second person plural *-tte*, with the Sanskrit *-m*, *-mas*, *-tha*—have always been self-evident.

The resemblance extends to the vocabulary. But many of these are certainly the result of Finnish borrowing from the Aryan languages, especially the Germanic. But the researches of Anderson ('*Studien zur vergleichung der indogermanischen und finnisch-ugrischen sprachen*,' 1879) have shown that the borrowing is sometimes the other way, and that there are besides a large number of similarities which cannot be the

result of borrowing either way, which must therefore be the result of common origin.

My object here is not to argue the question of Aryo-Finnic relationships, but rather to criticize the attitude of Aryan philologists towards that question, and to point out the instructive analogy between their attitude and that of the learned world towards the new science of comparative philology at the beginning of the nineteenth and end of the eighteenth century.

Like their predecessors, they not only either ignore or reject the possibility of common origin, but generally assume that the borrowing is all on one side; and this assumption often leads them into etymologies which an impartial criticism would have to reject, as when Thomsen makes out the Finnish *rauta*, 'iron,' to be borrowed from the Scandinavian *raubi*, 'hematite, iron-ore.' It is difficult to see why the foreign name *isarn* was not borrowed with the thing itself, and why the Ugrians should have gone out of their way to make a new word for it by altering the meaning, not of a native word of their own, but of a foreign word. This etymology is besides opposed to the fact that the Ugrians were the masters of the Germanic tribes in the art of metal-working. This is, therefore, an example of a similarity which must be the result either of chance or of common origin—probably the latter.

The objections made to a comparison of the grammatical structure of the two families often show a strange want of linguistic imagination, as when it is seriously argued that we have no right to compare Aryan with Finnish because the latter is not an inflexional but an agglutinative language. But all who have any practical knowledge of the latter language agree that it is as much an inflexional language as any other. But if Finnish had really remained in the agglutinative stage of Turkish, this would not in any way have weakened the case: we should still have been able to point to Finnish as preserving what must have been a pre-historic stage of Aryan. Indeed, if we had Finnish linguistic documents as old as the earliest Greek inscriptions, we should

perhaps find that the language was then in the same stage of development as Turkish is now—or perhaps in a still more primitive stage.

The want of grammatical gender in Ugrian has in like manner been brought forward as an argument against connecting the two families. But we know now that the grammatical distinction of three genders was really a comparatively late development in prehistoric Aryan, which originally had only the two personal genders, as in Semitic, the distinction between masculine and feminine having itself developed out of other distinctions which had nothing to do with sex. So the want of gender in Ugrian is, if anything, a confirmation of the affinity between it and Aryan. And although Ugrian has no genders, we can still trace in it the beginnings of Aryan gender. Thus the Aryan masculine *-s* is found in the Ugrian languages as a demonstrative noun-suffix, whence its other use in Aryan—that of denoting the subject or nominative case in a sentence. That *-s* even in Aryan originally had nothing to do with distinctions of sex is made at least probable, not only by this other function of it, but also by the fact that a good many old nouns in *-s* are feminine to the present day, such as French *main* = Latin *manus*.

In short, it requires but little imagination to see that parent Aryan as revealed to us by comparative philology is but the ruins of an older morphological structure. Every argument and every analogy from what we know of the general structure and growth of language points to the conjecture that the Aryan inflexions were once more numerous and at the same time more distinct and regular—that the noun, for instance, instead of only eight inflexions, may have once had twice as many, which were added to all nouns alike without any distinction of gender, these endings being at first only slightly modified by contact with different stems. Well, this is almost exactly the background which the Ugrian languages offer us: Modern Finnish, with its fifteen cases showing but trifling differences in the singular and plural, has certainly developed a good many declensions

and complex stem-modifications, but these niceties, although they offer great practical difficulties to the learner, hardly affect the general impression of unity and symmetry.

That the Ugrian languages should in some respects be much more conservative than the Aryan is in harmony with all we know of the conditions of linguistic change. Hence, although we must exercise caution in comparing Sanskrit forms with modern Ugrian ones whose history extends back only a few centuries, and although the decay of the consonant-system of the latter often makes etymology uncertain, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact of their relationship.

If we refuse to draw the natural conclusion from the similarities between Aryan and Ugrian, we must assume either that these similarities are the result of chance—a view which can be stated only to be at once abandoned—or that they are the result of borrowing. But if we assume the possibility of such borrowing, then comparative philology no longer has any ground to stand upon: if the Ugrians really borrowed not only a great part of their vocabulary—including the names of many of the most primitive and indispensable ideas—but also many of their derivative endings, together with some of their cases and most of the personal endings of the verb, from another family of languages, then the whole fabric of comparative Aryan philology falls to the ground, and we are no longer justified in inferring from the agreement in inflexions between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin that these languages have a common origin, and there is nothing to prevent us from returning to the old-fashioned view according to which the inhabitants of India may have borrowed their inflexions from the languages of the prehistoric communities of the Mediterranean.

Of course, if further knowledge shows the possibility of such borrowing, then we must resign ourselves to revising the principles of comparative philology from the beginning. But we must be quite sure of our facts.

The Hausa language in the western Sudan is sometimes quoted as an example. This language is spoken by negroes, and its vocabulary appears to be fundamentally Negro, but in

addition to a large number of Arabic loan-words, the result of the conversion of its speakers to Mohammedanism; its grammar shows unmistakable Semitic or Hamitic influence.

But here, again, if we hold to our fundamental principles, we are bound before committing ourselves to the assumption of Semitic inflexional influence on a Negro language, at least to consider the possibility of the opposite view, and start from the hypothesis of a small body of Semites—or rather Hamites—imposing their language on a Negro stock. A strong but gradual influence of the native language of the latter might then in time lead to the almost complete loss of the vocabulary of the conquerors' language, which would at the same time naturally lose most of its inflexions, a new grammatical system being then developed, mainly on the analogy of the surrounding Negro languages, till at last nothing of the original language was left but a few inflexions and grammatical constructions. Such at least is one of the alternatives which will have to be considered by future historians of this interesting language.

As regards widening of methods, we have further to remember that comparative philology began with the comparison of inflexions—that is, Aryan inflexions. Hence there has been a tendency tacitly to assume that all inflexions which are not exact reproductions of the Aryan inflexions are in some way not genuine, and that the languages in which they occur are 'agglutinative' or 'formless'—whatever that may mean. Thus Steinthal and others belonging to his mystic school deny that Finnish is an inflexional language on the ground that it has no special ending for the nominative case, although they have to admit that it is capable of distinguishing clearly not only between nominative and accusative, but also between the nominative and the stem, as when from the stem *käte*, 'hand,' it forms nominative *käsi* by regular phonetic changes. They ignore the fact that in Aryan itself many nominatives consist of the stem without any special ending, the nominative being then often marked by secondary changes, just as in Finnish, as in *patér*, 'father,' vocative *päter*; and that, as the last word shows, Aryan

makes quite as much use on the whole of 'negative' inflexion as Finnish does, for the Aryan vocatives are nothing else than the bare stem without any ending being added, and generally without any secondary sound-changes to differentiate it from the stem.

Then, again, what are we to do with languages which have no inflexions at all—which perhaps have hardly reached the agglutinative stage? Here we must evidently widen the conception of inflexional agreement into that of agreement in the details of morphological structure. Such a non-inflexional agreement is afforded by the vowel-harmony which is the main bond of union between the Ugrian and the Altaic languages, whose vocabulary shows but little resemblance, even the numerals being quite distinct in the two families. Now the only other language in the world which shows anything like fully developed vowel-harmony is the pre-Semitic language of the valley of the Euphrates—Sumerian, whose speakers belonged to the same race as the speakers of Ugrian and Altaic. It seems clear that a rational extension of the principles of comparative philology obliges us to regard this agreement as a convincing proof of all three families—including therefore, as fourth, the Aryan family—having sprung from one common parent language; and we cannot but regard the increasing scepticism with which the affinity of Altaic to Sumerian is regarded as a retrograde tendency.





## II

# PROGRESS OF LINGUISTIC SCIENCE

## REPORT ON GERMANIC AND SCANDINAVIAN<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL TEUTONIC PHILOLOGY

THE last few years have brought us a new comparative grammar of the Teutonic languages—Holtzmann's *Old German Grammar*.<sup>2</sup> This work is, as its title imports, of a purely antiquarian character, treating of the letter-changes of the dead languages—Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse, and is, of course, mainly based on Grimm, although a certain amount of new material has been added, and various theories propounded—many of them, it must be confessed, of a very paradoxical character. The re-editions of the grammars of Grimm and Heyse also deserve mention. The latter work<sup>3</sup> can be recommended to all scientific students of English as a short and accurate summary of the leading results of German antiquarian philology.

### OLD ENGLISH

The great want of Anglo-Saxon philology, that of a convenient hand-dictionary free from gross errors, still continues to be painfully felt. The expectations raised by the announcement of an *Anglo-Saxon Glossary* in preparation by the well-known scholar H. Leo<sup>4</sup> have been disappointed. The first part of his work, which appeared two years ago,

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873-4, pp. 429-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Altdeutsche Grammatik*, umfassend die gothische, altnordische, altsächsische, angelsächsische und althochdeutsche Sprache. Von Adolph Holtzmann. I. Band. I. Abtheilung. Die specielle Lautlehre (all that has appeared). Leipzig, 1870. 8vo, pp. xv and 349.

<sup>3</sup> *Kurze Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Dialecte* von Moritz Heyse. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Paderborn, 1870. 8vo, pp. 354.

<sup>4</sup> *Angelsächsisches Glossar* von Heinrich Leo. I. Abtheilung. Halle, 1872. 8vo, pp. xvi, 418.

shows that he has adopted an arrangement in comparison with which that of Ettmüller's Lexicon is simple and easy: we do not say that the work is by any means destitute of value for certain students, but it can never become a dictionary for popular reference.

In the department of grammar, it is pleasant to think that we at last have a book in English which is really up to the mark of modern philology—the *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* of Professor March.<sup>1</sup> The merits of Professor March's grammar are too well known to require any further statement: we can only say that the work is a credit to American philology, and ought to be in the hands of every student of English.

One of the greatest obstacles to sound progress in Old English philology is the want of trustworthy texts. Not only have many texts not been printed at all, but many which have been published have been edited in so slovenly a manner that they are almost useless for critical purposes. It must therefore be a subject of gratulation to all true students that the *Early English Text Society* has turned its attention to the oldest stage of our language, and begun at the fountain-head by the publication of the chief monument of the English of Alfred—the version of *Gregory's Cura Pastoralis*.<sup>2</sup> It is now, for the first time, possible for the student to acquire a clear notion of the chronology of the oldest English—a subject which has hitherto been totally misunderstood. We also welcome the first part of Dr. Morris's edition of the unique *Blickling Homilies*,<sup>3</sup> not only for its great value and interest, but also as a sign that the Society intends to carry on the work it has so well begun, and thus lay a solid foundation for the study, not only of Anglo-Saxon, but of English generally.

<sup>1</sup> A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language; in which its forms are illustrated by those of the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German, by Francis A. March, LL.D. New York, 1871. 8vo, pp. xii, 253.

<sup>2</sup> King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, with an English Translation, Notes, and an Introduction. Edited by Henry Sweet, Esq., of Balliol College, Oxford. London, Trübner, 1871-2. 8vo, pp. xlii, 508.

<sup>3</sup> The Blickling Homilies, edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Index of Words, by the Rev. R. Morris, LL.D. Part I. London, Trübner, 1874. 8vo, pp. 144.

## GERMANY

The pursuit of philological inquiry is still carried on with unabated vigour in the motherland of scientific philology, nor is the native language neglected amidst the multiplicity of subjects which engage the attention of German philologists. Although the tendencies of German study are mainly historical and antiquarian, there are signs that here, as elsewhere, a general revolution in philological method is not far distant. Specially significant is the awakening interest shown in phonetics and the physiology of vocal sounds, although it is to be regretted that most of the attempts made by German philologists to apply phonetics to the elucidation of changes in language have been based on an exclusive study of the works of Brücke,<sup>1</sup> which, useful as they are, are far inferior to those of Merkel<sup>2</sup> (strange to say, almost unknown in Germany, although written by a German), Ellis and Bell.<sup>3</sup> Equally important is the great development of dialectal investigation in the last few decades, and the fullness and thoroughness with which it is carried out.

Another characteristic feature of the latest German philology is the efforts now made to popularize the old language and literature among general readers. The series of *Medieval German Classics*<sup>4</sup> originally projected by Pfeiffer still continues, and has enjoyed a most gratifying success.

The huge dictionary of Grimm still advances slowly: it is difficult to say when it will be finished, and still more difficult to say what will be its use, if ever completed. It may safely

<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute für Linguisten und Taubstummenlehrer, bearbeitet von Dr. Ernst Brücke. Wien, 1856. 8vo, pp. 134. Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription, von Prof. Ernst Brücke. Wien, 1863. 8vo, pp. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache, von Dr. C. L. Merkel. Leipzig, 1866. 8vo, pp. 444.

<sup>3</sup> Visible Speech: the science of Universal Alphabets; or self-interpreting physiological letters, for the writing of all languages in one alphabet. Illustrated by tables, diagrams, and examples. By Alex. Melville Bell, F.E.I.S., F.R.S.S.A. Inaugural Edition. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., London, 1867.

<sup>4</sup> Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, mit Wort- und Sacherklärungen, hgg. von Franz Pfeiffer. Leipzig. (Comprising Walther von der Vogelweide, Welfram von Eschenbach's Parzival, Gottfrid's Tristan, Hartmann von der Aue, Nibelungenlied, Kudrun, by various editors.)

be said that it will be antiquated long before it is two-thirds finished, both as regards matter and arrangement. It is, however, satisfactory to know that Sanders's *German Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> gives, within a rational bulk, everything that can be required by the student of the modern literary language.

#### HOLLAND

Dutch, like German philology, groans under the incubus of a big dictionary—the *Dictionary of the Netherland Language*,<sup>2</sup> of which two insignificant ‘afleveringen’ or parts, have been published since 1864. Like its German compeer, this work is planned on too vast a scale, embracing a host of irrelevant details, ever to be successfully carried out. Meanwhile, it is a heavy drain on the philological energy of a small country like Holland, and, what is a serious matter, makes it practically impossible for any one to compile a dictionary of reasonable compass suited to the wants of the present generation of philologists.

Two among the many valuable contributions to Teutonic philology that have lately appeared in Holland deserve special notice. Professor Kern has, for the first time, grappled successfully with the glosses in the *Lex Salica*,<sup>3</sup> which have so long been the despair of Teutonic philologists, and has in his German essay upon them shown clearly that the language of the Salic Franks was nothing else but Old Dutch, and that many of the old words can be explained from corresponding forms still in familiar use in the living language.

The other work to which we allude is Winkler's *General Netherland and Friesian Dialecticon*,<sup>4</sup> of special interest to all students of English. The main body of this work consists of a translation of the parable of the Prodigal Son into 186

<sup>1</sup> D. Sanders. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Mit Beilegen von Luther bis auf die Gegenwart. Leipzig, 1861-5. Royal 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, bewerkt door Dr. M. De Vries en L. A. De Winkel (two parts: A—aanh, O—omad). Hague, 1864-9. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Die Glossen in der Lex Salica und die Sprache der salischen Franken. Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprachen von Dr. H. Kern. Hague, 1869. 8vo, pp. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon door Johan Winkler. 's Gravenhage, 1874. 8vo, 2 vols.: vol. i, pp. xvi, 500; vol. ii, pp. 449.

Low German and Friesian dialects, so that we are, for the first time, enabled to form a general idea of the geographical extent of these dialects and their relations to one another. Each version is further accompanied by a general sketch of the dialect and explanations of difficulties in the text. The only fault in the book is the want of an adequate system of phonetic notation.

## SCANDINAVIA

The most important fact to be noticed in Scandinavian philology is the completion of Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary,<sup>1</sup> under the able editorship of Mr. Guðbrandr Vigfússon, who has not only worked up the material collected by Cleasby—chiefly from the prose literature—but has also incorporated the poetical words and phrases given in Sveinbjörn Egilsson's *Poetic Lexicon*,<sup>2</sup> together with the special Norwegianisms recorded in Fritzner's dictionary, and finally added a large number of words which exist only in the living language, many of which are no doubt as old as those preserved in the classical literature. Mr. Vigfússon has also added a short grammar, but full of new and valuable facts of phonology and inflection, chiefly gathered from the oldest MSS., which have hitherto been too little utilized for grammatical purposes. In short, we may say that the work gives everything that can possibly be needed by the student of Icelandic and Scandinavian generally, and that it reflects equal credit on its editor and the University of Oxford, whose enlightened liberality has alone made its publication possible.

That earlier period known to us solely by the Runic inscriptions has long been appropriated by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, whose magnificent work upon them<sup>3</sup> is of priceless value to all students of Teutonic antiquity, whether

<sup>1</sup> An Icelandic-English Dictionary, by the late Richard Cleasby, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfússon. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869-73. 4to.

<sup>2</sup> S. Egilsson. Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae Septentrionalis. Copenhagen, 1861. Roy. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered by George Stephens, Esq., F.S.A. London: J. Russell Smith, 1866-8. fol., pp. 1038.

they approach the subject from the linguistic, aesthetical, or purely archaeological point of view. The peculiar value of Professor Stephens's work lies mainly in the thorough trustworthiness of the material: every inscription has been carefully and most beautifully engraved from rubbings and photographs of the original 'carved stone', whenever accessible. Two folio volumes have already been issued, and Professor Stephens is busily engaged in collecting materials for a third.

The study of the old language is at present carried on with peculiar vigour in Norway. The number of texts that have been edited of late years is so great that it would be impossible to specify them in detail. One of them, however, is of peculiar importance—Professor Bugge's edition of the older Edda,<sup>1</sup> in which the text has been, for the first time, definitely determined as far as the manuscript evidence goes, which unfortunately is often very corrupt.

But the most important fact in Norwegian philology of late years is the extraordinary impetus that has been given to dialectal researches by the movement inaugurated by the so-called 'maalstrævers',<sup>2</sup> headed by Ivar Aasen, whose object is nothing less than the expulsion of Danish, which is at present the only recognized language of literature and education, and the elevation of one of the dialects—or rather of a *rifacimento* of all of them—to the dignity of the Norwegian language. Whatever may be thought of the advisability or feasibility of this scheme, there can be no question that it has proved an unmixed boon to philology; for had it not been for the much-derided *maalstrævers*, the Norse grammar and dictionary of Aasen would certainly never have been undertaken. These works, with their careful phonetic discrimination and classification of the varied dialects of Norway, are models of dialectal investigation, and the material contained in them is of the highest value.

In Sweden we have to notice the completion of a truly national work—the collection of the Old Swedish Laws by

<sup>1</sup> S. Bugge. *Sæmundar Edda*. Christiania, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> *Maalstræver* (*maa, l'streevør*) = literally 'Dialect-striver'—a nickname given to the Norse purists who wish to expel Danish from Norway.

Professor Schlyter. The publication of this work began in 1827, and was not completed till 1869. The philological value of these texts—which are preserved in a variety of dialects—is simply incalculable, and the *Sveriges gamla lagar*<sup>1</sup> is a work of which any country might be proud.

Equally important is the full and elaborate work of Rydgvist—*Laws of the Swedish Language*,<sup>2</sup> in which the language has, for the first time, found a competent and scientific historian.

Denmark has of late years fallen somewhat behind the other countries, and most of the recent contributions of Denmark to Teutonic philology have had rather a feeble and dilettante character, when compared with the solid results of Norwegian and Swedish scholarship. There are, however, several honourable exceptions. Mr. Svend Grundtvig's edition of the Old Danish ballads or *folkeviser*<sup>3</sup> is of national importance, and is of almost equal interest for English literature also. The texts are given with the most scrupulous fidelity and diplomatic exactness.

The little treatise of Thomsen, *On the Influence of the Teutonic on the Finnish Languages*,<sup>4</sup> is of the highest interest for Teutonic philologists in general. Thomsen has shown that the influence of the Teutonic on the Finnish languages is so great that there must at some time have been a very intimate intercourse between the two races. The Teutonic words preserved in Finnish have in most cases retained their original forms almost unimpaired, and in many cases these forms are older than the oldest High German and Gothic, and approximate closely to those of the oldest runic inscriptions of the third century—hence their peculiar value for comparative purposes.

<sup>1</sup> Samling af Sveriges gamla lagar. 12 vols. 1827-69.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Rydgvist. Svenska Språkets Lagar. Kritisk Afhandling. Stockholm, 1850-70. 4 vols. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser udgivne af S. Grundtvig. Copenhagen, 1853-62. 4 vols. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen. Von W. Thomsen, übersetzt von E. Sievers. Halle, 1870.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS<sup>1</sup>

### ON ENGLISH PHILOLOGY AND PHONOLOGY

OUR Society's work during the last year still shows that healthy preference for special investigations over hazy generalization, which is the surest sign of true progress.

Almost the only paper that dealt with any of the fundamental problems of language was my own on 'Words, Logic, and Grammar', in which I tried to upset some of the conventional dogmas of philology, logic, and grammar, partly by means of a consistent phonetic analysis, and to explain the real meaning of the parts of speech.<sup>2</sup> Prof. J. B. Mayor's papers on 'English Metres', together with Mr. Ellis's remarks, although confined to English, were of general interest as a very important contribution to the scientific investigation of metre generally.

The Teutonic family was the subject of two papers of mine, one on 'Parallel Developments as contrasted with Traditional Agreements', the other on the 'Comparative Grammar of the living Teutonic Languages'.<sup>3</sup>

Turning now to English, and beginning at the beginning, I read a paper on the 'Text-criticism of the Anglo-Saxon Poets'. Dr. R. Weymouth gave us an interesting paper on '*Here and There* in Chaucer', in which he combated, and I think with partial success, certain views of Mr. Ellis on Chaucer pronunciation. English dialects were treated in two very in-

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, May 18, 1877. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1877-9, pp. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 1-33 of the reprint.

<sup>3</sup> The subject of these papers will be treated at length in a work which I am now preparing, entitled, 'Comparative Studies in the living Teutonic Languages.' [This work never appeared.]



teresting papers by our two chief authorities on the subject, Prince L. Bonaparte, who gave us the results of his latest inquiries as to the present state of the 'Somerset Dialect', and Mr. A. J. Ellis, who treated them as a whole, discussing their characteristics and classification in his paper on 'English Dialects'.

The other European languages were represented by Prof. Cassal's 'French Genders', of which we hope soon to hear the continuation, and by Mr. W. R. Morfill's instructive sketch of 'Servia and its Dialects'.

Of Oriental languages 'Persian' was treated by Prof. Rieu, and 'Common Tamil' by Mr. R. B. Swinton, both very interesting papers, while Mr. E. L. Brandreth gave a valuable survey of the 'Non-Aryan Languages of India', which, at the request of the Society, he continued at an extra meeting.<sup>2</sup> Last, but not least, we had a most able paper by Prof. Sayce, of Oxford, on 'Accadian Phonology', in which striking proofs of the phonetic decay of this ancient language were adduced.

These papers represent a very wide range of subjects. It is enough, I think, to acquit our Society of any accusation of one-sidedness to consider how large a proportion of our papers are on Oriental languages—this, too, in spite of the formidable rivalry of a 'Royal Asiatic Society', endowed by Government. The fact that we have had no papers on the Semitic languages is easily explained by the existence of our vigorous young contemporary, the 'Society of Biblical Archaeology', which is, to all intents and purposes, a Semitic Society. It is a significant fact that although our Society was originally founded mainly for the 'Philological Illustration of the Classical Writers of Greece and Rome',<sup>1</sup> we still refuse to look at classics. Most of us have probably had enough of them at school and college: I know I have.

Every philological society must, however wide its sympathies, have some specialty, and our specialty is English—surely the one most fitted for an English society, especially when we consider that outside of our Society English philo-

<sup>1</sup> Rules, § 1.

logy is almost absolutely unrepresented and unrecognized. I confidently look forward to the time when, instead of two or three, there will be twenty philological societies in London, each with its own specialty. An association of such societies, if well organized and properly supported by the general public, might do a great deal of good work in training philological workers and promoting research—work which in all civilized countries except England is done by the universities.

#### ENGLISH

Beginning with that earliest inflexional stage of our language, which I must persist, in spite of my respect for the judgement of Prof. March, in calling 'Old English',<sup>1</sup> we must first notice the death of Dr. J. Bosworth, Rawlinsonian Professor of Old English at Oxford, who, in spite of his want of thoroughness and scientific method, did very good service in popularizing his subject and keeping it alive in this nineteenth century. Dr. Bosworth has been succeeded by a former occupant of the chair, the Rev. J. Earle, who, although not trained in the modern school of philology, is a sound scholar, and has done good work in his edition of the Chronicle. The Old English professorship at Cambridge, founded by the munificence of Dr. Bosworth, has, unfortunately, not yet been filled up. When the time comes, it will be difficult to find a worthier occupant than our member Mr. W. W. Skeat.

In my 'Anglo-Saxon Reader' (Clarendon Press, Oxford) I have tried to make the latest results of scientific Old English philology generally accessible to English students, and have made the work useful for general reference by adding a tolerably full grammar and glossary, which latter includes a good many common root-words which do not occur in the extracts given.

Besides Dr. Morris's 'Blickling Homilies' (E. E. T. S.)

<sup>1</sup> This name is now beginning to be adopted in Germany also; it has been warmly advocated by Prof. Zupitza, and is also used by Prof. Ten Brink and his pupils.

still in progress, two text-editions have appeared in 1876. Mr. T. Arnold, of Oxford, has come out with a new edition of our national epic 'Beowulf', while the sister University is represented by the Rev. R. Lumby's edition of an OE. poetical paraphrase of Bede's 'De Die Judici', which, under the title of 'Be Domes Dæge', forms, I am sorry to say, one of the publications of our ally, the Early English Text Society. That two such editions as these should be possible in the latter half of the nineteenth century is a phenomenon worthy of the most careful attention of the future historian of English philology. I have criticized the former work elsewhere at length.<sup>1</sup> As to the latter I will only call the attention of scholars to line 15, 'ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan,' with the translation, 'I trembled for myself eke at *that* great doom,' the essential features of which are repeated again line 17. Mr. Lumby's text-criticism may also be gauged by comparing line 51, '(quench) the faint smoke of weak *flesh*,' with the OE. 'waces flæsces': one would think that the emendation was self-evident, even without the 'lini' of the Latin original.

The splendid series of autotypes published by the Palaeographical Society includes many facsimiles of Old English Charters. The Trustees of the British Museum have also issued two parts of a series of photographic reproductions of the oldest charters, both Latin and Old English (published by Quaritch). There can be no doubt that this method of dealing with old texts will be hereafter extensively employed; such MSS. as the Hatton Pastoral and the MS. of Cædmon, with its quaint illustrations, ought to be photographically published *in extenso*. Meanwhile the fine autotype specimens of Chaucer MSS., issued this year by the Chaucer Society, are a great boon to students, especially those who have not access to the MSS. themselves.

In Germany Prof. Zupitza has published the valuable Old Kentish glosses to the Proverbs of Solomon (Cott. Vesp. D. 6), with full grammatical introduction, notes, and verbal

<sup>1</sup> In a review in the 'Academy', Dec. 16, 1876.

index,<sup>1</sup> in that admirably exhaustive and scientific style which we naturally look for in German work.

Two other essays in periodicals deserve special attention. In America Dr. J. M. Garnett, of Annapolis, Ind., has given a very interesting history of the 'Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature'.<sup>2</sup> In Germany the well-known scholar M. Rieger has written a most valuable essay on 'Old English Versification',<sup>3</sup> in which the laws of stress are fully investigated, the results being often very important for text-criticism.

In Middle English we must first welcome the two new periodicals, the 'Anglia', edited by Prof. R. Wülker, and the 'Englische Studien', edited and, as yet, almost entirely written by Dr. E. Kölbing, for, although they admit all periods of English, their contributions will probably be chiefly to the Middle one.<sup>4</sup>

Our trusty allies, the 'Early English Text', the 'Chaucer', the 'Shakespeare', and the 'English Dialect' Societies continue their labours with unabated vigour, although hampered, as most of them are, by want of funds.

Among works bearing specially on Middle English, I would call attention to Th. Wissmann's essay on 'King Horn' (Strassburg, 1876), as a specimen of a kind of work which is very much wanted in England. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Middle English language and literature, as well as to the phonology, inflexions, and metre of the poem, and its relations to the French versions.

As regards the Romance element in our language—of not less importance than the Teutonic—we are still waiting for the completion of our member Mr. H. Nicol's treatise on 'French Sounds in English'—a work which will do in a very full and accurate manner for the Romance what I have tried to do for the Teutonic element of English in my 'History of

<sup>1</sup> Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, Neue Folge ix (1876).

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of the National Education Association (1876).

<sup>3</sup> Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst. Zeitschrift f. deutsche Philologie, vii. 1 (1876).

<sup>4</sup> I have contributed to the 'Anglia' a collation of the Old English poem of Solomon and Saturn.

English Sounds'. Mr. Nicol's researches will be of great interest to special Romance as well as English philologists, as many of the French words preserved in English are extremely archaic in form, when compared with their modern French representatives.

The 'Early French Text Society's'<sup>1</sup> publications show that combination of faithful reproduction of the MS. texts with sound critical method, which so favourably characterizes the present school of French philology, which, as regards text-criticism, is far ahead of the English. The rapidity with which scientific Romance philology has established itself in France in the last few years is very remarkable, and is evidently due to an enlightened system of public instruction.

#### PHONOLOGY

Language is essentially based on the dualism of form and meaning, and all attempts to reduce language to strict logical or psychological categories, by ignoring its formal side, have failed ignominiously. The form of language is its *sounds*. The science which teaches us to observe, analyse, and describe the sounds of language is phonology. Phonology is, therefore, *the science of linguistic observation*. The purely antiquarian philologist, who deals only with dead languages, is apt to ignore these simple principles, and to look on phonetics and pronunciation as something purely subordinate, simply because he is never brought face to face with the ultimate facts of all linguistic investigation, viz. [the living language. The truth is, that phonology is not only the indispensable foundation of all philology, but also that no department, from the highest to the lowest, can be investigated fully without it, whether

<sup>1</sup> Société d'Anciens Textes Français. Chansons du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, publiées d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris par Gaston Paris, et accompagnées de la musique transcrite en notation moderne par Auguste Gevaert. 1875. Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française (ix<sup>e</sup>, x<sup>e</sup> siècle), publiés avec un commentaire philologique par Gaston Paris. Album. 1875. Brun de la Montaigne, roman d'aventure, publié pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris, par Paul Meyer. 1875. Miracles de Nostre Dame, par personnages, publiés d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale par Gaston Paris et Ulysse Robert. Tome i. 1876.

it be accident, syntax, or prosody, or even that fundamental problem—the origin of language.

Many, who admit the utility of phonetics, think that 'it ought not to be carried too far'. They say that phoneticians ought only to make broad distinctions, and to avoid that 'hair-splitting' which according to them is the besetting sin of the English school of phonetics founded by Messrs. Bell and Ellis. These critics forget that sound generalizations can only be based on a minute study of details, and that in all sciences the only way to arrive at trustworthy results is by pushing the observation of details as far as human faculties permit. Nor can any one tell *a priori* whether a given distinction, which to one observer appears almost inappreciable, may not to one who speaks a different language appear very marked. In fact, Nature itself, and not least as shown in language, is extremely given to hair-splitting, and often paves the way for the most violent changes, as, for instance, diphthongization, by minute and almost inappreciable modifications, which it is the business of the trained phonetician to detect and analyse.

Nothing more has appeared of Mr. Ellis's 'Early English Pronunciation' since 1875, but we may look for another volume by the end of this year, which will contain an immense mass of precious information on our living English dialects.

This colossal work is far too elaborate for general students, and it is with great pleasure that we look forward to the appearance of a smaller book by Mr. Ellis, which, although written with a special purpose, will at the same time greatly help to popularize phonetics—I allude to his 'Pronunciation for Singers', now in progress. I may also mention that I have myself written a 'Handbook of Phonetics', now being printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in which I have given a concise and, I trust, thoroughly practical summary of the main results of the investigations of the best phoneticians up to the present time, together with what little I have been able to add myself.

In Germany we must first notice Prof. E. Sievers's

'Physiology of Sounds'.<sup>1</sup> It is, indeed, a cheering sign when a work of this stamp heads a series of 'Indogermanische Grammatiken'. Sievers's phonology is an immense advance on Brücke's 'Physiologie der Sprachlaute', of which a second edition was published in 1876, wherein, to our astonishment, we still find *sh* analysed as *s + kh*, and our short vowels in English dismissed without further notice as 'imperfect'—an epithet which is surely meant to apply not to the vowels themselves, but to Brücke's knowledge of them.

It would be curious to know what the old school of German philologists think of Winteler's work on the phonology and grammar of one of the dialects of Switzerland,<sup>2</sup> based, as it is, on purely phonetic principles. It is an exact analogue of Dr. J. A. H. Murray's 'Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland', and higher praise cannot be given. It is, indeed, an instructive spectacle, to see an English and a German philologist arriving independently at precisely the same method of dealing with a living dialect—both uncompromising adherents of the 'hair-splitting' principle.

Norway, lastly, possesses a phonetician of high abilities and rare powers of observation in Prof. J. Storm, of Christiania, who has carefully studied the works of our English phoneticians, and is now engaged on a 'History of the Norwegian Language' on the principles developed by Mr. Ellis in the first part of his 'Early English Pronunciation'. Prof. Storm has also written a very interesting and original essay on the peculiar intonation of the Scandinavian languages.<sup>3</sup>

The most important of the numerous practical applications of phonetics is that of *spelling reform*. This difficult problem postulates the most thorough-going and minute phonetic analysis, and can be approached by a trained phonetician only.

Recent action on the part of the London School Board

<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie: E. Sievers. Leipzig, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Die Kerenzer Mundart des Kantons Glarus in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt, von J. Winteler. Leipzig, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Om Tonefaldet i de skandinaviske Sprog, af Joh. Storm: Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling (1874).

induced Mr. Ellis and myself to write a series of letters to the 'Academy', early in this year, on the principles on which all reform must be based. Although I advocate a different scheme from Mr. Ellis, who would retain the present English, while I would return to the Continental values of the letters, I would gladly co-operate with him in supporting his 'Glossic', if I thought there were any chance of its being adopted. But the prejudices, especially of our upper classes, are too strong to be overcome by reason, and it seems as if we were doomed to see primary education reduced to a hollow sham, for another generation at least—solely from the impossibility of teaching our barbarous system of spelling to the majority of English people. There can, of course, be no doubt that in the end truth and reason will triumph over those arch-enemies of progress, prejudice and sloth, and it is certain that the longer reform is delayed, the more sweeping it will be when it comes.

#### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH WORK

The preceding remarks will serve to give a general idea of the present state of philology at home and abroad. We see that England has contributed its fair share, considering the disadvantages under which philological research labours in this country—a question to which I will return immediately. It is a subject of just pride that in some branches we take a decided lead. I allude, of course, to phonology and dialectology.

In historical philology our energies are mainly devoted to publishing our rich stores of MSS., and making them generally accessible in a reliable form. We have, in fact, to make up for the sloth of our fathers and grandfathers, and, indeed, were it not for the energy and public spirit of some of the founders of this Society, our MS. treasures might still be mouldering in musty oblivion, unless, indeed, the zeal and industry of German students of our early language and literature had shamed us into action.

The two best features of our editing are minute accuracy and fullness of material. Hence our parallel-text editions, of which the Six-text Canterbury Tales, published by the Chaucer



Society, is a noble example. I may also cite my two-text edition of the Old English Pastoral, the five-text Thomas of Erceldoune, and the four-text Cursor Mundi now in progress, both publications of the Early English Text Society. The Germans are also beginning to see the advantage of a plan which makes the reader independent of possible editorial vagaries, besides supplying inexhaustible material for special investigations of every kind, and in Prof. Sievers's forthcoming edition of the Heliand, the Cotton MS. will, for the first time, be printed in full, parallel to the Munich one.

We must not, however, be blind to the defects of our work, and I think it will be well worth our while to listen to the criticism of an impartial, but friendly, and thoroughly competent judge, Prof. Zupitza. In his review of the publications of the Early English Text Society,<sup>1</sup> after doing full justice to the energy and single-minded devotion of our Secretary, Mr. Furnivall, to which he mainly attributes the success of the Society, and enlarging on the merits of its work, he goes on to say :

‘But with all appreciation I cannot refrain from calling attention to some drawbacks. The editors are, with very few exceptions, dilettantes. Many of them have very vague ideas of philological method, of the treatment of the text, especially when it is preserved in several MSS., of what is essential and what not in reproducing a MS., or of the plan of a glossary, &c. Nor do all of them possess a thorough knowledge of the earlier periods of their native language : many of them cannot get Modern English out of their heads, so that any deviation from it is apt to leave them in a fix.’

Again : ‘Many of the better class of editors, who are quite competent to turn out good work, do not always take enough time about it. It really looks sometimes as if the copy of the MS. made by some clerk or other went straight to the printer, and that the editor cleared off the whole business of editing during the process of correcting the proofs, so that gross blunders are almost inevitable.’

<sup>1</sup> Die neuesten Publicationen der Early English Text Society : Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum und Litteratur (1875).

The truth of these criticisms cannot be denied. How is it, then, that while the principles of text-criticism have been firmly established for the last thirty years in the other Teutonic countries, we at the present day have hardly advanced beyond the mere mechanical reproduction of MS. texts?

Let us hear what Prof. Zupitza says :

‘These evils will not be remedied till the two Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, afford young men desirous of studying their mother-tongue the opportunity of devoting themselves specially to it. This involves first a change in the examination system, and then the appointment of competent professors.’

In these few words Prof. Zupitza strikes at the root of the evil. The defects he exposes are the result not of any inherent defect in the English character, but simply of want of time. Most of us—indeed, nearly all of us—are by force of circumstances compelled to work in a dilettante style: we cannot expect much from a philologist whose whole working day consists, perhaps, of an hour snatched from other labours. Where, again, are we to get our training? We are left to pick it up at random, often quite late in life, the result being that talents of the highest order often go quite astray, and waste their strength on wild and fantastic theories. How different are the circumstances of the foreign student! He starts young with a thorough training, and with the certainty of full opportunity of devoting himself to his subject for the rest of his life. An undergraduate of an English University who were to announce to the Head of his College his intention of devoting himself to English philology would be regarded as a dangerous lunatic—to be repressed by any means. If he persisted, in the face of ridicule and opposition of every kind, he would be branded with the terrible epithet of ‘specialist’, no matter how wide the range of his culture, and that by men who only escape the epithet themselves by not possessing a scientific knowledge of any subject whatever.

When philology in England is once put on the same footing as in other countries, when young students, instead of being all forced indiscriminately into a few antiquated grooves of study, hopelessly narrowed by a rigid, iron-bound examination

system, from which few emerge without intellectual deterioration, have free choice of subjects and competent professors to be trained under, together with the opportunity of devoting themselves to their work in the future, we may confidently look to a brilliant future for English philology.

Already the younger men at the Universities are beginning to show signs of a love of science and learning for their own sake, and a few have already produced work which is full of promise. I need only mention the names of Cheyne, Driver, Sayce, and Rhys, whose 'Lectures on Welsh Philology', lately published, show philological talent of a high order. The foundation of the new professorships of Celtic and Chinese are also signs of the times, and the University deserves the highest credit for having elected competent scholars to these posts.

I will conclude with some remarks on what I think ought to be the direction of English philological work in the future. Every nation, according to its genius and circumstances, contributes to the common stock in its own way, and it is, I think, one of the surest signs of a healthy and vigorous future of English philology, that it *has* an individuality of its own.

Our tendency is not so much towards the antiquarian philology and text-criticism in which German scholars have done so much, as towards the observation of the phenomena of living languages. Although the rule-of-thumb study of the dead languages of Greece and Rome is forced on every educated man, and constitutes, indeed, the whole linguistic training of our Universities, English classical philology is nothing but a feeble reflection from Germany. How many men in England can read a Greek or Latin cursive MS., or have the remotest ideas of the principles of text-criticism—how many even among our professors? The real strength and originality of English work lies, as I have remarked above, in phonology and dialectology. Our aim ought clearly to be, while assimilating the methods and results of German work, to concentrate our energies mainly on what may be called 'living philology'. The vastness of our empire, which brings us incessantly in contact with innumerable languages, alone forces us to grapple with the difficulties of spoken, often also

unwritten, languages. We ought to be able to send out yearly hundreds of thoroughly and specially trained young men, whether as missionaries, civil or military officers, or professed philologists. For this purpose we do not want Sanskritists and palaeographers, but men whose observing faculties have been trained from childhood, who can note down sentences in strange tongues with unerring certainty in such a notation as Mr. Bell's Universal Phonetic Shorthand, and who have emancipated themselves from the narrow prejudices of one-sided Aryanism.

We must also largely modify our views of Comparative Philology. Comparative Philology has hitherto occupied itself too exclusively with the traditional agreements in a group of languages, valuing the forms of later languages solely according to the amount of light they throw on older forms. But Comparative Philology has by no means finished its work when it has evolved, say, the *primaeval Indo-Germanic language*, as given in Fick's *Wörterbuch*. There remain the special developments of each language, which follow laws of their own. Nothing can be more important than the comparison of the 'parallel developments' in such distinct languages as the Romance and the Neo-Sanskrit, English and Persian, &c. The study of such works as Bopp's or Schleicher's *Comparative Grammar* gives an entirely false and exaggerated idea of the unity and similarity of the different languages, picking out, as they do, the agreements, and ignoring the independent developments. Many of the features of Modern English, for instance, are entirely opposed to the conventional conception of an Indo-Germanic language, and can only be compared to those of Chinese, the Turanian, and even of some savage languages.

We shall thus arrive at the all-important principle that every language and every period of a language has an individuality of its own, which must be respected. Nothing can be more absurd than to arrange, for instance, the words in an Old English dictionary under Sanskrit roots, as has actually been done by Ettmüller. Why, may we ask, should the individuality of English be sacrificed to that of Sanskrit,

which is itself a comparatively late and corrupt (if we like to call it so) development of an earlier stage? It is equally irrational to insist, as is done by most historical philologists, that English is an inflexional language because it retains the *s* of *he loves*, &c. The truth is that most of the few traditional inflexions which still connect English with the older languages are mere fossilized archaisms.

These principles are not mere theoretical questions, they are of vital practical importance. If we would only make a rational use of the means of expression which are ready to our hand in the language itself, we should be able to avoid in a great measure the necessity of employing such monstrosities as 'paraffine', 'kamptulicon', and 'aneroid',<sup>1</sup> and thousands of others which disfigure our language. There was a great dispute some time ago about the word 'scientist', and as to what is its legitimate equivalent. There can be little question that the natural English would be 'science man', just as in unsophisticated English we say 'Oxford man', 'Eton boy', and not 'Oxonian' or 'Etonian'. As a matter of fact, 'Eton boy' is shorter than 'Etonian', although we, by a mere chance, write it in two words. Nor do I see why we might not by degrees anglicize a good deal of our scientific nomenclature, which is getting more and more unwieldy every year.

Another application of our philology of the future will be a thorough reform of the practical study of language.

Instead of a cumbrous analysis the learner will begin with what is really the ultimate fact in language—the natural sentence,<sup>2</sup> which will of course be presented in a purely

<sup>1</sup> Although this word is of quite recent origin, its derivation is utterly unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known systems of Arnold, Ollendorff, Ahn, Prendergast, &c., are all based on the fallacy that words, like the nine digits in arithmetic, can be combined into sentences *ad libitum* by the help of a few general rules. I learned Greek on this system at school, and one of the sentences I met with has stamped itself indelibly on my memory. It is this: 'The philosopher pulled the lower jaw of the hen.' There are sound principles scattered through these various systems, but taken as wholes they all—including the latest one of Nasmyth—break down utterly: we may learn our Ollendorff or Nasmyth, but the language itself still remains to be learnt.

phonetic form. Half the difficulty of learning languages is really purely external. Half the time spent in learning French is wasted in the attempt to unravel the mysteries of its non-phonetic spelling, and half the time spent over Sanskrit is wasted over its cumbrous alphabet and the monstrous pedantry of the grammars. In those happy days there will be no dictionaries used in teaching. There will, instead, be a carefully graduated series of vocabularies of words arranged, not alphabetically, but in sense-groups, as in Roget's 'Thesaurus', with full examples, the most elementary of these works containing about three thousand of the commonest words, as embodied in the most natural and idiomatic sentences. When the student has carefully studied such a book from beginning to end for a year, he will probably have a better practical command of the language than is now attainable in ten years. Not till the student has acquired a thorough mastery of the language will he be allowed to study the literature. The present practice of making the classics of a language the vehicle of elementary linguistic instruction is a most detestable one, and deserves the severest condemnation. What should we say of a music-master who gave his pupils a sonata of Beethoven to learn the notes on, instead of beginning with scales? Yet this is precisely our present system of teaching languages.

## ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

### PHONOLOGY, DIALECTOLOGY, AND THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH PHILOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

OUR work for the past year has remained true to its two main characteristics—preference for special investigation of details over wider generalizations, and devotion to the study of our own language.

The only papers dealing with general questions were two of my own. In that on 'Gender' I attempted a classification of its various forms, and showed that many forms which are quite opposed to the traditional ones of the older Indo-Germanic languages have developed themselves in the living Teutonic dialects and colloquialisms. In my paper on the 'Practical Study of Language', I pointed out the defects of the present methods, and attempted, on the basis of my own practical experience and of the various systems that have been tried, to determine the general principles on which a reform must be based.

Turning to English, I must first note and deplore the absence of any contribution to Old English. This reminds us that although the study of the oldest stage of our language has made considerable progress of late years, it has by no means attained that position it deserves, as the indispensable foundation of historical English philology. There is an enormous amount of work to be done in Old English, and

<sup>1</sup> Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, May 17, 1878. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 373-419.

a great dearth of conscientious and competent workers. It is, indeed, little creditable to English philology that such texts as Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, Lupus's *Homilies*, and Werferhð's translation of the *Dialogues of Gregory*, should still remain unpublished, not to speak of the want of anything like trustworthy grammars and dictionaries. Here is work for a legion of editors, grammarians, and lexicographers.

In Middle English we must first welcome Mr. Nicol's two papers on 'Some Points in Early English Pronunciation'. In the first of them he showed that *ee* and *oo* in sixteenth-century English had not the sounds (ii) and (uu), as hitherto assumed, but those of very close (ee) and (oo), as in the present Danish pronunciation, and that short *i* and *u* had both the present wide and the older narrow sound, according to the nature of the following consonant, also as in Danish. In his second paper Mr. Nicol showed that final French *u* (as in *due*) was diphthongized into (eu) in Chaucerian English, although preserved as (yy) before a consonant. He also showed (independently of his predecessor Jessen) that such words as *name* in the *Ormulum* preserved the short vowel, and that double consonants, as in *sunne*, were really double in pronunciation down to Chaucer's time.

Contributions to English etymology were made by Messrs. Skeat, Nicol, and Métivier. Mr. Dawson cleared up the puzzling irregularity in the 'Use of *an* and *a* in the Authorized Version of the Bible', by showing that in those cases in which the translators followed Tyndal without alteration they retained his *n*. Dr. Sattler, of Bremen, contributed a very elaborate paper on the distinction between 'Part from' and 'Part with' in Modern English, and Mr. Ellis reported on the returns received to his 'Word-lists for Provincial Pronunciation', characterizing the results as meagre on the whole, described his new system of phonetic notation 'Engytype', and gave additional particulars about the curious numerals employed in sheep-scoring, which he proves to be Welsh, and of no great antiquity, although some have imagined them to be remains of the ancient British language.

French was represented by Prof. Cassal's elaborate paper



on 'French Genders', and by Mr. Nicol's remarks on the 'Compound Tenses of Romanic Reflexive Verbs'.

Of other languages the Slavonic family was represented by Miss Coleman's paper on 'Russian', and that of Mr. Morfill, of Oxford, on 'Bulgarian', especially in its relation to Palaeo-Slavonic. M. Gunlöggen discoursed on Icelandic, and the Rev. W. E. Cousins came forward with a very valuable account of 'Malagasy', together with a history of the study of the language. I need not go into details, as this paper has been printed in full, and will form part of our next number. [See the Transactions for 1877-9, pp. 283-315.]

Among the papers read during the preceding session, one of the most important and interesting was Mr. E. L. Brandreth's on the 'Non-Aryan Languages of India', giving a comprehensive survey and classification of these, for the most part, little known but most important languages, together with a sketch of the characteristic features of each group. This paper has been printed this year in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x, pp. 1-32, and has excited much interest among Orientalists and philologists generally, being a great advance on previous attempts of the kind.

We have also during past sessions listened with interest to Mr. F. T. Elworthy's various papers on the dialect of West Somerset, which showed a fineness and accuracy of observation unfortunately still rare among dialectologists. The last of them has appeared both in our own Transactions (*ibid.*, pp. 143-257) and, as a separate volume, in those of the English Dialect Society, under the title of 'An Outline of the Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset'. Mr. Elworthy intends to crown his labours with a Glossary of the dialect, which will consist entirely of original matter, no word being admitted which is not actually in use, and for which he cannot vouch himself. When the other principal dialects have been worked up in the same way, we shall be able to look forward to that great desideratum—a Comparative Grammar of the living English dialects, a work which would throw the greatest light on the standard language, as well as on the dialects of Middle English.

## ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

A great step has been made in English philology by the filling up—after many years of tedious waiting—of the Bosworth professorship of Old English. In my last Address I pointed out our member, Mr. Skeat, as the one Cambridge man worthy of being appointed to it. That the choice of the electors *has* fallen on Mr. Skeat is an especial matter of congratulation to us, with whom, as also with our kindred societies, Professor Skeat has worked so long and harmoniously. We, if any, ought to be able to appreciate his extraordinary energy, accuracy, and disinterested zeal in forwarding the interests of English philology and literature. His appointment will infuse new life into Old English studies, will raise their prestige at our universities, and, let us hope, will incite many of the younger generation to tread in his footsteps.

The only work bearing on Old English that has appeared in England during the last year is a little book of under 100 pp. by Professor Earle, of Oxford, consisting of a short grammar, with some selections from the Gospels.<sup>1</sup> There can be no question that such a work was much needed, but, excellent as the plan of Professor Earle's work is, his feeble and uncertain grasp of the elements of scientific philology deprives it of much of the value it would otherwise have. The defective and unsystematic way in which the quantity is marked makes the work very misleading to the beginner, and in the extracts the few accents of Thorpe's edition of the Gospels seem to be copied literally, although they often directly contradict the accentuation of Prof. Earle's own grammar. And yet we are told (p. 3), speaking of the accent-mark, 'great sense-differences hinge on it.' It is, of course, possible that the accents in the grammar may be marked on some system of Prof. Earle's own, but as that system differs entirely from that which has been followed by scientific scholars for the last thirty years, it is clearly his duty to

<sup>1</sup> A Book for the Beginner in Anglo-Saxon, by John Earle, M.A.; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877.

justify his views by confuting those held by them: the *onus probandi* falls on him, not on his critics.

The following remarks in the preface no one will quarrel with: 'It can hardly be denied that there is an untoward breach between our academic learning and the general intellect of the land.' But the writer goes on to say: 'Might not this be somewhat mended if our more recondite studies were fringed around with a border of native culture, opening a common frontier for barter of thought with the non-graduate world?' This is, perhaps, carrying deference to the *status quo* a little too far. At least I think most of you will agree with me in deprecating any attempt to make English philology into a 'fringe' round anything else—least of all round ornamental scholarship.

It is a relief to turn to Germany, where Old and Middle English are not regarded as 'fringes', but are studied with more and more zeal every year for their own intrinsic worth. That indefatigable scholar, Prof. Zupitza, has come out with an edition of Cynewulf's poem of *Elene*,<sup>1</sup> with a full glossary, and, what gives the work a unique value, a new collation of the Vercelli MS. original. The result of the collation, which was not made till after the text was printed off, was to confirm many of the editor's conjectural emendations.

Prof. Wuelcker of Leipzig promises us a new edition of Grein's 'Bibliothek der angelsächsischen poesie', with new collations of all the texts with the MSS.,<sup>2</sup> and also talks of continuing Grein's projected 'Bibliothek der ags. prosa', after previous collation with the MSS., promising also a supplementary collation to the first (and only) volume of the series, published by Grein entirely on the basis of the printed English text. Prof. Wuelcker's re-edition of Wright's glossary will appear in the course of this summer. The details of Wright's slovenliness in editing are almost incredible: he often skipped whole pages, not to speak of

<sup>1</sup> Cynewulf's *Elene*, hgg. v. Julius Zupitza. Berlin, 1877

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, i. 3. 556.

separatè glosses. The re-edition will, therefore, enrich our dictionaries with several new words.

Prof. Wuelcker's paper on the Old English version of the Soliloquies of Augustin<sup>1</sup> is of great interest. He shows that part of the text consists of a translation of another composition of Augustine's, *De Videndo Deo*. He strongly and, as far as I can judge at present, successfully vindicates the translation as King Alfred's own, comparing the spirit and style of the various original additions with his other known works. Finally he starts the bold hypothesis that in the present text we have a portion of the *Manuale* or 'Handbóc' of the king, mentioned by Asser, which has hitherto been assumed to be no longer extant. The text was published by Mr. Cockayne in his *Shrine* under the title of *Blooms*, but it is not very accessible there, and we are promised a new edition as part of the continuation of the *Library of Anglo-Saxon Prose*.

Of the two periodicals for English philology founded last year in Germany, the 'Anglia' edited by Prof. Wuelcker and Dr. Trautmann, and the 'Englische Studien' by Dr. Kölbing, the first volumes, for 1877, are now complete. The 'Anglia' is, as yet, decidedly the more successful of the two as regards both the quality and the variety of its contributions, and seems likely to maintain its position, judging from the support it has received from the best scholars of Germany. To give an idea of the variety and importance of its contents, I will mention some of the more important contributions:

(a) Essays, &c. J. Zupitza: On the Poema Morale. M. Trautmann: The poet Huchown and his works. K. Regel: Proverb and metaphor in Layamon. F. Rosenthal: The English alliterative metre of the fourteenth century. R. Wülcker: On the poet Cynewulf. B. ten Brink: Contributions to English phonology.

(b) Texts, &c. J. Zupitza: Poema Morale. K. Horstmann: The legends of Celestin and Susanna. Collations of O. E. texts by A. Holder and H. Sweet.

<sup>1</sup> Ueber die angelsächsische bearbeitung der Soliloquien Augustins (Paul M. Braune's Beiträge, iv. 1877).

(c) Reviews. W. Wagner: Ward's History of English dramatic literature. R. Wülcker: Englische Studien. M. Trautmann: H. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader. E. Sievers: Zupitza's edition of Cynewulf's Elene.

The contributions of Prof. Zupitza and of Prof. ten Brink appear to me to be specially interesting: I will, therefore, notice them more at length, only regretting that I am not able to do the same with the others.

Prof. Zupitza first gives an apparently minutely accurate print of the Digby MS. of the Poema Morale, which was previously only known in the extracts given by Hickes in his Thesaurus. Then comes a genealogical classification of the six MSS., which Zupitza divides into two independent groups, the one consisting of the Digby and Trinity MSS., the other of the four remaining ones, which, again, are related to one another in various degrees. None of the existing MSS. are copied from one another. Lastly comes a discussion of the age of the poem. Dr. Morris's view of its being a copy of a tenth-century Old English original is criticized and rejected on account of the numerous rhymes which would be impossible in the earlier period, such as *sende, ende*=OE. *sendan, ende*; *pere, werè*=OE. *ðær, wæron*, &c. Also on account of rhymes like *laðe, baðe*; *wille, ille*, where the second rhyming word is a Scandinavian one of late introduction.

The second of Prof. ten Brink's 'Contributions to English Phonology' is a really valuable one on Chaucer's distinction of close and open *ee* (*éé* and *èè*) based on an examination of his rhymes. The result is that Chaucer's usage differed considerably from that of Modern standard English. Thus, such words as *deed* appear not only in the Midland form of *dééd*=Old Mercian *déd*, which is the only one that is recognized in Modern English, but also as *dèèd*=West Saxon *dæd*. Chaucer's language was, therefore, in this respect more southern than the present English. Prof. ten Brink neatly contrasts Dr. Weymouth's work at this question with my own, by saying that Dr. Weymouth has made industrious but unmethodical observations, while I have materially

advanced the theory without observing much. The fact is that I simply made an exhaustive comparison of the two extremes, Old and Modern English (the latter in its earlier sixteenth and seventeenth century stage as well), and contented myself with the laws thus deduced, without entering into the endless investigation of the usages of Middle English. The first part of these Contributions, devoted mainly to the question of the pronunciation of the OE. *g*, which ten Brink agrees with many of his countrymen in considering to be an open consonant (spirant), and to some allied problems, does not impress me so favourably. It is not merely that I hold a different opinion from that of Prof. ten Brink on nearly all the questions of OE. phonology discussed by him here, but it also seems to me that his reasoning is often rash and unsound. It is, at any rate, rather startling to find the ME. *on, om, &c.*, for *un, um*, of purely French origin, extended to OE. as well, so as to justify the assumption that the OE. *o* in *geong* was simply a short *u*. The assumption, too, that the OE. scribes had a mysterious horror of certain letter-combinations, even when they represented sound-combinations that actually occurred in the language, as, for instance, *eu* or initial *i* as a consonant (= German *j*), is often very convenient for theories which are contradicted by the graphic evidence, but is really guesswork opposed to what we know of the tendencies of ancient orthographies.

With the 'Englische Studien' I feel myself less competent to deal, as the greater part of its contents are more literary than philological. From the latter point of view the most noteworthy contributions are the editor's collation of the printed text of the Ormulum with the MS., and H. Varnhagen's 'Contributions to the Text Criticism of the Ayenbite'. He shows that many of the obscurities in Dan Michel's text are due to his imperfect comprehension of the French original, which often led him not only to frame utterly un-English sentences, but also to write more or less pure nonsense. Among texts may be mentioned the later recension of the story of Theophilus, and two Middle English versions of

St. Patrick's Purgatory. There are a considerable number of literary essays, several of which deal with quite modern works, such as those of Ben Jonson, Otway, Pope, and Fielding. The editor tries to prove that the early Middle English poem *On Ureisun* is partially founded on the Old English poem of the Phoenix in the Codex Exoniensis—a very improbable hypothesis, for which the author's arguments do not seem convincing. Dr. J. Koch gives a 'Contribution to Chaucer Criticism', in which he investigates the older form of the Palamon and Arcite and endeavours to fix the date of the Parlement of Birds.

It would certainly be a gain to English philology if these two periodicals could carry out a strict division of labour, the one confining itself to the linguistic, the other to the literary side of the study. If not, one or other of them must prove superfluous.

The want of a trustworthy history of English literature has long been felt, nor has this want been at all supplied by the patched-up editions of Warton that have from time to time appeared. Now, however, Prof. ten Brink has come out with the first part of an entirely new and original work,<sup>1</sup> very appropriately dedicated to our countryman, Mr. Furnivall. It would be difficult to find any one better qualified for the arduous task he has undertaken than Prof. ten Brink, who not only possesses an intimate knowledge of English, but also of Old French literature, and has thus been able to bring out the European importance of the latter and its great influence on English literature in a new light—at least for English readers. Another valuable feature of the work is the high and earnest view the author takes of the history of literature as indissolubly connected with, and the truest interpreter of, the whole political and social development of the people among whom it arose. Hence he does not confine his attention to such works as have literary value for us moderns, but widens his view beyond mere belles-lettres, so as to include even such works as the translations of Alfred from

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der englischen literatur*, v. B. ten Brink. 1. Band. Bis zu Wiclifs auftreten. Berlin, 1877.

the Latin, and others which, whatever may be their present literary worth, exerted a powerful influence on their contemporaries, and, in fact, on the whole course of English intellectual history.

The most noteworthy contribution to general Teutonic philology that has appeared during the last year is Sievers's investigation of the treatment of unaccented vowels in the Old Teutonic languages,<sup>1</sup> mainly as regards their elision,—an important but difficult subject hitherto much neglected. Sievers treats first of the vowels in medial syllables, and shows that the East Teutonic languages (represented by Icelandic) treat them according to laws directly opposed to those followed by the West Teutonic languages (best represented by Old English). The law for Old English is that originally short vowels are elided after a long, preserved after a short root-vowel. Thus *ēdel*, *engel*, form their genitives *ēðles*, *engles*, instead of *ēðeles*, *engeles*, while *hæleð* has plural *hæleðas*, *rodor* has *rodoras*. Hence also *mōdor* inflects *mōdru*, *fæder* inflects *fæderas*. This new law often helps to fix doubtful quantity. Thus *hrēðer* (heart) is often assumed to have had a short vowel, but if so, it would inflect *hreðeres*, &c., but the actual form is *hreðres*, pointing clearly to *ē*. Sievers then goes on to investigate the laws of the elision of final vowels. It has hitherto been generally assumed without question in Germany that the vowel end-laws (auslautgesetze) formulated by Westphal and Scherer from an examination of Gothic, were already carried out universally in the parent Teutonic language—in short, that such Gothic forms as *dags*, *gasts*, *sunus*, for original *\*dagaz*, *\*gastiz*, *\*sunuz*, with their dropping of *a* and *i*, and retention of *u*, must be assumed as the parent-forms for all the Teutonic languages. Sievers has a very easy task when he shows that the *i* (*e*) in such Old Saxon and Old English words as *cumi*, *cyme*, or *slegi* (= *slagi*), *slege*, is nothing but the original *i*, and that the usual assumption of such words having preserved the *i* only by going over to the *ja*-stems is untenable, for, if so, such a

<sup>1</sup> Zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen, v. E. Sievers. Halle, 1878.



word as *slege* would appear as \**slegc* in OE., just like *hrycg* from original \**hrugja*.<sup>1</sup> He also calls attention to the direct evidence of such third-century runic inscriptions as that of the golden horn, *ek hlewagastir holtingar horna tawido* (I, Hlewagast, the son of Holt, made the horn), where both *i* and *a* are preserved. These remarks will suffice to give a general idea of the character of these remarkable investigations. Among the more special details the explanations of the Gothic forms *harjis*, *hairdeis*, and the Old English *hirde*, *rīce*, and of the plural *rīcu*, are very ingenious and convincing.

Sievers's parallel-text edition of the Heliand, mentioned in my last Address, has come out.<sup>2</sup> He also promises a complete dictionary, together with a grammar.

Sievers's comparative Teutonic grammar, which will form one of a series of 'Indogermanic Grammars',<sup>3</sup> is anxiously expected by all Germanists. We may confidently expect to find in it not only a masterly and critical summary of all that has been done during the last few years, but also a large number of original observations.

Finally, while on the subject of Indogermanic philology, it is my duty to mention a work by an Italian scholar, Pezzi,<sup>4</sup> which gives a summary of the general results obtained during the last ten years (since the last edition of Schleicher's Compendium), and also of the different views expressed on many disputed questions of phonology (such as the occurrence of *l* in the parent language, the two *ks*), on the origin of the accentuation, of the inflexions, and on morphology, roots, &c. This

<sup>1</sup> I may mention that Mr. H. Nicol called my attention to the groundlessness of this *ja*-theory nearly twelve years ago.

<sup>2</sup> Heliand, hgg. v. E. Sievers. Halle, 1878 (Zacher's germanistische handbibliothek).

<sup>3</sup> The first volume of this *Bibliothek indogermanischer Grammatiken* is Sievers's *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, which has already appeared. The other volumes (which are promised in quick succession) are the following: (2) Indische Grammatik, von W. D. Whitney. (3) Iranische, H. Hübschmann. (4) Griechische, G. Meyer. (5) Lateinische, F. Bücheler. (6) Deutsche, E. Sievers. (7) Irische, E. Windisch. (8) Litauische, A. Leskien. (9) Slavische, A. Leskien.

<sup>4</sup> Glottologia Aria recentissima. D. Pezzi. Milano, 1878.

work ought to be translated into English, for it is quite popular in style.

Having now noticed the more important works published during the last year which have come under my notice, I will make a few remarks on the characteristics of the present school of German philology, especially as regards the Teutonic language.

Those whose acquaintance with German philology is based only on such summaries as Heyne's *Laut- und Flexionslehre der alt-germanischen dialekte* and Schleicher's *Compendium* can have no idea of the important revolutions that have been effected, especially during the last ten years. Unfortunately the results of these investigations are still scattered through a number of separate essays, often written in such a way as to make them almost unreadable except by those who are familiar with all the details both of fact and theory, the really solid results being often buried under huge heaps of unprofitable conjecture and controversy.

In the first place, the present school of German philologists acknowledges as fully as their English brethren the absolute necessity of basing all scientific study of language on phonology, and it has quite taken away the reproach still occasionally directed against the German conception of letter-comparison and sound-comparison as convertible terms. The defect of German phonetics is that it is hardly practical enough, and until German philologists see clearly that it is impossible to acquire an adequate knowledge of sounds by mere reading without long practice in their practical formation and discrimination, many of them will continue to retard rather than advance their science by hurried generalizations based on erroneous conceptions of the real nature of the sounds they treat of, and the physiological possibility or impossibility of the various changes. As instances of what I should consider very questionable hypotheses set forth and accepted on very questionable grounds, I may mention Scherer's attempts to explain sound-changes as due to a general tendency to raise or lower the tone, as the case may be: he is thus forced to assume directly opposite tonic

tendencies for Old and Middle English, for instance, all of which is unproved and unprovable. Further, some of J. Schmidt's attempts in his well-known *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus* to explain a variety of vowel-lengthenings and diphthongizations in the different Indo-germanic languages, by the equally unproved assumption of previous developments of so-called 'irrational' vowels (svarabhakti) out of adjoining liquids and nasals. Even Sievers, who is by far the soundest of German phoneticians, is too free with assumptions of certain consonants in dead languages having 'timbres' of various kinds—'dark,' 'clear,' 'u'-timbres, &c.

The most important result of recent investigations is the bringing of the changes of inflexional sounds and syllables under strict laws.

The study of inflexions is now based primarily on the *auslautgesetze* or 'end-laws', namely, the laws which govern the various changes of the sounds in the final syllables of words—laws which are often quite distinct from those which govern the changes in root-syllables.

It was Westphal's essay on the Gothic end-laws (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, ii), which first made possible a scientific view of the relation between the inflexions of the Teutonic languages and those of the older languages. Then came Scherer, who in his book *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* showed that Gothic is far from representing the oldest stage of the Teutonic languages in every case, and that this oldest stage can only be determined by a comparison of *all* the old languages, Old High German, Old Icelandic, Old English, &c. Then followed a number of special investigations, of which the most important are Braune's on the *Quantity of the Old High German final syllables* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache v. Paul und Braune, vol. ii), and Paul's on the *Vowels of inflexional and derivative syllables in the oldest Germanic dialects* (Beitr. iv). It is from the introductory remarks to the latter essay that the present remarks are mainly taken.

These latest investigations have materially modified the

vowel end-laws as laid down by Westphal and Scherer, but the general result is that the correspondence of inflexional vowels follows rigorously consistent laws of its own, which often oblige us to modify the views previously held.

It has, for instance, been shown by Paul and Braune that Gothic inflexional *a* regularly corresponds to *u* in OHG. and OE., never becoming *e* in OHG., and consequently that the Gothic *daga* cannot possibly correspond to the *tage*, *dæge* of the two latter, while, on the other hand, it corresponds exactly to the OHG. instrumental *tagu*. It has hitherto been assumed that the *a* of *daga* is the Indogermanic dative *-āi* (= *a-ai*), or else the locative *-a-i*, but Braune has proved that these endings can only become Gothic *-ai*, OHG. and OE. *-e*, so that, in fact, it is the *tage*, *dæge* of the two latter languages which show the original dative or locative. The final vowels of *daga* and *tagu*, on the other hand, correspond exactly to the original instrumental *-ā*, according to the regular end-laws.

There is one case in which Gothic final *a* corresponds to an OE. *a* instead of the regular *u*, namely, in the weak masculine nom. sg. *hana*, where OHG. and Old Saxon have *o*—*hano*. In a paper of mine (Prehistoric Forms of OE., Phil. Soc. Trans. 1875-6) I showed the original OE. form was *hano* also, my investigations being carried on in complete ignorance of those of which I am now speaking. Paul has now shown conclusively that the *o*-forms must have been the older ones everywhere, including Gothic, where the older *o* was levelled under the *a* of the acc. *hanan*.

A very important factor in inflexional changes is the tendency to approximate and level originally distinct forms by analogy, by which many phonetically impossible changes may be satisfactorily explained. Those analogical changes which are so common in modern languages, by which in English, for instance, substantives originally feminine take the *s* of the masc. genitive and plural, and strong verbs go over to the weak declension, &c., were formerly ignored as much as possible by the older school of philologists, who were very unwilling to acknowledge 'false analogy' or

'inorganic' formations in the ancient languages. It is now, however, admitted that the processes by which the oldest Indogermanic, as well as the Teutonic, languages changed and diverged, were not essentially different from those we observe in living languages, and that, in fact, the mere existence of a complex system of inflexions such as we find in the oldest accessible stages of those languages absolutely necessitated a very free use of the resources of analogical distinction to counteract the confusion which would otherwise result from phonetic decay and neglect of shades of meaning.

Some of the most instructive cases of analogy are those shown in the relation between pronominal and adjectival flexion. A very important contribution to this question in the Teutonic languages is an essay by Sievers, *The strong adjective declension* (Paul u. Braune's Beiträge, ii). Starting from such a Sanskrit adjective as *sárvas*, with its mixture of substantival endings, such as sg. nom. masc. *sárvas*, neut. *sárwam* (but *anyád* pronominal), and pronominal, such as masc. sg. dative *sárvasmai*, pl. nom. *sárwai*, &c., he first shows the general agreement of the Gothic strong adjective inflexions with this scheme, which was not, as in Sanskrit, restricted to a few, in meaning half-pronominal adjectives, but was extended to all without distinction, and then traces the further influence of the pronominal declension in the separate languages. Thus he shows that the nom. sg. adjective inflexions *blindēr*, *blindiu*, *blindaz*, in Old High German are quite late innovations due to the influence of the pronominal *der*, *diu*, *daz*, *der* itself owing its *r* to the analogy of the personal pronoun *er*, its older form being *de*. This removes the divergence between High German and the two other West Germanic languages, Old Saxon and Old English, and shows that the loss of the inflexions of the nom. sg. was universally carried out through the whole group both in substantives and adjectives, in contradistinction to the two East-Germanic languages, Gothic and Scandinavian. Sievers's explanation of the long *ē* of *blindēr* is extremely ingenious. He supposes that *de* = English 'the' lengthened its final vowel

before assuming final *r* by analogy, thus becoming *dēr*, and that the length of the vowel was carried into the further analogical development *blindēr*.

The Teutonic languages have been brought into unexpectedly close connexion with the oldest forms of Indogermanic speech by the discovery of the Danish scholar Verner that many of their hitherto obscure consonant changes can only be explained on the assumption that they preserved till after the first 'lautverschiebung' a system of accentuation totally different from the logical one they afterwards adopted (namely of uniformly accenting the root-syllable), one which is substantially identical with that of Vedic Sanskrit. It is in this way that Verner has been able to explain the mysterious alternation of *þ* and *d*, &c., in such words as *fadar* and *brōþar*, and in verbal inflexions, such as OE. *weorðan*, *wurdon*, by showing that original *t* appears as *þ* only in those syllables which are accented in Sanskrit, as in *brōþar* = \**bhrátār*, otherwise becoming *d*, as in *fadar* = \**patār*.

Osthoff, in his essay on the *Origin of the Teutonic n-declension* (P. and B.'s Beitr. iii), has shown that the distinction between the so-called 'weak' and 'strong' cases in Sanskrit is entirely the result of the different place of the accent in the parent Indogermanic language. He starts from the following hypothetical paradigm (confining ourselves to the singular) of an *n*-stem such as *uksán*- :

<i>sg. nom.</i>	<i>uksán</i>
<i>gen.</i>	<i>uksanás</i>
<i>loc.</i>	<i>uksaní</i>
<i>acc.</i>	<i>uksánam.</i>

From these forms the later Sanskrit and Teutonic (as represented in Gothic) ones explain themselves without difficulty, the accented vowels in the second syllable being either retained unchanged or lengthened, the unaccented weakened or dropped, both extremes being represented in classical Sanskrit, the intermediate changes in Gothic :

<i>sg. nom.</i>	<i>ukshá</i>	<i>hana</i> (= <i>haná</i> )
<i>gen.</i>	<i>ukshnás</i>	<i>hanin</i> (= <i>hanenás</i> )
<i>loc.</i>	<i>ukshní</i>	<i>hanin</i> (= <i>hanení</i> )
<i>acc.</i>	<i>ukshánam</i>	<i>hanan</i> (= <i>hanánam</i> ).

We see that the Gothic *i* in the gen. and loc. is due to the original non-accentuation of the *a* of which it is a weakening (through *e*), while the *a* of the acc. owes its preservation to its having retained the original accent during the period of weakening. In its preservation of the original distinction between weak and strong cases Gothic is more archaic and nearer Sanskrit than any other member of the European branch. In Latin, for instance, the original acc. *\*homōnem* has had its vowel levelled under the gen. *hominis*, dat. *hominī*, becoming *hominem*.

I must lastly mention Brugman's treatise *Nasalis sonans in the Indogermanic parent-language* (Curtius's Studien, ix), in which he proves that just as there is an *r*- and *l*- vowel in Sanskrit (generally most absurdly transcribed *ri* and *li* and pronounced accordingly), so also *m* in the parent language was capable of forming a syllable by itself. Among other very remarkable results Brugman shows that the *a* in the Sanskrit *vēda* and Greek *oīda* is a vocalization of original *m*, the primitive form being *\*wáidm*. In the Teutonic languages these syllabic nasals frequently developed an *u* before them, and the loss of *t* in Gothic *sibun*=original *\*saptm* is explained by the tendency to simplify the consonant-group, the stages being *saptm*, *sapm*, whence *sebŋ* and finally *sibun*.

I can, unfortunately, do nothing more than merely mention Leskien's *Die declination im slavisch-litauischen und germanischen* (Leipzig, 1876), as I have not yet been able to study the work myself. I will, therefore, conclude with a free abridgement of a portion of Paul's general observations on Analogy in Language with which he begins his above-mentioned treatise on the Teutonic inflexional and derivative vowels.

‘The chief aim of comparative philology originally was to reconstruct the original forms, and then to dissect them into their elements, which was, indeed, the only way in which the science could lay its foundations. This one-sidedly analytical tendency has, however, prevailed too long, often leading to a neglect of the relations of the special forms to the groups

they belong to, and to a mechanical formalism which prevents a clear conception of the actual phenomena of the history of language.

‘ There is one simple fact which should never be left out of sight, namely, that even in the parent Indogermanic language long before its split-up, there were no longer any roots, stems, and suffixes, but only ready-made *words*, which were employed without the slightest thought of their composite nature. And it is only of such ready-made words that the store is composed, from which every one draws when he speaks. He has no stock of stems and terminations at his disposal from which he could construct the form required for each separate occasion. Not that he must necessarily have heard and learnt by heart every form he uses. This would, in fact, be impossible. He is, on the contrary, able of himself to form cases of nouns, tenses of verbs, &c., which he has either never heard, or else not noticed specially ; but, as there is no combining of stem and suffix, this can only be done on the pattern of the other ready-made combinations which he has learnt from his fellows. These latter are first learnt one by one, and then gradually associated into groups which correspond to the grammatical categories, but are never clearly conceived as such without special training. This grouping not only greatly aids the memory, but also makes it possible to produce other combinations. And this is what we call *analogy*.

‘ It is, therefore, clear that while speaking, every one is incessantly producing analogical forms. *Reproduction by memory* and *new-formation by means of association* are its two indispensable factors. It is a mistake to assume a language as given in grammar and dictionary, that is, the whole body of possible words and forms, as something concrete, and to forget that it is nothing but an abstraction devoid of reality, and that *the actual language exists only in the individual*, from whom it cannot be separated even in scientific investigation, if we will understand its nature and development. To comprehend the existence of each separate spoken form we must not ask “ is it current in the language ? ”



or "is it conformable to the laws of the language as deduced by the grammarians?" but "has he who has just employed it previously had it in his memory, or has he formed it himself for the first time, and, if so, according to what analogy?" When, for instance, any one employs the plural *milben* in German, it may be that he has learnt it from others, or else that he has only heard the singular *milbe*, but knows that such words as *lerche*, *schwalbe*, &c., form their plural *lerchen*, &c., so that the association *milbe*—*milben* is unconsciously suggested to him. He may also have heard the plural *milben*, but remembers it so imperfectly that he would forget it entirely, were it not associated in his mind with a series of similar forms which help him to recall it. It is, therefore, often difficult to determine the share memory and creative fancy have had in each separate case.'

Paul goes on to protest against the epithet 'false' analogy, remarking that it is really 'correct', working, as it does, with unerring psychological instinct. I have not space or time to follow him in his remarks on the classification of the various kinds of analogy, but enough has been said to give an idea of the importance and interest of these new views.

#### PHONOLOGY

Since our last anniversary meeting, the two works bearing on the subject of phonetics, which I alluded to in my Address as in preparation, have been published. That of Mr. Ellis,<sup>1</sup> being written with special objects and for a special class of students, rather summarizes the views set forth elsewhere at length by the author (especially in his *Early English Pronunciation*) than introduces the specially phonetic student to any very marked novelties, although, like all Mr. Ellis's works, it is full of originality both of observation and treatment.

<sup>1</sup> *Pronunciation for Singers; with especial Reference to the English, Italian, and French Languages.* By Alexander J. Ellis, B.A. Curwen & Sons, 1877.

My own *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877), on the other hand, aims at being a guide to the study of sounds generally, whether as a preparation for the practical study of languages or for scientific philology. The distinctive feature of the work is that it summarizes and—as far as possible—harmonizes the often widely divergent results of English and Continental phonetic investigation. I cannot but hope that I have succeeded in removing some of the obstacles to a due appreciation of Bell's wonderful discoveries in vowel-mechanism—obstacles due both to certain errors in his analysis, and, perhaps, still more to the extraordinary and unaccountable mis-identifications of several of the commonest foreign sounds, such as the French *u*. It is, of course, almost superfluous to state that my own work contains many errors of appreciation and analysis, but it is a step in advance, and that is all that can be expected in the present transition state of phonetics.

I have also to mention a little book by the well-known Shakespearian scholar, Mr. Fleay,<sup>1</sup> intended as a popular introduction to the question of spelling reform. Mr. Fleay has succeeded in giving within the brief limits of a little over a hundred pages a very readable summary of the latest views on the nature of the sounds of the English language, the history of their changes, and the various principles on which a phonetic alphabet may be constructed, together with a variety of other collateral matter. Although the work is professedly mainly a compilation, which is sometimes rather deficient in criticism, it will be read with interest even by phonetic specialists. Specially valuable are the remarks on the 'Indirect aesthetical effects of our present spelling on Modern Poetry' (Ch. V), which deserve to be expanded into a separate essay. I quote a paragraph from p. 45. 'Now this system of rhyming by spelling instead of by sound has so infected the ears of this generation that no cure is possible except a reformation of spelling, and a state-

<sup>1</sup> *English Sounds and English Spelling*, by F. G. Fleay, M. A. London and Glasgow, William Collins, Sons & Co., 1878. (Collins's School and College Classics.)

ment by good authority of what are generally admissible rhymes. Of course there must, in a language like ours, be left to the poet as great a discretion as to using false rhymes as there is to the musician as to introducing discords; but the present system of allowing *purposeless* false rhymes has no parallel in other arts. A system that admits such rhymes as Mrs. Browning's, and that has not produced one poet in whose works cannot be shown rhymes that are harsh and grating to an unsophisticated ear, must be radically bad. Yet so it will be till poets submit to study their art as musicians and painters do theirs; until they cease to place the necessary preliminaries of Phonetic (in its larger sense) in a different category from that which contains metre and the rhetorical effect of varied grammatical forms.' Mr. Fleay then goes on to speak of the hitherto unanalysed effects produced by the various successions of quantity and vowel-quality, &c., and says: 'It would, however, be almost impossible to pursue an investigation of these laws of the melody of vowel sequence through our present involved and tortuous spelling. It could only be effected with a phonetic alphabet; only then could its principles be recognized, and the continued infringement of them by inferior verse-writers be pointed out.'

Mr. Fleay's book was written before the appearance of my *Handbook*, and his abstract of my views on the representation of sounds was based on the system of notation employed by me in the earlier *History of English Sounds*. However, I have treated the whole question of Spelling Reform at length in an appendix to the *Handbook*, and have at the same time given a brief sketch of the broader distinctions of the English sounds, especially as regards the unaccented vowels, and the influences and changes of *r*—subjects on which very erroneous ideas still prevail among many would-be spelling reformers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is, for instance, very common to hear unphonetic spelling reformers talk of the *r* in *hear* and *hard* as a 'shade' of that in *red*, and consequently deprecate all attempts to distinguish them. They are so completely the slaves of the written symbols that they cannot hear any difference between a

A question of primary importance for the future progress of phonology is that of *notation*. We have now, thanks to the persevering labours carried on especially during the last ten years, an enormous mass of on the whole trustworthy observations, but the comparison and general utilization of these materials is enormously impeded by the divergent systems employed in writing them down. This diversity is, of course, unavoidable at first, for it is only by extensive and varied experiments that we can hope to arrive at those definite principles on which a generally received phonetic alphabet can alone be constructed. The idea of regulating practical spelling reform on international principles is generally denounced—on what grounds I am wholly unable to perceive—as visionary and chimerical, but the absolute need of an international, universal system for scientific purposes is self-evident. We cannot study the most obscure and out-of-the-way dialect without being continually confronted by difficulties that can only be solved by comparison with many other dialects of many other languages, and it is practically impossible to carry out such comparisons through a number of complex, divergent, and generally more or less arbitrary notations.

We owe especial gratitude to Mr. Ellis for his numerous notational experiments, which have special value on account of his practical knowledge, not only of the sounds to be symbolized, but also of the resources of the printer's office. But I must confess to not appreciating his last effort—'Engytype'. I hold entirely with his former rejection of diacritics, which he carefully excluded from all his former systems. Diacritics, as Mr. Ellis himself has pointed out, act like new types, being cast only for a few founts; they are also troublesome to write and deficient in the compactness of new types, which are much to be preferred to them.

This leads me to speak of a remarkable experiment which is now being made in Sweden, namely, that of introducing a uniform scientific alphabet to be used in writing down all consonant (*red*), a vowel murmur (*hear*), and nothing at all (*hard*). They might as well call the *g* in *gem* and *deign* a 'mere shade' of that in *go*.

the dialects of the country. This alphabet, which has been mainly elaborated by Mr. J. H. Lundell, of the University of Upsala, is based on an older one of Sundevall,<sup>1</sup> which, again, seems to have borrowed largely from Messrs. Ellis and Pitman's Phonotypy. The Swedes will not hear of those digraphs which play so prominent a part in our present English systems, and object to the italics and turned letters employed with so much success by Mr. Ellis. They also reject diacritics in favour of new types, among which we find the Phonotypic *f* for (sh), *η* for (ng), &c. No capitals are employed. All the types are italic. This is the first serious attempt to carry out a uniform system of notation for a whole country—a system, too, which is not a mere compromise, like Mr. Ellis's *Glossic* and *Universal Glossic*, which are largely employed in writing the English dialects, but is based on a consistent and thorough-going application of purely scientific principles, as far as they were accessible to the framers of it. It will, therefore, deserve to be studied with attention by all English dialectologists.

My own views on the question of notation up to the time of the publication of my *Handbook of Phonetics* will be found stated in that work, pp. 100–8, and again, from the practical Spelling Reform point of view, in the Appendix. The most important principles I then upheld (and still uphold) were that every alphabet, whether scientific or practical, must be based, as far as possible, on the original Roman values of the letters, that the letters must be applied with the minimum of arbitrariness, and that we require not only a minutely accurate symbolization, but also a less elaborate system marking only the broader distinctions of sounds, but so constructed as to be able to adopt more minute symbols from the other system if necessary, the two being harmonized as much as possible. I thus formed the two systems, *Broad* and *Narrow Romic*, mainly on the basis of Mr. Ellis's *Palaeotype*, from which the latter differs mainly in the values assigned to the letters. To the relation between my two systems corresponds that between Mr. Ellis's *Glossic* and *Universal Glossic*,

<sup>1</sup> Om Fonetiska Bokstäfver (Vetenskaps-Akademiens handlingar, 1855).

which are, however, based not on the Roman values of the letters, as is the case with Palaeotype, but on an attempt to retain their present English value. In my Appendix (pp. 202 foll.) I have tried to show that such attempts can only lead to a break-down of the fundamental principles of phonetic writing, not only from a scientific, but also from a purely practical point of view, nor has the recent controversy in the *Academy* between Mr. Ellis on the one hand and Mr. Nicol and myself on the other done anything but strengthen my convictions.

The most important result (from the notational point of view) of the practical experience gained in the preparation of my *Handbook* has been the break-down of digraphs in any minutely accurate system. In Mr. Ellis's Palaeotype the impracticability of any thorough-going system of digraphs is disguised from several causes. One of these is the connexion between his choice of letters and his theories about the originality of certain sounds. In this way he is enabled, for instance, to employ the unmodified (e), (ee), (o), (oo) in denoting the pronunciation of Chaucer, but according to my views (which are those of many others besides) he would have to write (E), (ee), (o), (AA)—all modified letters. Although digraphs are not employed here, these examples will show how a slight change of theory may seriously impair the convenience of a notation. Again, there are certain sounds which Mr. Ellis does not seem to recognize practically, such as Bell's 'mixed' varieties of *o*. Thus he regards the French *o* in *homme, dot*, simply as the ordinary open 'back' sound, and writes it accordingly with his unmodified (o). Bell, Storm, and myself, however, all agree in regarding it as a 'mixed' vowel, that is to say, as an approximation to the 'front' vowels in *peu, &c.* On this theory the French short *o* must be written (oh) in Palaeotype. In my *Narrow Romic* I have carried out consistently the principle, initiated by Mr. Ellis, of denoting all mixed vowels by an (h). Hence the necessity of denoting the very common unaccented vowel heard in the second syllable of the German *gabe* by (eh) instead of Mr. Ellis's simple (ə), which on my principles

has to denote a different sound. Now the more minute the analysis of vowels, especially in diphthongic combinations, the greater the number of mixed vowels that have to be recognized. Hence it is that the English diphthong in *wine*, which Mr. Ellis writes with two letters, appears in my Narrow Romic with no less than four—(ehih). In representing some simple sounds I have been obliged to have recourse to trigraphs, as in the Danish soft *d*, which I am obliged to write (dhy) to distinguish it from the English (dh) in *the*, with which it was formerly confounded. The result of all this is, as I stated at first, the practical break-down of digraphs (and trigraphs) for purposes of consistently accurate notation.

The fact is, that if we want minute accuracy, we must have new types. When we have availed ourselves of the resources offered by the utilization of otherwise superfluous letters, such as *c*, *q*, *x*, and by turned letters and the other devices employed in Palaeotype, we must have new types for the commoner simple sounds, such as (sh), (th), (dh). But we must not rush into the opposite extreme of banishing digraphs altogether. Digraphs can never be entirely avoided, as is sufficiently shown by the fact that even Visible Speech, which is entirely independent of the defects of the Roman alphabet, frequently employs them. Such general modifiers as (*j*), to indicate palatalization, &c., are absolutely required. All we require is to make digraphs *exceptional*—not to abolish them entirely—and to get rid of trigraphs. In fact we want *elasticity*, and not to require to cast a new type for every insignificant shade of sound. Marks of accent and quantity, &c., should be cast on separate types, to avoid such unpractical monstrosities as *ā*, &c., necessitating as they do the cutting of a number of subordinate types for every new letter. Such combinations should be analysed into (aa') or something of the kind. The objection to employing accents in the middle of a word, as in (bev'aara), is pure prejudice, the result of habit and association. What types should be adopted is a question which I cannot go into now; it is, however, evident that the new letters must be such as to show most clearly

the relations of the sounds they denote to those denoted by the old letters, and to admit of being easily written, besides having distinctive forms. These principles would exclude such letters as, for instance, the Old English *þ* and *ð*, the former being easily confounded with *p*, the latter troublesome to write.

For rougher phonetic notation, and for purely practical purposes, digraphs are perfectly admissible, as is shown both in Mr. Ellis's *Glossic* and my *Broad Romie*. There can, however, be no doubt that here also they will be gradually superseded by new types.

#### DIALECTOLOGY

At the first rise of modern scientific philology, there was a tendency rather to underrate the importance of dialects. It is well known that Grimm attributed only a very subordinate value to them, as compared with the literary language, although he admitted the value of such work as that of Schmeller on the dialects of Bavaria. Although from an abstract point of view this narrowness of Grimm must, like his want of interest in phonology as distinct from mere letter-comparison and in the characteristic features of modern languages generally, be deemed a defect, it is a defect which has greatly increased the value of his work. Grimm's exclusively literary and antiquarian tendencies, which were so strong that, as he himself humorously says somewhere, 'he could be led over the whole country after an Old German book,' must be regarded as a healthy instinct of limitation, without which it would have been impossible for him to have laid the solid foundations of historical and comparative philology not only for the Germanic languages, but also; to a great extent, for language generally.

It is this necessity of limitation to which the division of such a family of languages as the Germanic into a definite number of literary dialects is due. The division of the living Teutonic languages into its six literary dialects, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, and English, is, from a scientific point of view, a purely arbitrary one, whose



retention can only be defended on grounds of practical convenience. The criteria by which these six subdivisions are regarded as 'languages' in contradistinction to mere 'dialects', such as Frisian and the various forms of Low German, are purely external—mainly literary and political, and hence very frequently contradict the actual relations between these 'languages' and 'dialects'. Our conceptions of the meaning and relations to one another of the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are derived from those cases in which the practical, external criteria agree with the scientific ones. But in many cases, as already remarked, the two classes of criteria contradict each other.

When we talk of 'two languages' and then of 'two dialects of the same language', the former expression suggests the idea of marked individuality and separation, the latter that of comparatively slight divergence and of subordination to a higher unity, namely, that of the 'language' of which the two are dialects. Hence also we are inclined to assume that the two languages, however close their relationship, must be mutually unintelligible, but that speakers of the two dialects must be able to understand each other's native speech—to some extent at least. But if we examine the real relationship between the six Teutonic conventional languages, we shall find that while English and German, for instance, are almost as distinct and unlike one another as is possible for two cognate languages to be, there are two others, namely, Swedish and Danish, which really stand to one another in the relation of dialects. Not only is their general agreement in grammatical structure and vocabulary greater than that between many Italian dialects, but the speakers of the two languages are able to understand one another when speaking slowly, and with a little practice to understand one another perfectly. In fact, a Swede understands a Dane better than many of his own dialect-speaking countrymen, as, for instance, the peasants of Skåne in the extreme south of Sweden, and vice versa. From a purely scientific point of view, Swedish and Danish are nothing but dialects of a common Neo-Scandinavian language, and their

separation and independent development are due mainly to political and secondarily to literary causes. The relation between Spanish and Portuguese is very similar.

Again, the natural and political divisions often overlap one another. The various Low German dialects, for instance, especially that of Westphalia, are simply continuations of Dutch, although politically they belong to a High German area. Similarly, the Catalan and Valencian dialects of Spanish have no connexion beyond a political one with the standard Castilian, and are really dialects of what was once a literary language—the Provençal of southern France. Galician also, although spoken in Spain, is a dialect of Portuguese.

A curious instance of these cross-divisions is afforded by the language of Norway. The Norwegians lost their chance at the Reformation by neglecting to translate Luther's Bible into their own language, and had to adopt Danish as their literary language, with, of course, many peculiarities of pronunciation and additions to the vocabulary. On their separation from Denmark and union with Sweden at the beginning of this century the national spirit of the Norwegians awakened, and they began to call their own Danish 'Norse', in opposition to that of the Danes themselves.<sup>1</sup> Of late years, however, the remarkable movement called the 'Maalstræv', literally 'dialect-striving', has arisen and made considerable progress. The object of this movement is nothing less than the complete expulsion of Danish, and the substitution of Norse. But as Norse is spoken in upwards of a hundred dialects, many of them mutually unintelligible, the practical carrying out of the reform is no easy task. Ivar Aasen, one of the most profound dialectologists of Norway and himself a son of the people, goes on historical and antiquarian principles, and selects from each dialect its most ancient and 'organic' forms,

<sup>1</sup> A Danish school-grammar was once published simultaneously in Denmark and Norway, the only difference between the Danish and Norwegian copies being that the former had on the title-page 'Danish', the latter 'Norse Grammar'.

thus constructing an entirely artificial language. Others urge that all literary languages have arisen by the natural preponderance and special cultivation of some one dialect, which gradually spread over the whole country, as in Spain the Castilian, in Italy the Tuscan, in English the Midland dialect, and that such a hodgepodge as that prepared by Aasen is a monstrosity which cannot live and thrive. These reformers, who certainly seem to have experience and reason on their side, urge, therefore, the general adoption and literary cultivation of a special dialect, such as that of Thelemarken, which has distinct and archaic forms, and is, to a certain extent, intermediate between the two most marked groups of dialects, namely, those of West and East Norway.

Hitherto the results of the movement have been more scientific than practical, a great impetus having been given to Dialectology, to which we owe the admirable Norse grammar and dictionary of Aasen, and the publication of many valuable dialectal texts. What the practical results may be is still quite dubious, owing, in a great degree, to the intemperate and uninstructed zeal of many of the reformers.<sup>1</sup> Those, however, who laugh at the whole thing as a mere fantastic dream, which can be ignored from a practical point of view, are very much mistaken. It is impossible for me here to enter on the interesting question of the relation between language and nationality, but no one can look about him without seeing many analogies to the Norse *Maalstræv*. The Flemish movement in Belgium and the Finnish one in Finland are, like the *Maalstræv*, significant tokens of a new spirit which animates the nationalities of Europe, and the inseparable connexion between language and nationality is attested by the attempts of the Russians and Prussians to stamp out the popular speech of Poland and Slesvig. While wishing all these experiments the success they deserve, we cannot deny

<sup>1</sup> The last news I heard of the movement (now several months ago) was rather startling, namely, that a proposal was to be brought before the Storting to introduce the use of the dialects in the elementary schools, the result of which would be that a teacher who happened to speak a dialect different from that of his scholars might easily be totally unintelligible to them.

that some of them have very dubious prospects, but this does not seem to be the case in Norway, where the movement is too strong and independent ever to be put down, even if it only results in some sort of compromise between Danish and the native dialects. Anyhow, its progress is well worthy of the attention, not only of philologists, but also of all who interest themselves in the great problems of national development.

As already remarked, the main division of the dialects of Norway is into those of the East and the West. The latter distinguish themselves not only from those of the East but also from literary Swedish and Danish by their retention of the old diphthongs, and by many archaisms. All the Norwegian dialects show a marked similarity to Swedish, and, indeed, to a Danish ear, the ordinary literary Norse appears to be nothing but Danish with Swedish pronunciation. East Norwegian and the literary 'Upper' Swedish approximate more closely in many respects, especially in phonetic structure, than literary and dialectal South Swedish do. In fact, from the adoption of an East Norse dialect as the national language to that of literary Swedish the step would not be great, the main difficulty being that of the number of words peculiar to the Swedish vocabulary.

The above details will suffice to show the endless complexity of the relationship between the political and the scientific conception of dialect. It is clear that from a rigorously scientific point of view we cannot speak of languages at all, but only of groups of dialects, each group shading off by indefinite gradations into its neighbouring group, and the same relations subsisting between the individual dialects of which each group is composed. The accident of one particular dialect being raised by purely external causes to a political and literary supremacy over the whole group is one which, strictly speaking, does not concern the scientific philologist at all, any more than the political divisions by which, for instance, Catalan is Spanish, while Provençal is French. In a rigorously scientific grammar the distinction between

French and Spanish would be ignored, and Catalan and Provençal would be treated as members of one group of dialects, on a level with those groups represented respectively by Parisian French and Castilian. Similarly East Norwegian would be thrown into the same group as Upper Swedish, while all the dialects of the extreme south of Norway and Sweden would form special transition-groups between Swedish-Norse and Danish. The recognition of these transition-dialects is one of the most important results of the study of living speech-groups, and it is now generally admitted that the existence of two cognate though sharply distinguished literary languages in immediate geographical proximity always postulates the original existence of an indefinite number of intermediate dialects, however much they may have been swallowed up by the encroachments of the literary languages.

It is this awkward tendency of dialects to disappear altogether which offers such serious—often insurmountable—obstacles to the actual carrying out of such an ideal comparative grammar as I have sketched above. Even in older languages, in which, on account of the want of literary or political centralization, several of the dialects often attained a certain amount of culture and independence, one or other of them generally gained the upper hand at last, so that our knowledge of dialects that once had a flourishing literary existence is often limited, as in the case of the Umbrian and Oscan dialects of Old Italian, and several of the Old Greek dialects, to what can be gleaned from a few fragments preserved by accident. English is especially fortunate in possessing an almost uninterrupted series of dialectal linguistic documents from the Old English period down to the present day—no inconsiderable period.

While in dead languages the study of the dialects offers no more difficulty than that of the preponderating literary language itself, the case is widely different in living languages. The investigator who were to attempt to grapple single-handed with even only a tithe of the dialects of such a family as the Germanic, or even of a single language, such as German,

would soon find himself confronted by insurmountable obstacles. The observation and description of the characteristic features of a hitherto unwritten dialect postulates a long and arduous preparatory training, and even then is a task of great difficulty and labour. The necessity of training for dialectal work has been so ably and eloquently urged by Mr. Ellis in one of his Presidential Addresses (see our Transactions for 1873-4, pp. 447 foll.), that it is unnecessary for me to say anything more on this subject. How we are to get our training is a dubious question to which I shall return presently.

It is evident that the value of dialectal work will vary according to the natural ability and training of the observer, and the circumstances under which he works. Assuming that the two first requisites are satisfactorily fulfilled, it becomes of great practical importance to ascertain what are the conditions of their producing reliable results. It is, I think, self-evident that a perfectly full and accurate analysis of a dialect cannot be furnished except by one who speaks it naturally. When we consider that even he, with all the advantages of a thorough phonetic training, will often meet with considerable difficulties, it seems unreasonable to expect one 'not to the manner born' to be able to surpass him. My experience is that statements made about dialects spoken even in the immediate neighbourhood—perhaps at only a few miles distance—of the investigator must often be received with the greatest caution,<sup>1</sup> and that when any one attempts unaided to give a detailed survey of the dialects spoken over an area of any extent, as, for instance, one of the large English counties, merely on the strength of his having a practical command of the dialect of one particular spot, serious errors are almost unavoidable, except under very favourable conditions. When a complete stranger attempts such a task, the chances of success are still more diminished,

<sup>1</sup> Observe the cautious way in which Noreen, a foremost Swedish dialectologist, makes statements about dialects spoken in the same province as his own native one (*Ordbok öfver Fryksdalsmålet*, Upsala, 1878, preface). So also the accomplished Danish phonetician Lyngby in his *Bidrag til en Sønderjysk Sproglaere* (Copenhagen, 1858).

as when a Londoner attempts to study the dialects of Yorkshire, and still more when a complete foreigner, who has only imperfectly mastered the literary language, attempts it. My own experience of the difficulties of mastering the colloquial forms of literary languages, where the external difficulties are infinitely less than in the case of dialects, where it is easy to check one's observations by direct questioning of educated natives, has supplied me with many instances of how, even with a fair preliminary training and much practical experience in linguistic observation, it is possible totally to mishear and misinterpret the commonest sounds and forms, until the error is revealed by mere chance, perhaps after months of misapprehension.<sup>1</sup> There is still another way of studying dialects, which postulates neither a natural nor an acquired mastery of the one in question, namely, that of direct questioning. Here we must distinguish between examination of an uneducated and of an educated speaker. The former, it need scarcely be observed, is a most unsatisfactory process, resulting generally in forced, unidiomatic sentences, full of words and forms taken from the literary language, none of which would appear in the speaker's unrestrained, natural dialect.<sup>2</sup> The latter process, on the other hand, yields thoroughly reliable results, that is, provided the examinee really has a practical command of the dialect. When, for instance, an accomplished phonetician and linguistic observer like Mr. Ellis works up the materials supplied him by such authorities as Mr. Elworthy or Mr. Hallam, we may unhesitatingly rely on the results. The difficulty is to find educated men who really have a thorough practical command of a dialect. I have seen many instances of how easily people delude themselves into the idea that they have acquired a

<sup>1</sup> Noreen mentions some observations made on his dialect by a foreign philologist (a Dane), informing us at the same time that 'half of them are incorrect' (Fryksdalsmålet's Ljudlära, Upsala, 1877, Förord, p. ii).

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the results are more amusing than instructive. There is a story told of a Swedish philologist who studied a dialect in this way. On one occasion, wishing to know how the dialect formed the preterite of the verb to die, he asked a peasant, 'Which do you say, "I died" or "I dew"?' The logical answer was, 'When we're dead, we don't speak.'

dialect, when all they really have acquired is a travesty of some of its more marked sounds or intonations, together with a few isolated words and phrases.

These remarks are not made with the intention of discouraging dialectal investigation even under the most unfavourable circumstances, still less of disparaging the often highly valuable results of such investigations, but solely to urge the necessity of the utmost caution and criticism both in working oneself and in utilizing the work of others. Here, if anywhere, the maxim *gnóthi seautón* is in its place, and, indeed, the better trained and qualified the observer is, the more cautious will he be in his statements. It is only ignorance and charlatanism which are dogmatic. A competent investigator, who knows his own strength and weakness thoroughly, will thus be able, in publishing his results, to estimate and state them at their true value, so that even his most hurried and casual observations may be quoted with confidence by others according to the degree of certainty he attributes to them.

It is, however, clear that perfectly satisfactory results can only be obtained by the labours of a large number of trained observers, each working at his own native dialect, till such a mass of reliable material has been collected as can be digested into general grammars, first of each group of dialects, and finally of the whole family to which the various groups belong.

In my last Address I spoke with just pride of the extraordinary advances English dialectology has made of late years, owing mainly to the colossal exertions of Mr. Ellis and his school of disciples, among whom Dr. Murray unquestionably takes the first place, and the foundation of the English Dialect Society. It is now my duty to call your attention to the not less extraordinary development of dialectology in Sweden, which threatens, indeed, in many respects, to outstrip our own.

An account has already been given<sup>1</sup> of the formation of the so-called 'Landsmålsföreningar' (Dialectal Associations) at

<sup>1</sup> In Dr. Tamm's report on Swedish in last year's Address.



the two Swedish universities of Upsala and Lund, and the Finnish one of Helsingfors. Owing to the vast extent of the country, the scantiness of the population and the defective communications, the different provinces of Sweden still preserve their original individuality, especially of language, to a much greater extent than in other countries. The Swedish universities being really national institutions, open to poor as well as rich, no inconsiderable portion of the students consists of sons of peasants, who necessarily speak the purest and broadest dialect. As all the students from the same province form an organized body called a 'nation' (*natsh'oon*) for purposes of social intercourse, mutual help, discipline, &c., the formation of a *landsmålsförening* for each 'nation' offers no difficulties whatever, and only requires to be supplemented by a general committee to represent the whole university. The most important result of the organization of these associations as yet has been the adoption of a uniform alphabet for writing down the dialects, of which I have spoken more at length in my remarks on Phonology. Large collections in the way of texts, &c., have been made by the separate associations, and the publication of them will be much facilitated by the founding of a periodical devoted especially to the dialects (*Tidskrift för Sveriges landsmål*), which will appear at Upsala, and will employ the new alphabet.

It still remains for me to notice some questions bearing on the philological value of dialects, and their relation to the literary language.

The reaction from the previous contempt for dialects has in many cases resulted in exaggerated views of their antiquity and importance. One of the first to urge the importance of dialects was Prof. Max Müller in his *Lectures on Language*. While fully agreeing with the greater part of his masterly and eloquent exposition, I cannot but say that I think the expression 'dialectic regeneration' calculated to mislead, and still more its opposition to 'phonetic decay', implying that it is the natural and, indeed, only corrective of the process of phonetic decay. It seems to me that the influence of dialects on those reconstructive processes by which modern

languages (and ancient ones also) supply the loss of inflexions and words is in general very slight, and that the materials for reconstruction are mainly taken from the language itself. It was at one time imagined that the different dialects of Italy represented the old Italic languages, Oscan, Umbrian, &c., and even Etruscan, but an unprejudiced study of the evidence of comparative grammar must convince every one that all the Romance languages are the direct descendants of literary Latin, which, in fact, swallowed up all the old Italic dialects long before the rise of the Romance languages, just as literary English will soon efface all the still existing remains of our dialects.

A common error is that of attributing an exaggerated antiquity to dialects. It used to be generally asserted of the Dalcarlian dialect of Swedish that it was nothing more or less than pure Icelandic, the fact being that in many of its sounds and forms it is infinitely more modern than the literary Swedish itself, which is certainly far enough removed from Icelandic. Other superficial observers have discovered the Gothic of Ulfilas in various German dialects, none of them being on the average more archaic than the ordinary literary German. These sensational results are generally obtained by picking out those forms which are more archaic (in some cases strikingly so) than the corresponding ones of the standard language—forms which occur in every dialect—and ignoring the equally numerous and striking cases in which the advantage is as decidedly on the side of the literary language. It was on the strength of a few isolated forms such as *sūnūs* that it was for a long time assumed that Lithuanian stood in a specially near relation to Sanskrit. This fallacy has been well exposed by Professor Leskien in his report on Lithuanian in last year's Address, whose remarks are very instructive. My own impression as regards the relation between dialects and literary languages has always been that if compared fully and impartially throughout their whole structure, phonetic, inflexional and in the vocabulary, and not one-sidedly, the literary language will generally be found to be quite as archaic as any of its dialects. It must, of

course, be understood that I speak only of real relations, not of purely external ones. There can, for instance, be no doubt that Provençal is infinitely more archaic than literary French, but it is really not a dialect of French at all, but an independent language. I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of Mr. Lundell, who has studied most of the Swedish dialects, that the literary Swedish is more archaic than any one of them singly.

Hence it is that the dialects only occasionally throw independent light on the earlier stages of the literary, although they frequently confirm, with more or less certainty, the results obtained by historical and comparative investigation. Where, for instance, do we find any hint in our dialects of the existence of a final *-e* in the language of Chaucer? None at all. Such a form as the Scotch *hame* (heem) for the literary *home*, which affords irrefragable confirmation of the pure, unlabial pronunciation of the Old English *á* in *hám*, is rather exceptional.

The fact is that dialects generally change and reconstruct themselves with far greater ease than the literary languages, whose growth is impeded in many ways.<sup>1</sup> It is in their independent developments, rather than in their archaisms, that their real value seems to me to lie. Nothing is more interesting than to compare the various changes of the same sound in a number of dialects, and to observe the agreements and disagreements between the different dialects and between them and the literary language. The study of a group of dialects gives us, in fact, a special insight into the life of language. Dialects are especially valuable in illustrating colloquialisms. It often happens that a change which only occurs sporadically in the colloquial form of the standard language, as, for instance, the dropping of a consonant in certain positions, is carried out uniformly in the dialects, where the artificial restraints of literature and schools are not felt. Thus, to

<sup>1</sup> Noreen notices a short list of ninety-two proper names and fifty-one other words in his own dialect made in 1773, and states that he cannot find more than nine of the proper and twenty of the other words in the dialect as now spoken, whence he infers that 'the dialect must have undergone great changes in the last hundred years' (F. L. pref. p. ii).

take a familiar example, the dropping of *h*, which in polite English society is considered as an occasional vulgarity, is universal in the popular speech of the counties round London. So also the anomalous pronunciation of *one* as (*wən*), which is quite isolated in the standard language, is carried out uniformly in whole classes of words in the dialects, as in the familiar (*wəts*) = 'oats'. Again, the colloquial dropping of *g* and *d* between vowels in some Swedish words, such as (*taa*) for *taga*, 'take,' (*saa*) for *sade*, 'said,' is carried out universally in many of the dialects.

#### THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

In my Address for last year I made some remarks on the 'Characteristics of English Work', in which I tried impartially to sum up the merits and defects of the English school of philology, and to point out the causes of the latter. What I am now going to say may be regarded as a continuation of those remarks.

One of the most striking features of English philology is the absence of anything like public opinion. In other countries, in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and, of late years, in France and Italy also, the collective opinion of the learned world forms an intelligent, impartial, and all-powerful tribunal, which can be appealed to with full certainty by all who have the consciousness of right on their side, and which never hesitates a moment to expose and render harmless dilettanteism and imposture. But in England we have nothing like this. In England thoroughness of work and original investigation by themselves have very little chance of securing the popular ear against the shallowest dilettanteism, if the latter is accompanied by external graces or backed by influential connexions, and in the most favourable circumstances they are generally subordinated in popular estimation to purely external and irrelevant considerations, or judged from a conventional and prejudiced point of view. In fact, among us any one who steps forth confidently, and makes statements in a loud voice, and with frequent reiterations, is sure to get a hearing, even if his utter incompetence has been

demonstrated over and over again by competent judges. In any other country but England such men would be hooted down at once by a unanimous burst of indignation from the whole scientific world.

I showed in my last Address of what stuff some of our aspirants to Old English professorships are made; it now remains to give an instance of what some of our professors can do when they try. Some years ago a foreign student of English, having occasion to visit England, took advantage of the opportunity to attend a lecture by one of our most popular professors, in order to gain an idea of the method of instruction followed by the foremost representatives of English philology. He was, however, rather startled when our professor, in the course of his lecture, informed his hearers that there was a difference between the words *tide* and *time*, the difference being that while *tide* is pure 'Anglo-Saxon', *time* is of foreign origin, being, in fact, nothing more or less than the Latin *tempus*. I may add that this gentleman still continues to lecture cheerfully to, I am told, not inconsiderable classes on these and kindred topics, so that he certainly deserves our gratitude for keeping up popular interest in the study of English, and this, under circumstances where another, more fastidious in his etymologies, might perhaps fail. Let us hope that his hearers may long continue to listen to his 'fairy tales of science'.

With the want of a scientific public opinion in English philology is closely connected another want, namely, that of an organ of criticism. Although the *Academy* has done much for the promotion of competent and independent scientific criticism, and still continues to do so in spite of the relaxation of its originally more rigorously scientific programme, we still want a special periodical which will allow more detailed criticism—and in some cases, perhaps, more independent—than is possible in such a one as the *Academy*. In Germany, when a philologist receives a new work in his special department, he is able to read it through and make his notes, with the certainty of being able to expand them into a detailed review of, if necessary, from ten to twenty

pages. These detailed reviews cost the writer infinitely less trouble than the condensed, half-popular notices of a few columns in which the unhappy English reviewer is obliged to express himself, and they are of the greatest utility to others. It is a great advantage to be able to begin the study of a new work under the guidance of such a detailed analysis, which calls the student's attention to its really valuable and original features, and warns him of its errors and fallacies. Besides, these reviews often teem with original and suggestive remarks, which otherwise might be lost entirely. I am convinced that such a periodical would do much to raise the standard of scientific work, to discourage dilettanteism, and to expose imposture. We want an organ where the latter can be denounced authoritatively and without respect for person or reputation.

There is one form of charlatany to which I will call your attention, and which is specially insidious and dangerous, veiling itself under the disguise of conscientiousness and accuracy. It may be termed the *mechanical* view of language, and is based on the assumption that language, unlike all other natural phenomena, including even the most complex evolutions of social life, is not governed by general laws; but consists merely of a mass of disconnected details. In its maddest form this view leads its adherents so far that they openly declare the principles of scientific Comparative Philology, as founded by Rask, Grimm, and Bopp, to be simple guesswork and nonsense: statements which may still be heard from some Englishmen.

In a milder shape mechanical philology assumes the form of a slavish and undeviating adherence to MS. readings. To a certain extent this tendency is a healthy reaction against the slovenly inaccuracy and wanton tampering with the MS. evidence, which characterized the older school of editors. We now assume, and rightly, that the first business of an editor is to lay the evidence of the MSS. themselves before the reader in an accurate and unadulterated form. Therein we are all of one mind, but while the scientific philologist regards the written letters of the scribe simply as a means to an end,

namely, the recovery of the original text and the actual forms of the language, both of which the MSS. always represent more or less inaccurately, our mechanical friend resents any attempts of the kind as high treason to the scribe, who, he argues, must understand what he was writing better than any modern editor. To this it may be answered that many of them did not understand what they were writing half so well as a thoroughly competent editor. It is quite certain that a modern Greek scholar understands the choruses of the Greek tragedies infinitely better than the scribes of any MS. that has been preserved, probably better even than Cicero, who learnt Greek as a living language under the best professors. And I think any one who has any knowledge of the MSS. of some of the Old English poems, as, for instance, Cædmon, will hesitate to attribute to their scribes a more accurate knowledge of the old poetical language than to a modern scholar. It is at least certain that the twelfth-century Florence of Worcester made the most glaring errors in translating the 'Battle of Brunanburh' into Latin—errors which would be pointed out by any school-boy, if schoolboys were taught English.

But quite apart from the question of knowledge, it is certain that the scribes made errors, even when writing down their own thoughts in the language of their own time. Like the rest of us they sometimes left out letters, or even words, sometimes—sad to relate—even whole lines, sometimes they transposed letters, sometimes they substituted one word for another, making complete nonsense of what they wrote. They also omitted many distinctions which can be proved to have existed in the language. Thus the Old English scribes, like the Latin, did not mark the quantity of the vowels with any consistency and accuracy. What means does the scientific philologist employ to get at the facts underlying all this vagueness and inaccuracy? Simply common sense guided by the universally received laws of Comparative Philology. Thus if he finds a word spelt 99 times in the same way and only once in another way, he puts down the former as the more usual spelling, regardless of the protests of his

mechanical friends, and if the other spelling represents a collocation of sounds which does not elsewhere occur, he puts it down as an error of the scribe. Thus, if in editing a work from a MS. or printed book of the beginning of this century, he were to find a certain adjective spelt *big* 99 times and only once *bgi*, he would infer that the former was the more usual form at the period in question, and when he found that initial *bg* did not occur elsewhere in the language of that period, he would come to the conclusion that the form *bgi* was an accidental error. In other cases the aid of comparative philology is required, as in settling the quantity of the OE. vowels, which is determined partly by comparison both with Modern English and the old cognates, partly by observing the inner laws of the language, as deduced from its spelling, and lastly by seeing if the conclusions thus obtained independently harmonize. It need hardly be remarked that these investigations often offer great difficulty, and yield doubtful results, but in most cases the reasoning is such as to carry conviction to any competent judge.

How far these results should be utilized in printing texts, depends entirely on the character and object of the text. It is evident that there is wide difference between an *editio princeps*, whose main business is to make the unaltered MS. evidence generally accessible, and a reading-book for beginners, which is intended to familiarize the student with the *language itself*, as reconstructed by the processes mentioned above, not with the details of the MS. tradition of each text, which would give the beginner an entirely false and inadequate idea of the actual language. Hence the editor of such a book is not only justified in utilizing, but is bound to utilize all the certain results of scientific investigation, and if the MS. spellings require supplementing, as when the vowel-quantity is marked, or alteration in those cases in which a MS. form contradicts the evidence of the majority of other MS. forms or of comparative philology, he is equally bound to supplement and alter accordingly, under pain of garbling the evidence, of which the written forms of a given MS. are only a portion, however indispensable it may be.



In my *Anglo-Saxon Reader* I have not only carried out these principles consistently, to the best of my power, but have also gone a step further, namely, in altering forms, which, although quite correct, are exceptional, in favour of the more usual ones, and relegating the original ones to the foot of the page, so that the learner may be able to fix the regular forms firmly in his memory before studying the more exceptional ones. I need hardly remark that these proceedings of mine have proved extremely distasteful to many members of the mechanical school, who forget or ignore that an *editio princeps* and a handbook for learners must necessarily be constructed on totally different principles, and that a consistent carrying out of their principles, or rather want of principles, would result in our beginning to read Greek in a photograph of a half-extinct palimpsest without word-division, or in a Byzantine MS. full of contractions, which the professor or master himself would probably not be able to read.

The real explanation of this mechanical fanaticism is, that it is often a mere excuse for laziness. Whatever may be said of the worthlessness of the results of modern philology, it cannot be denied that their application to a special language postulates an enormous amount of hard labour and patient training, and any amount of critical sagacity. But the mechanical philologist escapes all this. I have seen Old English text-editions which postulated literally no training beyond the power of transcribing the Old English letters into ordinary ones.

Of course, as soon as such men deviate from the path of rigid mechanicalness, they fall into awkward mistakes. One of the editions in which this method is carried to its utmost extreme is Prof. Earle's, from an historical point of view, most admirable one of the *Chronicle* (Two of the *Saxon Chronicles Parallel*), in which even the inadequate and sense-destroying punctuation of the original is reproduced. The editor has, however, chosen, inconsistently enough, to expand the contraction of the conjugation 'and', but, strangely enough he writes *and* throughout instead of *ond*, with such forms as

*monnum, lond, &c.*, staring him in the face on every page, together with a few *onds* written out in full. I do not say that this is any very serious error, but it is one which any one trained in the German school of philology could hardly have made.

The inability to grasp general principles is, indeed, one of the most marked characteristics of English philologists. Such men as Kemble and Whitley Stokes stand almost alone in having attained a real mastery—in the case of Kemble, perhaps, rather a superficial one—of the principles of German philology. I am often astonished to see men consulting scientific works of reference, such as Fick's *Wörterbuch*, Curtius's *Griechische Etymologie*, and even Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, perhaps for years, without ever realizing the elementary laws of letter-change in the different languages, so that they come out with etymologies which, on the principles on which these works are written, are simply impossible. Others, again, claim to be scientific philologists on the strength of having acquired a practical knowledge of Sanskrit, which is really nothing but one of the means to an end.

Another of our deficiencies is the almost universal ignorance of the principles of text-criticism. There is really no reason why we Englishmen should confine ourselves to the mechanical reproduction of MSS., or, still worse, to the construction of texts on radically false principles, and leave the interesting and important work of genuine critical reconstruction entirely to our German brethren, and I wish that all would-be editors would carefully read our member Mr. Nicol's paper on 'M. G. Paris's Method of Editing in his *Vie de St. Alexis*' (*Trans.* 1873-4, p. 332). They will there find the falseness of some of the apparently most self-evident axioms of ordinary editing briefly and clearly demonstrated.

There is, of course, no reason why we should not at the same time keep up our present method, from which, indeed, foreign scholars still have much to learn.

All the evils I have denounced are, as I remarked in my

last Address, not due to any defect in the English character, but simply to want of systematic training, and it is a question of vital and pressing importance how we are to get this training, and, as Mr. Ellis says in his already quoted report on Dialectology, 'drain the pestiferous marshes of dilettanteism.' We want universities, we want endowment, for science can never be made self-supporting, we want perfect freedom of study, and, finally, we want competent teachers. Of course, if those anomalous bodies which we, by a strange misnomer, call universities, can be transformed into real universities, that would certainly be the most satisfactory solution of the problem; if not, we must seek Government or private aid.

Whether the talk of establishing professorships of English at our universities will come to anything in our days is very doubtful. If so, the first result will probably be a general rush of pretenders, some of whom will appeal to the length of their beards, others to the largeness of their families, others to their popularity in common- or combination-room. If fortunate enough to escape from these gentlemen, the professorships will perhaps fall into the hands of good men in their way, perhaps industrious mechanical text-editors, but devoid of general principles, and therefore unfit to train up scientific workers. In this way we may go on for ever in our present rut, until German investigation has completely exhausted the subject of English philology.

Rather than this should happen, I would see the professorships given away in the first instance to foreigners, if no properly qualified Englishmen are forthcoming, unless, indeed, we could send young men to qualify themselves by study at some German university.

It need hardly be said that no one man can command the whole field of English philology: it is so vast that division of labour is absolutely necessary. To include the subjects which are absolutely essential for English philology, we require at least four special branches:

(1) Old English, and comparative Teutonic philology (general Indogermanic philology).

(2) Middle and Modern English languages (modern dialects, practical phonetics).

(3) English literature (middle-age literature generally, especially French).

(4) Old French and comparative Romance philology.

The subjects enclosed in parentheses are those which, although of subordinate importance, are specially connected with the principal ones.

Each specialist must, of course, in addition to his knowledge of his own department, have a general knowledge of the *results* of other studies, when necessary. Thus, no one can study Middle English properly without a sound knowledge of Old English and Old French, although the Middle English specialist cannot be expected to familiarize himself with all the details of these languages, nor with the wider comparative investigations by which those details are tested. Nor can the Old English student dispense with the help afforded by Middle and even Modern English in many cases, while Old French, on the other hand, will be quite useless to him.

The separation of literature from language is most important, as experience shows that these subjects cannot be united in one person without one or other of them being practically sacrificed to the other.

These four divisions should be put on a footing of perfect equality: they all offer an inexhaustible field for work, and they are all equally indispensable for the complete study of English.

## RECENT INVESTIGATIONS OF THE INDOGERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

THE complete revolution which has been made during the last few years in our views on the vowel-system of the parent Indogermanic language is, perhaps, the most important event that has happened in the history of comparative philology since its foundation. A strong presumption in favour of the new views is afforded by the fact that they have suggested themselves spontaneously and independently to a number of investigators, whose results have mutually confirmed and supplemented one another. These scattered investigations have now been summed up in a thoroughly critical spirit by a young Swiss philologist, Ferdinand de Saussure, in his *Mémoire sur le Système Primitif des Voyelles dans les langues Indo-européennes* (Leipsic, 1879), where he himself makes further original contributions of the highest value. Simultaneously with Saussure's book there appeared Friedrich Kluge's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Conjugation* (Strassburg, 1879), in which several of Saussure's results are arrived at independently, Kluge's book containing a general sketch of the Indogermanic vowel-system as an introduction to its special subject. For general purposes the work is superseded by Saussure's. The earlier essays of Brugman, Osthoff, and others, which opened up the investigation, were noticed by me in my Address for 1878.

When Sanskrit was found to oppose a uniform *a* to the gradation *e*, *o* in Greek (less perfectly preserved in Latin) in such words as *phérō*, *phóros*, *híppos*, *híppe* = Sanskrit *b'árāmi*, *b'āra*, *áçwah*, *açwa*,<sup>2</sup> it seemed most in keeping with the superior antiquity of Sanskrit to assume that its uniformity represented

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1880-1, pp. 155-62.

<sup>2</sup> In my transcription of Sanskrit I denote the 'sonant *h*' both alone and as part of the 'sonant aspirates' by ('), keeping *h* for the visarga, which I always write where required by the phonetic laws of the language.

the primitive state of things, and that the variety in the other languages was the result of later independent development in each of them. Then came the important discovery of Curtius (1864) that the *e*=Sanskrit *a* appears in the same words in all the European languages, and consequently cannot have developed independently in each, but must be referred to a common European parent-language. Amelung (1871) was the first to carry back the distinction between European *e* and the other *a*-sounds to parent Indogermanic, but the real foundations of the present views were first laid by Brugman (1878), who carried back both *e* and *o* into the primitive Indogermanic vowel-system, hinting also at the necessity of admitting several other varieties of *a* as well. The primitive vowels answering to *e* and *o* were written  $a_1$  and  $a_2$  respectively by Brugman, a notation still generally followed. As it is tolerably certain that their real sounds were those in the English *man* and *not*, I shall write them ( $\text{æ}$ ) and ( $\text{ɔ}$ ) respectively.

#### ( $\text{æ}$ )-series.

Every syllable containing ( $\text{æ}$ ) is capable both of *weakening* and *gradation*, unmodified ( $\text{æ}$ ) itself representing the *strong* or normal stage.

The strong ( $\text{æ}$ ) appears only in originally accented syllables, as in Greek *phérō*, *génos*, *spérma*, *méthu*, Latin *fero*, *genus*, *tegmen*, *pecus*, Sanskrit *b'árāmi*, *jānah*, *d'árman*, *páçu*. That Sanskrit *a*=European *e* must within a comparatively late period have been a palatal vowel is proved by the regular change of *k* before it into the palatal *c*, as in *pánca*=Greek *pénte*, *k* remaining unchanged before Sanskrit *a*=European *o*.

The *weak* stage is confined to unaccented syllables, and consists in the expulsion of the ( $\text{æ}$ ) wherever practicable. Thus Sanskrit *kárōmi*, root (*kær*), appears in the past passive participle as *krtá*, with syllabic *r*. So also *kalp*=(*kælp*) has the participle *klptá*. These syllabic liquids are now referred to the parent Indogermanic language, instead of being regarded as a weakening peculiar to Sanskrit. In the European languages syllabic *r* has been resolved into a consonantal (non-syllabic) *r* accompanied by a distinct

vowel. The following are the combinations which correspond to syllabic *r* in the chief European languages (Saussure, p. 7):

Greek: *ar, al; ra, la.*

Latin: *or, ul (ol).*

Germanic: *or, ol.*

The following are examples: Greek *édracon*=Sanskrit *ádrçam*, from *dérkomaí*, *tarpómetha* from *térpō*, *blastós*=*wrdá*; Latin *fors*=*b'rtí*, *cord-*=*krd*, *pulsus* from *pello*; Germanic *boranás*, Old English *boren*, from *beran* (cp. Sanskrit *b'rtá*); *wólfa*, OE. *wulf*=Sanskrit *wrka* (originally *wrká*).

The original syllabic nasals have been lost everywhere. The following are the sounds which correspond to original syllabic *n* and *m* respectively in the different languages:

Sanskrit: *a a.*

Greek: *a a.*

Latin: *en em.*

Germanic: *un um.*

Examples are: Sanskrit *tatá*, Greek *tatós*, Latin *tentus*=original *tntá* from the root *tæn*; Sanskrit *matí*, Latin *men(t)is*, Germanic *gamundíz* (OE. *gemynd*) from *mæn*; Sanskrit *daça*, Greek *déka*, Latin *decem*, Germanic *tehun*=*dækm*.

There remain, lastly, the words with a diphthong in the strong form, such as Greek *éimi*, Sanskrit *émi*, whose weak form shows the simple vowel, as in the plural *ímen* (with shifting of the original accent), Sanskrit *ímáh*, the original forms being (*æimi*) and (*imás*). It is evident that the treatment of the diphthongic vowel is perfectly parallel to that of the liquids, (*æi*) being equivalent to (*æj*), so that the older view of (*æi*) being the result of the diphthongic strengthening of *i* must be reversed: *i* is a weakening of (*æi*), which consists in dropping the (*æ*). Other examples of weakened (*æi*) are the Latin *dictus* from the strong *deicō*, Latin *fidimus*, Teutonic *bitum*, Sanskrit *bib'idimá*, the strong form being (*b'æid*), preserved in the Germanic *bītan*. Examples of weakened (*æu*) are Sanskrit *budd'á*, Greek *pustós*, Germanic *bodaná* (OE. *boden*), from the strong (*b'æud'*), preserved in Sanskrit *bódhāmi*, Germanic *beudan* (OE. *béodan*).

Although there can be no doubt of the loss of the (*æ*) in

the weak *i* of *imas*, the exact nature of the process is by no means self-evident. The general hypothesis seems to be that the (æ) was dropped bodily. But this will not bear examination. It is quite impossible that the full stress-vowel should be dropped and the subordinate element of the diphthong retained, and the most probable explanation seems to be that unaccented (æi) underwent a gradual approximation of its elements, ending in monophthongization and shortening, thus —(æi), (ei), (ī), (i). So also with (æu), which would naturally pass through (ou) and (ū) into (u). The same reasoning applies also, though in a less degree, to the liquid-combinations. Unaccented (ær) would pass through (ør) with the neutral vowel into (r̄), whence simple (r). (æŋ) would first weaken its *n* into a nasalization of the vowel, and the resulting (æ̃n), or rather (æ̃n), would, in accordance with well-known tendencies, be deepened into (ā̃n), whence (an) and the Greek and Sanskrit (a), although the Latin *en* points rather to (æ̃n).

These considerations had suggested themselves to me some time before I found the same view expressed in H. Moeller's review of Kluge's book in *Englische Studien* (iii. 1, p. 151 note). Moeller remarks: 'The weak stage before consonants resulted probably not from "dropping of the  $a_1$ ", but from shortening after previous contraction, so that *i* and *u* would be shortenings of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ , themselves contractions of  $a_1i$  and  $a_1u$  in unaccented syllables.'

Where  $\varepsilon$  is flanked with stopped consonants, the (æ) is retained in the weak stage, thus in Greek the weak *skeptós* has the same vowel as the strong *sképtomai*, and the Germanic participle *gebaná* (OE. *gifen*) retains the strong vowel of the infinitive *geban*. But if the (æ) can be dropped, it disappears without leaving any trace, as in the conjugation of the verb substantive: *ásmi*, *smási*, *stá*, *sjám*, Greek *skheîn* from *ékhō* = *sékhō*, *ptésthai* from the root (pæt). I am inclined to believe that it was originally dropped everywhere, and only introduced again by the analogy of the strong forms.

We now come to (ɔ), the *gradation* of (æ). Wherever we find *e* and *o* alternating in the same root in Greek (and Latin), the latter must be assumed to be the *gradation* (*steigerung*)



of the former. This vague term is preferable to 'strengthening' or any more precise one, as it does not commit us to any theory of the origin of (ɔ), which is still uncertain. (ɔ) occurs in perfects, such as Greek *gégona*, *dédorka*, *éoiika*, whose presents have the forms *gen*, *derk*, (*w*)*eik* with the normal (æ); in Latin we still find such perfects as *tetondi*, *memordi*, the hypothetical older presents *tendo*, *merdo* being lost. (ɔ) occurs in a large number of nouns, such as Greek *gónu*, *nóstos*, *tónos*, Latin *forma*. In Sanskrit (ɔ) appears in the form of *ā* in open, *a* in close syllables, as in *jagāna* = Greek *gégona*, *jānu* = *gónu*, *dadárça* = *dédorka*.

There is also the important alternation of (æ) and (ɔ) in endings, as in Sanskrit and Greek *wá'āmah*, *ékhomen*, *wá'anti*, *ékhonti*, *wá'atha*, *ékhete*, *áçwah*, *híppos*, *áçwam*, *hippon*, *áçwa*, *híppe*.

These inflexional alternations of (æ) and (ɔ) are evidently dependent (partly, at least) on the character of the following consonants, (ɔ) appearing before a nasal.

There are no traces of such consonantal influences on the development of (ɔ) in root-syllables. (ɔ), unlike the strong and the weak stage, appears also to be independent of the accent, occurring, at least as far as our present evidence goes, in accented and unaccented syllables equally.

#### (a)-series.

Many words in Greek and Latin agree in containing an *a* which is evidently quite distinct from the (æ)-series, for it never alternates with *e* or *o*. Examples are *ágō*, *agrós*, *ager*, *apó*, *ab*, *aróō*, *arāre*, *laiós*, *laevus*, *taúros*, *taurus*. This *a* alternates with an *ā*, and a comparison with the corresponding forms of the (æ)-series leads to the conclusion that *ā* represents the strong stage, of which *a* is a weakening. Thus to the Sanskrit *ásmi*, *smás*, *émi*, *imáh* correspond the Greek *phāmi* (with shifting of the older accent), *phamén*. The weak *a* occurs also in the participle *phatós*, also in *statós*, whose strong form appears in the present *hístāmi*; *láthō* and *élathon* are related exactly as *léipō*, *élipon*. The two stages are also seen in *patēr* and *mātēr*.

The Greek-Latin  $\bar{a}$  appears in the same form in Sanskrit, where it is distinguished from  $\bar{a}=(\text{a})$  by retaining its length in close as well as open syllables, as in  $\text{çásti}$ , from  $\text{çás}$ , Latin *car-men*, *casmēna*. The  $\alpha$  appears sometimes as  $a$ , sometimes as  $i$ , as in  $\text{ájati}=\text{ágō}$  (originally formed from an aorist parallel to *élathon*),  $\text{pitá}=\text{patér}$ ,  $\text{sthítá}=\text{statós}$ . The alternation in  $\text{çásti}$ ,  $\text{çishmáh}$  is perfectly parallel to that in  $\text{dwéshṭi}$ ,  $\text{dwishmáh}$ , although the  $i$ 's in the weak forms of the two verbs have nothing to do with one another.

From the parallelism between the (a)- and the (æ)-series, Saussure draws the very probable conclusion that  $\bar{a}$  must be analysed into (æ) + some consonantal element, which he writes  $\Lambda$ , so that  $\text{stā}=(\text{stæ}\Lambda)$ ,  $\text{statá}=(\text{statá}\Lambda)$ , the  $\Lambda$  being afterwards changed into a vowel of intermediate quality.

The reality of this analysis is strongly confirmed by the fact that in formations where roots of the (æ)-series develop the gradation (a), Greek  $\bar{a}$  (=æ $\Lambda$ ) becomes  $\bar{o}$  (=o $\Lambda$ ), thus  $\text{bōmós}$  stands in exactly the same relation to  $\text{bāma}$  as  $\text{kormós}$  does to  $\text{kérma}$ ; compare also  $\text{phōné}$  with  $\text{poíné}$ ,  $\text{khórā}$  with  $\text{sphodrós}$ .

Greek (and Latin) also have an  $o$  and an  $e$  which are quite independent both of one another, and of the  $e$  and  $o$  of the (æ)-series. These vowels appear, like the  $\alpha$ , only in the weak stage, the strong one being  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{e}$  respectively, as in  $\text{dotós}$ ,  $\text{thetós}$ ,  $\text{didōmi}$ ,  $\text{tithēmi}$ . The evidence for the existence of the  $\bar{e}$  in the parent language is dubious, and Saussure is inclined to believe that it is merely a later European development of the  $\bar{a}$  of  $\text{stā}$ . The  $o$  is represented by several words of undoubted antiquity, such as *ósse*, *oculus*, *pósis*, *potīrī*, *nox*, *monīle*. In Sanskrit it appears as short  $a$  in open as well as closed syllables, being thus distinct from the representative of Greek and Latin  $o=(\text{a})$ . Thus *pósis* and *monīle* reappear in Sanskrit as *páti* and *maṇí*.

Saussure does not attempt to determine the real nature of the supposed consonantal elements of the roots in (æ $\Lambda$ ) and (æo). Moeller in the passage already quoted gives a good hint, suggesting that ( $\Lambda$ ) may have been the 'sonant glottal spirant', ( $E$ ) the same voiceless, and ( $O$ ) the glottal  $r$ . The distinction between the first and the last is one that I cannot realize, and I would suggest as possible, though, of course,

purely hypothetical identifications, (A)=the glottal *r*, or voiced glottal trill, (o) the same labialized,=the Danish *r*, while (E)—assuming its actual existence—may have been (A) palatalized. The deep tone of the first would naturally change a preceding (æ) into *a*, while the rounding of the second and the palatal quality of the last would as naturally modify it in the direction of *o* and *e*. That the Semitic glottal consonants—at least the *ain*—existed in the Sanskrit pronunciation of the authors of the phonetic treatises has been shown by Mr. Ellis, who assigns to the ‘sonant *h*’ and the second element of the ‘sonant aspirates’ a sound which is practically that of a glottal *r* (E.E.P. 1134). It may be remarked that no consonants are more liable to be absorbed into the preceding vowels than these ‘glottids’. Also that the weakenings of (æA), &c., must be explained in the same way as those of (æi), &c., (statá) being a shortening of (státá).

The general result of the investigations here briefly summed up is that every syllable originally contained the vowel (æ), either alone or else in combination with some semi-vowel, and that under certain unknown conditions (æ) became (ɔ), while when unaccented it underwent a variety of weakenings which in most cases practically amounted to its entire disappearance.

The most important fact about (ɔ) is its *length* in Sanskrit, which has suggested to me the following theory: originally the parent Indogermanic language had only one vowel, *a*, which under certain circumstances (when unaccented (?))—of course after the development of syllabic *r*, &c.) was afterwards lengthened into  $\bar{a}$ , and then rounded into (ɔɔ), as in English *fall*, all the short *a*'s being at the same time palatalized into (æ), as in the English *man*; the difference between original *a* and  $\bar{a}$  being now qualitative as well as quantitative, the (ɔɔ) into which the latter had developed was shortened into (ɔ), first in close syllables, as in Sanskrit, and then everywhere, as in the European languages; we have a direct proof that Sanskrit *a*=(æ) was a direct development from the latter, and for  $\bar{a}$ =(ɔɔ) we have only to assume that unrounding of which there are many examples in living languages.

# REPORTS ON PHONETICS, GENERAL PHILOLOGY, AND GERMANIC AND ENGLISH PHILOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

## REPORT ON PHONETICS

THE contributions to phonetics, both general and special, that have appeared during the last few years are both numerous and important.

Few works have been so anxiously expected as the promised revision of *Visible Speech* by the author. The progress of phonetics has been so great during the fourteen years that have elapsed since the appearance of that epoch-making work—a progress due, in great measure, to the influence of *Visible Speech* itself—and Mr. Bell's views have been subjected to such criticism both by friend and foe, that great curiosity was felt as to how he would meet these changed conditions. The book has at last appeared,<sup>2</sup> and, I regret much to say, must be pronounced a disappointing one. Those who, like myself, after a long study of *Visible Speech*, have been forced to the conclusion that the system not only admits of, but urgently requires supplementing and revision, think they have a right to expect something more than a mere restatement of the matter contained in the inaugural edition. In fact, the idea of popularizing *Visible Speech* is an unfortunate one, and until the system has been completely tested, and has assumed a permanent form,

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1882-4, pp. 100-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Sounds and their relations, a complete manual of universal alphabets; illustrated by means of Visible Speech: and exhibiting the pronunciation of English in various styles, and of other languages and dialects*, by Alex. Melville Bell, F.E.I.S., &c. London, Trübner & Co., 1882.

generally approved of by scientific phoneticians, the attempt to popularize it seems more likely to do harm than good.

It cannot be denied that Mr. Bell has improved his Visible Speech typography, and that he has so far profited by criticism as to make his exposition less dryly schematic, nor can it be denied that he has made it clearer by the more liberal use of key-words. He has also reversed the former values of the symbols for *s* and *sh*, and of those for the front-point and point-front consonants, the last being now identified by him with English *th*. The only information we receive about the grounds of this change is (p. 32) that 'experience has shown that the present arrangement is preferable'. I miss detailed argument here especially, for the good reason that I have strong doubts as to the correctness of the change as regards *s* and *sh*, and still believe that Mr. Bell's original analysis is the most correct one yet published, with the slight modifications made in my *Handbook of Phonetics* (p. 40). His analysis of the ordinary English *th* and *f* as divided consonants is, I believe, not accepted by any one but the author, and is evidently due to an attempt to maintain the symmetry of a defective consonant-system. In my paper on *Sound-Notation* (Trans. 1880-1, II) I suggested a symbol for the teeth, formed by a simple modification of existing V.S. symbols, as a necessary supplement to the original consonant-system, which would enable us to put *th* and *f* into their natural places as point-teeth and lip-teeth consonants respectively. This suggestion has probably been made by others as well, for Mr. Bell indulges (pp. 92 foll.) in a polemic of some length against it, but without mentioning any names. His main contention is that it is practically useless to symbolize the fixed parts of the mouth. The author's son, Mr. A. G. Bell, and his fellow-workers in America, are not only of the same opinion as I am, but think I have not gone far enough.

But it is pleasanter to dwell on the merits than on the defects of Mr. Bell's work. His analysis of the vowels is, indeed, one of the really great achievements of modern science, and I am glad to think that my *Handbook* has been

the means of introducing it to the notice of Continental students. The German edition of Storm's *English Philology*,<sup>1</sup> in which the valuable section on 'general phonetics', containing a full account of the work done by the English school with Ellis and Bell at their head, has been made accessible to a larger circle of readers than it was in the original Norwegian edition, has contributed greatly to the same end.

Sievers, the leading German phonetician, in the second edition of his *Introduction to the phonology of the Indo-germanic languages*,<sup>2</sup> has very generously acknowledged his obligations to what he justly calls the 'English-Scandinavian' school of phonetics. He says (Preface, p. v): 'I must openly confess that even the first edition of my book would have received a materially different form if I had at that time been acquainted with, or had utilized better, the two works which have founded modern phonetics—Bell's *Visible Speech*, and Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*.' Again, 'I mention by way of example the important theory of transition-sounds or "glides", of which I had given only a few scanty hints, while the whole system of them had been made clear by Ellis and Bell for years past.'

It is satisfactory to think, not only that English phoneticians are thus paying back the large debt they owe to German science, but that in this way we are beginning to lay the foundations of a really international school of phonetics, for, as I have said elsewhere (*Spoken Swedish*, Trans. 1877-9, p. 542), phonology without comparison is a sheer impossibility; and as no one can acquire a thorough knowledge of the sounds of more than comparatively few languages, each investigator bringing, according to his nationality, special qualifications and disqualifications to the task of observing, comparing, and analysing the sounds of the group he is dealing with, it is

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Philologie: anleitung zum wissenschaftlichen studium der englischen sprache*, von Johan Storm, vom verfasser für das deutsche publikum bearbeitet. I. Die lebende sprache. Heilbronn, Henninger, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundzüge der Phonetik zur einföhrung in das studium der lautlehre der indogermanischen sprachen*, von Eduard Sievers. Zweite wesentlich umgearbeitete und vermehrte auflage der 'Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie'. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881.

absolutely necessary that he should constantly compare his results with those of others. It is now an axiom with phoneticians that no one can understand the sounds of his own language unless he is able to compare them with those of several others. Often, indeed, some of the sounds of a language are more correctly appreciated by foreigners than by natives.

An investigation of the sounds of a language by a foreigner is thus, though likely enough to contain errors of detail, tolerably sure to notice points which may escape native observers. Even if it does nothing more than stimulate natives to do the work over again in a fuller and more accurate form, it is amply justified. Kurschat's Lithuanian grammar, the work of a native, is no doubt a great improvement on that of the German Schleicher, but it is very doubtful whether it would ever have been undertaken without the incentive of Schleicher's example. In the same way I am glad to find that my above-mentioned essay on spoken Swedish has induced one of the most promising of Prof. Storm's Norwegian pupils to write a similar treatise on the phonology of the spoken educated Norse,<sup>1</sup> which very closely resembles Swedish. Strange to say, this is the first scientifically accurate and detailed account, by a native, of the pronunciation of any standard language, as opposed to a dialect, that has yet appeared. When the same work has been done for English, French, German, and other European languages, we shall be able to say that the foundations of a rational practical study of these languages—which at present do not exist—have been laid. The author is a thorough-going adherent of the English school; he even retains the English names of the vowels—'high-front-narrow,' &c.

On the other hand, Prof. Trautmann, of Bonn, in a review of Sievers's *Lautphysiologie* (Anglia, iv. 2, pp. 56 foll.), has made a fierce attack on the English school, and on those of his degenerate countrymen who have confessed to having learnt something from it. The reckless, almost boyish,

<sup>1</sup> Bidrag til dansk-norskens lydlære, af K. Brække. Separataftryk af Aars og Voss's skoles indbydelsesskrift for 1881. Kristiania, Fabritius, 1881.

conceit of Trautmann's tone has certainly excited more amusement than indignation among his adversaries, but is nevertheless to be deplored. I have criticized Trautmann's attack, and, I think, refuted it in a review of Storm's *Englische Philologie* in the *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen* (1881, No. 44), and need not go into details here. Anyhow, we shall all be glad to see Trautmann's promised work on 'Sounds in general, and those of French, English, and German in particular', and to learn from it what is to be learnt, although most of us will think that he has made a bad beginning to his phonetic career.

Techmer, in his *Phonetik*,<sup>1</sup> has also gone a way of his own, but what that way really is, or what his object was in publishing this elaborate and expensive work, I am unable to say. The book consists of a mass of anatomical details, many of which have scarcely the remotest bearing on phonetics, with remarks on acoustics, psychology, the origin of language, and other general questions, together with a mass of undigested quotations from the most incongruous authorities. The author's views on phonetics proper are expressed in the vaguest and most abstract way, and he has added little or nothing to our knowledge of the actual sounds of language. Not a single key-word is given to explain what sound the author means by 'open e', &c. Nor is there any clear definition of the author's standpoint compared with that of his predecessors. Although the work no doubt contains many hints which may be useful to specialists, it is an entire failure as a guide to general phonetics.

Lastly, I may call attention to a short essay on the 'Arrangement of the Vowels' by G. Michaelis.<sup>2</sup> The main object of the work is the comparison of Bell's check-board tabulation of the vowels with the older triangular arrangement still prevalent in Germany, and a vindication of the latter, but the really valuable part of it is the excellent

<sup>1</sup> *Phonetik: zur vergleichenden physiologie der stimme und sprache*, von Dr. F. Techmer. I. Text und Anmerkungen. II. Atlas. Leipzig, Engelmann, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die anordnung der vokale*, von G. Michaelis [Abdruck aus *Herrigs Archiv*, Bd. 64 und 65]. Berlin, Barthol, 1881.



historical sketch of the development of vowel-theories from Roman times till the present day.

#### REPORT ON GENERAL PHILOLOGY

The most important work on general philology that has appeared of late years is perhaps Paul's *Principles of the History of Language*,<sup>1</sup> in which, following mainly the psychological views of Steinthal, he has summed up the views on the growth of language which have been lately developed among the younger school of German philologists, in many cases carrying them out more rigorously and consistently, and adding many original ideas of his own, and has produced a comprehensive, though necessarily somewhat curtailed, outline of the general principles which govern the life and growth of language in general. What strikes one most in the work is its extreme soundness; it inspires the reader with a feeling of confidence, not only in the author's knowledge of the facts, but also in his logical and critical handling of them.

In his introductory chapters he argues the necessity of a general theoretical science of language, discusses the relation of this science to other branches of knowledge, and makes some general remarks on the nature of linguistic development, laying special stress on the fact that the spoken word or sound has no history—that changes are not in words, but in the organs and organisms, physical and mental, which produce those words. In treating of the laws of sound-change, he argues that, just as in writing, one and the same person never forms any two letters identically alike, so also in speaking it is impossible to avoid a slight shifting of the positions and actions by which we form a sound, which changes are only partially controlled by the influence of the spoken sound. [Curiously enough, Paul does not seem to acknowledge the much more potent cause of change which exists in the fact that one generation can learn the sounds of

<sup>1</sup> *Principien der sprachgeschichte*, von Hermann Paul, professor der deutschen sprache und literatur an der universität Freiburg. Halle, Niemeyer, 1880.

the preceding one by imitation only. It is an open question whether the modifications made by the individual in a sound he has once learnt, independently of imitation of those around him, are not too infinitesimal to have any appreciable effect.] He then proceeds to deal with the formation of those associated groups of sounds and ideas which constitute words and sentences; with the destruction and confusion caused in these groups by changes of sound and meaning; and with the reaction by means of analogical formation. [Thus, to take an English example, the sound-change known as 'mutation' obscured the relation between the Old English *gold* and the adjective *gylden* (the original forms having been *gulpo*, *gulþino*), but in Modern English *gilden* has been made into *golden* by the analogy of *gold*, and the etymological relation has thus been made as clear as it was at the beginning.] Paul well says (p. 100): 'We can hardly realize to what an extent the disconnectedness, confusion, and unintelligibility of language would extend, if it had to endure patiently all the ravages of sound-change, without the possibility of any reaction against them.' But he also proceeds to show that the disconnecting, isolating influences of sound- and other changes also have a positive, creative value, for it is only by 'isolation' that proper names and pronouns (such as French *on* from *homo*) can be developed out of nouns, &c. He then proceeds to treat of the development of the parts of speech from this point of view. The concluding chapters treat of the development of dialects, the relation between written and spoken language, and between standard languages and dialects.

< This work forms a striking contrast to the productions of our own 'Drawing-room' school, of which Prof. Max Müller, with his fascinating and facile pen, is both the founder and still the worthiest representative. Perhaps, indeed, some of those whose mental digestions have not been hopelessly impaired by the toffy and Turkish delight served up to them in the pages of Prof. Müller and his numerous followers, will turn with something like a sigh of relief to the plain loaf of whole-meal bread provided by Prof. Paul, tough

as its crust undoubtedly is. Perhaps, too, those who have vainly tried to grasp the brilliant, but unsubstantial theories of what may be called the 'Soap-bubble' school, will find the severely consistent logic of Prof. Paul more satisfying in the end, much as they may be exasperated by the exaggeratedly German abstractness and cumbrousness of his style.

While on the subject of English popular philology, I would call attention to the chapters on language in Dr. Tylor's *Anthropology*<sup>1</sup> as being among the best of their kind that have been published in England. Not only are the details on the deaf-and-dumb gesture language of great value to the specialist, but the treatment of the whole subject strikes me as remarkably sound and clear.

The fourth volume of the series of Indogermanic grammars headed by Sievers's *Phonetik* is Delbrück's *Introduction to the Study of Language*.<sup>2</sup> The first part of this short work is a sketch of the history of Arian philology from Bopp to the present time, showing how the problems which are now engaging the attention of philologists have developed themselves. Bopp, his contemporaries and successors down to Schleicher, and Schleicher himself, are treated of in separate chapters, followed by one which deals with modern tendencies. These last are summed up by the author as follows: (1) the interest in the history and origin of inflexion decreases; (2) it is acknowledged that the separate languages (Greek, Latin, &c.) had no power of making new words and forms, except by analogy; (3) increased strictness in applying sound-laws, culminating in the axiom (first stated, apparently, by Leskien) that sound-laws admit of no exception, and that apparent exceptions are due to the workings of analogy; (4) recognition of the importance of living languages. The second part deals with the problems themselves, namely, Bopp's agglutinative theory, which is declared to be the only plausible one against

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropology*: an introduction to the study of man and civilization, by E. B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S. London, Macmillan, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung in das sprachstudium: ein beitrag zur geschichte und methodik der vergleichenden sprachforschung*, von B. Delbrück. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1880.

Westphal's evolution theory and Ludwig's adaptation theory; the various questions connected with sound-laws; and lastly, with the genealogical relations of the separate languages. The best part of the book is undoubtedly the historical. As a whole, it is hardly full enough to serve as an efficient guide to the student. The author often gives his own conclusions in too dogmatic—often dogmatically sceptical—a way, and without accurate references to the works he is criticizing, although half the value of an introduction like this consists in its guiding the beginner and outsider to the exact places where information and suggestions are to be found, help which even the specialist is often glad of.

One branch of Arian philology which Delbrück has made peculiarly his own is that of comparative syntax. The four volumes of his *Syntactical Investigations*<sup>1</sup> now published have indeed laid the foundations of the science not only for the Arian family, but for language in general. In the third volume he shows (though partly anticipated by Bergaigne, as he himself points out) that parent Arian had already developed a perfectly definite word-order, so that each separate language received not only its words ready-made, but also, to a great extent, its sentences, the primitive order having been faithfully preserved in the oldest Sanskrit prose—that of the fore-classical *brāhmanas*. The fourth volume is of peculiar interest to all philologists. In it the more certain results of comparative syntactology, as far as they apply to Greek, are summed up much in the same way as Curtius has summed up the results of the comparative study of the formal side of the language in his well-known *Griechische etymologie*.

Passing from general principles to their application to the detailed investigation of the structure of each Arian language separately, one is simply appalled by the vast mass of undigested, scattered, and conflicting investigations the

<sup>1</sup> Syntaktische forschungen, von B. Delbrück. Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. I. Der gebrauch des conjunctivs und optativs in sanskrit und griechischen, 1871. II. Altindische tempuslehre, 1877. III. Die altindische wortfolge aus dem Çatapathabrāhmaṇa dargestellt, 1878. IV. Die grundlagen der griechischen syntax, 1879.

student has to try and master. Schleicher's *Compendium* is now so utterly antiquated that no one thinks of using it except for the sake of its word-lists and inflexion tables, and in the present revolutionary state of all things philological, it is hopeless expecting any real philologist to make himself the butt of his fellows by attempting to supersede it. The only feasible plan is evidently that of a series of grammars of each language on a uniform plan. When the series of Indogermanic grammars (see Trans. 1877-9, p. 383) was first announced, it was hoped that the promise of their appearance 'in quick succession' would be fulfilled more literally than has been the case. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar (to which I shall return again) worthily opened the series, and was followed the next year by Gustav Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*, but nothing more has appeared in the last two years, and I am told that, although the Slavonic grammar may be expected soon, the others are indefinitely behind-hand—each one waiting for the other's investigations, and afraid to commit itself to doubtful views.

The Greek grammar—in accordance with the general plan of the series—confines itself to phonology and inflexions, but the Sanskrit one is on a totally different plan. Here the comparative method is kept in the background, and the treatment is almost purely descriptive, but, on the other hand, the grammar is complete, derivation and composition being treated almost with the same fullness as sounds and inflexions, the leading facts of the syntax being also stated. But Whitney's is not only the first complete Sanskrit grammar that has been published—it is the first grammar that has been constructed on a rational historical plan. The author's main principles have been, 'to make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians,' to include the fore-classical period, beginning with the Rig-veda, and 'to treat the language throughout as an accented one'. Of course, Whitney's grammar will not supersede the special study of the works of native grammarians, nor has it supplied the want of a

comparative Sanskrit grammar, in which the less primitive features of the language (above all, its vowel-system) would be explained from the cognate languages; but it has relegated the former to its proper place, and has, for the first time, made the latter a possible undertaking.

It should never be forgotten that the comparative philologist approaches the study of Sanskrit in quite a different way from the would-be Sanskrit specialist; the latter may, if he likes, resolve on devoting a lifetime to the native grammatical system, but he has no right to impose his specialty on his comparative philology pupils, as is too often done. Now that the labours of Aufrecht, Grassmann, Whitney, and Delbrück have provided us with a romanized text-edition and glossary, a translation, a romanized grammar and chrestomathy of the oldest Sanskrit—so that its study is, in a measure, popularized—we are beginning to see that not only the grammatical, but also the whole of the classical Sanskrit literature has for the comparative student only the secondary value of a supplement to the older literature. It is only from the latter that a practical command of the accentuation and of the verbal forms—perhaps the two most valuable features of the language for the comparative philologist—can be gained, not to mention that it alone gives the key to comparative mythology and the origins of Hindu civilization. This suggests the question whether the mastery of classical Sanskrit is, after all, a necessary stepping-stone to the older language. This is a question which only experience can settle conclusively, but I think that a judicious selection of simple narrative pieces from the prose of the *brāhmaṇas* would prove the very best introduction to the language in general, while familiarizing the student with the only natural prose that it has. Hence it would be an easy step both backwards to the language of the Vedas, and forwards to the classical Sanskrit. The selections should, of course, be made from accented texts, and should be accompanied with a special grammar and glossary.

Another question which Vedic studies cannot fail to bring prominently forward is that of *transliteration*. The argu-

ment that Sanskrit forms cannot be impressed on the memory by means of that alphabet through which we learn nearly all European languages applies only—if it applies at all—to that vicious method which masters a language, not by sound, but by eye. But the really fatal objection to the devanāgarī alphabet is that it is simply incapable of representing the sounds of the older language with even approximate accuracy. It is only the defects of this alphabet that forces us to write such monstrosities as *ārya*, *martya*, &c., in direct defiance of the metre, which everywhere requires *āria*, *martia*, these being, as Sievers has shown (Zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen, p. 89), not only the original Sanskrit, but also the original Arian (not 'Aryan') forms. So also Vedic metre requires, as shown by Kuhn,<sup>1</sup> the admission of short *e* and *o* before vowels, which, again, the conventional alphabet is incapable of representing. It is really time we had a metrically correct text of the Vedas in Roman spelling.

Outsiders, too, who can only give a limited time to the language, have a right to demand that the external difficulties of its study should be reduced to a minimum. If even in a familiar language the absence of word division, adequate punctuation and of any distinction between *mister baker the smith and the various scotch and german bakers of the metropolis* is exasperating, these peculiarities must, to say the least, retard the mastery of an unfamiliar one.

Not but that the other alphabets may not learn something from the devanāgarī. If it is a sensible feature of the latter invariably to mark the quantities, it cannot but be the reverse for Greek to mark those of only two vowels, and for Latin to mark none at all. But, again, if it is a rational practice to print Latin, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon books in the alphabet at present in general use, and not in imitations of the manuscript hands in which they were originally written, it cannot but be an absurdity to persist in printing Greek in a special form of letters, which, besides, bear only a remote

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bloomfield 'On non-diphthongal *e* and *o* in Sanskrit', in Proceedings of American Oriental Society, Oct. 26, 1881.

resemblance to those of the oldest MSS. I hope that, parallel with the present agitation for spelling-reform, we shall soon have a movement in favour of a general system of Roman transliteration on rational principles.

Of special investigations there is a large number, which I have neither ability nor space to mention here at length. The most important are, perhaps, those contained in Osthoff and Brugman's *Morphological Investigations*.<sup>1</sup> The last volume (the fourth) contains a very important essay by Osthoff on Arian  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  (Die Tiefstufe im indogermanischen Vokalismus), in which he has cleared up the mysterious fluctuation between long and short vowel in such pairs as Sanskrit  $s\bar{u}n\acute{u}$  and Germanic *sunu*, Sanskrit  $j\bar{i}w\acute{a}$  and Greek *bíos*, by explaining  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  as the intermediate stages between original *ei*, *eu* and their weakenings *i* and *u*. His view is that the change from diphthongs to long vowels took place originally in every syllable that had not full stress, that the length of these contractions was preserved where the syllable had a secondary stress, while they were shortened to *i* and *u* wherever the syllable lost its stress altogether. He assumes that a syllable might have different degrees of stress according to its position in the sentence and the degree of stress of any syllable that preceded it, so that duplicates arose, only one of which was often preserved in the later languages. This view has much to recommend it, but cannot as yet be accepted as fully established. I certainly agree with Osthoff in rejecting the ordinary view which disassociates pitch and force, but I feel doubtful whether parent Arian really made such delicate discriminations in stress as is implied by his theory. But the facts themselves he has certainly established, as also a formerly disputed one, namely, that *ai*-roots, such as *aidh* 'burn', undergo the same weakening as *ei*-roots, as shown in Sanskrit  $\bar{i}dhr\acute{y}a$ , Greek *itharós*, &c. He also shows very clearly the impossibility of explaining Arian *a* as *e* + a consonantal element, and assumes three distinct series, each with its three stages,

<sup>1</sup> *Morphologische untersuchungen auf dem gebiete der indogermanischen sprachen*, von Dr. H. Osthoff und Dr. K. Brugman. Leipzig, Hirzel, 4 vols., 1878-81.



dependent (as he assumes) on strong, medium, and weak stress respectively :

<i>ei</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ai</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>oi</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>

He finds the *o*-series in such Greek presents as *óthomai* compared with *pétomai*, *óikhomai* with *leípō*, *kroúō* with *pheúgō*.

In an article in P. u. B. Beiträge (vol. vii, 1880, Die entstehung des *o*) H. Möller has explained the three stages *e*, *o*, and loss of vowel, as due solely to the influence of pitch-accent. His view is that original *a* became *e* when it had the acute accent (Sanskrit *udātta*), *o* when it had the circumflex (independent *svarita*), and was dropped when it had only the grave accent (enclitic *svarita*). He would thus refer such a form as *ecwo*=Latin *equus* (-os) back to original \**ácwá* (or *ácwà*, as he would write it).

Without attempting to go into further details, I will only remark that this theory, in so far as it explains the change from the neutral *a* to the clear *e* (of course, through the *æ* of English *man*) as due to raised pitch, and that of *a* to *o* as due to lowered pitch, has really given the best explanation of these phenomena as yet published, while, on the other hand, the dropping of the vowel in *krtá*, &c., can hardly be explained except on the theory of stress-gradation. Probably both views must be accepted and harmonized: It seems certain that parent Arian had fixed pitch-accent, and it is in the highest degree probable (even on purely *a priori* grounds) that gradations of stress were associated with the pitch-accents.

A question of great morphological importance has been brought forward by these new theories, namely, that of the relation of roots and stems. Fick was the first (Bezzenger's Beiträge I)<sup>1</sup> to question the existence of a 'theme-vowel', and to explain the *o* and *e* of *híppos*, *híppe*, &c., as constituting part of the root. This view has been taken up by Paul,

<sup>1</sup> I can only quote this article second-hand.

Möller, and lastly by Kögel (P. u. B. B. viii, 1880, *Gegen nasalis sonans*). The general result arrived at is that the Arian root was originally (when uncompounded with other roots) disyllabic, always ending in a vowel, all the vowels in a root being capable of the three 'gradations', so that the second vowel of *híppos* is to that of *híppe* as the first of *phóros* is to that of *phérō*, while the dropping of the second vowel in the so-called root-stems, such as *pad-*, is paralleled by the dropping of the original root-vowel of *krtá*, &c.

This view is so far from being new to me, that I have simply never been able to realize the possibility of the conventional one, according to which the primitive Arians first discoursed in monosyllabic 'roots', such as *bhar*, *dam*, then (for no apparent reason) made them into 'stems' by sticking on a 'demonstrative' *a* (as if they were not overburdened by demonstrative roots already), and, lastly, raised these stems to the dignity of 'words' by adding inflexions. I have always seen fossilized Arian roots (or fore-inflexional words) in vocatives and imperatives, such as *híppe*, *phére*, and regarded *hippo-* in *hippo-mákhos*, &c., as a fossilized Arian word, all compounds being nothing else but fragments of fore-inflexional sentences.

#### REPORT ON GERMANIC AND ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

All Germanic students are anxiously awaiting Sievers's *Deutsche Grammatik*, which will form one of the above-mentioned series of Indogermanic grammars, but it is to be feared they will have to wait some time. The main cause of the delay is the want of a reliable collection of the Oldest English texts—a want, however, which my forthcoming edition will soon supply. Of all the contributors to the series, Sievers certainly has the most formidable task. The Germanist has none of the helps which ancient and modern scholarship afford to the Sanskritist and classical philologist: he has laboriously to recover every word and form from the manuscripts themselves, and to construct his grammars and dictionaries on this uncertain and shifting basis. Nor has he, like the Romanist, the advantage of a definite back-

ground. It was, indeed, for a long time assumed that Gothic practically represented the Germanic parent language, but this view is now abandoned, having proved the source of many errors. Such recent discoveries as Verner's law have taught us two lessons: (1) not to reason about any Germanic form or word till we have traced it through all the Germanic languages, and (2) that we must always be prepared to seek the explanation of Germanic forms in the older Arian languages. Thus, for a sound historical study, even of a single language like Old English, it is not enough to trace the forms to their Gothic equivalents, or even through all the other Germanic languages, for the real key may be a Greek, Sanskrit, Slavonic, or even Celtic form. It is not, of course, possible to get a practical knowledge of all these languages, but that general knowledge of their structure, which will enable the investigator to utilize the material collected in grammars and dictionaries, can and must be mastered by all historical students of Old English, or any other old Germanic language.

Meanwhile, the series of short, purely descriptive grammars edited by Prof. W. Braune are a great boon, even to advanced students.<sup>1</sup>

Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur*, of which the eighth volume is now appearing, still continues to be the chief organ of the most advanced school of Germanic philologists.

Among general investigations which have been published separately may be specially mentioned von Bahder's investigation of the history of verbal abstract nouns,<sup>2</sup> as a valuable contribution to the scarcely touched subject of Germanic derivative-formation.

<sup>1</sup> Sammlung kurzer grammatiken germanischer dialecte herausgegeben von W. Braune. I. Gotische grammatik mit einigen lesestücken und wortverzeichnis von W. Braune, 1880. II. Mittelhochdeutsche grammatik von H. Paul, 1881. III. Angelsächsische grammatik von E. Sievers, 1882. In preparation: Althochdeutsche grammatik von W. Braune. Altnordische-Altswedische grammatik von A. Noreen.

<sup>2</sup> Die verbalabstracta in den germanischen sprachen ihrer bildung nach dargestellt von Karl von Bahder. Halle, Niemeyer, 1880.

Not attempting to enumerate the many text-editions published every year in Germany, I may pass on to Denmark, to notice the foundation of an Old Norse text society.<sup>1</sup> The subscription is a very moderate one (6s. yearly), and every English philologist ought to support this society—unless, indeed, he is already a member of all the six societies founded in this country by our worthy Hon. Secretary, Mr. Furnivall.

The Swedish Dialect Society is continuing its work with unabated vigour. The editor of its periodical,<sup>2</sup> Kand. J. A. Lundell, has lately been appointed lecturer in phonetics at the University of Upsala. This is the first official recognition of the science that has taken place, but I have little doubt that before many years there will be professors of phonetics and elocution at many of the Continental universities. One of the publications of the society for 1881 is a paper by Lundell on the study of dialects (*Om dialektstudier med särskild hänsyn till de nordiska språken*), which ought to interest English dialectologists, as also an earlier one of his in the same periodical (1879–80) on dialectology and folklore in Sweden and other countries (*Landsmål och folkliif i Sverige och andra länder*), with a very full and valuable list of dialectal works in the chief European languages. In noticing the work of our English Dialect Society, Lundell justly remarks (p. 474): ‘When they hope within ten years to see the most important part of the work done, and the Society’s task completed, they are certainly greatly mistaken, or else have failed to see what that task really consists in.’ After praising Mr. Elworthy’s work, he goes on to say: ‘Otherwise it is remarkable that phonetics is on the whole neglected, although England possesses phoneticians of the first rank, and in this respect stands on more than an equality with

<sup>1</sup> Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1880: (1) Peder Smed, udg. af S. Grundtvig. (2) *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum*, V. Dahlerup. (3) *Erex Saga*, G. Cederschiöld. 1881: (4) *Kiddara-rímur*, Th. Wisén. (5) *Mandevilles Rejse på dansk fra 15 de årh.*, M. Lorenzen, 1 ste og 2 det hæfte. (6) *Gyðinga Saga*, G. Þorláksson. Secretary: Dr. K. Kålund, Kortadelersgade, København K.

<sup>2</sup> Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folkliif. Stockholm, Samson och Wallin, 1879–81.

Germany, although in the latter the knowledge of the subject is undoubtedly more widely extended.' In Norway also a dialect society has been founded, mainly, as far as the linguistic side of its task is concerned, under the guidance of that leading phonetician, Prof. Johan Storm, of Christiania.

Passing to English, I have first to chronicle the completion of Prof. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*,<sup>1</sup> which, although necessarily on a not always perfectly sound basis, especially as regards the Old French derivations, is a real contribution to general English philology; it is a distinct step towards making English etymology a really scientific study, and even where the author's views may be doubtful, the large mass of reliable materials collected by him will always afford a sound basis for future investigation. The abridgement he has made of this work<sup>2</sup> will, of course, address itself to a much larger public, and, it is to be hoped, will speedily supersede the miserable compilations now current.

Prof. Schipper's historical treatise on English metres, of which the first part, treating of the Old and Middle English periods, has just appeared,<sup>3</sup> will no doubt help to fill a lamentable gap in English philology and text-criticism—especially the latter, but I am not yet able to pronounce a decided opinion on its merits.

The contributions to Old English are numerous and important. Sievers's *Grammar*, mentioned above, p. 163, n. 1, is the first one on an historical basis, which, at the same time, gives a general view of the dialects. Unfortunately it includes only sounds and inflexions. I may also mention my elementary book in Old English,<sup>4</sup> in which I have tried to make the subject as easy as I possibly could.

<sup>1</sup> *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> *Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer entwicklung dargestellt*, von Dr. J. Schipper. Erster theil: altenglische metrik. Bonn, Strauss, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> *An Anglo-Saxon primer, with grammar, notes, and glossary*, by Henry Sweet, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

Prof. Cosijn, of Leiden, has brought out the first part of an Old West Saxon Grammar,<sup>1</sup> which I hope to see continued. A short, but thorough grammar of the language of the Vespasian Psalter, by a promising pupil of Sievers,<sup>2</sup> is another of those special investigations on which alone a general grammar and dictionary of Old English can be based. I am glad to be able to state that Prof. Cook, of the Johns Hopkins University, now studying under Sievers at Jena, is preparing a similar work on the Rushworth and Durham glosses.

The first volume of Wülcker's re-edition of Grein's Library of Old English Poetry<sup>3</sup> from the MSS., containing *Beowulf*, has appeared, as also a selection of the shorter poems by the same editor.<sup>4</sup>

Zupitza has brought out the first part of his elaborate edition of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary.<sup>5</sup>

A serious fault of these two editors is that they both deliberately suppress the accents of the MSS. in their texts. Zupitza has apparently been unable to resist the temptation of exhibiting his own views on OE. quantity—views which the clear evidence of MSS. accentuation show to be untenable for Ælfric's period—but Wülcker gives us an absolute blank—he neither gives his own views nor lets the MSS. speak for themselves! The truth is that the accents are not only as much a part of the spelling of a word as the difference between *i* and *y*, *eo* and *io*, &c., but are often the most important of all: such a gloss as *ovum* : *æg* is of very little, such a one as *ovum* : *æg* is of very considerable value. It is

<sup>1</sup> Kurzgefasste altwestsächsische grammatik von P. J. Cosijn. I. Die vocale der stammsilben. Leiden, Brill, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Die sprache des kentischen psalters (*Vesp. A. 1*), ein beitrage zur angelsächsischen grammatik, von R. Zeuner. Halle, Niemeyer, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothek der angelsächsischen poesie begründet von C. W. M. Grein, neu bearbeitet, vermehrt, und nach eignen lesungen der handschriften hgg. v. R. P. Wülcker. I. Band, i. Hälfte. Kassel, Wigand, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> Kleinere angelsächsische dichtungen. Abdruck der handschriftlichen überlieferung, mit den lesarten der handschriften und einem wörterbuche versehen, von R. P. Wülcker. Halle, Niemeyer, 1882.

<sup>5</sup> Ælfries grammatik und glossar hgg. v. J. Zupitza. I. Text und varianten. Berlin, Weidmannsche buchhandlung, 1880.

an unjustifiable inconsistency to register one class of distinctions and to suppress the evidence of another on mere subjective grounds.

I may lastly mention the first part of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, edited for the Early English Text Society by Prof. Skeat, which came out last year.

[ It is humiliating to see how little share England has in all this progress. We have now two professors of 'Anglo-Saxon'—one of them, for a wonder, a real working one, but there are no signs of a school of young specialists rising up around them. Anglo-Saxon is abandoned to ladies and foreigners; our undergraduates and young dons are too much exhausted with ornamental scholarship and the resuscitation of decayed philosophies to have any time for the earnest study of their own language—they have only just strength enough left to let Browning Societies be founded for them. ]





### III. HISTORY OF ENGLISH

#### THE HISTORY OF THE *TH* IN ENGLISH<sup>1</sup>

THE formation of the sound represented by *th* in English will be best understood from Mr. Bell's description in his *Visible Speech*. 'The "front-mixed divided" consonant has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum;—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate.' As I shall frequently have occasion to refer to the analogous lip-divided-consonant, I will also quote Mr. Bell's description of that consonant: it is 'formed by placing the centre of the lower lip on the edges of the upper teeth, while the breath hisses through the interstices between the teeth, or between the teeth and the lip'. The close connexion of these two sounds is shown by the individual tendency to substitute the lip for the point consonant, as in *fink*, *frough* for *think*, *through*, and by many changes in various languages. In at least one English word this substitution has become so fixed as entirely to supersede the original form. This word is *strife*, or as a verb *strive*, in A.Saxon *strīð*, *strīðan*, Germ. *streiten*, &c., and there may be other instances. These consonants are closely allied to their corresponding stops or mutes, and are intermediate to them and the primary consonants, which are formed without any contact. Both of these consonants are sounded with breath and voice, and the distribution of the voiced and breathed varieties in the Teutonic languages is one of the most interesting points connected with their history. For the sake of brevity I shall, in speaking of these sounds, call them respectively divided *d* and *t*, *b* and *p*, the last two corresponding

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1868-9, pp. 272-88. This is Sweet's first published paper, and is therefore of great historical interest.—Ed.

to our *v* and *f*, while the letters used to denote these sounds will be called by their ordinary names.

To begin then with modern English, it may be stated as a general rule that the div. *t* is used initially and finally, the *d* only medially. The last rule is, however, only true with certain limitations. There are many positions in which it is a practical impossibility to pronounce a voiced consonant; thus in the word *siaths* the *th* is necessarily pronounced with breath instead of voice, being preceded and followed by breathed consonants. The most accurate statement perhaps is that the voiced pronunciation is necessary when the *th* is preceded and followed by vowels, one of which has, however, often been dropped in modern English pronunciation, although sometimes preserved in writing. Examples are: *paths*, A.Saxon *paðas*, where the second vowel is no longer written; and *lithe*, A.Saxon *lithē*, where it is written, but no longer pronounced.

The exceptions to these rules are as follow: 1st. There is a large number of pronouns and particles which are always pronounced with an initial div. *d*. 2nd. There is the isolated word *with*, also with exceptional vocal pronunciation.

These remarks apply only to words of Teutonic origin; the foreign *th* is always voiceless, as in *myth*, *mythic*.

The analogy of the divided lip-consonant is very close. Not only are the general rules for the distribution of the two varieties the same, but the exceptions can also be matched. These exceptions are the prep. *of*, analogous to *with*, and the two substantives *vat* and *vixen*, the latter contrasting remarkably with *fox* (Germ. *fuchs*, *fuchsin*). The chief difference lies in the graphic forms. The one series has but one sign, *th*; the other no less than three, *f*, *v*, and *ph*: the latter uniformly voiceless and used only in foreign words.<sup>1</sup> The only modern Teutonic language besides English which possesses the two sounds of the point series is Icelandic,<sup>2</sup> where the distribution

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis calls attention to the curious spelling of *nephew*, with *ph* instead of *f*, but with the regular *v*-pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Murray remarks that the two sounds of the *th* are still preserved in one of the Friesian dialects, a fact which illustrates the great importance

of the sounds is different from the English and perfectly regular, the div. *t* being invariably sounded in the beginning of words, the *d* medially and finally. These sounds are written with two different letters, which seem to have been taken from the A.Saxon alphabet. The div. *t* is expressed by the *þ* or *þorn*, the *d* by the *ð* or *stúngið dé*. The distribution of the corresponding labials is exactly parallel, both sounds, however, are expressed by the *f* alone. There is still another Teutonic language which possesses the div. *d*, but not the *t*. The *d* in modern Danish has this sound when it stands between two vowels or finally, but there can be little doubt that this Danish sound is of comparatively late origin and has no direct connexion with the English and Icelandic sounds. This is shown by such words as *sad*, *mad* (English *sat*, *meat*, Icel. *sat*, *mat*), where the *t* has first become voiced and then divided. In the same way the *d* of the preposition *ved*, although corresponding in pronunciation to the div. *d* of the English *with*, and Icelandic *við*, must be considered as a modification of an earlier *d*. In all cases the two divided consonants in Danish and Swedish are written *t* and *d*, and, with the exception of the Danish words just mentioned, are pronounced accordingly. The distribution of these *t*'s and *d*'s corresponds to that of the Icelandic div. consonants which they represent; thus we find *ting* in Swedish and Danish for the Icelandic *þing*, *ed*, *klæde*, answering to *eið*, *klæði*. There is, however, an important class of exceptions, consisting of those pronominal words which we have already met with in English. In contrast to the above-mentioned *ting*, we find in Swedish *du*, *den*, *detta*, which do not correspond to the Icelandic forms *þú*, *þann*, *þetta*, but postulate an original *ðú*, *ðann*, *ðetta*. The same is the case in Danish. The dialect of the Feroe islanders has also substituted the stopped for the div. consonant in the beginning of words, and shows its close

of these dialects for phonetic purposes. Mr. Bell's *Visible Speech*, together with the *Palaeotype* of Mr. Ellis, have now removed that great obstacle to the intelligent study of living dialects, the want of a definite phonetic notation; and we may hope before long to see these most valuable and fast-disappearing Friesian dialects put before us in a reliable form.

affinity to Icelandic by the forms *tú, tin, tá* (Icel. *þú, þín, þá*). These remarkable forms are characteristic of the dialect and do not occur elsewhere in the Teutonic languages.

Notwithstanding these Feroic sounds and the mod. Icelandic usage, there is strong reason for believing that the oldest Icelandic of the thirteenth century made the same distinction in the initial thorns as in modern English, many of the oldest MSS. constantly using the *ð* in such words as *ðú, ðann, ðá*.<sup>1</sup> The sole difference therefore between the modern English and the old Icelandic usage lies in the final sounds, which in English are breathed, in Icelandic voiced.

It will be necessary now to turn our attention to the older languages and examine the evidence afforded by their orthographies. In the Gothic of Ulfilas we find the two sounds of the div. *t* and *d* in English and Icelandic expressed by one simple sign, a modification of the same runic letter which is used in A.Saxon and Icelandic. The fact of the sign being simple and uniform makes it probable that the sound was also simple and uniform, either a div. *t* or *d*. A strong argument in favour of the latter pronunciation is afforded by the frequent and, in many cases, apparently arbitrary change between *þ* and *d* in the middle and end of words. When we find *baup* and *baud*, *nimip* and *nimid* constantly varying, it is difficult to believe that the voiced *d* would at once change to a voiceless *þ*, or vice versa. Further proofs may be gathered from an examination of the other old languages. In the old High

<sup>1</sup> These assertions as to the use of init. *ð* for *þ* were made on the authority of Gíslason in his *Frumparti Íslenskrar Tungu i Fornöld*. Guðbrandr Vigfússon, however, who is a first-rate authority in all matters connected with MSS., says that there is no real distinction made; that it is true that a few Norse MSS. use the *ð* initially, but that it only occurs as a capital, and is probably written to save space, the words showing an initial *Ð* being written immediately after with a *þ*. This part of the argument must therefore be considered as more than doubtful, although the more modern Swedish and Danish pronunciation still speak in favour of an old Icel. *ðu, ðann, &c.*

Such a pron. seems out of place in the line of the Harbarðsljóð:

‘þóttiska þú þá þórr vera,’

where the pron. ‘þóttiska þú þá þórr vera’ is a decided improvement. Þóroddr, the grammarian, writes *þ* in all words, and does not mention the *ð* at all. Whether this indicates a single sound or not is questionable: a uniformly vocal pron. so late as the twelfth century seems improbable.

German language, which is next in antiquity to Gothic, we find the Gothic thorn generally represented by a *d*, which has continued in use up to the present day. In some of the oldest documents which verge towards Low German the combination *dh* is written for *d* in all positions, initial, medial, and final.

A serious objection may, however, be brought against the original voiced pronunciation, grounded on the connexion of the Teutonic languages with the old Aryan languages in general, where the thorn is represented by a *t*. It cannot be denied that the direct conversion of a voiceless stopped consonant into a voice divided is phonetically improbable, or even impossible; but there is an intermediate stage possible, which, once established, removes all difficulties. We have seen above that the Danish div. *d* appears in all cases as a modification of an older *d*. To this I will now add that in modern Greek the letter delta is pronounced as a divided *d* in all positions, initial, medial, and final, so that the sound of *d* is almost unknown in that language, and that the div. *d* in English and Icelandic often represents an earlier *d*, the change of *d* into *ð* taking place regularly in Icelandic as in Danish. I think these facts are strong enough to justify the assumption of an earlier stage of the Teutonic languages, in which the original *t* was changed into *d*, thus adding a fourth consonantal stage to the three usually accepted. The probable relation of this earlier Teutonic stage to the others is indicated in the table below :

Old Aryan ... ..	t	d	th (aspirate).
Oldest Teutonic ... ..	d	t	dh
Oldest Low German ... ..	ð	t	d
Oldest High German ... ..	d	th	d, t

If this theory is correct, the *d* in those words which fluctuate between *d* and *þ* in Gothic is the original sound. It is also possible that the High German *d*, which corresponds to the Gothic thorn, is in reality a remnant of this earlier stage, just as the Old High German verb shows many forms older than the Gothic, and in comparatively late documents. Such

forms as *hapēm*, *hapēmés* compared with *haba*, *habam*, may well justify an assumption of similar chronological priority in the consonantal system.

Nor are these early *d* forms confined to High German alone; they appear also in Gothic and the Low German dialects generally, but of course only as isolated irregularities. Such words are the Gothic *fidvor* and *fadar*, corresponding to the Latin *quatuor* and *pater*; the OHG. equivalent of the latter is *vatar*, which does not correspond to a regular Gothic *fapar*. The genuineness of the form *fadar* is confirmed by the other old languages, Old Saxon showing *fader* and AS. *fæder*, while the normal *father*, *faðir* first appear in modern English and Icelandic.

The analogy of the corresponding labial consonant is so close that a brief statement of the older forms will be enough. *f* and *b* vary in Gothic in the same way as *þ* and *d*. Some words, such as *sibun* (Latin *septem*), preserve the *b* invariably, which also appears occasionally in High German. But in the majority of these words High German shows a divided consonant, thus disturbing the parallel with the dental series. It is important to observe that this sound is generally expressed by *v*, which letter appears also in the oldest Low German or Old Saxon, alternating with *f* and a peculiar letter consisting of a *b* with a stroke through the stem.

The connexion of these theories with that important generalization known as Grimm's law is so intimate that some remarks thereon will hardly be deemed out of place, especially when it is considered that the views set forth here, and that law, are to a certain extent opposed to one another. Grimm's law may be compendiously defined as a generalization of the consonantal differences in the old Aryan languages and Low and High German. The investigation of these differences is perfectly easy as long as it is confined to the graphic forms, but it is evidently impossible to generalize with any certainty without an accurate knowledge of the sounds represented by these forms. The want of this knowledge is strongly illustrated by the vague use of the term 'aspiration'. Even if it be correct to talk of a divided or primary as opposed to a

stopped consonant as an aspirate, it is surely inaccurate to consider these pseudo-aspirates as identical with the aspirates of Sanskrit and ancient Greek, which are now known to have been stopped consonants followed by an emission of breath. Now if the Teutonic thorn was, as I have conjectured, formed directly from a *d* by allowing the voiced breath to escape by side apertures, it evidently has nothing to do with the old aspirates, and one of the generalizations of Grimm's law, that 'tenues' in Greek and Sanskrit correspond to aspirates in the Low German languages, is either incorrect or conveys no definite meaning. The truth is, that the existence of aspirates in the Low German languages, at any rate during the period they are known to us, is a pure assumption, devoid of proof. No modern Low German language possesses aspirates, or shows a trace of them (except Irish English, where they are evidently due to Celtic influence), nor does the history of the graphic forms make their existence more probable.

In the High German dialects, on the contrary, they appear in the earliest documents, and exist still, though in a somewhat altered form, in such words as *zinn* and *pfund*, contrasting with the unaspirated English *tin* and *pound*. That the *f* in *pfund* really points to an aspiration is conclusively shown by comparing the old spelling *phunt* with the pronunciation of many south German dialects *phund*. Although the spelling *th* for *z* cannot be adduced, yet the analogy of the *pf* makes an earlier *thin* for *zin* tolerably certain. The *pf* and *ts* of modern German show the tendency of the aspiration to assume a definite configuration resembling that of the stopped consonant it follows. When the aspiration has thus developed into a primary or divided consonant, the stopped consonant is often dropped, as in the German *pfeifen*, where the second *f* is nothing but the emission of breath which followed the now lost *p* (OHG. *phîphan*). In modern Greek the three old aspirates  $\chi$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\phi$  have thus dwindled down to primary and divided consonants, and the original stopped character of the sounds is entirely lost. This historical connexion of the div. and prim. consonants with original aspirates explains to some extent the confusion of such distinct

articulations, but the modern Greek pronunciation of the  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ , and  $\beta$  is sufficient to show the fallacy of such deductions. Again, the chronology of these changes has been much simplified by the tacit assumption that the changes characteristic of the two Teutonic stages took place at two distinct periods, the changes making up one stage occurring simultaneously. But it is equally possible that some of the changes took place at various independent periods. Even the designation of the stages as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd may be to a certain extent delusive, and the 3rd stage may possibly involve some forms older than those of the 2nd. Grimm's law has been compared to a rolling wheel; it has been described as a primary and mysterious principle, like heat or electricity; but I am unable to see in it anything but an aggregation of purely physiological changes, not necessarily connected together.

In A.Saxon, we first meet with two simple letters answering to the original divided *d*. One is the old rune *thorn* or *thurs* ( $\theta$ ), the other is the *stungið* *dè* of the Icelanders. The use of these letters varies much with the age of the MSS., but as a general rule it may be stated that the oldest MSS. use the  $\delta$  only. The  $\beta$  seems to be of later introduction, appearing at first only sporadically, gradually becoming more frequent, till at last in early English it entirely supersedes the  $\delta$ . It has been long known that the Northumbrian glosses, some of which are probably the oldest specimens of A.Saxon we possess, use the  $\delta$  throughout, but the important fact that the oldest West Saxon MSS. of Alfred's time follow the same rule, seems first to have been pointed out by Mr. Cockayne. I quote from his *Shrine*, page 45: 'A pretty good stock of nonsense has been placed by idle scribblers before our eyes, as to some distinction between  $\delta$  and  $\beta$ ; but facts, stronger than dreamy notions, tell us that the oldest MSS., as the Hatton Pastoral, and a single leaf at Cambridge, use  $\beta$   $\delta$  in all cases.'

But the  $\beta$  is not altogether unknown to these early scribes: the usual contraction  $\beta$  for  $\beta\text{æt}$  occurs in the Northumbrian glosses, and the  $\beta$  is found here and there in the Hatton Pastoral. It occurs several times in all positions, initial,



medial, and final. The initial *þ* seems only to occur as an ornamental capital, and the formation of these capitals is well worthy of attention, as they are composed entirely of straight lines, contrasting remarkably with the later thorns, which are formed by affixing a segment of a circle to a perpendicular line. The same angularity appears in the formation of the *wen* or *w*, with a similar change in the later form. It is well known that these two letters are not of Latin origin, but were taken from the old runic alphabet, an exclusively sculptural alphabet, and therefore made up of straight lines and angles. When these runic letters were first used in writing they naturally preserved their original shape for some time, which was however gradually assimilated to that of the other letters. We have, then, in the extreme rarity of the early *þ* an argument in favour of its comparatively late introduction into the written alphabet of the A.Saxons, and consequently of its total absence from the earliest stage of that alphabet. Analogous is the partial substitution of the Latin *u* for the runic *wen*, although it is not carried nearly so far as in the case of the *ð*.

I will now endeavour to explain these apparently conflicting usages.

When the A.Saxons first began to write their own language they would naturally use the Latin alphabet, with which they were already familiar in their devotional books. The sound of the divided *d* not being represented in the Latin alphabet, it became necessary to make a new letter. This was effected by taking the letter whose sound seemed nearest and distinguishing it by a stroke through the stem. There can, I think, be little doubt that such was the origin of the *ð* in A.Saxon, pointing to an exclusively vocal pronunciation in the earliest period of the language, both northern and southern. Afterwards the div. *d* verging into the div. *t*, in certain positions, a new letter was needed to express the latter sound. Hence the adoption of the almost forgotten *þ* into the written alphabet. Although the sound of this letter must in the old Runic alphabet have been that of the divided *d*, like the Gothic thorn, yet the general disuse into which the Runic alphabet

fell, after the introduction of Christianity, and the difficulty or rather impossibility of keeping up an accurate knowledge of the old sounds, are sufficient to explain the apparently superfluous use of two letters, originally representing one and the same sound.<sup>1</sup>

The difficult investigation of the varying use of the two letters in later A.Saxon involves the scarcely less difficult investigation of the relation of the printed editions to the MSS. With regard to their treatment of the two letters in question, the editions may be divided into three principal classes: the first class consisting of the normalized or critical editions, the second of those that follow the MSS., and the third of those that are not normalized and do not follow the MSS. For the normalized editions we are mainly indebted to Rask, who, finding the usage of his authorities somewhat irregular, had recourse to his usual remedy of applying modern Icelandic analogies. In this he was followed by Grimm and the majority of Grimm's countrymen, who have since published critical editions of A.Saxon works, together with a few English imitators. These are probably the idle scribblers alluded to by Mr. Cockayne. The second class is scantily represented by the works of a few English editors, the great majority fluctuating between the second and third class, which last is well supported by the works of one of our most prolific editors.

It is evident that, under these circumstances, a thorough investigation of the MS. usage is a task of some difficulty. The opinion, so often expressed by foreign scholars, that the

<sup>1</sup> The vocal pron. of the runic *þ* is strongly borne out by the fact of its being nothing more than an old *d* with one of the sides prolonged both ways, a peculiarity which appears also in some of the Greek inscriptions. The *d* is represented in the non-Scandinavian runic alphabets by two of these angular *d*'s joined together.

These facts show conclusively that in the earliest Runic period the div. *d* was unknown, and therefore, when this *d* became divided, a new sign was required for the *d*, which soon after resulted from the non-aspiration of the *dh*. Hence the doubling of the old *d*. In the same way we double the *s* in English to preserve the older sharp sound which the simple *s* has often lost. These valuable remarks on the origin of the runic *þ* I owe to the kindness of Guðbrandr Vigfússon.

MSS. are no guide at all, is generally grounded upon a more or less careful examination of editions belonging to class three, and will scarcely be endorsed by those who have studied the MSS. themselves. There can be no doubt that the MSS. differ widely among themselves, and that in some of them the two letters are used very inaccurately, sometimes apparently at random. These differences may however be partly owing to differences of time and place, and explicable by a more careful classification of the MSS. At any rate the subject is worthy of a thorough investigation, which will not be possible until two-thirds of the existing editions have been re-edited from the MSS., not to speak of the numerous and important MSS. which have not been printed at all.

Elaborate statistics on the subject would therefore at present be unadvisable, and I shall confine myself to a few remarks on what seems to be the general usage of the more accurate MSS. Excluding then those MSS. which write the *ð* only, it may safely be said that the tendency is to write the *þ* initially, and the *ð* medially and final. This agrees so far with Rask's normalization and the modern Icelandic usage, but a closer examination of the initial *þ*'s shows that there is a strong tendency to use the *ð* instead of the *þ* in those pronominal words with which we are familiar in English. This is shown very clearly in those MSS. which are tolerably strict in using the *þ* initially; MSS. in which nine out of ten ordinary words begin with a *þ* are often found to use the *þ* and *ð* in these pronominal words in nearly equal proportions, sometimes one preponderating, sometimes the other. In confirmation of these assertions I may state that the MS. of the poem of Judith (Cott. Vit. A. xv) uses the medial and final *ð* with almost perfect regularity. I have noted only two exceptions in the whole MS., one of which occurs in a part of the MS. which is now illegible; it may, therefore, easily be an error of the first editor.

Initial *ð* are very frequent in this MS., and the great majority of them belong to the class of pronominal exceptions. There are only eleven cases of non-pronominal words beginning with *ð*, and it is worthy of remark that in seven of these

cases the *ð* is not strictly initial, being preceded by an inseparable suffix, as in *geðrunge*, *forðylmed*. The pronominal words, on the other hand, begin with *ð* at least as often as with *þ*, if we except the contracted *ðæt*, which can hardly be considered a distinct word. I find that the single word *ða* occurs 63 times altogether, and is written 20 times with *þ*, and 43 with *ð*; the majority is therefore in favour of *ða*. The same regularity appears in several other old MSS., among which I may mention the treatise on the wonders of the East, published by Mr. Cockayne in his *Narratiunculæ*, and a form of confession in the British Museum, as yet unpublished (Vesp. D. xx). As a further illustration, I here print the beginning of the fragment of Judith, from the only MS., with the various readings of the two editors. (With regard to the accentuation, it may be stated that the first editor leaves them out altogether, and the second treats them much in the same way as the *þ* and *ð*.)

MS.	1ST EDITOR.	2ND EDITOR.
(tw)eode gifena		
in ðys ginnan gr(unde)		
heo ðar ða gearwe funde	ðær.	þær þa
mund byr(d) æt ðam mæran þeodne	þam ðeodne	þam
þa heo ahte mæste þearfe		
hyldo þæs hehstan deman		
þ he hie wið þæs hehstan brogan		
gefriðode frý ða waldend	gefriþode	
hyre ðæs fæder on roderū	þæs	þæs
torhtmod tiðe gefremede		
þe heo ahte trūne geleafan	ðe	
á to ðam ælmihtigan	þæm	þæm
gefraegen ic ða holofern'	þa	þa
wín hatan wyrcean georne		
& eallū wundrū þrylic	ðrymlic	
girwan up swæsendo		
to ðam het se gumena bal(d)or		
ealle ða yldestan ðegnas	þa	þa
hie ðæt ofstum miclū		
ræfndon rond wiggende		

MS.	1ST EDITOR.	2ND EDITOR.
comon to ðam rican þeodne	ðeodne	
feran folces ræswan		
þ̅ was þy feorðan dogore	ðy feorþan	feorþan
þæs ðe Judith hyne		þe
gleaw on geðonce	geþonce	geþonce
ides ælfscinu		
ærest gesohte		

It is, however, almost superfluous to cite the authority of the MSS. for these exceptions: if the initial thorn was originally in all words vocal, and the breathed pronunciation of later introduction, it follows of necessity that those words which preserve the original pronunciation in modern English must have kept it unchanged from the beginning, and consequently throughout the A.Saxon and early English period as well.<sup>1</sup>

The analogy of the corresponding lip consonants is very obscure, as only one letter is used throughout the A.Saxon period, which, although resembling the Latin *f*, seems to have been taken from the runic alphabet, and I think it is not improbable that this letter is like the *þ*, of later introduction, and that the earliest representative of the div. *b* was the crossed *b* of the Héliand, which may have been introduced into the writing of the Old Saxons at the same time as the *ð*. This is of course mere conjecture: the crossed *b* does not appear in any A.Saxon MS., and may have been formed by the Old Saxons themselves, after the analogy of the *ð*. It is not impossible that the exclusive use of the div. *b* continued throughout the A.Saxon period, and that one letter was therefore all that was required. The retention of the *v* in the words *vat* and *vixen* seems to point to the same conclusion, as neither of these words are frequent enough to account for the retention of a pronunciation so anomalous for any length of time. These anomalies may, however, be mere provincialisms of late adoption into the standard pronunciation. I have

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis, on the authority of Salesbury, assumes a non-vocal pron. of the OE. *with*. This can hardly have been universal, as the voiced pron. of the word can only be explained by supposing it to be a remnant of an older stage.

remarked above that there are certain positions in which it is practically impossible to pronounce a voiced *th*, a remark which of course applies to A.Saxon, as well as modern English. Thus, I doubt whether the most enthusiastic of critical editors ever pronounced the *ð* as he wrote it in such words as the following: *sécð, cépð, þirscð*. Such orthographies are the natural result of a too hasty application of the modern Icelandic rules, although such a word as *þirskð* would be about as easy to pronounce for an Icelander as *siaðs* for an Englishman. These exceptions modify the general rule that the *ð* is always vocal in the earliest period, but the practical influence on the pronunciation is not so great as in the case of later works, most of the words cited above showing a vowel before the *ð*, which makes the normal pronunciation quite easy. The preceding discussion now leads to the consideration of a very remarkable *ð*, which seems to be peculiar to the old West Saxon dialect, and appears only in a few MSS.

It is in its origin quite distinct from the ordinary *ð*, and only resembles the exceptional forms just considered in being uniformly non-vocal. It is a modification of a *t*, but only in the combination *st*. The following examples are taken from the Hatton Pastoral, where the *ð* is not unfrequent: *ðu me tædesð—ðu me ciddesð* (-est), fol. 6a, l. 1-2; *ða gæsðlecan bebodu* (gastlican), 7b, l. 9; *breosð* (breost), 17b, l. 12, 13; *fierenlusð* (firenlust), 36a, l. 26.<sup>1</sup> The change of a stopped into a divided consonant is evidently due to the assimilating power of the preceding *s*, and might almost be termed consonantal umlaut, the divided *t* being exactly intermediate to the stopped *t* and the primary *s*, a relation which is distinctly shown in Mr. Bell's speech symbols. The only parallel I can find is in modern Icelandic, where the *t* of several pronouns, demonstrative and personal, has been changed to a *ð*. Thus the modern Icelander always writes and pronounces accordingly, *það, við, húsíð*, while the older Icelandic shows *þat, vit, húsit*.

<sup>1</sup> This -sð appears now and then in later MSS.: once in Thorpe's Gospels (wyracsð), and once in the Metres of Boethius (mæcsð), and seems to indicate in both cases earlier texts of Alfred's time.

The difficulty of these forms lies in the vocal pronunciation. There may have been an earlier voiceless pronunciation, *paβ*, *viβ*, *húsiβ*, which would afterwards follow the general tendency of the language and become vocal, or the *t* may have first changed to a *d*, as in Danish.

Without counting these necessary and self-evident exceptions, we may now safely state that there are three distinct periods in the use of the div. *d* and *t* in English. The first period or the earliest AS. employs the div. *d* throughout; in the second or later AS. (and early Icelandic) the initial div. *d* becomes voiceless, with the exception of certain pronominal words; in the third or specifically English period the div. *t* appears at the end of words; and finally, in modern English there is a general dropping of the unaccented *e*, but without altering the distribution of the div. *t* and *d*.

In conclusion, I have a few remarks to make on the general phonetic character of these changes.

If we compare the two extremes, Latin *pater* and English *father*, an examination of the various forms will soon convince us that these changes are due to assimilation. The most abrupt transition possible is from a vowel to a voiceless stopped consonant, as in the Latin *pater*, which has every right to be considered the original form. In the Gothic *fadar*, the first stage of assimilation is entered upon; the voice runs on without interruption through the whole word. Finally, in the English *father*, the *d* is further approximated to the adjoining vowels; not only is the voice continuous, but the voiced breath flows out continuously. If the *th* were to undergo a further change into an *l*, the combination would almost amount to a regular diphthong.

This assimilating property of the vowels explains the retention of the original vocal pron. of the *th*, while the *f* at the beginning has become voiceless.

The change of the voiced into the voiceless pron. of the *f* and *th* in certain positions is not easy to account for. That the change is natural and progressive is, I hope, shown conclusively in this investigation. I am, however, well aware that many will consider the assumption of a change from vocal

to non-vocal as one of the strongest points against the argument, as a change from weak to strong, which they will justly urge is contrary to the tendency of modern languages. It is true that the div. *t* has a sharper and harder *sound* than the *d*, and that the distinction of 'hard' and 'soft' is so far correct, but if we examine the *formation* of these elements, the case is exactly reversed. The action of the tongue is identical in both sounds, but in the formation of the div. *d*, besides the position of the tongue which forms the *t*, there is the additional exertion of bringing the vocal chords together, which of course diminishes the force of the voiced breath in the mouth. It is evident, therefore, that diminished acoustic effect is quite compatible with increased energy of organic formation.

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NOTE BY MR. COCKAYNE ON HIS STATEMENT AS TO THE *þ* IN THE AS. PASTORAL.—In speaking of þe use of þe Ð character for þe English ðorn (Shrine, p. 45) I seem to have been misunderstood. Desirous of brevity and due subordination of a collateral subject, I lay myself open to misinterpretation. *In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.* þe Hatton MS. of þe Liber Pastoralis contains ð 'in all cases', þat is, not 'in all instances', but in all grammatical flexions and combinations. If every example drawn from a second pen which has tampered wiþ þe text, and all written by þe rubricator be removed, þe runic þ occurs, I believe, in ðree instances. Among MSS. which are of so great antiquity as to adhere to ð or þe Ð form, may probably be reckoned þe glosses of þe Vespasian psalter and of þe Book of Proverbs. Mr. Sweet kindly sent me a copy of his paper, and thus has given me an opportunity of making my meaning more clear. I hope þat he has not confused þe ancient date of þe Lindisfarne Latin text wiþ þe much later time, variously placed, of þe Saxon glosses.



# DIALECTS AND PREHISTORIC FORMS OF OLD ENGLISH<sup>1</sup>

## LATIN WORDS IN OLD ENGLISH.

MY first object in this paper is to call attention to the changes undergone by Latin words introduced into Old English, and to the light these changes throw on the inflexions and phonology of the language. As several of these words were introduced before the period of the oldest literary documents, they afford evidence of the highest value for the prehistoric period.

I have also examined the oldest remains of our language, and collected the chief archaisms, many of which confirm the evidence of the Latin words. I have gone through the Northumbrian Runic Inscriptions given in Prof. Stephens's 'Runic Monuments', and the following MS. texts:

- (1) The Northumbrian fragment of Cædmon from the Ely MSS. (C.)
- (2) Bede's Death Song, from the St. Gall MS. (BDS.)
- (3) The Leiden Riddle. (R.)<sup>2</sup>
- (4) The proper names in Bede's History (BH.), from the Ely MSS., as given in Moberly's ed., and from the Brussels MS., as given by Mone in his 'Quellen und Forschungen', vol. i.

These are all Northumbrian.

- (5) The Epinal Glossary (Ep.), printed in 'Cooper's Report', and elsewhere.
- (6) The Corpus Christi (CC.) Glossary, unpublished.

These two I believe to be in the Kentish dialect. Their contents show that they are, to a great extent at least, from a common source, the dialect is the same in both, and CC.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875-6, pp. 543-69.

<sup>2</sup> These three are given in Rieger's 'Angelsächsisches Lesebuch'

originally belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Wanley's Catalogue, p. 116).

We have no direct evidence of the age of these documents, except in the case of C. and BH.—as far as the Ely MS. is concerned, which has been shown to have been written about 737. The other Northumbrian fragments cannot be much younger, and may be older. The most archaic of all in language is the Epinal glossary, and its handwriting, as that of CC. also, points decisively to the beginning of the eighth century at least. Of the Runic inscriptions the Bewcastle one cannot be much later than 670, and the others, especially the Ruthwell Cross Poem, are very similar in every respect.

I cannot claim to have made anything like an exhaustive examination of all these texts. Many of the forms, both in the Runic inscriptions and in the glossaries, are very doubtful, and I preferred selecting only what appeared most certain and most in harmony with other evidence, to gathering a mass of doubtful and obscure material. To grapple successfully with all the difficulties of the glossaries requires a much greater knowledge of Middle Age Latin than I possess.

Latin words were introduced into OE. at very different periods. Many are evidently mere literary importations of a very recent date. Such words are: *apostol*, *calic*, *cantic*, *diacon*, &c. If these words had been introduced in the earliest period they would have appeared in the forms of *postol*, *célec*, *centec*, *deócon*. Of the prehistoric words, again, some are older than others. Especially interesting are those words which were learnt by the Germans who served in the Roman armies, and are consequently common to all the Teutonic languages. Such words are: *camp*, *cásere*, *míl*, *pín*, *stræt*, from *campus*, *cæsar*, *mília*, *pēna*, *strāta*, in Old High German *kamph*, *keisar*, *mīla*, *pīna*, *strāza*. The antiquity of these words is shown both by their form and their meaning, for they are the first words that a soldier would naturally learn. The words relating to Christianity must, of course, be later, but many of them, such as *biscop*, *engel*, *munuc*, *mynster*, show very archaic forms. There are a large number of words whose date cannot be determined from their meaning, but

whose forms are as archaic as those of the oldest words. Such are *læden* (language), *mése*, *olfend*, *stér*, from *latinum*, *mensa*, *elephantem*, *histōria*, all of which may be as old as the first two centuries of our era.

Many of the words seem only to appear in English, although the limited vocabulary we possess of OHG. and Gothic must make us cautious in inferring non-occurrence in the language from absence from the dictionaries. Some words, however, such as *ceaster* and *munt*, seem really to be peculiar to English; it is not probable that such common words should have left no trace in OHG. These words must, therefore, have been introduced in English after the settlement of Britain.

It is interesting to observe that, on the other hand, many of the Continental words do not occur in OE. Such words are the OHG. *brief*, *fīra*, *kamara*, *kelih*, *meistar*, *zins*, from *breve*, *fēriæ*, *camera*, *calicem*, *magister*, *census*. Two of these words appear in OE. in the forms of *calic* and *mægester*—evidently late and unpopular forms.

## INFLEXIONS.

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

The evidence of the following words shows clearly that at the time they were introduced the weak feminines still retained the original *a*-ending:

culpe	from culpa.
cycene	„ coquīna (OHG. kuchina).
mæsse	„ missa (OHG. missa, messa).
mése	„ mensa.
mealwe	„ malva.
Róme-burg	„ Rōma (OHG. Rōma, Rūma).
rúde	„ rūta.

In the following words the *e* (or *a*) has been dropped:

gimm (masc.)	from gemma.
míl	„ mīlia (OHG. mīla).
pín	„ pōna (OHG. pīna).
stræt	„ strāta (OHG. strāza).
tæfl	„ tabula (OHG. zabal).

and in the terminations *er, ol*:

ceaster from castra (pl.).

candol „ candēla.

In the word *scolu* from *schola* there is an exceptional change into *u*.

If the weak feminine ending was *a*, the weak masc. must have ended not in *a*, as in the historical period, but in some other vowel.

crēda from crēdo (1st pers. of vb.).

draca „ draco (OHG. tracho).

strúta „ strúthio (OHG. strüz).

These words show that at the time they were introduced the weak masc. nominative ending was *o*, as in Old Saxon and OHG. In the word *pápa* from *pāpa* (OHG. *pfafu*) we may safely assume a prehistoric OE. *pápo*, as the natural gender would certainly prevent the Latin *pāpa* from being enrolled among the weak feminines.

In three cases this *o*-ending has been preserved within the historical period. The Runic inscription on the Chertsey Dish has *uræcko* (= *wrecca*), *bogo* occurs once in the CC. glossary as a translation of 'fornis', and *se tympano* in a passage of Alfred's translation of the Cura Pastoralis (347/4), where it is clearly suggested by the Latin dative *tympano*. But it is evidently some reminiscence of an older *o*-ending which allowed such a collocation as *se tympano*. The same remarks apply also to the gen. pl. *Fariseo* (361/25) and to the nom. (acc.) pl. *Fariseos* (59/20, 363/6), whose *o* may have been suggested by the Latin *Pharisæorum*. In the last example, however, the original has *Pharisæi*. Other examples are *magos*, which glosses 'propinquos' in the Prov. (p. 197 below), and *aldursacerdos* in the Rushworth gospels.

In Old Saxon the oblique cases of weak nouns in the singular were formed in *-un*. That the same ending existed in OE. is shown by the acc. masc. *galgu* in the Ruthwell Cross inscription (*on galgu gistiga*), and the dat. (or acc.) fem. *eorðu* in the Riddle, where the final *n* is dropped, as is frequently the case in the Northumbrian dialect.

Instead of *ena* in the weak gen. pl. of substantives and

adjectives, there are a few examples of a fuller *ana*, *ona*, as in Old Saxon. These are *welona*, *flæsclicana*, *treowleásana*, all from the Past. (see Introd. p. xxii).

From the form *ealnuweg* (Past. 179/3), for the usual *ealne-  
weg*, we must infer an older acc. masc. *-na*, the *a* being labialized by the *w*, which is again confirmed by the Old Saxon form.

The fem. pl. ending of adjectives in *a* is well established in the early West Saxon dialect, and there are isolated instances of its use in the masculine also.

An important feature of the earliest documents is their frequent retention of inflexional *i* and *æ*, where the later language has *e* only. The following are the chief cases in which *i* occurs:

(1) in *i*- and *ia*-stems: *medeshamstedi* BH., *stycci* EP., *eci* C., *græsgræni* CC.; in *unsmopi* (aspera) and *ontudri* (effetum) the mutation (umlaut) of the root vowel is curiously enough not expressed, being left to be inferred from the final *i*.

(2) in the gen. and dat. of feminine *i*-stems: *wyrði cræftum* R., *on rodi* Ruthw., *in Romæcæstri* Franks Casket. It is remarkable that *ceaster* was made into an *i*-stem—the nom. occurs several times in BH. in the form of *cæstir*.

(3) in the dat. (instr.) sg. of strong masculines and neuters, and in the instr. sg. of adjectives, interchanged with *æ* and *e*: *geabuli* (ære alieno), *hrægli* (amiculo) CC., *thys geri* (horno) Ep.; *ængi þinga* (quomodo) Ep., *ænge þinga* CC., *sume dæli* CC.

In the following cases *æ* is used, constantly interchanging with *e*:

(1) in the gen. sg. of strong masculines and neuters: *geacæs* Ep., *licæs* Ruthw., *hronæs* Cask.

(2) in the dat. sg. of strong masculines and neuters, interchanging with *i*: *mip blodæ* Ruthw., *oplæ*<sup>1</sup> Cask.

(3) in the nom. of weak feminines: *sercæ*, *fyrpannæ* Ep.

(4) in the acc. masc. sg. of adjectives: *gegeruuednæ* (comparantem), *nætendnæ* (proterentem) Ep., *riicnæ* Ruthw.

(5) in the acc. fem. sg. of adjectives: *biworhtæ* Rid.; and of *u*-substantives with *u* in the nom.: *ærigfæræ* (from *faru*) Rid.

<sup>1</sup> I read *oplæ unneg* 'unnigh to their home (country)'.

(6) in the plural of adjectives, both masc. and fem. (a) masc. *æppilæ, fusæ* Ruthw., *lytlæ sneglas* Ep. (b) fem. *wundnæ*, Rid.

The fem. declension is much confused even in these early texts. Thus in Ep. and CC. we find the dat. *getiwingi* (aparatione) contrasting with *setungæ, setunge* (aucupatione), *gemangiungæ* (confusione), &c.

In Ep. we find the plural *wuyrdæ*—indeed I have not come across any plurals in *i*, with the exception of *mæcti* (C). On the other hand, fem. *a*-stems often form their plural in *æ*, and even *e*, where the later language has almost always *a*: *runæ* Ep., *sandæ* (commeatos *sic*) Ep., *on ba halfe* CC.

In the *u*-stems we must note the retention of the *u* of the nom. in *flodu* Cask., and in the name *olufwolpu* (*sic*) Bewc.

The following comparisons will bring out clearly the extraordinary similarity of the prehistoric OE. to the Old Saxon noun-inflexions:

	OLD ENGLISH.	PREHISTORIC OE.	OLD SAXON.
Sg. nom. . .	fisc . . .	fisc . . . . .	fisc
gen. . . .	fiscas . . .	fiscæs, (-as ?) . . . .	fiscas, -es
dat. . . .	fisce . . .	fiscæ, (-a ?) ; -i . . . .	fisca, -e
acc. . . .	fisc . . . .	fisc . . . . .	fisc
Pl. nom. . .	fiscas . . .	fiscos, -as . . . . .	fiscos, -as
gen. . . .	fisca . . . .	fisco, -a . . . . .	fisco, -a
dat. . . .	fiscum, -on .	fiscum, -on . . . . .	fiscum, -on
acc. . . .	fiscas . . . .	fiscos, -as . . . . .	fiscos, -as
Sg. nom. . .	hana . . . .	hano . . . . .	hano
gen. . . .	hanan . . . .	hanun, -an . . . . .	hanun, -an
dat. . . .	hanan . . . .	hanun, -an . . . . .	hanun, -an
acc. . . .	hanan . . . .	hanun, -an . . . . .	hanun, -an
Pl. nom. . .	hanan . . . .	hanun, -an . . . . .	hanun, -an
gen. . . .	hanena . . . .	hanona, -ana, (-ano ?)	hanono
dat. . . .	hanum . . . .	hanum . . . . .	hanun
acc. . . .	hanan . . . .	hanun, -an . . . . .	hanun, -an
Sg. nom. . .	hirde . . . .	hirdi . . . . .	hirdi
	tunge . . . .	tunga . . . . .	tunga
Acc. sg. masc.	blindne . . .	blindna . . . . .	blindan, -ana, -na

The few instances which occur in OE. of masc. and neut. strong genitives and datives in *as* and *a* are very doubtful, as they mostly occur in quite late MSS. The same applies to

the neut. pl. *a* for *u* (*fata, wundra, &c.*). It seems, however, probable that *æs* and *æ* point to an earlier *as* and *a*.

## VERBS.

We may now consider the verb inflexions, beginning with the strong.

The 1st pers. sing. indic. pres. ends in *u* or *o*: *grætu* (convenio) Ep., *oberswiðo* (vinco) CC.

The third sg. pres. generally preserves the *i*, the consonant being either *d*, *t*, or *ð* (often written *th*): *siftið, miðið* CC., *siftit, tychtit* Ep., *hlimmid* Rid. Compare my remarks in the Introd. to the Pastoral, p. xxxiv.

The pres. subj. sg. has *æ*: (*he*) *wueorthæ* BDS.

The pret. subj. originally had *i*, as is shown by the mutated forms *gemyne, dyrræn, &c.*, in the Past. (Introd. p. xxxv). It is extremely probable that all subjunctives originally had mutated vowels, such forms as *fynde, &c.*, being afterwards levelled under the indicative plurals *fundon, &c.*

The pres. participle ends in *i*: *sorgendi* CC., *hrutendi* Rid.

The past partic. has in a few cases *a*, *o*, generally *æ* or *e*: *gesnidan* Erfurt glosses<sup>1</sup> (published by Oehler in the Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie, 1847), *geborone* CC., *gibæn wæs* Ep.

In the weak conjugations we may notice that

The pret. sing. 1st and 3rd persons ends in *a* and *æ*: *manoda* Past., *oferhergeada* Chronicle, (*ic*) *darstæ* Ruthw., (*he*) *tiadæ* C. *ia*-verbs preserve the *i* in the pret. and past participle: *astelidæ* (= *astealde*) C., *bismiridæ* CC., *oberstælid* CC., *bistemid* Ruthw.

In the conjugation which corresponds to the *on*-conjugation in O. Saxon there is a constant fluctuation between *o* and *a*: (a) pres. (*he*) *ofsticoð* Prov. Sal., (*he*) *ofersceadoð* Past. 336/11. (b) pres. *geladade, meldadun* CC. (c) past partic. *arasad* CC.

The Latin importation *pyngan* from *pungere* affords direct proof that all the weak verbs of the first conj. originally ended in *-ian*, as in Old Saxon, the stages being *pungian, pyngian, pyngan*. The second conj. probably ended in *-on* or *-an* indifferently, judging from the constant alternation of *o*

<sup>1</sup> These glosses are very similar to Ep. both in matter and language.

and *a*, not only in the verbs of this conjugation, but also in the prehistoric inflexions generally. The ending *-ian* of the historical period cannot have established itself till after the loss of the original *i* of *tellan*, *sécan*, &c. The origin of this peculiar ending is no doubt to be seen in the Old Saxon *scawoian* for the older *scawon*, which has been rightly explained as an attempt to assimilate the second to the first conj. The oldest ascertainable form of such a verb as *sceáwian* was therefore *sceáwan* or *sceáwon*, then *sceáwaian*, and finally *sceáwian*.

The following table will again bring out the original identity of most of the prehistoric OE. verb-inflexions with those of Old Saxon. I have given the Kentish forms from the Vespasian Psalter,<sup>1</sup> as well as the WS., as being more archaic.

	WS.	KENTISH.	OLDEST E.	O. SAXON.
Present indic. sg.	(1) finde . .	findu .	findu, -o . . .	findu
	(2) findest. .	findes .	findis . . . . .	findis
	(3) findeð, fint	findeð .	findid, -ið, -it .	findid, -it
	pl. findað . .	findað .	findað, -að, -at	findað, -at
Subj. sg.	(1) finde . .	finde . .	findæ, (-a ?) . .	finda
	(2) finde . .	finde . .	. . . . .	findas
	(3) finde . .	finde . .	. . . . .	finda
	pl. finden . .	finden .	findan ? . . . .	findan
Pret. Indic. sg.	(1) fand . .	fand . .	fand . . . . .	fand
	(2) funde . .	funde .	fyndi . . . . .	fyndi
	(3) fand . .	fand . .	fand . . . . .	fand
	pl. fundon . .	fundun .	fundun . . . . .	fundun
Subj. sg.	(1) funde . .	funde .	fyndi . . . . .	fyndi
	(2) funde . .	funde .	fyndi . . . . .	fyndis
	(3) funde . .	funde .	fyndi . . . . .	fyndi
	pl. funden . .	funden .	fyndin . . . . .	fyndin
Infín. findan . .	findan .	findan . . . . .	findan	
Partic. pres. findende . .	findende	findendi . . . . .	findand	
Partic. pret. funden . .	funden .	fundan, -æn . . . . .	fundan	
Pret. sg. 1 & 3 perss. neredede . .	nerede .	nerida . . . . .	nerida	
Pret. partic. genered . .	genered .	ginerid . . . . .	ginerid	
Infín. nerian . .	nerian .	nerian . . . . .	nerian	
sécan . .	sécan .	sécian <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	sökian	
sceáwian . .	sceáwian	sceáwan, (-ajan ?)	scawon, -ojan, -an	

<sup>1</sup> p. 197 below.

<sup>2</sup> This form is rather early 'Anglo-Frisian' than English. See below.



## PHONOLOGY.

## VOWELS.

The most marked change of the short vowels is the uniform one of *o* into *u* before nasals:

munuc from monachus (OHG. munih).

munt „ montem.

pund „ pondus (OHG. phunt, Gothic pund).

It is a well-known law in OE., as in the other cognate languages, that *u* is preserved before nasals and does not undergo the usual change to *o*. The only *o* that can come before nasals in OE. is the open *o* from *a* in *monn*, &c. The change of *mont* into *munt* tends, therefore, to prove that the short *o* in Latin had the close sound.

In *gimm* from *gemma*, and *pinsian* from *pensāre*, we have an analogous change of *e* into *i*, which has not happened in *spendan* from *expendere* (OHG. *spentōn*).

Still more irregular is the word *mæsse* from *missa*. The OHG. forms *missa* and *messa* show the intermediate stages. The change of *e* into *æ* occurs also in *ælmesse* from *eleēmosynē*.

*Olfend* from *elephantem* agrees with Goth. *ulbandus*, both in form and in the change of meaning to that of 'camel'. But in CC. the form *elpendbaan* occurs.

In *torr* from *turris* we have a change which may have begun in Latin itself.

In the long vowels and diphthongs we may first notice the treatment of *ā* and *æ* in:

cásere from cēsar (OHG. keisar, Goth. kaisar).

práfost „ præpositus.

stræt „ strāta (OHG. strāza).

The changes in the last two may be only due to that interchange of *á* and *æ* in such words as *gást* (*gæst*) and *swá* (*swæ*), which is so common in Early W. Saxon, but the Gothic and OHG. forms, to which may be added the Old Norse *keisari*, show that the *á* of *cásere* comes from an older *ai*, as in *hám*, &c. The only explanation I can suggest is that the word was introduced into the Teutonic languages at a time

when they had no open  $\bar{a}$ , and that when they heard the broad  $\bar{a}$ , they analysed it into *ai*.

The word *mése* from *mensa* points back to a time in which *súð*, &c., still existed in the form of *sunð*, &c.

The change of  $\bar{a}$  into  $\bar{i}$  in *pīn* (OHG. *pīna*) from *pæna* was no doubt already carried out in Latin itself.

The development of the diphthong *eó* out of *ia* in *deófol* (OHG. *tiuwal*) from *diabolus* is evidently due to that confusion between *eo* and *ea*, *eá* and *eó*, which is common in the oldest MSS. The diphthong in *preóst* from *presbyter* is quite anomalous, but is supported by the OHG. *priestar*. *Leó* may be a purely learned form.

The words with mutation are interesting :

engel	from	angelus (OHG. angil, engil).
cymen	„	cuminum (OHG. chumin).
mynet	„	monēta (OHG. muniza).
mynster	„	monastērium (OHG. munister, munstar).
pytt	„	puteus (OHG. puzzi).
cæse (é, ý)	„	cāseus (OHG. kāsi).
læden	„	latīnus (with lengthened <i>a</i> ?).
stér	„	histōria (OHG. stōria).

The form *engel* may be merely the result of the analogy of the proper name *Engle*. *Monēta*, &c., passed through the stages of *munēta*, *munīta*, before the mutation took place (cp. *mant*, &c.). It is interesting to observe the Germanic accentuation of the first syllable, regardless of quantity. In the case of *stér* it is possible that the Italian form *storia* may already have existed in popular Latin. The stages were, of course, *stōria*, *stōri*, *stēri*, *stēr*, *stér*.

The words *candol* and *pipor* from *candēla* and *piper* show that the *o*'s before liquids in unaccented syllables are often later modifications of an older *e*. The second *u* in *munuc* is probably due to assimilation.

In conclusion I will call attention to the word *cempa* as an instance of the antiquity of the Latin words in OE. First of all the word *camp* itself must have been thoroughly naturalized. Then a derivative *campio* was found (OHG.

*kamfio*), then came the mutated *cempio*, then *cempo*, and finally *cempa*. Similarly *pyngan* from *pungere* postulates *pungian*, then *pyngian* and *pyngan*.

#### CONSONANTS.

In the following words *t* has become *d* :

abbod	from	abbatem.
derodin	„	teredinem.
læden	„	latīnus.
rūde	„	rūta.

*P* has become *b* in *biscop* (OHG. *biscof*) from *episcopus*. The same dropping of the initial vowel in *pistol* from *epistolus*, but without any consonant change.

These changes were probably carried out in Latin itself, and it is probable that Augustine and his companions pronounced *ladīnus*, *rūda*, *ebiscopus*, &c., of course only in popular words.

This suggests the important question of the Latin pronunciation of *d* and *b* between vowels. It is clear that in French they both passed into the unstopped *ð* and *v*. In the case of *v* the sound is still preserved in many cases (*evêque*, &c.), while the *ð* is clearly indicated by the *dh* of the Strassburg oaths (*ajudha*, *Ludher*). Additional confirmation is afforded by the spelling *Iuþytte*=*Judith* in the Chronicle (885). The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that in the Latin pronunciation of the sixth and following centuries a sort of 'lautverschiebung' had taken place, medial and final *t* becoming *d*, and *d* becoming *ð*. The Italian retention of *d* might be simply a later change of *ð* into *d*, as has been the case in most of the modern Teutonic languages (Danish *ting*, *det*=O. Norse *þing*, *ðat*).

However this may be, it is quite clear that in the oldest English MSS. *d* and *b* are constantly used together with *th*, *þ*, *ð*, and *f*, to express the same two sounds. Decisive proof is afforded by such spellings as *cneoribt*, *lybt*=*cneórift*, *lyft*, in CC. There is, therefore, no need for assuming, as I used to do, that the *d* in such a spelling as *gidanc* really represents

the true *d*. If the *gi* is removed we get not *danc* but *thanc*, the sound in both cases being almost certainly *ð*.

In *Creacas* from *Græcus* we have what is probably a very ancient change of *g* to *c*. It is indeed possible that the word may have been introduced while the lautverschiebung was still in progress. The OHG. *kreah*, *kriah* shows the same consonant change and the same anomalous diphthong.

In

diht	from	dictum (OHG. dihtōn),
trahtian	„	tractāre (OHG. trahtōn),
scrift	„	scriptum (OHG. scrift),

we have changes which can be pointed out in OE. itself. For the later *niht*, *miht*, the oldest Northumbrian and Kentish documents have *næct* and *mæct*, and in Ep. we also find such forms as *scæpt* for *sceaft*.

In

fers	from	versus (OHG. fers),
Fergil	„	Vergilius (Metres of Bœthius),

we have evidence of the *v*-pronunciation of *f* in OE., as in Irish and Welsh.

In *palant* from *palatium* there is an insertion of a nasal, which does not seem to have any support in the evidence of the Romance languages. It is, however, inserted in the OHG. *phalanza* as well. In *Ercol* from *Hercules* we have evidence of the loss of *h* in popular pronunciation.

#### THE OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS.

The investigation of the dialects of Old English is attended with peculiar difficulty, on account of the scantiness of the earlier remains. It is especially to be regretted that we have nothing in West Saxon earlier than Alfred's time,<sup>1</sup> which makes it difficult to determine whether the distinctive features of the other dialects are not due merely to difference of age.

<sup>1</sup> I was mistaken in claiming the Charter and Martyrology mentioned in the Introd. to the Past. (p. xxi) as WS. The Charter is clearly Kentish, and the Martyrology's non-WS. character is made probable by the spelling *feringa* for *féringa*.

The first step is to determine the divergences which prevailed in Alfred's time. For this the materials are fortunately full and trustworthy. For the Northumbrian dialect we have the glosses to the Durham Gospels (D.), and to the Durham Ritual (Rit.). Both are written in the same hand, which cannot be later than the beginning of the tenth century. Wanley assigns them to Alfred's reign. It must not, however, be forgotten that the handwriting may have changed more in the North, and consequently may be later than it seems. In the Mercian or Midland dialect we have the Rushworth gloss to the Gospels (Ru.), which, as far as Matthew is concerned, is quite independent of the Durham gloss, as was first pointed out by Dr. J. A. H. Murray. They are probably only a little later than D. In Kentish we have the numerous Charters, most of which belong to the first half of the ninth century, the gloss on the Psalms (Vesp. A. 1) in the British Museum (Ps.), which originally belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, and the gloss on the Proverbs (Vesp. D. 6), unpublished (Prov.). These two are written in a very similar hand, probably of the first half of the ninth century. The latest Kentish documents are, therefore, rather earlier than the earliest Saxon.

The peculiar feature of the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects is their combination of archaism and disintegration, which can only be compared with that of Southern English in the twelfth century. We find the same confusion of genders (*ðæs mæhtes*, pl. *burgas*, &c.), of cases (*heom* acc. in Ru.), of strong and weak (*ðæs lichomes*). The most marked inflexional characteristics that Northumbrian and Mercian have in common are: (1) the loss of final *n*, and (2) their retention of the weak noun ending *u* or *o*. The loss of final *n* was probably a main cause of the disintegration of the two dialects, for the confusion was soon increased by weakening of the exposed vowel.

The following lists will give an idea of the variety of forms thus produced:

Sg. nom. masc. D. *noma*, *willo*. Ru. *se dumbe*.  
 fem. D. *eorðu*, *swiðra*. Rit. *sunne*, *sunna*.  
 neut. D. *hearta*, *ego*.

- Sg. nom. gen. Ru. geleafa, witgu.  
 dat. D. ego. Rit. nome; earðe. Ru. noman,  
 noma; eorðan, eorðu.  
 acc. D. witga, witgo, witge; earðo, eorðe. Ru.  
 sunne, eorþæ. cempo; earo.
- Pl. nom. (acc.) D. ða ilco, cempo; earo. Rit. blostmo, ego.  
 Ru. witga, witgu, wyrhte, wyrhtu.  
 gen. D. witgana, egana. Rit. hælguna (7/6=  
 hálgena). Ru. nedrana.  
 dat. D. egum, gemæro (2/16).

It is impossible to determine whether such apparent archaisms as *sunna*, *hearta*, are genuine or merely the result of confusion, but there can be no doubt that the inflexions in *-u* and *-o* and the genitive plurals in *-ana* are traditions of the old forms we have already determined.

Other possible archaisms are the subjunctives (*þu*) *ut awearpa* and (*ge*) *gehæra* in Ru. (8/31, and 10/27), together with the participles *acwedan* and *onwrigan* (12/17, 10/26). The form *fæsten* (jejunabunt, 9/15) is either a mistaken subj. or else a remarkable anticipation of the later Midland plurals in *-en*. In Rit. we find the subjunctives *we giearnigo*, *gihealda we*, &c., in D. *nyta* (nesciat), &c. It may be remarked generally that the loss of final *n* is carried out most fully in D., especially in the infinitive, and least of all in the Mercian Ru., where the *n*-less infinitive is exceptional, although there are several examples (*wesa* 3/14, *nioma* 5/42, *ætece* 6/27, &c.), and the loss of *n* is common enough in the weak substantives. Of the use of the weak ending *-u* (*-o*) in the strong declension, which is so common in the two Northumbrian texts (especially in Rit.) as in many cases—the nom. and acc. plur. of adjectives and of fem. substt. for instance—almost to supersede the regular ending, there is hardly a trace in Ru. The Mercian dialect is, in short, much more conservative and stable than the Northumbrian, and in this respect stands half-way between it and Kentish and Saxon. But the most marked distinction between the two is the Northumbrian change of *ð* into *s* in verbal endings. Such forms as *he lufas* for *hé lufað*, *ge oncnawas* for *gé oncnáwað*, which are common

in Rit. and almost exclusively used in D., do not appear at all in the Mercian Ru.

In Kentish we find no traces of disintegration, any more than in West Saxon; there are no weak *o*-endings, and only a few isolated cases of dropping of final *n*. There are, however, a few examples of the loss of *n* in the Ps.: *ðere swiðre ðinre* (38/7, with *a* above the *e* of *swiðre*), *alle halge his* (90/24). The characteristic feature of Kentish appears to be its frequent diphthongization of *g*, forming a diphthong *ei*, which is quite unknown in the other dialects. This *ei* is found in the oldest MSS. Thus in Ep. we find *bodei* (= *bodeg*, *bodig*), in CC. *iserngrei* (= *-græg*), *popei* and *popæg*. It is extremely common in the Prov.: *deige* (die), *meiðhades* (pubertatis), *geceide* (vocavi). The form *dei* for *dæg* occurs three or four times in the Charters, which show the diphthong in other words also. The spelling *deige* is probably due to confusion between *deie* and *dege*, the *g* not being really sounded.

Such forms as *dægas*, *dæga* (gen. pl.), for the regular *dagas*, *duga*, are frequent in the Ps. The same extension of the use of *æ* is frequent in the oldest documents: Ep., for instance, has *hæguthorn* twice, *scædugeardas*, *uualhhebuc*. In the last word we have an example of the confusion between *e* and *æ*, which is common in all the Kentish writings, especially in some of the Charters, which also employ it even for *é* (*gedelan*, *clene*, *helan*, &c.). The confusion is no doubt purely graphic in most cases.

A striking feature of the Prov. is their frequent use of *e* for *y*, as in *leti* (callidus), *gelden trendel* (aureus circulus); also for *y*: *untend* (aperit), *hlest* (ausculta). In the Ps. we find only *gehtað* (20/11) = *hyhtað*, with a very anomalous *g* for *h*. In Ep. we have *gencdilican* (genuino).

We now come to West Saxon. I have already pointed out elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the Modern E. *deed*, *seed*, *sheep*, &c., cannot be directly derived from the WS. *dæd*, *sæd*, *scæp*, but must come from a dialect which had *déd*, *séd*, *scép*, &c. I find on examination they are actually the only forms existing in the

<sup>1</sup> 'History of English Sounds', p. 51.

three other dialects. The following examples, taken indiscriminately from the chief texts, will show that wherever WS. *é* corresponds to Gothic *ē*, OHG. *ā*, it is written with an *e* in Anglian and Kentish, while it is written *æ* in all other cases.

D. *huer, ðer, (hi) werun, her* (= 'hair')—*dæl, læran, hælend, sæ*. Rit. *ded, lecedom*. Ru. *slepan, ondredan, her* (= 'hair'), *scep, (hi) bedun, forletan, (hi) cwedun*—*hælan, hælend, dæl, læran, hwæte, clænsian*. Ps. *slepan, ondredan, (hi) werun, (hi) etun, forletan, sed, efen, untelwyrðe*—*hælu, hwæte, lædan, sæ, dæl, flæsc*.

There are several exceptions, many of which are probably due to carelessness. Thus Ru. has *læces, delan, helend* in isolated instances, both D. and Ps. often write *enne* (masc. sg. acc. of *án*), which may, however, have had a short vowel. It may also be noted that Ps. always has *swe*, and *ðere, &c.* (from *se*). Ep. is altogether somewhat irregular in its use of *æ*, but agrees generally with the others: *gerlicæ, strelbora, meeg* (propinquus), *gredig*—*hætendæ* (calentes), *dæl, sæ*. The mutation of original *ā*, which is written *æ* in WS., seems also to have had the close sound: Ep. *geberu* (habitudines), *meri* (adj.), *setungæ, steeli* (steel). D. *gewede* (vestimentum), *mersion*. Ru. *gemerum* (boundaries). Several of the words given above may also be mutated, such as *ded, sed, gredig*. Even in WS. there are exceptional cases of *é*=original *ā*. Thus, although *ræd*=OHG. *rāt*, has *é*, it is always written *e* in proper names, *Ælfréd, &c.* There are besides several isolated exceptions, *wén, cwén, méce*.

A marked feature of the early WS. is its extensive use of the diphthong *ie*, as in *hiene, hieder, ieldra, gehieran, sie* (subj.). This *ie* is frequent in all the WS. MSS. of Alfred's time. Traces of it occur in the oldest Kentish, Ep. showing *fierst, alieset* (eximet), and Ps. *fiendu* (hostium), *onsien* (vultus). The subj. *sie* also occurs in the Northumbrian BDS., but the *e* may be only inflexional.

The same affinity between Kentish and WS. is shown by the latter's occasional use of *e* for *y*, which in the word *embe* continues even into the late WS. of the eleventh century.



The very peculiar *sð* for *st* is extremely frequent in the Hatton MS. of the Past., but is not common elsewhere. Examples are *gæsð*, *ðu wásð*, *ðu ciddesð*. I find an example in the Ps., *dusðe* (142/25), and there may be more.

The fem. plur. of adjectives in *a* (*ealla béc*, &c.) seems also to be peculiar to early WS. The Prov. show the masc. *manega ecyras* (plurimæ segetes).

The late WS. is distinguished from all the other dialects by its extensive use of *y*, *ý* for *i*, *e*, *é*, and other vowels in such words as (*hé*) *wyrð*, *hyrdes*, *yldra*, *swyrð*, *gehýran*, *nýd*. It is clear from modern English that this *y* never existed in the Mercian dialect, nor are any but doubtful traces of it to be found in any of the Anglian and Kentish texts. An isolated case is *halwynde* for *halwende* in the Ps. (78/9), which is paralleled by the late WS. *stranghynde*, *hé stynt*, &c., but the *y* may have a different origin.

An important characteristic of West Saxon is its strict separation of *ea* (from *a*) and *eo* (from *e*), also of *eá* and *eó*, which are constantly confounded together in all the other dialects, generally under the *a*-forms, although there are instances of the converse change. The following are a few examples :

*ea* for *eo*: D. gelearnian; stearra; (ic) eam, am *vel* eom (11/28); eorðo, earðe. Ru. (he) eade, wearpan; (ic) eam, næm (=ne eom), nam. Ps. earðe; cweaðað ge; ic eam; heara.

*eá* for *eó*: D. diobul, diable; gesea (=geseón); preast. Ru. æteawde (pret.); hread. Ps. lea, geamrung, (hi) gesiað. Ep. weadhoc (sarculum).

*eo* for *ea*: Ru. eorfeðe.

*eó* for *ea*: D. geneolecedon, genealacede. Ru. (he) neoliceð. Ps. neowest; neolican.

There are, however, several examples of *ea* for *eo* in WS. also. First, the form *eart* itself, which is indeed the only one existing, and then such forms as *feala* for *fela* (*feola*), which is not uncommon even in the late WS., *eam* (in the Lauderdale Orosius), and several others in the Past.

Many of the other distinctive features of WS. are purely chronological, that is, they are the result of later change. Such are the *é* for the *ē* of the other dialects, the *-e* for *-u* of the first person present of the verb, the *-est* for *-es* of the second person, &c. There are two examples of *oe* (*oeðil*, *oele*) for *é* in the Past., one of *-u* (*ic cweðo*), and several of *-es*. The *ic cweðo* of the Past. is the only example of the form that we have in WS., but it is enough to show that it must once have been as universal in WS. as in the other dialects.

In the case of archaisms which do not happen to have been preserved in WS. we can only conjecture by analogy that they must have formerly existed in the dialect. Such are the presents *ic beóm*, *dóm*, the preterites *forleórt*, *ondreórd*, the reflexive possessive *sín* (which occurs in the Rit.). It is also probable that the plural form *arou* of the verb 'to be' was originally WS. as well as Northumbrian and Kentish.

It is instructive to observe the changes that the Northumbrian and Kentish dialects underwent, as they will teach us to be cautious in not inferring too much about the prehistoric stages of the WS. dialect. Both Northumbrian and Kentish entirely lost the *ct*'s and *pt*'s of the earliest period, *mæct* and *scæpt* becoming *mæht* and *scæft*, while even WS. has one or two instances of *ct* (*geworct* in the Chronicle). The Old Northumbrian *tíl* and *end* have left no trace in D., which has only *tó* and *and*, as in WS. The Old Kentish *end* disappears also in the Ps. and Charters. The *eðða* (*æththa*) of the Old Northumbrian Rid. appears in the WS. form *oððe* (*oððæ*) in D., although *eþa* is still preserved in Ru. The Old Northumbrian *ðerh*, *ðerih* (Rid.), however, is still preserved as *ðerh* in D., while Ru. has the WS. *þurh*, and the Old Kentish *ðorh* (Ep.) is still preserved in the Ps., and occurs also several times in the early WS.

All these details are summed up in the answer to the question, What were the dialectal distinctions in English during the first few centuries of the conquest of Britain? The answer is that they were very slight. There seem to have been three dialects, Anglian, Kentish, and Saxon. The Anglian was characterized by a special tendency to throw off

final *n*, and by a frequent use of the weak ending *u(n)*. Kentish and Saxon agreed in the absence of these features. Saxon was distinguished both from Anglian and Kentish by its *æ* for *é*. Kentish, finally, was separated from the others by its occasional *ei* for *eg*. We see that Kentish was intermediate between Anglian and Saxon, the two extremes. We also see that even these slight distinctions are not at all sharply marked—they simply consist, for the most part, in giving special prominence to phenomena which were common to all the dialects. We have seen that there are distinct traces of the loss of final *n* in Kentish and Saxon, and even the *u*-endings are shown to have existed in WS. (and therefore most probably in Kentish also) by the word *edgospind*, which occurs in WS. so late as the eleventh century (Life of St. Guthlac, Goodwin, 82/4), and the regular plural form *Eástron*. The *ei* seems really to be peculiar to Kentish, for the *æi* in late WS. (*dæig*, &c.) is an independent and much later formation—the forerunner, in fact, of the Middle E. *dai*, and the Northumbrian *ei* in *ceiga*, *forleita*, for *cégan*, *forlétan*, is also independent, and although it seems in *gein* to be a contraction of *gegen*, it occurs also in *seista* for *sexta* (= *secsta*), which is not parallel to anything in Kentish. However this may be, the Kentish *ei* is nothing but a merely sporadic phenomenon. In fact, the only constant criterion is the WS. *æ*, although the absence of earlier documents leaves us in doubt as to its antiquity. It may have been quite a recent change, as, indeed, the retention of *é* in *Ælfréd*, &c., would lead us to suppose, and in that case our final conclusion is that there were at the time of the migration no definite distinctions of dialect at all, but simply more or less pronounced ‘tendencies’ in the different tribes. Further light is thrown on the subject by a comparison of English with the cognate languages of the continent, especially Old Frisian.

#### ENGLISH AND FRISIAN.

England was colonized by a variety of tribes all speaking one language, who inhabited the coast of the North Sea and apparently the whole of the north of Denmark. Those who

stayed behind and retained their language were afterwards called Frisians, and their ancient language, as preserved in the thirteenth-century laws, is nearly identical with Old English, allowing, of course, for phonetic change and inflexional decay. The language spoken by these tribes before the migration may be called Anglo-Frisian, and its characteristics may be ascertained with considerable certainty from a comparison of the oldest English and Frisian. Whenever we find that OE. and Frisian agree in some sound change or peculiarity of inflexion that does not occur in any other Teutonic language, or when we find an archaism preserved in Frisian which is lost in OE., we may be sure that all these peculiarities belonged to the common Anglo-Frisian.

Beginning with the vowels, we find the treatment of *a* almost identical in the two languages. In Frisian we find *mon*, *noma*, alternating with *man*, *nama*, we find the same exceptional *o* in *of*, *nosi* (OE. *nosu*), and the same change of *a* into *æ*, which in Frisian, whose spelling has no *æ*, is written *e*: *ik brec*, *bec*, *kraft*=OE. *bræc*, *bæc*, *cræft*. The changes do not occur in any of the other cognates, and could not, except by a most extraordinary coincidence, have been developed independently in English and Frisian: they must therefore have existed already in Anglo-Frisian.

Frisian throws important light on the formation of the peculiar English diphthongs *ea* and *eo*. The confusion between *ea* and *eo* in the non-Saxon dialects has already been noticed, and there only remains to be added that in the older texts, including the WS., *a* is only diphthongized before *r*, not before *l*, so that we have the typical form *ald* and *heard*. In the oldest glossaries Ep. and CC. *hard* is quite exceptional, as also in the later D., Rit., and Ps., but in the few Old Northumbrian fragments *hard* predominates. Thus in C. we find *uard* twice and *barnum* once, and only a single *ea(r)*—*mid-dungeard*. Frisian agrees in preserving *a* in *al*, *half*, *galga*, &c., while before *r* *e* is written, doubtlessly for *æ*—*herd*=*hærd*. This *æ* may be a late simplification of an older diphthong, but it is simpler to regard the change of *hard* into *hærd* as parallel to that of *bac* into *bæc*. *Hærd* would there-

fore be the Anglo-Frisian form of which the specially English *heard* is a later development. The difficulty is that *ald* seems to have passed directly into *eald* without any intermediate *æ*, and if *a* before *l* could do so, there seems no reason why it should not also before *r*, as the Old Northumbrian forms seem to show. The change of *ald* into *eald* may, however, have been simply due to the analogy of *heard*.

The Frisian throws no light on *eo* from *e* in *heorte*, &c. The preservation of *eart* in WS., the confusion in the other dialects, and the Icelandic *hiarta* (*hearta*) all make it probable that *eo* is a later modification of *ea*. This *ea* must have changed to *eo* before *a* became *ea*, else the two would have been confused, which, as we have seen, is not the case, in WS. at least. The chronology of the changes must, then, have been as follows, assuming an intermediate *hærd* :

Earlier Anglo-Frisian	ald	hard	herte
Later	„	ald	hærd herte
Old English	ald	hærd	hearte
„	ald	hærd	heorte
„	ald	heard	heorte

The diphthong *eó* appears here and there in OE. as *iu*, (*eu*) —*treulesnis* (perfidia) Ep., *geþiudde* (adplicit) CC., *þiu* (= *seó*) D., *latteuw*, *siu* (= *seó*) Ru.—which is also the Frisian form. Frisian also has *ia*, as in *thiade*, which is also an English form (p. 189 above). We may, then, infer that the three forms *iú*, *ió*, *iá*, co-existed in Anglo-Frisian, the first being, of course, the original one.

The origin of *éa* from the *au* preserved in Gothic, Old Norse, and in many words in Old High German also, is still a vexed problem. The question is an important one, as their treatment of this diphthong is one of the most marked distinctions between Anglo-Frisian on the one hand and Old Saxon and High German on the other, and is still a mark of separation between Frisian and Dutch, which is the nearest living representative of Old Saxon. The Frisian form of *éa* is *á*—*áge*, *rád* = OE. *eáge*, *redd*. If we assume that *á* is older than *éa*, the most probable explanation is that given in my

'History of English Sounds' (p. 35), namely, that *á* became *æ*, just as *a* became *æ*, and that *æ* was afterwards diphthongized into *éa*. The difficulty is that there is another *á* from *ai*, as in *hám*, *án*, and unless the change from *á* (= *au*) to *éa* was completed before *ai* became *á* also, the two *á*'s would have been confused. But *hám* and *án* are Frisian as well as English. If, therefore, *rád* (from *raud*) and *hám* (from *haim*) both existed in Anglo-Frisian, we should have had the same change in both cases, giving *hedm* as well as *read* in English. We are therefore forced to assume *haim* in Anglo-Frisian, and an independent change into *hám* in both languages after their separation, which seems improbable. The only alternative is to assume *raud* and *hám* in Anglo-Frisian and an independent change of *raud* to *read* in English and Frisian, giving up any connexion between E. *read* and Frisian *rád*, although no explanation approaching probability or even possibility has yet been given of the direct change of *au* into *éa*.

The whole question of the history of the Teutonic diphthongs is obscure: there is always great difficulty in determining on which element the stress fell, and whether the accented element was long or short. It seems certain that *iú* was originally accented on the *i*, and that it was short, for *iú* is nothing but a Teutonic weakening of *au*, and it is equally certain that in Icelandic the second element has the stress, and that it is long.

The OE. fluctuation between *gást* and *gæst*, *ánne* and *ænne*, is Frisian also, so also are such forms as *sæ* (= Gothic *saiw*), *néd* from *naud*, the distinction between *æ* and *é* not being made in writing, and all these forms existed most probably in Anglo-Frisian.

Frisian, like English and Icelandic, has entirely lost the front labial vowels. Such forms as *cining*, *cinn*, *fét*, *déma* = OE. *cyning*, *cynn*, *fét* (*fét*), *déman* (*déman*), are, of course, quite late, but the peculiar *e* in *kenn*, *fella* = OE. *fyllan*, *beténa* = *betynan*, which we have already found in the oldest Kentish English, may possibly have existed sporadically in Anglo-Frisian.

Another Kenticism, *dei* for *dæg*, is fully established in Frisian, so fully indeed that *dei* has often become simplified into *dí*, which shows that the *ei* must be of some antiquity, and may have been already developed to some extent in Anglo-Frisian.

The Frisian forms *fif*, *cúð*, and *tóð* are identical with the English. The absorption of the *n* must have taken place after the importation of the Latin *mensa* (p. 194 above), whenever that may have been. *Tanð*, *sandð*, *ander*, probably became first *tonð*, *sonð*, *onðer*, just as *mann* became *monn*, and then *tóð*, *sóð*, *óðer*.

The consonants offer little subject for remark, being nearly identical in the two languages.

No conclusion can be drawn from the Frisian *jér* = OE. *gér*, *geár*, as to the non-existence of *g=j* in Anglo-Frisian, for original *g* itself often becomes *j*, as in *jeva=gifan*. There can be no doubt that such a *g* existed medially, as is shown by such spellings as *endegia=endia*, &c.

In the inflexions the most striking feature is the general loss of final *n*, as in Northumbrian English. This is so common a phenomenon in the Teutonic languages that it can very well have arisen independently in English and Frisian, but it is not improbable that it existed sporadically in Anglo-Frisian.

In the nouns the absence of the English alternation of *æ* and *a*, the English *dagas*, *dagum* appearing in Frisian as *dæggar*, *dægum*. This may be a late levelling, but, as we find traces of it in Kentish English (p. 199 above), it may be old.

The dat. pl. in *-im* (*-em*) of the *i*-stems (*nédim*, *nédem*) points with certainty to the same form in Anglo-Frisian, and to an OE. *mæctim* corresponding to *mæcti* (p. 190 above).

In the weak declension we have the archaic gen. pl. *honana*, as in Northumbrian English.

In the verbs we find the anomalous second weak conjugation fully developed as in English—*salvia*, *salvað*, *salvade* = OE. *sealfian*, (*hè*) *sealfað*, *sealfode*. In the 1st conj. *séca* agrees exactly with OE. *sécan*, while *nera* = *nerian* has been levelled under *séca*, losing its *i*. We may assume that the distinct

forms *nerian*, *sécan* (or rather *sécan*), and *sealfian* were fully established in Anglo-Frisian.

The only deviation from English is the present participle ending, which is *-and*, as in Old Saxon. There must have been originally two optional forms *findandi*, whence the English *findende*, and *findand*, just as the two forms of the conjunction *and* (p. 202 above) postulate *andi* and *and*.

The other inflexions are identical with the OE., allowing for the natural changes which have taken place in the cognates also. The only form which leaves us in doubt is the strong feminine nom. *jeve* for OE. *gifu*. But as the *u* of the neut. pl. (*skipu*) and of *sunu* is preserved, it seems most probable that *jeve* points to an Anglo-Frisian *gefa* (*gifa*), agreeing with the OS. *geba*. The separation of *gifa* and the weak *hearta* in the OE. *gifu*, *heorte*, probably points to quantitative distinctions, perhaps :

hano	gifa	hertā
hano	gifu	hearta
hano	gifu	hearte

The Latin *scolu* (p. 188 above) was, perhaps, introduced later than the others.

#### RELATION OF ANGLO-FRISIAN TO OLD SAXON.

We see that the Anglo-Frisian of the period of the conquest of Britain was a language closely allied to Old Saxon, the inflexions of the two languages being almost identical. The chief distinction was that OS. favoured the *o* and *u*-forms, while AF. seems to have decided in favour of the *a*'s, which in Frisian are the only ones preserved. It is, however, quite clear from the Latin words (p. 188 above) that such forms as *hano* were originally the only ones in AF. as well as OS. These *o*'s are widely distributed in the old Teutonic languages. The oldest Scandinavian runes of the third century show such preterites as *worahto* (Tune stone in Norway), *gatawido* (Golden Horn), in Latin we find such names as *Ariovistus*, in Spanish we have *Gondomar* = *gunþamēr*, &c.

We see from this last word that the Gothic *ē* for original



*a* really belonged only to one particular dialect, and it is clear from the word *strét* (WS. *stræt*) from Latin *strāta* in OE., that the corresponding *é* or *æ* in AF. is of comparatively late origin. As usual, we find incipient traces of the change in OS. also, as in the *gér* of one text of the Heliand against the *jár* of the other.

The most marked distinction between AF. and OS. is the want of 'umlaut' or mutation in the latter (except of *a*). But it is quite clear from the Latin words that the mutation is of late origin in AF., and, indeed, the mutation in *engel* seems to show that it was not firmly established even at the time of the introduction of Christianity into England, just as OS. fluctuates between *gangid* and *gengid*, &c.

The closeness of the relationship between AF. and OS. comes out most strikingly on a comparison with the languages which are geographically closest to each—Old Norse and Old High German. Old Norse has often been supposed to show some special relationship with AF., but the similarity is really quite delusive—the result of independent change in both languages. We have only to compare the verbal inflexions to see how distinct Old Norse is from both AF. and OS. :

	AF. AND OS.	O. NORSE.		AF. AND OS.	O. NORSE.
Sing. 1.	gifu	gef,	Plur. 1.	gifad	gefum,
	2. gifis	gefr,		2. gifad	gefǫð,
	3. gifit	gefr,		3. gifad	gefa.

Compare, again, the Old Norse *sunr* with its lost stem-vowel and preserved nominative inflexion with AF. and OS. *sunu*.

Again, although Old High German bears a more marked resemblance to OS. than Old Norse does to AF., chiefly, however, because of the archaic structure of the two languages, it shows many deep-rooted divergences. Thus in the verb, although both have happened to preserve the singular of the verb in an archaic form—a purely negative agreement—they diverge entirely in the plural, which in the German *gebames*, *gebat*, *gebant*, is utterly distinct. And in the noun the plural *visca* (OS. *fiskos*), in the adj. the masc. *quoter* and neut. *quotaz* are utterly divergent from OS. and AF.

The only apparently irreconcilable differences between OS. and AF. lie in the OS. *é* (or probably rather *æ*) for original *ai* (*hém, flésk* = AF. *hám, flásc, flésc*) and *ó* for *au* (*ród* = OE. *reád*). But the first is only a partial distinction, for the OS. change has taken place in AF. also in many words. All that the divergence in the case of *hém, hám* shows is that both in OS. and AF. original *ai* must have been preserved up till a comparatively late period.

As regards *ó* from *au*, I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that in the face of the general identity of AF. and OS. both in inflexions and phonology we have no choice left but to acknowledge *ó* as the original AF. form also. There can be no doubt that this *ó* from *au* had the broad, open sound (cf. *taoc* in the Hildebrandslied), which was certainly also the sound of the *o* in *hano*, originally *hana*. Therefore, when the *o* of *hano* became delabialized into *a* in Frisian, the long broad *ó* in *ród* followed the same change, giving *rád*. We have already seen how unsatisfactory the attempt is to derive OE. *reád* from the Frisian *rád*, and it seems much more probable that *reád* came straight from *ród* itself. It is clear that *ród* could not diphthongize direct into *éá*. The natural diphthong of broad *ó* would be *ao* or *oa* (or possibly *au, ua*), the broad ('low') element and the labial being pronounced successively instead of simultaneously—a common source of diphthongization, of which the Icelandic change of *é* into *ai* (or *ae*) is an example.<sup>1</sup> From *oa* with the stress on the *a*, *ea* (and then *éá*, by lengthening) would be formed by weakening of the unaccented element.

From our comparison of OS. and AF. we may safely infer that in a period extending say from the second to the fifth century, a common Anglo-Frisio-Saxon or Old Low German language was spoken, which differed from the extant OS. mainly in its preservation of the diphthong *ai* (*haim, &c.*) and of the thematic *i* (and *u*) in *gasti, brúdi, &c.*, as shown by the OE. forms *gest, bryd*, and in some special details. It differed from High German and Old Norse chiefly in its loss of the nominative inflexions (masc. and neut.) both in nouns and

<sup>1</sup> 'History of English Sounds', p. 43.

adjectives, although it is probable that they were only beginning to drop off in the first century or so, and in the levelling of the pres. plural of its verbs, which evidently hangs together with the loss of *n* in *tóð*, &c., the first stage being *bindam*, *bindað*, *bindaðð*, which were soon completely levelled.

By the end of the period we have assigned the Anglo-Frisian dialect had separated itself from the parent stock by its full development of the umlaut, and by its peculiar *æ* for *a*, retaining the old inflexions nearly unchanged.

Then came further divergences in Anglo-Frisian itself, and finally the complete disruption consequent on the migration of the greater number of the Anglo-Frisians to Britain.

But in spite of the violent revolutions in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary undergone by the Anglo-Frisian of Britain, the two languages still attest their close affinity not only in what they have preserved from the common stock, but also in the wonderful analogy of the changes they have undergone. The Frisians still have a saying, 'Brea, buter en tshiiz is gud Engels en gud Friis,' and a similar one is current in Yorkshire.

## OLD ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES

### I<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *Beóhata*.

IN that passage of *Cædmon* in which he describes the passage of the Red Sea, Moses is described as a 'beald *beóhata*' (*Grein*, *Exod.* 253):

áhleóp þá for hæleðum hildecalla,  
beald beóhata, bórd up áhóf,  
héht þá foletogan firde gestillan,  
þenden módiges mæðel monige gehírdon.

The general sense of the word is clear from the context, it must be 'hero', 'chief', or something of the sort, but the precise meaning has never yet been satisfactorily settled. *Grein* in his text follows *Ettmüller*, and inserts a *t*, reading *beótháta* = 'boast-promiser' or simply 'boaster'. In his glossary he abandons this view, and retaining the MS. reading makes it out to be a derivative of *behátan* = 'promise', and accordingly translates in his German version 'der kühne verheissung-bringer' = 'the bold promiser'.

The first step is to settle the meaning of *hata*, which, according as it is read with a short or a long vowel signifies either 'hater' or 'promiser'. The latter interpretation, which is favoured by *Grein*, is quite inadmissible in the case of two of the three other compounds of *hata*, *dæðhata* = 'persecutor' and *leódhata* = 'tyrant'. The third and last—*scyldhata* can be perfectly well explained on the analogy of the other two as 'sinful hater' or 'persecutor', and *Grein's* forced and prosaic identification of the word with the German *schultheiss* is quite superfluous.

Every analogy leads us then to suppose that the second element of *beóhata* is the word *hata* = 'hater', which often

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien*, vol. ii, 1879, pp. 312-16.

passes into the more active sense of 'persecutor', just as the corresponding *hete* = 'hatred' is employed in the sense of 'violence' or 'warfare'.

The first half of the word as it stands cannot well be anything else than the substantive *beó* = 'bee'. But what sense is there in the combination 'bee-hater'? Are we to have recourse to the violent process of conjectural emendation, or to explain the word as it is? I have no hesitation in accepting the latter alternative, and I explain 'bee-hater' simply as an epithet of the *bear*, whose love of honey has long been proverbial in all countries. *Beówulf* in the same way is simply the 'wolf' or 'spoiler' of the bees, in short, a 'bear', not as implying any uncouthness of behaviour, but as a flattering comparison with the lion of the north—the hive-plundering bear.

The comparison of men with wild animals in old times is so well known as scarcely to need illustration. The word *beorn* itself is a striking instance. In Icelandic *björn* is not only used in the general sense of 'bear', but is also one of the commonest proper names, while in Old English the word is quite lost in the meaning of 'bear', but survives in that of 'hero' or 'warrior'. The Icelandic use of *björn* as a proper name is exactly analogous to that of *beówulf*, while the OE. *beorn* affords an equally apt illustration of the development of the word *beóhata*.

The explanation of *Beówulf* as 'bee-wulf' or 'bear' suggested itself to me many years ago, long before I was aware that the same view had been previously brought forward by Simrock, and I read a paper on the subject before the Philological Society of London, which, however, was not published. I think that the fact of the same explanation having suggested itself independently both to Simrock and myself is a strong argument in favour of its probability.

## 2. *Gársecg*.

The origin of the word *gársecg*, which not only in poetry, but frequently also in prose (as in the translation of Orosius) is used in the sense of 'ocean', has never yet been satisfactorily

settled. The meaning of the word as it stands is clear enough—'spear-warrior', but the connexion of such a meaning with that of 'ocean' is the reverse of self-evident. The older school of English philologists saw in the word a welcome reminiscence of Neptune and his trident, but this explanation has no support in Northern mythology. To the various explanations referred to by Grein in his *Sprachschatz* under the word may now be added that of Leo (*Ags. Glossar*, 145. 36): 'das meer wird hier wegen der wellenspitzen gedacht als ein röhricht, ein ried von speeren'—ingenious, but fanciful, and not more convincing than its predecessors.

I have for some time entertained the belief that this unexplainable compound is probably a 'volksetymologisch' corruption of some older form, like the English *sparrowgrass* for *asparagus*, and I think I have now identified this older form.

I have lately had occasion to study the oldest runic inscriptions in English with some care. One of these, the verses on the Franks Casket (*Stephens*, p. 470) runs thus:

Hronaes ban fiscflodu ahof on fergenberig;  
warþ gasric grorn, þaer he on greut giswom.

The meaning is perfectly clear, with the exception of the word *gasric*, which Stephen refers to the whale, translating 'he was gasht to death in his gambols, as aground he swam in the shallows'. It seems to me much more likely that *gasric* is parallel to *fiscflodu* in the first line, as we are thus enabled to translate *þaer* literally, instead of giving it a temporal sense, as Stephens has to do. I would translate the whole:

'The fish-flood lifted the whale's bones on to the mainland;  
the ocean became turbid, where he swam aground on the  
shingle.'

The only difficulty is that we are obliged to take *grorn* in a sense for which there is otherwise no authority. But it is not unreasonable to assume that the word occurs here in its more material meaning, from which the usual one of 'sad' is derived in the same way as with *gedréfed*, which occurs both in the sense of 'turbid' and in that of 'sad'. I am glad to be

able to state that Professor Sievers, of Jena, to whom I communicated these views, tells me that he has always explained the passage in the same way as I have done.

The connexion of this *gasric* with *garsceg* is self-evident, and Prof. Sievers assumed it to be simply a mistake for the ordinary word. But when we consider the numerous cases in which consonant-combinations with *r* are transposed in OE., it seems quite as probable that *gársecg* is formed from *gasric* by transposition of the *s* and *r*. The relation between *gársecg* and *gasric* is, indeed, exactly parallel to that between *Cynegils* and original *Cynegisl*, both of which occur in Bede, and between *gyrdels* and the *gyrdisl* of the Epinal glossary, the forms in which the liquid follows the *s* being the original ones. This *gásric* may be explained as *gás-* = *gais-*, Old Norse *geisa* 'to chafe, rage' with the affix *-ric*. The meaning of the word would then be 'the rager'—a very appropriate epithet of the ocean. Prof. Sievers reminds me of the name of the Vandal king *Gaisaricus*, and compares the German *wüterich* which, indeed, corresponds exactly to *gásric* both in affix and meaning, if my explanation is correct. At any rate, I think most will agree with me and Prof. Sievers in rejecting as improbable Hofmann's identification (*Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad.* 1871) of *gasric* with *gänserich*.

## II<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Left.

The adjective *left* occurs very early in Middle English, Stratmann's dictionary giving references both to *Lazamon* and to the Homilies edited by Morris. The varying forms *luft*, *lift*, *left* point clearly to original *y*, which is also confirmed by the Old Flemish *lucht*, compared by Stratmann. As Martin in his excellent glossary to the *Reinært* has by oversight omitted this word, I give the reference to line 1054 of his edition: *die voghel . . vlooch Jibeert ter luchter siden*. The adjective *\*lyft* or *\*lyfte*, according as it is an *i-* or a *ja-* stem, has not hitherto been pointed out in Old English, and until it has we cannot be sure whether the initial *l* is original or stands for *hl*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, vol. iii, 1880, pp. 155-7.

I was at one time inclined to assume the latter, and to connect the word doubtfully with Gothic *hleidumei* in some unexplained way.

Lately, while looking over the glosses printed by Mone in his 'Quellen und Forschungen', i, p. 442, I lighted on the gloss *inanis, left*. The same glossary has *peccati, senne*, and we may assume the dialect to be post-Alfredian Kentish, so that the Modern English *left* is a Kentish form of *lyft*, just as *evil, kernel, &c.*, are Kenticisms for *yfel, cyrnel*. Among the compounds of *lyft* 'air' the dictionaries give a mysterious word *lyftádl* 'paralysis' (the word occurs in Cockayne's Leechdoms ii. 338. 5). But if we once dismiss the notion of its being in any way connected with the substantive *lyft*, its connexion with *lyft* 'inanis' is self-evident, and we are also able to determine the original meaning of the English *left hand*. The left hand is simply the 'maimed, weak, or useless' hand—the natural converse of the 'strong' right hand, as expressed in the Old English *swiðre hand*.

The ultimate etymology of the adjective *lyft* must, I think, be sought in the European  $\sqrt{lub}$ , treated of by Schmidt in his *Vocalismus*, i. 159. *lyft* is, therefore, an *i*-stem (= \**lupti*) corresponding to the Old High German *loft* 'bark' (= \**lupta*), both from Indogermanic  $\sqrt{rup}$  = Latin *rumperere*, OE. *reofan*. As regards the meaning, the ideas of 'bark' (according to Schmidt = 'that which is peeled off') and 'maimed', 'weak', are both, at first sight, somewhat removed from that of 'tearing', but the Latin *fragilis* from *frango* or English *brittle* from *breotan* shows how one set of ideas run into the other.

## 2. Bless.

Skeat, in his *Etymological Dictionary*, connects Old English *blétsian* with *bliss*, saying, 'the order of formation is as follows: *blīð* (sic); hence *blīð-sian*; and hence *bleðsian*, afterwards *bletsian*, afterwards *blessian*'. He does not mention the current derivation from *blótan* 'sacrifice', which certainly harmonizes better with the evidently ancient and therefore heathen character of the word, and does not violate the elementary laws of sound-change. But an examination of the older



forms of the word shows that this derivation too is phonetically impossible. It occurs often enough in the Vespasian (Kentish) Psalms, and is always written with a *d*: *bledsas* 'benedices' (5. 12), *bið bledsad* (9. 4), *ic bledsiu* (15. 7) &c., *bledsung* 'benedictio' (3. 9) &c. So also *bledsung* in a Kentish charter of Lufu (Kemble, i. 300. 6), and *gebledsad*, *gebledsade* in the Durham Matthew (23. 39, 14. 19) in the latter of which passages the Rushworth text has also *bledsade*. These forms would, perhaps, suggest a derivation from *blæd* in the sense of 'prosperity' in its non-West Saxon form of *bléd*, but this is made impossible by the spellings with *oe*, which are very common, in the two last-mentioned texts. Thus the Durham Matthew has *gebloedsad* (25. 34) and *gebloedsade* (26. 26), and Rushworth M. has *gebloetsad* (11. 9, 23. 39). These forms point clearly to an original \**blōdisōn*, which cannot be anything else than a derivative of *blōd*. The original meaning of *bless* was therefore 'to redden with blood', and in heathen time it was no doubt primarily used in the sense of consecrating the altar by sprinkling it with the blood of the sacrifice. Compare the Old Icelandic *rjóða stalla* (the altar) *i blóði*. The form *bledsian* points to an early shortening of the vowel, for the Psalms always preserve the long *oe* of *foet*, *doeman*, and as regularly unround the short *oe* of *ele* = *oele* from Latin *oleum*. The form *gebiltsade* in a Kentish charter (Kemble, i. 293, l. 3 from b.) may be paralleled by the not unfrequent *mitting*, *gemittan*, &c., from *métan*.

### III<sup>1</sup>

#### Chicken, Chill, Low, Loathsome, Swoon.

(1) *chicken*, OE. *cicen*, cannot possibly be a derivative of *cocc*, which would give \**cyccen*, but is probably formed by direct sound-imitation, like *cocc* itself.

(2) *chill* is generally derived from OE. *céle*, which could only give \**keel*. But *céle* = *coele* does not exist. The oldest texts write *celi*, *cele*, pointing to \**kali*. *chill* comes from the WS. *ciele*, *cyle*.

(3) *low* cannot come from OE. *lá*, because of the rhyme *lo* : *do*

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, June 3, 1881, pp. 58, 60.

in the *Cursor Mundi*. The form *low* in the oldest text of the *Ancren Riwe* points to OE. \**lōw* or \**lōg*, which latter may be a variation of *lōc*, which occurs in the *Chronicle* (Laud, 142 Earle)—‘hi ferdon loc hu hi woldon,’ where the other MSS. have *loca*, the imper. of *lōcian*.

(4) *loathsome*. OE. *lād* has simply the meaning of hostility, and there does not appear to be any such word as *lādsum*. *loathsome* was probably formed from *wlatsum*, by substitution of the familiar *lād-* for *wlāt-*.

(5) *swoon* from the OE. partic. *geswōgen*.

IV<sup>1</sup>

## Hive.

The current derivation of *hive* from the OE. *hīw* of *hīw-rælen* is inconsistent with the OE. form, which is *hūfe*, pointing to Arian *kūpiō*, cognate with Latin *cūpa* and OE. *hūfe* ‘hood’. The original sense is ‘round vessel’, the root being \**cu* ‘swel’. Cp. Welsh *cwch* = ‘boat’ and ‘beehive’, from the same root. *wīcing* is not a Norse word, for it occurs not only in Alfred’s *Orosius*, but also in the still older *Epinal glossary*, so that it is quite possible that the Norsemen learnt it from the English pirates of the *littus Saxonicum*. The derivation from Norse *vīk* ‘bay’ becomes therefore still more improbable. *wīcing* may be related to a hypothetical \**wīging* like *sūcan* to *sūgan*, in which case it would have originally meant simply ‘warrior’. Cp. Norse *hildingr* from *hild*.

V<sup>2</sup>

## Reck, Bilewit, &amp;c.

1. The E. verb *reck* ‘care’ is generally referred to an OE. *rēcan* cognate with O.Saxon *rōkian*, &c., but what we really find is *reccan* pret. *rohte*, *reccileas* appearing in one of our oldest texts, the *Corpus Glossary*. *reccan* appears three times in the *Pastoral*, but in two of these cases the second *c* is added above the line, so it is doubtful whether *rēcan* survived in historic OE. The explanation seems to be that *rēcan* was

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, February 2, 1883, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, February 6, 1885, p. ix.

confused with *reccan* = 'direct', 'recount', &c.; compare our 'take account of', &c.

2. OE. *bilewit* 'simple' seems to have had a long *i*, for there are no forms with *eo*, and Orm writes *bil-whit*, so the word is probably to be explained as meaning 'white of bill', applied first of all to young birds, and then metaphorically to simple and innocent people.

3. The ME. feminine suffix *-ild* in *mapelild* 'chatterer', *gruc-child* 'grumbler', &c., can only be explained by the OE. names in *-hild* which, surviving mainly in the poetry, would easily suggest such parodies as *mapelild* of *Mæþhild*, &c.

4. The so-called 'palatal-umlaut' in Mercian and Northumbrian *hēh*, *berht* = WS. *hēah*, *beorht*, is probably due to the guttural quality of the following consonant, which was thus able to absorb a preceding guttural vowel. The labial *f* seems to have had the same influence in *hwerfan*, which is the regular representative of WS. *hweorfan* in the Corpus Gl. and Vesp. Psalter.

5. The late WS. *y* for *i* in such words as *hyre*, *hyne*, *ys*, *-nysse*, *hyt*, is apparently due to the want of stress in these words, for we hardly ever find such spellings as *syttan* in accented words. This *y* does not appear before gutturals in such forms as *ic*, *-lic*. It seems to be most fully developed in Western texts, Middle E. Western texts also showing such spellings as *hure*, *hus* (= *his*), *þuse* = 'these'.

## VARIOUS NOTES

### I<sup>1</sup>

#### DISGUISED COMPOUNDS IN OLD ENGLISH

##### 1. *Fultum*.

It has long been suspected that *fultum* is a compound of *full* with some other word, but, as far as I know, nothing more satisfactory has as yet been proposed than Grimm's *full* + *dóm*, with an inexplicable change of *d* to *t*. His derivation is made still more improbable by the form *fulteman* of the verb, which is very common in the older texts (Pastoral 233. 8, 305. 4; Vesp. Psalms 88. 44) and is the only one in the oldest of all English texts, the Epinal glossary, which has *fultemendi*, *fultemendum*, these readings being supported by the Erfurt and Corpus texts. From these data I conjectured that *fultum* might be a compound of *full* and *teóm*, through an intermediate *fultem* whose short vowel was assimilated to the root one. I brought forward this view in a paper I read before the Philological Society, but it was almost unanimously rejected by my hearers. I was therefore rather pleased to find the gloss *emolumentum*, *fulteam* in the Erfurt glossary.

##### 2. *Sulung*.

The word *sulung* is peculiar to the Kentish Charters, where it expresses apparently some measure of land, like the ordinary *furlang*. The form *sulong* (Kemble, i. 238) suggests composition with *lang*, and as *fur(h)lang* = 'furrow-length', *sulung* or *sulang* may be *sulh-lang* = 'plough-length', which comes to the same thing. We have here the same 'vowel-harmony' as in *fultum*. A common variation of *sulung* is *swulung*, for which it is superfluous to give references, pointing to an older *\*swulg* for *sulg*. We might also assume *\*swelg* were it not for the dative *sylg* (Past. 403. 2) and plural *syll* (Ælfric's Hom.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia*, vol. iii, 1880, pp. 151-4.

ii. 450. 6), which put *sulg* in the same consonantal class as *burg*. This older form at once suggests a plausible etymology for *sulg*, namely *swelgan*, the plough being regarded as the 'devourer' of the earth.

### 3. *Látteow*, *Láreow*.

An older form of *látteow* is *látðeow* (Past. 305. 4) from which it is assimilated like *ðette* from *ðætðe*. In Boethius (Fox, 174. 2) we find *latþiow*, where the older Cotton MS. has *ladþeow*, pointing clearly to *lád* 'path' and *þeow* 'servant', *látteow* being equivalent to 'minister itineris'. It is evident that *þeow* is here used in the same nobler signification which it must have had in such names as *Ongenþeow*, &c. If *látteow* is *ládðeow*, there is little difficulty in believing *láreow* to be *\*lárðeow* with the *ð* dropped, = 'minister doctrinæ'.

### 4. *Intinga*.

This word is, I believe, usually connected with the adjective *getenge* and its cognates. The change of the Norse *húsþing* into *hústing* (Chronicle 1012, in my Reader<sup>1</sup> 114. 45), evidently due to the desire of avoiding the combination *sp*, suggests that *intinga* may, in like manner, represent an older *\*inþinga* = 'inner affair', from which the meaning 'cause' would easily develop itself.

## II

### THE PRETERITE OF 'CUMAN'.

One of the most marked distinctions between late and early West Saxon is the treatment of original *a* before nasals. While in Alfred's language such forms as *monn*, *ond*, *long*, *noma*, *from* constantly occur, they entirely disappear in such later works as Ælfric's Homilies, which have only *mann*, *and*, *lang*, *nama*, *fram*. The only exceptions are a few unaccented words, *ðon*, *ðonne*, *on*, and, rarely, *from*, although all these words appear throughout the whole range of the language more or less sporadically with their original *a*. It is therefore remarkable that the preterite of *cuman* keeps its *o* invariably, not only in the earliest but also in the latest West

<sup>1</sup> [p. 100, l. 46 in enlarged edition of Reader.]

Saxon, whether in the archaic form of *cwom*, *cuom* or in the usual one of *com*. Such a form as \**cam* is as unheard-of in Ælfric's Homilies as in Alfred's Pastoral and Orosius or the Winchester Chronicle. In the whole course of my reading I have only found a single *cam*, and that is in a late Cambridge MS. from which Cockayne printed the Martyrology (Shrine 31. 9), where I suspect an editorial slip.

This anomalous retention of the older *o* is after all only apparent; *com* kept its vowel unchanged for a very simple reason, namely that it was long. It is not often that vowels are doubled to express length, but when they are, it is invariably done in the right place. The spelling *coom*, therefore, in the Pastoral (345. 3) is in itself a strong argument, which becomes irresistible when we confront it with the late *com*.

The change of *com* into *cóm* is evidently due to the vowel of the plural, the exceptional *com*, *cómon* being levelled under *slog*, *slógon*. The same change of *nom*, *nómon* is proved for the Kentish dialect by the spelling *fornoom* (intercept) of the Corpus Glossary, and probably for the Anglian dialects as well, for both the Durham Book and the Mercian Rushworth Matthew seem to have only *nómon*, not *námon*, which is commoner than *námon* in West Saxon.

The Peterborough Chronicle, which represents both the direct continuation of the Mercian Rushworth, and the parent dialect of modern literary English, entirely agrees with the Late West Saxon in having *com* (= *cóm*) and *nam*, which latter must be ascribed to the direct influence of the south-western dialect, like many other forms which are against Rushworth and agree with Modern E., such as *giuen*, *gyuen*, *iiven* against the Rushworth *gefan*, *geofan*, *gæfan*, *mycel* interchanging with *micel*, &c. The first occurrence of the modern *cam* that I have noted is in the Northumbrian Cursor Mundi, l. 1205, where it rhymes on *Adam*, the more southern Fairfax MS. characteristically substituting the pair *come* : *tome*. Lastly the rhyme-index to Chaucer gives both *coom* : *noom* and *cam* : *nam* : *ram*, showing a remarkable mixture of dialects.

The lengthening of Modern E. *came* is parallel to that of other preterites, such as *gave*, *brake*, &c., and is probably due

to the analogy of the disyllabic infinitives and participles, *breken, eten, broken, eten, &c.*

The form *nam* must be due to some analogy. Norse influence cannot be thought of, as all the languages show uniformly *kom* (short in Swedish and Danish, as, of course, in Old Icelandic also), and that of the Dutch *kwam* is impossible. It must be noted that preterites in *-óm* were altogether anomalous in Middle English, which, indeed, in its later stage, had very few preterites in *ó* at all. It is therefore most probable that *cóm* became *cam* partly by the analogy of the southern *nam* and partly by that of the numerous preterites of the *swamm*-class. I would sum up the history of these forms as follows: *cóm* was common Old English, *nóm* probably common non-West Saxon. Afterwards the West Saxon *nam* spread northward, and finally, with the help of *swam*, its vowel entirely supplanted that both of *nóm* and *cóm*.

### III<sup>1</sup>

#### INFLUENCE OF STRESS IN OLD ENGLISH

*eo, ea.* While West Saxon has *eo* in *eom, heora* and other subordinate words, the other dialects have *ea*, sometimes, as in the Vespasian Psalter, to the exclusion of *eo*, sometimes alternating with it. The original relation probably was that these words had two forms, one emphatic with *eo*, the other unemphatic with *ea*. WS. tended to generalize the strong, the other dialects the weak forms. But even WS. has the weak *eart* against *eom*, and in the Lauderdale Orosius *eam* occurs once. So also *earon* is the weak form of *eorun* from original *\*erun*. *eom* may have been preserved in WS. through being levelled under *béom*, becoming *éom*. Such forms as *earðe*, which occur occasionally in Ps. and more frequently elsewhere, are due to the analogy of the generalized weak forms: when *eam* had supplanted *eom*, and thus became the sole emphatic, as well as unemphatic form, it naturally led to the change of *eorðe* into *earðe*, &c. The change of *o* into *a* under diminished

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, March 3, 1882, pp. 75-7.

stress is parallel to that of the *o* in *gumo* into the *a* of *guma*, and to the development of *éa* out of *æo* from original *au*.

*ea, a.* To late WS. *eall* corresponds *all* in the other dialects, and this form is also common in early WS. *eall* cannot be explained from *all*, but both forms are independent modifications of an earlier *æll*, which, together with the other two, occurs in a WS. charter of 847. The same *æ* is also found in the oldest Kentish charters. The type *heard* is the regular one in all dialects and all periods, except in some of the oldest Northumbrian texts, where *hard* is the general form. Here, again, *hard* and the *heard* of the later Northumbrian can only be explained as independent modifications of an earlier *\*hærd*. The oldest Kentish charters show both *heard* and *hard*, the latter generally (as pointed out by Zeuner, *Sprache des Psalters*, p. 24) in the second half of compounds. *a* for *ea* in unaccented syllables is preserved in the non-WS. *hláfard*. The WS. *hláford* points to *\*hláfword*, with the same influence of the *w* as in the *erefeword* and *tóword*, = WS. *erfeward* and *tóward*, of the Ps. *wo-* = *wa-* also occurs in WS. names, such as *Oswold*, *Ælfwold*. *b* has the same influence in *Grimbold*. This explanation of the *o* in these words seems preferable to Paul's theory of the retention of prehistoric *o*. Unmodified *a* = unaccented *æ* is preserved in the frequent *her(e)pað* = *herepæð*, and in *was* = *wæs*. To sum up: original *æ* before *r* or *l* + cons. became regularly *ea* under stress, when unemphatic and stressless it became *a*. Late WS. generalized the strong forms *heard*, *eall*; the other dialects also adopted the strong *heard*, but generalized the weak *all*.

*bindeð, bint.* In OE. we find a fuller form *bireð* alternating with a contracted *birð*, which must evidently have differed as emphatic and unemphatic forms respectively. This duality runs through all the dialects. The preference of the Ps., &c., for the fuller forms is probably due to its being an interlinear gloss, which would lead to the words being written down in their disconnected, emphatic forms. To *bireð*, *birð* correspond *bindeð* and *bint* respectively. *bint* comes from an older *bindit*, preserved in the oldest glossaries, which show a constant fluctuation between *bindith*, *bindið*, and *bindit*.



Even in the *Cura Pastoralis* we find *ðyncet*, &c. *-it* and *-ið* can be connected only on the assumption of *-it* standing for *-id* in accordance with what appears to have been a general change of unaccented final *d* into *t*, shown also in *sint*, the unemphatic form corresponding to the emphatic lengthened *sindun*, *weorðmynt*, *elpent*, *færelt*, the later *d* of *sind*, *wurðmynd*, &c., being due to the influence of the forms in which the *d* had been preserved by a following vowel, such as *sindun*, *weorðmynde*, the opposite influence having worked in such forms as *færelte*, &c. The two forms *-iþ* and *-id* from original *-eti* evidently fall under Verner's law, and point to accentuation of the root and of the ending respectively. We may suppose that before the Germanic accent assumed its present limitations, the influence of such varying accentuations as those preserved in Sanskrit *bhāvati* and *tudāti* would naturally lead to the differentiation of an emphatic *bindéþi* and an unemphatic *bindeþi*=‘*he binds*’ and ‘*he-binds*’ respectively, resulting finally in *bindiþ* and *bindid*. OE. preserved both forms, while Old Saxon generalized the weak *bindid*. High German *-it* is ambiguous, as its predecessor *-id* may have been either =Old S. *-id*, or else have arisen from *iþ*.

IV<sup>1</sup>ENGLISH *IT*

The early loss of the *h* of *it* (even Orm showing *itt*) is opposed not only to *he*, *her*, &c., but also to the oblique cases (*his*, *him*) of *it* itself. In Mod. E. we have a distinction between emphatic *he*, *him*, &c., and unemphatic (enclitic) ‘*e*’, ‘*im*’, which is always observed in natural speech. The dropping of unaccented *h* is proved for OE. by such forms as *Ælfere*, *Byrhtelm* for *Ælfhere*, *Byrthelm*, &c. Even in OE. there must have been unemphatic forms such as *ine*, *it* parallel to the emphatic *hine*, *hit*. In the case of *hē*, *hine*, the emphatic forms were written everywhere, while the emphatic *hit*, being much rarer than the unemphatic *it*, was at last entirely supplanted by it, in speech as well as writing.

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, February 2, 1883, p. vi.

V<sup>1</sup>

## HISTORY OF G IN ENGLISH

The current view in Germany is that OE. *g* represented an open cons. ('spirant') not only medially, but also initially, palatal (=j) in *gefan*, &c., guttural (=gh) in *gold*, &c.

The evidence both of the cognates and of OE. itself bears out this view for medial and final *g*, but not for initial *g*. The only language which has initial (gh) is Dutch, but there is no evidence of this being old. Middle Flemish *gh-* in *gheven* does not, as is generally assumed, denote this sound, but is simply a Romance spelling to show that the *g* had not the French sound which it had in borrowed words such as *gentel*. The OE. evidence is also against initial (gh) and (j). There is a law in OE. by which *d + z*, *ð* or *v* becomes *t + s*, &c., both being unvoiced, as in *bletsian* from \**blōdizōn*. In the Northumbrian *Liber Vitae* this law is carried out regularly in compounds, such as *altfrið* (= *aldfrið*), *eatðryð*, *eatfrith*. But we do not find \**eat(c)har*, but only *eadgar*, *aldgisl*, &c., showing that the *g* cannot have been an open cons. Again, the West Saxon change of *ge-* into *gie-*, as in *giefan*, is perfectly parallel to that of *ce-* into *cie-*, as in *ciest* (chest), and can only be explained as the introduction of an *i*-glide after a palatal stop, (jevan) becoming (jjevan) just as (cest) became (cjest). We can understand (gaadn) becoming (gjaadn), but not (jaad) becoming (jjaad)—except on paper.

Original *j* as in *gēong* (young) having also become stopped in OE., the palatal stop was expressed indifferently by *i*, *g*, or *ge*, as was the case in the contemporary Romance spelling. An OE. *iecaes* for *geacaes* no more proves (j) than French *jamais* does.

In Middle E. initial (c) became (tsh), while initial (j) became not (dzh) but (j). So also in Swedish initial *k* and *g* before front vowels, which in Icelandic are still perfectly parallel (*kj*, *gj*), have diverged into (cjh) [nearly=(tsh)] and (j), as in *kenna*, *göra*.

The supposed OE. initial (gh) has been carried back by

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, February 2, 1883, pp. vii, viii.

German scholars to the prehistoric period of the first Germanic consonant-shift ('Grimm's Law'). They assume that Arian *g'* (commonly written *gh*) passed through the stage of (*gh*). Verner's law has no doubt proved that the *g* which alternates with *h*, as in *slægen*, *slēan* (= *slēahan*) must once have been (*gh*), but there is no such evidence for Paul's theory that *g'* passed into *g* through (*gh*). Arian *g'* was a purely vocal sound—an emphasized (*g*) and could be modified only in two ways: (1) by simple dropping of the ( ' ), or (2) its devocalization, giving (*g'*), whence (*k'*), as in Old Greek, and open (*kh*), as in Mod. Greek. The parallel *gh:z::kh:x* holds good only on paper.

There is besides a law of prehistoric Germanic by which *n* before (*x*) is dropped after nasalizing the preceding vowel, which nasalization was afterwards lost. Thus the adj. *līhto* (Germ. *leicht*) comes from *\*līnhto*, *līnktō*, *leng'tó* from *√lang'*. If the adj. *lango* from the same root had had (*z*), the resulting combination (*nz*) ought to have been treated in the same way, giving *\*lōg* in Old English, instead of *lang*. It is clear that at the time when this law was working all *g*'s, from original *k* as well as from *g'*, must have been stops, the latter having been so from the beginning. The following were, therefore, the stages of the first consonant-shift:

k	g	g'
x; z		
x (h—); g	k	g

The change of *g* between vowels into (*z*) was then carried out separately in the different languages.



## IV. SHELLEY'S NATURE-POETRY<sup>1</sup>

### BEGINNINGS OF NATURE-POETRY: THE RIG-VEDA.

THE first germs of those emotions which inspire the nature-poetry of a Shelley or a Wordsworth must be sought in the purely physical sensations of pleasure and pain which man has in common with the higher animals. The emotions which inspired Shelley in that famous description of sunrise which opens the second act of his *Prometheus Unbound*, can be traced back step by step to the sensations of a shivering savage basking in the genial warmth and welcome light which relieve him from the discomforts and terror of the night. To the emotion of fear is nearly allied that of wonder and awe; and with the growth of intellect, wonder would naturally develop into curiosity, and the desire to fathom the mysteries of nature.

This was the stage of development which had been reached by the ancient Hindu poets of the Rig-Veda—generally supposed to be about four thousand years old. But the spirit—though not the actual language—of most of these hymns is far older: the Rig-Veda—‘Hymn-Veda’—might almost be called the Bible of the Aryan race, that race which includes Celts and Teutons as well as Greeks and Romans. The Rig-Veda is the true key to the origin of Aryan poetry, mythology, and religion.

There is a peculiar fitness in making these old Hindu hymns the starting-point of the present sketch; for no modern poetry, not even that of Wordsworth himself, draws its inspiration so largely from inanimate nature.

The character of that inspiration has already been indicated. It was one in which the sense of beauty is always associated with, and subordinated to, that of the pleasant and the useful.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Shelley Society, Wednesday, May 9, 1888. Printed ‘for private circulation’, London 1901.

We find in the Vedic hymns many expressions of delight in the beauty of the dawn, personified—for in the Vedas everything is personified—as a beautiful virgin; of fire, personified as a golden-haired youth; of lightning; and, indeed, of everything that is bright in nature. But the primitive Aryan would have been as blind to the beauty of the dawn as he was to that of sunset, had not the dawn been associated in his mind with the sense of relief from the terrors of the night. So also his admiration of the 'golden-haired youth' was only a part of his gratitude to the 'trusty house-friend', the 'messenger to the gods'. Lightning, too, was associated with the fertilizing rain-clouds.

The strongest emotions which nature excited in early Aryan minds were those of awe and wonder, whose first dawnings are so powerfully brought before us by Wordsworth in a passage of the *Prelude* quoted by Mr. Myers in his *Wordsworth*. In this description, as Mr. Myers remarks, 'the boy's mind is represented as passing through precisely the train of emotion which we may imagine to be at the root of the theology of many barbarous peoples.' It will, therefore, be worth while to give the passage in full:

I dipped my oars into the silent lake,  
 And as I rose upon the stroke, my boat  
 Went heaving through the water like a swan;—  
 When from behind the craggy steep till then  
 The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,  
 As if with voluntary power instinct,  
 Upreared its head. I struck and struck again;  
 And, growing still in stature, the grim shape  
 Towered up between me and the stars, and still,  
 For so it seemed, with purpose of its own,  
 And measured motion like a living thing,  
 Strode after me. With trembling oars I turned,  
 And through the silent water stole my way  
 Back to the covert of the willow tree;  
 There in her mooring-place I left the bark,  
 And through the meadows homeward went, in grave  
 And serious mood. But after I had seen  
 That spectacle, for many days, my brain  
 Worked with a dim and undetermined sense  
 Of unknown modes of being; o'er my thoughts

There hung a darkness—call it solitude,  
 Or blank desertion. No familiar shapes  
 Remained, no pleasant images of trees,  
 Of sea, or sky, no colours of green fields;  
 But huge and mighty forms, that do not live  
 Like living men, moved slowly through the mind  
 By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.

The key-note to the Vedic conception of nature is an overwhelming sense of its strength and man's weakness. The only heroes of Vedic song are the personified powers of nature—the sky, the storm, the lightning. Whenever human kings and heroes are mentioned, it is only to extol the might and goodness of the sky-god Indra, who delivers them from danger and captivity, and guides them to victory. So strong is the sense of man's weakness and helplessness that even animals are regarded as his equals, if not his superiors. To the Vedic poets the bull is 'the invincible one', and the cow is the 'she-invincible'.

They were also deeply impressed by the *regularity* of nature's operations—the unending succession of day and night and of the seasons, the unswerving path of the sun through the sky. This new sense of ideal law appealed to their moral as well as their intellectual faculties. The sublimest of natural objects—the sun—was to them something more than a magnified earthly king, whose power, however great, may be exercised capriciously and intermittently—he was a king whose laws admitted of no exception, all-seeing and all-powerful alike in detecting and in punishing crime.

The intellectual contemplation of nature, as already remarked, has its source in the emotions of wonder and curiosity. The Vedic hymns are full of such questions as, How is it that the sun is not fastened to the sky, and yet falls not? the stars that shine at night, where do they hide themselves by day? Sometimes these 'obstinate questionings' deal with what we should consider very trivial problems. 'How is it that the dark cow gives white milk?' exclaims one of the Vedic poets in wonder and perplexity.

Many of these questions were dismissed as insoluble, others were solved by the bold analogies and metaphors which

constitute primitive mythology. In one of the hymns we are told that the sun is a tree, its rays being the roots, and that King Varuna (the 'coverer'—a personification of the sky) planted it in the groundless regions of the air. We see a further development of this idea in the *Yggdrasill* or 'world-ash' of the Scandinavian mythology. In other hymns we find the sun's rays regarded as levers or arms with which he is lifted up at dawn, and as legs with which he marches through the sky. Shelley's lines in *Prometheus* (i. 65):

Thou serenest Air,

Through which the Sun walks burning without beams!

would have been met by a primitive Aryan with the serious objection, How could the sun walk without legs? As has often been remarked, what to us is mere poetic fancy was to them sober scientific truth.

We see, then, that in this primitive stage, poetry, mythology, religion, and science were all one—they were all simply phases of the contemplation of nature.

But this unity could no longer be maintained when poetry, mythology, religion, and science had once asserted their independence. When, as was the case among the Greeks, the primitive Aryan nature-poetry had developed into epos and drama—the rude beginnings of which we can see even in the Vedic hymns,—when the old personifications of sky and sun had been so humanized that all trace of their origin was lost, then nature itself was put in the background.

This tendency was intensified by the growing complexity of social and political life. It was no longer a struggle of man against nature, but of man against man. The sense of beauty, too, is absorbed by the creations of the plastic arts: the poet of nature yields to the sculptor, architect, and painter; or rather, he is hardly allowed to develop at all. Even in lyric poetry descriptions of nature are introduced only when subordinated to some human feeling or interest.

#### CELTIC AND OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

In tracing the growth of nature-poetry in England, it will be worth while to glance at the characteristic features of



Celtic and Old English ('Anglo-Saxon') poetry, especially as regards their treatment of nature.

We will begin with Celtic literature, whose main characteristics are familiar to most of us from the brilliant sketch of Mr. Matthew Arnold. It is, however, to be regretted that he did not base his conclusions on a study of the Irish rather than the Welsh literature. The few remarks I shall offer are founded on the Old Irish prose tales, or sagas, which, unlike the Welsh, show no traces of mediæval French influence, and are, indeed, hardly touched even by Christianity.

Celtic literature, as every one knows, is distinguished above all by picturesqueness and vividness of fancy. It is fantastic, remote from real life, and shows an insatiable craving for the marvellous. It delights in sudden surprises: it is intensely sensational. In this respect the American writer, Edgar Allan Poe, is perhaps the best modern type of an Old Irish storyteller. That ghastly tale of his, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, is thoroughly Celtic in its undisguised sacrifice of all considerations of probability and moral sense to the development of a telling situation.

Fantastic as it is, Celtic literature is hardly ever vague or formless. It is full of the minutest descriptions, especially of the personal appearance, features, and dress of its heroes and heroines. These descriptions are inspired by a delicate sense of beauty, shown above all in the extraordinary development of the colour-sense. The Irish as well as the Welsh sagas are full of colour-pictures. Thus we have in Irish literature the description of the young hero, Froech, swimming across the pool in the river, and carrying the branch of mountain-ash, whose red berries are contrasted with the whiteness of his body and the blackness of the pool. The Old Irish not only had a keen eye for contrasts of colour, but, what is still more remarkable, their literature is full of minute descriptions of shades of colour. Thus in the description of the hero Loegaire we are told that he had hair of three colours: brown at the roots, blood-red in the middle, and like a diadem of gold on the surface. There is one famous colour-picture which passed from Celtic into Old French literature, and so became

common property of the Middle Ages. The Welsh version of it given by Mr. Arnold shows evident traces of French influence. An older and purely Celtic form of it occurs in the Old Irish tale, *The Exile of the Sons of Uisnech*. Derdriu sees her foster-father killing a calf in the snow, and a raven comes to drink the blood. So Derdriu wishes she may have a lover as white as the snow, as red as the blood, and as black as the raven. The Welsh version tells how 'Peredur entered a valley, and at the head of the valley he came to a hermit's cell, and the hermit welcomed him gladly, and there he spent the night, and in the morning he arose, and when he went forth, behold, a shower of snow had fallen the night before, and a hawk had killed a wild fowl in front of the cell. And the noise of the horse scared the hawk away, and a raven alighted upon the blood. And Peredur stood and compared the blackness of the raven, and the whiteness of the snow, and the redness of the blood, to the hair of the lady whom best he loved, which was blacker than the raven, and to her skin, which was whiter than the snow, and to her two cheeks, which were redder than the blood upon the snow appeared to him.' It is instructive to note how utterly wanting the earlier version is in the romance and 'natural magic' of the later one.

In the Old English poetry almost everything is reversed: the minute descriptions, the elaborate comparisons, the gorgeous colouring of Celtic romance are wanting. The absence of the colour-sense is especially striking. Almost [the only colour that is mentioned in Old English poetry is green. But when the Old English poets talk of 'the green earth', they never contrast it, as a modern poet would do, with the blue sky. The colour blue, indeed, is only mentioned once in Old English poetry. What pleased our ancestors in green fields and budding trees was not so much the beauty of the colour as its associations with fertility and plenty; green [with them meant 'verdant'. The only other colour that is at all frequent in Old English poetry is white. Here again the word does not so much suggest the specific colour white as the general idea of 'brightness': a 'white helmet' is a shining

helmet of bronze. In the Scandinavian mythology Balder is 'the whitest of the gods', that is, the fairest, the most beautiful. It is characteristic of the Celts that with them red was the 'beautiful' colour, the word *derg* having both meanings in Old Irish.

The defective colour-sense of the Old Teutons is still seen in their descendants—the modern Germans. Dr. Abel in one of his linguistic essays speaks with wonder of the keen perception of delicate shades of colour shown by English ladies in shopping, and contrasts it with the duller perception of his own countrywomen, noting also the poverty of the German language in expressing distinctions of colour. All English people, too, are struck by the poor and hard colouring of German landscape painters.

But the Dutch, who are quite as pure Teutons as the Germans, make the same criticism. They attribute the finer colour-sense of their own painters to the richer colour of their watery meadows and the varying hues of sky and cloud seen only in damp climates. May not similar causes have produced similar effects in England as well? In other words, may not the delicate colour-sense shown by the modern English painters and poets have been developed through climatic influences independently of any supposed Celtic influence or Celtic ancestry?

Inferior as the Old English literature is to the Celtic in vivid colouring and richness of detail, it surpasses it in many of the higher flights of imagination: it soars into regions inaccessible to the quick-witted, but more superficial Celt. The moral force and earnestness, the restless enterprise of the old Teutons stamped itself indelibly on their literature. In the *Seafarer*—that most startlingly modern of all the Old English poems—the approach of spring, when the earth's bosom becomes fair again, and the groves resume their flowers, inspires the youth with no tranquil joy or dreamy voluptuousness, but with a longing to venture on the sea, and, like Shelley's *Alastor*, 'to meet lone Death on the drear ocean's waste.' The song of the cuckoo is to him even as the voice of the ill-omened raven: it bodes bitter heart-sorrow. It is

interesting to compare the Seafarer with Alastor. Alastor braves death in despair of otherwise attaining his ideal of love and beauty; he lives in an atmosphere of sublime but unhealthy sentiment. His gentleness, his beauty, have something feminine about them. The Seafarer, on the other hand, is all manliness and energy. He casts back many a longing glance at the joys of earth; but neither the love of woman nor the sweet sound of the harp, nor the joyous revelry of his beloved kinsmen avail aught against the mighty impulse within him: 'My mind departs out of my breast like a sea-bird, screams in its lonely flight, returns to me, fierce and eager, impels me irresistibly over the wide waste of waters, [over the whale's path.]'<sup>1</sup>

The landscape sense was highly developed among our Old English ancestors. Nothing in literature is more vivid than the passages in *Beowulf* which describe the 'secret land' haunted by the monster Grendel, with its misty headlands, its 'wolf-slopes', and the dread lake with fire gleaming in its depths, overhung with icy trees—'a joyless wood'. The sense of awe and weirdness is heightened by one of those touches peculiar to Old English poetry: 'when the heath-stalking stag seeks that wood, hard-pressed by the hounds, he will give up his life on the shore sooner than plunge in and hide his head.'

The elegiac mood predominates in the Old English descriptions of nature: the desolation of exile, the sad thoughts of departed glory called forth by the sight of ancient ruins—these are the favourite motives of their lyric poets. Nor are purely idyllic descriptions wanting, such as the beautiful one of the ideal happy island inhabited by the Phoenix, which reminds us partly of Tennyson's description of 'the island-valley of Avilion', partly of Shelley's ideal island in the *Euganean Hills* with its 'windless bowers', 'far from passion, pain, and guilt'. Shelley's description of the imagined ruins

<sup>1</sup> Compare Shelley in *Laon and Cythna*, ii. 29:

Her spirit o'er the ocean's floating state  
From her deep eyes far wandering, on the wing  
Of visions that were mine, beyond its utmost spring.

of Venice in the same poem, with the sea-mew flying above, and the palace gate 'toppling o'er the abandoned sea', recalls as strikingly that aspect of Old English lyric poetry represented by *The Wanderer* and the impressive fragment known as *The Ruin*—really a description of the ruins of the Roman city of Bath. Shelley heightens the effect, almost as in *Beowulf*, by 'the fisher on his watery way, wandering at the close of day', hastening to pass the gloomy shore

Lest thy dead should, from their sleep  
Bursting o'er the starlight deep,  
Lead a rapid masque of death  
O'er the waters of his path.

The 'natural magic' of such a description as this is—or at least, might be—wholly English, wholly Teutonic—strange as such an assertion may seem to a critic like Mr. Arnold, whose ideas of the Teutonic spirit are gained from a one-sided contemplation of modern German literature at a period when it was still struggling for the mastery of the rudiments of style and technique, lost in the barbarism of the Thirty Years' War.

Shelley's poem *The Question* is, on the other hand, as purely Celtic both in its colour-pictures of 'green cow-bind' and the 'moonlight-coloured may', and 'flowers azure, black, and streaked with gold, fairer than any wakened eyes behold', and its ethereal unreality and delicate, fanciful sentiment. It need hardly be said that this 'Celtic note' in Shelley no more proves Celtic race-influence than the 'Greek note' in Keats proves that Keats was of Greek descent. Shelley looks at nature with the same eyes as an old Celtic poet because both were inspired by the same sky and earth, both loved the same flowers, fields, and forests.

Divergent as the Celtic and Teutonic literatures are, there is yet a certain affinity between them which comes out clearly when we contrast them with the southern literatures of Greece and Rome, of Italy and France. To any one coming fresh from the northern literatures, Greek poetry, with all its greater clearness, moderation, and harmony, has a certain want of picturesqueness—a sobriety of imagination which

sometimes approaches to tameness and baldness. Greek poets show but little of that command of the weird and supernatural which impresses us above all in the Old Icelandic literature, and has been so powerfully rendered by Gray in his paraphrase, *The Descent of Odin*. Homer's gods and goddesses are merely human beings on a slightly larger scale; his account of Ulysses' journey to the infernal regions stirs in us no emotions of awe or mystery. Aeschylus's description of the Furies in the *Eumenides* is equally wanting in the true supernatural touch, and he only falls into the horrible and repulsive when he tells us that 'from their eyes drips loathsome gore'. Shelley's description of the Furies in his *Prometheus* is nobler and more impressive. The same tendency to confound the loathsome with the impressive may be seen in modern French literature, especially in Balzac—the father of modern 'realism'.

∟ This characteristic difference between the imaginations of northern and southern nations is no doubt due to the difference of climate. The 'misty moors' of the poet of *Beowulf*, the gloomy skies and long winter nights of the north are enough to explain the trait of weirdness common to Celtic and Teutonic literature without any hypothesis of influence on either side. Shelley says of his *Witch of Atlas* (*W. of A.* 78) that it is

A tale more fit for the weird winter nights  
Than for these garish summer days, when we  
Scarcely believe much more than we can see.

Both Celtic and Teutonic literature show the weak side of their peculiar power in a tendency to exaggerate the gigantic into the formless—a tendency which is strongly opposed to the moderation and self-restraint of Greek art. In the Old Irish tales we have the shadowy, only half corporeal, monsters which come forth at night from the lakes, being in fact nothing but personifications of mist and clond. In Old English poetry we have the gigantic figure of Grendel looming indistinctly through the mists. Such creations would be impossible in the sunny south, except among the deserts of Arabia, whose gloomy, solitary wastes, swept by storms of

dust, explain the striking analogy there is between the Teutonic and Semitic imagination.

CHAUCER.

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height of forty or fifty fathoms, symmetrically disposed ten or twelve feet apart, comes nearer our idea of a rather formal park than that of a forest. His enumeration of the trees in the *Parliament of Birds* is characteristic of the purely human point of view from which he regarded nature, each tree being

distinguished, not by its own attributes, but solely with reference to the use made of it by man :

The byldere ok ; and ek the hardy assh ;  
 The piler elm, the cofre unto careyne ;  
 The boxtre pipere ; holm to whippes lassh ;  
 The saylynge fyr ; the cipresse, deth to pleyne ;  
 The shetere ew ; the asp, for shaftes pleyne ;  
 The olyve of pes ; and ek the dronke vyne ;  
 The victor palm ; the laurer, to devyne.

Compare Shelley, in *Alastor*, 431 :

The oak,  
 Expanding its immense and knotty arms,  
 Embraces the light beech. The pyramids  
 Of the tall cedar overarching, frame  
 Most solemn domes within, and far below,  
 Like clouds suspended in an emerald sky,  
 The ash and the acacia floating hang,  
 Tremulous and pale.

↳ A sharper contrast cannot be imagined.

#### SPENSER AND SHAKESPEARE.

Leaving the Middle Ages behind, we come now to the first great poet of the Renascence—Spenser. There is little that is original or distinctive in his nature-poetry. He was, of course, a great imitator of Chaucer, and in a passage of the *Faerie Queen* (i. i. 8) he has followed Chaucer's above-quoted description of the trees very closely, but with some significant alterations and additions :

The sailing pine ; the cedar proud and tall ;  
 The vine-prop elm ; the poplar never dry ;  
 The builder oak, sole king of forests all ;  
 The aspen good for staves ; the cypress funeral . . .

Here the oak is no longer regarded solely from the point of view of a speculative builder who has just purchased 'a well-timbered residential estate', but a descriptive epithet is added, and so with many of the other trees.

Shakespeare's attitude towards nature is much the same as Chaucer's, allowing, of course, for the greater range and depth



of Shakespeare's genius. Wherever his subject requires it, he shows an unlimited command not only of minutely accurate and vivid descriptions of nature, but also of the subtle charm of Celtic—we should rather say, Welsh—romance. But even in his non-dramatic poetry there are few traces of what may be called a *disinterested* love of inanimate nature. Nature with him is always a means to an end: either to heighten human emotion, or as supplying materials for those far-reaching similes and metaphors in which his restless intellect delighted.

To us, trained by Wordsworth and Shelley to regard nature with reverence even in her humblest manifestations, there is something startling in Shakespeare's irreverent familiarity. No poet of the present century would speak of the clouds or of night<sup>1</sup> as Shakespeare does in such passages as these:

Full many a glorious morning have I seen . . .  
Anon permit the basest clouds to ride  
With ugly rack on his celestial face. (*Sonnet xxxiii.*)

To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,  
Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke.  
(*Sonnet xxxiv.*)

Which, like a jewel hung in ghastly night,  
Makes black night beauteous and her old face new.  
(*Sonnet xxvii.*)

And see the brave day sunk in hideous night.  
(*Sonnet xii.*)

<sup>1</sup> Though Shakespeare's main view of night is of its blackness or hideousness, yet he has passages to the contrary, as in the *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 56-63:

Soft stillness and the night  
Become the touches of sweet harmony.  
Sit, Jessica! Look how the floor of heaven  
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold!  
There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdst,  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims:  
Such harmony is in immortal souls.

See too Juliet's 'blessed night', and remember Marlowe's

Oh, thou art fairer than the evening air  
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars!

Compare Spenser (*F. Q.*, I. v. 20):

Where grisly night, with visage deadly sad,  
That Phoebus' cheerful face durst never view,  
And in a foul black pitchy mantle clad . . .  
And coalblack steeds yborn of hellish brood.

Shakespeare had nothing of that feeling which made Wordsworth exclaim

The world is too much with us!<sup>1</sup>

or prompted Shelley's *Invitation*:

Away, away, from men and towns,  
To the wild woods and the downs—  
To the silent wilderness,  
Where the soul need not repress  
Its music, lest it should not find  
An echo in another's mind,  
While the touch of nature's art  
Harmonizes heart to heart.

It is curious to note that though the last two lines are a paraphrase of Shakespeare's 'One touch of nature', the sentiment they convey is one which would be utterly unintelligible to Shakespeare himself.

In Shakespeare's time there was, indeed, no antagonism between art and nature, between town and country.<sup>2</sup> To Shakespeare, a street in a town was as much a piece of nature as a glade in a forest, and to him there was no incongruity in associating the two ideas together, as when (*A. Y. L. I.*, II. i)

<sup>1</sup> Compare Sonnet lxvi:

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry . . .  
Tired with all these, from these would I be gone.

<sup>2</sup> I admit that in Scene iii. Act III of *Cymbeline* is a good deal on the antagonism between town and country; but not in my sense: it is the contrast of the 'quiet life' of the country with the 'sharper', pushing, intriguing life of the town, like the Duke's:

Are not these woods  
More free from peril than the envious court?

(*As You Like It*, II. i.)

So Touchstone's contrast is of rustic dullness with court amusements: *As You Like It*, III. i. See also Caxton's *Curial* (from Alain Chartier's French), and the discussion 'Of cyuile and vn-cyuile Life', or *The English Courtier and the Country-Gentleman*, 1586: Roxburghe Library, 1868.

he calls the deer in the forest, 'Native burghers of this desert city.'

Hence also Shakespeare saw no incongruity in making heaven 'peep through the blanket of the dark', which to a modern reader has a downright ludicrous effect.

Akin to this freedom is Shakespeare's lavish use of that bold, imaginative hyperbole in which he is unsurpassed:

The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,  
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,  
Dashes the fire out. (*T. I. ii.*)

The chidden billow seems to pelt the clouds;  
The wind-shaked surge, with high and monstrous mane,  
Seems to cast water on the burning bear  
And quench the guards of the ever-fixed pole.

(*Oth. II. i.*)

A nineteenth-century poet has to be more scrupulous. The mild hyperbole of such a passage as Shelley's *Laon and Cythna*, iii. 12:

Upon that rock a mighty column stood . . .  
. . . o'er its height to fly  
Scarcely the cloud, the vulture, or the blast,  
Has power,

shows the limits which he cannot transgress without the imputation of plagiarism, or imitation of the Elizabethan style.

#### MILTON.

The essential continuity between Chaucer and Shakespeare in the treatment of nature makes the gap between Shakespeare and Milton all the more striking. Milton was, indeed, far in advance of his age in this respect. As the Puritans anticipated the political and social changes of the eighteenth century, so also did the great Puritan poet anticipate its nature-poetry. Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are, indeed, not only the first examples in modern English poetry of what the Germans call *stimmungsbilder*, 'mood-pictures', but they have served as models up to the present day. These poems are the first conscious attempts in English literature to embody in words the subtle impressions we receive from solitary communion with nature. So perfect is the poet's

command of these 'nature-moods' that he is not contented with taking some phase of nature and tracing the emotions excited by it, but reverses the process: he takes some one emotion—such as melancholy—and calls up at will from external nature everything that contributes to the effect he is aiming at. Most wonderful of all is the way in which every emotion is heightened or toned down into harmony with the rest of the picture by subtle contrast with its opposite. In the bright, hot noontide we are led into shady forests; in the calm stillness of night our thoughts are directed to the lights of heaven and the busy stir of human life.<sup>1</sup>

In Milton's poetry we see the sense of landscape fully developed for the first time. He is, indeed, the first English poet to employ the word 'landscape' in its present sense (in *L'Allegro*):

Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,  
Whilst the landscape round it measures.

As the constituents of the landscape he enumerates lawns, fallows, mountains, meadows, brooks, rivers, together with towers and battlements. The inclusion of these last reminds us that 'landscape' was originally a technical term of the Dutch painters, used to designate the background and other accessories in a figure-piece.

The word 'scenery' was in like manner borrowed from the technical language of the stage; it does not seem to have come into general use till the beginning of the next century.

Exquisite as Milton's sense of beauty is, it is cold-blooded—rather that of a poetic epicure than an enthusiast. To him a beautiful landscape is a beautiful landscape, and nothing more. He has but little of the 'sheer inimitable Celtic note' that Mr. Arnold finds in Shakespeare, nor on the other hand does his nature-poetry show anything of the moral earnestness of Wordsworth, or the rapt ecstasy of Shelley.

#### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the eighteenth century the poetry of nature is enriched and deepened by two new factors, one moral, the other

<sup>1</sup> Brandl, *Coleridge*, p. 33.

intellectual. It was then that the hard, narrow puritanism of Milton expanded into a new spirit of humanity and philanthropy, whose influence in poetry we see steadily widening up to the time of Shelley. In Milton's *L'Allegro* the ploughman 'whistling o'er the furrowed land' is simply part of a picture; in Gray's *Elegy* the ploughman as he 'homeward plods his weary way' is an object of pity and sympathy: the hardships of the poor and sympathy with their lot are henceforth sources of poetic emotion. As the century advanced, the circle of sympathy is widened to include suffering animals as well as human beings. Another characteristic feature of the century is the love of children and the growth of the family affections—both of which are conspicuously absent from Shakespeare's poetry.

The intellectual tendencies of the eighteenth century were at first unfavourable to the development of poetic imagination. But the simplicity, clearness, and directness of thought and expression achieved by Pope and his school, the patient, plodding accuracy of Thomson's descriptions of nature, were necessary links in the chain of development; and when Gray had turned back to seek fresh inspiration in the nature-poetry of Milton, the ground was fully prepared for a Coleridge, a Wordsworth, and a Shelley. In another way, too, Gray was a pioneer, in advance not only of his own age, but also of the present one—in his attempts to popularize such of the masterpieces of northern poetry, both Celtic and Scandinavian, as were accessible to him. Although Gray never succeeded in shaking off the false rhetoric of his age, he knew instinctively where to seek the antidote.

The most striking feature of the intellectual life of the eighteenth century is the rapid development of the natural sciences, and their popularization towards the end of the century. In our days the practical applications and consequent utilitarian associations of science have somewhat deadened us to the imaginative element in it, and made it a little difficult for us to realize the enthusiasm which the electrical and chemical discoveries of such men as Franklin,

Priestley, and Davy roused even among the most frivolous of their contemporaries.

One inevitable result of that growth of large towns which went hand in hand with increased material prosperity, was the development of an antagonism between town and country life which soon began to express itself in literature. This antagonism showed itself in two opposite forms.

In the beginning of the century it took the form of a cultured contempt for the boorishness and intellectual narrowness and stagnation of country life. This feeling lasted through the whole century down to the beginning of the present one, and was especially persistent among the literary critics, until their opposition was broken down by the triumph of Wordsworth and the Lake School.

But in the latter half of the century the antagonism between town and country took the opposite form of a revolt against the artificiality and insincerity of town life. On the Continent the return to nature was elevated into a religion, and preached as a gospel by Rousseau. In England, where art had never so completely lost touch with nature as on the Continent, the new tendencies worked themselves out in a more moderate and practical spirit. For our present purpose it is especially important to note the reform in gardening and laying out parks, which aimed at following instead of distorting nature, as in the older Italian style. From England it spread to the Continent. The park at Munich is still called 'the English garden'. The eighteenth-century landscape-gardening certainly paved the way for that love of wild nature which became general towards the end of the century.

This love of wild nature, which was greatly popularized by the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and her school—in which crime, mystery, brigands, ruined castles, and primaeval forests are delightfully jumbled together—showed itself in an appreciation of the rugged scenery of mountains and moors, and a delight in open and solitary space, however barren and desolate—feelings which often developed into an austere love of barrenness and desolation for their own sake.

All these are feelings which would have been unintelligible

to Shakespeare and his contemporaries. It is very doubtful if Shakespeare would have seen any beauty in Keats's picture of

The new soft-fallen mask  
Of snow upon the mountains and the moors;

and it is certain he would not have sympathized with Shelley's feeling (*Julian and Maddalo*, 14):

I love all waste  
And solitary places; where we taste  
The pleasure of believing what we see  
Is boundless as we wish our souls to be.

So far from seeing any beauty in moorland, Shakespeare singles it out for especial contempt:

'Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground, long [ling?] heath, brown [broom?] furze, anything.' (*T.*, i. i.)

To be blown about in winds,<sup>1</sup> which to us moderns is rather an exhilarating idea than otherwise, is to him the awfulest doom that superstition can imagine:

To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,  
And blown with restless violence round about  
The pendent world. (*M. M.*, III. i.)

Whip me, ye devils,  
From the possession of this heavenly sight!  
Blow me about in winds! (*Oth.*, v. ii.)

It is instructive to compare the nearest parallel passage in Shelley (*Cenci*, v. iv. 57), which may, indeed, easily be a reminiscence of those quoted above:

Sweet heaven, forgive weak thoughts! If there should be  
No God, no Heaven, no Earth in the void world;  
The wide, grey, lampless, deep, unpeopled world!

<sup>1</sup> I do not forget

The merry wind  
Blows off the shore  
in the *Comedy of Errors*, iv. i. 90-1; or Prospero's promise to Ariel:

Thou shalt be as free  
As mountain winds. (*Tempest*, i. ii. 497-8.)

Similar passages in Shelley are :

Shall we therefore find  
No refuge in this merciless wide world?  
(*Cenci*, I. iii. 106.)

Sheltered by the warm embrace of thy soul  
From hungry space. (*Prom.*, iv. 479.)

It is evident that the modern poet's conception of desolation and negation has to be made more abstract: he cannot bring in anything so concrete as blowing winds.

It need hardly be said that this love of the wilder aspects of nature was of slow growth, and was only gradually evolved out of the primitive emotions of awe and fear. Indeed, when we find eighteenth-century tourists dwelling on the awful wildness and horrible desolation of the Derbyshire Peak or the Cheddar Cliffs—scenery which most of us, spoiled by the Alps and Pyrenees, would consider rather tame and mild—we are inclined to take them too literally, and to forget that in that self-conscious age people were apt to accentuate their newly-found pleasure in the sublime by a little occasional exaggeration, just as the luxurious tourist of the present day likes to dwell on the mostly imaginary hardships of 'roughing it'. But it must also be remembered that throughout the eighteenth century travelling at the best was never free from hardship and danger, and that every heath and waste place was associated with traditions of crime and violence. These associations would naturally linger even after their causes had ceased to exist.

#### SHELLEY'S CHARACTERISTICS.

To all these manifold influences of the century of his birth Shelley was acutely sensitive, and they are all reflected in his poetry. The question, how far he succeeded in giving poetical expression to the social and political ideals of his age, and whether his poetry, as poetry, benefited or not thereby, is one which does not concern us here. There can, on the other hand, be no doubt that his enthusiastic studies in philosophy and natural science—superficial as the latter were—were an



essential factor in his poetic development, especially as regards his poetry of nature. Not that he was in any way a cross between a poet and a man of science. Shelley was no Jules Verne—he was not even a Plato. The real work of his life was poetry; although it is possible that had he lived longer he would, like Coleridge, have turned more and more to philosophy, if indeed he had not taken to practical politics. But poet as he was, he was above all an intellectual—we might almost say, a scientific—poet.

Akin to the intellectual temperament—though unfortunately not always associated with it—is the love of truth. This Shelley had in a high degree. He had, above all, the virtue of intellectual honesty—a rare virtue everywhere, and especially rare among practical-minded, compromise-loving Englishmen. To Shelley a thinker who was afraid to go the whole length of his intellectual tether was as contemptible as any other kind of coward. He himself showed his rare combination of intellectual and moral strength in the fearless consistence with which he carried out his principles in whatever regions of theory or practice they led him into. His strength of character was shown not less strikingly in the resolutely agnostic attitude he took on subjects which he believed to be beyond human ken. He was not the man to seek consolation, as John Stuart Mill advises us to do, in the cultivation of religious beliefs which our reason refuses to sanction; while, on the other hand, he was equally free from the dogmatism with which many philosophers and men of science have attempted to define the boundaries of the knowable and unknowable.

Hence the vagueness with which, both in his poetry and prose, he has expressed himself on such questions as the existence of a Deity and the immortality of the soul. Hence also the want of any one central view of nature in his poetry. I do not understand why Mr. Stopford Brooke attributes this feature of Shelley's philosophy and poetry to a supposed love of the vague and indefinite for their own sake. I find no trace of indefiniteness in Shelley's expression of his views on those questions of philosophy, religion, art, morality, and

politics which are within the range of human intellect. On the contrary, they form a gospel of life as definite as it is consistent and comprehensive. If Shelley refuses to commit himself to Wordsworth's belief that

Every flower  
Enjoys the air it breathes,

or to model all his poetry on the lines of a definite systematic pantheism, it is simply because he did not consider such beliefs to be capable of proof or disproof in the present state of our knowledge, and therefore contented himself with vague indications of his pantheistic leanings, cautiously expressed, as in the conclusion of the *Invitation*:

And all things seem only one  
In the universal Sun.

Another aspect of Shelley's intellectual temperament is its ideality and tendency to abstraction. This tendency is shown even more in his delineation of human character and action than in his treatment of nature. His treatment of human nature is rarely sympathetic. The sensitiveness of his organization made him shrink with feminine horror from all cruelty and violence, and his clear, truthful intellect made him impatient of injustice, hypocrisy, and conventionality. But somehow his impassioned philanthropy fails to touch our hearts. His enthusiasm is not contagious: it dazzles our imagination, but it leaves us cold. Shelley is singularly wanting in pathos, except in a few cases where he is drawing directly on his own emotions and experience, or giving an idealized portrait of himself, as in *Alastor* or the song of the third spirit in the first act of *Prometheus* ('I sat beside a sage's bed' . . .), in both of which the pathos is inspired by this very want of sympathy—by the poet's sense of his own loneliness and isolation from his fellow men. Even when he descends from the lofty heights of abstract philanthropy to express sympathy or pity for some one human being, as in *Adonais* and *Epipsychidion*, the frigid emotion contrasts painfully with the brilliance of his imagery. The only burst

of warm spontaneous feeling in these two poems is the self-pity with which he describes himself in *Adonais*.

Shelley's incapacity to realize a character distinct from his own is shown not least in that one of his creations which at first sight seems most vigorously objective—Count Cenci. In creating a character Shelley had only two alternatives: either to reproduce himself, or to create an abstraction. In the present case he is obliged to adopt the latter alternative: Count Cenci is an abstraction. Indeed, so completely is he an abstraction that we fail to realize him as a moral agent at all—as far, at least, as Shelley's presentment of him is concerned: we know, from the plot of the story, that he *is* a villain, but Shelley certainly does not help us to realize it. The villains of real life or of Shakespeare's dramas are a mixture of good and bad; often they are strong and noble natures with some apparently insignificant warp of fate or character; and they generally have some motive for their crimes or follies. But Shelley's Count Cenci is wholly bad, and his conduct is wholly without motive. Shelley's idea of constructing a villain was to combine every imaginable depravity into one abstraction. Shelley's Count Cenci is really a personification of blind destructiveness: from this point of view it would be almost as absurd to call him a villain as it would be to attribute villainy to a ravening tiger or a devastating whirlwind: he is not a psychological, but what might be called an 'elemental' villain.

Shelley's real sympathies are with inanimate nature. Here he is at home. Here he is unique and supreme. He is indeed 'the poet of nature' in a truer sense than Wordsworth is. Wordsworth is really the poet of the homely, the commonplace in nature as in man. Whatever in nature harmonizes with his own narrow sympathies he assimilates and reproduces with a power all his own. But whenever nature refuses to lend herself to his moral lessons and similes, he does not scruple to lecture and bully her. He is very severe on the clouds. He patronizes the stock-dove—'that was the song, the song for me!'—and snubs the nightingale. Even the daisy gets an occasional rap on the knuckles, and is told not

to be too conceited. His human sympathies are equally limited. He loves little girls and old men, and dotes on idiots, but ignores boys and old women, and detests men of science—'philosophers' as he calls them. His sympathies in inanimate nature are mainly confined to a limited group of concrete objects—mainly birds and flowers; he cares little for the phenomena of nature.

Shelley, on the other hand, seeks to penetrate into the very heart of nature in all her manifestations, without regard to their association with human feeling. While in his treatment of man he is all subjectivity, in his treatment of nature he is often purely objective. In such a poem as *The Cloud*, there is not only no trace of Wordsworthian egotism, but the whole description of the cloud is as remote from human feeling as it could well be, consistently with the poetic necessity for personification: the cloud is personified, but it is personified as abstractly as possible. As Mr. Brooke says: 'Strip off the imaginative clothing from *The Cloud*, and science will support every word of it.'

The range of Shelley's sympathies is bounded only by the universe itself. He combines forests, mountains, rivers, and seas into vast ideal landscapes; he dives into the depths of the earth, soars among clouds and storms, and communes  
'with the sphere of sun and moon'.

Shelley has a strong sense of structure. Mr. Brooke speaks of his pleasure in 'the intricate, changeful, and incessant weaving and unweaving of Nature's life in a great forest'. Nothing, indeed, is more characteristic of Shelley's mind than his constant use of this very word 'weave'. The passage just quoted from Mr. Brooke's essay seems to have been suggested by Shelley's words in *Rosalind and Helen* (128):

Through the intricate wild wood  
A maze of life and light and motion  
Is woven.

The following examples, grouped roughly under heads, will illustrate Shelley's varied use of the words *weave* and *woof*:

*Leaves:*

A hall . . . o'er whose roof  
 Fair clinging weeds with ivy pale did grow,  
 Claspings its grey rents with a verdurous woof,  
 A hanging dome of leaves, a canopy moon-proof.  
 (*L. and C.*, vi. 27.)

A wood  
 Whose bloom-inwoven leaves now scattering fed  
 The hungry storm. (*L. and C.*, vi. 46.)

Beneath a woven grove it sails. (*Alastor*, 401.)

The woven leaves  
 Make net-work of the dark blue light of day.  
 (*Alastor*, 445.)

The meeting boughs and implicated leaves  
 Wove twilight o'er the Poet's path.  
 (*Alastor*, 426.)

This last is a transition to the fifth head.

*Clouds:*

The blue sky . . .  
 Fretted with many a fair cloud interwoven.  
 (*L. and C.*, i. 4.)

The woof of those white clouds. (*L. and C.*, i. 5.)

Through the woof of spell-inwoven clouds.  
 (*L. and C.*, i. 52.)

As the burning threads of woven cloud  
 Unravel in pale air. (*Prom.*, II. i. 23.)

The mists of night entwining their dim woof.  
 (*L. and C.*, v. 53.)

*Wind:*

The sinuous veil of woven wind. (*Alastor*, 176.)

*Water:*

. . . there shone the emerald beams of heaven,  
 Shot through the lines of many waves inwoven.  
 (*L. and C.*, vii. 11.)

*Light and colour:*

Winds which feed on sunrise woven. (*L. and C.*, v. 44.)

The bright air . . . did weave intenser hues.  
 (*L. and C.*, iii. 3.)

Like rainbows woven there [in the air].  
 (*L. and C.*, vi. 55.)

The sphere-fire above its soft colours wove.  
(*Cloud*, 71.)

The moon . . .  
With whose dun beams inwoven darkness seemed  
To mingle. (*Alastor*, 646.)

Where ebon pines a shade under the starlight wove.  
(*L. and C.*, iii. 34.)

Till twilight o'er the east wove her serenest wreath.  
(*L. and C.*, vi. 17.)

*Sound:*

When the warm air weaves, among the fresh leaves,  
Soft music. (*R. and H.*, 588.)

Her voice was like the voice of his own soul  
Heard in the calm of thought; its music long,  
Like woven sounds of streams and breezes, held  
His inmost sense suspended in its web  
Of many-coloured woof and shifting hues.  
(*Alastor*, 153.)

But now, oh weave the mystic measure  
Of music, and dance, and shapes of light,  
Let the Hours, and the spirits of might and pleasure,  
Like the clouds and sunbeams unite. (*Prom.*, iv. 77.)

*Language:*

He knew his soothing words to weave with skill.  
(*L. and C.*, iv. 6.)

A woof of happy converse frame. (*L. and C.*, v. 54.)  
Weaving swift language from impassioned themes.  
(*L. and C.*, vi. 1.)

Hymns which my soul had woven to freedom.  
(*L. and C.*, ii. 28.)

Woven hymns of night and day. (*Alastor*, 48.)

In honoured poverty thy voice did weave  
Songs consecrate to truth and liberty.  
(*To Wordsworth*, Forman, i. 27.)

It is remarkable that the phrase 'to weave a hymn' is frequent in the Veda.

*Thought and feeling:*

Unconscious of the power through which she wrought  
The woof of such intelligible thought. (*L. and C.*, ii. 34.)

And though the woof of wisdom I know well  
To dye in hues of language. (*L. and C.*, iv. 17.)

Yet in my hollow looks and withered mien  
The likeness of a shape for which was braided  
The brightest woof of genius, still was seen.  
(*L. and C.*, iv. 30.)

Their [the Greek women's] eyes could have entangled no  
heart in soul-inwoven labyrinths. (*On Love.*)

*Time:*

A . . . speech with pauses woven among.  
(*L. and C.*, v. 52.)

*Existence:*

The web of being blindly wove  
By man and beast and earth and air and sea.  
(*Adonais*, 54.)

*Movement and action:*

. . . a lake whose waters wove their play  
Even to the threshold of that lonely home.  
(*L. and C.*, iv. 3.)

Weave the dance. (*Prom.*, iv. 69.)

Woven caresses. (*R. and H.*, 1031; *Prom.*, iv. 105.)

The implicated orbits woven  
Of the wide-wandering stars.  
(*Prom.*, II. iv. 87.)

*Cause, make:*

Their will has wove the chains that eat their hearts.  
(*L. and C.*, iv. 26.)

Have woven all the wondrous imagery  
Of this dim spot which mortals call the world.  
(*Earth Spirit*, Forman, ii. 103.)

She unwove the wondrous imagery  
Of second childhood's swaddling-bands.  
(*W. of A.*, 70.)

The passage first quoted from *Rosalind and Helen* also comes under this head.

It is noticeable that in the more familiar style of the *Letter to Maria Gisborne* (vi. 154), Shelley uses *spin* instead of *weave*:

I . . . sit spinning still round this decaying form,  
 From the fine threads of rare and subtle thought—  
 No net of words in garish colours wrought. . . .  
 But a soft cell, where when that fades away,  
 Memory may clothe in wings my living name.

We spun

A shroud of talk to hide us from the sun  
 Of this familiar life.

In a passage already quoted (*L. and C.*, iv. 30) he substitutes *braid* for the sake of the rhyme. So also in *Laon and Cythna*, v. 24:

She stood beside him like a rainbow braided (:faded)  
 Within some storm.

Shelley's love of the changing and fleeting aspects of nature—the interest with which he watched the formation of mist and cloud, and the shifting hues of dawn and sunset—is, like his sense of structure, a natural result of the half scientific spirit with which he regarded nature, for it is in the changing phenomena of nature that her real life lies. According to Mr. Brooke, Shelley's love for the changeful in nature is the result of the inherent changefulness of his temperament. But of this I can see but little in his life. He was impulsive enough—for without impulsiveness he would hardly have been a poet—but not fickle or undecided in his feelings and principles: there was in him nothing of that swaying to and fro between two extremes, which we see not only in self-seeking politicians, but in sincere enthusiasts as well. Mr. Brooke himself admits that Shelley 'loved deeply a few great conceptions', adding, however, that he 'wearied almost immediately of any special form in which he embodied them'. But the other critics would hardly agree with this view. Mr. Salt, in his *Shelley Primer* (p. 41), remarks that 'the repetition of certain images and words is one of Shelley's most marked characteristics', giving numerous examples.

#### SHELLEY'S MYTHOLOGY.

Shelley's love of natural phenomena sometimes shows itself in naïve expressions of delight, and simple comparisons which



remind us of the nature-poetry of the Veda. Thus in *The Witch of Atlas*, 27 :

Men scarcely know how beautiful fire is—  
Each flame of it is as a precious stone  
Dissolved in ever-moving light.

In the Veda, Agni, the fire-god, is described as a beautiful, golden-haired youth, adorned like a wooer with many colours, equally beautiful on all sides, with his face turning every way at once.

The description of fire in his *Prometheus* (II. iv. 66) shows how Shelley could pass at will from the primitive Aryan to the modern point of view :

He tamed fire, which, like some beast of prey,  
Most terrible, but lovely, played beneath  
The frown of man.

The most effective way of dealing poetically with the forces of nature is, of course, to personify them. All poets feel this. All poets are, therefore, more or less mythologists. But their personifications assume very different forms, according to the circumstances which surround them and the nature of their own genius. With the ancient Hindu poets the personification of the powers of nature was so direct and spontaneous that, although associated with religious feelings, it had hardly developed into mythology. Even when they call Agni the 'golden-haired youth' or the 'messenger to the gods', they never let us forget that these names are simply figurative expressions for 'fire'. It is quite otherwise in a fully developed mythology, such as that of the Greeks and Romans, or our own Teutonic forefathers. Zeus, Jupiter, Woden, and the rest of them were distinct personalities hardly distinguishable from human beings, whose connexion with the powers of nature could only be realized with an effort, if at all. No Greek could have guessed that Athene was a personification of the lightning, though he would have had no great difficulty in identifying her father Zeus with the sky.

The traditional personifications of Greek mythology became, of course, more and more fossilized as they were handed on to the Roman poets, and from them to the poets of the Middle

Ages and Renascence, until at last such figures as 'bluff Boreas' because mere verbal nonentities, and 'Flora' survived only as a scientific term.

Both Chaucer and Shakespeare are full of this traditional mythology. Thus Chaucer has in the *Death of Blanche*:

For both Flora and Zephirus,  
They two that make floures growe,  
Had mad her dwellyng ther, I trowe.

And, indeed, he loses no opportunity of displaying his knowledge of classical mythology.

Shakespeare has in *The Tempest* (IV. i and V. i):

When I shall think, or Phoebus' steeds are foundered  
Or Night kept chained below.

Ye elves . . . and ye that on the sands with printless foot  
Do chase the ebbing Neptune.

In Shakespeare these mythological names are so worn down that he uses them simply as synonyms: Neptune with him is the sea, and nothing more.

Even Wordsworth still shows traces of the old-fashioned conventional mythology:

Blithe Flora from her couch upstarts,  
For May is on the lawn.

When Sol was destined to endure  
That darkening of his radiant face.

It is characteristic of Shelley that he has no trace of this conventional mythology. He never brings in the figures of classical mythology incidentally, but only when they are the subject of his poetry, and his handling of them in such cases is always fresh and original, as in his *Hymn to Apollo*—the most perfect reproduction of the spirit of Greek mythology that we have in modern literature. His conception of Jupiter in his *Prometheus* is quite new and original: he makes him the personification of all that hinders the free development of the human mind, which latter is personified by Prometheus.

We see, then, that even where Shelley is trammelled by traditional mythology, he reveals something of that 'myth-making' faculty in which he stands alone among modern

poets—the only one who at all approaches him in this respect being his contemporary, the Swedish poet Stagnelius. When Shelley is free to follow his own fancy, he instinctively creates nature-myths of a strangely primitive type, unlike anything in Greek or the other fully developed mythologies, but showing remarkable similarity to the personifications of the Veda.] Shelley himself says in his preface to the *Prometheus*:

‘The imagery which I have employed will be found, in many instances, to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed. This is unusual in modern poetry, although Dante and Shakespeare are full of instances of the same kind: Dante indeed more than any other poet, and with greater success. But the Greek poets, as writers to whom no resource of awakening the sympathy of their contemporaries was unknown, were in the habitual use of this power; and it is the study of their works (since a higher merit would probably be denied me) to which I am willing that my readers should impute this singularity.’

Modestly as Shelley here speaks of his own originality—of whose extent he was probably unconscious—he clearly hints that his power of personification is not entirely the result of the study of Greek mythology, but contains elements of original fancy.

Although no one has hitherto taken the trouble to point out in detail the analogy between Shelley's personifications of nature and those embedded in primitive mythologies, yet most of his critics have not failed to see in this one of the characteristic features of his genius. Mr. Symonds says in his *Shelley*: ‘We feel ourselves in the grasp of a primitive myth-maker while we read the description of Oceanus, and the raptures of the earth and moon [in *Prometheus Unbound*].’ Mr. Stopford Brooke says: ‘The little poem on the dawn [‘The pale stars are gone . . .’] might have been conceived by a primitive Aryan.’

It is not only Shelley critics who have been struck by this characteristic of his poetry. Mr. Tylor in his *Anthropology* (p. 290), after remarking that the modern poet ‘still uses for

picturesqueness the metaphors which to the barbarian were real helps to express his sense', goes on to quote as an instance the opening lines of Shelley's *Queen Mab*:

How wonderful is Death,  
 Death and his brother, Sleep!  
 One pale as yonder waning moon,  
 With lips of lurid blue;  
 The other, rosy as the morn  
 When throned on Ocean's wave  
 It blushes o'er the world;

which he then goes on to analyse: 'Here the likeness of death and sleep is expressed by the metaphor of calling them brothers, the moon is brought in to illustrate the notion of paleness, the dawn of redness; while to convey the idea of dawn shining on the sea, the simile of its sitting on a throne is introduced, and its reddening is compared on the one hand to a rose, and on the other to blushing. Now this is the very way in which early barbaric man, not for poetic affectation, but simply to find the plainest words to convey his thoughts, would talk in metaphors taken from nature.'

One of the best examples of Shelley's myth-making faculty is the little poem, *The World's Wanderers*:

Tell me, thou star, whose wings of light  
 Speed thee in thy fiery flight,  
 In what cavern of the night  
 Will thy pinions close now?  
 Tell me, moon, thou pale and gray  
 Pilgrim of heaven's homeless way,  
 In what depth of night or day  
 Seekest thou repose now?  
 Weary wind, who wanderest  
 Like the world's rejected guest,  
 Hast thou still some secret nest  
 On the tree or billow?

Two of the most striking images in this poem appear also in *The Bay of Lerici* (Forman, ii. 280):

She left me at the silent time  
 When the moon had ceased to climb  
 The azure path of Heaven's steep,  
 And like an albatross asleep,

Balanced on her *wings* of light,  
 Hovered in the purple night,  
 Ere she sought her ocean *nest*  
 In the chambers of the West.

Compare also :

The cloud shadows of midnight possess their own repose,  
 For the weary winds are silent, or the moon is in the deep :  
 Some respite to its turbulence unresting ocean knows ;  
 Whatever moves, or toils, or grieves, hath its appointed sleep.  
(*Stanzas*, Forman, i. 24.)

When weary meteor lamps repose. (*R. and H.*, 551.)

Some star of many a one  
 That climbs and wanders through steep night.  
(*Prom.*, II. ii. 14.)

Art thou pale for weariness  
 Of climbing Heaven, and gazing on the earth? . . .  
(*To the Moon*, Forman, ii. 225.)

It would be possible to parallel the passage about death and sleep from other modern poets—though only imperfectly—but *The World's Wanderers* is as remote as anything can well be from modern thought and sentiment. Its imagery and its strange un-human pathos are alike primitive and elemental. The same sympathy with the heavenly bodies in their wanderings through space has been expressed by some of the older Greek lyric poets, but the conception of the star's rays as wings can hardly be paralleled outside of the Veda, where, as we have seen (p. 232), the rays of the sun were regarded as the limbs with which it moved through the sky.

In the *Ode to Heaven*, 15 (Forman, i. 441), Shelley has the primitive comparison of a star's rays to hair :

And swift stars with flashing tresses.

With which compare *Laon and Cythna*, v. 51 (6):

. . . the oceans  
 Where morning dyes her golden tresses.

There are some striking mythological elements in *To Night*, although the poem is otherwise quite modern and subjective. Death is here the brother of Night, who is the father of Sleep, the 'sweet, filmy-eyed child'. The image of Night emerging

from the 'misty Eastern cave' of sunset, with which Shelley opens the poem, is one which could have occurred to him alone of modern poets. It is frequent in his poetry:

Sun-rise from its eastern caves. (*R. and H.*, 541.)

The mists in their eastern caves unrolled.

(*The Boat*, 16, Forman, ii. 261.)

Compare also:

. . . like an autumnal night, that springs  
Out of the East, and follows wild and drear  
The golden day. (*Adonais*, 23.)

When the night is left behind

In the deep East, dim and blind. (*Invitation*, 62.)

In *The World's Wanderers* he asks the star, 'In what cavern of the night will thy pinions close now?' The same image recurs in the next stanza of the same poem: 'In what depth of night or day seekest thou repose now?' The image of a cave is also used by Shelley to express the idea of source or cause very strikingly in *The Cloud*, 82:

And out of the caverns of rain,

Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,  
I arise. . . .

Other examples are:

Those subtle and fair spirits,  
Whose homes are the dim caves of human thought.

(*Prom.*, i. 658.)

Great spirit whom the sea of boundless thought  
Nurtures within its unimagined caves.

(*Invocation*, Forman, ii. 267.)

With which may be compared:

. . . The responses . . .  
Which through the deep and labyrinthine soul,  
Like echoes through long caverns, wind and roll.

(*Prom.*, i. 805.)

Love . . . like a storm bursting its cloudy prison  
With thunder, and with whirlwind, has arisen  
Out of the lampless caves of unimagined being.

(*Prom.*, iv. 378.)

The simile in the third stanza of *The World's Wanderers*—  
'like the world's rejected guest'—appears to have been a

favourite one of Shelley's, for it appears again in *To Night*, where it is said of day that he lingered 'like an unloved guest'.

The curious use of the word 'nest' in *The World's Wanderers* and *The Bay of Lerici*, which reappears in *The Recollection*, ii:

The lightest wind was in its nest,  
The tempest in its home,

is perhaps a reminiscence of Wordsworth's

The sun is quenched, the sea-fowl gone to rest,  
And the wild storm hath somewhere found a nest.

In the Veda, the waters, let loose by Indra (p. 267), are compared to birds flying to their nests.

It is interesting to compare Milton's description of the moon in *L'Allegro*, 66, with the passages quoted above, and to observe how essentially different his treatment is, in spite of some resemblance in detail:

To behold the wandering moon,  
Riding near her highest noon,  
Like one that had been led astray  
Through the heavens' wide pathless way,  
And oft as if her head she bowed,  
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.

The leading idea of *The World's Wanderers* appears also in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*:

Look, the world's comforter, with weary gait,  
His day's hot task hath ended in the west.

One of the most primitively mythological of Shelley's shorter poems is that on the dawn (*Prom.*, iv. i), already alluded to (p. 259):

The pale stars are gone!  
For the sun, their swift shepherd,  
To their folds them compelling,  
In the depths of the dawn,  
Hastes in meteor-eclipsing array, and they flee  
Beyond his blue dwelling,  
As fawns flee the leopard.

In the fragment *Insecurity* (Forman, ii. 266) the dawn itself is compared to a fawn :

. . . the young and dewy dawn,  
 Bold as an unhunted fawn,  
 Up the windless heaven has gone.

In the Veda the stars flee away like thieves before the all-seeing sun, and the comparison of the sun to a wolf or other ravenous animal is frequent in savage mythologies.

Otherwise Shelley's sun-mythology has little that is distinctive about it. Such an epithet as the 'all-seeing' sun is the common property of all poets, from those of the Veda down to Shakespeare and Shelley. Shelley's comparison of the sun's rays to 'shafts' (*L. and C.*, iii. 20; *Prom.*, III. iii. 118) is also common mythological and poetic property.

The slight prominence given to the sun in Shelley's mythology, as compared with its overwhelming predominance in all primitive mythologies, is a characteristic result of the changed feelings with which we moderns regard nature. The old half-utilitarian associations which made sunshine and daylight the most beautiful and glorious of all phenomena, and night and darkness the most terrible and hideous—associations still retained by Shakespeare (p. 241)—has given way to a more refined, more dilettante way of looking at nature, which ignores everything but the beautiful, and finds beauty in the awe and mystery of darkness as well as in the splendour of light. This reaction is carried so far, that a modern poet is able to reverse the old contrast, and to turn with a sigh of relief from the garish day to the 'star-inwrought' night.

To a modern poet the setting of the sun calls forth none of those painful emotions with which it was associated in the minds of our savage ancestors, but rather suggests peace, and rest from the toils of the day; and so a modern poet is able to give himself up without reserve to the enjoyment of

Sunset and its gorgeous ministers.

In the Veda, which contains whole books of hymns to the dawn, there is not a single description of sunset. Even in



Chaucer<sup>1</sup> and Shakespeare<sup>2</sup> there are hardly any detailed descriptions of sunset. In Shelley's poetry, on the other hand, the sunsets get the upper hand.

To Shelley, as to the Old English poets, the sky is 'the sun's path':

She stood beside him like a rainbow braided  
 Within some storm, when scarce its shadows vast  
 From the blue paths of the swift sun have faded.  
(L. and C., v. 24.)

Shelley's love of cloudland has often been dwelt on. To him the clouds are the daughters of the sun and the sea, or of earth and water:

Those fair daughters,  
 The clouds, of Sun and Ocean, who have blended  
 The colours of the air since first extended  
 It cradled the young world. (L. and C., ii. 5.)

Earth and Heaven,  
 The Ocean and the Sun, the clouds their daughters.  
(L. and C., ix. 35.)

I am the daughter of earth and water,  
 And the nursling of the sky. (Cloud, 73.)

He compares them to sheep, whose shepherd is the wind:

Multitudes of dense white fleecy clouds  
 Were wandering in thick flocks along the mountains  
 Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind.  
(Prom., II. i. 145.)

<sup>1</sup> Parfourmed hath the sonne his ark diourne;  
 No lenger may the body of him sojourne  
 On th'orizonte, as in that latitude.  
 Night with his mantel, that is derk and rude,  
 Gan oversprede th'emesperie aboute . . .

is an exception which proves the rule.

<sup>2</sup> Dramatic poetry would not admit of elaborate ones. Those that occur are slight. Take two:

The weary sun hath made a golden set,  
 And, by the bright track of his fiery car,  
 Gives signal of a goodly day to-morrow.  
(Rich. III, iv. iii. 19-21.)

O setting sun,  
 As in thy red rays thou dost sink to-night,  
 So in his red blood Cassius' day is set:  
 The sun of Rome is set. (Jul. Caesar, v. iii. 63.)

In the Veda the rain-clouds are regarded as cows with heavy udders.

Shelley is fond of comparing clouds to rocks and mountains, towers and walls :

When the north wind congregates in crowds  
The floating mountains of the silver clouds  
From the horizon.

(*Summer and Winter*, Forman, ii. 209.)

Oh, bear me to those isles of jagged cloud  
Which float like mountains on the earthquake, mid  
The momentary oceans of the lightning,  
Or to some toppling promontory proud  
Of solid tempest whose black pyramid,  
Riven, overhangs the founts intensely brightening  
Of those dawn-tinted deluges of fire  
Before their waves expire! (*Hellas*, 957.)

She would often climb  
The steepest ladder of the crudded rack  
Up to some beaked cape of cloud sublime.

(*W. of A.*, 55.)

Athens arose: a city such as vision  
Builds from the purple crags and silver towers  
Of battlemented cloud, as in derision  
Of kingliest masonry. (*Liberty*, 5, Forman, i. 454.)

. . . the clouds, whose moving turrets make  
The bastions of the storm. (*W. of A.*, 48.)

. . . the hollow turrets  
Of those high clouds. (*W. of A.*, 52.)

Such comparisons are common to poets of all ages. The very word 'cloud' itself originally meant 'rock', a meaning which it kept as late as the thirteenth century. The Old English *clūd* was evidently first applied to the heavy cumulus, and then to clouds generally.

In the Veda, cloud-mythology plays a prominent part. The rain-clouds—personified as cows—are supposed to be shut up in the rocky mountains of cloud by the demons of drought—the 'driers', the 'envelopers' or 'coverers', the 'throttlers' or 'dragons', the 'misers', &c. The hero-god Indra slays the demons with his thunderbolt, sets the waters

free to flow in beneficent streams over the parched earth below, demolishes the 'nine and ninety fortresses', and drives out the cows from the caves where they were hidden—with which compare Shelley's 'caverns of rain' (p. 262).

'The wings of the wind' is a familiar Old Testament metaphor, and is common in most mythologies. Shelley employs it freely:

Languid storms their pinions close. (*R. and H.*, 552.)

Ye whirlwinds, who on poised wings hung mute!  
(*Prom.*, i. 66.)

The noontide plumes of summer winds.  
(*Prom.*, II. i. 37.)

It is characteristic of the breadth of Shelley's imagination that it is as much at home in the depths of the earth as among the clouds and stars. His is not—like the Veda's—a purely aerial mythology. His restless intellect strives, in his own words (*Prom.*, iv. 279), to

Make bare the secrets of the earth's deep heart;  
Infinite mine of adamant and gold,  
Valueless stones, and unimagined gems,  
And caverns on crystalline columns poised  
With vegetable silver overspread;  
Wells of unfathomed fire, and water springs  
. . . the melancholy ruins  
Of cancelled cycles; anchors, beaks of ships;  
Planks turned to marble . . .  
The wrecks beside of many a city vast,  
Whose population which the earth grew over  
Was mortal, but not human . . . and over these,  
The anatomies of unknown winged things,  
And fishes which were isles of living scale,  
And serpents, bony chains. . . .

The same ideas are expressed with more concentration in the Earth Spirit's speech in *The Unfinished Drama* (Forman, ii. 103), which, although in form a close imitation of the well-known lines which open Milton's *Comus*—'Before the starry threshold of Jove's court my mansion is . . . above the smoke and stir of this dim spot, which men call earth'—is otherwise original:

Within the silent centre of the earth  
 My mansion is; where I have lived insphered  
 From the beginning, and around my sleep  
 Have woven all the wondrous imagery  
 Of this dim spot, which mortals call the world;  
 Infinite depths of unknown elements  
 Massed into one impenetrable mask;  
 Sheets of immeasurable fire, and veins  
 Of gold and stone, and adamantine iron.  
 And as a veil in which I walk through Heaven,  
 I have wrought mountains, seas, and waves, and clouds,  
 And lastly light, whose interfusion dawns  
 In the dark space of interstellar air.

This ideal subterranean landscape—which forms a strange contrast to the ideal forest landscape in *Alastor*—may help us to realize that gloomy Northern imagination which gave birth to the *dvergjar*, or dwarfs of Scandinavian mythology—those dark, misshapen beings, malicious and revengeful, yet wise and helpful, skilled above all in working metals. Compare *Letter to Maria Gisborne*, 58:

. . . quicksilver: that dew which the gnomes drink  
 When at their subterranean toil they swink,  
 Pledging the demons of the earthquake, who  
 Reply to them in lava—cry halloo!

Shelley was especially fascinated by those stupendous manifestations of the earth's inner life—volcano and earthquake, which latter he generally personifies:

Yon volcano's flaming fountains. (*Prom.*, II. iii. 3.)

Is this the scene  
 Where their earthquake demon taught her young ruin?  
 (*Mont Blanc*, 71.)

The Earthquake-fiends are charged  
 To wrench the rivets from my quivering wounds,  
 When the rocks split and close again behind.  
 (*Prom.*, i. 38.)

Springs of flame, which burst where'er swift  
 Earthquake stamps. (*L. and C.*, v. 1.)

Shelley's personifications of fire and of night have already been noticed incidentally (pp. 257, 261). His personifications of winter (*Sensitive Plant*, iii. 94), of death—whom, as we have

seen (p. 261), he makes the brother, sometimes of Sleep, sometimes of Night—and of the different emotions and workings of the mind, resemble those of other poets.

He gives wings (*R. and H.*, 767; *The Two Spirits*, Forman, ii. 207) and 'lightning feet' (*Prom.*, i. 734) to desire. So also he calls dreams the 'passion-winged ministers of thought' (*Adonais*, 9). Compare *Prom.*, III. iii. 145,

Like the soft waving wings of noonday dreams,  
which was probably suggested by Milton's *L'Allegro*, 146:

And the waters murmuring . . .  
Entice the dewy-winged Sleep.  
And let some strange mysterious Dream  
Wave at its wings, in æry stream  
Of lively portraiture displayed,  
Softly on my eyelids laid.

Of all abstractions the one oftenest personified by poets of all periods is Time. Even the Vedic poets show the beginnings of this personification. The abstract conception of time seems to have been realized most clearly by them in the unfailling recurrence of the dawn. They contrast the eternal youth and beauty of the Dawn—that fair maiden brilliant with gold and jewels—and the ruthless cruelty with which she 'wears away the generations of men'.

The same idea of the cruelty of time is much dwelt on by Shakespeare. In Sonnet xvi he calls him 'this bloody tyrant Time'; in *Lucrece* he calls him 'misshapen Time', 'injurious shifting Time'. But in another place in the same poem he dwells on the more favourable side of Time's character: 'Time's glory is . . . to unmask falsehood, and bring truth to light . . . to cheer the ploughman with increaseful crops.'

Shelley's favourite comparison of time is to a sea or river: )

Behind  
Terror and Time conflicting drove, and bore  
On their tempestuous flood the shrieking wretch from  
shore . . .  
That Ocean's wrecks . . . the ghosts which to and fro  
Glide o'er its dim and gloomy strand.

(*L. and C.*, ii. 6.)

Time's fleeting river. (*Liberty*, 6.)

This comparison is worked out with great force in *Time* (Forman, ii. 232), where the 'flood' is again personified as a howling monster, which latter is thus an indirect personification of time itself:

Unfathomable Sea! whose waves are years,  
 Ocean of Time, whose waters of deep woe  
 Are brackish with the salt of human tears!  
 Thou shoreless flood, which in thy ebb and flow  
 Claspest the limits of mortality!  
 And sick of prey, yet howling on for more,  
 Vomitest thy wrecks on its inhospitable shore;  
 Treacherous in calm, and terrible in storm,  
 Who shall put forth on thee,  
 Unfathomable Sea?

The question, Why should we have to go back to the Veda for parallels to Shelley's treatment of nature? is easily answered. Shelley, though a poet, looked at nature with the eyes of a scientific investigator. So did the primitive Aryans. Brought as they were face to face with nature, and surrounded by mysterious powers of good and evil, the first condition of existence for them was a knowledge of the laws by which those powers are governed. When the first elements of this knowledge had been attained, civilization advanced chiefly on political and social lines, and intellectual energy was absorbed more and more by literature. Then, after a long torpor, men awakened to the conviction that their future progress would depend mainly on their further advance in the knowledge of nature. Hence it is that extremes meet, and that the modern lover of nature—whether as poet or man of science—feels himself in some respects nearer to the primitive barbarism of the Veda than to the scholars of Greece and Rome, or even his own Chaucer and Shakespeare.

#### SHELLEY'S LIGHT AND COLOUR.

We may now turn to a characteristic feature of Shelley's nature-poetry—his treatment of light and colour.

Shelley's love of light has been well brought out by Mr. Symonds, who remarks: 'It has been said that Shelley, as a landscape painter, is decidedly Turner-esque; and there is

much in *Prometheus* to justify this opinion. The scale of colour is light and aerial, and the darker shadows are omitted. An excess of luminousness seems to be continually radiated from the objects to which he looks: and in this radiation of many-coloured lights the outline itself is apt to become a little misty.' It will be worth while to follow Shelley's treatment of light more into detail.

We should expect him to be keenly sensitive to the effects of light in motion. The following are pictures of flashing and intermittent light:

Lifted ocean's dazzling spray . . .  
Spangles the wind with lamp-like waterdrops.  
(*Prom.*, II. iii. 30.)

As the bare green hill,  
When some soft cloud vanishes into rain,  
Laughs with a thousand drops of sunny water  
To the unpavilioned sky. (*Prom.*, iv. 182.)

. . . where the pebble-paven shore  
Under the quick, faint kisses of the sea  
Trembles and sparkles as with ecstasy. (*Epip.*, 546.)

I see the waves upon the shore,  
Like light dissolved in star-showers, thrown . . .  
The lightning of the noontide ocean  
Is flashing round me. (*Dejection*, 2.)

As in a brook, fretted with little waves,  
By the light airs of spring—each riplet makes  
A many-sided mirror for the sun.  
(*Orpheus*, 59; Forman, ii. 220.)

The second passage may well be a reminiscence of Aeschylus's 'Innumerable laughter of ocean'.

Compare also the following passages from Shelley's *Letters*:

'The deep glens, which are filled with the flashing light of the waterfalls.' (Forman, iv. 3.)

'The sea-water, furiously agitated by the wind, shone with sparkles like stars.' (Forman, iv. 11.)

Shelley loves also to depict the alternations of light and shade:

Like evening shades that o'er the mountains creep.  
(*L. and C.*, ii. 49.)

And 'twas delight  
 To see far off the sunbeams chase the shadows.  
 (L. and C., xii. 36.)

. . . as shadows on a grassy hill  
 Outrun the winds that chase them.  
 (Athanasia, ii. 13.)

Compare *Fragments on Beauty*, 2 :

The shadows of the clouds are spotting the bosoms of  
 the hills.

The path that wound  
 The vast and knotted trees around,  
 Through which slow shades were wandering.  
 (R. and H., 102.)

Like a storm-extinguished day  
 Travelled o'er by dying gleams.  
 (Prom., i. 678.)

The sea, in storm or calm,  
 Heaven's ever-changing shadow, spread below.  
 (Prom., i. 27.)

And wherever her airy footstep trod,  
 Her trailing hair from the grassy sod  
 Erased its light vestige with shadowy sweep,  
 Like a sunny storm o'er the dark green deep.  
 (Sensitive Plant, ii. 25.)

A similar effect is described in *Alastor*, 310 :

The wind swept strongly from the shore,  
 Blackening the waves.

With which compare *Athanasia*, ii. 50 :

. . . o'er [his] visage . . . a swift shadow ran,  
 Like wind upon some forest-bosomed lake,  
 Glassy and dark.

Shelley's use of the words *shade* and *shadow* is often peculiar. These words with him do not necessarily imply darkness, but simply diminished light. This is clearly shown in the song of the Third Spirit in *Prometheus* (i. 732) :

When a Dream with plumes of flame  
 To his pillow hovering came, . . .  
 And the world a while below  
 Wore the shade its lustre made.



As a Dream or Spirit could not cast a shade, the word must here signify the dispersed, diminished lustre of the 'plumes of flame'.

In *Alastor*, 123 :

When the moon  
Filled the mysterious halls with floating shades,

*shades* may, of course, have its usual meaning, but the passage would, perhaps, be more forcible if we suppose that here, too, *shades* means 'shades of light' or 'faint, uncertain light'. When the moon rises, it is more natural to think of its light than of the shade cast by that light. Compare :

The dim and horned moon hung low, and poured  
A sea of lustre on the horizon's verge  
That overflowed its mountains. Yellow mist  
Filled the unbounded atmosphere, and drank  
Wan moonlight even to fullness. (*Alastor*, 602.)

'Through a dark chasm to the east, in the long perspective of a portal glittering with the unnumbered riches of the subterranean world, shone the broad moon, pouring in one yellow and unbroken stream her horizontal beams.' (*Assassins*.)

When Shelley calls the sea 'heaven's ever-changing shadow', he includes the bright reflection of the sky as well as the shadows of dark clouds: shadow, in fact, is here equivalent to 'reflection'. Compare *Prometheus*, III. ii. 18, 'the fields of Heaven-reflecting sea'; also *Laon and Cythna*, i. 20 and xii. 36, 'the green and glancing shadows of the sea,' 'shades beautiful and bright,' and *Rosalind and Helen*, 1152 :

. . . beside his cheek,  
The snowy column from its shade  
Caught whiteness.

Shelley has a keen eye for atmospheric effects of light and colour :

I [the air] had clothed, since Earth uprose  
Its wastes in colours not their own.

(*Prom.*, i. 82.)

And the bright air o'er every shape did weave  
Intenser hues. (*L. and C.*, iii. 3.)

As from the all-surrounding air  
 The earth takes hues obscure and strange,  
 When storm and earthquake linger there.  
 (R. and H., 729.)

Blue isles and snowy mountains wear  
 The purple noon's transparent night.  
 (Dejection, 1.)

Two . . . wings . . . dyed in the ardours of the atmosphere.  
 (W. of A., 37.)

Where the air is no prism . . .  
 And the cavern crags wear not  
 The radiance of heaven. (Prom., II. iii. 74.)

The clouds . . . who have blended  
 The colours of the air since first extended,  
 It cradled the young world. (L. and C., ii. 5.)

Like joy which riseth up,  
 As from the earth, clothing with golden clouds  
 The desert of our life. (Prom., II. i. 10.)

Compare the following passages from the *Letters*:

'From the boat the effect of the scenery was inexpressibly delightful. The colours of the water and the air breathe over all things here [Baiae] the radiance of their own beauty.' (Forman, iv. 17.)

'The water of this pool . . . is as transparent as the air, so that the stones and sand at the bottom seem as if trembling in the light of noonday.' (Forman, iv. 8.)

The latter passage also illustrates Shelley's treatment of light seen through water:

This lady never slept, but lay in trance  
 All night within the fountain . . .  
 Through the green splendour of the water deep  
 She saw the constellations reel and dance.  
 (W. of A., 28.)

Shelley gives us some beautiful pictures of light seen through foliage:

The green light which shifting overhead  
 Some tangled bower of vines around me shed.  
 (L. and C., ii. 1.)

High above was spread  
 The emerald heaven of trees of unknown kind.  
 (L. and C., xii. 18.)

Like sunlight through acacia woods at even.  
(*L. and C.*, vii. 11.)

Her cheeks and lips most fair,  
Changing their hue like lilies, newly blown,  
Beneath a bright acacia's shadowy hair,  
Waved by the wind amid the sunny noon.  
(*L. and C.*, viii. 30.)

And the Naiad-like lily of the vale,  
Whom youth makes so fair and passion so pale,  
That the light of its tremulous bells is seen  
Through their pavilions of tender green.  
(*Sensitive Plant*, i. 21.)

. . . the stream whose inconstant bosom  
Was pranked under boughs of embowering blossom,  
With golden and green light, slanting through  
Their heaven of many a tangled hue.  
(*Sensitive Plant*, i. 41.)

Under the green and golden atmosphere  
Which noon-tide kindles through the woven leaves.  
(*Prom.*, II. ii. 75.)

Parasite flowers illumed with dewy gems  
The lampless halls, and when they fade, the sky  
Peeps through their winter-woof of tracery  
With moonlight patches, or star atoms keen,  
Or fragments of the day's intense serene;—  
Working mosaic on their Parian floors. (*Epip.*, 502.)

Similar to the above passages is *Laon and Cythna*, ii. 29:

Her white arms lifted through the shadowy stream  
Of her loose hair.

He gives us a different picture of transmitted light in:

The hill  
Looks hoary through the white electric rain.  
(*Letter to M. G.*, 123.)

Refracted light:

The beams of sunset hung their rainbow hues  
High 'mid the shifting domes of sheeted spray.  
(*Alastor*, 334.)

Or when the beams of the invisible moon,  
Or sun, from many a prism, within the cave  
Their gem-born shadows to the water gave.  
(*L. and C.*, vii. 20.)

But the most elaborate and vivid of Shelley's light-pictures are those which deal with reflection. In his *Fragments on Beauty* he asks:

'Why is the reflection in that canal more beautiful than the objects it reflects? The colours are more vivid, and yet blended with greater harmony; the opening from within into the soft and tender colours of the distant wood, and the intersection of the mountain lines, surpass and misrepresent truth.'

The following are examples of reflected light:

He will watch from dawn to gloom  
The lake-reflected sun illumine  
The yellow bees in the ivy-bloom. (*Prom.*, i. 743.)

The keen sky-cleaving mountains  
From icy spires of sunlike radiance  
Fling the dawn. (*Prom.*, II. iii. 28.)

Upon that rock a mighty column stood . . .  
. . . and when the shades of evening lie  
On Earth and Ocean, its curved summits cast  
The sunken daylight far through the aerial waste.  
(*L. and C.*, iii. 12.)

The dark and azure well  
Sparkled beneath the shower of her bright tears,  
And every little circlet where they fell  
Flung to the cavern-roof inconstant spheres  
And intertangled lines of light. (*W. of A.*, 25.)

. . . the sunny beams  
Which, from the bright vibrations of the pool,  
Were thrown upon the rafters and the roof  
Of boughs and leaves.  
(*Unfinished Drama*, Forman, ii. 109.)

With the second passage compare *Alastor*, 352:

. . . Caucasus, whose icy summits shone  
Among the stars like sunlight.

With the third *Laon and Cythna*, xii. 19:

Vast caves of marble radiance.

Of reflected colour:

And she unveiled her bosom, and the green  
And glancing shadows of the sea did play  
O'er its marmoreal depth. (*L. and C.*, i. 20.)

High above was spread  
 The emerald heaven of trees of unknown kind,  
 Whose moonlike blooms and bright fruit overhead  
 A shadow, which was light, upon the waters shed.  
 (*L. and C.*, xii. 18.)

And floating waterlilies, broad and bright,  
 Which lit the oak that overhung the hedge  
 With moonlight beams of their own watery light.  
 (*Recollection*, 4.)

As from the rose which the pale priestess kneels  
 To gather for her festal crown of flowers  
 The aerial crimson falls, flushing her cheek.  
 (*Prom.*, i. 467.)

A green and glowing light, like that which drops  
 From folded lilies in which glowworms dwell.  
 (*W. of A.*, 39.)

Pictures of objects reflected in water are very numerous in Shelley's poetry, especially in *Alastor*; there are many examples in *Prometheus* also, and, indeed, throughout his poetry generally.

The bright stars shining in the breathless sea.  
 (*L. and C.*, iii. 11.)

The glow of blazing roofs shone far o'er the white  
 Ocean's flow.  
 (*L. and C.*, iii. 11.)

Her dark and deepening eyes,  
 Which, as twin phantoms of one star that lies  
 O'er a dim well, move, though the star reposes.  
 (*L. and C.*, vi. 33.)

As the sharp stars pierce winter's crystal air  
 And gaze upon themselves within the sea.  
 (*Prom.*, iv. 193.)

His wan eyes  
 Gaze on the empty scene as vacantly  
 As ocean's moon looks on the moon in heaven.  
 (*Alastor*, 200.)

The bright arch of rainbow clouds  
 And pendent mountains seen in the calm lake.  
 (*Alastor*, 213.)

I cannot tell my joy, when o'er a lake  
 Upon a drooping bough with nightshade twined

I saw two halcyons clinging downward  
 . . . and in the deep there lay  
 Those lovely forms imaged as in a sky.  
 (*Prom.*, III. iv. 78.)

Banks, whose yellow flowers  
 For ever gaze on their own drooping eyes,  
 Reflected in the crystal calm. (*Alastor*, 406.)

And narcissi, the fairest among them all,  
 Who gaze on their eyes in the stream's recess,  
 Till they die of their own dear loveliness,  
 (*Sensitive Plant*, i. 18.)

The rivulet . . . through the plain in tranquil wanderings  
 crept,  
 Reflecting every herb and drooping bud  
 That overhung its quietness. (*Alastor*, 494.)

And the pools where winter rains  
 Image all their roof of leaves. (*Invitation*, 50.)

And saw in sleep old palaces and towers  
 Quivering within the wave's intenser day.  
 (*West Wind*, 3.)

The pools . . . each seemed as 'twere a little sky . . .  
 In which the lovely forests grew  
 As in the upper air. (*Recollection*, 53.)

The most elaborate is that in *Alastor*, 457:

Beyond, a well,  
 Dark, gleaming, and of most translucent wave,  
 Images all the woven boughs above,  
 And each depending leaf, and every speck  
 Of azure sky, darting between their chasms;  
 Nor aught else in the liquid mirror laves  
 Its portraiture, but some inconstant star  
 Between one foliaged lattice twinkling fair,  
 Or painted bird, sleeping beneath the moon,  
 Or gorgeous insect floating motionless,  
 Unconscious of the day, ere yet his wings  
 Have spread their glories to the gaze of noon.

In *Prometheus*, II. i. 17, two of Shelley's favourite elements—reflection in water and changing, intermittent light and colour—are combined in the most beautiful of all his dawn-pictures:

The point of one white star is quivering still  
 Deep in the orange light of widening morn  
 Beyond the purple mountains: through a chasm  
 Of wind-divided mist the darker lake  
 Reflects it: now it wanes: it gleams again  
 As the waves fade, and as the burning threads  
 Of woven cloud unravel in pale air:  
 'Tis lost! and through yon peaks of cloudlike snow  
 The roseate sun-light quivers.

Wordsworth's contrast of intermittence and permanence of reflection in his description of Peele Castle:

When'er I looked, thy image still was there;  
 It trembled, but it never passed away,

evidently impressed Shelley, for he repeats this image—so characteristic of Wordsworth, so uncharacteristic of himself—in his own poetry:

Within the surface of the fleeting river  
 The wrinkled image of the city lay,  
 Immovably unquiet, and for ever  
 It trembles, but it never fades away.  
 (*Evening*, 3, Forman, ii. 260.)

Within the surface of Time's fleeting river  
 Its [Athens'] wrinkled image lies, as then it lay  
 Immovably unquiet, and for ever  
 It trembles, but it cannot pass away!  
 (*Liberty*, 6, Forman, i. 454.)

And where within the surface of the river  
 The shadows of the massy temples lie,  
 And never are erased—but tremble ever . . .  
 (*W. of A.*, 59.)

Shelley's love of brightness is shown in his identification of colour with light:

The light  
 Of wave-reflected flowers. (*Prom.*, III. ii. 31.)  
 Budding, blown, or odour-faded blooms,  
 Which star the winds with points of coloured light,  
 As they rain through them. (*Prom.*, III. iii. 137.)

An expansion of *Alastor*, 438 and 484:

. . . the parasites,  
 Starred with ten thousand blossoms.

Soft mossy lawns . . .  
 Fragrant with perfumed herbs, and eyed with blooms  
 Minute, yet beautiful.

Like most modern poets, Shelley has a strong sense of colour-contrast :

'Orange and lemon groves . . . whose golden globes contrasted with the white walls and dark green leaves.'  
 (*Letters*, Forman, iv. 19.)

Bright golden globes  
 Of fruit, suspended in their own green heaven.  
 (*Prom.*, III. iii. 139.)

Those globes of deep-red gold  
 Which in the wood the strawberry-tree doth bear,  
 Suspended in their emerald atmosphere.  
 (*Marenghi*, 13, Forman, ii. 182.)

Those bright leaves, whose decay,  
 Red, yellow, or ethereally pale,  
 Rivals the pride of summer. (*Alastor*, 584.)  
 When red morn made paler the pale moon.  
 (*Alastor*, 137.)

When the waves beneath the starlight flee  
 O'er the yellow sands with silver feet.  
 (*R. and H.*, 782.)

And every shepherdess of Ocean's flocks,  
 Who drives her white waves over the green sea.  
 (*W. of A.*, 10.)

He has the old Celtic contrast of blood and snow :

Blood stains the snowy foam of the tumultuous deep.  
 (*L. and C.*, i. 11.)

If we turn now to Shelley's predecessors, we find—as we should expect—colour-contrast fully developed in Milton :

Russet lawns and fallows gray.

The flowery May, who from her green lap throws  
 The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.

Another Puritan poet—Andrew Marvell—has anticipated the first-quoted colour-contrast of Shelley in his *Bermudas* :

He hangs in shades the orange bright  
 Like golden lamps in a green night. .



I have not any examples of colour-contrast in Chaucer or Shakespeare to hand, but they could no doubt easily be found.

Milton seems to have the first examples of transmitted and interrupted light. The two classical passages are in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* :

Many a youth and many a maid  
Dancing in the chequered shade.  
Storied window richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.

But I cannot recall any examples of reflected light in Milton. I have noted one in Shakespeare :

When Phoebe doth behold  
Her silver visage in the watery glass,  
Decking with silver pearl the bladed grass.

Even Wordsworth's pictures of reflected light are not remarkable either for elaborateness or beauty :

Let . . . the swan on still St. Mary's lake  
Float double, swan and shadow.  
And lo! these waters, steeled  
By breezeless air to smoothest polish, yield  
A vivid repetition of the stars.

The poetry of

Whene'er I looked, thy image still was there;  
It trembled, but it never passed away,

lies rather in the thought than the picture itself.

The following are examples of Wordsworth's treatment of transmitted light :

And while those lofty poplars gently wave  
Their tops, between them comes and goes a sky  
Bright as the glimpses of eternity.  
How delicate the leafy veil  
Through which yon house of God  
Gleams mid the peace of this deep dell!

He has one beautiful picture of changing colour :

He spoke of plants that hourly change  
Their blossoms through a boundless range  
Of intermingling hues; with budding, fading, faded flowers  
They stand, the wonder of the bowers,  
From morn to evening dews.

This description seems, however, to be partly a reminiscence of some passage in a book of travels. The third line evidently suggested part of Shelley's description in *Prom.*, III. iii. 137 (p. 279, above).

Of all English poets the one whose treatment of light bears the closest resemblance to Shelley's is Coleridge.

The smoke from cottage chimneys, tinged with light,  
Rises in columns. (*The Picture.*)

The sea . . . the slip of smooth clear blue  
Betwixt two isles of purple shadow. (*Limetree Bower.*)

Like a summer shower,  
Whose dews fling sunshine from the noontide bower.  
(*The Visionary Hope.*)

Whilst through my half-closed eyelids I behold  
The sunbeams dance, like diamonds, on the main.  
(*Eolian Harp.*)

The roaring dell o'erwooded, narrow, deep,  
And only speckled by the midday sun.  
(*Limetree Bower.*)

. . . In the wood  
. . . Mid the chequer-work of light and shade.  
(*Remorse*, ii. 1.)

The last evidently a reminiscence of Milton's 'chequered shade'.

Coleridge's affinity to Shelley is shown especially in his descriptions of transmitted light and colour :

And bedded sand that, veined with various dyes,  
Gleams through thy bright transparence! (*River Otter.*)

The unripe flax,  
When through its half-transparent stalks at eve  
The level sunshine glimmers with green light.  
(*Fears in Solitude.*)

Pale beneath the blaze [of the sun]  
Hung the transparent foliage. (*Limetree Bower.*)

And in his elaborate pictures of reflection in water :

The woodbine bower,  
Whose rich flowers, swinging in the morning breeze,  
Over their dim, fast-moving shadows hung,  
Making a quiet image of disquiet  
In the smooth, scarcely-moving river-pool. (*Keepsake.*)

And thou too, dearest Stream! no pool of thine  
 . . . did e'er reflect the stately virgin's robe,  
 The face, the form divine . . .  
 The sportive tyrant with her left hand plucks  
 The heads of tall flowers that behind her grow . . .  
 Scatters them on the pool! Then all the charm  
 Is broken—all that phantom-world so fair  
 Vanishes, and a thousand circlets spread,  
 And each mis-shapes the other . . .  
 And soon the fragments dim of lovely forms  
 Come trembling back, unite, and now once more  
 The pool becomes a mirror; and behold  
 Each wild-flower on the marge inverted there,  
 And there the half-uprooted tree—but where,  
 O where, the virgin's snowy arm, that leaned  
 On its bare branch? (*The Picture.*)

These two passages may well have suggested Wordsworth's favourite image of trembling but persistent reflection. Coleridge has another very elaborate picture of reflection in *Remorse*, ii. 1:

There's a lake in the midst,  
 And round its banks tall wood that branches over,  
 And makes a kind of faery forest grow  
 Down in the water. At the further end  
 A puny cataract falls on the lake;  
 And there, a curious sight! you see its shadow  
 For ever curling, like a wreath of smoke,  
 Up through the foliage of those faery trees.

But Coleridge does not appear to have—any more than Wordsworth or Milton—any examples of reflected light or colour as distinguished from the reflection of definite objects: Shelley's picture of the 'lake-reflected sun' illumining the 'yellow bees in the ivy-bloom' seems to be entirely his own.

{ It can hardly be a mere chance—this exceptional development of the sense of light in the two most intellectual poets of their age. Shelley himself associates light with intellect—remarkably enough, with especial reference to Coleridge—in the *Letter to Maria Gisborne*, 202:

You will see Coleridge—he who sits obscure  
 In the exceeding lustre, and the pure,

Intense irradiation of a mind,  
 Which, with its own internal lightning blind,  
 Flaps wearily through darkness and despair—  
 A cloud-encircled meteor of the air,  
 A hooded eagle among blinking owls.

Compare *Julian and Maddalo*, 50:

The sense that he was greater than his kind  
 Had struck, methinks, his eagle spirit blind  
 By gazing on its own exceeding light.

This association has, indeed, stamped itself on the language of everyday life, which contrasts a 'bright' mind with a 'dull' one, and calls the age of ignorance 'the Dark Ages'.

The similarity between the two poets in their treatment of light does not seem to be the result of imitation on the part of the younger poet: the agreement is in spirit, not in detail. The love of light was instinctive both in Coleridge and Shelley, and was fostered by their surroundings. Coleridge learnt to observe and love the effects of transmitted and reflected light in the shady lanes, and by the rivulets and pools of his native Devon, while Shelley learnt the same lessons in the woods of Marlow and in his boat on the Thames.

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We see, then, that the main characteristics of Shelley as a nature-poet—his breadth of view, his sense of structure, his love of the changing and fleeting, his myth-creating faculty, his treatment of light and colour—are all part of his intellectual temperament.

## V

# PHONETICS AND ACCOUNTS OF LIVING LANGUAGES SOUND NOTATION<sup>1</sup>

THE problem of sound notation is as old as civilization itself, but it is only of late years that that of *scientific* sound notation has become urgent. There is now a general conviction among philologists of the necessity of a general alphabet, but with utter discord of opinion as to the means of attaining it. Most hold with some modification of the Roman alphabet, each phonetician employing a modification of his own. Of *organic* alphabets, which are based on a physiological analysis of the actions of the speech-organs, Brücke's and Merkel's may be said to have come still-born into the world, while Bell's *Visible Speech* attracted great attention at the time, although still little known, except by name, outside a small circle of his own pupils.

My objects here are (1) to consider what is the best possible modification of the Roman alphabet, (2) to show that such an alphabet is inferior to Bell's, and (3) to describe an improved and extended form of both.

### MODIFICATIONS OF THE ROMAN ALPHABET

Of the two fundamental defects of the Roman alphabet, namely, the arbitrariness of its symbols and their limited number, it is the latter which most imperatively calls for reform. The former, indeed, being inherent in the alphabet itself, can only be remedied by abandoning that alphabet altogether—a contingency which, till comparatively lately, has hardly been taken into account at all, and is still ignored by most phoneticians.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1880-1, pp. 177-235.

The Roman alphabet can be supplemented in five distinct ways:

- (1) by adding new letters—z, ð, þ.
- (2) by diacritics—ā, ä, ñ.
- (3) by turned letters—ø, œ, œ.
- (4) by italics and capitals—*a*, *A*, *æ*.
- (5) by digraphs—th, dh, nj.

Of all these expedients, the first is the one which has always been the most obvious and popular. Pitman's Phonotypy even goes so far as to provide simple signs for diphthongs, such as the English 'long *i*', and consonant-groups, such as (tj). As a general rule it may be said that the more inexperienced and ignorant the reformer is, the more reckless he will be in adding new types. The main objection to new types is, of course, the trouble and expense, except in those cases where the new letters are already provided in the printing-office. There is also the difficulty of applying uniform modifications to a variety of letters, some of which, such as *g*, are already cumbersome enough.

The same objections apply also, though in a less degree, to *diacritics*, which, as Mr. Ellis says, 'act as new letters.' The best known of the diacritic alphabets is Lepsius's *Standard Alphabet*, thus criticized by Bell (*Visible Speech*, p. 99): '(It) consists of Roman and Greek letters, varied by the addition of diacritic marks. Seventeen diacritics are used above, and fourteen are used below the body of the letters; so many as three diacritics being in some cases applied to a single body. The number of lower-case letters thus employed exceeds 280, and of these above 200 require to be cut for every fount used.' A special objection to diacritics is their want of compactness, and they are always troublesome to write (though not more so than many of the new letters that have been proposed), as we see in our ordinary dotted *i*'s. They have, however, the great advantage over new letters of giving uniform modifications of a variety of letters, and also of being more accessible in an ordinary printing-office.

The third way, that of *turning* the letters, which has been

largely developed in Ellis's *Palaeotype*, gives new letters without trouble or expense. Such forms as ə and ɔ are, indeed, infinitely superior to many of the monstrosities that have from time to time been proposed as new types. But it is limited in its application.

The use of *italics* and *capitals* has many of the advantages of turning, but makes writing troublesome, and small capitals are not always accessible.

*Digraphs*, lastly, have nothing but convenience to recommend them. They are sprawly, especially when in minutely accurate writing of sounds they develop into *trigraphs*, and are sometimes ambiguous. A digraph is, however, generally written easier and quicker than a new type, and is often read as easily.

It is evident that all these expedients fall under two main heads :

- (1) those which require new types to be cut ;
- (2) those which require only the old types ;

and that if the question of reform is to be mainly guided by considerations of typographical convenience, only those modifications can be adopted which fall under the second head, namely, the last three of those first enumerated, together with a few out of the first two classes of letters. That it is possible to frame a minutely accurate alphabet without exceeding the resources of an ordinary printing-office has been conclusively shown by Ellis's *Palaeotype*, on which my own *Narrow Romic* is mainly founded. We may in short say that the main result of the manifold experiments made in England up to the publication of my 'Handbook of Phonetics' was the rejection of the new-type and diacritic systems, or, in other words, the subordination of compactness to general accessibility. Whatever may be said against the English systems, they at least provided every writer and printer with the means of representing the minutest shades of sound with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense. The importance of this becomes evident when we consider that it was mainly the typographical difficulties of the 'Standard Alphabet' which caused its disuse by missionaries

and travellers, for whom it was specially intended. Palaeotype and Narrow Romic still continue to be the only approach to a universal alphabet with Roman letters.

However, these principles have met with no favour out of England, and the latest Continental alphabet—the Swedish, noticed in my last Address (*Trans.* 1877–9, pp. 396 foll.)—follows directly opposite ones, being supplemented entirely by new types, diacritics being employed only for quantity, tone, &c., and consisting entirely of italics. Although this alphabet is intended only for the Swedish dialects, it employs no less than eighty-eight elementary letters, and as a large number of diacritics are required, the number of types runs up to several hundred. If this alphabet were extended to all languages, and its principles were carried out rigorously and minutely, the number of letters would rise to as many thousands.

In my Handbook the old-type principle was more severely tested than in Mr. Ellis's works (Address, pp. 396 foll.), the result of which was 'the break-down of digraphs in any minutely accurate system'. But, as I have also said, we must not rush into the opposite extreme of banishing them entirely. It is quite visionary to attempt to have a new letter for every minute shade of sound, which is not attempted even in Visible Speech. The radical defects of the Roman alphabet are so incurable that any extension of it must necessarily be a very unsatisfactory compromise, although all beginners think they can turn out a perfect scheme by rigorously applying some one principle. It seems to me that, putting all our experience together, the following is the only practical compromise:

- (1) abolish the present use of capitals, as is done in Bell's and the Swedish alphabet;
- (2) after determining the values to be assigned to the existing letters, supplement them,
- (3) by turned letters,
- (4) by new types, beginning with those already provided, and always reserving the right of employing digraphs occasionally;



- (5) denote general modifications, such as nasality, by italic letters;
- (6) mark quantity, stress, &c., by separate signs on a line with the other letters.

Thus, I would denote mixed vowels by two dots instead of the (h) employed by Mr. Ellis and myself, using (ë) for (eh), (ü) for the Swedish (u). Even if we adopted only those dotted letters which are in common use, retaining the digraphs (ǝh) and some others, the Narrow Romic vowel-notation would become practically almost as manageable and compact as can be expected from any modification of the Roman alphabet. In the consonants ʒ and ʃ would be substituted for (gh) and (dh), &c. Nasalization and palatalization would be indicated by (*n*) and (*j*), quantity by a simple upright stroke (provisionally by 1), stress by a point. This method is in every way preferable to the ordinary one of placing these marks as diacritics above and below the letter modified, which it is besides impossible to carry out consistently and minutely in practice. Even if we allow only two degrees of quantity and stress, and four tones, which is utterly inadequate, we get eight diacritics, with a large number of special combinations. The attempt to form new letters for every variety of nasalized, &c., sounds, is equally visionary, and if italics were limited to the function of general modifiers, such digraphs as (*an*, *sj*), &c., would not cause the slightest inconvenience, and (*sj*), at least, is less clumsy and scarcely less compact than any of the attempts I have seen to combine *s* and *j* into one letter.

There is, however, a fatal obstacle to the general adoption of such an alphabet for international scientific purposes, namely, the impossibility of agreement as to its details. It is a natural consequence of the fundamental arbitrariness of the Roman alphabet, whose elementary symbols have no definite relations either to one another or the sounds they represent, that the values of these symbols vary almost indefinitely in different languages, and consequently that any general system stands in a very different relation to each national orthography, which approaches it with special associations of its own. Hence such irreconcilable contrasts as the 'Roman'

and 'English' values of the vowels, and the impossibility of agreeing on a basis even for the rough practical system required for spelling reform purposes. The ridicule which phonetic spelling invariably excites in uneducated minds, and the dislike with which every phonetician regards all phonetic notations except the one evolved by himself, are simply the result of an instinctive and rational protest against cross-associations, or, in other words, against the Roman alphabet itself.

Even if we limit ourselves to a single book, we find no less than four different systems enshrined in Mr. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, to which he has since added a fifth,<sup>1</sup> while I myself in my *Handbook* employ two, one of which has to be varied to suit each language. Prof. Storm, again, in his *Engelsk Filologi*, seems in some respects to ignore the results of English experience, and has special types made for an alphabet whose limited range and want of elasticity makes it useless to any one but himself, even if it were generally accessible. In short, every new book brings a new alphabet. As phonetics is studied more and more, so will the number of books increase, each with its own notation, these notations becoming more and more complex, till at last comparative phonology will become a sheer impossibility, as, indeed, it nearly is already.

Even if the impossible were to happen, and such a general alphabet were accepted, its essential complexity and arbitrariness would make it very difficult to learn, and it would be impossible to secure it against misinterpretation. The temptation to avoid inconvenient symbols in writing each language would also infallibly lead to inaccurate compromises and substitutions.

It is, in short, clear that the question of introducing an entirely new organic alphabet is not a mere theoretical consideration, but is of vital practical importance. Such an alphabet, formed by the systematic combination of a few fundamental signs denoting the elementary actions by which all sounds are formed, would be free from the defects of any possible modification of the Roman alphabet. As its letters would all stand in a definite relation to one another and to the sounds they represent, they would be learnt with ease,

<sup>1</sup> To which now add his 'Dimidian'.

and as every stroke in them would have a meaning, their number might be extended almost indefinitely without taxing the memory, just as the nine digits of arithmetic may be combined indefinitely. These qualities would also secure it against arbitrary misapplication. There would be no cross-associations with the ordinary Roman orthographies. It would also be perfectly impartial, every simple sound having a simple sign, so that the English *th* and the German *ch* would be put on a perfect level with *k*, *s*, &c. The value for scientific purposes of an alphabet in which every letter would be practically a diagram of the actions by which the sound is produced would be incalculable, and the different varieties of such a vowel as (a), for instance, would appear in their true light, namely, as perfectly distinct sounds, hitherto confounded simply by an accident of defective notation. The rationale of sound-change would then become self-evident in most cases by the mere juxtaposition of the symbols.

The objection oftenest urged against the adoption of such an alphabet is, that being based on a physiological analysis of the actions of the organs of speech, each advance in our analysis, and each correction of earlier errors, will involve a modification or enlargement of the alphabet. The natural answer to this is that perfection in all practical matters can never be reached without repeated trial, and that long experience is required to determine what are the best shapes of the letters—the simplest and most distinct, how the words are to be divided, and many other similar questions. Also that an alphabet in which the facts already established were embodied on a systematic and consistent plan would itself be a most powerful instrument of progress. The question is not whether we have arrived at an absolutely perfect and final analysis of speech-sounds, but simply whether we have a sufficient number of firmly established results to form the basis of an organic alphabet which for scientific purposes is an improvement on any possible modification of the Roman alphabet. I answer confidently, Yes. An alphabet which could stand such tests as *Visible Speech* was subjected to by Mr. Ellis and other eminent phoneticians (*V. S.*, pp. 23 foll.), an alphabet too whose very structure makes it capable of

indefinite expansion and elaboration, must yield at least a solid foundation. Mr. Bell's system was, unfortunately, announced too confidently, he himself saying (*V. S.*, p. 19): 'The invention . . . is now, it is believed, perfect for its purposes, and will probably be found to require no additions or alterations, however extended its uses may become.' When it was found to contain several errors of analysis, especially in the consonants, even the inventor's son having afterwards modified some of its details, and also to be incomplete, there was a natural reaction, shared also by Mr. Ellis, who, though still giving Visible Speech the first rank among alphabets, does not advocate any longer its practical use for phonetic purposes, urging that our knowledge is not advanced enough to base a general alphabet on. I think, however, he much exaggerates the uncertainty of the results of our analysis of speech-sounds. If we impartially survey the whole field of phonetic knowledge, we shall see that the great majority of the facts are really as firmly established as anything can well be. It is, for instance, absolutely certain that *p*, *b*, and *m* are all formed by the lips, and that *k*, *g*, and *ng* are all formed by the back of the tongue, also that *p*, *b*, *k*, *g* are formed by complete stoppage, that *m* and *ng* are nasal, and so on. These are certain results which no amount of physiological, acoustic, or any other kind of scientific investigation can possibly modify, at least as far as their symbolization is concerned. Again, it is by no means certain that our present views on the formation of voice are final, but there is no doubt that there *is* such a thing as voice, that it is inherent in *b*, *m*, *g*, &c., and that *b* stands in the same relation to *p* as *g* does to *k*, as regards the presence and absence of this element. Even if we knew nothing more than this parallelism, without having any idea of the real nature of voice, and denoted *b* and *g* by an arbitrary but consistent modification of the signs for *p* and *k*, we should attain a practically permanent result. The vowels have always offered greater difficulties, but many of the main divisions of palatal, labial, high and low, &c., have been agreed on long ago. As a matter of fact, Bell's analysis of the vowels is so perfect that after ten years' incessant testing

and application to a variety of languages, I see no reason for modifying its general framework.

The fact of Bell's vowel-system having hitherto been found adequate does not, of course, involve that such will be the case twenty, or even ten years hence. Nor is there any reason why Visible Speech may not hereafter be rejected entirely in favour of some fundamentally different alphabet. But this further step towards ideal perfection will not come of itself, or be reached by a leap: it must be toiled up to slowly and painfully, and as long as we are hampered with makeshift adaptations of the Roman alphabet, our advance will continue to be a mere crawl.

The first condition of progress is that practical phonetics should be made a study accessible to every philologist—that it should be *popularized* (from a scientific point of view). This can only be effected by means of an organic alphabet, which keeps the mechanism of the sounds continually before the learner's eyes, and makes those comparative studies easy which are almost impossible with the Roman alphabet. The popular idea that the Roman alphabet is easier in itself than an organic one, is simply due to the fact that a word spelt phonetically in Roman letters is generally recognizable with more or less difficulty even by unphonetic readers, while the organic symbols are, of course, utterly unintelligible. But the recognition by eye of such a phonetically spelt word as (fa|ðä) does not bring with it the slightest knowledge of its phonetic structure. If the reader is told that this same word is pronounced (fa|ðër) in Scotch, he recognizes it with still greater ease as 'father', but if asked to explain the difference between the (a) of the one spelling and the (ä) of the other, and to pronounce them, is totally at a loss. When, however, he has learnt these facts, and has associated them, not with the arbitrary symbols (a) and (ä), but with the organic j and j, he has not only acquired phonetic knowledge, but also the means of incessantly recalling it to his mind, the height of the symbol being associated with the height of the tongue. Even if obliged afterwards to employ Roman letters, such a student will be able to do so only by mentally transliterating them into the organic symbols—in short,

whatever the character he reads, he will always *think* in the organic letters. Of course, such an alphabet as Visible Speech has to be learnt, but this really involves only learning the meaning of a few fundamental marks and the principles of their application, which can be acquired by any one in a few hours. To read such an alphabet fluently requires, of course, considerable practice, but the student will acquire a perfect command of it long before he has mastered the actual facts of phonetics embodied in it. The real difficulty is *the thing itself*, namely, the facts of phonetics, whose difficulties are largely increased by a bad notation like the various make-shift Roman-letter ones, and are simply reduced to their natural proportions by a rational notation. If non-Sanskritists will take the trouble of learning the enormously complex Sanskrit alphabet, which gives the key to only one language, merely for comparative purposes, the comparative phonetician cannot grudge the trouble of attaining the phonetic key to all languages, which is besides in itself the easiest of all possible alphabets.

These views are not the result of desultory theorizing, but of the practical experience of myself and my fellow-worker, Mr. H. Nicol. We both studied practically under Mr. Bell himself, and have worked with his alphabet ever since, employing it exclusively in our private memoranda and correspondence with one another. We had, however, till lately no intention of advocating its general use among philologists, thinking that a general Romie system would excite less prejudice and do well enough for a time. However, the considerations set forth have made us change our minds during the last two years, and we have been driven by sheer necessity to have types cut for a reformed organic alphabet for our own use. The expense of the undertaking has been shared equally between us, but the use of the new types will be free to any member of the Society who wishes to employ them in any paper printed in our Transactions.

As I have had more leisure and opportunity for phonetic work than Mr. Nicol, most of the modifications of Bell's original alphabet have been devised by myself, but they have all been subjected to Mr. Nicol's criticisms and approval before final adoption, as also to the criticisms of Mr. Ellis and Dr. Murray.

## BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH.

As Bell's book (*Visible Speech*, by Alex. Melville Bell, Inaugural Edition, 1867) is now practically inaccessible to ordinary students, and as the want of key-words makes it difficult of comprehension to the untrained reader, I have tried to make the following abstract of it full and clear enough to supersede reference to it for ordinary purposes, and at the same time as brief as possible, by omitting detailed explanations of universally accepted facts of phonology. Wherever Bell's views are obscure, or diverge from my own or those of others, I have quoted his own definitions.

Bell's complete alphabet is shown in the annexed table, reproduced by Mr. Ellis's permission, from the one in his *Early English Pronunciation*, Part I.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
a	C	○	◌	◌	I	l	I	f	O	'	a
b	C	Ω	Ω	Ω	F	] l	[	0	†		b
c	E	Ω	Ω	Ω	h	J	I	τ	χ	'	c
d	E	Ω	Ω	Ω	Y	l	T	f	∫	,	d
e	Q	Q	U	D	p	J	τ	∫	∫		e
f	Q	Q	U	U	>	J	I	τ	○	<	f
g	E	○	○	○	F	†	F	f	∫	>	g
h	E	Ω	Ω	Ω	F	†	†	f	θ	<	h
i	E	Ω	Ω	Ω	h	J	I	τ	∫	c	i
k	E	Ω	Ω	Ω	Y	l	T	f	∫	o	k
l	Q	Q	U	D	p	J	τ	∫	∧		l
m	E	Q	U	U	∫	J	I	τ	V	o	m
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	

For the sake of convenience, I shall in my exposition employ the new letters whenever they agree with Bell's. For many of the symbols peculiar to Bell I have been able by Dr. Murray's kindness to make use of his set of types. Where these failed I have been obliged to refer to the table.

Symbols marked \* are those which have been modified or discarded in the revised alphabet.

### General Principles.

All the consonants and vowel-letters are formed by the combination of the following elements, some of which are also used as independent letters. They are all, as far as possible, pictorial of the actions or positions of the organs.

O. Open glottis, or *breath*. A segment of this, c, is the foundation of *primary* (my *open*) *consonants*, the same indented, ε, of *divided* consonants.

o. 'Contracted super-glottal passage,' or *whisper*.

i. 'Glottis contracted to a narrow chink,' or *voice*. Foundation of all vowels, such as f (i). Incorporated in voiced consonants, as in e (z).

s. *Nasality*; pictorial of the pendulous soft-palate.

Dot. *Narrowness-definer*, as in l (i).

Hook. *Wideness-definer*, as in f (i).

Cross-stroke. *Rounding*, as in f (y).

Upright-stroke. *Stopping*, as in a (k).

There are other elementary signs which are employed only as modifiers.

The *place* where each sound is formed is shown by the *direction* in which the symbol is turned. Thus a = (k), o = (p), o = (t).

The following is the complete alphabet of types.

### 16 Consonants.

O	o	c	c̣	ε	*ε̣	a	*ạ
x	θ	e	ẹ	ε	*ε̣	a	*ạ



20 *Vowels.*

ɪ	ɪ̄	ɪ̇	ɪ̈	ɪ̉	ɪ̊	ɪ̋	ɪ̌	ɪ̍	ɪ̎
ɪ̏	ɪ̐	ɪ̑	ɪ̒	ɪ̓	ɪ̔	ɪ̕	ɪ̖	ɪ̗	ɪ̘

7 *Glides.*

ɪ	ɪ̄	*5m	*ɹ	*ɹ̄	*ɹ̇	*ɹ̈	*ɹ̉
---	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----

14 *Modifiers.*

ɪ̇	*9e	ɪ̈	*}	ɪ̉	ɪ̊	ɪ̋	c	*>	*0g	ɪ̌	ɪ̍	ɪ̎	ɪ̏
----	-----	----	----	----	----	----	---	----	-----	----	----	----	----

4 *Tones.*

ɪ̑	ɪ̒	ɪ̓	ɪ̔
----	----	----	----

The types are reversible, and the consonant ones, being square, can be turned in any direction, so that, for instance, C, C̄, Ċ, C̈ are all printed from one type. The complete alphabet of 129 single letters is, therefore, printed from the above 61 types.

Certain typographical modifications proposed by Mr. Bell himself, and adopted in our revised alphabet, will be described hereafter.

We can now proceed to the detailed descriptions of the separate symbols.

**Rudimentary Symbols** (*V. S.*, 46-9).

These are defined by Bell as 'those which represent the elements of interjectional or inarticulate utterance'.

1. O. When the glottis and the super-glottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the 'aspiration' audible is implied. [Bell uses this letter

throughout as the symbol of the various (h)-sounds in language, not knowing that they are (apparently) always accompanied by glottal narrowing (*Hb.*, § 195). He was, on the other hand, aware of the glide-nature (*Hb.*, § 197, note *d*) of (h),<sup>1</sup> and it would have been more consistent to denote it by > (No. 12), as was afterwards done by Mr. Nicol and myself.]

2. *ɪ*. When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edges of the orifice—the ‘vocal ligaments’—in vibration, and creates sonorous ‘voice’. [The description is not absolutely correct: see *Hb.*, § 11.]

3. *ø*. When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called ‘whisper’. [This is a description, not of ordinary whisper, but of the wheeze (*ɶ*) (*Hb.*, § 20). Bell was not aware that the former is produced by simple narrowing of the *lower* glottis.]

4. *ø*. Compound of *ø* and *ɪ*, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously. [Here, of course, the *ø* can only denote super-glottal action.]

5. *x*. Glottal ‘catch’.

6. *ɶ*. Nasality.

7. \**9e*. Compound of *ɶ* and *ø*, and denotes guttural contraction with nasality, as heard in the French sounds *in*, *on*, &c. In these elements there is a gliding semi-consonant effect in the throat as well as nasal modification. [See *Hb.*, p. 211, note to § 22. French nasality seems to be only a stronger development of the preceding one, due to further lowering of the uvula.]

8. *ɶ*. Trill.

9, 10. *Λ*, *∨* by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (*Λ*) or open (*∨*) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, *Λ* denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration; and *∨* denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus:

<sup>1</sup> Written (H) in the *Hb.*

- oA. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm;—a wheeze. [Hardly correct: a wheeze seems to require super-glottal contraction.]
- ov. A gentle inaudible aspiration.
- xA. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough.

11, 12. <, >. Whisper or voice may be produced by air going inwards (<) or by breath coming out (>). All symbols except < and · imply emission. Symbol > is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another. The effect is different from the throat-aspiration, O. Thus from the shut position of the glottis (x) we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice (xI) or we may *ease off the pressure* of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath-glide' (x>I). [This makes > practically identical with my (h), both before and after vowels (*Hb.*, § 195-9) and in aspirated stops (*Hb.*, § 222).]

13. \*. Signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the 'stop' is not written—does not take place. Thus x· is an unfinished 'catch', in forming which, the impulse ceases with the *closure* of the glottis. The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as *tl* in *outlaw*, *td* in *outdo*, &c.; where, necessarily, the *t* is not followed by organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases, of course, the 'stop' does not require to be written. [These two cases are distinct. The latter is simply one of absence of glide (*breath-glide* in the two words cited). The former means cessation of out-breathing before the recoil, not *absence* of recoil. A stop maintained indefinitely without recoil would cause suffocation.]

14. \*'. In verbal combinations of elementary sounds, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one. When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of 'hiatus' (') is used. The effect of ' will be understood by pronouncing the

word 'bedtime', in which the *d* and *t* are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time'. Symbol > is an *aspirated* hiatus; symbol ' is non-aspirated—a mere *interval*. [This symbol is practically a breath-glide (*Hb.*, § 215), and is superseded when we have proper signs for the various glides. For glideless combinations see *Hb.*, § 239.]

15. \*'. Denotes a very 'abrupt' utterance, shorter than ordinary 'short quantity'. The latter is implied in all symbols where no sign of quantity is written.

16. †. Sign of long quantity, or 'holder'. Extra prolongation may be denoted by ††.

17. \*. The sign of 'accent' or *stress* distinguishes the syllable in a word, or the element in a combination, which receives the principal impulse. The mark is placed *before* the accented syllable. [No sign provided for secondary stress.] This sign inverted is used to mark *emphasis* or sentence-stress. [This is superfluous, as the distinction between stress and emphasis is only logical, not phonetic.]

### Consonants (51-69).

The separate symbols are *c* (primary), *ε* (divided), *α* (shut), *Ω* [= *α*] (nasal), together with the corresponding voiced *ε*, *ε*, *ε*, *Ω*. The place of the sound is indicated by the direction of the curve, thus: *c* back (*x*), *ο* front (*ϕ*), *ο* point (*τ*), *ο* lip (*φ*). Curves of different direction are united in one symbol to show simultaneous action, as in *Ϸ* (*Λ*) = *ο* + *c*, *α* (*xv*) = *c* + *ο*, the large curve showing the preponderating element. Voiced consonants are distinguished by the insertion of the voice-symbol: *ο* (*j*), *ε* (*g*).

Other positions are expressed by the modifiers \*{ (inner), \*{ (outer), *c* (inverted), *ο* (protruded): *Ϸ* (*t*), *Ϸ* (*t*), *Ϸ* (*t*), *Ϸ* (*t*).

Other modifiers are: *Λ* (closeness) and *v* (openness), as in *ϷΛ* (blowing to cool) and *Ϸv* (expressive of faintness, or want of air); *ι* (nasality), as in *οι* (*jn*); *ι* (trill), as in *οι* (*rr*).

The following are applied to stops:

\**Og.* Emission stopper (62).<sup>1</sup> Organic separation without

<sup>1</sup> Note that the last line of p. 59 should be transferred to the top of p. 62.

emission. The 'stop' (·) shows that the action is conjunctive only; and the 'emission-stopper' signifies that the organs are separated after contact, but that the breath is retained. [There is no reason why this modifier should not be applied to other sounds as well as stops. In fact, Bell himself says, after treating of Consonant Suctions, under the head *Consonant Actions without Breath* (62): 'All the consonant configurations of every kind—primary and divided as well as shut—may be formed without either emission or suction. If the breath within the mouth be compressed behind the articulating organs while an inner closure is held, a distinct, and in some cases, a powerfully percussive effect will be produced on the abrupt separation of the organs. The signs *Og* and *Oh* represent the two modes of this mere motion of the organs of speech.' Bell apparently means to include both the action just described (*Og*) and the clicks (*Oh*) under the designation 'mere motion of the organs of speech'.]

\**Oh*. Suction Stopper (62). Suction and organic separation without inhalation. The formation of the shut consonants by suction (<) gives rise to a peculiar class of elements. The lip-shut symbol followed by the sign of suction (p<) represents a sound interjectionally expressive of sudden pain; but there may be suction during the organic contact and separation of the organs without ingoing air. For this effect the special sign 'suction stopper' is provided. The lip-, point-, and front-shut actions performed in this way, and the point-shut with side termination (◐), produce a series of sounds or 'clicks' which are very common in interjectional or inarticulate utterance, and which are elements of ordinary speech in some African languages. Compare also note on the Zulu clicks (125). [This method of symbolizing the clicks is very ingenious. The air is sucked from between the tongue and palate from behind, so that its movement is necessarily inwards, which is expressed by the <, the (·) showing that this inward movement is not obtained by ordinary inhalation.]

‡ Side opener (61). Lateral or 'divided' termination instead of organic recoil.

⁴ Unilateral. Opening of a single lateral passage. [This modification can be applied also to unstopped consonants and vowels. *Hb.*, § 134.]

Bell remarks (61): 'When a shut consonant precedes a nasal one of the same organic formation, the oral organs are not disjoined, but the nasal valve is simply opened, as in *pm* (pᄃ) in *chapman*, &c. The independent completion of the shut consonant in such cases would be inconsistent with the law of coalescence, which requires all the elements of a word to be joined together without *hiatus*.' He then proceeds to symbolize the 'nasal termination' of a final shut consonant by pᄃ: it would be more consistent with the foregoing to write pᄃ, as also ᄃᄃ, ᄃᄃ⁴ instead of his ᄃᄃ and ᄃᄃ. There is no reason why these combinations should be only final.

A few of the consonant-symbols require special discussion.

O, o and ø have been noticed above (pp. 297, 298).

x} (60). There can be no inner variety of the catch, but an outer formation, or closure of the super-glottal passage, yields a distinct percussion, which is very common in Chinese and many other languages. The closure is effected by depression of the epiglottis, as in the act of swallowing. [I never succeeded in acquiring a definite idea of this sound.]

\*ᄃ (s). Front-mixed (52). The front and the point of the tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.

\*ᄃ (j). Point-mixed. The point and the front of the tongue both raised—the latter to a less degree than for ᄃ—bringing the front surface of the tongue near the rim of the palatal arch. [See *Hb.*, §§ 112, 114. This can only represent a voiceless palatalized *ω*, (*xj*), which is quite distinct from (*j*).]

\*ᄃ (p) (58). Front-mixed-divided has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum, the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate. [See *Hb.*, § 110, where (*p*) is described as simply breath directed on to the teeth by (the flattened, or even concave) tongue. The convexity of the tongue described by

Bell would convert the English (ʃ) into the Danish (ʃj), *Hb.*, § 128. Lastly, division could only produce some variety of (l). If we take the symbol literally as  $\omega + \circ$ , it can only mean a voiceless Italian *gl* modified by (r).  $\omega$ , the point-divided, is described by Bell as '(having) its apertures over the sides of the middle of the tongue, the point being in contact with the upper gum; the front surface of the tongue is flattened or slightly concave, so that the apertures are large and productive of but little friction or sibilation'.]

\* $\omega\mathfrak{S}$  (59). Point-mixed-divided has the apertures of  $\omega$  (l) narrowed by convexity of the tongue, and the breath is in consequence strongly sibilant. [This is, according to Bell (93), the Welsh *ll*, usually identified with  $\omega^u$ , and the Zulu *hl*. The voiced sound he identifies as the Zulu *dhl*. It is not clear in what way the sound is supposed to differ from the preceding one. The Welsh *ll* certainly has a strong sibilant effect, but this can be effected by spreading out the lateral edges of the tongue, as well as by convexity of its front, and I conjecture that the Zulu *dhl* is simply such a (buzzed)  $\omega$ . Taken literally  $\omega\mathfrak{S}$  ought to represent (lj)—the ordinary French *l* in *belle* (*Hb.*, § 132).]

3 (f). Lip-divided is formed by placing the centre of the lower lip on the edges of the upper teeth, while the breath hisses through the interstices between the teeth or between the teeth and the lip. A similar effect of divided formation results from placing the lower on the upper lip, instead of the teeth, and directing the breath over the corners of the lips. This peculiarity would be represented by the modifier (s) 'to lip' after the lip-divided symbol (3s). [*Hb.* 118, 133, and note, p. 213. Bell's own analysis contradicts his symbolization of (f) as a divided: the true lip-divided is the sound he writes 3s.]

These errors of symbolization are evidently due to the attempt to uphold the symmetry of the system, even where its ground-plan is defective. It certainly is a defect that there is no sign for the teeth-position, which would enable (p) and (f) to fall into their natural places 'point-teeth' and 'lip-teeth' respectively. (s) and (f) are more difficult to deal with. It

may be noted that Bell's providing a sign (*lk*) for the very rare (*tv*), while leaving the frequently occurring (*sj*), (*fj*), (*fv*), (*fv*) unsymbolized, is also due to the exigencies of symmetry, which allows only *opposite* curves to be united in one symbol, and hence excludes *o + o*, *o + o*, &c. The way in which the revised alphabet meets these difficulties will be seen hereafter.

The following is Bell's 'General Scheme of Consonants' (66).

*Voiceless.*

Throat	*O	o	-	-	x	-
Back	c	ɕ	ɛ	*ɕ	ɑ	*ɑ
Front	ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ	*ɔ	ɑ	*ɑ
Point	ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ	*3d	ɔ	*3f
Lip	ɔ	ɔ	*ɔ	*4d	ɔ	*ɔ

*Voiced.*

Throat	-	o	-	-	-	-
Back	ɕ	ɕ	ɛ	*ɕ	ɑ	*ɑ
Front	ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ	*2k	ɑ	*ɑ
Point	ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ	*3k	ɔ	*ɔ
Lip	ɔ	ɔ	*ɔ	*4k	ɔ	*4m



In Bell's nomenclature the *place* is named first and *voice* last:  $\text{p}$  lip-shut-voice. Consonants of two curves he calls 'mixed', thus  $\text{ɸ}$  is 'lip-mixed',  $\text{ɔ}$  'back-mixed'. It seems simpler to name both organs: lip-back, back-lip. Bell calls  $\text{ɑ}$ , &c., 'shut' consonants, instead of the more usual 'stop'. I have also substituted 'open' for his 'primary'.

#### Glides (69-70).

Bell's symbolization of the non-syllabic vowels with which diphthongs are formed is the one general feature of his alphabet which has met with least approval among phoneticians.

'The primary consonants are formed by the breath or voice issuing with a degree of friction, sibilation or buzzing, through a narrow passage over the back, front, &c., of the tongue, or between the lips. When the configurative channel is so far expanded as to remove compression or buzzing from the voice, a series of semi-consonant, semi-vowel sounds results, which we call "glides". These elements are only *transitional* sounds. If they had a fixed configuration, they would be vowels, and would form *syllables*; as even the closer consonants do when their configuration is held.

'The glides being thus intermediate to consonants and vowels, are appropriately represented by the organic consonant curves joined subordinately to vowel-stems; thus  $\text{ɸ}$  [from  $\text{o}$ ]. The glides unite with vowels to form diphthongs, or double sounds with a single syllabic impulse. The vowel-stems ( $\text{ɪ}$ ,  $\text{ɛ}$ ) are now specifically employed by themselves to denote *non-syllabic* vowel murmurs.'

He thus describes a vowel (71):

'A vowel is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily *fixed*, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a fixed configuration loses its syllabic effect and becomes a glide; and a glide with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a consonant. Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds;

but their configurations may be held so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables.'

This view of 'glides' being intermediate to consonants and vowels is the result of confusion between two distinct divisions of sounds, namely, that of syllabic and non-syllabic, and that of consonant and vowel. The latter is entirely the result of the *position* of the organs, while the former is purely relative, dependent mainly on stress, secondarily on quantity (*Hb.*, §§ 189, 250). Any sound, whether consonant or vowel, may be either *syllabic*, that is, a syllable-former, or the contrary. *Any consonant whatever*, not merely (l), (n), &c., may constitute a syllable, and any vowel may be made non-syllabic without the slightest modification of the position with which it is formed. Bell's intermediate symbols would be defensible only if glides were formed with a degree of friction or closeness intermediate to that of consonants and vowels, which is not the case. It is also clear that there must be as many glide- as there are vowel-symbols, but Bell provides only eight glides to represent the thirty-six vowels. Thus, the six vowels [, ɛ, [, ʃ, ʒ, ʒ are all represented by the single glide ʃ. Some vowels, such as ɪ, have not even an approximate glide to correspond.

The remaining glide-symbols are really weakened consonants, such as ʃd, which is a weak ω (r).

The following is a complete list of the glide-symbols. Bell's key-words are given by him on p. 94 of his book.

\*> Breath-glide. A transitional aspiration of organic quality corresponding to that of the adjoining elements, = a soft effect of c, o, &c. [See p. 300, above. Bell's key-word is the Irish *p'aper*.]

ɪ Voice-glide. Vocal murmur, = a non-syllabic effect of ʃ. [Non-syllabic ʃ (è) implies a definite position—the mid-mixed-narrow, but it is also possible to make a voice-murmur in passing from one position to another, of so transient a character that it cannot be said to have any definite configuration. ɪ ought to be used to denote this sound only. Key-word, the English *va'ry*.]

ɛ Round-glide. Rounded murmur, = a non-syllabic effect of ɨ (ö). [Compare the remarks on ɪ. Key-word, American and Cockney *now*. This is rather the ordinary English pronunciation.]

\*5m Throat-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ø (ɪ), resembling the vowel ɨ (v). [This comparison is misleading, as there is no throat action in ɨ. The key-word given is a 'peculiar' pronunciation of *are*. Bell told me that my own pronunciation of the vowel *r* in *hear*, &c., was this throat-glide, but I believe it is simply a glide-ɪ (ä).]

\*ɘ Back-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɛ (ɜ), resembling the vowel ɨ (v) or ɪ (u). [Key-word, *are* = smooth burr.]

\*ɘ Back-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ɛ (ɜw), resembling the vowel ɨ (o). [Key-word, *our* = smooth burr labialized.]

\*ɘ Front-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ø (j), resembling the vowel ɨ (i). [Key-words, English *die*, *day*. The sound here is, of course, a glide-f, not f.]

\*ɘ Front-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ø with lip-modification, resembling the vowel ɨ (y). [Key-word, North Irish *new*.]

\*5d Point-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ω (r), resembling the vowel ɪ (ä). [Key-word, English *are*. This seems to be a compromise between Bell's half-Scotch, half-elocutionary pronunciation of the English vowel-*r* as ωv (without trill), and the ordinary glide-ɪ or ɪ pronunciation.]

\*ɘ Point-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ω, with lip-modification, resembling the vowel ɨ (ö). [Key-word, English *our*.]

\*5e Lip-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ə (β), resembling the vowel ɨ (ü). [Key-word, French *lui*.]

\*ɘ Lip-round-glide. A semi-vowelized sound of ə (w), resembling the vowel ɨ (u). [The combination of 'lip' and 'round' is, strictly speaking, a tautology; by 'rounding' Bell here implies *inner* rounding (*Hb.*, § 37, 9). Key-word, English *now*, which seems to be generally pronounced with glide-ɨ or ɪ, Bell's ɘ.]

In Bell's nomenclature *glide* comes last: 5l, lip-round-glide.

## Vowels (71-80).

Bell's definition of a vowel has been quoted already (p. 305).

*Primary* [my narrow] vowels are those which are most allied to consonants, the voice-channel being expanded only so far as to remove all fricative quality. The same organic adjustments form *wide* vowels when the resonance-cavity is enlarged behind the configurative aperture—the physical cause of wide quality being retraction of the soft palate, and expansion of the pharynx. [See *Hb.*, §§ 24, 25, where the distinction of narrow and wide is shown to depend on the shape of the *tongue*, and to apply to consonants also. The narrowing of *back* sounds appears, however, to be due to tension and consequent advancing of the uvula, often with a simultaneous sympathetic retraction of the tongue. The flexible soft palate has, therefore, the same function in the back of the mouth as the flexible front of the tongue has in the front of the mouth.]

The vowels are divided into three classes of palato-lingual formations, according as the oral cavity is moulded mainly by the *back*, the *front*, or the *mixed* (back and front) attitudes of the tongue.

The symbol of voice (I) is the basis or 'stem' of all the vowel letters. To this stem a *primary* or *wide* definer (p. 296, above) is joined, to the *inner* side for back, to the *outer* for front, and to *both sides* for mixed vowels.

Three degrees of elevation of the tongue in its back, front, or mixed attitudes are discriminated by the position of the definers on the vowel-stem. Thus:

	Primary.			Wide.		
	<i>back</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>front</i>
<i>high.</i>	l u	I i	l i.	l u	I i	l i
<i>mid.</i>	l e	l e	[ e.	l a	l e	[ e
<i>low.</i>	l v	I ä	l æ	l a	I ä	l æ

(These) lingual positions yield another series of vowels when the voice-channel is 'rounded' and the apertures of the lips contracted. The mechanical cause of round quality commences in the super-glottal passage, and extends through the whole mouth-tube, by lateral compression of the buccal cavities and reduction of the labial aperture. The last—

lip-modification—being the visible cause of round quality, is assumed as representative of the effect. The amount of lip-modification corresponds to the degree of elevation of the tongue: high vowels have the narrowest, low the broadest, and mid an intermediate aperture.

The lips are drawn *across the aperture* of a lingual vowel in order to round its quality; and the resulting effect is symbolized by a short line drawn *across the vowel-stem*.

	Primary.			Wide.		
	<i>back</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>front</i>
<i>high.</i>	ɪ u	ɸ ü	f y	ɪ u	ɸ ü	f y
<i>mid.</i>	ɟ o	ɟ ö	ɟ ə	ɟ o	ɟ ö	ɟ ə
<i>low.</i>	ɟ ɔ	ɟ ɔ̃	ɟ œ	ɟ ɔ	ɟ ɔ̃	ɟ œ

The effect of rounding, not being dependent on the lips alone, is producible—with some peculiarity—without contraction of the labial aperture. The sign of ‘inner’ formation may be used to denote this mode of pronunciation. Thus ɪɟ = oo rounded without the lips.

Other faintly different shades of vowel-sound are possible; as, for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or *symmetrical* degree of lip-modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers ‘close’ (ʌ), ‘open’ (v), ‘inner’ (ɟ), ‘outer’ (ɟ̃), or by ‘linked’ symbols.

In naming the vowels height comes first, rounding last: ɟ mid-mixed-wide-round.

#### Linked Symbols (80).

Peculiar oral combinations may be indicated at pleasure by writing two organic symbols with a ‘link’ (o) between them, to show that they are to be pronounced simultaneously, not in succession. Thus, ɔoɔ labialized r, ɔoc gutturalized r, &c. Any two elements may be thus linked, where a single symbol does not express the whole mechanism of a peculiar sound. Thus the low-back vowel linked to the lip-consonant (ɟo) would show close labial modification of a sound which, when normally rounded, is associated with a broad aperture of the lips.

**Governing Signs (80).**

A pair of linked symbols within parentheses may be used as governing signs to denote *habitual* peculiarities of any kind, and thus save the writing of the latter at every instance of their occurrence. Thus the nasal sign or back consonant linked to any element will show a general nasalizing or gutturalizing of that particular sound, as (ω◌;) *l* nasal, (ω◌c;) *l* guttural.

A more general indication of such peculiarities, without reference to any specific element, will be furnished by writing the link before the nasal, &c., sign by itself, within parentheses, as (◌ω:) close lips, (◌ω;) general nasal quality.

**Tones (82).**

Level tone.

´ Simple rising inflexion.

` Simple fall.

˘ Compound rise—falling and rising with a single impulse of voice.

˘ Compound fall—rising and falling with a single impulse of voice.

In the notation of tones no more is aimed at than the discrimination of the radical varieties. The types for tones being, however, reversible, may be used to indicate relative *pitch* as well as inflexion. Thus:

˘ high-pitched rise.

˘, low-pitched rise.

Modulation, or change of key, is symbolized by

⌈ Key elevated.

⌋ Key depressed.

**Other Signs.**

◌. (88.) Whistle.

(82.) Other alphabetic forms may be introduced to show the combinations *c◌◌*, *c◌◌*, &c., with excess of either element. The sign of trill, inner or outer formation, &c., may be similarly combined, by superposition, or otherwise, with the letter to which they refer.

## REVISED ORGANIC ALPHABET.

## General Principles.

In the above exposition I have abstained as far as possible from criticism, only pointing out the more obvious errors of Bell's analysis for the reader's guidance. It will now be necessary to carry out our criticism in detail, in order to justify the alterations proposed. These alterations are of two kinds, (1) those which deal with the *shapes* of the letters, (2) those which are the result of difference of *analysis*.

Before entering on the details of the former class of alterations, it will be as well to make a few remarks on the principles of sound-symbolization from a purely graphic point of view. It is evident that the two main requisites are *distinctiveness* and *simplicity*, which are, to a certain extent, opposed to one another, this opposition becoming more and more marked as the number of letters increases. The co-existence of such letters as I l i in the Roman alphabet, and, to a less extent, of o c e, is a sin against distinctiveness, while such letters as g, Sanskrit ओ = o, or almost any one of the German capitals, are equally objectionable from the second point of view. The complexity of the Roman alphabet is enormously increased by its often having perfectly distinct forms for the same letter according as it is lower case, capital, or italic—a A a, g G g. It is evident that no forms can be more distinctive and, at the same time, simpler than those on which Visible Speech is mainly based—l O. The distinctiveness of Visible Speech is, however, limited by its principle of indicating the relations of the sounds by a corresponding resemblance between their symbols, so that, of course, the more closely allied two sounds are, the slighter will be the difference between their symbols. It has, for instance, been urged as an objection to Visible Speech that its distinction between narrow and wide is too minute. I do not believe that it is, but if it were—if the distinction between l and l were one which might easily escape a cursory reader—it is of little importance, the distinction not being meant for cursory readers, and the objectors forgetting

that in ordinary Roman spelling, as in the English words *pick* and *pique*, the difference between narrow and wide is left absolutely unmarked.

The Roman alphabet has reached its present high standard of simplicity and clearness by a gradual process of wearing down and elimination extending over thousands of years, and it is interesting to observe that Visible Speech, although an independent and a-priorily constructed system, has many letters which are, as regards the elements they are composed of, identical with Roman ones. Thus the following Roman letters reappear almost or quite unchanged in Visible Speech: o c f J I l x, while others contain the same elements: j e D U.

An objection which generally suggests itself to those unacquainted with Visible Speech is that the repetition of the same symbol turned different ways is confusing. To this it may be answered that exactly the same thing occurs in Roman, where b, d, p, q are distinguished solely by the direction of one and the same combination, which only requires to have its stem shortened to become the Visible Speech symbol of a stopped consonant.

If experience shows that any of the letters are not distinctive enough, it will be easy to add marks or make slight modifications, as long as they do not obscure the groundwork of the symbol. This is in fact already done in such pairs as  $\omega$   $\omega$ , where the divided consonant is beaded, to distinguish it still further from the open one.

We will now proceed to details, beginning with the purely formal alterations.

The most important and general one consists in a return to Bell's original plan of casting the consonants on oblong instead of square bodies, which requires twelve additional types, and making the vowels ascend and descend above and below the line, high vowels ascending, low descending, and mid both ascending and descending, which makes the vowel-symbols more distinctive, and, at the same time, informs the eye of the number of syllables in a letter-group. This naturally suggests a further reform, namely, to abolish Bell's vowel-glides, and make non-syllabic vowels of the same



height as the consonants: thus:  $\text{c}^{\text{r}}$  (kui),  $\text{j}^{\text{r}}$  (ai),  $\text{ɹ}^{\text{r}}$  (æu).  $\text{r}$  and  $\text{ɹ}$  are retained.

Glide consonants are indicated by a following  $\text{}$ , thus  $\omega$  is a glide (l), and  $\text{ɹ}$  is exactly equivalent to  $\text{r}$ . Glideless combination is indicated by  $\text{ }_{\text{ }},$  thus  $\text{c}_{\text{ } }\omega$  is (kl) without any glide between the (k) and (l).

In the consonants it has been found impossible to work with Bell's nasals, on account of the difficulty of distinguishing them from the corresponding stops, especially on a small scale. The difficulty lies in combining the three elements  $\text{c}^{\text{r}}$  in compact and distinctive symbols, allowing also for the addition of the voice-stroke. After many trials the simple remedy suggested itself of omitting the  $\text{c}$  altogether, combining the  $\text{r}$  and  $\text{ɹ}$ , and indicating the place of the nasal by the direction of the  $\text{r}$ , thus:  $\text{r}^{\text{q}}$  (q),  $\text{r}^{\text{g}}$  (g),  $\text{r}^{\text{n}}$  (n),  $\text{r}^{\text{m}}$  (m), the voice-stroke being added thus:  $\text{r}^{\text{q}}$ ,  $\text{r}^{\text{g}}$ ,  $\text{r}^{\text{n}}$ ,  $\text{r}^{\text{m}}$ . These forms are less elegant than the original ones, but are as simple, distinctive, and self-interpreting as is possible.

We now turn to those modifications and additions which have been made necessary by divergent analysis and increased knowledge.

In the consonants a special symbol for 'teeth' has been adopted, namely  $\text{v}$ , the angle being pictorial of the edges of the teeth. The other organs concerned in the production of a teeth consonant are indicated by the direction in which the symbol is turned:  $\text{v}$  point-teeth (p),  $\text{v}^{\text{f}}$  lip-teeth (f). To indicate the 'blade' position (*Hb.*, §§ 7, 112) the form  $\text{s}$  has been adopted from Bell's script, being regarded as a special combination of  $\text{c}$  and  $\text{c}$ , implying an intermediate position.  $\text{s}$  being taken as blade, is reversed to symbolize blade-point:  $\text{s}$  (s),  $\text{s}^{\text{z}}$  (z),  $\text{s}^{\text{f}}$  (f),  $\text{s}^{\text{ɹ}}$  (ɹ). Those who disagree with Bell's analysis must regard  $\text{s}$  as a purely conventional and arbitrary sign, taken direct from the Roman alphabet, and  $\text{z}$  as an arbitrary modification of it.

The only one of Bell's 'mixed' consonants that has been retained is  $\text{ɹ}$  (and  $\text{c}^{\text{r}}$ ). The others have been superseded by the introduction of uniform modifiers, formed from segments of the curves for back, front, &c.:  $\text{c}$  back,  $\text{v}$  front,  $\text{v}$  point,

› lip, › lip-back, (⊕ back-lip), as in ω\ (rj), ω) (jv). The principle of providing modifiers for all the fundamental actions has been carried out consistently, the following being the remaining consonant-modifiers: † blade, † stop, † open, † glottal stop. The first is formed from s, the last from x, while † is formed on the analogy of the existing † (divided). † after a consonant denotes simultaneous closure of the glottis ('implosion,' *Hb.*, § 224).

Bell's signs for inner and outer being liable to confusion with the nasal sign †, † and † have been substituted, which are also turned upwards and downwards † and † to indicate raising and lowering, for which Bell has no sign, thus † inner (i), † raised (i).

Bell's symbolization of breath, whisper, and voice is in some respects rather arbitrary, and requires extension. This has been effected by various modifications of the o. o itself has been taken to signify breath without any oral modification, the breath-glide being symbolized by a smaller circle, thus o° = Danish (kh). When the breath-glide is simply a gliding devocalization of a following vowel, the same smaller circle is placed on a glide-vowel stem, thus øj = ordinary (ha) (*Hb.*, § 195 foll., § 210 foll.). ° is a stress-glide (or aspiration), and to denote the ordinary stressless glide in English *ka*, &c., which only requires to be written in very minute notation, a still smaller circle is used, as in o°j (*Hb.*, § 212, 1). The corresponding stressless voice-glide is symbolized by †, a shortened voice-symbol, as in o°j (*Hb.*, § 212, 2), ø°j. These last two doubled, : †, † are employed as modifiers, thus †: voiceless (i). From ø is formed the whisper-glide ø on the analogy of o, and the modifier †, thus ø‡ = whispered (i).

The signs for in- and out-going breath, † and †, have been retained, but only as modifiers, Bell's breath-glide being expressed by o. Instead of Bell's dot it has been thought simpler to extend the † to breath-stoppage also: † emission-stopper, † inhalation-stopper ('click').

The signs for closeness and openness, † and †, have also been retained, but only in their strict applications. From them, the marks of syllabic stress have been formed, † and †,

the latter signifying weak stress, the former strong.  $\overset{\circ}{\cdot}$  is, for convenience, shortened into a simple point, as employed by Mr. Ellis, ( $\cdot$ ) being used for strong, ( $\overset{\circ}{\cdot}$ ) for extra strong, ( $\circ$ ) for half stress. To indicate non-syllabic force on an isolated element, these signs are lowered,  $\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ , the ( $\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ) being employed in order to prevent confusion with the ordinary full stop. Lastly, from  $\cdot$  and  $\overset{\circ}{\cdot}$  are formed the modifiers  $\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}$  and  $\overset{\circ}{\cdot}$  to symbolize narrowness and wideness respectively,  $\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ , for instance, being narrow ( $w$ ).

The holder  $\dagger$  is shortened ( $\dagger$ ) to denote half-length, and this latter inverted ( $\ddagger$ ) is the sign of shortness, instead of Bell's arbitrary ( $\ddagger$ ).

$\smile$  between two symbols denotes absence of glide, and  $\smile$  shows that the preceding symbol is a glide. At first the plan of enclosing the symbol in  $( )$  was tried, but this was found cumbrous, and only the second half was retained.

As Bell's link is appropriated for breath, the sign  $+$  has been introduced to denote simultaneousness.  $*$  is used as a general modifier to indicate that the preceding symbol is not to be read literally, but with some implied modification.

The following are the main principles that have been followed in the above alterations and extensions: (1) to avoid isolated symbols, as in the abandonment of Bell's breath-glide and mark of shortness; (2) to provide separate modifying-symbols for all the organic actions; (3) to make the modifiers thinner than the corresponding full symbols; (4) glides, &c., being made into modifiers by doubling.

Other symbols (especially those whose adoption requires further consideration) will be described hereafter.

In the present imperfect state of our knowledge of intonation, Bell's symbols will suffice for general purposes.

## DETAILED LIST OF SYMBOLS.

### General Symbols.

Modifiers naturally *follow* the letter they refer to. An exception may often be made in the case of *tones*, which generally apply to groups of sounds, not merely to single

ones. See the specimens in my *Spoken Swedish*. When several are applied to one letter, that one which is associated most intimately with it comes first. Thus the symbols of quantity and stress come after the more special ones of rounding, closeness, elevation, &c., as in  $\text{o}\text{)}\text{+}$ ,  $\text{o}\text{)}\text{+}$ ,  $\text{o}\text{)}\text{+}$ , stress-marks following those of quantity. When modifiers are applied to *groups* of sounds, such as a sentence or paragraph, they must be written before them, either in the way indicated above, p. 310, or else simply by prefixing the symbol, which must then be separated a little from the first letter of the group it modifies. Thus the sentence *come up!* might be written  $\text{; o}\text{)}\text{+}$   $\text{]o}$ ,  $\text{+ o}\text{)}\text{+}$   $\text{]o}$ , according as it is uttered with nasality, slowly, quickly, energetically, &c. If the prefixed modifier is meant to apply only to a *portion* of the group, the point where its application ceases can be marked by repeating it with the stop-symbol after it, thus  $\text{;}$  would indicate cessation of nasality.

\* *general modifier*. See p. 315. Used wherever a special modifier is not provided or is inconvenient, or else to indicate doubtful or imperfectly analysed modifications. Thus  $\text{v}^*$  = any variety of English (b), such as the Danish  $\text{v}$ ,  $\text{j}^*$  (*a*) with some peculiar form of nasality. Retained in Romic.

+ *link* denotes simultaneity. Thus  $\text{o}\text{)}\text{+}$  palatalized (r). Not much required in the revised alphabet, which provides special modifiers, the above sound, for instance, being written  $\text{o}\text{)}\text{+}$ . The final consonant in English *open* (*Hb.*, p. 213) is  $\text{r}\text{)}\text{+}$ , which with the modifiers would be written  $\text{;}\text{+}\text{)}\text{+}$ . Retained in Romic.

+ + + *quantity*. + = full, + = half length, and + ordinary shortness, usually left unmarked. Extra length or drawl is indicated by ++, extra shortness or abruptness by \*\*, intermediate quantities by + between full and half, + between half and short, &c. In Romic  $\text{r}$  may be used, but as this is liable to confusion with *i*, a simple stroke is better, which may be cut in two, and inverted, just like +: it may be regarded as the stroke of  $\bar{a}$ , &c., written separate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this paper I have temporarily used the Organic stop-symbol  $\text{r}$ .

· · · force. Only a few of these are required in ordinary writing: (·) strong stress, (:) half-strong or medium, and (··) extra-strong. Intermediate degrees can be indicated by (·:) between strong and medium, (:·) between medium and weak, &c. Very weak (evanescent) would be indicated by (˘), (˙), weak being hardly ever required. All these denote *syllabic* stress, the mark being placed immediately after that member of the syllable on which the stress begins, as in ɹɹ̄ɹ̄ɹ̄ 'a name', ɹ̄ɹ̄̄ɹ̄̄ 'an aim' (*Hb.*, § 257). Of the corresponding marks of absolute, or non-syllabic force, (˘), weak, is hardly ever required, and (˙) not very often. The latter might be employed in monosyllables, and also in polysyllables, to show that one member of a syllable is uttered with exceptional force, but without altering the general force of the whole syllable as compared with that of the other syllables in the group. In Romic (˙) must be used for (˙), the negative degrees (˘ ˙) being left unmarked.

˘ ˙ ) glides (retained in Romic). ˘, denoting glideless combination, is required in such words as the E. ɹɑ˘ɑ (act), as distinguished from the normal ɹɑɑ = ɹɑɑ, which is the French pronunciation. In such combinations as ɹɑ (nd), ɑɑ (ld), the glidelessness is implied in the juxtaposition of the elements. In the vowels it has been found necessary to distinguish syllabic (such as ɹ) from non-syllabic or glide-vowels (such as ɹ̄). The term 'glide', as applied to the second element of such a diphthong as ɹ̄ɹ̄ (ai), is not absolutely correct, for the ɹ̄ can be lengthened indefinitely, if only the continuity of stress is observed (*Hb.*, § 201), and it is not till we begin a new stress on the second element that monosyllabic ɹ̄ɹ̄ becomes dissyllabic ɹ̄ɹ̄. The rigorously correct definition of ɹ̄ is, therefore, *non-syllabic* vowel, implying weak stress, and generally also shortness and transitional configuration, on which latter the term 'glide-vowel' is founded. A consonant is generally non-syllabic, hence ɑ̄ is practically identical with ɹ̄. Many of the combinations in which consonants appear as 'syllabics' do not require any special marking, as in ɑ̄ɹ̄ɑ̄ (cattle), which can be pronounced only in one way. Sometimes, however, a 'syllabic-former' is

required. For this purpose ] may be used, to be regarded as a special modification of the vowel-stem *i*, a syllabic consonant being an approximation to a vowel. Thus in *ƒoŋɑ* (milk) either of the two liquids might take the syllabic stress and become syllabic, but the actual pronunciation is *ƒoŋ]ɑ*. [I used to analyse this word as *ƒoŋwɑ* (*mjułk*), misled by the frequent rounding of the liquid, which is often *ŋw* (*lw*).] Practically, however, this word is unambiguous, because *ƒo]wɑ* would naturally be written *ƒwɑ*, or, at most, *ƒwɑwɑ*, if the consonantal narrowing were very marked. When it is necessary to emphasize the gliding, non-syllabic character of a consonant, the 'glide-former' or non-syllabic modifier ) is used. Thus the E. *try* is strictly *ɔ)w]r*. This sign may be usefully employed to distinguish between the length of a diphthongic vowel and the length of the transition between the preceding full vowel and it. Thus *ʃr* denotes actual lengthening of the second element, while *ʃr)* implies that the transition or glide between the two positions is made slowly. It will be observed that these symbols do not distinguish with absolute strictness between non-syllabicity and gliding, which it is, indeed, often very difficult to do. The distinction could be made, if necessary, by retaining ) in the former value, and indicating glides in the strict sense by smaller sizes of the non-syllabic vowels and of the ordinary consonants. At present it is safer to err on the side of vagueness.

> (!), < (i), > (?), < (z), *breath-directors*. Of these the out-breather or expiration-sign > is hardly ever required, being implied in ordinary writing. The in-breather or inhalation-sign < must, of course, be written when required. > < imply respectively outwards and inwards motion of the air in the mouth without out- or in-breathing. The latter is the click-sign, as in *ɔ*, the ordinary *tut!* > denotes what Mr. A. G. Bell (*V. S.*, p. 126) calls an 'expulsive' click. Thus *ɑ* would imply (k)-position with shut glottis and throat-contraction, and consequent percussive escape of the squeezed air when the *ɑ* is relaxed. All these signs are modifiers.

*Cessation of breath* is indicated by the breath-glide followed

by the stop symbol, ʼ, which, if necessary, may be combined in one symbol. Thus ʃʼ (ak) without 'recoil'.

ʌv (ʼ<sub>1</sub>), *close, open*. These signs must be carefully distinguished from those of force. A (j) formed with the front of the tongue as near the palate as possible, ʌ, may be uttered with any degree of force, as also the relaxed ʌv, which is practically equivalent to r (i) or r (i). Closeness and openness are, on the other hand, closely related to raising and lowering respectively, ʌ being practically equivalent to ʌ-. In the case of the back sounds they are generally more nearly related to retraction.

ʌ̣ (ʼ<sub>11</sub>), *narrow, wide*. Occasionally required for consonants. Thus ʌ̣ = the consonantized ʃ or ʃ, in French *oui*, ʌ̣ = E. w. Also occasionally required for the glides ɪ (ʌ) and ɛ (ʌw), whose narrowness is generally left undecided.

+ ʼ (ʼ<sub>1</sub>), *raised, lowered* + ʼ (, ) *inner, outer*. [+ raised Danish (e), ʃ- advanced Danish (a). The normal positions may be emphasized by employing both signs of either pair, thus [+ ʼ the normal French (e). The vertical and horizontal modifiers can be combined, thus [+ ʼ (e) raised and retracted at the same time. These combinations could be effected by making the horizontal stems of + and ʼ point obliquely upwards or downwards to indicate simultaneous raising or lowering.

c ɔ (ʃ ʃ), *inversion, protrusion*. ɔc inverted (cerebral) (t), ɔ (t) formed on the lips. With a lip-sound ɔ may be used to indicate lip-pouting, thus ʃɔ Scotch or German (u). Different degrees may be distinguished by doubling the symbols or combining them with + and ʼ.

(\ \) ɔ (x, j, ʃ, v, w), *back, front, point, lip, lip-back modifiers*. The last is exactly parallel to ɔ, implying inner rounding. ɔc gutturalized (l), ɔ\ palatalized (r), ʃɔ muffled (a), distinct from ʃ = ʃɔ. A special application of ɔ is to denote abnormal degrees of vowel-rounding. Thus the Swedish (o) may be written ʃɔ, implying one degree more of rounding. Further distinctions may be made by doubling the ɔ or adding ʌ or v. Observe that ɔ is written, not ɔ, because the inner rounding is implied in the vowel symbol itself. Defective rounding is

symbolized by adding  $\flat$  to the symbol of the unrounded vowel, thus  $\flat l = l$  with low-rounding = Swedish short *u* (*Spoken Swedish*, p. 8). Absence of inner rounding may be emphasized by writing  $\flat r$ , and varieties of inner rounding by  $\flat r_1$ ,  $\flat r_2$ ,  $\flat r_3$ . The point-modifier is required in writing vowels into which an inverted (r) is incorporated (*Hb.*, § 170), as in the Kentish *sparrow* =  $\flat r_1 \flat r_2 c$ .

$\flat s$  (*s*) *blade-modifier*. A (t) formed by stopping an (s) would be written  $\flat s$ , a position intermediate to (s) and (ʃ), would be written  $\flat s$ . In Romic it could be expressed by (ʃs).

$\flat \parallel \flat \flat \flat$  ( $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ,  $\flat \flat$ ,  $\flat$ ) *stopped, open, divided, unilateral modifiers*.  $\flat$  is applied to vowels as well as consonants, as in  $\flat \flat$ , where it implies unilateral rounding. The other modifiers are not much required, being incorporated in the ordinary symbols.  $\flat s$  might also be written  $\flat s$ .  $\flat$  is also used without ambiguity in a wider sense to denote cessation of breath, &c. (pp. 316, 318).  $\parallel$  may be applied to vowels to denote the converse of rounding,  $\flat \parallel$  for instance = (i) with spread lips, the neutral English vowel being emphasized by writing  $\flat \parallel$ .

$\flat \flat$  (*n, r*) *nasal, trill modifiers*. The strong French nasality can be distinguished as  $\flat \flat$ . According to Storm (*Englische Philologie*, p. 36) the nasal vowels in Polish assume before dentals a dental, before labials a labial character, as in *pęta Dąbrowski*, which can be indicated by writing  $\flat \flat$ ,  $\flat \flat$ .

$\flat \flat \flat \flat$  ( $\flat \flat$ ,  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ), ( $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ) *breath-consonant, strong breath-glide, or aspirate, weak breath-glide, vowel breath-glide, breath-modifier*. See p. 314.

$\flat \flat \flat$  [ $\flat$ ,  $\flat \flat$ ,  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ] *voice-glide, voice-glide round, weak voice-glide, voice modifier*. See p. 314.  $\flat$  may be used to express various degrees of vocality, as in  $\flat c$ ,  $\flat c$ , as opposed to the normal  $c$  or  $c$ .

$\flat \flat$  (; ; ) *throat-stop, throat-stop modifier*. See p. 314.

$\flat \flat \flat \flat$  ( $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$ ) *throat-open cons., throat-open voice, whisper-glide, whisper-modifier*. See p. 314.  $\flat$  is added to the voiced symbol, thus ( $\flat$ ) =  $\flat$ . It does not seem possible to reproduce the distinction between  $\flat$  and  $\flat$  in the voice and whisper series, on account of the obstruction of the breath and consequent difficulty of differentiating the force of its outgoing. The



voiced whisper-glide (ʋ), if pronounced strongly enough to be distinguishable from simple ʋ, becomes practically equivalent to the full consonantal ʋ, and hence no special symbol has been provided for it.

It will be observed that ʋ and its modifications are ambiguous, being, in fact, general signs for all throat-actions except those which produce voice. The difficulties of practical discrimination make it safest to retain Bell's comparatively vague symbols for the present.

## VOWELS.

l (u) high-back-narrow. Armenian ls 'the'.

l (u) high-back-wide.

ʃ (e) mid-back-narrow. E. *up*.

ʃ (a) mid-back-narrow. E. and Italian *a*. The E. sound is nearly ʃɪ: the evanescence of the glide-vowel may be expressed by writing ʃɪ).

ʃ (v) low-back-narrow. Vulg. London *park*, Dutch *land*.

ʃ (a) low-back-wide. Sc. *man*, Fr. *à*, J<sup>s</sup> Fr. *an*.

I (i) high-mixed-narrow. Russian *y*, Welsh *û*, Sw. dialectal *i* in *Viby*, all fall under this vowel, the first two being apparently identical. The last is apparently retracted I, the *y* in *Viby* being Iʋ, with outer rounding only, distinct from I. But I cannot speak with certainty about these Swedish sounds, for which see Lundell, *Landsmålsalfabetet*.

I (i) high-mixed-wide.

ʃ (ë) mid-mixed-narrow. American [ɹʊ (earth). Bell writes this American diphthong with I, but repeated hearing has convinced me that he is wrong. German, &c., unacc. *e* in *gabe* is, perhaps, sometimes ʃ, its shortness making recognition difficult.

ʃ (ë) mid-mixed-wide. E. ʃɪ- (eye).

I (ä) low-mixed-narrow. E. Iʋ (earth).

I (ä) low-mixed-wide. E. ɹɪɛ (how). South German *käse*, &c., seems to have this vowel (ɑ'ɪ's) rather than ɪ.

- ɪ (i) high-front-narrow. Fr. *fini*, Sc. *sick*. ɪ Portug. *sim*.
- ɪ̃ (ĩ) high-front-wide. E. >ɪ̃ɪ̃ (finny).
- [ (e) mid-front-narrow. Fr. *été*. [- Danish *se*.
- ɔ̃ (e) mid-front-wide. E. *pen*. Fr. *père*.
- ɪ̃ (æ) low-front-narrow. Sc. *men*. ɪ̃ Fr. *vin*.
- ɪ̃ (æ) low-front-wide. E. *man*.
- ɪ̃ (u) high-back-narrow. Fr. *sou*. Sc. *book*. ɪ̃ Sw. *kung*. ɪ̃ Portug. *um*.
- ɪ̃ (u) high-back-wide. E. *book*.
- ɔ̃ (o) mid-back-narrow. Fr. *beau*. ɔ̃ Sw. Dan. *sol*. ɔ̃ Norw. *sol*. (Storm, p. 70, note 1.)
- ɔ̃ (o) mid-back-wide. E. *owe*, *boy*. Fr. *or*. North G. *gott*. ɔ̃ Fr. *on*.
- ɔ̃ (ə) low-back-narrow. E. *law*, almost ɔ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃. ɔ̃ Norw. *så*. ɔ̃ Dan., ɔ̃ Sw. *så* (see p. 341).
- ɔ̃ (ə) low-back-wide. E. *not*. ɔ̃ Sw. *hopp* (?).
- ɪ̃ (ü) high-mixed-narrow. Norw. *hus*. ɪ̃ Sw. *hus*.
- ɪ̃ (ü) high-mixed-wide. Vulg. E. ɔ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ (two).
- ɔ̃ (ö) mid-mixed-narrow.
- ɔ̃ (ö) mid-mixed-wide. Fr. *dot*.
- ɪ̃ (ö) low-mixed-narrow.
- ɪ̃ (ö) low-mixed-wide. Sw. dialectal *son*.
- f (y) high-front-narrow. Fr. *lune*. ɪ̃ Sw. *y*.
- f (y) high-front-wide. Germ. *hütte*.
- ɔ̃ (ə) mid-front-narrow. Fr. *peu*.
- ɔ̃ (ə) mid-front-wide. Fr. *peur*.
- ɪ̃ (æ) low-front-narrow. Sw. *höra*. ɪ̃ Fr. *un*.
- ɪ̃ (æ) low-front-wide.

## GLIDE-VOWELS.

ɪ̃ (Λ) voice-glide. E. ɔ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ (here).

ɪ̃ (Λv) voice-glide-round. E. ɔ̃ɪ̃ɪ̃ (how).

These symbols imply a traditional murmur without fixed configuration. In deliberate utterance the above words might

be written  $\text{ɔf}^{\text{h}}$ ,  $\text{ɔf}^{\text{h}}\text{ɛ}$ . I might be written in the slurred pronunciation of *against*— $\text{ɪ}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔf}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}$ .

The other glide-vowels being simply the full vowel symbols shortened, do not require to be enumerated.

## CONSONANTS.

- $\text{ɔ}$  (ɪ) throat(-open-breath).  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  = Arabic *hha* (?).  
 $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  (ɪ) throat-voice.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  = Dan. *r*.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  = Arabic *ain* (?).  
 $\text{x}$  (;) throat-stop (glottal catch). Danish 'stødtoner'.  
 $\text{c}$  (x) back. Sc. and Germ. *loch*.  
 $\text{c}$  (z) back-voice. Middle Germ. *tage*.  $\text{c}^{\text{h}}$  = Germ. *r*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (g) front. Sc. *hue*. Germ. *ich*.  $\text{ɔ}$  Germ. *züchtig*.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  South Sw. *skepp*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (j) front-voice. E. *yes*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (r) point.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  = Icel. *hr*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (r) point-voice. E. *red*.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  = Sc. *red*.  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  Russ. *rʹ*. The Sw. 'thick' *l* (*Hb.*, p. 214; Storm, p. 24) may be symbolized by  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$ , implying an attempt to combine  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{c}}$  and  $\text{ɔ}$ . The Japanese *r* (*Hb.*, § 244) is  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$ .  
 $\text{s}$  (s) blade. E. *hiss*.  $\text{s}^{\text{h}}$  is apparently the German *s* in *stein*.  $\text{s}^{\text{h}}$  Russ. *sʹ*.  $\text{s}^{\text{c}}$  Sw. *kors*.  
 $\text{s}$  (z) blade-voice. E. *is*.  
 $\text{z}$  (ʃ) blade-point. E. *fish*.  $\text{z}$  Germ. *sch*.  $\text{z}^{\text{h}}$  Polish *ś*, Norw. *sjæl* (Storm, p. 43).  
 $\text{z}$  (z) blade-point-voice. E. *measure*.  
 $\text{v}$  (p) point-teeth. E. *thin*.  
 $\text{v}$  (θ) point-teeth-voice. E. *then*.  $\text{v}^{\text{h}}$  Dan. *gud*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (φ) lip. Romaic  $\phi$  (?).  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (β) lip-voice. Middle and South Germ. *w*.  
 $\text{>}$  (f) lip-teeth.  $\text{>}^{\text{h}}$  Russ. *krovʹ*.  
 $\text{>}$  (v) lip-teeth-voice.  
 $\text{ɛ}$  (t) back-divided.  
 $\text{ɛ}$  (t) back-divided voice. Russian and Polish guttural *l*.  
 $\text{ɔ}$  (l) front-divided.  
 $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$  (l) front-divided-voice. Italian *gl*.

- ω (l) point-divided. Icel. *hl*. ω<sup>u</sup> Welsh *ll*.  
 ω (l) point-divided-voice. English *l*. ω Dutch *l*. ω<sup>v</sup>  
 French *l*.  
 3 (φ\*) lip-divided.  
 3 (β\*) lip-divided-voice.  
 α (k) back-stop. α<sup>v</sup> older E. *kind*. α<sup>u</sup> Russ. *komnata*.  
 α (g) back-stop-voice.  
 α (c) front-stop. α<sup>r</sup> = Russian *tš*.  
 α (j) front-stop-voice. α<sup>r</sup> = Russian *dž*.  
 α (t) point-stop. α<sup>r</sup> Fr. *tête*. α<sup>v</sup> Sw. *kort*.  
 α (d) point-stop-voice.  
 α (p) lip-stop. ><sub>l</sub> Germ. *p* in *pfund*.  
 α (b) lip-stop-voice.  
 α (q) back-nasal.  
 α (q) back-nasal-voice. E. *sing*.  
 α (ŋ) front-nasal.  
 α (ñ) front-nasal-voice. Ital. *gn*.  
 α (ŋ) point-nasal. Icel. *hn*.  
 α (n) point-nasal-voice.  
 r (m) lip-nasal.  
 r (m) lip-nasal-voice.  
 α (xw) back-lip. Germ. *auch*.  
 α (ɣw) back-lip-voice. Germ. *auge*.  
 α (ʌ) lip-back. E. *wh*.  
 α (w) lip-back-voice. E. *w*.

## REVISED ROMIC.

The general principles of the Revised Rompic notation here employed have been already indicated in outline.

The main distinction between this notation and the older one used in my *Handbook* is the introduction of diacritical letters and new types whenever they are already in existence, italics being restricted as much as possible to the function of

modifiers, which are made as complete as possible, so as to facilitate the symbolization of new sounds. Capitals have been eliminated entirely, because they are often not provided for several founts, and because they do not readily admit of diacritical modification; but they may, when convenient, still be employed to denote special sounds. When italics fail as modifiers, punctuation and other marks are employed, as by Mr. Ellis, though necessarily with frequent deviations from his usage.

The main improvement in the vowels has been the consistent symbolizing of the mixed vowels by two dots above the corresponding front open, and back round vowels, (ä) and (ä) being for the sake of convenience used instead of dotted (æ) and (æ). A single dot may be used to denote intermediate positions, thus (â) = ʃ. (v) and (A) have been superseded by (w) and (u), which at once suggest relationship with (u) and (u).

In the consonants the use of  $\beta$ , ç, ð, ʒ, ʔ, ñ,  $\phi$ ,  $\psi$ , þ, ʒ, taken from the Anglo-Saxon, Greek, and various European alphabets, and from Pitman's Phonotypy, is self-evident. (x) is used in preference to  $\chi$ , as its italic (*x*) gives the necessary back-modifier. For the fronts the (c) and ç of Sanskrit transliteration recommend themselves, while the turned  $\underset{\cdot}{j}$  is convenient for  $\underset{\cdot}{q}$ , being readily associated with (j). The voiceless and front liquids and nasals offer great difficulties, which have been more or less successfully overcome by a combination of turning and dotting, the latter being familiar in Sanskrit transliteration. It was impossible to carry out either of these methods exclusively, because some liquids, such as (w), are not provided with dots, while (n) cannot be inverted.  $\underset{\cdot}{c}$  and  $\underset{\cdot}{o}$  offer the greatest difficulty, and the only resource has been to fall back on italics.

Details will be best seen in the following (as near as possible) alphabetical list, in which turned follow unturned, italic unitalic, modified unmodified, and foreign the nearest native letters. When a turned letter, however, suggests associations with some other letter, it follows that letter; thus (ç) follows (o). The organic equivalentents are not

repeated where the symbols are identical in both systems. The forms in brackets are optional ones.

a = ]	l = ω
u = ]	l = ω
α = J	l = ω
v = J	l = ω
au = ı	ı = ε
æ = ı	ı = ε
ä = I	m = F
ǟ = I	m̄ = F
b = θ	n = ʘ
β = ə	n̄ = ʘ
c = α	ñ = ʘ
ç = α	ñ̄ = ʘ
d = ω	ü = ı
ð = v [ð]	o = ı
e = [	ō = ı
ə = f	ō = ı
e = ı	ō = ı
ə = f	α = ı
ë = ı	ᾱ = ı
ë̄ = ı	ö = ı
f = >	ȫ = ı [ȫ]
g = θ	ȫ = ı
ɣ = ε [ɣ]	ȫ = ı [ȫ]
h = ɔ, ɛ	p = θ
h̄ = :	φ = α
h̄h̄ = o [H]	q = ı
h̄ =	q̄ = ı
i = f	r = ω
ī = f	r̄ = ı
ï = I	r̄ = α
ï̄ = I	ı = θ
j = α	ı̄ = θ
j̄ = \	s = s
J = α	s̄ = ı
k = α	f = z [f]
γ = t	t = α

$\int = \backslash$	$u_c = \int^t$
$\int = \cup [\theta]$	$(\cdot) = \cdot$
$u = \int$	$z' = s\delta$
$u = \int$	$; = x$
$ü = \int$	$; = \lambda [:]$
$ü = \int$	$! = >$
$uu = \int$	$! = <$
$uu = \int$	$? = >$
$v = >$	$¿ = \cdot$
$\Lambda = \int$	)
$v = >$	]
$v = \int$	~
$w = \int$	*
$w = \int$	$\downarrow = c$
$w = \delta$	$\dagger = \delta$
$x = c$	$\S = u$
$w = c$	$\S\S = H$
$y = f$	$a^1 = \int^+$
$y = f$	$j^{11} = \mathcal{O}^{\wedge}$
$z = s$	$a_1 = \int^-$
$\bar{v} = c$	$j_{11} = \mathcal{O}^{\vee}$
$(u) \int = \int [uu, u \int]$	$r + j = \mathcal{O}^{\wedge} \mathcal{O}$
$u^{\circ}$	$= (Hb., \S 182)$
$u_{\circ} = \int^{\circ}$	$\wedge$
$u_{\circ}$	$\vee$
$u_{\circ} = \int^{\circ}$	

## GENERAL LIST OF SYMBOLS.

## Vowels and Glide-Vowels.

li u	Ir i	lr i	li u	Ir i	lr i
ɰ e	lɰ ë	[r e	ɰ a	lɰ ä	[r e
Jr n	Ir ä	lr æ	Jr a	Ir ä	lr æ
h̄ u	h̄ ü	fh̄ y	h̄ u	h̄ ü	fh̄ y
ɰ̄ o	h̄̄ ö	fh̄̄ ø	ɰ̄ o	h̄̄ ö	fh̄̄ ø
ɰ̄ ø	h̄̄ ö	fh̄̄ œ	ɰ̄ ø	h̄̄ ö	fh̄̄ œ

## General Symbols.

*	+	+	+	+	.	:	˘
^ (.)	v	=	<	>	˘	] ]	)
>!	<!	=?	°!	^ (!)	v (!)	˘ (!)	˘ (!)
- (!)	τ (!)	† (!)	† (!)	c †	τ †	c æ	\ j
\ ʔ	) v	ð w	ʃ s	l ʔ	h̄	h̄ §§	˘ §
s n	ʃ r	o h	o h	o h)	: h̄	I Δ	
ʃ Δ v	˘ (˘)	˘ a	˘ ;	o (˘)	˘ (˘)		



## Consonants.

o ɪ	c x	o ɟ	o r	u ɸ	s s	z ʃ	o ɸ	ɔ m	> f
o h h	ɛ ɹ	o l	o l	o l			ɜ ɸ*		
x ;	a k	o c	o t	o t			o p		
	ɹ q	ɹ ŋ	ɹ n	ɹ n			r m		

o ɪ	ɛ ʒ	o j	o r	u ɸ	s z	z ʒ	ɜ β	ɜ w	> v
	s t	o l	o l	o l			ɜ β*		
	a g	o j	o d	o d			ɜ b		
	ɹ q	ɹ ñ	ɹ n	ɹ n			r m		

All the organic symbols are printed from the following types:

## 40 Vowels and Glide-Vowels.

l ɪ	ɪ ɪ	f r	ɟ ɪ	ɟ ɪ	l ɪ	ɪ ɪ	f r	ɟ ɪ	ɟ ɪ
ɪ ɪ	ɪ ɪ	f f	ɟ ɪ	ɟ ɪ	ɪ ɪ	ɪ ɪ	f f	ɟ ɪ	ɟ ɪ

## 39 General Symbols.

*	+	†	•	.	:	(v)
(v)	∪	]	)	>		
▷	∧	∧	+	+	c	(
∖	∅	∅			H	u
f	f	o	∅	°	∅	I
F	'	;	)	0	D	

## 30 Consonants.

o	o	c	o	v	s	z	z	>
ε	ε		x	α	α	∫	∫	
	θ	ε	ω	v	s	z	z	>
ε	ε		β	θ	f	∫	∫	

109 types in all, from which 177 single characters are printed.

## SPECIMENS.

The following specimens will give the means of judging of the practical working of the revised Organic and Romic notations, and, at the same time, will sum up the latest results of the analysis of the sounds of these languages, which, it need hardly be said, is far from being final. The improvements in the French specimen are almost entirely due to the criticisms of Professor Storm.

## English.

The following key-words will show the English vowels as I now analyse them :

ɔ̄ (ø)	come	ɔ̄]ɸ	(kɔ̄m)
ɔ̄† (ai)	far	>ɔ̄†	(faɪ)
ɔ̄ɸ- (ēi <sub>1</sub> )	eye	ɔ̄ɸ-	(ēi <sub>1</sub> )
ɪ† (äi)	burn	ɔ̄ɪ†ɸ	(bäɪn)
ɪɸ (äö)	how	ɔ̄ɪɸ	(häu)
ɪ (ä)	together	ɔ̄ɪɸ[ɸɪ	(tägēdä)
ɸ,ɸ- (i,i <sub>1</sub> )	finny	>ɸɸɸ-	(fɪnɪ <sub>1</sub> )
ɸɸ- (i <sup>1</sup> )	see	sɸɸ-	(sɪi <sup>1</sup> )
ɸɪɪ (i <i>ä</i> )	hear	ɔ̄ɸɪɪ	(hɪ <i>ä</i> )
[ (e)	men	ɸ[ɸ	(mɛn)
[ɸ- (ei <sub>1</sub> )	mane	ɸ[ɸ-ɸ	(mɛi <sub>1</sub> n)
ɸɪɪ (æ <i>ä</i> )	air	ɸɪɪ	(æ <i>ä</i> )
ɪ (æ)	man	ɸɪɸ	(mæn)
ɪ† (u)	full	>ɪ†ɔ̄	(fɪɪ)
ɪ† (uu <sup>1</sup> )	fool	>ɪ†ɔ̄	(fuɪ <sup>1</sup> )
ɪɪɪ (u <i>ä</i> )	poor	ɔ̄ɪɪɪ	(pu <i>ä</i> )
ɔ̄ɸ- (oi <sub>1</sub> )	boy	ɔ̄ɔ̄ɸ-	(boi <sub>1</sub> )
ɔ̄† (oo <sup>1</sup> )	no	ɔ̄††	(noo <sup>1</sup> )
ɪ† (oi)	naught	ɔ̄ɪ†ɔ̄	(nauht)
ɪ† (o)	not	ɔ̄ɪ†ɔ̄	(nɔht)
ɪ (ö)	follow	>ɪɔ̄ɪ	(fɔ̄löv)

The consonants are: ɔ̄(h), ɔ̄(j), ɔ̄(r), ɔ̄(p), ɔ̄(ð), s(s), s(z), z(f), z(ʒ), ɔ̄(ʌ), ɔ̄(w), >(f), >(v); ɔ̄(l); ɔ̄(k), ɔ̄(g), ɔ̄(t), ɔ̄(d), ɔ̄(p), ɔ̄(b); ɔ̄(q), ɔ̄(n), ɔ̄(m).

## Sentences.

(1) a]f]o]o]o 'ə]n]. (2) :v]s]s]w] v]i]w o]l]f]l]ə ə]i]w]p]s]w] o]i]n]. (3) -ə]l] w]ə]n]t s]l]f]o] >]l]w]o]o] o]i]w]. (4) ə]i]w]o]t] w]l]i]w]o]t] [ə]w]ə]l]. (5) -w]l] a]l]f] ə]l]w] s]l]f] w]l]. (6) -w] f]l]i]k]t]w]o]l] 'ə]l]o]i]s] ə]w]. (7) -l]w o]i]w]i]t]o] ə]f]ə]l]t] >]i]w]. (8) ə]l]k] ə]l]f]s]w]o] o]i]k]. (9) -l]ə]k]o] >]i]o]l] >]l]o] >]l]o]l]e]l]w :v]s]a]. (10) -ə]l]w o]i]k] a]l]f] o]i]k]. (11) -l]f] z]i]w]l]f] w]ə]n]t] n]i]. (12) -l]f] s]i]l]f]>]w]l] f]ə]f]f]o]o]o]w] w]i]k]. (13) i]w ə]i]o]l] n]i]k] o]w]l]f] f]l]o]s] w]e]l]l] w]l] ə]f]l]. (14) ə]l]o]ə]ə]n] ə]f]s]o]. (15) -l]f] v]i]o] w]l]o]ə]s] i]w w]l]n]ə]w]. (16) -l]f] w]l]o]t] s]l]f] w]e]i]w]e]l]o] o]e]i]o]o]o]w]l].

(1) kəmə'pät 'wens. (2) :ðisizðä 'päid tēimēiv häidävizri täin. (3) -hij deznt sijmtä fijlitä toil. (4) hūārān ðæiārānd evrimæä. (5) -ðei keim bækðä seim dei. (6) -ðä mænu-whædðä 'hætāniz hed. (7) -ēid raiddān'ot goo'eni faidä. (8) hää hēiizðæt täiä. (9) -äb'äöt foitiö fifti 'fijjtēi]ädpr]iqk. (10) -wil juw kem tuw'. (11) -ēim juārēi doo'nt noo'. (12) -ēi soimfärä moo'mintätðä doä. (13) oil wäikän noo' plei meiks dzækä dæl boi. (14) mit]swen wozit. (15) -ēi þoit ðætwäz oil dænwið. (16) -ēi didnt sij dzoidzät t]fäit]fäd'ei.

(1) Come up at once. (2) This is the third time I have heard of his return. (3) He does not seem to feel it at all. (4) Here and there and everywhere. (5) They came back the same day. (6) The man who had the hat on his head. (7) I would rather not go any farther. (8) How high is that tower? (9) About forty or fifty feet, I should think. (10) Will you come too? (11) I am sure I do not know. (12) I saw him for a moment at the door. (13) All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. (14) Which one was it? (15) I thought that was all done with. (16) I did not see George at church to-day.











It is doubtful whether the following are to be considered as glide-vowels or consonants, but they are here written as glide-vowels :

r (i)	rien <sup>1</sup>	erɪs	(ziæn)
ɻ (o <sup>1</sup> )	oui	ɻɪ	(o <sup>1</sup> i)
ɸ (y)	lui	ωɸɪ	(lyi)

The consonants are: cɸ(xr, as in *théâtre*), cɸ(zr), s(s), s(z), z(f), z(ɸ), >(f), >(v); ωɸ(l, as in *table*), ω (l); a(k), a(g), ɔ(t), ɔ(d), ɔ(p), ɔ(b); ɹ(ñ, as in *vigne*), ɹ(n), ɹ(m).

ωɸ ɸɪeal ɹ [ɔɸ ɔɪeɔɪs ɔɪs ɸɹ ɸɸ ɔɸ ɸɸɪ. [ɔɸ [ɔɸ sɪɹɪ', ɸɸ sɪɹɪs sɪs ɔɸ[sɸ]ωɸɔɸ', ] ɸɸɪɪ a ɸɸ ɹ >ɸɸɪ ]ɔɸɸe ɸsɪ' ɸɹ eeɪɹω ]ɔɸɸɔɸɔɸ ɔɪe sɸeɔɪs ɪɹeɪe sɪsɸ ɸɔɸɸɔɸ ]ɔɸɸ', ɔɸɸ ɹɪs ]eɸɪs ]sɸ sɪɹɪs ωɸɸ ɔɸeω [ ɔɸɸ ɔɸe', [ aɸ ]ɹɔɸ ]ɔsɸeɔ [ eɸɸ] ω] ɔɪsɸɸɪ', eɸɸ] ω] ɸɸɸɸɸɸɸ' ω [ ɔɸ ɔɸeɸɸɸe ]ɸɸ ɔ sɸɸ ]ɸsɸɔɪs.

lə maʒki n ete puʒtan paz œn ðm dæ zeni. il ete savan', me savan san spɛsialitɛ, a mo<sup>1</sup>æɪn k on n vœi apɸɸ ænsi' yn gʒanɪd abilite puʒ sɛʒtænz uvʒaɪz sanz ytilite okyn', don nuz oʒonz ase suvan liɛ d paʒle ply taɪʒ', e ki avet apsoʒbe zyska la paɪsion', zyska la mœnœmani' lɛ di deʒniɛʒz ane d sœn egzistans.

Le marquis n'était pourtant pas un homme de génie. Il était savant, mais savant sans spécialité, à moins qu'on ne veuille appeler ainsi une grande habileté pour certains ouvrages sans utilité aucune, dont nous aurons assez souvent lieu de parler plus tard, et qui avaient absorbé jusqu'à la passion, jusqu'à la monomanie, les dix dernières années de son existence.

<sup>1</sup> Also in *habiller, deuil*.

German.

The North-German vowels are :

ɨ (a)	mann	ɱɨɱ	(man)
ɨ̄ (ë)	gerettet	gɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄	(gë̄z̄'etët)
ɨ̄ (ii)	biene	ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄	(biñë)
ɨ̄ (i)	bin	ɨ̄ɨ̄	(bɨ̄n)
ɨ̄ (ei)	see	s'ɨ̄	(s'eɨ̄)
ɨ̄ (e)	fest	>ɨ̄sɨ̄	(fest)
ɨ̄ (ui)	gut	gɨ̄ɨ̄	(guit)
ɨ̄ (u)	und	ɨ̄ɨ̄	(unt)
ɨ̄ (oi)	sohn	s'ɨ̄ɨ̄	(s'oim)
ɨ̄ (o)	sonne	s'ɨ̄ɨ̄	(s'onë)
ɨ̄ (yi)	grün	gɨ̄ɨ̄	(gzyim)
ɨ̄ (y)	schützen	ʒɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄	(ʃvytsn)
ɨ̄ (əə) <sup>1</sup>	schön	ʒɨ̄ɨ̄	(ʃvəim)
ɨ̄ (ə)	götter	gɨ̄ɨ̄	(gətëz̄)

The diphthongs are: ɨ̄ɨ̄(ai), ɨ̄ɨ̄(au), ɨ̄ɨ̄(oi).

The consonants are: ɨ̄(h), c(x), ɨ̄(z), ɨ̄(ç), ɨ̄(j), s(s), s(z), ʒ(ʃv), >(f), >(v); ɨ̄(l); ɨ̄(k), ɨ̄(g), ɨ̄(t), ɨ̄(d), ɨ̄(p), ɨ̄(b); ɨ̄(q), ɨ̄(n), ɨ̄(m).

ɨ̄ɨ̄ s'ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ >ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 :ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 :ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ s'ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ >ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 [c, ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄',  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ >ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ >ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ >ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄  
 -ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ s'ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄ɨ̄.

<sup>1</sup> Wide in Hanover.

:o| s'eistdu folëz moindnsvain  
 -tsum ·letstn maillaufm·ainë pain`  
 :demi'çs'·o| mançë mitëzn·axt  
 -and·izm pulthez aqgëv·axt`  
 dan·yir'bëz byiçëznuntpa piiz'  
 :tzyip s'eiljëz fzoıntez fwinstd'uum·iz.  
 ax, kəntiçd·oxaui f·bezgësh·əm  
 -ind·ainëm liibm liçtë gem`,  
 -um bezgësh·əilëmit gaistëzn fveibm`  
 -fon alëm vınsnk·valment laidn  
 -in dainëm taugë s'untmiç baidn.

O sähest du, voller mondenschein!  
 zum letztenmal auf meine pein,  
 den ich so manche mitternacht  
 an diesem pult herangewacht!  
 dann über büchern und papier,  
 trübsel'ger freund! erschienst du mir.  
 Ach! könnt' ich doch auf bergeshöh'n  
 in deinem lieben lichte gehn,  
 um bergeshöhle mit geistern schweben,  
 auf wiesen in deinem dämmer weben,  
 von allem wissensqualm entladen,  
 in deinem thau gesund mich baden!

## CORRECTIONS TO HANDBOOK OF PHONETICS.

Several of the many errors in my *Handbook* have been tacitly corrected in the course of this paper: I here give all the corrections I am able to make in the order of their occurrence in my book.

p. 3, note <sup>a</sup>, read: The usual diacritic (˘) before the letter to be modified is occasionally employed to denote breath; before a voice-symbol it denotes whisper, thus (˘g) = whispered (g).

4, § 12, for 'A read 'Λ.

7, § 19. I was told by Mr. Bell that in the Glasgow

'water', &c., the oral stop is really formed simultaneously with the glottal stop, not suppressed, = əʃʊlʊf.

25, § 64. It is very doubtful whether ɪ really occurs in the E. 'eye'; the real sound is ʏr.

§ 66. The distribution of the various *a*-sounds has been very carefully determined by Storm (*E. Ph.*, pp. 67 foll.), especially in the Romance languages. His observations may be summed up thus: ʏ=English, short Danish, Italian (ʏ). Swedish short *a* almost = ʏ. ɪ=French short, Spanish. ɪ+ long Danish. j French *â*, Norwegian short and long, Swedish long inclining to j).

26, § 68. Add French *pâte*, and cut out the reference to Italian.

§ 69. The American earth has ɛ, not ɪ. See p. 321 of this paper. The Russian ɪ is nasal only after nasal consonants; see my paper on Russian pronunciation.

§ 71. French *que* has ɛ.

§ 72. The neutral position in E. seems to be always the low-mixed. The Swedish *ej* is pure ɛr. See my 'Spoken Swedish'.

27, § 73. It is only since my study of Swedish that I have learnt to distinguish accurately between ɪ and fully lowered ɛ. I have not found the former in any language but E., and wherever it is attributed to foreign languages the reader must substitute ɛ (p. 124 Fr. *un*, 140 Dutch *lui*, *huis*, and Icelandic *skömm* in the present passage).

§ 75. I take this opportunity of retracting my statement in the *History of English Sounds* (pp. 29, 45, &c.) that the South German short *i* and *u* are narrow. I have always heard ɪ and ʏ all over Germany, but was misled by the very positive statements of Rapp, who expressly contrasts North and South German *i* and *u* (*Physiologie der Sprache*, iv. 85), himself a born Swabian. The wides must be old in South German, for in some of the Swiss dialects their lengthenings are still wide (Winteler, *Kerenzer Mundart*).

§ 77. According to Storm and Dr. Wulff (p. 64, note <sup>1</sup>), the French *é* is, like the Swedish and Danish, normal, the Danish sound being really [-.

28, § 78, 79. Southern E. always has  $\text{ɸ}$  in *end*, nor does  $\text{ɹ}$  seem to occur in French, except when nasal. I was misled by the very positive distinctions made by French phoneticians between 'ouvert' and 'très-ouvert'.

§ 80. South G.  $\text{ä}$  is rather  $\text{ɹ}^\dagger$  than  $\text{ɹ}$ .

§§ 85, 86. According to Storm and Dr. Wulff (*E. Ph.*, 70, note 1), the Danish long and short open  $\text{o}$  are opener than the Norse and Swedish ones, the Sw. long sound being closer than the Norse, thus giving the following scale for the long sound: Dan.  $\text{ɹ}^\text{N}$ , Norse  $\text{ɹ}$ , Sw.  $\text{ɹ}^\text{M}$ . Storm thinks that the Norse short sound is identical with the North Germ. short  $\text{o}$  ( $\text{ɸ}$ ), the Dan. being decidedly nearer the English sound. To my ears Sw. *gott* is opener than Germ. *gott*, and I would write the series: English  $\text{ɹ}$ , Dan.  $\text{ɹ}^\text{N}$ , Sw.  $\text{ɹ}^\text{M}$ .

§ 87. Sw. long  $\text{u} = \text{ɹ}^\dagger$ . Vulgar English *two* is often  $\text{ɔf}^\dagger$ .

§ 88. The short E. vowel in *room* does not appear to be ever advanced so far as  $\text{ɹ}$ .

§ 90. E. *ow* in *follow* is rather  $\text{ɹ}$  than  $\text{ɸ}$ .

30, § 93. Germ. short  $\text{ü}$  always wide.

§§ 96, 97. French does not seem to have  $\text{ɹ}$ , except when nasal.

39, §§ 112, 113. Storm (p. 86) says of the Spanish  $\text{d}$  that between vowels, as in *nada*, it is usually  $\text{ɔr}$ , but can be pronounced  $\text{w}$  with loose approximation, like the Dan.  $\text{d}$ , which is the popular Castilian form. The  $\text{z}$  is quite parallel ( $= \text{ɔw}$  or  $\text{ɔ}^\text{?}$ ), Storm, p. 22.

42, § 126. Fr. *oui* =  $\text{ɔ}^\text{f}$  according to Storm.

43, § 128. The (oi)-sound of the Danish *bröd* is really due to transition from the deep  $\text{ɔ}$  to the palatal  $\text{ɸ}^\dagger$ .

47, § 139. French  $\text{ɔ} = \text{gn}$  very dubious.

74, § 212. I believe E. initial  $\text{g}$  may be  $\text{ɔ}^\dagger$  as well as  $\text{ɔ}^\dagger$ .

77, § 222. In the aspirated  $\text{ɔ}^\text{ɸ}$ , the full stress of the consonant is maintained without diminution through the glide; the expression 'separate impulse' is inaccurate.

122. The corrections in the French sounds are mainly due to Storm: *rien*, p. 33; *oui*, *Hb.*, p. 213; *que*, p. 66. He is inclined to identify the  $\text{u}$  of *lui* (p. 69) with the Swedish  $\text{ɹ}^\dagger$ : I believe it may be simply  $\text{f}$  with full rounding, which to

a Swedish ear would seem nearer **f** than **f**. See also p. 337 above. In his *E. Ph.*, pp. 77 foll., will be found a lengthy controversy between him and myself as to whether French stress is normally on the first or the last syllable. I confess that the mere fact of such an authority as Storm taking the latter view seems to me far more important than the arguments by which he supports it. He quotes the views of Frenchmen, and yet admits that, without special training, they are incapable of distinguishing the place of the stress, and summarily rejects the testimony of the only Frenchman who has ever shown that he is capable of making the distinction. He quotes the mispronunciations of unphonetic English speakers, such as *Parry*=*Paris*, as a proof that the English hear the accent on the first syllable, which is quite an error: every untrained Englishman *hears* the ordinary French *Paris, monsieur*, when pronounced with equal stress on both syllables, distinctly as (parii, mos'jæə), whence the vulgar *mossoo* (mä's'uw), just as all the English pronouncing dictionaries mark all equal stress disyllables as oxytone. In *speaking* French he simply follows the analogy of his own language and the associations of the written word. The true solution of the difficulty probably is that the French accentuation is in a period of transition: the tradition of the older end-stress still exists, but a general levelling of stress has taken place, so that the normal pronunciation of such a word as *Paris* is probably (p'ari), which is heard as (p:ari). This is a natural tendency of the ear, nothing being more difficult to identify than perfectly level stress. Thus no German ever pronounces English *plumpudding* (p'læmp'udiq) correctly: always either (p'læmp:udiq) or (p:læmp'udiq), the latter being what he hears (and what is marked in the pronouncing dictionaries), the former what the written word and the associations of his own language suggest to him. Out of this level monotony of French stress is slowly emerging the principle of fore-stress. Storm allows such a stress, but calls it 'rhetorical', which does not get rid of the fact of its existence. The French themselves, of course, generally deny it absolutely, just as they deny their frequent (h).

132. The North Germ. *eu* is often  $\overset{\circ}{f}r$ , but I seemed to hear  $f_r$  in Hanover.

134. I doubt this glottal *r*, which is probably only an individual modification of the regular *e* or *er*.

135. *bilden*, &c., is  $\beta\lambda\omega\tau$  with omission of the  $\lambda$ .

141. Dutch *g*, especially when initial, seems to be often more or less devocalized. *l* is  $\omega\lambda$ .

153. For Swedish see my *Spoken Swedish*. In second line of sentences read (dei) for (de).

160. Lines 8, 9, omit the accent before ( $\lambda\epsilon q r\epsilon$ ) and ( $\tau r\epsilon q r\epsilon$ ).

163. Dan. *gg* in *ligge* has the same pronunciation as in *ikke* (Storm, p. 40, note <sup>3</sup>).

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## ON DANISH PRONUNCIATION<sup>1</sup>

My object in this paper is not to give a *history* of Danish pronunciation or an investigation of the origin of the sounds of the language, but simply to give as accurate an account as I can of the nature and formation of these sounds—not to develop theories, but to state facts.

The progress of phonetics has been so great in the last few years—chiefly owing to the researches of Messrs. Bell and Ellis—that the great bulk of the observations already made on living languages is next to useless. It is clear that the theories built up on such a foundation cannot but be imperfect, and that sound generalizations can only be based on a totally new body of observations according to the latest principles. The present remarks must be regarded as an imperfect attempt to supply this want, as far as Danish is concerned—a contribution to the comparative phonology of the Northern Languages. Some of the points I have treated of will also, I believe, prove interesting to classical and general philologists, as well as Teutonic specialists. I allude particularly to the remarks on the Scandinavian tone-system, and its analogy with the Greek accents (p. 347). The analysis of some of the sounds has also thrown light on English pronunciation, especially on the important, but hitherto uninvestigated question of consonant quantity. Lastly, I may remark that from a general phonetic point of view, apart from the investigation of any one language, the present paper will be found to be of some interest, several of the sounds having proved quite unique. Such sounds are the abnormally rounded labials (p. 351). Others, such as the glottal catch (p. 347) and the laryngeal *r* (p. 358), have not hitherto been detected in any European literary language.

In describing the sounds, I have in all cases used Mr. Bell's

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873-4, pp. 94-112.



nomenclature—the only one based on their physiological formation. The phonetic notation I have been obliged to adopt is Mr. Ellis's palaeotype.

I cannot say I have learnt much from Danish phoneticians. They have all treated the subject in a dilettante fashion, merely enumerating the separate sounds, without in general attempting any analysis of their formation, and without giving exhaustive lists, on which alone sound deductions can be based.<sup>1</sup> Still, the preliminary study of their works has been of some service.

In conclusion, I feel it my duty to express my great obligations to Mr. V. Fausböll, of the University Library, Copenhagen, from whom I acquired the elements of Danish pronunciation, whose careful classification of his native sounds was of the greatest assistance to me. I may mention that Mr. Fausböll is the first Dane, as far as I know, who has recognized the qualitative as well as quantitative difference between the long and short open *o*-sound (p. 355). That so obvious a distinction should not have been noticed before is strange, the qualitative difference between the two sounds being even greater than that between the English vowels of *nought* and *not*, owing to the abnormal labialization of the long vowel. The distinction was perfectly familiar to me from my previous study of Norwegian, where it is also ignored by the Norwegian grammarian Aasen.

#### GENERAL RELATIONS OF DANISH.

A comparison of the oldest runic inscriptions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—some of which go back as far as the third century—shows that up to about the tenth century there was but one Scandinavian language, and that the distinctive features of the present languages developed gradually after that period. In Iceland, where the national language

<sup>1</sup> I must, however, make an exception in favour of Hommel's treatise on the *tonelag* (p. 347), without which it would hardly have been possible for me to master this difficult phenomenon. For a complete list of the works of Danish phoneticians, I would refer the reader to the appendix to Möbius's *Dänische Formenlehre*, Kiel, 1871.

received careful literary cultivation, it has retained its grammatical framework and vocabulary almost unchanged, while the sounds, especially the vowels, have undergone more radical changes than those of any other Northern language, English not excepted.

In Norway, where there was but small literary activity, the grammar has suffered considerably, and a multiplicity of dialects has arisen; but the original sounds have been, on the whole, more faithfully preserved than in any of the cognate languages. The grammatical inferiority of Norwegian is partly attributable to the fact that the literary language is, and always has been since the Reformation, Danish, although a movement has arisen of late years to replace it by one of the native dialects—a movement which may succeed in the end.

Literary Swedish approaches near to Norwegian in antiquity of structure, but the spoken language departs widely from its written form.

Danish, lastly, is the most reduced of all—it is the English of the Scandinavian languages, which it further resembles in having adopted a large number of foreign words. Half of the words in its vocabulary are German, chiefly Low German, introduced during the supremacy of the Hanse-towns.

The main distinction between Swedish and Danish on the one hand, and the other Scandinavian languages on the other, is their loss of the old diphthongs *au*, *ei*, and *ey*, which are simplified into *ö* and *ee*. Danish is distinguished from Swedish by its ‘*tonelag*’, to which I shall return immediately, and by its treatment of the voiceless stops *k*, *t*, *p*, which in the middle and at the end of words are first vocalized into *g*, *d*, *b*, and then weakened in various ways. Otherwise the phonetic structure of Danish is comparatively archaic, and in some cases it has preserved the original sounds more closely than its neighbours. Thus the initial *vr* and *kn*, which are lost in Icelandic and Norse, though not in Swedish, are still preserved (*vríst*, *knæle*). Initial *k* and *g* remain unaltered, while in Norwegian and Swedish they undergo modifications of various kinds. Long *u*, which in Norwegian and Swedish

passes into a peculiar mixed vowel, is preserved quite pure, together with its mutation *y*. Other archaic features, such as the preservation of the long *i*, Danish has in common with all the Scandinavian languages.

#### TONELAG.

The Danish 'Tonelag' (tone-law) is the characteristic feature of the language; it occurs in all the dialects, and is unknown in the cognate languages. It is of two kinds, which for the sake of convenience I will distinguish as strong and weak tone. The strong tone is a glottal catch (the sound produced in coughing) following immediately after the vowel of the syllable which has the tonelag, which syllable is always an accented one. The weak tone is a purely negative phenomenon, consisting simply in the absence of the catch. These tones pervade the whole language, and like the Greek accents, to which they bear a striking analogy, serve to distinguish words otherwise identical. Thus, *Mand* (ma;n) = 'man', *man* (man) = French 'on'; *Hund* (Hu;n) = 'dog', but *hun* (HuN) = 'she'; (kHə;m) = 'came', (kHəm) = 'come' (imper.), both written *kom*.

They also resemble the Greek accents in being extremely unstable: the slightest inflexional change often brings with it a change of tone, although the changes follow much stricter rules than the Greek accents do. Of these rules I will give a brief outline, chiefly founded on the excellent treatise of Hommel,<sup>1</sup> who has, for the first time, grappled with the subject in a scholarlike manner. Monosyllables with long vowels have the strong tone (*at see, uar, gröd*). Monosyllables with short vowels followed by *l, m, n*, also have the strong tone (*kamp, storm, tynd*). If the consonant is a sibilant or stop, the weak tone comes into play (*vest, kat, kæk*). Polysyllables generally have the weak tone when the stress is on the first syllable, the strong when on any other (*holde, beholde; loven er ærlig men holden er besværlig*).<sup>2</sup> There are, however, many exceptions, chiefly disyllables whose derivative character is

<sup>1</sup> Det Danske Sprogs Tonelag af L. L. Hommel in the *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, viii. 1; 1869, Copenhagen.

<sup>2</sup> (lAΔven et ærligh mæn hōlln et bæsveerligh.)

not apparent, and which end in nasals or liquids: these words have the strong tone in spite of the stress being on the first syllable (*kammer, vaaben, tempel*).

The question of the origin and history of these phenomena has never, as far as I know, been started by native philologists. Indeed their very existence was not known before the middle of the last century, when they were discovered by the grammarian Höysgaard, who, however, contented himself with merely giving a number of examples, instead of drawing up exhaustive lists. Even the essay of Hommel just mentioned is far from exhausting the subject, especially in the exceptions to the general rules.

Although we have no means of tracing the history of the tonelag further back than the last century, valuable help would be afforded by the dialects, many of which unquestionably preserve the strong tone in many words which in the literary language have lost it. What is wanted, then, is a comparative 'tonology' of the Danish dialects. Such a work, however, while throwing light on the history of the tones, would give no help in determining their origin. The key to this question must be sought in the living Norwegian (and Swedish) languages, where the distinction between strong and weak tone is observed as strictly as in Danish, and follows nearly the same laws, although it is expressed in a totally different manner. I have compared the Danish tones to the Greek: the resemblance is much more striking in the case of Norwegian. Here there is not only a functional, but also a formal resemblance: the Norwegian tones are, like the Greek, modulations of the voice—alterations of pitch. They are in short genuine *tones*, which the Danish tonelag is not.

The strong tone in Norwegian is a simple fall, the weak a compound rise (*sòoli, μάανən* = D. *soo:lən, μάανən*). It is important to observe that the weak tone, which in Danish is a mere negation, is in Norwegian something positive. This fact, together with the superior antiquity of the latter, makes it probable that its tones are older than the Danish. There is also reason to believe that the analogy with Greek is some-

thing more than a chance resemblance. From the fact that a system of tones is found in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian, it may be inferred that some such system formed part of the common language from which all these languages, together with the Teutonic, have sprung. If so, it seems probable that the Teutonic languages also had a common tone system, of which the strong and weak tones in Norwegian, (Swedish) and Danish are the last remnants. These conclusions are of course tentative, and cannot be properly revised till all the evidence is before us. At present we are quite unable to say how much evidence there is, whether indeed there is any outside of the Scandinavian languages.

If, as seems probable, the Danish tones are the direct descendants of the Norwegian ones, we can only explain the change by assuming an intermediate stage, in which the falling tone was 'strengthened' by the addition of a glottal catch. The original voice-modulation, being thus made superfluous, would soon be lost, so that the weak tone would, as we see is the case, be distinguished simply by being the negation of the strong tone.

The influence of tone on the general synthesis of language is very important. In such a language as English each tone has a general signification, and may be applied to any word indifferently. Thus by a simple inflexion of the voice a single word will often express what in other languages could only be adequately stated in a complete sentence. We may therefore call this kind of tone *sentence-tone*. The Greek tones on the other hand are strictly *word-tones*: each word has but one tone, which is absolutely inherent in it, being as much an essential part of it as its consonantal or vowel structure.

The interesting question now arises, how do such languages express these general ideas (interrogation, affirmation, &c.), which it is the function of the English tones to express? As regards Norwegian I find that there is generally no difference of inflexion in assertive and interrogative sentences, and that when the interrogation is very emphatic, all that is done is simply to increase the range of the tone.

The importance of the revolution which has taken place in Danish is now apparent. By superseding the original modulative tone by a totally distinct articulation, the language has been enabled to avail itself of the English sentence-tone, without at the same time losing any of the advantages of its former position. From a euphonic point of view the change is perhaps no improvement, but considered purely as an intellectual instrument, the Danish language deserves attention as having achieved a combination of the ancient and modern spirit of language, which is probably unique.

Before quitting this part of our subject it will be worth while to examine the descriptions of the tonelag given by the native phoneticians. The only one that is perfectly clear and accurate is that of Hommel. Earlier writers persisted in regarding the weak tone as something *positive*, while it is, as Hommel describes it to be, a mere negation of the strong tone. Levin, for example, describes it as an 'evenly rising movement' (hvis Lydbevægelse er jævnt opadstigende), and asserts that there are words which have no 'tone' at all, which is, as Hommel observes, impossible. The strong tone is described accurately enough by Levin,<sup>1</sup> but he adds that it 'rebounds and draws over to itself the following syllables' (Det stødende Tonelag fremkommer derved, at Svælget hurtigt lukker sig for Lyden, hvorved denne med et eiendommeligt Stød eller Tryk i Stemmen synes ligesom at springe tilbage, og, hvis Ordet har flere Stavelser, at trække disse over til sig), which is unintelligible to me. The vague use of the word 'tone' in Danish is greatly to be regretted. Everything is called 'tone'. Thus quantity is 'tonehold', stress is 'tonefald', and everything else is 'tonelag'. The resulting confusion of ideas is sometimes truly appalling. Rask, for instance, sets up no less than six 'tones' in Danish, one of which consists simply in the syllable having a long liquid before a stopped consonant (p. 359), this he calls the 'rolling' tone. The most extraordinary fact of all is that Aasen in his Norwegian Grammar actually adopts the Danish account of the glottal catch and its absence as a description of the modulative tones of his own

<sup>1</sup> Dansk Lydlære, p. 25.

language! His words are: 'Det første Tonelag (the falling) er stærkere eller dybere, og lyder som om Ordet var afsluttet og ikke skulde have mere end een Stavelse: det giver altsaa Rodstavelsen et stærkere Tryk eller Stød (Stødtonen). Det andet Tonelag (the compound rise) er svagere eller lettere, idet Hovedstavelsen lyder som en begyndt og ikke afsluttet Tonefølge, saa man kan tydelig høre at der skal komme en Stavelse til.'<sup>1</sup>

#### VOWELS<sup>2</sup>.

The most characteristic feature of the Scandinavian languages of the continent, as opposed to Icelandic, is their treatment of the back lip vowels.

Those who have studied Mr. Bell's Visible Speech know that the difference between the three vowels (u) (o) (A) is two-fold. Each vowel differs from the others not only in the narrowness of the lip opening, but also in the height of the tongue. In (u), which has the narrowest lip opening, the tongue is raised to its greatest height, while in (A), for which the lips are only slightly approximated, the tongue is at its lowest elevation, (o) being intermediate in both respects. Now in Danish the two lower articulations, while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages, have undergone what may be called a 'Lippenverschiebung', (o) being pronounced with the labialization or 'rounding' of (u), and (A) with that of (o), (u) itself remaining unchanged. This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately. In Swedish and Norwegian part of the difficulty is removed by the change of (u) into Mr. Bell's high-mixed-round vowel (U), which in Norwegian has the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects. It is

<sup>1</sup> Norsk Grammatik, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Before entering on the consideration of the separate sounds, it may be as well to state that my analysis lays no claim to infallibility. The only method open to me was to listen patiently to the separate sounds till I was familiar with their acoustic effect, then to imitate them till the result was satisfactory both to my own ears and those of my hearer, and lastly to analyse the oral positions which produced these imitations.

not improbable that this change was prompted by the desire to distinguish more clearly between the (u) and the abnormal (o). In Swedish this (o) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The result is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages.

It seems that the approximation of (o) to (u) has also influenced the relations of the corresponding palatals (i) and (e). In the formation of the (e) the tongue is raised nearly into the (i) position, so that a foreign ear often confuses the two. These are the really difficult vowel sounds of the language, and their mispronunciation, together with the absence of the glottal catch, at once mark the foreigner.

The distinction between close and open (corresponding generally to Mr. Bell's division of primary and wide) is very elaborately developed in Danish. In English the distinction is always dependent on quantity, the long (i), for instance, being primary, the short wide (beat, bit). The Danish long (i) is also primary, but the short is primary in some words, wide in others, so that in some cases the distinction serves to separate words which would otherwise be identical.

In the case of three of these sounds, viz. the short open *i*, *y*, and *u*, there is some doubt as to which is the exact sound. It is a matter of dispute among Danish phoneticians themselves. Most of them identify them with the short (e), (æ), and (o) respectively, considering the distinction insisted on by their opponents imaginary, the result of the difference in orthography. After a careful examination of the question, I have come to the conclusion that the identification of the short open *u* with (o) is correct, but that the open *i* and *y* are really high-wides (*i*, *y*), and therefore distinct from (e) and (æ), the mid primaries.

The analogy of the other Teutonic languages makes it probable that the wide sounds are the original, and that the change of (u) into (o) is simply the result of imperfect imitation—a frequent cause of sound change.

The question whether these close and open vowels are distributed according to any fixed principles, has, as far as I



know, been answered by Danish phoneticians in the negative : they say that no rules can be given. I have taken the trouble to draw up exhaustive lists, and the result is that the character of the vowel is determined by the following consonant, although there is considerable irregularity. As these lists have not been revised sufficiently, I do not print them in full here, and shall confine myself to giving a few examples only.

The rules which have fewest exceptions are—

(1) *open vowels before nasals*. The only exception that I find under *i* is the word *linje* (line), whose vowel was no doubt long at no very remote period. I do not note any exception under *y*, at least among words in common use. Under *u*, however, there are several exceptions; all that I know of are *hun*, *en hund*, *hundrede*, *at kunne*, *jeg kunde*, *et pund*. There are several others (*en mund*, *en stund*, &c.) which allow both the open and the close vowel.

(2) *open vowels before r*. The only important exception is *en byrd* (birth) and *en byrde* (burden), which last, however, also admits the open vowel.

(3) *close vowels before soft d*. The exceptions are *at sidde*; *at rydde*, *et spyd*. Some words, such as *et middel*, allow of both pronunciations.

For the remaining consonants only general rules can be given. These are (4) that *back* and *lip* consonants are preceded by *open* vowels, (5) that *point* consonants are preceded by *close* vowels, except *point nasals*, which by rule (1) require open vowels. It may be remarked that rules (2) and (3) confirm these general principles, *r* being always a guttural in Danish (see p. 358). I will now give some examples.

open <i>i</i> before back cons.	:	jeg fik, ikke, at drikke ; et digt, rigtig.
„ <i>y</i> „ „	en lykke, et stykke, at trykke ; dygtig	at flygte.
„ <i>u</i> „ „	at lukke, drukken, at sukke ; en flugt,	en frugt.
close <i>i</i> before back-cons.	:	jeg gik, en kikkert, en viking ; vittig
		(all <i>-igs</i> ).
„ <i>y</i> „ „	tyk.	
„ <i>u</i> „ „	rug.	

open <i>i</i> before lip-conss. :	at vifte ; at slippe ; ribs.
" <i>y</i> " "	at dyppe, at dryppe ; en krybbe.
" <i>u</i> " "	at skuffe, en luft ; en suppe ; en klub.
close <i>i</i> before lip-conss. :	at skifte ; en skipper ; at pible.
" <i>y</i> " "	hyppig, ypperlig.
" <i>u</i> " "	en gruppe ; at gruble.
close <i>i</i> before point-conss. :	at bilde, ilde, lille, at spilde ; disse, en pidsk ; flittig, vittig.
" <i>y</i> " "	at fylde, gylden, at trylle ; at krydse, tysk ; at bytte, at lytte.
" <i>u</i> " "	fuld, guld, uld ; at pudse, ussel ; at putte, at slutte.
open <i>i</i> before point-conss. :	et billede, at spille, til ; en fisk, at miste ; bitter, nitten ; middag.
" <i>y</i> " "	et bryllup, at skylle ; et bryst, et kys ; at benytte, at flytte.
" <i>u</i> " "	et gulv, et hul, et kul ; brusten, just: skudt, at skutte sig.

I do not now propose to enter on the consideration of the causes of these remarkable phenomena. The influence of consonants on vowels is at present one of the obscurest points in phonetics, and cannot be properly investigated till we have a large body of reliable observations.

The treatment of final (*i*) and (*u*) in Danish deserves notice. These vowels are not continuously vocal when final, but end with a breath, so that the effect is almost (*i*h, *u*h). This peculiarity runs through all the Scandinavian languages.<sup>1</sup>

I will now briefly enumerate all the vowels, with examples and remarks where necessary. The words in italics are in the ordinary Danish spelling, those in parentheses give the pronunciation in palaeotype.

(a) = Bell's *mid back wide forward*. This vowel has a very thin sound, almost as in E. *hat*, the tongue being considerably advanced in the mouth, but without the front being raised, so that it is distinct from the mid-mixed: *mane* (maanə); *mand* (ma;n). *kat* (khat).

(ə) = *mid mixed primary*. Regular unaccented *e*. *mane* (maanə).

<sup>1</sup> I remember meeting a Dane who professed to have a perfect knowledge of German. The first word he pronounced was *Sie*, which he gave as (*Zi*h), at once betraying his Scandinavian nationality by the slight final hiss.

(e)=*mid front primary raised* (see p. 352): *Een mand* (ee;n ma;n) = *one man*; *en mand* (en ma;n)=*a man*. The name *Eva* (eeva) sounds to an English ear almost (iiva). Seldom occurs short.

(ee)=*mid front wide*: *et træ* (tʰree;), *at læse* (leese). According to Mr. Fausbøll, who first noticed the difference between (ee) and (ɛ), this vowel occurs short in the word *sted* (stedh), which with the article has the long vowel (stee;dhət).

(ɛ)=*low front primary*: *et træsnit* (tʰesnit), *en hest* (hest), *at kende* (khenə). The regular short e. Never occurs long.

(i)=*high front primary*: *hvid* (vi;dh); *hvidt* (vit), *at spille* (spilə), *gik* (gik).

(i)=*high front wide*: *at spille* (spilə), *fik* (fik). Never long.

(u)=*high back primary round*. *en ugle* (uulə); *nu* (nuwh).

(o)=*mid back primary with rounding of high*. *god* (goo;dh); *et gods* (gos), *just* (jost). Seldom occurs short, except as representing the open u.

(ʌ)=*low back primary with rounding of mid*. *otte* (ʌʌtə), *maanen* (maʌnən). Hardly occurs short, except perhaps in rapid talk, as in *maa vi gaa ind?* (ma vi ga in<sup>1</sup>), where however I believe it often passes into the next vowel.

(ɔ)=*low back wide round*: *han maatte* (mɔtə), *folk* (fɔ;lk). Regular short o. Never long.

(ɪ)=*high front primary round*: *at nyde* (ni;dhə); *nydt* (nɪt), *at skylde* (skilə).

(y)=*high front wide round*: *at skylle* (skylə). Never long.

(ə)=*mid front primary round*: *han dør* (dee;ɪ); *først* (fəɪst).

(œ)=*mid front wide round*: *en dør* (dœœ;ɪ). Hardly occurs short.

(əh)=*low front primary round*: *et dørtrin* (et dəhɪtɪhɪn); *størst* (stəhɪst). Never long.

These last two sounds are distinguished in the latest orthography, the first (the close) being expressed by the crossed o, the other two (the open) by the ö. Their distribution follows the same general principles as that of the other close and open sounds, only with more regularity. The open sounds only occur before nasals and r, but there are a few cases of close ö's before these consonants. The open sound is *long* in a few words, chiefly before r.

For the Diphthongs see p. 356.

<sup>1</sup> Strong stress on the last word.

## CONSONANTS.

*Stops.*

A peculiar feature of Danish is its aspiration of the voiceless stops at the beginning of a syllable: *kat* (kHAT), *til* (tHil), *penge* (pHEŋə); but *ikke* (ikə), *pippe* (pHiə). After *s* there is no aspiration: compare (kHAT) with *skat* (skat), (tHil) with *stille* (stilə), *pind* (pHi;n) with *spinde* (spinə). If a voiced consonant follows the aspirated stop, the aspiration passes into the following consonant, which loses its vocality: *kløkke* (klhəkə), *knæ* (knhee);, *tjene* (tJHENə), *præst* (priHest).<sup>1</sup> Here, again, this devocalization is barred by an initial *s*: compare (tJHENə) with *stjerne* (stJETJnə). These aspirates have been a great stumbling-block to native phoneticians. They persist in regarding them as the normal *tenues*, and consequently, when they come across the real unaspirated stops of other languages, such as occur also in their own language after *s*, identify them with the voiced stops or *mediae*.

The voice stops (g), (d) and often (b) are weakened after vowels by imperfect stopping. (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (ghw) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (j). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses. I will now give some examples of the first class.

(gh): *dag* (daa;gh), *sig* (siighe). The German (gh) is unknown.

(w): *en sag*, also written *saug* and *sav*=‘saw’ (saw), *en vogn* (vəw;n).

These quasi-diphthongs are further produced by a similar weakening of (v), which sometimes represents a (g) of the other languages, but is often original:

(w) from (v)=older (g): *favr* (faw;ɾ)=Icel. *fagr*, *en skov* (skəw)=Icel. *skógr*.

(w) from original (v): *et navn* (naw;n)=Icel. *nafn*, *en ovn* (əw;n).

The corresponding palatal combinations are nearly all produced by weakening of (g) after (E) and (əh). In the present

<sup>1</sup> This devocalization has been noticed by E. Jessen, in an article in the *Tidskrift for Philologi* (vol. ii).

Copenhagen pronunciation the vowels have been shifted from front to back, (ɛ) becoming (a) and (ə) becoming (ɔ) :

*jeg* (jɔɔ), *en snegl* (snɔɔ;l), *et tegn* (tɛɔɔ;n). In other words, the change is already indicated in the spelling : *at sejle* (sɔɔjlɛ).

*en løgn* (lɔɔ;n), and with the change already introduced into the spelling : *et øje* (ɔɔɛ), *en højde* (hɔɔjdɛ).

In colloquial language the three pronouns *mig*, *dig*, *sig* are irregularly diphthongized (mɔɔɔ, dɔɔɔ, sɔɔɔ), which is also often the case with the combinations (*eegh*) and (*ægh*) : *steg* (stɔɔɔ), *megen* (mɔɔɔɛn) ; *røg* (rɔɔɔ), *bøger* (bɔɔɔɛɔɔ).<sup>1</sup>

The change from weak to strong in the vowels of these palatal combinations appears somewhat anomalous, but may be explained as the natural result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more strongly. The delicate English diphthong in *take* (teɪk) is in the same way often broadened into (taɪk) by the vulgar. Compare also Mr. Ellis's 'Early English Pronunciation', where the present diphthong in such a word as *bite* is shown to have arisen from an original (ii) through (ei).

The soft *d* deserves special attention on account of its peculiar sound, which is generally confounded with that of the soft *th* in English, from which it is distinct. There is considerable difficulty in catching the exact sound, as it is pronounced very faintly and often drops off entirely. It is heard most clearly in the pronunciation of the Jutlanders (gudh, uudhɛnadh). The breath is not forcibly driven through the interstices of the teeth, as in the English sound, but is gently squeezed between the tip of the tongue (which must not touch the palate) and the gums, the middle of the tongue being at the same time slightly arched. The sound may be roughly described as a weak English *th* palatalized. In the Copenhagen pronunciation it is less palatal, and so weak as to be often almost inaudible. The corresponding breath con-

<sup>1</sup> In identifying the second elements of the Danish diphthongs with (ɔ) and (w) I have been partly influenced by the views of Danish phoneticians themselves ; as far as my own impressions are concerned I must still consider the matter as somewhat doubtful : these combinations may after all be true diphthongs with the second element rather closer than in other languages.

sonant also exists in the colloquial language: the *t* of the suffixed article, for instance, has this sound, *huset* being pronounced (huu;sæth).

Lastly, (b) after a vowel is often weakened into (v). Thus *Kjöbenhavn* is generally pronounced (kævnhaw;n'). No rules can be given. The resulting sound is a weak (v), and not, as far as I can make out, a (bh).

It is interesting to observe that the combination *sj* has the simple sound of (sh). This fact has never been noticed by Danish phoneticians, who probably regard even the English (sh) as a compound of (s) and (j). Examples are, *sjæl* (shee;l), *sjelden* (shelln) and in foreign words *nation* (nashoo;n'), &c.

The only other consonant whose formation is in any way remarkable is the *r*. We may distinguish four kinds of *r*: the lip, the point, the back, and the throat -*r*, each of which may be distinguished as strong or trilled, and weak or untrilled. It is doubtful whether the first of these, the lip trill, ever occurs in language, although Brücke states, on the authority of some one else, that it forms part of the name of some island in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. It is only used in Danish by coachmen in directing their horses. The point trill is the regular *r* of Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, and also occurs in some of the Danish dialects, especially that of Funen. The back or uvula *r* is common in Jutland. It is strongly trilled at the beginning of a syllable (*ret*, *træt*), but is untrilled in other positions (*være*, *var*). I would call special attention to this pronunciation as helping to explain a remark of Ben Jonson's on the English *r*, quoted by Mr. Ellis (p. 200), which I think he has misunderstood. Jonson says that *r* is sounded firm in the beginning of words, and more liquid in the middle and ends, as in *rarer*, *viper*. Mr. Ellis thinks that the liquid *r* here spoken of is the Modern English vocalic *r* (in *hear*, *there*, &c.). The objection to this is that the second *r* in *rarer*, which Jonson calls 'liquid', is not a vowel even in the present pronunciation, and can still less have been so in the sixteenth century. If, however, we assume that the difference is simply one of trilled and untrilled, as in the Danish words just given, the whole thing is intelligible. The

throat or glottal *r*, lastly, is that of the present Copenhagen pronunciation. It probably arose from imitation of the uvula-*r*, which it closely resembles in sound. It is pronounced stronger at the beginning of a syllable, and is almost inaudible at the end of a word. It has a very vocalic effect everywhere (*ret, tret, være, var, smørrebrød*).

#### FINAL CONSONANTS.

All final consonants in Danish, unless already voiceless, become whispered :

*ryg* (ɾy'g), *vel* (vɛ'l), *mand* (ma;'n), *var* (va'ɾ).

In Norwegian and Swedish the vocality of final consonants is always preserved. In Icelandic liquids become voiceless at the end of a word, while stops are whispered, as in Danish.

#### CONSONANTAL QUANTITY.

In Danish all final consonants are short without exception.

In English their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are *long* after a short, *short* after a long vowel; *tell* (tɛll), *bin* (binn), *tale* (teɪl), *been* (biin). Compare English *farewell* (feəhwɛll) with Danish *farvel* (fɑɪvɛ'l).

Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are *long* before voice, *short* before breath consonants: <sup>1</sup> *ham* (ham), *hamre* (hammɾə), *vel* (vɛl), *vældig* (vɛlldigh), *vælte* (vɛltə); *bill* (bill), *build* (bɪll), *built* (bɪlt). In Danish, however, this lengthening does not take place if a glottal catch precedes. The second element of the quasi-diphthongs already treated of is also lengthened like any other consonant. The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. *egg* (ɛg) with Norw. *ægg* (ɛg). That the voiceless

<sup>1</sup> This was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his *Dansk Sproglære*, p. 21. He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii) the length of the E. final voice stops treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds.

final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish *kat, hat*, with E. *cat, hat* (kætt, hætt).

In short, we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tELL, teil). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tE)l. He must either lengthen the consonant (tELL), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tEEl). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar.

#### SPECIMENS.

The following pieces are intended to give an idea of the general effect of the sounds analysed above, and of the great divergence between the language and its written representation. The pronunciation I have indicated is, I believe, that of the younger generation of Copenhageners. Some of its details will perhaps be censured as vulgar by purists, but it is impossible to satisfy every one in matters of pronunciation.

In the present state of phonetics and phonetic notation, I have not thought it advisable to depart from the ordinary word-division, or attempt to indicate the general synthesis of the language, although it offers several peculiar and interesting features. I have not indicated the abnormal rounding of the (o) and (A), which the reader must bear in mind. The accent is only marked when it is on some other than the first syllable.

I begin with a series of colloquial sentences, so formed as to exhibit all the sounds of the language in a small compass.

Han er en slem ond Mand. (han ɛt en slɛ:m oo:n ma:n.) Deres Uhr gaaer aldeles feil. (dɛtɛs uu:t ɣaa:t aldeɛ:lɛs faɛ:l.) Hun rakte ham Haanden til Tegn paa Forsoning. (hun rakta ham hɔ:n'n tɛil tɛnɔ:n pɛnɔ fɔtsoo:nɪq.) Han fortjener ingen bedre Skjæbne. (han fɔrtjɛnɛr'ɛt iqqn beedhɛ skeebnɛ.) Undskyld at jeg tager mig den Frihed, at gøre Dem et saadant Spørgsmaal. (onskɪ:l a ɟɔ tɛnɛt maɟ dɛn fɛi'needh a gœœtɛ dɛm et sɔdnt spɛhtsmaal.) Han afholdt



sig fra at ytre sin Mening, af frygt for at fornærme ham. (han awnø;lt saʒ fra at itø sin meeniç, a fry'ght fət a fətnæet'mə ham.) Siig til Kudsken, at han ikke maa kjøre altfor langsomt. (sii;'gh thil khuskən a han ikə ma kħæetə altfət laqsəmt.) Dette Ord bruges sjelden. (detə oo;ɾ bɹuughwəs shəlln.) Gjør ikke mine Støvler altfor snævre over Vristen. (gəɾt ikə miinə stəvlət altfət sneevtə əvət vɹistn.)

The key to the following piece will be found at p. 350 :

de stædhənə thoonəlagħ fræmkħəmət de;ɹve, a svæ;lgħəth hœttigh lokət saʒ fət li;dhən, voo;ɹve dənə mē et æjendə;m'əligh stə;dh elət tɹhyk i stēmən siinəs liighəsəm a sprɹiqə thilbaa'ghə, ə, vis oo;ɹəth haa;ɾ flæetə staavəlsət, a tɹhəkə disə əvət thil saʒ.

I conclude with a few stanzas of poetry, to exhibit a fuller and more careful pronounciation :

du vandɹiqsma;n vedh sæ;ən  
oo sta;ns din taskə ga;q  
sɛ;n blikət əvət ə;ən  
əghw hæ;ɾ min minəsa;q  
vɛ;n de;ɹhən diinə thæqkət  
din lɛ;qsəl əghw din sə;ɹgh  
pħə hiinə guulə baqkət  
stoo;dh fœæ;ɾ en ɹidhətə;ɹgh.

i lɛ;qst fəɹsvə;n'nə daagħə  
vət dən i gla;ns əghw ma'ght  
nu ɛt dət knhap thilbaagħə  
ɹuii;nət aw dənɹ pɹha'ght  
mēn i di gammlə thiidhət  
da vət dən həl; əghw stoo;ɾ  
əghw saa;s thil alə siidhət  
əghw knhæjsədħə fra ɹoo;ɾ.

dən ikə mənə veetə  
fət nooghwən vikiç bɹ'ght  
ɹɹaa'nia thil eetə  
dən ɹæjstə saʒ sə tɹhɹ'ght  
fra mənəskənəs vɹimmlən  
vedh haa;vət ski;lt dən laa;  
əghw heevədh saʒ moo;dh himmlən  
əghw moo;dh di stjɛɹɹnət smaa;.

# SOUNDS AND FORMS OF SPOKEN SWEDISH <sup>1</sup>

## RELATION BETWEEN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

IN Swedish, as in all civilized languages, we must distinguish between the *written* or literary and the *spoken* or colloquial language. The divergence between the two is due to the retention of forms in writing after they have either been lost or else changed in speech. This retention of older forms in writing is only partial and does not extend very far back, for otherwise the written and spoken forms would diverge to such an extent as to constitute two distinct and mutually unintelligible languages, not varieties of the same one. It is also evident that the written language must always be based on the spoken language of some period or other, except in those exceptional cases in which purely artificial literary forms gain currency. Specially literary forms are, therefore, *colloquial archaisms*—they are extinct colloquialisms artificially preserved in writing, and if employed in ordinary speech they are at once felt to be what they really are, *anachronisms*.

It is evident, therefore, that from a scientific point of view the only rational way of treating a living language is by basing the investigation on the spoken forms, and that the same principle should be adopted as much as possible in the study of its earlier periods. Thus the present Swedish orthography represents the sounds, not of the nineteenth-, but of the seventeenth-century spoken language, and most of those grammatical forms which now occur in the written language only, were in common use in the spoken language of the seventeenth century. If, therefore, we have grammars of the spoken languages of these two periods, the literary forms of the nineteenth-century language will be explained at once, whereas if our study of the present period is based exclusively (as is often the case) on the literary language, we

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1877-9, pp. 457-543.

miss entirely those spoken forms which<sup>o</sup> do not happen to be represented in writing, while many of the literary forms appear as isolated archaisms, instead of in their natural surroundings.

The divergence between the written and spoken language is of different kinds, the most important of which are (1) phonetic, (2) formal (chiefly inflexional), and (3) lexical.

Of these the first is the most marked and constant, and it may be stated as a general rule that all the literary Teutonic languages retain the spellings of the first few centuries after the invention of printing—at least in their essential features. The divergence between the spelling and pronunciation of a living language depends, therefore, mainly on the amount of change its sounds have undergone since that period. In English, for instance, such a word as (*wain*) is still written *wine* because the original pronunciation (*wiin*), which the spelling *wine* was intended to represent, was preserved long after the introduction of printing and the consequent fixing of the orthography. In German, on the other hand, original long (*i*) was already diphthongized when the orthography began to settle down into its present form, and consequently the present spelling *wein* really harmonizes to some extent with the actual sound. In Swedish, lastly, the vowel has remained unchanged to the present day, so that the unchanged spelling *vin* agrees entirely with the pronunciation. The comparison of the present spoken sounds of Swedish with their spelling is, therefore, to a certain extent, equivalent to a comparison of the spoken sounds of the nineteenth with those of, say, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus original initial *hr* and *hv* in such words as *hring* (*ring*) and *hvat* (*what*) appear in the present spoken language as simple (*r*) and (*v*), the (*h*) being entirely lost, but in the written language the *h* is still preserved before *v*, although lost before *r* (as also before *l* and *n*), the two words just cited being written *ring* and *hvad*. This shows clearly that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Swedish was in the same stage of development as the present English as regards these sounds, for *ring* and *hvad* correspond exactly to the English (*riq*) and (*whot*).

Formal and lexical divergences are, as we have remarked above, generally much less marked and constant. Thus English, whose written and spoken languages diverge from each other more than any others in Europe as regards the sounds, shows very slight divergences in inflexion. In Swedish these relations are reversed, the divergence between sound and symbol being in most cases slight as compared with that in English, while the inflexions of the spoken and literary language often differ widely.

Lexical divergences, by which different words are employed in literature from those which occur in popular speech, are common to all languages, and, in fact, it is impossible to conceive poetry without its special vocabulary, whose words convey associations of their own.

It is easy to see that all these divergences fall under two classes: (1) necessary, or, at least, natural, and (2) superfluous. Differences of style and vocabulary dependent on difference of subject and treatment belong to the former, the divergence between pronunciation and spelling to the latter class. Between these extremes there are a large number of divergences which are difficult to classify, especially among the inflexions. The difficulty is that many forms, which otherwise have nothing to commend them, acquire a certain aesthetic expressiveness from being associated with certain forms of expression, especially poetical and liturgical. In ordinary prose the only sound principle is to abandon all specifically literary forms which do not add to the clearness or expressiveness of the language. Thus, in the English of the last century the form 'hath' for 'has' was still kept up in such phrases as 'the author hath . . .' long after the *th*-inflexion had been otherwise abandoned, but as it is not in any way more distinct or convenient than the spoken 'has', it has been rightly given up in the present literary prose language, although still preserved in poetry. In Swedish, however, there are a large number of forms and constructions which, although extinct in the spoken language, are universally kept up, not only in poetry, but also in ordinary prose—in the latter case generally without any apparent advantage.

In treating of an actual living language we are confronted by the troublesome question, which form of it shall we base our study on? This difficulty is not raised as long as we confine our attention to the written language, in which the extremest divergences of pronunciation are concealed under a delusive uniformity of symbolization. But when we come to investigate the facts which underlie that symbolization, we are at once brought face to face with the question of local divergence. Even when we have narrowed our field as much as possible, by excluding the speech of the uneducated in the shape of 'vulgarisms' and 'dialects', there still remains the fact that the speech of the educated themselves varies considerably in different parts of the country. Even in highly centralized England and France, northern and southern speakers really have different dialects: an Edinburgher's sounds and, to a less extent, his grammar and vocabulary, differ from those of a Londoner, however much the difference may have been toned down by education, and the same may be said of a Parisian as contrasted with a Marsellais. In Sweden these distinctions are much more marked, owing to the great influence of the popular dialects, the extent of the country, and the defectiveness of its communications. The Swedes themselves often say that they have no (riksspraak) or standard language, and it is certain that there is much less uniformity among educated Swedes than there is among educated Englishmen (excepting Scotchmen). It is, however, clear that the mere fact of educated Swedes from the most remote provinces being able to communicate with one another, while the peasants of the same provinces would not be able, perhaps, to understand a word of each other's speech, proves that there must be some common standard at which all educated speakers aim, and the fact that their pronunciation still retains enough dialectal peculiarities to betray their locality merely shows that they have not succeeded in their attempt. The only way to answer the question, what is this common standard? would be to compare the speech of educated people from every part of the country, and, after determining the influence of the local dialects, to eliminate those elements which are

common to educated speech everywhere. Till this is done, the simplest principle is to take the educated language of the capital as the approximate standard, although, as regards Swedish, the want of centralization makes it impossible to carry it out so strictly as in the case of English and French, for the dialects of the large towns in Sweden have much less assimilative power, so that country-born speakers more easily retain their original peculiarities. The principle I follow here is simply to give what I have observed myself, and I need only add that the pronunciations I know best are those of Upland, Stockholm, and Södermanland (scermlan), Upland being the province immediately north, and Södermanland immediately south, of Stockholm. It is generally considered that the dialect of Södermanland is that which approaches nearest to the ideal literary language.

The main division of the Swedish dialects is into 'upper' (upsvænsk), including those just mentioned, and 'south' (syydsvænsk). The distinction between the two is very marked even in the pronunciation of the educated.

## SOUNDS

### Description.

#### VOWELS.

In writing Swedish phonetically I employ my Broad Romic notation,<sup>1</sup> and will now proceed to describe the elementary vowel-sounds in the following order: a; æ; i, e, æ, (æ); u, o, ə, (ao); y, ə, œ, (œ).<sup>2</sup> Each long vowel follows immediately after its short. To each of these Broad Romic symbols will be added the more precise Narrow Romic<sup>1</sup> one, together with the description of the sound in Mr. Bell's terminology, as modified in my *Handbook*. Whenever Narrow Romic symbols are employed elsewhere, they are enclosed in [ ], whenever necessary to prevent confusion with the Broad Romic ones, which are enclosed in ( ).

<sup>1</sup> See my *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> The (ə) which follows immediately after (a) and that which follows (y) are two different sounds = Narrow Romic (eh) and (e) respectively.

a (a: mid-back-wide): man (man) 'man', fast (fast) 'firm', hatt (hat) 'hat'. This is the usual English vowel in 'father' (faadhə), only short. The unaccented vowel, as in *elska* ('ælska)<sup>1</sup> 'love', seems generally to have a thinner sound, like the forward Danish (a): this is clearly marked in the Söderml. pronunciation, where the unaccented (a) often seems almost as front as the English (æ) in 'man'.

The Norwegian (a) is distinctly low, = (a), like the Sw. (aa).

aa (aa: low-back-wide): staf (staav) 'staff', taga ('taaga) 'take', sak (saak) 'affair'. This sound varies in both directions, approximating sometimes to the mid [a], sometimes to the narrow (v). I have very rarely heard this deeper pronunciation, but most Norwegians agree in considering the Swedish (aa) to be deeper than their own, which is certainly (aa). The Danes are generally unable to pronounce the Swedish (aa), substituting their own (aa), which is nearly (ææ)—the long of the English vowel in 'man'.

ø (eh: mid-mixed-narrow): bättre ('bætrə) 'better', saker ('saaker) 'affairs'. The regular unaccented vowel in all the Teutonic languages except Icelandic and English.

i (i: high-front-narrow): illa ('illa) 'ill', fisk (fisk) 'fish', dricka ('drikka) 'drink', mitt (mit) 'mine' *neuter*. This sound is unquestionably narrow in the Söderml. pronunciation, which seems also to be the general Upper Swedish one. But the wide (i) certainly occurs in educated speech, and many of the dialects have both (i) and (i) in different words, according to the nature of the following consonant, as in Danish, which almost always has (i) before nasals, and in other cases as well.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The accents (˘) and (˙) before polysyllabic words denote the compound and simple tones respectively, as described below. All monosyllables have (˙), which does not, therefore, require to be written before them. The point, as in (aug˘:usti), indicates stress beginning on the preceding sound. Secondary accent is indicated by (:), as in (ur˘ndant:aag), written (undant:aag), the (˙) being omitted when the chief stress falls on the first syllable of a word. (˙) before a word denotes sentence-stress, or emphasis, as in (gao˙'pao).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Handbook of Phonetics* I have assumed (i) and (y) as the normal sounds, on the strength of an individual pronunciation, although even in this one I seemed occasionally to hear the narrow sounds also. It must be remembered that there are various degrees of narrowing possible.

ii (i):<sup>1</sup> vi (vii) 'we', is (iis) 'ice', rita ('riita) 'draw'. This vowel is often formed with such strong compression as to amount really to a buzzed consonant, which is especially noticeable between stops, as in *tíd* (tiid) 'time'. It sometimes ends in a breath-glide, as in *i* (iiH) 'in', the glottis being opened at the moment of relaxing the position; but this is only occasional, not constant as in Icelandic.

e (e: mid-front-narrow): begär (bej'aer) 'desire', eld (eld) 'fire', hvem (vem) 'who', skepp (shep) 'ship'. This sound has the strict mid position, and is never raised towards (i), as in French, and still more in Danish. In the Stockholm pronunciation there is a tendency to eliminate (e) altogether, (i) or (æ) being substituted for it, so that (shep) becomes (ship) or (shæp), and (eld) becomes (ild) or (il).

ee (ee): tre (tree) 'three', mer (meer) 'more', sten (steen) 'stone'. In the Stockholm and Upland pronunciation (ee) approximates rather to (ae), probably by partial widening.

æ (æ: low-front-narrow): värre ('værrø) 'worse', färsk (fæsk), sjelf (shælv) 'self', best (bæst) 'best'. Before (r) this vowel is specially low and broad, and before the inverted consonants, as in (fæsk), it seems to be formed with a simultaneous partial anticipation of the position of the following inverted, the point of the tongue being turned upwards and backwards towards the (↓r) position. This effect is still more noticeable in the long (æe).<sup>2</sup>

æe (ææ): här (haer) 'here', jern (jaen) 'iron', värd, verld (væd) 'worth', 'world'. (ææ) occurs only before (r) and the inverteds.

æe (ee: mid-front-wide): väl (vael) 'well', gräs (graes) 'grass', tjena ('caena) 'serve'. In the Stockholm and Upland pronunciation this sound is completely levelled under (ee), but the distinction is strictly preserved in Söderml. and in South Swedish generally.

u (u<sub>1</sub>: partially rounded high-back-narrow): ung (uq)

<sup>1</sup> The descriptions of the short apply also to the long vowels, unless the latter are specially described.

<sup>2</sup> I have heard this retractive modification in the attempts of Swedes to pronounce the E. 'air', &c.



'young', kung (kuŋ) 'king', full (ful) 'full', hustru ('hustru)<sup>1</sup> 'wife', bubbla ('bubla) 'bubble'. This vowel was wrongly analysed by me in my Handbook,<sup>2</sup> and it was not till I had been some time in Sweden that I came to the conclusion that it was the ordinary European [u] with the inner (cheek-) rounding retained, but with the lips more open, seemingly in the low-round position of the English vowel in 'fall'. That the position is really the high-back seems to be proved by the fact that the Swedes have no great difficulty in acquiring the normal [u], which differs from their (u) only in being formed with narrower lips. The Norwegians, on the other hand, whose (u) is the high-mixed [uh], differing from their (uu) only in quantity, and not a back vowel, have no idea of the high-back position, and consequently have great difficulty in imitating the general European [u], substituting their own close [o<sup>1</sup>] for it. To an English ear (u<sub>1</sub>) sounds intermediate to the (u) of 'full' and the (v) of 'but'.

The South Swedish dialects preserve European [u].

This Swedish (u) is of great interest to English phoneticians, as it probably represents the intermediate stage between the present mid-back-narrow (v) in 'come' and the older [u]. This *a priori* probability is strongly confirmed by the descriptions of the seventeenth-century phonetician Wallis (Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 172). Mr. Ellis sums up his statements as follows:<sup>3</sup> 'Wallis makes the aperture of the lingual passage grow smaller at the back for *á* (as in *fall*); *e feminine*, *ũ* (as in *come*), the first being (ɔ) with the greatest depression, and he has an action of the lips for *ũ*. This ought to give (ɔ, v, u) for the three sounds. But this cannot be right for *ũ*, because Wallis distinguished it from (u). Hence we must disregard the lip action of the last, and write (ɔ, v, v). This, however, is scarcely probable.' By the

<sup>1</sup> Both vowels.

<sup>2</sup> Through my attempting to identify it with the long sound. I had at a much earlier period (on the strength of a very cursory hearing of the Swedish sounds) doubtfully identified it with (ih)—that is, the long Swedish (uu) unrounded. See my *History of English Sounds*, p. 5. I have given the correct description in the Additional Notes to the Handbook.

<sup>3</sup> I substitute my own for Mr. Ellis's symbols.

assumption that Wallis was describing the Swedish ( $u_1$ ) we escape completely from the dilemma. The following seem to have been the stages :

kum,  $ku_1m$ ,  $k_{\nu}m$ ,  $k_{\nu}m$ .

That is, (u) was first partially, then completely unrounded, the resulting high-back-narrow being afterwards lowered to its present mid position.

uu (uuh : high-mixed-narrow-round) : nu (nuu) 'now', ful (fuul) 'ugly', hus (huus) 'house', ut (uut) 'out', uthus ( $\wedge$ uuthuus) 'out-house'. Often buzzed, and finally = (uuH). The Swedish (uu) is not far removed from the ordinary (yy), as in French 'lune'. The Norwegian (uu) sounds much more like the back [uu], and is probably really intermediate to it and (yy) in position, the Swedish sound being the advanced [uuh]. I have heard the Norse sound from a native of Norrland.

o ( $o^1$ : mid-back-narrow with high rounding) : orm (orm) 'serpent', blomma ( $\wedge$ blomma) 'flower', oxe ( $\wedge$ oksə) 'ox', kort (kot) 'card'. The Swedish (o) seems to be identical with the Danish and Norse one. It is possible that the tongue may be sometimes raised towards the high position, but this is not essential, the characteristic feature of the sound being its combination of the normal mid position with high instead of mid rounding—that is, with the rounding of the normal European [u], which latter it resembles more than it does the normal (o) of German and Italian. It is remarkable that the normal mid-rounded (o) is common in unaccented syllables, as in *vo-ro* ( $\wedge$ vooro) 'they were', where the first (o) has high, the second mid rounding, *va-ro-r* ( $\wedge$ vaaror) 'wares'.<sup>1</sup> In loud declamation or shouting, in which the mouth is naturally opened wider, the same change from high to mid rounding often seems to take place. Hence the interesting pronunciation of the exclamation (hall'oo) with mid-rounded (o), even when pronounced in an ordinary tone of voice. It is the only instance of normal (o) in an accented syllable.

oo ( $oo^1$ ) : bro (broo) 'bridge', stol (stool) 'chair', bok (book)

<sup>1</sup> This was first pointed out to me by Prof. Storm. The Swedes themselves do not seem to be aware of it, because of their universal mispronunciation and consequent ignorance of the normal (o) in other languages.

'book', korn (koon) 'barley'. Sometimes buzzed, and sometimes finally (ooH).

o (o<sup>1</sup>: low-back-wide with mid rounding): torr (tør) 'dry', oss (øs) 'us', sommar (ˈsəmmar) 'summer', kort (kət) 'short', topp (töp) 'top'. This vowel seems to be opener than the North-German in 'volk', which is certainly the normal mid-back-wide-round. It is, on the other hand, less open in sound than the normal [ɔ] with low rounding, as in the E. 'top', when pronounced distinctly. When, however, the E. vowel is formed in a more slovenly and muffled way, it can hardly be distinguished from the Swedish one. On the strength of these facts, together with the analogy of the (ao), I think it probable that the Swedish (o) differs from the E. only in being formed with mid instead of low rounding.

ao (ao<sup>1</sup>: low-back-narrow with mid rounding): gå (gao) 'go', hål (haol) 'hole', blåst (blaost) 'blast', gråta (ˈgraota) 'weep', gård (gaod) 'court'. This vowel clearly lies in sound between the normal E. [ɔ] in 'haul', and the normal (oo), as in German 'hohl', which latter the Swedes imitate with their abnormal (haol). The Norse sound is identical with the Swedish, but the Danish one is (as I learn from Prof. Storm) opener, and therefore nearer the E. (ao).

y (y: high-front-narrow-round): styrka (ˈstyrka) 'strength', lyfta (ˈlyfta) 'lift', grym (grym) 'cruel', flydde (ˈflyddə) 'fled', *pret.* What has been said about the narrowness of (i) applies also to (y). When the Swedish (y) is compared with the French *u*, it is heard to approximate to (i), which seems to be the result of under-rounding.<sup>1</sup>

yy (yy): sky (shyy) 'cloud', frysa (ˈfryysa), blyg (blyyg) 'shy', drypa (ˈdryypa) 'drip'. Often buzzed, (yy) final becoming (yyH). The approximation of (yy) to (ii) and of [uuh] to (yy) is an interesting example of that 'verschiebung' which is so common in vowel-series. We may safely predict that the next changes will be that (yy) passes over entirely to (ii), and [uuh] to (yy). At present [uuh] and (yy) are kept apart almost as much by the different degrees of their rounding as by the difference in position.

<sup>1</sup> Noticed also by Prof. Gaston Paris, when at Upsala in September, 1877.

ə (ə: mid-front-wide-round): föll (fəl) 'fell', möss (mæs) 'mice', önska (ʼənska) 'wish', högst (həkst) 'highest'. The wideness of this sound is doubtful, and it may be really half narrow.

æ (æ: mid-front-narrow-round): sjö (shəə) 'sea', öl (æł) 'beer', döv (dæv) 'deaf', söka (ʼsæka) 'seek', nöt (næt) 'nut'. Narrowness often doubtful.

œ (œ: low-front-narrow-round): dörr (dœr) 'door', törst (tœst) 'thirst', dörren (dœn) 'the door', störta (ʼstœta) 'fall'. Only before (r) and inverteds. All that has been said of (æ) under the same circumstances applies also here.

oe (oe): öra (ʼoera) 'ear', björn (bjoen) 'bear', shörd (shoed) 'harvest'.

The diphthongs are (æi), (oi), and (ei) in native, together with (ai), (au) and (eeu) in foreign words. All have the stress on the first element. The glide from the first to the second element is long in those diphthongs which have the first element short. As regards the second elements, the (i) is very close, being often buzzed, sometimes even ending in (H), so as to be really a consonant, and there is never any stopping at a lower position, as in English and German.

æi (æi): nej (næi) 'no', säga (ʼsæia) 'say', fräjd (fræid) 'fame'.

oi (oi): stoj (stoi) 'noise', poike (ʼpoikə) 'boy'.

ei (ei)<sup>1</sup>: dröj (dræi) 'stay!', nöje (ʼnæiə) 'pleasure', höjd (hæid) 'height'.

ai (ai): Mai (mai) 'May', svaja (ʼsvaia) 'flutter'.

au (au)<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>: Augusti (augʼusti) 'August'.

eeu (eeu)<sub>1</sub>: Europa (eurʼoopa) 'Europe'.

#### CONSONANTS.

h: han (han) 'he', hit (hiit) 'hither', hota (ʼhoota) 'threaten'. Often stronger than in English. Mr. Lundell told me that his (h) was formed entirely by throat-friction, and that there was no anticipation of the position of the following vowel, as in English, where (hii) is practically a very weak (jhii).

<sup>1</sup> Or (ei).

<sup>2</sup> I sometimes thought that the second element sounded more like [uh].

j: ja (jaa) 'yes', gifva ('jiiva, jee) 'give', ljus (juus) 'light', varg (varj) 'wolf', sköljs (shöljs) 'is washed'. Very close, and when initial often pronounced with slight front contact at the beginning, so that (jaa) becomes almost (Djaa).

r (point-trill): rad (raad) 'row', darra ('darra) 'tremble', fara ('faara) 'go', ärr (ær) 'scar', här (haer) 'here', verk (værk) 'work'. (r) + consonant does not occur after a long vowel, as *rn*, &c., represent single inverteds. (r) is most strongly trilled initially, though even here much more weakly than in Scotch, French, &c., least so when final after a long vowel. Medial (r) not followed by a consonant is necessarily doubled after a short vowel, which brings out the trill more forcibly than in the final (r) of *ärr*.

In Upper Swedish (r), followed by the points (l, n, d, t) and the blade (s), draws them back to the inverted position, and then is itself dropped, or rather, as stated under (æ) and (æe), partially incorporated into the preceding vowel, so that the combinations (rl), (rn), (rd), (rt), (rs) become (l‡, n‡, d‡, t‡, s‡), or, as I write them here for convenience, (*l, n, d, t, s*). In the formation of these consonants the main element is the shifting back of the position to the rim of the palatal arch, the inversion not being apparently very marked, as is the case when the point of the tongue comes *within* the palatal arch with its lower blade striking against the teeth-roots. However, the Swedish (*d*), &c., seem to be often distinctly formed with the lower edge of the tip of the tongue. The (*s*), of course, retains at the same time—partially at least—its original blade position, although the fact of the tip being directed so much upwards and backwards naturally tends to approximate its position to the point one, the result being that (*s*) closely resembles the blade-point consonant (sh).

Examples of the five inverteds are: Karl (kaa‡) 'Charles', barn (baa‡) 'child', herde ('heedə) 'shepherd', svart (svat) 'black', kors (kəs) 'cross'.

The stages of the change were evidently the following: (1) untrilling of the (r), (2) its retraction and inversion, (3) change of the following consonants, and (4) loss of the (r‡). It must be remembered that the normal position for (r) s

further back than that of (l), &c. It was, then, natural enough when (r) had lost its trill before (l), &c., to compensate this loss by exaggerating its retraction.

It has been already remarked under (ae) that the retraction is often anticipated by the preceding vowel. It is this which makes many people fancy they hear a distinct (r) before the *t* in (svat), &c.

The change of (rl) to (l) seems to be later than with the other combinations, not being so completely carried out. Thus *herrlig* (magnificent) may be pronounced either (ˈhærli) or (ˈhæli). *kärlek* (love) is now pronounced (ˈcæleek) or (ˈcælek), but Weste's dictionary (1807) gives expressly (ˈcærleek).

These examples also illustrate the tendency of these inverteds to lengthen the preceding vowel. This lengthening is in many cases evidently of very recent date, for Weste still gives a short vowel in such words as (ˈheedə), only giving long vowels in such words as (baan), (koon), where the lengthening is old, occurring in Danish also.

The influence of (r) extends through any number of consonants in immediate contact, not only in the same word, as in (shvats)=the German name 'Schwartz', *barnslig* (ˈbaansli) 'childish', but also in different ones, as in *hör du* (ˈhœdu) 'hear thou', with shortening of the original (oe), *vårt största barn* (vaot stœsta baan) 'our biggest child'.

(r) does not exercise any influence on the blade-point (sh), because (sh) is always more retracted than (s), being in fact intermediate to the blade (s) and the point (r), and still more because (sh) in Swedish is generally even more retracted than in other languages (see below), but seems to be sometimes dropped itself, as in *marsch* (mash) 'march'.

(r) is also dropped in careless speech before (e), as in *förtjena* (fœc'aena) 'deserve', evidently on account of the difficulty of the transition.

In South Swedish (r) becomes a back trill, which is often weakened almost to a vowel, and the inverteds are unknown.

l: le (lee) 'smile', all (al) 'all', illa (illa) 'ill'. Sometimes dental, but as often formed on the gums just above the teeth. The middle of the tongue is less hollow and nearer the palate

than in English, so that it has the same (i) quality as in French, &c. The Swedes are apt to imitate our deeper toned (l) by their (l̥).

In the Upper Swedish dialects (l) and the combination *rd* often pass into a peculiar sound intermediate to (l) and (r), called the 'thick' *l*, as in such words as *Upsala*, *flicka*, *gård*. This sound, which I have described in my *Handbook* (p. 24) as (r̥l̥), finished off with a single strong trill or flap of the tongue-tip against the rim of the palatal arch, is sometimes expressed by such spellings as *herregåln* for *herregården* ('hærrægæodən) 'the manor-house'. In the literary *ifjol* (ifjool) 'last year', from older *ifjord*, the thick has passed into an ordinary (l).

l̥: Karl (kaal) 'Charles', sädesärta ('sædæsæcla) 'wagtail'.

sh: schal, sjal (shaal) 'shawl', sked (sheed) 'spoon', sky (shyy) 'cloud', usch (ush) 'fie!' nisch (nish) 'niche'. Tends often to retraction,<sup>1</sup> though as often indistinguishable from the English (sh). From many Upland and Stockholm speakers I have, however, heard what seemed to be a labialized (sh)—(shw). According to one Swedish phonetician,<sup>2</sup> some affected speakers substitute (s) for (sh), making (shaal) into (saal). In South Sweden (from Småland downwards) (sh) passes into a very peculiar sound, in whose formation the point of the tongue has no share. I have often imitated it successfully, but am not so familiar with it as to speak with confidence about its formation. Its main feature seems to be inner- or cheek-rounding, the cheek-passage being contracted laterally along its whole length and the lips pouted, without, however, being specially narrowed, as in the English (wh). The tongue is, at the same time, raised towards the inner (jh) position, which supplies the hiss-element in the sound, whose pitch is between that of the English (sh) and (wh).

s: sex (sæks) 'six', läsa ('laesa) 'read'.

s̥l̥: färsk (fæsk) 'fresh', förstå (fœst'ao) 'understand', kors (kœs) 'cross'.

<sup>1</sup> When I first came to Sweden, I often seemed to hear an (r) before final (sh), (ush), for instance, suggesting *ursh*, just as (kœs) suggested *kors*.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. A., *Bidrag til Svenska Ljudlära*, p. 20.

v (lip-teeth-voice): viss (vis) 'certain', lefva ('leeva) 'live', sjelf (shælv) 'self'.

f: fisk (fisk) 'fish', golf (gɔlf) 'gulf', skaffa ('skaffa) 'procure'.

q (back-nasal-voice): sång (sɔŋ) 'song', sjunga ('shuŋa) 'sing', sjunka ('shuŋka) 'sink'.

n: namn (namn) 'name', brinna ('brinna) 'burn', kant (kant) 'edge'. Position as with (l).

n.ɫ: herrn (hæɳ) 'the gentleman', stjerna ('shaena) 'star', barn (baɳ) 'child'.

m: min (min) 'mine', sam (sam) 'swam', namn (namn) 'name'.

g: gå (gao) 'go', gitarr (git'ar), taga ('taaga) 'take', ägg (æg) 'egg', såg (saog) 'saw', bragd (bragd) 'exploit'. Swedish preserves final voiced stops, but they seem to be shorter than in English, and to have a stronger breath off-glide, so that their vocalicity is often not so marked. Some Swedish phoneticians (especially Leffler) consider that voice is not essential to these consonants in Swedish, but this view is not shared by most of the others.

k: kall (kal) 'cold', kisse ('kissə) 'puss', skall (skal) 'shall', tacka ('takka) 'thank', tak (taak) 'roof', sagt (sakt) 'said'. The initial voiceless stops have a stronger explosion than in English, the pressure during the stop itself being greater, as in many forms of North German pronunciation. There is, however, no independent stress on the breath-glide, and consequently no true aspiration, such as may be heard in Danish, Irish, or the Indian languages. (s) diminishes the force of the breath-glide after the following consonant (sk, st, sp). Compare Danish (tʰaɔx), (staɔx), &c., = Swedish tå (tao) 'toe', stå (stao) 'stand'.

c (Tjh, jh, tjh): kenna ('cænna) 'know', köld (cəld) 'cold', kyss (cys) 'kiss', tjugu ('cuugu) 'twenty'. Many Swedish phoneticians (especially Norren) regard this as a simple sound = (jh), as in German *ich*. I seemed, however, generally to hear a stop at the beginning, although often very slight, as in (Djaa) for (jaa), described under (j), and I found that several who objected to my epithet 'compound' were quite ready to



admit the pronunciation (ɾjh), with stop and sibilant formed in the same place: they understood 'compound' to imply that they were formed in different places, as in the English (tsh). There can be no doubt that the South Swedish sound is compound in this last sense as well. My repeated hearing of the pronunciation of Mr. Lundell and his own careful analysis of the sound lead to the conclusion that the South Swedish (c) begins with the blade-stop, that is, a stop formed in the (s)-position, not merely with the tip, followed by an advanced (jh), which is a perfectly easy and natural combination. The effect is hardly distinguishable from that of the English (tsh) in 'church'.<sup>1</sup>

d: dal (daal) 'valley', bädd (bæd) 'bed', leda (ˈleeda) 'lead'.  
For position, as also for that of (t), see under (l).

d.ɿ: hård (haod) 'hard', värd (vaed) 'worth'.

t: tam (taam) 'tame', lott (lot) 'lot', hitta (ˈhitta) 'find'.

t.ɿ: svart (svat) 'black', svårt (svaot) 'difficult' *neut.*, kort (kɔt) 'short'.

b: bok (book) 'book', rubba (ˈrubba) 'disturb', snibb (snib) 'corner'.

p: på (pao) 'on', gripa (ˈgriipa) 'seize', topp (tɔp) 'top':

### Representation.

Instead of subordinating the symbol to the sound, as has just been done in describing the elementary sounds of the language, the opposite course of starting from the letters—which, as already remarked, represent the sounds of an earlier period—will now be followed. The letters will be arranged as far as possible according to the nature of the sounds they originally represented in the Latin alphabet, in agreement with the order followed in the preceding section.

When the correspondence between symbol and sound is perfectly uniform and regular, no examples will be given. Examples will be given in those cases where the pronunciation

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written I have heard a most marked (ɾjh) from a South Swede—Dr. Wulff of Lund, who is a native of Göteborg. Dr. Wulff entirely repudiates the simple (jh) pronunciation, which he considers exclusively Norse.

cannot be inferred from the spelling, such as *e*=(*e*) instead of the usual (*æ*), or (*æ*) instead of (*ee*), &c.: in such cases I have given the most important and common of the exceptional words.

The spelling I give is that still generally in use, not the more phonetic one now being introduced, in which *tjena* is written *tjæna*, and *Nerike* is written *Nærke*, &c. These innovations will, of course, offer no difficulty to those who are acquainted with the actual pronunciation which they represent.

As regards quantity, it may suffice at present to state that vowels followed by single consonants are long, before double consonants or consonant-groups short, double written consonants being pronounced double, as in Italian, when preceded and followed by vowels. Note that the doubling of *n* and *m* is sometimes neglected in the written language. The pronunciations given immediately after each letter are the regular ones.

#### VOWELS.

**a:** (*a*), (*aa*): *aʃ* (*aav*) 'of' is often (*aov*).

**i:** (*i*), (*ii*): Unaccented (*i*) dropped in the proper name *Nerike* ('*nærkə*).

**e:** (*æ*), (*ee*). Some have (*e*): *helgon* ('*helgøn*) 'saint', *eld* (*eld*) 'fire'; *ledsen* ('*lessøn*) 'annoyed'; *en* (*en*) 'one'; *hem* (*hem*) 'home', *hvem* (*vem*) 'who'; *vecka* ('*vekkə*) 'week', *tecken* ('*tekkən*) 'sign'; *bredd* (*bred*) 'breadth'; *hetta* ('*hetta*) 'heat', *spets* (*spets*) 'point'; *skepp* (*shep*) 'ship'. Others vary between (*e*) and (*æ*), such as *emellan* (*em`ellan*) 'among', *enkel* ('*eqkəl*) 'simple'. There are also many inflexional forms, such as *sett* (*set*), 'seen' from (*see*), *beredd* (*ber`ed*) 'prepared' from (*ber`eeda*). Observe that (*ee*) never occurs before (*m*), being always shortened to (*e*). Some have (*æ*): *der* (*daer*) 'there', *verld* (*vaed*) 'world'; *djefvul* ('*jaevul*) 'devil'; *tjena* ('*caena*) 'serve'; *djekne* ('*jaeknə*) 'scholar'; *med* (*maed*) 'with'; *det* (*daet*) 'it'. Among foreign words may be noticed the originally Dutch proper name *de Geer* (*de j`aer*), *sfer* (*svaer*) 'sphere'; *pjes* 'piece'; *chef* (*shaef*); *Bremen* ('*braemən*); the proper name *Edla* ('*aedla*, *ee*); *ebenholz* ('*aebənholts*, *ee*) 'ebony'. *e* is

(ii) in the colloquial pronunciation of *de* (dii) 'they', and sometimes in *tre* (trii, tree) 'three'. Compare *si!* (sii) 'see!' and *siare* (˘siiarə) 'seer' from *se* (see) 'see'.

ä: (æ), (ae).

u: (u), (uu). (yy) in *tjuf* (cyyv) 'thief', *stjuf-* (styyv) 'step(mother)'. The French unaccented *u* and *ou* in *superb*, *disputera*, *soupe* (sup'ee) is sometimes (u), sometimes (y). *disputa* is always (disp'yyt).

o: (ɔ), (oo). The following are some of those that have (o): *orm* 'snake', *fort* 'quick' (fot); *hos* 'by', *ost* 'cheese'; *hon* 'she', *ond* 'bad'; *tom* 'empty', *blomma* 'flower'; *socken* ('sokkən) 'parish', *oxe* 'ox'; *gods* (gots) 'estate'. Also inflexions such as *trodde* 'believed' from *tro*. *dotter* 'daughter' is generally (˘dɔtter), but also has (oo)—(˘dootər). Weste gives also (o) for *kong* 'king' and *blomster* ('blomstər) 'flower', which now only have (ɔ). (oo) before (m) is always shortened, as in *loma* (˘lomma) 'sneak'. The following have (ao): *kora* 'choose', *boren* 'born', *sorl* 'murmur' (saol); *kol* 'coal', *moln* 'cloud', *dolde pret.* 'hid'; *ofvan* 'above', *hof* 'court', *lofva* 'promise', *sofva* 'sleep', *dof* 'dull'; *son* 'son', *konung* 'king'; *fogel* ('faogəl) 'bird'. Foreign words: *corps* (kaor), *Floren(t)s* ('flaoræns); *brosch* (braosh); *strof* (straof); *logisk* ('laogisk); *nobel* ('naobəl) 'generous'. Others have (oo), such as: *flora* ('floora), *gloria* ('glooria); *komisk* ('koomisk); *codex* ('koodæks). *honom* (him) is generally (hønnəm), but also (hoonəm). *honing*, *-ung* (honey) is generally (˘hønniq), but also (˘haonuq, -iq). In the dialects the *o* of *kol*, &c., is generally some variety of the low-mixed-wide-round, a sound between (ɔ) and (æ), and is thus distinct from the *å* of *kål* 'cabbage'. In the literary language the two words are identical, although the grammars still assert the distinction.

y: (y), (yy). (æ) before (r) in *kyrka* (˘cærka) 'church', *fyrty* (˘fœti) 'forty'. Final *y* in foreign names, such as *Jenny*, is sometimes (y), but generally (i)—(˘jænni); *toddy* is (˘tɔddə).

ö: (ə), (œ), (æ), (oe). The names of the provinces *Öster-*, *Vester-götland*, are often pronounced (-jyllan) instead of (-jætlan(d)). *æ* in Greek and Latin names is (ee): *Phæbus*

*phœnicisk* = ('feebus), (fen'iisisk). (a) in *förstuga* (^fastu) 'ante-room'. In the present Upper Swedish the distinction between short (ə) and (æ) depends entirely on whether or not the vowel is followed by (r), but Weste distinguishes strictly between the close and open vowels before other consonants as well. He always gives (æ) in the diphthong *öj* and before (r), before nasals in *lögn*; *rönn*, *lön*,<sup>1</sup> *sjön* 'the sea', *att skönja*, *fönster*, *söndag*, *sönder*; *sömn*, *lömsk*, before other sounds in *mjölk*, *tölp*; *stöfvel*. In all other words (ə). As regards the long vowel, he makes it always (æə) when final, and generally before (r), although the following have (æə): *ett öra*, *ett öre*, *att höra*, *skör*, *skörbjugg*, *för* (= 'vigorous', but (æ) in *för* 'for', &c.), *att föra*, *mör*, *att köra*, *att böra* (befit).<sup>2</sup> To all the others he gives (æə) except the following: *mjöl* (æə, oe); *gröfre* (comparative); *att röna*, *skön*, *söner* (plural), *grön*, *att kröna*, *en krönika*, *kön*<sup>3</sup>; *gröt*.

The diphthongs show some irregularities in foreign words. Thus *August* ('august), *Augustus* (aug'ustus), have both (au) and (ao), the name of the month *Augusti* (aug'usti) having only (au); *autobiografi* is (aftobiograf'ii). Similarly in *eufoni* (ævføn'ii), *Zeus* (sæfs), *pseudo-* (sævdo-).

The pronunciation of *e* and *o* in end and derivative syllables requires special notice. We will begin with the long *e* and *o* in the accented syllables of foreign words. The following words have the regular close vowels: *officer* (øffis'eer), *kaptén* (kapt'een), *diet* (dieet), *privilegium* (privil'eegjum), *tenor* (ten'oor), *katolsk* (kat'oolsk), *idiot* (idioot), *patriotisk* (patrioo'tisk), *metod* (met'ood), and many others.

(æe) is, however, most usual before (r), as in *atmosfer* (atmøsf'aer), *galer* (gal'aer), *karakter* (karakt'aer); *myster* (myst'aer) has also (ee); (æe) before (m) in *system* (syst'aem).

The (ao)s are much more numerous:

r: *allegorisk* (alleg'aorisk), *korridor* (kørrid'aor), *metafor* (metaf'aor). The paroxytone *stentor* ('stæntaor) has also (oo).

l: *gondol*, *hyperbol* (hypærb'aol), *idol*, *symbol*.

<sup>1</sup> Both words.

<sup>2</sup> But *en bër* (boer).

<sup>3</sup> The word *stöna* does not occur in Weste's dictionary.

v: alkov.

f: filosof (filos'aof), katastrof.

m: arom, atom, diplom, symptom.

k: epok (ep'aok).

g: analog, filolog (filol'aog).

t: anekdot (anekd'aot), despot (desp'aot).

d: antipod, episod, both having also (oo).

p: metropolis (met'raopolis), mikroskop, teleskop.

Many other words follow the analogy of these. Note especially that *-olog* is always (ol'aog).

We will now consider the pronunciation of *e* and *o* in unaccented syllables.

*e* in the prefixes *e-*, *ge-*, *be-*, &c., is (e), as in *emot* (em'oot) 'against', *gevär* (jev'aer) 'gun'. When it follows the accented syllable, it is the mixed (ə), as in *ende* (ændə) 'end', *hanske* ('hanskə) 'glove', *papper* ('papper) 'paper', and all inflexions.

*o* is (o) when final, as in *togo* ('toogo) 'they took', whence also in the passive *togos*, and before (g) in *afvog* ('aavog) 'averse', *idog* ('iidog) 'persevering', *ymnog* ('ymnog) 'abundant'. Before (r), as in *varor* ('vaaror) 'wares', *annorlunda* 'otherwise', *doktor* ('döktor), *humor* ('huumor), *marmor* ('marmor), the mid rounding is very marked, and perhaps (ə) may also be heard.<sup>1</sup> In *arfvode* ('arvoodə) 'salary', *älskog* ('ælskoog) 'love', the (oo) seems to be generally long. In all other cases *o* is (ə): *ögon* ('ægən) 'eyes', *tionde* ('tiändə) 'tenth', *lagom* ('laagəm) 'enough', *något* ('naogət) 'something', *biskop* ('bisköp).

In foreign words the tendency is to pronounce medial *e* as (e), the final *e* becoming the mixed (ə). (e) occurs not only before single consonants, as in *element* (elem'ænt), *effekt* (ef'ækt), but also before compound ones, as in *ingenjör* (inshen'joer) 'engineer', *despot* (desp'aot), *ecklesiastik* (eklesiast'iiik), *indiskretion* (indiskret'shoon), *respekt* (resp'ækt), *sekreterare* (sekret'eerarə), and even in such words as *etcetera* (ets'eetərə), *anekdot* (anekd'aot), *flegmatisk* (flegm'aatisk), where the consonants must necessarily be divided between

<sup>1</sup> Weste states that all *-ors* have the *o* 'très-ouvert'.

the two syllables. The last word has also (æ). *ā* and the French *ai* are also (e) in *prābende* (preb'ændə), *saison* (ses'ɔŋ). *e* before a final consonant is often (æ) instead of (ə) in foreign words, as in *Aristoteles* (arist'ootələs), *Daniel*, *Jerusalem*, *Moses*.

*o*, on the contrary, is very frequently represented by (ə), even before single consonants, especially in more familiar words, and in rapid speech.

Among those that take (ə) may be noted all in *-ologi*, such as *geologi* (jeələg'ii), and many with *o* before nasals, as in *ekonomi* (ekənəm'ii), *monotoni* (mənətən'ii), *komedi* (kəmed'ii). Other examples are *kolossal* (kələss'aal), *filosof* (filəs'aof), *offentlig* (ɔf'æntli) 'public,' *koketteri* (kəkættər'ii), *hotel* (hət'æl), *motion* (mət'shoon).

The following are examples of those that keep (o): *moral* (mor'aal), *docent* (dos'ænt), *ofantlig* (ɔf'antli), *professor* (prof'æssor), *botanik* (botan'iik), *fodral* (fod'raal), *kopia* (kop'ii). *bombast* (bomb'ast) follows the analogy of the numerous native words in (-om), such as *tom*.

There is, however, much fluctuation.

(ə) generally appears before a final consonant, as in *Jakob* (ˈjaakəb), *kaos* (ˈkaaəs). *Salomon* is, however, (ˈsaalomon), although (ˈsaalomən) is given by Weste.

#### CONSONANTS.

**h.** Dropped (or rather assimilated) after (k) in some words, such as *Stockholm* (ˈstökkəlm), *bokhållare* (ˈbökkəllarə), 'bookkeeper'.

**hj:** (j). *hjem* (jælm) 'helmet', *hjul* (juul) 'wheel'.

**hv:** (v). *hvad* (vaad) 'what', *hvem* (vem) 'who'.

**j.** *jul* (juul) 'Christmas', *njuta* (njuuta) 'enjoy'. (sh) in many French words: *bonjour* (bɔŋsh'uur) 'frock-coat', *journal* (shun'aal), *Julie* (ˈshyli).

**r.**

**1.** Dropped in *karl* (kaar) 'man' and *verld* (væd) 'world'. The name *Karl* is (kaal).

**lj:** (j). Only occurs before *u*: *ljus* (juus) 'light', *ljum* (jum) 'lukewarm'.

## s.

**sj** (si, ssj) : (sh). *själ* (shael) 'soul', *sjuk* (shuuk) 'sick'; *ässja* (æshsha) 'forge', *vyssja* (vyshsha) 'hush'. So also in the combination (s)si when the i=(j), generally in foreign words, such as *assiett* (ashræt) 'plate', and especially in such words as *division* (divish'oon), *passion* (pash'oon). Hence also in *xi*=(ksj), as in *Wexiö* ('vækshæ), *reflexion* (reflæksh'oon).

**sk** : (sk), (sh). (sk) at the end of a syllable after all vowels, and initially before back vowels: *saker* ('saaker) 'things'; *skal* 'shall'. (sh) initially before front vowels: *skina* ('shiina) 'shine', *skepp* (shép) 'ship', *sky* (shyy) 'cloud', *sjö* (shœ) 'sea'. Irregular (sh) in *menniska* ('mænnisha) 'human being', and in the foreign *skarlakán* ('sharlakaan) 'scarlet', *marsskalk* ('marshalk) 'steward', *ärtsskocka* ('ætshökka) 'artichoke'. Irregular (sk) in *handske* ('hanskœ) 'glove', and the foreign *skizz* (skits) 'sketch'. Note also *konfiskera* (konfisk'eera).

**skj** : (sh). *skjuta* ('shuuta), 'shoot', *skjorta* ('shota) 'shirt'.

**stj** : (sh). *stjerna* ('shaena) 'star', *stjåla* ('shaela) 'steal'. *stjuf-* is pronounced (styyv-) and often written *styf-* (see under u). *sti* in *Christian* ('krishshan). *stg*, where *g*=(j), in *Vestgöte* ('væshshœtœ) 'Westgoth', *Östgöte* ('æshshœtœ) 'Eastgoth', *gästgïfvaregård* ('jæshshivargaod) 'inn'.

The foreign **sch**=(sh), as in *schal*, *marsch*, *punsch*, and also in native interjections such as *usch*, *klatsch*. **sc**=(s) in *scen*, *scepter* ('sæptœr), *discipel* (dis'ippœl).<sup>1</sup> =(sh) in *crescendo* (kresh'ændo), *konvalescent*, *lasciv*, *reminiscens*.

**z** : (s). *zigzag* ('siksak), *Berzelius* (bæs'eeljus). =(ts) in *skizz* (skits), *intermezzo*, *Nizza*, and others, together with the proper name *Hazelius* (hat'seeljus).

**v**=(f) in *von*, as in *Carl von Linné* (kaal fœn linn'œe), and sometimes in *viol* (fiool, viool) 'violet'.

**f** : (f), (v)=(f) initially, (v) after vowel or (r), (l) : *graf* (graav) 'grave', *åflas* ('ævlas) 'strive'; *arf* (arv) 'heritage', *half* (halv) 'half'. Irregular (f) in foreign words, such as *Adolf* ('aadolf), *Afrika* ('aafrika), *nymf*, *golf* (golf) 'gulf'.

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally (dish'ippœl).

Also in the native name *Olof* (ˈoolɔf), in which Weste still gives (v). The foreign *Gustav* is still (ˈgustav). Initial *sf* is (sv) in *sfer* (svær), *sfina* (sviŋks), and sometimes medially, as in *atmosfer*, which is, however, generally (at-mɔsfær).

**fv** = (v), as in *sofva* (ˈsaova) ‘sleep’.

**ff** = (ff), as in *soffa* (ˈsɔffa).

**n**. Dropped in the combination (gnt), as in *lugnt* (luqt) ‘quiet’ (neuter). *n* in French words is generally (q): *brons* (brɔqs), *charmant* (sharmˈaqt), *elegant* (elegˈaqt), *girland* (girlˈaqt), *interessant* (intræssˈaqt), *vagabond* (vagabɔqt), *vigilans* (vishilˈaqs). Substantives in *-ent* drop the *t* and are often written phonetically, as in *komplimang*, *talang*. So also *följetong*. Some vary between (q) and (n), as in *konvensans* = (kɔqvænˈaqs) or (kɔnvænˈaqs), *entusiasm* = (aq-) or (æn-tusiaːsm), *guvernant* = (guværnˈaqt) or (guværnˈant). *galanteri* (galˈantərii) and *sergeant* (særshˈant) generally have (n). The word *genre* inserts an (ə) after its (q), giving the pronunciation (ˈshaqər), in the definite form (shaqən).

**ng**: (q). When the *n* and *g* belong to separate syllables, they keep their sounds, as in *angå* (ˈangao) ‘concern’. The name *Angelika* is generally (anˈjeelika), sometimes (aqˈjeelika). *ng* = (qg) also in *adjungera*, &c.; *Ganges*, which is, however, also (ˈgaqəs). In *jungfru* ‘virgin’, the (q) is labialized by the following (f), giving (ˈjumfru).

**nk**: (qk). In separate syllables = (nk), but such words as *konkurs* ‘bankruptcy’, seem sometimes to be (kɔqkˈus).

**m**. *jemka* ‘adjust’ = (ˈjæqka) by place-assimilation.

**g**: (g), (j); (q). Initially (j) before front vowels: *gifva* (ˈjiiva, jee) ‘give’, *sigill* (sijˈil) ‘seal’, *gevär* (jevˈær) ‘gun’, *göra* (ˈjoera) ‘do’. Also in the combinations *rg*, *lg*, in the same syllable: *varg* (varj) ‘wolf’, *sorg* (sɔrj) ‘sorrow’. Exceptions are *gurgla* (ˈgurgla) ‘gurgle’, ‘quarrel’, *helga* (ˈhelga) ‘consecrate’, *helgon* (ˈhelgɔn) ‘saint’, *helg* (helj) ‘festival’, being regular. *smergel* ‘emery’, varies between (ˈsmærgəl) and (ˈsmærjəl). Weste gives *sarga* ‘lacerate’ as (ˈsarga), but it now has (j). (g) occurs before front vowels in many foreign words: *agent*, *Belgien* (ˈbælgjæn), *Diogenes*



(diao'gənæs), genealog (geneal'aog), girland (girl'aqd), gitarr (git'ar), kollegium (koll'eegjum), legitim (legiti'im), legion (leegioo'n), logik (lögriik), plagiat (plaagiaa't), privilegium (privileegjum), region (reegioo'n), regimente (reegim'æntə), vegetera (veget'eera), vigilera (vigil'eera) or ('viggä) 'borrow'.<sup>1</sup> Also in the termination *-gera* (-g'eera): extravagera, konjugera, korrigerera, fingera (fiq'geera), fungera. Of the above *agent*, *gitarr*, *korrigerera*, and *logik* also admit (j). *-ogi* also varies between (-ög'ii) and (-öj'ii), as in *geologi* (jeeölög'ii). *rg* is (rg) in *argument*, *dramaturg*, *marginal*, *organ*. *Georg* and *Hamburg* are regular—('jeeörj), ('hamburj). The following have the regular (j) before a front vowel: general (jenər'aal), geografi, geologi, germanisk, degenerera, Egypten (ej'yptən), magister, original (orijin'aal), regera, register, religion (relij'oon). Of these *original* also admits (g). *religiös* varies between (relij'æös) and (relish'æös).

*g* after front vowels is weakened into a diphthongic (i): *dägelig* ('dæilig) 'beautiful' (also written *dejlig*), *helbregda* ('hælb'ræida) 'healthy', *lega* ('læia) 'hire', *neglika* ('næilika) 'pink' (also written *nejlika*). Occasionally in *blåögd*, &c.,—('blaoëid) or ('blaoëägd) 'blue-eyed'. *g*=(k) in *zigzag* (siksak).

*gn*=(qn): *vagn* (vaqn) 'carriage', *egna* ('æqna) 'apply'. *vägnar* ('væqnar) 'ways' (adverbial), *välsigna* (væls'iqna) 'bless'. So also in foreign words: *inkognito* (ink'öqnitö), *mahogani* (mah'öqni). *fysiognomi* is generally pronounced (fysionöm'ii). When the combination *gn* is simply the result of the loss of a vowel, the two consonants preserve their original sounds, as in *egna* ('eegna) from *egen* ('eegən) 'own', *mogna* ('moogna) 'to ripen' from *mogen* ('moogən). In *egna*= 'apply' and *vägnar* the shortening of the vowel has caused the original derivation from *egen* and *väg* (vaeg) to be forgotten. *g* is dropped in *morgon* ('mörön) 'morning', *helgdag* ('helda) 'holiday', and together with the following vowel in *badstuga* ('bastu) 'bath-room', *förstuga* ('fastu) 'ante-room', and often in *tjugu* 'twenty' when followed by another numeral, as in *tjugufem* (cuuf'æm). The French soft *g*=(zh) is pronounced (sh): *diligens* (dilish'aqs), *energi* (enærsh'ii),

<sup>1</sup> A slang word.

gelé (shel'ee), geni (shen'ii), genre ('shaqor), gest (shæst), ingeniör (inshenj'oer), loge (laosh), passagerare (passash'eer-arə), sergeant (særsh'ant), tragedi (trashəd'ii); arrangerä (arraqsh'eera), logera (lösh'eera), &c.; bagage (bag'aash), fastage 'dish', &c. Also in *Alger* (alsh'eer) 'Algiers', and the English *jockey* (shök'ai).

gj: (j). gjorde ('joođe) 'did', gjuta ('juuta) 'pour'.

k: (k), (c). Initially (c) before front vowels: kind (cind) 'cheek', kejsare ('cæisarə) 'emperor'. *k* before inflexional vowels remains, as in *rike* ('riikə) 'empire'. Initial (k) in *kisse* ('kissə) 'puss'. Also in some foreign words: anarki (anark'ii), asketisk (ask'eetisk), markis (mark'iis), orkester (örk'æstər). Some seem to vary between (k) and (c), such as *arkitektur*, *arkiv*, and others have only (c), such as *katekes* (katə'ees) or (kac'ees), *kemi* (cem'ii), *kerub* ('cer'uub), *Kina* ('ciina), *kirurg* (cirurj). *k* is often dropped in *spektakel* (spetaakəl), and, together with the following vowel, in *kyrkogård* (cørgaod) 'churchyard'.

kj: (c). Only in *kjol* (cool) 'petticoat' and *kjusa* ('cuusa) 'dell'.

qv: (kv).

x: (ks). Initial *x*=(s) in foreign words: *Xerxes* ('særksəs). For *xi* see under (sk).

c: (s). Now written only before front vowels in foreign words, except in proper names such as *Carolina* (karol'iina), and occasionally in a few other foreign words. Examples of *c* before front vowels are: *accent* (aks'ænt), *Ceylon* ('sæiløn), *ocean* (oseaa'n), *cigarr* (sig'ar), *societet* (sosiət'ee(t)), *specie* ('speesiə).

ck: (kk).

ch: (k), (sh). The only native word in which *ch* occurs is *och* 'and', which in the spoken language is always (ə) or (ao), although it is pronounced (ək) in artificial declamation, being thus identified with *ock* (ək) 'also'. The spelling *ch* was probably meant to indicate that the consonant was silent. In foreign words *ch*=(sh): *char* (shaar) 'chariot', *Charlotta* (shal'ötta), *chef* (shaef), *choklad* (shok'laa), *broche* (braosh).

d: *d* is very often dropped in colloquial speech. Finally,

in such words as *blad* (blaa) 'leaf', *god* (goo) 'good', *bröd* (bræ) 'bread', *rödvin* (ræviin) 'claret', and especially in familiar phrases, such as *var så god* (vas g'oo) 'be so kind'. Final *d* after *n* is very generally dropped, as in *vind* 'wind', *Lund*, and often also after *l*, as in *eld* 'fire' = (el), (il) or (æl). *d* after *r* is always preserved in the form of (dʃ). Medial *d* is preserved after (l) and (n). Such words as (ʊplænniq) 'Uplander' are, however, often written *Uplænding*, &c. *d* is dropped together with a following final vowel in *bittida* (ʔbitti) 'early', *förkläde* (ʔfærklæ) 'apron', and together with a following medial vowel in *ladugård* (ʔlaagaod) 'farmyard', and often in *månader* (ʔmaonar) 'months', *månaden* (ʔmaonan) 'the month', *tråden* (traon) 'the thread', (blaana) = *bladen* for the literary *blad* 'leaves', (ʔblaana) = *bladena* for the literary *bladen* 'the leaves'. With further contraction in *Södermanland* (ʔsærmland), and in the now almost obsolete *huckle* (ʔhuklæ) or (ʔhyklæ), for *hufvudkläde* 'headcloth'.

*d* is frequently dropped before other consonants, especially (s), preceding long vowels being generally shortened: *badstuga* (ʔbastu) 'bath-room', *brådska* (ʔbræska) 'hurry', *gärdesgård* (ʔjæsgaod) 'fence', *ledsam* (ʔlessam) ' tiresome', *midsommar* (ʔmissømmar) 'midsummer', *redskap* (ʔreskap) 'tool', *stussa* (ʔstussa) 'hesitate', *vårdslös* (ʔvæslæs) 'careless', *vårdshus* (ʔvæshuus) 'inn'. Also before (n): *klädning* (ʔklænniq) 'dress', *midnat* (ʔminnat) 'midnight', *ordning* (ʔaoniq) 'order', *vändning* (ʔvænniq) 'turn'. Before other consonants in *adjö* (ajjæ) 'adieu', *sadla* (ʔsaala) 'saddle'.

In *fjerdedels* (ʔfjaendeels) 'quarter', *d* becomes (n).

**dt:** (tt). Not only in inflexions, such as *godt* (gøt) 'good' neuter, but also in root-syllables, as in *landtman* 'countryman', *glädtig* 'cheerful'.

**dj:** (j). *djefvul* (ʔjaevul) 'devil', *djup* (juup) 'deep'. Some attempt to introduce the point (d), especially in declamation.

**t:** dropped before (s) and (sh) in *betsel* (ʔbessæl) 'bit', *låtisman* (ʔbøsman) 'boatman', *fältskär* (ʔfælshaer), 'surgeon', *matäck* (ʔmassæk) 'provisions', *skjuts* (shus) 'post'. *katekes* 'catechism' is generally pronounced (kac'ees). *kejortel* 'petticoat' is now generally written *kejol*, and pronounced (cool).

*t* is generally added after (s) in *eljes* (ˈæljɛst) ‘otherwise’, and *strax* (strakst) ‘at once’.

tj: (c). *tjena* (ˈcaena) ‘serve’, *tjock* (cøk) ‘thick’. *katekes* probably passed through the stage of (katˈjees).

*ti* in foreign words is pronounced (tsh) in the termination *-tion*, as in *nation* (natˈshoon), the (t) being dropped if a consonant precedes, as in *direktion* (dirækshˈoon), *reflexion* (reflækshˈoon), and, apparently, sometimes after a vowel as well, as in *indiskretion* (indiskreshˈoon). In other cases *ti* is (tsi), as in *egyptier* (ejˈyptsjær), *initiativ* (initsiatˈiiv), *patient* (patsiæˈnt), *tertio* (ˈtætsio). After consonants the (t) is dropped, as in *aktie* (ˈaksjə) ‘share’. *aristokrati* is either (aristokratˈii) or (-sˈii).

th: (t). *Thomas* (ˈtoomas). *th* is generally changed to *t*.

b.

p. Dropped in *psalm*, *pseudo-* (sævdo-), but kept in *psykologi* (psykølögˈii), &c.

#### Vocality of Consonants.

Final voiced stops preserve their vocality, as in English, although they seem often to be shorter than the English ones, as may be seen by comparing the Swedish *snobb* (snøb), *grogg* (grög), with their English originals.

Voiced stops and sibilants (v), when followed by a voiceless sibilant (s) in the same syllable, keep their vocality if preceded by a long vowel, lose it if preceded by a short one. Thus *dags*, in *en dags arbete* (en daags ˈarbeetə) ‘a day’s work’, keeps its (g) unchanged, while in *huru dags* (ˈhuuru daks) ‘what time?’ it becomes (k). So also in *guds* (guts) ‘God’s’, *skyddsling* (ˈshytliq) ‘protégé’, and *lifstid* (ˈlifstiid) ‘lifetime’, *hafsyta* (ˈhafsyyta) ‘surface of the sea’, contrasted with the uncompounded genitives *ett lifs* (liivs), *ett havs* (haavs).

If the two consonants belong to different syllables, the first preserves its vocality even after a short vowel, as in *observera* (ɔbsærvˈeera).

Before voiceless stops there is always devocalization, as in *tryggt* (trykt) ‘secure’ (neut.), which is identical with *tryckt*

'printed', *vigt* (vikt) 'weight', *vigt* (viikt) 'active' (neut.), *kraft* (kraaft) 'demanded'.

### QUANTITY.

Written double consonants are pronounced really double when medial, the first being lengthened, so that *alla* is really (ʼaʹll-l:a), where (ll) represents a long (l). The combination of medial short vowel + single consonant does not occur in Swedish, there being nothing corresponding to the English (shiliq), &c.: either the consonant must be doubled or the vowel lengthened. When a short vowel is followed by (q) or an inverted, the doubling is impossible, as these consonants cannot begin a syllable. In such a word as (ʼshuqa) the (q) seems to be simply lengthened, as in the imperative (shuq). In such a word as *störta* (ʼstœta) the glide from the (œ) to the (t) seems to be felt as a separate consonant, and it is perhaps somewhat lengthened. Final consonants after short vowels are long, after long vowels short, as in English, so that the double *ll* in *kall* 'cold' indicates not only the shortness of the vowel, but also the length of the consonant. In *kal* (kaal) 'bald', on the other hand, the vowel is long and the consonant short. As the quantity of the consonant is always implied by that of the vowel, it is not necessary to mark it in (kal) = (kall).

The consonants which have most influence in shortening the preceding vowels are the nasals (n) and (m), especially the latter. Hence, and probably from reasons of graphical convenience as well, single *n* and *m* are generally written finally after short vowels, as in *han* (han) 'he', *vän* (væn) 'friend', *spanmål* (ʼspanmaol) 'corn', *kam* (kam) 'comb', *madam* (mad'am), the consonants being doubled when a syllable is added, as in *vänner* (ʼvænnær) 'friends', *kammen* (ʼkammæn) 'the comb'.

In some cases *n* and *m* are written for (nn) and (mm) between vowels as well:

**n** : *honom* (ʼhønnəm) 'he',<sup>1</sup> *honung* (ʼhønniq) 'honey', *Venern* (ʼvænnæn).

<sup>1</sup> Also (hoonəm).

**m**: buxbomen (ˈbuxsbommən) ‘the box-tree’, bomull (ˈbommul) ‘cotton’, domen (ˈdommən) ‘the judgement’, domare (ˈdommare) ‘judge’, döma (ˈdəm̩ma) ‘judge’, loma (ˈlom̩ma) ‘slink’, Roma (ˈrom̩ma), romare, romersk (ˈrom̩mæsk).

Also the foreign *amen* (ˈamm̩n) ‘Amen’. Observe that (e), (u), (o), (y), and (ə) never occur long before (m).

Doubling is sometimes neglected in the case of medial stops:

**k**: skakel (ˈskakk̩l) ‘shaft’, (hjul)eker (ˈjuul̩ekk̩ər) ‘spoke’, öken (ˈæk̩k̩ən) ‘desert’, artikkel (at̩ikk̩əl).

**d**: hade (ˈhadd̩ə) ‘had’, dadel (ˈdadd̩əl) ‘date’, tadel (ˈtadd̩əl) ‘blame’.

**t**: vetenskap (ˈvett̩nskaap) ‘science’, veterligen (ˈvett̩r̩lig̩ən) ‘consciously’, heter (ˈhett̩r̩) ‘is called’, hvetebröd (ˈvett̩t̩br̩æd) ‘wheaten bread’,<sup>1</sup> Peter (ˈpet̩t̩r̩), Pet(t)erson (ˈpet̩t̩s̩ən), Petersburg (ˈpet̩t̩s̩bur̩j), salpeter (sal̩ˈpet̩t̩r̩).<sup>2</sup> Luther (ˈlutt̩r̩).<sup>3</sup> kapitel (kap̩ˈit̩l), titel (ˈtit̩l), grammatika, -isk (gram̩ˈatt̩ka, -isk).

**b**: aborre (ˈabb̩r̩r̩ə) ‘pike’ (fish).

**p**: göpen (ˈj̩æpp̩ən) ‘open hand’, discipel (dis̩ˈip̩pl), Jupiter (ˈjupp̩it̩ər).

The doubling of *l* is often omitted in foreign words, both finally and medially:

April (ap̩ˈr̩il), parasol (ˈpaaras̩əl), nationela (nat̩sh̩n̩ˈælla), parallelogram (parall̩ˈæll̩əgram), rolen (ˈr̩öll̩ən) ‘the part’ from *rol* (r̩əl).

Vowels are kept short before *sch* in foreign words, as if it were a compound consonant:

affisch (af̩ˈish) ‘placard’, nisch (nish) ‘niche’.

Among other cases may be mentioned the occasional (ˈhuv̩vud) for (ˈhuuv̩vud) *hufvud* ‘head’, and the variation between *usel* and *ussel* (ˈuus̩əl), (ˈuss̩əl) ‘wretched’ both in spelling and pronunciation. The foreign *telegraf* varies between (aa) and (a); *servet* ‘napkin’ generally shortens its vowel (sær̩ˈv̩et); *Mozart* is (ˈm̩s̩s̩at); *Job* is (j̩ɔb).

<sup>1</sup> In these two, as in several others, the shortening is only occasional.

<sup>2</sup> But *Petrus* (ˈpeetr̩s).

<sup>3</sup> This is also the German pronunciation.

*en* (en) 'one', 'a', *min* (min) 'mine', 'my', *din*, &c. are always short, even when emphatic, but lengthen their vowels in the inflected forms, *ena* (eena) 'some', *mina* (miina).

*sedan* (sedan) 'since' is contracted into (seen), whence the colloquial (sæn).

Besides all these cases of shortening before a single consonant, there are others in which a word ending in a vowel shortens it before an inflexional consonant.

The ending (t) of the neuter singular of adjectives and the past participle of verbs always shortens the preceding vowel, as in *blått* (blöt) from *blå* (blao) 'blue', *sett* (set) from *se* (see) 'see'. The preterite ending (-dø) also shortens the preceding vowel, the (d) being-doubled, as in *trodde* (troddø) from *tro* (troo) 'believe'. Shortenings before the (s) of the genitive and passive (middle), as in *til sjös* (til shös) 'to sea', *att slås* (sløs) 'fight', and the (n) of the definite as in *sjön* (shøn) 'the sea', are exceptional.

Vowels are frequently shortened, or in some cases, preserved from lengthening, before two consonants. The following are the most important cases, arranged according to the second consonant, whose character often determines the quantity of the preceding vowel.

**j**: *family* (fam'ilj), *Frithjof* (fritjøj), *kustanje* (kast'anjø), *olja* (olja). Sometimes also in *kedja* (cedja) 'chain'. Long vowel in *linie* (liinjø), *midja* (miidja) 'waist'.

**l**: *besudla* 'soil', *väpling* (væpliq) 'trefoil', *usling* (usliq) or (uusliq) 'wretch'. *möglig* 'mouldy' has sometimes (ø), sometimes (æ). *uppvigla* 'instigate' has always (ii).

**s**: *vigsel* (viksæl) 'consecration', and all others in (-sæl). *tvehågsen* (tveehöksen) 'irresolute', *Italiensk* (itaaliænsk), *Polsk* (pölsk), *Rhensk* (rensk), *Spansk*. Otherwise long vowel before (sk), as in *latinsk* (latiinsk), *medicinsk*. *brådska* (bråska) 'hurry'. *Thorsten* (tøsten). *städse* 'always' has (æ). *Hans* has often long vowel, as also *plötslig* 'sudden'. Shortening before inflexional (s) occurs in the genitive, as in *guds* (guts) 'God's', *slags* (slaks) 'kind', especially in composition, for which see below. Also in the passive, as in *leds* (les) = *ledas* 'weary of', *behöfs* (behøfs) 'needs', *törs* (tøes) 'dares'.

So also in *bevares* (bev'as)=*bevere os* 'preserve us!' The superlative *förnämst* (fœn'æmst) from (fœn'aem) 'of rank'.

v: *Hedvig* ('hædvig), *Ludvig* ('ludvig).

m: *sötma* 'sweetness'.

g: *nödga* 'compel', *vrädga* 'irritate'.

k: *blidka* ('blitka) 'soothe', *idka* ('itka) 'practice'.

t: Inflexional in some neuters, such as *högt* (hækt) from *hög* 'high'. Generally, however, inflexional (t) does not shorten, as in *skönt* (shænt) 'beautiful', *tjent* (caent) 'served'.

There are other shortenings in foreign words, such as *Lisbeth* ('lisbæt), *polyteknisk* (polyt'eknisk), *trapezium* (trap'etsium).<sup>1</sup>

Shortening in composition is very frequent. The following lists are alphabetical, the addition of double vowels indicating a parallel long pronunciation:

bokstaf ('bokstaav, oo) 'letter',<sup>2</sup> boskap ('boskap) 'cattle', brudgum ('bruggum, bruudgum) 'bridegroom', blåverk ('bølværk) 'bulwark'; farfar ('farfar) 'grandfather',<sup>3</sup> frukost ('frukkøst) 'breakfast', fänrik ('fænrik) 'ensign', förstugu ('fastu) 'ante-room'; hugsvala (huks'vaala) 'console', husbonde ('husbondø) 'master', hustru ('hustru) 'wife', herberge ('hærbærjə) 'quarters', högtid ('hæktiid) 'festival'; kraslig ('krasli) 'feeble'; länstol ('lænstool) 'arm-chair', matmor ('matmoor, aa) 'mistress', middag ('midda) 'noon', midnat ('minnat, miidnat) 'midnight', morbror ('mørbror) 'uncle',<sup>4</sup> måndag ('mønda) 'Monday', redskap ('reskap) 'tool', rotgel ('røtgæl) 'robin'; sjuklig, sjukdom ('shuk-li, dom, uu) 'ill', 'illness', skorsten ('skøsteen) 'chimney', smörgås ('smøergaøs) 'bread and butter', svärfar ('sværfar) 'father-in-law',<sup>5</sup> synål ('synnaøl) 'needle', trädgård ('træggaod) 'garden'. Note *Jutland* ('juutland).

Shortening is still more frequent when the first word is in the genitive. In the following list only one typical word is

<sup>1</sup> Weste gives *trapez* with a long (ee).

<sup>2</sup> (oo) in the other compounds, such as *boktryckeri*.

<sup>3</sup> And the other compounds of (far) denoting relationship.

<sup>4</sup> And the other compounds denoting relationship.

<sup>5</sup> And the others in *svär*-.



given in those cases in which the same genitive enters into a number of compounds and retains its short vowel.

båtsman (ˈbøsman) 'boatman', brukspatroun (ˈbrukspat:roun) 'manufacturer', &c.; dagsverke (ˈdaksværkə) 'day's work', &c.; dödsstund (ˈdøtsstund) 'dying hour'; gudstjenst (ˈgutsçænst) 'divine service', &c.; hafsyta (ˈhafsyyta) 'surface of the sea'; krigsman (ˈkriksman) 'warrior', &c.; kökspiga (ˈçøkspiiga) 'cook-maid', &c.; lifstid (ˈlifstiid) 'lifetime', &c.; länsman (ˈlænsman) 'bailiff', riksspråk (ˈrikspraak) 'national language', &c.; skogsdunge (ˈskoksdugə) 'grove', &c.; slagsmål (ˈslaksmaol) 'fight', &c.; spørsmål (ˈspøesmaol) 'question', stadsråd (ˈstasraod, staatsraod) 'town-councillor', stridsman (ˈstriksman) 'warrior'; tidsande (ˈtitsandə) 'spirit of the times', verldsman (ˈvætisman) 'man of the world', vårdslös (ˈvøsløes, vaodsløes) 'careless', värdshus (ˈvæshuuts) 'inn'.

Unaccented vowels tend to shortening. Even when a vowel has a secondary stress, as in the second syllable of (ˈaa:vt:aaga) 'take off', it is perceptibly shortened, and when the secondary stress is reduced to the minimum of accent, the vowel becomes quite short, as in *olika* (ˈoolika) 'different', *kanske* (ˈkanshe, -ə) 'perhaps', compared with the simple (ˈliika), (shee). Many other originally long vowels are shortened in rapid speech. Thus *altid* 'always' is generally (ˈaltid), and the derivative syllables (heet), (-leek) are often shortened, *kärlek(en)* (ˈcæleek(ən)) 'love', for instance, becoming (ˈcælek(ən)). So also *fördel* (ˈfœdel) 'advantage'. In *sådana* 'such' and *huru-dana* 'of what kind' (ˈsao-, ˈhuurudana), the shortness of the (a) may be due to the influence of the (n), as in the uninflected (-dan). These shortenings of unaccented vowels are not accompanied by any compensatory doubling of the following consonant.

The shortening of the vowels of unaccented words in a sentence follows the same laws as in other languages.

There are, on the other hand, some combinations which favour length. Before the inverteds short vowels are, as remarked above (p. 374), often lengthened, and consequently long vowels often preserve their quantity before them, especially (*n*) and (*d*). Examples are, in addition to the words

quoted above (pp. 373, 374), *särdeles* ('saedeeləs) 'specially', *varlast* ('baalast) 'ballast' and the foreign *absurd* (abs'uud), *koturn* (kot'uun). Otherwise *r* + consonant does not preserve length, as may be seen from the examples given below under composition.

Consonant + *r* has a decidedly lengthening influence :

Afrika ('aafrika), allegro (all'eegro), Fredrik ('freedrik), Henrik ('heenrik), belägra 'besiege', vidrig 'repugnant', vägra 'refuse', öfrig 'remaining'.

So also (st) :

best (beest) 'beast', blåst (blaost) 'blast', pust (puust) 'puff'. Also in most comparatives, such as *lägst* (laegst) 'lowest'.

The substantive *betjent* (bec'aent) 'servant' always keeps the long vowel of *tjena*.

The foreign (ch) and (sch) in *echo* ('eeko), *pascha* ('paasha) act like simple consonants. Compare, however, *nisch* = (nish) &c. (p. 390).

### STRESS.<sup>1</sup>

In the Scandinavian languages unaccented prefixes were originally almost unknown, so that the stress was regularly on the first syllable. Hence the tendency in Swedish to throw the accent back on to an originally unaccented first syllable, which is generally a foreign (German) one.

The following are the only regularly unaccented prefixes in Swedish :

**e-** in native words: *ehuru* (eh'uuru) 'however', *evinnerlig* (evinnəli) 'eternal', &c. The foreign *elände* 'misery' is ('eeländə).

**ænt-** in the single German word *entlediga* (ænt'eediga) 'dismiss'.

**be-** in German words, such as *beklaga* (bek'laaga) 'deplore'.

**je-** = German *ge-*, as in *gehör* (jeh'oer) 'hearing'.

**fœr-** = German *ver-*, as in *förfång* (fœrf'œq) 'detriment', *förlag* (fœl'aag) 'publication', *förstå* (fœs'tao) 'understand', *förtret* (fœt'reet) 'annoyance'; and in some native words where

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth the tone-mark (´) will be omitted before polysyllabic words with the stress on the first syllable, only (´) being written, when necessary.

it has the stronger German meaning (destruction, excess, &c.), such as *formäiten* (fœrm'ætæn) 'audacious', *försåt* (fœs'aot) 'ambush'. (fœr)='too' is sometimes written as one word with the following adjective, which has the stress, as in *förmycken* (fœrm'ykkæn) 'too much'.

(fœr) in the sense of 'for' or 'before', or when derived from the German *vor-*, takes the stress:

*förbud* (foerbuud) 'forerunner',<sup>1</sup> *fördoni* (foedom) 'prejudice', *förfäder* (foerfaeder), (*på*) *förhand* (foerhand) 'beforehand', *förlåt* (foelaot) 'curtain',<sup>2</sup> *förmån* (foermaon) 'advantage', *förord* (foerood) 'intercession', 'preface', *försprång* (foesprœq) 'start', *förstuga* (foestuuga, fastu) 'ante-room'.

Irregularly in *förveten* (foerveetæn) 'inquisitive'.

The following irregularly accent the root-syllable instead of the prefix:

*förmyndare* (fœrm'yndarə) 'guardian', *förnäm* (fœn'aem) 'distinguished', *förråd* (fœrr'aod) 'stores', *förslag* (fœs'laag) 'proposal', *försorg* (fœs'ørj) 'care', *försyn* (fœs'yyn) 'providence', *föräldrar* (fœrældrar) 'parents'. *förträfflig* (fœtræfli) 'excellent', follows the German accentuation.

When (be-) and (fœr-) are separated from the root-syllable by an intermediate unaccented one, they draw the full stress over to themselves, as in *bearbeta* (becarb:eeta)=German *bearbeiten*, *beledsaga* (beeleds:aaga) 'accompany', *föranleda* (foeran:leeda) 'cause', *förorsaka* (foeroos:aaka) 'cause'. Hence also (fœrb'ii) and (fœruut) throw back their stress on to the first syllable in composition, as in *förbigå* (fœrbig:ao) 'pass by', *förutse* (foeruuts:ee) 'foresee'.

All the other prefixes take the stress. Among them must be specially noticed (ær-) = German *er-*, as in *erfara* (ærfaara) 'experience', *erinra* (ærinra) 'remember'.

One consequence of this general accenting of prefixes is that such distinctions as the German one between *übersetzen* and *übersetzen* are levelled in the Swedish *öfversätta* (œvæsætta).

Isolated exceptions are *välsigna* (vaelsigna) 'bless', and occasionally *välkommen* (v'ælk:ømmæn), (vælk:ømmæn). The exclamations *anfäktat!* (anf'æktat), *annamma!* (ann'amma),

<sup>1</sup> (fœrb'uud) 'prohibition'.

<sup>2</sup> (fœl'aota) 'forgive'.

also accent the root-syllable. In their other forms these two verbs have the regular accent, as in the substantive *anfäktelse* 'tribulation', and the verb *annamma* 'receive'. *ungefär*, which is the only word compounded with the German *un-*, is (*unjefær*).

The tendency to throw back the stress is sometimes counter-balanced by the opposite one by which the suffixes (-ig) and (-lig) tend to attract it to the syllable which immediately precedes them. The following are the most important of these words, those which admit also of the regular accent on the first syllable being separated from the others by a stroke :

**ig**: *förtidig* (fœt'iidi) 'precocious',—*eländig* 'wretched', *lycksalig* 'happy', *mångfaldig* 'manifold', *nödvändig* 'necessary', *rättfärdig* 'righteous', *underdånig* 'humble'.<sup>1</sup>

**lig**: *egentlig* (ej'æntli) 'proper', *enkannerlig* (enk'annæli) 'special', *fiendtlig* (fiæ'ntli) 'hostile', *gudomlig* (gud'omli) 'divine', *offentlig* (of'æntli) 'public',—*allvarlig* (alv'aali) 'serious', *fullkomlig* 'perfect', *fåfänglig* 'vain', *följaktligen* 'consequently', *förmånlig* 'advantageous', *högtidlig* (hækt'iidli) 'solemn', *ofantlig* (of'antli) 'immense', *omständlig* 'circumstantial', *omöjlig* 'impossible', *oändlig* 'endless'.<sup>2</sup>

The suffix (-baar) attracts the stress to itself in the words *medelbarligen* (meedlb'aa ligən), *omedelbar* (oomeedlb'baar) 'immediate', *omedelbarlig* (oomeedlb'aa li), *uppenbarlig* (uppən'b'aa li) or (*uppən*b). Some of these may be due to the *-lig*.

Altogether there is considerable fluctuation in the accentuation of these words, due to a great extent to the strength of the secondary stress in Swedish. The principle of accenting the first syllable has, however, evidently gained much ground in the present language, for in Weste's dictionary many words which now accent the first syllable are marked with the accent on some other.

The following are examples of this older accentuation, two (')s in a word indicating optional accentuation :

(1) **-ig**: allsm'äktig, and'äktig, (o)ans'tändig, (o)barmh'er-

<sup>1</sup> *förs'igtig* 'cautious', is regular. *fört'räfflig* has been noticed above (p. 395).

<sup>2</sup> Also the regular *förs'varlig* (fæs'vaali) 'tolerable', together with *lekamlig* (lek'aamli) 'bodily', from (lek'aamən).

tig, enfaldig, gudfruktig, märkvärdig, omsländighet, tree-  
 nighet, uppriktig; fördelaktig, ofördelaktig, gudaaktig.  
 (2) lig: (o)ansenlig, (o)antäglig, boksäflig, (o)ersättlig,  
 (o)jämförlig, medborgerlig, omsländig, påtaglig, (o)tillräck-  
 lig, (o)umärlig, ursprunglig, uttrycklig, vetenskaplig. (3)  
 bar: (o)meddelbar, uppenbar. (4) isk: upprörisk. Adjec-  
 tives in *-lig* (most of them disyllables) often keep the accent  
 on the root-syllable when *o-* is prefixed: obotlig, odräglig,  
 ohjelpig, olycklig, omöjlig, otrolig, ovanlig. Of these  
*omöjlig*, and probably some of the others, may still be heard  
 occasionally. Adjectives in *-ig* always accent the *o-*: oartig,  
 ofärdig, otålig, &c. Note, however, that he gives *botfärdig*,  
*ejgenyttig*, *fullständig*, but *obotfärdig*, *oegenyttig*, *ofull-  
 ständig*. The same throwing forward of the accent takes place  
 in compounds of *o-* with present and past participles: oköpaudes,  
 öfverensstämmande; oaktad, oerhörd, oregelbunden. Also  
 in *oangenäm*, contrasting with *obeväm*. When a trisyllable  
 is lengthened, he often throws the accent forward, as in  
*skiljaktighet* from *skiljaktig*, *obedräglighet* from *obedräglig*,  
*ofruktbarhet* from *ofruktbar*.

It may be observed that Weste himself characterizes the  
 accentuation, especially of the longer words, as fluctuating  
 and uncertain.

Before leaving this part of the subject, other instances of  
 Weste's accentuation of some other than the first syllable  
 against the present usage may be quoted: angående, elände,  
 erindra, erfarenhet (erfara), inelvor, invånare, närva-  
 rande, vidskäpelse, åhörare.

When a preposition and its substantive coalesce into an  
 adverb, as in *aldenstund* (aldæns'tund) 'since', *efterhand*  
 (æftər'händ) 'gradually', *omkull* (ɔmk'ul) 'down', *omsider*  
 (ɔms'iider) 'at last', *åtminstone* (aotm'instonə) 'at least', the  
 compound retains the natural stress and accent of the sepa-  
 rate elements. So also in *emellertid* (emellət'iid) 'meanwhile',  
*tillika* (till'iika), *tillsammans* (tils'ammans) 'together',  
*öfverens* (ævərə:ns) in *komma öfverens* 'agree', and in such  
 infinitive combinations as *kanhända* (kanh'ænda) 'perhaps',  
*tillkänna* (tilc'ænna) in *gifva tillkänna* 'make known'; but

*kanske* ('kanschə) 'perhaps'. The compound prepositions often accent the second element, as in *igenom* (ij'eenəm) 'through', *inunder* (inu'ndər) 'under', *uti* (uutii') 'in', *utom* (uutəm) *sig* 'beside oneself', *bredvid* (brev'iid) or (brev'ee) 'alongside'. Others vary, such as *bakom* ('baakəm), (baakəm), *bakefter* 'after'. In the words *ehuru* (eh'uuru) 'although', *emellan* (em'ellan) 'between', *emedan* (em'eedan) 'since', the second elements are treated as an independent word, retaining their compound tone.

In compounds of *der* and *hvar* with prepositions the stress varies, as in *derpå* 'thereupon', which may be either (d'aerpə) or (dærp'ao).

Note also the following cases of accentuation of some other than the first element :

*allena* (alee'na) 'alone', *allihop* (alih'oop) 'altogether' (plural), *altsammans* (alts'ammans) 'altogether' (neuter), *farväl* (farv'ael) 'farewell', *gudskelof* (gushel'aof) 'praise be to God!', *gunaos* (gun'aos) 'God have mercy on us!' *huruvida* (huuruv'iida) 'how far' (conjunction), *immerfort* (immerf'ot) 'continually'.

It is remarkable that compounds of a preposition + a substantive or pronoun, followed by a verb, throw back the accent on to the preposition, as in *afsigkommen* ('aavsæikəmmən) 'degenerated', *ådagalägga* ('aodaagalægga) 'display', *åsidossätta* ('aosiidosætta) 'lay aside', *försiggå* ('föesæigao) 'happen', *iakttaga* ('ii'akttaaga) 'observe'. In the same way the adverbial collocation, *till och med* 'even', is pronounced as one word, with the accent on the first syllable (t'iləmæ).<sup>1</sup>

Among the genuine compound words there are several instances of accentuation of the second element: (1) in names of towns, &c., such as *Göteborg* (jætəb'ərj), *Köpenhamn* (cæpən'h'amn), *Wenerborg* (vænnərb'ərj), *Örebro* (oerəb'roo), (2) in *sydost* (syyd'ost) 'south-east', &c., and (3) in various other words, such as *skomakare* 'shoemaker', which is, however, perhaps more frequently pronounced ('skoomaakarə). Also in the originally compound *lekamen* (lek'aamən) 'body', which is now spelt as a simple word.

<sup>1</sup> Weste gives the accent on the second element in *ådagalägga*, &c.

Proper names, such as *Linné*, derive their accent from the Latin forms, *Linnæus*, &c. So also, probably, *Tegnér* (tæqn'eer), &c.

Foreign words often throw back the stress. Thus *kreatur* 'beast' 'cattle', *russin* 'raisin', *lejon* 'lion', *insekt*, *paradis*; and even such words as *relativ*, *singularis*, &c., are accented on the first syllable. Note the distinction between *ett kvarter* ('kvaatər) 'pint' and *en kvarter* (kvat'eer) 'lodging'. Also *grammatik* (grammatiik) against the German (gram'atik).

Sentence-stress has as little been investigated in Swedish as in other languages, nor can the subject be more than alluded to here. It may be noted that sentence-stress in Swedish is less level than in English, the finite verbs of a sentence, especially, being generally hurried over, especially when an adverb follows, as in *det går an* (dæ :gaor 'an) 'that'll do', where the (gaor) is almost as stressless as the (dæ), the vowel being also shortened almost to (ə). The same tendency to throw the stress forward is shown in such appositions as *ett glas vatten* (et glaas 'vattn), as compared with the English (ə 'glaas əv 'waotə) with its equal stress on the two substantives. Observe also the important distinction between *helsa på någon* (hælsa pə naogən), 'bow to some one', and (hælsa 'pao naogən) 'call on some one', *på* being a preposition in the first case, an adverb in the second, the object being governed by the verb and adverb together. So also in *slå i ett glas vin* (slao 'ii et glaas 'viin) 'pour out a glass of wine'.

## INTONATION.

As I have treated of this subject at length in my forthcoming 'Comparative Studies'<sup>1</sup>, I will here confine myself to a statement of the most necessary facts.

In Swedish every word has either the *simple* or the *compound* tone. The simple tone is a rising modulation, as in asking a question in English, the compound consists of a falling tone (as in answering a question) on the stress-syllable with an upward leap of the voice together with a slight

<sup>1</sup> [This work was never published.]

secondary stress on a succeeding syllable. The latter occurs, therefore, only in polysyllables. The simple tone is the regular one in monosyllables. It is indicated by (´) before the stress-syllable, the compound tone by (˘), but it is never necessary to mark monosyllables, and polysyllables only require to be marked when they have the simple tone, the compound one being otherwise implied. Thus (daag) implies (´daag) and (daagar) implies (˘daagar).

The most general class of polysyllables which have (´) are those which have the stress on some other than the first syllable, such as (stud´ænt), *begära* (bej´æra) 'demand', nearly all of which are, directly or indirectly, of foreign origin. There are, however, several exceptions, especially words in (-or), such as (prof´æssor), which, however, have the regular simple tone in the plural, the stress being also shifted forward: (profæss´oorør).

There are also many disyllables ending in unaccented (-ør, -æl, -æn) which have (´): (1) verbal inflexions in (-ør), such as (´cænnør, ´saovør); (2) mutation plurals in (-ør), such as (´föttør); (3) words of foreign origin, such as (´duqkæl) 'dark', (´frækæn) 'young lady'; (4) native words which were originally monosyllabic, such as (´faogæl) 'bird' = Icelandic *fugl*.<sup>1</sup>

The disyllabic comparatives (´bætræ), &c., and the comparatives in (-st), such as (´yppæst), also have the simple tone, as also the few disyllables in (-æst), such as (´øqæst) 'anxiety', and some adjectives in (-isk), such as *sjælfvisk* (´shælvisk) 'selfish'.

There are other isolated exceptions, such as (´pøikæ) 'boy'.

Foreign words, and many names of places, have the simple tone: (´studium), (´nymfær), pl.; Sverige (´sværjæ), (˘løndøn).

The definite suffix does not count as part of the word, so that (´daag-æn) retains the simple tone of (daag).

Compounds take the compound tone, the secondary stress on the second syllable of such a word as (˘lantman) *landtman* 'peasant', being increased nearly to an equality with the stress on the first syllable. When the first element of the compound consists of a disyllable with unaccented second

<sup>1</sup> The plurals already mentioned were also monosyllabic: Icelandic *fótr*.



yllable, as in *nyckelhål* (ˈnykkelh:aol) ‘key-hole’, the intonation of the first word is modified in a peculiar way. The secondary stress, which in the isolated (ˈnykkəl) falls on the (kəl), is in the compound transferred to the (haol). At the same time the downward glide is distributed over the two syllables (nykkel), instead of being confined to the first, the high tone beginning on the accented (haol). So, also, in many derivatives, such as (ˈootaks:am) ‘unthankful’, especially when the second syllable is naturally less prominent than the one which follows it, as in (ˈəppən:h:et) ‘openness’.

Several compounds (mostly words of very frequent occurrence) take the simple tone, especially the names of the days of the week *måndag* (ˈmōnda), &c. When the first element is a genitive, it often retains the simple tone, as in *landsman* (ˈlansman) ‘countryman’, especially if it is a simple-toned disyllable, as in (ˈaadəlsman) ‘noble’ from (ˈaadəl). Compound-toned disyllables retain their tone, as in (ˈnykkəlhaol). Words with the accent not on the first syllable generally retain their tone when they form the first member of a compound.

In connected speech the compound tone is often less marked than in individual words, especially in the subordinate members of a sentence, and is often merged almost entirely in the simple tone.

## INFLEXIONS.

### Substantives.

#### GENDER.

In the grammars and the written language the original threefold distinction of masculine, feminine, and neuter is still imperfectly maintained; but in the spoken language the general tendency is to employ only two grammatical genders—the *common*, which includes both masculine and feminine, and the *neuter*. The reason is simply that the adjectives and pronouns in agreement with substantives are unable to distinguish between masculine and feminine, the neuter singular, on the other hand, being sharply defined by the ending (t). The only words by which grammatical

gender can be denoted are the pronouns 'he', 'she', and 'it', and the two first are often expressed by the common *den* (dæn) 'that one' in speaking of inanimate objects, and even when *han* (han) and *hon* (hon) are employed in the same way, they are often employed inaccurately, the masculine (han), for instance, being employed in speaking of the feminine *klocka* (klökka) 'clock', &c.

#### CASE.

In Swedish substantives we can only distinguish two cases, the *common* or base-case, answering to the nominative and oblique (accusative and dative) of the personal pronouns and the genitive, which is formed by adding (s) to the singular or plural forms, as in *gosse-s* (gösses) 'boy's', *gossars* (gössas) 'boys'.

When the word ends in (s) the genitive is either formed in (əs), or else there is no change. Thus *Hans*, *prins*, form their genitives ('haansəs), ('prinsəs), or else (haans), (prins). When the final syllable is unaccented, the latter is always employed, as in the name *Afzelius* (afs'eeljus).

In writing these names in *-ius* take the genitive *ii*, one of the *i*'s being generally dropped in pronunciation. This form is colloquial in the name of a square in Stockholm, *Berzelii park* (bæs'eeli park).

Irregular shortening of the vowel takes place in *Guds* (guts) from *Gud* (guud) 'God', and in several adverbial collocations, such as *til sjös* (til 'shəs) 'to sea', *til döds* (til dets) 'to death', *huru dags* (huuru daks) 'what time?' *tids nog* (tits noog) 'time enough'. So also in *tilfreds* 'contented' (til'frets) or (til'fres). In *måndags* ('møndaks), &c., the shortening is partly due to want of stress, *måndag* itself being pronounced ('mōnda).

#### DEFINITE SUFFIX.

Where other languages employ the definite article, Swedish has special endings which are added to the singular or plural forms, thus (gössə) has in the definite singular *gösse-n* (gössən) 'the boy', and the plural (gössar) has its definite

*gossarna* (gössana). These definites have genitives in (s)—(gössans) ‘the boy’s’, (gössanas). When an adjective precedes, the article *den* (dæn) is placed before it, the definite suffix being also retained—(dæn gooda gössen).

The singular suffix is for the common gender (æn), for the neuter (æt), whose (t) is often dropped, the vowels of both being dropped after other vowels, in which case the (t) of the neuter is not dropped: *dal-en* (‘daalæn) ‘the valley’, *shepp-et* (‘sheppæt, ‘sheppe) ‘the ship’; *källa-n* (cællan) ‘the spring’, *armé-en* (arm’een), *öga-t* (ægat) ‘the eye’, *bo-et* (boot) ‘the nest’. The dropped (t) always reappears in the genitive—(‘sheppøts).

The word *sjö* (shə) ‘sea’ shortens its vowel in the definite *sjön* (shən).<sup>1</sup>

After *r*, *en* generally drops its vowel, the two consonants coalescing into (n), as in *dörr-en* (dœn) ‘the door’, *herrn* (hæn) ‘the gentleman’, *peppar-en* (peppan) ‘the pepper’. Note that the second word drops the *e* in writing as well. In (-næn), (-dæn), (-tæn), there is also a tendency to drop the (ə) in rapid speech. The foreign *koncert-en* is pronounced both (kœqs’æt n) and (kœqs’æ n).

In the combination (-qnæn) the first (n) is often dropped, as in *ugn-en* (‘uqæn) ‘the stove’, *vagn-en* (‘vaqæn) ‘the carriage’.

Unaccented *-enen*, *-enet*, become (-næn), (næt), as in *bottn-en* (‘bøtnæn) from *botten* ‘bottom’, *vattn-et* (‘vattnæt) or (‘vattnø) from *vatten* ‘water’. Unaccented *-eren*, *-elen*, become (æn) and (əl n), as in *fader-n* (faadæn) ‘the father’, and *-eret* becomes (ræt), as in *dundr-et* (‘dundræt) ‘the thunder’.

Unaccented *-are-en* becomes (-an), as in *fiskaren* (fiskan) ‘the fisher’ from *fiskare*.

The plural endings in the written language are masculine *-ne*, feminine *-na*, while neuters with unchanged plurals take *-en*, those with plural in *-n* add *a* to it. Those few masculines and feminines which form their plural by vowel change only, without any ending, also take *-en*. The following examples will serve to contrast the written and spoken forms:

<sup>1</sup> ‘i ‘juupæt shən hännäm ‘riivær.’

<i>masc.</i> dag	'day'	dagar-ne	(daagana).
<i>fem.</i> nål	'needle'	nålar-na	(naolana).
<i>neut.</i> hus	'house'	hus-en	('huusæna).
„ rike	'kingdom'	riken-a	(riikæna).
<i>fem.</i> gås	'goose'	gåss-en	('jæssæna).

The spoken language abandons the impracticable distinction between masculine and feminine by making (a) the representative inflexional vowel, in accordance with the general tendency of the language, and levels the ambiguous (-æn), which is also the common singular suffix, under (-æna), thus making (-na) and (na) the sole endings.

Even in the written language *-ne* and *na* are constantly confused, and the artificial reaction against *-na* often leads to the use of *-ne* in the feminine, as in *bestämningarne*.

Some words do not take the definite suffix from purely formal reasons, such as the abstracts in *-an*, in order to avoid the repetition of the *n* (-anen). Thus *början* (bærjan) is both 'beginning' and 'the beginning'. So also the foreign *examen* (æks`aamæn). The neuter *pronomen* (pron`oomæn) also remains unchanged.<sup>1</sup> *botten* remains unchanged in *nedra botten* (needra `böttñ) 'ground floor', although *bottnen* by itself is used; *museum* has both (mus`eem) and (mus`eæt) in the definite; *gymnasium* is unchanged, as in 'gå på g.' (gao pø jymn`aasjum) 'go to school'.

There is a certain effort involved in suffixing foreign words. Hence the definite suffix is always omitted in such phrases as *en artikel i Times* (en at`ikkæl i taims).

#### PLURAL.

There are five ways of forming the plural, constituting as many declensions:

##### I. (or)-plurals.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> saga (saaga) <sup>2</sup>	saga-n (saagan)
<i>Gen.</i> saga-s (saagas)	sagan-s (saagans)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> sag-or (saagor)	sagor-na (saagona)
<i>Gen.</i> sagor-s (saagos)	sagorna-s (saagonas)

<sup>1</sup> Weste gives *pronominet*.

<sup>2</sup> 'story'.

Many speakers level this declension under III, pronouncing (saager), &c.

Other examples of this declension are *blomma* (blomma) 'flower', *fara* (faara) 'danger', *tunga* (tuqa) 'tongue'. Several often (originally always) have *-e* in the written language, such as *skugge* (skugga) 'shadow', *låge* (laoga) 'flame'. Some words have dropped the (a) in the singular, such as *våg* 'wave', *ros* 'rose', plural (vaogor), (roosor). (*flagga*) sometimes becomes *flagg* in the literary language.

*historia* (hist'ooria) has *-ien*, *-ier* in the definite and plural.

The (o) of *närvaro* (naervaaro) 'presence' and *frånvaro* (fraonvaaro) 'absence' was originally the ending of the oblique case, but these words are now indeclinable in the singular, and are not used in the plural. All the words of this declension are common, those ending in *-a* in the literary language being originally feminine.

## II. (ar)-plurals.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> dal (daal) <sup>1</sup>	dal-en ('daalən)
<i>Gen.</i> dal-s (daals)	dalen-s ('daaləns)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> dal-ar (daalar)	dalar-ne (daalana)
<i>Gen.</i> dalar-s (daalas)	dalarne-s (daalanas)

So also *sky* (shyy) 'cloud', *timme* (timmə) 'hour', *ö* (əə) 'island'.

The words in *-e* sometimes take *-a* instead, *måne* (maonə) 'moon' being sometimes written *måna*. So also *droppa* (drop), *galla* (gall), *omtänka* (consideration).

*afton* (aftən) 'evening', *djefvul* (jaevul) 'devil', *morgon* (mørgøn, mørrøn) 'morning', *sommar* (sømmar) 'summer', contract in the plural like the words in *-er*, &c.: *aftnar*, *djeflar* (jaevlar), *morgnar* (maonar), *somrar*.

*dotter* (døtter) 'daughter', *moder* (moøðer, moor) 'mother', form their plurals *døttrar* (døttrar), *møðrar* (møðrar).

Many monosyllables ending in vowels throw out the vowel of the plural ending, although several of those which drop it in the spoken keep it in the written language.

<sup>1</sup> 'valley'.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> sko (skoo)	sko-n (skoon)
<i>Gen.</i> sko-s (skoos)	skon-s (skoons)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> sko-r (skoor)	skor-na ('skoona)
<i>Gen.</i> skor-s (skoos)	skorna-s ('skoonas)

The definite plural (skoona) instead of (skoona) is due to the analogy of the corresponding neuter forms of the fourth declension.

So also *-bo* in *Stockholmsboar* (støkkølsboor) 'inhabitants of Stockholm', *bro-ar* (broor) 'bridges', *ko-r* (koo) 'cows', *klo-r* (kloor) 'claws', *vrå-(a)r* (vraor) 'corners', and in the compounds *jungfru-r* (jumfruur) 'virgins', *hustru-r* (hustruwr) 'wives', *fästmö-ar* (fæstmær) 'fiancées'. The simple (fruu) and (mæe) form their plurals in (-ar), although the latter scarcely occurs in the spoken language.

Most titles ending in *-e*, drop it before a proper name: *en herre* (hærrø) 'gentleman', but (hær hæglund). So also *furste* and *furst*, &c.

### III. (ər)-plurals.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> bild (bild) <sup>1</sup>	bild-en ('bildən)
<i>Gen.</i> bild-s (bilds)	bildən-s ('bildəns)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> bilder (bildər)	bild-er (bildər)
<i>Gen.</i> bilder-s (bildəs)	bilder-na (bildəna)

So also *gäst* (jæst) 'guest', *röst* (ræst) 'voice', *nation* (natsh-oon) 'nation'.

Some have vowel-change in the plural, such as *son* (saon) 'son', pl. *söner* ('sæner), and generally with shortening also, as in *fo*t (foot), *fötter* ('fættər). Others have the vowel already short in the singular, such as *natt* (nat) 'night', *nätter* ('nættər), while others shorten a long vowel without otherwise changing it, as in *nöt* (nøet) 'nut', *nötter* ('nøttər). Observe that all these plurals have the simple tone.

Besides the above common words, there are several foreign neuters which follow this declension, especially those in *-eri*, such as *tryckeri-et* (trykkərii't) 'the printing-office', pl. *tryckerier* (trykkərii'ər).

<sup>1</sup> 'picture'.

## IV. (n)-plurals.

All the words of this declension are neuter.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> rike <sup>1</sup> (riikə)	rike-t (riikət, riikə)
<i>Gen.</i> rike-s (riikə-s)	riket-s (riikəts)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> rike-n (riikən)	riken-a (riikəna)
<i>Gen.</i> riken-s (riikəns)	rikena-s (riikənas)

So also the other neuters in (-ə), such as *ärende* (ærəndə) 'errand', *bälte* (bæltə) 'belt'.

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> bo (boo) <sup>2</sup>	bo-et (boot)
<i>Gen.</i> bo-s (boos)	boet-s (boots)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> bo-n (boon)	bon-a ('boona)
<i>Gen.</i> bon-s (boons)	bona-s ('boonas)

So also vowel-ending monosyllables, such as *bi* (bii) 'bee', *knä* (knæ) 'knee'.

The definite plural *bona* has supplanted the older *bo-en* (which is still given in some of the grammars) even in the written language. The reason evidently is that *boen* would be pronounced (boon) and thus be indistinguishable from the indefinite plural.

There is a small class of neuters in (-a) which inflect thus :

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> öga (æga) <sup>3</sup>	öga-t (ægat, æga)
<i>Gen.</i> öga-s (ægas)	ögat-s (ægats)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> ög-on (ægön)	ögon-en (ægöna)
<i>Gen.</i> ögon-s (ægöns)	ögonen-s (ægönas)

So also *öra* (oera) 'ear', *hjäta* (jæta) 'heart'.

## V. No change.

Neuters :

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> namn (namn)	namn-et ('namnet, namnə)
<i>Gen.</i> namn-s (namns)	namnet-s ('namnəts)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> namn (namn)	namn-en ('namnəna)
<i>Gen.</i> namn-s (namns)	namnen-s ('namnənas)

So also *djur* (juur) 'animal', *glas* (glass) 'glass', *örd* (oörd)

<sup>1</sup> 'kingdom'.

<sup>2</sup> 'dwelling'.

<sup>3</sup> 'eye'.

'word'. There are several divergences of detail between the written and spoken languages.

The written language makes an entirely arbitrary and unhistorical distinction between *trä* 'timber' pl. *trån* and *träd* 'tree' pl. *träd*, while in the spoken language there is only one word (*træ*) with plural (*traen*). *blad* 'leaf' pl. *blad* becomes (*blaa*) pl. (*blaan*), def. pl. ('*blaana*) in speech. *hufvud* 'head' has plural *hufvud* and *hufvuden* in the written language, but the spoken plural is always (*huuvun*), definite (*huuvuna*), with the usual dropping of (*d*). *fruntimmer* 'lady' has the written definite plural *fruntimren*, but in the spoken form is (*fruntimmøna*). The spoken definite plural of *lakan* 'sheet' is (*laakana*) contracted from *lakan-ena*.

Common substantives with vowel change :

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> gås (gaos) <sup>1</sup>	gås-en ('gaosøn)
<i>Gen.</i> gås (gaos)	gåsen-s ('gaosøns)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> gæss (jæs)	gæss-en ('jæssøna)
<i>Gen.</i> gæss (jæs)	gæssen-s ('jæssønas)

So also *mus* (*muus*) 'mouse' and *lus* (*luus*) 'louse', pl. *möss* (*mæs*), *löss* (*læs*). *smörgås* 'bread and butter' forms its plural regularly (*smørgaosar*).

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> fader (faadør, faar)	fader-n (faadøn)
<i>Gen.</i> fader-s (faadøs, faas)	fadern-s (faadøns)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> fäder ('faedør)	fädr-en ('faedøna)
<i>Gen.</i> fäder-s ('faedøs)	fädren-s ('faedønas)

So also *broder* (*broodør, broor*) 'brother', pl. *bröder* ('brædør). *man* 'man' pl. *mån* (*mæn*) and (by a Germanism) *männer* ('mænnør) hardly occurs in the spoken language, *karl* (*kaar*) pl. (*kaarar*) being used instead of it.

Common polysyllables :

<i>Indefinite.</i>	<i>Definite.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i> fiskare (fiskarø) <sup>2</sup>	fiskare-n (fiskan)
<i>Gen.</i> fiskare-s (fiskarøs)	fiskaren-s (fiskans)
<i>Pl. Com.</i> fiskare (fiskarø)	{ fiskar-ne } (fiskana)
	{ fiskare-na }
<i>Gen.</i> fiskare-s (fiskarøs)	{ fiskarne-s } (fiskanas)
	{ fiskarena-s }

<sup>1</sup> 'goose'.

<sup>2</sup> 'fisher'.



So also others in *-are* and *-er*, such as *krigare* 'warrior', *botaniker* (*bot'aanikər*) 'botanist'.

The definite pl. *fiskarena* is a purely imaginary form, which might as well be written *fiskarna*, as the two cannot be distinguished in pronunciation: it is due to the attempt to distinguish *fiskarne* = 'the fishes' from = 'the fishers'.

Words in *-erare*, such as *officerare* 'officer', generally throw off the *-are* in the sg., the tendency in speech being to make (*ɔffis'eerərə*) the pl. of (*ɔffis'eer*), def. (*ɔffis'een*). Those in *-are* drop the *e* when used as titles before proper names, as in *kejsar N.* instead of the full *kejsare* (*cæisərə*) 'emperor'. *bägare* 'beaker', *hammare* 'hammer', *kammare* 'chamber', *källare* (*cællarə*) 'cellar', sometimes have pl. *bägrar*, &c., in writing.

Participial nouns in *-ande*, such as *resande* (*reesandə*) 'traveller', follow this declension, with definite plural *resande-na* (*reesandəna*).

There is a decided tendency, especially in the spoken language, to form a distinct plural ending for the neuters of this declension by adopting the *-er* of the third declension. The neuters which take this ending are:

(1) Names of articles of commerce which otherwise do not occur in the plural, such as *salter* (*saltər*) 'different qualities of salt', *viner* 'wines', as in (*'laagər av utlænska viinər*), &c.

(2) Foreign words with the accent on the last syllable, such as *kapital*, pl. (*kapit'aalər*), the unchanged plural being often preferred in writing.

(3) Even native words (polysyllables), such as *sällskap* 'company', pl. (*sælskaapər*).

#### Articles.

(a) Definite:

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sg.</i>	den ( <i>dæn</i> )	det ( <i>dæ</i> )
<i>Pl.</i>	de ( <i>dī</i> )	

Only occurs before adjectives. When pronounced with stress it becomes a demonstrative.

(b) Indefinite :

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sg.</i>	en (en)	ett (et)
<i>Pl.</i>	ena (eena)	

Differs from the numeral *en* 'one' only in being unaccented. The plural (eena) = 'some' is used to express contempt or surprise, as in *det var ena obegripliga menniskor de här!* (dae va eena oobegripliga mænnishor di-h'aer) 'this is an incomprehensible lot of people!'

### Adjectives.

Adjectives (including the so-called pronominal adjectives) have no cases, their only inflexions being gender, number, declension (strong and weak forms), and comparison.

If, however, an adjective is used as a substantive, it takes the (s) of the genitive, as in *de godas belønning* (di goodas belønning) 'the recompense of the good', *en vansinnigs sista tanke* (en vaansinnis sista taqkə) 'a madman's last thought', but *de goda menniskornas* (mænnishonas) *belønning*, &c., in accordance with the general tendency of the language to inflect only the end of groups of words: compare *kung Karls slott* (kuq kaals slot), and the English 'King Charles's castle'. So also with the demonstratives: *dennas hus* (dænnas huus) 'this-man's house', but *denna mans hus*.

### DECLENSION.

(a) Strong.

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sg.</i>	ung (uq) <sup>1</sup>	ung-t (uqt)
<i>Pl.</i>	ung-a (uqa)	

(b) Weak.

	ung-a (uqa)
<i>Sg.</i>	} ung-a (uqa)
<i>Pl.</i>	

Observe that the strong plural and the weak endings are identical.

<sup>1</sup> 'young'.

Superlatives and past participles in *-ad*, such as *älskad* 'beloved', take *-e* instead of *-a*: strong plural and weak *vackraste* (*vakrastə*) 'most beautiful', (*ælskadə*).

In the written language the form *unge* for *unga* is often employed in the masculine both in the weak singular and plural and the strong plural, especially in the vocative, as in *store Gud!* (*stoorə guud*) 'great God!' while the spoken language has such forms as (*gooa væn*) 'good friend!' = the written *gode vän*. Those adjectives which take (*-ə*) in the spoken language (*älskad*, &c.) take it also in the written language for all genders. The distinction between *-e* and *-a* as masculine endings on the one hand, and neuter and feminine on the other, is in every way opposed to the genius of the language, which otherwise separates the neuter entirely from the masculine and feminine, if it makes any distinction at all.

Adjectives ending in (*ao*) generally throw off the inflexional vowel, as in *grå(a) hår* (*grao haor*) 'grey hairs'. *få* 'few', and *små* 'little', are always contracted.

Those in (*-ər*, *-al*, *-əl*, *-ən*) drop these vowels when the inflexional one is added, as in *tapper* ('*tappər*) 'brave', *tappra*, *gammal* (*gammal*) 'old', *gamla*. *-nnən-* becomes *-nn-*, even in the written language, as in *vunna* (from *vunnen*) *segrars fröjd* (*vunna seegras fröeid*) 'the joy of won victories'.

The neuter ending (*-t*) produces various modifications:

(1) Final long vowels are shortened: *fri* (*frii*) 'free', neut. *fritt* (*frit*); *ny* 'new', *nytt*. (*ao*) becomes (*o*): *blå* (*blao*), *blått* (*blöt*).

(2) The inflexional (*t*) is dropped after (*t*) or (*d*), changing the latter into (*t*): *fast* 'firm', neuter *fast*; *ond* 'bad', neuter *ondt* (*ont*). Preceding long vowels are shortened: *het* (*heet*) 'hot', neuter *hett* (*het*); *våt* (*vaot*) 'wet', *vått* (*vöt*)—*glad* (*glaad*) 'glad', *gladt* (*glat*); *vid* (*viid*) 'wide', *vidt* (*vit*); *bred* (*breed*) 'broad', *bredt* (*bret*), *röd* (*ræed*) 'red', *rödt* (*röt*). *god* (good) 'good' has neuter *godt* (*göt*). Length is preserved before (*t*), as in *värd* (*vaed*) 'worthy', neuter *värddt* (*vaet*). There seems to be a dislike to forming a neuter to adjectives ending in (*d*) or (*t*) preceded by a long vowel, for several of

them, such as *vred* 'angry', *flat* 'flat', *lat* 'lazy', have no neuter.

(3) *hög* (hæg) 'high' shortens its vowel in the neuter *högt* (hækt).

(4) Final (sk) drops its (k) before the inflexional (t): *frisk* 'fresh', neuter *frist* (*frist*), *svensk* (svænsk) 'Swedish', *svenskt* (svænst).

(5) Polysyllables in (-ən) drop the (n) before the neuter (t), as in *troget* (troogæt) from *trogen* 'faithful'. So also in the possessives, *mitt* (mit) from *min* (min) 'mine', &c

In other cases no changes take place except the necessary ones: *kall* (kal) 'cold', *kallt* (kalt); *viss* 'certain', *visst*; *lycklig* (lykli) 'happy', *lyckligt* (lyklit); *hel* (heel) 'whole', *helt* (heelt); *stor* (stoor) 'big', *stort* (stoot); *svag* (svaag) 'weak', *svagt* (svaakt).

*liten* 'little' is declined thus:

(a) Strong.

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>neuter.</i>
Sg.	<i>liten</i> (liitən)	<i>litet</i> (liitət, liitø)
	└──┘	
Pl.	<i>små</i> (smao)	

(b) Weak.

└──┘	
<i>lilla</i> (lilla)	

This is the only adjective which distinguishes between strong plural and weak singular and plural.

Many adjectives are indeclinable:

(1) By form: those ending in (a), (ə), (sə), such as *lika* 'like', *öde* 'desert', *gångse* (jæqsə) 'current'. Hence also present participles: *ett leende barn* (et leendə baan) 'a smiling child'.

(2) Adverbs used as adjectives: *från fjerran land* (fraon fjærran land) 'from a distant land', *inbördes krig* (inboedəs krig) 'internal (civil) war', *med särdeles nöje* (mæ saedeeləs nøie) 'with especial pleasure', all three substantives being neuter.

(3) Superlatives used predicatively with the definite article:  *dessa blommor äro vackrast*<sup>1</sup> 'these flowers are the most beautiful'; with the article *de vackraste*.

<sup>1</sup> In the spoken language this sentence (taken from the grammars) would become (*di haer blommona ae vakrast*).

(4) Various others: *bra* (braa) 'good'; *idel* and *lutter* 'mere' = German *lauter*, as in *han gör mig idel förargelser* (han joer mæi 'iidæl fœra:rjælsær) 'he causes me nothing but annoyance(s)', *det är lutter osanning* (dæ æ 'luttær oosanniç) 'it's downright falsehood'; *qvar* (kvaar) 'quiet', 'stationary', as in *stanna qvar* 'stay'; some in *-ig* in special combinations, as in *min salig far* (min saali faar) 'my deceased father', *kunglig majestät* (kuqli majæst'æt) 'his majesty'.

## COMPARISON.

The regular endings are *-are* and *-ast*, as in *stilla* 'still' (stillaræ), (stillast), *ädel* ('ædæl) 'noble', *ädlare* (ædlaræ), &c.

Some compare with vowel-change, and the terminations *-re* and *-st*: *lång* (lœç) 'long', *längre* ('læqræ), *längst* (læçst); *stor* (stoor) 'big', *större* ('stœrræ), *störst* (stœst); *ung* (uç) 'young', *yngre* ('yçræ), *yngst* (yçst). *hög* (high) has *högre* ('hœgræ), *högst* (hœçst). *smärre* ('smærræ) and *smärst* (smæst) are formed from the plural *små* of *liten* 'little', as also *färre* ('færræ) from *få* 'few'. Several have a different word for the positive: *god* (good) 'good', *bättre* ('bætræ), *bäst* (bæst); *gammal* 'old', *äldre* ('ældræ), *äldst* (ælst); *liten* (liitæn) 'little', *mindre* ('mindræ) *minst*; *mången* (mœçæn) 'many', *flere* ('fleuræ), *fleste* (flæstæ). Others have only an adverb for the positive: *ut* (uut) 'out', *yttre* ('ytræ), *ytterst* ('yttæst). Note that all (*-ræ*)s and (*-st*)s have the simple tone, whether mono- or polysyllabic.

Some of the above class also admit the regular comparison in the spoken language, sometimes with a change of meaning. Thus (*goodaræ*) is used in the sense of 'better to eat', 'better in taste', &c.

The comparative is always weak and always keeps its *-e*: it is therefore indeclinable. The disyllabic ones in *-ræ*, however, seem often to have (a) in the spoken language, especially ('fœrræ) and ('fleerræ)<sup>1</sup> in the sense of '(the) former', 'several'. The superlative *-ast* takes (-æ), while (*-st*) takes (a) in the spoken languages, *-e* (masc.) and *-a* (fem. and neut.) in the written language.

<sup>1</sup> I am not certain about the intonation in these cases.

Many adjectives do not admit of comparison, especially the indeclinables, and many polysyllables, especially those in (-isk), such as *nitisk* ('niitisk) 'zealous', comparative *mera nitisk*, and all participles, such as *älskad*, *älskande*.

## Numerals.

CARDINAL.		ORDINAL.	
1	<i>ett</i> et	<i>första</i> , -e	<i>föesta</i>
2	<i>två</i> , <i>tu</i> tvaο, tuu	<i>andra</i> , -e	<i>andra</i>
3	<i>tre</i> tree, trii	<i>tredje</i>	<i>treedje</i>
4	<i>fyra</i> fyra	<i>fjerde</i>	<i>fjaede</i>
5	<i>fem</i> fæm	<i>femte</i>	<i>fæmtə</i>
6	<i>sex</i> sæks	<i>sjette</i>	<i>shætte</i>
7	<i>sju</i> shuu	<i>sjunde</i>	<i>shundə</i>
8	<i>åtta</i> ətta	<i>åttonde</i>	<i>əttəndə</i>
9	<i>nio</i> niiə	<i>nionde</i>	<i>niiəndə</i>
10	<i>tio</i> tiie	<i>tionde</i>	<i>tiieəndə</i>
11	<i>elva</i> əlva	<i>elfte</i>	<i>əlftə</i>
12	<i>tolv</i> təlv	<i>tolfte</i>	<i>təlftə</i>
13	<i>tretton</i> trəttən	<i>trettonde</i>	<i>trəttəndə</i>
14	<i>fjorton</i> fjotən	<i>fjortonde</i>	<i>fjotəndə</i>
15	<i>femton</i> fæmtən	<i>femtonde</i>	<i>fæmtəndə</i>
16	<i>sexton</i> sækstən	<i>sextonde</i>	<i>sækstəndə</i>
17	<i>sjutton</i> shuttən	<i>sjuttonde</i>	<i>shuttəndə</i>
18	<i>aderton</i> aadətən	<i>adertonde</i>	<i>aadətəndə</i>
19	<i>nitton</i> nittən	<i>nittonde</i>	<i>nittəndə</i>
20	<i>tjugu</i> cuugə	<i>tjugonde</i>	<i>cuugəndə</i>
21	<i>tjugu ett</i> cuugə-ə't	<i>tjugonde</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>första</i>	<i>cuu(gə)-f'öesta</i>
22	<i>tjugu två</i> cuu(gə)-t'vaο	<i>tjugonde</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>andra</i>	<i>cuugə-a'ndra</i>
30	<i>trettio</i> trətti	<i>trettionde</i>	<i>trəttiəndə</i>
40	<i>fyr(a)tio</i> fœti	<i>fyr(tionde)</i>	<i>fœtiəndə</i>
50	<i>femtio</i> fæmti	<i>femtionde</i>	<i>fæmtiəndə</i>
60	<i>sextio</i> sæksti	<i>sextionde</i>	<i>sækstiəndə</i>
70	<i>sjuttio</i> shutti	<i>sjuttionde</i>	<i>shuttiəndə</i>
80	<i>ätt(at)io</i> ətti	<i>ättionde</i>	<i>əttiəndə</i>
90	<i>nittio</i> nitti	<i>nittionde</i>	<i>nittiəndə</i>
100	<i>hundra</i> 'hundra	<i>hundra</i>	'hundradə
1000	<i>tusen</i> 'tuusən	<i>tusende</i>	'tuusəndə

<sup>1</sup> Also *tjugu*.

*en, ett* differs from the indefinite article only in having full stress.

(*tuu*) for (*tvao*) is only used in certain collocations, such as *klockan tu* (or *två*) (*klökkan tuu*) 'two o'clock', *skära itu* (*shaera ituu*) 'cut in two', *de unga tu* (*di uqa tuu*) 'the young couple'. For *två* and *tre* the literary language often uses *tvenne* (*tvænne*) and *trenne* (*trænne*).

*båda* (*baoda*) and *begge* (*bæggə*) are employed without distinction to signify 'both'. They are indeclinable as adjectives, but take the (s) of the genitive when used as substantives.

For *femtio två*, &c., *två och* (and) *femti* (*tvao o fæmti*) is sometimes used, as in English.

In compound ordinals the spoken language gives the ordinal inflexion only to the last, while the written language inflects the preceding tens as well, but not generally the hundreds and higher numbers: *femtionde tredje* (*fæmti treedjə*), *hundra(de) femtionde tredje året* ('*hundra fæmti treedjə* 'acret).

## Pronouns.

### PERSONAL.

The personal (substantival) pronouns have, like the substantives, two cases, which are, however, quite distinct from those of the substantives both in form and meaning. The common case of the substantives is in the pronouns separated into a nominative and an oblique case, which is in meaning both accusative and dative. The genitive is only preserved as a possessive (adjective) pronoun.

#### (1) First Person.

*Sg. Nom.* jag (*jaa*)  
*Obl.* mig (*mæi*)  
*Pl. Nom.* vi (*vii*)  
*Obl.* oss (*os*)

#### (2) Second Person.

du (*duu*)  
 dig (*dæi*)  
 ni (*nii*)  
 eder, er (*eer*)

## (3) Third Person.

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
<i>Sg. Nom.</i>	han, den (han, dæn)	hon, den (hon, dæn)	det (dæ)
<i>Obl.</i>	{ honom, den { (hønnöm, -øn, dæn) }	{ henne, den { (hænnə, -na, dæn) }	det (dæ)
<i>Pl. Nom.</i>		de (dii, döm)	
<i>Obl.</i>		dem (dæm, döm)	

(4) Reflexive, *obl. sg. and pl.* : sig (sæi).

All long vowels are shortened when unaccented, that of (duu) changing its quality at the same time.

(dæ), (dii), and (dæm) are also demonstratives. (dæn) is only used of animals and things; it is, therefore, of the common gender.

The oblique plural (döm) is common in the Stockholm dialect, and is often used in the nominative as well.

The forms (-øn), (-na), and (-öt)<sup>1</sup> are enclitic accusatives, as in *tag fatt honom* (taa fat-n) 'take hold of him', *såg du henne?* (saog-du-na) 'did you see her?', *jag tycker om det* (ja 'tykkær øm-öt) 'I like it', *gif hit det* (jee hiit-öt) 'give it here'.

(han) is sometimes shortened enclitically in the same way, as *sade han* (saa-n) 'said he'.

An old genitive of the reflexive pronoun in *sins emellan* (sins em`ellan) 'among themselves'.

## POSSESSIVE.

## (a) Declinable.

*min* 'mine', *mit*; *mina* (min, mit; miina).

So also *din* 'thine', *sin* (reflexive = his, her, its, their).

*vår* 'our', *vårt*; *våra* (vaor, vaot; vaora).

*eder, er* 'your', *edert, ert*; *edra, era* (eer, eet; eera).

An older inflexion in *ers majestät* 'your majesty', *ers nåd* 'your grace'.

<sup>1</sup> The first two are the old accusatives *hann* and *hana*.



(b) Indeclinable :

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
<i>Sg.</i>	hans, dess (hans, dæs)	hennes, dess (hænnæs, dæs)	dess (dæs)
<i>Pl.</i>	deras (deeras)		

The masculine and feminine (dæs) is applied only to animals and things.

*egen* (eegän),  *eget*, pl. *egna* (eegna) 'own', is always strong : *hans eget hus* 'his own house'.

## DEMONSTRATIVE.

*den* (dæn) 'that' and *denna* (dænna) 'this' are used both as substantives and adjectives. In the former case they are simply personal pronouns with a special demonstrative force.

(a) Substantival :

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i>	den (dæn)	det (dæ)
<i>Gen.</i>	dens (dæns)	dess (dæs)
<i>Pl. Com.</i>	de (dii, døm)	
<i>Gen.</i>	deras (deeras)	

The genitive singular (dæns) is literary, and occurs only in a determinative sense with a following relative sentence, as in *på dens sida stå, som här ditt ord försvara må* (pø dæns siida stao, som hae dit ood fœs'vaara mao) 'stand on his (that-one's) side who can defend thy word (cause) here'. In all other cases the genitive is equivalent to a possessive pronoun and takes (dæs) in the common gender as well as the neuter.

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sg. Com.</i>	denne, denna (dænna)	detta (dætta)
<i>Gen.</i>	dennes, dennas (dænnas)	dettas (dættas)
<i>Pl. Com.</i>	desse, dessa (dæssa)	
<i>Gen.</i>	desses, dessas (dæssas)	

The genitive occurs practically only as a possessive used absolutely, *det är dennes* (dæ æ dænnas) 'it is this-man's', for instance, being entirely parallel to *det är mitt* 'it is mine'.

## (b) Adjectival:

	<i>Common.</i>	<i>Neuter.</i>
Sg.	den (dæn)	det (dæ)
	└──┘	
Pl.	de (dii, døm)	
Sg.	denne, -a (dænna)	detta (dætta)
	└──┘	
Pl.	desse-a (dæssa)	

The possessive demonstratives (dæs), (deeras), (dænnas), (dæssas), may be regarded as indeclinable adjectives.

The old demonstrative *hin* survives only in *hin Onde* (hin ondø) 'the Evil One', shortened into *Hin* (hiin).

## INTERROGATIVE.

*vem* (vem) 'who', is both nominative and accusative; neut. *hvad* (vaa). The written language sometimes has an archaic nominative *ho* (hoo). The possessive adjective is *hvars* in the written, (hvems) in the spoken language. (vem) does not seem to be used in the plural, which is expressed by various circumlocutions.

*hvilken* (vilkøn), *hvilket* (vilkøt, vilkø), *hvilka* (vilka) 'which', is both a substantive and an adjective, taking the (s) of the genitive in the former case. In the spoken language the forms ('høkkøn, 'økken) also occur.

*hurudan*, -t (huurud'an, -t), *hurudana* (huurud'anna), as in *hurudan är han?* (huurud'an æ han) 'what is he like?' (what is his character?) is only an adjective.

## RELATIVE.

*vilken*, with possessive *vilkens* or *hvars* (vas) is both substantive and objective. *som* (søm) is substantive and indeclinable. Relatives are not much used in speech.

## INDEFINITE.

*annan*, *annat*; *andra* 'other'.

*mången* (møqøn), *månget* (møqøt, møqø); *många* 'many'.

*någon* (naogøn, naon, nøn), *något* (naogöt, naot, naögö);  
*några* (naogra, naora) 'some'.

*ingen* (iqən), *intet* (intət, iqə); *inga* (iqa) 'none'.

The spoken neuter (iqə) stands for *inget*. (intət) never drops its (t), for it would otherwise be confused with (intə) = 'not', which in the written language appears as *icke* or *ej*. The substantival *intet* of the written language is generally represented by (iqəntiq) in speech, and *något* becomes (naogəntiq, naontiq, nøntiq) in the same way.

*sådan*, -t, *sådana* (saodana) 'such', and *dyltik*, -t, -a (dyylika) 'such', are partly demonstrative. In the spoken language the latter sometimes appears in the form of ('tøkkən), like ('høkkən) for *hvilken*.<sup>1</sup>

*sjelv* (shælv), *sjelf(t)*, *sjelfva* 'self', is added to a substantive in the strong, and prefixed in the weak form, in the latter case having a more intensitive meaning: *han sjelf* (han shælv) 'he himself', *sjelfva kungen* (shælva 'kuqən) = 'even the king', *i sjelfva verket* (i shælva 'værkə) 'actually'. A superlative form is sometimes used in the latter case: *sjelfvaste kungen*.

*hvar* (vaar), *hvert* (vat) 'each' has no plural. An old genitive is preserved in the phrase *i hvars mans mun* (i vas mans mun) 'in every man's mouth'.

The substantival *hvarandra* (vara`ndra, var`an) 'one-, each-other', has a gen., but is otherwise indeclinable. It is both dual and plural in meaning.

The following are also indeclinable except in the genitive:  
*enda* (enda) 'single'.

*hvarje* (varjə) 'each'.

*samme*, -a (samma) 'same'.

*ömse* (əmsə) 'various' plur.

There are many other pronouns formed by running two simple ones together, the last only being inflected. Thus *hvarenda* (vare`nda) 'every single one', 'every one', has gen. *hvarendas*. Its neuter is *hvertenda*. So also *hvarannan* (vara`nnan) 'every other (day)', gen. *hvarannans*, neut. *hvertannat*.

The combinations *hvar sin*, *hvar sina*, &c., are regarded

<sup>1</sup> The initial (t) corresponds to the old Swedish þ (þolkin).

as single words, and take a preposition before them, as in *herrarne bjödo armen åt hvar sin dam* (hærrana bjæd 'armøn aot vaa sin daam), literally 'the gentlemen offered their arms to each-his-lady'.

The use of *-dera* as an affix to various kinds of pronouns deserves notice. *dera* was originally the genitive plural of *den*, but is now only added to pronouns to give them a more definite sense. Thus the simple *hvar* (vaar) 'each' may apply to an indefinite number of objects, but *hvardera*, neut. *hvardtera*, literally 'each-of-them', both generally pronounced (*vadeera*), implies certain definitely known objects, as in *han bjöd henne och hennes moder hvardera armen* (han bjæd hænnæ æk hænnæs moor *vadeera* 'armøn) 'he offered (to) her and her mother (to) each (of them) his arm'. Although these compounds may also refer to three or more definite objects, as in *hvardtera af de tre* (*vadeera* av di tree) 'each of the three (things mentioned above)', they generally refer to two only, as in the first example. In fact, such forms as *hvilken-dera* (*vilkændeera*) and *ingen-dera* (*iqændeera*) may often be considered as duals to the singulars (*vilkæn*), (*iqæn*), and the plurals (*vilka*), (*iqa*). (*endeera*), (*etdeera*) 'one (of them)' is, of course, necessarily singular.

These compounds were originally employed only as substantives, in which case they may have a genitive in (s), but they now occur as adjectives, as in *hvardera damen* (*vadeera* 'daamøn) 'each lady'.

It will be seen that the first elements are declined as independent adjectives.

Even *båda*, *begge* 'both' may take the affix (*-deera*), although perfectly definite in themselves. A curious pleonastic form is *beggedera delarne*, literally 'both-of-the-two parts', as in *jag förmodar att ni har en fader eller en moder i lifvet, kanske beggedera delarne* (ja fœrm'oodar at ni haar en faar 'æller en moor i 'liivæt, kanshæ bæggædeera deelana) 'I suppose you have a father or mother alive, perhaps both'.

## Verbs.

The verbal inflexions are *tense, mood, voice, and noun-forms*, which latter are either substantival or adjectival. In the written language they also distinguish *number and person*. The tenses are *present and past*. The moods are *indicative, subjunctive, and imperative*. The subjunctive is nearly extinct in the spoken language, being generally levelled under the indicative. The voices are *active and passive*, the latter being often equivalent to the Greek *middle voice*. The substantival noun-forms are the *infinitive*; the adjectival, the *present participle active* and the *past participle passive*. The third noun-form, the *supine*, is a special form of the neuter of the past participle only used in combination with the auxiliary *hafva* 'have' in an active sense; it is neither substantival nor adjectival, having no meaning by itself. In *ett fångadt djur* (et fågat juur) 'a caught wild beast' (fågat) is a participle, in *han har fångat ett djur* (han haar fågat et juur) it is supine. Here there is no distinction beyond the artificial written one, but in the strong verbs there is, *gripet* (griipət) 'grasped', neuter participle, being distinct from the supine *gripit* (griipit).

The following are the regular endings :

(a) Written language :

	Indicative.		Subjunctive.				
		<i>Present.</i>					
<i>Sg.</i>	-r		-e				
<i>Pl. 1.</i>	-a		-o				
2.	-en		en				
3.	-a		-e				
		<i>Past.</i>					
	<table style="display: inline-table; border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Weak.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Strong.</td> </tr> </table>	Weak.	Strong.		<table style="display: inline-table; border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Weak.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Strong.</td> </tr> </table>	Weak.	Strong.
Weak.	Strong.						
Weak.	Strong.						
<i>Sg.</i>	-de <sup>1</sup> —		-de    -e				
<i>Pl. 1.</i>	-de    -o		-de    -e				
2.	-den    -en		-den    -en				
3.	-de    -o		-de    -e				

<sup>1</sup> Also *te, &c.*

*Imperative.*

<i>Sg.</i> 2.	—
<i>Pl.</i> 1.	-om
2.	-en

*Noun Forms.*

	<i>Infinitive</i> -a
<i>Partic. Present</i>	-ande
„ <i>Past</i>	-d (-t), en (strong)
<i>Supine</i>	-t, it (strong)

From these active endings the passive ones are formed by adding *s*, before which *r* is dropped. The past participle is, of course, already passive.

(b) Spoken language :

Active.		Passive.								
	<i>Present.</i>									
-r		-s								
	<i>Past.</i>									
<table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Weak.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Strong.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">-də (-tə)</td> <td style="text-align: center;">—</td> </tr> </table>	Weak.	Strong.	-də (-tə)	—		<table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Weak.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Strong.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">-dəs (-təs)</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-s</td> </tr> </table>	Weak.	Strong.	-dəs (-təs)	-s
Weak.	Strong.									
-də (-tə)	—									
Weak.	Strong.									
-dəs (-təs)	-s									
	<i>Imperative.</i>									
— (2 pers. sg. pl.)		-s								
	<i>Noun Forms.</i>									
	<i>Infinitive</i> -a	-as								
<i>Partic. Present</i>	-andə									
„ <i>Past</i>	-d (-t)									
<i>Supine</i>	-t, -it	-ts, -its								

The present subjunctive is never used in the spoken language, except in a few traditional formulae, such as *lefvē kungen!* (leevə 'kuqən) 'long live the king!' If it had been preserved generally, it would probably have ended in (-a) in accordance with the general tendency of the language, and it is possible that such a subjunctive may be preserved in the phrase, *kosta hvad som helst måste jag skaffa mig visshet*

(*kösta* vaa sòm hælst, mæstə ja skaffa mæi<sup>1</sup> visheet) 'cost what it may, I must get certain information', although the (*kösta*) may also be an infinitive. In the past the distinction can only be expressed in the strong verbs, as in *var* (vaar) 'was', *vore* (voorə) 'were', *fick* (fik) 'got', *finge* (fiqə), and many speakers keep up the use of the subjunctive more or less imperfectly in these forms; others, again, never employ such forms as (fiqə) at all, substituting (fik).

The (t) of the supine is often dropped after an unaccented vowel, *elskat* 'loved', *bundit* 'bound', becoming (*ælska*), (*bundi*).

The form (-ts, -its) only occurs in a middle sense in the spoken language, as in *han hade blygts* (*han haddə blyykts*) 'he had been-ashamed', although the written language employs it occasionally as a passive, as in *han hade sårats* 'he had been wounded', where the spoken form would be (*han haddə bliivit saorad*). The plural passive imperatives such as *kalloms* 'let us be called', *kallens* 'be ye called', very seldom occur except in grammars, and the spoken passive imperative occurs only in a middle sense, as in *gläds!* (*glæds*) 'rejoice!'

The passive (s) sometimes shortens the preceding vowel, as in *slås* (*slös*) 'to fight' (middle), *törs* (*töes*) 'dares', (pres.), infn. *töras* (*toeras*).

## WEAK CONJUGATION.

## (1) a-class.

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
<i>Present</i>	kallar <sup>1</sup>	kallas
<i>Past</i>	kalladə, kalla	kalladəs
<i>Imperative</i>	kalla	(kallas)
<i>Infinitive</i>	kalla	kallas
<i>Partic. Pres.</i>	kallandə	—
„ <i>Pret.</i>	kallad ( <i>neut.</i> kallat)	—
<i>Supine</i>	.kallat	(kallats)

<sup>1</sup> 'calls',

The great majority of verbs follow this class. Observe that as the (t) of the supine is often dropped, the only necessarily distinctive active forms are (kalla, kallar, kallandə).

(2) *də*-class.

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
<i>Present</i>	'brænnər <sup>1</sup>	bræns
<i>Past</i>	brændə	brændəs
<i>Imperative</i>	bræn	(bræns)
<i>Infinitive</i>	brænna	brænnas
<i>Partic. Pres.</i>	brænnandə	—
„ <i>Pret.</i>	brænd ( <i>neut.</i> brænt)	—
<i>Supine</i>	brænt	(brænts)

After voiceless consonants the (-də) of the past becomes (-tə), as in (læstə), (sæktə), from *lösa* 'loosen', *söka* 'seek'. Exceptionally also in a few others: (bej'yntə, kræntə, ræntə, syyntəs, fœrm'aeltə), from *begynna* 'begin', *kröna* 'crown', *röna* 'experience', *synas* 'seem', *förmäla* 'mention'.

(ə) is retained in the passive after (s) as in ('læsəs), the written languages generally preserving *e* after other consonants as well, as in *brænnəs* ('brænnəs).

The (-ər) of the present is dropped after (r) and (l) preceded by long vowels as in (han hoer, han taol) from *höra* 'hear', *tåla* 'endure'. (d) is dropped medially in (han klaer) from *kläda* 'clothe', and several others.

The long vowel of verbs in (d) or (t) is shortened before inflexional (d)s or (t)s, as in the pasts (pryddə, mättə) and the supines (pryt, mät) from *pryda* 'adorn' and *möta* 'meet'. (d) and (t), preceded by consonants, take no additional (d) or (t): (sændə, sänt) from *senda* 'send', (lyftə, lyft) from *lyfta* 'lift'. *nemna* 'name', drops its (n) before (d) and (t): *nemnde* (næmdə), *nemnt*, (næmt).

The following in (j) have vowel-change in the past forms, together with loss of the (j) and varying quantity:

<sup>1</sup> 'burns' (trans.).



<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Past.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>
<i>glädja</i> ( <i>glædja</i> ) 'gladden'	gladde (gladdə)	gladt (a)	gläder (glædər)	gläd (glæd)
<i>välja</i> ( <i>vælja</i> ) 'choose'	valde (vaaldə)	valt (aa)	väljer (væljər)	välj (vælj)
<i>sälja</i> ( <i>sælja</i> ) 'sell'	sålde (söldə)	sålt (ə)	säljer (sæljər)	sälj (sælj)
<i>vänja</i> ( <i>vaenja</i> ) 'accustom'	vande (vaandə)	vant (aa)	vänjer (vænjər)	vänj (vaenj)
<i>dölja</i> ( <i>dölja</i> ) 'hide'	dolde (daoldə)	dolt (ao)	döljer (døljər)	dölj (dølj)
<i>smörja</i> ( <i>smørja</i> ) 'smear'	smorde (smoode)	smort (oo)	smörjer (smoer)	smörj (smørj)

Like *glädja* also *städja* (*staedja*) 'arrange', like *välja* also *dväljas* 'dwell', *qvälja* 'torment', *tälja* 'count'. The written *rödja* 'clear away', *rödde* appears in the spoken language as (*rœia*), being thus confounded with *röja* 'betray'.

The following have no (j) :

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Past.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>
<i>tämja</i> ( <i>taema</i> ) 'tame'	tamde (taamdə)	tamt (aa)	tämjer (taemər)	tämj (taem)
<i>lägga</i> ( <i>lægga</i> ) 'lay'	lade (laa)	lagt (lakt)	läggör (läggör)	lägg (læg)
<i>säga</i> ( <i>sæia</i> ) 'say'	sade (saa)	sagt (sakt)	säger (sæiər)	säg (sæi)
<i>sätta</i> ( <i>sætta</i> ) 'place'	satte (sattə)	satt (sat)	sätter (sættər)	sätt (sæt)
<i>böra</i> ( <i>boera</i> ) 'ought'	borde (boodə)	bort (boot)	bör (boer)	—
<i>göra</i> ( <i>joera</i> ) 'do'	gjorde (joodə)	gjort (jooft)	gör (joer)	gör (joer)
—	torde (toodə)	—	tör <sup>1</sup> (toer)	—
<i>töras</i> ( <i>toeras</i> ) 'dare'	tordes (toodəs)	torts (toots)	törs (töes)	törs (töes)

*bringa* 'bring', *bragte* (*braktə*), *bragt* (*brakt*), is altogether irregular.

Some middle verbs throw out the vowel of the infinitive and present, such as *lyss* (*lys*) 'listen',<sup>2</sup> which is both in-

<sup>1</sup> 'may', impers.

<sup>2</sup> Contracted from *lydas*.

finitive (at lys) and present (han lys), the preterite being (lyddəs). So also *leds* (les), *leddəs* 'to be weary'.

Some verbs, which in the written language are of the preceding conjugation, often follow this one in the spoken language. Such verbs are *tala* 'speak', *spela* 'play'; *låna* 'borrow', *mena* 'mean', *visa* 'show', *ropa* 'call', the spoken preterites being (taaltə, speeltə, laontə, meentə, viistə, rooptə).

Some have only the supine (past participle) according to the *a*-class. Such are *lefva* 'live', present *lefver* ('leevər), supine *lefvat*, and *duga* 'avail', *dugde* (duugdə)—but also *dugade*—*dugat*.

### (3) *ddə*-class.

Monosyllables ending in long vowels, to which the endings are added without any intermediate vowel, except in the present participle, the (a) of the infinitive being dropped, and which are shortened in the past forms, whose medial (d) is doubled.

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
<i>Present</i>	troor <sup>1</sup>	troos
<i>Past</i>	troddə	troddəs
<i>Imperative</i>	troo	(troos)
<i>Infinitive</i>	troo	troos
<i>Partic. Pres.</i>	trooəndə	—
„ <i>Pret.</i>	trod ( <i>neut.</i> trot)	—
<i>Supine</i>	trot	(trots)

The present subjunctive of these verbs is disused even in the grammars. So also *ske* (shee) 'happen', *skedde*, *skett*, *bo* 'dwell', *nå* 'reach' past *nådde* (noddə).

### STRONG CONJUGATION.

The following paradigm will show the endings of the spoken language:

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
<i>Present</i>	'bindər	bin(d)s
<i>Past</i>	band	ban(d)s
<i>Imperative</i>	bind	(bin(d)s)
<i>Infinitive</i>	binda	bindas
<i>Partic. Pres.</i>	bindandə	—
„ <i>Pret.</i>	bundən, -ə(t)	—
<i>Supine</i>	bundi(t)	(bundits)

<sup>1</sup> 'believes'.

In the written language the past has\* pl. *bund-o, -en, -o* and subj. sg. *bunde*, pl. *bund-e, -en, -e*; the other written forms according to the paradigm p. 421.

The final (*t*) of the neut. past partic. and of the supine is often dropped.

Verbs in (*r*) and (*l*) after a long vowel drop the (*-er*) of the present, as in *far* (*faar*) 'goes', *bär* (*baer*) 'bears', *stjäl* (*shael*) 'steals' from *fara, bära, stjälä*.

There is great fluctuation between strong and weak forms, the latter generally predominating in speech. Strong past participles are often preserved as adjectives, as in the case of *vuxen* (*vuksän*) 'grown up' contrasting with the verb *växa*, *-te, -t*.

In the grammars the strong verbs are divided into two classes: (1) those which change the vowel of the infinitive only in the past, and (2) those which change it in the past participle as well.

## I. Class.

## (1) ii- ee-verbs.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
bita ( <i>biita</i> ) 'bite'	bet ( <i>beet</i> )	beto	bitet ( <i>biitit</i> )
blifva ( <i>blii</i> ) 'become'	blef ( <i>bleev</i> )	blefyo	blifvit ( <i>bliivit</i> )
skina ( <i>shiina</i> ) 'shine'	sken ( <i>sheen</i> )	skeno	skinit ( <i>shiinit</i> )

So many others. (*blii*) has present *blifver* (*bliir*). *tiga* 'be silent' has supine *tegat*.

## (2) aa- oo-verbs.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
draga ( <i>draa</i> ) 'draw'	drog ( <i>droog</i> )	drogo	dragit ( <i>draagit</i> )
fara ( <i>faara</i> ) 'go'	for ( <i>foor</i> )	foro	farit ( <i>faarit</i> )
taga ( <i>taa</i> ) 'take'	tog ( <i>toog</i> )	togo	tagit ( <i>taagit</i> )

The presents are (*draar, faar, taar*), in the written language *drager, far, tager*.

In this group are also included:

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
falla ( <i>falla</i> ) 'fall'	föll ( <i>fəl</i> )	föllo	fallit ( <i>fallit</i> )
hålla ( <i>hølla</i> ) 'hold'	höll ( <i>həl</i> )	höllo	hällit ( <i>høllit</i> )

## (3) uu-verbs.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
bjuda (bjuuda) 'offer'	bjöd (bjæd)	bjödo	bjudit (bjuudit)
hugga (hugga) 'hew'	högg (hæg)	höggo	huggit (huggit)
tjuta (cuuta) 'howl'	tjöt (cæöt)	tjöto	tjutit (cuutit)

## (4) Miscellaneous.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
ligga (ligga)	låg (laog)	lågo	legat (leegat)
gifva (jee)	gaf (gaav)	gåfvo	gifvit (jet)
bedja (bee)	bad (baad)	bådo	bedit (bet)
äta (aeta)	åt (aot)	åto	ätit (aetit)
komma (kømma)	kom (køm)	kømmo	kommit (kømmit)
sofva (saova)	sof (saov)	sofvo	sofvit (saovit)
gråta (graota)	grät (graet)	gråto	gråtit (graotit)
låta (laota)	lät (laet)	låto	låtut (laotit)

Note the presents (jeer) and (beer), written *gifver*, *beder*.

## II. Class.

## (1) i-class.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
binda (binda) 'bind'	band (band)	bundo	bundit (bundit)
drieka (drikka) 'drink'	drack (drak)	drucko	druckit (druckit)

So also in many others. *sitta* has supine *setat* as well as *suttit*.

In careless speech the supines (bindit), (sittit), may be heard, with the vowel of the infinitive.

## (2) æe-class.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
bera (baera) 'bear'	bar (baar)	buro	burit (buurit)
skära (shaera) 'cut'	skar (skaar)	skuro	skurit (skuurit)
stälja (shaela) 'steal'	stal (staal)	stulo	stulit (stuulit)

## (3) yy-verbs.

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
bryta (bryyta) 'break'	bröt (bræöt)	bröto	brutit (bruutit)
frysa (fryysa) 'freeze'	frös (fræös)	fröso	frusit (fruusit)

So many others.

In careless speech the supines (brytit), &c., occur.

## (4) Miscellaneous.

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Past Sg.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Supine.</i>
få (fao) 'get'	fick (fik)	fingo	fått (föt)
gå (gao) 'go'	gick (jik)	gingo	gått (göt)
le (lee) 'smile'	log (loog)	logo	lett (let)
slå (slao) 'strike'	slog (sloog)	slogo	slagit (slaagit)
dö (dæ) 'die'	dog (doog)	dogo	dött (döt)
stå (stao) 'stand'	stod (stood, stoog)	stodo	stått (stöt)
svärja (svaera) 'swear'	svor (svoor)	svoro	svurit (svuurit)
se (see) 'see'	såg (saog)	sågo	sett (set)

## IRREGULARS.

*vara* 'be':

*är* (æ), *var* (vaar, va); *var!* (vaar); *vara* (vaara), *-ande*, *-it*. The written language has present plural *äro*, *-en*, *-o*, preterite plural *voro*, &c., preterite subjunctive *vore*, &c. (*voore*) seems also to be common in the spoken language.

*varda* 'become':

Occurs in speech only in the past *vardt* (vat).

*hafva* 'have', belongs to the second weak class, but is made irregular by contraction:

*hafver*, *har* (haar), *hade* (haddæ); *haf!* (haa); *hafva* (haa), *hafvande* (haavandæ), *haft* (haft).

*skal* (ska) 'shall', *skulle* (skulle); infinitive *skola* (skoola). The last form is also plural present in the written language.

*må* (mao) 'may', *mätte* (möttæ).

*måste* (møstæ) 'must', past *måste* (møste), supine *måst* (møst, møstat). The spoken language also has an infinitive (*møsta*).

*kan* (kan) 'can', *kunde* (kundæ); infinitive *kunna*, supine *kunnat*. Written present plural *kunna*. *vil* (vil) 'will', *vill*; *vilja*, *velat* (veelat). Written present plural *vilja*.

## SYNTAX.

The object of the following brief notes is not only to indicate some of the divergences between the spoken and written language, but also to call attention to some features of the language common to both of them, but which have not been treated of in the ordinary grammars, or else are of exceptional interest to students of English.

In the numerals we must note the colloquial addition of (*stykken*) 'pieces' to the numerals when used absolutely, even in speaking of persons, as in *vi voro fem, sex stykken* (*vi voro fæm, sæx stykkæn*) 'there were five or six of us'.

In the pronouns we need only mention the strictly reflexive use of *sin* and *sig*, exactly as in Latin, but lost in Danish. Even in Swedish some speakers are less accurate than others in distinguishing between *sin* and *hans* (*suus, ejus*), *sig* and *dem*, &c. The different modes of address, on the other hand, require a more detailed account.

The pronouns of the second person are (*duu*) and (*nii*), which latter has entirely superseded the older (*ii*) in the spoken language, and is employed in addressing a single person as well as several. But in polite society the address in the third person has always been preferred. The peculiarity of Swedish is that it does not take the pronoun of the third person,<sup>1</sup> but always employs some *substantive*, either a general or special title, a proper name, or a combination of title and name.

The more general addresses are (*hæn*), a shortened form of (*hærræ-n*) for gentlemen, (*fruntimræt*) for ladies generally, (*fruu*) for married ladies, (*'frækæn*)=(*frækæn-æn*) for unmarried ladies of noble birth, and (*måmsæl*) for the same when not noble, all in the definite form, 'the gentleman', &c. All these titles (with the exception perhaps of the last) originally implied nobility, but they gradually became so vulgarized by constant and indiscriminate use, that, with the

<sup>1</sup> (*han*) and (*hon*) were, however, formerly employed as familiar addresses towards an inferior.

exception of (*frækən*), they lost all distinctiveness, and are now almost entirely disused among the upper classes. Thirty years ago, however, they were in general use, the distinction between (*frækən*) and (*mams'æl*) being still strictly kept up. Now, however, the latter is considered derogatory, the title (*frækən*) being extended indiscriminately to all classes, (*mams'æl*) being thus entirely discarded.<sup>1</sup> The 'pronouns' (*hæn*), (*fruntimrət*) and (*fruu*) are only employed by inferiors in addressing their superiors; also by shopkeepers to their customers. The following examples, taken from Blanche's 'Berättelser', will show the older usage: *æ hæn gaalən?* 'are you mad?' *fruu mətə haa braa starka 'tænder fœ siina aor* 'you seem to have very good teeth for your age', *fruu laggə, saa hær 'hassel 'til mæi haeröms'sistens, ja æ mykkə nœid mæ fruuns saon* 'Mrs. L., said Mr. H. to me lately, I am much satisfied with your son'.

In the upper classes special titles are now employed as addresses, a count, for instance, being addressed as (*greevən*), a professor as (*prof'æsson*), a countess as (*greev'innan*), &c. When there is no convenient title, the name is employed with (*hær*) or (*fruu*) prefixed: (*vil hær hægglund . . .*) (*vil fruu hægglund . . .*). Unmarried ladies can be, and generally are, addressed simply as (*frækən*) without the necessity of adding the name, this title not having entirely lost its original complimentary meaning. When both name and title are unknown, the direct address is avoided as much as possible, often by considerable circumlocutions, except, of course, when (*frækən*) can be employed, and in the last extremity recourse is had to (*hæn*), (*fruntimrət*) or (*fruu*).

Inferiors are addressed by (*nii*), which is the main reason of this word not being considered polite to an equal. The owner of an estate or factory often addresses his workmen with (*duu*) instead of (*nii*). The king also addresses his subjects with (*duu*).

Many attempts have been made to abolish these cumbrous

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, still preserved on visiting cards, but in the more dignified form of *mademoiselle*.

formulae, and to introduce the convenient and unambiguous (nii) into society as well as into novels and plays, where it is now universally employed, having, indeed, always been the regular form on the stage. Although the reform has only been partially carried through, it has won many adherents, and there can be little doubt that it will prevail in the end.<sup>1</sup> The present forms are certainly a strange anachronism in a country where political and social freedom has made such advances, and where the barriers between the different classes of society are so slight.

The use of (duu) in Swedish is much the same as in German. Children, however, sometimes address their parents in the third person with (pappa) and (mamma), and parents sometimes address their children by their Christian name instead of with (duu), and even brothers and sisters sometimes address one another in the same way: (vil pappa haa . . .), (vil aadalf haa . . .) 'will you have . . .?' Children are addressed by adults either by their Christian name or with (duu). Intimate friends employ (duu), and this address is often adopted even on a very slight acquaintance, in order to avoid the troublesome title forms.

When several persons are addressed, (nii) is employed as the plural both of (duu) and of itself, or (hærrana), (daamæna), &c., are used. The collective neuter (hæskaapæt) is used to include both sexes, not only towards superiors, but also among equals. Examples are: (hærrana toodæ vaara gooa o stiiga uut) 'please alight, gentlemen', (huur mæqa pæs'ooneær æ hæskaapæt? 'how many are you?')

The substantives employed instead of pronouns are generally not repeated more than once in a sentence, but are replaced by the reflexive pronoun of the third person: (har hæ'n stæt sæi?) 'did you hurt yourself?' (har 'frækæn stæt sæi), (goo(d)a pappa, luqna sæi) 'dear father, calm yourself'. Formerly, however, the substantive was sometimes repeated, as in (guud fœl'aotæ pat'roon pat'roons syndær) 'master, may God forgive your sins!'

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that the oblique (eer) is more polite than the nominative (nii), especially when written out in full *Eder*.



In the spoken language the demonstrative *denne* (and *hin*) is very seldom used, the English 'this' and 'that' being expressed by (*dæn haer*) and (*dæn daer*) respectively, literally 'the-one here', 'the-one there': (*dæn haer 'bookæn*) 'this book', (*dæn daer 'booken*) 'that book'; *det här blifver aldeles odrägligt* (*dæ h'aer bliir aldeles oodraeglit*) 'this is getting quite intolerable'. The same use of (*haer*) and (*daer*) occurs with other demonstratives, not only pronouns, such as *sådan* (*saodan, saon*) 'such', as in *låt oss nu slippa flera sådana der narrstreck* (*laot os nu slippa flera saona dae nastrek*) 'let us have no more of such tricks', but also the adverb *så* (*sao*) 'so', (*sø-h'aer*) especially being always used in speech instead of the literary *sålunda*: (*han taala sø h'aer*)=literary *han talar sålunda*, 'he speaks in this way'; (*du faor intø joera sø d'aer*) 'you mustn't do that (so)'.

In the verbs the use of the preterite for the English present in such exclamations as 'that's true!' is noteworthy. The Swedes always say *det var sant!* (*'dæ va sant*), *det var lustigt* (*'dæ va lustit*) 'that's a good joke!' although there is no idea of the statement applying to the past only. Indeed, a Swede will answer such an exclamation as (*'dæ va besynnølit*) 'that's strange!' with (*næi, dæ æ intø besynnølit*) 'no, it is not strange'.

The Swedish prepositions offer many very remarkable features. There is a strong tendency to make compounds of the simple prepositions, especially in speech, (ii) 'in' being replaced by *uti* (*uutii*) 'out-in', (*aav*) 'of' by (*uutaa'f, uutaov*) 'out-of', without any change of meaning or application, as in (*en uutaov os*) 'one of us'. Others, such as (*uutæ'fter*) 'along', = 'out-after', have special meanings. 'up' and 'down' are expressed by *uppför* (*upfær*)='up-before' and *utför* (*uutfær*)='out-before', as in (*upfær en bakkø*) 'up a hill', (*han jik uutfæ trappona*) 'he went downstairs'. In the latter word the idea of 'descent' is implied in that of 'forwards'.

One great difficulty in acquiring a command of the Swedish prepositions lies in their peculiar *specialization* of those various abstract relations which in English, French, and

German are all generally expressed by one preposition, 'of', 'de', or 'von', or, in English and German, by the genitive. Thus the English 'widow of . . .' is expressed in Swedish by 'widow after . . .', 'inhabitants of . . .' by 'inhabitants in . . .', etc., the general English abstraction being split up into a number of more special and concrete expressions for each relation. In the first of these two phrases the genitive is expressed by a *temporal*, in the second by a *local* preposition.

The following are examples<sup>1</sup>:

*hon var enka efter en prest* (hon var æqka æfter en præst) 'she was a clergyman's widow', *spår efter kulor* (spæor æfter kuulor) 'bullet-marks', *egenskaperna hos en prins* (eegenskaapæna hos en prins) 'the qualities of a prince', *hon dansade med lekfullheten hos en kattunge* (hon dansadæ mæ leekfullheetn hos en katuqæ) 'she danced with the playfulness of a kitten', *invånarna i staden* (invaonana i staan) 'the inhabitants of the town', *värden i huset* ('vaedn i 'huuset) 'the master of the house', *ärmen på en rock* ('ærmæn pæ en rök) 'the sleeve of a coat', *jag hade råkat i händerna på ett röfvarband* (ja haddæ raokat i 'hændæna pæ et rævarband) 'I had fallen into the hands of a band of robbers', *son till . . .* (saon till . . .) 'son of . . .', *skälet till . . .* ('shælet til . . .) 'the reason of . . .', *en hylla med böcker* (en hylla mæ 'bækkær) 'a book-shelf', *full med . . .* (full mæ . . .) 'full of . . .', *en massa med folk* (en massa mæ fœlk) 'a lot of people'. (aaf) may, however, be also used in many cases: (saon aav . . .), (en massa aav . . .).<sup>2</sup> The same specializing tendency in other cases where the genitive is not employed in other languages, as in *att dö i en sjukdom* (at dæ i en shukdom) 'to die of an illness', *att samtala i olika ämnen* (at samtaala i oolika æmnæn) 'to converse on various topics'.

A peculiar feature of colloquial (and, to a certain extent, of literary) Swedish is its frequent use of adverbs as conjunctions. Thus (bæst) 'best', (baara) 'only', (dæ fœsta) 'the first', are conjunctions in the following sentences: *bäst*,

<sup>1</sup> Note that (hos) = French 'chez', (pao) = 'on', 'upon', (mæ) = 'with'.

<sup>2</sup> Also simply (en massa fœlk).

*jag språng, hörde jag ett rop bakom mig* (bæst ja sprœq, hoede ja et roop baakœm mæi) 'as I ran (as I best could), I heard a cry behind me', *maten går väl an, bara man viste hvad man åt* ('maatn gaor vael 'an, baara man viste vaa man aot) 'the food is good enough, if one only knew what one ate', *jag, som tappade bort sjelflcänslan, bara han visade sig i dörren!* (jaa sœm tappadœ bœt shœlvcænslan, baara han viisadœ sæi i døen) 'I, who lost my self-confidence, only because (as soon as) he appeared at the door!' *det första han kommer hem, skal han köra Er på dörren* (da fœsta han 'kœmmœr 'hem, ska han coera eer pœ døen) 'as soon as he comes home, he'll turn you out of doors'. So also (hælst) 'especially' comes to be used in the sense of 'because', and (sao) 'so' in that of 'so that', which is also expressed by the full (sao at).

The conversion of prepositions into conjunctions is especially interesting, as illustrating the origin of such conjunctions as the English *for* from the OE. *for ðam* (ðe). So also in Swedish the full (fœ 'dae at), literary *derföre att*, is shortened first into (fœ'dae) and then (in certain cases) into (fœr): *jag förebrådde henne för det (att) hon förstört både sin och min lycka* (ja foerœbrœddœ hœnnœ fœ-d'ae hon fœst'oet baodœ sin œ min lykka) 'I reproached her for having destroyed both her own and my happiness', *han var ute hos oss, för som jag handlar i boden, så hade jag bjudit honom ut* (han var uutœ hos œs, fœ sœm ja handlar i 'hoodœn, sœ haddœ ja bjuudit hœnnœm uut) 'he was out (in the country) at our house, for as I deal at his shop, I had invited him out'. In this last case the literary form would be *ty*. So also *på det att* (pao 'dae at) 'in order that', and (undœ 'dae at) 'during', are shortened by omitting the (at).

## SPECIMENS.

The following phonetically written texts will, it is hoped, afford sufficient illustration of the phonetic structure of the language, and also of some of its more important structural peculiarities—as far as they have been touched on in the

preceding sketch. Want of space has prevented me from adding the ordinary spelling to all the texts, but I have throughout given the spelling of those words that seemed to require it in the notes.

### A. Colloquial Sentences.

In the following sentences I have tried to mark the stress with some minuteness. (-) before a word indicates want of stress, (·) extra stress—on the accented syllable, if the word is polysyllabic, as in (·bev'aara), where the second syllable is supposed to have more stress than in the normal (bev'aara). (-) before a word containing a (·) reduces the latter to half-stress (written (:)) in the middle of a word), as in (-ij'eenəm). A preliminary study of the stress-marks of the English translation will make all this clear.

-va staor 'pao? iqənt:iq.  
-hon æ 'lɔqt if'raon'vakkər.  
-dæ æ braa lessamt<sup>1</sup> -at -han intə  
-kan kəmma im'ɔrrən.<sup>2</sup>

-ja hɔppas -ni -maor braa  
ia'ftən. -v'aa æ klɔkkan?  
klɔkkan æ mykkə. -huuru dax  
-kan -ni kəmma im'ɔrrən? -ja  
-kan intə kəmma -fɔr æn  
klɔkkan -h'alv sæx. -və<sup>3</sup> -v'a tiid  
-g'ao 'taogə(t)? prɛs'iis -t'ree  
kvat -pə tuu. -vi -v'a(r) -pə  
spe(k)t'aaklə(t) -i tiisdax fjɔtən  
daa<sup>4</sup> sæn.<sup>5</sup> -ja -har intə set  
-hənnəm -pə læqə. -vi -har  
goo tiid -pə -əs. vaa æ -dæ  
-fɔe daatum id'aa(g)? -hu læqə  
'drɔie -dæ -i'nnan -vi 'hinnər  
'fram?

-ja -ska -v'aara -i staan<sup>6</sup> -et  
-p'aar vekkor. -v'a æ -dæ -fɔer  
fɔlk -səm boor -i 'rummə(t) næst  
-intil mit? -v'aar boor -eer væn?  
-han boor -və drɔnniq:aaatan,

-wh'ots -dhə mætə? nəthiq.  
-shiiz faa -frəm priti.  
-its veri tæisəm -dhət -ii  
kant kəm təm'oro.

-ai houp -yaoə 'wəl tən'ait?  
-wh'ot -ə klok -iz -it? -its leit.  
-ət whot taim -kən -yu kəm  
təm'oro? -ai kant kəm -bef'aoə  
haf -past faiv. when -dəz -dhə  
'trein gou? kwaotə -tə tuu  
pris'aisli. -w'ii -wər -et -dhe  
thiətər -on tjuuzdi faotnait. -ai  
-h'ævnt siin -im -fə loq. -wiiiv  
plenti -əv taim. -wh'ots -dhe  
dei -əv -dhə menth? hau loq -l  
-it bii -bif'aoə -wii get -dhaeə?

-ai -shəl -b'ii -in -dhə taun -ə  
fyuu wiix. huu -ə -dhə piipl  
-huu liv -in -dhə rum next  
main? whæ -dəz -yaoə frend  
liv? -hii livz -ət nɔmber il'evn

<sup>1</sup> ledsamt.

<sup>4</sup> dagar.

<sup>2</sup> imorgon.

<sup>5</sup> sedan.

<sup>3</sup> vid.

<sup>6</sup> stad-en.

'huuse(t) 'numro ælva, -t'vao  
trappor op (up).

-h'a -ni -vaarit uutə -ə gət?  
flytta -ee liitə -aot siidan; -ja  
-har intə 'rum noog. -til klökkan  
tölv 'h'innər -vi vael 'fram.  
nuu -æ -vi frammə! -ja -ska gao  
-pə -et kaf'ee -föer -at laesa  
tiidniqana: -vil ni fälja 'mæ?  
-t'aa 'hiit -et -g'laas vattn.  
vaarföe spröq -du -din vaeg?  
-han -æ bətbjuudn ia'ftən.

-ja troo -dæ knakkar -pə  
dœn': stiig 'in! -han fəl 'uut  
-jeenəm 'fənstre(t).

-han 'stiigə tiidit 'up -əm  
maonana.<sup>2</sup> -han raoka(də) -at  
falla 'ömku'l -pə gaatan.

slao 'ii -et -g'laas viiu -aot  
-h'ännə.

-han bræt 'beenə(t) aov<sup>3</sup> -sæi.  
alla 'fənstər -jik 'səndər.

-dæ 'riqə naogən -pə klökkan:  
-s'ee 'æftər vem -dæ æe.

-ja -m'aor intə braa: -ja -har  
huuvudv'ærk. -æ intə -eer hees-  
heet 'bætrə id'aa(g)? næi, -dæn  
-æ 'səmrə.

-ja -haddə ræt roolit -pə  
'baalən. -ja tyktə -dæ -va  
traokit.

faor -ja liitə bræ(d)! faor  
-ja bee -eer -at rætta -mit  
uuttaal?

-han 'sæier<sup>4</sup> alt -səm 'fallər  
-honnəm 'in. mins -ni va -səm  
hændə -əs -i 'løndən? -ja 'kəm-  
mər intə ih'aog -ət. -ja 'cännər  
-honnəm -til 'namnə(t), nao(g)ra  
-av -hans feel -æ sao paotaa(g)liga  
-at -man intə -kan -v'aara blind  
-föe -döm.<sup>5</sup>

faor -ja taala -ve -eer -et  
ægənblik? taala intə 'əm -v'a  
-ni nuu hoet! taala -ni

kwiinstriit, -on -dhə səkənd  
flaoə.

-h'æv -yu -b'iin aut -fər -ə  
waok? muuv -ə litl -on wən  
said; -ai -h'ævnt rum -in'əf. -ai  
səp'ouz -wii -shəl get -dhaə -bai  
twelv. 'hiie -wi aa! -aim  
gouiq -tu -ə kæfei -tə riid -dhə  
peipəz: -wil yuu kəm tuu? briq  
-mi -ə glas -əv waotə. whai -did  
-yu -r'ən əw'ei? -hiiz inv'aitəd  
'aut -fə tən'ait.

-ai thiik -dhez səmwən nokiq  
-ət -dhə daə: kəm in! -hii fəl  
-au't -əv windo.

-hii gets əp'æli -əv -ə maoniq.  
-hii həpnd -tə faol daun -in -dhə  
striit.

paorər out -ə glas -əv wain  
-for -ə.

-hii brouk -iz leg.  
aol -dhə windoz -wə broukn.

səmwən -z riqiq -ət -dhə bel:  
sii -h'uu -it iz.

-aim not wel: -aiv got -ə  
hedeik. iz -nt -yaoə haosnis  
betə təd'ei? nou, -its wəəs.

-ai inj'oid -mais'elf -v'eri wel  
-ət -dhə baol. -ai thaot -it slou.

giv -mi -səm bred! -m'ei -ai  
ask -yu -tə kər-ekt -mai prən:ən-  
siei'shən?

-hii sez -evre-thiq -dhət kəmz  
-i'ntu -iz hed. -d -y'uu rim'embə  
-wh'ot həpnd -tu -əs -in ləndən?  
-ai dount rim'embər -it. -ai nou  
-im -bai neim. -s'əm -əv -iz  
folts -ə sou evidənt -dhət -yuu  
kant -bi blaind -tə -dhəm.

-k'æn -ai spiik -tə -yu -fər -ə  
moumint? dount rip'iit -wh'ot  
-yuuv jəst həd. -dyu spiik

<sup>1</sup> dörr-en.

<sup>4</sup> säger.

<sup>2</sup> morgnar-ne.

<sup>5</sup> dem.

<sup>3</sup> af.

svänska? mykkə liitə; -mæn  
-ja fəst'ao -n'aer andra -t'aala.  
-i alla 'fal 'kəmmər -ja tilb'aaka,  
-o 'sæiər -eer buud. -ja -har fət  
veeta -t -av -min broor.<sup>1</sup> vistə  
-ni intə dae? -joo bevas!

-v'aar goo -o shynda liitə: -vi  
-har bröttöm.<sup>2</sup>

-dæ'hae staor -man intə 'læqrə  
uut -mæ!

-ni -f'ao laov -at -vaara fəes'ikti  
-n'ae -ni 'aokə skriskor.<sup>3</sup> faor  
-ja see? næi, -du faor intə!

-ni baer -eer mykke dumt aot.

-ni 'kəmmər just laagom.  
skaffa -mæi -en cæp -səm -æ  
laagom loq.

-min rək beh'rəvər laagas.  
-vi -har -h'aft məqa oolykkor,  
-mæn -dæ -b'lii<sup>4</sup> noog 'bætrə  
-mæ<sup>5</sup> 'tiidn.

shyl -eer shælv! shyl intə -pə  
mæi! -vi næns intə banna  
-hænnə.

uus:ækta, -ja 'kəmmər -o stoer!  
als intə. -ja -æ ræt 'glaad -at  
-f'ao see -eer. nuu faor -ja gao,  
a(d)jæə. -ja ənskar -eer -en  
goo(d) reesa. hælsa -sə mykkə  
-til ees systər.

swiidish? veri litl; -bət -ai  
əndəst'ænd -when ədhəz spiik.  
-ən 'eni keis -ail kəm bæk -ən  
let -yu nou. -ai hæd -it -frəm  
-mai brədhə. -didnt -yu nou  
dhæt? yes, -əv kaoəs!

pliiz meik 'heist: -wiər -in  
-ə həri.

-wən kaant stænd dhis -eni  
loqqə!

-y'uw -məs(t) -bi kaeəfl -when  
-yu gou aut skeitiq. mei -ai  
sii? nou, -yu -mei not!

-yu beh'eiv veri fuulishli.

-yu kəm jəst -ət -dhə rait taim.  
get -mi -ə stik -əv -dhə rait  
ləqth.

-mai kout won(t)s mendiq.  
-wiiv -h'æd meni misf'aocənz,  
-bət -wii houp -fə betə taimz.

bleim yəs'elf! dount bleim  
mii! -wii dount laik -tə skould  
-ə.

-aim əf'reid -aim dist'əəbiq  
-yu. not -ə 'taol. -aim veri glæd  
-tə sii -yu. -ai məs(t) 'gou nau,  
gud bai. -ai wish -yu -ə pleznt  
jəəni. rim'embə -mii -tə -yaoə  
sistə.

## B. Prose.

As it is as impossible in Swedish as in other literatures to find a connected piece of prose written in purely colloquial language, I have simply chosen the most suitable of the texts I have by me written out phonetically, and have cautiously substituted the colloquial for the literary forms, either in the text itself or the notes—perfect consistency in this respect would be difficult for a native, and is impossible for a foreigner. It must be remembered that in reading aloud even such a prose piece as this, a Swede would pronounce most of

<sup>1</sup> broder.

<sup>2</sup> brådtöm.

<sup>3</sup> skridskor.

<sup>4</sup> blifver.

<sup>5</sup> med.

the consonants here omitted, such as the <sup>e</sup>(d) of (mæd), the (t) of (duktikt), although he would always be liable to fall into the colloquial elisions.

I have also given the ordinary spelling, adding occasionally the strict literary forms, some of which, however, such as *hafver* for *har*, are never written. The notes to both texts will, therefore, exhibit the two extremes of colloquialism and archaism. It is instructive to observe the utter want of consistency in the dialogue, the genuine spoken forms being only occasionally introduced to give a colloquial flavour, just as Scotticisms are in Burns's poems and Scott's novels. Compare the colloquial *tänker ni* with the literary *följen*, etc.

Öfverste Vegesack var under finska kriget 1809 anförare för en lif-bataljon, som utgjordes af Dalkarlar.

En dag skulle han med den intaga en skans, och tilltalade sitt folk på det raska och lifliga sätt, som ei felar att uppelda ett dessutom af naturen tappert manskap. Dalkarlarna gjorde anfallet med största tapperhet, men mötte ett lika kraftigt motstånd och blefvo med förlust tillbakakastade. Vegesack samlade åter sitt folk och tilltalade dem sålunda:

'Hör<sup>1</sup> på, gossar! Vi ha<sup>2</sup> misslyckats denna<sup>3</sup> gång, men icke lär ni<sup>4</sup> vilja låta piska er<sup>5</sup> af ryssarne i dag! Utan, tänker ni<sup>6</sup> som jag, så skola vi nu dugtigt tukta dem för det<sup>7</sup> de velat tukta oss. Följen mig! Låt oss<sup>8</sup> gripa oss an, och jag svarar er för att vi inom en timme ha<sup>9</sup> skans och kanoner

-æ'væstæ 'fæisak -va(r) -under finska 'kriigë(t), aadëton 'hundra niä, anfoerare -foer -en liiv-batalj:oon -söm uutjoodæs -av daalkaarar.

-en daa(g) -skullë -han -mæ dæn intaa(ga) -en skans, -ö tiltaala(dë) -sit fölk -pö -dæ raska -ö liivliga sæt -söm -æi'¹ feelar -at upelda -et dæsuutöm -av natuum 'tappæt manskaap. daalkaarana joodë anfalle(t) -mæ stöesta tappërheet, -mæn mëtte -et liika kraftit mootstönd, -ö -bl'ëev -mæ föel'ust tilb'aakakastadë. 'fæisak samla(dë) 'aotë -sit fölk, -ö tiltaala(dë) -däm² saolunda³:

'-hær 'pao, gössar. -v'i -har mislykkats dænna göq,⁴ -mæn intë læ -ni -v'ilja -l'aota piska -eer -av ryssana id'aa. -uu'tan 'tæqkë nii -söm jaa, -sao -ska -vi -nu duktit tukta däm, -föe dæe -di -v'eelat tukta ös. följ -mæi. -l'aot -ös griipa -ös 'an, -ö -ja svarar -eer -f'öer -at -vi -inöm -en timmë -haskans -ö kan'oönær

<sup>1</sup> hören.

<sup>2</sup> hafva.

<sup>3</sup> denne.

<sup>4</sup> læren i.

<sup>5</sup> eder.

<sup>6</sup> tänken i.

<sup>7</sup> för det att.

<sup>8</sup> låtom.

<sup>9</sup> hafva.

<sup>1</sup> (intë).

<sup>2</sup> (döm).

<sup>3</sup> (-sö hæer).

<sup>4</sup> (dæn hæer 'göqön).

i våra händer.  
marsch!

Men ingen man i hela  
troppen rörde sig.

Öfversten såg sig om med  
strånga blickar. 'Ja så,'  
sade han långsamt, 'jag ser  
hur det är. Men jag skal säga  
er hur<sup>1</sup> det blir.<sup>2</sup> Ännu  
en gång kommenderar jag  
framåt, och den förste, som  
visar tecken till olydnad —  
skjuter jag ner.<sup>3</sup> I kännen  
alla er pligt, och jag känner  
min. Framåt, marsch!'

Men troppen rörde sig icke.

Öfversten fattade sin pistol,  
sigtade på en man i första  
ledet och sköt. Denne nedföll  
död.

Ännu en gång kommenderade  
öfversten 'framåt, marsch!'  
Alla följde.

Anfallet, som skedde med en  
stormande häftighet, kröntes  
med framgång. Skansen  
eröfrades med alla kanoner,  
och fångar gjordes till ett större  
antal än de anfallandes voro.  
Segern var fullkomlig.

Men i Dalkarlarnes trotsiga  
och långsinta själar grodde  
bitterhet och hämndlust mot  
den, som hade dödat deras  
raska kamrat, och som med  
våld hade fört dem i kampen.

De talade mellan sig om att  
hämnas, om att döda deras<sup>4</sup>  
strånga anförare. Han blef  
underrättad derom, kallade  
tillsammans sitt folk och  
tilltalade dem så:

'Jag hör att ni lär vara  
onda på mig för det att jag

<sup>1</sup> huru.

<sup>2</sup> blifver.

<sup>3</sup> neder.

<sup>4</sup> irregular for sin.

-i -vaora 'händer. 'framaot,  
'marsh!'

-mæn iqæn man -i heela  
'tröppen roede -sæi.

æævæstæn saog -sæi 'om -mæ  
stræqa blikkar. '-ja sao,  
saa(də) -han lōqsamt, '-ja seer  
-huu -dæ æ; -mæn -j'a -ska sæia  
-eer -huu -dæ bliir. -æn nuu  
-en -g'ōq kōmmēnd'eerar -ja  
'framaot, -ə -dæn fœsta -sōm  
viisa 'tekkēn -til' oolydnad  
'shuutēr -ja neer. -ni 'cænnēr  
alla -eer plikt, -ə jaa 'cænnēr  
min. 'framaot, 'marsh!'

-mæn 'tröppen roede -sæi ikkē.

æævæstæn fatta(də) -sin pist'ool,  
sikta(də) -pō -en man -i fœsta  
'leede(t), -ə shœt. dænnē needfōl  
'dæd.

-æn nuu -en -g'ōq kōmmēn-  
d'eera(də) æævæstæn 'framaot,  
'marsh! alla följde.

anfallē(t), -sōm sheddē -mæ -en  
stōrmāndē hæftigh'æet, krœntēs  
-mæ framgōq. 'skansēn  
æræ:vrades -mæ alla kan'oonēr,  
-ə fōqar joodēs -til -et 'stœrrē  
antaal -æn -di anfallandēs -vooro.  
'seegēn -va(r) fulk'ōmli.

-mæn -i daalkaararnas trotsiga  
-øk lōqsinta shaelar groddē bit-  
tēr:hæet -ə hæmndlust -moot dæn  
-sōm -haddē dœdat -d'eerasraska  
kam'raat, -ə -s'ōm -mæ vōld(d)  
-haddē fœt -dæm-i 'kampēn.

-di taala(də) -m'ellan -sæi -ōm  
-at hænmas, -ōm -at dœda -d'eeras  
stræqa anfoerarē. -han -bleev  
underrättad daerōm,<sup>2</sup> kalla(də)  
tils'ammans -sit fōlk, -ə  
tiltaala(də) -dæm sao<sup>3</sup>:

'-ja hoer -at -n'i -l'aer -vaara  
onda -p'ō -mæi -fœ dæ (-at) -ja

<sup>1</sup> te.

<sup>2</sup> (om -at).

<sup>3</sup> (sō 'haer).



skjutit en af edra kamrater, och att ni tänker på att hämnas. Nå väl, ni skola<sup>1</sup> få tillfälle dertill.

Ni vet att det vanligen står tvenne poster vid mitt tält. I afton afskedar jag dem, och i fjorton dagar sofver jag der om nätterna, ensam, utan poster. Men på bordet vid min säng skola ligga två laddade pistoler. Hvem af er, som har<sup>2</sup> lust att komma och slås(s) med mig, är—välkommen.'

Dalkarlarne lyssnade till detta tal, mörka i hågen, och tego.

I fjorton nätter sof öfversten obehakad, midt ibland sin upproriska tropp. Ingen störde hans sömn.

Efter detta prof följde honom hans manskap hvart han ville och var honom tillgifvet in i döden.

shuutit en -av -eera kamr'aatør, -o -at -ni 'tæqkør -p'ø -at hæmnas -nø vael: -ni -ska -f'ø tilfælle daet'il.<sup>1</sup>

-ni veet -at -dæ vaanligøn stao tvænne pøstør -ve -mit tælt. -i aftøn aavsheedar -ja -d'æm, -o -i fjotøn daar 'saovør -ja daer -øm 'nættena eensam -uutan pøstør. -mæn -pø 'boodø(t) -ve -min sæq -ska ligga tvao laddadø pist'ooler. vem -av<sup>2</sup> -ee -s'øm -ha lust -at komma -o sløs -mæ -m'æi -æ vaelkommøn.'

daalkaarana lysna(dø) -til -d'ænna taal, mørka -i 'haogøn, -o teeg.

-i fjotøn 'nætter saov ævøstøn oobevaakad mit -ib'lan(d) -sin uprooriska trøp. iqøn stoedø -hans sømn.

-æftø -d'ætta proov följde -hønnoøm -hans manskaap vat -han villø, -o -v'a -hønnoøm tiljiivit in -i 'dædøn.

### C. Poetry.

The distinctness and rhythm of poetry gives it an especial value to the phonetic student. I have therefore added the following pieces, although they do not, strictly speaking, belong to the spoken language. I give the most distinct pronunciation possible, even adding the *r* of *barn*, &c., as many consider that it ought to be sounded in poetry.

It will be observed that the specimens are taken from the works of the three most prominent Swedish poets. It may be mentioned that Tegnér's *Floden* is original in form only, being mainly an adaptation from a poem of Goethe. I have chosen it partly because I had it written out, partly because it is as good a specimen as any of Tegnér's harmony and command of language.

<sup>1</sup> i skolen.

<sup>2</sup> hafver.

<sup>1</sup> (til -øt) or (te -øst).

<sup>2</sup> or (uutaov).

'flooden (tæqn'eer).<sup>1</sup>

Vid flodens källa sitter jag och stilla  
betraktar himlabarnet, nyfödt der.  
I fjällens vagga hvilar än den lilla,  
och diar molnet, som dess moder är.

Men se i skogen växer gudasonen,  
och drömmer redan om bedrifters  
larm.

Han gungar selen och han gungar  
månen,  
med evig längtan i sin unga barm.

Men icke trifs han under furens  
grenar,  
ej mellan bergens trånga väggar mer.  
Hur yr han jagar efter dalens stenar!  
Hur vild han hoppar ifrån klippan  
ner!

Kom med! Kom med! Så till hver  
bäck han talar,  
här bränner selen, dricker sanden er!  
I bröder, kemmen! Genom fält och  
dalar  
jag för er alla till vårt ursprung ner.

Och regnets söner höra det och följa  
med sorl den unge äfventyrarn ått.  
Likt kungens hjerta sväller högt hans  
bölja,  
och skog och klippa störta i hansstråt.  
Nu ner på slätten stiger segerhjelten,  
med mörkblå hären, hyllad af en  
hvar,  
Hans ande lifvar de förbrända fälten,  
Han döper länder med sitt namn—  
och far.

Och skaldens sånger till hans ära  
ljuda  
echskepp och männer dra mod honom  
hän.  
Till gäst de rika städer honom bjuda,  
och blomsterängar fatta om hans  
knän.

Men ej de hålla honom kvar, han hastar  
de gyllne tern, de rika fält förbi,  
och hastar oupphörligt, tills han  
kastar  
sig i sin faders famn, och dör deri.

vid 'floodens cælla 'sitter jag ok stilla  
bet'raktar himlabarnet, nyföt daer.  
i 'fjällens vagga viilar æn dæn lilla,  
ok diiar 'maolnet, søm dæs mooder  
ær.

mæn see i 'skeogen 'væxer guuda-  
saonæn,  
ok 'dremmæ reedan om bed'rifters  
larm.

han guqar 'soolæn ok han guqar  
maonæn,  
mæd eevig læqtan i sin uqa barm.

mæn ikke triivs lian 'under 'fuuræns  
greenar,  
æi mellan 'bærjæns tråqa væggar meer.  
huur yyr han jaagar æfter 'daalæns  
steenar!  
huur vild han hoppar ifraon klippan  
neer!

køm 'mæd! køm 'mæd! sæe til vaar  
bæk han taalar,  
haer'brænnær'seolæn,'drikkær'sanden  
eer!

ii 'bræder, kømme! jeenøm fælt ok  
daalar  
jag feer eer alla til vaert uursprnq  
neer.

ok 'ræqnet'sæonær høera dæt ok fælja  
mæd saor/ dæn uqe æventyrarn aot.  
li(i)kt 'knqæns jærtæ 'svællær høkt  
hans bøjla,  
ok skoog ok klippa stœrtæ i hans stræot.  
nnu neer pø 'slætton 'stiiger seegær-  
jæltæn,  
mæd mœrkblæo 'haeren, hyllad av en  
vaar,  
hans ande liivar æe fœrb'rændæ  
'fæltæn,  
han 'dœpær 'lændær mæd sit namn—  
ok faar.

ok 'skaldæns søgær til hans æera juuda,  
ok shep ok 'mænner draa mæd  
hønnøm haen.  
til jæst de riika 'staedær hønnøm  
bjuda,  
ok blomstæræqar fatta om hans knæen.

mæn æi de hølla hønnøm kvaar, han  
hastar  
de 'jylne tœrn, æe riika fælt fœrb'rii,  
ok hastar oouph'œerlikt, tilshan kastar  
sig i sin faadærs famn, ok doer dærii.

<sup>1</sup> Tegnér.

vaort land (ruunøbærj).<sup>1</sup>

vaort land, vaort land, vaort fosterland,  
juud hækt,<sup>2</sup> oo dyyra oord!

æi lyfts en høid moot himlens rand,  
æi sæqks en daal, æi shøljs en strand,  
meer ælskad æn vaor bygd i noord,  
æn vaora 'faedørs joord.

vaort land ær fattikt, skal sao blii  
fœr dæn, sôm gul(d) bej'aer.  
en fræmliq faar os stolt fœrbii;  
mæn dætta 'landet ælska vii,  
fœr os mæd mooar, fjæl ok shaer  
et gul(d)land døk dæt aer.

vi ælska vaora strëmmars bruus  
øk vaora bækkars sprøq,  
dæn mœrka 'skoogens dystra suus,  
vaor shaernænat,<sup>3</sup> vaort sëmmarjuus,  
alt, alt, vad haer sôm syyn, sôm søq  
vaort jærtæ roert eng'øq.

haer striddes vaora 'faedørs striid  
mæd taqkæ, svaerd ok ploog,  
haer, haer, i klaar sôm muulën tiid,  
mæd lykka haord, mæd lykka bliid,  
dæt finska 'fölkets jærtæ sloog,  
haer baars vaad daet fœrd'roog.

vem tæljde vael de striidørs taal,  
sôm dætta fölk bes'tood,  
dao 'kriigët røet fraon daal til daal,  
dao 'frøsten kôm mæd 'huqræns kvaal,  
vem mættæ alt dæs spilda blood  
øk alt dæs taolamood?

øk dæt vaar haer dæt 'bloodet fløet,  
jaa haer fœr os dæt vaar,  
øk dæt vaar haer sin frœid dæt njøet,  
øk dæt vaar haer sin suk dæt jøet,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Runeberg.<sup>2</sup> ljud högt.<sup>3</sup> stjernenatt

dæt fôlk sôm vaora boerdor haer  
lôqt foerê vaora daar.

haer aer ős juuvt,<sup>1</sup> haer aer ős gôt,  
haer aer ős alt besh'aert;  
huur ædêd kastar æn vaor lôt,  
et land, et fostêrland vi fôt,  
vaad fins pø 'joordøn meera vaert  
at hollas dyyrt ôk caert?<sup>2</sup>

ôk haer ôk haer ær dætta land,  
vaort æga seer dæt haer;  
vi kunna strækka uut vaor hand  
ôk viisa glat<sup>3</sup> pao shê ôk strand  
ôk saega: see dæt 'landêd daer,  
vaort fostêrland dæt aer.

ôk foerdês vii at boo i glans  
bland guldmaoln i dæt blao,  
ôk bleev vaort liiv en shaernêdans,  
daer taor æi jêts,<sup>4</sup> daer suk æi fans,  
til dætta arma land ænd'ao  
vaor læqtan skulle stao.

oo land, du 'tuusen shêears<sup>5</sup> land,  
daer søq ôk trooheet bykt,  
daer 'liivêts haav ős jet<sup>6</sup> en strand,  
vaor foornêids land, vaor frantiids land,  
vaar fœr din fattigdom æi shykt,  
vaar frit, vaar glat, vaar trykt!

din blomniq, sluiten æn i knøp,  
skal moogna uur sit tvøq;  
see, uur vaor caerleek skal gao øp  
dit juus,<sup>7</sup> din glans, din frêid, dit høp,  
ôk 'høegrê kliqa skal en gøq  
vaor fostêrlæn(d)ska søq.

<sup>1</sup> ljuft.<sup>2</sup> kært.<sup>3</sup> gladt.<sup>4</sup> göts.<sup>5</sup> sjöars.<sup>6</sup> gett = gifvit.<sup>7</sup> ljus.

'nækkən (staqn'eeljus).<sup>1</sup>

'kvælləns gul(d)maoln fæstət kranša,  
ælvorna pə 'æqən dansa,  
ək dæn blaadbekrənta 'nækkən  
jiigan roer i silvərbækkən.

liitən pilt bland 'strandəns piilar  
i vioo'ləns əqa viilar,<sup>2</sup>  
'klaqən hoer fraon əalləns 'vattən,  
roopar i dæn stilla 'nattən:

'arma gubbə, vaarfør speela?  
kan daet smærtorna fərd'eela?  
frit du skoog ək mark mao liiva,  
skal guts<sup>3</sup> baarn dək aldrig bliiva!

paaradiisəts maonsheensn:əttər,  
'eedəns bləmstərkrənta sləttər,  
'juusəts əqlar i dæt hægga,  
aldrig skaodar dæm dit əgga.'

taorar gubbəns anleet shəlja,  
need han 'dyykər i sin bəlja  
jiigan tystnar. aldrig 'nækkən  
speelar meer i silvərbækkən.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This paper is the result of a seven months' study of Swedish in Upsala, for which I was prepared by a previous study at home. The contrast was very instructive, and I am convinced that a thorough knowledge even only of the elementary sounds of a language can never be acquired without a stay in the country itself. My work at Swedish was only part of a contemplated practical study of all the living Teutonic languages, as the basis of a comparative grammar with which I hoped to supplement Grimm. I had,

<sup>1</sup> Stagnelius.

<sup>2</sup> ånga hvilar.

<sup>3</sup> Guds.

however, been forced to abandon this ambitious scheme long before I was in a position to visit Sweden, and when I have worked up the scraps I have been able to pick up during my few weeks' stay in Denmark and Holland, together with the results of my home study of Icelandic, and of my (comparatively speaking) tolerably sound elementary knowledge of German and Swedish, into a sketch of the sound-changes which have formed the living languages, I shall henceforth devote myself to English. Meanwhile, it is as well to publish part of the material for the study of living Swedish, collected with some labour, and otherwise quite unaccessible to non-Swedes, on the chance of its being useful to others, especially English students, to whom the Neo-Scandinavian languages, practically representing, as they do, the middle stage of English, are of especial value.

Economy of space has obliged me not only to abstain from all historical comment and comparison with the cognates (except in a very few instances), but has also excluded the full word lists which I hoped to add. I have, however, bestowed all the more care on the choice of the examples, and have facilitated their study in every way I could think of, by adopting the simplest notation I could contrive, and by adding the nomic spelling and English translation in nearly every case.

I venture to hope that my account of the sounds will be found useful even to Swedish phoneticians, as it supplies what has hitherto been wanting—a detailed comparison of the Swedish with the general European sounds. Phonology without comparison is a sheer impossibility, and the disadvantages of being a foreigner are partly counterbalanced by the advantage of being forced to observe and systematize, and also of having a special knowledge of individual sounds. It is certain, for instance, that no English observer would ever have found the English (wh) in any of the Swedish dialects, as has actually been done by some Swedish phoneticians. I have myself learnt much from the observations of foreign students on English pronunciation. My physiological analysis is, of course, based on my imitations of native pronunciation,

and although my attempts were greatly aided by the results of the labours of such acute observers as Leffler, J. A. A., and Noreen,—I was, for instance, ignorant of the true nature of the inverteds till I became acquainted with their observations,—I have always exercised an independent judgement.

In spite of the care I have taken to ensure accuracy, I cannot hope to have escaped without many errors, and I shall be very thankful for any corrections. I am, on the other hand, quite prepared to find perfectly correct statements of mine impugned occasionally.<sup>1</sup>

The following are the books I have found most useful:

Weste: *Svenskt och Fransyskt Lexicon*. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1807. (Still the only complete pronouncing dictionary.)

Dalin: *Svensk Handordbok*. Stockh., 1868. (For general purposes.)

Sundén: *Svensk Språklära*. 3de upplagan. Stockh., 1875.

There is a bad Swedish grammar in English by May, and a bad *Svensk-Engelsk Handordbok* by Öman. A list of phonetic treatises is given in Noreen's *Fryksdals-målets Ljudlära* (Upsala, 1877).

I have finally to express my thanks to my many friends in Sweden who helped me with advice and information during my stay at Upsala, especially Messrs. Erdmann, Stjernström, and Lundell, together with Prof. Storm, of Christiania.

<sup>1</sup> I once met a Swede who quite laughed at my assertion that *vagnen* is often pronounced ('vaqən).

## RUSSIAN PRONUNCIATION <sup>1</sup>

THE following sketch of Russian pronunciation is the result of a careful study with a native of Moscow. The only aid I have had beyond the ordinary grammars is Boehtlingk's *Beiträge zur russischen grammatik* (Mélanges Russes, ii. 1, St. Petersburg, 1851), which has been a great help, although the St. Petersburg pronunciation he describes appears to differ considerably from that of Moscow. It will be seen that many of my observations are also opposed to the statements of the grammars generally, which is probably due partly to difference of dialect, partly to the usual conservatism of grammarians.

I am fully conscious that mine is a very inadequate study of an exceptionally difficult sound-system, but I have been able to make some additions to our knowledge, and have, I hope, stated with greater precision than before what was already known, as well as what is self-evident to any trained phonetician. The language is so interesting phonetically, representing, as it does, in its extraordinary development of every kind of assimilation what was probably an earlier stage of many other languages as well, that any contribution such as the present, however imperfect, cannot fail to be of some value to comparative philologists.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1877-9, pp. 543-60.



VOWELS.

	ɪ	ɪ			
		[	]		ʃ
				ɪ	
ɪ					
			ʃ		

Diphthongs: ʃɪ; ɪɪ; ʃɔ, [ɪ; ɪɪ, ʃɪ.

The only Russian vowel that offers any special difficulty is the ɪ, first correctly identified by Bell as I. It is still described by foreign phoneticians as a combination of *u*-position of the tongue with *i*-position of the lips, which would give I, not I.<sup>1</sup>

CONSONANTS.

—	ε, c	o, o	ω, ω	—	ε, z	s, s	—	—	ʒ, >
—	s	—	—	ω	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	ɹ	—	ɳ	—	—	f	—	—
—	g, g	o, o	—	o, o	—	—	o, o	—	—

<sup>1</sup> See Storm's *Engelsk Filologi*, p. 24 (Kristiania, 1879). Bell's successful identification of this sound is the more remarkable as being based entirely on Dr. J. A. H. Murray's pronunciation, acquired by a casual hearing of a Russian whom he chanced to meet (as I learn from Dr. Murray himself).

Palatalized:  $\omega\lambda$ ;  $s\lambda$ ,  $s\lambda$ ;  $\lambda\lambda$ ,  $\lambda\lambda$ .  $f\lambda$ .  $e\lambda$ ,  $a\lambda$ ;  $\theta\lambda$ ,  $\theta\lambda$ .

Rounded:  $\alpha$ ;  $\lambda\lambda$ ,  $\lambda\lambda$ .  $f\lambda$ .  $e\theta$ ,  $a\theta$ ;  $\theta\theta$ ,  $\theta\theta$ .

There are other shades of sound, due to assimilation.

The following key-words will exemplify the elementary sounds, and also show their correspondence with the Russian letters, and the Revised Visible-Speech and Broad Romic symbols I employ—the latter only occasionally.

## VOWELS.

ʃ	a	она	she	ʃʃʃ	an'a
ɹ	ə	часы	watch	ʃʃʃʃʃ	tshəs'y
ɹ	y	сынъ	son	sɹɹ	syn
f	i	видъ	sight	>ɹʃ	vit
[	e	ея	hers	ʃ[ʃ	jej'o
ʃ	æ	это	this	[ʃʃ	æt'o
ʃ	u	супъ	soup	sʃʃ	sup
ʃ	o	домъ	house	ʃʃʃ	dom
ʃʃʃ	ai	дай	give!	ʃʃʃ	dai
ɹʃ	yi	добрый	good	ʃʃʃʃʃʃ	dobryi
fʃ	ij	русскій	Russian	ʃʃʃʃʃʃ	ruskij
[ʃ	ei	пей	drink!	ʃʃ[ʃ	pei
ʃʃʃ	ui	жуй	chew!	ʃʃʃ	zhui
ʃʃʃ	oi	твой	thy	ʃʃʃʃʃ	tvoi

Note that e and æ are both initially (or after a vowel) ʃ[ (ʃ[), ʃ being simple [; i, v = u. ũ only as the second element of diphthongs. Initial п is sometimes ʃ[. Initial я, ю = ʃ[ʃ, ʃ[ʃ. e sometimes = ʃ[ʃ, and then often written ë. я is a shortened ia, and ю a shortened iou, the Russian y being a shortened ov (Greek oú).

## CONSONANTS.

e	gh	когда	when	ʃʃʃʃʃ	kagh'd'a
c	x	хочу	I wish	ʃʃʃʃʃ	xat'shu
ʃ	x	худо	badly	ʃʃʃʃʃ	xudo
ʃ	j	я	I	ʃʃ	ja
ʃ	e	орѣхи	nuts	ʃʃʃʃʃ	ar'eci
ʃʃ	r	радъ	glad	ʃʃʃ	rat
ʃʃʃ	r(j)	царь	emperor	ʃʃʃʃʃ	tsarj

с	l	палка	stick	ɔ sɑ	pa ka
ω	l	ключъ	key	ɑω ɔz	klutsh
е	zh	жена	wife	ɛ ʒ·	zhæn·a
з	sh	душа	soul	ω z·	dush·a
з	z	завтра	to-morrow	s >ɔω	zaftra
з\	z(j)	зима	winter	s f·	zim·a <sup>1</sup>
с	s	насъ	us	ʒ s	nas
с\	s(j)	гусъ	goose	ɑ ʒs\	gusj
>	v	васъ	you	> s	vas
>\	v(j)	видъ	sight	> f	vit
>	f	кровъ	roof	ɑω >	krof
>\	f(j)	кровъ	blood	ɑω >\	krofj
л	n	не	not	ɛ	næ
н	n	онъ	he	ʒ ʒ	on
м	m	намъ	us	ʒ ʒf	nam
м\	m(j)	намп	by us	ʒ ʒ· f	nami
г	g	нога	foot	ʒ g·	nag·a
г\	g(j)	сапоги	boots	s ʒ g· f	sapag·i
а	k	какъ	how	ɑ ɑ	kak
а\	k(j)	руки	hands	ω ɑ· f	ruki
д	D	дядя	uncle	ɑ ɑ	DaDa
м	T	мать	mother	f ɑ	mat
д	d	да	yes	ɑ	da
б	t	братъ	brother	ɛω ɑ	brat
б	b	баба	old woman	ɛ ɛ	baba
б\	b(j)	обѣдъ	dinner	ʒ ɛ· ɑ	ab·æt
р	p	Пасха	Easter	ɔ sɑ	pasxa
р\	p(j)	песокъ	sand	ɔ s· ɑ	pæs·ok

The following consonant-groups are represented by single letters in Russian: щ *ɔɔz* (shtsh), ч *ɔz* (tsh), ц *ɔs* (ts). *ф* and *ѳ* both = > (f).

## QUANTITY

Vowel-quantity is indistinctive, accented vowels being generally half-long, before combined as well as single consonants: *с|ʒ·|ɑ* (са́дъ) 'garden', gen. *с|ʒ·|ɑ|*, *ɔz|·s|ɑ|* (ча́сто) 'often'.

<sup>1</sup> (zj) would = sɔ.

There seems to be a tendency to shorten final accented vowels in polysyllables:  $\omega\text{]}\theta\cdot\omega\text{]}$  (добро) 'well'. The diphthongs have their vowels short.

Double consonants occur, as in the name  $\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}$  (Анна), also long consonants, as in  $s\text{+}\text{]}\omega\text{]}\omega\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}$  (съ сердцемъ) 'with anger'. Written double consonants are often pronounced single, as  $\omega\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}\omega$  (профессоръ),  $s\text{]}\theta\text{+}\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}\text{]}$  (суббота) 'Saturday'.

## STRESS

The stress may be on any syllable, and is generally even more than in English, though it often comes out very strongly. Stressless vowels often change their quality according to fixed laws, as in the change of  $\text{]}$  before a stress-syllable to  $\text{]}\text{,}$   $\omega\text{]}\text{e}\text{]}\omega\text{]}\text{e}$  (колоколъ) 'bell', having its plural  $\omega\text{]}\text{e}\text{]}\omega\text{]}\text{e}\text{+}\text{]}$  (колокола). Stressless  $\text{]}$  preceded by palatals (and palatalized) or blade-points ( $\text{e}$ ,  $\text{z}$ ) becomes mixed, and if preceded and followed by palatals it becomes the front  $\text{[}$ . These changes are described below.

## INFLUENCE

### (A) Vowel on Consonant.

*Palatalization.*—The front vowels  $\text{[}$ ,  $\text{[}\text{,}$  ( $\text{[}$ ) communicate their own front articulation to most preceding consonants, but in various degrees, according to the nature of the consonant.

$\omega$ ,  $s$ ,  $s$ ,  $\text{>}$ ,  $\text{>}$ ,  $\text{r}$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\text{d}$  simply arch the tongue into the  $\text{r}$ -position (=  $\text{r}$ ), or, in other words, anticipate an  $\text{r}$ , but without otherwise modifying their original articulations. The lip and front movements being entirely independent of one another, it is easiest to begin with such a combination as  $\text{[r}\text{[}$ , maintaining the  $\text{r}$ -position throughout. Then try  $\text{r}\text{[}$ , by bringing the tongue into the  $\text{r}$ -position simultaneously with the closure of the lips. Lastly,  $\text{r}\text{[}$  (мя) and  $\text{]}\text{r}\text{[}$ , observing that they sound almost (mjə) and (ajmi) to an unaccustomed ear, the  $\text{e}$ -effect being due to the palatal off- and on-glide respectively. If the off-glide in  $\text{r}\text{[}$  were dwelt upon, we should have full  $\text{r}\text{[}\text{e}\text{]}$  or  $\text{r}\text{[}\text{r}\text{[}$ , according to the degree of closeness. In the lip stops the glide constitutes the whole of the audible palatali-

zation, the *r*-position in *ɔɪ* not being heard till the lips are opened to form the vowel. In *ωɪ*, *ɪɪ* and *ɪɪ* the palatalization seems to move the original point and blade positions somewhat forward.

*əɪ*, *ɑɪ* seem to be the same sounds as the older English in *sky, guard*, = *ɑɪ*, *ɑɪ* with simultaneous *ə*, *ɑ* (*əɪ*, *ɑɪ*?), the back element predominating.

*c* becomes full *ɔ* before front vowels (*ɔɪ*?). As *ɛ* never occurs before vowels, it does not seem to be palatalized. In those dialects (the St. Petersburg of Boehtlingk, for instance) which have palatal *ɛ*, it is probably buzzed *ɔɪ*.

The palatalization is carried out most fully with the point nasal and stops, whose place of stoppage is shifted back entirely to the outer front *r*-position, both consonant and vowel in *ɪɪ*, *ɔɪ*, *ɑɪ* being apparently formed exactly in the same place, the point of the tongue not being employed at all.

*ω* does not follow this analogy, and the consonant of *ωɪ* is, in fact, identical with that of French *li*, being simply an *approximation* to *ωɪ*, that is, English point *ω* (only dental) formed with a simultaneous approach to the palatal position. The explanation of *ω* before palatal vowels not having developed into full *ω* (Italian *gl*) must probably be sought in the pronunciation of original *ω* before back vowels as the pure back *ɛ*. It is evident that the wide divergence between *ɛ* and *ω* made any further differentiation superfluous. The earlier distinction was probably *ωɪ*, *ωɪ* (perhaps even *ωɪ*), parallel to *ɪɪ*, *ɪɪ*, the palatalization of the one being almost entirely dropped when the other was exaggerated to *ɛ* through *ωɪ* or *ωɪ*.

This gutturalizing of *ω* seems to be paralleled by a tendency to change *ωɪ* into *ɛɪ* before back vowels. If this ever becomes general, we may expect to see *ωɪ* sinking to *ωɪ*.

*ɛ* and *ɛ* are not palatalized, even when written so, as: *ωɪɛɪ* (ружьё) 'gun', *ɛɪɪɛɪ* (мышь) 'mouse', *ɪɪɪɪ* (ночь) 'night'. Boehtlingk, however, expressly includes *ɛɪ*, *ɛɪ*, &c., in his list of elementary sounds.

*ɔɪ*- is also not palatalized, as in *ɔɪɔɪɪɪ* (церковь) 'church'. *ɔɪ*- occurs only in foreign words, and is pro-

nounced with **I**, as in **цинк** (цинкъ) 'zinc', **циркуль** (циркуль) 'compasses'.

The modifiers **ъ** and **ь** originally denoted a back and a front vowel respectively, the former being occasionally expressed by **o**, the latter by **e**, which makes it probable that they represented **ɨ** and **ɪ**, which were not dropped till the **ɪ** had palatalized its preceding consonants, **ɨ** and **ɪ** being retained. When **й, ɨ, ɟ** are preceded by 'soft' consonants, they are written **я, ю, е (ë)**. Conversely, when a 'hard' consonant is followed by a front vowel, **ъ** is placed between them.

The following table will exemplify the way in which the relations between the consonants and the vowels which follow them are expressed :

пн	pe	pa	пу	po	пя	пю	pë
п\л	п\е	п\а	п\ɨ	п\о	п\я	п\ɨ	п\ɟ
лн	ле	ла	лу	ло	ля	лю	лë
л\л	л\е	л\а	л\ɨ	л\о	л\я	л\ɨ	л\ɟ
сн	се	са	су	со	ся	сю	cë
с\л	с\е	с\а	с\ɨ	с\о	с\я	с\ɨ	с\ɟ
вн	ве	ва	ву	во	вя	вю	vë
>\л	>\е	>\а	>\ɨ	>\о	>\я	>\ɨ	>\ɟ
нн	не	на	ну	но	ня	ню	në
н\л	н\е	н\а	н\ɨ	н\о	н\я	н\ɨ	н\ɟ
мн	ме	ма	му	мо	мя	мю	më
м\л	м\е	м\а	м\ɨ	м\о	м\я	м\ɨ	м\ɟ
кн	ке	ка	ку	ко	кя	кю	kë
к\л	к\е	к\а	к\ɨ	к\о	к\я	к\ɨ	к\ɟ
тн	те	та	ту	то	тя	тю	të
т\л	т\е	т\а	т\ɨ	т\о	т\я	т\ɨ	т\ɟ
пн	пе	па	пу	по	пя	пю	pë
п\л	п\е	п\а	п\ɨ	п\о	п\я	п\ɨ	п\ɟ

*Rounding.*—The influence of rounded vowels on some preceding consonants, which assume the back-round quality of a weak **E. u**, has not, as far as I know, been hitherto noticed. It is most marked with **c**, which before the two round vowels becomes **ç (=ç)**: **çɨ, çɟ**. In **çɨ, çɟ** the *u*-quality is dis-

tinctly heard in the consonant itself. In  $\text{əʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɔʃ}$ ,  $\text{oʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɒʃ}$  only the off-glide is heard, which sounds like a half-suppressed  $\text{ə}$ , so that the unaccustomed ear is apt to hear  $\text{ɔʃ}$  alternately as *ko* and *kvo*. It will be observed that only back and lip consonants are rounded in this way.  $\text{s}$  has itself so much of the *u*-quality that the difference between  $\text{sʃ}$  and  $\text{əʃ}$  is hardly perceptible.

The mixed **I** has the same influence (pointing to an earlier *f*?), so that  $\text{ɤʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɤʃ}$ ,  $\text{əʃ}$  have a slightly diphthongal effect—to a foreign ear something like *ui*.

It will be observed that these influences are backward only; while  $\text{xɪ}$  and  $\text{xy}$  become  $\text{ɔɪ}$  and  $\text{ɔɪ}$ ,  $\text{ɪx}$  and  $\text{yx}$  remain  $\text{ɪc}$  and  $\text{ɪc}$  (although the **ɪ** does communicate a little of its rounding to the following *c*).

### (B) Consonant on Vowel.

#### (a) backwards.

These influences were first fully brought out by Bohtlingk (pp. 54 foll. of his essay), who has shown that  $\text{ʃ}$  before a palatal or palatalized is always narrowed to  $\text{ʃ}$ . Thus  $\text{ɛʃ}$  necessarily =  $\text{ʃ}$  and  $\text{ɛʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɛʃ}$  =  $\text{ʃ}$ ,  $\text{ʃ}$ . In the last example the final  $\text{ʃ}$  is the primary cause of the narrowing, but it can only do so through the  $\text{ʃ}$ . If a front vowel fails to palatalize a preceding consonant, an  $\text{ʃ}$  preceding that consonant remains wide, as in  $\text{ɔʃ}$  ( $\text{крьшкш}$ ) 'strong' pl. (B., p. 64).

There is no parallel change of  $\text{ʃ}$  to  $\text{ʃ}$ , as might be expected, the  $\text{ʃ}$  of  $\text{ʃ}$  ( $\text{огонь}$ ) 'fire', for instance, being as wide as in  $\text{ʃ}$  'he'. The influence here seems to be rather that of drawing the position forwards in the direction of  $\text{ʃ}$ , which is still clearer in the case of  $\text{ʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɛʃ}$  being  $\text{ʃ}$ . So, also, apparently with  $\text{ʃ}$ . Bohtlingk also asserts that  $\text{ɪ}$  is modified by a following palatal, which I am unable to appreciate.

The  $\text{ɪ}$  of the diphthongs has the same influence on its vowel, as pointed out by Bohtlingk,  $\text{ɛɪ}$  being necessarily  $\text{ʃ}$ ,  $\text{aɪ}$  being  $\text{ʃ}$ , &c.

#### (b) forwards.

*Palatalization*.—A palatal consonant has a tendency to draw

forward the following vowel, thus *сѧ*, *сѡ*, *сѣ* are generally *сѧʲ*, *сѧʲ*, *сѧʲ*, different from the vowels of *сѧ*, *сѧ*, *сѧ*.

The *ʲ* varies but little, but the other two are very fluctuating. *сѡ* is sometimes almost pure *сѧʲ*, and sometimes the *ʲ* is advanced almost to *ʲ*. The *ʲ* is often full *ʲ*, and sometimes becomes almost pure front *ʲ*. After *ѡ* the full back positions are generally retained, *ѡѡ* being full *ѡʲ*. The advance seems to be most marked in *ѡʲʲ* (often *ѡʲʲʲ*), a combination which only occurs in words of foreign origin. *ю* and *ѣ* are the nearest approaches that Russian has to the *f* and *ʲ*, *ʲ* of foreign languages, *Sue* being expressed by *сѡ*, and *Göthe* by *гѣтѣ*.

Unaccented *я* often weakens its vowel to *ʲ*, as in *ѡʲʲѡʲʲ* (*ядро*) 'ball', *ѡʲʲѣʲʲѡʲʲ* (*ящикъ*) 'coachman', which *ʲ* is narrowed before palatals, as in *ѡʲʲʲʲʲ* (*девять*) 'nine'.

*Blade-points* — *ѣ* and *ѣ* often change a following unaccented *ʲ* into the mixed *ʲ*, as in *ѡʲʲʲʲʲ* (*часы*) 'watch'. They modify *f* in a very peculiar way, by communicating to it something of their own blade-point position, the point of the tongue being turned up and slightly retracted, which may be expressed by writing *ʲʲʲ*, &c. They seem to affect *ʲ* similarly, though not so markedly.

*Nasalizing*.—The (back-) round vowels and *I* are nasalized by a preceding nasal: *ʲʲʲ*, *ʲʲʲ*, *ʲʲʲ*; *ʲʲʲ*, *ʲʲʲ*, *ʲʲʲ*.

### (C) Consonant on Consonant (Palatalization).

A palatal consonant often palatalizes a preceding one. This influence is difficult to observe with accuracy, and is not generally indicated in the Russian spelling. It is most general in the case of *ѡ*, *ѡ*, which seem generally to palatalize a preceding *s* or *s*, as in *сѧʲʲѡ* (*зѣсь*) 'here', *ʲʲʲʲʲ* (*шесть*) 'six'. *s* is also palatalized before *ʲ* in *сѧʲʲѡ* (*снѣгъ*) 'snow'. The weakest influence seems to be that of a vowel-like on a stop or sibilant, but I must confess my inability to give any reliable details.

## VOICE

*Vowels*.—In Russian, as in French, a high final vowel is often unvoiced after a breath stop, as in *ѡʲʲʲʲʲ*: (*рука*) 'hands', *сѡʲʲʲʲʲ*: (*старушка*) 'old woman', acc.









## TEXTS

## (A) Sentences.

Что далеко еще до города ?	Are we still far from the town ?
Хороша ли дорога ? Очень дурна.	Is the road good ? It is very bad.
Въ которомъ часу ѣдаете вы ?	At what o'clock do you dine ?
Въ четыре часа.	At four o'clock.
Здоровы ли вы ? Я здоровъ.	Are you well ? I am well.
Ты добрый малый.	You are a good fellow.
Говорите ли вы по-русски ?	Do you speak Russian ? Yes,
Говорю ; я русский.	I am a Russian.
Не имѣю времени.	I have no time.
Подай мнѣ трубку.	Give me a pipe.
Пожалуйста, не говорите так скоро.	Do not speak so fast, please.
Добрая ночь ! Прощайте !	Good night !
Почивайте спокойно !	Sleep well !
Устали ли вы ? Я совсѣмъ не усталъ.	Are you tired ? I am not tired.
Вотъ вамъ столъ, стулъ, и шандалъ.	There is a table, a chair, and a candlestick.
Извините, что я перебыю вашу рѣчь.	I beg pardon for interrupting you.
Русскіе добрые люди.	The Russians are a worthy people.
Садитесь, гдѣ вамъ угодно.	Sit down where you please.
Подайте мнѣ перо и чернила.	Give me a pen and ink.
Сдѣлайте мнѣ милость.	Do me this favour.
Поди, достань мнѣ дрожки.	Go and fetch me a cab.
Гдѣ люди ? Здѣсь они, сударь.	Where are the servants ? Here they are, Sir.
Я пойду съ вами. Поди сюда.	I will go with you. Come here.
Пожалуйте мнѣ рюмку водки.	Please give me a glass of brandy.



Хочешь ли хлѣба? Да, сударь;	Will you have some bread?
я васъ прошу.	Yes please, Sir.
Вотъ ваша комната.	Here is your room.
Если такъ угодно Богу.	Please God!
Мнѣ хотѣлось бы посмотрѣть рѣд- кости города.	I should like to see the curio- sities of the city.

Въ Потсдамѣ есть русская церковь подъ надзираніемъ стараго русскаго солдата, который живетъ тамъ со временъ царствованія Императрицы Анны.

Мы насилу могли сыскать его. Дряхлый старикъ сидѣлъ на большихъ креслахъ, и услышавъ, что мы Русскіе, протянуть къ намъ руки, и дрожащимъ голосомъ сказали. Слава Богу! Слава Богу!

Онъ хотѣлъ говорить сперва съ нами по-русски: но мы съ трудомъ могли разумѣть другъ друга. Намъ надлежало повторять почти каждое слово.

“Пойдемте въ церковь Божию, сказалъ онъ, и помолмся вмѣстѣ, хотя нынѣ и нѣтъ праздника.”

Сердце мое наполнилось благоговѣніемъ, когда отворилась дверь въ церковь, гдѣ столько времени царствуетъ глубокое молчаніе, едва перерываемое слабыми вздохами и тихимъ голосомъ молящагося старца, который по воскресеньямъ приходитъ туда читать святѣйшую изъ книгъ, приготовляющую его къ блаженной вѣчности.

Въ церкви все чисто. Церковныя книги и утварь хранятся въ сундукѣ. Отъ времени до времени старикъ перебираетъ ихъ съ молитвою.

“Часто отъ всего сердца, сказалъ онъ, сокрушаюсь я о томъ, что по смерти моей, которая отъ меня ковечно уже не далеко, не кому будетъ смотрѣть за церковью.”

Съ полчаса пробыли мы въ семь священномъ мѣстѣ, простились съ почтеннымъ старикомъ, и пожелали ему тихой смерти.

Կոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա?	xotshæsh-li xlæba?
Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա?	da :su-darj ; :ja :vas prash'u.
Վոտշահ-լի քլաբա?	vot vasha komnata.
Վոտշահ-լի քլաբա?	jæsli tak ug'odno bogu.
Մոտշահ-լի քլաբա?	:mnæ khat'ælosj -by pasmat-ræt rætkosjTi goroda.

B

(In this piece the quantity is only occasionally marked.)

Նոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա? Գոտշահ-լի քլաբա?

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<sup>1</sup> Or Նոտշահ ք.





## SPOKEN PORTUGUESE<sup>1</sup>

THE following sketch is the result of a careful study with an educated native of Lisbon.<sup>2</sup> I have also had an opportunity of hearing the Oporto pronunciation, though only casually.

The only other help I have had has been Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's paper *On Portuguese Simple Sounds* (Trans. 1880-1, pp. 23-41), together with the dictionaries of Vieyra and João de Deus (Diccionario Prosodico por A. de Carvalho e J. de Deus, Lisbon, 1878), which latter was first made known to English phoneticians by the Prince, and is especially valuable as it is the only complete pronouncing dictionary of the language there is.

But my appreciation of the sounds differs considerably in some respects from that of Deus, whom the Prince generally follows. I am told that Deus is a native of Algarves—the extreme south of Portugal. It is therefore possible that his divergencies, both from his countrymen and myself, may be partly, at least, dialectal. All that I can do is to put my observations on record, with the conviction that where I have erred it has not been from want of care and conscientiousness.

### SOUNDS

The following are the vowels :

- |       |               |                              |                        |
|-------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ʃ  | (a)           | amámos ( <i>we loved</i> )   | ä·mamufs. <sup>3</sup> |
| 2. I  | (i)           | desejoso ( <i>desirous</i> ) | dizi'zozu              |
| 3. ʌ  | (ë). See 19.  |                              |                        |
| 4. ʌ̄ | (ën). See 20. |                              |                        |
| 5. ɪ  | (ä)           | amamos ( <i>we love</i> )    | ä·mämuſs.              |

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1882-4, pp. 203-37.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Mardel, Esq., of 2 Gresham Buildings, Guildhall Street, London.

<sup>3</sup> I have now returned to Bell's plan of putting the stress-mark *before* instead of after the element on which the stress begins. Vowel-quantity is generally medial, and does not require to be marked.

6.	ɥ	(än)	irmã ( <i>sister</i> )	ir'män.
7.	ɪ	(i)	si ( <i>himself</i> )	si.
8.	ɪs	(in)	sim ( <i>yes</i> )	sin.
9.	[	(e)	vê ( <i>see!</i> )	ve.
10.	[s	(en)	vento ( <i>wind</i> )	ventu.
11.	ɹ	(æ)	pé ( <i>foot</i> )	pæ.
12.	ɦ	(u)	chuva ( <i>rain</i> )	ɦuvä.
13.	ɦs	(un)	um ( <i>one</i> )	un.
14.	ʃ	(o)	boa ( <i>good fem.</i> )	boä.
15.	ʃs	(on)	bom ( <i>good masc.</i> )	bon.
16.	ʃ	(o)	pó ( <i>dust</i> )	po.

## diphthongs :

17.	ʃɹ	(ai)	mais ( <i>more</i> )	mais̄s.
18.	ʃɹ̄	(au)	mau ( <i>bad</i> )	mau.
19.	[ɹ	(ëi)	têho ( <i>I have</i> )	tëiɦu
20.	[ɦs	(ëniŋ)	tem ( <i>has</i> )	tëniɦ.
21.	ɹ̄	(äi)	maior ( <i>greater</i> )	mäi'or.
22.	ɦs	(änin)	mãe ( <i>mother</i> )	mänin.
23.	ʃɹ̄	(äu)	ao ( <i>to the</i> )	äu.
24.	ɦɦs	(änun)	irmão ( <i>brother</i> )	ir'mänun.
25.	ɦɹ̄	(iu)	viu ( <i>he saw</i> )	viu
26.	[ɹ	(ei)	reis ( <i>kings</i> )	rreīfs.
27.	[ɹ̄	(eu)	eu ( <i>I</i> )	eu.
28.	ɹ̄	(æi)	réis ( <i>reals</i> )	rreīfs.
29.	[ɹ̄	(æu)	céo ( <i>sky</i> )	sæu.
30.	ɦɹ̄	(ui)	fui ( <i>I was</i> )	fui.
31.	ɦɦs	(unin)	muito ( <i>much</i> )	munintu.
32.	ʃɹ̄	(oi)	boi ( <i>ox</i> )	boi.
33.	ʃɦs	(onin)	põe ( <i>puts</i> )	ponin.
34.	ʃɹ̄	(oi)	jóia ( <i>jewel</i> )	ʒoiä.

## and consonants :

35.	ɹ	(l)	filho ( <i>sun</i> )	fiɦu
36.	ɹs	(rr)	raro ( <i>rare</i> )	rrau.
37.	ɹɹ̄	(l̄x)	mal ( <i>bad</i> )	mal.
38.	z	(j)	chá ( <i>tea</i> )	ɦa.
39.	z	(z)	já ( <i>already</i> )	ɦa.

40.	z	(ʃs)	gostos ( <i>pleasures</i> )	gofstufs.
41.	z	(ʒs)	pasmo ( <i>wonder</i> )	pazsmu.
42.	s	(s)	faço ( <i>I do</i> )	fasu.
43.	s	(z)	aza ( <i>wing</i> )	azã.
44.	>	(f)	} favor ( <i>favour</i> )	fãvor.
45.	>	(v)		
46.	l	(ñ)	banho ( <i>bath</i> )	bañu.
47.	ɲ	(n)	nono ( <i>ninth</i> )	nonu.
48.	F	(m)	minimo ( <i>least</i> )	mînimu.
49.	a	(k)	casa ( <i>house</i> )	kazã.
50.	a	(g)	amigo ( <i>friend</i> )	ã'migu.
51.	o	(t)	} tudo ( <i>all</i> )	tudu.
52.	o	(d)		
53.	p	(p)	papa ( <i>pope</i> )	papã.
54.	b	(b)	bebo ( <i>I drink</i> )	bebu.

## Vowels.

The following table will show the relation of the Portuguese vowels to the general system :

	I	I(ʃ)			
	ɹ(ʃ)	[(ʃ)	ʃ		
		ɹ		I(ʃ)	
ɹ(ʃ)					
ʃ(ʃ)			ʃ		

I now proceed to details.

1. ʃ (a): ɹʃʃɹɹz *amamos* 'we loved' pret.; ʃ *ha* 'has';  
oʃoʃo *palrar* 'chatter'; ʃsɹ *aza* 'wing'; oʃaʃɹɹ *lagrima*

'tear' subst.;  $\text{e}[\text{ɔ}]$  *gato* 'cat'. Apparently identical in formation with the English  $\text{ɔ}$ , except that, like all Portuguese sounds, it is formed with the mouth wide open, which gives it a higher tone, and might make an inexperienced ear imagine it to be advanced ( $\text{ɔ}^h$ ).

2.  $\text{I}$  (i):  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɛ}]$  *sí* *desejoso* 'desirous';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h]$  *que* 'what';  $\text{s}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɔ}$  *cessar* 'cease';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɐ}][\text{ɛ}]\text{z}$  *recebemos* 'we receive'. Closely resembles the North Welsh *u*, but is deeper and more guttural in tone. The Welsh sound is  $\text{I}$ , the Portuguese normal  $\text{I}$ , perhaps slightly  $\text{I}^h$ . When  $\text{I}$  round the two vowels, the Welsh one becomes the Swedish *u* in *hus*, while the Portuguese vowel becomes the corresponding Norwegian *u*.

5.  $\text{ɪ}$  (ä):  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}]\text{ɛ}[\text{ɪ}]\text{z}$  *amamos* 'we love';  $\text{s}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɪ}]\text{ɪ}$  *semana* 'week';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{z}][\text{ɔ}]\text{ɪ}[\text{ɪ}]$  *castanha* 'chestnut';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɔ}]\text{ɪ}$  *para* 'for'. I cannot agree with the Prince's identification of this sound with the E.  $\text{ɪ}$  of *man*; it seems to me to be nearly identical with the first element of our diphthong in *low*, which is perhaps rather  $\text{ɪ}^h$  than normal  $\text{ɪ}$ .

6.  $\text{ɪ}$  (än):  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}]\text{ɛ}[\text{ɪ}]$  *irmã* 'sister';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h]$  *rã* 'frog';  $\text{ɛ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}$  *maçã* 'apple';  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}]\text{ɪ}$  *anno* 'year';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}[\text{ɔ}]$  *dançando* 'dancing';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɔ}]\text{ɪ}$  *branco* 'white';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɔ}]\text{ɪ}$  *campo* 'field'. I agree with the Prince in considering Portuguese nasality in this, as in all the other nasal vowels, to be less strong than in French, the uvula being, I suppose, less lowered. This sound closely resembles the bleat of a sheep.

It may be noted here that the nasality of a vowel followed by a stop is not entirely uniform throughout, an approximation to the position of the stop being made towards the end of the vowel. This is most noticeable before the lip stops. Thus *tambem* 'also' might almost be written  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɛ}][\text{ɛ}][\text{ɪ}]\text{ɪ}$ , distinct, however, from *tam bem* 'as well' =  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{ɛ}][\text{ɛ}][\text{ɪ}]\text{ɪ}$ .

7.  $\text{ɪ}$  (i):  $\text{s}[\text{ɪ}^h]$  *si* 'himself';  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}]$  *e* 'and';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h]$  *dia* 'day';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}[\text{ɔ}]$  *difficil* 'difficult';  $\text{ɛ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}$  *minimo* 'least'. Seems to become  $\text{ɪ}$  when unstressed before another vowel, as in  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}[\text{ɔ}]\text{ɪ}$  *familia* 'family'.

8.  $\text{ɪ}$  (in):  $\text{s}[\text{ɪ}^h]$  *sim* 'yes';  $\text{ɔ}[\text{ɪ}^h\text{s}]\text{ɪ}$  *quinze* 'fifteen';  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}][\text{ɛ}]\text{z}$  *inglez* 'English';  $\text{ɪ}[\text{ɛ}]\text{ɪ}$  *indo* 'going'.

9. [ (e) : >[ vé 'see!'; >[w ver 'see' inf.; aɪ̯.ɐ[wɐi cabelo 'hair'; wɪ̯.f.ɔ[sɫ riqueza 'riches'; s[ɛsɔi sexto 'sixth'; >[fɪz vémos 'we see'; s[wɐi cedo 'early'.

10. [ɪ (en) : >[ɪvɐi vento 'wind'; ɔ[wɐi tenro 'tender'; ɔ[ɪ̯ɲɪ penna 'pen'; w[ɪ̯.ɐw[ɔ lembrar 'remember'.

11. ɾ (æ) : ɔɾ pé 'foot'; ɾ é 'is'; ɾwɪ era 'was'; >ɾwɐi velho 'old'; wɾfɪz démos 'we gave'; ɔɾwɔɪ pedra 'stone'; ɐɾɐz bebes 'thou drinkest'. Vieyra's dictionary, like the ordinary Portuguese spelling, distinguishes only é [ and ê, which *a priori* may be either ɾ or ʃ, and I am not able to advance beyond this twofold distinction, but although I hear the open sound mainly as ɾ, I do not undertake to say positively that ʃ does not occur also. Deus, followed by the Prince, splits up the open *e* into two varieties, which he marks é and ê respectively, calling the former 'acute' (agudo), the latter 'open' (aberto), but without any further information as to the nature of the difference between them. Neither my teacher nor I could perceive the slightest difference between Deus's é in *decimo*, *pessimo*, and his ê in *peça*, *depressa*, &c. Deus also writes é in many words where I can only hear ʃ, and where Vieyra writes ê.

12. ɻ (u) : zɻɪ chuva 'rain'; wɻɪ rua 'street'; >ɻfɪ fumo 'smoke'; ɔɻwɔɪ.ɐ[ɛs Portuguese 'Portuguese'. Becomes ɻ when unstressed before another vowel, as in ɔɻɪwɔɪ quarto 'fourth'; w[ɪ̯.ɐɻɪ lingua 'tongue'. *wisth* 'whist' is ɻɛsɔ.

13. ɻ̃ (un) : ɻ̃ um 'one' masc.; sɻ̃sɻ̃ zumzum 'humming'; ɲ̃ɻ̃ɻ̃ nunca 'never'; zɻ̃wɐi chumbo 'lead'.

14. ʃ (o) : ɔʃɪ boa 'good' fem.; ɪ>ʃ avô 'grandmother'; aɪ̯.ɔʃwɔs quatorze 'fourteen'; ʃ.ɔʃɲɪ outono 'autumn'; ɔʃɔɪ pouco 'few'.

15. ʃ̃ (on) : ɔʃ̃ bom 'good' masc.; ʃ̃wɪ honra 'honour'; wʃ̃ɐɪ longo 'long'; sʃ̃ɐwɪ sombra 'shade'.

16. ʒ (o) : ɔʒ pó 'dust'; ʃwɪ ora 'now'; ʃwɪz olhos 'eyes'; ɔwʃɔɪ.ɐw[ɔ procurar 'seek'.

We now come to the diphthongs. The elements of these are always formed with perfect clearness, so as to suggest a disyllabic pronunciation to an English ear.

17. ʃɪ (ai) : ɻɪz mais 'more'; sɻɪ sahe 'goes out'; ɔʃɪ pae

'father'; ʃɾɐ *aiá* 'nurse'; əʃɾ>ʃɔɾ *gaiivota* 'gull'; əʃɾɛɪ *baixo* 'low'.

18. ʒɐ (au): ʃʒɐ *mau* 'bad'; ɔʒɐːsʒɐː *caução* 'caution'; ɔʒɐsɐ *causa* 'cause'; >ɔʒɐɔɪ *fraude* 'fraud'.

19. ʃɾ (ëi): ɔʃɾɪɪ *tenho* 'I have'; ɔʃɾɪɪ *lenha* 'wood'; >ʃɾɪɪ *venho* 'I come'; >ʃɾɪɪ *venha* 'let him come'. This is the only way in which close *e* before *nh* is pronounced, the combination [ɾ not existing. I was for a long time quite at a loss to analyse this sound, but am now tolerably sure of the first element. I am not certain whether the *r* should be written or not, as it is possible that the diphthongic effect may be due simply to the transition from the [ɪ to the ɾ.

20. ʃɾɪs (ënin): ɔʃɾɪs *tem* 'has'; ʃɾɪs *em* 'in'; sʃɾɪs *sem* 'without'; ʃʃɾɪs *homem* 'man': ɔʃɾɪs *poem* 'they put'.

21. ʃɾ (äi): ʃʃɾɾʃɔ *maior* 'greater'; əʃɾɾʃɔɪ *gaióla* 'cage'. This pronunciation of unaccented *ai* occurs only in a few words.

22. ʃɾɪs (änin): ʃʃɾɪs *mãe* 'mother'. Only in this word, where the nasality is due to the same forward influence of the ʃ as in ʃɾɪs *mim* 'me'.

23. ʒɐ (äu): ʒɐ *ao* 'to the'; ʒɐs *aos* 'to the' pl.; sʒɐːɔɪ *saudade* 'longing'. Compare ʃɾ (21).

24. ʒɐs (änun): ʃɔʃɐs *irmão* 'brother'; ʃʒɐs *mãos* 'hands'; ʃʃɐs *amão* 'they love'; ɔɪɔʃɐs *coração* 'heart'.

25. ʃɪ (iu): >ʃɪ *viu* 'he saw'.

26. ʃɾ (ei): ɔʃɾɪs *reis* 'kings'; ʃɾ *hei* 'I have'; ɔʃɾɪ *creio* 'I believe'; ʃʃɾɔʃɾɪ *madeira* 'wood'; sʃɾɪs *seis* 'six'; ɔʃɾʃɔ *queimar* 'burn'; >ʃɾɪ *feito* 'made'.

27. ʒɐ (eu): ʒɐ *eu* 'I'; ɔʒɐ *deu* 'he gave'; ʒɐːɔɪ *Europa* 'Europe'; ɔʒɐs *Deus* 'God'.

28. ʃɾ (æi): ɔʃɾɪs *réis* 'reals' (money); >ʃɾɪs *fiéis* 'faithful' plur.; ʃʃɾɪs *anneis* 'rings'. The singulars are ɔʃɾɪ *real*, >ʃɾɪ *fiel*, ʃʃɾɪ *annel*. ʃɾ seems to occur only in this way, as the result of inflexional contraction.

29. ʒɐ (æu): sʒɐ *céu* 'sky'; >ʒɐ *véu* 'veil'; ʒɐːɔɪ *chapéu* 'hat'.

30. ʃɾ (ui): >ʃɾ *fui* 'I was'; ʃɾ *húi!* 'alas!'; ʃʃɾɪs *azues* 'blue' plur.

31. *ũ* (*unin*): *ũĩũĩ* *muĩto* 'much'. The nasalization is due to the *ũ*, and does not appear to be universal out of Lisbon.

32. *ʃ* (*oi*): *ɔʃ* *boi* 'ox'; *ɔʃ* *foi* 'he was'; *ɔʃrɛs* *dous* 'two'; *ɔʃrɔʃĩ* *coitado* 'miserable'.

33. *ʃ* (*oin*): *ɔʃ* *põe* 'puts'; *ɔʃrɛs* *pões* 'puttest'; *ʃsʃrɛs* *acções* 'actions'; *ɔʃrʃrɛs* *Camões*.

34. *ʃ* (*oi*): *ɛʃrũ* *jóia* 'jewel'; *rʷɔʃ* *heroe* 'hero'; *ɔʃrɛs* *roes* 'rolls'; *sʃrɛs* *soes* 'suns'. The singulars of the last two are *ɔʃrɔ* *rol* and *sʃɔ* *sol*.

### Consonants.

The following table will show the general relations of the consonants:

			ω		s s	z z			> >
—		ɔ	ω				—	—	—
	ɑ ɑ		ɔ ɔ				ɔ ɔ		
—		ɹ	ʃ				r		

35. *ɔ* (*l*): *ɔrĩ* *filho* 'son'; *ɔrũ* *falha* 'crack'; *ɔrĩ* *velho* 'old'; *rĩrũ* *melhor* 'better'; *sĩrũ* *semelhe* 'may resemble'.

36. *ɔ* (*rr*): *ɔrũ* *raro* 'rare'. More forward than in English, being formed quite close to the teeth-rim. This is the only consonant which admits of distinctions of quantity. *ω* seems to be formed by a single trill, *ɔ* by two or three, and is often, though not necessarily, uttered with greater force. *ɔ* is the sound of *rr* as in *ɔrũ* *carro* 'cart', compared with *ɔrũ* *caro* 'dear', *ɔrũ* *perro* 'obstinate', *ʃrũ* *horror*. Also of initial *r* as in *ɔrũ* *foi a Roma* 'went to Rome' compared with *ɹrũ* *aroma*. *r* before the point cons. *ɔ*, *ɔ*, *ʃ*,

especially the last, is apparently stronger than before other cons., being almost  $\omega$ , as in  $\alpha\tau\omega\tau\grave{\imath}$  *curto* 'short',  $\succ[\omega\tau\grave{\imath}$  *verde* 'green',  $\alpha\updownarrow\omega\tau\grave{\imath}$  *carne* 'flesh'.

37.  $\omega$  (l, x):  $\text{F}\updownarrow\omega$  *mal* 'bad';  $[\omega$  *elle* 'he';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\text{F}\omega$  *civil* 'civil';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\omega$  *sol* 'sun';  $\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow\text{r}$  *alem* 'beyond';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow$  *celebre* 'famous';  $\succ\updownarrow\omega\text{s}\grave{\imath}$  *falso* 'false';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\omega\text{L}$  *silva* 'bramble';  $\omega\updownarrow$  *lá* 'there';  $\omega\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow$  *claro* 'clear'. The Portuguese *l*, especially when final or when followed by another consonant, sounds quite different from the French and German  $\omega$  as in *elle*, *hell*, and approaches the guttural Russian *l*, being also distinct from the English *l*. It is apparently formed with the back of the tongue in the c-position, which draws the point-contact from the teeth on to the gums, some distance from the teeth. According to my teacher it is formed on the same part of the palate as  $\tau$ —that is, further back than  $\omega$ .

38.  $z$  (f):  $z\updownarrow$  *chá* 'tea';  $\alpha\updownarrow z\updownarrow z\updownarrow\omega$  *cuchichar* 'whisper';  $\omega\updownarrow z\updownarrow$  *roxo* 'red'.

39.  $e$  (z):  $e\updownarrow$  *já* 'already';  $\tau\updownarrow e\updownarrow$  *Tejo* 'Tagus';  $\updownarrow e$  *hoje* 'to-day'.

40.  $z$  (fs):  $\alpha\updownarrow z\omega\updownarrow z$  *gostos* 'pleasures';  $z\omega\updownarrow$  *está* 'is';  $\succ\updownarrow z$  *faz* 'does'.

41.  $z$  (zs):  $\omega\updownarrow z\text{F}\updownarrow$  *pasmo* 'wonder';  $\tau\updownarrow z\omega\updownarrow$  *desde* 'since';  $\updownarrow z\text{F}\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow$  *esmola* 'alms'.

These two sounds are formed in a position between  $z$  and  $s$ .

42.  $s$  (s):  $\succ\updownarrow s\updownarrow$  *faço* 'I do';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\text{s}\updownarrow\omega$  *cessar* 'cease';  $\omega\updownarrow s$  *disse* 'he said'. My teacher finds that he forms  $s$  and  $s$  with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth, but that he cannot form either  $z$  or  $z$  with the tongue in this position, but is compelled to raise the tip towards the palate.

43.  $s$  (z):  $\updownarrow s\updownarrow$  *aza* 'wing';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow$  *zelo* 'zeal';  $\omega\updownarrow s$  *doze* 'twelve'.

44.  $\succ$  (f):  $\succ\updownarrow\text{F}\updownarrow\omega$  *favor* 'favour';  $\alpha\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow\updownarrow\omega\updownarrow$  *garrafa* 'bottle'.

45.  $\succ$  (v):  $\succ\updownarrow v\updownarrow$  *vivo* 'alive';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\omega\text{L}$  *serve* 'serves'.

46.  $\text{L}$  (ñ):  $\omega\updownarrow\text{L}\updownarrow$  *banho* 'bath';  $\succ\updownarrow\text{L}\updownarrow$  *vinho* 'wine';  $\text{i}\updownarrow\text{L}$  *unha* 'nail';  $\text{s}\updownarrow\text{L}\updownarrow\omega$  *senhor* 'sir';  $\updownarrow\alpha\updownarrow\text{L}$  *acanha* 'may frighten'.

47.  $\tau$  (n):  $\tau\updownarrow\tau\updownarrow$  *nono* 'ninth';  $\text{F}\updownarrow\tau\updownarrow\tau\updownarrow$  *menino* 'infant'. Formed in the same place as the English *n*.



48. ƒ (m): ƒ[ɣ]ƒ[ɣ] *minimo* 'least'; ƒ[ɣ]ƒ[ɣ] *mesmo* 'same'.

49. ɑ (k): ɑ[ɣ]s[ɣ] *casa* 'house'; ɣ[ɑ] *aqui* 'here': >[ɑ]s[ɣ] *fixo* 'fixed'. ɑ, ɔ, and ɒ are pronounced without any escape of breath, =ɑ', &c.

50. ɑ (g): ɣ[ɑ]s[ɣ] *amigo* 'friend'; ɑ[ɣ] *Grego* 'Greek'. ɑ, ɔ, and ɒ are pronounced with a less energetic closure than in English, so that they always approximate to ɛ, ɜ, and ɚ respectively, and sometimes are actually opened, especially between vowels. My teacher finds the E. *g* quite distinct from the Portuguese, although he thinks the Portuguese *g* is closer after *s*, as in *rasgar* ɑ[ɣ]s[ɣ]ɑ[ɣ].

51. ɔ (t): ɔ[ɣ]t[ɣ] *tudo* 'all'; >[ɔ]s[ɣ] *visto* 'seen'; ɣ[ɔ] *noite* 'night'. In forming ɔ and ɔ̄ the tip of the tongue is protruded between the teeth.

52. ɔ̄ (d): ɔ̄[ɣ]d[ɣ] *dado* 'given'; ɔ̄[ɣ] *dia* 'day'. Approaches very near in sound to the E. ɔ̄ in *then*, from which it is sometimes indistinguishable.

53. ɒ (p): ɒ[ɣ]p[ɣ] *papa* 'pope'; ɒ[ɣ]p[ɣ] *prado* 'meadow'.

54. ɐ (b): ɐ[ɣ]b[ɣ] *bebo* 'I drink'; ɔ[ɣ]ɐ[ɣ] *lembrar* 'remember'; ɐ[ɣ] *bebe* 'drinks'. Often almost indistinguishable from ɚ.

#### REPRESENTATION AND OCCURRENCE.

Portuguese spelling is somewhat unsettled, the natural difficulty of symbolizing a complicated sound-system being aggravated by the retention of etymological spellings. I have not attempted to carry out any consistent Portuguese orthography in this paper.

The use of accents varies, and they are written universally only in words where they are required for distinctive purposes. The acute accent is used to denote the name-sounds of the vowels: á ], é [̄, ó }̄. [ and }̄ are written ê, ô. Nasality is marked sometimes by the *til*, as in *irmã*, only the first element of a diphthong being marked, as in *mão*, sometimes by an *m*, as in *sim*. *n* and *m* + cons. are not pronounced separately, but act only as nasal modifiers of the preceding vowel. Hence the consonant ɲ, which would otherwise occur in such words

as *longo, branco*, is wanting, as in French, these words being pronounced  $\omega\text{ʃ}ae\text{t}$ ,  $\text{b}\omega\text{ʃ}ae\text{t}$ .

The only doubled consonants which differ in pronunciation from the corresponding simple ones are *rr*, *ss*, *nn*, and *mm*, and *cc* when = *as*. Other doublings, which occur chiefly in learned words, are unmeaning, as in *effeito, agravar*.

### Vowels.

**a** :  $\text{ʃ}$ ,  $\text{ɹ}$ . In stress-syllables  $\text{ʃ}$ , except before nasals. When final *a* =  $\text{ʃ}$  is accented in many words, especially monosyllables such as *lá, chá*, to distinguish it from *a* =  $\text{ɹ}$ . Also in *á* and *ás*, contractions of *a a*, *a as*, and in preterites such as *amámos, tomámos*  $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}\text{ɹ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{z}$ .  $\text{ɹ}$  before *nh*, *n*, *m* followed by a vowel, except in the preterites just mentioned, in *banho, ganho* 'I gain', and a few rare words in *anh-*. Unstressed *a* is  $\text{ʃ}$  in *alem*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ , and regularly before *l* followed by a cons. beginning another syllable, as in *palrar*  $\text{ɔ}\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ʃ}\omega$ , *alçar*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ʃ}\omega$ , *algum*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ae}\text{t}$ , *alcançar*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ae}\text{t}\text{ʃ}\omega$ , *saltar*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ɔ}\text{ʃ}\omega$ , *aldeia*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ɔ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ . Often before silent *c* followed by a cons., as in *acção*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ , *transacção*  $\text{ɔ}\omega\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ , *actor*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɔ}\text{ʃ}\omega$ . Similarly in *adaptacção*  $\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ʃ}\text{ɔ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$  and other words. Also in *armar, alargar*  $\text{ɹ}\omega\text{ʃ}\omega\text{ae}\text{t}$  [ $\text{ɹ}$  in *marchar, carvão, arder*, &c.]; *relaxar*  $\omega\text{ɹ}\omega\text{ʃ}\text{z}\omega$ ; *ganhar*  $\text{ae}\text{t}\text{ɹ}\omega$  ( $\text{ʃ}$  throughout); *radio*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ .  $\text{ɹ}$  not only in most unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words, but also in the unstressed monosyllabic words *a* (article, pronoun, prep.), *as* (plur. fem.), *mas* 'but'. Also in both syllables of the usually unstressed disyllables *para*  $\text{ɔ}\text{ɹ}\omega\text{ɹ}$  and *cada*  $\text{ae}\text{t}\omega\text{ɹ}$ .

*ã*, -*an* final (as in *gran*), *an*, *am* before cons. =  $\text{ɹ}$ .

-*am* final =  $\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}$ , as in *tam, amáram*, formerly written *ão*.

*ah!* =  $\text{ʃ}$ .

Lisbon colloquialisms are *agua*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ae}\text{t}\text{ɹ}$ , *sangue*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ae}\text{t}\text{ɹ}$ , *janella*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}\omega\text{ɹ}$ .

**ai** :  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ ,  $\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}$ , the latter only occasionally in unstressed syllables (see p. 470).

**ae** :  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}$ . *pae*; *taes, geraes*  $\text{z}\text{ɹ}\omega\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{z}$ , &c., plurals of *tal, geral*. So also in *sahé*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}$  'goes out', *sahes*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}\text{z}$ , from *sahir*  $\text{ʃ}\text{ɹ}\omega$ .

**ãe** :  $\text{ɹ}\text{ɹ}$ . Only in *mãe*.

**au** : ʒ, ɹ, the latter only when unstressed (p. 470). In *scandale* the vowels are separated—sɹ.ɪ.ɔ.ɪ.

**ao** : ʒ, ɹ, the latter only when unstressed (p. 470).

**ão** : ɹ.ɹ.

**i, y** : ɪ.

**im, in** + cons. : ɪ.

**iu** : ɪ, except when they belong to different syllables, as in *viuva* >[ɪ.ɪ].

**e** : [, ɹ, [; ɪ, ɪ, the latter two only when unstressed. *ê, é* generally written when final to distinguish from the unstressed sounds. The distribution of [ and ɹ is irregular, but there are some inflexional changes which can be reduced to rule.

Nouns and adjectives with [ in the masc. sg. keep it in the plur. and fem., except in the pronouns *ella, aquella, essa, esta*, which have ɹ against the [ of the masc. *elle, aquella, esse, este*.

The changes in verb-inflexions, on the other hand, follow the same general rules as those of the }-verbs. It must, of course, be understood that we are concerned only with the stress vowels of the verbs, whether root or inflexional.

#### (A) ROOT VOWELS.

(1) ɹ throughout. (a) with certain exceptions, detailed under 2, in all verbs of the 1st conj. : *espero* ɪ.ʒ.ɔ.ɹ.ɪ, *velas, cessa, levão, rega* ɪ, *soletre* sɪ.ɔ.ɹ.ɔ.ɪ, *arredes, trepem*. (b) the irregular verbs of the 2nd conj. *perder* and *querer* (see under Inflexion). (c) the irregular verbs of the 3rd conj. *medir* and (*im*)*pedir*. (d) the verbs of the 3rd conj., (*re*)*ferir, servir, advertir, vestir, seguir, repetir*, take *i* and ɹ.

(2) [ throughout. (a) before *lh, ch, j, n*, and *m* not followed by another consonant in verbs of the 1st conj., the following being the commonest of these verbs : *aconselhar, semelhar; fechar; gracejar; desejar, trovejar, manquejar, pejar, sobejar; serenar, acenar, condemnar* ɔ.ɹ.ɪ.ɹ.ɹ, *penar; remar*. Examples are : *aconselho, fechas, troveja, condemnam, remes*. (b) In *herdar* [ɔ.ɹ.ɹ *pesar* 'grieve' impers., [*pesar* 'weigh' having ɹ throughout], *chegar*, as in *herdo, pesa-me, chegue*.

(3) The regular verbs of the 2nd conj. have [ in the first sg.

pres. indic. and in the pres. subj.,  $\text{ɨ}$  in the rest of the pres. indic. and in the imper.: [*bebo, metta, recebas, conhecam*;  $\text{ɨ}$  *bebes, deve, mettem, bebe!*]

(4) In the irregular verbs it may be noted that *e* final is always [*lê, sê, dê, vê*, also in the 2nd sg. presents *ves, les, des*. [*also in vele(s)*, and in *fez, esteve, teve*, and in the subj. *seja, esteja, veja*. See under Inflexion.

### (B) INFLEXIONAL VOWELS.

(1) [*(a)* in *-emos* 1st plur. of the future and subj. pres. of the 1st conj., pres. indic. of the 2nd conj., and pret. indic. of the regular 2nd conj.: *amaremos, beberemos, abriremos, faremos; amemos, demos; bebemos, fazemos; bebemos* pret. (*b*) In the pret. indic. *-este(s)*, *-eram* and subj. pret. *-era* &c., *-esse* &c., of the regular 2nd conj.: *bebeste, bebestes, beberam; bebera, beberamos, bebesses*. (*c*) In the infin. *-er*: *beber, fazer, ter*. (*d*) In the 2nd fut. of the regular 2nd conj.: *beber, bebermos*, &c.

(2)  $\text{ɨ}$  in the pret. indic. *-este(s)*, *-emos*, *-eram*, subj. pret. *-era*, *-esse*, &c., and 2nd fut. of the irregular verbs *dar, estar; dizer, fazer, haver, poder, saber, trazer; querer, vir; por*, as in *tiveste, fizestes, dêmos, puzeram; houvera, viessemos; der, tivermos*.

The following lists include many of the commoner words, and will show the distribution of stress [ $\text{ˈ}$  and  $\text{ɨ}$  in the other parts of speech.

[. *mercê, d* (letter *d*). *cera, haveres* pl. *pera*; *erro* [*erɔɨ* 'I err'], *perro* subst., adj.; *terço, cerca, acerto, aberto, verde, esquerdo*; *el* article, *elle, vel-o* &c., *estrella, zelo, cotovelo, aquelle, pelo, pela, capello, cabelo; felpa. joelho, orelha, sobrançelha, ovelha, vermelho, abelha; abbadessa; esse; interesse; espesso; preço; cabeça. avareza, certeza* &c., *Ingleza* &c., *princeza* &c., *Veneza, defesa, despesa, mesa, treze. marquez, Inglez* &c., *cortez, vez, mez, trez, fresco, este, sexto* s[*zɔɨ*], *besta* 'beast'. *cereja, igreja; mesmo, desde. trezeno, pequeno, feno, menos, pena. supremo, remo. seco. bodega, labrego; negro, gazeta, espeto, tapete, preto; letra. segredo, sede* 'thirst', *seda* 'silk', 'bristle', *cedo, medo, dedo; Pedro. sebo.*

ɿ. *e* (letter *e*), *é* 'is', *café, até, pé. hera, colher* 'spoon' [*colher* ɑɿ·ɔw [ɔ 'gather'], *vero, primavera, mulher; serra, terra, verso, diverso, herua, inverno, certo, perto* 'near', *aberto. ella* fem., *fiel, cruel &c., anel* ɿ·ɿɿw, *papel &c., amarelo, janella, mel, aquela* fem., *pelle, bello; selua. velho, evangelho* [ɿɿ·ɿɿɔɿ. *dez, esta* fem., *l'este* 'east', *honesto* ɿ·ɿɿɿɔɿ, *feira, bésta* 'bow', *mestre. inveja, Tejo, sexagesimo* s[ɑsɿ·ɿɿsɿɿɿ. *essa* fem., *peça, pessimo, pressa. leve, neve, nevoa, breve. engenho. solemne* sɿ·ɿɿɿɿ. *leme. secca* 'drought' [*seca* s[ɑɿ 'dry' fem.]. *egua, cego, regra. secreto, sete. moeda, sede* 'see', *remedio, credo; pedra. sebe; lebre, febre.*

[ɿ. In Lisbon *mesa* is generally ɿ[sɿ by forward influence of the ɿ.

I, I. *e* is I in the unstressed words *the, se, ne, que, te, lhes*, and in most unstressed syllables, as in *preciso, nenhum* ɿɿ·ɿɿɿ, *ceremonia* sɿɿɿ·ɿɿɿɿɿ, *necessario* ɿɿɿɿ·s[ɿɿɿ, *beneficentia* ɿɿɿɿ·ɿɿɿɿɿ, even in *dezasete* ɿɿɿɿ·sɿɿɿɿ. Also before two cons., as in *emprestar, vestir, quebrar, impertinente, perder*. Finally it is often dropped.

*e* 'and' is always I. Unstressed *e* regularly becomes ɿ before another vowel, as in *real* ɿɿ·ɿɿw, *semear* sɿɿɿ·ɿɿw, *beato. peor* is sometimes written *peior*, but always pronounced ɿɿ·ɿɿw. So also when the following vowel belongs to another word: ɑɿ ɿɿɿɿɿ sɿɿɿɿ *que horas são?* ɿɿɿɿɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ *folgo de o ver.*

Initial *e* before *s* + cons. is regularly I, as in *estar, esperar, esmola* ɿ·ɿɿɿɿw, where it is often dropped. *ex-* followed by a vowel is [s-, as in *exemplo, existir, exhibir*. So also in *hesitar* [sɿ·ɿɿw.

Non-initial [ in *sexagesimo* s[ɑsɿ·ɿɿsɿɿɿ.

In other cases initial *e* is I, which in familiar speech becomes ɿ, as in *eterno* ɿ·ɿɿɿɿɿ, *heroe* ɿ·ɿɿɿɿ, *heretico* ɿ·ɿɿɿɿɿ, *efeito, educação*.

Unstressed ɿ occurs in the ending *el*, as in *visivel* ɿɿ·sɿɿɿw; before *l* followed by a consonant (compare ɿ), as in *delfim, delgado*; before *ç* = *s*, as in *direcção* ɿɿɿɿ·sɿɿɿɿ; before *ct, pt* = ɿ, as in *director* ɿɿɿɿ·ɿɿw, *susceptivel* sɿɿɿ·ɿɿɿɿw, and in other words, such as *reflexão* ɿ·ɿɿɿɿ·sɿɿɿɿ, *vexar* ɿɿ·ɿɿw, *pregar* 'preach' [*pregar* ɿɿɿ·ɿw 'nail'], *vedor* ɿɿ·ɿw 'overseer'.

enh: [ɛ̃]. See p. 470. [ɛ̃ in *engenho*.

em, en + cons.: [ɛ̃].

em final: [ɛ̃].

ei: [ɛ̃, ɛ̃].

eu: [ɛ̃].

eo: [ɛ̃].

u: ɪ. um; un + cons.: ɪ.

ui: ɪɪ, ɪɛ̃.

o: ɔ̃, ɔ̃; ɪ. The last only when unstressed. The first two often distinguished as ó, ó, especially when final.

The distribution of stressed ɔ̃ and ɔ̃ in verb inflexion is as follows:

(1) ɔ̃ throughout. (a) all verbs of the 1st conj. except *sonhar* (and perhaps some others), including those whose *o*=ɔ̃ and ɔ̃ when unaccented: *choro, oras* (inf. ɔ̃-ωɔ̃), *consola, folgam* (inf. >ɔ̃-εɔ̃), *olhe* (inf. ɔ̃-εɔ̃), *gostes, tomem, toquem, roga, cobro*. (b) the irreg. *poder* has ɔ̃ in the same forms as these verbs, nl. pres. ind. and subj. (the imper. being wanting). (c) *roer, doer* have *ou* and ɔ̃. (d) verbs of the 3rd conj. have *u* and ɔ̃.

(2) ɔ̃ throughout. (a) in *sonhar*: *sonho, sonha, sonhem*. (b) *sour, voar, coar* have *ou* and ɔ̃.

(3) ɔ̃ and ɔ̃ alternate in the regular 2nd conj. exactly like [ and [—] in 1st sing. pres. indic., throughout subj. pres., ɔ̃ elsewhere—whether the unstressed *o* is ɪ or ɔ̃: ɔ̃ *corro, coma, escolhas, movam*; ɔ̃ *mordes, chove, comem, corre!, solve* (inf. sɔ̃-ε[ω]).

There are lastly a few isolated forms of irregular verbs. The preterites *pôde* from *poder* and *poz* from *por* have ɔ̃. In the latter verb *o* is ɔ̃ throughout before *nh*, nl. in the pres. indic. and subj. *ponho, ponha*, &c.

We now come to the changes in nouns and adjectives. Many nouns and adjectives ending in *o* with ɔ̃ in the sing. take ɔ̃ in the plur. All adjectives which make this change in the masc. plur. make it also in the fem. sing. and plur.

In feminine words the vowel of the plur. is always the same as that of the sing. The converse change of ɔ̃ to ɔ̃ never occurs. The following are typical examples:

*ovo* ɔ̃>ɪ 'egg'; plur. *ovos* ɔ̃>ɪzɛ̃.

*novo* ɲʝ>ɪ 'new'; plur. masc. ɲʝ>ɪz; fem. sing. ɲʝ>ɪ, plur. ɲʝ>ɪz.

In the following lists the }-words which change their vowel in the plur., or plur. and feminine, are marked with a \*. Verb forms are not given except occasionally.

}. *avó, pessoa, boa* adj. fem., *Lisboa. senhor, senhora, amor, favor, &c., inferior, flor, côr* 'colour', *pôr* inf.; *torre, quatorze* ɑɹʝ>ɔsɪ, *corvo, \*corno, forma* 'mould', *\*porco* sbst., adj., *horto, \*porto, \*morto* adj. *bolo; bolsa, solto* adj. *\*olho, folha. roxo* adj., *poz* pret.; *mosca, gosto, posto* sbst., adj. *hoje. pescoco, fosse* vb., *moço, moça, doce, \*grosso* adj. *\*formoso &c., doze, \*esposo, esposa. enxofre, sofrego. \*ovo, \*novo* adj., *alcova, \*povo. sonho, vergonha, ponho* vb. *outono, nono* adj., *donu. somos* vb., *fomos* vb., *nome, como, pomo. boca. \*jogo, \*fogo. roto* adj. *todo* adj.; *podre. sopa. lobo, loba, sob; sobre.*

}. *só, avó, nó, pó. melhor, menor, historia, ora, hora, de cor* 'by heart'; *Jorge, forma* 'form', *morte, porta. Hespanhol, oleo* ʝɔɹɪ, *sol, escola, polvora. vós, nós, voz; costa, poste. relógio, foge* vb. *vosso, nosso. cofre. nove. Antonio. homem, fume. logo. optimo* ʝɔɹɪ, *nota, bota. roda, moda, modo. copo; proprio. obra, cobra, pobre.*

Unstressed *o* is ɪ not only in syllables, as in *amo, amoroso* ɹɹɪʝ>sɪ, *Portugal* ɲɔʝ>ɛɹɔ, *impossivel* ɪʝɪ'sɪɹɔ, but also in the unemphatic words *o, do, os, vos, nos* (of which *vós, nós* are the emphatic forms), *por, porque* ɲɔʝ>ɪ.

It is regularly } when initial (except of course where = }): *orar, horror, olhar, ocioso* ʝ>ɹɹɪsɪ, *officio, onerar, ocasião* ʝ>ɑɹsɪɹɪ, *opinião* ʝ>ɔɹɹɪɹɪ; *orvalho, ornar, orgulho, hostil, oppresso* ʝ>ɔʝ>ɹɹɪ, *obrar, obstante*. Also before *l + cons.*: *solver, folgar, voltar, soldado*. Also in *polegar, monosyllabo* ɹʝ>ɹɹɪsɹɔɹɪ, *profissão, provocar* ɲɔʝ>ɹɹɔɹɔ &c.

It is ʝ in *córar* 'colour', *adopção* ɹʝ>ɹɹɪɹɪ, *procurar, adoptar* ɹʝ>ɹɹɔ or ɹʝ>ɹɹɔ.

oh! = }.

om, on + cons. : }s.

oi : }ɹ, }ɹ.

õe : }ɹɹ.

ou : }, }ɹ. The latter is general in *dous*, and, in familiar

speech, in other words as well, such as *lousa, cousa, Sousa*, apparently chiefly before *s*. *ou* is *ɨ* in the pret. 1st sing. of the irregular verb *saber*—*soube sɨ*.

### Consonants.

**h** always silent. In *ha* 'has', *has* 'hast' it serves to distinguish the clear *ɲ* sound from the *ɲ* of *a*, *as*.

**r, rr, rh**: *ɔ*, *ɔɨ*. Dropped in *vm<sup>ce</sup>* *ɤʃsɾɪ'sɨ*, *ɤʃ'sɨ*, which latter is sometimes written *você*—contractions of *vossa mercê*.

**l**: *ɔ*. Dropped in *arratel* *ɲ'ɔɨ*.

**lh**: *ɔ*.

**s**: *s*, *s*, *zɨ*, *zɨ*. *s* only when initial, and medially after a cons. and before a vowel; between vowels *s*; finally before a pause *zɨ*; also *zɨ* before a voiceless cons.; *zɨ* before a voiced cons.: *sentar-se* *sɨ'ɲɔ*, *falso* *ɤʃ'ɔsɨ*; *casa* *ɔʃsɲ*, *os outros* *-ɨs* *ʃ'ɔɨzɨ*; *casas* *ɔʃsɲzɨ*; *visto* *ɤʃzɔɨ*, *está* *zɨɲ*, *os tempos* *-ɨzɨ* *ɲ'ɔɨzɨ*: *rasgo* *ɔɨ'sɨɨ*, *esmola* *ɲ'zɨ'ɲɔ*, *as mãos* *-ɲzɨ* *ɲ'ɲɨzɨ*.

In such compounds as *monosyllabo*, *resentir*, *presentir* *s* is kept, but not in very familiar words, such as *resolver* *ɔɨ'sɨ'ɲɔ*, *preservar* *ɲ'ɔɨ'sɨ'ɲɔ*. *s* also in *transacção* *ɲ'ɲɨ'sɨ'ɲɨzɨ*, &c., *deshonra* *ɲ'ɲɨ'ɲɔ*, *persistir*.

**ç, çç**: *s*.

**z**: *s*, *zɨ*, *zɨ*. *s* initially and between vowels: *zambar* *sɨ'ɲɔ*, *vezes* *ɤʃsɨzɨ*. *zɨ* finally before pause and before voiceless cons., *zɨ* before voiced cons.: *vez* *ɤʃzɨ*, *trez quartos* *ɲ'zɨ* *ɲ'ɲɔzɨ*, *á luz de gaz* *-ɲ* *ɲ'ɲɨ'ɲɔ* *ɲ'zɨ*. *traze* 'bring!' is pronounced *ɲ'zɨ*, as if the *z* were final.

**sc**: *zɔ*, *s*. *zɔ* before *a*, *u*, *o*, as in *escola*, *creasco* *ɲ'zɔɨ*. *s* before *e*, *i*, as in *sciencia*, *discipulo*, *creasco*, *nasco*.

It will be seen that although theoretically *s* and *s* ought never to occur at the end of a word, they frequently do so in speech by the dropping of final *ɲ*, as in *sentar-se*, *disse*, *doze*.

**ch**: *z*, *ɲ*. The latter only in words of learned origin, such as *Christo*, *christão*, *machina*, *parochia* *ɲ'ɲɔɲɲ*.

**x**: *z*, *s*, *s*, *ɲ*. *s* in *maximo*, *proximo* *ɲ'zɨ'sɨ*, *reflexão* *ɲ'ɲɔ'ɲɨzɨ*, *trouxe* &c., preterite of the irregular verb *trazer*, and some others. *s* in *ex*- followed by a vowel, as in *examinar*



[sɫfɪˈɾ]ω. When the *ex* is followed by a consonant, the *x* has its regular sound, as in *explicar* [zɛpɔɫɪˈɾ]ω. As in some words of learned origin, such as *sexagesimo* s[ɑsɫɪzɫsɪfɪ], *sexo* sɫsɪ, *crucifixo*, *flexível* ɔɫɫɫsɫɔ.

**j**: ɛ.

**w**: ɜ, as in *wisth* 'whist'.

**f, ph**: >.

**v**: ɤ. In Lisbon *trabalho* is often ɔɫɫɫɔ.

**n**: ɳ, ɲ. ɳ initially and between vowels in the same word, ɲ finally or before a consonant. *nn* is ɳɳ, as in *anno*, *canna*, *panno*; *penna*. So also are pronounced *alumno*, ɫɔɫɲɲɲ *somno*, &c. Some learned words have final ɳ. *amen* is ɲɫɫɳ, or more colloquially ɲɫɫɲ.

**nh**: ɲ.

**m**: ɱ, ɲ, parallel to *n*. *mm* is sometimes ɱ, as in *chamma* zɫɫɫɫ, *immovel* ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, but apparently oftener simple ɱ, as in *dilemma* ɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *gomma* ɫɫɫɫɫ, *commodo* ɫɫɫɫɫɫ. *mn* is often simple ɳ, as in *damnar* ɫɫɫɫɫ, *condemnar*, *solemne* sɫɫɫɫɫɫ.

**c**: ɕ, ʃ. Generally dropped before *ç* and *t*: *acção* ɫɫɫɫɫ, *directão* ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *character* ɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *insecto* ɫɫɫɫɫ, *fructo*, *victoria* ɫɫɫɫɫɫ. *succeder* is sɫsɫɫɫɫ.

**qu**: ɕ, ɕ. ɕ before *a*, *o*, as in *qual*, *quasi*, *quotidiano* ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ. Also before *e*, *i*, in more learned words, such as *quingagesimo* ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *liquido*, *eloquente* [ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ]. ɕ regularly before *e*, *i*, as in *que* ɫɫ, *queimar*, *aqui* ɫɫɫ, *quieto* ɫɫɫɫ. Also before *a* in *quatorze* ɫɫɫɫɫɫ. *liquor* ɫɫɫɫɫ is also written *licor*.

**g**: ɕ, ɕ. Dropped before *n* in *signal* sɫɫɫɫ, *augmentar*, *Ignes*, ɫɫɫɫ. In other words, such as *digno*, *signo*, the *g* is sounded.

*gu* is ɕɫ before *a*, (*o*), as in *guarda*, ɕ before *e*, *i*, as in *guerra* ɫɫɫɫ, *aguia* ɫɫɫɫ.

**t, th**: ɫ.

**d**: ɫ.

**p**: ɓ. Dropped in *psalmo*, and generally before *ç* and *t*: *subscrição* sɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *corrupção* ɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ; *septuagesima* sɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, *optimo* ɫɫɫɫ, *excepto* [zɫsɫɫɫ].

**b**: ɓ. Dropped in *subtil* sɫɫɫ.

## QUANTITY, STRESS, AND INTONATION.

For consonant-quantity see p. 471.

There is no marked distinction of long and short in the vowels, except that the vowels following the stress-syllable are shorter than those that precede it, which, together with the vowel of the stress-syllable, are half-long. Such a word as *visita* is therefore pronounced >[i·sʰi·tɔ̃]. So also *comida* ɔ̃[ʁi·wɔ̃], *amamos* ɪ[ʁɪ·fɪz], *amigo*. English speakers must be careful not to shorten the unstressed ɪ in the last two words, as they are apt to do from the associations of their own language. There is a tendency, as in other languages, to shorten the second of the two consecutive unstressed vowels, thus the second *i* of *visitar* appears to be quite short. *I* appears to be generally shorter than the other vowels, and in such a word as *necessario* ʁ[ɪsɪ·sɔ̃rɪ] the first vowel seems to be almost as short as the second. The vowels do not appear to be shortened before more than one consonant, as in *carro* compared with *caro*, *visto*, *quatro*, *quarto*.

Stress, too, is more level than in English, the stress-syllable being uttered with only a slight increase of force.

The intonation, lastly, is also even. In English such a word as *Portuguese* is pronounced with a low level tone on the first two syllables with a sudden rise and downward glide on the last, but in Portuguese in such a word as *coração* ɔ̃[wɔ̃·sɔ̃ɾɔ̃] the falling tone with which the word is uttered when isolated is begun on the first syllable, the voice gliding evenly down through all three. An English ear, accustomed to a fresh rise or fall on the emphatic syllable of a word, is apt to imagine that such a word as *coração* is stressed on the first syllable.

## VOWEL-QUALITY, ELISION, AND CONTRACTION.

One remarkable result of the shortening of after-stress vowels is that their vocality is diminished until they are pronounced with whisper (not breath) instead of voice. This is especially noticeable with final *i* after a voiceless stop, as in

*o Porto*, where the difference between the full vocality of the first vowel and the whisper of the last is very marked—  $\text{-i } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ . A casual listener would easily imagine that the final vowel was dropped altogether. But the only vowel that is regularly dropped is **I**, although in such words as *noite* it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the final sound is  $\text{õ}^\circ$  or  $\text{õI}$ . In the specimens I have only occasionally marked the whisper.

When two unstressed vowels in different words come together, they are contracted as follows :

a	a	}	I	I	becomes	]
			]	I	„	]
o	o		i	i	„	i
a	o		I	i	„	]

The only contraction which is observed in writing is the first, in  $\acute{a}=a a$ ,  $\acute{a}s=a as$ . Other examples, which are not expressed in writing, are: *foi para a cama*  $\text{>]I } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ , *espera até que eu volte*  $\text{I } \text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ . Of the others: *está acordado*  $\text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ . *rasgo o panno*  $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ , *rega os prados*  $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ; *rasga o panno*  $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ , *rega os prados*  $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ . The vowels resulting from these contractions are never whispered, and this appears to be the main distinction between such sentences as *rasgo o panno* and *rasgo panno*  $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$   $\text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ , although, of course, **i** from **i i** is naturally at the same time pronounced with rather more stress.

These contractions are made only when the two words are intimately connected.

### VERB INFLEXIONS.

The 2nd pret. indic. sg. and plur. are here given in their literary forms, but in speech there is a tendency to make them into  $\text{-zõz}$  and  $\text{-zõ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$  respectively by the analogy of other verbal forms.

1 Conj. amar (chorar)	$\text{I } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ( $\text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ).
Pres. amo (choro)	$\text{I } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ( $\text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ )
amas	$\text{I } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ( $\text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ -)
ama	$\text{I } \text{õ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ ( $\text{zõ} \text{ } \text{õ}$ -)

<i>pl.</i>	amamos	ɪˈfɪfɪzɨs (zɨ-)
	amais	ɪˈfɪzɨs
	amam	ɪˈfɪzɨs
<i>Imperf.</i>	amava	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
	amavas	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amava	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amavamos	ɪˈfɪʒɪfɪzɨs
	amaveis	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amavam	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
<i>Pret.</i>	amei	ɪˈfɪɪ
	amaste	ɪˈfɪzɨs
	amou	ɪˈfɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amámos	ɪˈfɪfɪzɨs
	amastes	ɪˈfɪzɨs
	amáram	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
<i>Plup.</i>	amára	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
	amáras	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amára	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amáramos	ɪˈfɪʒɪfɪzɨs
	amáreis	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amáram	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
<i>Fut.</i>	amarei	ɪˈfɪʒɪɪ
	amarás	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amará	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amaremos	ɪˈfɪʒɪfɪzɨs
	amareis	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amarão	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
<i>Condit.</i>	amaria	ɪˈfɪʒɪɪ
	amarias	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amaria	ɪˈfɪʒɪɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amariamos	ɪˈfɪʒɪfɪzɨs
	amarieis	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amariam	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
<i>2nd fut.</i>	amar	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
	amares	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs
	amar	ɪˈfɪʒɪ
<i>pl.</i>	amarmos	ɪˈfɪʒɪfɪzɨs
	amardes	ɪˈfɪʒɪzɨs

	amarem	ɹ'f]ω]ɹɹ
<i>Imper.</i>	ama	ɹfɹ
<i>pl.</i>	amais	ɹ'f]ɹzɹ
<i>Subj. pres.</i>	ame	ɹf
	ames	ɹfzɹ
	ame	ɹf
<i>pl.</i>	amemos	ɹ'f]fɹzɹ
	ameis	ɹ'f]ɹzɹ
	amem	ɹf]ɹɹ
<i>Subj. imp.</i>	amasse	ɹ'f]s
	amasses	ɹ'f]sɹzɹ
	amasse	ɹ'f]s
<i>pl.</i>	amassemos	ɹ'f]zɹfɹzɹ
	amasseis	ɹ'f]s]ɹzɹ
	amassem	ɹ'f]s]ɹɹ
<i>Infin.</i>	amar	ɹ'f]ω
<i>Gerund</i>	amando	ɹ'f]ωɹ
<i>Partic. pret.</i>	amado	ɹ'f]ωɹ

## 2 Conj. beber ɹɹ'ɹ]ω.

<i>Pres.</i>	bebo	ɹ]ɹɹ
	bebes	ɹ]ɹzɹ
	bebe	ɹ]ɹ
<i>pl.</i>	bebemos	ɹɹ'ɹ]fɹzɹ
	bebeis	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹzɹ
	bebem	ɹ]ɹ]ɹɹ
<i>Imperf.</i>	bebia	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹ
	bebias	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹzɹ
	bebia	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹ
<i>pl.</i>	bebiamos	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹfɹzɹ
	bebieis	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹ]ɹzɹ
	bebiam	ɹɹ'ɹ]ɹ]ɹ
<i>Pret.</i>	bebi	ɹɹ'ɹ]
	bebeste	ɹɹ'ɹ]zɹɹ
	bebeu	ɹɹ'ɹ]zɹ
<i>pl.</i>	bebemos	ɹɹ'ɹ]fɹzɹ
	bebestes	ɹɹ'ɹ]zɹzɹ
	beberam	ɹɹ'ɹ]ω]ɹɹ

<i>Plup.</i>	bebera	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪ]
	beberas	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪzɐ]
	bebera	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪ]
<i>pl.</i>	beberamos	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪfɪzɐ]
	bebêreis	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪrɪzɐ]
	bebêram	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪrɪ]
<i>Fut.</i>	beberei	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪrɪ
	beberás	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪzɐ]
	beberá	ɐɪɐ·ωɪ]
<i>pl.</i>	beberemos	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪfɪzɐ]
	bebereis	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪrɪzɐ]
	beberão	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪrɪ]
<i>Condit.</i>	beberia	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪ]
	beberias	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪzɐ]
	beberia	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪ]
<i>pl.</i>	beberíamos	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪfɪzɐ]
	beberieis	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪrɪzɐ]
	beberiam	ɐɪɐɪ·ωɪɪrɪ]
<i>2nd fut.</i>	beber	ɐɪ·ɐ[ω]
	beberes	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωzɐ]
	beber	ɐɪ·ɐ[ω]
<i>pl.</i>	bebermos	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωfɪzɐ]
	beberdes	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɔzɐ]
	beberem	ɐɪ·ɐ[ωɪrɪ]
<i>Imper.</i>	bebe	ɐɪɐ
<i>pl.</i>	bebei	ɐɪ·ɐ[rɪ]
<i>Subj. pres.</i>	beba	ɐ[ɐɪ]
	bebas	ɐ[ɐɪzɐ]
	beba	ɐ[ɐɪ]
<i>pl.</i>	bebamos	ɐɪ·ɐɪfɪzɐ]
	bebais	ɐɪ·ɐɪrɪzɐ]
	bebam	ɐ[ɐɪrɪ]
<i>Subj. imp.</i>	bebesse	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɐ]
	bebesse	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɪzɐ]
	bebesse	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɐ]
<i>pl.</i>	bebessemos	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɪfɪzɐ]
	bebesseis	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɪrɪzɐ]
	bebessem	ɐɪ·ɐ[sɪrɪ]

<i>Infín.</i> beber	əĩ.ə[ω
<i>Gerund</i> bebendo	əĩ.ə[ωĩ
<i>Partic. pret.</i> bebido	əĩ.ə[ωĩ

3 Conj. **abrir** ʔəw[ω.

This may be given more briefly.

*Pres.* abro ʔəw[ω, abres ʔəw[ɹz, abre ʔəw[ɪ; abrimos ʔəw[ɹfɹz, abris ʔəw[ɹz, abrem ʔəw[ɹɹ. *Imperf.* abria ʔəw[ɹ. *Pret.* abri ʔəw[ɪ, abriste ʔəw[ɹzə, abriu ʔəw[ɹ; abrimos ʔəw[ɹfɹz, abristes ʔəw[ɹzəz, abriram ʔəw[ɹɹɹ. *Plup.* abrira ʔəw[ɹ. *Fut.* abrirei ʔəw[ɹ[ɹ. *Cond.* abriria ʔəw[ɹ[ɹ. *2nd fut.* abrir ʔəw[ω. *Imper.* abre ʔəw[ɪ; abri ʔəw[ɪ. *Subj. pres.* abra ʔəw[ɹ. *Subj. imp.* abrisse ʔəw[ɹs. *Infín.* abrir ʔəw[ω. *Ger.* abrindo ʔəw[ωĩ. *Ptc. prt.* abrindo ʔəw[ωĩ.

## Irregular Verbs.

## -ar.

**estar.** *Pres.* estou zəw[ɹ, estás zəw[ɹz, está səw[ɹ; estamos zəw[ɹfɹz, estais zəw[ɹz, estão zəw[ɹɹ. *Imperf.* estava zəw[ɹɹ. *Pret.* estive zəw[ɹ, estiveste zəw[ɹzə, esteve zəw[ɹ; estivemos zəw[ɹfɹz, estivestes zəw[ɹzəz, estiveram zəw[ɹɹɹ. *Plup.* estivera zəw[ɹ[ɹ. *Fut.* estarei zəw[ɹ[ɹ. *2nd fut.* estiver zəw[ɹ[ɹ, estiveres zəw[ɹ[ɹz; estivermos zəw[ɹ[ɹfɹz, estiverdes zəw[ɹ[ɹz, estiverem zəw[ɹ[ɹɹ. *Imper.* está zəw[ɹ; estai zəw[ɹ. *Subj. pres.* esteja zəw[ɹ[ɹ, estejam zəw[ɹ[ɹz; estejamos zəw[ɹ[ɹfɹz, estejais zəw[ɹ[ɹz, estejam zəw[ɹ[ɹɹ. *Subj. imp.* estivesse zəw[ɹ[ɹs. *Infín.* estar zəw[ɹ. *Ger.* estando zəw[ɹ[ɹ. *Ptc. prt.* estado zəw[ɹ[ɹ.

**dar.** *Pres.* dou w[ɹ, dás w[ɹz, dá w[ɹ; damos w[ɹfɹz, dais w[ɹz, dão w[ɹɹ. *Imperf.* dava w[ɹɹ. *Pret.* dei w[ɹ, deste w[ɹzə, deu w[ɹ; demos w[ɹfɹz, destes w[ɹzəz, deram w[ɹɹɹ. *Plup.* dera w[ɹ[ɹ. *Fut.* darei w[ɹ[ɹ. *2nd fut.* der w[ɹ[ɹ. *Imper.* dá w[ɹ; dai w[ɹ. *Subj. pres.* dê w[ɹ, dêz w[ɹz; dêmos w[ɹfɹz, deis w[ɹz, deem w[ɹ[ɹ. *Subj. imp.* desse w[ɹs. *Infín.* dar w[ɹ. *Ger.* dando w[ɹ[ɹ. *Ptc.* dado w[ɹ[ɹ.

## -er.

**ser.** *Pres.* sou s], és ]z, é ]; somos s]f]z, sois s]z, são s]z. *Imperf.* era ]w]. *Pret.* fui >]r, foste >]z, foi >]r; fomos >]f]z, fostes >]z, foram >]w]. *Plup.* fôra >]w]. *Fut.* serei s]w]. *2nd fut.* for >]w, fores >]z, &c. *Imper.* sê s]; sede s]w. *Subj. pres.* seja s]z; sejamos s]f]z, sejas s]z, sejam s]z. *Subj. imp.* fosse >]s. *Inf.* ser s]w. *Ger.* sendo s]w]. *Ptc.* sido s]w].

**ter.** *Pres.* tenho ]r], tens ]z, tem ]z; temos ]f]z, tendes ]z, teem ]z [the artificial pron. is apparently ]z]. *Imperf.* tinha ]r]. *Pret.* tive ]r, tiveste ]z, tivemos ]f]z, tivestes ]z, tiveram ]w]. *Plup.* tivera ]w]. *Fut.* terei ]w]. *2nd fut.* tiver ]w. *Imper.* tem ]z; tende ]w. *Subj. pres.* tenha ]r]; tenhamos ]f]z, tenhamos ]z, tenhamos ]z. *Subj. pret.* tivesse ]z. *Inf.* ter ]w. *Ger.* tendo ]w]. *Ptc.* tido ]w].

**haver.** *Pres.* hei ]r, has ]z, ha ]z; hemos ]f]z, heis ]z, hão ]z. *Imperf.* havia ]r]. *Pret.* houve ]z, houveste ]z, houveste ]z; houveram ]w]. *Plup.* houvera ]w]. *Fut.* haverei ]w]. *2nd fut.* houver ]w. *Imper.* ha ]z; havei ]r]. *Subj. pres.* haja ]z; hajamos ]z. *Subj. imp.* houvesse ]z. *Inf.* haver ]w. *Ger.* havendo ]w]. *Ptc.* havido ]w].

**dizer.** *Pres.* digo ]r], dizes ]z, diz ]z; dizemos ]f]z, dizeis ]z, dizem ]z. *Imperf.* dizia ]r]. *Pret.* disse ]r, disseste ]z, disse ]z; dissemos ]f]z. *Plup.* dissera ]w]. *Fut.* direi ]w]. *2nd fut.* dissér ]w. *Imper.* dize ]z; dizei ]r]. *Subj. pres.* diga ]z. *Subj. imp.* dissesse ]z. *Inf.* dizer ]w. *Ptc.* dito ]w].

**fazer.** *Pres.* faço >]r], fazes >]z, faz >]z; fazemos >]f]z, fazeis >]z, fazem >]z. *Imperf.* fazia >]r]. *Pret.* fiz >]z, fizeste >]z, fizemos >]f]z. *Plup.* fizera >]w]. *Fut.* farei >]w]. *2nd fut.* fizer >]w; *Imper.* faze >]z; fazei >]r]. *Subj. pres.* faça >]z. *Subj. imp.* fizesse >]z. *Inf.* fazer >]w. *Ptc.* feito >]w].



**perder.** *Pres.* perco ɔɪwãɪ, perdes ɔɪwɔzɪ, perde ɔɪwɔ; perdemos ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, perdeis ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, perdem ɔɪwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Subj. pres.* perca ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ.

**poder.** *Pres.* posso ɔɸsɪ, podes ɔɸwɔzɪ, póde ɔɸwɔ; podemos ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, podeis ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, podem ɔɸwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Imperf.* podia ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Pret.* pude ɔɪwɔ, pudeste ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɔ, pôde ɔɸwɔ; podemos ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Plup.* pudera ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Subj. pres.* possa ɔɸsɪ; possamos ɔɪsɸɸɪzɪ. *Subj. imp.* pudesse ɔɪwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Inf.* poder ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Ptc.* podido ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ.

**querer.** *Pres.* quero ɔɪwɔɪ, queres ɔɪwɔzɪ, quer ɔɪwɔ; queremos ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, quereis ɔɪwɔɸɸɪzɪ, querem ɔɪwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Imperf.* queria ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Pret.* quiz ɔɪzɪ, quizeste ɔɪsɸɸɪzɔ, quiz ɔɪzɪ; quizémos ɔɪsɸɸɪzɪ. *Plup.* quizera ɔɪsɸɸɪzɪ. *Fut.* quererei ɔɪwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *2nd fut.* quizer ɔɪsɸɸɪzɪ. *Subj. pres.* queira ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Subj. imp.* quizesse ɔɪsɸɸɪzɪ. *Inf.* querer ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ. *Ptc.* querido ɔɪwɔɸɸɪ.

**saber.** *Pres.* sei sɸɪ, sabes sɸwɔzɪ, sabe sɸwɔ; sabemos sɸwɔɸɸɪzɪ, sabeis sɸwɔɸɸɪzɪ, sabem sɸwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Imperf.* sabia sɸwɔɸɸɪ. *Pret.* soube sɸwɔ, sɸwɔ,<sup>1</sup> soubeste sɸwɔɸɸɪzɔ, soube sɸwɔ; soubemos sɸwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Plup.* soubera sɸwɔɸɸɪ. *Fut.* saberei sɸwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *2nd fut.* souber sɸwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Imper.* sabe sɸwɔ; sapei sɸwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *Subj. pres.* saiba sɸwɔɸɸɪ. *Subj. imp.* soubesse sɸwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Inf.* saber sɸwɔɸɸɪ. *Ptc.* sabido sɸwɔɸɸɪ.

**trazer.** *Pres.* trago ɔwɔɸɸɪ, trazes ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪ, traz ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪ; trazemos ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ, trazeis ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ, trazem ɔwɔsɸɸɪɪɪ. *Imperf.* trazia ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Pret.* trouxe ɔwɔsɸɸɪ, trouxeste ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɔ, trouxe ɔwɔsɸɸɪ; trouxemos ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Plup.* trouxera ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Fut.* trarei ɔwɔɸɸɪɪɪ. *2nd fut.* trazer ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Imper.* traze ɔwɔsɸɸɪ, ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪ; trazei ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Subj. pres.* traga ɔwɔɸɸɪzɪ. *Subj. imp.* trouxesse ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Inf.* trazer ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Ptc.* trazido ɔwɔsɸɸɪzɪzɪ.

**ver.** *Pres.* vejo ɔɸɪzɪ, vês ɔɸzɪ, vê ɔɸ; vêmos ɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ, vêdes ɔɸzɪzɪ, vêem ɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Imperf.* via ɔɸɪzɪ. *Pret.* vi ɔɸɪ, viste ɔɸzɪzɪzɪ, viu ɔɸɪzɪ; vimos ɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ, vistes ɔɸzɪzɪzɪzɪ, viram ɔɸwɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Plup.* vira ɔɸwɔɸɸɪzɪzɪ. *Fut.* verei ɔɸɪzɪzɪzɪ. *2nd fut.* vir ɔɸwɔ. *Imper.* vê ɔɸ; vede ɔɸwɔ. *Subj. pres.* veja ɔɸɪzɪzɪ. *Subj. imp.* visse ɔɸzɪzɪzɪ. *Inf.* ver ɔɸwɔ. *Ger.* vendo ɔɸɪzɪzɪzɪ. *Ptc.* visto ɔɸzɪzɪzɪzɪ.

<sup>1</sup> This form is evidently due to the analogy of the preterite of *poder*.

## -ir.

**ir.** *Pres.* vou >], vais >]rɛs, vai >]r; vamos >]fɪzɛs, ides fɔzɛs, vão >]ɥɥ. *Imperf.* ia fɪ. *Pret.* fui >]ɪr, foste >]zɔ, foi >]r; fomos >]fɪzɛs. *Plup.* fôra >]ɔɪ. *Fut.* irei f'ɔfɪr. *2nd fut.* for >]ɔ. *Imper.* vai >]r; ide fɔɪ. *Subj. pres.* vá >], vás >]rɛs, vá >]r; vamos >]fɪzɛs, vades >]ɔzɛs, vão >]ɥɥ. *Subj. pret.* fosse >]s. *Inf.* ir fɔ. *Ger.* indo fɔɪ. *Ptc.* ido fɔɪ.

**vir.** *Pres.* venho >]rɪɪ, vens >]rɛzɛs, vem >]rɛs; vimos >]fɪzɛs, vindes >]ɔzɛs, vem >]rɛs. *Imperf.* vinha >]rɪ. *Pret.* vim >]r, viéste >]rɛzɔ, veio >]rɪ; víemos >]fɪzɛs, viéstes >]fɪzɔzɛs, viéram >]fɔɪɥɥ. *Plup.* viéra >]rɔɪ. *Fut.* virei >]fɔfɪr. *2nd fut.* vir >]ɔ. *Imp.* vem >]rɛs; vinde >]rɔ. *Subj. pres.* venha >]rɪ; venhamos >]fɪzɛs. *Subj. imp.* viésse >]rɛs. *Inf.* vir >]ɔ. *Ger.* vindo >]rɔɪ. *Ptc.* vindo >]rɔɪ.

**pedir.** *Pres.* peço ɔrɪ, pedes ɔrɛzɛs, pede ɔrɔ; pedimos ɔfɪzɛs, pedis ɔfɪzɛs, pedem ɔrɔɪrɛs. *Subj. pres.* peça ɔrɪ.

## NOTES ON COLLOQUIALISMS.

In the grammars and dialogue-books *vm<sup>ce</sup>*, sometimes written *vocemecê*, with the 3rd sg. of the verb, is still given as the polite form of address. But in the upper classes this pronoun, which originally was a true *pronomem reverentiae*, being a contraction of *vossa mercê* 'your grace', afterwards sinking to a general form of address to all respectable people, is not used in speaking to equals, the 3rd sg. of the verb without any pronoun being used instead, the 3rd plur. being used in addressing several people. *vm<sup>ce</sup>* itself has two forms: >]sɪfɪ'sɪ, which is used in addressing shopkeepers, &c., and a shorter one, >]sɪ, sometimes written *você*, which is used in addressing people of a lower grade. Thus, one would say to a mule-driver ɔrɔ >]sɪ ɔfɪzɛs >]rɪ *Quer vm<sup>ce</sup> (or você) um copo de vinho?* but to a servant in an upper-class house ->]sɪfɪ sɪfɪ ɔfɪ ɔfɪ zɪzɪ ɔf *Vm<sup>ce</sup> dirá qu'eu estive aqui,* &c. Examples of the usual form will be found in the sentences given further on. The 2nd sg. is used to express familiarity and affection, as in other languages.

A peculiar feature of Portuguese, including the literary language, is the conjugation of the infinitive after the analogy of the 2nd future. In the spoken language the group *ha de* 'has to', as in *ha de fazer isso* [ʔɐ̃lɔ̃ sʔɐ̃ lʃɨ], is often regarded as a verbal form, and a plural is formed on the analogy of *bebem*, so that *hã de fazer isso* appears in the extraordinary form of [ʔɐ̃lɔ̃sʔɐ̃ sʔɐ̃ lʃɨ].

Most of the colloquial forms of the verbs have been noted under Inflexion. There is a curious substitute for the past partic. *ouvido* 'heard' in colloquial speech, nl. [ʔɐ̃sɔ̃] formed on the analogy of *visto* 'seen'.

## SPECIMENS.

## (A) Sentences.

1. :ɔ̃lɔ̃lɔ̃ fɨmɔ̃tɨ ɔ̃jɨs wɨzɨs. ɔ̃jɨtɨ zɔ̃jɨ. ɔ̃jɨtɨ ɔ̃jɨsɨ. ɨɨɨ fɨmɔ̃tɨ ɔ̃lɔ̃m. ɔ̃jɨtɨzɔ̃jɨsɨlɔ̃ fɨɨɨɨ. -[wɔ̃lɔ̃] ɔ̃jɨzɔ̃tɨ -lɨmɨ >[w. :ɨɨɨɔ̃lɔ̃ɨ ɔ̃jɨɨɨɨɨlɔ̃ >[wɨ jɨ. :ɔ̃jɨsɨɨ >]ɔ̃wɨsɨsɨ ɔ̃jɨs. wɨjɨfɨɨɨ wɨlɔ̃ [zɔ̃sɨlɔ̃]ɔ̃. ɔ̃lɔ̃lɔ̃tɨɨɨɨ s[ɔ̃lɔ̃fɨɨ]ɨ s[ɔ̃lɔ̃jɨɨ]ɨsɨ lɨɨsɨ. -ɔ̃lɨm ɔ̃wɨsɨ. wɨɨɨɨɨɨɨ wɨl. -ɨ wɨzɨs, -fɨzɨs lɨɨ. ɔ̃lɨɨɨɨɨɨ fɨɨɨzɨs. -sɨtɨ sɨɨɨɨ jɨtɨ.

2. jɨtɨzɔ̃jɨɨɨ jɨtɨ. -ɨ lɔ̃wɨ wɨɨɨ. -zɔ̃jɨ ɨjɨwɨɨɨ ɔ̃jɨtɨ. ɨɨɨɨsɨɨɨ, -ɨ lɔ̃wɨzɔ̃jɨɨ ɔ̃jɨfɨ. -ɔ̃lɔ̃lɔ̃ ɨɨɨɨzɔ̃jɨɨ lɔ̃wɨɨɨ ɔ̃jɨfɨ [zɔ̃jɨs jɨwɨzɨs. jɨɨlɨmɨ ɨjɨɨ ɔ̃lɔ̃lɔ̃] ɔ̃jɨfɨ ɨɨɨ ɔ̃jɨwɨ -ɔ̃lɨ ɨɨɨɨɨ ɨtɨwɨɨɨɨɨ ɔ̃jɨ s[ɔ̃tɨ lɨzɔ̃jɨfɨ lɨɨ. -ɨ ɔ̃lɨ jɨwɨzɨs :ɔ̃jɨɨɨ] ɔ̃jɨfɨ. -jɨs ɔ̃wɨs jɨwɨsɨ fɨlɨ. -ɔ̃lɨ jɨwɨzɨs sɨɨɨ. -ɔ̃lɨ jɨwɨzɨsɨɨɨ wɨsɨɨ sɨɨɨ. jɨɨɨ. sɨ jɨɨɨ: ɨjɨ wɨlɨɨɨ wɨzɨs. [ɔ̃jɨɨɨɨɨ sɨsɨɨfɨɨɨ >]ɨɨɨɨ ɔ̃wɨsɨ.

3. ɔ̃jɨtɨjɨ lɔ̃wɨsɨɨɨɨ ɨzɨs. >]ɨ lɔ̃wɨ. :ɔ̃lɨmɨɨwɨlɨ ɔ̃jɨtɨ. ɨlɨm wɨjɨɨɨɨsɨ: ɔ̃jɨɨjɨ ɨjɨwɨɨlɨɨɨɨɨ wɨlɨ. -wɨ sɨwɨɨɨɨɨɨ ɨjɨɨɨ wɨjɨ ɨlɨm. :ɔ̃lɨm ɨjɨwɨɨ wɨs, -[ɨɨɨ ɨjɨs. ɔ̃jɨsɨwɨ s[ɔ̃jɨwɨɨfɨzɨɨ] wɨjɨwɨzɨwɨ ɔ̃jɨw. wɨjɨɨ wɨjɨ s[ɨɨwɨɨɨɨ]ɨwɨɨɨɨ jɨɨ. -wɨ s[ɨsɨ s[ɨɨwɨɨɨ] s[ɔ̃wɨ [wɨzɨs. ɨɨɨɨɨɨlɨ fɨwɨ: -ɨ wɨɨɨɨ >]sɨw.



## 2.

ආචාර්ය ජායවර්ධන මාවත, - අපේ සැම  
 -වෙලාවේ දැනටමත් අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 ආචාර්ය මානව මානවයන්ගේ අවදානම,  
 -වෙලාවේ දැනටමත් අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්.

ආචාර්ය (ආ, මානව ජායවර්ධන!) ආචාර්ය අධ්‍යයන  
 -වෙලාවේ දැනටමත් අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්;  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්.

-අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්.

-අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්,  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්; -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්.  
 -අධ්‍යයනයට අවදානමක්.

## A.

1. Tenha muito bons dias! Como está? Como passa?  
 Não muito bem. Como está seu irmão? Elle terá gosto em  
 o ver. Não terei tempo para ir vel-ohoje. Faça favor de  
 sentar-se! Dá uma cadeira a este senhor! Tenho de fazer  
 uma visita na vizinhança. Tem pressa? Logo voltarei.  
 Adeus, meu senhor! Beijo-lhe as mãos. Sou um seu  
 criado.

2. Onde está teu amo? Ainda dorme? Está ja levan-  
 tado? Não senhor, ainda esta na cama. Que vergonha  
 estar ainda na cama a estas oras! Hontem á noite fui para  
 a cama tão tarde que não me pude levantar cedo esta manhã.  
 A que horas foi para a cama? Ás tres horas e meia. Que  
 horas são? Que horas lhe parece que são? Oito. Sim, oito!  
 Já deram dez. Então é preciso que me levante depressa.

3. Como vai indo o seu Portuguez? Vai indo. Tem se  
 adiantado? Bem longe d'isso: pouco ou nada tenho apren-

dido. Disseram-me que já o fallava bem. Quem tal lhe disse, enganou-se. Posso dizer algumas palavras de cór. Deve fallar sempre que tiver occasião. Receio sempre de fazer erros. Não tenha medo: a lingua é facil.

4. Conhece o senhor Mello? É antigo amigo meu: conheço-o desde pequeno. Iamos á escola juntos. Ha muito que o não vejo. Que idade tem? É velho ou moço? É homem de meia idade.

5. Parece-me que vamos ter mudança de tempo: cheira-me que vamos ter chuva. Tanto melhor; será uma boa mudança.

6. Aquelle relógio tem o quer que é: é preciso ver para se mandar concertar. Se precisa d'alguma cousa, peça-me. Faça favor de me deitar esta carta no correio.

7. O que quer o senhor? Um par de luvas. Quanto custa? Quero dous ou trez lenços—lenços d'assoar. Quanto é tudo? Eu gasto geralmente uma moeda por semana, alem de casa e comida.

8. Tomára que cada um se occupasse com os seus negocios, e se não mettesse com os dos outros. Quanto menos tiverem que fazer um com outro melhor.

9. Que é isso? O que tem? Parece assustado, como se alguma cousa tivesse succedido. Não; não ha nada importante—nada que valha a pena (de) mencionar. Que foi isto? Pareceu me ouvir uma bulha. Foi só o vento nas arvores.

## B. 1.

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura  
 longo tempo chorando memoráram;  
 e por memoria eterna, em fonte pura  
 as lagrimas choradas transformáram:  
 o nome lhe puzeram que inda dura,  
 dos amores de Ignez, que alli passáram.  
 Vêde que fresca fonte rega as flores,  
 que lagrimas são agua, e o nome amores.

Camões.

## 2.

Brandas aguas do Téjo, que passando  
 por estes verdes campos que regaes,  
 plantas, hervas, flôres, e animaes,  
 pastores, nymphas, ides alegrando.

Não sei (ah, doces aguas!) não sei quando  
 vos tornarei a vêr; que magoas taes,  
 vendo como vos deixo, me causaes,  
 que de tornar já vou desconfiando.

Ordenou o destino, desejoso  
 de converter meus gostos em pesares,  
 partida que me vai custando tanto.

Saudoso de vós, d'elle queixoso,  
 encherei de suspiros outros ares,  
 turbarei outras aguas com meu pranto.

Camões.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This paper was already set up in type, when Mr. Furnivall called my attention to an article on Portuguese sounds in the *Romania*, which he had just received: A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, *Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue Portugaise, d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne (Romania, 1883, Janvier, xii. 45)*. It gives me great pleasure to find that the subject has been taken up by a native phonetician so thoroughly well qualified as M. Vianna evidently is. I only wish his paper had been published two years ago: it would have saved me an enormous amount of drudgery and groping about in the dark. But I have the satisfaction of finding that in almost every case in which I differ from J. de Deus and the Prince, M. Vianna is on my side. In some cases he differs from me, which is, however, apparently often the result of my not having been able to get at the natural colloquial speech—always a difficult aim to accomplish when one has not the advantage of a residence in the country itself. I will now proceed to quote M. Vianna in all important cases of agreement with and difference from my own statements. His

paper is so much fuller than mine (taking up nearly seventy close-printed pages) that it is quite impossible for me to do justice to it, except by earnestly recommending it to all phoneticians.

P. 4. I. ' . . . bien plus étouffé, bien plus fermé que l'e français de *me, le*.' G. V. 32.

J. ' . . . tout à fait semblable à l'*a* atone de l'anglais *about, he gave me a book*.' G.V. 31. This accurate comparison inspires one with confidence in the author's identifications generally. In my *Sound Notation* I have expressed the E. unstressed *a* by J.

5. J. ' . . . plus ouvert que l'è français, ä allemand [= [ H.S.]; un peu moins cependant que l'*a* bref anglais de *bad*, lequel ne se retrouve que dans quelques dialectes portugais, dans l'Algarve ou Beira-baixa, par exemple.' J. de Deus's è is, therefore, a broad provincial J, and my refusal to admit two open *e*'s is fully justified.

Jr. According to G. V. pp. 33-4 r and ɹ in diphthongs are pronounced like the second elements in the E. diphthongs in *boy, now*, which means, of course, that they are wide—r, ɹ. For *viu* he gives the pron. >fɹ (p. 38). I distinctly hear both elements narrow in this word, but I am not sure about the r.

6. G. V., p. 70, gives ɔJr as the Lisbon pron. of *tenho*. He gives the same pron. of close *e* before *j, lh, nh*, stating that before *x* and *j* the J may become Jr, as in *seja*. P. 37 he identifies the diphthong in *bem* with that in *mãe*, making them both Jrɹ (or rather Jrɹ). After repeated hearings of my teacher's pron., I still am inclined to maintain (though not with perfect confidence) my own analysis. I have heard *e* pron. Jr by him in *seja, vejo*, but I have heard only [ in *abelha* and the rest. G. V. analyses the close *ei* of *rei* 'king' as Jr: I still hear it distinctly as [r.

7. ω. 'rr . . . est prononcée un peu plus en arrière que *r* simple. On trouvera individuellement des *r* vibrantes uvulaires, même parmi des gens qui prononcent *r* simple comme une linguale.' G. V. 48. He seems to describe simple *r* as not being trilled.

8. ω. 'Tandis que le bout de la langue s'appuie contre les



gencives, ou plutôt contre les alvéoles des dents incisives supérieures, le dos s'en élève vers le point guttural.' G.V. 48. The description is identical with my own. As regards the distribution of the  $\omega$  I was inclined to think that the  $l$  is guttural everywhere, even initially, where the guttural would naturally be less marked, and after careful trials with my teacher, we both thought there was no difference between the  $l$  of *la* and that of *sal*. But it is quite possible we may both be wrong. G.V. says (p. 49): 'le  $l$  gutturalisé du portugais ne peut que suivre la voyelle; il la gutturalise en même temps. . . . Il n'y a généralement que la voyelle *a* qui soit affectée par la prononciation de  $l$ , lorsque cette consonne est médiale, comme dans *malla*, *salla*. Bien des personnes, cependant, gutturalisent toutes les voyelles devant  $l$  dans le corps du mot, parce qu'elles gutturalisent aussi le  $l$  médial entre deux voyelles.'

$z$ ,  $z$  are different from the French, and identical with the E. sounds; G.V. 46. The Portuguese sounds seem, however, to be narrow, not wide, as in E. The remarks in my text show that Bell's original analysis of *s* and *sh* was, in the main, correct, and that *sh* is really an *s* approximated to  $\omega$ , and that he was ill-advised in transposing the value of his original symbols.

G.V., p. 46, says of Port.  $x$  and  $j$ , 'l'organe actif est un point de la surface supérieure de la langue, plus ou moins rapproché de son extrémité, selon que la voyelle précédente ou suivante est palatale ou gutturale.' This is more clearly put, p. 72:  $xi = z\text{f}$  (ils sont prononcés avec une partie de la surface de la langue plus près de sa partie moyenne, et sur la limite du palais et des gencives),  $xa = z\text{J}$  (un peu plus en avant, &c.).

His description of  $zs$ ,  $z\text{z}$  is vague (p. 46): 'Les réduites *s* sourde et sonore ne sont que  $x$  et  $j$  atténués.' P. 48 he says of them that they 'deviennent plus palatalisées lorsqu'elles se trouvent en conjonction avec des voyelles palatales.' So, also, p. 72:  $is = [z\text{z}$ ,  $as = ]z\text{z}$ .

G.V., p. 49, says that  $t$  and  $d$  are formed much nearer the teeth than the Fr. sounds, implying that they are formed on the gums.

9. According to G.V., p. 50, *d* is generally *w* between vowels, even in different words. As to *e*, he says, p. 46, that there are no 'fricatives gutturales' in Portuguese.

10. G.V., p. 73, note, gives also the pron. of *quasi* as *ɑ̃ʃrsf*.

13. According to G.V., p. 57, unstressed *e* and *i* both become *f* before *z* and *ɛ*, while before other cons. *i* keeps its full sound, and *e* becomes *I*. 'Dans une suite de syllabes atones dont la voyelle sera toujours *i*, le dernier *i* seulement garde le son qui lui est propre; ceux des syllabes qui le précèdent se prononcent *I*.' He gives as examples *ministro*, *militar* *fɪ·ʔfzɔwɪ*, *fɪwɪ·ɔʃw*, *vicejar*, *privilegiado* *ɔʃf·ɛʃw*, *ɔwɪɔwɪfɛr·ʃɔɪ*. I cannot trace these laws in the pron. of my teacher.

P. 58 he gives the pron. of initial unstressed *em* as *fɪ*, as in *entrar*. This my teacher admitted. He makes initial *e* *f* before *z*, *ɛ*, *f* before other cons.: *elogio* *fɔɪ·ɛfɔ*, *esposo*, *f·zɔʃst*. I find that the unstressed *e* before *st*, &c., is so faintly sounded that its existence is often doubtful, but it sounds to me more *I* than *f* or *l*.

16. *ou* generally = *ʃ* or *ʃɪ* indifferently, especially before *ω*. G.V. 61.

17. G.V., p. 68, does not give nasality to the *e* of *penna*, &c.

18. According to G.V., p. 88, the differences of stress are greater than in Italian, almost as great as in E.

The only mention of whisper by G.V. is where he attributes it to the second element of diphthongs, p. 33.

19. 'Ces élisions de l'*e* muet sont assez capricieuses.' G.V. 67.

24. G.V., 60, 1, gives *tei-em*, *doi-em*, *pâi-em*, &c., with inserted *i*.

If my paper had appeared before M. Vianna's, I might have claimed the merit of having added considerably to our knowledge of the language; as it is, I can only claim that of having, with the help of Visible Speech, perhaps defined the formation of some of the sounds more closely. I only hope that M. Vianna may be induced to publish a complete grammar and chrestomathy of this beautiful and interesting language on a phonetic basis.

## SPOKEN NORTH WELSH <sup>1</sup>

THE following is a description of the sounds and forms of Welsh as spoken in the valley of Gwynant in Carnarvonshire, based on personal observations.

### SOUNDS.

#### Description.

The following are the elementary vowels and the diphthongs, with the Romie notation I employ :

} (a)	bara ( <i>bread</i> ); mab ( <i>filius</i> )	bara; maab.
I (y)	sut ( <i>how</i> ); ty ( <i>house</i> )	syt; tyy.
I (ä)	yma ( <i>here</i> ); y (the letter)	äma; ää.
f (i)	dim ( <i>not</i> ); ci ( <i>dog</i> )	dim; kii.
ƒ (e)	pen ( <i>head</i> ); hen ( <i>old</i> )	pen; heen.
h (u)	cwrw ( <i>beer</i> ); cwn ( <i>dogs</i> )	kuru; kuun.
ƒ (o)	pont ( <i>bridge</i> ); do ( <i>yes</i> )	pont; doo.
ƒr (ay)	dau ( <i>two</i> ); cae ( <i>field</i> )	day; kaay.
ƒr (ai)	gair ( <i>word</i> )	gair.
ƒh (au)	mawr ( <i>great</i> ); naw ( <i>nine</i> )	maur; naau.
Ih (yu)	duw ( <i>god</i> )	dyu.
ƒr (øy)	deuddeg ( <i>twelve</i> )	døyðag.
ƒi (øi)	eira ( <i>snow</i> )	øira.
Ih (äu)	clywed ( <i>hear</i> )	kläuad.
ƒh (eu)	ewch ( <i>go ye!</i> ); tew ( <i>thick</i> )	eux; teeu.
ih (uy)	blwyddyn ( <i>year</i> ); mwy ( <i>more</i> )	bluyðyn; muuy.
ƒr (oy)	coeden ( <i>tree</i> ); coed ( <i>trees</i> )	koydan; kooyd.
ƒr (oi)	troi ( <i>turn</i> )	troi.
ƒh (ou)	dowch ( <i>come ye!</i> )	doux.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1882-4, pp. 409-84.

The consonants are :

ɣ	(h)	hanes ( <i>history</i> )	hanas.
ç	(x)	chwech ( <i>six</i> )	xweex.
ɲ	(j)	iaith ( <i>language</i> )	jaiþ.
ʋ	(rh)	rhaff ( <i>rope</i> )	rhaaf.
ʋ	(r)	ei ran ( <i>his share</i> )	-i ran.
ʋ	(rw)	gwraig ( <i>wife</i> )	grwaig.
ʋ	(l)	llall ( <i>other</i> )	lall.
ʋ	(l)	ei law ( <i>his hand</i> )	-i lau.
ʋ	(lw)	gwlad ( <i>country</i> )	glwaad.
ʋ	(p)	cath ( <i>cat</i> )	kaap.
ʋ	(ð)	meddwl ( <i>think</i> )	meðul.
z	(f)	siarad ( <i>speak</i> )	farad.
e	(z)	engine	inzan.
s	(s)	Sais ( <i>Englishman</i> )	sais.
ʋ	(wh)	ei watch hi ( <i>her watch</i> )	-i whatshi.
ʋ	(w)	wedi ( <i>after</i> )	wedi.
>	(f)	corff ( <i>body</i> )	korf.
ɤ	(v)	afon ( <i>river</i> )	avon.
ɣ	(qh)	fy nghefn ( <i>my back</i> )	qhevn.
ɣ	(q)	dringo ( <i>climb</i> )	driqo.
ɣ	(nh)	fy nhad ( <i>my father</i> )	nhaad.
ɣ	(n)	nain ( <i>grandmother</i> )	nain.
ɣ	(nw)	gwnio ( <i>sew</i> )	gnwio.
ɣ	(mh)	fy mhen ( <i>my head</i> )	mhen.
F	(m)	mam ( <i>mother</i> )	mam.
a	(k)	cacen ( <i>cake</i> )	kakan.
e	(g)	y gog ( <i>the cuckoo</i> )	-ä goog.
ɔ	(t)	tad ( <i>father</i> )	taad.
ɔ	(d)	ei dad ( <i>his father</i> )	-i daad.
ɔ	(p)	pen ( <i>head</i> )	pen.
ɔ	(b)	ei ben ( <i>his head</i> )	-i ben.

Before describing the sounds in detail, it will be desirable to say something about the general elements of synthesis—stress, quantity, and tone.

## STRESS.

The stress of many-syllabled words is regularly on the fore-last syllable.

Many words, however, are stressed on the last. The following are some of the more important of those enumerated in the grammars.

bär'hay 'shorten', lñay *glanhau* 'cleanse' (with dropping of the unstressed vowel).

kanja'taad 'permission'; pa'r'hays 'lasting'.

par'toi *parotoi* 'prepare', gor'doi 'press'; dä'høy 'pant'.

a'mhøys 'doubtful'; kä'froys 'exciting'.

But 'käv'løys 'convenient'.

por'vyÿð *porfeydd* 'pastures'.

I have also noted the following:

käm'raayg 'Welsh'; käm'raays 'Welshwoman'.

pop'taay 'ovens', bøy'daay, bdaay 'cowhouses'; ber'vaay 'wheelbarrows'.

Some words taken from modern English, such as rä'seet 'receipt', keep the E. stress on the last syllable.

Words beginning with unstressed *y* before *s* + cons. dropped the *y* in speech:

steen *ystén* 'jug', storm *ystorm* 'storm'.

In modern compounds, as opposed to the old traditional ones, and in those loose compounds formed of a preposition and a noun, and other groups, there is a tendency to stress the last element:

-dyyð syyl, often shortened almost to -dy syyl 'Sunday', &c. -havod rhiisg *Hafod Rhisgl*, :betus kooyd *Bettws-y-Coed*, -pen guryd *Pen-y-gwryd*; so also in -jesy griist 'Jesus Christ', -kry(y) glaas 'stork'.

-yynor ðeeg 'eleven', &c.; -ä myysg *yn mysg* 'among', heb lau 'besides'.

-o ðar *oddiar* 'from on'; -ty drau 'beyond'; -i! day 'they two'; dra'xevn 'again'; aiee 'oh!'; än'tee *onide* 'is it?'; :gora ool 'all the better'.

Some prefixes, especially the negative *an-*, often take full stress:

·an·amal 'seldom', ·an·voðlon 'discontented', ·aq·hovjo 'forget'; ·dio·valys 'careless'; ·ar·ðerxog 'excellent'.

The sentence-stress is, on the whole, more even than in English. Prepositions often seem to have full stress, especially those of marked and definite meaning, such as *ar*, *am*, and other particles are often accented where they would not be accented in English. Verbs, on the other hand, are often subordinated to the substantives and adverbs, &c., they are joined to, as in -rhei troo 'give a turn' = 'take a walk', -mynd ałan 'go out'. Other examples will be found in the texts given at the end of this paper.

The syllable-stress always begins on the consonant, so that such a word as fugur 'sugar' is divided into fu-gur, not as in the E. fug-ə.

#### QUANTITY.

The unstressed vowels of a word are always short.

Stressed vowels are long and short in monosyllables (and final syllables of polysyllables), always short when an unstressed syllable follows, so that two such words as (ton) 'wave' and (toon) 'tune' both have the same plural (tona).

The length of the vowels of monosyllables is greatly determined by the nature of the following consonant. If the vowel is final it is always long, as in (daa) 'good'. Nearly always long before the open cons. (x; þ, ð; s; f, v) and the voiced stops (g, d, b). Short before the nasals (ŋ, m), generally before (l), and, according to the grammars, before the voiceless stops (k, t, p), but very few native Welsh words end in these three cons. Variable before the vowellikes (r, l), and before (n). There are two main classes of exceptions to these rules: (1) the names of the letters of the alphabet ending in a cons., which are always short—(ex, ep), &c.; (2) monosyllabic words of English origin, which keep their E. quantity.

Polysyllables of E. origin, accented in the regular Welsh way, shorten their vowels, as in Welsh—(stefon, stabal, smokjo) 'station', 'stable', 'smoke'.

The following are examples, with the more important exceptions:<sup>1</sup>

**aaɣ**: baax 'little', kuux 'boat'.

[ox 'oh!']

**aaɸ**: maaɸ 'kind' sb., nyyɸ 'nest'.

[hyɸ 'ever'].

**aað**: graað 'degree', booð 'contentment'.

**aas**: glaas 'blue', miis 'month', nees 'nearer'.

[glas 'glass', nes 'until'].

**aaf**: rhaaf 'rope', kļoof 'lame'.

**aaɤ**: braav 'fine' (of weather), kļaav 'ill'.

**aag**: gwaag 'empty', kiig 'meat'.

**aad**: taad 'father', bood 'be'.

[uid 'not', bid = *bydded* 'may be'].

**aab**: maab 'filius', neeb 'no-one'.

[heb 'without', tub 'tub'].

**aŋ**: ļoq 'ship'.

**am**: mam 'mother', dim 'nothing'.

[fraam 'frame'].

**aļ**: gwel 'better', tuļ 'hole'.

[hool, ool 'all'].

**ak**: ļak 'slack', kļok 'clock'.

[kuuk 'cook'].

**at**: at 'to', het 'hat'.

[pļaat 'plate'].

**ap**: top 'top'.

{ **aar**: aar 'ploughed land', gwiir 'true', paar 'pair'.

{ **ar**: ar 'on', byr 'short', sār 'sir'.

{ **aal**: taal 'payment', meel 'honey', seel 'zeal'.

{ **al**: tal 'tall', dal 'catch', vel 'as'.

{ **aan**: taan 'fire', hyyn *hyn*, *hun* 'older', 'self', heen 'old'.

{ **an**: tan 'under', hyn 'this', pen 'head'.

Vowels are short before two conss., except in monosyllables before (łt) and (s) + stop, where they are always long:

**aałt**: haalt 'salt' adj., gwyyłt 'wild', suułt 'shilling'.

[(sułt) appears to occur also].

<sup>1</sup> Words of E. origin are given only occasionally. Fuller lists for the vowels before r, l, n will be given under the separate words further on.

**aasg**: paasg 'Easter', gwiisg 'dress'.

**aast**: gaast 'bitch', kiist 'chest'.

**aasp**: koosp 'punishment'.

Vowels are, of course, always shortened in such compounds as (morva) 'beach' from (moor) 'sea'.

Diphthongs are long (that is, the first element is long) only in stressed syllables not followed by an unstressed one. (ai, ei, oi; yu, ou; oy) are always short, as also (ay, oy) = *au, ou* resp. (uuy) is long, as also (aay, ooy) = *ae, oe* resp. (**aa**u, **ee**u) are long only when final.

#### INTONATION.

The Welsh intonation differs from the English, but not in any very marked way, and I have not been able to investigate it in any detail. The Welsh seem often to use the rise in plain statements of facts, and they speak altogether in a higher key than the English.

#### VOWELS.

ǝ (a). a 'and'; kar 'car, trap'; bara 'bread'; !a! 'other'; tal 'tall', dal 'catch'; glas 'glass', basun *buasun* 'I would be'; davad 'sheep'; man 'place', glan 'shore', gwan 'weak', tan 'under', kant 'hundred'; mam 'mother', a'namal *anamal* 'seldom'; !ne 'slack'; agos 'near'; at 'to', tatus 'potatoes'; sad 'firm', tada *tadau* 'fathers'; kap 'cap'; babi 'baby'. daa 'good'; baax 'little'; nar 'ploughed land'; jaar 'hen', paar 'pair'; saal 'ill', taal 'payment'; haalt 'salt' *aj.*; !aað 'kill'; kaap 'eat'; glaas 'blue'; rhaaf 'rope'; braav 'good, fine'; maan 'fine' *aj.*; glaan 'clean'; kaan 'song', taan 'fire', braan 'crow' *sb.*; fraam 'frame'; gwaag 'empty'; plaat 'plate'; taad 'father'; maab 'son'. Differs from the E. *a* in *father* only in being uttered with the mouth wide open, which gives it a clearer sound. No difference of quality between the long and short vowel.

ɪ (y). -än vyan 'soon'; yxal *uchel* 'lofty'; byr 'short', tyr 'broaks'; hy! 'ugly'; rhy! 'Rhy!'; byp 'ever'; gwyðal,



'Irishman'; bysnas 'business', lysgo 'drag'; hyn 'this', lyn 'lake', syn 'surprised', kyn 'before, as', tyn 'tight', bryn 'hill'; pypmp 'five'; syt 'how'; bydyr *budr* 'dirty'; kany 'sing', kefyl 'horse', davyð 'David', melys 'sweet', deryn *aderyn* 'bird'. tyy 'house'; syyx 'dry'; kyyr 'pain', dyrr 'steel', pyyr 'pure'; -dyyð syyl 'Sunday', kyyll 'narrow'; nyyþ 'nest'; pryyð 'serious'; klyyst 'ear'; yyn 'one', -i hyyn 'himself', hyyn 'older', -dyyð llyyn 'Monday', llyyn 'picture', klyyn 'thigh', dyyn 'man'; kryyg 'hoarse'; stryyd 'street'. This is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as well as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high-mixed position towards (i), with which it is completely confused further South. In the Anglesea dialect it is I think even more removed from (i) than in the Carnarvon dialect. When I round the Carnarvon sound I get exactly the Swedish *u*, which is decidedly fr. (yy) and (ii) end in a very slight voice-glide—they might almost be written (yyə, iiə).

I (ä). ä, är 'the', sär 'sir'; äsgol 'school'; kânta *cyntaf* 'first'; äma 'here'; mätn 'mutton'; ädu *ydyw* 'am'. Occurs long only as the name of the letter *y*—(ää), in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being apparently more retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*.

I (i). diod 'drink' *sb.*, tori 'break', meri 'Mary', pisin 'piece', dim 'not', trigjan 'sixty', nid 'not'. kii 'dog'; hiir 'long', siir 'shire', gwiir 'true', kliir 'clear'; miil 'thousand'; hiin 'weather', liin 'flax', miin 'edge', gwiin 'wine', kpiin 'brittle', triin 'treat', bliin 'tired'; kiig 'meat'. The wide E. (*i*) is foreign to North Welsh, and suggests (y) rather than (i) to a Welsh ear, but it appears to be gaining ground somewhat among those who are familiar with E., of course, only in words taken from E. It is, however, often very difficult to distinguish between (*i*) and (y).

I (e). reol 'rule'; ber 'short' *fem.*; gwel 'better', pel 'far'; hel 'gather', vel 'as'; pre-geþy 'preach'; fres 'fresh', nes 'until'; pen 'head'; het 'hat'; heb 'without'. lee 'place'; feer 'ankle', gweer 'tallow'; seel 'zeal', meel

'honey', peel 'ball'; nees 'nearer'; heen 'old', steen 'bucket', kļeen 'kind'; deeg 'ten'. Identical with the E. *e* in *pen*.

î (u). kur 'corner', turu 'noise', brus 'brush'; hun 'this', gun 'I know', 'gun'; luk 'luck'. fuur 'sure', guur 'man', duur 'water'; njuul 'mist'; suun 'sound', cuun 'dogs'; druug 'bad'. Curiously enough, although the E. (*u*) is foreign to the language, I have always heard cats called (*pus*) with a distinctly wide vowel.

ǰ (o). hono 'she'; ox 'oh!'; for *ffordd* 'road', tor 'cut!'; kol 'loss'; trol 'cart'; kļos 'close'; hon 'she', ton 'wave' *sb.*, bron 'breast', 'nearly'; lot o bobol *bobl* 'lot of people'. doo 'yes'; stoor 'store'; (h)ool 'all'; ool 'track', fool 'silly', nool 'fetch', dool 'vale'; soon 'sound', moon 'Anglesea', toon 'tune', boon 'stump'; koot 'coat'. E. *o* in *boy*, distinct from that in *not*. No difference of quality between short and long.

ǰr (ay). kay *cau* 'shut', day 'two'; ayr 'gold', hayl 'sun' *parbays* 'constant'. kaay *cae* 'field', maay 'is'; xwaayr 'sister', gwaayp 'worse', blaayn 'front', paayno wydyr *wydr* 'pane of glass', kām·raayg 'Welsh', traayd 'feet'. (aay) occurs only in monosyllabic words or final stress syllables. I used to think that *ae* and *oe* were ǰr (aaə) and ǰr resp., and I am still not certain that their second element is not, in rapid speech at least, a vowel between (y) and (ə).

ǰr (ai). ai 'with his', lai 'less'; gair 'word', ail 'second', sais 'Englishman', main 'slender', kraig 'rock'.

ǰz (au). ļauar 'many'; maur 'big', hauð 'easy', aust 'August', jaun 'right', daunfjo 'dance', braud 'brother'.

ǰz (yu). ļyu *lliw* 'colour', hoylan skryu 'screw', dyu 'God', byu 'alive'; byux 'cow', yud 'porridge'. dyuað 'end', dyujol 'divine'.

ǰr (ey). gwey 'knit', ļoyad 'moon', kəya *caeau* 'fields'; tēyly 'family', gwēypa *gwaethaf* 'worst', dəyðag 'twelve', seysnag *Seisoneg* 'English', peyntjo 'paint' *vb.*, gnēyd *gwneud* 'do'. *ae* always has this sound when followed by an unstressed syllable in the same word.

ʃr (əi). jəir 'hens', əira 'snow', kəiljog 'cock', nəis 'nice', təimlo 'feel', rəit 'right'.

ʃä (äu). kläu-ad 'hear', täu-y! 'dark', bäu-yd 'life'.

ʃä (eu). neu-yð 'new', deu-is 'choose'; eux 'go ye!' -i meun 'within'. rheeu 'frost', teeu 'thick', bleeu 'hair'.

ʃr (uy). muya *mwyaf* 'most', buya! 'axe'; duyran *dwyrain* 'east', bluyðyn 'year', luybyr *llwybr* 'path'. uuy 'egg', muuy 'more'; uuyþ 'eight', uuyn 'lambs', fruuyn 'bridle', luuyd 'grey'.

ʃr (oy). ʃoya *lloau* 'calves'; hoylan 'nail', kə-froys 'exciting', ämarhoys 'dilatatory', koydan 'tree', ðooy 'yesterday'; ooyr 'cold', pooyþ 'hot', ooyn 'lamb', kooyts 'coach'.

ʃr (oi). rhoi 'give', troi 'turn'; oil 'oil'.

ʃä (ou). ouan *Owain*; doux 'come ye!' mourþ 'March', stout 'brave'.

#### CONSONANTS.

ɔ (h). hanas 'history', hii 'she', heen 'old', hun 'he'.

ç (xr). -i xevn 'her back', xweex 'six', axos 'cause', -i xii 'to you', huux goox 'a red sow', kəirx 'oats', bulx 'gap'. The trill is as constant a feature of this sound as it is of the *r*. (xw) are pronounced quite separately, and the (w) does not round the (x).

o (j). jaiþ 'language', njuul 'mist', kufjo 'fight', durdjo 'scold'. The controversy whether this is a cons. or not seems to be merely the result of its being written *i*. It seems to me to be as much a cons. as the E. *y* in *yet*, although there is no perceptible friction in it any more than in the E. sound. Perhaps the W. sound is narrow, =consonantal *f* (i). In (-i hjaiþ) 'their language' the (h) and (j) seem to be uttered separately. Voiceless *o* occurs perhaps after (p), &c., in such words as (pjufjo) *piwsio* 'tease'.

o<sup>o</sup> (rʀh). rhaaf 'rope', rhesum 'reason', rhaa *yr haf* 'the summer', rhuq 'between'. The essential character of this sound, as of *nh*, &c., lies in the combination (r)+(h), and the breath-sound of the *r* is really unessential, although I believe it is always breathed at the beginning of a sound-

group.<sup>1</sup> After a vowel it is, perhaps, voiced. I found that both pronunciations seemed to satisfy the ears of the natives. It would, perhaps, be better to write  $\omega_2$ , as the (h) seems to belong almost as much to the following vowel.

*rh*, *ngh*, *nh*, *mh*, which are now real 'aspirates', must originally have been the simple breaths  $\omega$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $r$ ; *rh* must have been parallel to *ll*, which is still a simple breath, and the nasal mutation *ngh*- from *c*- must have been parallel to *ng*- from *g*-.

The aspiration was no doubt the result of the attempt to make the sounds more audible, for the voiceless nasals, especially, are almost inaudible, unless uttered with great force. Original  $\omega$  (*l*) was made more audible by other means: by being developed into a strong unilateral palatalized hiss.

Unaspirated (*r*) occurs in *tŕoo* 'turn', *kryy* 'strong', &c. See under (*k*).

$\omega_3$  (*rr*). -i *ran* 'his share', *ri-ooyd* *erioed* 'ever', *druug* 'bad', *bara* 'bread', *gwiir* 'true', *tárn* 'turn'.

$\omega_3$  (*rw*). *grwaig gwraig* 'wife', -i *rwaig* 'his wife', -mi *rwantai* 'I warrant'. The regular sound of *rw* [when *w* is a cons.], the two cons. being uttered simultaneously.

$\omega_4$  ( $\{l\}j$ ). *lál* 'other', *kälal* 'knife', *gwel* 'better'. Always unilateral (right side) with the tongue in the *i*-position, or approximated to it. The unilaterality has hardly any effect on the sound, and the Welsh *ll* may be described as being essentially a French *l* unvoiced. It is almost identical with the Icelandic *hl*.

$\omega$  (*l*). *kloo* 'lock', *plyy* 'feathers'. Devocalization of the ordinary *l*.

$\omega$  (*l*). -i *lau* 'his hand', *leni eleni* 'this year', *ledi* 'lady', *kalad* 'hard', *meel* 'honey'. Apparently identical in formation with the E. *l*, the front of the tongue being hollowed.

$\omega_3$  (*lw*). *glwaad gwlad* 'country', -i *lwaad* 'his country'. Compare (*rw*).

$\omega$  (*p*). -i *paad* 'her father', *paqkju* 'thank you', *kaap* 'cat', *gwerp̄son* 'they sold'.

<sup>1</sup> I once misheard (*nhaad*) 'my father' as (*haad*) 'seed', which shows the initial (*n*) was nearly inaudible, and therefore voiceless.

u (ð). -i ðavad 'his sheep', meðul 'think', kļauð 'hedge', aðvad 'ripe'.

z (ʃ). ʃarad 'speak', ʃop 'shop', trujo 'mend'; tʃain 'chain', katʃjo 'catch'. This sound seems to be essentially the same as the E., but I have heard from older speakers a sound more like zʃ or zʌ—a palatalized ʃ, or something between ʃ and (s).

z (ʒ). inʒan 'engine'; -ä dzain 'the chain', dzon 'John', wedʒan 'wedge'. (dzon) is still often pronounced (ʃoon).

s (s). sais 'Englishman', silf 'shelf', isal 'low', miis 'month', brus 'brush'.

ʷ (wh). -i whatshi 'her watch'. Only in occasional mutations of (w) in E. words.

ʷ (w). -i waas 'his servant', wedi 'after', wats 'watch', gwers 'lesson', berwi 'boil'.

> (f). for (road), -i fen 'her head', kofi 'coffee', korf 'body'.

> (v). -i vam 'his mother', voo 'he', avon 'river', kevn 'back'.

ˠ (qh). qhevn 'my back', qhaap 'my cat'.

The nasal mutation of *c*, *t*, *p+r*, *l* offers some difficulties. *nghroen* 'skin', *nhroed* 'foot' (from *croen*, *troed*), are not pronounced (qhrooyd, nhrooyd), but the aspiration passes on to the (r), giving (qrhooyd, nrhooyd), which last seems often to become (rhooyd). The initial (q) and (n) seem, however, to be often pronounced with voice. With *l* the result is the regular aspirated sound distinct from that of *ll*, as in *nghlust*, *mhlentyn*, from *clust* 'ear', *plentyn* 'child', = (qlhyyst, mlhentyn). Here, again, the initial nasals seem to be often voiced. Indeed, it is possible to carry the voice through the (l) as well without offending an unattentive ear—(-vä mlentyn).

ˠ (q). qavr 'my goat', driqo 'climb', !oq 'ship'.

ˠ (nh). nhaad 'my father'.

ˠ (n). nain 'grandmother'.

ˠ (nw). gnwio gwnio 'sew', basgjad nwio 'work-basket'.

ˠ (mh). -i mham 'her mother'.

ˠ (m). mam 'mother'.

ˠ (k). kakan 'cake', kii 'dog'; kryy 'strong', kļoof 'lame'; kļok 'clock'. The off-glide of the breath stops is

stronger than in E., and completely devocalizes a following (r) or (l), but not an (n), the breath glide being apparently kept before the (n), as in (knuud) 'crop'. The breath glide is very weak after (s), as in (storm) 'storm', and in unstressed syllables. In words of E. origin (k) and (g) generally become (kj, gj) before (a), as in (kjastin, kjaf; gjard, gjaat) 'casting (in fishing), gaff; guard (of a coach), gate'. The same pronunciation may often be observed before unstressed (a) = written *e*, as in (basgjad, baxgjan) 'basket, boy'. Also in (loygjjar) *Lloegr* 'England'. In the neighbouring Merioneth dialect the change is said to be fully carried out in native words before stressed (a). (k) and (g) are, as in most languages, more forward before front vowels.

ɛ (g). -ä goog 'the cuckoo', -i giid 'together', glaan 'clean', äsgol 'school'; džug 'jug', rhedag 'run'. Final voice stops are pronounced quite short, and consequently when following a short stress vowel (which seldom happens in native words) they have the effect of (k), &c., to an E. ear. They have the same pronunciation when they end the syllable in the middle of a word, as in (goglað, rhagblaayn), 'north', 'at once'. Final (g) after (s) is whispered, as in (gwiisg, kuusg), 'dress', 'sleep'.

ɔ (t). taad 'father', trio 'try', pont 'bridge', guts 'goods', kästal 'as good'. In forming (t) and (d) the point of the tongue seems to be entirely on the teeth.

ɔ (d). -i daad 'his father', druug 'bad', tyd 'come!', sad 'firm', parod 'ready', adra *adref* 'home' *adv.*, modvað 'inch'.

ɔ (p). pen 'head', pren 'wood', top 'top', cospi 'punish'.

ɔ (b). -i ben 'his head', tub 'tub', atab 'answer'.

### Representation and Occurrence.

The following are the letters and digraphs that make up the Welsh alphabet, with their Welsh names:

a (aa), b (bii), c (ek), ch (ex), d (dii), dd (eð), e (ee), f (ev), ff (ef), g (eg), ng (eq), ngh, h (aitf), i (ii), l (el), ll (el), m (em), mh, n (en), nh, o (oo), p (pii), ph (ef), r (er), rh, s (es), t (tii), th (eþ), u (yy), w (uu), y (ää).

The letters will be treated of in the following order : *a, u, y, i, e, w, o* ; *au, ae, ai, aw, uw, yw, iw, eu, ey, ei, ew, wy, ou, oe, oi.* *h, ch, i, rh, r, ll, l, th, dd, s, w, ff, f* ; *ngh, ng, nh, n, mh, m* ; *c, g, t, d, p, b.*

Examples will be given only of irregular correspondence. The words are written phonetically, the nomic spelling being only added when the word contains other changes than that given by the heading.

## VOWELS.

## (A) Stressed.

**a** : *a, aa* ; *e, o.* *gwerpol* 'stirrup'. *krogan cragen* 'shell'.

**u** : *y, yy* ; *i.* *hiðig huddyl* 'soot', *tiþjo* 'trot', *inig* 'alone' [also in (*i'nigol*) 'lonely'], *ninjon yn union* 'at once', *stimja ystumiau* 'bends, tricks', *rhigil rhugl* 'fluent of speech', *brigo barugo* 'deposit hoar-frost', *hido* 'entice', *stidjo astudio* 'study' vb.

**y** : *y, yy, ä* ; *a, i, e, o.* (*y*) in monosyllables and final syllables, as in *ty* (*tyy*) 'house', *dyn* 'man' (*dyyn*), *llyn* (*lyn*) 'lake', *gofyn* 'ask', (*ä*) in syllables followed by an unstressed syllable, as in *dynion* 'men', *gofynodd* 'asked' pret., *Llyndy* (*ländy*) 'Lake-house'. Also (*ä*) in *y, yr* 'the', *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy', *yn, yng* 'in', &c., *myn* in (*-män djaul*) 'by the devil' For further rules see the grammars. I find *cyd* = (*käd*) in (*kädol*) 'whole' aj., (*käd-wybod*) 'conscience', (*kädna-bäðys*) *cydnabyddus* 'acquainted'.

The dialect has (*y*) before an unstressed syllable in the following words : *sylu* 'attention', *bryfjo* 'hurry', *hyna* 'that one', *smydiþ*, &c., from *symyd* 'move', *glydar* [also (*glädar*)] 'Glyder', *glypax*, &c., *gwlypach* 'wetter', cp.

(a) in *las'enwi* 'nickname' vb.

(i) in *dirwin dyrwyn* 'wind' vb., *disgwl dysgwyl* 'expect', *distau* 'silent', *kimint cymmaint* 'how much', *kä'nigjad* 'offer' sb. [cp. (*känig*) vb.], *-i giid* 'together', *gida* 'with', *diguð dygwyydd* 'happen'. Some of these words, as also of those in the preceding paragraph, may vary between (i) and (y).

(e) in *desgil dysgl* 'dish'.

(o) in *doro dyro* 'put!' [also *däro*]. *dyfod* 'come' is contracted into (*duad*) and (*dood*).

i: i, ii; əi. *knəiþar cyfnither* 'female cousin'.

e: e, ee; ä, a, əi, i. *äto* 'yet', *ästyn* 'stretch', *dränyð drenydd* 'day after to-morrow', *marljod merlynod* 'ponies', *banu benyw* 'female', *xwadal chwedl* 'according to'. *geveil-jaid* 'twins', *həiðju, hiðju heddyw* 'to-day'. *xwəigjan chwe ugain* 'ten shillings'.

w: u, uu; y. *dyvn* 'deep'.

o: o, oo; a, u, ä. *klaɡuð ceiliogwydd* 'gander' (lit. cock-goose). *murþul morthwyl* 'hammer', *ɡuɫun gollwng* 'let out'. *ɡästun gostwng* 'lower', *däduy* 'lay eggs', *näduyð* 'needle'.

au: ay; əy, a, ai. (*cəyad*) adj. 'closed', (*cəyoð*), &c., pret., of (*kay*) 'close', *knəya cynauaf* 'harvest'. This seems to be the regular sound of *au* when followed by an unstressed syllable in the same word. The present of (*kay*) is (*kaa-ɪþ*). *a'u* 'and their' (ai), identical with *a'i* 'and his'.

ae: aay; aa, a, əy, y. (*aay*) in monosyllables sometimes seems to drop its (*y*) in some words, such as *chwaer* 'sister', *o'r blaen* 'formerly', *traed* 'feet' [in *mae* 'is' and *cael* 'get', apparently only when these words are unstressed]. (*a*) in the disyllables (*ɡwarad*) *ɡwaered* 'descent', (*tany*) 'spread'. When followed by an unstressed syllable in the same word *ae* is regularly (*əy*): *kəya caeau* 'fields', *-ä ðəyar* 'the earth', *ɡwəylod* 'bottom', *ɡwəyþa gwaethaf* 'worst', *əyþox* 'ye went', *þəyntjo* 'paint'. Even in compounds, such as (*bləynlau*) 'beforehand'. *ffraeo* 'quarrel' [from E. *fray*] seems to be (*fryo*) as well as (*frəyo*).

ai: ai; y, əi, əy. *hyarn* 'iron'. *rhəi* 'some', *prəi pa rai* 'which ones?', *rhəin y rhai hyn* 'these'. *səy saif* 'stands'.

aw: au; ou, uy. *mourþ* 'Tuesday, March', *dnouvad deunawfed* 'eighteenth', *mounan mawnen* 'piece of peat', *mounog* 'place where peat is dug', *soudul sawdl* 'heel'. *deunaw* 'eighteen', and the plur. *mawn* keep their (au). *syro saw(y)rio* 'smell, sniff'.

uw: yu.

yw: yu, äu; u, o, əy. (*äu*) in such words as *clywed*



'hear', tywydd 'weather', *tywod* 'mud' is pronounced so quickly that it is often difficult to hear the (ä) at all=*kluad*, &c. *duad dyfod* 'come', *tulax*, *tula tywyllach*, *tywyllaf* 'darker, darkest'. *tołti tywallt* 'pour'. *dəyd dywed* 'say'.

**iw:** *yu*.

**eu:** *əy*. *deuwch* 'come ye' is (*doux*).

**ey:** *yy*. *lyyn* 'Lleyn' (a part of Carnarvonshire).

**ei:** *əi*; *a*, *y*, *i*, *e*, *ee*. *asan eisen* 'rib'. *lya lleiaf* 'least'. *trio* 'try', *iđau eiddew* 'ivy', *ista eistedd* 'sit'. *ifjo eisieu* 'want', *kinjog ceiniog* 'penny'. *gweglođ gweinglawdd* 'meadow' [also pronounced *gwärglođ?*], *ees* 'I went'. (*əi*) seems to be sometimes confused with (*əy*), but I have not been able to determine how far this is really the case.

**ew:** *een*, *eu*; *ou*, *u*. *doux deuwch* or *deuwch* 'come ye!', *tuxy tewychu* 'thicken', *lųgy llewygu* 'starve'.

**wy:** *uuy*, *uy*; *y*, *u*, *əy*. *byta* 'eat'. *truu* 'through', *puu* 'who' [also pron. *puuy*], *truany* 'pierce', *xurny* 'growl', *tulų tywyllu* 'get dark', *knulbran canwyllbren* 'candlestick', *di-guđođ dygwyddođ* 'happened', &c., *usnos wythnos* 'week', *xulų* 'blow', *gunjon* 'white' pl., *gunuy* 'white of egg', *guni'adyn gwyniedyn* 'sea-trout', *tuny tywynu* 'shine', *kä-xunođ* 'started', &c., *tumo* 'warm', *rhumođ* 'tied', &c., *rhugo* 'tear', *gubod* 'know'. Many disyllabic words seem to have only (*uy*), such as *mwyaf* 'most', *twyllo* 'deceive', *blwyddyn* 'year', *rhwystro* 'hinder', *llwybyr* 'path'. *dəylo dwylaw* 'hands'.

(*wy*) in *y Wyddfa* 'Snowdon', *gwyđal Gwyddel* 'Irishman', *chwyn* 'weeds', *Gwynant*, *gwynab gwyneb* 'face', *cwyno* 'complain', &c. (*wyy*) in *chwys* 'sweat', *gwyllt* 'wild', *gwydd* 'plough' [*guuyđ*= 'goose'].

**ou:** *o'u* 'of their' is (*oi*), like the sg. *o'i* 'of his'.

**oe:** *ooy*; *oo*, *o*, *əy*, *uy*. In monosyllables *oe* sometimes seems to become (*oo*) as in *noeth* 'naked'; shortened in (*kog-vran*) *coegfran* 'jackdaw'. *gləy-u gloew* 'transparent', *kä-vəyþog* 'wealthy'. *puyri* 'spit'.

**oi:** *oi*. *troiođd* 'turned' pret. is contracted into (*troođ*).

## (B) Unstressed.

**a** becomes (o) in the verb-ending *-asant*, as in (gwelso) 'they saw', govol 'care' sb., adloð 'after-grass', křoxon *crochan* 'pot', penog *penwag* 'herring', o'vlauan *aflawen* 'dismal'. (i) in *gan* 'with'.

**y**: **a**, **i**. ädax 'ye are', &c., ädan *ydynt* 'they are', &c., edrax 'see', dinbax 'Denbigh', kleða *clddyf* 'sword', ämbarel 'umbrella', las'enwi 'nickname' vb.

(i) before the stress-syllable: diarř *dyeithr* 'strange', di'oða *dyoddef* 'suffer'; disteui 'be silent'. After the stress-syllable regularly in *-yg*, and in many other endings as well: kerig 'stones', tebig 'like', känig 'offer', perig *perygl* 'danger'; divir 'amusing', kalil 'knives', pistil 'spout', briřil 'trout', disgin 'alight', dirwin *dyrwyn* 'wind' vb., diřim 'destitute'. When another syllable is added, so that the *y* receives the accent, the (i) is sometimes kept, as in (briřiljad) *brithylliaid* plur., but generally the original (ä) appears, as in (di'värax) compar., (dis'gänoð) pret. häiřju *heddyw* 'to-day'.

**e** after the stress-syllable regularly becomes (a): kävla 'opportunity', rhula *rhywle* 'somewhere', oyðax 'ye were', amsar 'time', robart 'Robert', rubarř *rywbeth* 'something', dodravn 'furniture', gorfau *gorphen* 'finish', rhedag 'run', sekret 'secret'. Of course (e) is preserved in less familiar compounds; also in (popeř) *pobpeth* 'everything'. (o) in (o, voo) *e, efe* (e'vée in the literary lg.) 'he', (gwybod) 'flies' pl., kariktor 'character'. (i) in (naaki) *nage* 'not'. Sometimes (ä) before the stress-syllable: dä'xräynos 'evening', -ägär řinan *y Gerddinen*, prä'geřur 'preacher'.

**o** becomes (a) in (duad) *dyfod* 'come', and sometimes in (arnax) *arnoch* 'on you', &c.

Diphthongs are almost always simplified.

**ae**: **a**. madal *ymadael* 'leave, depart', gadal 'leave' trans., kärař *cyrhaedd* 'reach'. Also in some compounds, such as (gweniřvan) 'granite', penman maur 'Penmaenawr'. *mae* 'is', *cael* 'get' become (maa, ma, kaal) when unstressed.

**ai:** a, i, ja. meða 'said', kara 'strap', bygal 'shepherd', mantas 'advantage', damwan 'misfortune', cu'panad 'cupful'. Also in the compound (kɫama) *Culan Mai* 'May Day'. (ai) is often kept in plurals, such as (devaid) 'sheep', apparently for the sake of distinctness. (i) in the verb-ending *-ais*, as in (gwelis) 'thou sawest' pret., and in eril 'others', lægid 'eyes', kimint 'how much'. (ja) in ygjan 'twenty', døygjan 'forty', trigjan 'sixty'.

**au:** a. lävra 'books', änta 'he', pia 'possesses', para parhau [literary parhay] 'last' vb., käpral 'devil'. (ay) is sometimes kept in the plural of literary words even in common speech.

**aw:** o, a. gaðo *addaw* 'promise', kinjo 'dinner', taro 'strike', anoð 'difficult', křəylon 'cruel', gwergloð *gweirglawdd* 'meadow'. kena 'cub'.

**yw:** i, u. ädi 'is'. guru 'male', banu *benyw* 'female'.

**eu:** a, i, o, ee. bora 'morning', xwara 'play' vb., gora 'best', gola 'light' (lucidus), tena 'thin', ama *ammheu* 'doubt' vb. The (əy) reappears under stress, as in the comparatives (gləyax, tñəyax). (i) in *eu* 'their'. (o) in (əifjo) 'want'. *neu* 'nor' is (nee).

**ei:** i, ä. in *ei* 'his, her'. (ä) in *eich* 'your'.

**ew:** au. iðau *Iuddew* 'Jew' [plur. i'ðeuon], iðau *eiddeu* 'ivy', paþau 'dormouse'.

**wy:** u. nhuu, nhu *hwy* 'they', ädu *ydwyf* 'I am', anul 'dear', keluð 'falsehood', eglus 'church', morun 'maid', anud 'cold' (in head, &c.); lřodraþ *llwyodraeth* 'government'.

**oe:** o. troydnoþ 'bare-legged'. Unstressed *oedd* 'was' is (ooð, oð).

Unstressed vowels are often dropped.

**a.** redig *aredig* 'plough' vb., rhosux *aroswch* 'stay ye!' stidjo *astudio* 'study' vb., sena *ais* pl. of *asan eisen* 'rib'; vala *afalau* 'apples'; gorjad *agoriad* 'key', gorux *agorwch* 'open ye!'; tebux *atebwch* 'answer ye!'; deryn *aderyn* 'bird', denyð *adenydd* 'wings'. -mi *rwantai* 'I warrant', fradoð *siaradodd* 'spoke', třany *taranu* 'thunder' vb., třauoð *tarawodd* 'struck', přnydyð *parwydydd* 'walls'. přyyn *pa yr un, pa un* 'which one', brigo *barugo* 'deposit hoar frost';

*kļeta caletaf* 'hardest', *kļama Culan Mai* 'May Day', *kļonog calonog* 'hearty', *kļona calonau* 'hearts', *pļee pale* 'where?', *plisoð palisoedd* 'walls'; *ðpodoð dattododd* 'undid'. welsox *welasoch* 'ye saw', *ðætsox dywedasoch* 'ye said', &c.; *kvøyloð cafaelodd* 'took hold', *tvarna tafarnau* 'taverns'; *knuļa canwyllau* 'candles'. *kreðyrjaid creaduriaid* 'creatures', *furti i ffwrdd a ti* 'away with you', *vanku fan acw* 'there'.

**y.** *sgini sydd genyf* 'I have'.

**ä.** Of all the vowels this is oftenest dropped. It is almost regularly dropped when initial, especially before (s) followed by a stop: *sgweny ysgrifenu* 'write', *sgoljon* 'schools', *sgavnax* 'lighter'; *xädig* 'little', *xwanag* 'more'; *ranud yr anwyd* 'the cold in the head', *rheen uur yr hen wr* 'the old man', &c., *rädu yr ydwyf* 'I am', &c.; *vory yfory* 'to-morrow'; *nennwedig yn enwedig* 'especially', *ninjon yn uniawn* 'at once', *nagos yn agos* 'near', &c., *näsoð ynnysoedd* 'islands'; *menyn* 'butter', *madal ymadael* 'leave' intr.; *molxi* 'wash' refl. Disyllables which stress the initial (ä) do not drop it, and vice versa: *ästyr* 'meaning', *äsgol* 'school'; *swil* 'shy', *-urþi sgiilo wrth ei ysgil ef* 'behind him' [riding on the same horse], *stuur* 'noise'. But there are some irregularities. Thus I find infin. (*äsgud*) 'shake' but imper. sg. (*sguuyd*), and I believe that *yswil* is accented on the first syll. in the literary language.

After a vowel: *vyyñ fy un* 'my one', *damsar* 'thy time'. It is often difficult to say whether it is dropped or only pronounced very shortly, as in (*beedio*) *pa beth ydyw ef* 'what is it?', (*maan amsar*) *y mae yn amser* 'it is time'.

Where it gives rise to new consonant combinations: (a) initial. *dräsy* 'entangle', *brheux* 'shorten ye!', *kļäma cylymau* 'knots', *stļenod estyll* plur. of *stālan estyllen* 'plank', *kwi-läðys* 'disgraceful', *kfredin* 'general' adj., *kvaða cyfaddef* 'confess', *dveþa* 'spoil', *cnøya cynauaf* 'harvest', *knigjoð* 'offered', *dmyno* 'wish', *ļgodan* 'mouse'. (b) medial. *ers er ys* 'since', *vanma fan yma* 'here', *kām·dogjon cynmydogion* 'neighbours'.

**i.** *werðon Iwerddon* 'Ireland', *fur i ffwrdd* 'away'; *deqid diengyd* 'escape'; *dreidys direidus* 'mischievous'; *ðarymi*

nøyd *ddarfu i mi wneyd* 'I did', &c., -oð ar *oddiar* 'from off', -oð *äma oddiyma* 'from here', &c.

**e.** *hedag ehedeg* 'fly' vb., *ri'ooyd erioed* 'ever', *leni eleni* 'this year', *lulan chwlen* 'kidney', *smwybax esmwythach* 'smoother', *sgidja esgidiau* 'boots', *stän-oð estynodd* 'stretched', *wällys ewylllys* 'will', *winað ewinedd* 'nails', *foipjo effeithio* 'effect', *vala ef allai* 'perhaps', *niloð ennillodd* 'won' prt., *dräxux edrychwch* 'look ye', *divar edifar* 'penitent', *pelano ðavað pellen o edafedd* 'ball of thread'; *dränod adar* plur. of (*deryn*) *aderyn* 'bird', *kļuyðog* 'lying', *glway gwelyau* 'beds', *pleni* plur. of (*pelan*) *pelen* 'ball', *kfäla ceffylau* 'horses', *knuylyn, knuylod cnewullyn, cnewull* 'kernel, kernels', *tnøyx teneuach* 'thinner'; *kradur creadur* 'creature'; *isla iselaf* 'lowest'. An (e) which is stressed in the literary language is dropped in (*daalt*) *deallt* 'understand'. The pron. (*dealt*) seems to occur in the dialect also.

**u.** *ðaryn* = *ðarynhu ddarfu hwy* 'they did'.

**o.** *ðøyty oddeutu* 'about', *sgweluxän ðaa os gwelwch yn dda* 'if you please', *ndooys onid oes* 'is there not?'; *strøyon* pl. of (*stori*) 'story', *kļoman colomen* 'pigeon', *gløyni goleuni* 'light', &c., *gvänoð gofynodd* 'asked'; *par-toi parotoi* 'prepare'.

**ai.** *ļond lļonaid* 'fullness'.

**øy.** *bdaay beudai* 'cowhouses', *sglyso esgeuluso* 'neglect' vb. Stressed in the lit. lang. in (*blodyn*) *blodewyn* 'flower'.

**øi.** *steðoð eisteddod* 'sat' etc., probably through (*isteðoð*).

The repetition of the same vowel is avoided by running them into one, which is often shortened, as in *tyxa ty uchaf* 'above'.

Parasitic unstressed vowels often develop before a vowel-like (r, l) or nasal (n, m) with another cons. before them.

**a.** *amal aml* 'often', *abal* 'able'. *egar* 'sharp, cruel', *ļedar* 'leather', *kļedar* 'palm of hand', *ļestar* 'vessel, dish'; *ļoidar* 'thief', *ļoygar* 'England'. *xwadal chwedl* 'according to', *seqal* 'single, unmarried', *keqal* 'girth', *hegal* 'limb, leg'.

**y.** *bystyl bustl* 'gall', *bydyr* 'dirty'. *rhuystyr* 'hindrance', *gwydyr* 'glass', *bruydyr* 'battle', *ļuybyr* 'path'. *gwydyn* 'tough', *dygyn* 'toilsome'.

i. sikir 'sure'. rhigil *rhugl* 'fluent'. desgil *dysgl* 'dish'.

u. fugur *sugr* 'sugar'. bukul 'buckle', pendra munugul 'headlong', trugul 'clumsy'; soudul *sawdl* 'heel'; kupul 'couple'; kubul 'hole' adj., trubul 'trouble'. Iudun 'wether'. -ars talum *er ys talm* 'since long, for some time'.

o. oxor 'side'. gogor 'sieve'. sobor 'sober'. koqol 'corner'. pobol 'people'.

It will be seen that the preceding cons. is generally a stop, more rarely a nasal (*sengl, cengl, congl; aml*) and very rarely any other cons. (*ochr, talm*).

Also that the inserted vowel is generally a repetition of the root one, the diphthong (uy) repeating its last element, as also in *sawdl*. (m) develops a (u) in *talm*. (e) is not repeated, (a) being developed after it, as also after several diphthongs.

In some words there is no insertion: gavr 'goat', gwobr 'reward', lyvr 'book'. dadl 'dispute', batl 'battle', xwedl 'story', nobl 'noble', syml 'simple'. kavn 'trough', dogn 'dose', lyvn 'smooth'.

#### CONSONANTS.

h. Often dropped in unstressed syllables, as in *kärað cyrhaedd* 'reach', *anoð anhawdd* 'difficult', *anos anhaws* 'more difficult', *kämar cymhar* 'partner'; *ama ammheu* 'doubt' vb., *para parhau* 'last' vb. In the last two the stress is on the last syllable in the literary language. Often added after (r) and nasals followed by a stressed vowel: *rhosux arosuwch* 'stay ye', *ka'ghena cangenau* 'branches', *da'ghosoð dangosodd* 'showed'. (x) in (*xwadan*) *hwiyaden* 'duck'.

i (=j). Dropped in *iðau Iuddew* 'Jew', *prodi priodi* 'marry'. In some words the second element of a diphthong appears to be identified with (j) and then transposed: *ygjan ugain* 'twenty', *trigjan trigain* 'sixty', *oifjos eisoes* 'already'.

r. Often dropped in unstressed syllables, especially before *n*: *trafap trafferth* 'trouble', *bu'tsasan* 'top-boot' [from 'Blucher?'], *fenast ffenestr* 'window'; *garðun arddwrn* 'wrist', *sadwn* 'Saturday', *sisun* 'scissors'. *gub'neðig gwrboneddig* 'gentleman'. In most of these words the *r* is restored in stressed

syllables, as in (fe'nestri, si'särna) plurals. \*Not in the plural (gar'ðäna). Stressed *r* is dropped in (kulid) 'coverlet'. Inserted in (poultris) 'poultice', (gerlig) *gellaig* 'pears'. Transposed in (ewyrþ) *ewythr* 'uncle', diarþ *dyeithr* 'strange'. In (kerad mesyl day) 'walk two and two', (mesyl) apparently stands for *mesur* 'measure'.

**l.** Often dropped in unstressed syllables: hiðig *huddygl* 'soot', posib 'possible', perig *perygl* 'danger'. Also in (rhiisg) *rhisgl* 'bark'. Not in *banadl* 'broom', *anadl* 'breath', and some others.

**th.** Dropped in (bee) *pa beth* 'what?' (s) in *usnos wythnos* 'week'. In old-fashioned pronunciation (taqkju) is said instead of (paqkju) 'thank you'.

**dd.** Often dropped: *ista eistedd* 'sit', *syy sydd* 'is'; for *ffordd* 'road' [kept in the plur. *ffyrdd*], -i fur 'away', bur 'table'; boo *byddo* 'will be', oon *oeddw* 'I was', rhoi *rhoddi* 'give'; kerad *cerdded* 'walk'. (v) in *vanoð y ddunnodd* 'toothache', *oivil* 'slender'. (d) in (difod) 'go out' (fire).

**s.** Dropped sometimes in *baat buasit* 'wouldst be'. *sy* becomes (j), through (sj), in (jarnai) *sydd arnaf fi* 'I owe', lit. 'is on me'. (j) also in the expletive (fort ora) 'best sort' [also (sort ora)]. In older words (s) represents E. *sh*, as in (fres) 'fresh'.

**w.** Dropped in *xi chwi* 'ye'; *gneyd gwneyd* 'do', *glyyb gwlyb* 'wet'; *penog penwag* 'herrings', *gwatar gwatwar* 'mock'. (v) in *brivo* 'hurt', *gorvað gorwedd* 'lie'. *diweddaf* 'last' is (dwøypa).

**f.** Often dropped finally; *haa* 'summer', *lii* 'flood', *kryy cryf* 'strong', *sloo* 'slow' (of clock), *pluuu* 'parish'; *känta* 'first', *penþra pentref* 'village', *kävri* 'accounts', *gwela gwellaif* 'pair of shears'. Reappears when a vowel is added: *kävax* 'stronger', *slovax* 'slower', *gweleivja gwelleifiau* plur. Medially in *dary darfu* 'finished', *duur dwfr* 'water', *kees cefais* 'I got'. Developed out of vowels in *ivaqk ieuanc* 'young' [comp. *jeqax*], *levyð lleoedd* 'places'. (w, u) in (sgweny) *ysgrifenu* 'write' [sgrivan *ysgrifen* 'writing'], *sgwarnog ysgyfarnog* 'hare', *cwarvod cyfarfod* 'meet', *tauly*

*taflu* 'throw', *guðu gwddf* 'neck'. E. (f) has become (w) in (*brekwast*) 'breakfast'.

**ng.** (n) in *guŷun gollwng* 'let out', *gästun gostwng* 'lower'.

**nh.** *nhr* becomes (rh) in (*rhuyyn*) 'my nose'.

**n.** Dropped in (-*meu mynyd*) *mewn munyd* 'in a minute'. Added in *neplas eples* 'leaven'. *nt* dropped in *maent* 'they are', *namor Nant-y-mor*. (m) in *rhesum* 'reason'.

**m.** (n) in verbal endings: *ädan ydym* 'we are', *oyðan oeddem* 'we were', &c.

**c.** (qk) in *hecian* 'limp'. (f) in (*faind*) 'kind', by confusion with (*fond*) 'fond'.

**g.** Dropped in (*wiqo*) *gwingo* 'struggle', *ŷnaay glanhau* 'clean' vb. Added in *gonast* 'honest', *garðun arddwrn* 'wrist', *gaðo addaw* 'promise'. (k) in (*naaki, naake*) *nage* 'no', (*dräkin*) *dryghin* 'bad weather'. (d) in *havod-tandrag Hafod-tan-y-graig*.

**t.** Dropped in -*nt* in verb-endings: *ädan ydynt* 'they are', *welson welasant* 'they saw', &c. Added in *daalt deall* 'understand'. (d) in *stryyd* 'street'. *sut* seems to be sometimes (*syd*) [before a vowel?]. E. *ch* is regularly represented by (ts), as in (*wats*) 'watch'. *tl-* seems to be (k|) in *tlws* (k|uus) 'pretty'.

**d.** (d) is represented by (f) in the older pronunciation (*fon*) 'John', &c., by (d) in (*dest*) 'just' adv.

Initial consonants are often lost by the dropping of the vowel of an unstressed syllable, which often makes the cons. almost inaudible:

**h.** *genod hogenod* 'girls', *naku hwn acw* 'that one', *dat hyd at* 'as far as'.

**rh.** *sämol rhesymol* 'reasonable'.

**f.** *stinjog Ffestiniog*.

**n.** *duni ðim nid wn i ddim* 'I don't know', &c., *dolig nadolig* 'Christmas'.

**m.** *moga mamogau* 'ewes', *ðäljun meddyliwn* 'I should think', *vii myfi* 'I'.

**p.** *sgota pysgota* 'fish' vb., *tatus pytatws* 'potatoes'.

Other cases are:

*nabod adnabod* 'recognize'. (*nai*) the unstressed form of



(arnai) *arnaf fi* 'on me'. (ta) *ynte* 'therefore, then', always unstressed.

*pnaun prydawn* 'evening', *knarvon Caernarfon* 'Carnarvon', *klānai canlynāf fi* 'I will follow', *klaguð ceiliogwydd* 'gander', *sglaig ysgolhaig* 'scholar' [pl. *sglōigjon ysgolheigion*], *kooyð cyhoedd* 'public'.

*pryyd pa bryd* 'when?', *lee y mha le* 'where?', *blee o ba le* 'whence', *ndooy's onid oes* 'is not?', *pam paham* 'why?'

*oona oddiyna* 'from there', *vanma fan yma* 'here', *vano fan yno* 'there', *gwaað gwahodd* 'invite', *xwōigjan chwe ugain* 'ten shillings', *rhain y rhai hyn* 'these', *dood* [also *duad*] *dyfod* 'come' inf., *tyd tyred* 'come thou!', *trooð troiodd* 'turned' pret., *dee deheu* 'south'. *herob hannerob* 'fitch of bacon'.

*dol·ðelan Dolwyddelan*, *oðyd oddiarhyd* 'from off', *kä·vino cynnefino* 'get used to', *dotux dattodwch* 'untie ye!', *gwani·əyþa gwahaniaethau* 'differences', *wedyn wedi hyn* 'afterwards', *knoiþar cyfnither* 'female cousin'.

In some cases a syllable which is stressed in the literary lang. has been dropped, pointing, of course, to an earlier stress-shift in the dialect: *kämyd cymmeryd* 'take', *gadoð gadawodd* 'left', *malwan malwoden* 'snail', *marljod merlynod* 'ponies'.

Strong contraction in the peculiar hybrid expletives *rotjun* = (*ri·ooyd fajun*) *erioed fashion* 'ever the like', 'ever', *nov·natsan* = (*-änov naduy fajun*) *yn ofnadwy* (terribly) *fashion*, 'in terrible fashion', 'terribly'.

Also in *ogla arogl* 'odour'.

Some miscellaneous irregularities may now be noticed.

Transpositions (generally with other changes) in: *kävnas cynfas* 'canvas, sheet', *kenslys cenllysg* 'hail', *sluan llyswen* 'eel', *swigan chwysigen* 'bladder', *traux tarwch* 'strike ye!' (*ruan*) 'now' seems not to be connected with the literary *yn awr*, but to be *yr awr hon* 'this hour'.

*miga moga igam ogam* 'zigzag', is an interesting parallel to our (*n*)*ickname*.

*nos·daux nos dda i chwi* 'good night (to you)!'

*-pe tasa pe buasai* 'if it were', &c.

*käd·mary cymharu* 'compare'.

## MUTATION.

For convenience of reference I give here a table of the regular mutations.

RADICAL.		MIDDLE (VOICE) <i>ei his</i>	NASAL <i>fy my</i>	ASPIRATE <i>ei her</i>
cefn	<i>back</i>	gefn	nghefn	chefn
pen	<i>head</i>	ben	mhen	phen
tad	<i>father</i>	dad	nhad	thad
gair	<i>word</i>	air	ngair	gair
bara	<i>bread</i>	fara	mara	bara
dillad	<i>clothes</i>	ddillad	nillad	dillad
llaw	<i>hand</i>	law	llaw	llaw
mam	<i>mother</i>	fam	mam	m(h)am
rhan	<i>share</i>	ran	rhan	rhan
nain	<i>grandmother</i>	nain	nain	n(h)ain

kevn		gevn	qhevn	xevn
pen		ben	mhen	fen
taad		daad	nhaad	paad
gair		air	qair	gair
bara		vara	mara	bara
dilad		ðilad	nilad	dilad
lau		lau	lau	lau
mam		vam	mam	mham
rhan		ran	rhan	rhan
nain		nain	nain	nhain
wats	<i>watch</i>	wats	wats	whats

Note that the aspirate mutations of *m* and *n* are not admitted in the literary language. In the dialect (*m*, *n*) are regularly aspirated after (*i*) *ei* 'her', *eu* 'their': *i* mham, *ei*

*m(h)am, eu m(h)am* 'her mother', 'their mother'. (w) in E. words generally follows this analogy, but apparently not always: *bood ari w(h)ats bod ar ei (eu) gwyliaidwraeth* 'to be on her (their) guard', -i w(h)atshi, -i w(h)atsnhu, *ei, eu oriawr* 'her, their watch'.

The laws of mutation are carried out with the same strictness in the dialect as in the literary language, and follow, in the main, the principles laid down in the grammars, though there is divergence in detail. Foreign words, even of the latest introduction, are as much subject to them as native ones: -i *kootnhu* 'their coat', -i *gooto* 'his coat', *qhooti* 'my coat', -i *xoothi* 'her coat', *lego fâtn* 'leg of mutton', &c. (t) is regularly mutated to (dʒ): *tʃain* 'a chain', -ä *dʒain* 'the chain'.

When an initial vowel is dropped in the dialect, so that a mutable cons. becomes initial, it is liable to mutation, as in (*menyn*) *ymenyn*: *printano venyn* 'pat ['print'] of butter'.

In the dialect some of the particles which cause mutation are regularly dropped, which gives the mutation generally a more abstract character, and makes it more difficult to master. The affirmative particle *y* which does not mutate, and the affirmative and interrogative *a* which causes voice mutation, are dropped. *y* appears as *yr* before vowels, which is often kept in the dialect in the form of (r). The dialect often uses an affirmative particle of its own (*mi*), which takes voice mutation. The different affirmative forms of two such verbs as *oedd* 'was' and *cymmerodd* 'he took', when standing at the head of the sentence are: *rooð, -mi rooð, kämoð, gämoð, -mi gämoð*. I have not been able to investigate the laws which govern these variations. Numerous examples may be seen in the texts. The voice-mutation of the initial verb in questions seems constant: *gämuxi a gymmerwch chwî* 'will you take?', *weloðo a welodd ef* 'did he see?' The negative particles *na* and *ni* govern the aspirate of *c, t, p*, the voice-mutation of the others; in the dialect these particles are simply dropped, *ddim* being added, unless the sentence already contains some negative word besides the dropped initial particles: *xämai ðim tee* 'I will not take tea', *welisi monoxi* 'I did not see you', *gəyþoxi*

beeþ 'did you get some?' If the verb begins with a vowel (d)=*nid* is prefixed, and if it begins with radical *g*, (d) is substituted: *dädio ðimän barod* 'he is not ready', *dalai ðim duad* 'I cannot come'.

Some verbs in frequent use, such as the auxiliary (*ðary*) (*d*)*darfu*, *ðäila*, *ðälsa dylai*, *dylasai* 'he ought', show a great preponderance of the voice-mutated over the radical form, which latter only occurs after some words which do not allow the voice-mutation after them, such as (vel) 'how', (a) 'and, as'. The same is the case with some other words, such as (*ðooy*) 'yesterday', which only takes the radical form in the same special cases, as in (*ryyn faaþa dooy*) 'the same as yesterday'. Some words, such as *wedi*, never appear at all in any but the voice form. (*gan*, *gin*) *gan* 'with', and its pronominal compounds, never appear in the radical form, though they take the aspirate mutation after *a* 'and', &c.: -*a xänovo* 'and with him', &c.

In some cases there is a real or apparent neglect of mutation in the dialect.

Feminine nouns are not mutated after *un* 'one': *yyn karag un garrag* 'one stone', *yyn matfan* 'one match'.

The want of mutation in (-*nos daux*) 'good night!' and (*usnos dwəyþa*) *wythnos ddiweddaf* 'last week', seems to be due to an avoiding of the combination (*sð*).

The absence of mutation in such a sentence as (-*maayoän gəid*) 'he is a guide' is only apparent, for the radical of this word is (*kəid*). Foreign words beginning with (*g*, *d*, *b*) seem generally to form new radicals in this way: *pelan*, -*ä belan* 'ball', 'the ball', *trol*, -*ä drol* 'cart', 'the cart'. Many adjectives, such as *parod* 'ready' hardly ever occur except with the predicative particle *yn* before them, and it is therefore difficult to tell whether the radical of *braf* in (-*maar täuyðän braav*) 'the weather is fine', &c., is (*praav*) or not. I have never heard the radical of these two words in speech. (*g*), &c., seem to be left unmutated sometimes even in native words, as in (*gnəydi gora*) *gwneyd ei oreu* 'do his best', (*beemaayoän daa*) *i ba beth y mae ef yn dda?* 'what is it good for?' As (*v*) is the mutation both of (*b*) and (*m*), it sometimes happens that

foreign words beginning with (v) take the wrong radical letter, as in (mentro) 'venture', (milan) *milain* 'villain'.

The adjective (pe!) takes the nasal mutation after the predicative *yn*, as if it were the preposition *yn* 'in', (-ä mhel) *yn bell*.

## INFLEXIONS.

### Substantives.

#### GENDER.

The distribution of the two genders—masculine and feminine—in the dialect does not appear to differ much from that followed in the literary language.

Every foreign word must, of course, be made either masc. or fem. E. words seem generally to take the gender of the Welsh word they are displacing or have displaced, thus (ruum) and (stryyd) are fem. like *ystafell* 'room' and *heol* 'street'. An important class of feminines are the singulars in (-an) formed from foreign plurals taken in a collective sense, on the analogy of native singulars like *coeden* 'tree' from *coed* 'trees', such as (briksan) 'brick' from (briks) 'bricks', (matfan) 'match' from (matfys) 'matches'. Masculines in (-yn), such as (foulsyn, foulyn) 'fowl', (tɹopyn) 'drop', are less often formed in this way.

The following are some of the other more important words of E. origin that are feminine:

tjain 'chain', tjans 'chance', kolar 'collar', kornal 'corner', koot 'coat', kutar 'gutter'; dol 'doll'; fair 'fair', farm 'farm', fendar 'fender', fœil 'file', flaam 'flame', folt 'pigstye', färliq 'farthing', fraay 'quarrel'; gini 'guinea', gwagan 'wagon', gwasgod 'waistcoat'; ham 'ham', hambord 'tray', haqkas 'handkerchief', het 'hat'; ingan 'engine', 'machine'; dzob 'job'; lamp 'lamp', lantar 'lantern', lot 'lot', 'quantity'; :lego vätn 'leg of mutton'; natyr 'nature'; paayno wydyr 'pane of glass', pukad 'pail'; riil 'winch' (in fishing), ruum 'room' (apartment); skurs 'conversation', sœin 'sign', fool 'shawl', fop 'shop', furna 'journey', sjuut 'suit of clothes', simða, simna 'chimney', sospan 'saucepan', stabal 'stable',

stefon 'railway station', step 'step' (of cart, &c.), stool 'stall', stori 'story', stymog 'stomach', stryyd 'street'; tempar 'temper' (good, bad), tem'tafun 'temptation', t̄resal 'kitchen dresser'; wats 'watch'.

### Plural.

The use of the different plural endings is, on the whole, the same in the dialect as in the literary language, allowing for the vowel-changes of the latter (both in the words themselves and the endings), and its dropping of the unstressed initial vowels, &c., by which such pairs as *Uyn, Uynau* 'lake'; *cae, caeau* 'field'; *afal, afalau* 'apple' appear as (*lyn, l̄ana*; *kaay, k̄aya*; *aval, vala*). The following are examples (taken from the most frequent words) of the different ways of forming the plural, as classed in the grammars, many words of E. origin being given:

(1) Irregular. *kii, kuun* 'dog'. *guur, gwyyr* 'husband'. *tyy, tai* 'house'; *popty, pop'taay* 'oven'; *b̄ydy, b̄y'daay, b̄daay* 'cow-house'. *k̄rooyñ, k̄ruuyn* 'skin'; *ooyñ, uuyn* 'lamb'. *t̄rooyd, t̄raayd* 'foot'. *braud, brodyr* 'brother'.

(2) Vowel-change. *braan, brain* 'crow'; *l̄afant, l̄afa(i)nt* 'frog'. *jaar, j̄oir* 'hen'; *kar* 'trap' (carriage), *k̄oir*; *gaast, goist* 'bitch'. *bystax, bystyx* 'bullock'. *k̄alał, k̄alił* 'knife'. *korn, kyrñ* 'horn'. *for, fyrð* 'road'. *karag, kerig* 'stone'; *kasag, kesig* 'mare', *parxał, perxił* 'young pig'. *davad, devaid* 'sheep'. *l̄agad, l̄agid* 'eye'.

-a. The original ending is preserved only in (*glwau gwelyau* from (*gwely*) 'bed', through having the stress, and occasionally in plurals of words of a more or less literary character, such as (*d̄oi'sebay*) 'petitions'. *kupan, ku'pana* 'cup'; *usnos, us'nosa* 'week'; *enu, enwa* 'name'; *kaay, k̄aua*, 'field'; *oxor, oxra* 'side'; *l̄äpyr, l̄ä'pära* 'letter'; *kaqañ ka'qhena* 'branch'. *stabal, stabla* 'stable'; *fop, fopa* 'shop'; *gwasgod, gwas'goda* 'waistcoat'; *paañ, p̄eña* 'pane of glass'. The following have vowel-change (in addition to changes required by the laws of the dialect). *druus, dr̄asa* 'door'; *bur, b̄arð̄a* 'table'; *gun, ḡäna* 'gun'; *butum, b̄ä'täma* 'button'. *simð̄a, sim'ð̄eña* 'chimney'.

**-ja.** klyyst, klystja *clustiau* 'ear'; esgid, sgidja 'shoe'; hogyn, hogja 'boy'. kap, kapja 'cap'; koot, kotja 'coat'; frind, frindja 'friend'; het, hetja 'hat'; plaat, plätja 'plate'; poulan, poulja 'bowl'. With vowel-change: kadar, ka'deirja 'chair'; aur, orja 'hour'; ketyrn, katja 'short pipe'. pump, pämpja 'pump', tšain, tšainja 'chain'.

**-on.** sais, soyson 'Englishman'; kaan, knöyon 'song', stori, ströyon 'story'.

**-jon.** kä'mädog, käm'dogjon 'neighbour'; äsgol, sgoljon 'school'; polyn, poljon 'pole'; stool, stoljon 'stall'. With vowel-change: bargan, bargöinjjon 'bargain'.

**-ad.** merx, -ad 'daughter'; di'öiprjad 'strangers'; křadyr, kředyrjad 'creature'. With vowel-change: a'nival, ani-vöiljad 'animal, cattle'.

**-yd.** kevndar, kevndryd 'male cousin'.

**-ađ.** dant, danađ 'tooth'; ewin, winađ 'nail' (of finger).

**-i.** lestar, lestri 'vessel'; kakan, ka'keni 'cake'; sospan, sos'peni 'saucepan'; fenast, fe'nestri 'window'; haqkas, kaq'ketfi 'handkerchief'; lantar, lan'terni 'lantern'. With vowel-change: křoxon, křoxeni 'pot'; maayn, mäini 'stone'; taas, täisi 'rick'.

**-od.** křoman, křömenod 'pigeon'; hefar, hefrod 'heifer'; deryn, dränod 'bird'. The literary plur. of *aderyn* occurs only in the lake-name (lyn radar) *Llyn yr adar*. knöipar, knöi'perod 'female cousin'; hogan, genod 'girl'. With vowel-change: byux, byxod 'cow'; kuux, käxod 'boat'; furna, furniod 'journey'; merlyn, marljod 'pony'.

**-ođ.** blänyđ, blä'näđođ *blynyddoedd* 'year'; mänyđ mä'näđođ 'mountain'; änyš, näšođ 'island'; stryyd, strädođ 'street'.

**-yđ.** farm, fermyđ 'farm'; adan, denyđ 'wing'; pentra, pen'trevyđ 'village'; třesal, třeselyđ '(kitchen) dresser'. Contracted in (porva, por'vvyđ) *porfeydd* 'pasture'.

**-s, -ys.** babi, babis 'baby'; ham, hams 'ham'; stefon, stefons 'railway station', křikjad, křikjats 'cricket' (insect). wats, watsys 'watch'; kooyts, koytsys 'coach'. Sometimes added even to Welsh words, after the Welsh plural ending,

as in (milguns) 'greyhounds', (sgoturs) 'fishermen', (hyrns) 'irons'.

(souþman, plisman) 'South Welshman', 'policeman' form their plur. (souþmyn, plismyn), showing an older stage of E. than our present spoken language, in which sg. and plur. both have the same obscure vowel.

Some words have a different (often a longer) stem in the plur. : kävla, kävleys·dera 'opportunity'; lii, li·vogyð 'flood', gwerþol, gur·þavlja 'stirrup'. The last has also the regular plur. (gwer·þolja).

The following are further examples of the formation of fem. singulars in (-an) from E. plurals taken in a collective sense: kabaits, ka·beitsan 'cabbage'; tatws, täsan [=ta·täsan] 'potato'; sweeds, swetsan 'swede, Swedish turnip'; slipars, slipan 'slipper'; butjas, butjasan 'top boot' [from 'Blucher'?), härdls, härdlan 'hurdle'; spooks, spoksan 'spoke of wheel'; sklait, sklaitan 'slate'; wäirs, wëiran 'wire'. The collective sense given to the E. plurals is clearly shown in such collocations as (fens wëirs) 'wire fence'. It will be observed that the (s) of the plur. is sometimes preserved in the sg., sometimes not.

### Adjectives.

#### GENDER.

The following vowel-changes take place in the fem. of adjectives. Many adj., however, which change their vowels in the literary language, remain unchanged in the dialect.

**u: o.** lum 'bare', krun 'round', trum 'heavy'.

[No change: kluus 'pretty', pudur 'rotten', brunt 'rude'. The literary *dwfn*: *dofn* is (dyfn) in the dialect.]

**y: e.** hyysp, heesp 'dry' (of cows); syyx, seex 'dry'; kryy, kree 'strong'; glyyb, gleeb 'wet'; gwyn, gwen 'white'; byr, ber 'short'; bryyx, breex 'brindled'; bäxan, bexan 'little'. baax 'little' is unchanged in the fem., not even mutating its cons. [No change: lym 'sharp', melyn 'yellow', trädýð 'third', pe·dweryð 'fourth'.]

**ii: ai.** [No change: briip 'speckled'.]



## Plural.

In the literary language many adj. take a plural ending. In the dialect their number is reduced, and many of those left have also the plur. the same as the sg. These are marked (as far as my knowledge goes) with a star in the following lists:

\*bāxan, bāxin; kadarn, kedyrn 'strong'; \*kalad, kelyd 'hard'; ļal, ļeil 'other'; araļ, eril 'other'.

\*dyy, dyon 'black'; \*budur, budron 'dirty'. \*maru, mairwon 'dead'.

rhyyð, rhəðjon 'free'; \*koox, koxjon 'red'; gwyn, gwynjon 'white', \*teeu, teujon 'fat'. \*ļaays, ļaijjon 'trailing'; saal, sæiljon 'bad'; main, mæinjon 'thin'; kam, kəimjon 'crooked'; \*gwaag, gwəigjon 'empty'; křyy, křəvjjon 'strong'; kļuus, kļəjjon 'pretty'; kļaud, kļodjon 'poor'; třum, třəmjon 'heavy'; braas, brəiřjon 'thick'; hyysp, hespjjon 'dry'.

The following (among others) remain unchanged: *chwerw, llydan, buan, truan, ivaqk ieuanc* 'young', *byddar, hardd*.

## COMPARISON.

The regular endings are, of the equal degree (-ad) -ed, the comparative (-ax), the superlative (-a) -af.

Adj. ending in (g, d, b) unvoice these cons. before the endings: tebig, te'bəkad 'like'; diog, di'okad 'lazy'; rhaad, rhatax 'cheap'; glyyb, glypax 'wet'; kalad, kļeta 'hard'.

The vowel-changes of the literary language reappear to some extent in the dialect: main, mæinad 'thin'; kļaud, kļotad 'poor'; ļum, ļamad 'bare'.

The insertion of (j) occurs also in words of E. origin; braav, bravjax 'fine'; kļeen, kļenja 'kind' [our *clean*].

Other changes are the necessary result of the laws of the dialect: kalad, kļetax 'hard'; esmuþ, smuyþax 'smooth'.

The following are irregular :

<i>Positive.</i>	<i>Equal.</i>	<i>Compar.</i>	<i>Superl.</i>
daa ( <i>good</i> )	kästal	gwel	gora
agos ( <i>near</i> )	a'gosad	nees	nesa
baax ( <i>little</i> )	l(ə)iad	lai	l(ə)ia
druug ( <i>bad</i> )	{ dräkad gweyþad	} gwaayþ	gweyþa
hauð ( <i>easy</i> )	hauðad	haus	hauða
anoð ( <i>difficult</i> )	a'noðad	anos	a'noða
heen ( <i>old</i> )	hänad	{ hyyn hänax	} häna
hiir ( <i>long</i> )	hirad	{ huuy hirax	huya hira
ivaqk ( <i>young</i> )		jeqax	jeqa
lauar ( <i>many</i> )	} kimint	muuy	muya
maur ( <i>great</i> )			
lädan ( <i>broad</i> )		letax	leta
isal ( <i>low</i> )	isad	{ islax iis adv.	} isla
yxal ( <i>high</i> )	yxlad	yux	yxa

#### Numerals.

<i>Cardinal.</i>	<i>Ordinal.</i>
1 yyn	{ kanta ynvad
2 day, duuy ( <i>fem.</i> )	ail
3 trii, tair ( <i>fem.</i> )	trädyð ( <i>also fem.</i> )
4 pedwar, pedar ( <i>fem.</i> )	ped'weryð ( <i>also fem.</i> )
5 pypm	pymad
6 xweex	xwexad
7 saiþ	saiþvad
8 uuyþ	uyþvad
9 nau	nauvad
10 deeg	degvad
11 yynor ðeeg	ynvadar ðeeg
12 døyðag	døyðegvad
13 triiär (tairär) ðeeg	trädyðar ðeeg
14 pedwarär (pedarär) ðeeg	ped'weryðar ðeeg
15 pämpag	päm'pegvad
16 yynar bämpag	ynvadar bämpag

17.	dayar (duuyar) bämþag	railar bämþag
18	{ dëynau trïär (tairär) bämþag	} dnouvad
19	pedwarär (pedarär) bämþag	ped·weryðar bämþag
20	ygjan	gëinvad
21	yynar hygjan	ynvadar hygjan
30	deegar hygjan	degvadar hygjan
35	pämþagar hygjan	pämþegvadar hygjan
40	dëygjan	
50	{ deega dëygjan hanar kant	
60	trigjan	
70	deega þrigjan	
80	pedwar ygjan	
90	deega fedwar ygjan	
100	kant	
120	xwëigjan <i>chwe ugain</i>	
1000	miil	

The clumsiness of the higher Welsh numerals leads to the frequent use of the E. numerals, which, curiously enough, are always used in speaking of a street: *nämbar feiv, &c., wän þousand eet händradn eti wän=1881*. When the use of the E. numerals is avoided, as in giving out the number of a hymn in chapel, such a numeral as 70 is called 'seven ten', &c. Thus (*emyn pym kant saith deeg trïi*) 'hymn 573', (*dëynau kant uuyþ deeg yyn*)=1881.

The higher ordinal numerals are not much used except in stating the day of the month.

#### Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are :

	<i>Simple.</i>	<i>Antithetic.</i>	<i>Conjunctive.</i>
	1 mi, vi, i	vii	ina, vina
	2 ti, di	dii	tïþa
	3 { vo, o hi <i>fem.</i>	voo hii	änta, vânta hiþa
<i>pl.</i>	1 ni	nii	nina
	2 xi	xii	xïþa
	3 nhu, n	nhuu	nhuþa
		M m	

(vi, vina, vo, vânta) are often used instead of (i), &c., after a vowel: -ðaryvi orfan 'I finished', -na vina xwaiþ 'nor I either', hevovo 'with him'. (i) is chiefly used after the verb in the nom.: welisi 'I saw'. (nhu) is often contracted to (n) after a verb ending in a vowel: -ðaryn gweld 'they saw'.

The reflexive pronouns are:

1. -vä hyyn, -vä hynan. 2. -dä hyyn, &c. 3. -i hyyn  
*pl.* 1. -ëin hynan, -n hynan, -n hyyn. 2. (ä)x(h)yнан, &c.  
 3. -i hynan.

The reciprocal:

1. -(ëi)n gilyð. -(ä)x gilyð, -i gilyð.

The possessive:

1. v(ä). 2. d(ä). 3. i. *pl.* 1. (ëi)n. 2. (ä)x. 3. i. The personal pronoun is generally added after the noun, the repetition not necessarily conveying any idea of emphasis. *fy* is generally only preserved before a vowel; before a consonant it is dropped, leaving however the nasal mutation of mutable consonants behind: vamsar 'my time', -urþ nruusi 'at my door', -än lee-i 'in my place'. The three (i)s are distinguished by their mutations when they come before certain sounds.

The following special combinations deserve notice:

(a) with (a) 'and'; exemplified in

-vä nhaada mam = *a'm mam* 'my father and mother', -dä daad { -aad vam }  
 { -aap vam } . -i daadai vam. -i þaadai mham 'her'.  
 -n taadaan mam. -äx taadaax mam. -i taadai mham *a'u mam*.

(b) with (i) 'to'.

-iim taad. -idä daad. -yu daad *i'w*. -yu þaad *i'w*. -iin taad. -iix taad. -yu taad *i'w*.

(c) with (o) 'of'.

-oom taad. -odä daad. -oi daad. -oi þaad. -oon taad. -oox taad. -oi taad *o'u*.

So also (welisi moom taad) 'I did not see my father', (moodä daad), &c.

(d) -ar vooli 'after me'. -ar dooldi. -ari oolo. -ari hoolhi. -ar nhoolni. -arx oolxi. -ari hoolnhu.

(e) -o mlaayni 'before me'. -odä vlaayndi. -oi vlaayno.

-oi blaayn-hi. -oon blaaynni. -oox blaaynxi. -oi blaaynnhu.

(f) -ar vinjon *ar fy uniawn* 'I at once'. -ar dinjon. -ari injon. -ari hinjon. -ar nhinjon. -ar xinjon. -ari hinjon. An example of this construction is (aunni nuonar nhinjon) 'let us go now at once'.

*eiddo* does not appear to be used in speech, but *yr eiddoch yn gywir* is the regular equivalent of 'yours truly' in letter-writing.

The demonstratives are:

	<i>singular.</i>		<i>plural.</i>
1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{masc.} \text{ hun} \\ \textit{fem.} \text{ hon} \\ \textit{neut.} \text{ hyn} \end{array} \right\}$		rhëin
2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{masc.} \text{ huna} \\ \textit{fem.} \text{ hona} \\ \textit{neut.} \text{ hyna} \end{array} \right\}$		rhëina
3	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{masc.} \text{ hunu} \\ \textit{fem.} \text{ hono} \\ \textit{neut.} \text{ häny} \end{array} \right\}$		rhëiny

The distinction of meaning of these three groups corresponds to that of the Scotch *this, that, yon*. They are all (at least, the personal ones) used both as substantives, and as adjectives following the noun. (hun), &c., seem, however, to be used as adjectives only when they designate an object of thought, or refer to something that has been mentioned already: *dyynvel wiljamshunu*, 'a man like that Williams' (of whom we were just speaking). Otherwise the adverbs (*äma, äna, aku*) are added to the noun with the def. article prefixed to denote the three degrees respectively: *-ä dyyn(ä)ma, -ä dyyn(ä)na, -ä dyyn aku*, 'this man', 'that man' (within cognizance), 'that man' (not within cognizance).

(*naku*)=*hwn acw* subst., is used to denote a distant object within sight or hearing.

#### Verbs.

The normal inflexions may be exemplified by the verb (*gweld*) 'see'. As the second future occurs only in a few verbs

it is exemplified by (gnøyd) 'do'. The pluperf. and 2nd fut. pass. seem hardly ever to occur in speech, and the plup. act. is not very common.

The letters added in parentheses show the form assumed by the verb when (as is usually the case) the personal pronouns are added :

### ACTIVE.

#### *Present (Future).*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 gwela(i)	gwelan(i), gwelun(i)
2 gweli(di)	gwelux(i)
3 gweel(o), gweliþ(o)	gwelan(hu)

#### *Imperfect.*

1 gwelun(i)	gwelan(i)
2 gwelat(i)	gwelax(i)
3 gwela(vo)	gwelan(hu)

#### *Preterite.*

1 gwelis(i)	gwelson(i)
2 gwelist(i)	gwelsox(i)
3 gweloð(o)	gwelson(hu)

#### *Pluperfect.*

1 gwelsun(i)	gwelsan(i)
2 gwelsat(i)	gwelsax(i)
3 gwelsa(vo)	gwelsan(hu)

#### *Second Future.*

1 gnelo(i)	gnelon(i)
2 gnelot(i)	gnelox(i)
3 gnelo(vo)	gnelon(hu)

#### *Imperative.*

1 ———	gwelun
2 gweel, gwela	gwelux
3 gwelad	gwelan

#### *Infinitive.*

gweld.

## PASSIVE.

<i>Present</i>	gwelir.
<i>Imperfect</i>	gwelid.
<i>Preterite</i>	gwelud.
<i>Pluperfect</i>	gwelsid (?).
<i>Second Future</i>	———— gweler.

The second future also occurs of the verb (*mānu*) in the phrase (*amsar vānoxi*) 'whenever you like', mixed, however, with present forms in the 1st sg. and 2nd plur.: (*vānai, vānux*) as well as (*vānoi, vānox*). I have generally heard (*vānox*).

The preterite is often expressed by (*ǰary*) *ddarfu* 'finished' the pret. of (*darvod*) with the infin., and this circumlocution is regularly employed in the plural of verbs ending in a cons. which would not join easily to the inflexional (*s*). Thus (*berwi, dexra*) 'boil', 'begin', have their pret. 3 sg. and plur. respectively (*berwoǰ, dexroǰ*; -*ǰaryn verwi, -ǰaryn ǰexra*). There is, however, considerable latitude. As a general rule, the longer and less frequent verbs prefer the circumlocution.

The shorter form of the pres. 3 sg. is generally less frequently used than that in (*iþ*), which is the only one that many verbs have.

The various changes of the verb-stems are the result partly of the older laws detailed in the grammars, partly of those of the dialect. The following are the typical forms of many of the more important 'regular' verbs (most of which would be considered highly irregular in any other language), nl. infin., pres. 3rd sing., pret. 1 and 3 sg. and 3 plur., imper. 2 sg., as far as I have been able to determine them.

- ay.** *kay cau* 'shut'. *kaa-iþ, kəyiþ. kəyoǰ. kay!*  
*l̄naay glanhau* 'clean'. -*ǰary l̄naay. l̄naa! l̄neux!*  
*bārhaay* 'shorten'. *bār'həiþ. bār'haoǰ. bār'haa!;*  
*bār'heux!*
- oi.** *kloi* 'close'. *klo-iþ. klois, kloioǰ; kloison. kloo!*  
*troi* 'turn'. *tryyǰ, troi, troiþ. trois; troioǰ, trooǰ;*  
*troiison. troo! Pret. pass. troud.*  
*partoi parotoi* 'prepare'. *par'tooǰ, par'toison. par'too!*  
*par'toux!*

- a. dal 'catch'. dail, dalip. daljoð, dalson. dal!  
 laað 'kill'. laað, laðip. laðoð, laðson. laað!  
 daalt *deall* 'understand'. daltip. daltoð, daltson. daalt.
- i. triin, trinjo *trin* 'treat'. trinip. trinjoð.
- e. hel 'gather'. hel(j)oð, helson. hel!; heljux!
- uy. duuyn 'take, steal'. duuyn, duynip. duynoð; duynson. duuyn!; duyna!
- a. byta *bwyta* 'eat'. bytoð, bytson. byta!
- i. lenwi 'fill'. lenwoð. lenwa!; lenux!  
 teui 'be silent'. tau, teuiþ. tauoð, tauson. tau! teux!  
 berwi 'boil'. berwoð. berwa! berux!  
 tori 'cut'. tyr, torip. toroð, torson. tor!  
 kolï 'lose'. kol, kolip. koloð, kolson. kol! kola!  
 rhoi *rhoddi* 'put, give'. rhyyð, rhoðip. *Imperf.* rhoun;  
 rhoot; rhooy; rhoun; rhoux; rhoyp̄an, rhoon. *Pret.*  
 rhois; rhoist; rhoðoð, rhooþ, rhoos [rhooy's?]; rhoðson,  
 rhoiþon, rhoison. dāro!, doro!; dorux!, rhoux! [the  
 first three apparently only in the sense of 'put!'].  
*Pret. pass.* rhoud. I am not certain about the forms of  
 this verb, especially as regards the occurrence of (oy)  
 and (oi).  
 kodi 'raise'. kood, kodip. kodoð, kodson. kood!  
 logi 'borrow'. loog!  
 holti 'split'. hoolt!  
 tolti *tywallt* 'pour'. toolt!  
 provi 'try'. prova!  
 puyri *poeri* 'spit'. puyroð, puyrson. puyra!  
 kroyzi *croesi* 'cross'. kroysoð, kroyson. kroysa!
- o. driqo 'climb'. driqoð, driqson. driqa!  
 kyro 'strike'. kyroð, kyrson. kyra!  
 godro 'milk'. godra!  
 gorfuyso 'rest'. gorfus! gorfuysux!  
 gnwio *gnwio* 'sew'. gnwi-ïþ. gnwi-is, gnwioð.
- jo. karjo 'carry'. kariþ. karis, karjoð, karson. karja!  
 pajjo 'pass'. pasis, pajjoð.  
 särþjo 'fall'. särþis, särþjoð.  
 trujjo 'mend'. trujis, trujjoð. trujja!  
 kæijjo 'try'. kais!; kæijjux!



- paidjo 'abstain'. paid, poidip. poidjoð. paid!
- u. buru, 'throw'. burip. burjoð. burja!  
kadu 'keep'. kadip. kadwoð, kadson. kadu!  
galu 'call'. gailu, galip. galwoð, galson. galu!
- y. kary 'love'. karoð, -ðaryn gary [(karson)='they carried']. kaar!  
galy 'be able'. *Pres. sg.* 1. galai; 2. geli; 3. gail, gal;  
*pl.* 2. gelux, galux. galoð; galson.  
taly 'pay'. taal, talip. taloð, talson. tala!  
maly 'grind'. maloð, malson. maal! mala!  
tawly, tavly *taflu* 'throw'. tawloð, tawlson. taul!  
taula!  
kany 'sing'. kanoð, kanson. kana!  
gwerþy 'sell'. gwerþoð, gwerþson. gwerþa!  
helpy 'help'. helpoð, helpson. helpa!  
sgweny *ysgrifenu* 'write'. sgwenoð. sgwena!  
medry 'know how'. medar, medrip. medroð.  
däsgy 'learn'. däsgoð, däs gson. däs ga!  
mäny 'wish'. myn, mänip. mänöð; mänson. myn!  
mäna! *2nd fut.* mänoi, mänai.  
tävy 'grow'. tyvv, tävip. tävoð, tävson. tyvv!  
täva!  
täny 'pull'. tyn, tänip. tänoð, tänson. tyn! täna!  
präny 'buy' [*like täny.*]  
säyþy *saethu* 'shoot'. säyþoð, säyþson. säyþa!
- o=*aw.* gaðo *addaw* 'promise'. gaað, gaðip. gaðoð,  
gaðson. gaða!; gaðux!  
grwando *gwrاندaw* 'hear'. grwandoð, grwandson.  
grwanda!; grwandux!
- taro 'strike'. taar, tariþ. taroð, tarson. tar!, tara!
- a=*eu.* xwara 'play'. xwarip. xwaroð, xwarson (?).  
xwara! xwarux!
- käna 'kindle'. känoð, känson. käna!, känux!  
dexra 'begin'. dexrip. dexroð. dexra!, dexrux!
- x. edrax *edrych* 'look'. dräxip. dräxoð, dräxson. edrax!
- r. agor 'open'. gorip. goroð, gorson. agor!
- l. meðul 'think'. meðälip. meðäljoð. meðul!, með-  
älja!

- madal *ymadael* 'depart, leave'. ma'dauoð. madal!;  
 ma'deux!  
 gadal *gadael* 'leave'. gaad, gadiþ. gadis, gadoð, gadson.  
 gaad!; gadux!, ga'deux!  
 gaval *gafaelu* 'grasp'. g(a)vøyliþ. gvøyloð. gaval!  
 gvøyla!  
 -l. eni! 'gain'. niþ. niþoð, niþson. eni!  
 sevy! 'stand'. sæy, saviþ, seviþ. savoð; savson. saa!;  
 savux!  
 -ð. ista *eistedd* 'sit'. steðiþ. steðoð, istoð; steðson. ista!;  
 steðux!, istux!  
 gorwað, gorvað *gorwedd* 'lie'. gor'weðiþ. gor'weðoð;  
 gor'weðson. gorwað!  
 gwaað *gwahodd* 'invite'. gwaðiþ. gwaðoð; gwaðson.  
 gwaað!  
 kárað *cyrhaedd* 'reach'. křøyðoð, křøyðson. kárað!  
 -s. aros 'stay'. rhosiþ. rhosoð. aros!  
 daqos 'show'. deqys, da'qhosiþ. da'qhosoð; da'qhøþ-  
 son. daqos!  
 -v. kvaða *cyfaddef* 'confess'. kvaðiþ. kvaðoð; kvaðson.  
 kvaða!  
 -q. goþun, guþun *gollwng* 'let go'. go'läqiþ. go'läqoð,  
 go'läqson. goþun!  
 gostun, gustun *gostwng* 'let down' [*like* goþun].  
 -n. gorfán *gorphen* 'finish'. gor'feniþ. gor'fenoð; gor-  
 'fenson. gorfán!  
 xwerþin 'laugh'. xwerþiþ. xwerþoð; xwerþson.  
 xwerþa!  
 estyn, ästyn 'stretch'. stäniþ. stänoð, stänson. estyn!  
 kanlyn 'follow'. kläniþ. klänoð; klänson. kanlyn!  
 govyn 'ask'. go'väniþ. go'vänoð; go'vänsón. govyn!  
 go'väna!  
 derbyn 'receive'. der'bäniþ. der'bänjoð. derbyn!  
 disgin *disgyn* 'descend'. dis'gäniþ. dis'gänoð; dis-  
 'gänson. disgin!  
 arwan *arwain* 'lead'. ar'wëniþ. ar'wëinjoð. arwan!  
 käxun *cychwyn* 'start'. kä'xuniþ. kä'xänoð; kä'xän-  
 son. käxun! kä'xuna!

- g. rhedag *rhedeg* 'run'. rheed, rhedip. rhedoð; rhedson. rheed!
- hedag *ehedeg* 'fly' [*like* rhedag].
- känig *cynnyg* 'offer'. knigip. knigjoð. känig!
- d. farad 'speak'. fradip. fradoð; fradson. farad!
- kerðad 'walk'. kerð, kerðip. kerðoð; kerson. kerad!
- ker! kerða!
- kläüad *clwyed* 'hear'. kläüip. kläüoð; kläüson. klyu!, kläüa!
- gweld, gwelad 'see'. gweel, gwelip. gweloð; gwelson. gweel! gwela!; gwelux, (g)ulux!
- stärjad *ystyried* 'consider'. stjärjoð. stjärja!
- daþod *dattod* 'untie'. dþodoð, dþodson. daþod!; daþodux!, dotux!
- kämyd *cymmeryd* 'take'. kym, kämip. kmeroð, kämoð, kämson. kämar!; kmerux!, kämux!
- deqid *diengyd, dianc* 'escape'. deq, deqip. deqoð; deqson. deqid!
- däyd *dywedyd* 'say'. dweed, dävyd, däydip. däydoð; däydson, dwedson. дәüad!, дәyd!; dwedux!, дәydux!
- samyd 'move'. smyðip. smydoð; smyðson.
- äsgud *ysgwyd* 'shake'. sguuyd, sgäðip. sgädwoð. äsgud!; sgädux!
- b. atab 'answer'. etyb, teeb, teðip. teboð; tebson. atab!

The following are the irregular verbs :

**bood** 'be'. *Pres.* ädu, dwy, du; uuyt, uut; ädi, di, (y)yu (?), maay, ma, ooys, syyð, sy; ädan; ädax; ädyn. *Imperf.* 1. oyðun, oon; oyðat; ooyð, ooð; oyðan, oyðax, oyðan. *Imperf.* 2. bäðun; bäðat; bäða; bäðan, bäðax, bäðan. *Pret.* byom byym; byost; byo, byy; byom; byox; byon. *Plup.* basun, baun, tasun; basat, baat, tasat; basa, baay, baa, tasa, taay, taa; basan, baan, tasan, taan; basax, baax, tasax, taax; basan, baan, tasan, taan. *Fut.* bäðai; bäði; byyð; bäðan, bäðun; bäðux; bäðan. *2nd Fut.* bäðo, boo; bäðot, boot; bäðo, hoo; bäðon, boon; bäðox, boox(?); bäðon, boon. *Imper.* byyð!; bäðad!, booyd!, bid!; bäðux! *Infjn.* bood.

The shorter and undiphthongic forms are, of course, the unstressed ones. The pluperfects in (t-) seem to be generally used hypothetically.

**mynd** *myned* 'go'. *Pres.* aav, ai; əi; əiþ, əif; aun; eux; aan. *Imperf.* aun, eun, əyþun(?); aat; aay; əyþan, aan(?); əyþax, əyþan. *Pret.* əis, ees; əist, eest; aap; əyþon, əyson; əyþox; əyþon. *Imper.* doos!; eux!, kerux!

**duad**, dood *dyfod* 'come'. *Pres.* doov, doi; doi; dau; doun; doux, doon. *Imperf.* doun, doyþun(?); doot; dooy; doyþan, doon; doyþax, doox; doyþan. *Pret.* dois, doos; doist, dəyþost; doop; dəyþon; dəyþox; dəyþon. *Imper.* tyd!; doux!

I am doubtful about the (əy)s and (oi)s.

**gnəyd** *gwneud, gwneuthur* 'do'. *Pres.* gnaav, gnai; gnai; gnəiþ; gnaun; gneux; gnaan. *Imperf.* gnaun, gnəyþun; gnaat, gnəyþat; gnaay, gnaa, gnəyþa; gnəyþan; gnəyþax, gnəyþan. *Pret.* gnəis; gnəist; gnaap; gnəyþon, gnəyson, &c.; gnəyþox; gnəyþon. *2nd fut.* gneloi, &c. *Imper.* gnaal; gneux! *Pass. pres.* gnəir. *Pret.* gnaayd, gnaud.

**gubod** *gwybod* 'know'. *Pres.* gun; guðost, (g)ust; guuyr; guðon, guðox, guðon. *Imperf.* gwyðun, guðun, &c.; gwyðat; gwyða; gwyðan, gwyðax, gwyðan. *Imper.* gwybyð!; gwy-bäðux!

**kaayl**, kaal *cael* 'get'. *Pres.* kaav, kaai; kəi; kəiþ; kaun, keux, kaan. *Imperf.* kaun; kəyþat; kaay; kəyþan, kəyþax; kəyþat. *Pret.* kevis, kees; keest; kavod, kaað, kaap; kəyþon, cəyson, &c.; kəyþox, kəyþon. *Pass. pres.* kəir. *Pret.* kaud.

I have found it quite impossible to determine the imperfects of these verbs with certainty.

#### Pronominal Prepositions.

**ar** 'on'. arna(i), nai; arnat(i); arno(vo); arni(hi); arnoni; arnax(i), arnox(i); arnynhu.

So also atai 'to me', änai 'in me', urthai 'to me', tṛostai 'across me', tṛuyðai 'through me'.

**gan** 'with'. gini; ginti; gänovo, ginovo: gänoni; gänoxi; gänynhu.

**i** 'to'. -i mii, -i vii; -i tii; iðovo: -i nii; -i xii; iðynhu.  
**rhuq** 'between'. rhuqvi; rhäqðoti; rhäqðovo: rhäqðoni;  
 rhäqðoxi; rhuqxi; rhäqðynhu.

**heb** 'without'. hebðai; hebðoti; hebðovo: hebðoni;  
 hebðoxi; hebðynhu, hebnhu.

The fuller forms are the most frequent.

### TEXTS.

The following texts have been very carefully chosen from the much larger mass of material I have collected, so as, within a small compass, to give a tolerably varied stock of words, phrases, and constructions in the unsophisticated speech of everyday life in an adequate phonetic notation. I need scarcely say that every sentence here given has been written down directly from the mouths of the people, and repeatedly revised.

The transcription into literary Welsh aims merely at giving the written forms of each separate word, the constructions of the spoken language being left unaltered. Words dropped in speech are added in (). Words taken directly from English are in italics. The mutated letters *g*, *d*, *b* are marked by italics, to distinguish them from the radical *g*, *d*, *b*; italic *f* denotes the mutation of *m*, the mutation of *b* being left unmarked; the dropping of *g* in the voice-mutation is marked by (').

In order to make the translation as useful as possible, and to give beginners and outsiders an insight into the mysteries of Welsh syntax and morphology, I have made it a word-for-word one, as far as possible. The result is, of course, not elegant, but it is, I hope, intelligible.

### Colloquial Sentences.

These are grouped roughly in paragraphs according to the ideas they express—existence, quality, quantity, &c.

1. :beedir matar'arnoxi? :beesyywedi diguð? dim byyd 'rhävað'. :osdi guðiþrubaf, sgwenux, :gaaylimigaał gubod. :bee syyna?: -ooniin meðul boodiin (*or* moodiin) kļauadryu duru. -dooðna ðim byyd -ond gwyntäu xuþyr kooyd.

2. welsoxi 'ðyynän pajjo forma? syt 'ðyynoyðaxiin veðul? debigiıbee maahi? syt 'wynabsy gänihi? -dädio ðimän edrax(än) debigi berson neebre gefur. maa-i waał towedi-mynd rait wyn; -onddoos dim byyd 'arał -wedi newid änovota. ryyn stefonädi honag'oyðanin kuxuno'honi bora? -fasuni ðimän näydo, :os'basun iianx leexi. xwadal dyyn aku -mir'ooðoon gefyl nobl. welisi rotfun beepri ooyd :velmaa peþawedi newid, xwadal'royðanhu ramsaraayþ hoiþjo. :dädio ðimän vaxgan křyy, -kä sidro-i vainto.

3. vaintädaxiin godiän rusnosamä ðuuy ruumma? kämux hanar qhakani! doosgini ðim xwanago dee. :maagini ðigoni niioon day. -duywedi byta gormodo ginjo; :duuy'am gäsgy-dipin baax. muyan byyd 'gwela-i-o, ļian byydduyn 'likjovo. -maan kiig fresniwedi darvodi giid; doos gänoni ðimond biif haaltän tyy. oyðaxiin 'lyyb ðooy? dim gwerþ.

1. What thing is the matter on you? What thing is after happening (=has happened)? Nothing in the world strange (=remarkable). If happens anything, write-you, to get (=in order that) to me getting knowing. What thing is there?: was I thinking being I hearing some noise. Not was there anything in the world but wind shaking the trees.

2. Saw you man passing road here (=this r.)? What kind man were you thinking him? Like to what is she? What face is with her (=has she)? Not is he anything looking like to parson or preacher. Is his hair after going quite white; but not is-there anything other after changing in-him however. The one (=same) (railway-)station is this as were we starting from-her (this) morning? Not would-be I anything doing it, if were I in your place of-you. After story man there

1. (pa) *beth ydyw y matter arnoch chwi?* *beth sydd wedi dygwydd?* *dim (yn y) byd rhyfedd.* *os dygwydd ryw beth, ysgrifewch, (i) gael i mi gael gwybod.* *beth sydd yna?:* *oeddwn i yn meddwl bod i yn clywed ryw dwrw.* *nid oedd yna ddim byd ond gwynt yn chwythu yr coed.*

2. (a) *welasoch chwi ddyn yn pasio fford yma?* (pa) *sut ddyn oeddech chwi yn ei feddwl?* *debyg i beth mae hi?* *sut wyneb sydd ganddi hi?* *nid ydyw ef ddim yn edrych (yn) debyg i berson neu bregethwr.* (y) *mae ei wallt ef wedi myned yn right wyn; ond nid oes dim byd arall wedi newid ynddo ef ynte.* *yr un station ydyw hon ag oeddym ni yn cychwyn o honddi boreu?* (ni) *fuaswn i ddim yn (ei) wneyd ef, os buaswn i yn eich lle chwi.* (yn ol) *chwedl dyn acw mi yr oedd ef yn geffyl noble.* (ni) *welais i erioed fashion beth erioed fel mae pethau wedi newid, chwedl yr oeddynt hwy yr amser aeth heibio.* *nid ydyw ef ddim yn fachgen cryf, cysidro ei faint ef.*

3. (pa) *faint ydych chwi yn codi yn yr wythnos am y ddwy room yma?* *cymrwch haner (fy) nghacen i!* *nid oes genyf ddim ychwaneg o de.* (y) *mae genyf ddigon i ni o ein dau.* *yr ydwyf wedi bwyta gormod o giniaw; (yr) ydwyf am gysgu dipyn bach.* *mwyaf yn (y) byd gwelaf fi ef, lleiaf yn (y) byd ydwyf yn ei licio ef.* *mae ein cig ffres wedi darfod i gyd; nid oes genym ni ddim ond beef hallt yn (y) ty.* *oeddych chwi yn wlyb ddoe? dim gwerth.*

(=according to that m.) was he horse fine. Not saw I ever fashion thing ever (=saw the like) as are things after changing, story (=compared with) were they the time went past (=formerly). Not is he boy strong, considering his size of-him.

3. What quantity are you raising (=what do you charge) in the week for the two room here? Take-you half my cake of-me! Not is-there with-me anything more of tea. Is with-me enough for us of our two (=for us two). I am after eating too-much of dinner; am-I for sleeping piece little. Most in (the) world (=the more) see I him, least in (the) world am I liking him. Is our meat fresh after finishing together (=all); not is-there with us anything but beef salt in (the) house. Were you wet yesterday (=did you get w.)? Nothing worth (mentioning).

4. -maan bravjaxi·vŷndi sgotäänä noos·hevokum pəininag -ar beni hyyn. -may ļauarobä sgotursän (*or* sgotwyrän) likjo bood urthyni hynan. :rhyu huuyli nigol jaunädir sgotama. waayp·gini·hevo häny; :rəit hauðginigaayl ru·yni ðuadhevomi, os·bäðaiän dewis'.

5. -byyðöänpre geþy boobän aildyy(ð) syyl. tꞤoo puuy :ädihi ruan? -ä kánta·iir felin geiþ faly. -ar xoolxi, sgweluxän ða!

6. pryðdneuxi sgweny? -kyn gántadak medrai. :väðai noolgidar noos. -bäðunwedi gorfän bytan kinjo :erbyn :bäðuxwedi·duad nool. vainto amsar gämiþi mii ðäsgykäm raayg? -ruuyn disgulä bäðaiän ļyndän ramsarma dränyð. xeesi ðim kiminto wookers deeq mlänäð. -ädi sgidja·iwedi trufjo? :väðanhu ðimän barodam usnos·äto. gläu·isiir babiän krio. pryð? djest ruan. -mayo·wedi stopjo·ruan. gwaiþ saul d(j)urnodsy gänoxi äto? tꞤidja. rhaidi·nii fynd äno rhag blaayn. -ä kubulvyomiän arosä qhämryooð pedwar miis. beedir amsar? -maayn ðeyðagoor gloox. -duuy ðimän meðulibood ätoän hanar aurwedi xweex. -maayn xwartari uuyþ. -dooni ðimän meðulibood moor gänar. -rädaxi ðuuy aur rhyu huuyr. -kämäi deemeun tꞤrii

4. Is better to go to fish in the night with company than on his head of himself (=by oneself). Is many of fishers liking being with themselves (=alone). Some amusement solitary very is the fishing here (=this fishing). Not worse with-me with that (=I do not mind that); very easy with-me getting someone to come with me, if shall-be I choosing.

5. Is he preaching every second Sunday. Turn who (=of whom) is she (=it) now? The first to the mill gets grinding. On your track of-you, if see-you well (=after you please)!

6. What time make-you writing (will you write)? As soon as can I. Shall-be I back with the night. We-shall-be after finishing eating our dinner against you-shall-be after coming back. What quantity of time will-take to me learning



4. mae yn *brafiach* i fyned i bysgota yn y nos hefo *cwnpeini* nag ar (ei) ben ei hun. mae llawer o bysgotwyr yn *licio* bod wrthynt eu hunain. rhyw hwyl unigol iawn ydyw yr pysgota yma. (ni) waeth genyf hefo hyny; *right* hawdd genyf *gael* rywun i ddyfod hefo mi, os byddaf fi yn dewis.

5. bydd ef yn pregethu bob yn ail dydd sul. tro pwyl ydyw hi ynawr? y cyntaf i'r *felin* gaiff *fal*u. ar eich ol chwi, os gwelwch yn dda!

6. pa *bryd* wnewch chwi ysgrifenu? cyn *gynted* ag medraf fi. fyddaf fi yn ol gyda 'r nos. byddwn wedi gorphen bwyta ein ciniaw erbyn byddwch wedi dyfod yn ol. (pa) *faint* o amser *gymer* i mi ddysgu Cymraeg? yr wyf yn dysgwyl y byddaf fi yn Llundain yr amser yma *dre*nydd. (ni) *chefais* i ddim *gymaint* o *walk* er ys deng mlynedd. ydyw esgidiau i wedi trwsio? (ni) fyddant hwy ddim yn barod am wythnos eto. *glywais* i yr *baby* yn *crio*. pa *bryd*? *just* ynawr. mae ef wedi *stopio* ynawr. gwaith sawl diwrnod sydd genych chwi eto? *tridiau*. rhaid i ni *fyned* yno rhag blaen. y cwbl fum i yn aros yn Nghymry oedd pedwar mis. beth ydyw yr amser? mae yn ddeuddeg o'r *gloch*. nid ydwyf ddim yn meddwl ei bod eto yn haner awr wedi chwech. mae yn chwarter i wyth. nid oeddwn i ddim yn meddwl ei bod mor *gynar*. yr ydych chwi ddwy awr rhy hwyr. cymeraf fi de mewn tri chwarter awr. mae fy *watch*

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Welsh? I am expecting shall-be I in London the time here the-day-after-tomorrow. Not got I anything so-much of walk since ten year (=I have not had such a long walk for ten years). Is shoes mine after mending? Not will-be they at-all ready for week yet. Heard I the baby crying. What time? Just now. Is he after stopping now. Work how many day is with you yet? Three-days. Need to us going there at once. The whole was I staying in Wales was four month. What thing is the time? Is twelve of the clock. Not am-I anything thinking her being yet half hour after six. Is quarter to eight. Not was I anything thinking her being so early. Are you two hour too late. Take-will I tea in three quarter hour. Is my watch of-me after stopping: finished I forgetting (=I forgot) winding her. Is the clock

xwartar aur. -maa watsiwedi stopjo; :ðaryfi aq hovjo windjohi. -maar kłok dipinän sloo. paa ðyyðoor miisädihi? rail:aar bämpagädihi. prydrädaxiin disgulnhu? :meun usnos neebä þevnos van belä. keruxinara deeg; -väðaiän juurox dalxiän vyan.

7. ädiowedi setlio boodnii-i-vynd äno? ädi, -kyn belä-dagma'nelo viiaar peeþ. -väðai byþän bryjjo'ryu lauar, os galai 'helpy häny.

8. lee maay-o? rulatyasiir ðinbax, -duuyn meðul; -i vano raapobeþ bänag, :arool gadal'beeð gelart. puu barto gämryrädaxiin duad? -oo'siir gnarvon. blee äno? -o beeð gelart. äno geyþoxiix geni? ia. neuxi adal dʒon ðuad hevoni? naanai. pam? -nai eifjovo vyndi negasi'miigidar noos. for auni gänta-i port madog? aunihydä for. gerðis boob kamilan beris, -ond gees qharjo hanar forurþ ðuad(ä) nool. pæidjuxa xer(ð)ad moor farp; vedrai moox 'kanlynxi. plee belavyoxiini ðanvono? dat räsgol. euxaar lestri teeoð ar bur; -maanhuar fori. -maana'vrus dilädän loft; douxagoo-i laur. kolisä t'reen nau. rhouxä kävruyarä kefyl! -au ena krävjonädi rhöin. rhouxä kefylänä drol! -maar kuuxän golun duur; wełini spädyo. -maar rhuuvaän drämjon jaun.

piece (rather) slow. What day of the month is she? The second on fifteen (=17th) is she. What time are you expecting them? In week or fortnight place furthest. Walk you slow fine (=slowly); shall-be I sure of your catching of-you soon.

7. Is after settling being us to go there? Is, as far as do I with the thing. Am I never hurrying some much, if can I help that.

8. In what place is he? Some-place towards Shire Denbigh, am I thinking; to place there went he anyhow, after leaving Beddgelert. What part of Wales are you coming? From Shire Carnarvon. From what place there? From Beddgelert. There got you your being-born? Yes. Make

i wedi *stopio*; ddarfu fi anghofio *windio* hi. mae yr *clock* dipin yn *slow*. pa ddydd o'r mis ydyw hi? yr ail-ar-bymtheg ydi hi. pa bryd yr ydych chwi yn eu dysgwyl hwy? mewn wythnos neu bythefnos fan bellaf. cerddwch chwi yn araf *deg*; fyddaf fi yn *sure* o eich dal chwi yn fuan.

7. ydyw ef wedi *setlo* bod ni i *fyned* yno? ydyw, cyn belled ag mae (a) wnelwyf fi a'r peth. fyddaf fi byth yn brysio ryw lawer, os gallaf fi *helpu* hyny.

8. yn mha le mae ef? rywle tua *sir* Ddinbych, ydwyf yn meddwl; i fan yno yr aeth ef *bethbynag*, ar ol gadael Beddgelert. pwy *bart* o *Gymry* yr ydych chwi yn dyfod? o *sir* Gaernarfon. (o)ba le yno? o Beddgelert. (ai) yno gawsoch chwi eich geni? ië. wnewch chwi 'adael (i) *John* ddyfod hefo mi? na wnaaf fi. paham? arnaf fi eisieu efe *fyned* i neges i mi gyda'r nos. (pa) ffordd awn ni gyntaf i *Port Madoc*? awn ni hyd y ffordd. *gerddais bob cam* i Lanberis, ond *gefais* (fy) *nghario* haner ffordd wrth ddyfod yn ol. peidiwch a cherdded mor *sharp*; *fedraf* fi mo eich canlyn chwi. pa le bellaf fuoch chwi yn ei ddanfod ef? hyd at yr ysgol. ewch a'r llestri *te* oddiar y bwrdd; maent hwy ar (fy) ffordd i. mae yna *frws* dillad yn (y) *Uoft*; dowch ag ef ilawr. collais y *train* naw. rhoddwch y cyfrwy ar y ceffyl! awenau cryfion ydyw (y) rhai hyn. rhoddwch y ceffyl yn y *drol*! mae yr cwch yn gollwng dwfr; (y mae yn) well i ni yspydu ef. mae yr rhwyfau yn *drymion* iawn.

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(=will) you let to John come with me? Not make I. What cause? On me want him going to errand for me with the night (=to-n.). What road go we first (=which is the direct way) to Port Madoc? Go-we along the road. I-walked every step to Llanberis, but got my carrying half road at coming back. Abstain with walking so vigorously; can I not you follow you. What place furthest were you conveying (=accompanying) him? Until the school. Go with (=take) the vessels tea from on the table: are they on my road. Is there brush clothes in the loft (=upstairs): come with him to-floor (bring it down). I-lost the train nine. Put the saddle on the horse! Reins strong are the some these. Put the horse in the cart! Is the boat letting water: is better to us baling him. Is the oars heavy very.

9. -wedi blinoar qlinja'vel hyn; weł'gini'gaayl sevył'dipin baax. istuxi laur nagosiir taan! -neuxi gäraðä murþulna -syyarä silf urþax penxi?

10. kłoiuxä druus -a rhouxä gorjadänx pokad! lapjuxä ðay bapyr newyð ma-äni gilyð, -a dorux stamp dima arnovo. -maa yynomä täma-iwedi koli; -nai eiþjo kaayli nwiovo. wełixi roix top koot am danox. -mior veðai aar sofa heb dänny niład.

11. -väðai byþän molxi'meun duur pooyþ. -miðary inia ritfard läxy datn křuuyn. :doro přenaar taan, os eiþän isal. -maar taan desta difod; raidimi roi peþa arnovo, kyn iðovo nøyd. -väðuxin smokjo? ooys gänoxi vatfys? doos gini ðimond yyn matfan. neiþhi ðim gola; -maayhiwedi tampio.

12. rhävað jaunädihi -bood glasän kodi, -aar täuyð heb wełä dim. -nai ovnä buriþhi. -maayn braav. -maar haylän duad alan. doux aku vory-i gaaylku panad; douxsyt bänag byyðhi, glwau nee himða. -mivasunän likjo-i xiivood ämäänä gëya, :gaalixigaał golugaar rheenvä näðoðämaän wynjongan eira, -a rheeu kalad drosä ļana.

13. -rädu iiwedi kaayl ranud. beedir'peep gora at vanoð? rinig beepneiþ mendjo-i -ädi newid raayr. -maax taadän

9. I am after tiring on my knees like this; better with me (=I would rather) getting standing piece little. Sit down near to the fire! Make (will) you reach the hammer there is on the shelf at your head?

10. Lock the door, and put the key in your pocket! Wrap the two paper news here in themselves, and put stamp halfpenny on him. Is one of my buttons after losing (=has been lost); on-me want getting his sewing. Better to you put your topcoat around you. Will-lie I on the sofa without pulling (=taking off) my clothes.

11. Am I never washing in water hot. Finished to me and Richard getting-wet (=we got wet) until our skins. Put wood on the fire, if goes low. Is the fire just with going-out; need to me putting things on him, before to him doing.

9. (yr ydwyf) wedi blino ar (fy) ngliniau fel hyn; well genyf gael sefyll dipin bach. eisteddwch ilawr yn agos i'r tan! wnewch chwi gyrrhaedd y morthwyl yna sydd ar y *silff* wrth eich pen chwi?

10. cloiwch y drws, a rhoddwch yr agoriad yn eich *pocket*! lapiwch y ddau *bapur* newydd yma yn eu gilydd, a dorwch *ystamp* dimai arno ef. y mae un o *mztymaru* i wedi colli; arnaf fi eisieu cael ei wnio ef. well i chwi roddi eich *topcoat* am danoch. mi 'orweddaf fi ar y *sofa* heb *dynu* nillad.

11. fyddaf fi byth yn ymolchi mewn dwfr poeth. mi ddarfuo (i) mi a *Richard* wlychu hyd at ein crwyn. dyro bren ar y tan, os eiff yn isel. mae yr tan *just* a diffodd; raid i mi roddi pethau arno ef, cyn iddo ef wneyd. fyddwch chwi yn *smocio*? oes genych chwi *fatches*? nid oes genyf ddim ond un *matchen*. (ni) wnaiff hi ddim goleuo; mae hi wedi *tampio*.

12. rhyfedd iawn ydyw hi, bod (y) *glass* yn codi, a'r tywydd heb wella dim. arnaf fi ofn y hwrw hi. mae yn *braf*. mae yr haul yn dyfod allan. dowch acw yfory i gael *cuppanaid*; dowch sut *bynag* bydd hi, gwlaw neu hindda. mi fuaswn *licio* i chwi fod yma yn y gauaf, (i) gael i chwi gael golwg ar yr hen *fynyddoedd* yma yn wynion gan eira, a rhew caled dros y llynau.

13. yr ydwyf wedi cael yr anwyd. beth ydyw yr peth goreu at ddannodd? yr unig beth wna *mendio* i ydyw newid

Are you smoking (=do you s.)? Are-there with you matches? Not is-there with-me anything but one match. Not makes she anything lighting (=it will not light); is she after damping.

12. Strange very is she (=it), being the glass rising, and the weather without improving anything. On me fear will-rain she. It-is fine. Is the sun coming out. Come here to-morrow to get cupful (=cup of tea); come what quality ever is she, rain or weather-fine. I-would-be liking to you being here in the winter, to get to you get looking on the old mountains here white with snow, and frost hard over the lakes.

13. I am after getting the cold (=I have caught c.). What thing is thing best to toothache? The only thing

edraxän ðaa jaun. -maayoän myndän waayþ waayþ. ooyß arnoxï eïfjo käsgy? dooysarnai ðim eïfjo buuyd. bee gauni-i ginjo heiðju? neuxi deri dipino vara menyini mii, sgweluxän ðaa. neuxi ðim arosigaaylku panado deehevomi? -mi gläuis opla gwair tþuur fenast. welisi monoxiänä kapal heiðju. -mi ðarymi viifjo fendjoxi nynla. xläuisi monihän duadi meun.

14. vel daryxi näxryni! -maayoän rhävað jaun eïfjo gweld beesyyn parsal. gwelgänovo xiina neeb aral. þryyn -ädaxiin likjo era, viiänta mraud? -ädioän fondo vägyn? ädi; maayoän goblin am smokjo. -maayn edraxvel tasa-i am vuru. ðruug jaungini gläuad. -dädynhu byþän kwarvod heb fryo. byti garuoöði ouan golir samon, -panooðowedi-vaxyo.

15. os-basuniin gubod þryydroyðaxiin duad, -basunän edrax-am danoxi panooð gooytsän þafjo. duni ðim þryynädi watsiän jaunai þeidjo. vedridi novjo? ðimän ðaajaun. vedri dii novjo? :oo medra. ruanduyän kovjo meediwedi weldo.

16. pamna tebux :panvvyð ru-ynän faradurþaxi? -mi gläuisäx mamän døydi-voedoän saal. welisi rotþun beþri

will-make mending me is changing the air. Is your father looking well very. Is he going worse worse (=getting w. and w.). Is-there on you want sleeping? Not is-there on me anything want food. What thing shall-get we to dinner to-day? Make (=will) you cut piece of bread butter to me, if see-you well (=if you please). Make you not stay to get cupful of tea with me? Heard-I (=perceived)smell haythrough the window. Saw I nothing of you in the chapel to-day. Finished to me missing finding you in one place (=I could not find you anywhere). Heard I nothing of her coming within.

14. How finished you frightening me (=h. y. did startle me)! Is he wondrously very want seeing what is in the parcel. Better with him (=he likes better) you than any one other. Which the one are you liking best, me or my brother? Is

yr *air*. mae eich tad yn edrych yn dda iawn. mae ef yn myned yn waeth waeth. ocs arnoch chwi eisieu cysgu? nid oes arnaf fi ddim eisieu bwyd. beth gawn ni i giniaw heddyw? wnewch chwi *dori dipyn* o fara ymenyn i mi, os gwelwch yn dda. wnewch chwi ddim aros i *gael cupanaid* o de hefo mi? mi glywais arogl gwair trwy'r ffenestr. (ni) welais i mo honoch chwi yn y capel heddyw. mi ddarfu(i) mi *fisio ffendio* chwi yn unlle. (ni) chlywais i mo honi hi yn dyfod imewn.

14. fel darfu chwi *nychryn* i! mae ef yn rhyfedd iawn eisieu gweled beth sydd yn (y) *parcel*. gwell ganddo ef chwi na neb arall. pa yr un ydych chwi yn *licio* 'oreu, myfi ynte *mrawd*? ydyw ef yn *fond* o *fygyn*? ydyw; mae ef yn *goblin* am *smocio*. mae yn edrych fel pe buasai hi am fwrw. (y mae yn) ddrwg iawn genyf glywed. nid ydynt hwy byth yn cyfarfod heb *ffraeo*. *bity* garw oedd i Owain *golli* yr *salmon*, pan oedd ef wedi ei fachu ef.

15. os buaswn i yn gwybod pa *bryd* yr oeddych chwi yn dyfod, buaswn yn edrych am danoch chwi pan oedd (y) *goach* yn *pasio*. nid wn i ddim pa yr un ydyw fy *watch* yn iawn ai peidio. *fedri* di nofio? ddim yn dda iawn. *fedri* di nofio? o, medraf. ynawr ydwyf yn cofio *mod* i wedi ei weled ef.

16. pahan na atebwch pan fydd rywun yn siarad wrthyh chwi? mi glywais eich mam yn dyweyd ei fod ef yn sal.

he fond of smoke? He-is; is he goblin about smoking. Is looking as if were she about raining. Is bad very with me hearing (=I am sorry to hear it). Not are they ever meeting without quarrelling. Pity rough was to Owen losing the salmon, when was he after his hooking of-him!

15. If were I knowing what time were you coming, I-had-been looking about you when was the coach passing. Not know I anything what the one is my watch right or abstaining (=whether my w. is r. or not). Canst thou swim? Not well very. Canst thou swim? O, I-can. Now I-am remembering my being after his seeing (=that I have seen him).

16. Why not you-answer when is someone speaking to you? I heard your mother saying his being ill. Not saw I

ooyd, -velmaay paubwedimyndi bilsjo-igilyð. dānaādi gwaip  
rhei, -ādi taulryru sneipsat hunar ļaļ, -a xarjo strøyono  
naiļ dyi iir ļaļ. -maay hynaān ðigono vrekwastgānyñhu.  
-mi glāu-isdā hanasdiānā fair, -velā meðwisti, -a ļauaro  
beļa druug. -neuxi ðeydurpa-i, -osbāðaiān meþy'urþ ļarad!  
peidjuxa ļarad moor vyan: daļai moox daaltxi. :oos  
gānoxilā þāra-i vyndiir poost? ooys; :dāma ñhu.

17. :raidini weiþjoān galad, :traa byyðhiān dāuyð braav.  
kļetan byyd weiþjuni ruan, kāntan byydvyyðhi drosoð.  
-vasan'beeþ daa, -peebara paubān edrax arooli vysnasi  
hynan, -a feidjo medljo'hevo bysnas pobol eriļ. ulux vel'maa  
naku myndiir avon droosi sgidja! yyn 'keþinādio. waayþ  
deydrþ garaga þulānihi muuyna deydrþovo am beidjo.  
maar hogynnaān gāndyn jauno neyd beemaa-i vamoān  
geifjogānovo. neiþ rubaþii bobol eriļmeu mynyd. rhesum  
'daa pam. xeiþo ðim keinjogginu vam; -ak vaļa keiþo  
geinjoggin rhēiny -nee glapo ſugur gwyn; -ak velmaay  
paubān gubod, -maay þlantān fond jawno ſugur.

18. brānis baaro sgidja-iir enaþ aku. :beeooði briiso?  
dveifjux. xwee suļt. am xwee xēinjogān yux keesi-o;  
-royðanhuān govyn saiþ suļt am danovo. vaintādir menig(ā)-

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ever fashion what ever, how is everyone after going to-give-  
pills-to (=chaff) each other. There is occupation some (=of  
some people), is throwing some cuts at this-one and the other,  
and carrying stories from one house to the other. Is that  
enough of breakfast with (=for) them. I heard thy history in  
the fair, how gottest-drunk thou, and many of things bad.  
Make you tell to me, if shall-be I failing (make mistakes) at  
speaking! Abstain with speaking so quick: not can I any-  
thing you understand. Is-there with you letters to go to the  
post? There is; here they.

17. Need to us working hard, whilst will-be she weather fine.  
Hardest in world (=the harder) work we now, soonest in world  
will-be she over. Would-be thing good, if would-be every-  
one looking after his business of-himself, and abstain meddl-



(ni) welais i erioed *fashion* beth erioed, fel mae pawb wedi myned i *bilsio* eu gilydd. dyna ydyw gwaith rhai, ydyw tafu ryw *snipes* at hwn a'r llall, a *chario streuon* o naill dy i'r llall. mae hyny yn ddigon o *freakfast* ganddynt hwy. mi glywais dy hanes di yn y *ffair*, fel y meddwaist ti, a llawer o bethau drwg. wnewch chwi ddyweyd wrthyf fi, os byddaf fi yn methu wrth siarad! peidiwch a siarad mor fuan: nid allaf fi mo eich deall chwi. oes genych chwi lythyrau i fyned i'r *post*? oes; dyna hwy.

17. raid i ni weithio yn galed, tra bydd hi yn *dywydd braf*. caletaf yn byd weithiwn ni ynawr, cyntaf yn byd fydd hi *drosodd*. fuasai yn beth da, pe buasai pawb yn edrych ar ol i *fusiness* ei hun, a pheidio *medlio* hefo *business* pobol ereill. welwch fel mae hwn acw myned i'r afon *dros* ei esgidiau! un cethin ydyw o. (ni) waeth dyweyd wrth *gareg* a thwll ynddi hi mwy na dyweyd wrtho ef am *beidio*. mae yr hogyn yna yn *gyndyn* iawn o wneyd beth mae ei *fam* ef yn (ei) *geisio* ganddo ef. wna rywbeth i *bobl* ereill mewn *minute*. *rheswm* da paham. chaiff ef ddim ceiniog gan ei *fam*: ac fe allai caiff ef *geiniog* gan (y) rhai hyny neu *glap* o *sugar* gwyn; ac fel mae pawb yn gwybod, mae plant yn *fond* iawn o *sugar*.

18. *brynais bar* o esgidiau i'r 'eneth acw. beth oedd ei *bris* ef? *dyfeisiwch*. chwe swllt. am chwe cheiniog yn uwch cefais i ef; yr oeddynt hwy yn *gofyn* saith swllt am

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ing with business people other. See how is this-one there going into the river over his boots! One ugly (= a bad one) is he. Not worse saying to stone and (= with) hole in her more than saying to him about abstaining. Is the boy there obstinate very of doing what is his mother requesting with him. Will-do something to (= for) people other within minute. Reason good what-cause (= why). Gets he not penny with (= from) his mother; but it can (= perhaps) gets he penny with the some those (= them) or lump sugar white; and as is everyone knowing, is children fond very of sugar.

18. I-bought pair of boots to the girl there (= for my daughter at home). What was his price? Guess. Six shilling. For six penny higher got I him; were they asking seven shilling for him. What quantity are the gloves these costing? Three

maän kostjo? t̄rii sul̄ta duya dima. os k̄amuxi ðay ðusin, keuxnhuän laio root. dämar arjan; -ädynhuän jaun? ool r̄eit. vedruxi newid hanar sovran hevomi?; doosgini ðim arjan gwynjon hevomi ruan. naa·vedrav.

19. -os oosarnoxi eifjorubaþ, dimond deyd. -ädi ruumiän barod?; -nai eifjo myndi qwely. -nai ovnbood qwely heb neydäto.

20. :bora daa! :pnaun daa! syt rädaxi heiðju? r̄eit ·ðaa þaqkju; -äda ·xiinoo leeu heiðju? byyr ·ðaa, þankju. douxi edrax am danoni ynryu adag likjuxi. -mi ðoov. -nos daux!

### Dialogues and Descriptions.

21. :rädaniin·kaayl täu-yð ·braav ruan. ädan: täu-yð daa jaun, ondboodhiwedimyndä mhelaar vluyðyn kyni gaaylo: -dädir h̄anasyyn v̄yu ðimwedi gweld täuyð debig. -byyð kooydma-än buru-i dail ninjon deeg: -maa·ryu xädigo ðailä kooyd bedu·wedi särþjo-än barod.

22. pryydädaxi am ðexrahevor gwair leni? wel ðexrun mhenryu usnos äto. -maar kn̄eyaän gorvodboodän ·bej leni, axosdooð gwair ðimän tävy tanänði weðar. -maahiin tävyän jaun ruan. -maanhuwedi dexra arnovo ers ty-apä þevnosi laurna, -ond xädig jaunmaanhuwedigaayli meun

shilling and two (*fem.*) and halfpenny. If take you two dozen, you-will-get them less of fourpence. Here the silver (= money); are they right? All right. Can you change half sovereign with me? not is there with me anything money white (= silver) with me now. Not I-can.

19. If there-is on you want anything, nothing but saying (= only say so). Is my room of-me ready? on me want going to my bed. On me fear being my bed without making yet.

20. Morning good! Evening good! What quality are you to-day? Right well, thank you; are you rather lively to-day? Tolerably well, thank you. Come to see about us any time like you. I-will-come. Night good to you!

dano ef. faint ydyw yr menyg yma yn *costio*? tri swllt a dwy a dimai. os cymerwch chwi ddau *ddozen*, cewch hwy yn llai o 'rot. dyma 'r arian; ydynt hwy yn iawn? *all right*. fedrwech chwi newid haner *sovereign* hefo mi? nid oes genyf ddim arian gwynion hefo mi ynawr. na fedraf.

19. os oes arnoch chwi eisieu rywbeth, dim ond dyweyd. ydyw *room* i yn barod?; arnaf fi eisieu myned i (fy) ngwely. arnaf fi ofn bod ngwely heb wneyd eto.

20. boreu da! prydawn da! (pa) sut yr ydych chwi heddyw? *right* dda, *thank you*; ydych chwi yn 'o 'lew heddyw? *bur* dda, *thank you*. dowch i edrych am danom ni unryw adeg *liciwch* chwi. mi ddof. nos da i chwi!

21. yr ydym ni yn cael tywydd *braf* ynawr. ydym: tywydd da iawn, ond bod hi wedi myned yn mhell ar y flwyddyn cyn ei gael ef: nid ydyw yr hynaf sydd yn fyw ddim wedi gweled tywydd *debig*. bydd (y) coed yma yn bwrw eu dail yn union *deg*: (y) mae ryw ychydig o ddail y coed bedw wedi syrthio yn barod.

22. pa bryd ydych chwi am ddechreu hefo 'r gwair eleni? *well*, ddechreuwn yn mhen ryw wythnos eto. (y) mae y cynauaf yn gorfod bod yn bell eleni, achos nid oedd y gwair ddim yn tyfu tan yn ddiweddar. mae hi yn tyfu yn iawn ynawr. (y) maent hwy wedi dechreu arno ef er ys tua

21. Are we getting weather fine now. We-are: weather fine very, except being her after going far on the year before his getting (= except that we are late in getting it): not is the oldest is alive anything after seeing weather similar. Will-be the trees here casting their leaves at once: is some few of leaves the trees birch after falling already.

22. What time are you about beginning with the hay this-year? Well, we-shall-begin in head some week yet (=in about a w.). Is the harvest being-obliged to-be far (=late) this-year, cause not was the hay anything growing well until lately. Is she growing well now. Are they after beginning on him since towards (=about) fortnight down there, but little

äto. -duyän meðulma huna hunädir muya ar oolhevor gwairi vänyma. sänuni ronyn: -ma farmoän vaur iaun. dämar farmwyr muy-awedi dexra aar yydän barod, -akwedi kaayl ļau-aro hunui meun. -ak os dail xädig äto, -byyð knëya-i giid drosoð am leni. ran häny doos dim rhävað -bood tempar moor ðaa arnyhu.

23. syt fair naaphi heiðju? fair ðaa jaun; mynd jaunar warþag. beeðaryxi bräny heiðju? bränis uuyþorai hesþjon, -a duuy vyux. -ädu inaän meðul amä fair nesa, -akän meðul gwerþyryu lotsyyginii, os kaa-i briisgo ðaa am danyhu. -ma honoän byr vyan äto. paa ðyyðoor miis maahi, dëydux? railar bämþag. kolsoxi naruna vasaxiwedi duadanhu heiðju. -dooð dim posib: -ooniin rhyy bräsyrhevor gwair, -a hiþa-wedi gnëyd durnod moor braav, -axin ina dipino waiþ. sytooð mooxän gwerþy heiðju? xädig jauno ovynooð arnyhu. vaintä puuysädynhu ruan ari traayd? -ryu roota färliqnee roota dima, waiþja boob syt. welis yynän kaayl groota þair färliq heiðju.

24. -maar dyyðänbä rhay naru ruan. ädi; maay-o: -maa -hiän dexra nosi tya saiþ; tok iaun beļaxmivyð noos kyydaar dyyð. -byyðän amsar ðigon an ivir; -ond welgin lauariði voodvely. -maan amsar beļax troir byxod iir

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very are they after his getting in yet. Am I thinking that this and this (=so and so) is the most behind with hay up here. Not would-be-surprised I grain (=at all): is his farm big very. Here farmers biggest after beginning on the corn already, and after getting much of him in. And if [the weather] holds little still, will-be harvest together (=all) over for this-year. Share of-that (=so) not is-there any wonder being temper so good on them.

23. What-quality fair made she to-day? Fair good very; going much on cattle. What finished to you buying to-day? I-bought eight of some dry, and two cow. Am I thinking about the fair next, and thinking selling some lot is with-me, if get I price rather good for them. Is she rather soon yet

pythefnos ilawr yna, ond ychydig iawn maent hwy wedi (ei) gael imewn eto. (yr) ydwyf fi yn meddwl mai hwn a hwn ydyw y mwyaf ar ol hefo 'r gwair ifyny yma. (ni) synwn i 'ronyn: (y) mae *fferm* ef yn *fawr* iawn. dyma *fferm*wyr mwyaf wedi dechreu ar yr yd yn *barod*, ac wedi cael llawer o hwnw imewn. ac os deil ychydig eto, bydd cynauaf igyd drosodd am eleni. ran hyny nid oes dim rhyfedd bod *temper* mor dda arnynt hwy.

23. sut *ffair* wnaeth hi heddyw? *ffair* dda iawn; myned iawn ar wartheg. (pa) beth ddarfu i chwi brynu heddyw? brynais wyth o rai hespion, a dwy fuwch. (yr) ydwyf ina yn meddwl am y *ffair* nesaf, ac yn meddwl gwerthu ryw *lot* sydd genyf, os caf fi *bris* go dda am danynt hwy. (y) mae hono yn *bur* fuan eto. pa ddydd o'r mis mae hi, dywedwch? yr ail-ar-bymtheg. collasoch chwi yn 'arw na fuasech wedi dyfod a hwy heddyw. nid oedd ddim *possible*: oeddwn i yn rhy *brysur* hefo 'r gwair, a hithau wedi gwneyd diwrnod mor *braf*, a chan innau *dipin* o waith. sut oedd moch yn gwerthu heddyw? ychydig iawn o 'ofyn oedd arnynt hwy. (pa) faint y pwys ydynt hwy ynawr ar eu traed? ryw '*roat* a *ffyrling* neu '*roat* a dimai, weithiau *bob* sut. welais un yn cael *groat* a thair *ffyrling* heddyw.

24. mae y dydd yn byrhau yn 'arw ynawr. ydyw; (y) mae ef: (y) mae hi yn dechreu nosi tua saith; toc iawn bellach mi fydd nos cyd a'r dydd. bydd yn amser ddigon annifyr; ond well gan lawer iddi fod felly. (y) mae yn

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(=now). What day of the month is she (=the fair), say-you! The second on fifteen. Lost you roughly (=greatly) that-not were-you after coming with (=bring) them to-day. Not was anything possible: was I too busy with the hay, and she after making day so fine, and with me (=I had) piece of work. What quality was pigs selling to-day? Little very of asking was on them. What the pound are they now on their feet? Some fourpence (=about f.) and farthing or fourpence and halfpenny, times each how (sometimes the one, s. the other). I-saw one getting fourpence and three farthing to-day.

24. Is the day shortening roughly now. He-is; is he: is he beginning being-night towards seven; soon very further (=now) will-be night equal with the day. Will-be time enough

adloð; -maar borvawedilä mhay, -akmaanhuän myndar xädigo laayþ.

25. ooyarnoxi ðim øifjo kii devaid? -maayma ormodo honynhu. -mi vyyð trïal kuunä qhapal kerig usnosi ðooy. -maa day-o guun oor nantmaan mynd äno. -mi gøipä gora lauaro wobr.

26. -maa bæð gelartän lee da jauni sgota, ond kaayl taklapur pasol at häny. -byyð sesnbri þiljadän dexra-o vlaayn sesn samon. panbyyð samonsän dexra duadiir avon, -byyð muuy-o sgota-äni hiinagänä läna, -abyyð sport jauni gaayl ambali ðurnod. yyn dyynän sgota yyn bora ar lanllyn dinas arooliði livo noson gynt, -ag änta äno ar dorjadä dyyð erbyn ty-a deegoor gloox bora; -rooð gänovo bedwaro samons, boob yyn ty-a þrii fuuysar ðeeg. dänar sport ora gavud leni äto ati gilyð. -maan govyn kaayl takla krävjon jauni drïo dalnhu-än yynoor läna. -dädi ðimän dräst sgota hebän gänta gaayl genwar samon, -a xan laapo lein urþä riil, -ganpan vyyð yyngo vaurwedi baxy, -maan fuuro vyndago ðøygjani bedwar ygjano lëinalanar ynwaþ heb stopjo.

27. -rädu iiwedi tori blaayn qenwar, -ond urþ luk -maa gini yyn arali roiäni leevo. weþini gämyd kjafän lee rhuyd. golis samon urþnag ooðna neeb nagos atai-i

unpleasant; but better with many to her being so. Is time now to turn the cows to the aftergrass; is the pasture after getting-sharp, and are they going on little of milk.

25. Is-there on you nothing want dog sheep (*plur.*)? Is here too many of them. Will-be trial dogs in Capel Cerig week to yesterday. Is two of dogs of the valley here going there. Will-get the best much of reward.

26. Is Beddgelert place good very to fishing, but getting (=if only you get) tackles suitable to that. Is season trouts beginning before season salmon. When is salmons beginning coming to the river, is more of fishing in her than in the lakes, and is sport good to get some to day. One man fishing one morning on shore lake Dinas after to her flooding night before, and he there on break the day towards ten (=till about)

amser bellach troi y buchod i'r adladd ; (y) mae y borfa wedi llymhau, ac (y) maent hwy yn myned ar ychydig o laeth.

25. (a) oes arnoch chwi ddim eisieu ei defaid? (y) mae yma 'ormod o honynt hwy. -mi fydd *trial* cwn yn *Nghapel Cerig* wythnos i ddoe. (y) mae dau o *gwn* o'r nant yma yn myned yno. mi *gaiff* y *goreu* lawer o wobr.

26. (y) mae *Beddgelert* yn lle da iawn i *bysgota*, ond cael *taclau purpasol* at hyny. (y) bydd *season* brithylliaid yn dechreu offlaen *season samon*. pan bydd *samons* yn dechreu dyfod i'r afon, bydd mwy o *bysgota* ynddi hi nag yn y llynau, a bydd *sport* iawn i *gael* ambell i ddiwrnod. un dyn yn *pysgota* un boreu ar 'lan llyn Dinas ar ol iddi lifo noson gynt, ac yntau yno ar *doriad* y dydd erbyn tua deg o'r gloch boreu ; yr oedd ganddo ef *bedwar* o *samons*, bob un tua thri phwys ar ddeg. dyna *sport* 'ora *gafwyd* eleni eto at ei gilydd. (y) mae yn gofyn cael *taclau* cryfion iawn i *drïo* dal hwy yn un o'r llynau. nid ydyw ddim yn *drust* *pysgota* heb yn *gyntaf* *gael* genwair *samon*, a chan llath o *line* wrth y *reel*, gan pan fydd un go *fawr* wedi bachu, (y) mae yn *sure* o *fyned* ag o *ddeugain* i *bedwar* *ugain* o *line* allan ar unwaith heb *stopio*.

27. yr ydwyf wedi tori blaen (fy) ngenwair, ond wrth *lwc* (y) mae genyf un arall i rod-di yn ei le ef. well i ni *gymeryd caff* yn lle rhwyd. *gollais samon* wrth nag oedd yna neb yn

of the clock morning ; was with him four of salmons, each one towards three pounds on ten (=thirteen pounds). There sport best was-got this-year yet to one-another (=at once). Is asking (=it is required) getting tackles strong very to try catching them in one of the lakes. Not is anything reliable fishing without first getting rod salmon, and hundred yard of line at the winch, with (=because) when is one rather big after hooking, is sure of going with from forty to four twenty (=eighty) [yards] of line out on one-time without stopping.

27. I am after breaking point my rod, but through luck is with-me one other to put in his place. Better to us taking gaff in place [landing-]net. I-lost salmon through that-not was there anyone near to me to gaff him to me. On me need get

·gjaſjovo-i mii. -nai eiſjo kaayl ·kjastin: yynga nolig, heb vood rhyy deeunee ryy vain. -maar blyan reit ſaa, ond -maar gatan·byyr wanäni bon: -maawedi sigoän barod. syt blyyädür gora? -rhai luydjontarhai koxjonsyðän taro ora. -maa ļauarwedi deydurþa-i -voodä blyan -maanhuäni aluän -gooxä vonðyän yyn ſaa jaun: syt yynädi hono? -maanhuän debigvelmaanhuänkaali galu—bleinanhuän goxjon, -ai bonanhuän ðyon.

28. peidjuxa foepidim, -neemi drauxän rhyy sädyn, nes tyr raval. -mivyyð ambal yynän neidjoatä blyan, -ond ðimäni xämydhi, -ak velybäðan namal jaun -kaayli baxyoði alan rula. -ond panbäðanhuwedi baxyoði alan, -maanhuän stouto vlau-an: -bäðanän huuyoor hanarbeep ðänag kyni kaaylnhuiir lan, -naafee·basanhuwedi baxyäni kega. pam? os byðanhuwedi baxyäni kega, -byyð raidiðynhu gadu-i kegaän gorad, -ak wedynbyyð duuränmyndi meun, -akäni boðinhuän vy-an.

29. ļeemaar enwar gänoxi?: welishi moni gänoxiers ·troo ruan. wel, naavyomi ðim ar lynän sgota-ars talum jaun: -dädir kuux, -väðuniän arvar gämyd, ðimyu gaayl ruan, -adädi ðim gwerþ heb guux ar lyn, -os naavyyðhiän wynt kryyjaun. sgotaän ravon dipyn weiþja, traa by-ohinoo launo ðuur; -ond ruandoos dim duurän hono; -a duniän byyd bee naa-i, -os naa sgota-i ·noos weiþja hevo pry.

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cast: one medium, without being too thick nor too slender. Is the feather [=fly] right good, but is the gut rather weak in her stump: she-is after bruising already. What quality feathers are the best? Some brown or some red are striking (=take) best. Is many after saying to me being the feather are they calling 'cochybondu' one good very: what quality one is she? Are they like as are they getting their calling—their points red, and their stumps black.

28. Abstain with getting-hot anything (=getting excited), or you-will-strike too sudden, until (=so that) breaks the hold. Is some one jumping at the feather, but not taking her, and so are often very getting their hooking outside somewhere. But when are they after hooking outside, are



agos ataf fi i *gaffio* ef i mi. arnaf fi eisieu cael *casting*: un ganolig, heb fod rhy *dew* neu ry *fain*. (y) mae y *bluen right* dda, ond (y) mae y *gyten bur* wan yn ei bon: (y) mae wedi sigo yn *barod*. (pa) sut *blu* ydyw y *goreu*? rhai llwydion ynte rhai *cochion* sydd yn taro 'oreu. (y) mae llawer wedi dyweyd wrthyf fi fod y *bluen maent hwy* yn ei 'alw yn *gochy-fon-ddu* yn un dda iawn: (pa) sut un ydyw hono? (y) maent hwy yn *debig fel* (y) maent hwy yn cael eu galw—(eu) *blaenau hwy* yn *gochion*, a'u bonau hwy yn dduon.

28. peidiwch a phoethi dim, neu mi darawch yn rhy *sudden*, nes tyr yr 'afael. mi fydd ambell un yn neidio at y *bluen*, ond ddim yn ei chymeryd hi, ac felly byddan yn aml iawn yn cael eu bachu oddiallan rywle. ond pan byddant hwy wedi bachu oddiallan, (y) maent hwy yn *stout* oflawan: (y) byddant yn hwy o'r haner *bethbynag* cyn eu cael hwy i'r 'lan, na phe buasant hwy wedi bachu yn eu cegau. paham? os byddant hwy wedi bachu yn eu cegau, bydd (yn) raid iddynt hwy *gadw* eu cegau yn agored, ac wedi hyny (y) bydd dwfr yn myned imewn, ac yn eu boddi hwy yn fuan.

29. (yn) mha le (y) mae yr 'enwair genych chwi?: (ni) welais hi mo honi genych chwi er ys tro ynawr. *well*, na fum i ddim ar y llyn yn pysgota er ys talm iawn: nid ydyw y cwch, fyddwn i yn arfer (ei) gymeryd, ddim i'w *gael* ynawr, a nid ydyw ddim gwerth heb *gwch* ar y llyn, os na fydd hi yn wynt cryf iawn. pysgota yn yr afon *dipyn* weithiau, tra bu hi yn 'o lawn o ddwfr; ond ynawr nid oes

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they brave exceedingly: are longer of the half anyhow (=at least) before their getting (=they are got) to the shore, than if were they after hooking in their mouths. What-cause? If are they after hooking in their mouths, is want to them keeping their mouths open, and after that is water going inside, and drowning them soon.

29. In what place is the rod with you (=your rod)?: not I-saw her anything of-her with you since turn (=for some time) now. Well, not was I anything on the lake fishing since while very (=for a long time): not is the boat, was I being-in-the-habit his taking anything to his getting (=to be got) now, and not is anything worth without boat on the lake, if not is she wind strong very. Fishing in the river

:sgota noosmaar sgotwyr äma-i giid ruan. paubänmyndi lauramä kända-i färstjo-i buļ. wedynän vano am ōuuynee dair aur heb sävlyd ryyn ber. -än sgota-ari bista waiþja, -nes·bäðanhuwedi stifjo. usnos 'ðruugädir usnosma hevyd : -maahi moor olahevor ļeyad. goran byyðpo duļaboohi, osbyyð duuran isaljaun. -byyð moor däu-yļ ambali droo, -nes·bäðanhuän glëyo knuļa urþ ōuad adra, :neemi·väðanari truyna namal jaun, -ari penameun tumpaþo ðrain droo aral, -nee drosryu glogun nee gilyð, -nee-i traaydmeunrhyu duļ. särþjoð yyn ynwaþo benryu gloguni lauri ganol puļ drosi benai glystja, -a dänäleerooðoän ·xwerþin wedyn.

### Stories.

-ä goog.

30. -rooð poboldol ðelanän valx jaunoor 'goog, -pan gläusonhuhi troo kântari ooyd, -ak ðimän likjo-iði vyndoði äno-i stinjog. -akmi neyþon glauð grwyysg aar draus bulxgär ðinanyu xaduno, -akëyþoni watsfoli. -ond hedoðä googdros dopä kļauð. -akrooð paubän gwëyði: 'dasa ·yyn rwäsganän rhagor, -vasahi ðimän mynd.' -maanhuän galu pobol·dol ðelanän 'gogjad arool häny.

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piece times (=a little sometimes), whilst was she rather full of water; but now not is-there any water in her; and not know I in the world what thing shall-do I, if not fish I night times (=sometimes) with worm. Fishing night are the fishermen here together (=all) now. All going down for the first to take-first the pool. After that in the place there for two or three hours without moving the one leg. Fishing on their seat times, till are they after stiffening. Week bad is the week here also: is she so light with moon. Best in (the) world the darkest is she, if is the water low very. Is so dark some to turn (=sometimes), until (=that) are they lighting candles at coming home, or are on their noses often very, on their heads within bush of thorns turn other

dim dwfr yn hono; a nid wn i yn (y) byd (pa) beth wnaif fi, os na pysgotaf fi nos weithiau hefo pryf. pysgota nos (y) mae y pysgotwyr yma igyd ynawr. pawb yn myned ilawr am y cyntaf i *ffirstio* ei *bwll*. wedi hyny yn (y) fan yno am ddwy neu *dair* awr heb syfyd yr un fer. yn pysgota ar eu heistedd weithiau, nes byddant hwy wedi *stiffio*. wythnos ddrwg ydyw yr wythnos yma hefyd: (y) mae hi mor 'oleu hefo lleuad. goreu yn (y) byd po *dywyllaf* byddo hi, os bydd (y) dwfr yn isel iawn. (y) bydd mor *dywyll* ambell i *dro*, nes byddant hwy yn goleuo canwyllau wrth ddyfod adref, neu mi fyddant ar eu trwynau yn aml iawn, ar eu penau mewn twmpath o ddrain *dro* arall, neu *dros* ryw *glogwyn* neu *gilydd*, neu eu traed mewn rhyw *dwll*. syrthiodd un unwaith o ben ryw *glogwyn* ilawr i *ganol pull* dros ei ben a'i glustiau, a dyna lle yr oedd ef yn chwertthin wedi hyn.

y gog.

30. yr oedd pobl Dolwyddelan yn falch iawn o'r gog, pan glywsant hwy hi tro cyntaf erioed, ac ddim yn *licio* iddi *fyned* oddiyno i Ffestiniog. ac mi wnaethant *glawdd* gwrysg ar *draws* bwleh (y) Gerddinen iw chadw yno, ac aethant i *watcho* hi. ond ehedodd y gog *dros dop* y clawdd. ac yr oedd pawb yn gwaeddi: 'pe buasai un wrysgen yn rhagor, fuasai hi ddim yn myned.' maent hwy yn galw pobl Dolwyddelan yn *gogiaid* ar ol hyny.

(=another time), or across some steep-rock or other, or their feet within some hole. Fell one once from head some steep-rock down to middle pool over his head and his ears, and there place was he laughing after this.

The cuckoo.

30. Was people Dolwyddelan glad very of the cuckoo, when heard they her turn first ever, but not liking to-her going from-there to Festiniog. And made fence branches across gap the Gerddinen to her keeping there, and went to watch her. But flew the cuckoo across top the fence. And was everyone exclaiming: 'If had-been one branch more, had-been she not going.' Are they calling people Dolwyddelan cuckoo-men after this.

-ä ðay heen laqk.

31. -rooð day heen laqkän byüan koytmor'dol ðelan, -a døyþonii gooyd'havod rhiisgi dori polyn p̄resab. -ak erbyni-ðynhu vyndagoo adra, -rooðän rhyy hiir, -a døyþonagooäni ooli gooyd'havod rhiisgi'dori darnohono. -akmaa heen ðjarab ar ool häny: '-vyyri ooydrhyy hiiro gooydond ynwaþän'dol ðelan.'

kadu kävriändol ðelan.

32. ļauaro amsarä nool, -rooð ſopurän'dol ðelan naļa sgyweny. vely', pan'väða axos kadu kävri am beþa gä'merid oor ſop heb daly am danynhu', -rooð gänovo for hoļol rweiðjoli nøydhäny', seev, :rhoi llynnä nuyða werþid meun lyfr. ynwaþrooð farmur, -a'xänovo gävri'hevovo. -ak urþ setlio -rooðä ſopurän enwir peþaooðä farmurwedi kaayl. 'kəyþox buuyso ſugur,' meðavo, gan buyntjoati llynn (-vel hyn ▷). 'doo,' meðar farmur. 'kəyþox xwartaro dee,' gan bwyntjoatä llyndra xevn (-vel hyn □). 'doo,' meðar farmur. 'kəyþox 'gosyn hevyd,' meðar ſopur, gan buyntjoatä llynn (-vel hyn ○). 'naaðo,' meðar farmur, '-rädu iin gnəyd kausvä hyyn, -ak ii bee p̄ränun ii gausgäno xii?' 'wel, -rädaxwedi gaaylo,' meðar ſopur, 'däma-i llyno ar

The two old youth (= bachelors).

31. There was two old youth living in Coetmor Dolwyddelan, and came to wood Hafod Rhisgl to cut pole cow-stall. And towards to them going with him (=taking it) home, was too long, and came with him in his track (=back) to wood Hafod Rhisgl to cut piece from him. And is old saying after that: 'not was ever too long of wood but once in Dolwyddelan.'

Keeping account in Dolwyddelan.

32. Much of time back was shopman (=shopkeeper) in Dolwyddelan not could write. So, when was cause keeping account about things were-taken from the shop without paying

## y ddau hen lanc.

31. yr oedd dau hen lanc yn byw yn Coetmor Dolwyddelan, a daethant i goed Hafod Rhisgl i dori polyn preseb. ac erbyn iddynt hwy fyned ag ef adref, yr oedd yn rhy hir, a daethant ag ef yn ei ol i goed Hafod Rhisgl i dori darn o hono. ac mae hen ddiareb ar ol hyny: '(ni) fu erioed rhy hir o goed ond unwaith yn Dolwyddelan.'

## cadw cyfrif yn Dolwyddelan.

32. llawer o amser ynol yr oedd *shopwr* yn Dolwyddelan na 'allai ysgrifenu. felly, pan fyddai achos cadw cyfrif am bethau a gymerid o'r *shop* heb dalu am danynt hwy, yr oedd ganddo ef ffordd hollol wreiddiol i wneud hyny, sef, rhoddi llun y nwyddau a werthid mewn llyfr. unwaith yr oedd *ffermwr*, a chanddo ef gyfrif hefo ef. ac wrth *setlo* yr oedd y *shopwr* yn enwi y pethau oedd y *ffermwr* wedi cael. 'cawsoch *bwys* o *siwgr*,' meddai ef, gan bwyntio at ei lun (fel hyn ▷). 'do,' meddai y *ffermwr*. 'cawsoch *chwarter* o *de*,' gan bwyntio at y llun drachefn (fel hyn □). 'do,' meddai y *ffermwr*. 'cawsoch *gosyn* hefyd,' meddai y *shopwr*, gan bwyntio at y llun (fel hyn ○). 'na ddo,' meddai y *ffermwr*, 'yr ydwyf yn gwneyd caws fy hun, ac i beth prynwn i *gaws* genych chwi?' 'well, yr ydych wedi gael ef,' meddai y *shopwr*, 'dyma ei lun ef ar lawr.' 'well,

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for them, was with him way wholly original to do that, that-is, putting picture the goods were-sold in book. One-time was farmman (=farmer), and with him account with him. And at settling was the shopman naming the things was the farmman after getting. 'You-got pound of sugar,' said he, with pointing at his picture (as this ▷). 'Yes,' said the farmman. 'You-got quarter [of a pound] of tea,' with pointing at the picture again (as this □). 'Yes,' said the farmman. 'You-got cheese also,' said the shopman, with pointing at the picture (as this ○). 'No,' said the farmman, 'I-am making cheese myself, and to what-thing were-buying I cheese with you?' 'Well, you are after getting him,' said the shopman, 'here his picture of-him on floor (=down [in

laur'. 'wel, -pryyn hänagädio ar laurai pëidjo,' meðar farmur, 'xeesi monovo, ond kees vaayn ðivo'.' 'oo,' meðar fopur, 'maayn ðivo ädi-o', ond moodiwedi aq hovjo rhoiä tuläni ganolo' (-vel hyn ☉).

-ä farmur an voðlon.

33. ar oxor mänyðhi røyþog -rooð 'farmurän byu meun täðyn bäxan; -ak er vood popeþoi gumpas neiþakä syrrys, ätobäða boob amsarän an voðlon, -nen wedighevoi 'rwaig: -väða dima naa-äni blejjo. vely, yyn durnod, panooðän :kadu suun am rubaþooðar myndä mlaaynän tyy, meða-i rwaig urþo: 'huna hun, rhusu 'xiiän tyy, -mi ai ina aþan hevor gwëifjon, -i nii'gaayl gwelda vedruxi blejjo xynan.' velykä tynudiir rwaig vynd aþanä durnod wedyn, -akiir guur arosän tyy. -ä durnod hunu -ooð eifjo 'korði. vely, rhoopä ðaayþänä vyða, -a dexoð arni. pan ar ganol korði, teimla säxad, -ame ðäljabasa draxtoor kuruooð gänovoän selarän gästal dioda dim aþa gaayl. vely, -i laura goo, -a dzugäni lau. panooðä kuru ar ganol rhedag, kläua -ryu suunän gegin, -ak ar ynwaþme ðäljoðbood rubaþ aþano lee hevor vyða. rhedoði väny, -a dänaleerooð rhuux wedi tþoir vyða, -akän ävadä ðaayþ oðyd laur. -äniwy! tinab

the book]).' 'Well, what the one ever is he on floor or abstaining (= whether it is down or not),' said the farmman, 'not got I anything of him, but I-got stone grinding.' 'Oh!' said the shopman, 'stone grinding is he, but my being of-me after forgetting putting the hole in his middle of-him' (as this ☉).

The farmman discontented.

33. On side mountain Hiraethog was farmman living in farm little; and although being everything of his compass (= around him) exceedingly comfortable, still he was all time discontented, especially with his wife: was nothing she did pleasing

pa yr un bynag ydyw ef ar lawr ai peidio,' meddai y *ffermwr*, '(ni) chefais i mo hono ef, ond cefais faen lliffo.' 'o,' meddai y *shopwr*, 'maen lliffo ydyw ef, ond (fy) mod i wedi anghofio rhoddi y twll yn ei ganol ef' (fel hyn ☉).

y *ffermwr* anfoddlawn.

33. ar ochr mynydd Hiraethog yr oedd *ffermwr* yn byw mewn tyddyn bychan; ac er fod pob peth o'i gwmpas yn eithaf cysurus, eto byddai bob amser yn anfoddlawn, yn enwedig hefo'i wraig: fyddai dim a wnai yn ei *blesio*. felly, un diwrnod, pan oedd yn cadw swm am rywbeth oedd yn mynd yn mlaen yn y ty, meddai ei wraig wrtho: 'hwn a hwn, aroschw chwi yn (y) ty, mi af fi innau allan hefo y gweision, i ni gael gweled a fedrwch chwi *blesio* eich hunan.' felly, cytunwyd i'r wraig fyned allan y diwrnod wedi hyny, ac i'r gwr aros yn (y) ty. y diwrnod hwnw oedd eisieu corddi. felly, rhoddodd y llaeth yn y fuddai, a dechreuodd arni. pan ar ganol corddi, teimlai syched, a meddyliai (y) buasai *dracht* o'r cwrw oedd ganddo ef yn y *cellar* yn gystal diod a dim 'allai gael. felly, i lawr ag ef, a *jug* yn ei law. pan oedd y cwrw ar ganol rhedeg, clywodd ryw swm yn y gegin, ac ar unwaith meddyliodd bod rywbeth allan o le hefo y fuddai. rheddodd i fyny, a dyna lle yr oedd yr hwch wedi troi y fuddai, ac yn yfed y llaeth oddihyd lawr. yn ei

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him. So, one day, when he-was holding noise about something was going ahead (=on) in the house, said his wife to-him: 'This and this (=so and so), stay you in the house, I-will-go I out with the servants, to us getting seeing can you please yourself.' So, was-agreed to the wife going out the day after that, and to the husband staying in the house. The day that (=that day) was want churning. So, he-put the milk in the churn, and began on-her. When on middle churning, he-felt dryness, and thought would-be draught of the beer was with him in the cellar as-good drink as anything he-could get. So, to floor (=down) with him, and jug in his hand. When was the beer on middle running, he-heard some noise in the kitchen, and on one-time (=at once)

kipjoðä vuyala þrauoð rhuuxäni fen nesooðän varu. :ar hyn', kovjoðvoodä kuruän rhedagi lauränä selar. -i laura goo, -ak erbyn häny -rooðä kuruwedi rhedag boob troyyn hyd laurä selar.

34. arool häny -aafi väny iir gegin, -a gwela-ibood destän amsariir gwëifjon·ðuadi ginjo, -akänta heb ðexrapar toi kinjo. vely-me ðäljoðmaakra xanado yyudvasa muya huylysi nøyd. arool rhoir yyud ar taan, kovjoðvoodä vyux vliip hebi gulun alan, -a rhedoðyu gulun, -ame ðäljoðä :basan·kaal boljad meun rhyu arð vexanty kevnir tyy. vely aapahii äno. -än yyn pen iir arðrooð dibin·lleed vaur, -ak ovna-iir vyux särþjo drosto. -ak er muuyniðo alyi watfo. :rhoop raafami xyrn, -a rhoopä pen araliir rhaafi laur tþuur simða iir gegin. -ak·urþi voodwedikaal kiminto goladoði urþä laayþä kuru aarhuux, -me ðäljoð ruan am neyd popeþän holol sikir. -a rhag ovniir rhaaf slipjo-i fur hebiðo-i gweld, rhuymoðhiami glyyn. gida häny, dänar vyuxän särþjo drosä dibin, -aki vänyag änta-i draayd -än gänta-irr simða, -a þrooydo boob tyy-i veemooð änihi (-vel syymeun heensim ðøy-a mantal vaur); -a dänalee·rooðo-än dalä vyuxän haqjodrosä dibin gervyði xyrn. erbyn hyn -rooðä gwëifjonän duad atä tyy ati kinjo. -a gwela yyno

thought being something out of place with the churn. Ran up, and there place was the sow after turning the churn, and drinking the milk from along floor. In his wildness he-snatched the hatchet, and struck the sow in her head until she-was dead. On this he remembered being the beer running to floor in the cellar. To floor with him, and against that was the beer after running every drop along floor the cellar.

34. After that he-went up to the kitchen, and saw her being just time to the servants coming to dinner, and he without beginning preparing the dinner. So he-thought that potful of porridge would-be most easy to make. After putting the porridge on the fire, he remembered being the cow milch without her letting out, and ran to her letting-out, and thought she-would-be getting bellyful in some garden little side back to



wylltineb cipiodd y fwyell, a tharawodd yr hwch yn ei phen nes oedd yn *farw*. ar hyn, cofiodd fod y cwrw yn rhedeg i lawr yn y *cellar*. i lawr ag ef, ac erbyn hyny yr oedd y cwrw wedi rhedeg bob *tropyn* hyd lawr y *cellar*.

34. ar ol hyny aeth i fyny i'r *gegin*, a gwelai hi bod *just* yn amser i'r gweision ddyfod i *giniaw*, ac yntau heb ddechreu parotoi y *ciniaw*. felly meddyliodd mai crochanaid o uwd fuasai mwyaf hwylus i wneyd. ar ol rhoddi yr uwd ar y tan, cofiodd fod y fuwch flith heb ei gollwng allan, a rheddodd i'w gollwng, a meddyliodd y buasai yn cael bolriad mewn rhyw 'ardd fechan tu cefn i'r ty. felly aeth a hi yno. yn un pen i'r 'ardd yr oedd dibyn lled *fawr*, ac ofnai i'r fuwch syrthio *drosto*. ac er mwyn iddo 'allu ei *watchio*, rhoddodd raff am ei chyrn, a rhoddodd y pen arall i'r rhaff ilawr trwy'r *simdde* i'r *gegin*. ac wrth ei fod wedi cael cymmaint o golled oddiwrth y llaeth, y cwrw, a'r hwch, meddyliodd ynawr am wneyd pobpeth yn hollol sicr. a rhag ofn i'r rhaff *slipio* iffwrdd heb iddo ei gweled, rhwymodd hi am ei glun. gyda hyny dyma y fuwch yn syrthio *dros* y dibyn, ac ifyny ag yntau ei *draed* yn gyntaf i'r *simdde*, a throed o bob tu i *feam* oedd ynddi hi (fel y sydd mewn hen simddeau *mantell fawr*); a dyna lle yr oedd ef yn dal y fuwch yn *hangio dros* y dibyn gerfydd ei chyrn. erbyn hyn yr oedd y gweision yn dyfod at y ty at eu *ciniaw*. a gwelai un o honynt hwy y

the house. So he-went with her there. In one head (=end) to the garden was a steep-place rather big, and he-feared to the cow falling over-him. And in order to-him being-able to watch her, he-put rope about her horns, and put the head other to the rope to floor through the chimney to the kitchen. And through his being after getting so-much of loss from the milk, the beer, and the sow, he-thought now about making everything wholly safe. And from fear to the rope slipping away without to him seeing her (=the rope), he-tied her about his thigh. With that here the cow falling over the steep-place, and up with him his feet first to the chimney, and foot of every side to beam was in her (as is in old chimneys opening big); and there place was he holding the cow hanging over the steep-place by her horns. Towards this

honynhu-ä vyuxän windjo drosä dibin; -a rhag ovniði dagy, rhedoð ati, kipjoði gälal, -a þoroðä rhaaf. -i lauraar vyuxo yyn oxor, -aki laur aar guur oor simða, -gan ðisgin ninjonari beniir kroxon yyud. -ni raid xwanegy -voodä rwaigwedi -kaal heðux byþ aroolä durnod hunu.

-ä tøjljar torur beði.

35. än·lan vroþan·beeþ amsar nool' -rooð tøjljarän byu; ak nool arvar ramsar hunu -di läna-i·alwa digap truu vyndoor nail dyiir ļali nøyd diladiirkäm dogjon. truu vänwantä pluuymaa ļuybyrkä hoyðysän pajjo. yyn bora -rooðganä tøjljar axosi vynd hydä ļuybyri vyndati waiþ. -rooðän diguðhevyyd -voodkä nhebruqi·gämyd ļeeä durnod hunu, -aar torur beðiwedi sglyso torir beeð. vely, aapatiän vora jaunurþ læyni kanuļ, -ak erbynvoodä tøjljarän pajjo, -rooð drosi benänä beeð. kläuoð ru-ynän pajjo hydä ļuybyr, -a gweyðoðarno: 'vaintädi oor gloox?' meðar tøjljar: 'vaint bänagädihi oor gloox, -maayhiän rhyy vora-ixi godi äto.'

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was the servants coming to the house to their dinner. And saw one of them the cow struggling over the precipice; and from fear to-her choking, ran to her, snatched his knife, and cut the rope. To floor with the cow of one side, and to floor with the man from the chimney, with alighting directly on his head to the pot porridge. Not need adding being the wife after getting peace always after the day that.

The tailor and the cutter graves.

35. In Llanfrothen thing (=some) time back was tailor living; and according-to custom the time that he-followed his

fuwch yn *windio* dros y dibyn ; a rhag ofn iddi *dagu*, rhedodd ati, cipiodd ei *gyllell*, a thorodd y rhaff. i lawr a'r fuwch o un ochr, ac i lawr a'r gwr o'r simdde, gan ddisgyn yn union ar ei ben i'r crochan uwd. ni raid ychwanegu fod y wraig wedi cael heddwach byth ar ol y diwrnod hwnw.

y *teiliwr* a'r torwr beddi.

35. yn Llanfrothen beth amser yn ol yr oedd *teiliwr* yn byw ; ac yn ol arfer yr amser hwnw dylynai ei 'alwedigaeth trwy *fyned* o'r naill *dy* i'r llall i wneyd dillad i'r cymmydogion. trwy *fynwent* y plwyf y mae llwybyr cyhoeddus yn *pasio*. un boreu yr oedd gan y *teiliwr* achos i *fyned* ar hyd y llwybyr i *fyned* at ei waith. yr oedd yn dygwydd hefyd fod cynhebrwng i gymeryd lle y diwrnod hwnw, a'r torwr beddi wedi esgeuluso tori y bedd. felly, aeth ati yn foreu iawn wrth 'oleuni canwyll, ac erbyn fod y *teiliwr* yn *pasio*, yr oedd ef dros ei ben yn y bedd. clywodd rywun yn *pasio* ar hyd y llwybyr, a gwaeddodd arno : '(pa) faint ydyw hi o'r *gloch*?' meddai y *teiliwr* : '(pa) faint *bynag* ydyw hi o'r *gloch*, mae hi yn rhy foreu i chwi *godi* eto.'

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calling through going from the one house to the other to make clothes to the neighbours. Through churchyard the parish is path public passing. One morning was with the tailor cause to go along the path to go to his work. Was happening also being funeral to take place the day that, and the cutter graves after neglecting cutting the grave. So he went to-her (=at it) early very by light candle, and towards being the tailor passing, was-he over his head in the grave. He-heard someone passing along the path, and called on him : 'What quantity is she of the clock?' Said the tailor : 'What quantity ever is she of the clock, is she too early for you rising yet.'





given a few texts in the latter notation. In my Romic notation I regret now that I did not use (ŋ) instead of (q).

I hope that as a specimen of the method of dealing with living languages, this will be found to be an advance on my previous attempts. I think myself I have made an advance in one respect, *nl.* in that of giving full texts. This is no doubt the most laborious and responsible part of such an undertaking, and that which offers most pitfalls to any one dealing with a foreign language, but, if done with reasonable care, is of more real value than any number of word-lists and paradigms, for it alone gives—or attempts to give—the unsophisticated facts of the language.

I have, of course, treated the language throughout as a living one, and have given the same prominence to the borrowed English as to the native element. The italicized words in the texts will give a good idea of the proportion of English words, which, after all, is surprisingly small, considering the long and intimate intercourse between the speakers of the two languages. Most of them, too, are very thoroughly naturalized, in meaning as well as form, so that a patriotic Welshman has no more reason to be ashamed of them than an Englishman has of his French words. It is greatly to be wished that educated Welshmen would cultivate the genuine spoken language instead of the artificial jargon of the newspapers, and reflect that the superiority of such a work as the *Bardd Cwsg* consists precisely in its style being founded (as shown by the numerous English words) on the everyday speech of the period. Welsh can no more be made an exception to the inexorable law of change than English or any other language: it is its change, its development, that proves it to be really a living language; and a language that is preserved only by writing is little better than a dead language.

In conclusion, I have to express my best thanks to all my helpers in Wales. To Mr. John Owens, of Hafod Lwyfog, and his amiable family (especially his son David); to Mr. Richard Davies, of Port Madoc; and, above all, to my teacher, Mr. J. E. Williams, of Beddgelert, who entered so thoroughly into the spirit of my work as to write out phonetic texts himself under my guidance. It would have been almost impossible for me to master the details of the language, or give the texts headed 'Dialogues and Descriptions', without his help. The stories I owe mainly to the Owens family, and to Mr. Davies.

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