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The Ithaca dialect : the
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J.S. Cushing,
1891.

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**PUBLIC LIBRARY
ITHACA, N. Y.**

THE ITHACA DIALECT,

A STUDY OF PRESENT ENGLISH.

BY

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, A.M.,

INSTRUCTOR IN ENGLISH, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Presented to the University as a Thesis for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

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OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, A.M.,

Instructor in English, Cornell University.

PREFACE.

THIS treatise is a study of the phonology of present English as spoken by the common people of Ithaca, New York. Since the material has been collected from people little influenced by the schools, the English here presented may be considered a natural outgrowth, under the conditions attending the colonization of New England in the seventeenth century, and the later migration to Western New York toward the last of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Special attention has been paid to the phonology as the proper basis of dialect study, and because no attempt has been made to present with completeness the phonology of any English dialect. However incomplete this treatment may be, it is believed such study may be of no small value in showing the development of the English language. This is the more necessary, also, because dialect study in England has confined itself almost wholly to the collection of peculiar words, leaving out of account the phonetic development and the underlying laws of change.

In the collection of material many facts pertaining to inflectional forms and syntax were obtained, as well as a considerable number of new words, or of words in new uses. But it has seemed best to omit these, except so far as they illustrate the phonology, reserving them for a more systematic treatment than is possible here.

The writer does not wish to claim indulgence for the errors that may be found in his work. Whether they are many or few for such a pioneer attempt, those who know the difficulties of the

task will be best able to judge, and the judgment of these alone is worthy of consideration.

It remains to acknowledge my indebtedness to those whose assistance and encouragement has materially aided in bringing this treatise to completion. The list of abbreviations will indicate sufficiently the books and authors most frequently consulted. But I am especially indebted to Professor Benj. I. Wheeler, of Cornell University, for the suggestion of the work and constant encouragement in it; to Professor Friedrich Kluge, of the University of Jena, for advice as to the arrangement of material, and for a critical examination of the Germanic element; to Professor Dietrich Behrens, of Giessen, for examination of the Romance element; lastly and pre-eminently, to my teacher, Professor James Morgan Hart, of Cornell University, not only for valuable training in English philology, but particularly for his searching and painstaking review of this paper, when presented to the University as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. To these, therefore, I make special acknowledgment, and to them I dedicate this monograph as a token of gratitude and esteem.

O. F. E.

ITHACA, NEW YORK, March 1, 1891.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Beh.	Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England.
Ch.	Chaucer.
ChGr.	ten Brink, Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst.
Con.	consonant.
Contr.	contraction.
Dan.	Danish.
Du.	Dutch.
EEP.	Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.
Eng. Dial.	English dialect, or dialectic.
Fr.	French.
Germ.	German.
Gr.	Greek.
Goth.	Gothic.
HES.	Sweet's History of English Sounds.
Icl.	Icelandic.
Ind.	Indian (North American).
Ital.	Italian.
IthD.	Ithaca Dialect.
Kl.	Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch.
Lat.	Latin.
LdE.	London English, as in Sweet's History of English Sounds.
MdE.	Modern English.
ME.	Middle English.
ME.	Late Middle English.
Merc.	Mercian.
Murray.	The New English Dictionary.
OE.	Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
OET.	Sweet's Oldest English Texts.
OF.	Old French.
OHG.	Old High German.
ON.	Old Norse.
Orm.	Orm, Ormulum.
Pal.	palatal.
PBB.	Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
PGr.	Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie.
Pog.	Pogatscher's Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen.
Port.	Portuguese.

PrPh.	Sweet's Primer of Phonetics, 1890.
sb.	substantive.
Scand.	Scandinavian.
Sie.	Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik.
Skt.	Skeat's Etymological Dictionary.
Span.	Spanish.
Swed.	Swedish.
WG.	West Germanic.
WS.	West Saxon.
lWS.	Late West Saxon.
Wyc.	Wyclif.
<	from, or derived from.

TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS FOR ITHACA DIALECT.

Vowels.

a (short) as in hot, top.	û (long close) as in fool, rude, yû in use.
â (long) " card, father.	ai as in time, pine.
æ (short) " at, rat, man.	au " round, house.
æ̃ (long) " raft, path, grass.	oi " choice, coin.
e (short) " pet, hen.	iu " few, abuse.
ê (long) " pay, name, fate.	
ě (before r) as in her, curl, word.	
i (short) as in hit, bid, pin.	
î (long) " machine, bee, seed.	
o (long open) as in law, haul.	
ò (short close) " only, home (sel- dom).	
ô (long close) as in no, note, tone.	
ɐ (short open) " but, up, son.	
u (short close) " full, pull, book.	

WITH A GLIDE BEFORE *r*.

æə as in fair, there.
iə " fear, near.
ðə " more, pour.
uə " poor, tour.
aiə " flye. <i>r</i>
auə " hour, power.

Consonants.

b, d, f, g as in go, get, h, k, l, m, n, p, r always as in red, road, s voiceless, t, v, w, y, z as usual. In addition:

<i>f</i> for <i>sh</i> in she, shed.	<i>tʃ</i> for <i>ch</i> in church.
ʒ " <i>z</i> " azure, <i>s</i> in pleasure.	dʒ " <i>j</i> , <i>dg</i> in judge.
þ " <i>th</i> " think.	kw " <i>qu</i> in quiet.
ð " <i>th</i> " this, there.	hw " <i>wh</i> " when, where.
ŋ " <i>ng</i> " singing.	ks " <i>x</i> " tax, wax.
" <i>n</i> " sink.	gz " <i>x</i> " exact, exist.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC.

IN order to understand the ethnographic conditions of Ithaca, it is necessary to glance at the settlement of the western part of New York state, and some account of the district from the earliest colonial times will be found useful. The Dutch colonists of New York gave the name *Terra Incognita* to the territory west of Albany, or Fort Orange, as it was called. In 1683, after the Dutch colony had come into the possession of the English, the legislature divided the province into twelve counties, and gave the name Albany County to what is now the western part of the state. The western part of Albany was erected into a new county in 1772, with the name Tryon, in honor of the governor of the province. After the peace, in 1784, the name of the Tory-governor Tryon was replaced by Montgomery, in recognition of General Montgomery of Quebec fame. The county was also divided into five districts, two of which, German Flats and Kingsland, embraced the western part so far as it was then settled, or open for settlement. In 1788 the German Flats were divided, and the western part called Whitestown from Judge White, a prominent citizen who had immigrated from Middletown, Connecticut, and had induced many from his native state to settle in Western New York. Whitestown was later separated into Whitestown, to the western limit of the present Madison County; Mexico, including the eastern half of the Military Tract, as it was called; and Paris, embracing the western half of this tract.¹

The Military Tract is the title of lands set apart by New York state for her soldiers of the Revolution. In 1781, in order to recruit the armies of the revolting colonies, the legislature passed a resolution, pledging the faith of the state, to give to every citizen who should enlist for three years, or until the close

¹ Onondaga, by Joshua V. H. Clark, Syracuse, N. Y., 1849, Vol. I, p. 381.

of the war, five hundred acres of land as soon after the war as the land could be surveyed.¹ This resolution was followed by the law of July 25, 1782, setting apart lands for military bounties. "The tract included all the lands in Tryon County (all west of Albany County), bounded northward by Lake Ontario, Onondaga (Oswego) River, and Oneida Lake; west by a line drawn from the mouth of Great Sodus Bay (on Lake Ontario) though the most westerly inclination of Seneca Lake; south by an east and west line drawn through the most southerly inclination of Seneca Lake."² The lands so set apart were, however, still owned by the Indians, so that settlement was delayed some years after the close of the war. The state acquired the territory belonging to the Onondaga Indians, by treaty of Sept. 12, 1788, at Fort Schuyler, or Stanwix (now Utica). On the 25th of February, in the following year, the lands of the Cayuga Indians were also purchased by treaty at Albany.³ By an act of Feb. 28, 1789, the legislature formally appropriated the Indian lands recently acquired to the payment of Revolutionary soldiers, in accordance with the resolution and act of 1781-2. In 1791 Herkimer County was formed from the western part of Montgomery, and in 1794 the Military Tract was made a separate county and called Onondaga.⁴

The western boundary of the Military Tract (Onondaga County) was Ontario County, or the Genesee Country, as it was usually called.⁵ The original grant by James I in 1620 to the Massachusetts colonies was a tract of land extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This grant was renewed in 1693 by William and Mary, no change being made in the western boundary of the province. But in 1663 the Province of New York was granted by Charles II to the Duke of York and Albany, afterwards James II. The result was that each state, as early as 1683, laid claim to certain lands of the Province of New York by virtue of original grants, but as there were no settlers in the country for more than a century, no adjustment of the claims was made during this time. By acts of legislature, New York in 1781, and Massachusetts in 1784-5, ceded to Con-

¹ Sketches of Rochester and Western New York, by Henry O'Reilley, Rochester, 1838, p. 186.

² *Ibid.* p. 156.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 109-10.

⁴ Onondaga, Vol. I, pp. 381-2.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 381-2.

gress all lands west of the present boundary of New York state,¹ and in the following year, Dec. 16, 1786, delegates from both states met at Hartford, where a compromise was effected in respect to the disputed claims. By this compromise Massachusetts obtained exclusive preëmption rights to the lands between the Military Tract and the western boundary of the state, while New York retained all rights of government, sovereignty, and jurisdiction.² In accordance with this arrangement the Massachusetts preëmption lands were, in 1789, erected into Ontario County, before this time nominally a part of Montgomery County.

We may now return to Ithaca and Tompkins County. In 1799 the county of Cayuga was set off from Onondaga, and in 1804 Seneca County was formed from Cayuga. A new county was erected in 1817, from the southern portions of Cayuga and Seneca counties, and named after Governor Tompkins. Tompkins County received from Seneca the townships of Hector and Ulysses (Military townships 21, 22), and from Cayuga Dryden and the south half of Locke and Genoa (Military townships 23, 18, 17). To these were added, in March, 1822, the towns of Caroline, Danby, and Cayuta, formerly parts of Tioga County.³ Since that time the county has retained its present boundaries. The city of Ithaca is included in the town of the same name, one of three into which the old Military township of Ulysses was divided in 1821.

These Military townships were established by act of legislature in 1789, in accordance with which the Military Tract was surveyed under the direction of General Simeon DeWitt, then Surveyor-General of the state. They were originally twenty-six in number, but two others were added in 1792 and 1796, making twenty-eight, each of which contained 100 lots of 600 acres. The drawing of lots by the Revolutionary soldiers for whom the land was set apart took place in 1791. In 1792 the time of settlement, which had been limited to three years from the original survey, was extended seven years, or to 1799. Notwithstanding this extension of the time of settlement, few of the Revolution-

¹ Rochester and Western New York, pp. 139-40.

² *Ibid.* p. 141.

³ History of Tioga, Chemung, Tompkins, and Schuyler Counties, Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 373-4.

any soldiers became actual settlers.¹ The patents were sold for little or nothing, prices of lots ranging from eight to thirty dollars for ten years after the war. This, as we shall see, materially affected the character of actual settlers, and accounts for the fact that many came from outside the limits of New York state.

The first Americans to set foot in the country at the head of Cayuga Lake were soldiers of Sullivan's campaign against the Indians. In 1779 Congress had authorized Washington to send an expedition against the Five Nations, then acting with the forces of Great Britain. In ravaging their country Colonel Dearborn, with a detachment of Sullivan's command, reached the head of the lake and destroyed an Indian village not far from where Ithaca now stands.² Many of these troops were New Englanders, and it is generally believed that their accounts of the country had much to do with later settlements.³

In 1788 a party of eleven men with Indian guides left Kingston on the Hudson, to explore the country about Cayuga and Seneca lakes. The following spring (1789), the year of the military survey, three of the eleven returned and located on the site of Ithaca. These were Jacob Yapple, Peter Hinepaw, and Isaac Dumond, all of whom had served in the Revolution. The first two of these were of Dutch descent, while the ancestors of Dumond had also come from Holland, but were of French Huguenot extraction. These settlers, however, lost their land through carelessness or criminal negligence of their agent in Albany, and the property came into the possession of Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor-General of the state.⁴ The immigrants themselves moved from the village, and two of them were the first to settle the neighboring town of Danby.⁵ About 1800 the village of Ithaca was laid out by Simeon DeWitt, and, as the lands were now open to other than New York citizens, they were rapidly settled.

¹ Rochester and Western New York, p. 158. History of Tioga (and other) Counties, pp. 476, 498. Pioneer History of Courtland County, by H. C. Goodwin, New York, 1859, pp. 108-9.

² Sullivan's Expedition, by Fred Cook, Albany, 1887, pp. 77, 376.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 379-80. History of New York, by Jas. Macauley, New York and Albany, 1829, Vol. III, pp. 417-8.

⁴ Early History of Ithaca, by Horace King, Ithaca, 1847, pp. 1-12.

⁵ History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 467.

To understand the possibilities of settlement, let us glance for a moment at early routes of travel. In March, 1794, three commissioners were appointed by the legislature to lay out a road from Fort Schuyler (Utica) to the Cayuga ferry, or the outlet to Cayuga Lake.¹ Little seems to have been done, however, until 1797, when the legislature improved the road to Geneva, furnishing the highway to the Genesee country and the northern parts of Western New York. In 1804 a turnpike was built from Albany to Canandaigua.² These, with the water way by the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and Oswego or Seneca rivers, furnished the principal northern routes of travel. A road was begun in 1792 from Oxford, on the Chenango River, to Ithaca at the head of Cayuga Lake. This was completed in 1795, and, with its eastern connection to Catskill on the Hudson, "became the great highway for immigration in the southern part of the state for many years";³ with slight changes this remained the principal east and west line of travel until supplanted by the railroads. In 1835 it crossed the Chenango at Greene, a few miles south of Oxford, and passed through Unadilla and Delhi to Catskill, where it connected with boats to New York. Still one other route belongs to very early days. In 1808 the Ithaca and Owego turnpike was built, and stages then connected with a line of travel from Owego through Binghamton, Delaware, Monticello, and Montgomery to Newburgh on the Hudson, where boats could be taken for New York City. This road, together with the waterway from Unadilla by the Susquehanna to Owego, was used from the earliest times, and was traversed by many of the first settlers in Tompkins County.⁴ To the west Ithaca was connected with Bath, in the heart of the Genesee country, and by Cayuga Lake with the roads to the northern and western parts of the state, so that it became a great distributing point for the surrounding territory.

It is generally admitted that Western New York was settled largely by New England people. On this point, so far as there are historical statements, they are substantially in accord. "New

¹ Annals of New York, by John F. Watson, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 85.

² "Between Albany and Buffalo," by A. G. Hopkins, in Magazine of American History, Vol. XIX, p. 310.

³ History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 423.

⁴ Views of Ithaca, by Solomon Southwick, Ithaca, 1835, p. 44.

York inland has been especially indebted to New England for its intelligent and enterprising population. . . . In a word, the Yankees, so called, have been almost everything to Western New York.”¹ “Between Seneca and Cayuga lakes the settlers are mostly from Pennsylvania, Jersey, and the western parts of this state, and in the other parts they are mostly emigrants from the New England states.”² These statements might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and from the most diverse sources. Especially are they true of the Genesee country to the west of the Military Tract. The preëmption right to this fertile valley, gained by Massachusetts in 1786, was sold in 1788 to two of her citizens, Nathaniel Phelps and Oliver Gorham. Settlement began in 1789 and increased rapidly. In 1790 there were about 1000 inhabitants; in 1804 there were 30,000 people in the territory. Imlay, in his Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, says: “The New England settlers who have fixed themselves on the Genesee Tract have made such favorable reports of the climate and soil, that there are vast numbers of their countrymen preparing to move thither.”³ “All the first settlers in the country (the Genesee) were from New England. . . . Indeed, until after the opening of the road to Pennsylvania over the Alleghany Mountains, there was scarcely an instance to the contrary.”⁴

Almost the same influences were at work in the case of the Military Tract and Tompkins County, and these were aided by the rapid occupancy of this fertile land to the west. “The county is chiefly settled by New England emigrants.”⁵ “The county is settled by emigrants from various parts of the Union, but chiefly from the New England states.”⁶ “The early emigrants coming in were mostly of the Puritan stock of Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut.”⁷ Investigation of the facts

¹ Annals of New York, p. 91.

² Documentary History of New York, Albany, 1850, Vol. II, p. 690.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 649.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 670.

⁵ Historical Collections of the State of New York, by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, New York, 1845, p. 552.

⁶ Gazetteer of the State of New York, by Thomas F. Gordon, Philadelphia, 1836, p. 730.

⁷ Half-Century Club of Tompkins County, by Charles G. Day, Ithaca, 1881, p. 81.

in the several towns, as far as that is possible from town histories, substantiates these statements.¹ The foreign element in the population is small, and this, it is said by old settlers, did not begin to come in until 1830, when some Irish laborers were attracted by railroad construction. In 1835, out of Ithaca's population of 6101, there were but 179 aliens and 142 people of color.² The county as a whole shows the same small proportion of foreigners. In 1824 there were in the county 26,178 persons, of whom 20 were not naturalized, 72 were colored. The population in 1875 was 32,897, with only 273 naturalized citizens. The population of Ithaca in 1875 was 10,026, with 1148 foreign born citizens, and 294 colored; but this increase of foreigners has been comparatively recent, and has not materially affected conditions existing from the earliest settlement.³

From these facts, and the examination of such records as exist, as well as from the testimony of the oldest inhabitants, the people of Ithaca and the surrounding country may be divided into the following classes, in the order of numerical importance:

1. Settlers from the New England states. These may be again divided into those who came direct from New England, and those who took up temporary residence in other parts of the state, mainly the eastern counties. Immigrants from New England have been most largely from Connecticut and Massachusetts.

2. Settlers from the eastern part of New York state. The majority of these were from the counties of Ulster, Orange, Westchester, and Dutchess, bordering on the Hudson. As was indicated above, many of these, perhaps the most of them, were New Englanders, or were direct from England. Of those settling Tompkins County very few were of Dutch descent.

3. Settlers from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other parts of the Union. Of these, the New Jersey people are the most numerous. The town of Lansing, on the east side of Cayuga Lake, and north of Ithaca, is largely settled by Pennsylvania people, but this is not true of other parts of the county. A few families from Maryland and Virginia came into the county in early times, most of them taking residence in the town of Caroline.

4. Immigrants from various parts of the world. These, as has been pointed out, are comparatively few, and they have come

¹ History of Tioga (and other) Counties, pp. 394-534. ² Views of Ithaca, p. 39.

³ History of Tioga (and other) Counties, p. 392.

mainly since 1830, or, as some say, 1850. Among foreigners the Irish are the most numerous.

The fact that the people of Ithaca and Tompkins County are principally from New England being established, it remains to determine whether one of the New England states has had greater influence than another. For this there are few unquestionable data recorded, and local historians have made little effort in the direction of determining such a point, though some facts are available. From these, however, and from the testimony of residents it seems certain that a larger number can be traced to Connecticut than to any other state. In proof of this the following facts are presented. Emigrants from Vermont and New Hampshire moved west on lines of latitude very nearly, so that they occupied Northern New York, but seldom reached southern portions of the state. The people of Massachusetts were naturally led into the Massachusetts preëmption lands, or the Genesee country, both by the claim of that state and by the richness of the territory; and even when the preëmption right was sold, the tide of immigration from that state seems to have been greater than from any other. Massachusetts also acquired preëmption rights to ten townships south and east of Tompkins County, and many of her citizens went to this portion of the state. This left the region about Ithaca and Tompkins County for settlers from the only other New England state sending out emigrants — Connecticut, and from this state they came in large numbers. There still remain in the county two settlements, almost exclusively of Connecticut people who came in the earliest times, the Beers' settlement from Fairfield County, Connecticut, and Groton, said to have been named by people from Groton, Connecticut.¹ In early times, there were Connecticut settlers in nearly every town, if not in all. There were, and still are, many families in Ithaca who claim Connecticut antecedents, and the distinct connection with the latter state is still made by many of Ithaca's most intelligent citizens.

2. THE SPEECH CONDITIONS.

The dialect of Ithaca is based, as has been shown, on a New England dialect, of which the principal element is Connecticut English. It has been modified, slightly, if at all, by the speech

¹ New Topographical Atlas of Tompkins County, 1866, p. 12.

of Massachusetts and New Jersey, but has remained practically uncontaminated by the speech of foreigners. Moreover, owing to its separation from through routes of travel since the building of railroads, Ithaca has remained comparatively isolated, so that it represents linguistically a speech-island in the truest sense. So far, therefore, as the people have been uninfluenced by the schools, their speech may be regarded as a natural outgrowth, exemplifying the laws of phonetic change.

The investigation here presented has been made from the speech of people essentially unaffected by the schools, or by more than casual association with educated people. Every precaution has been taken, also, to obtain only the natural and unaffected speech, and this has been recorded at the time with great exactness. In no case, however, did the individual know his speech was sought, and in all cases there has been a freedom on the part of the speaker which seemed to indicate complete unconsciousness of the form of expression.¹ Individual peculiarities, clearly not representing the dialect as a whole, have been carefully excluded, and in most cases words or expressions have been heard several times, or from several speakers, before being taken as typical. In a similar manner, peculiarities occasioned by imperfect utterance, loss of teeth, or other defect of speech-organs, have been taken into account. The speech of middle-aged and older people has been especially investigated, in the belief that this would more exactly represent an uncontaminated dialect, these being less influenced by the schools or by mixture. It remains to say that each individual whose speech has been recorded has been born in the town or vicinity, or has been a resident of the town for the greater part of his life. In this respect the care with which the material was gathered will be attested by the following statements, in regard to those from whom the largest collections have been made:—

A—— was born in a neighboring county, of Connecticut parentage. He came to Ithaca about 1845, and is perhaps fifty

¹ The plan actually pursued was to talk with various individuals on such subjects as the history of the town, its business and manufactures, the customs of former times. This allowed the collector to hold note-book in hand, and, under the guise of obtaining historical facts for future use, set down in phonetic symbols the words used.

years of age. He talks freely, and without special peculiarities of utterance.

B—— came here from Connecticut, when a boy, about 1840. Word and sentence accent are stronger than in many individuals.

C—— was born of Connecticut parents within a few miles of Ithaca. He followed the sea for a few years in early life, but this has not influenced his dialect perceptibly, except by the introduction of nautical terms, which, however, have been made to conform to the Ithaca dialect in character of sounds. He is about fifty-five years of age.

D—— was born a few miles from the city, but he early came to Ithaca. He thinks his parents came from Connecticut, and this is supported by the fact that his early years were spent in a Connecticut settlement in the county. He has no special peculiarities of speech, and his appearance indicates that he is about sixty years of age.

E—— was born in a Connecticut settlement in Tompkins County, but early came to the village. He is about sixty-two years old, but is active, and a rapid talker.

F—— was born in New Jersey, coming to Ithaca in 1820, when one year old.

G—— was also born in New Jersey, but came to Ithaca when a child. He is between fifty and sixty years of age.

H—— was born in the county, and has lived here ever since. His father was from New Jersey, his mother from Massachusetts. He speaks slowly, and with precision of articulation.

I—— came from Albany in 1812. His name indicates Dutch extraction, but he is thoroughly Americanized. He has the peculiarity of unvoicing certain voiced spirants, due probably to loss of teeth.

J—— is a man of nearly eighty; was born in Westchester County, but came to Ithaca about 1830. The peculiarities of his expression are the loss of *r*, unusual here, and the sound of *a* (*father*) in such words as *dog*, *log*, *fog*.

II. PHONOLOGY.

1. THE VOWELS AND THEIR SYMBOLS.

1. The phonetic symbols used in this treatise are those of the American Dialect Society, so far as they are necessary, but with the following exceptions: *a* indicates the short, *ā* the long, sound of the same vowel, as heard long in the dialect pronunciation of *card*, *father*, short in that of *not*, *hot*, *top*; *ǣ* is the long sound of *æ*; *iū* is used instead of *iû*; and before *r* appear *ǣa* (*fair*, *there*), *īa* (*fear*, *near*), *ð̄a* (*more*, *pour*), *ūa* (*poor*, *tour*). For convenience of reference the complete list of IthD. vowels and consonants is given (§ 2), but their quality will be treated in proper order hereafter.

2. The vowels of the Ithaca dialect are *a*, *ā*, *æ*, *ǣ*, *e*, *ê*, *ë*, *i*, *î*, *ò* seldom, *ô*, *ɔ*, *ɒ*, *u*, *û*, *ə* appearing in unstressed syllables and as a glide before *r*, besides the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *oi*, *iū*. The last is a true diphthong, though rare, distinct from the *yû* for the written *u* in *use*, *union*. The consonants are *b*, *d*, *ð*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *f*, *t*, *ʃ*, *v*, *w*, *y*, *z*, *3*.

3. Accent is marked only when the stress is upon some other than the first syllable, and when required to indicate accent a turned period is placed before the stressed vowel. For secondary stress and its effect on vowels of unstressed syllables, see § 142 *et seq.*

2. QUANTITY AND QUALITY.

4. In distinguishing quantity, long and short will be commonly used, even when finer distinctions might be made. The vowels *e*, *ë*, *i*, *ò* (not common), *u*, *ə*, are always short; *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *û*, are always long; *ɔ* is usually long, but is half-long¹ before voiced consonants; *ɒ* is usually short, but is lengthened somewhat before voiced consonants and the fricatives; *a* and *æ* appear as both short and long, the former being short when it represents earlier short *o* which has become unrounded. These statements

¹ The term is used as by Sweet for a quantity half-way between long and short. Cf. *Primer of Phonetics*, last edition (1890), § 97, and *History of English Sounds*, § 942.

refer to length in stressed syllables, all vowels in unstressed syllables being short, or half-long under secondary stress.

5. A careful examination of the vowels shows some considerable differences between their quality in Ithaca dialect and in London English as given by Sweet.¹ These differences may be summarized as follows : —

1) There is a tendency to widen vowels narrow in LdE. or in the continental languages. Sweet now recognizes as wide rather than narrow the long vowels *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *û*, of LdE. (PrPh., § 189 *et seq.*). To these must be added for IthD. the long open *ə*, as in *law*, the *ɒ* of *but*, *hut*, and the sound before *r* in *there*, *hair* (*æə*). The first is low-back-wide rather than low-back-narrow. The second is clearly wide, besides being advanced and lowered; it is therefore mid-back-wide-forward-lowered. The last is low-front-wide, the low-front-narrow being heard so seldom as to be in no sense characteristic.

2) The long vowels *ê*, *î*, *ô*, *û* (cf. HES., § 969) are not diphthongal as in LdE. This non-diphthongal character is not only evident to the ear, but is attested also by the position of the organs, which remain rigid in the formation of the vowel, and do not change as is necessary when making the glide.

3) Before *r*, which is regularly preserved in IthD., a glide is not always heard after a vowel, and never so distinctly as in LdE. or in the speech of educated people in America. It is most commonly heard after the vowels *î*, *û*, *ô*, *œ*, when the glide and vowel have together the quantity of a long vowel. Before *r*, therefore, these vowels will be written *ia*, *ua*, *ôa*, *œa*, but it must be remembered that the glide has not the prominence it has in drawled speech, and in no case does it take the place of the *r* as in LdE. (PrPh., § 211). The wideness of *œa* has been mentioned in 1), *eə* of LdE. being rarely heard. Especially noteworthy is the fact that *ô* before *r* has never become open *o* (*ɔ*), as it has regularly in LdE. (HES., § 967, 6, and word list, p. 391; also PrPh., § 202).

4) The vowel *a*, as in *father*, is low-back-wide, not mid-back-wide as given by Sweet for LdE. As is well known, Bell makes the English *a* low-back-wide, and there can be no question that this is the right analysis for IthD. *a*, making it identical with the Swedish *a* in *mat*.

¹ Reference is to the Primer of Phonetics, §§ 189–204.

5) Common short *o* as in *not* (LdE. low-back-wide-round) is regularly unrounded, becoming identical in quality with *a* in *father* (low-back-wide), but remaining short in quantity.

6) The vowel *ê*, long of *æ* in *man*, *hat* (low-front-wide), occurs regularly in closed syllables before the voiceless fricatives *f*, *th* (*þ*), and *s*, instead of LdE. *a* (*aa*). Examples are *ask*, *half*, *path*, and cf. HES. word list, p. 382.

7) The diphthong in *eye*, *my*, usually written *ai*, differs from LdE. in being slightly lowered and retracted, so that it approaches more nearly the union of *a* and *i*.

8) The diphthong *oi*, as in *boy*, is always low-back-wide-round instead of mid-back-wide-round in its first element. In many such words as *point*, *poison*, IthD. shows the variant *ai*; but cf. § 124.

9) The diphthong *au* is fronted slightly, so that it approaches a union of *æ* and *u* more nearly than in the speech of educated Englishmen and Americans, but it never reaches the fronting represented by *eou* in such spellings as *ceow*, *ceounty*, in the New England and Southern dialects.

6. It follows, therefore, that the IthD. vowels, arranged so far as possible in the scheme of Sweet, may be shown thus : —

VOWEL SYSTEM OF THE ITHACA DIALECT.

		NARROW.			WIDE.		
		Back.	Mixed.	Front.	Back.	Mixed.	Front.
UNROUNDED.	High.						i bit î see
	Mid.		[ë earth] ¹		[ɐ but] ²	a(i) eye ³ ə better	e men ê say, name
	Low.				a not â father	a(u) how ³	æ hat ê fast
ROUNDED.	High.		(i)u few		u full û two		
	Mid.				ò only ô note		
	Low.				ɔ boy o(i) ɔ law		

¹ Between mid-mixed and low-back-narrow. ² Between mid-back and low-mixed-wide.
³ Compare notes on these in § 5, 7), 9).

7. The relation between lip-opening and tongue position is not perhaps an absolute one, but it is sufficiently definite to be worthy of consideration. The measurements of lip-opening in the case of a single individual are therefore given, though for the dialect as a whole they must be regarded as relative rather than absolute.

LIP-OPENING FOR VOWELS.

a	3.7×1.5	centimetres.	ë	$2.8 \times .5$	centimetres.
æ	3.3×1.2	"	o	$2.5 \times .5-.6$	"
e	$3.2 \times 1.$	"	î	$2.5 \times .3$	"
i	$3 \times .7-.8$	"	ô	$2.3 \times .5-.6$	"
ɐ	$3 \times .6$	"	u	$2. \times .3$	"
ê	$2.8 \times .8$	"	û	1.5×3	"

III. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

1. GENERAL.

8. For completeness of presentation and for ease of reference a twofold arrangement of material is here given. The material as a whole has been placed under the vowels of the Ithaca Dialect, while the historical survey has been limited to the following tables, with references to succeeding sections. Of these the tables of West Germanic and Old French vowels are naturally most valuable, from the greater number of examples, but it has seemed best also to add tables representing the comparatively small early Latin and Scandinavian additions. The later words which appear in IthD. are not here tabulated, because there are but few from a single source, and the time at which these were introduced cannot be determined with accuracy. In giving ME. vowels late, rather than early, ME. is intended, and it has been in some cases impossible to verify the vowel, since the phonology of ME. presents in itself so many difficulties. In OE. a tagged *o* (open *o*) is used only before a nasal; in ME., however, the tagged *o* (short) is used always for the open sound, while the untagged *o* indicates the close sound, unless otherwise marked. Similarly, the tagged *e* (short) is used in OE. and ME. for the open *e*, and untagged *e* indicates the close sound.

2. THE WEST GERMANIC VOWELS.

9. West Germanic *a* develops as follows :

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>hat</i> , 70 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>lath</i> , 73 I 1)
a	æ	a, e	e <i>together</i> , 78 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	a	a <i>watch</i> , 62 I 1)
a	æ (a)	a	e <i>rather</i> , 112 I 5)
a	æ (a), ea	a	o <i>small</i> , 98 I 1)
a	æ (a), ea	â	ê <i>acre</i> , 82 I 3)
a	ea + ld	â, ô open	ô <i>hold</i> , 105 I 7)
a	ea (e) + ld	ê	î <i>wield</i> , 92 I 14)
a	ę by umlaut	ę	e <i>send</i> , 78 I 3)
a	ę “ “	ę (i)	i <i>chill</i> , 88 I 8)
a	ę “ “	ę	ê <i>edge</i> , 82, I 4)
a	ę “ “	ê open	î <i>heave</i> , 92, I 13)
a + h	ie, ŷ “ of contr.	ê	î <i>steel</i> , 92 I 12)
a + g	æ + g	ai	ê <i>day</i> , 82 I 1)
a + g	ę + g (umlaut)	ei (ai)	ê <i>say</i> , 82 I 2)
a + g	i + g “	ih (î)	ai <i>night</i> , 124 I 11)
a + g	a, ea + g	au	o <i>draw</i> , 98 I 2)
a + w	â, êa by contr.	au	o <i>straw</i> , 98 I 3)
a + f	ea + f (w)	au	o <i>hawk</i> , 98 I 4)
a + nasal	q	a	æ <i>man</i> , 70 I 1)
a “	q	a	æ <i>hand</i> , 73 I 1)
a “	q	a	a <i>swan</i> , 62 I 1)
a “	q	q	o <i>long</i> , 98 I 5)
a “	q	q	e <i>among</i> , 112 I 5)
a “	q + mb	ô	û <i>womb</i> , 119 I 6)
a “	ô by loss of nasal	ô	û <i>tooth</i> , 119 I 4)
a “	ô “ “	ô open(q)	o <i>soft</i> , 98 I 6)
a “	ô “ “	q	e <i>other</i> , 112 I 6)
a “	ê < ô “ “	ê	î <i>heel</i> , 92 I 6)
a + r	ea (æ)	a	â <i>arm</i> , 65 I 1)
a + r	ea (a)	â	æa <i>care</i> , 75 I 1)
a + r	ea	ę	ê <i>earn</i> , 85 I 3)
a + r	ea	ê open	iā <i>beard</i> , 92 I 4)
a + r	ę by umlaut	a	a <i>barley</i> , 65 I 2)
a + r	ę “ “	ê open	æa <i>swear</i> , 75 I 2)
a + g + r	æ + g + r	ê open (ai)	æa <i>fair</i> , 75 I 3)
a + h + r	êa by contr.	ê	iā <i>tear</i> , 95 I 3)

10. West Germanic *e* becomes :

e	e (eo)	ę	e <i>swell</i> , 78 I 1)
e	e (eo)	ę	æ <i>thrash</i> , 70 I 2)
e	eo, ie, y	e, i	i <i>yesterday</i> , 88 I 10)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
e	i	i	i <i>give</i> , 88 I 9)
e	e + ld	ê	î <i>field</i> , 92 I 9)
e	e	ê open	î <i>steal</i> , 92 I 11)
e	e	ê open	ê <i>break</i> , 82 I 6)
e	êo by contr.	ê	î <i>see</i> , 92 I 10)
e + g	î	î	ai <i>scythe</i> , 124 I 5)
e + g	e	ei (ai)	ê <i>way</i> , 82 I 5)
e + h	i pal. umlaut + h	ih (î)	ai <i>right</i> , 124 I 5)
e + r	eo	e	ë <i>earth</i> , 85 I 1)
e + r	eo	e (a)	o <i>dwarf</i> , 98 I 9)
e + r	eo	ô open	ðə <i>sword</i> , 109 I 4)
e + r	eo	e, u, o	ɐ <i>bu(r)st</i> , 112 I 7)
e + r	eo	a	â <i>star</i> , 65 I 3)
e + r	e	ê open	æa <i>tear</i> , 75 I 7)
e + r	e	ê open	ia <i>spear</i> , 95 I 6)

11. West Germanic i :

i	i (io)	i	i <i>smith</i> , 88 I 1)
i	io (eo)	e	e <i>hence</i> , 78 I 5)
i	i (u)	û (ô?)	u <i>wood</i> , 117 I 8)
i	i (u)	i, ê	î <i>week</i> , 92 I 16)
i	i + ld, nd, mb	î	ai <i>child</i> , 124 I 4)
i	êo by contr.	ê	î <i>three</i> , 92 I 16)
i	êo “ “	ê	e <i>friend</i> , 78 I 4)
i + h	i	ig (î)	ai <i>tile</i> , 124 I 3)
i + nasal	î < i + n	î, i	i <i>fifty</i> , 88 I 2)
i + “	î < i + n	î	ai <i>five</i> , 124 I 2)
i + r	i	i, e, u	ë <i>her</i> , 85 I 2)

12. West Germanic o :

o	o	o	a <i>gossip</i> , 62 I 3)
o	o	o	ɐ <i>honey</i> , 112, I 4)
o	u	u	u <i>full</i> , 117 I 7)
o	o	ô open	ô <i>hole</i> , 105 I 4)
o	o + ld	ô open	ô <i>gold</i> , 105 I 3)
o	o + ld	ô	u <i>should</i> , 117 I 6)
o + h	o + h	o + h (ou)	o <i>bought</i> , 98 I 8)
o + g	o	ou	ô <i>bow</i> , 105 I 5)
o + r	o	o	o <i>corn</i> , 98 I 7)
o + r	o	ô open	ðə <i>torn</i> , 109 I 3)
o + r	o (u) y by umlaut	o (u)	ë <i>word</i> , 85 I 4)

13. West Germanic u :

u	u	u	ɐ <i>sun</i> , 112 I 1)
u (?)	u	u	u <i>pull</i> , 117 I 4)
u	u + ld	ô open	ô <i>shoulder</i> , 105 I 6)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
u	u + nd	û	au <i>hound</i> , 129 I 7)
u	û (lengthened)	û	au <i>now</i> , 129 I 3)
u	y by umlaut	i	e <i>bristle</i> , 112, I 3)
u	y “ “ + nd	î	ai <i>kind</i> , 124 I 13)
u + g	y “ “	ih (î)	ai <i>buy</i> , 124 I 12)
u + h	u + h	u + h (ou ?)	û <i>through</i> , 119 I 11)
u + nasal	û < u + n	û	au <i>mouth</i> , 129 I 4)
u “	û “	û (ou)	u <i>could</i> , 117 I 5)
u “	û “	u	e <i>southern</i> , 112 I 2)
u “	ÿ < û < u + n	î (i)	i <i>wish</i> , 88 I 4)
u + r	u	ô open	ðə <i>door</i> , 109 I 5)
u + r	y by umlaut	i	ë <i>first</i> , 85 I 6)

14. West Germanic â :

â	æ by umlaut	â	ê <i>race</i> , 82 I 8)
â	æ “ “	ê	î <i>deed</i> , 92 I 1)
â	æ “ “	a	æ <i>bladder</i> , 70 I 3)
â	æ “ “	a	æ <i>blast</i> , 73 I 2)
â	æ “ “	ê open	e <i>breath</i> , 78 I 6)
â	â after w	ô	û <i>two</i> , 119 I 3)
â + g (w)	æ by umlaut	ai	ê <i>gray</i> , 82 I 7)
â + h	êa (ÿ)	ih (î)	ai <i>nigh</i> , 124 I 10)
â + w	â	ou	ô <i>blow</i> , 105 I 1)
â + nasal	ô	ô	û <i>moon</i> , 119 I 3)
â “	ô	ô	u <i>soon</i> , 117 I 2)
â “	ô	o	e <i>month</i> , 112 I 11)
â “	â	ô open	o <i>yawn</i> , 98 I 10)
â “	ê < ô by umlaut	ê	î <i>queen</i> , 92 I 2)
â + r	æ	ê open	iə <i>fear</i> , 95 I 1)
â + h + r	êa by contr.	ê “	iə <i>near</i> , 95 I 2)
â + r	â (êa)	â (ê open)	æə <i>hair</i> , 75 I 4)

15. West Germanic ê :

ê + r	ê	ê	iə <i>here</i> , 95 I 5)
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16. West Germanic î :

î	î	î	ai <i>while</i> , 124 I 1)
î	î	i	i <i>wisdom</i> , 88 I 3)
î	î (i)	i, e	e <i>since</i> , 78 I 8)
î	î after w	u, o	u <i>woman</i> , 117 I 9)
î + w	î	eu	û <i>Tuesday</i> , 119 I 10)
î + r	î	î	aiə <i>iron</i> , 125 I 1)

17. West Germanic ô :

ô	ô	ô	û <i>cool</i> , 119 I 1)
ô	ô (êo)	ô	û <i>shoe</i> , 119 I 2)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
ô	ô	ô	u <i>hoof</i> , 117 I 1)
ô	ô	ô, o	a <i>fodder</i> , 62 I 4)
ô	ô	ô, o	e <i>brother</i> , 112 I 9)
ô	û	û	au <i>cow</i> , 129 I 5)
ô	ê by umlaut	ê	î <i>feel</i> , 92 I 5)
ô	ê “ “	e	e <i>kept</i> , 78 I 9)
ô	ê “ “	ê	i <i>weary</i> , 88 I 11)
ô + h	ô	ou	au <i>plow</i> , 129 I 6)
ô + w	ô	ô	ô <i>row</i> , 105 I 2)
ô + r	ô	ô open	ôə <i>floor</i> , 109 I 2)

18. West Germanic *û* :

û	û	û	au <i>house</i> , 129 I 1)
û	û	u (o)	e <i>shove</i> , 112 I 8)
û	ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>hive</i> , 124 I 7)
û	ÿ “ “	i	i <i>fist</i> , 88 I 5)
û + g	û	ou	au <i>bow</i> , 129 I 2)
û + nasal	û	ô	u <i>room</i> , 117 I 3)
û + r	û	û	auə <i>our</i> , 130 I 1)
û + r	ÿ by umlaut	î	aiə <i>fire</i> , 125 I 2)

19. West Germanic diphthong *ai* :

ai	â	ô open	ô <i>no</i> , 105 I 1)
ai	â	ô open (ø)	ɔ <i>cloth</i> , 98 I 12)
ai	â	ô open	ò <i>boat</i> , 104 I
ai	â	ô (o)	a <i>hot</i> , 62 I 2)
ai	æ by umlaut	ê open	î <i>each</i> , 92 I 3) 4)
ai	æ “ “	a	æ <i>fat</i> , 70 I 4)
ai	æ “ “	a	æ <i>ask</i> , 73 I 3)
ai	æ “ “	ê open (e)	e <i>health</i> , 78 I 7)
ai + h	â	o + h (ou)	ɔ <i>ought</i> , 98 I 11)
ai + w	â	ou	ô <i>snow</i> , 105 I 1)
ai + r	â	a	â <i>garlic</i> , 65 I 4)
ai + r	â	ô open	òə <i>oar</i> , 109 I 1)
ai + r	æ by umlaut	ê “	æə <i>early</i> , 75 I 5)
ai + g + r	æ “ “	ê “(open êi)	æə <i>stair</i> , 75 I 6)

20. West Germanic *au* :

au	êa	ê open	ê <i>great</i> , 82 I 9)
au	êa	ê “	e <i>death</i> , 78 I 10)
au	êa	a	æ <i>Chapman</i> , 70 I 5)
au	êa	ê open	î <i>leaf</i> , 92 I 7)
au	êa, ÿ by umlaut	î (i)	i <i>strip</i> , 88 I 6)
au + g	ê + g	ei	ê <i>hay</i> , 82 I 10)
au + h	êa, ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>high</i> , 124 I 8)
au + h (w)	êa	eu	û <i>dew</i> , 119 I 9)

WG.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
au + w	êa	eu	iu <i>few</i> , 133 I
au + r	êa, ŷ by umlaut	ê open	iə <i>hear</i> , 95 I 7)

21. West Germanic *eu* :

eu	êo	ê	î <i>freeze</i> , 92 I 8)
eu	êo	ê open	e <i>breast</i> , 78 I 11)
eu	êo	ô	û <i>shoot</i> , 119 I 7)
eu	êo or ŷ by umlaut	î (i)	i <i>sick</i> , 88 I 7)
eu + h (g)	êo	ei, ih (î)	ai <i>fly</i> , 124 I 9)
eu + w	êo	eu	û <i>true</i> , 119 I 8)
eu + r	êo	ê	iə <i>deer</i> , 95 I 8)
eu + r	ŷ by umlaut	î	aiə <i>mire</i> , 125 3)

3. THE EARLY LATIN ELEMENT.

22. Latin *a*, *â* become :

Lat.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
a	æ (a), ea	a	æ <i>Saturday</i> , 70 II
a	a	- a	â <i>plaster</i> , 73 II
a	â	ô open	ô <i>pole</i> , 105 II 1)
a	y by umlaut	e, i	iâ <i>kittle</i> , 88 II 3)
a + nasal	a, q	a	æ <i>candle</i> , 70 II
a + r	æ, ea	a	â <i>ark</i> , 65 II
â	âe, êa	ê open	î <i>street</i> , 92 II 1)

23. Latin *e* :

e	e	e	e <i>spend</i> , 78 II 1)
e	ê	ê	î <i>fever</i> , 92 II 2)

24. Latin *i*, *î* :

i	i (e)	e	e <i>pepper</i> , 78 II 2)
i	i	i	i <i>dish</i> , 88 II 1)
i + r	e	ê open	æə <i>pear</i> , 75 II
î	î	î	ai <i>mile</i> , 124 II

25. Latin *o* :

o	o	q	a <i>sock</i> , 62 II
o	ô	ô open	ô <i>rose</i> , 105 I 2)
o	ô	ô	u <i>cook</i> , 117 II 1)
o	ô	ô	û <i>school</i> , 119 II
o	y < u by umlaut	i	i <i>mill</i> , 88 II 2)
o + nasal	u + nd	û	au <i>pound</i> , 129 II 2)

26. Latin *u*, *û* :

u	o	q	a <i>copper</i> , 62 II
u	o	q	o <i>fork</i> , 98 II

Lat.	WS.	ME.	IthD.
u	u	u	ʊ <i>butter</i> , 112 II 1)
u	y by umlaut	i	i <i>inch</i> , 88 II 2)
u + r	u	u	ë <i>purple</i> , 85, II
û	û	û	au <i>trout</i> , 129, II 1)
û	û	u	ʊ <i>plum</i> , 112 II 2)

4. THE SCANDINAVIAN VOWELS.

27. Scandinavian *a* (*ja*), *â*, *æ*:

Scand.	ME.	IthD.
a	a	æ <i>rash</i> , 70 III
a	a	â <i>cast</i> , 73 III
a	a	o <i>call</i> , 98 III 2)
a	â	ê <i>take</i> , 82 II 1)
ę by umlaut	ę	e <i>dwel</i> , 78 III 1)
ę “ “	ę	ê <i>leg</i> , 82 II 2)
a + g (q by u-umlaut)	au	o <i>law</i> , 98 III 1)
a + r	a	â <i>harden</i> , 65 III
ja + r	ê open, ê	æə, iə <i>scare</i> , 75 III ; 95 III 3)
â	ô “	ô <i>loan</i> , 105 III 1)
â + g	ou	ô <i>low</i> , 105 III 2)
æ	ê (e)	i <i>wing</i> , 88 III 2)
æ + r	ê open	iə <i>sneer</i> , 95 II 1)

28. Scandinavian *ê*, *ei*:

ê	ê open	î <i>leak</i> , 92 III 2)
ê	e	e <i>fellow</i> , 78 III 2)
ê (?) + r	ê open	iə <i>blear</i> , 95 II 2)
ei	ei	î <i>weak</i> , 92 III 2)
ei	ei, ai	ê <i>steak</i> , 82 II 3)

29. Scandinavian *i*, *î*:

i	i	i <i>skill</i> , 88 III 1)
i	i	e <i>fit</i> , 78 III 3)
i + r	i	ë <i>whirl</i> , 85 III
î	î	ai <i>thrive</i> , 124 III 1)

30. Scandinavian *ô*, *œ*:

ô	ô	u <i>took</i> , 117 III 1)
œ + h	ih (î)	ai <i>sly</i> , 124 III 3)

31. Scandinavian *u*, *û*:

u	u	ʊ <i>ugly</i> , 112 III
u	u	u <i>bull</i> , 117 III 2)
y by umlaut	i	i <i>lift</i> , 88 III 3)
û	ô	û <i>booth</i> , 119 III 1)
ÿ by umlaut	î	ai <i>sky</i> , 124 III 2)

5. THE OLD FRENCH VOWELS.

32. Old French *a* :

OF.	ME.	IthD.
a	a after w	a <i>quantity</i> , 62 III 1)
a	a	æ <i>tan</i> , 70 IV 1)
a	a	â <i>chance</i> , 73 IV 1)
a	â	ê <i>face</i> , 82 III 1)
a + r	a	â <i>part</i> , 65 IV 1)
a + r	â	æa <i>square</i> , 75 IV 1)

33. Old French *e* :

e	e	e <i>letter</i> , 78 IV 1)
e	ê open	ê <i>measure</i> , 82 III 5)
e	ë “	î <i>feast</i> , 92 IV 1)
e	e	æ <i>relative</i> , 70 IV 2)
e + nasal	i	i <i>chimney</i> , 88 IV 2)
e “	e	i <i>general</i> , 88 IV 3)
e + r	e, a	a <i>farm</i> , 65 IV 2)
e + r	e (a)	ë <i>clerk</i> , 85 IV 1)
e + r	ê (ê open ?)	iə <i>clear</i> , 95 III 1)
e + r	e, a	æ pa(r)tridge, 70 IV 2)

34. Old French *i* :

i	i	i <i>rich</i> , 88 IV 1)
i	î	ai <i>cry</i> , 124 IV 1)
i + r	î	aiə <i>desire</i> , 125 4)

35. Old French *o* :

o (?)	o (o ?)	a <i>honor</i> , 62 III 2)
o	o	o <i>cord</i> , 98 IV 1)
o	o (ô open)	ô <i>close</i> , 105 IV
o	ô	û <i>fool</i> , 119 IV 1)
o	ô	û <i>move</i> , 119 IV 2)
o + r	ô open	oə <i>store</i> , 109 II

36. Old French *u*, *ü* :

u (o, ou)	u (o, ou)	u <i>suffer</i> , 112 IV 1)
u	û (ou)	au <i>row, sound</i> , 129 III 1) 2)
u + r	o (u, ou)	ë <i>disturb</i> , 85 IV 2)
u + r	û	auə <i>hour</i> , 130 2)
ü	(i) u	u <i>sugar</i> , 117 IV 1)
ü	u	u <i>justice</i> , 112 IV 2)
ü	u	e <i>just</i> , 78 IV 3)
ü	u (iu)	û <i>cruel</i> , 119 IV 3)
ü	u (iu)	iu <i>abuse</i> , 133 II

37. Old French *ai* :

OF.	ME.	IthD.
ai	ai, ei	ê <i>pay</i> , 82 III 2)
ai < ali, ani	ai	ê <i>fail</i> , 82 III 3)
ai	ê open	e <i>pheasant</i> , 78 IV 2)
ai	ê “	î <i>please</i> , 92 IV 2)
ai + r	ê “	æa <i>repair</i> , 75 IV 3)

38. Old French *ei* :

ei	ei, ai	ê <i>paint</i> , 82 III 4)
ei	ei	î <i>receive</i> , 92 IV 3)
ei + r	ê open	æa <i>fair</i> , 75 IV 4)

39. Old French *ie* :

ie	ê	î <i>grief</i> , 92 IV 5)
ie + r	ê	iə <i>fierce</i> , 95 III 2)
ie + r	ê, î	aiə <i>entire</i> , 125 5)
ie + r	ie, î	æa <i>squire</i> , 75 IV 2)

40. Old French *oi*, *qi* :

oi	oi (17th cent. ai)	ai <i>point</i> , 124 IV 2)
oi < o + l <i>mouillée</i>	oi “ “	ai <i>oil</i> , 124 IV 3)
qi	oi	oi <i>choice</i> , 132 I
oi	oi (u ?)	e <i>musty</i> , 112 IV 3)
oi	u	u <i>bushel</i> , 117 IV 2)

41. Old French *au* :

au	au	o <i>cause</i> , 98 IV 3)
au < a + l	au	o <i>default</i> , 98 IV 2)
au < a + l	au	æ <i>sausage</i> , 70 IV 3)
au < a + l	au	æ <i>sauce</i> , 73 IV 2)

42. Old French *eu*, *eau*, *üi*, *ue* :

eu	iu	û <i>rule</i> , 119 IV 5)
eau < ell + cons.	iu	yû <i>beauty</i> , 119 IV 6)
üi	iu (u)	û <i>fruit</i> , 119 IV 4)
ue	ê	î <i>beef</i> , 92 IV 2)

6. SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENT FROM ME.

43. The development since ME. times has special interest as throwing light on ME. phonology. For this the Chaucer Grammar of ten Brink has been consulted in all cases. However, when the later development of a series of words pointed to a vowel of different quality in ME., that has been taken as the LME. basis of the change, even when sometimes at variance with

ten Brink. This applies especially to the difference between open and close *e*, *o* long and short, and it is hoped the present grouping of examples may serve to settle in some degree the questionable quality of those vowels. The numbers refer to sections.

44. ME. *a* appears in IthD. as :

1) *æ* regularly : *hat*, 70 I 1); *bladder*, 70 I 3); *fat*, 70 I 4); *Chapman*, 70 I 5); *Saturday*, 70 II; *rash*, 70 III; *tan*, 70 IV 1); *pa(r)tridge*, 70 IV 2).

2) *æ* regularly before *f*, *th*(þ), *s*, *η*, *n* + cons. : *lath*, *hand*, 70 I 1); *blast*, 73 I 2); *ask*, 73 I 3); *plaster*, 73 II; *cast*, 73 III.

3) *a*, after *w*, not before a back cons. nor before *l* or *r* + cons. : *wallow*, 62 I 1); *quantity*, 62 III 1).

4) *â* before *r* + cons. (sometimes final *r*) not preceded by *w* : *arm*, 65 I 1); *barley*, 65 I 2); *star*, 65 I 3); *garlic*, 65 I 4); *ark*, 65 II; *harden*, 65 III; *part*, 65 IV 1); *farm*, 65 IV 2).

5) *o* after *w* before *r*, *l* or *m* + cons.; or before *l* : *small*, *warm*, 98 I 1); *dwarf*, 98 I 9); *call*, 98 III 2).

6) *e*, *v*, occasionally : *together*, 78 I 1); *rather*, 112 I 5).

45. ME. *e* (open or close) has become :

1) *e* regularly : *swell*, 78 I 1); *send*, 78 I 3); *hence*, 78 I 5); *spend*, 78 II 1); *pepper*, 78 II 2); *dwell*, 78 III 1); *fellow*, 78 III 2); *letter*, 78 IV 1); *pheasant*, 78 IV 2).

2) *æ* sometimes : *thrash*, 70 I 2); *relative*, 70 IV 2).

3) *i* occasionally : *general*, 88 IV 3); *yesterday*, 88 I 10).

4) *ê* in a few words : *edge*, 82 I 4); *leg*, 82 II 2).

5) *ë* in closed syllables before *r* : *earn*, 85 I 3); *earth*, 85 I 1); *clerk*, 85 IV 1).

6) *v* < *er* after loss of *r* : *burst*, 112 I 7), a few examples.

46. ME. *i* appears as :

1) *i* regularly : *smith*, 88 I 1); *fifty*, 88 I 2); *wisdom*, 88 I 3); *fist*, 88 I 5); *wish*, 88 I 4); *strip*, 88 I 6); *sick*, 88 I 7); *chill*, 88 I 8); *give*, 88 I 10); *dish*, 88 II 1); *mill*, 88 II 2); *kettle*, 88 II 3); *skill*, 88 III 1); *lift*, 88 III 3); *rich*, 88 IV 1); *chimney*, 88 IV 2).

2) *ai* < *ih* (*g*) : *tile*, 124 I 3); *right*, 124 I 4); *dry*, 124 I 7); *night*, 124 I 11); *buy*, 124 I 12).

3) *e* occasionally : *since*, 78 I 8); *fit*, 78 III 3).

4) *v* seldom : *bristle*, 112 I 3).

5) *ë* before *r* : *her*, 85 I 2); *first*, 85 I 6); *whirl*, 85 III.

47. ME. *o* (open usually) has become :

1) *a* by unrounding regularly : *gossip*, 62 I 3); *hot*, 62 I 2); *fodder*, 62 I 4); *box*, 62 II; *honor*, 62 III 2); cf. also *from* 62 I 1).

2) *o* before *f*, *th* (*þ*), *s*, *ŋ*, *r* + cons.: *long*, 98 I 5); *soft*, 98 I 6); *corn*, 98 I 7); *fork*, 98 II; *cord*, 98 IV 1); *cloth*, 98 I 12).

3) *o* from open *oh* (lME. *ou*): *brought*, 98 I 6); *bought*, 98 I 8); *ought*, 98 I 11).

4) *o* (especially before nasals) < close *o*: *honey*, 112 I 4); *among*, 112 I 5); *other*, 112 I 6); *brother*, 112 I 9); *one*, 112 I 10); *month*, 112 I 11).

5) *ë* (before *r*) < *o* close after *w*: *word*, 85 I 4).

48 ME. *u* and *ü* are found as :

1) *u* regularly: *sun*, 112 I 1); *southern*, 112 I 2); *shove*, 112 I 8); *butter*, 112 II 1); *plum*, 112 II 2); *ugly*, 112 III; *suffer*, 112 IV 1); *justice*, 112 IV 2).

2) *u* after *w* or before *l* usually: *pull*, 117 I 4); *full*, 117 I 7); *woman*, 117 I 9); *bull*, 117 III 2); *bushel*, 117 IV 2).

3) *û* < *uh*: *through*, 119 I 2).

4) *iu* < *ü*: *abuse*, 133 II.

5) *e* occasionally: *just*, 78 IV 3).

6) *ë* before *r*: *Thursday*, 85 I 5); *purple*, 85 II; *disturb*, 85 IV 2).

49. ME. *â* has become :

1) *ê* regularly: *race*, 82 I 8); *acre*, 82 I 3); *take*, 82 II 1); *face*, 82 III 1).

2) *æa* before *r*: *care*, 75 I 2); *square*, 75 IV 1).

50. ME. *ê* (open), *ê* appear as :

1) *î* regularly from ME. close *ê*: *queen*, 92 I 2); *feel*, 92 I 5); *freeze*, 92 I 8); *heel*, 92 I 6); *field*, 92 I 9); *see*, 92 I 10); *he*, 92 I 11); *wield*, 92 I 15); *three*, 92 I 16); *fever*, 92 II 2); *grief*, 92 IV 5); *beef*, 92 IV 4).

2) *î* by later change from ME. open *ê*: *deed*, 92 I 1); *each*, 92 I 3); *leaf*, 92 I 7); *steal*, 92 I 12); *steel*, 92 I 13); *heave*, 92 I 14); *street*, 92 II 1); *leak*, 92 III 2); *feast*, 92 IV 1); *please*, 92 IV 2).

3) *ê* in a few words: *great*, 82 I 9); *break*, 82 I 6); *measure*, 82 III 5).

4) *e* sometimes by shortening in lME. or early MdE.: *breath*, 78 I 6); *friend*, 78 I 4); *health*, 78 I 7); *kept*, 78 I 9); *death*, 78 I 10); *breast*, 78 I 11); *pheasant*, 78 IV 2).

5) *i* occasionally: *weary*, 88 I 11).

6) *iä* regularly from ME. close *ê* before *r*: *here*, 95 I 5); *deer*, 95 I 8); *sneer*, 95 II 1); *fierce*, 95 III 2).

7) *iä* through close *ê* by later change from ME. open *ê*: *fear*, 95 I 2); *tear*, 95 I 3); *beard*, 95 I 4); *spear*, 95 I 6); *hear*, 95 I 7); *scare*, 95 II 3); *blear*, 95 II 2); *clear* (ME. *ê* ?), 95 III 1).

8) *æa* from open *ê* before *r* when remaining open: *swear*, 75 I 2); *hair*, 75 I 4); *rear*, 75 I 5); *tear*, 75 I 7); *pear*, 75 II; *scare*, 75 III; *repair*, 75 IV 3); *fair*, 75 IV 4).

51. ME. *î* has become :

1) *ai* regularly by diphthonging: *while*, 124 I 1); *five*, 124 I 2); *child*, 124 I 4); *scythe*, 124 I 6); *kind*, 124 I 13); *mile*, 124 II; *thrive*, 124 III 1); *sky*,

124 III 2); from *ih* (earlier *éh*) *high*, 124 I 8); *fly*, 124 I 9); *nigh*, 124 I 10); *sly*, 124 III 3).

2) *i* occasionally: *wish*, 88 I 4).

3) *aiə* before *r*: *iron*, 125 1); *fire*, 125 2); *mire*, 125 3); *desire*, 125 4); *entire*, 125 5).

52. ME. *ô* (open) appears as :

1) *ô* regularly: *no*, 105 I 2); *gold*, 105 I 4); *over*, 105 I 5); *shoulder*, 105 I 7); *hold*, 105 I 8); *pole*, 105 II 1); *rose*, 105 II 2); *loan*, 105 III 1); *close*, 105 IV 1).

2) *ɔ* occasionally: *yawn*, 98 I 10).

3) *ò* seldom: *boat*, 104 I.

4) *òə* before *r*: *oar*, 109 I 1); *floor*, 109 I 2); *torn*, 109 I 3); *sword*, 109 I 4); *door*, 109 I 5); *store*, 109 II.

53. ME. *ô* (close) has become :

1) *û* regularly: *cool*, 119 I 1); *shoe*, 119 I 2); *moon*, 119 I 3); *tooth*, 119 I 4); *two*, 119 I 5); *shoot*, 119 I 7); *womb*, 119 I 6); *school*, 119 II; *booth*, 119 III 1); *fool*, 119 IV 1); *move*, 119 IV 2).

2) *u* by shortening from long *û*: *hoof*, 117 I 1); *soon*, 117 I 2); *room*, 117 I 3); *should*, 117 I 6); *cook*, 117 II; *took*, 117 III 1).

3) *v* sometimes: *whole*, 112 I 10).

54. ME. *û* (written *ou* in Ch.) appears as :

1) *au* regularly by diphthonging: *house*, 129 I 1); *bow*, 129 I 2); *now*, 129 I 3); *mouth*, 129 I 4); *cow*, 129 I 5); *hound*, 129 I 7); *pound*, 129 II 2); *trout*, 129 II 1); *vow*, 129 III 1); *sound*, 129 III 2).

2) *u* sometimes: *could*, 117 I 5); *wood*, 117 I 8).

3) *auə* before *r*: *our*, 130 1); *hour*, 130 2).

55. ME. *ai*, *ei* have become :

1) *ê* regularly: *day*, 82 I 1); *lay*, 82 I 2); *way*, 82 I 5); *gray*, 82 I 7); *hay*, 82 I 10); *steak*, 82 II 3); *pay*, 82 III 2); *fail*, 82 III 3); *paint*, 82 III 4).

2) *î* sometimes: *either*, 82 I 4); *weak*, 92 III 1); *receive*, 92 IV 3).

3) *æə* before *r*: *fair*, 75 I 3); *stair*, 75, I 6).

56. ME. *au* is found as :

1) *ɔ* regularly: *draw* 98 I 2); *hawk*, 98 I 4); *straw*, 98 I 3); *law*, 98 III 1); *default*, 98 IV 2); *cause*, 98 IV 3).

2) *æ*, *æ* sometimes: *sausage*, 73 IV 2); *sauce*, 70 IV 3).

57. ME. *oi* appears as :

1) *ai* usually: *point*, 124 IV 2); *oil*, 124 IV 3).

2) *oi* sometimes: *choice*, 132 1).

58. ME. *ou* has become :

- 1) *ô* regularly : *snow*, 105 I 1); *grow*, 105 I 3); *bow*, 105 I 6); *low*, 105 III 2).
- 2) *au* sometimes : *plow*, 129 I 6).
- 3) *o* < earlier *qh* (cf. ME. *q*) : *brought*, 98 I 6); *bought*, 98 I 8); *ought*, 98 I 11).

59. ME. *eu*, *iu* have become :

- 1) *û* regularly : *rule*, 119 I 6); *true*, 119 I 8); *dew*, 119 I 9); *Tuesday*, 119 I 10); *fruit*, 119 IV 5); *u* in *sugar*, 117 IV 1).
- 2) *yû* in *beauty*, 119 I 7).
- 3) *iu* sometimes : *few*, 133 I ; *abuse*, 133 II.

IV. THE VOWELS.

1. GENERAL.

60. The English language presents materials from many sources, received at many different times. It is peculiarly difficult therefore to present a single dialect in so compact a form, as if it represented the uninterrupted development of a single speech. Scarcely less difficult is it to decide what forms shall be given as representing the language of older times, or the later loan-words. It would be impossible, for example, to give in all cases the exact forms from which our OE. words have come to us, or those which are the direct ancestors of our Romance vocabulary. Fresh problems present themselves when we consider the influx of words from all sources since Chaucer, or the newly-coined words themselves so numerous. It can scarcely be hoped, therefore, that all would agree with the present disposition of American dialect material, but some of the reasons for the present arrangement will be evident from the following explanation of the grouping : —

- 1) For the OE. material belonging to the Germanic speech the WG. vowel system is chosen as a standard for comparison, (1) because of its well-known relations to all Germanic dialects, (2) because of its simplicity compared with the WS. vocalism, and (3) because it agrees more nearly, than does the WS., with the ME. vowel system. But in all cases the WS. forms of Eng-

lish material are given, not as the ground forms of MdE., but as useful for reference.

2) The Latin element in OE. is referred to the Latin vowel system, but here again the WS. form is given, since the words had become fully incorporated into OE. speech.

3) It is well known that not a few Scandinavian words are found in late OE. writings (cf. Kluge's treatment in *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 785). But it has seemed best to group all under ME. forms, and these will be given throughout for the Scandinavian element. The absence, however, of special treatises on our Scandinavian borrowings, with the exception of Brate's valuable contribution (*Nordische lehnwörter im Orrmulum*, PBB. X), makes this part peculiarly difficult.

4) The Romance material in ME. is referred to the OF. vowels, but the forms are those of ME., following in this the Chaucer Grammar of ten Brink, and the invaluable work of Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England*.

5) Loan-words entering from various sources later than ME. times are referred to the forms from which they are derived, so far as that is possible, under such headings as late Latin, French, Greek, etc. Little care has been taken, however, to determine the exact source of these late loan-words, as whether a word of learned origin now common to the people came directly from the Latin or from a late French form; nor has it seemed necessary to consider especially the original quantity of the vowels in these words.

6) Proper names are given when sufficiently illustrative, with references to origin when this is known, or conjectured with probability.

2. THE VOWEL *a*.

61. The vowel *a* occurs as both long and short in IthD. Short *a* usually represents earlier short open *o*, which has become unrounded in many words. Long *a* springs from earlier short *a* in certain consonant combinations, usually before *r*.

A. THE SHORT VOWEL *a*.

62. Short *a* in IthD. springs from :

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking, *ǣ* before a nasal, ME. *a* (*ǣ*). In open syllables: *baræ* < *barewe* (i.e. wheel-barrow); *naræ* < *nearu*, 'narrow'; *falæ*, *falr* < *fealu*, 'fallow'; *walr* < *wealwian*, 'wallow'; *swalr* < *swealwe*,

'swallow'; *talr* (*talə*) < *tealh*, 'tallow.' In closed syllables: *watf* < *wæccan*, 'watch'; *hwat* (stressed) < *hwæt*, 'what'; *waz* (stressed) < *wæs*, 'was'; *fram* (stressed) < *fr̥om*, 'from'; *swan* < *sw̥on*, 'swan'; *wandr* < *wandrian*, 'wander.'

2) WG. *ai*, WS. *á*, ME. *ê* (*ē*). In open syllables: *sari* < *sārig*, 'sorry'; *haladē* < *hāligdæg*, 'holiday'; *nalid̥g* < *cnāwl̥æcan*, 'knowledge.' In closed syllables: *nat* < *nāwiht*, 'not'; *hat* < *hāt*, 'hot.'

3) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In open syllables: *marə* < *morgen*, 'morrow'; *barə* < *borgian*, 'borrow'; *hali* < *holegn*, 'holly'; *halə*, *halr* < *holh*, 'hollow'; *falə*, *falr* < *folgian*, 'follow'; *gasip* < *godsib*, 'gossip'; *gaspl* < *godspell*, 'gospel'; *badi* < *bodig*, 'body'; *batm* < *botm*, 'bottom'; *datr* (*dātr*) < *dohtor*, 'daughter.' In closed syllables: *lak* < *loc* (a fastening), 'lock'; *flak* < *floc*, 'flock'; *aks* < *oxa*, 'ox'; *faks* < *fox*; *stap* < *for-stoppian*, 'stop'; *krap* < *crop*; *tap* < *top*; *rat* < *rotian*, 'rot'; *lat* < *hlot*, 'lot'; *fat* < *gescot*, 'shot'; *dat* < *dot*.

4) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô* (*o*). In open syllables: *fadr* < *fôdor*, 'fodder'; *blasm* < *blôstm*, 'blossom.' In closed syllables: *rad* < *rôd*, 'rod'; *sad* < *ge-scôd*, 'shod.'

II. Latin *u*, *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *o*. In open syllables: *kapr* < *cuprum*, OE. *copor*, 'copper.' In closed syllables: *baks* < *buxus*, OE. *box*; *sak* < *soccus*, OE. *soc*, 'sock.'

III. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* after *w*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *skwad* < *esquadre*, 'squad'; *skwat* < *esquatir*, 'squat.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *kwant̥ati* < *quantite*, 'quantity.' Open: *kwal̥ati* < *qualite*, 'quality.'

2) OF. *o*, ME. *o*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *rab* < *robben* (Germ. through Fr.), 'rob.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *anr* < *honour*; *stanif* < *astonien* (?), 'astonish'; *pasabl* < *possible*; *kur̥as̥ati* < *curiosite*, 'curiosity'; *paz̥ativ*, *paz̥tiv* < *positif*, 'positive'; *kablr* < *cobelere*, 'cobbler'; *rabri* < *roberie*, 'robbery'; *katn* < *cotoun*, 'cotton'; *bail* < *botel*, 'bottle'; *prafit* < *profit*; *navlti* < *novelte*, 'novelty'; *prap̥eti*, *prapti* (*pr̥æpti*) < *proprete*, 'property'; *papl*, *paplr* < *poplere*, 'poplar'; *ak̥apai* < *occupy*; *salid* < *solide*, 'solid.' Closed: *daktr* < *doctor*; *apsit* < *opposite*.

IV. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*. In open syllables: *prabli* < *probable*, 'probably'; *pap̥lr*, *paplr* < *populaire*, 'popular.'

2) Lat. *o*. In open syllables: *kam̥adēt* < *accommodatus*, 'accommodate'; *kal̥eri*, *kalri* < *cholera*; *kam̥ekl* < *comicus* + *al*, 'comical'; *pal̥etiks* < *politicus* (or through the French?), 'politics'; *tal̥abl* < *tolerabilis*, 'tolerable.' In closed syllables: *kantr̥ækr* < *contractus* (through Fr. *contract*?), 'contractor.'

3) Greek *o*. In closed syllables: *bai̥agr̥fi* < *βίος* + *γραφω*, 'biography'; *brankilz*, sb., *brankil*, adj., < *βρόγχια*, 'bronchial.'

4) Italian *o*. In open syllables: *ap̥ari*, *apri* < *opera*.

V. Names. 1) With written *a*: *watlz* < *Wattles*; *watkinz* < *Watkins*.

2) With written *o*. In open syllables: *stad̥ərd* < *Stoddard*. In closed syllables: *bastik* < *Bostwick*; *wesk̥ansin* < *Wisconsin*.

63. Short *a* from older *o* appears regularly in open syllables, and before voiceless consonants, except the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s*.

Occasionally it is also found before voiced consonants, as in ‘rob,’ ‘rod,’ ‘shod,’ ‘from’ (when stressed), ‘hod,’ ‘pod,’ ‘cod,’ ‘mob,’ etc., while before *g* it is regularly *ɔ*. For this, and for the lengthening of earlier short *o*, cf. § 103.

64. Short *a* from ME. *a* is found after *w*, except before back consonants, where *æ* occurs (‘*wag*,’ ‘*wax*,’ and cf. HES., § 785), or before the consonant combinations lengthening it to *â*, *ɔ*; cf. §§ 66, 99. Other examples are: ‘*wad*,’ ‘*waddle*,’ ‘*twaddle*,’ ‘*wabble*,’ ‘*swab*,’ ‘*squabble*,’ ‘*wallet*,’ ‘*wallop*,’ ‘*wan*,’ ‘*squander*,’ ‘*swap*.’ This *a*, under the influence of *w*, was open *o* from very early times, unrounding in IthD. to *a*. Occasionally *a* appears before *r*, *l*, in open syllables, where in closed syllables it would have become long open *o* (*ɔ*), as in *kaləri* (*cholera*), beside *call*.

B. THE VOWEL *â*.

65. IthD. *â* is from :

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* before *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *ârm* < *earm*, ‘arm’; *hârm* < *hearm*, ‘harm’; *yârn* < *gearn*, ‘yarn’; *hârd* < *heard*, ‘hard’; *yârd* < *geard*, ‘yard’; *hârvist* < *hærfest*, ‘harvest’; *nârwin* < *nearu*, ‘narrowing’; *mârk* < *mearc*, ‘mark’; *fârp* < *scearp*, ‘sharp.’

2) WG. *a*, WS. *ē* (*ie* < breaking) by umlaut, ME. *a* (*e*): *mâr* ∧ *mier-ran*, Merc. *merran*, ‘mar’; *bârli* < *bære*, ME. *barlic*, ‘barley’; *bârn* < *bærern*, ‘barn’; *yârd* (rod) < *gêrd*, ‘yard.’

3) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *stâr* < *steorra*, ‘star’; *fâr* (stressed) < *feor*, ‘far’; *stârv* < *steorfan*, ‘starve’; *smârt* < *smeortan*, ‘smart’; *bârk* < *beorcan*, ‘bark’; *dârk* < *deorc*, ‘dark’; *hârt* < *heorte*, ‘heart.’

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *a* : *gârlík* < *gârléac*, ‘garlic’; *lârk* < *lâwerce*, ‘lark.’

II. Latin *a*, WS. *a*, *ea* by *r* + cons., ME. *a* : *ârk* < *arca*, OE. *earc*, ‘ark’; *mârtr* < *martyr*.

III. Scand. *a*, ME. *a* : *hârdn* < *harþna*, Orm. *harrdenn*, ‘harden’; *bark* (of a tree) < *bark*, ME. *barke*, ‘bark’; also with Scand. *e* : *stârt* < *sterten*, ON. *sterta*, to move quickly, ‘start.’

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a*. a) In originally stressed syllables : *tſardg* < *charge*; *tſârm* < *charme*, ‘charm’; *tſârt* < *chart*; *ârm* < *arme* (weapon), ‘arm’; *ârt* < *art*, ‘art’; *pârt* < *part*; *dâp·ârt* < *departen*, ‘depart’; *kâr* < *carre*, ‘car’; *bâr* < *barre*, ‘bar.’ b) In originally unstressed syllables : *hârdi* < *hardy*; *pârdner* < *partener*, ‘partner’; *gârdn* < *gardin*, ‘garden’; *kârpnter* < *carpenter*; *ârmr* < *armour*; *hârnîs* < *harneis*, ‘harness’; *ârgemênt* < *argument*; *bârl* < *barrel*, ‘barrel’; *ârtêkl* < *article*; *ârþr* < *Arthour*, ‘Arthur’; *târvrn* (with excrescent *r*) (also *tævørn*) < *taverne*, ‘tavern.’

2) OF. *e*, ME. *e* (*a*). a) In originally stressed syllables : *riz·ârv* < *reserven*, ‘reserve’; *fârm* < *ferme*, ‘farm.’ b) In originally unstressed syllables :

sârtŋ (*sěrtŋ*) < *certein*, *sarten*, 'certain'; *sârdžant* < *sergant*, 'sergeant'; *pârsli* (also *pâsli* with loss of *r*) < *persely*, 'parsley.'

V. Names. With written *a*: *vârni* < *Varna*; *mâržr* < *Mather*, with excrescent *r*.

66. Long *a* (*â*) appears regularly before *r* final, or *r* + cons., that is, in a syllable closed by *r*. It springs uniformly from ME. *a* before *r* + cons. (sometimes *r*), cf. HES., § 783. This ME. *a* is regarded as long by Kluge (cf. PGr. I, p. 866) before *rd*, *rn*, but as the later development of this *a* does not differ from that of *a* before other combinations of *r* + cons.: the quantity of ME. *a* is here considered short in all these cases. There are, however, two words in which IthD. *â* springs from OE. *â* — the words 'lark' and 'garlic,' but these had short *a* in lME. (cf. HES., § 632). In a few words *â* represents older *e* before *r* + cons., as shown by examples under I 3), and II, where *start* seems to belong. For further discussion, cf. § 86.

67. The lengthening of *æ* and *o* before the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s*, the nasal *ŋ*, and *n* + cons., makes it reasonable to expect a similar long *â* in such company, either from an earlier *a* or by the unrounding of an earlier *o*. But earlier *a* became *æ* in these cases, while *o* was lengthened before the unrounding. The only words in which *â* does occur, besides those already given, are 'father' < OE. *fader*; 'wasp' < OE. *wæps*, ME. *wasp*; *wand* < Scand. (?); and with written *o*, 'bond,' 'fond,' 'pond.' All of these but 'father' had earlier an open *o*, either original or by influence of preceding *w*. We should therefore expect 'wasp' to appear with open *o* (*wosp*), as it does sometimes, though often with *â*. In the other words the former open *o* appears as *â* by unrounding and lengthening. 'Father' is peculiar in its development. We should expect its stressed vowel would be *æ*, as in 'gather,' 'lather,' 'fathom.' To explain its *â* we must remember (1) that its place is taken in the dialect of the common people by such words as 'pa,' 'pap,' 'dad,' 'daddy,' and (2) that when used it is as a title, or word of respectful address. The same peculiarity appears in LdE., where *fâðə(r)* is given beside *gæðə(r)*, *læðə(r)*, *fæðm*.

68. The development of this *â* from ME. times is interesting. According to Sweet and Ellis, ME. *a* was *æ* in all words in the 17th century and *æ*, *ê* in the 18th, though Ellis admits that *a* may have remained before *r* in the 17th century. Now in LdE. before *f*, *þ*, *s*, as well as before *r* + cons., ME. *a* is *â*, the change from *ê* being assigned to the present century. But in IthD.

ME. *a* is *æ* before the fricatives, *â* before *r* + cons. If this *â* was *ê* in the 18th century in all dialects, it is difficult to see how it should have separated from the *ê* before the fricatives in IthD., while under the same circumstances it became *a* in LdE., with the *ê* before *f*, *þ*, and *s*. It seems more probable that *a* before *r* final or *r* + cons. has retained its quality since ME. times, in IthD. at least, and perhaps in England also (cf. § 181-2).

3. THE VOWEL *æ*.

69. The vowel *æ*, not before *r*, is the regular descendant of WG. *a*, as well as of *a* in loan-words. When followed by *r* it appears with a glide, and corresponds to ME. long *a* before *r*. This *æ* has not become *a*, *â* as in LdE. before *f*, *þ*, *s* (cf. HES. word-lists, pp. 282-3). But before these consonants, as well as before *ŋ*, *n* + cons., it has become *ê*, while it remains short in other words, except as it is half-long before voiced consonants.

A. SHORT *æ*.

70. The vowel short *æ* in IthD. is one of the commonest sounds, springing from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*, *ǣ*), *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *æpl* < *æppel*, 'apple'; *sædl* < *sadol*, 'saddle'; *æfiz* < *asce*, 'ashes'; *fæsn* < *fæstnian*, 'fasten'; *ræsl* < *wrastlian* (*wraxlian*), 'wrestle'; *hæmr* < *hǣmor*, 'hammer.' In closed syllables: *væt* < *fæt*, 'vat'; *kæt* < *cat*; *hæt* < *hæt*, 'hat'; *æks* < *æx*, 'axe'; *flæks* < *fleax*, 'flax'; *clæp* < *clappian*, 'clap'; *glæd* < *glæd*, 'glad'; *dræg* < *draggian*, also *dræg*, a harrow, 'drag'; *fævz* < *sceaft*, 'shafts'; *mæn* < *mǣn*, 'man'; *hænl* < *hǣnde*, 'handle'; *læn-lord*, late from *lǣnd* + *lord*, 'landlord'; *ænsr* < *ǣndswaru*, 'answer'; *hænsæm*, *hændi*, late formations from *hǣnd*, 'handsome,' 'handy'; *hægin*, sb. < *hangian*, 'hanging'; *læm* < *lǣmb*, 'lamb.'

2) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *eo*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *yæla*, *yælr* < *geolu*, 'yellow.' In closed syllables: *bræf* < *berscan*, 'thrash'; *wæl*, *wêl* (often when stressed) < *wel*, 'well'; so sometimes stressed *yæs* < *geswâ*, which may also be *yê*s, 'yes.'

3) WG. *â*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *a* (*e*). In open syllables: *ædr* < *nêddre*, 'adder'; *blædr* < *blêddre*, 'bladder'; *ærant* (*erænd*) < *êrende*, 'errand.'

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *lædr* < *hlêdder*, 'ladder.' In closed syllables: *fæt* < *fê*t, adj., 'fat'; *mæd* < *ge-mê*d, 'mad.'

5) WG. *au*, WS. *êa*, ME. *a*. In closed syllables: *tſæpman* (proper name, and sometimes *tſepmæn*) < *cêapman*, ME. *chapman*, 'Chapman.'

II. Latin *a*, WS. *a* (*æ*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *sætrdi* < *sæternesdæg*, 'Saturday'; *kæml* < *camelus*, OE. *camel*, 'camel'; *kæsl* < *castellum*, OE. *castel*, 'castle.' In closed syllables: *kændl* < *candela*, OE.

candel, 'candle'; *pæm* < *palma*, OE. *palm*, 'palm'; *sæm* < *psalmus*, OE. *sealm*, 'psalm'; *cænkr* < *ancora*, OE. *ancor*, 'anchor.'

III. Scand. *a* (o), ME. *a*. In closed syllables: *ræf* < *roskr*, ME. *rask*, 'rash'; *hæf* < *horskr*, ME. *harsk*, with loss of *r*, 'harsh'; *rænsæk* < *rannsaka*, ME. *ransaken*, 'ransack'; *gæd* ('goad') < *gaddr*, ME. *gad*; *bæg* < *bagge*, 'bag'; *læk* < *lak*, vb., < *lakken* (?), 'lack'; *flæt* < *flatr*, ME. *flat*, 'flat.'

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* (*au*). *a*) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *ætætʃ* < *atachen*, 'attach'; *æn* < *Anne*; *tæn* < *tannen*, 'tan'; *kæm* < *calme*, 'calm.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *mænr* < *manere*, 'manner'; *mækænik* < *mechanike*, 'mechanic'; *dæmidʒ* < *damage*; *mætr* < *matere*, 'matter'; *kætl* < *catel*, 'cattle'; *nætʃl* < *natural*; *bæləns* < *balance*; *gæln* < *galoun*, 'gallon'; *mæri* < *marien*, 'marry'; *mæridʒ* < *mariage*, 'marriage'; *stæblif* < *establisser*, '(e)stablish'; *fæʃn* < *facioun*, 'fashion'; *mækərl* < *makerel*, 'mackerel'; *tævrn* (also *târvrn*, with excrescent *r*) < *taverne*, 'tavern'; *pæsl* < *parcel*, with loss of *r*; *kæpn* (*kæptn*, *kæp*) < *capitain*, 'captain'; *bæptis(t)* < *baptiste*, 'baptist'; *tʃæptr* < *chapitre*, 'chapter'; *æktl* < *actual*; *sætisfæʃn* *satisfaction*, Wyc.; so *sætisfækttri*, 'satisfactory'; *stændərd* < *standard*; *græn-*, *græm-*, in *græni*, *græmæ* < *grammer* (?), 'granny,' 'grandma'; so *grænsən*, 'grandson'; *bændn* < *abandune*, 'abandon'; *kæmænment* < *commandement*, 'commandment'; *blæŋkit* < *blanket*; *træmbl* < *tramaile*, 'trammel'; *bætʃ* < *bachelor*, 'bachelor'; *kælkələt* < *calculen*, modified by Lat. *calculatus*, 'calculate.'

2) OF. *e*, ME. (*e*) *a*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *rælətiv* < *relatif*, 'relative.' Closed: *pætridʒ* (with loss of *r*) < *partriche*, Fr. *perdrix*, 'partridge.'

3) OF. *au* < *a* + *l*, ME. *au*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *sæsɪdʒ* < *saucisse*, 'sausage.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*. In open syllables: *kæməri* < *camera*; *klæri* (proper name) < *Clara*; *kæriktr* < *character*; *dæti* < *data*, pl. of *datum*; *grædʒəli* < Low Lat. *graduale*, 'gradually'; *ænəmil* < *animal*. In closed syllables: *ægʒækli* < *exact* + *ly*; *fæk(t)* < *factum*, 'fact'; *fæktri* < *factor*, 'factory'; *træk(t)* < *tractus*, 'tract'; *tæntm* < *tandem*; *æmpətət* < *amputare*, 'amputate'; *æbslūt* < *absolutus*, 'absolute.'

2) Fr. *a*. In open syllables: *træfik* < *trafique*, 'traffic'; *kædəmi* < *académie*, 'academy'; *spɛʃələti* < *spécialité*, 'special(i)ty'; *bærik* < *baraque*, 'barrack'; *kəpəsəti* < *capacité*, 'capacity'; *bætū* < *bateau*. In closed syllables: *mænəfæktrər* < *manufacture* + *-er*, so *mænəfæktrin*, 'manufacturing'; *æks* < *act*, 'acts'; *tæk*, sb., *tækt*, *tæktid* < *attaquer*, 'attack(ed)'; *dæptid* < *adapter*, 'adapted'; *kætridʒ* (with loss of *r*) < *cartouche*. Dryden *cartrage* 'cartridge'; *ædvətaɪz* < *avertiss*, 'advertise'; *kæbnit* < *cabinet*; *fɪmli* < *famille*, 'family.'

3) Fr. *e* + nasal. In closed syllables: *vændū* < *vendue*, a sale.

4) Span. *a*. In open syllables: *bənæni* < *banana*; *əvæni* < *Habana*, 'Havana'; *təbækɹ* < *tabaco*, 'tobacco'; *təmætə*, *təmætr* < *tomate* (sometimes *təm'ətə*), 'tomato.'

5) Greek *a*. In open syllables: *æləpæp* < *ἄλλος + πάθος*, 'allopath.' In closed syllables: *myæzmi* < *μίασμα*, 'miasma.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *a* (*au*). In open syllables: *kærəlain* <

Caroline. In closed syllables: *mæklini* < *McElhinney*; *ændrs* < *Andrus*; *kænzəs* < *Kansas*; *bænfil(d)* < *Bánfield*; *tʃænsi* < *Chauncy*.

2) With written *e*. In closed syllables: *skæn·æktædi* < *Schenectady* (Du.); *ælmairi* (*ælm·airi*) < *Elmira* (sometimes also with long *ê*).

71. It will be seen that short *æ* appears in open syllables, before voiceless consonants except *f*, *þ*, and *s*, and before the simple nasals *n*, *m*, while it is half-long before voiced consonants. Its separation from *ê* is discussed under that vowel, but *æ* before a consonant combination, as *nd*, is regularly short when that combination is simplified, as *lœnlórd*, but *lênd*, from *landlord*, *land*.

72. Special attention may be called to the interchange of *æ* and *e* in many words, as *yœlə*, *yæs*, *wœl*, *rœlativ*, *ælmairi*, *œrənt*, *vœndû*, *skæn·æktædi*, for 'yellow,' 'yes,' 'well,' 'relative,' 'Elmira,' 'errand,' 'vendue,' 'Schenectady.' The opposite change may be seen in *tʃepmən* < *Chapman*, and cf. § 80.

B. LONG *æ* (*ê*).

73. Long *æ* occurs before the voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *s*, and before *l*, *ŋ*, *n*, or *m* + cons. in closed syllables. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ*, *ǣ*, *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *a*: *læþ* < *lætte*, *læþpe* (?), 'lath'; *pæþ* < *pæþ*, 'path'; *græs* < *græs*, 'grass'; *glæs* (*dlæs*) < *glæs*, 'glass'; *fæst*, adj., < *fæst*, 'fast'; *æftr* < *æfter*, 'after'; so *æftnūn*, 'afternoon,' *æftrærdz*, 'afterwards'; *kræft* < *cræft*, 'craft'; *hæf* < *healf*, 'half'; *kæf* < *cealf*, 'calf'; *læftr* < *hleahtr*, 'laughter'; so *læf*, 'laugh,' *læfəbl*, *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *tʃæf* < *ceaf*, 'chaff'; *fæl* < *sceal* (when stressed), 'shall'; *hæn(d)* < *hond*, 'hand'; *læn(d)* < *lond*, 'land'; *stæn(d)* < *standan*, 'stand'; *ænt* < *æmette*, 'ant'; *fænt* < *sha(l)n't*, 'shan't'; *hæŋ* < *hangian*, 'hang.'

2) WG. *á*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *a*: *blæst* < *blæst*, a blowing, 'blast.'

3) WG. *ai*, WS. *ē*, ME. *a*: *æst* (*æsk*) < *áscian*, 'ask'; *læst* (of a shoe) < *læst*, 'last.'

II. Lat. *a*, WS. *a* (*á*), ME. *a*: *plæstr* < *em-plastrum*, OE. *plāster*, 'plaster'; *æs* < *asinus*, OE. *assa*, 'ass'; *plænt*, sb. and vb., < *plante*, *plantian*, Lat. *planta*, 'plant.'

III. Scand. *a*, ME. *a*: *kæst* < *casten*, ON. *kasta*, 'cast'; *næsti* < *nasty*, *nasky*, cf. Swed. *naskug* (Skt.), 'nasty'; *dæmp* < *dampe*, ON. *dampe*, 'damp'; *bæŋk* (of a river) < *banki*, Orm. *bannkess*, 'bank'; *æŋgr* < *anngrenn*, Orm., cf. Dan. *anger*, 'anger.'

IV. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *a* (*au*): *tæsk* < *taske*, 'task'; *ræskil* < *raskailli*, 'rascal'; *bænd* < *bande*, 'band'; *ænt* < *aunt*; *tʃænt* < *chaunt*, 'chant'; *grænt* < *graunt*, *granten*, 'grant'; *læmp* < *lampe*, 'lamp'; *ræmp* < *rampen*, 'ramp'; *tʃæns* < *chance*; *dæns* < *daunce*, 'dance'; *læntf* < *launcen*, 'launch'; *kæm·ænd* < *commande*, 'command'; *læŋgidʒ* < *langage*, 'language'; *mæm* (*mæm*) < *madame*, through *ma-am*; *skæntlin* < *scantilon*, 'scantling.'

2) OF. *au* < *a* + *l*, ME. *au*: *sæs* < *sauce*.

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*: *kæt̪plik* < *catholicus*, 'catholic'; *pæstr* < *pastor*; so *pæstrét*, 'pastorate'; *æfriki* < *Africa*; *ælkihal* < *alcohol* (Arabic); *klæt̪ŋ* < *clangere*, 'clang.'

2) Fr. *a*: *klæs* < *classe*, 'class'; *mæs* < *masse*, 'mass'; *mæsk* < *masque*; *ælmænik* (*ɔlmænik*) < *almanach* (Arabic), 'almanac'; *kæn·æl* < *canal*; *kæmp* < *camp*; *læns* < *lance*; *træns* < *transe*, 'trance'; *græn(d)* < *grand*.

VI. Names. 1) With written *a*: *ʃæn·æt̪ŋ* < *Chenungo*.

2) With written *e*: *ælmairi* (*ælm·airi*) < *Elmira*.

74. The vowel *æ*, both long and short, in IthD., is the direct descendant of ME. short *a*, except perhaps before *r* in a closed syllable (cf. § 68). ME. *a* became fronted to *æ* in the 17th century, and in the 18th was lengthened before certain consonants, and consonant combinations. In the 19th century long *æ* became *â* in LdE. (cf. HES., § 781), but it has been preserved in IthD. This LdE. *â* appears before the fricatives *f*, *þ*, and *s* in closed syllables, as well as before *r* + cons., if we may formulate the law from Sweet's Word-lists (HES., pp. 373-93). The only exceptions given by Sweet are *fasten*, *castle*, with long *â* in open syllables where we should expect *æ*, as in *fathom*, *gather*, *lather*. In IthD., as we have seen, *â* appears before *r* + cons. Long *æ*, corresponding to LdE. *â* not before *r*, occurs before *f*, *þ*, *s* as in LdE., but also before *l*, *ŋ*, and *n* or *m* + cons. Lengthening before *ŋ* may be compared with a similar lengthening of short open *o* (§ 100), and *æ̃* before *l*, and *n* or *m* + cons. with similar lengthening of *a*, *o* before *l* in the 17th century, and before *nd*, *mb* in ME. times. The separation of *æ*, *æ̃* is made more difficult because of half-long *æ* before voiced consonants. It is possible, also, that *æ̃* occurs sometimes in open syllables before the fricatives.

C. LONG *æ* BEFORE *r* (*æ̃*).

75. The vowel *æ̃* before *r* in closed syllables appears with a glide, though this is not prolonged and is often hardly perceptible. This glide never represents, as in LdE., the lost *r*, is not drawled so that the word becomes dissyllabic, and is usually no more than is necessary in passing from the *æ* to the *r* position (cf. § 53). The vowel springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by *r* + cons. *u*-umlaut or by a palatal, ME. *â*: *spæ̃ær* < *spær*, adj., vb. < *sparian*, 'spare'; *ʃæ̃ær* < *scearu*, a part, 'share'; *kæ̃ær* < *caru*, *cearu*, 'care'; *wæ̃ær* (in 'beware') < *waru*; *mæ̃ær* (in 'nightmare') < *maru*; *stæ̃ær* < *starian*, 'stare.' ME. *a* (*â*?) in *bæ̃ær* < *bær*; *dæ̃ær* < *dear* (challenge), 'dare.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *e* (*ie*) by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *swæar* < *swērian*, 'swear'; *wæar* < *wērian*, 'wear'; *mæar* < *miere*, Merc. *mēre*, 'mare.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*: *fæar* < *fæger*, ME. *fayre*, *feyre*, 'fair.'

4) WG. *â*, WS. *ê* (*â*), ME. *ê* (*â*): *hæar* < *hêr*, 'hair'; *ðæar* (*ðar*) < *þêr*, 'there'; *hwæar* (*hwar*) < *hwêr*, *hwâr*, 'where.'

5) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *ræar* (to rise) < *rêran*, 'rear'; *æarli* (*ērli*) < *êrlice*, 'early.'

6) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*: *stæar* < *stêger*, ME. *staire*, 'stair.'

7) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*: *tæar* < *teran*, 'tear'; *bæar* < *beran*, 'bear'; *bæar*, sb., < *bere*, 'bear.'

II. Lat. *i*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*: *pæar* < *pira*, pl., OE. *peru*, 'pear.'

III. Scand. *ja* = *e*, ME. *ê*: *skæar* (*skiær*) < *skeren*, cf. Icl. *skjare*, 'scare.'

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *â*: *skwæar* < *square*, adj.; *dikl·æar* < *declaren*, 'declare.'

2) OF. *ei*, ME. *ie* (*i*): *skwæar* < *squier*, 'squire.'

3) OF. *ai*, ME. *ai*: *ræp·æar* < *repayren* (to resort to), 'repair'; *æar* < *air*.

4) OF. *ei*, ME. *ê*: *fiear* (a cattle-show) < *faire*, *feire*, 'fair'; *disp·æar* < *despayr*, *despeir*, so the vb. < *despeiren*, 'despair.'

V. Latē Loan-words. Fr. *a*: *ræar* < *rare*, *pærp·æar* < *préparer*, 'prepare.'

VI. Names. With written *ay*: *bæar* < *Thayer*; *sæar* < *Sayre*.

76. The vowel *æə* before *r* (*æər*) has three sources: 1) ME. long open *ê*, whether originally long, or lengthened in ME.

2) ME. *ai*, *ei* by monophthonging.

3) ME. *â*, whether originally long or lengthened in ME. The union of the first two classes is not difficult, when we consider that the first element of the diphthong *ei*, *ai* is supposed to have been nearly the same as the open *ê* sound. The words of the third division are 'spare,' vb. and adj., 'share,' sb., 'care,' 'beware,' 'mare' in 'nightmare,' 'stare,' vb., 'dare,' 'bare,' 'there,' 'where,' all of which, except the last four, had *â* in an open syllable in ME. In the 17th century this *â* became *ê*, when these words easily fell in with those having long open *ê* in ME. Our words 'there,' 'where,' probably descended from ME. *pêre*, *hwêre*, though the occasional forms *ðâr*, *hwâr*, in IthD. point to the older forms as well. 'Dare' and 'bare,' ME. 'dar,' 'bar,' must have lengthened their *a*'s, probably in lME., though in these cases also the forms *dâr*, *bâr*, occasionally heard, point to the original ME. forms.

All words with *æə* from original open *ê* are to be separated from those which have developed *iə* in present English. The conditions of the separation are these: IthD. *æə* springs from ME. open *ê*, remaining open, or from a diphthong of which open *e* is the first element. On the other hand, *iə* (long *i* before *r*)

has descended from a ME. long close *e*, or from an open *ê* which became close in early MdE. times (cf. §§ 93, 96). That open and close *ê* were not entirely separate in ME. times is proved by double forms occasionally heard, as *skæar*, *skiær*, 'scare'; *ræar*, *riær*, 'rear'; *fæar* (a part), 'share'; *fiær* (to cut), 'shear.' Similar proof of fluctuating quantity is given by such forms as *æarli*, *wæar*, *ërli*, *wër* ('early,' 'were'). Especially peculiar is 'squire' as *skwæar*, but this may have been influenced by the adjective 'square,' in the sense of 'just,' since the common people use the term only for one who is, or has been, a petty judge, or justice.

4. THE VOWEL *e*.

77. The vowel written *e*, *a* (*ê*), and in various other ways, appears as short close *e* (A), long close *e* (B), and as *ë* before (C).

A. THE SHORT VOWEL *e*.

78. This *e* has remained unchanged in the main from the earliest times. Its principal sources are WG. *e*, WS. *ē* by umlaut of *a*, and *e* in French or other loan words. It is from:

I. 1) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *eo* by *l*+cons. or *u*-umlaut, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *leðr* < *leþer*, 'leather'; *feðr* < *feþer*, 'feather'; *weðr* < *weder*, 'weather'; *elam* < *elm*; *belr* < *bellan* (?), cf. ON. *belja*, 'bellow'; *feli* < *felg*, 'felly'; *rekn* < *recenian*, 'reckon'; *setl* < *setlan*, 'settle.' In closed syllables: *fref* < *fersc*, 'fresh'; *eldr* < *ellern*, 'elder'; *seldom* < *seldan*, 'seldom'; *swel* < *swellan*, 'swell'; *spel* < *spellan*, 'spell'; *yel* < *gellan*, 'yell'; *melt* < *meltan*, 'melt'; *help* < *helpan*, 'help'; *yelk* < *geolca*, 'yelk'; *hevn* < *heofon*, 'heaven'; *sevn* < *seofon*, 'seven'; *nek* < *hnecca*, 'neck'; *tred* < *tredan*, 'tread'; *west* < *west*; *nest* < *nest*; here may be placed the etymologically uncertain *biy·end* < *begeondan*, 'beyond'; *yendr* < *geon*, ME. *yonder*, 'yonder.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a* (*e*). In open syllables: *tæg·eðr* < *tôgædere*, 'together'; *geðr* < *gaderian*, 'gather'; *hweðr* < *hwæþer*, 'whether'; *hetf* < *hæc* (hatch, door); *nekid* < *nacod*, 'naked.' In closed syllables: *eks* < *eax*, 'axle'; in unstressed, *hez* < *has*; *ez* < *as*; *ðet* < *bæt*, 'that'; *hev* < *habban*, 'have'; *hed* < *hædde*, 'had.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *ē* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *beri* < *berie*, 'berry'; *beli* < *belg*, 'belly'; *hevi* < *hefig*, 'heavy.' In closed syllables: *els* < *elles*, 'else'; *hel* < *hell*; *sel* < *sellan*, 'sell'; *fel* < *scell*, *scyll*, 'shall'; *fel* < *fellan*, 'fell'; *tel* < *tellan*, 'tell'; *twelv* < *twelf*, 'twelve'; *eldr* < *eldra*, 'elder'; *hen* < *hen*; *men* < *men*; *pen*, vb., < *on-pennan*, 'pen'; *end* < *ende*, 'end'; *send* < *sendan*, 'send'; *bend* < *bendan*, 'bend'; *lenþ* < *lengð*, 'length'; *englend* < *engleland* (also *ænglând*), 'England'; *stretf* < *streccean*, 'stretch'; *fetf* < *feccean*, 'fetch'; *hedg* < *hecg*, 'hedge'; *wedg* < *wecg*, 'wedge'; *set* < *settan*, 'set'; *net* < *net*; *let* (a hindrance in let-up) < *lettan*; *betr* < *betera*, 'better';

bed < *bedd*, 'bed'; *wed* < *wedian*, 'wed'; *red* (Eng. 'rid') < *hreddan*; *step* < *steppan*, 'step'; *rest* < *rest*.

4) WG. *i*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é* (*e*). In closed syllables: *frend* < *fréond*, 'friend'; *ben* < *gebéon*, ME. *been*, 'been' (ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 23).

5) WG. *i*, WS. *eo* by *o*-umlaut, ME. *ē*. In closed syllables: *levn* < *end-leofan*, cf. Goth. *ainlif*, 'eleven'; *hens* < *heonan* (cf. Ger. *hinnen*), ME. *hennes* with *s* ending, 'hence.'

6) WG. *â*, WS. *ê*, *êa* after a palatal, ME. *ê* (*e*). In open syllables: *sepærd* < *scêaphyrde*, 'shepherd'; *herin* < *hêring*, 'herring'; *medr* < *mêd*, *mêdwe*, 'meadow'; *wepn* < *wêpn*, 'weapon.' In closed syllables: *brêþ* < *brêþ*, 'breath'; *et* < *êt* pret. of *etan*, 'eat'; *let* < *lêtan*, 'let'; *wet* < *wêt*, 'wet'; *þred* < *þrêd*, 'thread'; *dred* < *drêdan*, 'dread'; *red* < *rêdde* pret., 'read'; *slept* < *slêpte*, 'slept.'

7) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, *êa* after a palatal, ME. *ê* (*e*). In open syllables: *eni* < *ênig*, 'any'; so *enipin*, *eniwêz*, *eniwærz*, 'anything,' 'any-way(s),' 'anywhere(s).' In closed syllables: *hêlþ* < *hêlþ*, 'health'; *evr* < *êfre*, 'ever,' so *evri*, 'every'; *les* < *lêssa*, 'less'; *left* < *lêfde*, 'left'; *led* < *lêdde*, 'led'; *spred* < *sprêdde*, 'spread'; *fed* < *scêadan*, 'shed'; *emti* < *êmetig*, 'empty,' so *emtinz* (yeast), 'emptyings.'

8) WG. *î*, WS. *î*, ME. *e*, *i*. In open syllables: *serif* < *scîngerêfa*, 'sheriff.' In closed syllables: *sens* < *siððan*, ME. *sithens*, 'since'; *wedþ* < OE. *wid*, but late in Drayton, *width*.

9) WG. *ô*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *kept* < *cêpte*, 'kept'; *twenti* < *twêntig*, 'twenty.'

10) WG. *au*, WS. *êa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *deþ* < *dêaþ*, 'death'; *hed* < *hêafod*, 'head'; *red* < *rêad*, 'red'; *led* (a metal) < *lêad*, 'lead'; *ded* < *dêad*, 'dead'; *bred* < *brêad*, 'bread'; *ed* < *êad-weard*, 'Ed(ward)'; *tfeþmæn* (*tfeþmæn*) < *cêapman*, but ME. *chāpman*, 'Chapman.'

11) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ý* by umlaut, ME. *é* (*e*). In closed syllables: *breſt* < *brêast*, 'breast'; *þeft* < *þeofþ*, *þýfð*, 'theft'; *devl*, *debl* < *dêoful* (Lat. *diabolus*), 'devil.'

II. 1) Lat. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *e*: *spend* < *expendere*, OE. *âspendan*, 'spend'; *templ* < *templum*, OE. *templ*, 'temple.'

2) Lat. *i*, WS. *i*, *e*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *pepr* < *piper*, OE. *pipor*, 'pepper.' In closed syllables: *tfeſt* (*tfiſt*) < *cista*, OE. *cest*, *cist*, 'chest.'

III. 1) Scand. *e* by umlaut of *a*, ME. *e*. In closed syllable: *dwel* < *dwellen*, 'dwell,' cf. Icl. *dvelja*, or is it OE. *dwellan*, with meaning modified by *dvelja*?

2) Scand. *ê*, ME. *e*. In open syllables: *fêlr* < *fêlawe*, Icl. *fêlage*, 'fellow.'

3) Scand. *i*, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *fet* < *fitten*, Icl. *fitja*.

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *e*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *letr* < *lettre*, 'letter.' Closed: *det* < *dette*, 'debt'; *dget* < *gette*, 'jet'; *krekt* < *correct*, 'correct'; *drekt* < *direct*, 'direct,' so *drekttr*, *drekttri*, 'director,' 'direct-ory'; *æfekt* < *effect*; *sæspækt* < *suspect*; *teks(t)* < *texte*, 'text'; *septin* < *except + ing*; *eksæpt* < *accepten*, 'accept'; *pres* < *presse*, 'press'; *ekspræes* < *expressen*, 'express'; *kænfeſes* < *confessen*, 'confess'; *mend* < *amende*, 'mend'; *dæpænd* < *dependen*, 'depend'; *dæfænd* < *defenden*, 'defend'; *tendr* < *tendre*,

'tender'; *repəz·ent* < *representen*, 'represent'; *kəns·ent* < *consenten*, 'consent'; *rent* < *rente*, 'rent'; *kəm·ens* < *commencen*, 'commence'; *pledʒ* < *plegge*, 'pledge.'

b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *melədi* < *melodie*, 'melody'; *veri* < *verray*, 'very'; *merit* < *merit*; *tregr* < *tresor*, 'treasure'; *pəz·efən* < *possession*; *prezədənt* < *president*; *dezərt* < *desert*; *prezənt* < *present*; *metl* < *metal*; *sekənd* < *seconde*, 'second'; *remədi* < *remedie*, 'remedy'; *tenənt* < *tenon*. Closed: *gregri* < *Gregorie*, 'Gregory'; *memri* < *memorie*, 'memory'; *plenti* < *plente*, 'plenty'; *endʒain* < *engin*, 'engine'; *entəpraiz* < *enterprysed*, Ch. 'enterprise'; *rəm·embr* < *remembren*, 'remember'; *temprns* < *temperance*; *eks·eptəbl* < *acceptable*; *medsən* < *medicine*.

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *e*. In originally unstressed syllables, open: *fezənt* < *fesant*, OF. *faisant*, 'pheasant'; *vesl* < *vessaile*, OF. *vaissel*, 'vessel.'

3) OF. *ü*, ME. *u*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *dʒes* < *just* (also *dʒʊs*, *dʒis*).

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *e*. In open syllables: *ledʒislêtr* < *legislator*; *regəlr* < *regularis*, 'regular'; *regəlêtr* < *regulatus*, 'regulate'; *febəweri* < *Februarius*, 'February.' In closed syllables: *desprit* < *desperatus*, 'desperate'; *lektrik* < *electrum*, 'electric'; *klekt* < Low Lat. *collectare*, 'collect'; *rekl·ekt*, also 'recollect'; *ekstri* < *extra*; *slekt* < *selectus*, 'select'; *pəp·el* < *propellare*, 'propel.'

2) Lat. *a*. In open syllables: *dʒənəwəri* < *Januarius*, Ch. *january*; *plegi*, adj. < *plaga*, 'plaguy.' In closed syllables: *ekwidək* < *aqueductus*, 'aqueeduct'; *evridʒ* < Low Lat. *averagium* Skt., 'average.'

3) Lat. *æ*. In closed syllables: *semtri* < Low Lat. *cæmeterium*, 'cemetery.'

4) Fr. *e*. In open syllables: *məpədis(t)* < *méthode*, 'methodist'; *sekəteri* < *secrétaire*, 'secretary'; *eləfənt* < *elephant*; *eləgənt* < *elegant*; *skedʒəl* < *schedule*. In closed syllables: *sentəl* < *centre + al*; *sensitiv* < *sensitif*, 'sensitive'; *fedrəlis(t)* < *federal*; *sevrəl* < *several*; *intr·estin* < *interest-*, 'interesting.'

5) Greek *η*: *teləgræf*, *teləgræftin* < *τηλε + γραφω*, 'telegraph,' 'telegraphing.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *e*. In open syllables: *deləwər* < *Delaware*; *dʒerəmi* < *Jeremiah*, also *dʒeri*; *əd·esi* < *Odessa*. In closed syllables: *bentn* < *Benton*; *ezri* < *Ezra*; *mekskən* < *Mexican*; *etni* < *Etna*.

2) With written *a* (*é*). In open syllable: *meri* < *Mary*; *merilənd* < *Maryland*.

3) With written *a*. In open syllable: *elik* < *Alexander*; *devnpòrt* < *Davenport*.

4) With written *i*. In open syllable: *benəm* < *Bingham*. In closed syllable: *endʒən* < *Indian*.

79. It will be seen that the vowel *e* from ME. *ê* is not uncommon. Sweet has called attention to the shortening before *d* and *t* (HES., § 824); but it is also common in open syllables where it seems to have been peculiarly difficult to hold the long *ê*, *ê* (see the number of *ê*'s in closed or final compared with those in open syllables), and also before *p*, *pt*, *ft*. Especially worthy of note are those words having an orthographic *ea*, which seems to have

been used in lME. for an open, as distinct from a close, *ê*. In such words the vowel was clearly long, until *ea* had become thoroughly established. The shortening probably took place before the 16th century, when long *ea* became close *ê*, the former close *ê*, commonly represented by *ee*, having become long *î*. Examples are: '*treasure*,' '*pheasant*'; '*measure*' and '*pleasure*' still have long *ê* in IthD., either original, or by later lengthening (cf. § 83). For examples of shortening peculiar to IthD., see § 138.

80. The interchange with *æ* has been noticed in § 72. The place of *æ* is taken by *e* in many words, some of which, from uncertain etymology, have not been mentioned. Examples are: *hetf*, 'hatch'; *hetfl*, 'hatchel'; *ketf*, *ketft*, *ketfi*, adj., 'catch,' 'caught,' 'catchy'; *eks*, 'axle'; *ekwidak*, 'aqueduct'; *geðr*, 'gather'; *tsepman*, sometimes 'Chapman'; *dženaweri*, 'January'; *elik*, 'Alex'; *evrid3*, 'average'; *devnpòrt*, 'Davenport'; and unstressed words like '*has*,' '*as*,' '*had*,' '*have*,' '*that*.' This *e* replaces *i*, especially before nasals, as in *ben*, 'been'; 'since'; *end3an*, 'Indian'; *end3ain*, 'engine'; *benəm*, 'Bingham'; *ensaid*, 'inside'; -*enclain*, accented on first syllable, 'incline'; also in *red* (Eng. 'rid' < *hreddan*), *fet* < *fit*, *wedp* < *width*, the latter possibly influenced by '*length*,' '*breadth*'; but cf. § 91.

81. The vowel *e* appears also in *biy·end*, *yendr*, *yelk* ('beyond,' 'yonder,' 'yolk') for an earlier *eo* long or short; and in such words as *d3es*, *d3ed3*, *fet* ('just,' 'judge,' 'shut'), where *o* occurs in common speech. The last word, it should be said, is found with *e* in ME. *shetten* (to shut). The same *e* occurs in the unstressed *you* (*yû*), which is commonly *ye* through *yo*.

B. THE LONG VOWEL *ê*.

82. The vowel *ê* springs regularly from a Germanic front vowel followed by *g* (*h*), or from a Romance or other long *â* in ME. Its sources are :

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* + *g*, ME. *ai* (*ei*). In open syllables: *dê* < *dæg*, 'day'; *mêdn* < *mægden*, 'maiden.' In closed syllables: *mên* < *mægen*, 'main'; *pêl* < *pægel*, 'pail'; *nêl* < *nægel*, 'nail'; *snêl* < *snægel*, 'snail'; *têl* < *tægel*, 'tail.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ei* (*ai*). In open syllables: *lê* < *lecgan*, 'lay'; *sê* < *secgan*, 'say.' In closed syllables: *lêd* < *legde*, 'laid.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (*a*), *ea* by breaking or after a palatal, ME. *â*. In open syllables: *êkr* < *æcer*, 'acre'; *êkarn* < *æcern*, 'acorn'; *hêzl* < *hæsel*, 'hazel'; *nêkid* (*nekid* very common) < *nacod*, 'naked.' In closed syllables: *blêz* < *blase*, 'blaze'; *fêv* < *sceafan*, 'shave'; *êk* < *acan*, 'ache'; *mêk* < *macian*,

'make'; *wék* < *wacian*, 'wake'; *bék* < *bacan*, 'bake'; so *békin*, *békri*, 'baking,' 'bakery'; *snék* < *snaca*, 'snake'; *sték* ('stake') < *staca*; *fèk* < *sceacan*, 'shake'; *èt* < *eahta*, 'eight'; *méd* < *macode*, 'made.'

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *édǵ* < *ecg*, 'edge.'

5) WG. *e*, WS. *e* + *g*, ME. *ei* (*ai*). In open syllables: *wé* < *weg*, 'way'; *awé* < *onweg*, 'away'; *plé* < *plegian*, 'play.' In closed syllables: *sél* < *segel*, 'sail'; *rén* < *regen*, *rén*, 'rain.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *brék* < *brecan*, 'break.'

7) WG. *â*, WS. *æ* + *g* (*h*), ME. *ai*. In open syllables: *gré* < *græg*, 'gray'; *hwé* < *hwæg*, 'whey'; *nêbr* < *nêhhebur* (*nebr* very common), 'neighbor.'

8) WG. *â*, WS. *æ*, ME. *â*. In closed syllables: *rés* (running) < *râs* (?), 'race.'

9) WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *grét* < *gréat*, 'great.'

10) WG. *au*, WS. *ie* by umlaut + *g*, ME. *ei*. In open syllables: *hé* < *hég*, Kl., Sie. *hi(e)g*, 'hay.'

II. 1) Scand. *a*, ME. *â*. In open syllables: *wêvr* < *vafra* (?), possibly OE. (?), ME. *waver*, 'waver.' In closed syllables: *kék* < *kaka*, ME. *cake*, 'cake'; *flék* < *flaka*, ME. *flake*, 'flake'; *ték* < *taka*, ME. *taken*, 'take'; *gét* < *gata*, ME. *gate*, 'gate'; *sél* < *sal*, ME. *sale*, 'sale'; *sém* < *samr*, ME. *same*, 'same.'

2) Scand. *ǣ* by umlaut of *a*, ME. *e*. In closed syllables: *lég* < *leggr*, ME. *legg*, 'leg'; *ég* < *egg*.

3) Scand. *ei*, ME. *ei*, *ai*. In closed syllables: *sték* < *steik*, ME. *steike* 'steak'; *bét* < *beita*, ME. *baiten*, 'bait'; *réz* < *reisa*, Wyc. *reisen*, 'raise.'

III. 1) OF. *a*, ME. *â* (*au*). a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *ébl* < *able*; *tébl* < *table*; *stébl* < *stable*; *wédǵiz*, pl. of *wage*; *dæk·ê* < *decas*, pl. by Gower, 'decay.' Closed: *fês* < *face*; *plês* < *place*; *pês* < *pace*; *dəf·ês* < *deface*; *kês* < *case*; *spês* < *space*; *édǵ* < *age*; *kédǵ* < *cage*; *pél* < *pale*, adj.; *dét* < *date*; *plét* < *plate*; *kév* < *cave*; *sév* < *save*; *tfëndǵ* < *chaunge*, 'change'; *réndǵ* < *rangen*, 'range'; *ær·éndǵ* < *arrayngen*, 'arrange'; *blém* < *blame*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *lébr* < *labour*; *nêtr* < *nature*; *fêvəbl* < *favour*, 'favorable'; so *fêvr*, 'favor,' and *fêvrait* ('favorite'), a late word; *dǵinr·éfən* < *generation*, Wyc.; *infr·éfən* < *informacioun*, 'information.' Closed: *éndǵil* < *angele*, *angle* (not < OE. *engel*), 'angel'; *déndǵas* < *dangerous*; *tfêmbr* < *chambre*, 'chamber.'

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *ai*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *pé* < *paien*, 'pay'; *dil·é* < *delaie*, 'delay.' Closed: *wét* < *waiten*, 'wait'; *klém* < *clame*, 'claim'; *grên* < *grayn*, 'grain'; *plén* < *plain*; *tfén* < *chaine*, 'chain.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *égr* < *ague*; *trêtr* < *traitour*, 'traitor.'

3) OF. *ai* < *-ali-*, *-ani-* (Beh. p. 135), ME. *ai*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *fêl* < *failen*, 'fail'; *av·él* < *avail*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *têlr* < *taillours*, 'tailor'; *dǵêlr* < *jaioler*, 'jailer.' Closed: *dǵêl* < *gayhol*, 'jail.'

4) OF. *ei*, ME. *ei*, *ai*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *strét* ('strict') < *streit*; *fêp* < *feyth*, 'faith'; *vêl* < *veil*; *vén* ('vain') < *veyn*; *pént* < *paint*; *pén* < *peyne*, 'pain.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *dénti* < *deynte*, 'dainty.'

5) OF. *e*, ME. *ê*. In originally unstressed syllables, open : *mêgr* < *measure*, 'measure.'

IV. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *a*. In open syllables : *selbr'êfən* < *celebratus*, 'celebration' ; *særkæl'êfən*, *særkl'êfən* < *circulus*, 'circulation' ; *kæŋg'êfənl* < *congregatus*, 'congregational' ; *væpr'êfən* < *evaporatus*, 'evaporation' ; *papæl'êfn* < *populus*, 'population.'

2) Fr. *a*. In open syllables : *slévri* < *esclave*, 'slavery,' Gascoigne has *slaveries* ; *piskəp'êlin* < *episcopalian* ; *pənənsi'êfən* < *pronunciation* ; *spekæl'êfən* < *speculation* ; *pérənt* < *parent* ; *têrif* < *tariffe*, 'tariff.' In closed syllables : *rét* < *rate*, in 'first rate.'

3) Fr. *ai*. In open syllables : *bê* < *baie*, 'bay' ; *plêgr* < *plaisir*, 'pleasure' ; *trénin*, sb., < *trayn*, through a later verb, 'training.'

4) Ital. *a* : *kêpr* < *capriolus* (Skeat), 'caper.'

V. Names : *déni* < *Dana* ; *penslv'êni* < *Pennsylvania* ; *yêpl* < *Yaple* (Du.).

83. Except for the *ê* from ME. *ei* (*ai*), the majority of words with *ê* spring from older *a*, lengthened in ME. in open syllables, or before *n*, *m* + cons., as in 'change,' 'chamber.' These retained the *â* sound until the 17th century, when it became fronted to *ê*, and in the next century raised to *ê*. The length in all words with *a* before *n* + palatal *g* seems to establish the lengthening as ME. The examples are : 'change,' 'grange,' 'strange,' 'range' < ME. *rengen* (cf. Fr. *ranger*), 'manger,' 'stranger,' 'danger,' 'angel.' Peculiar to IthD. are the lengthened vowels in 'pleasure,' 'measure,' 'leg,' 'egg,' 'edge,' though the *ea* of the first two words indicates earlier long vowels, which have been preserved perhaps. In the other words, the lengthening before *g* is parallel to that of open *o* in such words as *dog*, *log* (cf. § 103). Such forms as *têrif*, *yêpl*, for *tariff*, *Yaple*, are to be accounted for as sight words, rather than as purely ear words.

84. In certain closed syllables, especially before the voiceless cons. *k*, sometimes before *d* and *l*, an *ê* is often given which seems to stand between *ê* and *e*. Such words are never pronounced short, as in some dialects (*tek*, *mek*, for 'take,' 'make'), but there is the suggestion of such a sound. It is not common enough to be regarded as normal, but it is not uncommon with some speakers.

C. THE VOWEL *ë* (BEFORE *r*).

85. The sound represented by *ë*, while nominally placed with *e*, *ê*, is rather a back than a front vowel, and open instead of close. It has developed, not only from *e*, *i*, but more commonly from the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, as will be seen from examples. When from

an original front vowel, the sound has become guttural in its formation through the influence of the *r*. It is from:

I. 1) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons. or *u*-umlaut, ME. *e* (*a*, *u*): *ērþ* < *eorþe*, 'earth'; *wērþ* < *weorþ*, 'worth'; *wērþip* < *weorþscipe*, 'worship'; *hērþ* < *heorþ*, 'hearth'; *ērnist* < *eornest*, 'earnest'; *lērn* < *leornian*, act. as well as pass., 'learn'; *hērd* < *heorde*, 'herd'; *wērk* < *weorc*, 'work'; *wērlđ* < *weorold*, 'world'; *fēr* < *feor* when unstressed, 'far'; *wērs* < *wyrse*, 'worse'.

2) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i* (*e*, *u*): *hēr* < *hire*, 'her'; *bērtf* < *birce*, 'birch'; *bērd* < *bridd*, 'bird'; *bērn* < *birnan* (intr.), 'burn'; *bērd* < *þrida*, 'third'; *bērti* < *þrittig*, 'thirty'; *stērāp*, or *stērp* often, < *stigerāp*, Kl., ME. *stīrap*, 'stirrup'.

3) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *r* + cons., ME. *ea*, *ē* (?): *ērñ* < *earnian*, 'earn'; *fērñ* < *fearn*, 'fern.' Here may be mentioned also the word *pērti* < *prætīg*, with metathesis of *r*, ME. *praty*, *pretie*.

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, *u*, ME. *o* (*u*): *fēr* < *for* when unstressed, 'for'; *spēr* < *spura*, 'spur'; *wērd* < *word*; *fērdr* < *furðor*, 'further'; *mērdr* < *morþor*, 'murder'; *afērd* (sometimes) < *ge-forðian*, 'afford'; *spērñ* < *spurnian*, 'spurn'; *bērst*, *bērstid* < *borsten*, perf. part., 'burst'; *bērst* < *þyrst*, 'thirst'.

5) WG. *u*, WS. *û* < *u* + *n*, ME. *u* (*o*): *þērzdī* ('Thursday') < *þúresdæg*, Kl., or does our word come from ON. *þórsdagr*?

6) WG. *u*, WS. *u*, or *y* by umlaut, ME. *i* (*e*, *ü*): *fērst* < *fyrst* (also *fōst* with loss of *r*; *fērt* < **scyrte*, Kl., 'shirt'; *stēr* < *styrian*, 'stir'.

7) WG. *á*, WS. *æ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *wēr* < *wæron* (also *war*, *wæar*), 'were'; *ērñz* < *ærende*, also *ærñt*, 'errands'.

II. Lat. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *u*: *pērpl* < *purpura*, OE. *purpur*, 'purple'; *tērtl* < *turtur*, OE. *turtle* (a dove).

III. Scand. *i*, ME. *i*: *hwērl* < *hwirfla*, ME. *hwirlen*, 'whirl'.

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *e*, (*a*). *a*) In originally stressed syllables: *klērķ* < *clerc*, 'clerk'; *dāwērt* < *diverten*, 'divert'; *tērm* < *terme*, 'term.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables: *mērsi* < *mercy*; *pērsən* < *persone*, 'person'; *sēr-vānt* < *servaunt*, 'servant'; *vērtfā* < *vertu*, 'virtue'; *sērtñli* < *certein* + *ly*, 'certainly'; *mērtfānt* < *merchant*; *sērdgānt* < *sergant*, 'sergeant'.

2) OF. *u*, ME. *o*, *u*, *ou*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables: *tērn* < *turnen*, 'turn'; *pērs* < *purse*; *dist-ērþ* < *disturben*, 'disturb.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables: *dgēr-wērk* < *jornee* ('journeyman', 'journeyman's work'); *pērtfās* < *purchase*, sb., *purchasen*, vb.; *æt-ērñi* ('attorney') < *aturne*; *kērtñ* < *curtine*, 'curtain'; *pērpās* < *porpos*, 'purpose', *skwērl* < *squirrel*, OF. *escurel*, 'squirrel'; *mērmār* < *murmure*, 'murmur'.

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*: *sērklēt* < **circulat-*, 'circulate'.

2) Fr. *e*: *tērbł* < *terrible*; *yūñāv-ērsti* < *université*, 'university'.

3) Fr. *u*: *bērles* < *burlesque*; *fērñitfār* < *furniture* (Spenser) < OF. *fornir*.

VI. Names. With written *u*: *bērl* < *Burrill*; *bērt*, *bēr-rt* < *Burritt*; *dērm* < *Durham*; *kērts* < *Kurtz* (German).

86. This *ē* is found regularly in closed syllables, but occasionally in open ones, as *vēri*, *stērāp*, *fērān*, for 'very,' 'stirrup,' 'foreign.'

Usually, however, in open syllables the sound is more exactly *ʌ*, the vowel which *ĕ* is most like in IthD. In the majority of words, *ĕ* springs from a vowel which must have been of guttural quality in syllables closed in ME. Sometimes this was a lengthened vowel, if we may trust the evidence of our *ea* in ‘*earth*,’ ‘*earn*,’ ‘*learn*,’ ‘*earnest*’; but these must have been short at some time before the 17th century, or they would be now pronounced like ‘*fear*,’ ‘*hear*.’ The early guttural quality of this vowel is shown by such ME. spellings as *hurde*, *wurth*, *wurship*, *urthe*, *lurnen*, *shurt*, *hure*, for ‘*herd*,’ ‘*worth*,’ ‘*worship*,’ ‘*earth*,’ ‘*learn*,’ ‘*shirt*,’ ‘*her*.’ Occasionally ME. *ü* has become *ĕ*, as in ‘*first*,’ ‘*stir*,’ though usually this vowel has become *ʌ* by unrounding (cf. § 112). The influence of *w* is seen in the spellings of our words ‘*worth*,’ ‘*worship*,’ ‘*work*,’ ‘*world*,’ ‘*worse*,’ which otherwise would have been spelled with *e*.

As noticed in § 66, ME. *e* before *r* is now *ă* in some words. This confusion of *er*, *ar* dates from Chaucer’s time at least, but the *ăr* in many words probably dates from lME. or early MdE. (cf. HES., § 789), so that *ăr* in present speech does not necessarily imply a ME. pronunciation *ar*. Some words with *ĕr* in IthD. may have been influenced by the spelling, since they are *ăr* in LdE. Examples are: ‘*clerk*,’ ‘*sergeant*.’ On the other hand, *sartin*, *riz:arvd*, are sometimes heard.

5. THE VOWEL *i*.

87. The vowel whose quality is that of *i* (short), but which, when long, is represented by *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, and in other ways, will be considered under A, short *i*; B, long *i* (*î*); and C, *î* before *r*, or *iă*.

A. THE SHORT VOWEL *i*.

88. Short *i* has been preserved with regularity in WG., and in loan-words whatever their source. It springs also from the WS. umlaut *y*, and is sometimes a variant with *e* or *a*. Its source is:

I. 1) WG. *i*, WS. *i* (*eo* by *u*-umlaut), ME. *i*. In open syllables: *widə* (also *widr*) < *widwe*, ‘widow’; *midl* < *middel*, ‘middle’; *þisl* < *þistel*, ‘thistle’; *hwisl* < *hwistlian*, ‘whistle’; *sikl* < *sicol*, ‘sickle’; *slipri* < *slipor*, ‘slippery’; *slip* < *slippan*, ‘slip’; *filn* < *scilling*, ‘shilling’; *bitr* < *biter*, ‘bitter.’ In closed syllables: *stil* < *stille*, ‘still’; *wil* < *willa*, ‘will’; *tfildrn* < *cildru*, ‘children’; *silvr* < *seolfor*, ‘silver’; *milk* < *meolc*, ‘milk’; *smip* < *smiþ*, ‘smith’; *wið* < *wið*, ‘with’; *riz* < *risen*, pp.; *mis* < *missan*, ‘miss’; *gris(t)* < *grist*; *rist* < *wrist*; *fif* <

fisc, 'fish'; *miks* < *miscian*, 'mix'; *bətwɪkst* < *betwix*, 'betwixt'; *fift* < *sciftan*, 'shift'; *if* < *gif*, 'if'; *liv* < *libban*, 'live'; *stɪf* < *stician*, 'stitch'; *twig* < *twig*; *rit* < *writen*, pp.; *bit* < *biten*, pp., 'bitten'; *rid* < *riden*, pp., 'ridden'; *lid* < *hlid*, 'lid'; *slid* < *sliden*, pp., 'slidden'; *rib* < *rib*; *fip* < *scip*, 'ship'; *sɪŋk* < *sincan*, 'sing'; *drɪŋk* < *drincan*, 'drink'; *rɪŋ* < *hringan*, 'ring'; *þɪŋ* < *þing*, 'thing'; *slɪŋ* < *slingan*, 'sling'; *sɪŋ* < *singan*, 'sing'; *swɪŋ* < *swingan* (with change of meaning?), 'swing'; *klɪŋ* < *clingan*, 'cling'; *brɪŋ* < *bringan*, 'bring'; *in* < *in*; *tin* < *tin*; *spɪn* < *spinnan*, 'spin'; *wɪn* < *gewinnan*, 'win'; *tʃɪn* < *cin*, 'chin'; *bəɪn* < *beginnan*, 'begin'; *twin* < *getwin*, 'twin'; *wɪntr* < *winter*; *hɪndr* < *hindrian*, 'hinder'; *wɪnd* < *wind*; *hɪm* < *him*; *swɪm* < *swimman*, 'swim'; *tɪmbr* < *timber*.

2) WG. *i*, WS. *î* (for *i* + *n*), ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *fɪft* < *fɪfta*, 'fifth'; *fɪfti* < *fɪftig*, 'fifty'; *fɪft* is Elizabethan Eng. also.

3) WG. *î*, WS. *î*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *wɪzdəm* < *wisdom*, 'wisdom'; *wɪmɪn* < *wɪfman*, 'women'; *blɪs* < *blɪss* < *blɪps*, 'bliss.'

4) WG. *u*, WS. *y*, *ŷ* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *wɪf* < *wɪscean*, for **wunsc*, 'wish'; *bɪld* < **bylden*, 'build.'

5) WG. *û*, WS. *ŷ* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *fɪst* < *fɪst*, 'fist'; *þɪmbl* < *þymel*, 'thimble'; *hɪd* < *hɪdde*, 'hid'; *lɪtl* < *lɪtel*, sometimes *lɪtl*, 'little.'

6) WG. *au*, WS. *êa* or *ŷ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *striɪp* < *be-strȳpan*, 'strip'; *rɪk* (for *hay*) < *hréak*, 'rick.'

7) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo* or *ŷ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllable: *drɪrɪ* < *dréorig*, **drȳrig*, 'dreary.' In closed syllables: *drɪp* < *drȳpan* (?), 'drip'; *sɪk* < *séoc* (*sik* sometimes), 'sick.'

8) WG. *a*, WS. *e*, *y* by umlaut, ME. *e*, *ê* (*i*). In open syllables: *sɪlɪ* < *sel(d)lic*, *syllic* Kl., 'silly.' In closed syllables: *ɪnstɪd* < *onstede*, 'instead'; *tʃɪl* < *cyle*, *cele*, 'chill'; *strɪŋ* < *streng*, 'string'; *lɪŋk* < *hlence*, 'link'; *mɪŋɡl* < *mengan*, 'mingle'; *sɪndʒ* < *sengean*, 'sing'; *ɡrɪn* < *ɡrennian*, 'grin'; *nɪb* < *nebb*, 'nib.'

9) WG. *e*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *lɪvr* < *lifer*, 'liver.' In closed syllable: *ɡɪv* < *ɡɪfan*, 'give'; *lɪv* < *libban*, 'live.'

10) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *y* (*i*) by umlaut of *eo* by *u*-umlaut or breaking, ME. *i*, *e*. In closed syllables: *ɹɪstədi* < *geostran dæg*, *giestra*, *gystra*, 'yesterday'; *sɪks* < *six*; *ɹɪt* < *get*, 'yet'; *ɡɪt* < *getan*, 'get.'

11) WG. *ô*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *wɪrɪ* < *wérig*, 'weary.' In closed syllables: *brɪtʃɪz* < *bréc*, 'breeches'; *sɪms*, 3d. sing. pres., < *ge-sêman*, 'seems.'

II. 1) Lat. *i*, WS. *i* (*e*), ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *dɪf* < *discus*, OE. *disc*, 'dish'; *bɪʃəp* < *episcopus*, OE. *biscop*, 'bishop'; *tʃɪst* (*tʃest*) < *cista*, OE. *cest*, *cist*, 'chest'; *pɪtʃ* < *picene*, OE. *pic*, 'pitch.'

2) Lat. *u*, *o*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *kɪtʃɪn* < **cocina* < **cucina* for *coquina*, OE. *cycene*, 'kitchen.' In closed syllables: *mɪl* < *molina*, OE. *mylen*, 'mill'; *ɪntʃ* < *uncia*, OE. *ynce*, 'inch.'

3) Lat. *a*, WS. *y* by umlaut of palatal *ea*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *kɪtl* < *catillus*, OE. *cytel*, *cetel*, 'kettle.'

III. 1) Scand. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *skɪl* < *skil*, ME. *skill*; *drɪft* < *dript*, ME. *drifte*, 'drift'; *skɪn* < *skinn*, 'skin'; *wɪndər* < *vindauga*, ME.

windôge, 'window'; *windlæs* < *vindæss*, ME. *windas*, 'windlass'; *krik* < *kriki* (?), ME. *crike*, 'creek.'

2) Scand. *æ*, ME. *é* (*i*): *wiŋ* < *vængr*, ME. *winge* (cf. PBB. X. p. 65), 'wing.'

3) Scand. *y* < *u* by umlaut, ME. *i*, *y*. In closed syllables: *lift* < *lypta*, ME. *liften*, 'lift'; *sistr* < *syster*, ME. *sister*, *syster*.

IV. 1) OF. *i*, ME. *i*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *dlivr* < *delivren*, 'deliver'; *kænsidr* < *considren*, 'consider'; *prins* < *prince*; *simpl* < *simple*; *ritf* < *riche*, 'rich.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *piti* < *pitee*, 'pity'; *siti* < *cite*, 'city'; *ritfiz* < *richesse*, 'riches'; *krikit* < *criquet*, 'cricket'; *likr* < *licour*, 'liquor'; *figr* < *figure*; *sizrz* < *cisoures*, 'scissors'; *mizəri* < *miserie*, 'misery'; *fəzifən* < *fisicien*, 'physician'; *vilidg* < *village*; *pidgən* < *pigon*, 'pigeon'; *difəkalti* < *difficulte*, 'difficulty.' Closed: *princəpli* < *principal* + *ly*; *kəntinyəl* < *continuel*, 'continual'; *difərnz* < *difference*; *fəmilyər* < *familier*, 'familiar'; *biləti* < *habilité*, 'ability'; *artilri* < *artilries*, Ch., 'artillery'; *distil* < *distillen*, 'distil'; *livri* < *liverie*, 'livery'; *privlidg* < *privilege*; *pərtiklr* < *particuler*, 'particular'; *singələr* < *singular* (also *singlər*), 'singular'; *skripfən* < *description*; *viztin* < *visiten*, 'visiting'; *sitzən* < *citizen*; *mistfif* < *mischiefe*, *meschief*.

2) OF. *e*, ME. *i*. In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *tfinbli*, *tfinli* < *chimnei*, OF. *cheminee*, *chimenee*.

3) OF. *e*, ME. *e*. In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *dginrəli* (*dginəli*) < *general*, 'generally'; *printis* < *aprentis*, 'apprentice'; *ətindənz* < *attendance*; *indgən* < *engin*, 'engine.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *məlifī* < *militia*; *pəhibətri* < *prohibitorius*, 'prohibitory'; *tribûn* < *tribunus*, 'tribune.' In closed syllables: *igzist* < *existere*, 'exist'; *histri* < *historia*, 'history'; *sistm* < *system*; *instətût* < *institutus*, 'institute'; *intrist* < *interest*; *intəmit* < *intimus*, 'intimate'; *rəd'ikləs* < *ridiculus*, 'ridiculous'; *spirtfəlis(t)* < *spiritualis*, 'spiritualist.'

2) French *i*. In open syllables: *litratûr* < *literature*; *ribit* < *rivet*; *æbl'ifəniz* < *abolir*, 'abolitionist'; *pəv'igənz* < *provision* (also *pərvigən*). In closed syllables: *insədənt* < *incident*; *inflûnz* < *influence*; *invlid* < *invalide*, 'invalid'; *pəs'istənt* < *persister*, 'persistent'; *vizbl* < *visible*.

3) Spanish *e*. In open syllables: *nigr* < *negro*.

VI. Names. 1) With written *i*. In open syllables: *kæskəd'ili* < *Cascadilla*; *ipiki* < *Ithaca*; *vərdg'ini* < *Virginia*; *biŋəmtn* < *Binghampton*; *mifəgn* < *Michigan*; *yûl'isəs* < *Ulysses*. In closed syllables: *brin'krhof* < *Brinkerhoff*; *sinsəpə* < *Sincebaugh*, Du.

2) With written *e*. In open syllables: *siniki* < *Seneca*. In closed syllables: *mək'inzi* < *McKenzie*; *pək'ipsi* < *Poughkeepsie*, Du.

3) With written *ü*. In open syllables: *liki* < *Lücke*, Ger.

89. Short *i*, like short *e*, has been stable from the earliest times, notwithstanding the occasional interchange with *e* (§ 81). It is found in both open and closed syllables, but is far more common in the latter.

90. Short *i* from a longer vowel is found in a few words, usually in closed syllables and before voiceless consonants. Such

cases are 'wisdom,' 'woman,' conforming to the common rule that in compounds or dissyllables before combinations of consonants a long vowel was shortened in ME. (cf. 'duke,' 'duchess,' 'child,' 'children'). The cases of shortening, arranged in order of the following consonants, are: 'fifth,' 'fifty,' 'little,' 'breeches,' 'strip,' 'drip,' 'Poughkeepsie,' 'sick,' 'rick' (for hay), 'women,' 'thimble,' 'seems' (sometimes), 'build,' 'hid,' 'dreary,' 'weary.' 'Build' is perhaps questionable as a shortening, and 'hid' has no doubt been influenced by the participle, which appears as 'hid,' not 'hidden.' Ger. *ü*, like ME. umlauted *u*, has become *i* by unrounding.

91. The interchange of *e* with *i* has been noticed under *e*. A similar, but more regular, interchange is of *i* with *e*, occurring especially before nasals. Examples are: 'general,' 'generally,' 'apprentice,' 'attendance,' 'engine,' 'Seneca,' 'Prentiss,' 'McKenzie.' Words that had earlier undergone the change are: 'string,' 'mingle,' 'link,' 'sing,' 'grin.' After *y* or *g*, the change occurs in 'yet,' 'yesterday,' 'get,' and earlier in 'give.' Other examples are 'steady,' 'instead,' while it had earlier occurred in 'silly,' 'chill,' 'six,' and 'nib.'

B. THE LONG VOWEL *î*.

92. The long vowel *î*, not before *r*, develops from ME. *ê* (from whatever source) if remaining long. It comes also from *e* when lengthened in ME., as it was especially in open syllables and before *ld*, *nd*, *mb*. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *â*, WS. *ê*, *éa* by a palatal, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *grîdi* < *grêdig*, 'greedy.' In closed syllables: *îvni* < *êfen*, 'evening'; *spîtf* < *spêc*, 'speech'; *sîd* < *sêd*, 'seed'; *dîd* < *dêd*, 'deed'; *nîdl* < *nêdl*, 'needle'; *rîd* < *rêdan*, 'read'; *slîp* < *slêpan*, 'sleep'; *fîp* < *scêap*, 'sheep'; *mîl* < early ME. *mêl*, Eng. *meal-time* (cf. Kl. *Mahl* 2); *brîð* < *brêð*, sb. (ME. *brêð*) before the shortening of the sb. to *breþ*, 'breathe.'

2) WG. *â*, WS. *ê* by umlaut of *ó* before a nasal, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *kwî* < *cwên*, 'queen.'

3) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *sî* < *sê*, 'sea.' In closed syllables: *dîl* < *ðêl*, 'deal'; *îtf* < *êlc*, 'each'; *rîtf* < *rêcan*, 'reach'; *hît*, vb., < *hêtan*, 'heat'; *hwît* < *hwête*, 'wheat'; *lîd* < *lêdan*, 'lead'; *lîst* < *lêst*, 'least'; *lîn*, vb., < *hlênan*, 'lean'; *klîn* < *clêne*, 'clean'; *liv* < *lêfun*, 'leave.'

4) WG. *ai*, WS. *ê* + *g*, ME. *ai*, *ei*. In open syllables: *îðr* (*iðr*) < *êghwæþer*, 'either'; *nîðr* (*nðr*) < *nêghwæþer*, 'neither.'

5) WG. *ô*, WS. *ê* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *fîl* < *fêlan*, 'feel'; *kî* < *cêne*, 'keen'; *grî* < *grêne*, 'green'; *sîm* (*sims* often) < *sêman*, 'seem'; *sîk* < *sêcan*, 'seek'; *bîtf* < *bêce*, 'beech'; *kîp* < *cêpan*, 'keep';

swit < *swête*, 'sweet'; *fit* < *fêt*, 'feet'; *mit* < *mêtan*, 'meet'; *grît* < *grêtan*, 'greet'; *fid* < *fêdan*, 'feed.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *é* by umlaut of *ô* < *a* + *n*, ME. *é*. In closed syllables: *hîl* < *hêla* < **hôhila*, < *hanhila*, 'heel.'

7) WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, *ȳ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *flî*, sb., < *fléah*, 'flea'; *stipl* < *stȳpel*, 'steeple.' In closed syllables: *bəl'iv* (*bliv*) < *belȳfan*, 'believe'; *lif* < *léaf*, 'leaf'; *dif* < *déaf*, 'deaf'; *fit* < *scȳte*, 'sheet'; *bît* < *béatan*, 'beat'; *nîd* < *nȳd*, *néad*, 'need'; *îst* < *éast*, 'east'; *bîn* < *béan*, 'bean'; *stîm* < *stéam*, 'steam'; *strîm* < *stréam*, 'stream'; *tîm* < *téam*, 'team'; *drîm* < *dréam*, 'dream'; *drîn* < *dréahnian*, Kl., 'drain.'

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, ME. *é*. In closed syllables: *frîz* < *fréasan*, 'freeze'; *bîf* < *bêof*, 'thief'; *dîp* < *déop*, 'deep'; *krip* < *créopan*, 'creep.'

9) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *é* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fîld* < *sceld*, 'shield'; *yîld* < *geldan*, 'yield'; *fîld* < *feld*, 'field.'

10) WG. *e*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *sî* < *séon*, < **sehwan*, 'see'; *nî* < *cnéo* < **cneow*, 'knee'; *trî* < *tréo* < **treow*, 'tree'; *fî* < *féo* in inflectional forms, 'fee.' In closed syllables: *hwîl* < *hwéol* < **hwehol*, 'wheel'; *sîn*, pp. and pret., < *séon*, 'seen'; *bətw'în* < *betwéonan*, 'between.'

11) WG. *e*, WS. *ē* by lengthening, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *hî* < *hē*, 'he'; *mî* < *mē*, 'me'; *wî* < *wē*, 'we'; *ivn* (*ivm*) < *ēfen*, cf. Sie., 121 *et seq.*, 'even.'

12) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *wîzl* < *wesle*, *wesole*, 'weasel.' In closed syllables: *stîl* < *stelan*, 'steal'; *mîl* < *melu* (ground grain); *bəkw'îð* < *becweþan*, 'bequeath'; *yîst* < *gest*, 'yeast'; *lîtf* < *leccean*, 'leach'; *ît* < *etan*, 'eat'; *wîv* < *wefan*, 'weave'; *wîn* < *wenian* (to accustom), 'wean.'

13) WG. *a*, WS. *ȳ* by umlaut of contraction, ME. *ê*, *é*. In closed syllables: *stîl* < *stȳle*, *stêli* (cf. OHG. *stahol*), 'steel.'

14) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *hîv* < *hebban*, 'heave'; *mît* < *mete*, 'meat.'

15) WG. *a*, WS. *y* by umlaut of breaking, ME. *é* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *wîld* < *gwyldan*, Kl., 'wield.'

16) WG. *i*, WS. *éo* by contraction, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *pri* < *ðréo*, 'three'; *fî* < *séo*, 'she'; *fri* < *fréo*, 'free'; *bî* < *béo*, 'bee'; *bî* < *béon*, 'be.'

17) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *i*, *é*. In closed syllable: *wîk* < *wicu*, ME. *wéke* (*wike*, *wucu*), 'week.'

II. 1) Lat. *á*, WS. *æ*, *ȳ* by umlaut of palatal *éa*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *strît* < *strata*, OE. *stræt*, 'street'; *tʃîz* < *caseus*, OE. *cȳse*, 'cheese.'

2) Lat. *e*, WS. *é*, ME. *é*. In open syllables: *fivr* < *febris*, OE. *fēfor*, 'fever.'

III. 1) Scand. *ei*, ME. *ei*. In closed syllables: *wîk* < *weikr*, ME. *weik*, 'weak.'

2) Scand. *e*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllable: *lîk* < *leka*, ME. *leken*, 'leak.'

IV. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *ê* (*é*). In originally stressed syllables, open: *agr'i* < *agreen*, 'agree'; *dagr'i* < *degre*, 'degree'; *fibl* < *feble*, 'feeble.' Closed: *fist* < *feste*, 'feast'; *bîst* < *best*, 'beast'; *pîtf* < *peche*, 'peach'; *pri'tf* < *prechen*, 'preach'; *sîs* < *cessen*, 'cease'; *rəs'it* < *receit*, 'receipt'; *kəns'it* < *conseyte*, 'conceit.'

2) OF. *ai*, ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *pīs* < *pees*, 'peace'; *plīz* < *plesen*, 'please'; *displ'iz* < *displesen*; *iz* < *ese*, 'ease'; *dāfīt* < *defet*, 'defeat'; *rātr'īt* < *retreten*, 'retreat'; *trīt* < *treten*, 'treat.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *trītis* < *tretis*, 'treatise'; *fīt/ērz* < *fetures*, 'features'; *rīzn* < *resoun*, 'reason'; *sīzn* < *sesoun*, 'season.'

3) OF. *ei*, ME. *ei*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *rās'iv* < *receiven*, 'receive'; *dās'iv* < *deceiven*, 'deceive.'

4) OF. *ue* (Beh., p. 104, 152), ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *bīf* < *beef*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *pīpl* < *peple*, 'people.'

5) OF. *ie*, ME. *ê*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *grīf* < *grief*; *tīf* < *chief*; *pīs* < *pece*, 'piece'; *rā'iv* < *releve*, 'relieve.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *fār'ini* < *farina*.

2) Lat. *e*. In open syllables: *frikāntli* < *frequent* + *ly*; *aid'i* < *idea*; *tīpid* < *tepidus*, 'tepid.' In closed syllables: *kòd'is* < *coalescere*, 'coalesce'; *sin'ari* < *scena*, 'scenery.'

3) Lat. *æ*. In open syllable: *tīdgās* < *tædiosus*.

4) Fr. *i*. In open syllables: *fīvār'i* < *charivari*, 'charivari.' In closed syllables: *distrik(t)* < *district*; *māf'in* < *machine*, not from ME.

5) Span. *i*. In open syllable: *māsk'itr* < *mosquito*.

6) Greek *η*. In open syllable: *krait'irin* < *κρίτηριον*, 'criterion.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *e*. In open syllables: *kār'nīlās* < *Cornelius*; *džin'ivi* < *Geneva*; *òwigó* (*wigó*) < *Owego*; *swidnbórdžin* < *Swedenborgian*.

2) With written *i* in closed syllable: *wīznr* < *Wisner*.

93. Words in which *î* occurs have sprung from ME. *ê*, *ê* (close and open). The separation is not easy, and from the standpoint of ME. alone has never been satisfactorily made. But comparing the earlier and later development, the separation may be made as follows:

1) Words now spelled with *ē*, *ee*, *ei*, *ie*, had close *ê* in ME., except 'greedy,' 'evening,' 'speech,' 'seed,' 'deed,' 'needle,' 'sleep,' 'sheep,' 'steeple,' 'sheet,' 'need,' 'steel,' 'street,' 'cheese,' possibly 'wield.' To these, fuller lists of *î* words would add some examples, but not many compared with the whole number.

2) Words now spelled with *ea* had open *ê* in ME., either from an OE. long open vowel, or by lengthening in open syllables in ME.

This division holds good also for words with long *î* before *r* (cf. §§ 95, 96). The exceptions under 1) show that in some words open *ê* had become close *ê* before others for some reason not easy to see.

The two classes of words remained distinct until comparatively recent times. Those of the first class became *î* in the 16th century, the words of the second class becoming close *ê* about the

same time. In the 18th century words in *ea* also became *î*, with a few exceptions, as *great*, *break*.

94. Certain words require special attention. *îðr*, *nîðr*, are the regular forms for 'either,' 'neither,' but *npðr* is often heard, perhaps influenced by 'other.' Instead of these forms we should expect *êðr*, *nêðr*, in uninterrupted development, forms surviving among the Irish to-day. But these words fluctuated in the 18th century, the *î* finally establishing itself. '*Drain*,' as *drîn*, is an exceptional development, unless two forms are to be predicated for ME. times, one **drein-*, **drain-* < OE. *drêahnian* when the vowel + *h* has become the diphthong, and one **drên-* in which the *h* had been lost before ME. times, as may be indicated by OE. *drênian*. The two words '*leak*,' '*leach*,' both with *î*, cannot both come from OE. *leccean*, which would give regularly only *lîtf* ('*leach*'). It seems clear, therefore, that Sweet is right in deriving '*leak*' from the Scandinavian, represented by Icl. *leka*. The form *əblîdʒ* is perhaps from a late Fr. form, while the present English *əbl'aidʒ* is the proper form from ME. *oblîgen*. The written *e* is long *î* in *tepid*, *coalesce*, because these were introduced as eye-words (cf. *a* as *ê* in *tariff*, § 83). The lengthening of written *i* in *dîstrik(t)* < *district* and *wîznr* < *Wisner* is late and peculiarly dialectal.

C. LONG *i*, BEFORE *r* (*iə*).

95. Before *r* in closed syllables a glide is developed, more perceptible in the case of this closed vowel than after the more open *æ*. This is represented by *iə*, and it springs from:

I. 1) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê*), WS. *œ* (*êa* by a palatal), ME. *ê* (*é*): *fîar* < *fêr*, 'fear'; *yîar* < *gêar*, 'year'; *bîar* < *bêr*, 'bier.'

2) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê*, WS. *êa* by contraction, ME. *ê*: *nîar* < *nêar* (**nâhor*), 'near.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *êa* by contraction, ME. *ê*: *tîar* < *têar* (**tahor*), 'tear'; *iər* (of corn) < *êare*, **eahor*, Kl.

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ea*, by *r* + cons., ME. *ê*: *biərd* (*bæərd*) < *beard*; *giər* < *gearwe*, 'gear.'

5) WG. *ê*, WS. *ê*, ME. *ê*: *hiər* < *hêr*, 'here.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *e*, *ie* by umlaut of breaking, ME. *ê*: *fîar* < *sceran*, 'shear'; *spiər* < *spere*, 'spear'; *smiər* < *smierwan*, 'smear.'

7) WG. *au*, WS. *ȳ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *hiər* < *hȳran*, 'hear'; so *hiərd*, 'heard'; *iər* < *êare* (organ of hearing).

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ȳ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*: *dîar* < *déor*, 'deer'; *dîar* < *dêore*, 'dear'; *bîar* < *béor*, 'beer'; *stiər* < *stéor*, sb., 'steer'; *stiər* < *stȳran*, 'steer,' vb.

- II. 1) Scand. *æ*, ME. *ê*: *snîar* < *sneren*, cf. Dan. *snærre*, 'sneer.'
 2) Scand. *e*, ME. *ê*: *bliar* < *bler-* in *blereyed*, 'blear.'
 3) Scand. *a*, ME. *ê*: *skiâr* (*skæar*) < *skeren*, 'scare'; so *skiært*, 'scared.'
 III. 1) OF. *e*, ME. *ê*: *kliâr* < *cleer*, 'clear'; *piâr* < *apperen*, 'appear.'
 2) OF. *ie*, ME. *ê*: *fiârs* < *fers*, 'fierce'; *tjiâr* < *chere*, 'cheer'; *riâr* < *rere*, sb., 'rear'; *piâr* < *piere*, 'pier.'
 IV. Late Loan-words. Fr. *e*, *ie*: *kâr-iâr* < *carrière*; *sins-iâr* < *sincère*.
 V. Names. With written *ee*: *biârz* < *Beers*.

96. According to § 93, the spelling of words with *iä* indicates that the long *i* before *r* (*iä*) springs both from close and open *ê*, *ê* of ME. The only exceptions are *bier*, which springs from open *ê*, and *dear*, adj., from close *ê*. The first must have become close *ê* in early MdE. times, and it is possible that *dear* merely indicates that confusion of spelling which we know existed before the distinctive use of *ea* and *ee* had been established. Certain double forms are discussed in § 76, and to these may here be added *biârd*, *bæârd*, for 'beard.'

6. THE VOWEL *o*, OPEN AND CLOSE.

97. The vowel *o* in English appears as open and close, long and short. In IthD., however, the open short *o* has become unrounded, and appears as short to the long *a* of 'father,' while the close short *o* is seldom found. It is necessary to separate also the long close *o*, which appears before *r* with a glide. The vowel will therefore be considered under (A) open long *o* (*o*), (B) close short *o* (*ð*), (C) close long *ô*, (D) close long *o* before *r* (*ðə*).

A. LONG OPEN *o* (*o*).

98. The vowel *o* is not so common in IthD. as in LdE., where it appears regularly before *r*. In IthD. *o* before *r* is open or close *o*: the former as with *a* before *r*, appearing without the glide; the latter always found as *ðə*. IthD. *o* springs from:

I. 1) WG. *a*, WS. *a* (*æ*), *ea* by breaking, ME. *a*. In open syllables: *wotr* < *wæter*, 'water'; *smôlif* < *smæl*, 'smallish'; *olaz*, *olrz* < *ealne weg*, Ch., *alway*, 'always.' In closed syllables: *smol* < *smæl*, 'small'; *hol*, sb., < **gehalian*, Kl., 'haul'; *hol*, sb., < *heal*, 'hall'; *ol* < *eall*, 'all'; *fôl* < *feallan*, 'fall'; *gôl* < *gealla*, 'gall'; *wol* < *weal*, 'wall'; *stol* < *steal*, 'stall'; *solt* < *sealt*, 'salt'; *holt* < *healt*, 'halt'; *bôld* < **bællod*, ME. *balled*, 'bald'; *bok* < *balca*, 'balk'; *worn* < *wearnian*, 'warn'; *sworm* < *swearm*, 'swarm'; *worm* < *wearm*, 'warm.'

2) WG. *a*, WS. *a*, *ea* + *g*, ME. *a* + *w* (*au*). In open syllables: *dro*

< *dragan*, 'draw'; *nɔ* < *gnagan*, 'gnaw.' In closed syllables: *dən* < *dugian*, ME. *dagnien*, 'dawn.'

3) WG. *a*, WS. *á*, *éa* by contraction, ME. *â* + *w* (*au*). In open syllables: *rɔ* < *hréaw*, 'raw'; *þɔ* < *þáwan*, **þagw*, 'thaw'; *klɔ* < *cléa* < *clawu*, 'claw'; *strɔ* < *stréaw* < **strawa*, Kl., 'straw.'

4) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *u*-umlaut + *f*, ME. *a* + *w* (*au*). In closed syllable: *hɔk* < *heafoc*, 'hawk.'

5) WG. *a*, WS. *ɔ* before nasal, ME. *ɔ*. In closed syllables: *lɔŋ* < *long*; *rɔŋ* < *wrong*, late OE. Chron. 1124; *þrɔŋ* < *þrang*, 'throng'; *tɔŋz* < *tange*, 'tongs'; *þɔŋ* < *þwang*, 'thong'; *sɔŋ* < *sang*, 'song'; *strɔŋ* < *strang*, 'strong.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ó* < *a* + *n*, ME. *ô* (*ɔ*). In closed syllables: *sɔft* < *sôfte* < **sanft*, 'soft'; *brɔt* < *brôhte* < **branhte*, 'brought'; *þɔt* < *þôhte* < **þanhte*, 'thought.'

7) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ɔ*. In open syllables: *fɔrærd* < *fore* + *weard*, 'forward.' In closed syllables: *bɔrn* < *boren*, pp., 'born'; *kɔrn* < *corn*; *hɔrn* < *horn*; *þɔrn* < *þorn*, 'thorn'; *stɔrm* < *storm*; *nɔrþ* < *norþ*, 'north'; *hɔrs* < *hors*, 'horse'; *stɔrk* < *storc*, 'stork'; *lɔst* < *ge-losed*, ME. *ylost*, 'lost'; *fɔrst* < *frost*; *brɔþ* < *broð*, 'broth'; *mɔþ* < *moððe*, 'moth'; *ɔftn* < *oft*, 'often'; *dɔg* < *dogga*, 'dog'; *fɔg* < *frogga*, 'frog'; *gɔd* < *god* (in oaths *gad*).

8) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ɔ* + *g* (*h*). In closed syllables: *trɔþ* < *troh* (Eng. *trɔf*), 'trough'; *bɔt* < *bohte*; *wrɔt* < (*ge-*)*worht*, through IWS. *-wroht*.

9) WG. *e*, WS. *eo*, by breaking, or *o*-umlaut, ME. *ɔ* (*o*). In closed syllables: *dwɔrf* < *dweorh*, ME. *dwerf*, *dwarfe*, 'dwarf'; *fɔrti* < *feowertig*, *féowertig* (cf. Kl. *vier*), 'forty.'

10) WG. *á*, WS. *á*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *ɣɔn* < *gánian*, 'yawn'; *gɔn*, pp., < *gân*, 'gone.'

11) WG. *ai*, WS. *á* + *h* (*w*), ME. *ɔ* + *h*. In closed syllables: *ɔt* < *áhte*, 'ought'; *lɔrd* < *hlâford*, 'lord'; *tɔt* < *têhte*, but IWS. *tâhte*, 'taught.'

12) WG. *ai*, WS. *á*, ME. *ɔ*. In closed syllables: *klɔþ* < *clâþ*, 'cloth'; *brɔd* < *brâd*, 'broad.'

II. Lat. *u*, WS. *o*, ME. *ɔ*. In closed syllables: *fɔrk* < *furca*, OE. *forc*, 'fork.'

III. 1) Scand. *a* + *g*, ME. *aw*. In open syllables: *lɔ* < *lɔg*, pl. made sg., ME. *lawe*, 'law'; *flɔ* < *flawe*, cf. Swed. *flaga*, 'flaw.'

2) Scand. *a*, ME. *ɔ*. In closed syllables: *kɔl* < OE. *callian*, 'call'; *wɔnt* < *want*, sb., *wanten*, vb., cf. Icl. *vant*, *vanta*, 'want.'

IV. 1) OF. *o*, ME. *ɔ*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *əkɔrd* < *acorden*, 'accord'; *kɔrd* < *corde*, 'cord'; *rizɔrt* < *resorten*, 'resort'; *skɔrtf* < *scorchen*, 'scorch'; *hɔnt* < *haunten*, 'haunt'; so prep., *kɔrdin*, 'according,' and adv., *kɔrdinli*, 'accordingly' < *acorden*; *pəfɔrməns*, cf. ME. *performen*, 'performance'; *ɔrdr* < *ordre*, 'order.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *fɔrtisən* < *fortune*; *bɔrdr* < *bordure*, 'border'; *kɔrnɪr* < *cornier*, 'corner'; *fɔridʒ* < *forage* (sometimes *fëridʒ*); *mɔrtl* < *mortal*; *mɔrtəfai* < *mortifien*, 'mortify'; *ɔrtiz* < *authoritee*, 'authorities.'

2) OF. *au* < *a* + *l*, ME. *au*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *difɔlt* < *defaut*, 'default'; *kɔrk* (with excrescent *r*) < *cauken*, 'calk'; *skɔld* < *scalden*, OF. *escalder*, later *eschauder*, 'scald,' may also be placed here.

3) OF. *au*, ME. *au*. In originally stressed syllables, closed : *kəz* < *cause* ; *pəz* < *pause* ; *kləz* < *clause* ; *səs* (*sæs*) < *sauce* ; *frəd* < *fraude*, 'fraud.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*. In open syllables : *mədʒˌɔrəti* < *majorité*, 'majority' ; *ɔrɪndʒ* < *orange*. In closed syllables : *kərdʒəl* < *cordial* ; *sɔrtmənt* < *assortment* ; *hɔstail* < *hostile* ; *pɔrkəpəɪn* < *porkepyn* (?), 'porcupine.'

2) Dutch *â*. In closed syllables : *bəs* < *baas*, 'boss.'

VI. Names. 1) With written *a*. In open syllables : *ɔnəndˌɔgi* < *Onondaga*. In closed syllables : *ɔlbəni* < *Albany*.

2) With written *o*. In open syllables : *grɔtn* < *Groton*. In closed syllables : *dʒɔrdʒi* < *Georgia* ; *mɔrgɪn* < *Morgan*.

99. IthD. long open *o* (ɔ) springs from two sources :

1) ME. diphthong *au*, either from OE. *a* + back guttural (sometimes *w* vocalized), or from OF. *au*.

2) ME. short open *o*, or *a*, which was rounded to open *o* in early MdE., when lengthened before certain consonants or consonant combinations.

Examples of the first class are 'draw,' 'straw,' 'yawn,' 'hawk,' 'cause.'

100. The consonants or consonant combinations before which an earlier open *o* has been lengthened are, in general, those before which long *ê* and *â* have developed ; that is, *f*, *p*, *s*, the back nasal *ŋ*, and *r* + consonant. Examples are 'often,' 'broth,' 'frost,' 'strong,' 'corn.' The vowel *ɔ* also springs in a few words from ME. open *o*, whether originally short or from long open *o* before *ht* (*h*). Here are to be placed 'brought,' 'thought,' 'bought,' 'wrought,' 'ought,' 'sought,' 'taught,' 'trough.' Certain words need special explanation. In 'for' (when stressed *fɔr*) the lengthening occurs before *r* final, as does *â* in *far*, also. 'Cloth' (*klɔp*) is to be explained as from ME. *clɔp*, with short *o*, the shortening being parallel to that in 'breath,' 'feather,' 'heather.' The proper name 'Groton' should be *grɔtn*, but has retained its open *ɔ* as a place name, for some unknown reason. In *yawn*, *gone*, we should also expect *ɔ*, the arrested development being due perhaps to the nasal.

101. Before *l* final, or *l* + consonant, *a* had, in the 16th century, developed a glide, which was represented often by *u* (cf. HES., § 784). Afterwards the vowel became long by the absorption of the *u*, and fell in with words having *au* from the OF., or from OE. *a* + *g* (*h*). Examples are 'all,' 'small,' 'hall,' 'halt,' 'salt.' Here belong also 'balk,' 'chalk,' 'walk,' 'talk,' which lost their *l* after lengthening the preceding vowel.

102. The effect of rounding by preceding *w* is seen especially in those words in which, but for this influence, we should have *â*.

Examples are 'warn,' 'warm,' 'swarm,' 'water,' 'dwarf,' 'wharf.' In 'dwarf' the original *e* first became *a*, and then *o* by the effect of the preceding *w* and the following *r + f*. In 'want' (*wənt*) the *w* keeps the vowel from appearing as *æ*, as is shown by such words as 'haunt' (*hənt*, *hænt*), in which the *æ* is perhaps more common.

103. Before *g*, *o* is usual in 'dog,' 'hog,' 'frog,' 'log,' 'fog,' but *ā* sometimes occurs. In 'God' (*gɔd*) *o* is the reverential form, but *ā* occurs in oaths. For 'broad,' cf. § 106.

B. SHORT CLOSE *o* (ð).

104. Short close *o*, so common in New England, is not found in many words of IthD., except in unstressed syllables. It changes in a few cases with long close *ô*, and in others passes into *v*. The nearest approach to the vowel is the *ô* before *r*, when it is united with a glide (*ðə*). Examples of *ð* are:

I. WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, *æ* by umlaut, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *ðnli* < *ænlice*, 'only'; *hòm* (*həm*) < *hām*, 'home'; so *hòmli*, *hòmbli* (*həmli*, *həmblist*), *hòmspən* (*həmspən*), 'homely,' 'homeliest,' 'homespun'; *bòt* (*bót*) < *bât*, 'boat'; *ròd* (*rôd*) < *râd*, 'road.'

C. LONG CLOSE *ô*.

105. Long close *ô* springs regularly from WS. *â*, *ô + w*, or from ME. *ê*, due to lengthening before *ld*, *mb*, sometimes from other sources. It develops from:

I. 1) WG. *ai*, WS. *â + w* (*h*), ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *fô* < *fâh*, 'foe'; *rô* (a series) < *râw*; *þró* < *þrâwan*, 'throw'; *wô* < *wâ-wa*, 'woe'; *blô* < *blâwan* (as the wind); *krô* < *crâwe*, 'crow'; *snô* < *snâw*; *sô* < *sâwan*, 'sow'; *nô* ('know') < *cnâwan*; *ô* ('owe') < *âgan*; *dô* < *dâh*, 'dough.'

2) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *nô* < *nâ*, 'no'; *tô* < *tâ*, 'toe'; *hôli* < *hâlig*, 'holy.' In closed syllables: *ôþ* < *âþ*, 'oath'; *bôþ* < *bâþâ*, 'both'; *klôz* < *clâþas*, 'clothes'; *rôz* < *â-râs*, 'rose'; *ðôz* < *þâz*; *drôv* < *drâf*, sb., and *drâf* pret. of *drifan*, 'drove'; *grôv* < *grâf*, 'grove'; *fôn* < *scân*, 'shone'; *stôn* < *stân*, 'stone'; *bôn* < *bân*, 'bone'; *drôn* < *drân*, 'drone'; *rôd* < *râd*, sb., and < *râd*, vb., 'road,' 'rode'; *tôd* < *tâdie*, 'toad'; *bôt* (*bòt*) < *bât*, 'boat'; *rôt* < *wrât*, pret. of *writan*, 'wrote'; *sôl* < *sâwol*, 'soul'; *mól* < *mâl* (a spot); *ôk* < *âc*, 'oak'; *rôp* < *râp*, 'rope'; *sôp* < *sâpe*, 'soap'; *fôm* < *fâm*, 'foam'; *môst* < *mâst*, superl. of *more*.

3) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô + w*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *rô* < *rôwan*, 'row'; *flô* < *flôwan*, 'flow'; *grô* < *grôwan*, 'grow'; *blô*, sb., < *blôwan*, to bloom; *stô* < *stôwian*, 'stow'; *bistô*, cf. ME. *bistôwen*; *glô* < *glôwan*, 'glow.'

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ê* before *ld*, *mb*. In closed syllables: *gôld* < *gold*; *môld* < *molde*, 'mould'; *kôm* < *cômb*.

5) WG. *o*, WS. *o* (*eo* by palatal), ME. *ø*, *ê* in open syllables: *ôvr* < *ofer*, 'over'; *ôpn* < *open*. In closed syllables: *hól* < *hol*, 'hole'; *fól* < *fola*, 'foal'; *kól* < *col*, 'coal'; *nól* < *cnol*, 'knoll'; *stól* < *stolen*; *tól* < *tol*, 'toll'; *bólt* < *bolt*; *kólt* < *colt*; *sók* < **socian*, 'soak'; *yók* < *geoc*, 'yoke'; *brók* < *brocen*, pp., 'broken'; *smók* < *smocian*, 'smoke'; *flot* < *flota*, 'float'; *þrót* < *þrotu*, 'throat'; *hóp* < *hopian*, 'hope'; *stóv* < *stofa*, 'stove'; *nóz* < *nosu*, 'nose'; *hóz* < *hosu*, 'hose.'

6) WG. *o*, WS. *o* + *g*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *bó* < *boga*, in 'rainbow.'

7) WG. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *û* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fólðr* < *sculdor*, 'shoulder.'

8) WG. *a*, WS. *ea* by *l* + cons., ME. *ê* by *ld*. In closed syllables: *hóld* < *healdan*, 'hold'; also, *hólt*, sb., variant of Eng. *hold*; *óld* < *eald*, 'old'; *bóld* < *beald*, 'bold'; *tóld* < *tealde*, 'told'; *sóld* < *sealde*, 'sold'; *fóld* < *fealdan*, 'fold'; *kóld* < *ceald*, 'cold.'

II. 1) Lat. *á*, WS. *á*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *pól* < *pál*, Lat. *pálus*, 'pole.'

2) Lat. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ê*. In closed syllables: *róz* < *rose*, Lat. *rosa*, 'rose'; *sól* < *sole*, 'sole'; *póst* < *post*, Lat. *postis*.

III. 1) Scand. *á*, ME. *ê*. In open syllables: *fró* < *fró*, Scand. *frá*, 'fro.' In closed syllables: *lón* < *lone*, Scand. *lán*, 'loan.'

2) Scand. *a* + *g*, ME. *ou*. In open syllables: *ló* < *louh*, Scand. *lâgr*, 'low.'

IV. OF. *o*, ME. *ê* (*ø*). a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *stóri* < *storie*, 'story'; *nóbl* < *noble*; closed: *klóz* < *close*, vb.; *sap·óz* < *supposen*, 'suppose'; *klós* (*klóstr* comp. with excrescent *t*) < *close*; *kót* ('coat') < *cote*; *nót* < *note*; *klók* < *cloke*, 'cloak'; *ról* < *rolle*, 'roll'; *ap·rôtſ* < *approchen*, 'approach'; *dóm* < *dome*. b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *grósr* < *grosser*, 'grocer'; so *grósrí* < *grossery*, 'grocery'; *ódr* < *odour*.

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *o*. In open syllables: *pætr·ól̃m* < *petr- + oleum*; *lókæ·f·ókæ* < *loco- + foco-*; *pródús*, sb., < *producere*, 'produce'; *prógres*, sb., < *progressus*, 'progress.' In closed syllables: *džók* < *jocus*, 'joke.'

2) Fr. *o*, *ou*, *ô*. In open syllables: *hótl* < *hôtel*; *rótín* < *routine*; *nótis* < *notice*; *nôfn* < *notion*. In closed syllables: *nótsabl* < *notice*, 'noticeable'; *pæv·ók* < *provoquer*, 'provoke'; *tít·ótlr* < *total*, 'tee-totaler.'

3) Ital. *o*. In open syllable: *gænd·ól̃a* < *gondola*.

4) Port. *o*. In closed syllable: *kóknats* < *cocoanuts*.

VI. Names. In open syllables: *kæzæn·ôvi* < *Cazinovia*; *dík·ôti* < *Dakota* (Ind.); *džín·ôi* < *Genoa*; *gilb·ôi* < *Gilboa*; *ai·ôi* < *Iowa* (Ind.); *môhæk* < *Mohawk* (Ind.); *nôvi·sk·ôfi* < *Nova Scotia*; *óvid* < *Ovid* (Lat.).

106. IthD. long close *ô* springs regularly from ME. long open *ê*, or from a diphthong *ou*. ME. long open *ø* springs in turn from two sources: 1) OE. *á*; 2) OE. *a*, or *ø*, when lengthened in ME. before *ld*, *mb*, or in open syllables. Apparent exceptions are 'ought,' 'taught,' 'thought,' 'brought,' 'sought,' 'soft,' 'yawn,' 'gone,' 'cloth,' 'broad,' but all of these except the last have been noticed in § 100. 'Broad' is explained by Sweet (HES., § 841) as due to the preceding *r*, but this seems hardly true, since there are

several words with preceding *r* in which the development is regular, as 'road,' 'rode,' 'rope.'

107. All long *ô*'s before *l*, not from ME. long *ê*, are a development of the 17th century from *o* + a glide formed before *l* in the 16th century (cf. HES., §§ 784, 808). Parallel to this is the development of *a* before *l* into *o* through *a* + glide. An exception to this occurs in *stôl*, from the preterit *stal*, 'stole,' but this may have been influenced by the *ô* of *stole*, participle for *stolen* in IthD., or it may possibly have had *â* in ME. by lengthening in a monosyllable. 'Old,' 'cold,' are not exceptions, since the *a* had been lengthened in ME. before *ld*. Many long *ô*'s are to be accounted for by the lengthening which took place in open syllables in ME. This accounts for 'close,' adj., 'dose,' 'rose,' 'nose,' 'hose,' 'close,' vb., 'suppose,' 'over,' 'stove,' 'cove,' 'open,' 'hope,' 'soak,' 'yoke,' 'smoke,' and many others. It would not account for 'post' < ME. *post*, 'gross' < *gros*, 'hole' < *hol*, unless we suppose these also had *ê* in ME., by lengthening as monosyllables, or from the inflected forms. Such lengthening did occur in some words even in OE. (cf. Sie., 122).

108. The spelling with *oa* established itself about the time that the long *o*, written *oo*, became *û* in sound, so that *oa*, as *ea*, denoted a more open sound (cf. HES., § 831).

D. THE CLOSE *ô* BEFORE *r* (*ôə*).

109. Before *r* close *ô* appears with a glide, retaining always, however, its close quality. This is *œ* in LdE., a sound never heard in IthD. (cf. HES., p. 280 *et seq.*). The sound springs from:

I. 1) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *ê*: *ðær* < *âr*, 'oar'; *sðær* < *sâr*, 'sore'; *gðær* (of a dress) < *gâra*; *bðær* (an animal) < *bâr*; *ðær* < *âr*, 'ore'; *mðær* < *mâra*, 'more'; *hðær*s < *hâs*, ME. *hêrse*, 'hoarse.'

2) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ê*: *swðær* < *swôr*, pret., 'swore'; *flðær* < *flôr*, 'floor.'

3) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ê*: *bif·ðær* < *beforan*, 'before'; *fðærþ* < *forþ*, 'forth'; *hðærd* < *hord*, 'hoard'; *bðærd* < *bord*, 'board'; *mðærn* < *murnan*, cf. OHG. *mornen*, 'mourn'; *snðær* < **snorian*; ME. *snorin* (Kl. *schnarchen*), 'snore'; *bðær* < *borian*, 'bore'; also the pp. *swðær* < *sworen*, 'sworn'; *tðær* < *toren*, 'torn.'

4) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., or *u*-umlaut, ME. *ê*: *sðærd* < *sweord*, 'sword'; *fðær* < *feower*, *fêower* (Kl. *vier*), 'four.'

5) WG. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *ê*: *dðær*, 'door' < *duru*(?)

II. OF. *o*, ME. *ê*: *stðær* < *store*; *rist·ðær* < *restoren*, 'restore'; *sðær* < *soren*, 'soar'; *pðærk* < *pork*; *fðær*s < *force*; *kðær* < *core*.

110. The sound ($\partial\partial$) represents in many cases an original short vowel lengthened in ME. in open syllables or before r + voiced consonant, as 'hoard,' 'board.' This lengthening is proved by the spellings with *oo*, *oa*, *o* + *e* final in these words. In the case of those from OE. δ we should expect \hat{u} as in *poor*, but 'swore,' pret., may have been influenced by *sworen* the participle; and the spelling 'floor,' 'door,' would indicate a \hat{u} sound, actually heard in the 17th century, according to Ellis, EEP., I, p. 101.

7. THE VOWEL *u*.

111. Historically at least the vowels *v*, *u*, \hat{u} , are to be placed together, *v* and *u* representing the older *u*, sometimes *o*, and \hat{u} being a development from δ of an older time. From these, also, must be separated the long *u* (\hat{u}) before *r*, although the instances of it are few. The vowel *v* is short and open, unrounded, while *u* and \hat{u} are close rounded vowels standing in the relation of short and long.

A. THE VOWEL *v*.

112. The vowel *v* is derived regularly from WG. *u*, OF. *u*, *ü*, but as one of the commonest sounds it has also many other sources, as follows:

I. 1) WG. *u*, WS. *u* (*o*, *eo* by a palatal), ME. *u*. In open syllables: *knin* < *cunnan*, 'cunning'; *foræ* < *furh*, 'furrow'; *þoræ* < *þurh*, 'thorough.' In closed syllables: *son* < *sunu*, 'son'; *sun* < *sunne*, 'sun'; *ron*, pp., < *urnen*, with *r*-metathesis, 'run'; *spun* < *spunnen*, pp., 'spun'; *won* < *ge-wunnen*, pp., 'won'; *bigʷon* < *begunnen*, pp., 'begun'; *wondr* < *wundor*, 'wonder'; *þondr* < *þunor*, 'thunder'; *sonk* < *suncen*, pp., 'sunk'; *frɔŋk* < *scruncen*, pp., 'shrunk'; *drɔŋk* < *druncen*, pp., 'drunk'; *hɔŋgr* < *hungor*, 'hunger'; *son* < *sungen*, pp., 'sung'; *sprɔŋ* < *sprungen*, pp., 'sprung'; *tɔŋ* < *tunge*, 'tongue'; *yɔŋ* < *geong*, 'young'; *sum* < *sum*, 'some'; *swum* < *swummen*, pp., 'swum'; *dum* < *dumb*; *tumbl* < *tumbian*, ME., *tumben*, *tumblen*, 'tumble'; *plɔk* < *pluccian*, 'pluck'; *klɔk* < *cloccian*, 'cluck'; *ðus* < *þus*, 'thus'; *nɔt* < *hnutu*, 'nut'; *gɔt* < *gut*; *ʃɔvl* < *sceofl*, 'shovel.'

2) WG. *u*, WS. \hat{u} < *u* + *n*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *svðærn* < *sûþerne*, for **sunþ*, 'southern.' In closed syllables: *us* < $\hat{u}s$ for **uns*, 'us'; *dust* < $\hat{d}ust$ for **dunst*, 'dust.'

3) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *ü* (*y*, *e*). In closed syllables: *brɔsl* < *brystl*, 'bristle'; *ʃɔst* < *fyrst*, with loss of *r*, 'first'; *ʃɔt* (*ʃet*) < *scyttan*, 'shut.'

4) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, *u*, ME. *u* (*o*). In open syllable: *hɔni* < *honeg*, 'honey'; *vɔn*, *vum*, *vvin* < *ofen*, 'oven.' In closed syllables: *bɔk* < *bucca*, 'buck'; *lɔv* < *lufian* and *lufu*, sb., 'love'; *əbʷv* < *abufan*, 'above.'

5) WG. *a*, WS. *a* (*ə*), ME. *a* (*ə*). In open syllable: *rɔðr* < *hraþor*,

'rather.' In closed syllables: *æm·vŋ* < *ongemong*, 'among,' so *mŋkŋst*, '(a)mongst.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ô* < *a* + *n*, ME. *o*. In open syllable: *vðr* < *ôðer*, 'other.'

7) WG. *e*, WS. *eo* by *r* + cons., ME. *e*, *u*, *o*. In closed syllables, with loss of *r*: *bŋst* < *berstan*, 'burst'; *wŋp* < *weorþe*, 'worth.'

8) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *u*. In open syllables: *hŋzi* < *hûswif*, 'hussy.' In closed syllables: *rŋst* < *rûst* (Kl. but Sie. *rust*); *ŋv* < *scûfan*, 'shove'; *þŋm* < *þûma*, 'thumb'; *sŋk* < *sûcan* (*sûgan*), 'suck'; *rŋf* < *rûh*, 'rough'; *bŋt* < *bûtan* (< *be* + *ûtan*), 'but'; *ŋp* < *ûp*, 'up'; *slŋmbŋr* < *slûma*, 'slumber.'

9) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô* (*o*). In open syllables: *rŋdr* < *rôpor*, 'rudder'; *brŋðr* < *brôðor*, 'brother'; *mŋðr* < *môdor*, 'mother.' In closed syllables: *mŋst* < *môste*, 'must'; *glŋv* < *glôf*, 'glove'; *æ·ŋf* < *genôh*, 'enough'; *tŋf* < *tôh*, 'tough'; *dŋn* < *gedôn*, 'done'; *flŋd* < *flôd*, 'flood'; *blŋd* < *blôd*, 'blood.'

10) WG. *ai*, WS. *â*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables: *wŋn* < *ân*, 'one'; *nŋn* < *nân*, 'none'; *wŋns(t)* < *âness*, 'once'; *hŋmli*, *hŋmbli* (with excrement *b*), (*hòdm*) < *hâm* ('home') + *-ly*; *hŋmspæn* also 'homespun'; *hŋl* < *hâl*, 'whole.'

11) WG. *â* (Germ. *ê* + nasal), WS. *â*, ME. *ø*. In closed syllables: *mŋŋ* < *mônað*, 'month'; *mŋndi* < *mônandæg*, 'Monday.'

II. 1) Lat. *u*, WS. *u*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bŋtr* < *butyrum*, OE. *butre*, *butere*, 'butter.'

2) Lat. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *u*. In closed syllable: *plŋm* < *prûnum*, OE. *plûme*, 'plum.'

III. Scand. *u*, ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bŋsl* < *bustelen*, 'bustle.' In closed syllables: *ŋgli* < *ugglig*, ME. *ugli*, 'ugly.'

IV. 1) OF. *u* (*o*, *ou*, Beh. pp. 104, 109), ME. *u*, *o*, *ou*. a) In originally stressed syllables, open: *sŋfr* < *suffre*, 'suffer'; *dŋbl* < *duble*, 'double'; *trŋbl* < *trublen*, 'trouble'; *kŋpl* < *kuplen*, 'couple.' Closed: *trŋs* < *trussen*, 'truss'; *tŋtf* < *touchen*, 'touch'; *spŋndŋ* < *spounge*, 'sponge.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *kŋridŋ* < *corage*, 'courage'; *foridŋin* < *forage*, 'foraging'; *forŋ* < *forein*, 'foreign'; *kŋri*, vb., < *curryen*, 'curry'; *glŋtn* < *glutun*, 'glutton'; *bŋtn* < *boton*, 'button'; *bŋtri* < *butelerie*, 'buttery'; *kŋlr* < *colour*; *mŋni* < *moneie*, 'money'; *sŋmæn* < *somouns*, 'summon.' Closed: *nŋmbr* < *number*, *nombre*; *kŋmpni* < *companie*, 'company'; *kŋmfært* < *confort*, 'comfort'; *kŋnstæbl* < *cunestable*, 'constable'; *kŋntri* < *contre*, 'country'; *kŋndŋr* < *congeouren*, 'conjure'; *bŋtlr* < *buteler*, 'butler'; *dŋŋglr* < *jogelour*, ' juggler.'

2) OF. *û*, ME. *u*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *dŋvðŋ* < *juggen* (also *dŋedŋ*), 'judge'; *dŋvs(t)* < *just* (also *dŋes*, *dŋis*). b) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *dŋtfis* < *duchesse*, 'duchess.' Closed: *dŋvðŋmænt* < *gugement*, 'judgment'; *dŋvstis* < *justice*; *mŋltæplai* < *multiplien*, 'multiply'; *hŋmbl* < *humble*, 'humble.'

3) OF. *oi*, ME. *u*. In originally stressed syllables, closed: *mŋsti* < *moyste*, 'musty.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Fr. *o*, *ou*. In open syllables: *bŋkl* < *bocle*, 'buckle.' In closed syllables: *bŋtmænts* < *aboutir* + *ment*, 'abutments'; *lŋndŋ* < *allonger*, 'lunge'; *lŋmbr* < *Lombard*, Skeat (?) 'lumber'; *gŋlf* < *golfe*, 'gulf'; *ræp·ŋblækn* < *republique*, 'republican.'

2) Lat. *u*. In closed syllables: *agk·vltfəl* < *agricultura*, 'agricultural'; *mʊskəlr* < *musculus* (**muscularis*), 'muscular.'

3) Span. *u*. In open syllables: *bʊfələ* < *bufalo*, 'buffalo.'

VI. Names. With written *o*. In closed syllables: *dəm·vɒn* < *Dumond*, Fr.; *məŋg·vɒmri* < *Montgomery*.

113. Under OF. and ME. the vowel *u* (*o*, *ou*) is given as by Behrens (pp. 104, 109) for a vowel appearing under several forms but with like quality, and best represented by *u*. From this is to be clearly separated the *o*, which in ME., as well as in OF., never appears as *u*, *ou*, and has become in ModE. *ô* or *ɔ* in most cases.

114. The vowel *ʊ* dates from the 17th century, when short *u* began to be so pronounced. In the 16th century short close *o*, especially before nasals, fell in with short *u* in sound, and this explains the *ʊ* from *o*. It is to be noticed, also, that some WG. *o*'s have been *u* from the earliest times, as shown by OE. *lufu*, *abufan* (Sie. 55). Anomalous are those *ʊ*'s from *a* and *e*. Of the first, however, 'rather' (*rʊðr*) may have been influenced by 'other,' which is like 'mother,' 'brother,' from WS. *ô*. The *ʊ* in 'among' is the going over from open *o* before a nasal. Original *e* becomes *ʊ* only by the dropping of *r*, which had, as in 'first' (*fʊst*), made the preceding vowel a guttural. This is proved, also, by the number of *u*'s before *r*, which are now *ë* (cf. § 85).

115. The shortening from *ô* or *û* began in the 17th century (cf. Ellis, EEP., I, pp. 157-9), where it is found in 'blood,' 'flood,' as well as in Fr. words with *ou*. To these, no doubt, others have been added. The examples are here placed with relation to the following consonant: 'whole,' 'up,' 'but,' 'suck,' 'rough,' 'tough,' 'enough,' 'us,' 'rust,' 'dust,' 'must,' 'brother,' 'mother,' 'other,' 'southern,' 'huzzy,' 'husband,' 'rudder,' 'flood,' 'blood,' 'shove,' 'glove,' 'thumb,' 'slumber,' 'done,' 'one,' 'once,' 'none,' 'won,' 'month,' 'Monday,' 'plum,' sometimes 'homely,' and 'homespun.' From these and the other examples it will be seen that *ʊ* occurs especially before nasals.

116. The interchange of *e* with *ʊ* occurs in a few words, as 'shut,' 'just,' 'judge,' but the examples are too few for determining the reason of the change. It may be said, however, that *set* for 'shut' occurs as early as ME. times and in Elizabethan English.

B. THE VOWEL SHORT *u*.

117. Short *u* is not a common sound in English, but it occurs somewhat oftener in IthD. than in LdE. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *ó*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *huf* < *hóf*, 'hoof'; *ruf* < *hróf* (also *rpf*), 'roof'; *huk* < *hóc*, 'hook'; *luk* < *lôcian*, 'look'; *fuk* < *scóc*, 'shook'; *buk* < *bóc*, 'book'; *bruk* < *bróc*, 'brook'; *sut* < *sôt*; *fut* < *fôt*, 'foot'; *rut* < *wrôtan* (to 'root'); *hud* < *hód*, 'hood'; *gud* < *gód*, 'good'; *stud* < *stód*, 'stood.'

2) WG. *â* + nasal, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *sun* < *sóna*, 'soon'; *spun* < *spón*, 'spoon'; *brum* < *bróm*, 'broom'; *hum* < *hwâm*, 'whom.'

3) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *ó* before a nasal (?). In closed syllable: *rum* < *rûm*, 'room.'

4) WG. *u* (?), WS. *u*, ME. *u*. In closed syllables: *pul* < *pullian*, 'pull.'

5) WG. *u*, WS. *û* < *u* + *n*, ME. *û*. In closed syllables: *kud* < *cûpe* < **cunþa*, 'could.'

6) WG. *o*, WS. *o*, ME. *ó* before *ld*. In closed syllables: *fud* < *scolde*, 'should'; *wud* < *wolde*, 'would.'

7) WG. *o*, WS. *u*, ME. *u* (*û*). In closed syllables: *ful* < *full*; *wul* < *wulle*, 'wool'; *wulf* < *wulf*, 'wolf'; here also *put* < *potian* (?), 'put.'

8) WG. *i*, WS. *i*, ME. *û* after *w*. In closed syllable: *wud* < *wudu*, **widu*, 'wood.'

9) WG. *î*, WS. *î*, ME. *u* (*o*) after *w*. In open syllable: *wumæn* < *wîfman*, 'woman.'

II. Lat. *o*, WS. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllable: *kuk* < *cóc* < *coquus*, 'cook.'

III. 1) Scand. *ó*, ME. *ó*. In closed syllables: *kruk* < *cróc*, Icl. *krókr*, 'crook'; *tuk* < *tóc*, Icl. *tók*, 'took'; *rut* < *rôte*, Icl. *rôt* for *wrôt* (or is this OE. ?), 'root.'

2) Scand. *u*, ME. *u*. In closed syllables: *bul* < *bule*, Icl. *buli* (or is this Eng. **bulla*? cf. Murray), 'bull.'

IV. 1) OF. *û*, *u* (*o*), ME. *u*, *ou*. In open syllables: *fugr* < *sugre*, 'sugar'; *hupin* < *houpen* in 'whooping-cough.'

2) OF. *oi* (*ui*), ME. *u*. In open syllable: *bufl* < *buschel*, OF. *boissel*, 'bushel.'

118. Short *u* occurs usually in closed syllables and from early long *ô*, which first became *û*, as shown by the spellings *oo*, *ou*, and was then shortened. Sometimes, however, the vowel springs from ME. *u*, especially after labials and before *l*, as in 'pull,' 'full,' 'bull,' 'put,' 'bushel,' while it occurs after *w* in 'wood,' 'wool,' 'wolf,' 'woman,' though not before *n*. In 'wood,' 'wool,' the vowel may have been long in ME., and certainly was in early MdE. Short *u* from older long *û*, *ô*, seems never to occur before the fricatives, and it is especially frequent before *k*, *t*, *d*, *n*, or *m*. In 'room' both the spelling and the puns of Shakespeare lead us to assume that OE. *û* had become *ô* before the nasal, perhaps in ME. times, as this is the only exception to the natural development of OE. *û*.

C. THE VOWEL *û*.

119. Long closed *u* (*û*) descends regularly from WS. *ô* from whatever source, and from such Romance sounds as became *ô* in ME. It springs from :

I. 1) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In open syllables : *tû* < *tô*, 'to' ; *dû* < *dôn*, 'do,' In closed syllables : *stûl* < *stôl*, 'stool' ; *kûl* < *côl*, 'cool' ; *tûl* < *tôl*, 'tool' ; *pûl* < *pôl*, 'pool' ; *rûst* < *hrôst*, 'roost' ; *bût* < *bôt*, ('to boot' in a wager) ; *blûm* < *blôma*, 'bloom' ; *glûm* < *glôma*, 'gloom' ; *dûm* < *dôm*, 'doom' ; *lûm* < *ge-lôma*, 'loom' ; *brûd* < *brôd*, 'brood' ; *fûd* < *fôd*, 'food.'

2) WG. *ô*, WS. *éo* by palatal, ME. *ô*. In open syllable : *fû* < *scéoh*, 'shoe.'

3) WG. *â* + nasal, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllable : *mûn* < *môna*, 'moon.'

4) WG. *a* + nasal, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables : *tûþ* < *tôþ*, 'tooth' ; *smûð* < *smôð*, 'smooth' ; *gûs* < *gôs*, 'goose.'

5) WG. *â*, WS. *â*, ME. *ô*. In open syllables : *hû* < *hwâ*, 'who' ; *tû* < *twâ*, 'two.' In closed syllables : *ûz* (*wûz*, earlier) < *wâse*, 'ooze' ; *swûp* < *swâpan*, 'swoop' ; *hûm* < *hwâm*, 'whom' ; *swûn* < *a-swânian*, perhaps, 'swoon.'

6) WG. *a*, WS. *ǣ* + *mb*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllable : *wûm* < *womb*.

7) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables : *fût* < *scéotan*, 'shoot.'

8) WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*, *ie* by umlaut + *w*, ME. *eu*. In open syllables : *trû* < *tréowe*, 'true' ; *nû* < *nûwe* (*niewe*), 'new' ; *brû* < *bréowan*, 'brew' ; *tfû* < *céowan*, 'chew.' In closed syllables : *trûþ* < *tréowþ*, 'truth.'

9) WG. *au*, WS. *éa* + *h* or *w*, ME. *eu*. In open syllables : *flû* < *fléah*, 'flew' ; *dû* < *déaw*, 'dew.'

10) WG. *î*, WS. *î* + *g*, *w*, ME. *iû*. In open syllables : *stûard* < *stí(g)weard*, 'steward.' In closed syllables : *tûzdi* < *Tíwesdæg*, 'Tuesday.'

11) WG. *u* + *h*, WS. *u*, ME. *uh*. In open syllables : *þrû* < *þurh*, *þruh*, 'through.'

II. Lat. *o*, WS. *ô*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables ; *skûl* < *schola*, OE. *scôl*, 'school' ; *prûv* < *probare*, OE. *prôfian*, 'prove' ; *nûn* < *nona*, OE. *nôn*, 'noon.'

III. 1) Scand. *û*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables : *bûþ* < *bôþe*, cf. Icl. *búð*, 'booth.'

IV. 1) OF. *o*, ME. *ô*. In closed syllables : *fûl* < *fol*, 'fool.'

2) OF. *o* (*oe*, *ue*, Beh., pp. 104, 152), ME. *ô*. In closed syllables : *mûv* < *moven*, 'move' *aprrûv* < *approven*, 'approve' ; *raprrûv* < *reproven*, 'reprove.'

3) OF. *ü*, ME. *u* (*û*). In open syllables : *kyûris* < *curious*. In closed syllables : *krûl* < *cruel* ; *pæzûm* < *presumen*, 'presume' ; *rûd* < *rude* ; *dûk* < *duc* (?), 'duke,' cf. Beh. ; *dǣûs* < *jus*, 'juice.'

4) OF. *ui*, ME. *u*, *ui* (*û*). In closed syllables : *sût* < *sute*, 'suit' ; *frût* < *fruyt*, 'fruit.'

5) OF. *eu*, ME. *iû*, *eu*. In closed syllables : *rûl* < *riwle*, 'rule' ; *dǣûz* < *jewes*, 'Jews.'

6) OF. *eau*, < *ell* + cons., ME. *eu*. In open syllables : *byûti* < *bealte*, *beaute*, 'beauty.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *u*. In open syllables : *kûpr* < Low Lat. *cuparius*, 'cooper.' In closed syllables : *intædûs* < *introducere*, 'introduce' ;

pəd·ûs < *producere*, 'produce'; *rəd·ûs* < *reducere*, 'reduce'; *slût* < *salutare*, 'salute'; *krûd* < *crudus*, 'crude.'

2) Fr. *u* (*ou*). In open syllables: *sûmæk* < *sumac*; *rækr·ûtin* < *recruter*, 'recruiting'; *krûpr* < *croupière*, 'crupper.' In closed syllables: *prûn*, sb., < *prune*; *brût* < *brut*, 'brute'; *flût* < *flute*.

3) Span. *o*. In open syllable: *kən·û* < *canoa*, 'canoe.'

4) Indian *u* (?) In closed syllables: *pəp·ûs* < *pappoose*.

VI. Names with written *u*. In open syllables: *kyûgi* < *Cayuga*, Ind.; *kyûti* < *Cayuta*, Ind.; *hûgəməts* < *Huguenots*; *dʒûləs* < *Julius*; *dʒûlai* < *July*; *rûləf* < *Ruloff*; *yûtiki* < *Utica*. In closed syllables: *brûn* < *Bruyn*; *byûlz* < *Buels*.

120. Besides the regular development of *û* from ME. *ô*, the vowel springs usually from ME. *eu*, *iu*, from whatever source, by absorption of the preceding vowel. Long *û* occurs especially in open syllables and before those consonants that have lengthened short vowels in MdE., that is, before *p*, *s* (not *f*), and *l*. The principal cases in which it occurs before other consonants are the following: 'bloom,' 'doom,' 'whom,' 'gloom,' 'loom,' 'womb,' 'presume,' 'moon,' 'noon,' 'prove,' 'move,' 'approve,' 'reprove,' 'boot,' 'shoot,' 'suit,' 'fruit,' 'brood,' 'rude,' 'swoop,' 'duke.'

121. Especially worthy of note is the *û* from OE. *â* always after *w*. This is a regular development, and it is probable that the long *â* after *w* became close instead of open *ô* in ME. times, since we have these words sometimes spelled with *ô*. Examples are: 'who,' 'whom,' 'two,' 'ooze,' formerly 'wooze,' 'swoop,' 'swoon,' if from OE. *aswanian*, as seems probable. Apparent exceptions are 'so,' 'woe,' but the first clearly develops from ME. *sâ* (*sê*), which had wholly lost its *w*, and 'woe' was in OE. 'wêa,' 'wâwa,' from the last of which forms our word would be a natural development (cf. § 105). 'Swoon' is usually referred to ME. *swownen*, but this should give *swaun* or *swôn* by regular development, the first of which does occur with excrescent *d* in 'swound.' For the rounding influence of *w*, cf. also §§ 63, 102.

122. Long *u* (*û*) occurs with *y* (*yû*) when initial, sometimes after a consonant, as in *byûti*, *kyûris*, *Byûlz*, for 'beauty,' 'curious,' 'Buels.' This is clearly distinguished from *iu*, which occurs in a few words (cf. § 133).

123. The examples of *û* before *r* (*uə*) are so few that they may be placed here in a note. They are noticeable only because of the appearance of the glide. Examples are: 'poor,' 'endure' < OF. *poure*, *endurer*, ME. *poure*, *enduren*; 'tour' < Fr. *tour*; besides, words in *-er* after *û* show the same (*uə*), due to shortening, as 'brewer,' 'sewer,' (*bruər*, *suər*).

8. THE DIPHTHONG *ai*.

124. The diphthong *ai* comes from OE. *î*, *ȳ*, from a front vowel + front *g* (*h*), or from ME. *î* < older *i* + *ld*, *nd*, *mb*. Before *r* it appears with a glide *aiə*, though the examples are not numerous. It springs from:

I. 1) WG. *î*, WS. *î*, ME. *î*. In closed syllables: *hwail* < *hwile* 'while'; *ais* < *îs*, 'ice'; *waiz* < *wis*, 'wise'; *laif* < *lif*, 'life'; *waif* < *wif*, 'wife'; *naif* < *cnif*, 'knife'; *al·aiv* < *onlife*, 'alive'; *laik* < *gelic*, 'like'; *daik* < *dic*, 'dike'; *straik* < *strican*, 'strike'; *raip* < *ripe*, 'ripe'; *raid* < *ridan*, 'ride'; *said* < *sīdan*, 'side'; *slaid* < *slīdan*, 'slide'; *waid* < *wīd*, 'wide'; *taid* < *tīd*, 'tide'; *rait* < *writan*, 'write'; *hwait* < *hwit*, 'white'; *bait* < *bītan*, 'bite'; *fain* < *scinan*, 'shine'; *rain* < *rīm*, 'rhyme'; *taim* < *tīma*, 'time.'

2) WG. *i*, WS. *î* < *i* + *n*, ME. *î*. In closed syllables: *faiv* < *fif*, 'five.'

3) WG. *i*, WS. *i* + *g* (*h*), ME. *ih*. In open syllables: *ai* < *ic*, 'I'; *fraidī* < *Frigedæg*, 'Friday.' In closed syllables: *tail* < *tigole*, 'tile'; *stail* < *stigele*, 'stile'; *nain* < *nigen*, 'nine'; *al·ait* < *alihtan*, 'alight.'

4) WG. *i*, WS. *i* + *ld*, *nd*, *mb*, ME. *î*. In closed syllables: *waild* < *wilde*, 'wild'; *maild* < *milde*, 'mild'; *tfaild* < *cild*, 'child'; *bih·aind* < *behindan*, 'behind'; *waind* < *windan*, 'wind'; *faind* < *findan*, 'find'; *graind* < *grindan*, 'grind'; *baind* < *bindan*, 'bind'; *blaind* < *blindan*, 'blind'; *klaim* < *climban*, 'climb.'

5) WG. *e*, WS. *i* by palatal-umlaut, ME. *i* + *h* (*g*). In closed syllables: *rait* < *riht*, 'right'; *nait* < *niht*, 'knight'; here also *brait* < *beorht*, **breoht*, *bryht*, 'bright'; *fait* < *feohtan*, ME. *fihten*, 'fight.'

6) WG. *e*, WS. *î* by lengthening, ME. *î*. In open syllables: *bai* < *bi*, *bī*, 'by.' In closed syllable: *saið* < *sīðe*, **sigðe*, 'scythe.'

7) WG. *û*, WS. *ȳ* by umlaut, ME. *î*. In open syllables: *drai* < *drȳge*, 'dry.' In closed syllables: *bail* < *bȳl* (Eng. 'boil,' 'bile'); *mais* < *mȳs*, 'mice'; *haiv* < *hȳf*, 'hive'; *praid* < *prȳta*, 'pride'; *braid* < *brȳd*, 'bride'; *haid* < *hȳdan*, 'hide'; *haid*, sb., < *hȳd*, 'hide.'

8) WG. *au*, WS. *ēa* + *h* (*g*), ME. *ē* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllables: *ai* < *ēage*, 'eye'; *hai* < *hēah*, 'high'; *lai* < *lēag*, 'lye.' In closed syllables: *haitþ* (*haiþ*) < *hēahþu*, 'height.'

9) WG. *eu*, WS. *ēo*, ME. *ē* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllables: *flai*, vb., < *flēogan*, 'fly'; *flai*, sb., < *flēoge*, 'fly'; *fai* < *scēoh*, 'shy.' In closed syllables: *lait*, sb. and adj., < *lēoht*, 'light'; *lait*, adj., < *leoht*, 'light,' cf. Sie., 84, n. 4.

10) WG. *ā*, WS. *ēa* (cf. Sie., 57, 2), *d.*), ME. *ē* + *h* (later *ih*). In open syllable: *nai* < *nēah*, 'nigh.'

11) WG. *a*, WS. *i* by palatal-umlaut, ME. *i* + *h* (*i*). In closed syllables: *mait* < *miht*, 'might'; *nait* < *niht*, 'night.'

12) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut, ME. *i* + *g* (*i*). In open syllable: *bai* < *bycgan*, 'buy.'

13) WG. *u*, WS. *y* by umlaut + *nd*, ME. *î*. In closed syllable: *kaind* < *ge-cynde*, 'kind.'

II. Lat. *i*, WS. *î*, ME. *î*. In closed syllables: *mail* < *mīl*, Lat. *milia*,

'mile'; *pail* < *pīlum*, OE. *pīl*, 'pile'; *pain* < *pīnus*, OE. *pīn*, 'pine'; *wain* < *vinum*, OE. *wīn*, 'wine'; *kraist* < *Christus*, OE. *crīst*, 'Christ'; *paip* < Low Lat. *pīpa*, OE. *pīpe*, 'pipe.'

III. 1) Scand. *i*, ME. *i*. In closed syllables: *þraiv* < *þrīven*, 'thrive.'

2) Scand. *ý*, ME. *i*. In open syllables: *skai* < *skie*, ON. *ský*, 'sky.'

3) Scand. *ê*, ME. *ê* + *h*. In open syllables: *slai* < *sleh*, ON. *slêgr*, 'sly'; *slait* < *slehte*, ON. *slægþ* (?), 'sleight.'

IV. 1) OF. *i*, ME. *i*. *a*) In originally stressed syllables, open: *krai* < *cry*; *spai* < *spien*, 'spy.' Closed: *braib* < *bribe*; *adv·ais* < *avys*, 'advice'; *prais* < *pris*, 'price'; *spais* < *spice*; *nais* < *nice*; *dʒais(t)* < *giste*, 'joist'; *fain* < *fine*; *kwait* < *quyte*, 'quite.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *laibri* < *librairie*, 'library.'

2) OF. *oi*, ME. *oi* (17th century *oi*, *ai*). *a*) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *paint* < *point*; *ap·aint* < *apointen*, 'appoint'; *dʒain* < *joyne*, 'join'; *dʒaint* < *joint*; *lain* < *loyne* (of beef); *bail* < *boyle*, 'boil'; *aistr* < *oystre*, 'oyster.' *b*) In originally unstressed syllables, open: *dʒainr* < *joinour*, 'joiner'; *paizn* < *poisoun*, 'poison.' Closed: *aintmēt* < *oynement*, 'ointment.'

3) OF. *o* + *l*, *oi*, ME. *oi* (17th century *oi*, *ai*). In originally stressed syllables, closed: *ail* < *olie*, *oyle*, 'oil'; *spail* < *spoylen*, 'spoil'; *sail* < *soyle*, 'soil.' In originally unstressed syllable, open: *ailət* < *æillet*, 'eyelet.'

V. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *i*. In open syllables: *dairi* < *diarium*, 'diary'; *sailənt* < *silentem*, 'silent.' In closed syllables: *pərv·aid* < *providere*, 'provide'; *yūn·ait* < *unitus*, 'unite.'

2) Fr. *i*. In open syllables: *saiəti* < *société* (also *səs·aiəti*), 'society'; *vailət* < *violette*; *pairət* < *pirate*. In closed syllables: *pail* < *pile*.

3) Fr. *oi*. In open syllables: *impl·aimēt* < **employment*.

4) Du. *i*. In closed syllables: *splais(t)* < *splissen*, 'splice.'

5) Du. *y*. In closed syllables: *haist* < *hyssen*, 'hoist.'

VI. Names. In open syllables: *baii* < *Bahia*; *haiə* < *Ohio*; *karl·aini* < *Carolina*; *pemb·aini* < *Pembina*; *dər·aitr* < *De Ruyter*; *elm·airi* < *Elmira* (also *əlmairi*); *aizik* < *Isaac*. In closed syllables: *kənt·ain* < *Cantine*; *laidʒ* < *Elijah*.

125. The diphthong *ai* before *r* should be represented by *aiə*, but it does not occur in many words. Typical examples are as follows:

1) WG. *ī*, WS. *ī*, ME. *ī*: *aiərn* < *īren*, 'iron'; *waiər* < *wīr*, 'wire.'

2) WG. *û*, WS. *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ī*: *faiər* < *fýr*, 'fire'; *haiər* < *hýr*, sb., *hýrian*, vb., 'hire.'

3) WG. *eu*, WS. *ý* by umlaut, ME. *ī*: *maiər* < *mýra* (in 'pis-mire').

4) OF. *i*, ME. *ī*: *dəs·aiər* < *desiren*, 'desire.'

5) OF. *ie*, ME. *é*: *ent·aiər* < *enter*, 'entire'; *skwaiər* (*skwæər*) < *squiere* (IME. *ī* ?), 'squire.'

Other examples occur, especially by the addition of *-er* as in 'crier,' 'dyer,' 'higher,' 'buyer,' etc.

126. Three sources have been pointed out for MdE. *ai*, and these account in the main for *ai* of IthD. In LdE. this diphthong is *æi*, which, according to Ellis (EEP., I, p. 227, long *i*), has prevailed since the 17th century. In IthD. the sound is nearer *a + i* than *æi* would indicate, and perhaps furnishes another evidence of the preservation of an older speech.

127. From the examples it appears that *ai* springs regularly from ME. *i* (*i*) + *h* (*g*), while ME. *e* (*æ*) + *h* has given *ê*, except in 'either,' 'neither' (cf. §§ 82, 94). MdE. *ai* < *i* (*i*) + *h* (*g*) indicates the final lengthening of the *i* in both cases, whether *ih* remained long, or the *i* was first shortened before *h*, or *h* + cons., as in the case of *ôh* (cf. § 100). Examples of *i* + *h* are: 'I,' 'by,' 'Friday,' 'tile,' 'stile,' 'mine,' 'light,' 'right,' 'knight,' 'bright,' 'flight,' 'might,' 'night.' In 'eye,' 'high,' 'bye,' 'fly,' sb., vb., 'shy,' 'light' (easy), 'nigh,' 'sly,' the earliest ME. forms show *êh* (*eh*?), the regular development, but later forms show *ih*, from which the modern forms have come.

128. The most characteristic *ai* of IthD. is that which, in common speech, is *oi* in many words. Examples are: 'boil' (a sore), 'joint,' 'point,' 'appoint,' 'join,' 'joiner,' 'joint,' 'loin,' 'sir-loin,' 'boil,' vb., 'oyster,' 'poison,' 'oil,' 'spoil,' 'employment,' 'hoist.' It is well known that *oi*, *ai*, were variants in the 17th century, and *ai* lived into the 18th century at least.

9. THE DIPHTHONG *au*.

129. The diphthong *au* springs regularly from ME. *û* from whatever source, as well as from a back vowel + guttural *h* (*g*), or *w*. Its sources are:

I. 1) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *brau* < *brû*, 'brow'; *bauzænd* < *bûsend*, 'thousand.' In closed syllables: *aul* < *ûle*, 'owl'; *faul* < *fûl*, 'fowl'; *haus* < *hûs*, 'house'; *maus* < *mûs*, 'mouse'; *taun* < *tûn*, 'town'; *daun* < *of-dûn*, 'down'; *braun* < *brûn*, 'brown'; *aut* < *ût*, 'out'; *ab·aut* < *onbûtan* (also *baut*), 'about'; *spraut* < *sprûtan*, Kl., 'sprout'; *wið·aut* (*ið·aut*, *ðaut*) < *wiþûtan*, 'without'; *praud* < *prût*, 'proud'; *laud* < *hlûd*, 'loud'; *fraud* < *scrûd*, 'shroud'; *kraud* < *crûdan*, 'crowd.'

2) WG. *û*, WS. *û* + *g*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *bau* < *bûgan*, 'bow.' In closed syllables: *draut* < *drûgað*, 'drought.'

3) WG. *u*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *nau* < *nû* < *nu* by lengthening in OE., 'now.'

4) WG. *u*, WS. *û* < *u* + *n*, ME. *û*. In closed syllables: *sauþ* < *sûþ*, 'south'; *mauþ* < *mûþ*, 'mouth.'

5) WG. *ô*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*. In open syllables: *kau* < *cû*, 'cow'; *hau* < *hû*, 'how.'

6) WG. *ô*, WS. *ô + h*, ME. *o + w*, *ou*. In open syllable: *plau* < *plôh*, 'plough.'

7) WG. *u*, WS. *u + nd*, ME. *û*. In closed syllables: *haund* < *hund*, 'hound'; *saund* < *gesund*, 'sound,' adj.; *waund* < *wund*, sb., and *wundian*, vb., 'wound'; *graund* < *grund*, 'ground'; *faund* < *funden*, pp., 'found'; *baund* < *bunden*, pp., 'bound.'

II. 1) Lat. *û*, WS. *û + h*, ME. *û*. In closed syllable: *traut* < *tracta*, OE. *trûht*, Pog., § 179, 'trout.'

2) Lat. *o + nasal*, WS. *u*, ME. *û* before *nd*, *nt*. In closed syllables: *paund* < *pondo*, OE. *pund*, 'pound'; *maunt* < *mont*, OE. *munt*, 'mount.'

III. 1) OF. *u*, *o*, ME. *u*, *ou*. In open syllables: *vau* < *vow*, *avowen*; *al'au* < *alowen*, 'allow.'

2) OF. *u*, ME. *u*, *ou*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed: *saund* < *soun*, 'sound,' sb.; *saund* < *sounen*, 'sound,' vb.; *kənfaund* < *confouden*, 'confound'; *raund* < *ronde*, 'round'; *ək'aunt* < *acounten*, 'account'; *kraun* < *crowne*, 'crown'; *daut* < *doute*, 'doubt'; *raut* < *rute*, 'rout.' b) In originally unstressed syllables, closed: *kaunti* < *counte*, 'county'; *faundr* < *founder*.

IV. Names. In open syllables: *kaudri* < *Cowdry*. In closed syllables: *mæg'aun* < *McGowan*.

130. The diphthong *au* before *r* occurs with a glide *auə*. Examples are:

1) WG. *û*, WS. *û*, ME. *û*: *auər* < *ûre*, 'our'; *sauər* < *sûr*, 'sour'; *fauər* < *scûr*, 'shower'; *bauər* < *bûr*, 'bower.'

2) OF. *u*, ME. *û*: *auər* < *houre*, 'hour'; *flawər* < *flur*, 'flower'; *tauər* < *tour*, 'tower.'

131. The quality of the diphthong *au* has been described in §§ 5, 9). Since the 17th century it has had a pronunciation represented by Ellis as *əu* (EEP., I, p. 230), separating at that time from the written *ou* (*ow*), which is now *ô*, as in 'know,' 'grow' (cf. § 105). In 'room' no change to *au* has occurred (cf. § 118).

10. THE DIPHTHONG *oi*.

132. The diphthong *oi* occurs only in loan-words, mainly from the Romance languages. In many of these, as has been pointed out (§ 128), it interchanges commonly with *ai*, so that it is not a common diphthong. It springs from:

I. OF. *oi*, ME. *oi*. In originally stressed syllables, open: *dgoi* < *joie*, 'joy'; *distroi* < *destroyen*, 'destroy.' Closed: *tfois* < *choys*, 'choice'; *vois* < *vois*, 'voice'; *moist* < *moyste*; *noiz* < *noyse*, 'noise'; *void* < *voyde*.

11. THE DIPHTHONG *iu*.

133. This diphthong is rarer in IthD. than *oi*, *û* or *yû* occurring in place of it in the majority of words. It occurs from :

I. WG. *au*, WS. *éa*, ME. *é + w*. In open syllables : *fiu* < *fêawe*, 'few.'

II. OF. *ü*, ME. *u*. a) In originally stressed syllables, closed : *ab·iuz* < *abusen*, 'abuse'; *exsk·iuz* (*skiuz*) < *excusen*, 'excuse'; *æ·k·iuz* < *acusen*, 'accuse'; *fium* < *fum* (?), 'fume'; *miut* < *muet*, 'mute'; before *r* in *piur* < *pur*, 'pure'; *kiur* < *cure*.

III. Late Loan-words. 1) Lat. *u*. In closed syllables : *kiut* < *acutus*; *skiur* < *securus*, 'secure.'

2) Fr. *ü*. In closed syllables : *kiub* < *cube*; *miul* < *mule*.

134. Perhaps no rule for *iu* can be stated with exactness for so few examples, but it seems to occur after labials, *m*, and the palatal *k*, especially when it is not followed by *l*.

12. VARIATIONS IN QUANTITY.

A. HIATUS AND CONTRACTION.

135. Hiatus occurs occasionally by loss of *h*, or *w*, and is followed by contraction. Examples are : a) by loss of *h*, *skêri* < *Schoharie*; b) by loss of *w*, *dʒûl* < *jewel*; *mækd·ôl* < *McDowel*; *stôl* < *Stowell*; *mæg·aun* < *McGowan*.

136. Contraction, without hiatus, by loss of consonant, occurs in :

1) *û* < *û + ə* : *krûl* < *cruel*; *byûlz* < *Buels*; *brûn* < *Bruyn*. In unstressed syllables : *inflûns* < *influence*; and *ə* < *û + ə* in *vêrtʃəs* < *virtuous*.

2) *æə* < *e + ə* : *pæər* < *Thayer*; *sæər* < *Sayre*.

3) *ai* < *ai + ə* : *baimbi* < *by-an(d)-by*; *laibl* < *liable*.

4) In unstressed syllables, a) from *i + i* : *berin* < *burying*; *emptinz* < *emptyings* (yeast); *hœmlist* < *homeliest*; *welpist* < *wealthiest*; b) from *i + ə* : *yunit·êrin* < *Unitarian*; *krait·irin* < *criterion*; *kiûris* < *curious*; *kœrin* < *currying*.

B. LENGTHENING AND SHORTENING.

137. Under the various vowels have been discussed the general laws of lengthening in IthD., and they are therefore not repeated here. A few examples of special peculiarity may be mentioned. In closed syllables : *êg*, 'egg'; *lêg*; *êdʒ* < *edge*; *plêʒər*, 'pleasure'; *mêʒər*, 'measure'; *sîk* ('sick'), sometimes; *wîznər* < *Wisner*. In open syllables : *têkl* < *tackle*; *têrif* < *tariʃf*; *pêrənts* < *parents*; *tîpid* < *tepid*; *ôvid* < *Ovid*; *bûtfɹ* < *butcher*. Some of these, perhaps, as *têrif*, *tîpid*, are to be explained as

book words, and it can only be said that these have been classed in speech with those words having long vowels in open syllables.

138. More numerous are the examples of shortening, as might be expected from the greater number of vowels shortened since ME. times. Examples are:

- 1) $\text{æ} < a$ with loss of r : *pætridʒ*, 'partridge'; *kætridʒ*, 'cartridge.'
- 2) $e < \hat{e}, \acute{e}$: *nebr*, 'neighbor'; *nebrhud*, 'neighborhood'; *nekid*, 'naked'; *mebi* < *may-be*; *deri* < *dairy*; *meri* < *Mary*; *plegi* < *plaguey*; *feli* < *shaly*.
- 3) $i < \text{ME. } \acute{e} (\hat{e})$: *driri*, *wiri* < *dreary*, *weary*; *simz* < *seems*; *pæk'ipsi* < *Poughkeepsie*.
- 4) $\text{ò} < \acute{o}$: *ònli*, 'only'; *hòmli*, 'homely'; *hòmspən*, 'homespun'; *bòþ*, 'both'; *bòt*, 'boat'; *ròd*, 'road'; *hòm*, 'home'; but cf. § 124, and the following:
- 5) $\text{v} < \acute{o}$: *hòm*, 'home'; *hòmlist*, 'homeliest'; *hòmspən*, 'homespun'; *hwl* < *whole*.
- 6) $u < \hat{u} (oo)$: *fud*, 'food'; *sut*, 'soot'; *huf*, 'hoof'; *ruf*, 'roof'; *sun*, 'soon'; *spun*, 'spoon'; *brum*, 'broom'; *kupr*, 'cooper.'

In many of these cases there are similar shortenings since ME. which belong to all dialects. Compare with 2) 'every,' 'empty,' 'weapon,' 'any'; with 3) 'riddle,' 'strip,' 'drip,' 'breeches'; with 6) 'hook,' 'look,' 'book,' 'foot,' 'good,' 'room.'

C. MONOPHTHONGING AND DIPHTHONGING.

139. Diphthongs become monophthongs by the absorption of one element, usually the latter. This occurs in IthD., especially before r :

- 1) $\hat{a} < ai$: *ârif* < *Irish*; *târd* < *tired*; *ârn* < *iron*; *hârm* < *Hiram*.
- 2) $\hat{a} < au$: *âr* < *our*; *sâr* < *sour*; *flârin* < *flouring*, adj., 'flouring mill'; so *hâryə* < *how-are-you*.
- 3) $\text{æ} < ai$: *skwæər* < *squire*; *æri* < *Ira*.

Similar monophthonging of ai (ei) to æ , æə , has occurred since ME. times regularly in cases where the a was followed by a g which was vocalized to i : *fæər* < *fair* < *fæger*. Compare, also, § 76.

140. The first element in the case of the earlier diphthong $i\hat{u}$ has been absorbed, or in some cases has become the semi-vowel y . The absorption of the i has left the long \hat{u} in such cases as *nû* < *new*, or *knew*; *dû* < *dew*; *stûərd* < *steward*; *tûzdi* < *Tuesday* (cf., also, § 120).

141. Diphthongization sometimes occurs, as in *faiər* < *fair* (cattle show); *kwairi* < *quarry*.

13. THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES.

A. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY STRESS.

142. Secondary stress is much less forcible in IthD. than in the speech of educated people in America. The latter give a levelled stress to all words, so that the secondary is almost as strong as the primary accent. This may be exemplified by a comparison of the pronunciation of educated people in America and in England. Compare English *Glædstən*, *læbrətəri*, 'laboratory,' *trævəlɪŋ*, 'travelling,' with American *Glædstən*, *læbrətəri*, *trævəlɪŋ*. The following words are from Sweet's *Primer of Spoken English*: *solitəri*, 'solitary'; *librəli*, 'liberally'; *grædzəli* 'gradually'; *wandrɪŋ*, 'wandering'; *mænfti*, 'manfully'; *wɒndəfti*, 'wonderfully.' With these compare Sheldon's pronunciation, as given in *DIALECT NOTES*, Part II, pp. 37-41. Examples are: *ʊnkʌmfətəbl*, 'uncomfortable'; *ævr-idz* (three syllables), 'average'; *blækbəri*, 'blackberry'; *disʌnrəbl* (five syllables), 'dishonorable'; *izili*, 'easily'; *nəsri* (three syllables), 'nursery'; *solitəri*, 'solitary'; *wɒndəft-i* (four syllables), 'wonderfully.' In this respect IthD. more nearly corresponds with English speech, as the great number of cases of syncope will show (cf. § 147).

143. The commonest vowels of unstressed syllables in IthD. are *i*, *ə*, *ē* only before *r*, in general *i* representing front vowels and *ə* back vowels. Before nasals *ə* appears regularly in '-ment,' '-ent,' '-ence,' '-ance.' Under secondary stress the long vowels may be preserved in quality, though never so completely as in the speech of educated persons. The short *i* occurs regularly in the endings '-ed,' '-es,' '-est,' '-et,' '-ege,' '-age,' '-ate,' '-ness,' '-less,' as well as for final *a*, or *ia*. Examples of the latter are numerous, but may be illustrated by the following:

1) *i* < *a* final: *mən'ərvi*, 'Minerva'; *apri* < *opera*; *æfriki*, 'Africa'; *kalri*, 'cholera'; *kləri*, 'Clara'; *sindrəli*, 'Cinderella'; *kænədi*, 'Canada,' etc.

2) *i* < *ia* final: *pensl-v'ēni*, 'Pennsylvania'; *kæləf'orni*, 'California'; *məl'ēri* < *malaria*; *vikt'ōri* < *Victoria*; *vərdʒ'ini* < *Virginia*, etc.

B. APOCOPE.

144. Examples of words in final *i* < *ia* may be regarded as apocope (see above). It occurs also in *aid·i* (*aidi*) < *idea*; *daiər·i* < *diarrhœa*; *sən·æŋ* < *Chenango*; *džérəm·ai* < *Jeremiah*; *taiôg* < *Tioga*; *ʊmbər·el* < *umbrella*; *laidz* < *Elijah*.

C. APHÆRESIS.

145. Aphæresis is very common in IthD. It occurs in the cutting off of:

1) *a*: *bændænd*, 'abandoned'; *bilæti*, 'ability'; *baut*, 'about'; *bøtmænts*, 'abutments'; *kædæmi*, 'academy'; *kamæd·êfn*, 'accommodation'; *kørdin*, *kørdinli*, 'according(ly)'; *kaunt* < *account*; *kræs* < *across*; *dæptid*, 'adapted'; *grid* < *agreed*; *løj*, 'along'; *merækn*, 'American'; *piærd* < *appeared*; *point* < *appoint*; *printis*, 'apprentice'; *sørtmænt*, 'assortment'; *stanisf*, 'astonish'; *tenræt* < *at-any-rate*; *tætft*, 'attached'; *tæk* < *attack*; *tendz* < *attends*; *tenfn* < *attention*; *wê* < *away*; *kiut* < *acute*.

2) *e*: *lektid*, 'elected'; *lekfn*, 'election'; *lektrik*, 'electric'; *laidg* < *Elijah*; *nøf*, 'enough'; *piskæp·êlin*, 'Episcopalian'; *stæblist*, 'established'; *væpr·êfn*, 'evaporation.'

3) *de*: *pend* < *depend*; *skripfn*, 'description'; *stîlr* < *distiller*.

4) Other examples are: *køz* < *because*; *telædgænt* < *intelligent*; *têtrz*, *têtiz* < *potatoes*; *haiæ* < *Ohio*; *wîgò* < *Owego*; *børæti*, 'authority'; *septin* < *excepting*.

D. ECTHLIPSIS.

146. For ecthlipsis of single consonants, see under the several consonants, especially *w*, *y*, §§ 153–6. Ecthlipsis of a syllable is also not uncommon, as the following examples show: *æftnûn*, 'afternoon'; *ægk·vltfl*, 'agricultural'; *bøtnæt*, 'butternut'; *fiværi* < *chivirari*; *kællêtid*, 'calculated'; *kang·êfnl*, 'congregational'; *kæns·idæbl*, 'considerable'; *dændʒæs*, 'dangerous'; *f·êvæbl*, 'favorable'; *gøvnræ*, 'governor'; *mænæf·æltrær*, 'manufacturer'; *mizæbl*, 'miserable'; *næt·fælaiz*, 'naturalize'; *næt·fli*, 'naturally'; *p·færmæns*, 'performance'; *pært·ikli*, 'particularly'; *præksin*, 'practising'; *sûpntend*, 'superintend'; *tilsn* < *Tillotson*; *talæbli*, 'tolerably'. It will be seen that in the majority of cases the dropped syllable contains a liquid, usually *r*.

E. SYNCOPE.

147. Owing to the strength of the primary stress syncope is very common. The examples may be grouped as follows, as they show syncope:

1) In the syllable preceding the principal accent: *æblistis(t)*, 'abolitionist'; *bliv*, 'believe'; *karl·aini*, 'Carolina'; *kyûgi* < *Cayuga*; *kyûti* < *Cayuta*; *sindr·eli*, 'Cinderella'; *klekt*, 'collect'; *kampt·ifn*, 'competition'; *krekt*, 'correct'; *drektr*, 'director'; *drektri*, 'directory'; *plis* < *police*; *slûtid*, 'saluted'; *skiur* < *secure*; *slekt*, 'select'; *saiæti* < *society*; *spóz*, 'suppose'; *spraiz*, 'surprise.'

2) In syllables following the principal accent: *æbslút*, 'absolute'; *ækrit*, 'accurate'; *æmptét*, 'amputate'; *enþin*, 'anything'; *art'ilri*, 'artillery'; *békri*, 'bakery'; *barl* < *barrel*; *bauri*, 'Bowery'; *bnfló* < *buffalo*; *bërl* < *Burrill*; *bërt* < *Burritt*; *bötri*, 'buttery'; *kæbnit*, 'cabinet'; *kænsræs* < *cancerous*; *kæptlis(t)*, 'capitalist'; *kærlain*, 'Caroline'; *kæplik*, 'Catholic'; *sitzn*, 'citizen'; *kóknøts*, 'cocoanuts'; *kërntsi* < *currency*; *desprít*, 'desperate'; *dai·æmtr*, 'diameter'; *dairi*, 'diary'; *drektri*, 'directory'; *dist'ilri*, 'distillery'; *dërm* < *Durham*; *elgənt*, 'elegant'; *fæktri*, 'factory'; *fæmli*, 'family'; *fedrəlis(t)*, 'federalist'; *fainli*, 'finally'; *fəlwərz*, 'followers'; *dʒenrl*, 'general'; *gɛgri*, 'Gregory'; *grósri*, 'grocery'; *hikri*, 'hickory'; *histri*, 'history'; *intrist*, 'interest'; *dʒúlrl*, 'jeweller'; *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *laibri*, 'library'; *litrl*, 'littler'; *livri*, 'livery'; *mæklini*, 'McElhinney'; *məf'inri*, 'machinery'; *mədg·ɔrti*, 'majority'; *mænəf·æktrin*, 'manufacturing'; *merlənd*, 'Maryland'; *memri*, 'memory'; *mekskən*, 'Mexican'; *milrəit*, 'Millerite'; *məŋg·əmri*, 'Montgomery'; *narwin* < *narrowing*; *nai·ægri*, 'Niagara'; *nótsəbl*, 'noticeable'; *ək·éfni*, 'occasionally'; *ɔfsərz*, 'officers'; *apzít*, 'opposite'; *pər·ælsis*, 'paralysis'; *pæstrét*, 'pastorate'; *pitr·ólml*, 'petroleum'; *paltiks*, 'politics'; *paplr*, 'popular'; *pəztiv*, 'positive'; *patri*, 'pottery'; *prezdənt*, 'president'; *privilidʒ*, 'privilege'; *prabli*, 'probably'; *prəpti*, 'property'; *rilaiz*, 'realize'; *rili*, 'really'; *ridʒmənt* < *regiment*; *reglr*, 'regular'; *rid·ikləs*, 'ridiculous'; *sevr̩l*, 'several'; *sɪŋglr*, 'singular'; *slévri*, 'slavery'; *slipri*, 'slippery'; *spirtʃəlis(t)*, 'spiritualist'; *skwërl*, 'squirrel'; *sɒlfri*, 'sulphury'; *tænri*, 'tannery'; *telgræf*, 'telegraph'; *tít·ótler*, 'teetotaler'; *tërbl*, 'terrible'; *tërblist*, 'terriblest'; *tɪŋkrin*, 'tinkering'; *þiri* < *theorie*, 'theory'; *vailət*, 'violet'; *vail·in*, 'violin'; *vizbl*, 'visible'; *viztin*, 'visiting.'

3) In syllables separated by one from the principal accent: *brøðrnlo*, 'brother-in-law'; *semətri*, 'cemetery'; *kəns·idrbl* (a syncopated), 'considerable'; *difrns*, 'difference'; *difrnt*, 'different'; *grædʒəli*, 'gradually'; *figrn* < *figuring*; *mækrl*, 'mackerel'; *prinsəpli*, 'principally'; *pəh·ibətri*, 'prohibitory'; *temprns*, 'temperance'; *wɒndrfl̩i*, 'wonderfully.'

4) In syllables where syncope leaves vocalic *l*, *n*, *m*, *r*. Vocalic *n*: *bentn*, 'Benton'; *kərpnt̩r̩n*, 'carpentening'; *kərpnt̩r*, 'carpenter'; *sërtnli*, 'certainly'; *kalnz*, 'Collins'; *katn*, 'cotton'; *kërtn*, 'curtain'; *dentn*, 'Denton'; *distiln*, 'distilling'; *kiln* < *killing*; *lukn* < *looking*; *martngilz*, 'martingales'; *m̩itnz*, 'meetings'; *m̩itn*, 'mitten'; *pudn*, 'pudding'; *pɒnk̩n* < *pumpkin*; *rēzn*, 'raisin'; *ratn*, 'rotten'; *setn*, 'setting'; *filn*, 'shilling'; *fēvn*, 'shaving.' Vocalic *l*: *tʃænl*, 'channel'; *navlti*, 'novelty'; *tɒnl*, 'tunnel'; *vesl*, 'vessel'; *læfbl*, 'laughable'; *skwërl*, 'squirrel'; *tërbl*, 'terrible'; *vizbl*, 'visible.' Vocalic *r*: *dʒenrl*, 'general'; *dʒúlrl*, 'jeweller'; *paplr*, 'popular'; *reglr*, 'regular'; *sevr̩l*, 'several'; *sɪŋglr*, 'singular.' Vocalic *m*: *fæntm*, 'phantom'; *tæntm*, 'tandem'; *batm*, 'bottom'; *batmin*, 'bottoming.'

14. FURTHER NOTES ON THE VOWELS.

A. NASALIZED VOWELS.

148. Nasalized vowels occur but seldom, and have been noticed as constant only in a few cases. In asking for the repetition of a remark not understood, *hɒ̃*, or *hễ*, is used. The word ‘*something*’ becomes successively *sɒmpin*, *sɒ̃pin*, with assimilation of *m* to *n*, and then *sɒ̃pin*, very commonly.

B. SVARABHAKTI.

149. The influence of the liquids *l*, *r*, is very decided in IthD., as shown by the changes taking place in the preceding vowels, as well as in the introduction of glides. The introduction of a full vowel under the influence of *l* or *r* occurs occasionally. Examples are: *eləm* for ‘*elm*,’ *ɒmbər̃el* for *umbrel*, shortened from ‘*umbrella*.’

C. CHANGE OF ACCENT.

150. The recessive tendency of the Germanic accent shows itself in IthD. in carrying over some words accented on the last syllable, or last but one, in ordinary English. These words are constant in showing the accent on the first syllable: *hôtél*, *enklain*, sb., *ensaid*, sb., *bætû* from ‘*hotel*,’ ‘*incline*,’ ‘*inside*,’ ‘*bateau*,’ a small boat. The following words have the accent on the first syllable in most cases, though sometimes they are accented, as in educated speech: *aidî*, *intens*, *ælmairi*, *pôlis*, for ‘*idea*,’ ‘*intense*,’ ‘*Elm·aira*’ (*Elmira*), ‘*police*.’

V. THE CONSONANTS.

1. GENERAL.

151. The general relations of the consonants is sufficiently indicated by the following table from Sweet (PrPh., HES.). Any peculiarities will be indicated in the special discussion of each consonant.

CONSONANT SYSTEM OF ITHACA DIALECT.

		Throat.	Back.	Front.	Point.	Point-Teeth.	Blade and Blade-point.	Lip.
VOICELESS.	open	h				ɸ	s, ʃ	f
	side							
	stopt		k		t			p
	nasal							
VOICED.	open			y	r	ʒ	z, ʒ	v, w
	side				l			
	stopt		g		d			b
	nasal		ŋ		n			m

Besides these should be mentioned the double consonants *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, *gz*, and *hw*.

152. In the discussion the consonants will be considered in the following order :

1) The Sonorous Consonants, including the semi-vowels *w* and *y*, the liquids *l* and *r*, the nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

2) The Non-sonorous Consonants, including the labials *p*, *b*, *f* and *v*, the dentals *t*, *d*, *ɸ*, *ð*, *s* and *z*, the gutturals and palatals *h*, *k*, *g*, *ʃ*, and *ʒ*, the double consonants *hw*, *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, and *gz*.

2. THE SEMI-VOWELS *w*, *y*.*w*.

153. Initial *w* corresponds to Germ. and OE. *w*, as in the word 'wound'; to Scandinavian *v*, as 'window' < *vind-auga*; to Latin *v*, as in 'wall' < *vallum*, OE. *wall*; 'wine' < *vinum*, OE. *wīn*. It does not occur in original Romance words, except for *u* in the combination *kw* (*qu*). *w* occurs also in the consonant combinations *hw*, *kw*, *skw*, *tw*, *dw*, *ɸw*, *sw*, being wholly lost in the OE. combinations *wl*, *wr*. Examples of existing consonant combina-

tions are: *hwæar*, 'where'; *kwik*, 'quick'; *skwæar*, 'squire'; *twaist*, 'twice'; *dwel*, 'dwell'; *pwort*, 'thwart'; *swim*. Initial *gw* is heard in rapid speech where *w* develops from *o* before a vowel. Examples are: *gwaut*, *gwin*, *gwop*, *gwon*, from 'go' + 'out,' 'in,' 'up,' 'on.' Initial *w* is sometimes dropped, as in *iks* for 'weeks,' 'ið' for 'with,' 'ið·in' for 'within.'

154. Medial *w* occurs in 1) stressed syllables, as *biw·æar*, *təw·årdz* < *beware*, *towards*; 2) compounds where the vowel after it receives secondary stress, as *skidwê* < *skid-way*; 3) consonant combinations, as *rəkwa·iər*, *intw·ain* < *require*, *intwine*. Medial *w* is lost in unstressed syllables, before the unstressed vowels *ə*, *i*. Before *ə*: *ɔləz* < *always*; *bækərdz*, 'backwards'; *æftrərdz*, 'afterwards'; *fɔrəd*, 'forward'; *səskəh·æni* < 'Susquehanna'; *wudərd* < *Woodward*; *ɣɔŋənz* < *young ones*; *ikən·aksl* < *equinoctial*; *fri·kəntli* < *frequently*. Before *i*: *bastik* < *Bostwick*; *læŋgidz* < *language*; *nɔritʃ* < *Norwich*; *natist·ændin* < *notwithstanding*. Medial *w* is developed in *nārwin* < *narrowing*; *fəlwərz* < *follower*, 'followers'; *dʒenəweri*, *febəweri* < *January*, *February*.

y.

155. Initial *y* is equivalent to the Germ. and OE. semi-vowel *j*, written *g* in OE., as in 'yard,' 'yellow.' It has been developed initially also before *ʊ* in words from the OF. or Latin, as in *yûz* < *use*, *yûnyən* < *union*, *yûtiki* < *Utica*. By this development before a vowel, or by reason of contraction, it appears in the consonant combinations *by*, *ky*, as in *byûlz* < *Buels*, *byûti* < *beauty*, *kyûgi* < *Cayuga*, *kyûti* < *Cayuta*, *kyûris* < *curious*; in *myæʒmi* > *miasma* it has developed from the vowel *i*.

156. Medial *y* occurs in *biy·end* (also *bi·end*), 'beyond'; *kənt·inyəd*, 'continued'; *mænyəl* < *manuel*, 'manual'; while it is developed before *ə* in *gælyəns* < *gallons*. But medial *y*, like medial *w*, suffers ecthipsis in many cases, as shown by the following: *kərn·iləs* < *Cornelius*; *dænəl* < *Daniel*; *êgu* (*êgər*) < *ague*; *figərd* < *figured*; *dʒînəs* < *genius*; *dʒenuain* < *genuine*; *dʒûləs* < *Julius*; *lɔil* < *loyal*; *papəlr*, 'popular'; *papəl·êfn*, 'population'; *regəlr* (*reglr*), 'regular'; *repət·êfn*, 'reputation'; *rɔilti* < *royalty*; *singəlr*, 'singular'; *spekəl·êfn* < *speculation*.

3. THE LIQUIDS *l*, *r*.*l*.

157. The consonant *l* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. It is a stable sound, though it appears as vocalic *l* in many words (cf. § 147, 4, for examples). *l* occurs in the combinations *pl*, *bl*, *kl*, *gl* (*dl*), *fl*, *sl*. It is heard as *dl* for *gl* in ‘glass’ occasionally, and it appears as excrescent in *tfimbli*, *tfimli* < *chimney*. Besides this it is found replacing *r* in *mōltr* < *mortar*.

r.

158. Ithaca dialect *r* is the cerebral *r*, made with a recurved tip of the tongue placed nearly against the hard palate. It is found in words from all sources, and occurs frequently in all positions, the final *r* never becoming the vowel glide *ə* as in LdE. *r* occurs in the consonant combinations *pr*, *br*, *fr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *kr*, *gr*, *fr*, as in ‘proud,’ ‘brow,’ ‘friend,’ ‘trout,’ ‘drown,’ ‘throat,’ ‘crowd,’ ‘grow,’ ‘shroud.’ Sometimes *dʒr*, *sr*, occur by syncope of a vowel before *r*, as in *dʒrârd* < *Girard*, *sraund* < *surround*. Vocalic *r* also occurs not infrequently, as shown by § 147, 4. Initial *r* is occasionally lost, as in *ait* < *right*.

159. Medial *r* often shows metathesis, as in *êndærz* < *Andrus*; *bai·agər·fi*, ‘biography’; *ʃildərn*, ‘children’; *høndərd*, ‘hundred’; *mækərl*, ‘mackerel’; *pərp·æərd*, ‘prepared’; *pərti* < *pretty*; *pərd·ûs*, ‘produce’; *pərt·ekfn*, ‘protection’; *pərv·aidn*, ‘providing’; *pərv·iʒnz*, ‘provisions’; *tævrən*, ‘tavern’; *êpərn*, ‘apron.’ It should be said that in many of these cases the sound is often simply vocalic *r*.

160. Ecthipsis of *r* occurs regularly in certain stressed syllables, more commonly in unstressed ones.

1) In stressed syllables: *dêst*, *dêsnt* < **darst*, ‘dare,’ ‘dare not’; *fōst* (*fōst-rêt*) < *first* (‘first-rate’); *pæsl* < *parcel*; *həs* < *horse*; *məs* < *Morse*; *pəsɪ* < *pursy*; *kʊs* < *curse*; *wɒp* < *worth*; *hæf* < *harsh*; *kætridʒ* < *cartridge*; *pætridʒ* < *partridge*; sometimes *səkəmstæns*, *pɒfek(t)li* < *circumstance*, *perfectly*.

2) In unstressed syllables: *ædvətaɪʒ*, ‘advertise’; *æftənûn*, ‘afternoon’; *kɒləd* < *colored*; *entəpraɪʒ*, ‘enterprise’; *ɪnfəm·ɛfn*, ‘information’; *ɪntəd·ûs* ‘introduce’; *têtəz*, *têtiz* < *potatoes*; *prapəti* < *property*; *pəs·ɪstənt*, *səv·é* < *survey*; *yestədi*, ‘yesterday’; *yəs·elf*, ‘yourself’; *vəm·ant*, ‘Vermont’; *dʒenəl* < *general*; *pəz·ûm*, ‘presume’; *pəz·ɛfn*, ‘possession’; *pəh·ibətɪ*, ‘prohibitory’; *pəp·əl*, ‘propel’; *pət·ekfn*, ‘protection’; *pəv·ɪʒn*, ‘provision’; *pəv·ók*, ‘provoke’; *repəz·entɪd*, ‘represented’; *sekət·erɪ*, ‘secretary’; *bɪ* < *three*.

It should be noted that these are representative examples actually heard, though ecthipsis does not always occur, since *r* is preserved even in unstressed syllables as a rule.

161. Excrescent *r* is not infrequent. Examples of it in stressed syllables are: *dartr* < *daughter*, *marðr* < *Mather*, *marstr* < *master*, *kork* < *calk*, *orbörn* < *Auburn*, *ortr* < *ought + to*. In unstressed syllables it occurs as medial in *færm·ilyer*, 'familiar,' *pært·êtrz* < *potatoes*, *hwinærd* < *whinnied*, *olærz* < *always*; as final in *felr* < *fellow*, *falr* < *fallow*, *falr* < *follow*, *halr* < *halloo* and *hollow*, *narær* < *narrow*, *nigr* < *negro*, *ſælr* < *shallow*, *tælr* < *tallow*, *tæb·ækr* < *tobacco*, *walr* < *wallow*, *windr* < *window*, *yælr* < *yellow*, *ortr* < *ought + to*, *kaindr* < *kind + of*.

4. THE NASALS *m*, *n*, *ŋ*.

m.

162. The labial nasal *m* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. It occurs in the consonant combination *sm*, besides vocalic *m*, for which see § 147, 4. The consonant assimilates to *n* in *snþin* < *something*, and in this case the *n* finally nasalizes the vowel (cf. § 148).

For *m* by assimilation of *n*, see under *n*. With few exceptions the consonant is stable.

n.

163. The dental nasal *n* occurs also in all positions and in the combination *sn*, as well as from all sources. In general *n* is stable, but it is assimilated to *m* in *baimbai* < *by-an(d)-by*, *ivm* < *even*, *vvm* < *oven*, *græmæ* < *gran(d)ma*. Before *m*, *n* is lost in *gøvæmənt* < *government*. *n* results regularly from *ŋ* of the ending *-ing* (cf. § 164). *n* is sometimes excrescent, as in *hizn*, *hërn*, *thæærn*, for 'his,' 'hers,' 'theirs,' and in 'nððr' for 'other' in 'some way o' nother,' 'something or nother.' For vocalic *n*, see § 147, 4.

ŋ.

164. The consonant *ŋ*, written in present English *ng* or *n* before *k*, is strictly a Germanic sound, but it occurs in words early introduced, as *ænkr*, 'anchor,' or by assimilation in words of later borrowing, as *kangris* < *Congress*. It can occur only as medial or final, while in the formative ending *-ing* it has regularly become *n*. Examples are very numerous, as *bildin*, 'build-

ing'; *hwipin*, 'whipping'; *kablin*, 'cobbling'; *draivin*, 'driving'; *hæŋin*, 'hanging,' etc. This is further reduced to vocalic *n* in many cases, as *kiln* < *killing*, *lukn* < *looking*, *pərv·aidn* < *providing*, *rēzn* < *raising*, etc. Sometimes, though less commonly, final *ŋ* is reduced to *n*, when not a part of the *-ing* suffix. Examples are: *enpin*, 'anything'; *napin*, 'nothing'; *pudn*, 'pudding'; *ſiln*, 'shilling'; and occasionally a proper name, as *kufin* < *Cushing*.

5. THE LABIALS *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*.

165. The labials are preserved with few changes in IthD. They may occur in all positions, but initial *p* is rare in Germanic words; and initial *v* is not original in English, being developed from *f* in a few words, and occurring in many from Romance sources. *b* is excrecent after *m* in a few words, as *tſimbli*, *træmbli*, *hðmbli*, *hðmblist* < *chimney*, *trammel*, *homely*, *homeliest*. It is unvoiced to *p* in *plump* < *plumb*, *sinsipə* < *Sincebaugh*, a Dutch name. *f* has become *v* in *kæv·skin* ('calf-skin'), perhaps in imitation of the plural, while *v* has become *f* in *tæn·føet* < *tanvat*, *dʊf·têl* < *dove-tail*, and *b* in *ribit* < *rivet*.

6. THE DENTALS *t*, *d*, *þ*, *ð*, *s*, *z*.

t, *d*.

166. The dentals *t*, *d*, occur in all positions and in words from all sources. They are for the most part stable, but certain peculiarities have been noticed.

1) *t* is lost, when final, after *s*: *dʒais* < *joist*; *æbl·iſnis*, 'abolitionist'; *əm·anks*, 'amongst'; *gris* < *grist*; *bæptis*, 'Baptist'; *bis* < *beast*; *bitw·iks* (from earlier *betwixt*); *fedrəlis*, 'federalist' *ges* < *guest*; *dʒʊs*, *dʒis* < *just*; *mepədis*, 'Methodist'; *prīs* < *priest*; *spirtʃəlis*, 'spiritualist'; *læs* < *last*. After *f*, *k*, *p*: *gif* < *gift*; *bef* < *theft*; *dístri:k*, 'district'; *ekwidək* < *aqueduct*; *rekélek* < *recollect*; *træk* < *tract*; *fæk* < *fact*; *kep* < *kept*; *rep* < *rept* for *reaped*. In *great* (*grét*) it is lost sometimes, especially before a consonant: *gré·big* for *great big*. This *t* is not replaced in the plural, and is occasionally dropped before *s* within a word, as *præksin* for *practising*; so *æks* < *acts*, but *ækt* usually in the singular.

2) *t* is excrecent in: *əkr·əst* < *across*; *klôstr* < *closer*; *wɔnst* < *once*; *twaist* < *twice*; *ət·ækt* and *ət·æktid*, 'attacked'; *wift*, present, 'wish'; *sêftr* < *safer*; *teləgr·æftin* < *telegraphing*; *tenənt* < *tenon*; *tvðr* < *other*; in *əftn* it has probably always remained in common speech. It is very common between *n* and *s* final, as *hents*, 'hence'; *hwents*, 'whence'; *sents* < *since*; *wɔnts*, 'once';

kpræntsi < *currency*; uniting with *f* also in the double consonant *tf* (cf. § 176).

3) *t* becomes *d* regularly in *párdnr* < *partner*.

4) *t* is also common in words pronounced with *tf* by educated people, when the *t* is older, and probably in these words originally. Examples are *nêtr* < *nature*; *æktl* < *actual*; *kritrz* < *creatures*, applied to cattle especially; *ledgislêtr* < *legislature*.

For *t* < *d*, see under *d*.

167. The dental *d*, like *t*, is sometimes lost, sometimes excrescent, and sometimes undergoes changes.

1) *d* is lost when final or in compounds after *n*: *bæn(d)*, 'band'; *bih·ain(d)*, 'behind'; *græn(d)*, 'grand'; *grænmæðr*, 'grandmother'; *grænsæn*, 'grandson'; *hæn(d)*, 'hand'; *hænsæm*, 'handsome'; *læn(d)*, *lænlórd*, 'land,' 'landlord'; *sæn(d)*, 'sand'; *sæn-bòærd*, 'sandboard'; *saun(d)*, 'sound'; *stæn(d)*, 'stand'; *þausæn(d)*, 'thousand'; *kørtlæn* < *Cortland* < Du. *Cortlandt*; *hæmæn* < *Hammond*; *bænfil* < *Banfield*; especially before *z*: *frenz*, *tenz*, *ērænz*, *paunz*, *haunz* < *friends*, *attends*, *errands*, *pounds*, *hounds*; after *n* and before *l* in *hænl*, *kænl*, *kinlin* < *handle*, *candle*, *kindling*. After *l* in *gól(d)*, *ól(d)*, *mól* *bòærd*, 'mould board'; *skæflin* < *scaffolding*.

2) *d* becomes *t*, especially after *l*, *n*, as in *hólt* < *hold*; *sekænt* < *second*; *tæntm* < *tandem*; also in *høgzit* < *hogshead*.

3) *d* is excrescent in *draund*, *draundid* < *drown*, *drowned*; *föld*, *földid* < *foal*, *foaled*; after *l* in *maild* < *mile*, as "a *maild* from here"; in *staild* (as "a certain *staild* house") < *style*; so also in *frémd* < *frame*, as "a *frémd* house," where it is by analogy of part. adj.

4) *d* appears regularly in *fērdr* < *further*.

5) *d* unites with following *i* to form *dʒ* in *indʒæn* < *Indian*.

þ, ð.

168. The dentals þ, ð, occur only in words of Germanic origin, never from Latin or Romance sources. The former occurs most commonly in initial and final position, sometimes as medial. It is lost especially before *s*, *z*, as in *lenks* < *lengths*, *mønns* < *months*, *saiz* < *scythes*, *klôz* < *clothes*, *ôz* < *oaths*, *pêz* < *paths*, *bêz* < *baths*; perhaps is dropped in *sevn dê* < *seventh day*. A þ occurs by analogy for *t* in *haitþ* < *height*, a form which existed in the 17th and 18th century English also; and in *trøp* < ME. *trog*, *troug*, MdE. *trough*.

169. Initial ð is found only in words which do not usually bear sentence stress, as 'then,' 'the,' 'that,' 'these,' 'this,' 'those,' 'them,' 'their,' 'there,' 'though,' 'thus.' Medial ð is commonest between vowels, as in 'father,' 'feather.' Final ð is not common, but occurs in 'with,' 'smooth,' 'soothe,' and certain verbs 'bathe,' 'breathe,' 'clothe'; sometimes before the voiced plural sign *z*,

where it, however, usually disappears. In all other cases, however, it is stable, *fērdr* < *further*, in which *d* replaces it, being an old word.

s, z.

170. The consonant fricative *s* occurs in all positions and in words from all sources. The sound *z*, on the other hand, is purely a late English development from *s*. It occurs initially in a few loan-words, of which 'zero,' 'zest,' 'zinc,' 'zigzag,' 'zeal,' are in common use. It occurs medially between vowels especially, and finally often. Especially to be noticed is *z* final in words which do not bear sentence stress: 'as,' 'has,' 'is,' 'was,' 'these,' 'those'; but *s* is preserved in 'this,' 'us,' and after *n* in 'hence,' 'since.'

7. THE GUTTURALS AND PALATALS *h, k, g, f, ʒ.*

h, k, g.

171. The guttural *h* is an aspirate, occurring only initially and medially, more commonly the former. It belongs primarily to Germanic words, but has been introduced in many from Romance sources, in which it was written but not pronounced. There is no such fluctuation in the use of *h* as among the common people in England — a fluctuation which Sweet says began at the close of the 18th century (cf. HES., § 888), though some evidence of it exists in very early MSS. Initial *h* is mute only in 'heir,' 'hour,' 'honor,' 'honest'; but it is lost in certain words when not bearing sentence stress, as 'he,' 'him,' 'have,' 'had.' Medial *h* is lost before vowels in *blaiiv* < *beehive*, *benəm* < *Bingham*, *biɣmtɪn* < *Binghamton*, *nebrəd* < *neighborhood*, *dərm* < *Durham*, *fərid* < *forehead*, *həgzit* < *hogshead*, *mæklini* < *McElhinney*, *skæri* (*skæ·æri*) < *Schoharie*. It is excrescent in 'handiron' < *andiron* by folk-etymology.

172. The gutturals *k, g*, occur in all positions and in words from all sources. They are stable consonants, few peculiarities being noticed in IthD. A *g* is heard as *d* in *spaidlæs* < *spy glass*, but this is not common. A *k* is lost occasionally, as in *bērles* < *burlesque*, *kâs* < *casks*.

f, ʒ.

173. The palato-dentals *f, ʒ* (from *sy, zy*), are late English developments, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. The sound *ʒ* does not occur initially, and seldom finally; medially it

is found between vowels in 'measure,' 'pleasure,' 'azure,' 'seizure,' 'fusion.'

174. The sound *f* is a regular development of OE. palatal *sc*, as in 'shoe,' 'shaft,' 'shadow,' 'dish.' It probably springs from Scand. final *sk* in 'harsh,' possibly in other words, and develops from OF. sounds represented by *ci*, *ce*, *si* (*se*), *ti*, in such words as 'fashion,' 'ocean,' 'version,' 'faction,' etc. The consonant is stable in IthD., but after *n* a *t* is often introduced, giving the double cons. *tf* (cf. § 176).

8. THE DOUBLE CONSONANTS *hw*, *tf*, *dʒ*, *ks*, *gz*.

hw.

175. The guttural aspirate *hw* is purely Germanic and occurs only as initial or medial. In England this sound has been reduced to *w*, the change beginning toward the close of the 18th century (cf. HES., § 918). In IthD. the sound is regularly preserved, though *w* for *hw* is occasionally heard as an individual peculiarity. In unstressed syllables *hw* is sometimes reduced to *w*, sometimes lost, as is *h*. Examples are: *nôærz* < *nowheres*, *sømærz* < *somewheres*, *eniwærz* < *anywheres*. Occasionally *hw* is heard for *w* at the beginning of a word, as *hwêt* < *wait*.

tf, *dʒ*.

176. The dental-palatal *tf*, *dʒ*, from *t*, or *d* + *y* are late developments, but are now very common. The change is similar to the change of *s* + *y* into *ʃ* (cf. HES., §§ 915, 927), and began in the earliest MdE. Distinct from these later developments are the *tf*, *dʒ*, from OE. palatal *c*, OF. *ch* (Beh., pp. 177, 178), and OF. *j*, *g* (pronounced *dʒ*). The sounds occur in all positions and are in the main stable. The former, usually represented by *ch*, springs from :

1) OE. palatal *c* : 'chose' < *céas* ; 'chaff' < *ceaf* ; 'Chapman' < *céapman* ; 'bench' < *benc*, through **bence* ; 'teach' < *tâcean*.

2) OF. *ch* : 'chase,' 'chapter,' 'chance.'

In LdE. (HES., § 930), the groups *ntf*, *ltf*, are reduced to *nf*, *lf*, by loss of *t*, but this is not true of IthD. On the other hand, in the combination *nf* a *t* is often introduced, making *ntf* as in *sentfæri* < *century*, *sentfær* < *censure*, *mentfæn* < *mention*. In some

words, instead of the *tf* that we should expect, we find *t* (cf. § 166, 4).

177. *dʒ* springs initially and medially from :

1) OF. or Lat. *j* (*g*) : 'jail,' 'journey,' 'join,' 'joke,' 'juice' ;

finally from :

1) OE. *cg* : 'edge,' 'hedge.'

2) OF. or Lat. *g* : 'age,' 'cage,' 'gage.'

It is found occasionally, also, from late *d + y*, as in *indʒən* < *Indian*. Occasionally it is unvoiced, as in *hatf-patʃ* < *hodge-podge*. In LdE. (HES., § 930) *ndʒ* becomes *nʒ*, as in *singe*, but in IthD. *ndʒ*, as well as *ldʒ*, is stable.

ks, qz.

178. The double consonant *ks*, and its voiced companion *gz*, show no peculiarities in IthD. Neither occurs in any other than medial or final position, *ks* being more common as final, and medial in voiceless company, as *extri* < *extra*. The *gz* occurs finally only in plurals of words ending in *g*, as *êgz, lêgz* < *eggs, legs*. Medially it occurs between vowels when the accent follows it, as in 'exist' (*igzist*), 'exact,' 'examine,' 'exempt,' 'example,' 'exaggerate.'

VI. CONCLUSION.

179. It remains to point out, if possible, the relations of IthD. to the natural development of English in the mother country. This is not easy, since dialect work in England has been confined to present dialects with little or no regard to their historical relations, while the history of English sounds has considered only the standard speech. But we may safely assume that IthD. is the outgrowth of the speech of English immigrants coming to this country in the 17th century, except so far as it has been influenced by the conditions affecting American English since that time. The influences affecting American English are these :

1) later immigration from the mother country ;

2) schools and schoolmasters ;

3) a more constant and wide-spread intercourse within America itself, than has been true among the common people in the mother country.

All these influences, whatever be their individual importance, have tended to prevent the formation of such decided differences in dialect as exist between the north and south, the eastern or southwestern parts of England; in other words, they have tended to keep the local dialects nearer the standard language than is common to the dialects of England or Germany.

To settle the question of the original English dialect, or dialects, from which IthD. has sprung, it is necessary to know exactly either the English dialects of the 17th and 18th centuries, or the part or parts of England from which the first immigrants came. The first seems impossible, since English dialects have not been treated historically; the second is almost equally hopeless, since in the cases of all individuals there has been a second migration, usually from New England. But the present resemblance of American English to standard English, and especially to that of the last century, appears to indicate that an English dialect with close resemblance to standard English is the predecessor of IthD. This has some confirmation in the judgment of Ellis, as shown by the following quotations, in which he is speaking of the "Eastern Division" of English dialects: "In the American Colonies, afterwards the United States, a distinctly East Anglian character was introduced" (*English Dialects: Their Sounds and Homes*, p. 57). "In the eastern United States — New York and Massachusetts — there is a tinge of Norfolk" (*EEP.*, V, p. 236). These statements are by no means conclusive, but from them and from other facts already mentioned it seems probable that we are to look for the English predecessor of IthD. in the "Eastern Division," as Ellis calls it, or that part of the older Midland of which Ellis says: "The general character is a closer resemblance to received speech than can be found in any other division" (*English Dialects: Their Sounds and Homes*, p. 48).

180. If, therefore, we may assume that IthD. has developed from an English dialect closely resembling standard English, we may gain some idea of historical relations by a comparison of IthD. and LdE. with the English of preceding centuries. This may be done by means of the following tables, based on Ellis (*EEP.*, p. 28-240), and Sweet (*HES.*, p. 202-272). The table of LdE. is based on Sweet (*HES.*, *PrPh.*), and the *Primer of Spoken English*.

THE LONG VOWELS.

MIDDLE ENGLISH.	16TH CENT.	17TH CENT.	18TH CENT.	19TH CENT.	
				IthD.	LdE.
â <i>acre</i>	â	æ	ê	ê	ei
ê (close) <i>feel</i>	ê, î	(ê), î	î	î	ij
ê (open) <i>heat</i>	ê	ê	î	î	ij
ê (close, open before r), <i>fear</i>	êr	êr	îr	iər	iə (r)
ê (open before r) . . . <i>hair</i>	êr	ær	ær	æər	eə (r)
î <i>while</i>	ei	ai	ai	ai	ai (əi)
î (before r) <i>iron</i>	eir	air	air	aiər	aiə (r)
ô (closed) <i>cool</i>	ô, û	û	û	û	uw
ô (open) <i>stone</i>	ô	ô	ô	ô	ow
ô (open before r) . . . <i>floor</i>	ôr	ôr	ôr	òər	ɔə (r)
û <i>house</i>	qu	au	au	au	au
ai (ei) <i>say</i>	ai	æi, ê	ê	ê	ei
au <i>draw</i>	au	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
ou <i>snow</i>	ou	ô	ô	ô	ow
eu <i>dew</i>	eu	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û	iu, yu, û

THE SHORT VOWELS.

a <i>hat</i>	a	æ	æ	æ	æ
a + f, þ, s, ŋ, n + cons., <i>laugh</i>	a	æ	æ	æ	â (æ)
a before r + cons. . . . <i>harm</i>	ar	ar	æ (â ?) r	âr	â (r)
e (open) <i>set</i>	e	e	e	e	e
e (before r) <i>earth</i>	er	er	ër	ër	eə (r)
i <i>sit</i>	i	i	i	i	i
ɔ <i>body</i>	ɔ	ɔ (a) ¹	ɔ (a) ¹	a	ɔ
ɔ + f, þ, s, ŋ, r + cons., <i>long</i>	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ, ɔ	ɔ	o, ɔ
u <i>sun</i>	u	ɐ	ɐ	ɐ	ɐ

It will be seen from this table that the vowels of the IthD. show not only a marked difference from LdE., but a marked similarity to standard English of the 18th, and in some respects of the 17th, century. The differences between IthD. and LdE. have been given at length in § 5, and need not be restated. But that IthD. corresponds in the main to standard English of the 18th century is proved by the following facts:

¹ For this *a* cf. Kluge, PGr., p. 883.

1) The long vowels *ê, î, ô, û*, have not become diphthongal, as in LdE.

2) Short and long *æ, ê*, have been preserved, even before the voiceless fricatives *f, þ, s*, where LdE. has *â*.

3) The semi-vowel *r* and the double consonant *hw* are always preserved, while in LdE. *r* remains only before a vowel, and *hw* has lost its first element.

181. In addition to these are three features of the IthD. vowel system, which, compared with standard English, are even older than the 18th century, so far as the researches of Ellis and others indicate. They are :

1) The unrounding of older short open *ɔ* to *α* (cf. table, and § 5, 5).

2) The preservation of the variant *ai* for *oi* in such words as ‘*point*,’ ‘*joint*’ (cf. § 124).

3) The *â* before *r* + cons., sometimes before *r* final, as in ‘*harm*,’ ‘*far*.’

The first of these was first noted in the last years of the 16th century, according to Kluge in PGr., p. 883, § 102. The second is assigned by Ellis and Sweet to the 17th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 229, HES., § 854), but it lingered into the 18th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 135).

182. The last peculiarity, *α* before *r* + cons., requires special mention. IthD. *â* < ME. *α* appears only before *r* + cons., or occasionally before *r* final. This *â* before *r* + cons. is found in the 17th century, and Ellis thinks it may have remained into the 18th century (cf. EEP., I, p. 72). Either supposition would account for IthD., since the latter contains both 17th and 18th century peculiarities; and we must suppose it possible for the *â* to have remained before *r*, even if it did not in LdE. Moreover, if the *â* had become *ê* in the 18th century, it would have ranged itself with the *ê*’s before the voiceless fricatives *f, þ, s*, and would probably have remained *ê*, as they have done in IthD.

When it is stated that IthD., in comparison with the standard language, represents an 18th century English, it is not to be implied that some of the peculiarities of IthD. may not be found at present in one or more English dialects. Thus the *ai* for *oi*, the flat *æ*, and the non-diphthongal long vowels *ê, î, ô, û*, are still found in the Eastern Division in England, while the cerebral, or reverted, *r*, so characteristic of IthD., has been lost. The latter is found, on the other hand, in southern or southwest-

ern England; but as the loss of *r* in standard English and in 'Eastern' occurred in this century, according to Ellis and Sweet, cerebral *r* may be more naturally accounted for as a survival in IthD. than as the influence of another English dialect.

183. The question remains, "Why should IthD. preserve an older English than that of the mother country?" To this the answer of Ellis may be inferred from the following extract: "The results of emigration . . . are curious and important. By emigration is here specially meant the separation of a considerable body of the inhabitants of a country from the main mass, without incorporating itself with another nation. Thus the English in America have not mixed with the natives, and the Norse in Iceland had no natives to mix with. In this case there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remains for a long time in the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction. Practically the speech of the American English is archaic with respect to that of the British English; and while the Icelandic scarcely differs from the old Norse, the latter has, since the colonization of Iceland, split up into two distinct literary tongues, the Danish and Swedish. Nay, even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the 17th century" (EEP., I, p. 19, 20). Without accepting all that is here said, the numerous instances in which isolation, as by emigration, and an arrested development in speech occur side by side seem to indicate a causal connection between the two. At least, in the absence of any other assignable cause, it may be stated with assurance, that the older forms of speech in IthD. are due to conditions attending isolation from the mother country by emigration.

184. From these considerations the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The dialect of Ithaca represents, in comparison with standard English, a dialect of the 18th century, with certain peculiarities usually attributed to the 17th century.

2. This arrested development is due to emigration and separation from the mother country.

3. The predecessor of IthD. is probably the English of the Eastern Division in England, as given by Ellis.