PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, Nov. 5, 1886.

The Rev. Prof. SAYCE, *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The PREZIDENT red two papers: I. On the Origin of the Augment in the Indo-European Verb. After revewing the theories that hav been put forward to acount for the origin of the augment, the Prezident pointed out that its pozession by sum of the Indo-European languages and not by others indicated the existense of paralel forms in the parent speech, sum with and sum without the prefix. Recent reserch has shown that the primitiv vowl of the augment, like that of the reduplicated syllabl, was *ĕ*. The reduplicated syllabl of stems beginning with a vowl was therefor necessarily *ĕ*, and that the reduplicated syllabl was not confined to the perfect, is proved by the reduplicated preznts and aorists. The theory was propounded that the reduplicated syllabl of stems beginning with a vowl was extended by analogy to stems beginning with a consonant, imperfects or aorists being thus distinguisht from perfects, just as a difrense of vowl was uzed in Greek to distinguish the preznt *dídōmi* from the perfect *dédōka*. The augment was, consequently, originaly the reduplicated syllabl of the imperfects or aorists of stems beginning with a vowl.

In the discussion Mr. WHITLEY STOKES said that Prof. Sayce's hypothesis seemd open to serious objection. In the first place the number of roots beginning with a vowl was much smaller than of thoze beginning with a consonant, and it was unlikely that the many shoud hav conformd to the analogy of the few. Secondly, the hypothesis did not acount for the Greek augments *a* and *ē*. The first was found in the Homeric forms *ἄλτο* (from *ἀ-σαλτο*) and *ἀ-μιχθαλόεσσαν*. It was possibly also in the Hesychian *ἄ-βραχεν*, *ἄ-δειρεν*, and *ἄ-σβεσθε*. The *ē*-augment was found in the Homeric *ἤ-ειρεν* (K. 499) and the post-Homeric *ἠ-βουλόμην*, *ἠ-δυνάμην*, *ἤ-μελλον*. It miht possibly be the same as the *ā*-augment, found in nine Vēdic forms, namely, *ānaç*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*,

āvṛṇak, āvidhyat, āyunak, āyukta, āriṇak, ārāik (Whitney, § 585). Thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly, the hypothesis did not acount for the dubl augment, for the arbitrary omission of the augment in Homer, and for the accentuation of compounds like *παρ-έ-σχον*. Mr. Stokes believd that suficient materials for a satisfactory theory of the origin of the augment did not exist. If he wer bound, on pain of deth, to offer a speculation, it would be that ther wer originaly three augments: 1. *ĕ* (=Gr. *ε*, Armenian *e*, Skr. *a*), 2. *a* (Gr. *ἀ*), 3. *ē* (Gr. *η*, Vēdic *ā*). The common toneless verbal prefix *a* in Welsh, Cornish and Breton, was equal to either the first or the second of theze augments. He was inclined to believ that they wer all, originaly, prepozitional prefixes. As a paralel fact he cited the neo-Celtic temporal prefix *ro*, which was identical with the Lat. prep. *prō*; and the Irish *do*, identical with the prep. *do*. The dubl augment in Greek seemd paraleld by Midl Irish forms like *ro-fo-ro-daim*, L.U. 34^b, and the accentuation of *παρ-έ-σχον* by that of the Old-Irish *as-rú-bart*. Jacob Grimm in the preface to his tranzlation of Wuk's Servian Grammar, and Ebel in Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge*, ii. 191, had quoted instanses from the Slavonic and Teutonic languages showing the use of prepozitional prefixes to express tense-forms. In Polish, for exampl, Ebel says that almost all simpl stem-verbs ar imperfects, but becum perfects by compozition. In German, Grimm quotes *starb* and *verstarb*, *ich reise* and *ich verreise morgen*. Replying to a vew exprest by the Prezident, Mr. Stokes did not admit that no trace of the augment was to be found in Latin; the long *ē* of *regēbam*, *audiēbam*, coud, he thoht, only be explaind by the supposition that the aglutinated suffix verb had an augment.

Dr. PEILE said ther was another possibl explanation of the long *ē* of the Latin imperfect, namely that the verbal stem was in the dativ case; and that the long vowl had spred by analogy into the imperfect of the *ā* stems. He thoht that Mr. Stokes's sugestion as to the origin of the augment was suported by the evidense of the form *ḗthelon*, from which the preznt *ethélō* had been evolvd.

Dr. MORRIS referd to Dr. Garnett's paper on the augment in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society.

In reply, Prof. SAYCE said that analogies which had a widely extended influense, had been proved oftn to hav arizn from a very small number of instanses, sumtimes from an izolated case. With regard to the Homeric *álto*, it was unaugmented.

Mr. STOKES thoht that if *álto* had been unaugmented, the *s* of the root would hav been replaced by the spiritus asper.

II. The PREZIDENT's second paper was on the origin of the caracteristic *r* of the passiv in the Italic and Keltic languages. This *r*, he said, coud not be the *s* of the reflexiv pronoun *sē*, as was formerly supozed, sinse the *r* was found in Oscan and in Old Irish, where primitiv *s* never became *r*. Moreover, the long vowel of *sē* coud not hav disapeard. Following Bezzenberger, Bugge and other scolars, Prof. Sayce identified this *r* with an *r* which is

found sporadicaly in Greek, Zand and Samskrt, as a suffix to verbal stems. In theze languages it was not a sign of the passiv; but, as a later development, it was specialy aplied to this use in Latin and Keltic. Prof. Sayce offerd the following theory to acount for the fact that in Latin and Keltic this *r* was not joind to the verbal stem, but was placed after the personal terminativs. In the second person singular of the preznt and imperativ, as in *leg*+*eri*+*s* or *leg*+*er*+*e*, the passiv suffix, which Prof. Sayce believd to be *er*, imediately followd the stem. This pozition woud, acording to his theory, be the primitiv one. By comparing the activ form *leg*+*e* with the passiv *leg*+*er*+*e*, speakers of Latin and Keltic had been led to analyze the passiv wrongly as *lege*+*re*, and to regard *re* as a suffix added on to the activ forms as a mark of the passiv. It was shown that the terminations of *legitur*, *legimur*, *leguntur*, presupoze that the *r* was originaly sonant in theze forms, from which we must conclude that the final syllabl of *amare* had becum sonant in pronunciation after a preceding consonant. *Legor* would hav been formd on the analogy of *legitur*. The fact that the *r* of *legitur*, etc., was originaly sonant, delt the final deth-blow to the theory which saw in the *r* of the Latin passiv the reflexiv pronoun.

Mr. Stokes mentiond the vew that the passiv *r* was derived from the root *r*, *to go*, and referd to the formation of the passiv in Samskrt (the accented *yá* class) and Bañgālī.

Dr. Peile, while admitting the forse of the argument from the ocurrense of the passiv *r* in Keltic, found a difficulty in setting aside the strong rezemblanse between the Greek *légeso*, *légesai*, and the paralel forms in Latin.

Friday, November 19, 1886.

Henry Bradley, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Whitley Stokes red a paper entitled 'Notes of a Filological Tour.' He first went to Paris and colated Prof. Loth's edition of the twenty-six Old-Gaelic glosses on the Eutychius-fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and found that Loth had not only faild to decifer elevn of theze glosses, but publisht the following misreadings:

Prof. Loth.	Codex.
membligim	*meinbligim* (gl. scato)
cleb . . . er . . . lemnith?	*cleben* l. *lemnith* (gl. praeses)
Cabast . . . lerrith	*cabaltith* l. *lemnith*
temnigtith	*demniguth* (gl. munimen)
sortugim	*fortugim* (gl. operio)

Loth also givs *derigtith* as the gloss on 'desses.' It realy glosses 'scalprum.' The glossator himself is sumtimes at fault. He confounds, for instanse, *opperior* (Irish *inneuth*) with *operio* (Irish *fortugim*), and he mistakes *opsōno* (I cater) for *opsŏno* (I interrupt

by sound, Irish *fogrigim*, a denominativ from *fogur*, sound). The cheef rezult of a new colation of the Old-Breton glosses at Orléans is to establish the genral accuracy of the late Henry Bradshaw's readings, and to relegate to the limbo of *verba nihili* Prof. Loth's *deric* (the Latin *clericus* misred), *ercolim*, *tinsot*, etc. The inscription begining "L. Cornelius magnus Atepomári filius," etc., prezervd in the Orléans Muzeum, has been carefuly studied by Léon Renier in the *Revue archéologique* for 1865. For 'Genabensium' he reads 'Cénabensium,' with initial *c* and an apex over the following *e*. The reading givn in the *Academy* for September, 1886, p. 210, col. 2, shoud be corected acordingly. Mr. Stokes also said that ther wer at least four Cuneiform inscriptions in this Muzeum, of which one, on a tessera of baked clay, had been thus tranzlated by MM. Lenormant and Longpérier: "Nasitin quam acquisivit Nabu-kinari anno XII. Marduk-habal-idin regis Babilu," where the king named was the Merodach Baladan who in the year 709 B.C. sent ambassadors to Hezekiah to congratulate him on his recuvery. Mr. Stokes hoped that Prof. Sayce woud vizit Orléans to copy theze inscriptions. The explanation given in the *Academy* for October 2, 1886, p. 227, of the *opus maceriale* in the copy of Adamnán's *Life of Columba* prezervd at Schaffhausen, was confirmd by a Gaelic gloss on 'trulla,' recently found in the Vatican Library, and publisht by Prof. Zimmer: *liag iern bis oc denam macre* (a spoon of iron, which is uzed in bilding a *maceria*). The names of Boniface's fellow-martyrs found in the St. Gallen Martyrology wer interesting. *Eoban* had been quoted by Förstemann (*Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. i. p. 392) from other MSS. So *Valthere*, *Hethelhere* (=Aethelhere), *Scirbalde*, *Bosan*, *Hamunde*, *Vaccare*, *Gund-uuacre*, *Ille-here*, *Hathu-uulfe*, seemd oblique cases of *Scirbald*, *Bosa*, *Ha*[*i*]*mund*, *Vaccar* (Förstemann's *Waccar*), *Gund-vacar*, *Illeher*, *Hathuwulf*. Mr. Stokes then explaind the five Old-Breton glosses on Vergil which he discuverd at Berne: *strum* (gl. copia) is=Irish *sruaim* (stream), Greek ῥεῦμα; *forcas* (gl. figere) is, perhaps, a loan from an Old-French **forchasser* (foris-captiare); *les-ca* (gl. carice) is a compound of *les*=Cornish *les*, Welsh *llys* (herb), Irish *lus*, and *ca*=Latin *carex*, from **casex*; *heith* (gl. praeterea) is from *hep-t*, where *hep* is=Latin *secus*, and *t* the remains of a pronoun meaning *ea*. Lastly, *brostse* .i. intertinxerat (gl. discreverat) is the 3rd sg. 2nd p. pres. of a verb cognate with Irish *brot* (goad), the Samskrt *bhrshti* (point), the Old-English *brord* (goad), the Old-Norse *broddr* (point), and the Latin *fastigium*, if this be, as sum filologists suppose, for **farstigium*. The corupt Gaelic glosses in the Berne MS. 258—*brecnatin* (gl. scinifes, *i.e.* σκνίπες), *bolach* (gl. impetiginem), and *polien*, *foilem* (gl. fulicam, fulica)—wer explaind as standing respectivly for *brecnata* (Saltair na Rann, 3934), *bolgach*, and *foilenn*=Welsh *gwylan*, Breton *goelann*, whense the French *goëland*, English *gull*.

The Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library, or, as it is now cald, the Bibliothèque Royale, and the English, French, and Latin MSS. in the same library relating to Irish afairs, hav been notist at

sum length by Mr. Bindon in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iii. pp. 477-502. He omits, however, to mention No. 64, the most important of all theze codices, that containing the elevnth-century copy of Muirchu's Latin Life of St. Patrick, which suplies the lacunae in the Book of Armagh, and which has been learnedly utilized by the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles, 1882. And in other respects Mr. Bindon's notice is incomplete and inaccurate.

Besides colating such portions of No. 64 as ar required for the Rolls edition of the Tripartite Life, Mr. Stokes examind the following codices:

No. 2324-40. The contents—all in the handwriting of Michél O'Clérigh—ar chiefly twenty-eiht Irish lives of Irish saints. Of theze Mr. Bindon's 'Vita S. Creunatae Virginis' is realy a life of S. Cranatan, and his 'Vita S. Molingi' is a life of S. Molacca. The liht that theze Lives throw on genealogy, topografy, and social history has oftn been recognized. They ar also admitted to be of filological value, and in this codex many of the obsolete words in the Lives of Patrick, Brigit, Finnchu of Brí Gobann, and Coimin Fota ar glost. But the poetic beauty of the legends which theze Lives contain has not been so freely acknowledgd. It has even led to vulgar travesty. Contrast with Moore's 'S. Senanus and the Lady' the reverence, pathos, and imaginativ power of the legend of which the following is a literal version:

"Canair the Pious, a holy maidn of the Benntraige of the south of Ireland, betook herself to a hermitage in her own territory. There, one niht, after nocturns, she was praying, when all the churches of Ireland apeard to her. And it seemd that a tower of fire roze up to hevn from each of the churches; but the greatest of the towers, and the straihtest towards hevn, was that which roze from Inis-Cathaigh,' (now Scattery Island, in the Shannon, where S. Senán had bilt his church).

''Fair is yon cel,' she saith. 'Thither wil I go, that my rezurection may be near it.' Straihtway on she went, without guidance save the tower of fire, which she beheld ablaze without ceasing day and niht befor her, til she came thither. Now, when she had reacht the shor of Luimnech, she crost the sea with dry feet as if she wer on smooth land til she came to Inis-Cathaigh. Now, Senán knew that thing, and he went to the harbor to meet her, and he gave her welcum.

''Yea, I have cum,' saith Canair.

''Go,' saith Senán, 'to thy sister who dwels in yon iland in the east, that thou mayest hav gesting therin.'

''Not for that hav we cum,' saith Canair, 'but that I may hav gesting with *thee* in *this* iland.'

''Women enter not this iland,' saith Senán.

''How canst thou say that?' saith Canair. 'Christ came to redeem women no less than to redeem men. No less did He suffer for the sake of women than for the sake of men. Women hav givn service and tendance unto Christ and His Apostls. No less

than men do women enter the hevnly kingdom. Why, then, shoudst thou not take women to thee in thine iland?'

''Thou art stubborn,' saith Senán.

''What then?' saith Canair. 'Shal I get what I ask for—a place for my side in this ile, and the sacrament from thee to me?'

''A place of rezurection,' saith Senán, 'wil be givn thee here on the brink of the wave; but I fear that the sea wil carry off thy remains.'

''God wil grant me,' saith Canair, 'that the spot wherein I shal lie wil not be the first that the sea wil bear away.'

''Thou hast leav, then,' saith Senán, 'to come on shor.' For thus had she been while they were in convers, standing up on the wave, with her staf under her brests, as if she wer on land. Then Canair came on shor, and the sacrament was administerd to her, and she straihtway went to hevn."

The codex also contains many religious pieces in proze and verse of which Mr. Stokes has made a catalog.

Mr. BRADLEY said the paper reminded one of the great need ther was for a scientific Keltic scool to bring out the real value of the unexplord manuscripts. In answer to a remark that *Eoban* did not look like an *OE*-name, he woud sugest that it miht very well stand for *E'oba* or *E'afa*. Weak proper nouns ending in *a* wer latinized by *anus*, and foriners woud be very likely to get hold of such names with the thematic *n* prezervd in the oblique cases. He askt if the legend of Canair wer a typical specimen of Old Irish literature?

Mr. STOKES replied that it was so. The style of Old Irish was wonderfuly pure and simpl down to the twelfth century, after that it became detestabl. Dr. O'Grady had told him of a passage in which one substantiv was acompanied by eihty-sevn epithets.

Mr. SWEET said that the spelling *Eoban* was corect, as the dipthong *éa* in *éafa* apeard as *éo* in the oldest texts, such as the Liber Vitae. He was surprized to hear Mr. Stokes favor the theory of a primitiv Greek-Latin-Keltic unity. Latin and Gaulish wer very similar indeed, but Greek stood apart. As regards the difficulty of decifering glosses, it aroze from the absence of a context. He had onse met with the word perna, and at first imagind it to be a curious way of writing the Latin *uerna*. He afterwards found it was only an erly form of the English *wren*.

Friday, December 3, 1886.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

The paper red was on "The Assyrian Noun," by M. Bertin. At the request of the author, the report of the paper is omitted.

Friday, December 17, 1886.

Prof. SKEAT, Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

A paper on "The Laws of Sound Change" was red by Mr. HENRY SWEET. He said that it was now genraly admitted by filologists that sound changes, as a rule, wer exceedingly gradual, and that the greatest revolutions in language wer only the sums of long series of slight shiftings of the vocal organs. The orthografies of ded languages prezervd no record of theze minute variations; hense we had to seek the explanation of them in the sounds of living languages. In filology, as in geology, the past was only intelligibl by the help of the preznt. Literary professors, who ignord fonetics, coud offer no explanation of the English plurals formd by vowl-mutation or umlaut, such as *men, geese, mice.* At best they miht surmize that the final *i* in the erly forms of theze words, *manni, gōsi, mūsi,* modified the root-vowl and then disapeard. That was no satisfactory theory; for it did not explain how the modification came about, or why it produced theze particular rezults. The fonetic theory was much mor complicated, and was deduced from recent investigations into the influense of vowls on consonants, and *vice versā,* as exemplified in living languages. A simpl ilustration of this influense was found in the English words *caw* and *key,* where the difrence between the sounds of the initial consonants was due to the succeeding vowls. If we interchanged the consonants, the words sounded somewhat like (kjɔɔ) and (kwij). The reason was that the vowl *aw* (ɔɔ) being formd by a low pozition of the back of the tung, drew the *k* back towards the throat; while *ey* (ij), being a high front vowl, drew the *k* forward. This influense had formerly givn rize to the pronunciations (kjaind, gjaad) for *kind, guard.* Similar fenomena existed on an imense scale in Russian, where almost evry vowl perceptibly modified almost evry preceding consonant. In such a sound group as *imi,* the *i* pozition of the tung was held thruout so that in the *m* the front and lip articulations wer combined. The same efect was found in many Russian words where the final vowl which had produced it was now lost, as in *krovĭ,* pronounced (krofj), where *fj* is a digraf reprezenting an *f* at onse dental and fronted. In Russian, morover, the vowl *u* comunicated to a preceding consonant the efect cald rounding, or compression of the lips and cheeks. Thus *gusĭ* was pronounced (gwusj), the *g* being simultaneous with the *w,* and the *s* with the *j.* Sumtimes the infection was arested by a complex sound group. In *krĕpki* 'strong' (plural), the *p* was normal and not influenst thru the *k* by the final *i.* All these ilustrations led up to the fonetic theory, due to Scherer, that, in English, *manni* must hav becum (manji), where *nj* stands for the front nasal; that this consonant influenst the back vowel *a,* changing it to the front *e*; that the final *i* was dropt as superfluous; and that, lastly, the *nj* reverted to the point pozition, as *n.* Similar reversions had ocurd in the

South Slavonic dialects. That the Germanic vowl mutation was also the rezult of consonantal influense was proovd by the Old Norse mutations before the fronted *r* which replaced older *z*, as in *eyra* from *auzō* 'ear.' The abuv exampls wer ilustrativ of asimilation, which sprang from the desire to save space in articulation, and secure eaz of tranzition. Thus *pn* became *pm*, or else *mn*. Saving of time was efected by dropping superfluous sounds, especialy at the ends of words, as when *sing-g*, with distinct final *g*, was reduced to *sing*. But cases of saving of effort wer very rare or non-existent. The loss of the trild point *r*, or its replacement by the trild uvular *gh* and *x*, as in Paris and Berlin, wer perhaps due to economy of effort. But all the ordinary sounds of language wer about on a par as to dificulty of production. If children lernt *p* and *m* mor eazily than *k* and *ng*, it was not acount of any intrinzic dificulty in the latter, but becauz the action of the lips was vizibl, and that of the back of the tung was hidn. The chief cauz of sound change apeard to be *defectiv imitation*, or the substitution of aproximatly similar sounds, as in (fruw) for *through*. Mr. Sweet would divide sounds into stabl and unstabl: the former class containing the labials, which wer separated from all other formations by a distinct space; the latter class containing the tung articulations, all of which interchanged and ran into each other. In adition to the abuv organic changes, ther was an important and numerous class due to gramatical and lexical analogy, and to confuzion of meaning, as in *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*. Lastly, Mr. Sweet cited cases of the coexistence of nativ and forin sounds in the same dialect. The Armenian implosivs, or choke stops, in which clozing and raizing the glottis suplied the force checkt in the mouth, wer believd to hav been borrowd from some non-Ārian language of the Caucazus. The genral concluzion to be drawn was that the history of words and their changes coud not be studied in literature alone, and that all tru investigation into the forms of language must be founded on scientific fonetics. In our preznt university system ther was not so much as a pretence to study fonetics, and the teaching of filology was therefor deprived of any solid basis.

In the discussion, sevral members objected to Mr. Sweet's theory that sound-changes wer rarely if ever due to economy of effort.

Dr. FURNIVALL cited the abreviation *o' clo'*, and Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH instanst asimilation and the introduction of the neutral vowl as cases of weakning.

Mr. SWEET replied that abreviation was saving of time, and asimilation saving of space, wheras no trace was found of a tendency to eliminate the exceptionaly dificult sounds of language. Tho stops, such as *t*, wer oftn relaxt into open consonants, such as *þ*; on the other hand, the convers change was just as common.

Mr. J. LECKY said he had independently arived at the same theory as Mr. Sweet—that sound changes ar seldom atributabl to saving of the degree of effort. A fronted *m* was not necessarily harder than a simpl labial; the simultaneous action of difrent parts of the mouth miht be eazier than their separate action; just as we find it

eazier to move all the fingers at onse in grasping than to move each finger sepratly in playing muzic. Asimilation vastly multiplied the number of elementary sounds in a language, and therefor coud not be described as facilitating pronunciation. The neutral vowl was just as dificult as any other, for the English variety of it was rarely lernt by a foriner; and even a nativ coud not, without fonetic training, pronounce it izolated or accented. The introduction of the neutral vowl was not due to laziness, but to the dezire to subordinate sum syllabls to others, so as to weld the sound group into unity, and make the fraze rythmical. In such a word as *territory*, if a real *o* wer sounded, it woud sugest a divizion into two seprat words, as *terry* and *tory*. Mr. Lecky did not regard the untrilling of *r* as an economy, becauz, in the smooth consonant, ther was the new dificulty of sustaining the point of the tung without the suport of the palat. This was a changed distribution of effort, not a saving. He sugested that the explanation of sound changes miht be found in the asertion of individuality. Each new generation, feeling itself to be difrent from the preceding one, unconsciously developt a new pronunciation suficiently distinct to be caracteristic. Changes in pronunciation wer thus analogous to changes in art or costume, which coud not, as a rule, be atributed to economy either of effort, space, or time.

Friday, January 21, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY made his Anual Report on the progress of the Society's *New English Dictionary*, which he is editing for the Oxford University Press. Part III. had left his hands. He hoped that all the copy for Part IV. woud be sent to press by September next, so that the Part woud be out by Christmas. The printing had of course begun now. Part III. contains 8765 words, of which 5323 ar main words. Obsolete words ar stil less than 26 per cent. of the hole. 'B' has very few Latin and Greek words, but contains sum of the oldest Teutonic ones in the language, and others of late origin, sum onomatopoeic, others not ataching themselvs to any known older roots. The power of word-creation has not died out: *bam*, *bamboozle*, *bash*, *bun*, *blash*, *blight*, *blizzard*, *blowse*, *bludgeon*, *bluff*, *bog*, *bodge*, *bogus*, *boom*, *bosh*, *bother*, *box* (a blow), etc., ar of mor or less recent birth. The etymologies of many 'B' words ar extremely dificult, and stil obscure, notwithstanding the help of the best scolars and specialists. Ther ar nearly 1500 *be*-words, of which the 850 older and mor important ar treated sepratly, while the later and ocazional ones, like *be-booted*, *be-muslined*, etc., ar put in classes with one quotation apiece. But the main dificulty in the Dictionary work is to trace the history of the development of the meanings of a word, and get them into

logical order. 'Break' has 80 meanings. You hav to put the mass of quotations for theze into classes, then conect them, and find, as you best can, where to fit in the sense of 'to *break* a comandment' (*violare*). You sort your quotations into bundls on your big table, and think you ar getting the word's pedigree riht, when a new sense, or three or four new senses, start up, which upset all your scheme, and you ar obliged to begin afresh, oftn three or four times. Etymologies ar nothing like the trubl of chains of meanings. The Dictionary has now 4,000,000 quotations. The editor oht at least to read theze thru, but, at eiht hours a day, it woud take him thirty years to do it: it is 80,000 hours' work. Of course he cannot do this, but must trust other men. Then he cums on a word like *attitude*, which proves to be only *aptitude*. On turning to that, he finds no notis has been taken of the sense 'attitude." He calls for the slips; and among the rejected ones sees sevral of the quotations required. So the *aptitude* articl has to be recast, and the plates alterd. Again, the 4,000,000 quotations are both redundant and deficient. No articl three inches long but has fresh serches to be made for it. Dr. Murray named all the Sub-editors and Readers who stil continue their work for the Dictionary—sevral hav been at it twenty years—and thankt them hartily for their help, without which the book coud not possibly be produced. He stil wants men and women who wil take small portions of the work just in front of Mr. Henry Bradley and his other asistants, so that all delay in hunting for quotations and working in fresh slips may be saved. He also needs serchers for Deziderata, of which a list for Part IV. wil go out with Part III. The 800 copies of the last list found only six real workers at it; and queries in *Notes & Queries* yeeld nothing worth having. A late request for later extracts for Shakspere's *borne*, a boundary—with a special caution that none wer wanted for *bourne*, a brook—produced twelv answers to Dr. Murray, some astonisht that he had overlookt Milton's 'bosky bourne' (brook), and others to the Editor of the Journal, but all for the meaning 'brook.' Folk find thinking so very dificult. The Dictionary staf was not properly organized til last October; now that it is so, mor rapid progress with the work may be relied on.—The Society's thanks wer voted to Dr. Murray for his Report, and for his untiring work at the great national undertaking under his control.

Friday, February 4, 1887.

The Rev. Dr. MORRIS, Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

The paper red was on Samskrt as Parent of the Modern Ārian Dialects of India, by John Boxwell. This paper wil apear in the Tranzactions for 1885–6.

In the discussion Dr. MORRIS said he quite agreed with the doctrin laid down in the paper, but he thoht that Mr. Boxwell

had only been 'slaying the slain.' It was surprizing that ther shoud be any necessity nowadays to prove that Samskrt was originaly a vernacular. Dugald Stewart maintaind that Samskrt was only an invention of the Brahmans; but its vernacular caracter, its dialectal forms, and its ancestral relation to the Prākrts, had been shown by Max Müller, Muir, and others. Goldstücker had demonstrated, in a paper red befor this Society, that fonetic decay had taken place in the erliest form of Samskrt known to us, and that this change is shared by the modern Ārian dialects of India. The existense of regular fonetic laws in the ancient and modern Prākrts presupozed a coloquial language. No framers of a purely artificial language coud *invent* theze laws. Pālī, tho to sum extent also a book-language, furnishes abundant evidense of having been onse a spoken language, in its numerous expletivs and comparativ freedom from cumbrous compounds. All the Prākrts were not direct descendants of Samskrt. Pālī was mor probably in the relation of a sister dialect, but sprung from a common ancestor. Evry literary language implied an originaly coloquial stage. The stilted artificial style of Johnson presupozed coloquial Old English and coloquial Latin. Dr. Morris did not believ that the so-cald "unauthenticated roots" in the Dhātupāṭha wer the pure inventions of gramarians. Professor Edgren, in his valuabl paper in the *Journal of the American Philological Society*, 1879, mentions sevral *dhātus* that had not then been found in Samskrt literature; and treats them as figments or 'ghost words,' to use Prof. Skeat's term. But sum of these 'unauthenticated roots' ar actualy to be found in Pālī. On this subject see Prof. Max Müller's paper on the Dhātupāṭha, in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (1886, vol. iii. i. pp. 7–14).

Prof. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE remarkt that Mr. Boxwell had neglected to point out one influense of importanse on the tranzition between the Samskrt and the modern vernaculars. It is that which was exercized by the mixt language spoken at the court of the great Maurya king Piyadasi. This curious combination of Samskrt and Prākrt forms—sumwhat heteroclitic and without fixt rules, uzed for administrativ purpozes, which reminds one of the Pahlavi as a chancery language—has been studied by the well-known Samskrtist M. Emile Senart, of the French Institute, in his last articl on "The Inscriptions of Açōka."

Friday, February 18, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

A paper on "Gothic Personal Names" was red by Mr. HENRY BRADLEY. To ascertain the corect form of Gothic names is very dificult. The texts of Greek and Roman authors where theze names ocur ar oftn uncertain. To interpret the classical spellings we require to know what sounds the authors asociated with their

letters, and this necessitated complicated processes of historical deduction. And, further, the spellings made by foriners wer naturaly very imperfect as atempts at reprezenting the nativ Teutonic sounds. For instanse, Cassiodorus mentions a Goth named 'Tezutzat.' At first siht this apears quite un-Teutonic. We can, however, restor what was probably the nativ form by asuming (as we hav other reazons for doing) that z in Italian Latin of the sixth century stood for sharp *ss*, and that *tz* was intended to sugest the Gothic þ. Thus we arive at a Gothic form, 'Taihsw-þahts,' meaning 'rihthanded thoht.' But the coruptions in the forms of names wer of many kinds, and no genral rules coud be givn for corecting them. Gothic personal names wer formd in sevral difrent ways. The first class consisted of compounds of two words, either substantivs or adjectivs, such as wer uzual also among most of the other Ārian peoples. It was a common mistake to supoze that theze names wer genraly intended to be significant. In reality, the two elements of a name wer often incongruous or even contradictory. Ther wer Teutonic names which ment literaly 'peace-spear' or 'peace-war'; and they wer to be acounted for by supozing that the word for 'peace' had becum so common as an initial element of names, and the words for 'spear' and 'war' so common as final elements, that the absurdity of combining them was not felt. Virtualy, ther existed two lists of words; and, by joining together random selections from each list, personal names coud be formd. In prehistoric times no dout the 'dubl-list' names wer significant, and sum of late historical origin wer also formd with the same intention; but the principl of arbitrary combination was found among the Hindus, Greeks, Slavs, and Kelts, and had probably arizn even befor the separation of the Ārian peepls. The second class was that of the diminutivs, which wer formd from the 'dubl-list' class by selecting one element and adding the sufix *-ila*. It apeard that a diminutiv coud be made out of either element of a compound, so that a ful name, such as 'Audamērs,' miht be reduced either to 'Audila' or to 'Mērila.' Theze diminutivs wer not merely uzed familiarly, but sumtimes apear as public and oficial names; probably, indeed almost certainly, they wer ocazionaly givn in baptizm. The apostl of the Goths may hav been originaly named 'Þiuda-wulfs' or 'Wulfa-reiks,' and afterwards known by the diminutiv 'Wulfila'; or else the last may hav been his name from the beginning. The third class consisted of diminutivs obtaind by adding the sufix *-an* (nominativ *-a*) to one element of the 'dubl-list' names, especialy to an adjectiv; and the fourth class, by adding *-jan* (nominativ *-ja*) to the preterit stems of strong verbs. The fifth class wer the fonetic compressions due, perhaps, to childish mispronunciation, like 'Wamba,' which was possibly from 'Wandilbairhts.' The sixth class, which containd very few exampls, consisted of ordinary nouns or adjectivs without alteration. Mr. Bradley gave a list of the elements uzed initialy and finaly, and offerd explanations of sevral historical exampls. Thus, he regarded 'Pitzia' as an

adaptation of the Greek 'Pythias.' 'Cixila,' a Spanish name of the sevnth century, seemd to be from the substantiv *þeihsa-*, meaning, perhaps, 'fortune.' Nouns forming the second element in Teutonic masculin names wer aparently always turnd into the *a* declension, whatever their original thematic vowl. Thus, in 'Sunjaifriþas' (for which the normal spelling woud be Sunjafriþs), the *a* replaces *u*. He woud explain the first element in 'Alaricus,' etc., as *Alh*='temple,' Old-English *Ealh-*. 'Witigis' or '-ges' was probably for 'Waihtigais'=Old-English 'Wihtgár,' the reduction of *gais* to *gis* being atributabl to weakness of stress; while the first element was the common Teutonic *wihti*=a thing, primarily, perhaps, meaning 'fighting,' and hense 'sumthing captured in batl.' Gothic *nanþs*='curageous' was equivalent to Old-English *nóþ*, as Grimm had pointed out; Förstemann, overlooking this, identified *nóþ* with German *noth* 'need.' The Spanish 'Gondomarus' probably reprezented not Gothic 'Gunþamērs,' but 'Gunþamarhs'='war-horse,' as the termination *mērs* 'famous' (=Keltic *-māros* 'great') is uzualy Latinized as *-mirus*. The name of the founder of the Amaling dynasty, 'Ostrogotha' (Austraguta), was probably an ordinary 'dubl-list' name, the second element not meaning 'Goth' here, but bearing the apelativ sense ('nobly born'?) which it pozest befor it became an ethnic dezignation. The first element ocurd in Old-English 'Easterwine' and Frankish 'Austrowald,' the second in Old-English 'Earcongote' and Gothic 'þiudaguto.' Perhaps Grimm was riht in conecting Athanaric, Athanagild with *aþna-* 'year'; if so, it was possibl that 'Jornandes' (the name givn in sum MSS. to the historian Jordanis) was properly 'Jērnanþs,' the first element being from the same word as our 'year.' 'Ataulfus' miht be from **ahta-* 'terribl,' cognate with English *awe; Sise*, as in 'Sisebertus,' from *sigisa-* 'victory.' 'Ferdinand' containd the word corresponding to Old-English *ferhþ* 'life,' for which Wulfila had only the simpler form *fairhwa-*.

In the discussion Dr. FENNELL remarkt that the conjecture in the paper with regard to the primitiv meaning of *wihti-* sugested a possibl explanation of the Latin *victima*. The theory of compression had been uzed to acount for certain Greek names.

Dr. WHITLEY STOKES said that a great many Keltic names wer identical with Gothic ones as regards etymology, meaning, or plan of formation.

Friday, March 3, 1887.

Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH in the Chair.

The paper red was by Dr. JOHANNES BAUNACK (of the Nicolai Gymnazium, Leipzig), on "The Inscription of Gortyn." The discuvery of the inscription known as "The Law of the Twelv Tables of Gortyn"—the date of which is probably about 400–450 B.C.—in adition to the intrest which it pozesses for the student of the historical science of law, is important as suplying a serious gap in our knowledg of Greek dialects. The inscription contains mor

than 17,000 letters, and the list of words comprizes 748 entries. Our information respecting the Cretan dialect was hitherto chiefly derived from documents of the third century or later. Of the few erlier fragments, thoze which ar of considerabl length hav now been discuverd to hav formd part of the "Law of the Twelv Tables." One of the most peculiar features of the inscription is the frequent ocurence of fenomena analogous to the "external Sandhi" of Samskrt. The prepozition ἐξ, which befor a vowl is writn εκς, uzualy apears as ες befor a consonant. The forms of the articl ending in νς commonly drop the ν when the next word begins with a consonant; thoze ending in ν or in ς oftn asimilate their final letter to a folowing consonant; *e.g.* ταθ θυγατεραs apears for τὰς θυγατέρας. It is remarkabl that τό always remains without elizion befor a vowl. From many indications it seems reazonabl to conclude that in rapid speech the articl was in all Greek dialects oftn reduced befor initial vowels to the simpl sound of τ. The writer sugested that in the same manner the forms ὁ and ἡ befor vowls may hav been reprezented by the *spiritus asper*, and that a coalescence of the articl with the noun may explain the inorganic aspiration in words like ἵππος, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος. The Gortyn inscription has reveald sevral unexpected peculiarities in the fonology of the Cretan dialect. The -σσ- of the common dialect, whether arising from -ϳϳ- or from -τς-, apears in the 'Tables' as -ττ-, and in the Fragments as -ζ-. An original -δϳ-, -γϳ-, is reprezented in Cretan by -δδ-. Ther is evidence that ττ, δδ, θθ, wer nearly alike in pronunciation; the δδ, and the initial δ-, when standing for δϳ-, wer probably sounded as ȣ. The aspirates χ and φ ar renderd always by κ and π; θ is uzualy so writn, but in a few cases is replaced by τ. The digamma is uzualy writn when initial, but in other pozitions is omitted (except after σ, as in ϜισϜον). In the new Fragments Ϝ is writn for υ in the diphthongs. The Cretan dialect abounded in asimilations of consonants in the midl of a word: thus -ττ- reprezents -κτ-, -πτ-, -στ-; θθ stands for -σθ-; -μμ- for -φμ- and -σμ-; -νν- for -ρν- and -σν-; -λλ- for -νλ- and -σλ-. The fonology of the vowls has litl that is unexpected. The alfabet having neither η nor ω, the length of the vowls denoted by ε and ο is oftn quite uncertain, even with all the liht that can be obtaind from other dialects and from analogy. The Gortyn 'Tables' and the new fragments agre in frequently having ι insted of ε befor ο, as in ιοντα for ἔοντα. The inscription lends no suport to the theory that the proper names Ὑππάγρα, Ὑππασία, stand for Ἱππάγρα, -ασία, as υ never apears for ι; the names ar, therefor, compounds of ὑπό, the dubling of the π being not infrequent in proper names. The prepozition πρός apears in the Twelv Tables as πορτι, but in later Cretan inscriptions becums ποτι. With regard to flexion a few points dezerv special notis. The name of the city, tho not mentiond in the great inscription, apears from the fragments to hav had the nominativ form Γόρτυνς. Ther is nowhere any proof of the existense of the dual in Cretan; δύο is inflected as a plural, and agrees with plural substantivs.

The ending -εν of the nom. plur., found in sum of the later Cretan inscriptions, is absent from the Twelv Tables and the erliest fragments. In the great inscription the dat. plur. of the 1st and 2nd decl. ends in ς, that of the 3rd decl. in -σι; but the Fragments do not obzerv this rule. A markt feature of the Cretan dialect is that the ending -νς of the acc. plur. is extended analogicaly to all substantivs. Especialy noteworthy also is the declension *νίύς, νιέος, νίύν, νιέες, νιάσι, νίύνς*. As to the pronouns, the stem *Fo, Fe* apears almost always as combination with *αὐτός* (*e.g. Fιν αυτοι*); when *αὐτός* stands alone it is never reflexiv. The future of verbs undergoes contraction, as in *ἐπελευσεῖ*. The reduplication of the perfect is sumtimes replaced by ε, as in *ἐγράπται*. Other remarkabl points ar the retention of the preznt sufix in the perfect particípl *δεδαμναμέναν* and the ocurence of the conjunctivs *πεπᾶται, ἐττετεκνῶται*. The paper concluded with a list of the 44 books and papers which have apeard on the subject of this inscription.

The thanks of the meeting wer voted to Dr. Baunack for his paper. The only point that gav rize to criticizm was the author's theory of the origin of the inorganic aspiration, which was genraly regarded as unsatisfactory.[1]

Friday, March 18, 1887.

HENRY SWEET, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Prezident, in the Chair.

Prof. SKEAT red a paper on "English Etymologies." He notist the apearance of Col. Yule's excelent Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, which containd many etymologies of genral intrest. He mentiond, by way of exampl, the folowing, which ar not in his own Etymological Dictionary: 'Cheeta, cheetah,' a kind of lepard, *lit.* the spotted animal; Hind. *cítá*, Skt. *citraka*, spotted; from the Skt. *cit*, to perceiv; from the same root is chintz, originaly a 'varigated' stuf. 'Cheroot' (better *sheroot*), Tamil *shuruttu*, a roll (of tobacco). 'Chutny,' hot relish; Hind. *catni*. 'Cowry,' Hind. *kauri*; from Skt. *kaparda*, a small shell. 'Curry,' Tamil *kari*, sauce, whence also Port. *caril*. 'Dacoit,' Hind. *dakait*, a robber. 'Dingy' (with hard *g*), Bengālī *dingi*, a small boat. 'Mango,' Port. *manga*, Malay *manggā*; all from the Tamil *mān-kay*, where *kay* means 'fruit,' and *mān* is the Tamil name of the tree producing it. 'Mulligatawny,' Tamil *milagu-tannír*, lit. pepper-water. 'Nautch,' Hind. *nāc*, Prākrt *nacca*, from Skt. *nrtya*, dancing, acting—Browning calls the dancing-girl herself a 'nautch.' 'Nullah,' Hind. *nāla*, a water-course. 'Polo,' 'a ball,' and the name of a game, is from *Balti*, in the upper valley of the Indus, etc. The word 'verandah'

[1] Dr. Whitley Stokes states that this theory has been adversely criticized by Prof. Windisch, who objects that if it wer sound we shoud hav *ἀνήρ* from *ὁ ἀνήρ*, and remarks that the regular use of the articl is not very old, yet in Homer we find *ἀφ' ἵππων*. Morover, inorganic aspiration ocurs in many cases (*e.g. ὁράω*) where the articl can hav had no influense.

is now proovd to be neither Persian nor Skt. (tho ocuring in modern Skt. as a borrowd word), but European—viz. Port. *varanda*, Old Span. *varanda*, a railing, ocuring in 1505; probably from Span. *vara*, a rod, Lat. *vara*, a forkt pole. Other words wer comented on. 'Atone,' originating in the phrase *to be at one*, is realy due to a tranzlation from the Anglo-French fraze *estre a un*. 'Cannibal' is not a coruption of *caribal*, a carib, but a true dialectal variant of it; another variant is *caliban*. 'Canoe' is a French spelling, the Span. word being *canoa* (from the old language of Hayti); the French *canoe* is now spelt *canot*. The Shaksperian 'chaudron,' entrails ("Macbeth"), is a coruption of *chaudon*, Old Fr. *chaudun*, *caldun*, entrails (Godefroy), Ger. *Kaldaunen*; perhaps of Keltic origin; Welsh *coluddion*, Irish *caolain*, entrails. 'Creel,' from O. Irish *criol*, a coffer (Windisch). 'Daze' apears in Old Fr. as *daser*; but both forms are of Scand. origin; this asertion was illustrated copiously from the various Scand. dialects. 'Dich' in Shakspere's "Timon," I. ii. 73, is for *dit*, and *dit* is for *do it*, the emfazis being on the *it*; proovd by quotations from Dekker (confirmd by Mr. Ellis, who has shown the same in his Early Eng. Pron). 'Fake,' to steal (slang), is the Mid. Du. *facken*, to catch, gripe, and cognate with Old-English *facian*, to try to get, a word uzed by King Alfred, *cf.* G. *Fach* in Kluge. 'Fever' is not French, but the Old-English *fefor*, borrowd *imediately* from Latin. 'Flannen,' older form of 'flannel,' ocurs in 1652. 'Freestone' is a tranzlation of Fr. *franche pierre*, 'stone of the first quality'; we find Mid. E. *fraunche piers* in the Wars of Alexander, l. 4356. 'Hayriff' cleavers (plant), is the Old-Eng. *hege-rife—i.e.* hedg-rife, or 'abundant in the hedges.' 'Hayward,' hedg-warden, is from the same Old-Eng. *hege*; the name 'Howard' is a coruption of the same, like 'Steward' from *sty-ward*. 'Lancepesade,' a certain oficer of foot, was originaly calld a demi-lance, or broken lance, becauz he had onse been an oficer of horse; French *lancepessade* (Cotgrave), from Ital. *lanza spezzata*, broken lance, *lit.* 'dis-pieced' lance. 'Martlet' is a house-martin, or else a swift, but the heraldic French name is *merlette*, a litl blackbird; this requires explanation. 'Mazurka' and 'polka' ment, originaly, 'Massovian girl' and 'Polish girl' respectivly; like Fr. *Polonaise*, they became names of dances. 'Orra,' superfluous (Burns), is the Dan. *övrig*, superfluous, *cf.* Ger. *übrig*. 'Quiz,' the E. name of the toy calld *bandelore* in French, is probably named from its whizzing noiz; the mention of it by Moore in 1789 (Life, i. 11) seems older than the uzual too oftn repeated story about its originating in a bet. 'Rum,' the spirit, was also calld 'kil-devl'; this is the tru source of the Fr. *guildive*, which so puzld Littré. Ther ar two 'scabbards'; 'scabbard' or *scale-board* is a thin board for splints, etc.; the other 'scabbard,' formerly *scawberk*, is a 'scale-berk'—*i.e.* a protection formd by slices of wood. 'Vagrant' is probably totaly unconected with Lat. *vagus*; it is the Anglo-French *wakerant*, rambling (see also Roquefort), and of Teutonic origin; answering to nativ E. *waggling*. Hackluyt spels it *vagarant*.

Friday, April 1, 1887.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-Prezident*, in the Chair.

Prof. Postgate red a paper on "The Latin so-cald Future Infinitivs in *-urum*, *-uram*, etc.," the object of which was to show that they did not correspond to the finite forms as other infinitivs of a similar character did, or, in other words, that *dixit illum uenturum* (*esse*) was not related to *uenturus est* as *dixit fusos* (*esse*) *hostes* was to *fusi* (*sunt*) *hostes*. Firstly, the preponderating custom of Latin of not inserting the *esse* with theze forms was, on that asumption, at variance with the fact that *hostis uenturus* in the sense of *hostis est uenturus*, was not a Latin idiom. Again, the frequent omission of the subject of the fut. inf. was hardly possibl if the form was originaly participial; *dixit uenturum* in the sense of *dixit se esse uenturum* coud no mor hav been said in Latin than *pictum dixit* for *dixit se esse pictum* or *dixit se pictum*. He then referd to Gellius (*Attic Nihts*, i. 7), who quoted a number of indeclinabl forms, such as the *scio meos inimicos hoc dicturum* from a speech of C. Gracchus, and who gave the tru vew that theze wer realy indeclinabl infinitivs; *futurum*, *uenturum*, and the like woud then be acuzativs from verbal nouns, like the so-cald supine in *-tum* and the Samskṛt inf. in *-tum*, and woud not differ from *fore*, *uenire*, etc., except in the fact that they originated from difrent cases, theze latter being originaly datival formations. The subsequent declension of theze indeclinabl infinitivs was du to the influense of atraction, a change of which Latin furnisht numerous exampls, a striking one being the origin of the gerundiv.

Mr. Bradley said that sum of Prof. Postgate's arguments for his interesting theory seemd capabl of being answerd. The fact that the finite verb was not omitted in *hostis est uenturus*, as it was in *hostis* (*est*) *fusus*, miht be du to the comparativ infrequensy of the former expression; with the infinitiv, on the other hand, the future particípl was common, becauz *uenturum esse* had to reprezent in reported speech both *uenturus est* and *ueniet*. It had, however, been proovd that in erly Latin the indeclinabl *-turum* stood for the future infinitiv; but it seemd eazier to supoze that this was a neuter particípl than that it was a verbal noun. The instanse of the supine was not quite paralel, becauz we hav independent evidence of the existense of the verbal noun in *-tus*, but there is no trace of any verbal noun in *-turus* or *-turum*.

Friday, April 15, 1887.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-Prezident*, in the Chair.

The Rev. Dr. Richard Morris red a paper entitled "Pālī Notes and Queries."

1. KOÑCA-NĀDA. This term, givn in Childers's Dictionary, is aplied to the trumpeting noiz made by an elefant. As *sīha-nāda* means 'a lion's roar,' *koñca* (not in Childers) oht to mean 'an elefant,' from a root *kruñc* 'to trumpet.' We find such a root only in Buddhist Saṁskṛt. See Divyāvadāna, p. 251, 'hastinaḥ *kroñcanti*.' The editors explain *kroñcati* by 'to trumpet,' but sugest confuzion with *kroçati*; but the root *kruç* is itself a weakning of a root *kruk*, of which *kruc* and *kruñc* ar variants. In the Vinaya we find *koñca* uzed for the trumpeting of a celestial elefant (*nāga*), and in the Milinda for an elefant itself. The root *kruñc* also givs us Pālī *koñca*=Sk. *krauñca* 'a heron'; cf. Sk. *kuñj-ara* 'an elefant' from √*kuñj* or *kūj*.

2. KADALĪCCHEDA is defined by the editors of the Divyāvadāna as a 'kind of sword-cut.' Bodhisattvo . . . . tān stambhān *kadalīcchedena* khaṇḍakhaṇḍaṃ chettum ārabdhaḥ (p. 459, l. 12). We hav a similar expression in Pālī *kalīra-ccheja* (Milinda-pañha, p. 193). The term *kadalī* is aplied to the soft stem of the plantain tree, while *kalīra* (Sk. *karīra*) denotes the top sprout of a plant or tree, cf. "tadā so rājā tassa tāpassa kuddho hatthapāde vaṃsa-*kalīre* viya chedāpesi" (Milinda-pañha, p. 201), 'Then the king in a rage cauzd the hands and feet of the ascetic to be cut off like the sprouts of the bamboo.'

3. *Simultaneously* is exprest in Pālī, much after the fashion of sum uninflected languages by the fraze *apubbaṃ acarimaṃ* 'not befor, not after,' or by the compound *apacchāpurimaṃ* 'not after or befor' (see Jāt. iii. p. 289; Milinda, pp. 40, 295).

A *procrastinator* would be exprest by *ajja-sve* ti puriso, "a person who says 'to-day, to-morrow.'"

4. The Saṁskṛt root *pṛ* apears in Pālī, as Dr. Trenckner has shown, under the form *vyāvaṭa*=Sk. *vyapṛṭa* (Pālī Misc. p. 63),[1] but he does not tel us that this is the case only when uzed in the sense of 'occupied' with the locativ. With the ablativ *vyāvaṭa*= Sk. *vyāvṛta*='hindered,' from the root *vṛ*. Childers does not cite the form *pāreti* (the causativ of *pṛ*), but it ocurs in Jāt. i. p. 498.

5. The fraze PHANAṂ VIHACCA=*phanaṃ katvā*, 'expanding the hood,' is aplied to a snake (Udāna, ii. 1). Here *vihacca* = Sk. *vihṛitya*, from the root √*hṛ*+*vi*, cf. *āhacca-pada* (Mil. p. 148), where the first part of the compound=Sk. *āhṛtya*.

6. KACCHA='hair of hed,' corresponds to Sk. *kaca*. It is not in acordance with the uzual fonetic changes at work in Pālī. Other iregular and inexplicabl forms ar Pālī *kapalla*[2] 'lamp-black'=Sk. *kajjala*; Pālī *ulloka*=Sk. *rallaka* 'rag, blanket,' etc.

7. IṆĀYIKA in Childers's Dict. is explaind as 'detor.' It has this sense in *one* passage in the Vinaya, and reprezents Sk. *ṛṇika*. In other works it means 'creditor.'

> Na hi mayhaṃ brāhmaṇa paccūsamhi iṇāyikā
> Detha dethā ti codenti . . . .
> (Saṃyutta, vii. 1. 5, pp. 170–1.)

[1] Cf. Pālī *osaṭā*=*avasaṭa* from the root *sṛ*+*apa*. [2] See Vinaya Texts, ii. 50.

"Not hav I, O brāhman, (any) creditors who, in the erly morning, dun me, saying, 'pay, pay.'"

8. *On the interjectional use of words to suply the place of onomatopoeias.*—We miht uze 'deth and destruction,' or 'fire and fury' to convey the notion of sumthing fearful in lieu of imitativ words. In Pālī we hav a story of a demon (*yakkha*) trying to frihten Buddha; and he is made to utter the sounds *akkulo pakkulo*, which the Commentator says are onomatopoeias. But they ar not so, not nearly so much as our '*fee fie foh fum.*' *akkulo* corresponds to *ākulo* 'confounded,' and *pakkulo* (*v.l. bakkulo*)=*vakkulo*=*vyākula* 'agitated.' Cf.

Atha etaṃ pisācañ ca *bakkulañ* c' ativattatī ti.
(Udāna i. 7.)

"Then he overcame that demon and the alarm (he made)."

As we hav no full description of a *piśāca* (or *yakkha*) in any Pālī text, I quote the following from Dr. Hoernle's edition of the Jaina *Uvāsagadāso* (pp. 65–69). *Pisāya*=Pālī *pisāca.*

"Of the pisāya form—the following is said to be a ful description: its hed was fashond like a catl-feeding basket, its hairs lookt like the awn of ears of rice and shon with a tawny glare; its forhed was fashond like the belly of a large water-jar; its eyebrows wer like lizards' tails disheveld, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its eyes wer protruding from its globular hed . . . .; its eyes wer exactly like a pair of winnowing sivs . . . .; its noze was similar to the snout of a ram, and its two nostrils wer fashond like a pair of cooking stoves with large orifices; its beard was like the tail of a horse, of an exceeding tawny hu . . . .; its lips wer pendant exactly like thoze of a camel; its teeth (in length) lookt like plowshares; its tung was exactly like the pan of a winnowing siv . . . .; its jaws in length and crookedness wer fashond like the handl of a plow, and its cauldron-like cheeks wer hollow and sunkn and pale, hard and huge; its shoulders rezembld ketl drums; its chest (in width) rezembld the gate of a goodly town; its two arms (in bulkiness) wer fashond like the shafts of smelting furnaces; its two palms (in bredth and bulkiness) wer fashond like the slabs for grinding turmeric; the fingers of its hands . . . . wer fashond like the rollers of grinding slabs; its nails wer fashond like the valvs of oyster-shels; the two nipls on its brest depended like a barber's pouch; its belly was rotund like (the dome of) an iron smelting furnace; its navel (in depth) lookt like the rice water bowl (of a weaver) . . . .; its two thihs wer like a pair (of shafts of) smelting furnaces; its knees wer like the cluster of blossoms of the Ajjuṇa tree, excessivly tortuous . . . .; its shanks were lean and cuverd with hair; its two feet wer fashond like (large) grinding slabs; the toes of its feet wer fashond like the rollers of (large) grinding slabs, and its nails wer fashond like the valvs of an oyster shel. . . . The knees (of this demon) wer shaking and quaking; his eyebrows wer knit and bent; his tung

was protruding from his widely open mouth; he wor a chaplet made of lizards; a garland of rats hung around him by way of adornment; (he wor) earrings made of mungooses, and a scarf made of serpents; he slapt his hands on his arms and roard; and laft aloud in a horribl manner; he was cuverd with various sorts of hair of five colors."

9. YĀTHĀVATO (not in Childers) signifies 'truly, exactly,' and reprezents Sk. *yathāvat* with an inorganic *o*, cf. Pālī *āpadā* and Sk. *āpad*. (See Therī Gāthā, p. 211, l. 10.)

10. SAṄKĀPETI, in Mahāvagga III. 1. 2, is explaind by the translators of the Vinaya Texts as if the tru reading wer *saṅkappeti* 'to arange.' A various reading is *saṅkhāpeti* (from the root *kṣi* 'to dwel'), which givs us the better sense of 'to setl down.'

11. *A-nikīḷitāvī* (not in Childers) is from *nikīlita*, the pp. of √kīḷ 'to sport, to play' (cf. bhuttāvī), and signifies 'not having reveld.' See Saṃyutta-Nikāya I. 210, p. 9; p. 10, § 12.

12. APĀLAMBA (not in Childers) is a Vedic term for the hinder part of a carriage, but also uzed for sum mecanizm to stop a chariot.

Hirī tassa apālambo ‖ satiyassa parivāraṇaṃ
Dhammāhaṃ sārathiṃ brumi ‖ sammādiṭṭhi-purejavaṃ.
(Saṃyutta-Nikāya.)

"Modesty is the drag of that (chariot), meditation is its escort, the law I call the charioteer speeded on by riht-vews."

13. VICAKKHU (not in Childers) = Sk. *vicakṣu*, 'perplext.'

Yaṃ nunāhaṃ yena samaṇo Gotamo ten' upasaṅkameyyaṃ *vicakkhu*-kammāyā ti. (Saṃyutta, iv. 2. 6, 7, pp. 112-3.)

14. SOCEYYA. Childers sugests that this term means 'purification,' but it has the sense of 'honesty,' cf. Sk. *çauca*, honest.

Saṃvohārena . . . *soceyyaṃ* veditabbaṃ.
(Saṃyutta, iii. 2. 1, p. 78.)

In buziness matters *honesty* is to be known, *i.e.* you may determin whether a man is honest by his dealings with you.

15. KĀVEYYA-MUTTA, 'drunk with inspiration,' 'drunk with the spirit.'

Mandiyā nu sesi udāhu *kāveyyamatto*.
(Saṃyutta, iv. 2. 3, p. 110.)

Sleepest thou in sloth, or art thou 'drunk with the spirit'?

16. KARAKAṬA (not in Childers) = Sk. *karkara*, cf. '*karakarāni*. khāditvā' gnawing the bones of the neck (Jāt. iii. p. 203).

17. BONDI is explaind by Childers as 'body.' It ocurs in Jāt. i. p. 503, for the body of an elefant; it is uzed also for the body of a crocodile in Jāt. iii. p. 117. The original meaning was probably 'stock, trunk,' from a root *bundh* (=*bhundh*) to bind, cf. Marāthī *bundhā*, 'the stock of a tree;' Sk. *bandha* 'the body,' from √*bandh* (=*bhandh*). It is probably cognate with English *body*.

Friday, May 6, 1887.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. ELLIS, Vice-President, read the following "Second Report on Dialectal Work," here printed at full:

In my first Report of 7 May, 1886, I described my method of work, the nature of my preliminary matter, and the treatment of the Southern, Western and Eastern Divisions. This evening I have to announce the completion of the first draft for the Midland and Northern Divisions, that is, for the whole of England, except a narrow slip of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills in Nb. (contractions used for county names &c., as in the first Report), which belong linguistically to the Lowland Division. This Lowland Division itself is so far arranged that I am able to give a sketch of what it will be, but the work on the Midland and Northern Divisions has proved too great for me to attempt completing the Lowland. When I realised to myself the impossibility of getting this part of my book done in time to produce it this evening, I turned my attention to the Maps of the Dialect Districts. As the Scotch map is mainly Dr. Murray's, the completion of the English Divisions enabled me to draw both the maps definitively, and I now lay them before you, with a Key which will explain their arrangement. These maps will accompany my *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, forming Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, and also my *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, being an abridgment of the former for the English Dialect Society, having only a small portion of the illustrations translated into approximative Glossic.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

In my last report I described three of these which entered into the portion of England then considered.

(1) The n. *sum* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sum* (səm, sʌm) or even *som* (som).

(2) The s. *sŏŏm* line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sŏŏm* (su$_{ı}$m). It is in the space between lines 1 and 2 that the intermediate form *som* occurs.

(3) The reverted *ur* line, or northernmost limit of the general use of reverted *r* (ɹ). This line I now begin in Wx. Ireland and make to pass through Pm. and Gm. in order to include D 1, 2, 3, while I have somewhat rectified its course through Wo. Wa. and Np., chiefly owing to recent observations by Mr. T. Hallam.

I have now to add seven other Transverse Lines of great importance in the mapping of Dialect Districts.

(4) The s. *teeth* (tiith) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of the def. art. *the* as a suspended *t'* (tˋ) or hissed *th* (th), not the voiced *th* (dh) as in the usual pron.; the word *teeth* conveniently combines the two sounds. The hiss (th) is the regular sound between lines 4 and 5, and in most of the intervening space, except D 24, the suspended (tˋ) occurs only by assimilation. This line passes through s. Ch., n. St., s. Db., round s. and e. Nt., and goes to the sea by w. Li. and s. Yo.

(5) The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or northernmost limit of the use of *the* (dhi, dhɐ) or the hissed *th* (th) for the def. art. until we reach line 7. The pron. *the* is practically extinct long before we reach this limit, but still it is in occasional use, and, except in D 24, the hissed *th* (th) is regular. This line passes over the Isle of Man, which has *the* (dhɐ) exclusively, through m. La., across w. Yo. and to the s. of the North and East Ridings. It thus forms the s. boundary of the N. Div.

(6) The s. *hoose* (huus) line, or southernmost limit of the pron. of *house* as *hoose* (huus), which prevails everywhere to the n. of it. Like lines 1 and 2, this does not generally limit districts, as in fact *hoose* is the ancient pron., and it is only *house*, or its varieties, which are obtrusive and aggressive. The line passes n. of the Isle of Man, through s. Cu. in a zigzag form by n. La., s. We., and n. Craven in the West Riding of Yo., joining line 4 at the n. of Nt., and then running s. of the Isle of Axholme in n. Li., sweeping round to the sea near Great Grimsby.

(7) The n. *tee* line, or northernmost limit of the use of suspended *t'* (tˋ) for the def. art., which singular usage is universal between lines 5 and 7. This line passes in a zigzag through n. Cu., and then along the n. of Weardale in Du., afterwards bending suddenly n. to just s. of Sunderland.

(8) The s. *sum* line, or southernmost limit (proceeding from Scotland) of the pron. of *some* as any variety of *sum*, such as (səm, sɐm, sœ$_1$m), where the last is a singular middle sound developed between lines 8 and 9 in Nb. This line starts from the n. of the Solway Firth and goes nearly ene. to the border of Nb., then suddenly turns s. to meet line 7, which it subsequently follows to the sea. To the s. and w. of this line, in Cu., *sŏŏm* (su$_1$m) only is heard. To the e. and n. of it, in Nb., up to line 9, both *sŏŏm* (su$_1$m) and the curious (sœ$_1$m) variety of *sum* may be noted.

(9) The n. *sŏŏm* line, or northernmost limit of the pron. of *some* as *sŏŏm* (sum, su$_1$m). To the n. and w. of this line only *sum* (səm, sɐm) is heard. This line coincides with line 8 till that line deflects to the s., it then sweeps over the summit of the Cheviot Hills to the Cheviot Hill itself, after which it crosses Nb. to Bamborough.

(10) The s. L. line, or southernmost limit of true L. pron. This line coincides with line 9 as far as the Cheviot Hill, then continues the boundary of Nb. as far as Berwick-upon-Tweed, and finally skirts the n. boundary of the Liberties of that town.

MIDLAND DIVISION.

This division, comprising D 20 to 29, embraces the whole middle of England s. of line 5 and n. of the S. Div. It is by no means thoroughly homogeneous. We may distinguish an e. part, D 20, and a w. part, all the rest, but this w. part has also a n. form, n. of line 4, and a s. form, to the s. of it. Even then the n. part falls into two. Hence I distinguish a BM or Border Midland D 20, which is quite isolated, a NM or North Midland group D 21 to 24, a MM or Mid Midland group D 25 and 26, with an almost isolated EM or East Midland D 27, of which the connection with the MM group has almost disappeared, and finally a SM or South Midland group D 28 and 29. Many of these groups have also numerous varieties. There is no one general character, except the pron. *sŏŏm* (sʊ$_{i}$m) of *some*, but this is not peculiar to the div., which is thus best defined by negatives, as decidedly not N or S, and even clearly differing from W and E. But the M div. is important in preserving the change of the old Saxon I′, or *ee*, into long English ī, or (a′i), through an initial deepening of the sound, as (ii, i̯i, i̯$_{i}$i, i̯$_{i}$i, *éi*, *éi*, ɛ′*i*), and then by easy stages to (æ′*i*, á^{i}*i*, á*i*). All these and other intermediate forms are found in the M. div. The old E′ also passed into (ii), and that changed as above as far as (ɛ′*i*), but no further, shewing that this was a more recent change than that of original I′. The change of U′ into *ow* (a′u) belongs to the N div.; but the numerous surprising changes of *ow* (a′u), when once reached, are remarkably well exhibited in the M. div.

Among consonants *r* when not before a vowel seems to me generally untrilled, and nearly if not quite vocalised. The aspirate is altogether lost. Even educated people seem to be as much unaware of its existence as we are in *honour*. The def. art. varies, as (dhɐ, dh, th, t') except in the SM group, where (dhɐ) only is used.

The chief constructional peculiarity is the use of the verbal plural in *-en*, as *they live-n, you know-n*. This is universal in D 21, 22, 25, 26, occasional in D 23, was formerly found in D 27, is plentiful in D 28, but in D 29 chiefly survives in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e. *I am* is the regular form, *I be* is rare, though the negative *I ben't* is more heard. *I is* and *I are* are unused.

In D 21, 22, 25, 26, *hoo*, in various pronunciations (uu, *ɶ*′u, ɜ′u, i̯u), is used for *she*, and in D 24 *shoo* (shuu, sho, shɐ) is used. For *girl*, *wench* is the usual word without any offensive suggestion.

D 20, or BM, which is conterminous with the county of Li., has for its great and peculiar character the large quantity of fractured vowels it uses, consisting mainly of an indistinct *er* (with *r* unsounded) tacked on to the received pron. I find it convenient to treat three V. (varieties).

V i, s.Li., I illustrate chiefly from Mr. Blasson, a surgeon, of Billingborough, 12 e. Grantham, who gave me a vv. (*vivâ voce*) sitting.

V ii, m.Li., I have been able to illustrate from the dictation of Lord Tennyson and a lady to whom he recommended me, Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector of Halton Holegate, 1 e. Spilsby, together with some wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam.

V iii, which has the peculiarity of using *oo* for *ow*, introduced for archaic effect, but not quite consistently, into Lord Tennyson's *Northern Farmer, old style*, I illustrate from vv. communications from Mr. Peacock, the author of the Glossary, and his daughter. I have also several other communications.

D 21, or s.NM, covers se. La. and nw. Db., and is I think the least altered of these NM forms, for which reason I place it first. Db. was the native county, as La. is the residence county of my principal M. informant, Mr. T. Hallam, to whom I have been so much indebted for so many years, and to whose good ear and unwearied investigations I owe most of my knowledge of the pron. of Db., La., Ch., St., Nt., Wa. and much of Le. Without his aid this most interesting region, instead of presenting the orderly appearance which I hope it will assume in my book, would have been a nearly hopeless tangle. I wish therefore to record my great obligations to Mr. T. Hallam for his invaluable assistance in collecting information and placing it at my disposal. I illustrate this district by three cs. (comparative specimens) as obtained and written from dictation by Mr. Hallam, for Staleybridge, Glossop, and Chapel-en-le-Frith (his native place), which, to facilitate comparison, I have transcribed interlinearly. To this is added a wl. (word list) of wn. (words noted) by Mr. T. Hallam at Rochdale, Oldham, Patricroft in La., and Hope Woodlands, Edale, and Peak Forest in Db. In this District U′ becomes *ow* (ɑ'*u*, áu).

D 22, or w.NM, contains the remainder of La. s. of the Ribble, and is divided into six V. (varieties). The differences are very minute, and are illustrated by a wl. for each V; four interlinear cs. for V i Ormskirk, V ii Bolton, V iii Leyland, V v Burnley; two interlinear dt. (dialect tests) for V iv Blackburn, and another for V vi the Colne Valley, as it was 40 years ago, shewing the former existence of the guttural (kh). U′ is here generally (aa, aa^{1}), sometimes quite (ææ), and these are the sounds to be usually attributed to the mysterious La. *eaw*, invented by the author of *Tim Bobbin*, the classical s.La. book. I am chiefly indebted to Mr. T. Hallam for these, though I have had some other valuable assistance.

D. 23, or n.NM, comprises m.La. known as the Fylde. It is claimed to be purer than D 21, because it keeps (á*u*) for the U′ words, itself an immense alteration from (uu). The verbal plural in *-en*, although disowned by some natives, is used in contracted forms. Even (kh) exists with some old people, but is dying out. This is illustrated by two cs. in parallel cols. for Poulton and Goosnargh, pal. from dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, and a dt. from Wyersdale, with a wl. from Poulton, Goosnargh, Kirkham and Wyersdale, from wn. by Mr. T. Hallam.

With D 23 I associate as a variety the Isle of Man. This of course is properly a Celtic region, but the English is now almost

universal, decidedly dialectal in character, and more like the speech of D 23 than that of any other part of the adjacent coast. The principal points of difference from the Fylde are *the* (dhɐ) at full for the def. art. and the total absence of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Also in the n. of the island, a dental *t* (ˌt) is often used for *th*, as (ˌtiq) thing. Through an introduction from Mrs. Roscoe of Kensington, Mr. T. Hallam was able to take down a dt. from two Manx school teachers at Manchester, Miss Cannell and Miss Cublin, and subsequently he found other natives there, so that I am able to give three interlinear dt. from the n., nw. and s. parts of the island, together with a wl. obtained from these informants.

D 24, or e.NM, comprises that part of Yo. which lies s. of the n. *theeth* line 5, containing the large cities of the clothing districts, each of which, including the neighbouring villages, has its own peculiarities, so that I have been forced to consider nine Varieties, i Huddersfield, ii Halifax, iii Keighley, iv Bradford, v Leeds, vi Dewsbury, vii Rotherham, viii Sheffield, and ix Doncaster. The numerous comic tales which purport to be in these different dialects are untrustworthy as scientific guides from want of proper discrimination of localities, and have various orthographies perfectly unintelligible (like received English spelling) to those who are not previously familiar with the proper pronunciation. In this dilemma I was fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. C. Clough Robinson, author of a Leeds Glossary, a native of the neighbourhood of Leeds, who had spoken both the Leeds and Mid Yo. dialects in his youth, had had rare opportunities of consorting and conversing with the operatives in all these towns, and had devoted much attention to the different 'phases,' as he styled them, of Yo. dialects. He only wanted a phonetic alphabet to express himself in. With this I was able to supply him in July, 1873, when I taught him the use of Glossic. For several years afterwards he did a great deal of dialect work, and, among others, he sent me seven cs. for the first seven varieties of this district. Each was written in glossic, each carefully examined by me and sent back with queries, which he returned with long answers. So far as Mr. C. C. Robinson's memory served, these were as good specimens as could be procured. The only objection to the result is that it was all memory, and not, as in Mr. T. Hallam's case, written down fresh from the dictation of persons actually using the sounds. I doubt however whether for this particular district they could be much improved. Having got an eighth cs. written in systematic spelling by Prof. D. Parkes of Sheffield for that town, the pron. of which is practically the same as that of Rotherham, I give all eight specimens interlinearly; and the agreement between Mr. C. C. R.'s Rotherham and Prof. D. Parkes's Sheffield is nearly complete. We may observe a verbal pl. in *-en* appearing at Huddersfield and Halifax, and also at Rotherham and Sheffield, which adds to the Midland character of the District, though in the other varieties this does not appear. The first five varieties are also illustrated by wl. from various sources, including a valuable

one for Leeds by Mr. C. C. R. The last, V ix, has a wl. pal. (palaeotyped) by me from the dictation of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster.

Reduced to the most distinctive elements, D 24 represents O, O′ by (*ói*, *úi*) as in (*óil*, spú*in*) hole, spoon, and U′ by (*ɛʊ*, aa) as in (*ɛʊs*, aas) *house*.

D 25, or w.MM, contains Ch. and the Potteries in n. St. There are some very marked peculiarities in this district which have been localised especially by Mr. Hallam. Mr. Darlington, who is now printing a glossary of s. Ch. with introductory Essays on Grammar and Pronunciation, using Glossic with great ability and precision, is also doing good work. The chief characters, which I here express in palaeotype, are that U′ becomes (*ái*) as (*áis*) house, contrasting wonderfully with the (aa's, ææs) of D 22, and (aas) of D 24, and the usual (ɐ′us, *áus*) of D 21. The I′ becomes (*ái*) varying to (ʌ′*i*), with which it is regularly confused by dialect writers; this (*ái*) is always kept distinct from the (*ái*), so that *icehouse* would be (*áisáis*). The E′ is (*íi*) varying to (*éi*) in m. Ch. and (ɛ′*i*) in St. A- is (ii) in (tiil) tale, except in ne. Ch. and St., where it is (*teel*). And ÆG, EG are (ii), as (tiil, wii) tail, way, except in ne. Ch. and part of St., where (*teel*, w*ee*) may be heard. O′ is most frequently (*œ*′u), varying as (ɐ′*u*) in St., thus (m*œ*′un, mɐ′*u*n) moon. For illustrations I have three dt. from Bickley by Mr. Darlington, two from Sandbach, and Leek, both by Mr. T. Hallam, and four cs. from Tarporley, Middlewich, Pott Shrigley (with variants for the Dale of Goyt Db.), and Burslem, all written from native dictation by Mr. T. Hallam, followed by wl. for n. and s. Ch. and n. St.

D 26, or e.MM, comprises Db. s. of the Peak, excluding the tail which runs between St. and Le., and belongs phonetically to D 29. This is a remarkable contrast to D 21, which contains Db. n. of the Peak, representing E′ by (ɛ′*i*), I′ by (*ái*), O′ by (ɐ′*u*), and U′ by (aa), as (grɛ′*in*, t*áim*, kjɐ′*u*l, daan) green, time, cool, down. This is illustrated by a cs. from V i Ashford, with variants from V i Bradwell, Taddington, Winster, V ii Ashbourn (from two informants), V iii Brampton, V iv Repton, from all of which places Mr. T. Hallam with great pains and trouble obtained versions of the cs. There are also wl. for each variety gathered from Mr. T. Hallam's wn.

D. 27, or EM, comprises only the co. of Nt. Sufficient is not known for me to assume other boundaries, and what is known with any degree of accuracy is due to Mr. T. Hallam's visits. On one of these he fortunately found a family at Bulwell, 4 nw. Nottingham, which could recollect that in 1844 keen, feet, rain, were called (kjɛ′*in*, fɛ′it, riin) as in D 26, and who used a verbal pl. in *-en*, for which reasons I group D 27 with D 25, 26. The marked pron. is that U′ becomes (âɜ), that is, the second element of the diphthong is (ɜ), and this form is often triphthongised slightly by prefixing a faint (e), thus (d⌊eâɜn) down, where ⌊ indicates faintness. But n. of Worksop the U′ becomes (â*u*). This is illustrated by a dt. from Mansfield Woodhouse, 2 n. Mansfield, with variants from East Retford, Worksop, Mansfield, Bulwell,

and Newark. I add a brief extract from a cs. given me by Mr. F. Miles, the artist, a son of the former Rector of Bingham, as compared with the pron. of the same passage by a retired tradesman as recorded by Mr. T. H. There is also a wl. of wn. by Mr. T. H., shewing great uniformity over the county. One point is remarkable, considering that Nt. and Li. are conterminous for some way, namely, the total absence in Nt. of the fractures which are so conspicuous in Li., and consequently Nt. and Li. are entirely distinct.

D 28, or w.SM. This is a small district involving a portion of w. Fl., some of ne. Dn., both in Wales proper, all of detached or English Fl., a small part of n. Sh. and a still smaller part of w. Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but through Mr. T. Hallam's investigations I have been able to give some account of it. Its English is thoroughly dialectal, and though not homogeneous, is evidently connected with M. habits of speech. The general characters, which must be taken as a whole (the varieties referring to different parts), are: A- name (niim, n*ee*m). A′ stone (st*oo*n, stuun). E′ green (griin) slightly leaning to (gr*i*in, gr*é*in). IH night (niit, nɛ'it), the last chiefly in 'good-night.' I′ varies much, but may be taken as (*ái*). O′ noon (n*œ*'un) as observed by Mr. T. H., but (níun) as felt by others. U is regularly (u_1) and U′ is variable, but may be taken as (*áu*).

Four varieties are considered and illustrated by four interlinear dt. for the first three and a wl. for each separately, embracing a great number of places visited by Mr. T. H.

D 29, or s.SM. This is a very extensive district, comprising Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn, St. s. of Stone, a slip on n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db. and all Le. It has occasioned both Mr. T. H. and myself great trouble to collect and coordinate the information, and much remains to be done still about the outskirts, which must be left to future investigators. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to fix on any definite characteristic. It is very homogeneous, and I have been unable to maintain a division into three parts which I formerly recognised. I have, however, proposed four varieties, with several subforms to the first three, which want of space prevents me from considering in detail in this report. The illustrations are first five interlinear cs., for V i from Cannock Chase, w.m.St., by Mr. T. H.; for V ii from Dudley, locally in s. St., obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, in a carefully-written form which I have pal. as well as I could with the help of Mr. T. H.'s researches in the neighbourhood; for V iii from Atherstone Wa., pal. by me from dictation; for V iv I have two cs. from Waltham and Enderby, both Le., written by me from dictation of native students at the Whiteland's Training Coll., Chelsea. Also I am able to give 8 interlinear dt.; 4 for V i, from Edgmond Sh., Eccleshall St., Burton-on-Trent St., and Lichfield St., all pal. by Mr. T. H.; 3 for V ii from Wellington Sh., and Darlaston St., both pal. by Mr. T. H., and Coalbrookdale Sh., pal. by me from the writing of Rev. F. W. Ragg, and finally for V iv,

Belgrave Le., from the glossic of Miss C. S. Ellis. Besides these, I give several small scraps for V i from Burton-on-Trent, by Mr. T. H., and Barton-under-Needwood, by myself, for V ii from Darlaston and Walsall St., both by Mr. T. H. And finally, I give 9 wl. from various sources, 3 for V i, 3 for V ii, 2 for V iii, and 1 for V iv, the last containing a very full account of the pron. of Syston Le., taken vv. from Miss Adcock, native, a teacher at Whiteland's Training Coll. Altogether, therefore, I furnish a very full account of this interesting region, the Midland Counties proper.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

This comprises D 30, 31, and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* (dhiith) line 5, and on the n. by the s.L. line 10, extending from sea to sea. Here again it is not by one form, but by parts of a combination, that the ear judges of a N. character. The whole region is distinguished, as regards the L. and M. divisions between which it lies, by two transitions, first of U′ from *oo* (uu) to *ow* (a′u) in some form, and secondly of U from *ŏŏ* (*u*, u_1) to *u* (ə, ɜ). The first is a transition from L. to M., the second from M. to L. It is in the sw. part, D 31, that the former change is prepared, and in the n. part, D 32, that the latter change occurs. Generally, however, the preparation for *ow* (a′u) is not recognised. My informants in D 30 did not acknowledge it, and gave only U′ = *oo* (uu). In D 31, however, the change was very clear, and extended over D 32, though most persons thought they were really saying *oo* (uu). And in D 32 none of the dialect books had prepared me for the intermediate sound between (ɜ, u_1), which I write ($œ_1$), and which came upon me quite as a surprise when I personally visited Nb. in Jan. 1879. In fact, all dialect books, and most informants that do not use a phonetic spelling, employ *u* simply for both (ɜ, u_1) or (ə, *u*), and also their intermediates (o, $œ_1$), which of course has occasioned me immense difficulties in my investigations.

Among the consonants the guttural (kh) may be said to be extinct, though it is marked in L. The letter *r* occasions much difficulty. On the e., when not preceding a vowel, it becomes vocalised or disappears. It is scarcely perceptible even on the w. In the n. it becomes uvular, but this is a mere defect of utterance and not a dialectal character.

D 30, or EN. This comprises most of the North Riding and all the East Riding of Yo. Its w. boundary is properly the edge of the hills which sink down into the great plain of Yo. The speech is wonderfully uniform throughout, yet I have found it advisable to make 4 varieties, V i the Plain, V ii the Moors, V iii the Wolds, V iv the Marshland. My great assistant here, as in D 24, has been Mr. C. C. Robinson, who was from parentage and education nearly as familiar with V i and ii as with D 24, witness his Mid. Yo. Glossary, in which he has used Glossic throughout. It is to be regretted that illness has obliged him to renounce all dialectal

work, and that I have not even been able to have his assistance in the final revision of the work he did for me in 1876. At that time, however, every specimen, originally written in Glossic, was strictly examined and discussed as in D 24. In V ii I have received much other assistance which has helped to check what he sent me. For V iii and V iv I had to trust to others, and the result is a consistent whole, in which I therefore feel general confidence.

The great characteristic of D 30, as contrasted with D 31, is the fractures which are substituted for Saxon A-, A′, Æ, Æ′, E-, EA′, O′, which sound exactly like *ear* or *air* in London with no trill (*iv*ə, éəv), of which the first is more common in the n. part, while either of the two sounds may be used in the s. part. In the case of A′, O, there is the further alternative of *oor* as in *poor* (*úv*ə). The next great peculiarity is the use of *ah* (aa) for I′, as *tahm* (taam) time, *wahd* (waad) wide. In V iii, however, before voiceless consonants (*éi*, E′*i*) is heard, but so rooted is the use of (aa) in V i, that Mr. C. C. R., who belongs to that variety, and did not profess to know V iii, could not persuade himself that the other forms ever occurred. The definite art. throughout D 30 and 31 is simply suspended (t'), and in Holderness V iii, according to the glossarists, it entirely disappears. In V i at Washburn River, according to Mr. C. C. R., the hissed (th) may be heard. *I is* (aaz) is the universal form.

The illustrations begin with 10 interlinear cs.; for V i from Mid Yo., Northallerton, New Malton, Lower Niddersdale, and Washburn River, all by Mr. C. C. Robinson, and s. Ainsty, by Mr. Stead, a native, one of the authors of the Holderness Glossary; for V ii, from s. Cleveland and ne. Coast, also by Mr. C. C. Robinson; for V iii, from Market Weighton, pal. by myself from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray, a native, author of *Nestleton Magna*, and several dialectal works, and from Holderness by Mr. Stead. Then follow 4 interlinear dt. all for V ii, from Danby, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary; from Whitby, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary; for the Moors generally, by Rev. John Thornton, all three in their own spellings, and from Skelton, originally written by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of that place, and read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, native, a friend of Mr. I. W., then a student in the Wesleyan Training Coll., Westminster, and revised by Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, of Coatham, Redcar. Next follow 3 interlinear dt.; for V iii from East Holderness, by Mr. Stead; for Sutton, 3 ne. Hull, written in Glossic by Mr. E. French, long resident in Hull; and for V iv from Goole, by the late Rev. Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been curate there, and from whose reading I pal. it. Finally, I have 4 wl., for V i from Mid Yo., by Mr. C. C. Robinson, very full; for V ii from Danby in Cleveland, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, and from Whitby by the late F. K. Robinson; for V iii a very full wl., pal. by me from the dictation of Rev. Jackson Wray; and for Holderness, n. part by Mr. S. Holderness, w. part by Mr. F. Ross, and e. part by Mr. Stead, the

three authors of Holderness Glossary for those divisions respectively (who bestowed great pains upon it, and Mr. Stead gave me his part vv. and interpreted the other parts); and from Snaith, 18 s. by e. York, by Rev. T. W. Norwood, 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

D 31, or WN. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La. and the hilly part of w. Yo. to the west of a line drawn from the Tee's mouth up to Croft, and then down to Middleham in Wensleydale, and Burley-on-the-Wharfe, and to the n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. Although there is on the whole great uniformity and homogeneousness throughout the whole region, I find it best to distinguish six Varieties. V i consists briefly of w. Yo., comprising Upper Swaledale and Upper Wensleydale n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and north Craven s. of it, all other points but the use of *ow* instead of *oo* for U′ remaining unaltered. V ii contains all n. La. and extreme s. Cu., all s. of line 6, comprising Lancaster, Cartmell, Furness, and Bootle. V iii consists of We. s. of the watershed, which (as well as Furness) uses the Danish *at* instead of *to* before the infinitive. V iv consists of the basin of the river Eden in We., n. of the watershed, and e. Cu. V v consists of w. Cu.; and V vi of s. Du., Weardale, and Teesdale.

In this wild district, which seems among its hills to have preserved a much older form of speech than the plains of Yo., I have been peculiarly fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. J. G. Goodchild, of the Government Geological Survey, who was stationed there for many years, and became familiar with the talk of the people, and was able to obtain many cs. and wl. which he wrote in palaeotype with photographic minuteness and the greatest conscientiousness. These results also he was able to revise again and again with his original informants. Finally, he spent many, at least twenty, evenings with me, going over each cs. and wl. separately, and finally settling with me the best palaeotypic forms. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to him for all the labour, which he has most liberally bestowed upon this work.

The general character of this district may be taken as follows. A-, A′ are fractures in which each element seems to have the stress, the first being a deep (i_1), verging towards (*e*), and the second a high bright (a^1) as in French and Italian, thus ($n\acute{i}_1\acute{a}^1m$, $kl\acute{i}_1\grave{a}^1z$, $h\acute{i}_1\acute{a}^1m$) name, clothes, home. E′ becomes (*éî*) consisting of a short (*e*) with the stress, and a long or medial (î), and this termination so usurps the place of the whole that the natives consider they use simple *ee* (ii). The I′ is (*âi*) as (*tâîm*) time, not (taam) at all. The O′ is generally (*iû*). The U′ is ($\acute{u}_1u$), that is, the first element is a thickened (*u*) in full, taken very near to (*o*), followed by the proper (u). Thus ($\acute{u}_1u$) approaches very near (*ôu*), and is the principal form under which *oo* (uu) passes into *ow* (a′u). There is another transitional form heard in V vi, where (uu) is commenced with an indistinct *a* in ide*a*, the true *u* being lengthened,

thus (ʉû), the effect of which is not unlike the M. (œ'u). Each of the three forms ($ú_1$u, ʉû, œ'u) is conceived by the speakers as *oo* (uu), and each generates *ow* (a'u).

The principal illustration of this interesting district consists of 22 interlinear cs., of which the first and last two are added to shew the contrast with D 30 on the one hand, and the relation to D 32 on the other. For V i there are 2 cs. from Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, wonderful pieces of phonetic writing by Mr. J. G. G., the Craven portion being otherwise represented. For V ii there is a cs. from Cartmel by Mr. T. H., and another from Coniston, written by the old postmaster Mr. Roger Bowness, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell. In the introduction to V ii I give Mr. R. B. Peacock's versions of the *Song of Solomon* chap. ii. from *Trans. Philological Soc.* 1867, part ii., pal. by me from his key, *ibid.* p. 11, assisted by two wl. for V ii, mentioned below. Then for V iii there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G. for Kirkby Lonsdale We., Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale and Orton in We. Next for V iv there are six cs. all pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and some many times revised, for Kirkby Stephen, Crossby Ravensworth, Temple Sowerby (from the late Mrs. Atkinson), Milburn, all in We., and Langwathby (from the late Miss Powley, the Cu. poetess, sister of the above Mrs. Atkinson) and Ellonby, both in Cu. For V v there are three cs., one pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from Mr. Postlethwaite for Keswick, one pal. by me from Mr. Hetherington, son of the late vicar of Clifton, near Workington (the late Mr. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary, also sent me a cs. from Workington, but as I had no opportunity of hearing him read it, I have used Mr. Hetherington's instead), and one from Holme Cultram or Abbey Holme, from the dictation of the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, near Coniston.

The Craven form of V i is illustrated by quite a unique specimen, William Seward's *Familiar Dialogue* for Burton-in-Lonsdale Yo., 13 ne. Lancaster, printed in 1801, very rare, and lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which Mr. J. G. G. has palaeotyped from the reading of the postmaster of the place, a contemporary and fellow-townsman of the author. This will be given interlinearly with the original spelling, a good specimen of its kind, but utterly inadequate for the present purpose.

V vi is illustrated by a dt. from Stanhope, Weardale, by Mr. Egglestone, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show* and *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*, with the principal variants from three other dt. (1) for Heathery Cleugh, from Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh, rector of Edmondbyers, n. Du.; (2) for Bishop Auckland, by Mr. J. Wild, master of the Union Workhouse, at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long; and (3) from Easington and Hart Du., by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the vicar.

Finally, I give five wl. (1) for V i from North Craven, that is, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Chapel-le-Dale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale,

pal. from the dictation of three informants by Mr. J. G. G.; (2) and (3) for V ii, the first for Lonsdale, s. of the Sands, chiefly from wn. by Mr. T. H., and the second from High Furness, partly from Mr. T. H.'s collections, and partly from a wl. written by Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, Coniston, and pal. by me from the reading of Miss Bell, whom he especially recommended for her dialectal knowledge; (4) for V iii from Dent and Howgill (in Yo., but practically part of We.), pal. by Mr. J. G. G. from dictation, and the latter verified by me; (5) from St. John's Weardale, pal. by Mr. J. G. G., and from Middleton-in-Teesdale, by Rev. John Milner, rector, conjecturally pal. by myself.

D 32, or NN. This comprises a small portion of Cu. about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle; with the n. of Du. and the whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviots, which are L. Six varieties are recognised, V i n.Cu., V ii n.Du., V iii sw.Nb., V iv se.Nb., V v m.Nb., and V vi n.Nb.

The character is that of transition for U from (u_1) through ($œ_1$) already mentioned, to (ɐ). In V i we have only (u_1), in V vi we have only (ɐ), the transition therefore is effected in the intermediate varieties. The fractures (i_1i, u_1u) exist, though they were not always dictated to me, and the former often sinks to (*éei*), while the latter thickens to (*óu*) occasionally, so nearly that I often so wrote it from dictation. The I′ generates a diphthong, which I heard like my own ī (ə′*i*, á¹*i*), but which is felt by natives as (é*i*, ɛ′*i*). The treatment of O′ varies as (ɪu, ɪiɐ, ɪœ$_1$), and never approaches French *u* (y), but it is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, the classical dialect book. The A, A′ is (a¹), the high northern sound, like French and Italian, but it is written *aw* in the *Pitman's Pay* as if it were (ʌ).

In V iii there is a peculiar pron. of A′ as *oh* (*oo*), which seems greatly to amuse the Newcastle people. The def. art. is always *the*. *I am* and *I is* (à)m, à)z) are both used, but the latter is most frequent. At Chillingham and Chatton they pron. the initial Ch. as (sh), and Chillingham is the only name ending in *-ingham* which is pronounced (-*i*qɐm); all others, as Bellingham, Ovingham, have (-*i*ndʒɐm) as if written *-injam*. The burr or uvular *r* extends to Berwick, and to Falstone and Keilder on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, and uncertainly into n. Du. Although no really dialectal character, its nature and extent of use are fully investigated.

The illustrations of V i, Carlisle and Knaresdale Nb., by Mr. J. G. G., are given in D 31 in the 22 interlinear cs., because they so much resemble the rest of Cu. For V i South Shields Du., V iv Newcastle-on-Tyne, V vi Berwick-on-Tweed, I give three interlinear cs. pal. by myself from dictation of Messrs. Pyke, Barkas, and Gunn respectively. For the rest I give 22 interlinear dt., of which 11 were pal. from dictation by myself, and the others pal. from written instructions and neighbouring analogues.

Finally, I add three wl., one for V i from Brampton Cu., obtained by Mr. J. G. G.; another for V ii from South Shields, from the

glossic of Rev. C. Y. Potts, native; and a third for V iii and V iv, to contrast the sw. and se. Nb., by Rev. George Rome Hall, of Birtley, 9 nnw. Hexham, and Rev. Hugh Taylor, then of Humshaugh, 4 m. nearer Hexham, who had been 40 years acquainted with the speech of the pitmen.

This finishes the five Divisions of England, and thus much I have complete in first draft now shewn, with the exception of the preliminary matter, which must wait till the rest of the book is printed, as constant reference to the printed pages will be necessary. It will contain the maps and key to the same, now shewn, the cs. and dt. in ordinary spelling, the wl. with all the words numbered and derivations of the words when known, forming a key to all subsequent wl., and a reversed alphabetical index of the words,—so far all is ready. Then will follow a new key to Palaeotype, including all the additional signs and contrivances which dialectal investigations have rendered necessary, referring to the pages in which they are specially explained or used, but not going beyond the requirements of this book. Then there will be the Alphabetical County List, continually referred to in my book, giving first the Counties of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in alphabetical order for each county, and then under the county the alphabetical list of places whence information has been obtained, with the name of the informant and nature of the information, naming the district to which it is assigned, and the page where it is treated, forming a geographical index to the book. The slips for this list, so far as it could be completed, are all written, and have been constantly used. This will be accompanied by an alphabetical list of informants, referring each to the county and place simply. This recognition of my informants, without whose assistance and valuable services I could have done nothing, is indispensable, and I wish here to express my grateful sense of their most liberally and cheerfully accorded help, often laborious, occasionally expensive, and very generally inconvenient to themselves.

Not only is Part V. of *Early English Pronunciation* so far advanced, but my abridgment of it for the English Dialect Society has been fully written up to the same point. The preliminary work here consists of a new key to Glossic as there used in an approximative form for general dialectal purposes, requiring the minimum of study to acquire, a matter which I had seriously to consider, for I find that to even clever and well-informed men any *system* of spelling by sound seems utterly bewildering, due, I suppose, to the unsystematic character of our present orthography.

LOWLAND DIVISION.

This important Division has been partly treated by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in his *Dialects of the South of Scotland*, and my first intention was merely to add a few illustrations. I have had to do much more, but I have not attempted to treat L. so exhaustively as the English divisions. Dr. Murray's districts will be preserved,

but the numbering and positional names of the districts are mine, and the only changes I make are in the s. border of D 33, SL., next England, and the addition of the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41 and 42, which Dr. Murray had omitted.

In order to shew the general relations of all parts of L. with each other, and with England, I commence with eight interlinear cs. for D 33, from Bewcastle to Longtown Cu., and Hawick, Roxburghshire; for D 34, from Edinburgh; for D 36, from Stranraer, Wigtonshire; for D 38, from Arbroath, Forfar; for D 39, for Keith, Banff; for D 40, for Wick, Caithness; and D 42, for Dunrossness, Shetland. The first was pal. by Mr. J. G. G.; Hawick was written in pal. by Dr. Murray. Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, were palaeotyped by Dr. Murray from the writing of Mrs. C. Murray, Mr. Anderson, and the Rev. Walter Gregor; and Stranraer, Caithness, and Dunrossness were pal. from dictation of natives by myself. These are quite ready.

Then I give five versions of Ruth chap. i., three from Dr. Murray's book, for D 33 Teviotdale, D 35 Ayr, and D 39 Buchan, contrasted with one for D 25 by Mr. Darlington, for s. Ch. in the M. div., and another for D 10 by Mr. Elworthy, for w. Sm., in the S. div., which admirably shew the difference between the English and L. divisions. These also are ready written. By this means all the districts are illustrated except D 37 and D 41, but, as shewn below, I have succeeded in illustrating these, although in other ways, and have generally been able to obtain other specimens for each district, most of which will be mentioned.

D 33, or SL, Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*, comprises e. Dumfries, Selkirk and Roxburghshire in Scotland, and a strip of Cu. and Nb. in England. This is the district of Dr. Murray's *Dialects of the South of Scotland*. His wl. (*ibid.* pp. 144–149) will be reproduced, augmented by himself, and rearranged as in my other wl., with the pron. of every word in pal., an entirely new feature. This will be, at least in part, contrasted with wl. pal. from dictation by Mr. J. G. Goodchild for Liddisdale Head, Roxburgh town, Teviotdale Head and Selkirk. Several sentences are added, written from dictation in *Visible Speech* by Mr. A. Melville Bell, and pal. by me with corrections in a consultation with himself, his son, and Dr. Murray.

Dr. Murray's *Central Group* consists of D 34 to 37, and in fact D 35 to 37 are little better than varieties of D 34.

D 34, or e.ML, Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, is the dialect generally thought of when we name L. It has been very slightly treated in Dr. Murray's book, being as much known to Scotchmen as received speech is to us, but requires to be explained to Southrons. It comprises the counties of *Berwick*, Clackmannan, *Edinburgh* or Mid Lothian, *Fife*, *Haddington* or East Lothian, Kinross, Linlithgow, *Peebles*, and e. Stirling. From those in Italics I have specimens; for Chirnside Bw. a wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, Wigtonshire; for Mid Lothian some of Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before; and the

same for Fife, and the numerals in the same way for Peebles. A wl. has also been prepared containing all the words in these specimens.

D 35, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*, is the land of Burns, and differs almost imperceptibly, so far as written evidence goes, from D 34. It comprises a strip on the s. of Argyll, the n. of *Ayrshire*, the s. of Bute, e. and s. of Dumbarton, *Lanark* and Renfrew. From Lanark there are Mr. Melville Bell's sentences corrected as before. From Coylton a wl. and dt. by Rev. Neil Livingston representing the Kyle district of m.Ayr. Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* was written phonetically in the alphabet I used in 1847, by Mr. T. Laing in 1848, when he was living in Kilmarnock, (where Burns's poems were first published in 1786,) in a house formerly much frequented by Burns. This transcription was revised by the late Mr. Carstairs Douglas (subsequently a missionary in China), and six Glasgow students, and was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848. After being pal. by me with corrections from other sources, it was kindly revised with me by R. Giffen, Esq., LL.D., F.S.S., to whom I was introduced by Dr. Murray, whose Ayrshire translation, Ruth chap. i., he had also revised. There is also a wl. compiled from several sources.

D 36, or s.ML, Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, comprises s. *Ayrshire*, w. *Dumfries*, *Kirkcudbright* and *Wigtonshire*, from all of which I have illustrations. Mr. John Love, of New Cumnock, in 1848 read to me Burns's *Duncan Gray*, which was the first piece of dialect I ever wrote from dictation, long before I commenced dialect work proper, and merely as an experiment. From Tynron, 14 n.w. Dumfries, there are notes; from Kirkpatrick Durham, Kirkcudbright, a wl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, and from Glenluce a wl. by Rev. George Wilson. There is a also wl. compiled from these sources.

D 37, or w.ML, Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, where L. is still fighting its way into Gaelic, comprises *nw. Fife*, w. Forfar, *e. Perth* and w. Stirling. From Newburgh-on-Tay there is a dt. by Dr. Alexander Laing, and from e. Perth a dt. pal. in 1881 from the dictation of three students from Whiteland's Training College, two native, and one from Manchester that had been 13 years at Perth. Also I excerpted a number of words from a novel called *Enga*, the scene of which is apparently laid near Errol e.Pr., and then pal. them from the dictation of these students.

D 38 to 40 form Dr. Murray's *North-Eastern Group*.

D 38, or s.NL., Dr. Murray's *Angus*, comprises *e. Forfar* and *s. Kincardine*. The border between D 37 and D 38 is not very distinctly known, and by Dr. Murray's advice I have placed it a little more to the w. than on his map, so that the line runs from a little w. of Dundee through Kirriemuir and Clova, 5 and 15 nw. Forfar, to join the CB. or Celtic Border (as I now name it) on the Grampians. From *Arbroath*, Forfarshire, I have the cs. already mentioned; from Dundee a dt. pal. by me in 1881 from dictation of a student at Whiteland's, who had been there 16 years. From Glenfarquhar, 11 w. by s. Stonehaven, I have a wl. and dt. by Mr. J. Ross, native, rector of the High School at Arbroath. The chief

peculiarity of this district is the restriction of the use of (f) for *wh* (k*w*h) to the following few words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how = why, whitterel a weasel, whorl = a wheel, called (fa, fe'n, faar, fat, fes, fal, fodher, fuu, fatsret, foorl). Here also begins the curious pron. of short *i*, which sounded to me at various times as (*i*, e, ə, ɐ).

D 39, or m.NL., Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, the central district of the group, comprises *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, e. Cromarty, Elgin, n. Kincardine, and n. Nairn. From Aberdeenshire I have some sentences from Mr. Melville Bell, corrected as before; for the Buchan district (now called Deer and Ellon, ne. Aberdeen) not only the Ruth chap. i. already mentioned, but a wl. by Dr. Findlater, and to this I have added a selection of words from the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gushetnook*, and the tales called *Life among my Ain Folk*, by the same author, both among the best printed pieces of dialect that I have met with. From Tarland. 5 nw. Aboyne, 30 ne. Aberdeen, I have some excellent specimens written in my "Ethnical Alphabet" by the late Mr. S. Innes, a local farmer, who died 1866. These were gone over with me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, native, fresh from the country, and who knew Mr. Innes by name. From Keith, Banffshire, I have not only the cs., but a complete wl. by Rev. Walter Gregor, pal. by me from his dictation.

D 40, or n.NL, Dr. Murray's *Caithness*, comprises the ne. of *Caithness*, for which I have only the cs. already mentioned.

The Island Groups of Orkney and Shetland were not treated by Dr. Murray. In fact, they are inhabited by descendants of Norse who have lost their native language and speak English learned from Scotchmen with a Norse leaning, so that the whole is a very strange mixture. These dialects I am able to illustrate very fairly well.

D 41. The Orkneys keep up their dialect only in the Northern Isles, and in relation to them Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, of West Brough, Sanday, Orkney, has written an admirable dialect book, called the *Orcadian Sketch-Book*, 1880. In Aug. 1884, he was kind enough, being in London, to go over his *Peter Toral's Travellye* (=fall-through) with me, and assist me in the wl. I had formed.

D 42. The Shetlands. Here I have had the assistance of Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Lerwick, and Miss A. B. Malcolmson, a native, from whose dictation in 1878 I pal. what Mr. L. had written, and also the cs. from Dunrossness before mentioned.

RESULTS.

All this inquiry arose from my investigation of the sound of long *i* in Chaucer, when I appealed to the preservation of the (ii) sound in English Dialects (E. E. P. Part I. p. 291). It was continued with the hope of discovering in the dialects some remnants of older pronunciation. Having now completed my phonetic survey of England, and glance at Scotland, the question arises, What are the results? At the end of my book, after having carefully reconsidered every point, I hope I may be able to answer

this question properly. In the mean time a few matters may be briefly mentioned.

Dialectal pron. like received pron. has altered considerably, and is altering very fast all over the country. My investigations occasionally reach back 30 or 40, sometimes 70 or 80, and even 100 years by means of living speech, and hence my term *Existing* Phonology must be extended to mean existing during the last hundred years. But the very oldest living form I have been able to reach was itself only a recent formation, and implied a previous succession of changes. Have we any clue as to their nature or law? I think we have, but I am not yet prepared to formulate it concisely. Something may be collected from what follows.

The divisions which I have been led to form from almost purely phonetic, quite independently of any historical, considerations, point to at least three distinct aboriginal differences in the speech of the immigrant tribes, afterwards affected by their contacts with other habits of speech. These were certainly Southern, Midland, and Northern. But even these were not uniform, especially the Midland. The great complexity of pron. at present existing in North Germany, (whence came the English tribes,) as shewn by my account of Winkler (E. E. P. Part IV. pp. 1369–1431), makes this *à priori* probable, and actual examination of existing forms confirms this probability. But to secure a standard of comparison I take the literary Wessex forms. It is scarcely necessary to say that I do not suppose that the forms I find in the NM. for example or the NN. were derived from these forms, which belong more likely to the MS. But that is of no consequence. We may, if we please, regard these Ws. (Wessex) forms as simply literary. The categories of my wl. are those of this literary language, and it is a great convenience to use them, in place of the utter confusion resulting from following the categories of our modern orthography, as shewn by accounts of pronunciation at present existing.

Now there are great puzzles in the transformation of Ws. into received speech, and these the dialects help us to appreciate. The short vowels A, E, I, O, and, between the transverse lines 1 and 8, U in closed syllables, are possibly now in our dialects what they were in King Alfred's time. The change of U from (*u*) to (ɵ) is explained partially by the existing intermediates already mentioned, (o) in the s. and ($œ_1$) in the n. When the long A′, E′, I′, O′, U′ were shortened in speech, they remained of the same quality of sound, and when they were not shortened, they were fractured. Most of the cases of long ī in the table on p. 291 of my E.E.P. are not to the point, as they refer to modern, not Wessex, pron. They will be considered with many others at the end of my book. The words *could*, *but*, *us*, are all cases of U′ shortened, and hence preserved in sound (k*u*d) even in received speech, (b*u*t, *u*z). A short vowel is however often made medial and then long. Thus Ws. *bĭtel* became shortened to (b*i*t'l), a form still existent in Wl., and this was lengthened to (biit'l) beetle insect, in ordinary speech, whereby it became confused with *beetle* a mallet, derived

by a regular and recent change from Ws. *bétel*. Again, *shire*, Ws. *scire*, had a short vowel, preserved in a lengthened form in the almost universal dialectal (shiir), the received (sha'iə) being quite recent and entirely orthographical. Such instances are numerous.

The great puzzle, however, in Ws. was the fractures. Grimm calls only EA, EO, IE, fractures (*Brechungen*), considering them to be short, while EA′, EO′, IE′ are termed diphthongs, because they are long. The distinction is literary, not phonetic. The puzzle was to know how they were pronounced, especially the latter. Now our living dialects are full of fractures, under which I include diphthongs, because they have the same phonetic character of a glide connecting two vowels, either or perhaps both of which may be long, and either or both of which may have the stress, which by no means necessarily lies on the long vowel. In Ws. *bredd* (brêâd) bread, possibly both elements had the stress, but certainly the first had it and was short, and the second, whether it had it or not, was certainly long. The Coniston (nɨâv) knave is a precise analogue. It is in D 31 that the fractures are best preserved with distinct elements. Elsewhere the first element generally usurps the stress, and the second becomes indistinct, and then often a curious metathesis takes place, the stress passing over to the second element, and the first, if (i, u), is generally conceived as consonantal, and in the received pron. of *one* has certainly become consonantal. This *one* is I think the only example of a fracture, not being a commonly recognised diphthong, which remains in received speech. We had Ws. A′N and the fracture, regular in many places with A′, was (úən), which by metathesis of stress became (ŭə′n) now (wən).

By peculiar fracturing also I′, U′ have fallen into (a′i, a′u), every step being illustrated in the M. districts for I′, and in D 31 for U′, as already indicated. The change of E′ into (ii) is also explained through the common form, not M. only, of (éi) leading to (éɨ), when (e) becomes lost in fact, as it has been long lost in feeling, to those who say (éɨ). O′ is very varied in treatment. We have no (óû) as an analogue to (éɨ) so far as I know, but the change from (oo) to (uu) took place in the xv th century or earlier, as also the change of E′ from (ee) to (ii), and it seems to be upon (uu) as a change from O′ that there arose those curious forms adumbrating Fr. *u*, which serve to explain the Fr. *u* itself.

The above are merely discursive remarks, shewing some of the immediate applications of this investigation within its own limits, and roughly indicating a few of the points requiring careful treatment hereafter. And it will doubtless be reserved to some future philologist, possibly of German extraction, to exploit my materials properly. But I consider the main value of my investigations not to be specially English, but generally philological, as respects related forms of words. We have hitherto had to treat these as relations of groups of letters rather than groups of sounds. The third ed. of the first part of Grimm's grammar is a striking example of what I mean. Now the old writers were clever men no doubt, but probably no great phonetists—at any rate modern writers of

dialect have not proved themselves to be so. The old writers grounded their writing on the pron. of Latin in their time. The Dutch and Germans and Italians have chosen their own interpretation of the alphabet. They were of course different. The trouble I had with Winkler's notations (Part IV. pp. 1371–3) shews the difficulties of interpreting them. Hence we cannot assume the old notation, however much theoretically rectified and enlarged (as by the introduction of two forms of E, O), to be absolutely perfect. The orthography used by myself is not so. The ears which heard the sounds did not always hear correctly, and I cannot claim myself to have always rightly interpreted the data of my informants. But at any rate I here present for the first time in a uniform orthography, carefully prepared, elaborated and explained, the pronunciation of one language in its various forms, extending over a sufficiently wide area, from Land's End to the Shetlands, and offering sufficiently striking contrasts, deriving my information, not from books of dead authors impossible to verify or explain by immediate intercourse, but from living men and women who either themselves speak the dialect, or have had long and constant intercourse with natural speakers, and who were not only capable of being interviewed, but have actually been frequently interviewed or examined on paper in the course of long correspondence till something approaching to certainty had been evolved. The numerous illustrations therefore which I present are a fund for future philological investigation, and I shall spare no pains in giving them correctly to the linguist as I have spared no pains or labour or time in collecting them, from numerous most obliging informants.

DATES.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being *Duncan Gray*.

1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welſh—whereunto is *pre*fixed a little treatyſe of the englyſhe pronunciacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology.

1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.

1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the Pronunciation of English in the XVIth century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.

1868, Aug. First dialectal information written from dictation at Norwich.

1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see pp. 227 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.

1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the alphabet in my *English Dialects*

—*their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.

1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.

1872, April and May, Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.

1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.) used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation.

1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S. incorporated in E.E.P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.

1875. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.

1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sep. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.

1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper.

1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test.—April and May, two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.

1880, Oct. Lecture on Dialects to Working Men's College.

1882, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.

1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.

1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Lecture on Dialects to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Lowland Dialects (Mainland) to the Ph. S.

1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.

1885, May. I made a report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.

1886, May. First Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

1887, May. Second Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881 two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works requiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

Friday, May 20, 1887.—Anniversary Meeting.

The Rev. Prof. SAYCE, M.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The thanks of the Society wer returnd to the Council of University College for the gratuitous use of its rooms for the Society's Meetings. The Trezurer red his Cash-acount for the year 1886, and the thanks of the Meeting wer returnd to the Auditors. Votes of thanks wer also past to the Secretary and to the Trezurer of the Society, for the asistance they had aforded in the Society's work. For the Trezurer's acount, see next page.

The PREZIDENT then red his Adress, which was on 'The Primitiv Area of the Ārians.' He suported the vew of Dr. R. G. Latham and Prof. Penka, that this area was not in Asia, as was formerly supozed, but in Europe, and was probably to be identified with Scandinavia. The Adress forms part of the Tranzactions for 1885–7.

Dr. FURNIVALL propozed and Mr. ELLIS seconded a vote of thanks to the Prezident for his able and interesting Adress. In the discussion that followd,

Mr. BRADLEY said that the Prezident had purified Penka's theory of its excrescences and absurdities. The fault of Penka's work was the ocurrence, on almost every page, of some statement filologicaly preposterous, which was uzualy irelevant to Penka's argument. The Prezident had only adopted Penka's general concluzion, and had not atempted to localize the original home of the Ārians too minutely. Hense most of the objections hitherto raizd against the theory disapeard. Mr. Bradley however thoht that the hard and fast line which existed between the Teutonic and Lithuanian languages was inconsistent with a North-European origin of the Ārians, and pointed rather to the East of Europe as their primitiv area.

Prof. RIEU coud not admit that the Ārians wer only in the Stone Age at the period of their dispersion. They had similar words for metals, such as *silver*, *iron*, *gold*.

The PREZIDENT replied that Schrader had shown that the primitiv Ārians wer aquainted with metals, but did not uze them for wepons. The cognate words in different Ārian languages oftn ment different metals: thus, the word for *iron* in Sanskrit was equated with the word for *brons* or *copper* in Greek. The Ārians wer probably also aquainted with iron in the meteoric form.

The Rev. Dr. MORRIS thoht that if Scandinavia had been the primitiv Ārian home, the languages of that country woud be

TREZURER'S CASH ACOUNT, 1886.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Trezurer, in acount with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1886 CASH RECEEVD.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance				16	5	3
Depozit withdrawn (April)				102	4	6
Interest thereon				2	18	11
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To Sums receevd in 1886—						
For Arears	8	8	0			
,, Entrance Fees	14	14	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1886	92	8	0			
,, ,, in advanse	4	4	0	119	14	0
Excess on Cheques				0	2	0
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				£243	2	5
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By Printing—Austin & Sons Tranzactions, Part. I. 1885-6, Abstracts, etc.				181	5	6
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,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk (1885)				2	2	0
,, Postage, Stationery, etc., including the Dictionary				1	4	9
By Balance at Bankers	36	18	3			
,, ,, due to Trezurer	0	19	11	35	18	4
				£245	11	5
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				8	8	0
				£253	19	5

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APRIL 16, 1887.

(Signd) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

nearest to the original type, which was not the case. He was stil a believer in the old theory of an Aziatic origin.

The PREZIDENT remarkt that Prof. Rhys adopted the vew that the Kelts came from Northern Scandinavia.

On the propozal of Dr. Furnivall, seconded by Mr. Ellis, the following Members wer elected as Officers for the Session 1887–8 :—*Prezident :* The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—*Vice-Prezidents :* Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A., Ph.D.; James A. H. Murray, LL.D., M.A.; Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte; The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.—*Ordinary Members of Council:* Rev. Geo. B. R. Bousfield, B.A.; Henry Bradley, Esq.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; C. A. M. Fennell, A.M., Litt.Doc.; Henry Hucks Gibbs, M.A.; Henry Jenner, Esq.; Prof. T. de Lacouperie, Ph.D.; James Lecky, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, M.A., LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor, M.A.; W. R. Morfill, M.A.; J. Peile, M.A., Litt.Doc.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; W. R. S. Ralston, Esq.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; Prof. Ridgeway, M.A.; H. Wedgwood, M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, D.Lit., M.A.—*Trezurer :* Benjamin Dawson, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary :* F. J. Furnivall, M.A., Ph.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Friday, June 3, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., B.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. JAMES LECKY read a paper on "Connemara Gaelic." He had studied Gaelic in August, 1883, in the island of Achill, and in August, 1884, 5 and 6 at Renvyle in Connemara. The majority of the natives of these districts are bilingual; but a few are entirely ignorant of English, and a moderate number, especially of the younger generation, speak English only. Many parts of the country are exceedingly interesting, on account of the remains of antiquity still found there, the mode of life of the people, and the peculiar scenery. In concert with a fellow-student, Mr. Larminie, the reader of the paper had collected a number of Gaelic stories, from dictation of the natives. Of these stories a few resembled those published by J. F. Campbell of Islay, but others were distinct from any hitherto known.

The general features of the dialect are, for the most part, the same as those of literary Gaelic. We had to distinguish six places at which consonants were formed; there being, in addition to

the four classes, back, front, point, and lip, found in most languages, two other classes, one intermediate to back and front, the other intermediate to front and point. Again, several consonants were formed by simultaneous action of two separate parts of the vocal organs, as back+point, back+lip, or front+lip. This was no new principle in phonetics, as it was largely illustrated in the Russian consonants, and was still more familiar in ordinary vowels, the English (ɔɔ) *awe* being partly formed by simultaneous action of back+lip, and the French (y) *u* by front+lip. See for a Melanesian parallel, the Proceedings for 1885, June 19, page xxii, line 16, where a variety of *m*, formed by (m) + (ŋ), is quoted.

Elision and assimilation were more extensive in this dialect than in the literary Gaelic. Thus a contraction (mers) with English *t*, was found, meaning "there should be its knowledge," which corresponded to the literary *m-béidheadh a fhios*. Again the literary *chuir sé=put he*, became almost (χwirsh shrèè) the *r* (palatalized) and the *s*, really (sh), melting into a sound intermediate to both.

Mr. LECKY had compiled a list of about 30 vowels (not including diphthongs) and about 60 consonants, which were all distinct in the dialect. To symbolize these strained the resources of phonetic notation, especially as no extension of the Roman alphabet by means of new letters was practicable. All the existing letters had to be utilized, (q) being best assigned to the velar voiceless sound, and (k) to the palatal, as has been done by the new German school of Brugmann and Osthoff. The voiced counterpart of (k) would be written (g), and the voiced velar stop could only be represented by (ɛ). This was the old value of (ɛ), and appeared to be the most practical. With turned letters and a very few digraphs, we could obtain a rapid and convenient script for noting down Gaelic prose or poetry.

There was a great need for other workers to record the rapidly disappearing varieties of spoken Gaelic. It would be best for each student to take only one dialect and analyze it completely, instead of wandering through a series of dialects and superficially noting their salient peculiarities. All descriptions of sounds should moreover be founded on a physiological analysis, such as that employed in the works of Messrs. Melville Bell and Sweet. The acoustical method, sometimes recommended, was impracticable, and the comparison with foreign sounds as usually practised was inexact and misleading.

Mr. ELLIS thought the Gaelic system of sounds the most difficult he had ever heard of, more difficult than even the Arabic. In his article on "Speech sounds" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he had inserted an account of some of the sounds from information supplied by Mr. Lecky.

Mr. BRADLEY said that one of the stories read with the paper, that of "buying a horse's egg," was familiar to him as a popular English tale.

Mr. FLANNERY read a passage in literary Gaelic to illustrate its divergence from the provincial dialect. He said that some of the

translations and explanations given by western natives were incorrect. Thus, the phrase for "one of a pair of shoes" did not mean "half a shoe," but meant "the shoe of one side." The idioms in Connemara Gaelic appeared to be correct for the most part, but a few were obviously borrowed from English. As regards the dialects of Irish Gaelic, there were two main varieties, one being found to the north of a line drawn across Ireland from Dublin to Galway, the other to the south of that line. The Connemara dialect had some of the peculiarities of both varieties; thus in Connemara, as in the South, *poll* = a hole, rhymed more to English *howl*, and not to English *hull* as in the Northern Gaelic. On the other hand, the Connemara dialect had the stress on the first syllable, as had also Northern Gaelic.

Mr. LECKY remarked that much variation of pronunciation existed even in Connemara. The younger speakers did not appear to use the *double l* broad at the beginning of words, while the old did so use it. He was much indebted to Mr. Flannery for help in translating the stories.

Friday, June 17, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., B.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Professor TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE red a paper on "The Pre-Chineze Languages of China." This paper has been issued as a report forming part of the Prezident's Adress for 1886. The paper was followd by a conversation on English idioms.