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LANGUAGE,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DEVONIAN DIALECTS.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING, LL.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S, ETC.

A few observations on the general subject of language and languages may not be an unbecoming introduction to some remarks on the Devonian dialects. The period is not remote when national and generally recognized and adopted tongues will supersede or absorb all provincial idioms. This result will be aided, and indeed necessitated, by the constantly growing facilities of intercourse, the progress of education, the reading of books and newspapers, and generally by the spread of knowledge, and the development of thought.

In an address necessarily limited, incomplete, and somewhat desultory, I propose to illustrate by some examples conclusions at which I have arrived as to the origin, history, and progress of languages, whether national or provincial.

The subject is most extensive, and would require years of diligent study to complete, and volume upon volume to communicate anything like a comprehensive or exhaustive view of the whole. But the contributions of geology and ethnology to the early history of man can never be equally or contemporaneously followed up in the field of language. Of man's pre-historical condition, individually and socially, some instructive evidences are found. How he lived, and what he fed on, where he dwelt, and how he protected himself from heat, cold, or other enemies, we are now beginning to learn; but as to the sounds he uttered, the languages he spoke, the forma of oral communication with his kind, we know absolutely nothing. It is in a very late period of the generations of man that any written annals record his doings. We are as little acquainted with his early mental aptitudes, as with the habits or instincts of extinct species of animals, and know less of his external appearance than we know of those crustacea, the hardness of whose coverings has protected them from the destructive ravages of time. The origin of

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language, then, is hid in the deepest obscurity. The farther we go back into the past, the less is the accessible evidence of the physical and intellectual state of our race, though there are abundant proofs of the very lowly condition of primitive man. There could have been no more a revelation of a perfect language than of a perfect civilization; and it would be as reasonable to expect to find an acquaintance with the laws of gravitation, or solutions of the deepest mathematical problems among savage traditions, as grammatical forms and refinements in the rude utterances of the pre-historic races. Perhaps in the present day nothing exists, bearing the human name, so rude as was tbe state of man when he lived contemporaneously with the creatures whose species have ceased to form a part of the animate world. Yet there are in some spots of the universe, even at the present hour, human beings who cannot count five upon their fingers, have no designations to distinguisn virtue and vice, have no thought for the morrow, and whose language is confined to a vocabulary of at most two hundred words. Treble this number would perhaps even now exhaust the store of a wholly uninstructed English peasant. Seven hundred characters, each representing a word, are taught in the primary schools of China.

The languages of literature—of civilization—undergo changes, not so much by the loss of any existing words, as by a constant influx of those new additions to the nomenclature, which are required to mark and to represent the progress of intelligence. It is believed that more than thirty thousand words have been added to our recognized vocabulary since the appearance of Johnson's Dictionary; and certainly, if English names were given to all the distinct varieties of animal and vegetable life, to say nothing of the non-sentient worlds which year by year, and almost day by day, are introduced into the fields of discovery, neither would thirty thousand, nor three hundred thousand, novel words suffice for our Lexicons.

It may be safely said, that for one ancient word that has been lost, twenty modern words have been found. But this circumstance adds to the interest of the investigations regarding words which have been abandoned in written documents, or in ordinary

colloquies, but have retained their hold in provincial and obscure recesses; and to seek them, and to find them, is to render no small service to Anthropology, Ethnology, as well as to the history and science of language. Such words, confined to a narrow locality, bear in themselves the proof of

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their antiquity; and as communication and intercourse are facilitated and increased, they will either be amalgamated and absorbed in the general idiom, or be abandoned because misunderstood or unused in other districts. After an absence of half acentury from Devon, I was surprised to find the word "slotter" (spilt liquid) scarcely known, and little employed; "burler" and "burling," "fuller," "tucker" and "sheaman," "rack" and "rackfield," "liuhay," "duroy," "worley," "lindsey," "serafine," "bayeton," "estamene," and many other familiar names had disappeared with the disappearance of the woollen trade. I seldom hear the word "soce!" (socii) addressed by masters to their workmen, or by workmen to one another: so "suent" and "scovy," admirable designations of what is smooth and regular, and of the contrary, are words but rarely heard. A "wisht" is no longer a dismal, disagreeable man. Even the common names of places have undergone strange changes; *Exon,* not Exeter, *Kirton,* not Crediton, *Barum,* not Barnstaple, in my remembrance usually headed the letters from the several spots; and were a Devonshire man who died two generations ago now resuscitated, he would ask where Devonport is, and what had become of Plymouth Dock? and would be amused when told that a sense of offended dignity had called in the aid of an Act of Parliament, to declare that a town of more than twenty thousand inhabitants was something better than a dock at the mouth of the Plym.

Two processes, then, are constantly going on in the world— the disappearance of ancient idioms, and the fusion of many languages into one. Hundreds of languages, even in the memory of man, have ceased to exist; and the farther we go back the greater is the number we discover. Where wants are few, ideas limited, invention dull, the words of a language are soon told, and often confined to a small number of human beings. Early

travellers in Australia found that the idioms of adjacent tribes had some resemblance, but there was little or none in those of the tribes that were remote. In the multitudinous tongues of the natives either of North or South America there is scarcely any affinity; and in the interior of Africa distinct languages almost without number are found; but there the language of the higher civilization, Arabic, is infusing itself with the progress of the Mahomedan faith into Africa, and doing the work which has been done in Europe by the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin amoug the languages generally called Semetic.

The disappearance of imperfect languages, and the substitution of others more adapted to the development of mind,

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the inventions of Science, and the progress of discovery, are among the obvious marks of progressive civilization; and the languages which are likely to last longest, and to spread most widely, are those that most readily welcome the terms which advancing knowledge needs. In this respect our own is admirable. Derived mainly from two sources, the Gothic and the classic, the first greatly preponderating, it has added to our vocabulary with wonderful rapidity new words taken from every part of the known world, while many new terms and combinations have been made out of the ancient elements. The word *telegram* found instant acceptance, from its obvious appropriateness, and for it *telegraph* had prepared the way. We are more courageous than most of our neighbours. The Germans call cotton "tree-wool;" the Dutch call potatoes "earth-apples;" the French call railways "roads of iron;" yet commerce has given universality to some words, as *coffee,* from the Arabs, *tea* (*te* or *chai*), from the Chinese, *tobacco,* from the American Indians, the *kangaroo,* from the Australians, the *orang-utan,* from the Malays, the *armadillo* from the Spaniards.

It is not a hazardous prophecy to announce, that in the course of a few generations no language but English, and that a grammatical English, will be spoken through the British territories. The old British is dead, the Manx is dying, the Gaelic will perish next, then the Welsh, and last probably the Erse or Irish; and then our mother-tongue,

emphatically English, will be the sole sovereign over the whole dominions of our written and spoken literature. Education and fashion will cause the diversities of colloquial idioms to disappear. Half a century ago, the county of a country gentleman was easily discoverable wherever he went. "You are a Devonshire, a Yorkshire, a Kentish man," frequently interlarded a conversation. The confusion between *v's* and *w's* signalized the Cockney; an Irishman when he put out his tongue was said to be catching the English accent. And I remember, when Jeffery sat in the House of Commons, and was said by the Edinburghers to have no tinge of the brogue, that his Caledonian origin was detected in almost every sentence he uttered. Sir Robert Peel never abandoned the Lancashire pronunciation, *one* (whon), and *put* (pŭt); and though the House of Commons is said to be the school where correct pronunciation is to be studied, *gold* and *Rome,**

* Rome was pronounced variously in Shakespeare's time, as shown by play upon the word. "*Rome* shall give him *room* enough." "This *Rome* shall remedy." "*Roam* thither then." "I have *room* with *Rome* to curse." King John III. 1.

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schedule and *spirit, privacy,* and twenty other words, have two different utterances, each recognized as proper. Not long ago, to quote from multitudinous examples, *oblige, tune, supreme, stirrup, squirrel,* had a fashionable pronunciation which has passed away. I would notice here, that our mode of teaching the alphabet, and the varying pronunciation given to the same letters leads to great confusion among foreigners as to the sounds of words. A word is but the rapid blending or fusion of letters. A stranger would never fancy that *cat* could come from *see a t,* which should make *sat.* The letters should be *ke a te.* The Dutch make their primary schools teach the alphabet by placing the same vowel sound invariably after the consonant: thus—*a, be, ke, de, e, fe, ge* (hard), *he* (aspirate), *ke, le, me, ne, o pe, ken, re, se, te, u, ve, we;* while we say *be,* and

ef, de, and *el,* putting the vowel sometimes as a prefix, sometimes as a postfix, to the consonant.

If fashion has some influence upon the modes and modifications of utterance, education, in its turn, produces other changes The power of speech is improved by the desire of speaking well. Not to aspirate the *h,* or to aspirate a vowel unbecomingly; to substitute the *v* for the *w,* or the contrary; to err in the mode of pronouncing any common word, would be suficient to hand over the mis-speaker to condemnation for vulgarity. So in our county the old simple grammatical forms are superseded; nouns are properly declined, verbs properly conjugated, by all educated people; *sifing* has been replaced by *sighing;* the *davered* is now a *withered* flower, and the *ant* has driven the *emmet* out of the field. I see with some sorrow the gradual disappearance of many of those pretty and poetical words by which the people designate flowers, insects, birds, animals and other natural objects of fields, woods, hills and streams. Daisies, blue-bells, honey-suckles forget-me-nots, cowslips, oxlips, coltsfoot, dandelions primroses and such, may live, "married," as they are, "to immortal verse;" but who can answer for the *bloody-warrior,* the *mournful-widow,* the *love-lies-bleeding,* the *London-pride,* the *parson-in-the-pulpit,* the *butter-* and the *gilty-cups,* the *prince's-feather,* the *daffy-down-dillies,* or *Lent-lilies,* the *John-that-goes-to~bed-at-noon,* the *shepherd's-weather-glass,* the *long-purples,* the *kiss-me-at-the-garden-gate,* the *boy's-love,* the *bachelor's-buttons,* the *butter-and-eggs,* the *lords-and-ladies,* the *hay-maidens,* the *blue-cup,* the *beggar-weed,* the *milky-dashel,* the *withy-vine,* the *pixie-puff,* the *old-man's-beard,* the *sauer-zab,* the *traveller's-joy,* the *cuckoo-birds,* the *bird's-eyes,*

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the *wind-flowers,* and other such sweet sounding, suggestive names! We may keep *cock-robin-redbreast* and the *jenny-wren;* they are sacred, as "God Almighty's cock and hen;" but the *blue-tail,* the *golden-gladdie,* the *dish-washer,* the *quist,* the *hoop,* the *colley,* the *culver,* the *wet-my-foot,* the *heckemal,* the *Jack-a-long-legs,* the *shear-a-muze,* the *oak-web,* the *lady-bird*, and many more will probably fly away. *Cuckoos,*

frogs, and *toads*, will lose their *spittle;* the *devil*, his *finger-rings, coach-horses,* and *snuff-box;* and the peasant will look into the heavens in vain for the *cock-leart,* and *lamb's-wool sky;* or among the grass for the *clyder,* the *long-cripple,* the *want*, or the *slow-worm.*

As languages must always be, to a great extent, the representatives of civilization, those of very rude nations will consist of very few words, and those words of very few letters. Even in our days there exist languages which have only seven consonants and five vowels; and it is probable the earliest had no more than five consonants, and three vowels: *b* not distinguishable from *v* and *p; s* confounded with all other sibilant sounds; *d* and *t* even now are the same in many tongues; *k* like the hard *c; g* has two sounds, the hard and the soft; *l* and *n* are not distinct sounds in several uncultivated idioms. *A, i,* and *u*, the three separate vowel utterances, are in every language; but our *e* is the rapid utterance of *a* and *i* (*ai*), as in *maid;* and *o* that of *a* and *u* (*au*), as in *austere.*

Alphabets are often very imperfect elements for the construction of words. The very first letter in ours has five distinct, separate sounds—*all, and, able, eat, far.* We give to three of the simple letters of the Saxon alphabet complicated consonants to represent them. We have the sounds, but not the letters, of the Scandinavian *å,* and the Gothic *ā* or *ö* or *ü.* We have only twenty-six letters to represent thirty-four simple, and six complex, sounds.

In our alphabet *x* is superfluous, being a combined *k* and *s; ch* ought, as in most alphabets, to have a separate letter; *q* cannot stand alone, and the *qu* should, as in Dutch, be superseded by *kw,* or, as in Spanish, by *cu.*

Probably on no one subject has so much nonsense been written, or so much ignorance displayed, as in the theories of there having been a single primitive language first communicated to Adam by divine revelation, to which language all others are to be traced back. Common opinion supposes this language to have been Hebrew, because that was employed by the Jewish race, though Syro-Chaldaic was spoken

by Jesus and His apostles. One man has written to prove that the language of paradise was that which is still current in some of the islands of the Pacific; another has insisted that Welsh is entitled to the distinction; and a book, published by an author not unknown to fame, was believed to have demonstrated that the Euscara, or Biscayan, was the fascinating speech with which Eve tempted Adam.

Had languages emanated from a common source, no words, habitually and frequently used, denoting objects constantly present, could ever have disappeared; identical words, or something like them, would be everywhere found; but such are found nowhere, unless there has been intercourse, and where there has been *no* intercourse, identical words with an identical meaning are never found. Take the commonest of words—*man,* the human being. Had there been a primitive language from which all others have descended, such a word must have traversed all time in every tongue, as it has in all those of Gothic origin, whether descending through the Saxon or Scandinavian branches. But I could mention no end of languages, in each of which the word for *man* is different from all the rest. The Russians call a man *chelowick;* the Chinese, *jen;* the Japanese, *fitowa;* the Malays, *orang;* the Gallic, *duine;* the Welsh, *gwr;* the Arabs, *edem;* the Greeks, *anthropos;* the Latins, *homo;* the Magyar, *ember;* the Biscayans, *gizon;* the Tagals, *taro,*—not to mention a hundred others having no shadow of resemblance. Yet the word itself, *man,* being a simple sound, is found in multitudinous tongues, but with multitudinous meanings. In Chinese, for example, it means something which is contrasted with man, something inhuman, beast-like. In French it means a hamper; in many idioms a hand. Had those been a primitive and common language to which such a word belonged, it could not have disappeared, as it has not disappeared, from any of the descendants of the Gothic.

The theory that the Sanscrit, Greek, and their descendants are in their several branches to be traced up to a more primitive, pristine, aboriginal tongue, the main source of all others—a tongue to which, for no adequate reason, the name of Aryan has been given—is likely to turn out a philological heresy. In saying this, let me not be understood to depreciate the valuable, and in many respects original, contributions of Max Müller to

the study of philology. But, as has been well said of the remarkable dialogue on language given by Plato, in which Socrates takes so prominent a part, the whole

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subject is looked upon with a Grecian eye, from Athens for the stand-point, so has our professor made the Aryan theory the main foundation of the superincumbent structure. The deductions are for the most part reasonable and consistent, but apply only within a narrow range. The multifarious sources of the sequences of language cannot be decided or followed out in the literary sphere alone, but most be sought in facts and observations gathered from all that we know of man in his varied conditions of barbarism and civilization. The late discoveries on and near the Euphrates have furnished irresistible evidence that there existed, long anterior to the Sanscrit, a language wholly distinct in character, not only as to the mode of writing (a fact indeed well known), but in its elementary words, and in its grammatical construction, standing alone. Sufficient materials have now been collected for the publication of a grammar and a dictionary, which will throw much light upon a civilization anterior to Egyptian records, and carry the history of the human race, its culture and its progress, far beyond any of the annals commonly called profane. It is greatly to be regretted, that the explorations of the Holy Land have hitherto furnished few vestiges left before, or even contemporaneous with, the Christian era. The Jews had in them little of an inventive, little of a creative, spirit. The temple which Solomon built was but a feeble reproduction of those grander edifices, the memory of which Moses and his companions had brought with them from Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis. No doubt they were gorgeous, but they have left no traces behind.

Whether the old Assyrian tongue was indigenous or not may be a matter of doubt. That it did not belong to any of the Semetic branches seems established. Some reasons have been adduced for giving it an African origin; and it is supposed to have come from Ethiopia, and to have brought with it the civilization and the acquirements which in remote ages flowed northwards with the Nile. Perhaps the theories of emigration and

conquest, as accounting for the existence of languages resembling one another, have been pushed too far: frequent intercourse with individuals may account for much which has been attributed to the wandering and settlement of invading races.

We must seek antiquity in popular and unwritten dialects. The language of literature is shifting, but progressive, and has a disposition to accommodate itself to a common classical standard. Etymologies are better traced in the spoken idioms of the people than in the written standards of authorship.

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Words are frequently invented by philosophers, very seldom by the multitude. To the authority of Jeremy Bentham we owe some of the most useful words in our language, now generally employed and introduced into Acts of Parliament, as *international, codify, maximize, minimize,* and many others. The rudest languages are usually the oldest. Intercourse modifies the phraseology of literature, whose territory is made up of conquests and concessions. Popular authors are not only creators of new words, but give sanction to old and forgotten ones. It may be said in general, that more than four-fifths of the English tongue are traceable to a Gothic or Anglo-Saxon source. I use Anglo-Saxon in deference to common parlance, but Anglo-Frisian would historically be more correct In our Lord's Prayer, of 69 words 64 are Anglo-Saxon. In Shakespeare, taking the passage, "To be, or not to be," there are of 82 words 70 Anglo-Saxon. In a passage from Swift, of 88 words, I find 78; of Dr. Johnson, in 87 words, 66 Anglo-Saxon; in one of Addison, of 80 words, 65 Anglo-Saxon; in the Song of Solomon, which Prince Louis Lucien Buonaparte caused to be translated into 17 various dialects of England, the first chapter consists of 327 words, of which only ten are of Latin or French derivation, and there are many verses in which every word is Anglo-Saxon.

Of the non-Saxon words in this chapter, I find in the specimens given the following renderings:

	Latin-Eng.	Saxon-Eng.	W.Devon	E. Devon	Cornwall
v.					
3	Savour	smell	zaver	sceynt	savour
	Ointment	salve oil	hointnents	zaaves	aointments
4	Chambers	rooms	chimbers	chimmers	chambers
	Rejoice	take pride	raijjoice	be glad	rejoice
	Remember	reckon	raymembor	think more	raimember
5	Tents	booths	tints	teynts	tents
	Curtains	hangings	kirtins	hangings	coortons
7	Rest	halt	rest	laith	rest
	Companions	fellows	kempanyins	firns	cumrades
8	Tents	huts	taints	teynts	tents
9	Compared	likened	kimpared	laikened	cumpeered
	Company	yoke	kompiny	teams	cumpny
10	Jewels	gems	jewels	spangles	jewels
	Chains	bands	chains	chains	chains
11	Borders	bands	banders	edgins	boerders
16	Pleasant	comely	pleaint	pleasant	pleasunt

In these examples, the West Devon and the Cornish only represent the local pronunciation of the common English text. The Saxon-English and the East Devon supply for the most part non-Saxon with Saxon words. A Devonshire

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peasant would assuredly use *smell, salve, reckon, fellows, like,* rather than *savour, ointment, remember, companions, compare.*

In this county, almost every word connected with out-door or field work is Saxon. What *churl* would have understood so grand a term as *agriculture?* Sir Walter Scott, in

Ivanhoe, remarks, that the very animals' names were Normanized when they reached the tables of "the quality." Swine was turned to pork, sheep to mutton, ox to beef, calf to veal, deer to venison, fowl to pullet: and the passion still spreads; for you do not sit down at a fashionable table now without finding the *Dishes* turned into the *Menu,* and every *plat* bears a name supplied from the French *cuisine.* Our neighbours have made us a slight return—a *biftek, blombodin,* and other such attractive words flourish on the Parisian *cartes.*

Certain languages have now obtained a domineering mastery in the world. Though they have been enriched by new contributions demanded by the ever-growing requirements of knowledge, these requirements will be more and more exacting. The languages that accommodate themselves to the civilization of the times will probably never perish. Among those likely to last as long as the human race endures is our own, planted as it is in every region of the earth, the adopted speech of several of the most populous, prosperous, and progressing nations, and possessing in every department of literature such noble and still augmenting treasures. It will owe its popularity not alone to its wide diffusion, but to its plastic character, and its willingness to welcome whatever is likely to strengthen its efficiency. The passion for "purity," the reference to "dictionaries," and the demand for "classical authority," have been great impediments to the augmentation of the French vocabulary. Corneille was censured for introducing a word so useful as "*invaincu,"* unconquered; but of late years science and fashion have compelled the adoption of many words among our neighbours, in spite of the repugnance of hypercriticism. They have not taken *railway,* but could not do without *rail.* They have *trains, wagons, clubs, steeplechases, jockeys,, sweepstakes,* and a multitude besides, which would have been horrors to the Anglo-phobians of old.

The written Chinese, incomparably the most ancient of all existing literary tongues, though most inadequate to represent the present state of literature and science, notwithstanding its claim to 60,000 separate characters, yet may be considered a langunge removed from the chances of perdition, it being the instrument of the most compact and concentrated third of the family of man. The Russian will probably

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absorb the Polish, Bohemian, Illyrian, Servian, and other branches of the Slavonic stem; the Saxon is gradually doing the same with all the local German dialects; the Castilian is driving out the Basque, the Gallician, the Catalan, and other provincial idioms of Spain, as is the Tuscan the local dialects of Italy. In the Philippine Islands two native idioms, the Bisaya and the Tagal, have taken the place of many of the less influential dialects, while the Spanish in its turn will probably supersede them all; and in the process of time it may happen that the acquirement of a dozen languages—a task less laborious than it would seem to be—will open all the portals of knowledge throughout the civilized world. At the present hour we know of the existence of several thousand separate tongues. I do not mean absolutely distinct, but as much divided from one another as the German or Dutch from the English; the French, Spanish, or Italian from the Provençal.

When Rome began its conquering career, the Latin drove out the dialects used by the vanquished. It would be impossible now to form any considerable vocabulary of Etruscan words: those we know have little resemblance to the language of Rome; but of the languages of less civilized trims, who submitted to the Roman yoke, there is scarcely a tradition, an inscription, or a trace, as there is none of the extinct races of the West India islands.

Had there been much intercourse between England and Ireland, an article of food produced principally in Devonshire and Ulster would not have had two names. The word *laver* is not, I believe, found in our English dictionaries, but the Irish call it *sloch.* Some of our words have wandered far. Burns has:

" The best laid schemes o' mice an' men,
Gang aft a-gley" *(or* a-jee).

Local dialects throw much light on the field of natural history; for instance, the rose must have been of comparatively modern introduction into Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as it bears its foreign name. The apple is *afal* in Welsh, and *uphal* in Gaelic;

while grass is in Welsh *wellt,* Gaelic, *feur.* The sloe: Welsh — *Duddraenen;* Gaelic— *Airnag.* Cabbage: Welsh—*Bresych.* Honeysuckle: Welsh— *Gwyddfid;* Gaelic— *Deolag.*

Very rude languages do not distinguish one flower, one tree, one colour from another, except when the flower, the tree, or the colour is connected with some special use for food, for ornament, for exchange, or occupies some wide extent; as

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blue for the sky, green for the forest, black for the night, or white for the day. The observation which should mark the various colours of the rainbow would be evidence of progress in the intellect of man.

Taking the most common words in daily use, we thus find no resemblance whatever when we compare the languages of separate races. Except by the merest accident, not a single word will be discovered having the same meaning in any language spoken in the interior of America, for example, and compared with any from the heart of Europe, Asia, or Africa, from Australia, from the islands of the Pacific, or the Indian Ocean.

Craob is the Gaelic generic name for tree; but the Crab-tree is called *Uptal-tiadhain,* or Wild-apple; *Craob-airneag,* the Sloe-tree. *Craob-beite, chuinses, fhigis, fhiona, ghallchad, limoin-mhaelp,* all show that the birch, the quince, the fig, the vine, the walnut, the lemon, the maple, were unknown to the primitive Celts.

Potatoes brought with them their name, and were called *Buntat;* but the Celts soon altered the designation to *Buntaghta,* the precious root. In a sound adapted to another language the derivation is sometimes lost. The Saxonized *Cordwainer* and *Dandelion* do not immediately bring their Norman origin to the mind.

Cabbage in Gaelic is *Cal;* whence kail, colewort. Common cabbage is *Cal cearslach*— round cabbage. Have you had your kail? *An d f huaer do chàl?* is the same as asking, Have you had your dinner?

But what a different law applies to languages spoken by tribes of common descent. In these the roots of familiar words are unmistakably to be traced. Such words could not

but be preserved, whenever those who spoke them settled, or whenever they wandered. If not evidence of identity of race, they prove similarity of race in a way not to be mistaken. No doubt, where a tribe, small in number, is dispersed among a multitudinous body, their idioms may disappear— swallowed up in a wider sea, as rivers are lost in the ocean. The blacks in the United States, in a second or third generation, lose all traces of the African idioms; but where the gregarious bond is strong enough to link together a mighty clan, or formidable nation, the language will be strong enough for its own support, and will preserve at all events the associations which connect it with the past.

Let me give a few illustrations from the ramifications of the Gothic stem:—

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MAN...	*Manna,*	Gothic	*Mand*,	Danish.
	Man,	A.-Sax., Dutch, Swed.	*Made,*	Icelandic.
	Mann,	German.		

The power of the word *man* is seen by its introduction into many derivations from Latin: Alle-*mand,* Nor-*mand*, Alle-*manni,* Nor-manni; as well as in Low Breton, *max;* Armoric, *mansh*. It is a part of the Sanscrit word, MAN*udjah;* of the Latin, HU*man*US.

WATER..	*Wate*	Mæso-Gothic.	*Vand,*	Danish.
	Water,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Watteu,*	Swedish
	Wester,	Frisian.	*Vatn,*	Icelandic.
WINE..	*Wein,*	Gothic.	*Vin,*	Danish.
	Win,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Vin,*	Swedish.
	Wijn,	Dutch		
RAIN…	*Rignan,*	Gothic.	*Regne,*	Danish
	Rinan	Anglo-Saxon.	*Rigna,*	Icelandic.
	Regenen	Dutch.	*Regner,*	Swedish.

	Regen,	German.		
KNEE…	*Kniu,*	Maso-Gothic.	*Knie,*	German.
	Knæ,	Norse.	*Knæ,*	Danish.
	Cneow,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Kne,*	Icelandic.
	Knie,	Dutch.	*Knä,*	Swedish.

But to take a word which represents an abstraction—

KNOW…	*Kunna,*	Maso-Gothic.	*Kunna,*	Danish.
	Kanna,	Norse.	Kenna,	Icelandic.
	Kunnen,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Kenna,*	Swedish.
	Kennen,	Dutch, Flem. Ger.		

The root, however, may be found in other tongues, whence possibly derived, as

Gna,	Sanscrit.	*Cognoscere,*	Italian.
Gnosco,	Greek.	*Conocer,*	Spanish.
Nosco,	Latin.	*Conhecer,*	Portuguese.

In all these cases there has been intercourse, and the word itself has in it a tone of advancement and civilization.

FATHER…	*Pita,*	Sanscrit.	*Fader,*	Anglo-Saxon.
	Pater,	Greek, Latin.	*Vader,*	Dutch
	Athan,	Gaelic.	*Vater,*	German.
	Pader,	Persian.	*Fader,*	Icelandic.
	Padre,	French.	*Fader,*	Swedish.
	Père,	Spanish, Italian.	*Fader,*	Danish.

MOTHER.	*Mater,*	Greek, Latin.	*Mæder,*	Dutch

Mada,	Sanscrit.	*Mutter,*	German.
Madr,	Persian.	*Madre,*	Ital., Span., Port.
Mat,	Russian.	*Mère,*	French.
Moder,	Anglo-Saxon.		

All, perhaps, from *ma,* an early utterance.

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SUN…	*Sunno*	Gothic.	*Sonne,*	German.
	Sunne,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Soel,*	Danish.
	Sunni,	Frisian.	*Sol,*	Latn.,Swd., Frch.
STAR…	*Stoerio,*	Maso-Gothic.	*Aster,*	Greek.
	Steorra,	Anglo-Saxon.	*Astrum,*	Latin.
	Ster,	Dutch.	*Astro,*	Ital., Span., Port.
	Stern,	German.	*Astre,*	French.
	Stierne,	Danish.	*Stareht,*	Persian.
	Stjerna,	Swedish.	*Tara,*	Sanscrit.
	Stiarna,	Icelandic.		

This is a word which, in its progress through various languages, has undergone precisely the modifications necessary to adapt it to the peculiarities of each. The combination of the two consonants, *s* and *t,* though so very simple to our organs, is one which is rarely found in any of the ruder idioms of the world.

The remarks which have been made with reference to languages in general—I mean of distinct languages derived from a common source—are equally true of all local dialects. The common words are common to all. The word man exists in every one (with the same meaning) of the local dialects of Germany, and they, perhaps, amount to twenty. The word *man* is equally found in every English provincial dialect which has a Saxon origin. Nothing could ever drive it out of our mother-tongue; it belongs to our history; it

goes with our laws, with our books, with our songs. A thousand despotic decrees could not eradicate it; a hundred academies would repudiate it vain. It is planted in America, in Asia, in Africa, in Australia, and a noble and emphatic word it is. Come what may, "A man's a man for a' that."

In tracing the history of languages, we are sometimes embarrassed by the modifications to which they are subjected in that process which introduces their final grammatical forms, and which nothing but education will ever make popular or universal. The persons and the tenses of verbs, for example, will be employed by the Devonshire peasant in the simplest forms: for I *am,* thou *art,* he *is,* we *are,* he will use, I *be,* thou *be,* we, you, they be. Verbs irregular he makes regular, and says—he *commed,* he *goed,* he *teached,* he *drived,* he *drawed,* he *seed.* He confounds the nominative with the accusative. I heard one day this sentence—"Her axed she about 'en; her telled she her shudd'n du't; and thof her zed her hath." A boy on Dartmoor, seeing a rabbit, exclaimed, " Hurn! hurn! lookee at the little tail o' en; how he hoppeth."

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A conversation is reported between a judge, at the Exeter assizes, and a witness. *Judge—"* What did you see?" *Witness*—"A didn' zee nort vur the pillem." *J.*—"What's pillem?" *W.*—"Not knaw what's pillem? Why, pillem be *mux a-drowed." J.*—"Mux—what 's *mux?" W.*—"Why, mux be *pillem a-wat."*

There are many words which in ordinary English are seldom used, but in our Devonian dialects constantly employed; such as *orts* (refuse), *rubble* (rubbish), *quarrel* (pane of glass), *ferroll* (iron or brass ring), *stram* (to bang), *strapping* (big), *swelter* (extreme perspiration), *swinging* (great), *thumping* (large), *tote, tottle* (the whole), *tweedle* (awkward handling), *fardel* (bundle, burden), *withy* (a willow), *corn* (wheat), *ruckee* (to stoop), *pity-hole* (the grave), *settle* (a seat), *belike* (perhaps), *stogged* (stuck in the mud), *bluth* (bloom).

The transformations of some of the commonest words should not be passed over, such as *an't, ban't,* for I have not, am not; *cass'n, cassn't,* cannot; *aye zure,* for yes; *gee,* for go; *whay,* for stop; *nan?* a common interrogation; *I zim,* for it appears to me; *if a za be,*

a common concatenation for "in that case;" *lookee de zee,* for attend to me; *thik, thikka, thak, thakka,* this here, and that there. The disappearance of this common word from our language is remarkable, as it is found in ancient writers, from Robert of Gloucester downward, in Wyclif, Chaucer, and in old ballads—

" The chase is lefte for *ihilka* daie."

Mispronunciation of letters pervades the local idiom: *o* is turned into *a,* as *stap,* for stop; *rat,* for rot; the French. *u* is used for the *oo,* as *stule.fule, spune; y* supersedes *h,* as in *yeth* (heath), *yeard* (heard), or is prefixed to a vowel, as *yemmers* (embers), *yetts* (oats); *v* constantly supplants f, as *vardin, vitty, vur;* and as for the aspirates, they are treated with utter disregard—*ps* replaces *sp,* as *crips, claps, lips, waps; d* in most cases, descending from ancient orthography, stands in stead of *th,* as in *dred, drong, drash, drish* (thrush); *ea* is pronounced *ai,* as *main, craim,* for mean, cream, etc.; the initial *a* is often dropped, as in *'sises, 'prentice,* and in the children's recital in picking the petals of a flower, "gentleman, *'torney, 'poticary,* thief."
Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare, South, and Swift, have made our Devonian word *junket* classical;* and, what is still

* "You know there wants no *junkets* at the feast."
Taming of the Shrew. (iii. 2.)
"And bear with you both wine and *juncates* fit"—*Faery Queen.* (ii. 4.)
"The savory *junkets* tasted with delight."—*Drayton.*
"How fairy Mab the *junkets* eat."—*L'Allegro.*

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more remarkable, the word is used in old English translations from Virgil, Pliny, and Plutarch. I doubt its commonly-accepted derivation from the Italian *giuncata,* which, like the French *jonchée,* means curds pressed between rushes *(joncs),* like our Bath

cheese; and I have the same difficulty in tracing the word *cob* to its source, though we were taught to make our *cob walls* by the Phœnicians, or the Egyptians. The pyramids raised by the Jews on the banks of the Nile are constructed of the same materials; and I may say in passing, that the want of adhesion from the absence of straw, which added so grievously to the labours of the Hebrews of old, has enabled foxes and jerboas to find a retreat in the multitudinous holes with which these wonderful erections are now perforated.

The authors of the *Exmoor Scolding* and *Exmoor Courting* were Andrew Brice and Benjamin Bowring. The former was a learned and laborious bookseller in Exeter, whose folio dictionary was a valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of his day. The latter (my paternal great-grand-father) was the grandson of a John Bowring of Chumleigh, who was largely engaged in the woollen trade, and coined money for the payment of those he employed. He wrote verses (not of much merit), some of which have been traditionally preserved at Chumleigh, and he was denounced as "a turbulent and seditious person" by the Bishop of Exeter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. No doubt his "little candle flung its beams" in the surrounding obscurity; and he was one of those who "shine bright below, although eclipsed above."

In Devonshire itself there are very many distinct dialects; and words are used in the north which are wholly unknown in the south, and in the east with which the west is unacquainted.

The *Exmoor Courtship* and *Exmoor Scolding* were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746, pp. 297 and 352. There is a vocabulary in the same volume (p. 405) of above three hundred words, which have been transferred to the larger collection.

The dialogues cannot have come from the original author, as an explanation is asked of many of the idioms, and they are given by a correspondent who writes from Exon, Aug. 12, 1746, and signs " Devoniensis."

Perhaps the concluding passage of the *Scolding* is as good an example of the dialect as used a century and half since as can be given. Julian Moreman says: " Labbe, labbe, soze labbe, Gi

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o'er, gi o'er, Tamzen. An thee be always agging[1] or veaking,[2] gawing[3] or sherking,[4] blazing[5] or racing, kerping[6] or spaking cutted,[7] chittering or drowing vore o' spalls,[8] purting[9] or glowering,[10] yerring[11] or chounting,[12] taking owl o' won theng or pip o' tather, chocking[13] or pooching,[14] ripping up or round-shaving[15] won t'ether, stivering[16] or grizzeling,[17] tucking or busking, aprill'd[18] or a-muggard,[19] blogging[20] or glumping,[21] rearing[22] or snapping, vrom candle douting[23] to candle teening[24] in the yeaveling[25]— gurt hap else."

A pretty character this for a Devonshire damsel about to be married! Happily, some generations have passed since the picture was drawn.

There is a glossary of 400 words, in the dialect of the West of England, in *Rustic Sketches,* by Mr. G. P. R. Pulman. (1853.) Many of them are not peculiar to Devonshire, and others are mispronunciations of common words; but there are many that are not found in other vocabularies.

The Devonshire dialogues written by Mrs. Gwatkin, the sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and published by James F. Palmer in 1857, are rich in local words, and the colloquies are not wanting in dramatic merit. The glossary, though not wholly made up of Devonshire peculiarities, consists of 1000 words, of which by far the greater number are local, but principally collected in North Devon.

Most of the conversational specimens and pieces of poetry which have been published are adaptations of common English to Devonian grammar, or rather, ancient grammatical forms, with spelling representing the vulgar pronunciation. "*The Gospel of S. Matthew,* translated by Mr. Henry Baird into Western English, as spoken in Devonshire," represents the common text as it would be read or repeated by an uninstructed peasant. In Nathan Hogg's poems there are a few genuine provincial words, such as *cocklēērt, dimmet, drat, dyver'd, gawken, hulking, kindiddled, paking, pillamy, raymed, vanty cheeny, vursled, wack, wap, whacker;* but more might have been advantageously and appropriately introduced.

The names of persons and places in Devonshire would afford instructive materials for volumes, in order to treat the subject in a satisfactory or exhaustive spirit. In whatever

[1] Irritating. [2] Fretting. [3] Scolding. [4] Trying to cheat. [5] Spreading false reports. [6]Finding fault. [7] Speaking out. [8] Casting about accusations. [9] Sulking. [10] Quarrelling. [11] Noisy. [12]Disporting. [13]Hectoring. [14]Making mouths [15]Chiding. [16]Pretending. [17]Laughing. [18]Soured. [19]Out of humour. [20]Sullen. [21]Sour-looking, [22]Mocking. [23]Extinguishing. [24]Lighting. [25]Evening.

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direction the inquiry may be pursued, the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race and type will be visible.

It is, however, important to premise, that before writing is extensively used and understood, orthography must be undefined, the writer generally adopting the letters which he deems best fitted to convey the sound. There is scarcely an Anglo-Saxon word which is not written in different ways, and there are words which in twenty manuscripts present as many as twenty different modes of orthography. Of the language spoken by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers before the conquest, about one-fifth of the words have been lost, and they have been supplied principally from Norman sources. And independently of the changes of varied orthography, fashion has its sway; and Mrs. Barker, in her Northamptonshire Glossary, gives a curious specimen of the aristocratical changes of language, from dad, mam, and porridge, to father, mother, and broth; next, papa, mamma, and soup.

More than nine-tenths of the family proper names in Devonshire are Anglo-Saxon. Among the inhabitants of our small towns and villages there will scarcely be found any Norman, Celtic, or foreign names, as the present residents are mostly descendants of the original settlers. There is little emigration into obscure localities; but as towns and cities become prosperous and productive, they invite strangers to fix themselves, and the population loses much of its normal character by the infusion of new elements. Half a

century ago a Greek or Indian name would scarcely be found in the London Directory; they are there now by hundreds; while Germans, of whom few were settled among us in ancient time, may be counted by thousands. But of all migrating nations ours is the most migratory, and our language is spoken over an incomparably larger extent of territory, and in a far greater variety of latitude, than any other tongue

The immense preponderance of Anglo-Saxon names applies only to the less privileged (sometimes called the middle, or the lower) classes; for when we come into the field of the nobility and the aristocracy there is a great infusion of Norman names, such as Courtenay (Short-nose), Fortescue (Strong-shield), St. Maur (Seymour), Fitzroy (King's Son), Grosvenor (Great-huntsman), Neville (Newton), Beauclerc (Fine-writer), and a multitude besides. It has from my boyhood been one of my amusements to look, in passing through our streets, at the names of the different shopkeepers, and I have found less than one in ten derived from any but an Anglo-Saxon source. Migrations might be easily traced by studying

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directories. One of the very commonest names in London is *Evans.* The race took their departure from Wales. The Macs and the O's would help to show how many of the Caledonians and Hibernians have honoured the English by settling among them.

All the 32 hundreds 2 boroughs, and 1 city of Devonshire bear Saxon names, with the single exception of Hightor, if Tor is to be traced to a higher antiquity: at all events, it is joined to a Saxon adjective. Thirteen of the hundreds have the termination of *town;* viz., Bamp, Torring, Braun, Clyst, Coly, Credi, Erming, Freming, Halber, Lif, Molt, Plym, Taw, Tiver-*ton,* roost of them representing the principal adjacent streams or rivers. Two are ecclesiastical—Ax and *Ex-minster.* There are three *leighs* (fields)—East Bud, West Bud, and Wink-*leigh;* three *ridges*—Cole, Hay, and With-*ridge,*• one Hart-*land*; one Hem-*yock* (Saxon for uncleaned wool); one *Saint* Mary of Ottery; two *boroughs*—Ro and Star; one Sheb-*bear*; one Sher-*will* (perhaps well); one Teign-*bridge*; one Won-

ford; one *port*—Devon; one *mouth*—Plym; while Exeter has conveyed its name of Roman origin from Isca, Exonia to Exeancester, Exon, Exeter.

The remarks that apply to the greater divisions of the county may be repeated as regards both the smaller districts and the towns, villages, hamlets, and other localities. Everywhere the Gothic or Anglo-Saxon element is predominant.

Of characteristic adjectives prefixed to localities there are 79 *high* and *higher,* 79 *low* and *lower.* There are 97 *wests,* 72 *easts*, 68 *souths,* and 47 *norths.* There are 35 *up* and *uppers,* of which 15 *upcotes,* 7 *unders.* There are 30 *littles* and 20 *greats.*

The directory published in 1856 gives the list of more than four thousand localities in Devonshire bearing Anglo-Saxon names. I scarcely discover a hundred traceable to Celtic, Roman, Scandinavian, or French origin. *Pen* and *tor* are sometimes, but rarely, found. *Tor* is generally traced in our dictionaries to an Anglo-Saxon origin. In Gaelic, however, it is found in the oldest records, both of prose and poetry, spelt *torr.* In Welsh and Armoric it is *twr* and *twrr.* Pliny mentions *dyr* as a Mauritanian word for Mount Atlas. *Tauros* is the same designation Latinized in Asia: it gives names to places among the Arabs; as, for example, *Tour,* an elevated spot in the Gulf of Suez. In Norway it is the name of one of the highest mountains. It is found—accommodated to the language—in Spain, Italy, France, and several other European countries—in the ancient Chaldee and in

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the modern Persian. There are few words of so great an antiquity and so wide a diffusion. It is seen in all the branches of the Gothic stem.

Avon, the widely-spread Celtic for river, only once occurs, as far as I know, in Devonian names of places; and *tre,* the Cornish for town, though so common on the other side of the Tamar, is scarcely known in Devon. The same may be said of *pol* and *pen. Pether* has been cited as a Cornish word from *peth* (riches), but its derivation is more probably Saxon; and few are the traces left among them by the invading Normans of their presence or progress.

In the neighbouring county of Cornwall a rich vocabulary may be found of persons and of places bearing British names, though even there many words have been Saxonized by time, and the English language has been universally introduced; not the local dialect of our own neighbouring county, but the English of the more educated classes.

The most common termination is *ton,* or town (in Anglo-Saxon *tun*), which is affixed to no less than 380 different localities; and it is obvious that this word would be the first fixed upon where there was any considerable gathering of people; but it is sometimes applied even to a single dwelling or farm.

Next in importance is *combe* (valley). There are in Devonshire 31 Combes without any other designation; with Combe as a prefix, 21: while to 200 places Combe as a postfix is attached,

Though *combe* is a pure Saxon word, it nearly resembles in sound and meaning the *cwm* of the Welsh, from which it has been supposed to be derived. The word never once occurs in Shakespeare, nor does *tor.*

The word which stands third in rank, and which naturally became of great interest to a growing population, is *Ford* (Anglo-Saxon unchanged), by which no less than 220 localities are designated, having some other word attached; but there are 19 places called Ford, besides 5 Forders and 2 Fordas.

Bridges are, of course, fewer in number than *Fords,* and more modern in their introduction. The term *ford* occurs seven times more frequently than bridge; but the building of a bridge would not, in many cases, alter the name of the locality, though such additions as Ford-bridge, or Bridge-ford, would very naturally occur.

Cot—probably adopted where there was a single small house on the spot—occurs 212 times.

Land, or *lands* (Anglo-Saxon), is connected with 190

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localities. It is one of the words running through all the ramifications of the Gothic root, and has served to initiate and make acceptable a new word—*Fatherland,* which we have

borrowed from the Germans, and which sounds far more sweetly than *country,* which is adopted from the Normans. Lover says, very emphatically, referring to the heroism of our male ancestors and the garrulity of our ladies,

"On every hand
We trace our blessings whence they sprung;
We call our country *fatherland,*
We call our language mother-tongue."

Leigh, or *lea (ley,* Saxon), a very pretty word, which is familiar from Gray's Line—

"The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,"

occurs, with its adjuncts, 30 times, and as a postfix 170, in Devonian localities. Shakespeare attaches to it a characteristic adjective—"the plough-torn lea."

There are 23 places bearing the name of *dowm,* or *downs (dun,* Saxon), and 142 having *down,* or *don,* for their terminal. How many of these ancient *downe* are now cultivated land would be an interesting inquiry, and much assisted by the name that once characterized them.

There are 6 places called simply *wood (wude,* Anglo-Saxon), 58 *Woods* with postfixes, of which 8 are *Woodlands,* and 41 in which the wood follows some other title.

Well, or *wells (well,* Anglo-Saxon), is attached to no less than 104 names, all denoting the original presence of water, and which would be probably found still to entitle them to their old designation. Among the *wells* are 6 called holy; to some of them miraculous virtues are attributed, though they bear no sainted name. Parker's Well, near Exeter, was supposed to cure all diseases of the eyes—a mere exaggeration of the wholesome effects of washing from a pure stream.

There are 95 *hams* (Anglo-Saxon, *wam)* in Devonshire; a word which is spread over the whole of England, giving a name to several counties, and to many large cities and towns, yet is now seldom employed in colloquial discourse.

Berry, bury, or *burg (burg,* Anglo-Saxon), town, is found in 80 places, of which the greater part no longer would be entitled to the distinction, but have fallen into obscurity. *Stone (slan,* Anglo-Saxon) was a natural indication of a locality. Four places have the naked name, 8 have appropriate adjuncts, which serve to distinguish them, as Stone-

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combe, cross, ford, haye, house, land, leigh, and moor, besides which there are 68 places of which stone is the termination.

There are 9 solitary *hills* (*hil,* Anglo-Saxon), and the same number with adjuncts, besides 56 places of which hill is the characteristic ending.

Of *haye,* or *hayes,* there are 54. This may be a softened sound of the Saxon hedge *(hedjian),* or an introduction of the Norman word. In the neighbourhood of cities and towns it has the French meaning. In Exeter it is associated with both Saxon and Norman adjectives—Northernhay, Southernhay, Friernhay, Bowhay, Shilhay, Linhay, and others. *Haye* is not found in Johnson's or Walker's dictionary.

Ridge terminates the name of 38 localities

Bere, or *beare,* sometimes stands alone. It is found in the beginning, but more frequently as the last syllable, of localities. In this position it occurs 30 times. There are 5 Larkbeares in Devonshire. It is written Larrocbere in Doomsday Book.

Bridge, moor, and *brook (brudge, moer, brok,* Anglo-Saxon) occur each 30 times in the names of places; *mill (milh,* Anglo-Saxon) 22 times; *thorn (thorn,* Anglo-Saxon) 18 times; *park* (*pearrne,* Anglo-Saxon; *parc,* Norman) 15 times. We have 14 *pits* (*pit,* Saxon), 10 *holes* (*hol,* Saxon), 10 *knolls* (*knolle,* Saxon).

Besides these, the following terminations are most common, and their almost exclusively Saxon character needs not to be specialized:—Bourne or burn, cliff, court, croft, cross, dale, dean, furze, gate, glebe, hayne, head, lake, lane, leet, marsh, mead, mere, mouth, oak, pool, quay, spring, stok, stoke, stowe, tree, vale, venn, way, week, worth, and worthy. A termination only once, or very seldom occurring, I do not at all quote.

Compared with Cornwall, the number of saints giving names to localities is rare. St. Andrew, St. Ann, St. Brannock, St. Brideaux (with whose history I am unacquainted), St George, St. Giles, St. John, St. Mary, and St Petrock are the only ones figuring in the index. But though there are not many saints, monks, abbots and bishops are not wanting.

The probability is, that most of our localities had their designations anterior to the introduction of Christianity. The rarity of Norman names is confirmatory of the anterior introduction of Saxon words.

Christianity, and the zeal of early missionaries, introduced many ecclesiastical terms, not only connected with church ceremonials, but with forms of belief. Religion, orthodoxy, and many besides, remain unchanged; some such, as faith, church, creed, and others, accommodated themselves to Saxon forms.

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All languages have to draw on other languages for novelties, introduced by intercourse with nations abroad, or by inventors at home. The Welsh, for example, took *port* and *awr* (bridge and gold) from the Romans; the Biscayans *latigua* and *candela* from the Spaniards. The English and the Dutch have given many words to other nations connected with shipping, the French connected with military matters. Articles of commerce frequently point out the regions whence they came.

The three most prominent of Norman names in Devonshire are *court, haye,* and *villa.* Yet *curt* is the Saxon for palace. *Haye* is not necessarily Norman. *Villa* alone is distinctly traceable to the Latin and the French, and it is of rare occurrence.

Many of the Devonian names would open the door to curious and interesting speculations, not alone in geography and etymology, but in ethnology and natural history. We have, for example, no less than 13 Bucklands; no doubt places distinguished for herds of deer. In the 7000 localities which constitute the London district the name only occurs twice, and then appropriated to villa and street, being pr-bably the application of a family name.

We have 23 *Bartons,* the ancient meaning of which was the farm or outhouses attached to larger seats or properties. There is but one Barton* (a street) in the London district. We have four places bearing the ancient title of *Yeo* standing alone, and six more to which Yeo is the prefix (whence yeoman). The origin of this word has led to much controversy. Giman is the Frisian for villager. Guma and Zuma are Gothic and Anglo-Saxon for countryman. The word is not found in the London district, except as applied to two modern rows. We have nine *Burrows,* most of which have been deserted by the conies.

If a vocabulary were constructed to consist only of local Devonian words—meaning words not found in the English dictionaries—of words which, though found in them, have a peculiar local meaning—and of words whose form and pronunciation are so unlike our common English as not to be intelligible to Englishmen in general, that vocabulary would consist of nearly 2000 words.

Of words purely local, such as *mors, tallet, plid, crub, bucked, prilled, bosky, claggy, squinch, gammet, therle, sticked,* a list of nearly a thousand might be collected.

* The word is Anglo-Saxon—*Bere-tun,* and is found in Todd's Johnson.

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Then such as bear a local and peculiar meaning—*agreeable* (consenting); *cruel* and *mortal* (very), as *cruel hard, mortal kind; power, sight,* and *world* (much or many); *power* of money; *sight* of people; *world* of good; *reckon* and *guest* (which have been transferred, with their Saxon meaning, to the United States); *dogs' ears* (crumpled leaves); and multitudes besides used in Devonshire in a sense different from that they bear elsewhere.

Take, as specimens of mispronunciation, *gurt, hood, vath, rail, vammish, gulk, slimpole,* and who would discern in them great, wood, faith, revel, ravenous, gulp, simpleton. No sentence of half a dozen words uttered by a countryman but will give examples of these peculiarities.

" There be the mune;
Us can't get tu 'n,"

is a popular joke.

Ancient terminals preserved, in Devonshire, such as *stonen, housen, ourn, yourn,* are also worth notice; as is also the superfluity of words having the same meaning, as *pulking, lamming, strapping, swinging, thumping, wopping, walloping,* all meaning, when applied to a man, a stout, coarse fellow. *Why vor?* is a more sensible inquiry than Wherefore? and the verbs, to *gooden,* to *wossen,* and to *bettern,* are more intelligible to the people than, to prosper, to deteriorate, and to ameliorate. There is much tenderness in the supplicatory forms *du 'ee*, *don't 'ee,* and heartiness in the *gude, now! gude, zure!* with which a pleasant announcement is welcomed. *Never the near,* is an amusing form of To no purpose.

The practice of swearing is in most languages modified by timid instead of outspoken oaths. They remind us of the apology of the girl who said that her illegitimate child was only a very little one. Devonshire has *Begorz,* instead of By God! *O Jaykle!*—O Jesus! *Odd's wenderkins—God's* wounds. *Odd dang it, Odd rabbit,* for God damn it! and many more. The forms of abuse are often amusing. A scold is called a *rant-a-come-scour,* or a *hawk-a-mouth-toub;* a large-eyed person, *sasser-eycs;* a fool, a *drumble-drone, dunderhead;* a weak child, *nestle-dreft. Botheration,* is said to be dinning into two ears at once—both-ear-ation; *cauchee-pawed,* left-handed; *chill-bladders,* chilblains; *wash-a-mouth,* a blab; *wink-a-puts,* a fool; *zour-zwapped,* crabbed; *mulli-grubs,* bad temper; *mumchance,* a silly, silent person; *moody-hearted,* melancholy; *clapper-claw,* a noisy woman; *doldrums,* ill-humour, sometimes the death-pang; *draggle-tail,* a slut;

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grixzle-de-mundy, a laughing zany; *kick-hammer,* a stammerer; *labb-o'-the-tongue,* a tittletattler.

But the field of inquiry is as wide as it is interesting, and in it there is much to explore. It would be well if, in the writings of Cædmon, Beowulf, Bede the Saxon chronicler, and any literary remains anterior to the Norman conquest, the words were selected which, lost to the general English language, are preserved in our localities; and the study might be pursued through Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and the early dramatists; such, for example, as *micher* and *miching, junket* and *junketting,* and very many more such.

"Then will I lay out all my larderie
Of cheese, of cracknells, curds, and *clouted* cream,"*

Ancient ballads, like

"Haven't ye heard of Lydford law,
Where in the morning they bang and draw,
And sit in judgment after?"

Devonian sports would form another topic; among them *"Riding Skymaton,"* as described in Hudibras, b. ii., can. 2. In the *Notes and Queries,* iv. 951, is a humourous account of an exhibition of the sort at Charing Cross, in 1737.
Prisoner's bars and prisoner's base, apple-pie beds, bandys, out-hurling, hobby-horse, by which at Combemartin they are said to commemorate the tradition of the wild man of the woods.
Finally, local traditions, proverbs; such as the description of a bad choice of a wife—"A goed to the hood, and a got a crooked steck;" quaint sayings, as "Muxen up to the Huxen." Poetical scraps would be well worth collecting and preserving, as

" When Ex'ter was a *vuzzy* down,
Kirton was a market town."

" When Haldown has a hat,
Let Kentown beware a *skatt."*

" Clouds upon Haldon bring showers to Kenton."

The traditional cession by the Duke of Lancaster—

" I, John of Gaunt,
Do give a grant,
Hatherleigh Moor
To Hatherleigh poor,
To have and to hold for evermore."

• Barnfteld's "Affectionate Shepherdess" (1594), quoted by Palmer, p. 36.

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Again—

"He that will not merry be
With a pretty girl by the fire,
I wiah he was a-top of Dartemoor
A-stogged in the mire."

Description of a day's meals in Devonshire—

"Stay-bit and breakast, *ammot* and dinner,
Mumpit and crumpet, and a bit arter supper."

"Rain, rain, go to Spain;

Never, never come again.
When I brew, and when I bake,
You shall have a *figgy* cake." (plum pudding.)

" A Joliphant ride,
Two dames on a horse, and neither astride."

Superstitions, such as the Exmoor charm for curing sciatica—

"*Bone shave* right,
Bone shave straight;
As the water runs by the stave,
Good for bone shave."

Or for nettle stings—

"In dock, out nettle;
Out nettle, in dock."

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The belief in the *Yeth-hounds* (headless dogs) being the spirits of unbaptized children was widely spread in North Devon a generation ago. *Pixies* present a topic very insufficiently explored, as do *Gallitraps,* the mysterious circles, into which any guilty person having trod is doomed to be delivered over to justice.

Devonshire may well lament the want of a tolerable county history; but whenever such a history is properly written, the local dialect, and its many associations, will afford materials for a most instructive and amusing chapter.