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.....Heft 13

**A Grammar
of the
Dialect of Adlington
(Lancashire)**

by

Alexander Hargreaves

Heidelberg
Carl Winter's Universitatsbuchhandlung
1904

[NP]

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Preface.

The Present work is an attempt to construct a dialect grammar on a sound scientific plan. The general scheme of the work is modelled on Professor Wright's *Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, but I have treated the subject with Middle English and not Old English as a starting point. In this way I hope greater unity has been secured in tracing the development of the sounds as spoken in the dialect at the present day.

To Professor Schröer of Cöln I am indebted for the idea of writing the grammar, and to Professors Luick of Graz, and Hoops of Heidelberg for many a friendly hint. Prof. Luick especially was always very willing to give me advice and suggestions, and the work owes very much to him. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all three. I also beg to thank my old friend Mr. Abbott of Adlington for the words of the local ballad *John Walker*, and Mr. John Heywood of Manchester for permission to print Waugh's *Come whoam to thy childer and me* in the phonetic notation I have adopted. This latter poem has been chosen in order to afford a ready comparison with Waugh's notation which for philological purposes, and to all but the native, is almost valueless.

Adlington, Lanc. 1903.

A. Hargreaves.

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Abbreviations.

The following are the principal abbreviations used:

AF= Anglo-French.

Ags. G.=Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik; dritte Auflage.

Angl.= Anglian.

Björkman= Björkman, Scandinavian Loanwords.

Du.= Dutch.

EDD. = Wright, English Dialect Dictionary.

E.E.P. = Ellis, Early English Pronunciation.

HES. = Sweet, History of English Sounds.

ME. = Middle English.

MLG. = Middle Low German.

NED. = Murray and Bradley, New English Dictionary.

NEG. = Sweet, New English Grammar.

OE. = Old English.

P. u. B. Beiträge = Paul u. Braune's Beiträge.

Stratmann= Stratmann, Middle English Dictionary.

WS. = West Saxon.

[VIII]

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Misprint.

P. 12, 1. 9 fr. bott. read \bar{o} instead of \bar{q}

[1]

Introduction.

Adlington is a mining and manufacturing village (pop. about 5,000) in the hundred of Leyland. It lies about 3 miles to the South of Chorley, and is thus almost in the middle of the triangle formed by Wigan, Bolton and Chorley.

The dialect spoken in the district is, as will be seen, in some respects rather mixed. This is no doubt due to the growth of the population during the last fifty years, and to the migratory habits of the inhabitants, caused by the industrial nature of their work. But the people do not, as a rule, move far away, nor do the newcomers come from any great distance. Ellis E. E. P. vol 5, p. 329 includes the district in «western North Midland». It is almost exactly in the centre of div. 22, of which Ellis distinguishes six varieties. But none of his varieties corresponds to the Adlington dialect, the nearest thereto being var. 11.

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Phonology.

Chapter I.

Pronunciation.

1. The Vowels.

§1. The Adlington dialect contains the following vowels:

Short Vowels: a, ä, e, i, o, u, ʊ, ə.

Long Vowels: ā, ǟ, ē, ē̄, ī, ō, ō̄, ū, ē̄

Diphthongs: aī, āe, eī, īə, oī, oū, uə, ui, ūī

A brief description of the Adlington vowel system follows. The notation adopted is, in general, that of Sweet's «Primer of Phonetics».

a (mid-back-wide) like the *a* in German *Mann*: *lad* lad, *aks* ask, *lad-dər* ladder.

ā (mid-back-wide) like the *ā* in German *Haar*: *tām* time, *tʃālt* child, *wāld* wild.

aī = *a* + *ī*. The *ī* is high-front-narrow and is long. This diphthong only occurs before *f*: *flaīf* flash, *waīf* wash.

āe = *ā* + *e*. This diphthong chiefly appears at the end of words. The first part of it is long, the second

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very short. There is an escape of breath at the end of words where the *āe* is final, like a decreasing voiceless *h*: *þāe* thigh, *risāet* recite, *skāe* sky.

aiə = *a* + *i* + *ə*: *aiərn* iron, *faiə*r fire.

ä occurs only before *r* and can be produced by pronouncing *ər* continuously and meanwhile opening the mouth wide. It can thus be described as between *ər* and *ar*. The tip of the tongue is bent backwards and upwards. The *a* and the *r* are united, and here also at the end of a word a slight spirant is perceptible: *där* dare, *wärtf* to ache.

ā is the corresponding long sound: *fār* far, *fārm* farm, *wārm* warm.

e (mid-front-wide). As in English *men*, *help* etc.: *best* best, *net* net, *sel* to sell.

ē (mid-front-narrow). As in German *See*: *nēm* name, *tēm* tame, *wēv* wave.

ē (mid-front-wide) but a little lowered. It is practically the same sound as in English *men* and German *Männer* but long: *bēt* without, *rēnd* round, *tēn* town.

eī = *e* + *ī*. The *e* is as in *men*, the *ī* is long and very high (high-front-narrow): *feīt* fight, *fleīf* flesh, *weīt* weight.

i (high-front-wide) as in English *bit*: *it* hit, *pin* pin, *win* win.

ī (high-front-narrow) like the *ī* in German *sie*, *Biene*: *krīp* creep, *nīt* night, *rīt* right.

īə = *ī* + *ə*: *bīərd* beard, *īə*r hear, *tīən* clean.

o (mid-back-wide-round) like the *o* in German *Stock*: *frozn* frozen, *moni* many.

ō (mid-back-narrow-round) like the *o* in German *so*: *dlōri* glory, *nō* know, *rōd* road.

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\bar{o} (low-back-narrow-round) as in English *saw, fall*: *dr̄o* draw, *n̄o* gnaw.

$o\bar{i}$ = $o + \bar{i}$. This is not Sweet's *oi* as in *boil, coil*. The \bar{i} is long and is high-front-narrow as in German *Biene*: *boil* boil, *toil* toil.

$o\bar{u}$ = $o + \bar{u}$. This is a more open sound than Sweet's *ou* and lies between his *ou* and *au*. The \bar{u} is long; otherwise the diphthong is very similar to a Swabian's pronunciation of the German word *Haus*: *foūt* fought, *koūd* cold.

u (high-back-wide-round) like the u in English *who*: *fut* foot, *tu* too, *u* who.

\bar{u} (high-back-narrow-round) like the u in German *du*: *ənū* enough, *rūd* repented, *fū* shoe.

Note. These two u 's are sometimes pronounced with a mixed sound which is almost like an *eu* diphthong of which the first part is very short.

u . This is a u sound very much lowered so that it almost resembles an o sound. It is described by Ellis E. E. P. as a transition sound from \bar{o} to u . It is best described as a mid-back-round sound inclining to mixed, in fact half mixed. The lips are only slightly rounded: *būt-ṭər* butter, *kūm* come, *up* up.

$u\bar{a}$ = $u + \bar{a}$: *duər* door, *guə* go, *puər* poor.

$u\bar{i}$ = $u + \bar{i}$: *ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

$u\bar{i}$ = $u + \bar{i}$ appears before sibilants: *būif* bush, *kūifən* cushion.

\bar{a} (mid-mixed-narrow) as e in German *Gabe*: *gə* go, *stēfən* station, *fuər* sure, *tə* to.

After gemination and at the end of a word this \bar{a} develops a slight spirant: *būt- ṭər(h)* butter, *kop-pə(h)* Coppull (a neighbouring village).

\bar{a} is the corresponding long sound *fā* fair.

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2. The Consonants.

§ 2. The Adlington dialect contains the following consonants:

$b, d, \bar{d}, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, \eta, p, r, s, \bar{f}, t, \bar{t}, \bar{p}, \bar{\delta}, v, w, z, \bar{z}, \bar{z}$

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b (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English *b*. It occurs initially, medially and finally: *brid* bird, *kubært* cupboard, *rub* to rub.

d (gum-stop-voice) like the English *d*. It occurs in all positions: *dāv* to dive, *dlas* glass, *redi* ready, *pēnd* pound.

ḍ expresses the sound of *d* before *r* or when the syllable contains *r*. The tongue is placed behind the top row of teeth about midway between the English palatal *t* and the teeth-open *p*: *ḍrāv* drive, *lad-ḍa r* ladder. For further remarks see § 75, 3. Note 2.

f (lip-teeth-open-breath) like the lit. English *f*. It occurs in all positions: *fāv* five, *afḥar* after, *kōf* calf.

g (back-stop-voice) like lit. English *g*. It occurs in all positions: *gōmlas* foolish, *figar* figure, *dog* dog.

j (front-open-voice) like lit. English *y* in *you*. It occurs a) Initially: *jalā* yellow, *jed* head, b) as a glide sound combined with vowels, before and after gutturals and palatals: *kjap* cap, *kjats* catch, *kjetl* kettle, *kjār* cower, *gjam* fun, *əgjen* again, *bajg* bag, *bejg* beg, *bajk* back. It is, however, not always pronounced and one can say for instance, either *giv*, *əgen* or *gjiv*, *əgjen*. It seems to be most consistently pronounced after *k* and before *a*.

k (back-stop breath) like lit. English *k*. It occurs in all positions: *koūd* could, *bakā* tobacco, *ṭruk* truck.

l (gum-side-voice) resembling a German *l* more than an English one and without any previous glide. It occurs in all positions but is syllabic only in unaccented syllables: *liv* to live, *bild* to build, *wīl* (adv.) well.

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Examples of vocalic *l* are: *adl* to earn, *fetl* to mend.

m (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. English *m*. It occurs in all positions: *mon* man, *ṭrembl* tremble, *tām* time.

n (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. English *n*. It occurs as a consonant in all positions and as a vowel in unaccented syllables: *nīt* night, *wunḍar* wonder, *kūmin* coming.

Examples of vocalic *n* are: *frozn* frozen, *ritn* written.

ŋ (back-nasal-voice) like *n* in lit. English *sing*: *bring* bring, *biŋk* think.

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p (lip-stop-breath) like lit. English *p*. It occurs initially, medially and finally: *prēd* proud, *supər* supper, *elp* help.

r (gum-open-voice). The tip of the tongue is pressed upwards and backwards close to the hard palate. This *r* is not trilled and occurs in all positions. It is equivalent to the lit. English *r* between vowels: *reīf* to reach, *ruŋg* wrong, *broūt* brought, *barə* barrow, *rivər* river.

s (blade-open-breath) like the *s* in lit. English *sit*. It occurs in all positions: *sārv* serve, *prosl* thrush, *ēs* house.

f (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. English *sh* in *shall*. It occurs in all positions: *fēp* shape, *faʃən* fashion, *waīf* to wash.

t (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English *t*. It occurs in all positions: *tām* time, *botl* bottle, *rat* rat.

ʈ (is the corresponding hard sound to *d* (see above and § 74): *ʈrāb* tribe, *ʈrū* true. *wēʈər* water.

þ (teeth-open-breath) like the *th* in lit. English *thin*. It occurs in all positions and may often replace and be replaced by *t*: *þoūt* thought, *kwārþər* quarter, *dīþ* death.

ð (teeth-open-voice) like the *th* in lit. English *then*.

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It occurs in all positions and often replaces and is replaced by *d*: *ðis* this, *wunðər* wonder (or *wunðər*), *smūð* smooth.

v (lip-back-open-voice) like the *v* in lit. English *vane*. It occurs in all positions: *voīs* voice, *navi* navy, *neīv* fist.

w (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. English *w* in *wet*. It occurs initially and medially: *wārm* warm, *wen* when, *əwē* away.

z (blade-open-voice) like lit. English *z* in *freeze*. It is rare initially, commoner medially and finally: *ziŋk* zinc, *buzərt* butterfly, *uz* us.

ẓ is a sound which begins like *z* but dies away to a hard *s*. It occurs chiefly at the end of words after soft consonants, and in unaccented words and syllables: *ladẓ* lads, *rōdẓ* roads, *əẓ* us (unaccented).

ʒ (blade-point-open-voice) like the *s* in lit. English *pleasure*. It chiefly occurs after *d* and *n*: *dʒudʒ* judge, *mezər* measure, *sinʒ* to singe.

Chapter II.

The Adlington vowels in accented syllables, and their sources.

1. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 3. 1. Adlington *a* in most cases corresponds to ME. *a* (§30. 1).

a) OE. *æ* (*a*) in originally closed syllables: *ap-pə* apple, *batʃ* thatch, *watʃ* watch, *ðad* that, *dlas* glass. – North. *æ* = WS. *y*, *e*: *bali* belly (see NED.)

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b) Rarely OE. *a* (*æ*) in originally open syllables: *gam* game, *adlt* addled, *faðər* father, *waʔər* water.

c) OE. *ā*: *aks* ask.

d) OE. *æbad* bad, *lad-ɔər* ladder.

e) OE. *ēa*: *laðər* lather (*loðər* is also used), *tʃap* chap.

f) OE. *eo*: *jalə* yellow.

g) AF. *a* in open syllables (§ 50): *banər* banner, *kari* carry, *batl* battle, *tʃapl* chapel.

h) AF. *a* in closed syllables: *ant* aunt, *paʃtər* pasture, *lamp* lamp.

i) AF. *al*, *au* in *savidz* savage (§ 59.4).

2. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *e*.

OE. *e* (§ 31.5): *bant* vigour, *natlt* cross, illtempered.

3. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *u*.

OE. *u* (§ 34. 6): *radl* ruddle.

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4. Adlington *a* corresponds to ME. *ā*.

OE. *a* (§ 35. 5): *swad* pod (of peas).

5. Adlington *a* corresponds to AF. *ei* (§ 58. 6.): *plat* plait, for which Shakespeare has also *plat*, see Schmidt Shakesp. Lex II 870.

ä.

§ 4. 1. Adlington *ä* corresponds chiefly to ME. *e + r*. Here are included also those words which are usually found with ME. *i* because they must evidently have developed first to ME. *e* and then to Adlington *ä*. See § 31.2.

a) OE. *e, eo* before *r*: *färi* ferry, *bäri* berry, *wärk* work.

b) OE. *æ, ē*: *ärin* herring, *äränd* errand.

c) OE. *i*: *bärtf* birch.

d) OE. *y* before *r*: *bäri* bury, *märi* merry, *wäri* worry.

e) AF. *e* before *r + cons.* (§ 51.2): *pärtf* perch.

f) AF. *i* before *r* (§ 53.5): *märikl* miracle (also *märikl*).

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2. Adlington *ä* corresponds rarely to ME. *a + r* final and before vowels = OE. *a, ea, æ* (§ 30.2c): *där* dare, *bärə* barrow, *märə* marrow, *närə* narrow.

Note. We have, however, more often *barə, marə, narə*.

e.

§ 5. 1. Adlington *e* in most cases corresponds to ME. *e* (§ 31.1).

a) OE. *e, eo*, Scand. *e* in closed syllables: *edz* hedge, *elp* help, *melt* melt, *fel* shell, *weft* weft.

b) Rarely OE. *e (eo)* in open syllables: *evn* heaven, *peni* penny.

c) OE. *ēo*: *brest* breast, *devl* devil, *frend* friend.

d) OE. *æ, ē* < Germanic *ai* and *ā*: *bled-dər* bladder, *elp* health, *les* less, *ment* meant.

e) OE. *ē, ā*: *bled* bled, *kept* kept, *met* met.

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f) OE. *a, æ*: *ed-dār* dragon-fly, *es* ashes, *geðar* gather, *wen* when, *weder* whether.

g) AF. *ē* (§ 51. 1): *tent* tent, *vesil* or *vesl* vessel.

h) AF. *e* (§ 52. 3): *selar* cellar, *trezər* treasure.

2. Adlington *e* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 3).

a) OE. *ǣ*: *redi* ready, *spred* spread.

b) OE. *ēa*: *bred* bread, *led* lead, *red* red.

3. Adlington *e* probably corresponds to ME. *ā* = OE. *a* in *blegbri* blackberry, where the *e* seems to be due to shortening of the plural form *blēgbriz* = ME. *blāke-beries*, OE. *blaceberian*.

4. Adlington *e* corresponds to AF. *i* (§ 53. 6): *rens* to rince.

i.

§ 6. 1. Adlington *i* corresponds in most cases to ME. *i* (§32. 1).

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a) OE. *i*: *bitn* bitten, *lid* lid, *wik* alive.

b) Rarely OE. *e*: *grin* grin, *rid* rid.

c) OE. *y*: *bridz* bridge, *king* king, *þin* thin.

d) OE. *ī*: *fifþ* fifth, *wimin* women.

e) Angl. *ē* WS. *ǣ*: *ridl* riddle, *sili* silly, See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.

f) OE. *ȳ*: *ðrip* drip, *tin* to shut, close.

g) AF. *i* in closed syllables (§ 53. 3): *ritf* rich, *simpl* simple.

h) AF. *i* in open syllables: *piti* pity, *finif* finish.

2. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *e*, late ME. *i* (§ 31. 4).

a) OE. *e*: *siŋz* singe, *string* sting (*streng* is more common), *fiðar* feather.

Note: The last word has been confounded with its derivative *fiðere* wing, in ME. See Morsbach MEG. p. 144.

b) ON. *e*: *skip* basket, *sniftər* to sniff.

3. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *ī* (§ 39. 4). OE. *ȳ*: *id* to hide.

4. Adlington *i* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 2).

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a) Angle. *ē*, WS. *ēa*: *rik* rick (cp. Kluge-Lutz sv. *rick*; according to Skeat Conc. Et. Dict., New Edition, NE. *rick* comes from OE. *-hrycce* in *corn-hrycce*).

b) OE. *ēo*: *bin* been, *sik* sick.

o.

§ 7. 1. Adlington *o* generally corresponds to ME. *o* (§ 33. 1)

a) OE. *o*, Scand. *o* in closed syllables: *frost* frost, *kotl* cockle, *stop* stop, *tlod* to throw.

b) OE. *o* in open syllables: *bodi* body, *frozn* frozen, *spokn* spoken.

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c) OE. *a*, *o* before nasals: *kom* komb, *kon* can, *jon* yonder, *moni* many.

d) OE. *ō*: *blosam* blossom, *foðar* fodder, *soft* soft.

e) OE. *e*, North. *o*: *fotf* to fetch. Cp. Sievers Ags. Gr.³ 416 anm. 15b. Bülbring E. Stud. 27.73 foll. Mätzner ME. Wörterb. II 85.

f) AF. *o* (§ 54. 2): *promis* promise, *rob* rob.

2. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *a*.

a) OE. *æ* after *w* (§ 30. 4): *wod* what.

b) AF. *a* before *l* + cons. (§ 50. 5): *oltar* altar.

3. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *ō*.

OE. *ā* (§ 41. 4): *olidi* holiday.

4. Adlington *o* corresponds to ME. *u* before *r* (§ 34. 2).

a) OE. *u*: *dor* door (*duar* is also used), *for* further, *kos* to curse (*kus* is more common).

b) OE. *y*, *i*: *tfortf* church.

c) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 3): *ort* to hurt.

u.

§ 8. 1. Adlington *u* is somewhat rare sound, corresponding generally to ME. *ō*, OE *ō* (§ 40. 4): *but* boot, *du* do, *sut* soot, *tu* too.

2. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *u* [*ü*].

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- a) AF. *u* (§ 55. 5): *put* pullet.
- b) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 4): *flut* flute, *jus use* (sb.).
- c) AF. *üi* (§ 57. 1): *frut* fruit.
- d) AF. *eu*: *dzuti* duty.

Note: The word *duty* does not occur in AF. but is has been formed from AF.

due.

3. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *eu*.

- a) AF. *eau*: *bjuti* beauty.

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Note. The pronunciation of nearly all these words varies between *u* and *ū*.

u.

§ 9. 1. Adlington *u* corresponds generally to ME. *u* (§ 34. 1).

- a) OE. *u* in closed syllables: *bul* bull, *drunċ* drunk, *kup* cup, *undærd* hundred.
- b) OE. *u* in open syllables: *kud* cud, *sumær* summer, *uni* honey.
- c) OE. *y*: *bundl* bundle, *krutſ* crutch, *fut* shut.
- d) OE. *ū*: *dust* dust, *uzbund* husband.
- e) OE. *i* (*u*) after *w*: *wus* worse, *wust* worst.
- f) OE. *eo* after *w*: *wuþ* worth
- g) AF. *u* (§ 55. 1): *kuntri* country.
- h) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 1): *dzudz* judge, *dzust* just.

2. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME *o* (§ 33. 4).

OE. *o*: *tluk* cluck, *puŋg* thong. *duġ* dog and *tlug* clog also occur but these words are usually pronounced *dog* and *tlog*.

3. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *i* (§ 32. 3).

- a) OE. *y*: *fust* first, *futl* shuttle.
- b) OE. *ī* after *w*: *wumun* woman.

4. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 40. 2).

EO. *ō*: *munþ* month, *mudær* mother, (t)tuðær the other.

5. Adlington *u* corresponds to ME. *ū*.

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- a) OE. *ū* (§ 42. 2): *duċ* duck, *plum* plum.
- b) older ough = OE. *ōh*, *ōg* and *ūh* (§ 42. 3): *tluċ* clough, *tuf* tough, *ruċ* rough.

ə.

§ 10. 1. Adlington *ə* corresponds chiefly to ME. *i* (§ 32. 4).

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- a) OE. *i*: *ær* her.
 - b) OE. *ī*: *stærəp* stirrup (also *stārəp*)
 - c) AF. *i* (§ 35. 5): *mærikl* miracle (also *mārikl*), *spærit* spirit.
2. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *u* (§ 34. 4).
- a) OE. *u*: *tærft* turf (*torf* is more common), *færə* furrow.
 - b) OE. *eo* (*u*) after *w*: *wærġip* worship.
3. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *a* (§ 30. 9).
- OE. *æ*: *wær* was (*wor* is more common).
4. Adlington *ə* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 6).
- OE. *ē*: *jær* year.

2. Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 11. 1. Adlington *ā* corresponds almost everywhere to ME. *ī* (§ 39.1).

- a) OE. *ī*: *ālænd* island, *fāv* five, *tām* time, *wāf* wife.
- b) OE. *i* before *ld*, *nd*, *mb*: *blānd* blind, *fānd* find, *tlām* climb, *tġālt* child, *wāld* wild.
- c) OE. *i* + *g*: *nān* nine.
- d) OE. *ȳ*: *āv* hive, *lās* lice, *mās* mice.
- e) AF. *i* (§53. 1): *bābl* bible, *fān* fine, *nās* nice, *tās* entice.
- f) AF. *i* + *ñ* (lat. *ign*): *rizān* rising, *sān* sign.

2. Adlington *ā* is of uncertain origin in *tāp-ōr* to tip over = to swoon.

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Note. The etymology of *tāt* tight is somewhat doubtful. It is supposed by Pogatscher Eng. Studien 27, 271ff. and Much P. B. Beiträge 17, 145 to be from a Germanic **tenhtaz* and related to OE. *tōh*, *getenge*. Kluge, Etymological Dictionary, and Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Et. 212, had assumed it to be from Scand *þétrr* but the development of *þ* to *t* is irregular.

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ā.

§ 12. *ā* is a vowel, which, like *ä*, only appears before *r*.

1. Adlington *ā* corresponds generally to ME. *e* before *r* + cons. For the development see § 31.2.

a) OE. *e*, *eo*: *ārt* herart, *bārm* barm, *dārk*, dark, *lārn* learn.

b) OE. *i*: *þārd* third, *wārl* whirl (Scand. *hvirfla*).

c) AF. *ēo*: *dārlin* darling, *fārdin* farthing.

d) AF. *ē* (§ 51. 2): *ārb* herb, *nārv* nerve, *sārmən* sermon.

2. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME. *a* before *r* + cons. (§ 30. 2).

a) OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*: *ārd* heard, *kārt* cart (or from Scand, *kartr*?), *pārk* park.

b) OE. *ā*: *lārk* lark.

c) AF. *a* (§ 20. 3): *bārbær*, barber, *kwārt* quart, *pārt* part.

3. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME. *ū*.

a) OE. *ū* before *r* (§ 42. 4): *sār* sour, *fār* shower.

b) AF. *u* before *r* (§ 55. 3): *ār* hour, *flār* flower, flour, *tār* tower.

ē.

§ 13. 1 Adlington *ē* corresponds generally to ME. *ā* (§ 35. 1).

a) OE. *a*, *æ* in open syllables: *bēð* bathe, *bi-ēv* to behave, *blēz* blaze, *skēl* scale, *wēv* to wave.

b) AF. *a* in open syllables (§ 50. 2): *bēkn* bacon, *plēt* plate, *tēbl* table.

c) AF. *a* in closed syllables: *kēs* case, *wēst* waste.

2. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ai* (§ 43. 1)

a) OE. *æg*: *dē* day, *fēn* fain, *tēl* tail.

b) OE. *eg*: *ēl* ail, *rēn* rain.

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c) WS. *ā*, Angl. *ē*: *grē* gray, *jē* ye.

d) OE. *ā* (i·umlaut of *ā*): *tlē* clay.

e) OE. *ēg*, *ēh* (*ēah*): *ē* hay, *nēbær* neighbour.

f) Scand. *ei*: *bēt* bait, *fēk* fake, trick, *wēk* weak (but see Björkman Scan. Loan-words in ME. p.52, n. 3).

g) AF. *ai*, *ei* (§ 58. 1): *fēl* fail, *grēn* grain, *plēn* plain.

3. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *a* (§ 30. 7).

OE. *ea*: *ēf* half also (ōf).

4. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 36. 5)

OE. *ēo*: *wēkin* wick.

5. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 4).

OE. *ā*: *sē* sea.

ē.

§ 14. 1 Adlington *ē* corresponds generally to ME. *ū* (§ 42. 1).

a) OE. *ū*: *ē* how, *ēt* out, *tlēt* clout, *pēnd* pound.

b) AF. *u* (§ 55. 2): *dēt* doubt, *amēnt* amount, *krēn* crown, *rēnd* round.

Note 1. Adl. *mēðært* mole (beside which also *moūdiwārp* occurs) seems to stand for **muðrat* mouth-rat, a folk-etymological interpretation of **mold-rat*. See the form *moudie-rat* mole in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict.sv. *Moudie*.

Note 2. Adl. *pēk* pustule points to an unrecorded ME. *pōūk*, *pūk*, not to ME. *pocke*. Cp. *Pouk* in Wright, Engl. Dial. Dict.

2. Adlington *ē* corresponds to ME. *ai*.

AF. *ai* (§ 58. 7): *mēsṭar* master (also *mēsṭær*).

ī.

§ 15. 1 Adlington *ī* corresponds chiefly to ME. *ī* (§ 36. 1).

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- a) OE. \bar{e} for \check{e} in monosyllables: *ī* he, *mī* me, *ðī* thee.
 b) OE. \bar{e} for \check{e} before lengthening groups: *fīld* field, *fīld* shield.—Also in *wīl* well (adv.)

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c) Angl. \bar{e} , WS. \bar{a} (Teutonic \bar{a}): *īl* eel, *īvnin* evening, *nīdl* needle, *sīd* seed.

d) Angl. \bar{e} (Umlaut of $\bar{e}a$): *bilīv* believe, *nīd* need, *stīpl* steeple.

e) Angl. \bar{e} for $\bar{e}a$ and $\bar{e}o$ before gutturals: *bīkn* beacon, *ðrī* tiresome.

f) Angl. \bar{a} (Umlaut of \bar{o}): *bītl* beetle (hammer), *fīd* feed, *grīn* green.

g) OE. $\bar{e}o$: *dīp* deep, *frī* free, *līf* life, *nī* knee.

h) OE. y : *īvl* evil.

i) AF. ϵ (§ 52. 1): *mīstfīf* mischief, *pīs* piece.

2. Adlington \bar{i} corresponds to ME. *i* (§ 32. 2).

a) OE. *i* before sibilants: *dīf* dish, *fīf* fish.

b) OE. *i* before *ht*: *brīt* bright, *nīt* night, *sīt* sight.

3. Adlington \bar{i} corresponds to ME. \bar{i} (§ 39. 6).

OE. *-ig-*: *stīl* stile.

4. Adlington \bar{i} corresponds to ME. \bar{e} = OE. *e* in open syllable before *s* (§ 38. 3):
bīzəm besom, *wīzl* weasel.

5. Adlington \bar{i} corresponds to ME. \bar{e} before *s*:

AF. *e* < *ai* (§ 58. 3): *pīs* peace.

6. Adlington \bar{i} corresponds to ME. *ei*.

OE. \bar{e} + *g* (§ 45. 2): *brīd* frightened.

\bar{o} .

§ 16. 1 Adlington \bar{o} corresponds principally to ME. \bar{o} (§ 41. 1).

a) OE. *o*: *fłot* float, *jōk* yoke (OE. *geocu*), *ōp* hope.

b) OE. \bar{a} : *bōt* boat (rarer *buæt*), *lōf* loaf (rarer *luaf*), *ōk* oak, *wōl* whole.

c) OE. $\bar{e}o$: *lōz* lose, *tjōk* choke.

d) AF. \bar{o} (§ 54. 1): *dlōri* glory, *stōri* story, *tlōk* cloak, *trōn* throne.

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2. Adlington \bar{o} corresponds to ME. *a*.

a) OE. *a, æ, ea* before *l* (§ 30. 3): *f̄ō* fall, *k̄ō* dall, *ō* all, *wō* wall.

Note. These words are sometimes pronounced \bar{o} .

b) AF. *a* (§ 50. 4): *b̄ō* ball (more rarely *b̄ō*).

3. Adlington \bar{o} corresponds to ME. *ou* (§ 49. 1).

a) OE. $\bar{a}| + w$: *bl̄ō* blow, *m̄ō* mow, *sn̄ō* snow.

b) OE. $\bar{o} + w$: *gr̄ō* grow, *r̄ō* to row.

4. Adlington \bar{o} corresponds to ME. *o*.

a) OE. *eo + l* (33. 6): *j̄ōk* yolk.

b) AF. *o* before *r* (§ 54. 3): *f̄ōrd̄z* forge, *f̄ōrs* force, *p̄ōrt̄f* porch.

\bar{o} .

§ 17. 1 Adlington \bar{o} corresponds chiefly to ME. *o* (§ 33. 2)

a) OE. *o* before *r + cons.*: *n̄ōrp* north, *ōs* horse, *w̄ōrd* word.

b) OE. *eo* after *w*: *w̄ōrld* world, *s̄ōrd* sword, *w̄ōrm* worm (OE. *weorm*).

c) AF. *o* before *r + cons.* (§ 54. 3. 4): *f̄ōrf̄it* forfeit, *f̄ōrt̄f̄an* fortune, *k̄ōrd* cord, *m̄ōrsl* morsel, *ord̄ar* order.

2. Adlington \bar{o} corresponds to ME. *a* before *l*.

a) OE. *a, æ, ea* followed by *lf, lk, ls, lt* (§ 30. 3b): *k̄ōf* calf, *ōf* half (*əf* is more used), *s̄ōt* salt.

b) AF. *a* before *l* (§ 50.4): *b̄ō* ball (also *b̄ō*), *f̄ōs* false.

3. Adlington \bar{o} corresponds to ME. *au* (§ 44).

a) OE. *a + g, f, w*: *dr̄ō* draw, *ōk* hawk, *tl̄ō* claw.

b) Scand. *au*: *ḡōm* heed, *ḡōml̄as* heedless.

c) AF. *au* (§ 59. 1): *k̄ōsə* causeway.

\bar{u} .

§ 18. 1 Adlington \bar{u} corresponds chiefly to ME. \bar{u} (§ 40. 1).

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a) OE. *ō*: *kūk* cook, *rūst* roost, *stū*(1) stool, *tūl* tool.

b) OE. *ō* + *ɝ*: *bū* bough, *ənū* enough, *plū* plough.

c) AF. *φ* (§ 54. 6): *fū* fool.

2. Adlington *ū* corresponds to ME. *ō*.

a) OE. *ā*: *ðūz* those (§ 41. 6)

b) OE. *ā* > ME. *ō* > ME. *ō*: *tū* two (§ 40. 1b).

3. Adlington *ū* (*jū*) corresponds to ME. *u* [*ü*].

a) AF. *ü* (§ 56. 2): *jūz* to use, *dlū* glue, *rūd* rude.

b) AF. *üi* (§ 57. 1): *piū* pew, *frut frūt*, fruit.

c) OE. *u* (§ 34. 3): *kūtar*, *kūtār* coulter, *pū* pull, *prū* through.

4. Adlington *ū* corresponds to ME. *eu*.

a) OE. *ēow* (§ 57. 1): *njū* new, *brū* brew, *rū* rue, *ifū* chew.

b) OE. *ī* + *w* (§ 57.2): *tfūzdi* Tuesday.

5. Adlington *ū* (*jū*) corresponds to ME. *eu* (§ 46).

OE. *ēa* + *w*: *fiū* few, *dzū* dew.

ā.

§ 19. Adlington *ā* is a somewhat rare sound; it appears only before *r*.

1. It corresponds to ME. *ā* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea* before *r* (§ 35. 2): *bār* bare, *ār* hare, *kuār* care, *stār* stare.

2. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *e* before *r*, in open syllables (§ 37. 5): *bār* bear, *swār* swear.

3. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME *ē*. = OE. *ea* (§ 31. 2c): *fār*n fern.

4. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME. *ē* = OE. *ē*, *æ* (§ 36. 6): *jār* year, *ār* hair.

5. Adlington *ā* corresponds to ME. *ai*.

a) OE. *æg*, *æg* (§ 43. 2): *fār* fair, *stār* stair.

b) Scand. *ei*: *ðār* their.

c) AF. *ai*, *ei* (§ 58.5): *ār* air, *fār* fair (sb.), *mār* mayor, *prār* prayer.

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6. Adlington \bar{a} corresponds to ME. \bar{u} , u = AF. u (§ 55. 4): *distārb* disturb, *dʒārnī* journey.

Note. Adlington \bar{a} corresponds in the negations *dārnd* do not, and *wārnd* will not to ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{o} and ME. i = OE. i respectively.

3. Diphthongs.

$\bar{a}e$

§ 20. Adlington $\bar{a}e$ corresponds to ME. \bar{i} (§ 39. 2).

a) OE. and Scand. \bar{i} , \bar{y} : *lāek* like, *pāek* pick. (ME. * $\bar{p}iken$, see § 32. 1b), *strāek* strike, *pāe* thigh, *wāe* why.

b) OE. $\bar{e}a$ > ME. ei > \bar{i} : $\bar{a}e$ eye (pl. $\bar{i}n$).

c) OE. y + g : *bāe* buy.

d) AF. i (§ 53. 2): *kraāe* cry, *risāet* ricite, *tāegər* tiger, *tlāemət* climate.

$a\bar{i}$

§ 21. Adlington $a\bar{i}$ always corresponds to ME. a before \check{s} .

a) OE. and Scand. a , \check{a} (§ 30. 5): *pāif* a great quantity (ME. *paschen*), *raif* rash, *smaif* smash, *waif* wash.

b) AF. a (§ 50. 6): *faif* to anger.

$e\bar{i}$

§ 22. 1. Adlington $e\bar{i}$ corresponds to ME. \acute{e} .

OE. e (§ 38. 1): *meil* meal, *speik* speak, *weiv* weave, *eiv* heave.

2. Adlington $e\bar{i}$ corresponds to ME. ei (§ 45. 1).

a) OE. and Scand. ea , e , \check{a} before ht : *eit* eight, *streit* straight, *weit* weight.

b) OE. eo before ht : *feit* fight (§ 32. 2b).

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c) OE. $\check{a}e$ + g : *kei* key.

d) OE. \bar{e} + h : *eit* height.

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e) OE. *ēa*, late OE. *ē + h*: *eī* high.

f) AF. *ei* (§ 58. 4): *deīn* dean.

3. Adlington *eī* corresponds to ME. *e* (§ 31. 3).

a) OE. *e*: *neīf* soft, tender.

b) OE. *ā*: *fleīf* flesh.

4. Adlington *eī* corresponds to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 6).

a) OE. *ēa*: *fleīþ* fleas (pl. only), *greīt* great.

b) OE. *ā*: *bleīt* bleach.

c) AF. *ē* (§ 51. 3): *preīt* preach.

īa.

§ 23. 1. Adlington *īa* corresponds generally to ME. *ē* (§ 37. 1):

a) OE. *ā* (*i*-umlaut of *ā*): *dīal* deal, *līan* lean, *mīan* mean, *tlīan* clean.

b) OE. *ēa*: *dīaþ* death, *nīar* near.

c) OE. *e* in open syllable: *spīar* spear.

d) OE. *ea* (late OE, *ēa*): *bīard* beard.

e) AF. *ē* (§ 51. 4): *bīas* beasts.

f) AF. *ai*, *ei*, later *ē* (§ 58. 2): *īazi* easy, *plīaz* please.

2. Adlington *īa* corresponds to ME. *ē* before *r* (§ 36. 3).

a) Angl. *ē*, WS. *ā*: *bīar* bier, *dīer* there, *wīar* where.

b) Angl. *ē*, WS. *īar* to hear, *stīar* steer.

c) OE. *ē*, *ēo*: *īar* here, *bīar* bier.

d) AF. *ē* before *r* (§ 52. 2): *pīar* pier, *tlīar* clear.

3. Adlington *īa* corresponds to ME. *ê*.

OE. *io* > *eo* (§ 38. 4): *rīap* reap.

4. Adlington *īa* corresponds to ME. *ā* (§ 35. 4). *īamz* hames (cf. Du. *haam*).

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oī.

§ 24. 1. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 41. 7).

OE. *o*: *koīl* coal, *oīl* hole, *loīz* lose (OE. *losian*?).

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Note. In all the above mentioned words the pron. with *ō* is more usual.

2. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME *ī*.

OE. *ȳ* (§ 39. 5): *boīl* boil (subst.)

3. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *oi*.

a) AF. *oi* (§ 60.1): *boīl* boil, *dʒoīnt* joint, *noīz* noise, *soīl* soil, *spoīl* spoil.

b) AF. *iii* (§ 57. 2): *oīl* oil, *oīsṭær* oyster.

4. Adlington *oī* corresponds to ME. *ī*.

OF. *i* (§ 53. 7): *dʒoīs* or *dʒoīsiz* joists.

oū.

§ 25. 1. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *ou* chiefly before *ht* (§ 49. 2).

a) OE. *o* < *ō*: *broūt* brought, *boūt* thought.

b) OE. *o*: *douṭær* daughter, *foūt* fought.

c) OE. *og* final and before *-en*: *floūn* flown, *troūf* trough (also *trof*).

d) OE. *ā*: *noūt* naught, *soūl* soul.

e) OE. *u*: *foū(d)ḡær* shoulder.

2. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 41. 3).

a) OE. *o*: *goūd* gold (rarely *gūld*).

b) OE. (Angl.) *a*, later *ā* before *ld*: *boūd* bold, *koūd* cold, *oūd* old, *toūd* told.

3. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *ū* before *l*. OE. *-ug-* (§ 42. 7): *foūl* fowl.

4. Adlington *oū* corresponds to ME. *o*.

a) OE. *ol* + *cons.* (§ 33. 3): *boūsṭær* bolster, *koūt* colt, *toū* toll.

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b) AF. *o* (§ 54. 5): *roūl* roll, *soū(d)-dʒær* soldier.

5. Adlington *oū* corresponds to AF. *u* (§ 55. 6): *boū* to bowl, *poūlṭri* poultry.

6. Adlington *oū* corresponds to AF. *oi*, *ui* (§ 60. 3): *koū* to scrape together (Fr. *cueillir*).

uə.

§ 36. 1. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 41. 2)

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- a) OE. *o*: *afuær* before, *nuæz* nose (*nōz* is more used), *skuær* score.
- b) OE. *ā*: *buap* both, *guæ* go, *muær* more, *muæst* most (also *muist*), *uæs* hoarse.
- c) OE. *ēo* (*o?*): *luæz* lose (*lōz* and *loiz* are more used).
- d) AF. *o* (§ 54. 7): *kuæt* coat, *puærk* pork (more usually *pōrk*).

2. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *ō* (§ 40. 3).

a) OE. *o*: *buærd* board, *afuærd* afford. (The ME. vowel is usually given as *o*, but would appear to have been *ō* in the dialect.)

b) OE. *ō*: *fluær* floor, *muær* moor, *uær* whore.

3. Adlington *uə* corresponds to ME. *u*, before *r*.

a) OE. *u* (§ 34. 2): *duær* door.

b) AF. *u* (§ 55. 4): *kuært* court.

ui.

§ 27. 1. Adlington *ui* corresponds to ME. *ū*, *u* = AF. *ü* (§ 56. 5): *kruil* cruel.

2. Adlington *ui* corresponds to AF. *oi*, *iu* (§ 60. 4): *ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

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uī.

§ 28. Adlington *uī* always corresponds to ME. *u* before *f*.

a) OE. *u*, *y* (§ 34. 1 c. note): *bluīf* blush, *ruīf* rush.

b) OE. *ū* (§ 34. 1d): *tūīf* tusk.

c) AF. *o* (§ 54. 8): *bruīf* brush.

d) AF. *oi*, *ui* (§ 60. 2): *buīfl* bushel, *kuīfan* cushion.

4. Triphthongs.

aiə.

§ 29. 1. Adlington *aiə* almost always corresponds to ME. *ī* (§ 39. 3).

a) OE. *ī* before *r*: *aiərn* iron, *spaiər* spire, *waiər* wire.

b) OE. *ȳ* before *r*. *aiər* hire, *faiər* fire.

c) AF. *i* (§ 53. 4): *laiən* lion, *raiət* riot.

2. Adlington *aiə* corresponds to ME *ē*.

AF. *ę* (§ 52. 2): *kwaiaər* quire, *ūmpaiər* umpire.

Chapter III.

The Vowels of Accented Syllables treated historically.

A. The English Elements.

1. Short Vowels.

ME. *a*.

§ 30. 1. ME. *a*. appears in the Adl. Dialect as *a*. This *a* is the ME. *a* and not a new *a* arising out of any development of ME. *a*. This may be at once seen on comparing groups of Mod. E. words with the corresponding words of the dialect. For instance Mod. E. *hand*, *glass*

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and *swan* are each represented in the dialect by the same sound as in ME., namely *a*. The development of these words in Mod. E. has been as follows:

hand, ME. *a* > *æ*.
glass » *a* > *æ* > *ǣ* > *ā*.
swan » *a* > *o*.

Now as the dialect has in each case the same vowel as in ME. we must assume that it has remained at the ME. standpoint, and has never made any of the developments at all which have given us the present Mod. E. sounds. Otherwise we should have to assume some such sound changes as these.

æ

ME. *a* *ǣ* dial. *a*.

o

which would, to say the least, be very improbable.

a) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*, Scand. *a* in closed syllables and unknown sources: *adl* to earn, *aft̄ær* after, *aks* axe (also *ajks*), *aksl* axel, *am* ham, *and* hand (rarely *ond*), *anþəm* anthem, *aŋg* hang, *aŋk* hank, *aŋkær* anchor, *aŋkl* ankle (also *antl*), *arə* arrow, *as* ass, *ask* hard, dry, *asp* hasp, *at* hat, *anvil* anvil, *bad* bad, *bag* bag (also *bajg*), *bak* back (also *bajk*), *bras* brass, *brast* burst (from the preterite form), *brat* apron (Keltic), *daft* silly, simple, *dlad* glad, *dlas* glass, *ðad* that, *fan* fan, *fast* fast, *flat* flat, *gab* impudence, *gad* to loiter, idle, *galəsiz* braces, fun, *kam* to tread shoes out of shape (Welsh), *kan* can (also *kjan*), *kant* eager, merry (W. Du. *kant*), *kap* cap (also *kjap*), *kasl* castle, *kaŋkær* to rust, *krab* crab, *kram* cram, *kraŋk* crank, *lad* lad, *lam* lamb, *land* land, *lap* lap (subs.), *las* lass, *last* last, *lat* lath, *mas* mass, *mast* mast, *narə* narrow, *raft̄ær* rafter, *rag* rag (oftener

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rajg), *sad* sad, *sakləs* silly, simple (OE. *saclēas*), *sand* sand, *skab* scab (also *skjab*), *skrambl* to scramble, *skrat* scratch, *sparə* sparrow, *staf* staff, *stamp* stamp, *swalə* swallow, *swan* swan, *swap* to exchange, *talə* tallow, *tan* tan, *tap* tap, *tlam* to starve, famish (also *tlem*), *tlap* clap, *tlat* to inform, relate, *trap* trap, *tʃaf* chaff, *tʃat* small potato, *batʃ* thatch, *waks* wax (also *wajks*), *want* to want, *wand̄ær* wander, *wap* to spring, dart, jump, *wasp* wasp, *watʃ* watch.

b) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; Scand. *a* in open syllables: *flanin* flannel (Welsh *glwanen*), *gaðær* to gather (also *geðær*), *slavær* slaver, *wakn* waken, *wagin* wagon, *gam* game (ME. *gamen*); — *faðær* father, *waʒær* water.

Note. *fedær*, *wēʒær* are more used. See § 35. 1 a.

c) ME. *a* = OE. Scand. *ā*: *aks* ask (also *ajks*), *alf* to fasten, embrace (a wrestling term, Scand *hālsa*, ME. *halchen*; see NED. sv. *halse*), *grasp* grasp.

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d) ME. *a* = OE. *ǣ*, chiefly umlaut of OE. *ā*: *ani* any (rarely *oni*), *ant* ant (seldom used), *fat* fat, *lad-ḡar* ladder, *last* last (verb), *mad* mad, *madl* to puzzle, confuse.

e) ME. *a* = OE. *ēa*: *lad̄ar* lather.

f) ME. *a* = Angle. *æ*, WS. *e*, *y*: *bali* belly (see NED.)

g) ME. *a* = OE. *eo*, fracture, or *u*-umlaut, of *e*: *jalə* yellow.

2. ME. *a* before *r* + cons. Appears as *ā*, and before final and intervocalic *r* as *ä*. In this case ME. *a* would appear to have developed at first in the dialect to *æ*, as in lit. Engl., and then, instead of making the retrograde movement to *ā*, to have become narrowed in combining with the following *r*. After this it fell together with the development of ME. *e* + *r* (see § 31. 2) and has since remained at this stage.

a) ME. *a* before *r* + cons. Appears as *ā*: a) OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; *ārd* hard, *ārm* harm, *ārtf* arch,

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bārk bark (subs.), *kārt* cart (also *kjārt*, fr. Scand. *kartr*?), *mārk* mark, *pārk* park, *spārk* spark, *sārk* stark, *swārm* swarm, *fārp* sharp, *wārm* warm, *wārn* warn. – β) AF. *a*: *bārli* barley. – γ) OE. *ā*: *lārk* lark.

b) ME. *a* + *r* final and before vowels = OE. *a*, *ea*, *æ* appears as *ä*: *dār* dare (as negation *dārnd*), *bārə* barrow, *mārə* marrow, *nārə* narrow. (More often *barə*, *marə*, *narə*. See 1. a.) – But note *arə* arrow. See 1. a.

3. a) ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea* appears as *ō* when followed by *l*. A parasitic *u* was apparently developed and then the *l* was dropped. The stages were probably: *a* + *l* > *aul* > *qu(l)* > *qu* > *ō*. See Luick Anglia XVI, p. 462ff. *fō* fall, *kō* call, *ō* all, hall, *ōləz* always, *ōredi* already, *smō* small, *wō* wall.

b) When ME. *a* was followed by *lf*, *lk*, *ls*, *lt*, it appears as *ō*: *kōf* calf, *ōf* half (*ēf* is more used), *ōpni* halfpenny, *bōk* to cry (Du.), *stōk* stalk, *mōt* malt, *ōtər* halter, *sōt* salt, *wōt* to overtun.

4. ME. *a* = OE. *a*, *æ* appears as *o*, chiefly before nasals and in some cases after *w*: *gonḡar* gander, *kom* comb, *kon* can (vb.), *mon* man, *moni* many, *omər* hammer, *pon* pan, *spon* span, *roḡkl* fester, *wod* what, *wor* was (emphatic).

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Note. In other cases the sound is *a*: swan, tan etc. See 1 a. For ME. *a*, *o* = OE, *a*, *o* before *n* + gutt. See § 33. 4.

5. ME. *a* appears as *aī* before sibilants: *daīf* dash (ME. *dasshe* – origin unknown), *laīf* lash, *paīf* a great quantity (ME. *paschen*), *raīf* rash, *smāīf* smash (Scand.), *waīf* to wash (also *weīf*)

6. ME. *a* appears as *aj* or *ja* before and after gutturals: *ajks* to ask, *bajg* bag, *bajk* back, *blajk* black,

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drajg drag, *flajks* flax, *rajg* rag, *slajk* slack, *wajg* wag; *kjan* can (sb.), *kjandl* candle, *kjap* cap, *kjat* cat, *skjab* scab.

Note. The majority of these words appear also under 1 a.

7. ME. *a* = OE. *ea* appears as *ē*: *ēf* half (see 3. b above). *kēl* to forestall (Scand. *kalla*).

8. ME. *a* = appears as *i*: *skit̄ar* scatter (O. Du. *scateren*).

9. ME. *a* = OE. *ea* appears as *ə*: *wər* was (*wor* is more common).

Note. For *then*, *when* and other words usually found in ME. with the vowel *a*, see ME. *e* § 31. 1f.

ME. *e*.

§ 31. 1. ME. *e* appears as *e*.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *e*, *eo*, Scand. *e* in closed syllables and unknown sources: *bed* bed, *beg* beg (also *bejg*), *bel* bell, *belt* belt, *benf* bench, *best* best, *deg* to pour water (also *deyg*), *delv* delve, *den* den, *ḍregz* dregs, *dlent* glance (appears in ME. as *glent* but the origin is uncertain), *dwel* dwell, *edʒ* hedge, edge, *eg* egg (sb.), *alto* to egg, *incite*, *el* hell, *elḍar* elder (tree), also as adj. older, in which meaning note the more usual pron, *oūd̄ar*, *elm* elm, *elmit*, helmet, *elp* help, *els* else, *em* hem, *en* hen, *enḡ* hang (also *inḡ*, see 4. b), *felt* felt, *frenf* French, *jel* yell, *jelp* yelp, *jet* yet, *kent* Kent, *kres* cress, *leg* leg (also *lejg*), *lent* Lent, *lengp* length, *melt* melt, *men* men, *neb* neb, *nek* neck, *net* net, *pen* pen (vb., OE. *-pennian*), *rek* wreck, *ren* wren, *rest* rest, *sel* sell, *send* send, *sent* sent, *set* set, *setl* to settle, and as sb. sofa, *sledʒ* sledge, *smel* smell, *smelt* smelt, *snek* latch, *spel* spell,

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stedi steady, *stem* stem, *step* step, *streng* string (see 4. a), *strengþ* strength, *stretf* stretch, *swell* sell, *swelt* to swelter, *fed* shed (sb.), *fel* shell, *felf* shelf, *tel* tell, *tlem* starve

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(also *tlam*), *tfest* chest, *twelv* twelve, *twenti* twenty, *web* web, *wed* wed, *wedʒ* wedge, *weft* weft, *wel* well (sb., adv. is *wīl*), *welp* whelp, *wenf* girl, *west* west.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *ee*, *eo* in open syllables: *evn* heaven, *fetl* to mend, repair (Scand.) *feðar* feather, *ilevn* eleven, *ketl* kettle (Scand.), *ged* get, *leðar* leather, *netl* nettle, *peni* penny, *rekn* reckon, *sevn* seven.

senjærz sinews is from ME. *e* = OE. *eo* < *io* < *i*.

c) ME. *e* = OE. *ā*, *ē* < Germ. *ai* and *ā*: *bledðar* bladder, *elþ* health, *emti* empty, *ever* ever, *evri* every, *led* lead (prtc.) *les* less, *meda* meadow, *ment* meant, *never* never (also *nār*), *red* read (prtc.) *slept* slept, *sepstært* starling, *wet* wet.

d) ME. *e* = OE. *ē*, *ā*: *bekn* beckon, *bled* bled, *bles* bless, *depp* depth, *fed* fed, *feli* fellow (Scand.), *kept* kept, *met* met, *nekst* next, *ten* ten, *þeft* theft.

e) ME. *e* = OE. *ēo*: *step* step -(father), *brest* brest, *dvl* devil, *friend* friend.

f) ME. *e* = OE. *a*, *æ*: *blegbri* blackberry, *ed-ðar* dragonfly, *es* ashes, *et-þærkrop* spider, *eʒ* has, *ed* had, *geðar* gather, *emp* hemp (OE. also *hēnep*, Morsbach MEG., § 107. A. 5), *sek* sack, *seþarti* Saturday, *ðen* then, *wen* when, *wedðar* whether.

g) ME. *e* = OE. *y*: *dent* dint.

Note. These words would point to the fact that the development of OE. *æ* to ME. *e* was not confined to Kent, as is generally supposed. *ed-ðar* is frequently found in ME. as *nedre* and although *et-þærkrop* is only found with *a*, it is not met with very often and was no doubt spoken with *e*. For *eʒ* had and *ed* had, *e* forms are numerous, especially for the latter. *emp* may have been influenced by the lit. lang., or be from OE. *hēnep* but *sek* sack occurs with *e*. *seþarti* must have had ME. *e* in Lanc. and occurs as such in Langland A. v. 12. *geðar* gather may have been influenced by the lit. language, but *ðen* then, *wen* when are always found with *e* in the Lanc. ME. poems Sir Gawayne and the allit. poem Patience &c. In

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the Destruction of Troy and Joseph of Arimathie, both of which show traces of the West ME. dialect, we have *þan* and *then* as well as *whon* and *wen*. The *e* forms may very probably be the West Ml. ones.

2. ME. *e* before *r*, from all sources; appears as a) *ǣ*, b) *ä*. But cp. § 36.7.

Here are included also those words which are only found in ME. with *i + r*, because this *i* must evidently have developed to *e* before making the change to *ǣ* (*ǣ*). The two groups of genuine ME. *e* and of *e < i*, then united with the group from ME. *a + r* (see § 30.2). The various OE. sources of these *ǣ*-: *ǣ*- words are given in chap. II, § 4. 12.

a) *ǣ*: *ǣrl* earl, *ǣrnist* earnest, *ǣrt* heart, *ǣrþ* hearth, *ǣrvist* harvest¹, *bǣrk* to bark, *bǣrm* barm, *bǣrn* barn, *dǣrlin* darling, *dǣrk* dark, *dwǣrf* dwarf, *fǣr* far (rarely *far*), *fǣrdin* farthing, *kjǣrv* carve, *jǣrd* yard, *lǣrn* learn, *mǣr* mar, *mǣrf* marsh, *smǣrt* smart, *stǣr* star (rarely *star*), *spǣr* to inquire, *fǣrt*, *fǣrt* shirt (also *fort*), *stǣrv* starve, *tǣr* char (coal), *tūþ-wartf*, *-wǣrtf* tooth-ache, *þǣrd*, *þǣrd* third, *wǣrk* wǣrk work, *wǣrl*, *wǣrl* whirl, *wǣrp* warp, *wǣrt* wart.

b) *ä*: *ärənd* errand, *ärin* herring, *bär* rush, impetus (Scand.), *bäri* to bury, berry, *bärtf* birch, *bärþ* birth, *märi* merry, *þär(t)-tīn* thirteen (apparently influenced by *þärd* from OE. *þridða*). The word *dǣrk* to jerk, strike heavily which also appears as *dǣrt*, *järk*, is not found before the 16th cent.

3. ME. *e* appears as *eī* before *f*.

a) ME. *e* = OE. *e*: *neīf* soft, tender.

b) ME. *e* = OE. *ǣ*: *fleīf* flesh.

¹ For the etymology of the word cp. now Hempl Journ. Germ. Phil. 4, 47-49.

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4. ME. *e* appears as *i*.

a) ME. *e*, late ME. *i* = OE. *e*: *string* string (also *streng*), *iþart* rough, would appear to be from ME. *heterlice*. See Stratman-Bradley.

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b) ME. *e* = Scand. *e*: *ihg* hang (also *ehg*, see above 1. a); *skip* basket (ME. *skeppe* = Scand. *skeppa*) has probably been influenced by ME. *kipe* basket; *snift̄ar* to sniff (ME. *snevien*).

5. ME. *e* appears as *a*.

ME. *e* = OE. *e*: *bant* vigour, force; probably derived from vb. *bend* on analogy of words from Latin or French, like *descend* — *descent*, *extend* — *extent*, Fr. *pendre* — *pente*; see NED., cp, also M. Du. *bant*. — *natlt* cross, illtempered.

ME. *i*.

§ 31. 1. ME. *i* appears as *i*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*, Scan. *i*, *e*, *æ* in closed syllables: *bigin* begin, *bit̄-ṭar* bitter, *bitf* bitch, *bitwixt* between, *blis* bliss, *bif̄ap* bishop, bring bring, *dim* dim, *driŋk* drink, *fin* fin, *finḡar* finger, *flint* flint, *flitf* flitch, *gift* gift, *grisl* gristle, *id* it, *ilt* hilt, *im* him, *in* in, *inḍar* hinder, *it* to hit, *itf* to itch, *iv* if (also *ev*) *iz*, *iz*, is, his, *kid* kid, *kitlin* kitten, *krisp* crisp, *lid* lid, *lik* lick, *liŋk* link, *lim* limb, *lip* lip, *litn* expect, await (Scand., *lipn* is also used cf. *lipnen* in Stratman-Bradley), *liv* live, *midl* middle, *miks* mix, *milk* milk, *min̄a* minnow, *mis* miss, *mist* mist, *pitf* pitch, *rib* rib, *riŋg* ring, *rist* wrist, *siks* six, *siksb* sixth, *sind̄ar* cinder, *siŋg* sing, *siŋk* sink, *sit* sit, *skil* skill, *skin* skin, *sliŋg* sling, *sliŋk* slink, *smiḍi* smithy, *smiḍ* smith, *spit* spit, *spring* spring, *stik* stick (sb.), *stil* still, *stiŋg* sting, *swift* swift, *swim* swim, *swing* swing, *fiſt* shift, *filin* shilling, *fip* ship, *tik* tick, *til*

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till, *timb̄ar* timber, *tin* tin, *tlif* cliff, *tliŋg* cling, *tfiḷḍar* children, *tfin* chin, *twin* twin, *twin* to separate, *divede*, *twist* twist, *ḥik* thick, *ḥiŋg* thing, *ḥisl* thistle, *wi* with, *wikid* wicked, *wil* will, *wil̄a* willow, *win* win, *wind* wind, *wind̄a* window, *wint̄ar* winter, *wiŋg* wing, *wiŋk* wink, *wisl* whistle, *wisp̄ar* whisper, *witf* witch, which.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *i*, Scan. *i*, *e* in open syllables, and of unknown origin: *bitn* bitten, *diḍar* tremble, *dliṭar* glitter, *ḍrivn* driven, *fiddl* fiddle, *fit* fit, *giv* give, *grip* grip, *liver* liver, *pik* to pick (also *p̄æk* from ME. **p̄iken*; see 39. 2), *prik* prick, *quid* quid, *riſt* to belch, *rim* rim, *ritn* written, *silk* silk, *sitl* sickle, *siv* sieve, *slipi* slippery, *spindl* spindle, *stif* stitch, *stiḍi* smithy (origin not certain), *fin* shin, *titl* tickle, *wid̄a* widow, *wik* alive, *wik* week.

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c) ME. *i* = OE. *y*, Scand. *y* in closed syllables: *bild* build, *bridʒ* brige, *brisl* bristle, *did* did, *dip* dip, *ḡrip* drip, *fil* fill, *flit* to remove, *gild* gild, *il* hill, *ill* up to wrap up (Scand. *hylja*), *inf* inch (also *intf*), *kil* kill, (OE **cyllan* no found), *kil* kiln, *kiŋ* king, *kitfin* kitchen, *lift* lift, *linf* lynch (pin), *midʒ* midge, *mil* mill, *minstər* minster, *nit* knit, *pilə* pillow, *pit* pit, *ridʒ* ridge, *sil* sill, *sin* sin, *tinḡər* tinder, *tlip* clip, *trim* to trim, *pin* thin, *piŋk* think.

d) ME. *i* = OE. *y* in open syllables: *bizi* busy, *din* din, *ip* hip, *kripl* cripple, *ʃipn* cowhouse.

e) ME. *i* = OE. *ȳ*: *fist* fist, *tin* to close, shut, *piḡbl* thimble, *tʃikin* chicken.

f) ME. *i* = OE. *ī*: *ditf* ditch (*dātʃ* is also used), *fifti* fifty, *fiʃp* fifth, *grizli* grisly, *krismʊs* Christmas, *krisn* christen (also *kesmʊs* and *kesn*), *linin* linen (also *lin*), *linsīd* linseed, *litl* little.

g) ME. *i* = OE. *e*: *rid* rid, *fiḡər* feather, *brimstōn* brimstone (earlier *brenstōn*), *grin* grin, *sinʒ* singe, *dinʒ* dint.

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piŋk think has perhaps been influenced by OE. *þyncean* (see above c). Cp. § 31. 4.

h) ME. *i* = Angl. *ē*, Ws. *ǣ*: *ridl* riddle, *sili* silly. See Morsbach MEG., p. 144.

i) ME. *i* appears as *i* in *midin* (Dan. *möddin*) dungheap.

2. ME. *i* appears as *ī*.

a) before sibilants: *dīʃ* dish, *fiʃ* fish, *wīʃ* wish, *īz* his (*iz* is also used).

b) before original *ht*: *brīt* bright, *frītn* frighten, *lītnin* lightning, *nīt* night, *rīt* right, *-rīt-* wright (as compound), *sīt* sight.

An exception is *feīt* fight which seems to go back to ME. from *feht*, *feight*, not *fiht*.

3. ME. *i* appears as *u*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *y*: *fūst* first, *ʃutl* shuttle.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *ī*: *wūmūn* woman (also *wūmən*).

4. ME. *i* appears as *ə*.

a) ME. *i* = OE. *i*: *ər* her.

b) ME. *i* = OE. *ī*: *stərəp* stirrup (also *stärəp*)

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5. Scand. *i* appears as

a) *e*: *seg* (Scand. *siggy*), hard skin on the hands caused by manual labour.

b) *i*: *snig* eel (Scan. *snigill?*).

Note. I have been unable to find these words in ME.

ME. *o*.

§ 33. 1. ME. *o* appears as *o*.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o*, *ū* in closed syllables: *bogart* ghost (Welsh), *boks* box, *borə* borrow, *botəm* bottom, *dof* doff, take off, *dog* dog, *dok* dock, *dot* dot, *dlopn* to terrify

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(Scand. *glūpna*)¹, *drop* drop, *flok* flock, *foks* fox, *for* for, *forməst* foremost, *fotf*, *fo* to fetch (OE. *feccan*), *frog* frog, *frost* frost, *god* God (also *gōd*), *gospil* gospel, *kob* to excel, surpass, *kod* cod, *kok*, cock, *koləp* collop (etym. doubtful), *kop-web* cob-web, *kot* cot, *kotl* cockle, *kroft* croft, *krop* crop, *kros* cross, *lobstər* lobster, *lok* lock, *lot* lot, *mos* moss, *not* knot, *od* odd, *oft* often, *olə* hollow, *on* on, *op* to hop, *plot* plot, *poks* pox, *rok* rock, *rops* intestines, *slop* to spill, *slopstōn* sink (sb.), *slor* slide (cp. ME. *slor* mud), *snortf* snort, *snot* mucus, *sok* sock, *spot* spot, *stok* stock, *stop* stop, *tlod* throw, *tlog* wooden shoe (etym. doubtful), *top* top, *tron* to tackle, screw etc. (Scand. *trōnja* = the snout of a hammer).

b) ME. *o* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o* in open syllables: *bodi* body, *frozn* frozen, *nok* knock, *oli* holly (also *olin*), *otər* otter, *rot* to rot, *snod* smooth (Scand. *snoðinn*), *spokn* spoken, *fo* shot (prtc.), *trodn* trodden, *tfozn* chosen.

c) ME. *o* = OE. *ō*: *blosəm* blossom, *foḍər* fodder, *soft* soft.

2. ME. *o* appears as *ō*, chiefly before *r* + cons.

a) ME. *o* = OE. *o* Scand. *o*: *fōrk* fork, *kōrn* corn, *mōrnin* morning, *mōrḍər* murder, *ōrn* horn, *ōrtfərd* orchard, *stōrk* stork, *stōrm* storm, *swōrn* sworn, *skōrtf* scorch, *fōrn* shorn, *fōrt* short, *tōrd* excrement, *hōrn* thorn, *wōrd* word; *brōp* broth, *frōp* froth (Björkman, Scand. LW. 162. 210), *ōf* off.

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Note. We have short *o* before a hard spirant in *mos*, *kros*, *oft* etc. See above 1.

a.

b) ME. *o* = OE. *ō*: *fōstər* Foster (proper name).

c) ME. *o* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *sōrd* sword (rarely *sārd*, see § 36. 7), *wōrld*, *wōrm* worm (OE. *weorm*).

3. ME. *o* = OE. *o* before *ll*, *ls*, *lt*, *ld* appears as *oū*. The process of development was similar to that of *ō*

¹ Cp. Björkman Scand. LW. p. 241.

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from Me. *a*, § 30. 3. A parasite *u* was developed between the *o* and the following *l*, and the resulting diphthong lengthened on the *l* being dropped. The diphthong thus fell together with that from ME. *ō* (see § 41. 3). Sweet HES § 808 quotes the *u* as being noticed so early as 1547 by Salesbury. — *boūl* bowl (sb.), but note the verb *boū* to bowl, *boūstər* bolster, *boūt* bolt, *koūt* colt, *moūd* mould, *moūdiwārp* mole (more often *mēđart*, see below 6), *poū* to cut hair (ME. *pollen*), *toū* toll.

4. ME. *o* = OE. *o* appears as *u*. The majority of these words have *η* following the *o*. The *o* was apparently first raised to *u* and then developed like ME. *u* and like NE. *u* from ME. *ō* (see §40. 2) to *u*. *əmuŋg* among, *fluṭər* flutter, *luŋg* long, *ruŋg* wrong (Scand.), *sruŋg* strong, *stuṭər* to stammer (Scand. *stauta*), *suŋg* song, *fuḍ* should, *thuk* cluck, *tunŋz* tongs, *bruŋg* to crowd, *buŋg* thong, *wuḍ* would.

5. ME. *o* = OE. *o* appears as *uə*: *puərt* port (also *pōrt*).

6. ME. *o* = OE. *o*, *eo* before *lk* appears as *ō*, the *l* being dropped: *fōk* folk, *jōk* yolk. Cp. 3 above.

ME. *u*.

§ 34. 1. ME. *u* appears as *u*.

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u* in closed syllables: *bigun* begun, *buk* buck, *bul* bull, *bulək* bullock, *bun* bound (ptc), *busl* bustle, *butək* buttock, *ḍruŋk* drunk, *ḍum* dumb, *ḍunək* sparrow (cp. OE. *dunn*), *ful* full, *fun* fun, *grun* ground (ptc, the sb. is *grēnd*), *gut* gut,

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krudz curds (Keltic *cruth*), *krumpl* crumple (also *scrump*l), *kuf* cuff, *kunin* cunning, *kup* cup, *kus* curse, *lug* ear (Scand.), *lung* lung, *nun* nun, *pluk* to pluck (also *plug*), *run* run, *rung* rung, *sprung* sprung,

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spun spun, *stung* stung, *sum* some, *sun* sun, *sung* sung, *sunjk* sunk, *swum* swum, *swung* swung, *tlung* clung, *tub* tub (ME. *tube*), *tumbl* tumble, *tung* tongue, *tfunar* to grumble (not found before the 16th cent.; see NED.), *udli* ugly, *undar* under, *undard* hundred, *unjar* hunger, *unt* hunt, *wul* wool, *wulf* wolf, *wun* won, *wundar* wonder.

b) ME. *u* = OE. *u* in open syllables: *bu(t)tar* butter, *abuv* above, *kud* cud (*kwid* quid is from the OE. form *cwidu*), *kum* come, *luv* love, *mun* must (emphatic Scand. *muna*), *munk* monk, *nun* numb, *nut* nut, *stun* to stan, *sumar* summer, *sun* son, *bunar* thunder, *uni* honey, *wud* wood; *nuzkaz* knuckles is not found in OE., *uvn* oven is spelt ME. *o* but the sound meant may be *ũ* (Luick, *Untersuchungen* § 438), *fuvl* shovel has OE. *sceofl* but this may be a form of spelling for *scufl* (Sievers *Ags. G.* § 76. 2).

c) ME. *u* = OE. *y*: *bundl* bundle, *krutf* crutch, *muk* muck (Scand.), *stubl* stubble, *sutf* such, *fut* shut, *tlustar* cluster, *trundl* trundle, hoop, *brutf* push, squeeze.

Note. Before *f* we have *ui* in *bluif* blush, *buif* bush (origin *undertain*), *ruif* rush.

d) ME. *u* = OE. *ũ*: *bud* but, *dust* dust, *ruf* rough, *rust* rust, *tusk* tusk (also *tũf*), *bum* thumb, *krum* crumb, *ud-dar* udder, *uz* us, *uzbund* husband.

e) ME. *u* = OE. *i* (*u*) after *w*: *wus* worse, *wust* worst.

f) ME. *u* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *wup* worth.

2. ME. *u* appears as *o*.

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u* before *r* in closed and in open syllables: *dor* door (*duar* in also used), *fõrdar* *forðar* further (also contracted for *fõr*, *for*), *kos* curse (*kus* is more used), *torf* turf, *tõrn* *torn* turn, *tortl* turtle (little used).

b) ME. *u* = OE. *y* before *r*: *or* her (emphatic), *stor*

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stir, *fort* shirt (Scand.), *tfortf* church; *dort* dirt is from Scand. *drit*.

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Note. These words have been included here instead of under ME. *i* because their pron. appears to point to a previous *u* either ME. or later. There apperars to be evidence pointing to the fact that these words never were pronounced with *i*, but there is also evidence in favour of such an assumption. Sweet HES. § 663, and other grammarians assume that OE. *y* gave *i* in the Midlands and North and *ü* only in the South West. Sweet says that »OE. *y* was completely unrounded in WML.« Against this it may be pointed out that these words are usually spelt with *u* in »Piers Plowman« and in »Sir Gawayne« (a poem in the Lanc. dialect). I have not found them in »Pearl« or »Patience« but they are common enough with the spelling *u* in Layamon and other Midland writers. Now, as a previous *u* must be assumed (cf. the words under *a*) it seems more natural to suppose that it proceeded directly form OE. *y* [ü]. On the other hand there is evidence in favour of the *u* having proceeded from ME. *i*, viz., that the Scand. loan word *drit* only appears as *durt* in the 15th century (See NED.), and that the word *bird*—pronounced in the dialect *brid* < OE. ME. *brid*—is occasionally heard as *bord* and *burd*. (The pron. *furt*, *stur*, *tfurfs*, *durt* are occasionally heard, but come, I believe, from a neighbouring dialect. This would, however, bear in favour of ME. *u*.) The evidence of the French words is equally conflicting. We have *ort* hurt from AF. *ü* pointing to ME. *u*, and *ōrtfānt*, *oortfānt* hedgehog, *sori* sirrah from AF. *i* (see § 53. 5), pointing to the dialect *o* being from ME. *i*. Thus the evidence from neither side is really convincing.

c) *koniwest* contrary, opposite, is perhaps related to cunning, see EDD.

3. ME. *u* = OE. *u* appears as *ū*: *kūtar* coulter, *pū* pull, *fūd-ḍar* shoulder (also *foūd-ḍar*, see § 49.2; *skrūf* scurf. ruff raff (Scand.), *brū* through.

4. ME. *u* appears as *ə*

a) ME. *u* = OE. *u*: *fārə* furrow, *tərfturf* (see 2. A).

b) ME. *u* = OE. *eo* after *w*: *wərʃip* worship

5. ME. *u* appears as *o*: *goləp* gulp (Du. *golpen*).

6. ME. *u* appears as *a*: *radl* ruddle (ME. *rudel*).

§ 35. 1. ME. *ā* appears as *ē*.

a) ME. *ā* = OE. *a, æ, ea*; Scand. *a*, in open syllables: *bēk* bake, *bēð* bathe, *blēd* blade, *blēz* blaze, *ēk* ache, *ēkar* acre, *ēl* ale, *ēp* ape, *ēt* hate, *fēðar* father (also *faðar*, see §30. 1.b), *flēk* flake, *gēp* to yawn, *gēt* gate, way, manner, *grēv* grave, *grēz* graze, *kēk* cake, *krēdl* cradle, *lēdl* ladle, *lēk* lake, *lēm* lame, *lēt* late, *mēd* made, *mēk* make, *mēn* mane, *nēkt* naked, *nēm* name, *nēv* nave, *nēvl* navel, *rēk* rake, *rēðar* rather, *sēk* sake, *sēl* sale, *sēm* same, *skēl* skale, *skrēp* scrape, *snēk* snake, *spēd* spade, *stēk* stake, *fēm* shame, *fēp* shape, *tēl* tale, *wēd* wade, *wēl* whale, *wētər* water (also *waʔər*, see § 30. 1. b), *wēv* wave.

Note. ME. *ā* must be assumed as the basis of *ēg* the hawthorn berry, although OE. *haga* appears in ME. as *haw*.

The origin of *bēt* to start and *bēts* starting points does not seem to be clear.

2. ME. *ā* = OE. *a, æ, ea* appears as *ā* when followed by *r*: *bār* bare, *ār* hare, *kjār* care, *mār* mare, *spār* spare, *stār* stare, *fār* share. But we have *ār* are (unaccented *är*), cp. ME. *ā* 2.

3. ME. *ā* = OE. *a* appears as *e*: *ev* have, *tek* take (also *te*).

4. ME. *ā* appears as *īā* in *īāmz* hames, the irons on a horse collar (cp. Du. *haam*).

5. ME. *ā* appears as *a*: *swad* pod (of peas). ME. *swāpe*.

ME. *ē*

§36. 1. ME. *ē* appears as *ī*.

a) ME. *ē* = OE. *ē* for *ě* in monosyllables: *ī* he, *ðī* thee, *mī* me.

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b) ME. *ē* = *ē* for *ě* before lengthening groups: *fīld* and *fīlt* field, *jīld* yield, *fīld* shield. Also before *l* in *wīl* (adv., OE. *wel* and *wēl*, cp. Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarb. I. §284).

c) ME. *ē* = Angle. *ē*, WS, *āē* for Teutonic *āē*: *brīð* breathe, *grīdi* greedy, *īl* eel, *īvnin* evening, *nīdl* deedle, *sīd* seed, *fīp* sheep, *tīk* cheek, *tīz* cheese.

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d) ME. \bar{e} = Angle \bar{e} , Umlaut of $\bar{e}a$: *bil̄tf* belief, *bil̄tv* believe, *n̄d* need, *sl̄iv* sleeve, *st̄ipl* steeple, *f̄it* sheet, *t̄i* to tie,

e) ME. \bar{e} = Angle, \bar{e} for $\bar{e}a$ and $\bar{e}o$ before gutturals: *b̄ikn* beacon, *q̄r̄i* tiresome, troublesome.

f) ME. \bar{e} = Angl. $\bar{æ}$, Umlaut of \bar{o} : *b̄itl* beetle (hammer), *bl̄id* bleed, *br̄it̄f̄iz* breeches, *f̄id* feed, *f̄il* feel, *f̄it* feet, *ḡis* geese, *gr̄in* green, *il* heel, *k̄in* keen, *k̄ip* keep, *kw̄in* queen, *m̄it* meet, *s̄im* seem, *s̄itf* to seek, *sw̄it* seet, *t̄ip* teeth, *w̄ip* weep.

g) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}o$: *b̄i* be, bee, *bit̄w̄in* between, *d̄ip* deep, *dl̄i* glee, *fl̄it* fleet, *k̄il* keel, *kr̄ip* creep, *fr̄i* free, *fr̄iz* freeze, *l̄if* lief, *n̄i* knee, *pr̄ist* priest, *r̄id* reed, *r̄il* reel, *s̄i* see, *s̄il* seal, *sn̄iz* sneeze, *tr̄i* tree, *þ̄if* thief, *þ̄r̄i* three, *w̄il* wheel. Exception see below, 5.

h) ME. \bar{e} = OE. y : *iv̄l* evil.

2. ME. \bar{e} appears as *i*

a) ME. \bar{e} = Angl. \bar{e} , WS. $\bar{e}a$ before *c*: *rik* rick.

b) ME. \bar{e} = Angl. \bar{e} , Umlaut of $\bar{e}a$: *strip* strip.

c) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}o$: *bin* been, *sik* sick.

d) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} : *mi* me, *ði* thee, *wi* we, (these three unemphatic forms, see above I. a).

3. ME. \bar{e} appears as $\bar{i}a$ before *r*.

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE \bar{e} , $\bar{e}o$: *īar* here, *b̄īar* beer, *d̄īar* deer, *st̄īr* steer.

b) ME. \bar{e} = Angl. \bar{e} , WS, $\bar{æ}$: *ðīar* there, *w̄īar* where.

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c) ME. \bar{e} = Angl. \bar{e} , Umlaut of $\bar{e}a$: *īard* heard.

4. ME. \bar{e} appears as *e*.

ME. \bar{e} = Angl. \bar{e} , WS. $\bar{æ}$, Teut. $\bar{æ}$: *breþ* breath, *led* let, *þred* thread.

5. ME. \bar{e} appears as \bar{e} .

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}o$: *w̄ek*, *w̄ekin* wick.

b) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} : *we* we.

6. ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{e} appears as \bar{a} before *r*: *j̄ar* year, *ā̄r* hair.

7. ME \bar{e} = OE. *eo*, *ea* before *rd*, *rn* appears as \bar{a} in *s̄ard* sword (cp. § 33.2 c), *f̄arn* fern. This development seems to have taken place only in those cases where the *e*

in late ME. was long, short ME. *e* before *r* + cons. becoming either \bar{a} or \bar{u} in the Adlington dialect (cp. § 31. 2).

ME. \bar{e} .

§ 37. 1. ME. \bar{e} appears usually as \bar{i} .

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{a} , Umlaut of \bar{a} : *dīal* deal, *dlīam* gleam, *līad* to lead, *līan* to lean, *līan* lean (adj.), *līast* least, *līav* leave, *mīan* to mean, *tīaz* tease, *tlīan* clean, *wīat* wheat.

b) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}a$: *bīam* beam, *bīan* bean, *dīad* dead, *dīaf* deaf, *dīap* death, *drīam* dream, *īap* heap, *īar* ear, *īad* head (more often *jed*), *līaf* leaf, *līap* leap, *nīar* near, *sīam* seam, *strīam* stream, *fīaf* sheaf, *tīam* team, *tīar* tear (sb.), *tfīap* cheap (also *tfep*), *prīap* contradict.

c) ME. \bar{e} = OE. *e* in open syllable: *spīar* spear.

d) ME. \bar{e} = OE. *ea* (late OE. $\bar{e}a$): *bīard* beard.

2. ME. \bar{e} = appears as \bar{i} .

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{a} , Umlaut of \bar{a} : *rīp* wreth, *sī* sea (*sē* is more used).

b) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}a$: *bīt* to light, kindle, *flī* flea (pl. *fleīp*), *īst* east, *stīp* steep, *fīd* to spill.

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Note. It is not clear why these words have not also developed a diphthong as in 1 a) b) above. Some of them might be explained by analogy, or the fact that they are seldom used, but they cannot all be accounted for in this way.

3. ME. \bar{e} appears as *e* usually in closed syllables before *d*.

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{a} , Umlaut of \bar{a} : *redi* ready, *spred* spread, *swet* sweat.

b) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}a$: *bred* bread, *led* lead (sb.) *red* red, *jed* head, *fred* shred, *tfep* cheap (see above 1. b), *pretn* threaten.

4. ME. \bar{e} appears as \bar{e} in *sē* sea (see 2. a). The modern word *tea* is pronounced *tē*.

5. ME. \bar{e} = OE. *e*, in open syllables and before *r* appears as \bar{a} : *bār* to bear, also as sb. bear, *swār* swear.

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6. ME. \bar{e} appears as $e\bar{i}$.

a) ME. \bar{e} = OE. \bar{a} (i-Umlaut of \bar{a}) before \check{c} : *bleītf* bleach, *reītf* reach, *teit̄f* teach.

b) ME. \bar{e} ($\bar{e}?$) = OE. \bar{a} , Angl. \bar{e} : *meīl* meal (repast).

c) ME. \bar{e} = OE. $\bar{e}a$: *fleīp* fleas, *greīt* great.

ME. \hat{e} (i. e. medium \bar{e}).

§ 38. 1. ME. \hat{e} = OE. e , Scand. e , appears as $e\bar{i}$: *breīk* break, *eit̄* eat, *eivi* heavy, *meīl* meal (corn), *meīt* meat, *neīv* fist (Scand. *knefi*), *peī* pea (OE. *pisu* > *peosu*), *speīk* peak, *steīl* steal, also in the meaning brush-handle, *treīd* tread, *weiv̄* weave.

2. ME. \hat{e} = OE. e , Scand. e , appears as e : *lek* leak, *sted* stead.

3. ME. \hat{e} = OE. e appears as \bar{i} in open syllable before s : *biz̄am* besom, *wiz̄l* weasel.

4. Me. \hat{e} appears as $i\bar{a}$: *rīap* reap (OE. *io* > *eo*; seldom used).

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ME. \bar{i} .

§ 39. 1. ME. \bar{i} appears as \bar{a} . We have here a case in which the dialect has progressed farther than lit. English. The lit. Eng. *ai* has been monophthongised to \bar{a} . Perhaps the intermediate stage was $\bar{a}e$ which is chiefly found finally. (See below 2.)

a) ME. \bar{i} = OE. \bar{i} , Scand, i : *ālānd* island, *ās* ice, *āvi* ivy, *bād* bide, abide, *bāt* bite, *blāð* blithe, *brādl* bridle, *dāt̄f* ditch (also *dit̄f* see § 32. 1. f.), *ḍrāv* drive, *alāv* alive, *fāl* file, *fāv* five, *krāst* Christ (also *krāest*), *lāf* life, *lāk* like (more often *lāek*), *lām* lime, *lān* line, *lāt* a few, little (principally used by strangers from a few miles farther North), *māl* mile, *nāf* knife, *pāl* pile, *pān* pine, *pāp* pipe, *rād* ride, *rāp* ripe, *rāt* write, *rāz* rise, *sād* side, *sāð* scythe, *snāp* snipe, *strād* stride, *fān* shine, *fāv* slice (cp. MLG. *schīve*), *tād* tide, *tādinz* tidings, *tām* time, *twān* twine, *twās* twice, *ḍān* thine, *prāv* thrive, *wā* why (also *wāe*), *wād* wide, *wāf* wife, *wāl* while, *wān* whine, wine, *wāp* wipe, *wāt* white, *wāz* wise.

b) ME. \bar{i} = OE. \bar{y} : *āv* hive, *brād* bride, *dāv* dive, *kjāt* kite (also *kāet*), *lās* lice, *mās* mice, *prād* pride.

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c) ME. \bar{i} = OE. i before ld , mb , nd : $b\bar{a}nd$ to bind (rare), $bl\bar{a}nd$ blind, $f\bar{a}nd$ find, $gr\bar{a}nd$ grind, $m\bar{a}ld$ mild, $m\bar{a}nd$ mind (OE. $ge-m\bar{y}nd$), $tl\bar{a}m$ climb, $t\bar{f}\bar{a}lt$ child (but pl. $t\bar{f}ild\bar{a}r$), $w\bar{a}ld$ wild, $w\bar{a}nd$ to wind.

d) ME. \bar{i} = OE. i , y + g : $b\bar{a}$ buy (also $b\bar{a}e$), $n\bar{a}n$ nine, $t\bar{a}l$ tile, $st\bar{a}l$ stile is rare (usually $st\bar{i}l$), $t\bar{a}ð$ tithe.

2. ME. \bar{i} appears as $\bar{a}e$ chiefly before k and finally: $l\bar{a}ek$ like, compelled (e. g. $\bar{i}z$ $l\bar{a}ek$ $t\bar{a}$ du it 'he is compelled to do it'), $p\bar{a}ek$ pike (also to pick, in which meaning a ME. $*p\bar{i}ken$ must be assumed as the basis, see § 32. 1. b), $s\bar{a}ek$ to suck (apparently confusion of ME. $s\bar{i}ken$

[42] to sigh, with suck), $skr\bar{a}ek$ to shriek, cry (see Luick, Anglia XVI 507), $str\bar{a}ek$ strike, $w\bar{a}e$ why, $b\bar{a}e$ buy, $sk\bar{a}e$ sky; $k\bar{a}et$ kite, $kr\bar{a}est$ Christ.

Late ME. \bar{i} from early ME. ei in OE. $\bar{p}\bar{e}oh$ and $\bar{e}age$ has developed like ordinary ME. \bar{i} at the end of words: $\bar{p}\bar{a}e$ thigh, $\bar{a}e$ eye (rarely \bar{i} , but pl. always $\bar{i}n$, cp. ME. Northern $\bar{e}n$).

Note. Many of these words also pronounced with the long vowel \bar{a} . See above 1.

3. ME. \bar{i} appears as $ai\bar{a}$ before r : $ai\bar{a}r$ hire, $ai\bar{a}rn$ iron, $fa\bar{i}a$ r fire, $spai\bar{a}r$ spire, $wai\bar{a}r$ wire.

4. ME. \bar{i} appears as i : id hide; perhaps in consequence of the influence of the pret.

5. ME. \bar{i} appears as $o\bar{i}$: $bo\bar{i}l$ boil (subst.)

6. ME. \bar{i} appears as \bar{i} : $st\bar{i}l$ stile. See above 1. d.

ME. \bar{o} .

§ 40. 1. ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{o} : $bl\bar{u}m$ bloom, $br\bar{u}d$ brood, $br\bar{u}m$ broom, $b\bar{u}k$ book, $b\bar{u}t$ but boot, $d\bar{u}ment$ an event, $f\bar{u}d$ food, $f\bar{u}tin$ money paid for drink on beginning work etc., $g\bar{u}m$ gum (also $g\bar{u}m$), $kr\bar{u}t$ crooked, $k\bar{u}k$ to cook, $k\bar{u}l$ cool, $k\bar{u}m$ came, $k\bar{u}mz$ cummings, $l\bar{u}k$ look, $l\bar{u}m$ loom, $m\bar{u}d$ mook, $m\bar{u}n$ moon, $p\bar{u}l$ pool, $r\bar{u}f$ roof, $r\bar{u}k$ rook (rare), $r\bar{u}t$ rut

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root, *skū* school, *spūn* spoon, *stū* stool, *sūt sut* soot, *fū* shoe, *fūk* shook, *tūk* took, *tūl* tool, *tūp* tooth, *ūf* hoof, *ūk* hook, *ūzl* ousel.

b) ME. *ō* from older *ō*: *tū* two, *ū* who (also *uə*; see § 41. 2. a).

c) ME *ō* = OE. *u*: *smūk* smoke (OE. **smucian*. Luick, Untersuchungen § 469).

d) Here seem to belong certain *ū*'s for *ō* + *ʒ*, although the diphthong *ou* may be expected and in other

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similar cases certainly has existed. See § 48 *bū* bough, *ənū* enough, *plū* plough.

Note. It is doubtful whether *sū* sow (OE. *sugu*) is to be placed here (OE. *sugu* > Early ME. *sōghe*) or whether it is a Scand. loanword (Björkman Archiv CI. 393) and goes back to a ME. *sō*.

2. ME. *ō* appears as *u*.

These words developed in the same way as those in the preceding paragraph, viz., to *ū*. This *ū* was shortened and the resulting *ū* developed as ME. *ū*. (See § 34. 1.) There was similar movement among two groups of words in lit. Eng., one group developing *ō* > *ū* > *ū* and the other developing this *ū* further to *v* (see examples below). Both these groups are represented by *u* in the dialect: *blu* blood, *bruk* brook, *bruðar* brother, *buzum* bosom, *dluv* glove, *dun* done, *flud* flood, *gud* good, *nuk* nook, *muðer* mother, *mundi* Monday, *munp* month, *stud* stood, *ud* hood (rare), *uðar* other.

3. ME. *ō* appears as *uə* before *r*: *buərd* board, *əfuərd* afford, *fluər* floor, *muər* moor, *uər* whore.

4. ME. *ō* appears as *u*: *būt*, *but* boot, *du* do, *fūt*, *fut* foot, *rūt*, *rut* root, *sūt*, *sut* soot, *tu* too, *tūk*, *tuk* took.

Notice that almost all these words are also pronounced with *ū*.

ME. *ō*.

§ 41. 1. ME. *ō* appears as *ō*.

a) ME. *ō* = OE. *o*, Scand. *o*: *əfōr* before (more often *əfuər*. See below 2. b), *flōt* float, *fōl* foal, *kōl* coal, *nōz* nose, *ōp* hope, *ōl* hole, *pōk* to poke, *sōk* soak.

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Note. In *brōk* broke, *stōl* stolo, *tōr* tore, *spōk* spoke, *swōr* swore the vowel of the p. partic. has been extended into the preterite.

b) ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{u} , Scand. \bar{a} : *bōn* bone, *bōt* boat, *dō* doe, *ḡrōv* drove (pret.), *fōm* foam, *gōst* ghost, *gōt* goat,

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grōp grope, *grōv* grove, *lōd* load, *lōf* loaf, *nōn* none, *ōk* oak, *ōnli* only, *ōr* oar, *ōli* holy, *ōþ* oath (rare), *pōp* pope, *rōd* road, rode, *rōr* roar, *rōt* wrote, *rōp* rope, *sō* so, *sōp* soap, *spōk* spoke, *stōn* stone, *stṛōd* strode, *stṛōk* stroke, *tlōvār* clover, *tō* toe, *tōd* toad, *wōl* whole.

Note. Some of these words are also pronounced with the vowel sound $uə$, but I cannot find any rule as to the conditions. See below 2 a.

c) ME. \bar{o} = OE. $\bar{e}o$ ($o?$): *lōz* to lose (also *loīz* and *luəz*), *tḡok* choke.

2. ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{a} : *buən* bone, *buəþ* both, *guə* go, *luəd* load, *luəf* loaf, *muər* more, *muəst* most (also *muīst*), *stuən* stone, *tluəz* clothes, *tuə* to, *tuəd* toad, *uə* who, *uəs* hoarse, *uəts* oats.

A few of these words are more often pronounced with the long vowel sound \bar{o} . See above 1. b, and Note.

b) ME. \bar{o} = OE. o : *duər* door (also *dor*. See § 34, 2. a), *əfuər* before (see above 1. a), *nuəz* nose (more usual *nōz*. See 1. a), *skuər* score.

c) ME. \bar{o} = OE. $\bar{e}o$ ($o?$): *luəz* lose (See 1. c. and 7).

3. ME. \bar{o} + *l*, rarely in other cases, appears as $oū$:

a) ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{a} : *noū* no (as neg. opposite to yes – otherwise *nō*), *doū* dole, *poū* pole, *poūlar* to use roughly, ill-treat (ME. *pōle* a pole?).

b) ME. \bar{o} = OE. Angle. *a*, late OE. \bar{a} (WS. *ea*): *boūd* bold, *foūd* fold, *koūd* cold, *oūd* old, *toūd* told.

c) ME. \bar{o} = OE. o : *goūd* gold (*gūld* is occasionally heard), *stoūn* stolen.

Note. For the development of this diphthong, see § 33. 3.

4. ME. \bar{o} appears as o .

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a) ME. \bar{o} = OE. \bar{a} : *gon* gone, *olidi* holiday, *ot* hot, *fon* shone, *sori* sorry.

b) ME. \bar{o} = OE. *o*: *brokn* broken, *open* open.

5. ME. \bar{o} appears as \bar{o} : *brōd* broad, *lōrd* lord, *tlōþ* cloth.

6. ME. \bar{o} appears as \bar{u} : *ðūz* those.

7. ME. \bar{o} appears as *oī*: *koīl* coal (more often *kōl*. See above 1. a) *loīz* lose (normally *lōz*. See 1. c and 2. c. above), *oīl* hole (generally *ōl*. See 1. a).

Note. This *oī* appears to have come from East Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorks.

8. ME. \bar{o} appears as a) *wo*, b) *wu*.

a) *won* one, *wons* once.

b) *wum* home.

Note. For the initial *w* cp. § 63. 1. d.

ME. \bar{u} (spelt *ou*).

§ 42. 1. ME. \bar{u} appears as \bar{e} .

We have here another instance in which the dialect appears to have progressed farther than lit. Eng. The lit. Eng. *au* has been monophthongised, the first part of the diphthong being retained and lengthened, and the second part dropped.

a) ME. \bar{u} = OE. \bar{u} : *bē* to bow, *bēnd* bound (ready), *bēt* without, *brēn* brown, *dēn* down, *ē* how, *ēnd* hound, *ēs* house, *ēt* out, *əbēt* about, *fē* ugly, *grēnd* ground, *kē* cow, *krēd* crowd, *lēd* loud, *mēs* mouse, *mēt* moult, *mēþ* mouth, *nē* now, *pēnd* pound, *prēd* proud, *sēþ* South, *tēn* town, *tlēd* cloud, *tlēt* to clout, strike, *þēznd* thousand.

Note. The pron. *rēm* room is occasionally heard. The usual pron. is *rūm*. (See below 5 and cp. Sweet NG. § 852.)

2. ME. \bar{u} (later *u*) = OE. \bar{u} appears as *u*. This ME. \bar{u} was first shortened to *ǔ*, and then it developed as ME. *ű*.

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See § 34. 1: *duk* duck, *krum* crumb, *kud* could, *plum* plum, *suk* suck, *sup* to drink, *sudørn* Southern, *fiv* shove.

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3. ME. *ū* from older *ough* = OE. *ūh* and *ōh*, *ōg* gives *u* + *f*: *ruf* rough, *tuf* tough, *thuf* clough.

Note 1. We have also *toūf* and *tof* tough. See § 49. 2. e. *ənuƒ* is also used but the usual pron. is *ənū* enough. See § 40. 1. d.

Note 2. The origin of *suf* a drain, is not clear, cp. MLG. *sō*.

4. ME. *ū* appears as *ā* before *r*: *ār* our, *kār* and *kjār* to cower, sit down (Scand. *kūra*), *sār* sour, *fār* shower.

5. ME. *ū* appears as *ū*—chiefly before lip consonants: *brū* brow, *fūmārt* fourmart, *rūm* room, *stūp* stoop.

6. ME. *ū* appears as *ō* in *sōp* sup (sb.), a small quantity. (See above 2.)

7. ME. *ū* = OE. *ug* appears as *ou*: *foūl* fowl.

3. The Diphthongs.

ME. *ai*.

§ 43. 1. ME. *ai* appears as *ē*.

a) ME. *ai* = OE. *æg*: *brēn* brain, *dē* day, *dētlār* daylabourer (Scand.), *dēzi* daisy, *fēn* fain, *mēn* main, *nēl* nail, *snēl* snail, *tēl* tail.

b) ME. *ai*, *ei* = OE. *eg*: *ēl* ail, *lēd* laid, *plē* play, *rēn* rain, *sēl* sail, *wē* way.

c) ME. *ai* = OE. *æg*: *ēðar* either (also *ōðar* from ME. *outher*, OE. *āwðer*), *grē* gray, *tlē* clay.

Note. For other cases of OE. *æg* cp. ME. *ei*.

d) ME. *ai*, *ei* = OE. *ēg*, *ēh* (*ēah*): *ē* hay, *nēbār* neighbour.

Note. For other cases of OE. *ēg* cp. ME. *ei*.

e) ME. *ai* = Scand. *ei*: *bēt* bait, *ēl* hail, *grēdli* thoroughly, genuine, in a proper manner (Scand. *grēdli*), *fēk* fake, trick, *nē* nay, *rēz* raise, *stēk* steak, *ðē* they, *wēk* weak (cp. § 13. 2. f.)

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2. ME. *ai* appears as *ā* before *r*: *fār* fair, *stār* stair, *ðār* their.

3. ME. *ai* appears shortened as *e*: *se* say.

ME. *au*.

§ 44. 1. ME. *au* appears as *ō*.

a) ME. *au* = OE. *a* + *g*: *ḍrō* draw (also *ḍrō*), *lō* law, *nō* gnaw, *sō* saw.

b) ME. *au* = OE. *a*, *ea* + *w*: *tlō* claw, *rō* raw, *strō* straw (rarely *strō*).

c) ME. *au* = OE. or Scand. *a* + *f*: *ōk* howk, *krōl* crawl. See Björkman Scand.

LW. 76.

d) ME. *au* = Scand. *au*: *gōm* to understand, perceive and *gōmlas* dull, foolish.

See Björkman 70.

2. ME. *au* before *ht* appears as a) *ou*, b) *af*.

a) *toūt* taught.

b) *draft* draught.

ME. *ei*.

§ 45. 1. ME. *ei* appears as *eī* (cp. § 22. 2).

a) ME. *ei* = OE. *eah*: *eīt* eight.

b) ME. *ei* = OE. *æg*: *keī* key.

c) ME. *ei* = OE. *ēg*: *ḍrei* dry (more usually *ḍrāe* = ME. *drī*).

d) ME. *ei* = OE. *ēh*, *eh*, *eg*: *eīt* height, *streīt* straight, *weī* wigh (OE. *wegan*, cp. Björkman Scand. LW. 257).

e) ME. *ei* = Scand. *æ* before *ht*: *weīt* weight.

f) ME. *ei* = Scand. *ei*: *sweī* to swing, sway, *keī-pōd* left-handed (Scand.—origin obscure).

2. ME. *ei* = OE. *ē* + *g* appears as *ī*: *brīd* frightened (rare).

3. Scand. *ei* appears as *e*: *kek* to tip up. But see Björkman p. 61.

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Note. As for early ME. *ei* > late ME. *ī* in eye, thigh cp. § 39. 2.

ME. *eu*.

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§ 46. 1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw* appears as *jū* or *ū*, the *j* being amalgamated with a preceding *d* to *dʒ*: *ffū* few, *dʒū* dew.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēaw* appears as *oū*: *soūini* wet, pasty.

ME. *eu*.

§ 47. 1. ME. *eu* = OE. *ēow* appears as:

a) *jū*: *njū* new.

b) *ū*: *brū* brew, *krū* crew, *rū* rue, *tfū* chew.

2. ME. *eu* = OE. *īw* appears as *ū*: *tfūzdi* Tuesday.

3. ME. *eu* or *īw* = OE. *īw* appears as *uə* before *r* in *stfuərd* steward.

Early ME. *ou*.

§ 48. Early ME. *ou* seems to have existed in the basis of the Adlington dialect, only to a limited extent. It has become late ME. *ou*, cp. § 49; and late ME. *ū* (spelt *ou*), cp. § 42. 3.

In other cases where it may be expected ME. *ō* takes its place, cp. § 40. 1. d.

ME. *ou*.

§ 49. 1. ME. *ou* appears as *ō*.

a) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā + w*: *blō* to blow, *krō* crow, *mō* mow, *nō* know, *rō* row (sb.), *slō* slow, *snō* snow.

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā + g*: *lō* low (adj.) *ō* owe, *ōn* own.

c) ME. *ou* = OE. *a + w*: *pō* thaw (also *pō*).

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d) ME. *ou*, for early ME. *ou* = OE. *ō + w*: *flō* flow, *grō* grow, *rō* to row.

e) ME. *ou* = OE. *o + g*: *bō* bow (sb.).

2. ME. *ou* appears as *oū*.

a) ME. *ou* from *o* (*ō*) + *ht*: *boū*t bought, *broū*t brought, *doū*tər daughter, *foū*t fought, *poū*t thought (prt.).

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā + ht*: *noū*t nothing, *oū*t aught, ought.

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c) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā + w*: *soūl* soul.

d) ME. *ou* = OE. *u*: *foūd-dær* shoulder.

Note. ME. *ou* has been assumed here, but we have also *fūd-dær* from the usual ME. *schulder*.

e) ME. *ou* = OE. *ōh*: *toūf* tough (also *tof* and *tuf*).

f) ME. *ou* = OE. *o + g*: *floūn* flown.

3. ME. *ough* appears as *of*.

a) ME. *ou* = OE. *o, ō + g, h, hh*: *kof* cough, *tof* tough (see above 2. e), *trof* trough (rarely *troūf*).

b) ME. *ou* = OE. *ā + g*: *dof* dough.

B. The French Element.

AF. *a*.

§ 50. 1. AF. *a* appears as *a*.

a) AF. *a* in open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *aləm* alum, *baləns* balance, *banər* banner, *baril* barrel, *batl* battle, *damidʒ* damage, *dragən* dragen, *egzaminər* examiner, *favər* resemble, *galən* gallon, *gramər* grammar, *gravl* gravel, *kari* carry, *karidʒ* carriage, *kjapl* front covering of a clog, *makəril* mackerel, *maridʒ* marriage, *maʒər* matter, *panʒri* pantry, *papər* paper, *pariʃ* parish, *satin* satin, *talənt* talent, *tlarit* claret, *tʃapl* chapel, *tʃapʒər* chapter, *vali* valley, value.

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b) AF. *a* in closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *admərəl* admiral, *advent* advent, *faʃən* fashion, *katʃ* and *kjatʃ* catch, *lanʒərn* lantern, *mantl* mantle, *paʒər* pasture, *paʃən* passion, *tatʃin-end* shoemaker's waxed thread for stitching boots (ME. *tachen*), *ʒrans* trance, *tʃampiən* champion.

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c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *advans* advance, *ant* aunt, *blank* blank (Engl.?), *branf* branch, *dimand* demand, *gafər* owner, head, *graft* graft, *grant* grant, *kap* and *kjap* cap, *lamp* lamp, *pas* pass, *sampl* sample, *taks* and *tajks*, tax, *tfans* chance, *tfant* chant.

2. AF. *a* appears as *ē*.

a) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *bēs*n basin, *bēkn* bacon, *fēvər* favour, *lēbər* labour, *nētər* nature, *nēvi* navy, *pēpər* paper (also *papər*, see 1. a), *pētnt* patent.

b) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *bēl* bale, *blēm* blame, *dēts* dates, *ēbl* able, *ēdʒ* cage, *engēdʒ* engage, *fēm* fame, *fēs* face, *flēm* flame, *grēv* frave, *kēdʒ* cage, *kēv* cave, *lēs* lace, *pēdʒ* page, *pēl* pale, *plēs* place, *plēt* plate, *rēt* rate, *spēs* space, *stēbl* stable, *stēdʒ* stage, *tēbl* table, *trēs* trace, *wēdʒ* wage.

c) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *ēndʒəl* engel, *kēs* case, *pēst* paste, *plēsər* plaster, *strēnʒ* strange, *tēst* taste, *tfēmbər* chamber, *tfēnʒ* change, *wēst* waste.

d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dēndʒər* danger.

3. AF. *a* before *r* + cons. appears as *ā*: *ārtfər* archer, *bārber* barber, *bārgin* bargain, *dārt* dart, *gārd* guard, *gārdin* garden, *gārtər* garter (also *gjārd* etc.), *kārpintər* carpenter, *kwārt* quart, *kwārtər* quarter, *mārb*l marble (also *mārvl*), *pārliment* parliament, *pārs*l parcel, *pārt* part, *riwārd* reward, *skārlət* scarlet, *tfārdʒ* charge.

Note. As for *a* before *r* + vowel, see above 1. a.

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4. AF. *a* appears as *ō*: *bō* ball (also *bō*), *dʒōmz* jambs, *fōs* false, *ōrmərik* almanac; cp. § 16. 2b. 30. 3.

5. AF. *a* appears as *o*: *olər* altar.

Note that the *l* is retained.

6. AF. *a* appears as *aī* before *f*: *faiḥ* to anger, *faiḥən* fashion, *paiḥəb* oassion (see 1. b).

7. AF. *a* appears as *e*: *endaiərn* andirion (pop. Etym.).

AF. *ę*, *ę*.

§ 51. 1. AF. *ę*, *ę* appears in closed syllables as *e*.

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a) In syllables accented in AF.: *aksept* accept, *arrest* arrest, *difend* defend, *difens* defence, *direct* direct, *dʒem* gem, *eksepfən* exception, *empərər* emperor, *enʒər* enter, *əfens* offence, *ətemt* attempt, *ifekt* effect, *kəmens* commence, *consent* consent, *kwestfən* question, *lekfən* election, *let-ʒər* letter, *membər* member, *mend* mend, *menfən* mention, *pek* peck, *pen* pen, *penfən* pension, *rikwest* request, *sentəns* sentence, *spen* spend, *tempər* temper, *tent* tent, to attend to, *teʒər* tester, *ʒreml* tremble, *ʒfes* chess, *ʒfesnut* chesnut.

b) In syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dʒentl* gentle, *endʒəe* enjoy, *engədʒ* engage, *entaiər* entire, *entātl* entitle, *envilōp* envelope, *lesn* lesson, *pensl* pencil, *plenti* plenty.

Note. The prefix *en-* is accented in the foregoing words.

c) In open syllables: *ʒrebl* treble.

2. AF. *ē* before *r* + cons.

a) In accented syllables we have α) *ā*, β) *ä*, γ) *a*: α) *ārb* herb (also *jārb*), *nārv* nerve, *tlārk* clerk, *sārv* serve.

β) *pärtf* perch.

γ) *war* war.

b) In syllables, unaccented in AF. we have *ā*:

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pārʒridʒ partridge, *sārmən* sermon, *sārvənt* servant, *vārnif* varnish.

3. AF. *e* appears as *eī* before *ʒf*: *preach*.

4. AF. *e* appears as *īā*: *bīās* beasts, *krīəm* cream.

5. AF. *e* appears as *ē*: *dēsnt* decent.

6. AF. *e* appears as *a*: *nati neat*.

7. AF. *e* before nasals gives *i*: *indʒən* engine, *fimi* chemise, *ʒimbli* chimney.

AF. *ē* (including central Fr. *ie*, *ue*).

§ 52. 1. AF. *ē* appears as *ī*:

a) AF. *ē* from lay. *a*: *digrī* degree.

b) AF. *ē* for central Fr. *ie*: *mistʒif* mischief, *pīs* piece.

c) AF. *ē* from central Fr. *ue*: *bīf* beef.

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2. AF. *e* before *r* appears as a) *īā*, b) *aiā*.

a) *apīār* appear, *fīārs* fierce, *pīār* pier, *tlīār* clear.

b) *kwaiār* choir, *skwaiār* squire, *ūmpaiār* umpire.

3. AF. *e* appears as *e* in syllables unaccented in AF.: *dezārt* desert, *dʒenārəl* general, *feznt* pheasant, *medisn* medicine, *memāri* memory, *meʒār* measure, *metl* metal, *preznt* present (adj.), *rebl* rebel, *sekānd* second, *selār* cellar, *tenānt* tenant, *treʒār* treasure, *velvit* velvet.

AF. *i*.

§ 53. 1. AF. *i* appears as *ā*.

a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *advās* advice, *advartaz* advertise, *bāble* bible, *disāpl* disciple, *eksārsāz* exercise, *fān* fine, *intlān* incline, *krām* crime, *lān* line, *nās* nice, *prās* price, *prāz* prize, *rās* rice, *sāḍār* cider, *sāziʒ* assizes.

b) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *dāmānd* diamond, *kwāt* quiet, *lāsns* licence, *pālāt* pilot, *sālāns* silence.

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c) In closed syllables for *i* + *ñ*: *rizān* resign, *sān* sign.

Note. In some of these words there is a rarer pron. with *āe* e. g. *krāem* crime. Cp. § 39. 2 and 2 below.

2. AF. *i* appears as *āe*: *arāev* arrive, *krāe* cry, *magpāe* magpie, *risāet* recite, *tāegār* tiger, *āblāedʒ* oblige.

In syllables unaccented in AF.: *āevri* ivory (also *āvri*), *māenār* miner, *pāerāt* pirate, *tlāemāt* climate.

Note. All these words except «ivory» are little used in the dialect. Otherwise we should have expected the vowel *ā*. Cp. § 1 above.

3. AF. *i* appears as *i*.

a) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *prints* prince, *ritf* rich, *simpl* simple.

b) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *pil* to peel. In ME. there was some confusion between *peler* to strip, and *piller* to plunder; *rilidʒəs* religious.

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c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *figər* figure, *finif* finish, *likər* liquor, *minit* minute, *piti* pity, *prizn* prison, *visit* visit.

4. AF. *i* appears as *aiə*: *dʒaiənt* giant, *laiən* lion, *raiət* riot.

5. AF. *i* before *r* appears as a) *ä*, b) *ə*, c) *o*:

a) *märikl* miracle (also *mərikl*).

b) *mərikl* miracle, *spərit* spirit.

c) *örtfən* *ortfənt* hedgehog, *sori* sirrah.

Note. For this *i* before *r* cp. § 31. 2 and § 34. 2.

6. AF. *i* appears as *e*: *rens* rince.

7. AF. *i* appears as *oi*: *dʒoīsiz* joists (generally used in the pl.). A less common pron. is *dʒäesiz*.

AF. *ɔ*.

§ 54. 1. AF. *ɔ* appears as *ō*.

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a) AF. *ɔ* in open syllables: *grōsər* grocer, *nōbl* noble, *nōt* note, *səpōz* suppose, *tlōk* cloak, *trōn* throne.

b) AF. *ɔ* in closed syllables: *brōtʃ* brooch, *divōrs* divorce, *əprōtʃ* approach, *kōst* coast, *pōst* post, *rōst* roast, *tōst* toast.

2. AF. *ɔ* appears as *o*.

a) AF. *ɔ* in closed syllables, accented in AF.: *əposl* apostle, *lodʒ* lodge, *moti* insolence (Fr. *mot?*), *rob* rob.

b) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *propər* proper.

c) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *ofis* office.

d) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *losindʒ* lozenge, *onər* honour, *onist* honest, *os* to offer, attempt (Fr. *oser?*), *promis* promise.

3. AF. *ɔ* before *r* in accented syllables appears as a) *ō*, b) *ȝ*, c) *o* (cp. 4 below).

a) *divōrs* divorce, *dlōri* glory, *fōrdʒ* forge, *fōrs* force, *pōrk* pork (rarely *puərk*), *pōrtər* porter, *pōrtʃ* porch, *stōr* store, *stōri* story.

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b): *fōrfit* forfeit, *fōrm* form, *kōrd* cord, *kōrnər* corner, *mōrtər* mortar, *ōrdər* order.

c): *sort* sort.

It is noteworthy that only one of these words appears with a variant pronunciation *uə*. Cp. the native English words § 41. 2.

4. AF. *o* before *r* in syllables unaccented in AF. appears as a) *ō*, b) *o*, c) *ō*.

a): *fōrtʃən* fortune, *mōrsl* morsel, *ōrdinəri* ordinary, *ōrgin* organ.

b): *forist* forest.

c) *dlōriəs* glorious (influenced by *dlōri*).

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5. AF. *o* + *l* appears as *ou*: *roūl* roll, *sou̇d-dʒər* soldier.

Notice that the *l* in *roūl* is not dropped, perhaps owing to the influence of the lit. language. Cp. § 33. 3 and § 55. 6.

6. AF. *o* appears as *ū*: *fū* fool.

7. AF. *o* appears as *uə*: *kuət* coat, *puərk* pork (usually *pōrk*, cp. 3. a).

8. AF. *o* appears as *uī* before *f*: *bruīf* brush.

AF. *u*.

§ 55. 1. AF. *u* appears as *u*.

a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *buzərt* butterfly, *dubl* double, *grudgʒ* grudge, *kuk-ku* cuckoo, *kupl* couple, *trubl* trouble, *tutʃ* touch.

b) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *gum* gum, *nʌmbər* number, *plundʒ* plunge, *spundʒ* sponge, *sʌm* sum, *trʌmp* trump, *trʌŋk* trunk.

c) In open syllables, unaccented in AF.: *butlər* butler, *bʌtʃər* butcher, *kʌlər* colour, *trʌk* truck, dealings.

d) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *kʌmfərt* comfort, *kʌmpni* company, *kʌntri* county, *pʌlpit* pulpit.

2. AF. *u* appears as *ē*.

a) In open syllables, accented in AF.: *dēt* doubt, *gēn* gown, *krēn* crown (der. *krēnər* coroner), *pēdər* or *pēdər* powder, *pētʃ* pouch, *sēnd* sound.

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b) In closed syllables, accented in AF.: *ēns* ounce, *akēnt* account, *amēnt* amount, *kēnt* count, *pēns* pounce, *prənēns* pronounce, *rēnd* round.

c) In closed syllables, unaccented in AF.: *kēnsil* council, *kēnti* county, *mēntin* mountain, *fēntin* fountain.

3. AF. *u* before *r* appears as *ā*: *ār* hour, *flār* flower, flour, *tār* tower.

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4. AF. *u* before *r* + cons. gives:

u: *pus* purse.

ō: *kuārt* court.

uā: *kuārt* court.

ā: *distārb* disturb (also *distōrb*), *džārni* journey.

5. AF. *u* appears as *ū*: *lūvār* chimney (AF. *l'ouvert*, ME. *lovār*), *pūt* put pullet.

6. AF. *u* appears as *oū* before *l*: *boū* to bowl (Fr. *boule*). The genuine English word *boūl* bowl (OE. *bolla*) has preserved the *l*. See Sweet HES. § 884 and NED. *poūltrī* poultry.

AF. *ū*.

§ 56. 1. AF. *ū* appears as *u*: *džudž* judge, *džust* just, *ūmbl* humble.

2. AF. *ū* appears as *(j)ū*, *j* being dropped after *l*, *r*, and *s*, and amalgamated with a preceding *d* > *dž*: *jūz* to use, *ekskjūz* excuse, *rifjūz* refuse, *dlū* glue, *rūd* rude, *pārsū* pursue, *džūk* duke.

3. AF. *ū* before *r* appears as

(j)uā: *pjuār* pure, *kjuār* cure, *fuār* sure.

o: *ort* hurt.

4. AF. *ū* appears as *ju*: *jus* use (sb.).

5. AF. *ū* in syllables unaccented in AF., but accented in A. appears as

jū: *jūmār* humour, *mjūzik* music.

u: *pūnif* punish.

ui: *kruil* cruel.

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AF. *ü, üi* < Old French *üi*.

§ 57. 1. AF. *üi* appears as (*j*)*ū*, *j* being dropped after *r*, and *s*: *pjū* *pew*, *njūsəns* *nuisance* (in AF. unaccented), *frūt* *fruit*, *sūt* *suit* (rarely *fūt* *fit*).

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2. AF. *üi* appears as oī: oīl *oil*, *oīstər* *oyster* (rarer *āestər*).

AF. *ai, ei*.

§ 58. These diphthongs are treated together in consequence of their falling together in ME.

1. AF. *ai, ei* = ME. *ai* appears as *ē*.

a) In open syllables: *bitrē* *betray*, *dilē* *delay*, *disēt* *deceit*, *disēv* *deceive*, *dizēz* *disease*, *fēl* *fail*, *fēp* *faith*, *grēn* *grain*, *grēs* *grease*, *kəmplēn* *complain*, *kənsēt* *conceit*, *kē* *quay*, *mē* *May*, *pē* *pay*, *plēn* *plain*, *prē* *pray*, *prēz* *preise*, *rimēn* *remain*, *tlēm* *claim*, *trēt* *treat*, *tjēn* *chain* (also *tjīən*), *vēl* *veil*, *vēn* *vein*, *wēt* *wait*.

b) In closed syllables: *fēnt* *faint*, *pēnt* *paint*.

c) In syllables unaccented in AF.: *būmbēli* *bailiff*, *sēzn* *season*, *tēlər* *tailor*.

2. AF. *ai, ei*, later *ē* = ME. *ē* (cp. § 37. 1) appears as *īā*: *īāzi* *easy*, *plīāz* *please*, *rīānz* *reins*, *tjīən* *chain*, *tjīər* *chair*.

3. AF. *ei* > *ē* appears as *ī*: *pīs* *peace*.

4. AF. *ei* appears as *eī*: *deīn* *dean*.

5. AF. *ai, ei* before *r* appear as *ā*: *ār* *air*, *fār* *fair*; *mār* *mayor*, *prār* *prayer* have received the accent;—but note *tjīər* *chair* (see 2. Above).

6. AF. *ei* appears as *a*: *plat* *plait*.

7. AF. *ai* appears as *ē*: *mēstər* *master*.

AF. *au*.

§ 59. 1. AF. *au* appears as *ō*: *bikōz* *because*.

2. AF. *au* = lat. *a + l*, before cons., appears as *ō*: *fōt* *fault*, *kōkər* *coker* (pieces of brass or tin used for protecting the fronts of clogs), *kōsə* *causeway*, *scōd* *scald*.

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3. AF. *au* = lat. *a* + *l*, before cons., appears *ē* in *sēf* safe, *sēv* save.

Note. These two words were monophthongised in ME. and then developed like *ēf* half. Cp. § 30. 7. See Luick, Anglia XVI. 474.

4. AF. *au* appears as *a*: *savidʒ* savage. The syllable being unaccented in AF. accounts for the development being different from that in 2. or 3. above.

AF. *oi*, *ui*.

§ 60. 1. AF. *oi*, *ui* from all sources appear as *oī*: *noīz* noise, *tfoīs* choice, *voīs* voice; *boīl* boil, *dʒoīn* join, *dʒoīnt* joint, *poīnt* point, *soīl* soil, *spoīl* spoil, *poīzn* poison.

2. AF. *ui* appears as *uī*: *būīfəl* bushel, *kuīfən* cushion (also *kufən*).

3. AF. *oi* appears as *oū*: *kou* to scrape together (AF. *coiller*).

4. AF. *oi*, *ui* appears as *ui*: *ruin* ruin, *suit* suet.

Chapter IV.

Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

1. Weak Word Stress.

a) *ə*.

§ 61. *ə* has generally arisen from back vowels and *er*.

a) In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent: *əbēt* about, *əgēt* in action, at work, *əgrī* agree, *fərged* forget, *təmərn* tomorrow; but—*ridʒesʃar* register, *spe-téklz* spectacles, *fuərlī* surely, *kontrāri* contrary.

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b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *bʌlək* bullock, *bʌzərt* butterfly, *dʒəndərz* jaundice, *galəp* gallop, *kesməs* and *krisməs* Christmas, *koləp* slice of bacon,

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kōsə causeway, *kūbəd* and *kūbət* cupboard, *kūštərt* custard, *lēlak* lilac (also *lēluk*), *mūštərt* mustard, *ōləz* always, *sakləs* silly, foolish, *stərəp* and *stärepe* stirrup, *siðərs* scissors, *ulərt* owl, *uñdət* hundred, *wində* window.

arə arrow, *barə* barrow, *folə* follow, *jarə* yarrow, *jalə* yellow, *narə* narrow, *pilə* pillow, *sparə* sparrow, *swalə* swallow, *fadə* shadow, *falə* shallow, *talə* tallow, *wilə* willow.

bled-dər bladder, *būt-tər* butter, *fēðər* father, *gonðər* gander, *geðər* gather, *ōðər* either, *omər* hammer, *fūtər* to slide down, *wētər* water.

nētər nature, *pastər* pasture, *piktər* picture, *plēstər* plaster, *meʒər* measure, *pleʒər* pleasure.

In compounds: *bakərt* backward, *forət*, *forəd* forward, *ōkərt* awkward, *ōpəp* halfpennyworth, *penəp* pennyworth, *tōrt* towards, *sumət* somewhat (also *sumut*).

b) *i*.

a) In initial syllables followed by the principal accent: *disēt* deceit, *disēv* deceive.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *ārvist* harvest, *blankit* blanket, *bulit* bullet, *revit* rivet, *redif* radish.

bārli barley, *bali* belly, *bēli* bailiff, *bəri* to bury, berry, *bodi* body, *nōbri* nobody, *boni* bonny, *mēzi* dizzy, *emit* empty, *eivi* heavy, *ori* hurry, *moni* many, *ōpni* halfpenny, *peni* penny, *sili* silly, *slipi* slippery, *wəri* worry, *wagin* waggon.

fārðin farthing, *kūmin* coming and in all words which in the literary language end in *-ing*.

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c) Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

a) Initial syllables followed by the principal accent: *bakə* tobacco, *bēt* without, *konəmāzər* economizer, *kōs* because, *laiəns* alliance, *list* enlist, *livər* deliver, *lotments* allotments, *louəns* alliance, *list* enlist, *livər* deliver, *lotments* allotments, *louəns* a tip for a drink, *prentis* apprentice, *sāləm* asylum, *sāziʒ* assizes, *tās* entice.

b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent: *kumpni* company, *nōbri* nobody, *q̄pəp* halfpennyworth, *penəp* pennyworth, *reglār* regular, *sumbri* somebody.

l and *n* are vocalic as in English in *andl* handle, *kandl* candle, *fasn* fasten.

2. Weak Sentence Stress.

§ 62. The following words have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Others are given in the accidentence.

The auxiliary verb have *ev*, *e*, *ə* is often omitted entirely: *a fon id* I have found it.

a I: *a fārnd* I shall not.

abət yes but.

am I am: *am nod guin* I am not going.

bi 1) be: *al bi dīār* I will be there.

2) by: *bi nē* by now.

bin been.

bəd but.

-d 1) had: *ad* I had.

2) would: *īd e tə dū* he would have to do.

dəz, *dəs* does, *dost*, *dəs tə?* dost thou?

e, *en*, *ev* have: *led im e tām* let him have time. *en jə ani?* have you any?

ez, *es* has, *hast*: *es fon it?* Have you found it?

ə 1) a, an: *ə nās lot* a nice lot. *ə ap-pə* an apple.

2) have: *ad ə gon wum* I should have gone home.

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3) in, on, at: *ə đad rōd* in that way.

4) of: *ə paif ə waṭər* a quantity of water.

əd would: *id əd tek ə lot* it would take a lot.

ən 1) and: *im ən mī* he and I.

2) one: *id wər ə gud ən* it was a good one.

əz 1) as = 'as' and 'that' (cj.): *a nōd əz a kʊd* I knew that I could.

2) as = 'who, whom': *im əz ða sīd* him, whom you saw.

3) us

fər for.

frə from.

i in: *i tām* in time.

intə into.

iz, *is* his: *is fēðər* his father. *is* is used before voiceless consonants.

jə ye, you.

jər you are.

kəd could.

kn can.

-*l* will: *al* I will.

mi me, my, may: *giv id mi* give it me.

mit, *mət* might.

mən, *mn* must.

-*n* have: *wīn sīn id* we have seen it.

nər nor.

-*s* 1) us (after voiceless cons.): *les bi ɔf* let us be off.

2) shall: *as nod* I shall not.

fārnd shall not.

sə so.

-*f*, *fəd* should: *af þiŋk sə* I should think so.

fə she.

t the. (See chap. on pronunciation.)

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tə thou: *wil tə* will you?

ði thy, they, thee.

-*v* have: *wiv wʌn* we have won (see *n* above).

wa why. The unaccented form of *wā*, *wāe*.

wər 1) our: *its wər ɔn* it is our own.

- 2) we are.
3) was, were.
- wi* 1) with.
2) we.
- Wis* we shall.
- z 1) is: *īz* he is.
2) has, hast: *īz* he has. *ðaz* thou hast.

Chapter V.

The Consonants.

1. Semivowels.

ME. *w*.

§ 63. 1. Initially.

- a) ME. *w* has remained before vowels: *wāp* wipe, *war* war, *wārk* work, *wēt* wait.
- b) ME. *w* has remained in the combination *tw*, *sw*, *dw*, *qu* [*kw*], *hw*: *twelv* twelve, *dwārf* dwarf, *swim* swim, *kwīn* queen, *witf* which.—Exceptions: *tū* two, *sō* so, *uə ū* who.
- c) ME. *w* has disappeared in the combination *wr*: *rāt* write, *ruŋg* wrong.
- d) A *w* has appeared in certain words with ME. *ō*: *wōl* whole, *won* one, *wons* once, *wuts* oats (rare, the usual pronunciation being *uəts*), *wum* home.

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Note. This *w* has developed in the following way. The ME. open *ō* was diphthongized, owing to excessive lip rounding, at first to the falling diphthongs *uō*, *uə*. These were then developed to the rising diphthong *uə*, *uū* which then gave the initial *w*. *won* one and *wons* once are apparently borrowed from the lit. language at a later period

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or else we should have had *wōn* as in *wōl* whole. (See Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 47 ff., 85 ff., 210 ff.) There is sometimes a variant pron. to *wum* home viz. *uəm*, which is, however, not common and is from other dialects. The *w* does not appear in *ōnli* only but Edwin Waugh writes it *one-ly*. What his pron. was I do not know. As a matter of fact the A. people use the word *bud* 'but' more often than *ōnli*.

2. Medially.

a) ME. *w* + final vowel have become *ə* after consonants: *medə* meadow, *widə* widow.

b) ME. *w* has disappeared at the beginning of unaccented syllables, chiefly in words compounded with *-ward*: *ansər* answer, *bakərts* backwards, *forəd* forward, *grunsl* groundsel, *ōlāz* always, *ōkert* awkward, *penəp* pennyworth, *sumet* something, *tōrt* towards.

ME. *ʒ*, *y* [*j*].

§ 64. 1. ME. *ʒ*, *y* appears unchanged: *jell* yell, *jār* year, *jon* yonder, *jung* young.

2. ME. *ʒ*, *y* appears as *g*: *giv* give, *gift* gift, *farged* forget.

3. We have *j* in the dialect in a few words from AF. *ū*: *juʒ* to use, *pjuər* pure, *mjūzik* music.

2. Liquids.

ME. *l*.

§ 65. 1. ME. *l* has remained unchanged initially, medially and finally: *lam* lamb, *lōn* lane, *elp* help, *fleif* flesh, *kulər* colour, *kruil* cruel, *tel* tell.

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2. ME. *l* has disappeared finally and before *f*, *v*, *m*, *s*, *t*, *d*, *k*: *ap-pə* apple, *fō* fall, *fū* fool, *kō* call, *smō* small, *bōd* bald, *ōf* half, *ēv* halve, *samən* salmon, *fōs* cunning, *koūt* colt, *foūd* fold, *oūd* old, *fōk* folk. (For other examples, see § 33. 3 and 41. 3.)

Note. There has apparently never been an *l* in the dialect forms *fōt* fault, *mēt* moult.

ME. *r*.

§ 66. 1. ME. *r* has remained unchanged in all positions: *rāv* to tear, *rēn* rain, *rēnd* round, *bāri* to bury, *kwārt* quart, *mārikl* miracle, *fēðar* father, *for* for, *pār* pair.

2. ME. *r* + *s* has become *ss* > *s* in: *būst* burst (also *brast*), *kus* curse, *fūst* first, *wūs* worse, *wustid* worsted, *ōs* horse.

Note that we have *uəs* hoarse, where the *r* has evidently never been inserted.

3. *r* has been added on in *provinðer* provender.

4. *r* is retained in certain cases where it has undergone metathesis in the lit. language: *brid* bird, *brun* burn, *krudz* curds, *skrūf* scurf, *undərd* hundred.

3. Nasals.

ME. *m*.

§ 67. 1. ME. *m* has generally remained unchanged in all positions: *mēntin* mountain, *mūn* moon, *gami* lame, *tumbl* tumble, *krum* crumb, *rūm* room.

2. *mt* has become *nt*: *ant* ant.

Note. *m* is sometimes used by children to replace a *w* in the pronoun *we*: *mār* we are, *mi fārnd* we shall not.

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ME. *n*.

§ 68. 1. ME. *n* has usually remained unchanged in all positions: *nati* neat, *nīt* night, *nētər* nature, *ant* aunt, *kandl* candle, *nēn* noun, *opn* open, *sevn* seven.

Note also *don* to put on, *lan* lend, *olin* holly.

2. ME. *n* has disappeared finally after *l*, *m*: *kil* kiln; *dam* damn, *im* hymn, *ōtəm* autumn.

3. ME. *n* has disappeared before *s* in unaccented syllables: *ə(t)sted* instead, *Robisn* Robinson, *Rolisn* Rawlinson.

4. ME. *n* has disappeared initially in: *ēprən* apon, *ūmpaiər* umpire.

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5. An *n* has been inserted in an occasional pronunciation of the word *sosindʒər* sausage. For further examples of this insertion of *n* in lit. Eng. See Jespersen, *Studien* 31, 239 ff.

ME. *ŋ*.

§ 69. ME. *ŋ* has remained unchanged: *fiŋgər* finger, *luŋgər* longer, *bring* bring, *tunŋz* tongs, *piŋk* think, *suŋk* sunk.

Note. *ŋ* has become *n* in unaccented syllables: *fārðin* farthing, *runin* running etc.

4. Labials.

ME. *p*.

§ 70. 1. ME. *p* has remained, as a rule, in all positions: *pad* path, *pē* pay, *pot* pot, *äpi* happy, *tfäptər* chapter, *doləp* a lump of dirt, *kup* cup, *lamp* lamp.

Note. *p* has never developed to *b* in *kopweb* cobweb.

2. ME. *p* has been dropped between *m* and *t*, and assimilated to a following *b*: *emti* empty, *temt* tempt, *kubərt* cupboard, *razbri* raspberry.

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3. *p* is sometimes pronounced as *b* in *babtāz* baptize, perhaps owing to confusion with *babi* baby.

ME. *b*.

§ 71. 1. ME. *b* has generally remained in all positions: *baþ* bath, *batl* battle, *brigʒ* bridge, *abit* habit, *bogərt* ghost, *tēbl* table, *gab* impudence, *web* web.

Note that *b* is retained in *gimblit* gimlet.

2. ME. medial *mb* is retained, but in final *mb* the *b* is dropped: *nūmbər* number, *trembl* tremble, *þimbl* thimble: *kōm* comb, *lam* lamb, *tlām* climb. *sūmdi* somebody has been influenced by the lit. lang. (*sūmbri* is more usual).

Note. See § 126 on gemination.

ME. *f*.

§ 72. 1. ME. *f* has usually remained in all positions: *fēðar* father, *flār* flower, *fleīf* flesh, *ofər* offer, *difend* defend, *delf* stone quarry, *tīf* chief, *wāf* wife.

2. ME. *f* has been dropped in: *bēli* bailiff, *dʒoli* jolly, *aŋkitfər* handkerchief, *ōpni* halfpenny.

3. ME. *f* has become *v* in *vat* vat.

ME. *v*.

§ 73. 1. ME. *v* has generally remained in all positions: *vēn* vain, *voīs* voice, *devl* devil, *livər* liver, *rivər* river, *wāvz* wives, *kēv* cave, *dluv* glove, *siv* sieve.

2. ME. *v* has become *f* in: *fitf* vetch, *nefjū* nephew, *bilīf* belief.

3. ME. *v* has been dropped in: *e* have, *gin* given, *ār* ever, *nār* never, *ōr* over, *puər* poor, and in the present and the imperative *gi* give. (But also *giv*, especially before a vowel.)

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5. Dentals.

ME. *t*.

§ 74. 1. ME. *t* has generally remained in all positions: *tām* time, *tēm* tame, *tēbl* table, *piti* pity, *bāt* bite, *feīt* fight, *gift* gift, *kumfərt* comfort.

2. ME. *t* before *r*, or a syllable containing *r* appears as *ʧ*: *ʧrāp* tripe, *ʧrembl* tremble, *ʧri* tree, *bu(t)ʧər* butter, *ʧapʧər* chapter, *wēʧər* water.

Note. Most of the words with *ʧ* are also sometimes pronounced with *b*, although the former pron. is the usual one. In the ME. *nosepirls* we have also *noʃtrilz* and *nosprilz*. For a similar development of ME. *d* see § 75, 3.

3. ME. *t* has been dropped between *s*, *f* and *l*, *m*, *n*: *prosl* thrush, *rosl* wrestle, *wisl* whistle, *krisməs* Christmas, *fasn* fasten, *sofn* soften,—but *ofn* often (rarely used, and no doubt influenced by the spelling).

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4. ME. *t* has been assimilated to a preceding *s* in the plurals *bīās* beasts, *krusiz* crusts (also *krus*, *krusts*), and in the Singular and Plural *dʒoīs* joist, *dʒoīsiz* joists.

5. *t* has been added on in: *feznt* pheasant, *vizərt* visor and in few words after an *s*: *ārst* hearse, *twāst* twice, *wonst* once (also *twās*, *wons*); cp. Mod. Eng. *against*, *amidst*, *whilst* etc. and Cockney *acrost*.

6. ME. *t* appears as *d*.

a) At the end of many short words: *būd* but, *ged* get, *id* it, *led* let, *puđ* put, *đad* that, *wod* what etc.

b) In the corresponding present parts: *gedin* getting, *ledin* letting, *puđin* putting.

c) In the romanian word *dāmund* diamond.

7. ME. *t* appears as *r* in *prētəz* potatoes and occasionally in verbal forms ending in *t* preceded

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by a short vowel, when the next word begins with a vowel. The *t* probably became *d* (see examples in 6 above) and then through lack of stress in developed to *r* (cp. intervocalic *d* > *r* in § 75. 4). But the *r* is not so frequent in the A. dialect as in some of the neighbouring dialects, and the *d* forms are always the more frequent. See Ellis, EEP. vol. v. p. 420.

gär up get up, *lär im* let him, *pur id dēn* put it down.

Also in *wor*? what?

8. ME. *t* before *i* appears as *tf* in the French loanwords *fornitfər* furniture, *fōrtfən* fortunes. But note *nēfər* nature, *pasfure* pasture.

ME. *d*.

§ 75. 1. ME. *d* has generally remained in all positions: *damidʒ* damage, *dē* day, *dubl* double, *medisn* medicine, *nīdl* needle, *sadle* saddle, *dlad* glad, *gud* good, *rād* ride, *sād* side.

2. ME. *d* between vowel and *-er* has become *đ*: *fađər* father, *gađər* gather, *mudər* mother, *wedər* weather. But we have *pēđər* and *pēđər* powder, and *diđər*, *diđər* to shiver.

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3. ME. initial *d* before *r*, and *d* after consonant + *-er* have generally become *ɖ*: *ɖragən* dragon, *ɖrāv* drive, *ɖrēn* drown, *ɖrop* drop, *bled-ɖər* bladder, *lad-ɖər* ladder, *tɖildər* children, *ʊnɖərd* hundred, *wʊnɖər* wonder (also *tɖildər*, *ʊnɖərd*, *wʊnðer*).

Note 1. *mōrðer* murder has evidently never developed a *d* in the dialect.

Note 2. From the foregoing it would appear that all *d*'s before *r* in the dialect have a tendency to develop to *ð*. In 2 we have a number of words, which as in lit. Eng. really have developed *d* to *ð*, and in 3 a number, part of which have two pronunciations,

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viz. *ɖ* and *ð*, and part of which have as yet only *ɖ*. The stages are thus perhaps *d* > *ɖ* > *ð*.

4. Intervocalic *d* in unaccented syllables has become *r* in: *anibri* anybody, *nōdy*, *nōbri* nobody, *sʊmbri* somebody.

5. ME. *d* has become *t* in many preterits and past participles: *akst* asked, *lūkt* looked, *taiərt* tired, *fēft* shaved, *witfərt* wet-shod. For other examples see Verbs.

Note. Occasionally *fild* field is pronounced *filt*.

6. ME. *d* after *n*, has disappeared by assimilation, before a following consonant, and finally: *ansəm* handsome, *ansər* answer, *bran* in bran-new, *granfedər* grandfather, *grʊsl* groundsel, *lanlord* landlord,—*bēn* bound, compelled, *fʊn*, *fɔn* found, *grʊn* ground (vb.), *wʊn* wound (vb.).

7. *d* after *n*, has been added on, like in lit. English, in: *dʒɔndərz* jaundice, *sēnd* sound.

Note. *d* has never been inserted in *bēn*, bound, about, going: *wor(t) bēn (t)du* what are you going to do; and in *lan* lend, *ɖʊnər* thunder.

See § 126 on gemination.

ME. *th*, *þ*, [*þ*].

§ 76. 1. ME. *þ* has generally remained unchanged: *þif* thief, *þiŋk* think, *þōrn* thorn, *baþ* bath, *mēþ* mouth, *tʊþ* tooth.

2. ME. *þ* in pronoun stems has become *ð*: *ðā* thou, thy, *ðī* thee, *ðē* they, *ðis* this, *ðad* that, *ðūz* those.

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Note 1. In the 2nd pers. Sing. of the pers. pron. used interrogatively and unemphatically we have *t*: *es-tə?* hast thou? *will tə?* wilt thou?; but *wil ðā?* Wilt thou?

Note 2. Here may be mentioned the (*t*) corresponding to the definite article in modern English. It is called by Wright (Windhill Dialect) »suspended t«. (See pron. Chap. I.) Before consonants

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we have (*t*): *dēn (t) lōn* down the lane, *i(t) tēn* in the town. Before vowels the *the* is prefixed to the following word and loses its *e*. It preserves the original voiceless sound: *þōf* the half, *þōūd tʃap* the old man, *þōnli won* the only one.

This (*t*) also appears instead of other unstressed words: *idl e (t) du* it will have to do, *är(t) gūin?* art thou going?

3. ME. *þ* has become *d*: *pad* path.

4. ME. *þ* has disappeared before *w* in: *wak* to beat severely, *witl* to cut away.

ME. *th, þ, [ð]*.

§ 77. 1. ME. *þ [ð]* has remained medially and finally: *brūðar* brother, *fārðin* farthing, *nōðar* neither, *bēð* bathe, *brīð* breathe, *sāð* scythe, *smūð* smooth, but *buəþ* both.

2. ME. *þ [ð]* + *es* has become *þs*: *bapþs* baths, *smiþs* smith, *munþs* months, *tlōþs* cloths.

3. ME. *þ [ð]* has become *d*: *fidl* fiddle.

4. ME. *þ [ð]* has been dropped in *thuəz* clothes.

6. Sibilants.

ME. *s*.

§ 78. 1. ME. *s* has generally remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally: *sand* sand, *sārmən* sermon, *sōt* salt, *speik* speak, *stōn* stone, *strō* straw, *fasn* fasten, *kēnsil* council, *mūsl* muscle, *rosl* wrestle, *lesn* lesson, *mēs* mason, *fēs* face, *gīs* geese, *kis* kiss, *mēs* mouse, *voīs* voice.

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2. ME. medial *s* before voiced consonants and when in OE. and AF. it was between vowels appears as *z*: *bīzən* besom, *biznis* business, *feznt* pheasant, *frozn* frozen, *prizn* prison, *vizit* visit, *uzbund* husband.

3. ME. *s* when it is final, after voiced cons. and vowels or has become final in consequence

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of the end *-e* not being pronounced appears as *z*, *ȝ*: *bedȝ* beds, *fildȝ* fields, *penȝ* pens, *dēȝ* days, *duȝ* does, *ēziȝ* houses, *prēȝ* praise, *lōȝ* lose, *tfiȝ* cheese, *tluaȝ* clothes.

4. ME. *s* + *e*, *i* before vowel appears as *f*: *fuər* sure, *fuȝər* sugar, *miʃən* mission, *nēʃən* nation, *speʃəl* special, *menʃən* mention, and sometimes in *kweʃən* question (usually *kwestʃən*).

5. ME. *s* + *e*, *i* before vowel appears as *ʒ*: *meʒər* measure (also *mezər*), *pleʒər* pleasure.

6. ME. *s* has been dropped, as in lit. English, where it has been mistaken for a plural ending: *peī* pea, *riɖl* riddle, *tʃəri* cherry.

ME. *sch*, *sh* [ʃ].

§ 79. 1. ME. *sch*, *sh* [ʃ] appear in all positions as *f*: *ʃadə* shadow, *ʃip* ship, *ʃut* shut, *buīʃl* bushel, *ʃleīʃ* flesh, *waīʃ* (wash), *wīʃ* wish.

2. ME. *sch* has become *s*: *es-midin* ash-pit.

ME. *ch* [tʃ].

§ 80. 1. ME. *ch* [tʃ] appears in all positions as *tʃ*: *tʃap* chap, *tʃān* chain, *tʃīk* cheek, *tʃōk* chalk, *tʃortʃ* church, *butʃər* butcher, *bitʃ* bitch, *bleītʃ* bleach, *dātʃ* and *ditʃ* ditch, *latʃ* latch, *ritʃ* rich, *watʃ* watch, *sītʃ* seek.

2. ME. *lch* [ltʃ], *nch* [ntʃ] have remained as *ltʃ*, *ntʃ*: *belʃ* belch, *benʃ* bench, *brantʃ* branch, *intʃ* inch. But the pron. with *lf*, *nf* is just as frequent, and has of course come from the lit language.

3. ME. *ch* appears sometimes as *dʒ*, sometimes as *tʃ*. We have *dʒ* in: *kārʒridʒ* cartridge, *grudʒ* grudge and *tʃ* in: *kabitʃ* cabbage, *ostʒritʃ* ostrich.

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ME. *g, j, dge* [dž].

§ 81. 1. ME. *g, j, dge* [dž] appears in all positions as *dž*: *dženərəl* general, *džēl* jail, *džoīn* join, *džudž* judge, *indžən* engine, *edž* hedge, *bridž* bridge, *wedž* wedge.

2. ME. *nge* appears as *ndž* and *nž*. the only rule that can be laid down is that at the end of words the pron. *nž* is more frequent, while medially *ndz* prevails. But the rule is not a hard and fast one: *dēndžər* danger, *strēndž* strange, *indž*, *inž* hinge, *krinž* cringe, *sinž* singe.

7. Palatals.

ME. *ž, gh* [χ']

§ 81. 1. ME *ž, gh* [χ'] has disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened: *brīt* bright, *līt* light, *nīt* night, *rīt* right, *weīt* weight.

Note. For ME. *ž, y* [j] see § 64, under the semivowels.

8. Gutturals.

ME. *c, k*.

§ 83. 1. ME. *c, k* appears in all positions in the dialect as *k*: *kon* can, *koūd* cold, *krīp* creep, *kwaliti* quality, *kwədril* quadrille, *aŋkər* anchor, *likər* liquor, *uŋkl* uncle, *bēk* bake, *brūk* brook, *mēk* and *mē* make, *tek* and *te* take, *wōk* walk.

2. ME. *k* has disappeared, as in lit. Eng., before *n*: *nāf* knife, *neīd* knead, *nī* knee, *nō* know.

3. Me. *k* has disappeared before *l*: *mūsl* muscle.

4. ME. *k* has become *t* before *l*: *tlam*, *tlem* to famish, *tlē* cloud, *tlīən* clean, *tlō* claw, *tlomp* to walk

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heavily, *tlōþ* cloth; *kotl* cockle, *sitl* sickle, *twintl* tinkle, *pitlz* pickles.

Note. Probably out of confusion with this last group we have an occasional pronunciation of bottle and little as *bokl*, *likl*.

5. *k* has been dropped before *-ed* in *krūt* crooked; it is also sometimes dropped in *mē* to make, *te* to take.

Note. the *k* is retained in *aks*, *akst* ask, asked in consequence of the metathesis.

6. ME. *sk* = OE. *sc* before back vowels, Scand. *sk*, appears as *sk*: *skab* scab, *skil* skill, *skīn* skin, *skrūf* scurf, *skū* school, *skolār* scholar. Also finally in *ask* (ME. *harsk*) dry, rough = NE. *harsh*.

7. *k* has become *g* in *bleg-bri* blackberry and sometimes in *blegār*n Blackburn.

8. Note that differently from the lit. language we have *sīf* seek and *wārtf* work in *tub-wārtf* tooth-ache. See § 80. where ME. *tš* is treated.

ME. *g*.

§ 84. 1. ME. *g* has generally remained unchanged in all positions: *gam* fun, *goūd* gold, *gras* grass, *fingār* finger, *wagin* waggon, *fog* fog, *leg* leg, *siŋg* sing.

Note. For the glide sound before and after *g*, see Chap. I.

2. ME. *g* has become *d* before *l*: *dlad* glad, *dlas* glass, *dlopnt* terrified (Scand.), *dlūmpi* sulky, morose.

3. ME. *g* has disappeared before *n*: *nō* gnaw.

ME. *h*.

§ 85. 1. ME. *h* has generally disappeared: *apn* happen, *ōl* hole, *ot* hot, *nut* nut, *wen* when, *wīer* where.

Note. The *h* is sometimes kept when the word is strongly emphasized, just as it is sometimes supplied where in OE. and lit. Eng. it does not exist.

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2. ME. *h* in the group *gh* has disappeared medially and finally: *eīt* eight, *feīt* fight, *līt* light, *nīt* night, *doūṭər* daughter, *olə* hollow, *ənū* enough.

Note. For the other examples, see the ME. diphthongs.

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3. ME *h* in the group *gh* is represented in a few words by *f*: *ɗraft* draught, *kof* cough, *laf* laugh, *ruf* rough, *tuf* tough, and occasionally in *ənuf* enough, and *ɗruf* through.

4. In certain words *h* has apparently been replaced by *j*: *jārb*, herb, *jed* head, *juər* hair; in other it seems to have been replaced by *w*: *wum* home etc. In these cases the *h* was first dropped; then the initial vowel was diphthongised and the accent shifted. See § 37. 1b. 51. 2. 63. 1d.

9. Gemination.

§ 85a. Gemination of consonants occurs to a great extent in the dialect. The consonants most geminated are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *m*, *k*, *g*.

The most frequent sources of gemination are the pres.-part. termination *-in* and the terminations *-in*, *-ər*, and *-ə* (*əl*). Gemination only occurs after a short syllable.

flit-tin removing, *rob-bin* robbing, *skrat-tin* scratching, *swap-pin* changing, *swim-min* swimming, but *rātin* writing, *untin* hunting.

bled-dər bladder, *bob-bər* a kind of large marble, *bu(t)-tər* butter, *be(t)-tər* better, *drum.mər* drummer, *nok-kər* knocker, *rub-bər* one who rubs, *sok-kər* a hard blow.

ap-pə apple, *kop-pə* Coppull (a neighbouring village), *top-pin* the top (hair) of the head.

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But we have *gigər* bigger, *rubər* Indianrubber (this latter though is no doubt owing to the influence of the literary language), *itin* hitting.

10. Metathesis.

§ 85b. Metathesis has not taken place in *brid* bird, *brun* to burn, *krud* curd, *skrūf* scurf.

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Accidence.

Chapter VI.

Nouns.

1. Formation of the plural.

§ 86. a) Plurals in *-iz*, *-z* (*z*), *-s*.

1. Nouns ending in *s*, *f*, *z*, *ʒ* add *iz* (*iz*) to form the plural: *fēs* face *fēsiz*, *las* lass *lasiz* (but *ēs* house *ēziz*), *watf* watch *watfiz*, *nōz* nose *nōsiz* (also *nōs* pl. *nōsiz*), *edʒ* edge *edʒiz*.

2. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced cons. other than *z*, *ʒ* add *z* (*z*): *dē* day *dez*, *dlʊv* glove *dlʊvz*, *dog* dog *dogz*, *lad* lad *ladz* (but *mēþ* mouth, pl. *mēðz*)

3. Nouns ending in a voiceless cons. other than *s*, *f*, add *s*: *baþ* bath *baþs*, *būk* book *būks*, *kap* cap *kaps*, *rat* rat *rats*, *rūf* roof *rūfs*.

4. Nouns ending in *f* preceded by a vowel which was long in OE. (except *ū*), and nouns originally ending in *lf* change the *f* into *v* and add *z* in the plural: *lāf* life *lāvz*, *lōf* loaf *lōvz*, *nāf* knife *nāvz*, *þīf* thief *þivz*, *wāf* wife *wāvz*, *ōf* and *ēf* half *ōvz* and *ēvz*, *kōf* calf *kōvz* (but *ūfs* hoofs, *rūfs* roofs, *stafs* staffs, *tlīfs* cliffs).

b) Plurals in *n*:

ī eye *īn*, *fū* shoe *fūn*.

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c) Plural in *-r*:

tʃālt child has plural *tʃilðər*.

d) Plurals with Umlaut: *fūt* foot *fīt*, *gūs* goose *gīs*, *lēs* louse *lās*, *mon* man *men*, *mēs* mouse *mās*, *tūþ* tooth *tīþ*, *w ʊmən* woman *wim in*.

e) Sing. and plur. alike: *bī əs* beast, beasts, *e s* ash, ashes, *fī ʃ* fish, fishes, *ʃī p* sheep.

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Nouns expressing time, space, wight, measure and number when preceded by a cardinal number have plural and singular alike: *fāv munþ* five months, *þrī wik* three weeks, *ten māl* ten miles, *fōr tun* four tons, *siks pēnd*, *ēns* six pounds, ounces, *fōr skōr* four score.

f) Nouns only used in the plural: *aksinz* banns of marriage, *botəmz* sediment, *līts* lights or lungs of animals, *mēzlez* measles, *siðarz* scissors, *trēzərz* trousers, *tunġz* tongs.

We have a double plural in *galəsiz* braces.

2. Formation of the Genitive.

§ 87. a) The Gen. is formed as in modern English: *mi fēðarz tlogz* my father's clogs.

b) When the Gen. is not followed by another noun the gen. sing. and plural have the same form as the nom. plural.

Exceptions are the irregular plurals: *wāfs* wife's, *monz* man's, *wiminz* women's etc.

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Chapter VII. Adjectives.

§ 88. The comparative is formed by adding *-ər* and the superlative by adding *-ist* to the positive. This method is adopted in words of two and even more syllables. In certain cases comparison is made by means of *muər* and *muəst* or *muist*, and sometimes this method and the terminal method are used together. There does not seem to be any fixed rule for the employment of *muər* and *muəst*.

luŋ long, *luŋər* longer, *luŋist* longest.

strunġ strong, *muər strunġər*, *muist strunġist*.

biūtiful beautiful, *biūtifulər*, *bjūtifulist*.

fārp sharp, *fārpər*, *fārpist*.

dīp deep, *dīpər*, *dīpist*.

tlevər clever, *tlevərər*, *tlevərīst*.

§89. The following adjectives are compared irregularly:

<i>bad</i> bad	}	<i>wʊs</i> , <i>wor</i>	<i>wʊst</i>
<i>il</i> ill			
<i>fār</i> far		<i>fārðər</i> , <i>fōrðər</i>	<i>fārðist</i> , <i>fōrðist</i>
<i>lēt</i> late		<i>lētər</i>	<i>lētist</i> , <i>last</i>
<i>litl</i> little		<i>les</i>	<i>lāst</i>
<i>moni</i> many		<i>muər</i>	<i>muəst</i> , <i>muist</i>
<i>nīər</i> near		<i>nīərər</i> , <i>nar</i>	<i>nīərīst</i> , <i>nekst</i> .

Note. Instead of using *very* = *veri* we sometimes repeat the adj. in this way:

əz dārk əz dārk kn bī = as dark as possible, very dark.

əz fārp əz fārp kn bī = very sharp.

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Chapter VIII.

Articles.

§ 90. a) The indefinite article both before vowels and consonants is *ə*.

ə ap-pə an apple, *ə ōs* a horse, *ə tēbl* a table.

b) The definite article is *(t)*, *(t)þ*, or *þ* (see § 76).

1. Before consonants we have *(t)*: *(t)mon* the man, *ō (t)ruk* all the lot, *(t)tēbl* the table, *(t)wāf* the wife.

2. Before a vowel generally *(t)þ*: *tə (t)þōs* to the horse, *wi (t)þārdist lʊk* with the hardest luck. But at the beginning of a sentence we have *þ* alone: *þēs* the house.

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3. After *uə* who, *wod* what, in expressions denoting anger, surprise etc. *ðə* is used before consonants, *ði* before vowels: *wod ðə devl är(t) duin?* what the devil are you doing? *wod ði el?* what the hell?

We have the old form of one in *(t)tōn* the one of two. The unaccented form is *an*: *id wər ə gud ən* it was a good one.

Chapter IX.

Pronouns.

1. Personal.

§ 91.

First Person.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom.	<i>ā (a)</i>	<i>wē (wi)</i>
Obj.	<i>mī (mi)</i>	<i>uz (əz)</i>

Second Person.

Nom.	<i>ðā (ða, tə)</i>	<i>jō (jə)</i>
Obj.	<i>ðī (ði)</i>	<i>jō (jə)</i>

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Third Person.

Singular.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>ī</i>	<i>id (it)</i>	<i>ū (u, fə)</i>
Obj.	<i>im</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>ār (ər).</i>

Plural.

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Nom. *ðē* (*ði*)

Obj. *um* (*əm*).

The weak forms are in parenthesis.

Examples: *av nō tām* I have no time; *bud ā ev* but I have; *gi mi ə tūtri* give me a few; *giv id mī nod im* give it to me, not to him.

uə wil? *wā wē wil* who will? why we will; *wis nod* we shall not. The strong form *wē* has probably been formed from analogy of *ðē*.

ī akst uz he asked us; *ī tūk id qf əz* he took it from us. The *z* in *uz* is never voiceless as in lit. English.

wil ðā? wilt thou?; *ðā mōrnd* thou must not. *tə* is only used after the auxiliary verb. *es tə fon id?* hast thou found it?; *its ðī əz a want* it is you whom I want.

The obj. forms are used in all persons after the verb to be: *its mī* it is I, *its ðī* it is thou, *its im* it is he etc. In such phrases as *im ən mī went las nīt* he and I went last night, they are also used when separated from the verb. (See Sweet NEG. § 1085.)

jō fəd guə you ought to go; *jə mon guə* you must go.

The pronoun of the second pers. sing. *ðā*, *ðī* etc. is still generally used. But strangers, grown up people and masters are addressed as *jō*.

In the third person we have only one form in the Masc. In the Neut. «it» appears to be only used in combination with «is»: *its mān* it is mine. In the Fem. the

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OE. *hēo* has developed regularly to *ū* (*u*). *hē* > *heō* > *hō* > *ū*. The form *fə* is not often used and is always unaccented.

Examples of the third person are: *ī ed tə guə* he had to go; *ez ī sin ði* has he seen you; *wil tə sel id im* wilt thou sell it to him; *id wər sārft tə(t) dīəp* it was starved to death; *ūz nod wīl* she is not well; *u ed tə* she had to; *id wōrnd fər im, id wər fər ār* it wasn't for him, it was for her; *ði en nōn* they have none; *wēs nod bud ðē wil* we shall not but they will; *a toud əm (t) kum* I told them to come. Cp. § 76. Note 2.

The obj. case is often used reflexively: *ī wāift im* he washed himself; *a sīt mi dēn* I sat down; *es tə dres(t) ði* have you dressed yourself.

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The obj. case is also used as subject when the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the verb by a subordinate sentence: *im əz ā akst nōd noūt əbēt id* he whom I asked know nothing of it. (See above and Sweet NEG. § 1085)

2. Possessive.

§ 92. a) Conjoint:

<i>mā</i> (<i>mi</i>) my	<i>ār</i> (<i>wər</i>) our
<i>ðā</i> (<i>ði</i>) thy	<i>jōr</i> (<i>jər</i>) your
<i>īz</i> , <i>iz</i> his	<i>ðār</i> (<i>ðər</i>) their.
<i>id</i> its	

ār (*ər*) her

The weak forms are in parenthesis. *wər* has been formed from *wi* after the analogy of *jər*. It is not so often used as the other weak forms.

Examples: *its mā tōrn* it is my turn; *te ði tām* take thy time (go slowly); *ī sed it wər dər ɔn fōt* he said it was

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their own fault; *iz fēðər* his father; *id jed wärtfiz* its head aches; *estə sin id fēðər* have you seen its father.

b) Absolute:

<i>mān</i> mine	<i>ārz</i> ours
<i>ðān</i> thine	<i>jōrz</i> yours
<i>īz</i> , <i>iz</i> his	<i>ðārz</i> theirs.
<i>idz</i> its	
<i>ārz</i> hers	

iz ðad ārz is that ours? *noū*, *its jōrz* Not it is yours.

3. Reflexive.

§ 93.

1st. Pers.

Sing.

Plural.

misel

ārsel(z) (*wərselz*).

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2nd. Pers.

ðisel *jərsel(z)*

3rd. Pers.

Masc. Neut. Fem.

izsel *idsel* *ərsel.*

Plural.

ðərsel(z).

The accent is always on the second syllable. The plural forms are used both with and without the ending *z*.

wərsel(z) has been formed from the weak possessive and is not often used.

For remarks on the relative use of these and other forms in other dialects see Wright, Windhill Dialect § 353.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 94. Sing. *ðis* this *ðad* that *jon* yon
 Plur. *ðīz* these *ðem, ðūz* those *jon* yon.

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ðis, ðīz are often followed by *īar*; *ðad, ðem, ðūz* by *ðīar* there. *ðīz īar ladz iz bin steīlin ap-pəz* these lads have been stealing apples; *ðem ðīarz nod wūþ evin* those are not worth having.

ðūz, ðem are each equally often used.

5. Interrogative.

§ 95. Masc. and Fem. Neut.
 Nom. Obj. *uə, ū* who *wod, wor* what
 Gen. *uəz* whose *witf* which.

ū and *wor* are rarely used.

6. Relative.

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§ 96.	Masc. and Fem.	Neut.
	<i>əz, uə, wod</i>	<i>əz, wod.</i>

When the antecedent is not expressed *uə, wod* are used: *a nō wod ða mīənz* I know what you mean.

ī toūd mi uə īd gin id tu he told me whom he had given it to.

When the antecedent is expressed *əz* (and sometimes *wod*) are used for all genders:

ə mon əz ā sīd a man whom I saw.

im əz toūd mi he who told me.

ðem trīz əz wər kūt dēn those trees which were cut down.

id wər im wod akst mi it was he who asked me.

ðem ēziz wod wər brunt dēn those houses which burnt down.

əz is the conjunction which has come to be used as a relative pronoun. Cp. «that gentleness as I was wont to have» Julius Caesar I 2. 32. See Franz, Shakesp. Gramm. § 207.

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7. Indefinite.

§ 97. *sūm* some, *sūmbri* somebody, *sūmət* something, *oūt* anything, *noūt* nothing.

ənū, ənuʃ enough. *ði wər ənū on əm* = there were enough of them.

tōtri, tūtri a few, *evri* every, *ō* all, *els* else, *sūtf, sūf* such, *ōðər, ēðər* either, *nōðər* neither, *uðər* other.

ani any, *anibri* anybody, *moni* many.

(t)tōn one of two or more.

nō no, *nōbri* nobody, *nōn* none. *nōn* is often used instead of *nod* not: *am nōn bēn (t)də ðad* I am not going to do that.

Chapter X.

Numerals.

§ 97 a.	Cardinal.	Ordinal.
	<i>won</i> one	<i>fust</i>
	<i>tū</i> two	<i>sekənd</i>
	<i>prī</i> three	<i>þārd</i>
	<i>fōr</i> four	<i>fōrþ</i>
	<i>fāv</i> five	<i>fifþ</i>
	<i>siks</i> six	etc.
	<i>sevn</i> seven	
	<i>eīt</i> eight	
	<i>nān</i> nine	
	<i>ten</i> ten	
	<i>ilevn</i> eleven	
	<i>twelv</i> twelve	
	<i>þār(t)-tīn</i> thirteen	
	<i>twenti</i> twenty	
	<i>for(t)-ti</i> forty	
	<i>þēznd</i> thousand.	

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Fractional numbers are:

ēf, *ōf* half, *þārd* third, *kwārṭər* quarter.

Multiplicatives are:

wons once, *dubl* double, *twās* twice, *prī tāmz* three times.

In composition we have:

tōṭri, *tōpri*, *tūpri* two or three, few.

gi mi ə tōṭri give me a few.

A. Strong Verbs.

§ 98. The preterite of strong verbs is formed by means of gradation (Ablaut). Many verbs which were strong in OE. have now become weak and a great many have double forms, strong and weak. The same form often serves both for pret. and past partic.

The verbs are here divided into classes as given in Sievers «Ags. Gramm.» §382-392. Owing to the multitude and variety of developments it was impossible to divide them into classes where each verb should have the same characteristics as the others in the same class. Hence in some divisions the OE. vowels are represented by various developments, but the arrangement seemed to be the best for the purpose of lookin up any particular verb.

Class I.

§ 99.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.
	OE. <i>ī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
	ME. <i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>

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<i>ād</i> (also <i>id</i>) hide	<i>id</i>	<i>id</i>
<i>bār</i> bite	<i>bōt</i>	<i>bōt, bitn</i>
<i>dāv</i> dive	<i>dōv, dāvd</i>	<i>dōv, dāvd</i>
<i>ḡrāv</i> drive	<i>ḡrōv</i>	<i>ḡrōv, ḡrivn</i>
<i>rād</i> ride	<i>rōd</i>	<i>rōd, ridn</i>
<i>rāt</i> write	<i>rōt</i>	<i>rōt, ritn</i>
<i>rāv</i> rive	<i>rōv</i>	<i>rōv</i>
<i>rāz</i> rise	<i>rōz</i>	<i>rōz</i>
<i>sṡrād</i> stride	<i>sṡrōd</i>	<i>sṡrōd</i>
<i>sṡrāek</i> strike	<i>sṡrōk, sṡrūk</i>	<i>sṡrūk</i>

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<i>fāet, fīt</i> cacare	<i>fīt</i>	<i>fīt</i>
<i>brāv</i> thrive	<i>brōv</i>	<i>brivn.</i>

ād (OE. *hȳdan*) and *dāv* (OE. *dȳfan*) were weak in OE. *rav* (Scand. *rīfa*) and *brāv* (Scand, *brīfa*) are of Scand. origin.

Class II.

§ 100.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
	OE. <i>ēo</i>	<i>ēa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō.</i>
	<i>flāe</i> fly	<i>flū</i>		<i>floūn</i>
	<i>frīz</i> freeze	<i>frōz</i>		<i>frozn, frōz</i>
	<i>krīp</i> creep	<i>krōp, krept</i>		<i>kropn, krōp, krept</i>
	<i>ſūt</i> shoot	<i>ſot</i>		<i>ſot</i>
	<i>tſuȝ</i> choose	<i>tſūzd</i>		<i>tſozn.</i>

The vowel of the pret. has not been at all regularly developed but has probably been influenced by the verbs with similar pret. in class V.

Class III.

§101. There were four divisions in OE.

1. Verbs having a nasal + cons.
2. Verbs having *l* + cons.

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3. Verbs having *r, h* + cons.

4. Verbs having a mute or spirant + cons.

All verbs in 2. 3. 4. Have now become weak except *feīt* fight and *brast* burst.

§102.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
	1. OE. <i>i</i>	<i>a, o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
	ME. <i>i</i>	<i>a, ā, o, ō</i>	<i>u, o</i>	<i>u, o, ou.</i>

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a)	<i>bigin</i> begin	<i>bigun</i>	<i>bigun</i>
	<i>bānd</i> bind	<i>bun</i>	<i>bun</i>
	<i>bring</i> bring	<i>brunḡ, broūt</i>	<i>brunḡ, broūt</i>
	<i>fānd</i> find	<i>fun, fon</i>	<i>fun, fon</i>
	<i>grānd</i> grind	<i>grun</i>	<i>grun</i>
	<i>run</i> run	<i>run</i>	<i>run</i>
	<i>spin</i> spin	<i>spun</i>	<i>spun</i>
	<i>swim</i> swim	<i>swum</i>	<i>swum</i>
	<i>win</i> win	<i>wun</i>	<i>wun</i>
b)	<i>drinḡ</i> drink	<i>drunḡ</i>	<i>drunḡ</i>
	<i>ring</i> ring, wring	<i>runḡ</i>	<i>runḡ</i>
	<i>sing</i> sing	<i>sunḡ</i>	<i>sunḡ</i>
	<i>sinḡ</i> sink	<i>sunḡ</i>	<i>sunḡ</i>
	<i>sliḡ</i> slink	<i>slunḡ</i>	<i>slunḡ</i>
	<i>sprinḡ</i> spring	<i>srunḡ</i>	<i>srunḡ</i>
	<i>stinḡ</i> sting	<i>stunḡ</i>	<i>stunḡ</i>
	<i>stinḡ</i> stink	<i>stunḡ</i>	<i>stunḡ</i>
	<i>swing</i> swing	<i>swunḡ</i>	<i>swunḡ</i>
	<i>tlinḡ</i> cling	<i>tlunḡ</i>	<i>tlunḡ</i>
	<i>frinḡ</i> shrink	<i>frunḡ</i>	<i>frunḡ.</i>

2.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
	OE. <i>eo</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>i, é</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ou.</i>
	<i>feīt</i> fight	<i>foūt</i>		<i>foūt foū(t)n.</i>

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3.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>brast</i> burst	<i>brastid</i>		<i>brošn, brastid.</i>

The present *brast* has apparently been influenced by the pret. See Sweet NEG.

§ 1354.

Class IV.

§ 103.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
1.	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>o</i>
	ME. <i>ē, ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō.</i>
	<i>breīk</i> break	<i>brōk</i>		<i>brokn</i>
	<i>steīl</i> steal	<i>stōl</i>		<i>stōl, stoūn</i>
	<i>tār</i> tear	<i>tōr</i>		<i>tōr, tōrn</i>
	<i>wār</i> wear	<i>wōr</i>		<i>wōr, wōrn.</i>

wār (OE. *werian*) was originally weak.

2. Before nasal

	OE. <i>i (u)</i>	<i>ō, a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u</i>
	ME. <i>i (u)</i>	<i>ō, a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u, o.</i>
	<i>kūm</i> come	<i>kūm, kum</i>		<i>kūm, kum.</i>

Class V.

§ 104.	Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
	OE. <i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>e</i>
	ME. <i>ē, ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē.</i>
1.	<i>neīd</i> knead	<i>neīdid</i>		<i>nodn</i>
	<i>speīk</i> speak	<i>spōk</i>		<i>spōkn, spōk</i>
	<i>treīd</i> tread	<i>trōd</i>		<i>trōd</i>
	<i>weiv</i> weave	<i>weīvd</i>		<i>wovn, weīvd</i>
	<i>eīt</i> eat	<i>eīt</i>		<i>etn.</i>
2.	<i>ged</i> get	<i>gīt</i>		<i>getn</i>
	<i>gi, giv</i> give	<i>giv</i>		<i>gin</i>
	<i>sī</i> see	<i>sīd</i>		<i>sīn, sin</i>
	<i>sīt</i> sit	<i>sīt</i>		<i>sīt, sit.</i>

3. <i>stik</i> stick	<i>stuk</i>	<i>stuk</i>
<i>dig</i>	<i>dug</i>	<i>dug</i>

The two latter verbs were weak in OE.

Class VI.

§ 105. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
OE. <i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>
ME. <i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a.</i>
<i>drō</i> draw	<i>drōd</i>		<i>drōn</i>
<i>stand</i> stand	<i>stūd</i>		<i>stūd</i>
<i>tek</i> take	<i>tūk</i>		<i>tūk, ten</i>
<i>swār</i> swear	<i>swōr</i>		<i>swōr</i>

Class VII (reduplicating verbs).

§ 106. Inf.	Pret. Sg.	P.P
OE. <i>a (o)</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a(o)</i>
<i>aŋg, eŋg</i> hang	<i>uŋg</i>	<i>uŋg</i>
OE. <i>ǣ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ǣ</i>
<i>led</i> let	<i>līt</i>	<i>līt, letn</i>
OE. <i>ea (a)</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ea (a)</i>
<i>fō, fō</i> fall	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōn, fōn, fōd</i>
OE. <i>ō</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>grō</i> grow	<i>grōd</i>	<i>grōn</i>
OE. <i>ā</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>blō</i> blow	<i>blōd</i>	<i>blōn, blōd</i>
<i>mō</i> mow	<i>mōd</i>	<i>mōn, mōd</i>
<i>nō</i> know	<i>nōd</i>	<i>nōn, nōd.</i>

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 107. The weak verbs are classified according to the formation of the pret. and past participle. 1. *-id*,

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2. *-d*, 3. *-t*. These three main classes are then subdivided according to the origin and development of the verbs. Only those verbs are included which are different from literary English or are interesting from other points of view.

Class I

§108. Pret and p.p in *-id*.

Inf.	Pret.	P.P
<i>fret</i> fret	<i>fret-tid</i>	<i>fret-tid</i>
<i>līt</i> light	<i>lītīd, let</i>	<i>lītīd, let</i>
<i>melt</i> melt	<i>meltīd</i>	<i>meltīd</i>
<i>sūt</i> suit	<i>sūtīd</i>	<i>sūtīd</i>
<i>trēt</i> treat	<i>trētīd</i>	<i>trētīd</i>
<i>wet</i> wet	<i>wet-tīd, wet</i>	<i>wet-tīd, wet</i>
<i>oūd</i> hold	<i>oūdid</i>	<i>oūdid.</i>

Class II.

§109. Pret and p.p in *-d*.

Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>brū</i> brew	<i>brūd</i>	<i>brūd</i>
<i>īar</i> hear	<i>īard</i>	<i>īard</i>
<i>lē</i> lay	<i>lēd</i>	<i>lēd</i>
<i>mē, mēk</i> make	<i>mēd</i>	<i>mēd</i>
<i>rū</i> rue	<i>rūd</i>	<i>rūd</i>
<i>sa</i> say	<i>sed</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>sō</i> sew, sow	<i>sōd</i>	<i>sōd sōn</i>
<i>fō</i> shew	<i>fōd</i>	<i>fōd, fōn</i>
<i>fū</i> shoe	<i>fūd</i>	<i>fūd</i>
<i>tfū</i> chew	<i>tfūd</i>	<i>tfūd</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel but with original t, d, in the stem:

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Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>sel</i> sell	<i>soūd</i>	<i>soūd</i>
<i>tel</i> tell	<i>toūd</i>	<i>toūd</i>
<i>tām, tīm</i> pour out	<i>tāmd, temd</i>	<i>temd, tām.</i>

d) Verbs which change the vowel and have original *d* in the stem:

Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>blīd</i> bleed	<i>bled</i>	<i>bled</i>
<i>brīd</i> breed	<i>bred</i>	<i>bred</i>
<i>fīd</i> feed	<i>fed</i>	<i>fed.</i>

Class III.

§110. a) Verbs with unchanged vowel and original *t, d,* in the stem:

Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>bend</i> bend	<i>bent</i>	<i>bent</i>
<i>bild</i> build	<i>bilt</i>	<i>bilt</i>
<i>it</i> hit	<i>it</i>	<i>it</i>
<i>kost</i> cost	<i>kost</i>	<i>kost</i>
<i>kut</i> cut	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>
<i>nit</i> knit	<i>nit</i>	<i>nit</i>
<i>ort</i> hurt	<i>ort</i>	<i>ort</i>
<i>send</i> send	<i>sent</i>	<i>sent</i>
<i>skrat</i> scratch	<i>skrat</i>	<i>skrat</i>
<i>spend</i> spend	<i>spent</i>	<i>spent</i>
<i>swet</i> sweat	<i>swet</i>	<i>swet.</i>

b) Verbs with unchanged vowel which add *t* to the stem:

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Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>brun</i> burn	<i>brunt</i>	<i>brunt</i>
<i>elp</i> help	<i>elpt</i>	<i>elpt</i>
<i>kjatf</i> catch	<i>kjatft</i>	<i>kjatft</i>
<i>land</i> lend	<i>lant</i>	<i>lant</i>
<i>kis</i> kiss	<i>kist</i>	<i>kist</i>
<i>leīn</i> lean	<i>leīnt</i>	<i>leīnt</i>
<i>sītʃ</i> seek	<i>sītʃt</i>	<i>sītʃt</i>
<i>smel</i> smell	<i>smelt</i>	<i>smelt</i>
<i>spel</i> spell	<i>spelt</i>	<i>spelt</i>
<i>spil</i> spill	<i>spilt</i>	<i>spilt</i>
<i>spoīl</i> spoil	<i>spoīlt</i>	<i>spoīlt</i>
<i>ʃān</i> shine	<i>ʃānt</i>	<i>ʃānt</i>
<i>ʃēk</i> shake	<i>ʃēkt</i>	<i>ʃēkt</i>
<i>ʃēp</i> shape	<i>ʃēpt</i>	<i>ʃēpt</i>
<i>ʃev</i> shave	<i>ʃēft</i>	<i>ʃēft, sovn</i>
<i>wāīʃ</i> wash	<i>wāīʃt</i>	<i>wāīʃt</i>
<i>wakn</i> waken	<i>waknt</i>	<i>waknt</i>
<i>wärk</i> work	<i>wärkt</i>	<i>wärkt.</i>

c) Verbs with vowel change and original *t* in the stem:

<i>mīt</i> meet	<i>met</i>	<i>met.</i>
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d) Verbs with vowel change which add *t* to the stem

Inf.	Pret.	P.P
<i>bāe</i> buy	<i>boūt</i>	<i>boūt</i>
<i>bring</i> bring	<i>broūt</i>	<i>broūt</i>
<i>ḍrām</i> dream	<i>ḍremt</i>	<i>ḍremt</i>
<i>ʃil</i> feel	<i>ʃelt</i>	<i>ʃelt</i>
<i>kīp</i> keep	<i>kept</i>	<i>kept</i>
<i>rīp</i> creep	<i>krept</i>	<i>krept</i>
<i>līav</i> leave	<i>left</i>	<i>left</i>
<i>lōz</i> lose	<i>lost</i>	<i>lost</i>

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Inf.	Pret. Pl.	P.P
<i>mān</i> mean	<i>ment</i>	<i>ment</i>
<i>nīl</i> kneel	<i>nelt</i>	<i>nelt</i>
<i>pīp</i> peep	<i>pept</i>	<i>pept</i>
<i>slīp</i> sleep	<i>slept</i>	<i>slept</i>
<i>swīp</i> sweep	<i>swept</i>	<i>swept</i>
<i>teīf</i> teach	<i>toūt</i>	<i>toūt</i>
<i>pīnk</i> think	<i>pōūt</i>	<i>pout.</i>

C. Verbal Endings.

§ 111. Present. The ending for the first, second and third persons Sing. are –s (after voiced sounds –z, –z̄) and –is, –iz (–iz̄) after the spirants *s, z, f, ʒ*. All the persons have the same ending, although the 1st per. Sing. is sometimes used without ending.

The plural ends in –in or is without ending.

Examples: *elps* help, *helpest*, *helps*.

rāziz rise, *risest*, *rises*.

wārkin pl. work.

The following are the rules for the employment of the persons and numbers.

The ending of the third person sing. is used with pl. nouns (for paradigm see §112):

ðem əz wants muər mən əjks those who want more must ask. *(t) naviz warks ārd* the navies work hard. *(t)tuðər tʃaps plēz bet-tər* the other fellows play better. *(t)ʃap-pəz drɔps ɔf (t) triz* the apples drop off the trees.

After the personal pronouns the ending –in is used or the form is without special ending:

Wi guin evri dē we go every day.

ði wantin əs (t) plē they want us to play.

[94]

ði rād wīl they ride well.

jə kō-in (kō) ðad wärk? You call that work?

The form with *-in* is the more extensively used one.

Preterite. The pret. of strong verbs is without special endings. The endings of weak verbs are *-id, -d, -t* for all persons. See § 107.

Participle. The pres. part. ends in *-in* (§ 61b). For past part. of strong verbs see § 99ff. The past part. of weak verbs ends in *-id, -d, -t*. The Infinitive has no special ending.

Paradigms.

§112.	<i>elp</i> to help		<i>stik</i> to stick.
Indic. Pres. Sg.	1. <i>elps</i>		<i>stiks</i>
	2. <i>elps</i>		<i>stiks</i>
	3. <i>elps</i>		<i>stiks</i>
	Plur. <i>elpin</i>		<i>stikin</i>
	<i>elp</i>		<i>stik</i>
Pret. Sg.	<i>elpt</i>		<i>stuk</i>
Pl.	<i>elpt</i>		<i>stuk</i>
Imper. Sg. and Pl.	<i>elp</i>		<i>stik</i>
Inf.	<i>elp</i>		<i>stik</i>
Pres. Part.	<i>elpin</i>		<i>stikin</i>
Past. Part.	<i>elpt.</i>		<i>stuk.</i>

The subjunctive mood has disappeared except in such phrases as *iv ā wər ðī* if I were you.

The future, perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed as in lit. English.

[95]

Table of Tenses.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect	Perfet	Perfect and
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		and Continuous.		Continuous.
Present.	a stiks I stick	am stikin I am stick- ing	av stuk I have stuck	ad bin stickin I have been sticking
Preterite.	a stuk I stuck	a wər stikin I was stick- ing	ad stuk I had stuck	ad bin stickin I had been stickin
Future.	as stik I shall stick	as bi stikin I shall be sticking	as e stuk I shall have stuck	as e bin stickin I shall have been sticking

The full conj. of the auxiliary verbs is given §§ 119, 120.

D. Anomalous Verbs.

a) Preterite Presents.

1. can.

§ 113. Pres. strong form *kon*, weak form *kn*.
Pret. » » *kud*, » » *kəd*.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Singular.

Plural.

ā, a, kon or *kn*

wē, wi kon or *kn*

ḏā, ḏa

» » » *jō, jə* » » »

ī, ū, id

» » ». *ḏē, di* » » »

Preterite.

ā, a kud or *kəd*

wē, wi, kud or *kəd*

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etc. etc.

Affirmatively with not.

Pres.	Pret.
<i>ā, a kōrnd</i>	<i>ā, a kūdnd</i>
etc.	etc.

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Interrogatively.

Present.	
Singular.	Plural.
<i>kon or kn ā, a?</i>	<i>kon or kn wē, wī?</i>
» » » <i>ōā, tō?</i>	» » » <i>jō, jə?</i>
» » » <i>ī, ū, id?</i>	» » » <i>ōē, ði?</i>

Note that *tō* is used in the 2nd person. interrog. where *ōa* is used in the affirm. form.

Pret.	
<i>kūd or kəd ā, a?</i>	<i>kū or kəd wē, wī?</i>
etc.	etc.

Interrogatively with not.

Present.	
<i>kōrnd ā, a?</i>	<i>kōrnd wē, wī</i>
etc.	etc.
Pret.	
Sing.	Plural.
<i>kūdnd ā, a?</i>	<i>kūdnd wē, wī?</i>
etc.	etc.

The *r* in *kōrnd* has probably been introduced from analogy with *wōrnd* were not.

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kud is sometimes used in the Infinitive. *a jūs tə kud* I used to be able (to do it).

2. dare.

§ 114.	Pres.	Pret.
	<i>ā, a dāre, dāre</i> I dare	<i>ā, a dār</i> I dared
	<i>ā, ä dārnd, dārnd</i> I dare not	<i>ā, a dārsnt, dārnd, dasnt</i> I dared not
	<i>dār ā, a?</i> dare I?	<i>dār ā, a?</i> dare I?
	<i>dārnd, dārsnt ā a?</i> dare I not?	<i>dārsnt, dārnd, dasnt ā, a?</i> did not I dare?

There is a pret. and past part. *dārd* meaning 'challenged'.

[97]

3. shall.

§ 115. Pres strong form *fal*, weak *s*.
Pret. » » *fud*, » *fəd*.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a fal</i>	<i>wē, wi fal</i>
<i>ās, as</i>	<i>wis</i>
<i>ōas</i>	<i>jō, jə fal</i>
<i>ī fal</i>	<i>jəs</i>
<i>īs</i>	
<i>ū, u fal</i>	<i>ōē fal</i>
<i>us</i>	<i>ōi fal</i>
<i>id fal</i>	<i>ōis</i>
<i>its</i>	

Pret.

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Singular.	Plural
<i>ā, a fʊd or fəd</i>	<i>wē, wi fud or fəd</i>
<i>ðā, ða » » »</i>	<i>jō, jə » » »</i>
<i>ī, ū, u, id » » »</i>	<i>ðē, ði » » »</i>

Affirmatively with not.

Present

<i>ā, a fārnd</i>	<i>wē, wi fārnd</i>
<i>as nod</i>	<i>wēs, wis nod</i>
<i>ðā, ða fārnd</i>	<i>jō, jə fārnd</i>
<i>ðas nod</i>	<i>jōs, jəs nod</i>
<i>ī, ū, u, id fārnd</i>	<i>ðē, ði ārnd</i>
<i>īs, ūs, us, its nod</i>	<i>ðēs, ðis nod.</i>

Pret.

<i>ā, a fʊdnd, fədnd</i>	<i>wē, wi fʊdnd, fədnd</i>
<i>etc.</i>	<i>etc.</i>

[98]

Interrogatively.

Present.

<i>fal ā, a?</i>	<i>fal wē, wi?</i>
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Pret.

<i>fʊd, fəd, ā, a?</i>	<i>fʊd, fəd wē, wi?</i>
<i>fʊd, fəd ðā, tə?</i>	<i>fʊd, fəd jō, jə?</i>
<i>fʊd, fəd ī, ū, u, id?</i>	<i>fʊd, fəd ðē, ði?</i>

Interrogatively with not.

Pres.

<i>fārnd ā, a?</i>	<i>fal, wē, wi nod?</i>
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fal a nod? fārnd wē, wi?

Pret.

fūndnd, fədnd ā, a?

fūdnd, fədnd wē, wi?

etc.

etc.

The weak form *s* is generally only used with pronouns.

The 2nd and 3rd pers. Sing. and Plural forms of the Present Interrogative are wanting. Their place is supplied by the other auxiliaries will, must, ought etc.

4. may.

§ 116. Weak form. Pres. *mi*, Pret. *məd, mət, mit*.

For the strong forms the verb *kon* is used, and it is generally preferred for the whole of the present.

The weak forms are not used interrogatively. For these the verbs *kon* and *mon* are used.

mon ā plē? may I play? *kon wi aks im?* may we ask him?

This leaves only the following forms.

Present.

a mi I may,

ða mi thou mayest.

etc.

[99]

But even here the weak forms of *kon* are preferred.

Preterite.

ā, a məd, mət, mit I might,

ðā, ða məd, mət, mit thou mightest,

etc.

Pret. affirmatively with not.

ā, a mitnt, mitnd, mūtnt, mūdnd I might not,

ðā, ða » » » » thou mightest not.

etc.

The pret. negative forms *mūdnd*, *mūtnt* appear to be a new formation, after the analogy of *fūdnd* and *kūdnd*.

The pret. of may is sometimes used as a pret. of must: *ī sed ði mūtnt dā ðad*: he said they must not do that. See § 117.

5. must.

§ 117. To express the lit. Eng. *must*, the Scand. *munu*, *monu* is used.

Strong form *mon*, weak form *mən*.

The following are the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and plural.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a mon, mən</i> I must	<i>wē, wi mon, mən</i>
<i>ā, a mōrnd</i> I must not	<i>wē, wi mōrnd</i>
<i>mon, mən ā, a?</i> must I?	<i>mon, mən wē, wi?</i>
<i>mōrnd ā, a?</i> Must I not?	<i>mōrnd wē, wi?</i>

The weak form *mən* is not used negatively.

For the pret. the weak form *mən* is used: *ī touđ əm wod, ði mən du* he told them that they must do. A form *mət*, *mit* might is also occasionally used in the same sense. See § 116.

[100]

6. ought.

§ 118. *ōūt* is uninflected for all persons.

ā, a ōūt I ought, etc.

ōūt ā, a? ought I? etc.

ā, a ōūtnt, didnd ōūt I ought not etc.

ōūtnt ā, a? didnd ā, a ōūt? ought I not? etc.

b) have.

§ 119. Pres. strong forms *ev*, *e*, *en*, weak *ev*, *ə*, *ən*.

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Before consonants the strong form *e* is always used, before vowel both *e* and *ev* are used, although even here *e* is used more frequently.

Pret. strong form *ed*, weak *əd*.

In both pres. and pret. the vowel disappears in the weak forms when preceded by the nom. of the pers. pronouns: *av* I have, *wēv* we have, *ad sin im* I had seem him.

Sometimes the verb disappears altogether: *ði stoūn əm* they have stolen them, *we fon id* we have found it.

The *-z* of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. becomes *s* before voiceless consonants: *estə?* hast thou?

The forms *en*, *ən* are only used in the Pl. of the present.

Affirmatively.	
Present.	
Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a ev or e</i> <i>āv, av</i> <i>ðā, ða ez</i> <i>ðāz, ðaz</i> <i>ī, ū, u, id ez</i> <i>īz, ūz, uz its</i>	<i>wē, wi ev or e, en</i> <i>wēv, wiv, wēn, win</i> <i>jō, jə ev or e or en</i> <i>jōn, jən</i> <i>ðē, ði ev or en</i> <i>ðēv, ðiv, ðēn, ðin.</i>

[101]

Preterite.	
<i>ā, a ed</i> <i>ād, ad</i> <i>ðā, ða ed</i> <i>ðād, ðad</i> etc.	<i>wē, wi ed</i> <i>wēd, wid</i> etc.

Infin.	<i>ev, e</i> <i>ə</i>
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Pres. Part. *evin, e-in* (rare)

Past » *ed, əd.*

Affirmatively with not.

Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ā, a evnd</i> }	{ <i>wē, wi evnd</i> <i>wēv, win nod</i> <i>wēn, win nod</i>
<i>āv, av nod</i> }	
etc.	
	etc.

Pret.

<i>ā, a ednd</i> }	{ <i>wē, wi ednd</i> <i>wēd, wid nod.</i>
<i>ād, ad nod</i> }	

Interrogatively.

Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>ev ā, a?</i>	<i>ev, e, or en wē, wī</i>
<i>ez đā, es tə?</i>	<i>ev, e or en jō, jə?</i>
<i>ez ī, ū, u, id?</i>	<i>ev, e or en đē, đi?</i>

Pret.

<i>ed ā, a?</i>	<i>ed wē, wi</i>
etc.	etc.

Interrogatively with not.

Present.

Singular.	Plural.
<i>evnd ā, a?</i> }	{ <i>evnd wē, wi?</i> <i>ev or en wē, wi nod?</i>
<i>ev, ā, a nod?</i> }	
etc.	etc.

[102]

$\left. \begin{array}{l} ednd \bar{a}, a \\ ed \bar{a}, a \text{ nod} \end{array} \right\}$ <p style="text-align: center;">etc.</p>	$\left. \begin{array}{l} ednd w\bar{e}, wi \\ ed w\bar{e}, wi \text{ nod} \end{array} \right\}$ <p style="text-align: center;">etc.</p>
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The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used with the personal pronouns. In all other cases the forms of the second and third person Sing. are used, viz, *ez, əz, z (s)*.

ez ðem men sin ði? have those men seen you? *ðuz tr̄iz iz bin pud dēn* those trees have been pulled down. (Note. The weak form of *ez* is *iz* after a sibilant)

These forms are also used with the first person Sing. when combined with a relative. *its mī əz iz dū id* it is I who have done it. See also § 120.

c) be.

§ 120 Affirmatively.

Singular.	Plural.
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \bar{a}, a \text{ am} \\ \bar{a}m \text{ am} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} w\bar{e}, wi \text{ ar} \\ w\bar{a}r, w\bar{a}r \end{array} \right\}$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \delta\bar{a}, \delta a \text{ ar} \\ \delta\bar{a}r \delta ar \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} j\bar{o}, j\bar{a} \text{ ar} \\ j\bar{o}r, j\bar{a}r \end{array} \right\}$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \bar{i}, \bar{u}, u, id \text{ iz} \\ \bar{i}z, \bar{u}z, uz, its \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \delta\bar{e}, \delta i \text{ ar} \\ \delta\bar{a}r, \delta\bar{a}r \end{array} \right\}$
Pret.	
$\bar{a}, a \text{ wor}, w\bar{a}r$ <p style="text-align: center;">etc.</p>	$w\bar{e}, wi \text{ wor } w\bar{a}r$ <p style="text-align: center;">etc.</p>

Infin. *bī, bi.*

Pres. Part *bī-in.*

Past » *bin.*

[103]

Affirmatively with not.

Present.

Singular.	Plural
<i>ām, am nod</i>	<i>wār, wər nod</i>
<i>đār, đar nod</i>	<i>jōr, jər od</i>
<i>īz, iz, ūz, uz, its nod</i>	<i>đār, đər nod.</i>

Pret.	
<i>ā, a wōrnd, wornd</i>	<i>wē wi wōrnd, wornd</i>
<i>ā, a wārnd, wərnd</i>	<i>wē, wi wārnd, wərnd</i>
etc.	etc.

Interrogatively.

Pres.

<i>an ā, a?</i>	<i>ar wē, wi?</i>
<i>ar đā, tə?</i>	<i>ar jō, jə?</i>
<i>iz ī, ū, u, id?</i>	<i>ar đē, đī?</i>

Pret.

<i>wor ā, a?</i>	<i>wor wē, wi?</i>
<i>wər ā, a?</i>	<i>wər wē wi?</i>
<i>wor đā etc.</i>	etc.

Interrogatively with not.

Present.

<i>arnd ā, a?</i>	<i>arnd wē, wi?</i>
<i>am ā, a nod?</i>	<i>ar wē, wi nod?</i>
<i>arnd đā, tə?</i>	etc.
<i>ar đā, tə nod?</i>	

iznd ī, ū, u, id?

iz ī, ū, u, id nod?

Pret.

wōrnd, wornd ā, a?

wārnd ā, a?

wor ā, a nod?

wār ā, a nod?

etc.

wōrnd, wornd wē, wi?

wārnd » »?

wor wē, wi nod?

wār » » »?

etc.

[104]

The «r» in the 1st pers. Sg. of the above pres. and pret. interrog. neg. forms has probably been introduced from the 2nd pers. and from the Plural.

The above forms of the present are only used with the personal pronouns. In other cases the third person Sg. is used, cp. § 119.

ðem tʃaps iz nod redi jet those men are not ready yet; *ðemz nod bad ənz* those are not bad ones; *sʊm fōks iz nār satisfād* some folks are never satisfied.

The vowel disappears, or is assimilated to the foregoing vowels of the subjects, in the weak forms of the present: *ðar tə fōs* you are too smart, *am redi* I am ready.

The -z in the third person becomes -s before voiceless consonants: *īs ʰoūt ə gʊd dīəl on* he is thought a lot of.

d) will.

§ 121. Pres. strong from *wil*, weak *əl*. The weak form drops the vowel in combination with the pronouns. Pret. strong form *wʊd*, weak *wəd*, *əd*. The latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns: *ad land ði id bʊd a kōrnd də bēt id nē* I would lend thee it but I can't do without it now.

Present.

Singular.

ā, a wil }
}

Plural.

{ wē, wi wil
{

āl, al

etc.

wēl, wil

etc.

Pret.

ā, a wud or wad
ād, ad

etc.

wē, wi wud or wad
wēd, wid

etc.

[105]

Affirmatively with not.

ā, a wārnd
āl, al nod

etc.

wē, wi wārnd
wēl, wil nod

etc.

Interrogatively.

Present.

Singular.

fal ā, a?
wil dā, tə?
wil ī, ū, u, id?

Plural.

fal wē, wi?
wil jō, jə?
wil dē, dī?

Pret.

wud or fud, wad or fad ā, a?

wud, wad dā, tə?

» » *ī, ū, u, id?*

wud or fud, wad or fad wē, wi?

wud, wad jō, jə?

» » *dē, dī?*

With not.

Present.

wārnd ā, a?
fal ā or a nod?

etc.

wārnd wē, wi?
fal wē or wi nod?

etc.

	Pret	
$\left. \begin{array}{l} w\ddot{u}ndnd, f\ddot{u}dnd \bar{a}, a? \\ w\acute{a}dnd, f\acute{a}dnd \bar{a}, a? \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w\ddot{u}ndnd, f\ddot{u}dnd w\bar{e}, wi? \\ w\acute{a}dnd, f\acute{a}dnd w\bar{e}, wi? \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right.$

It will be seen that for all 1st person Sg. and Pl. interrogative forms the verb shall is also used and for the present interrogative exclusively.

e) do.

§ 122. do as an independent verb is conjugated like any other verb.
In the pret. did is used for all persons Sing. and Plural.

[106]

Affirmatively.

Present.

Singular.	Plural.
$\bar{a}, a \text{ d}\ddot{u}, \text{ du}$ $\delta\bar{a}, \delta a \text{ d}\ddot{u}z$ $\bar{i}, \bar{u}, u, \text{ id } \text{d}\ddot{u}z$	$w\bar{e}, wi \text{ d}\ddot{u}, \text{ du}, \text{ d}\ddot{u}n$ $j\bar{o}, j\acute{o} \text{ d}\ddot{u}, \text{ du}, \text{ d}\ddot{u}n$ $\delta\bar{e}, \delta i \text{ d}\ddot{u}, \text{ du}, \text{ d}\ddot{u}n$

With not.

$\bar{a}, a \text{ d}\bar{e}rnd$ $\delta\bar{a}, \delta a \text{ d}\ddot{u}znd$ $\bar{i}, \bar{u}, u, \text{ id } \text{d}\ddot{u}znd$	$w\bar{e}, wi \text{ d}\bar{e}rnd, \text{ d}\bar{o}rnd$ $j\bar{o}, j\acute{o} \quad \gg \quad \gg$ $\delta\bar{e}, \delta i \quad \gg \quad \gg.$
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Interrogatively.

$\text{d}\ddot{u}, \text{ du } \bar{a}, a?$ $\text{d}\ddot{u}z \delta\bar{a}, \text{ d}\ddot{u}z \text{ t}\acute{a}?$ $\text{d}\ddot{u}z \bar{i}, \bar{u}, u, \text{ id}?$	$\text{d}\ddot{u}n, \text{ d}\acute{a}n, \text{ d}\acute{a} w\bar{e}, wi?$ $\gg \quad \gg \quad j\bar{o}, j\acute{o}?$ $\gg \quad \gg \quad \delta\bar{e}, \delta i?$
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With not.

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dū, du ä or a nod?

dun, dən, də wē or wi nod?

dārnd ā, a?

dārnd wē, wi?

etc.

etc.

Pres. part. *duin*.

Past part. *dun, dən*.

Chapter XII.

I. Adverbs.

§ 123. Adverbs of manner and degree mostly end in *-il*; *ārdli* hardly, *ōkærtli* awkwardly. In *fuārlī* the accent is on the suffix.

apn happen, *ē* how, *ē evār* however, *ən ō* and all, too, also, used in a strengthening sense, *ī wil ḍad ən ō* he will (do) that, *ōlāz* always, *tū, tu* too, also, *sō* so, instead of *sō* we

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generally say *ḍad*: *ī wār ḍad noūt* he was so angry, *vāri* very, *vārnjār* almost, *wāe* why, *wīl* well, but as an interjection we say *wel*.

Also is expressed by *tū, tu* or *ən ō*.

Thus is expressed by *i ḍis wē* in this way or *ə ḍad rōd* literally, in that road.

wiḍin is used in the meaning of «against» in such phrases as: *īz nod wiḍin steīlin* he is capable of or doesn't mind, stealing.

Adverbs of place: *aniwīār* anywhere, *īār* here, *jon* yonder, *ṣumwīār* somewhere, *ḍīār* there, *wīār* where.

Adverbs of time: *evār* or *ār* ever, *jet* yet, *juṣṭardē* yesterday, *nē* now, *nevār* or *nār* never, *oft* often, *sin* since, *sūn* soon, *tādē* today, *tāmōrn* (t)mōrn tomorrow, *tānīt*, (t)nīt tonight, *ḍen* then, *wen* when.

2. Prepositions.

§ 124. *aft̄ar* after, *a^hfu^{ar}* before, *bitwīn* between, *bi* by, *bi-int* behind, *dēn* down, *a*, *av* (only before vowels) of, *abēt*, *bēt* about, without, *ab^uv* above, *a^gen* again, *a^lu^g* along, *a^mu^g* among, *bisād*, *a^sād* besides, *a^t-sted* *a* instead of, *fār* for, *frā* from, *in*, *i* in (*i* is more used, even before vowels), *intā* into, *nīar* near, *b^ud*, *bād* except, *on*, *o* on, *ōr* over, *sin* since, *tā*, *til* to (*wi went vārⁿjār til Boūtn* we almost went as far as Bolton), *brū* through, *und̄er* under, *u^p* up, *wi* with.

3. Conjunctions.

§ 125. *b^ud* but, *bikōs*, *kōs* because, *an* and, *a^z* that (*ðad* is never used as a conjunction), *iv* if, *nōðar*, *nēðar* neither, *ōðar*, *ēðar* either, *ðen* than (*nār* is sometimes used), *wāl* until (*wæt wāl ī kum^z* wait until he comes).

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Specimens.

I.

ðarz a g^ud dīal a tēlz toūd abēt oūd x. ī wār reknt (t)lēziist mon i Lan^ki^fār an al d^zust tel ði wod ī did. ī wons went a sītfin wärk ad a pit, an ī gu^z u^p tā (t) g^ja^fār an ajkst im iv ī käd fänd im a d^zob. «Noū» sed (t)g^ja^fār «a dārⁿ þiⁿk a^z wi en oūt əzl du fār ði.» «wod, en jə noūt ad ō ðen» ajkst x. «ja win won d^zob» sed (t)g^ja^fār «b^ud its i (t)nīt.» «wel am nod even id» sed x. «ad a^z sūn gā tā hel a^z wärk i (t)dētām, an a wil guā a^hfuār al wärk i(t) nīt.»

ði sen ī wons k^ja^tft won a iz ladz wärkin sō ārd a^z ī wār swet-tin. an ī sīt on tu im an giv im a g^ud ādin an ajkst im iv ī wār bēn (t)wärk is-sel tā (t)dāþ.

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oūd Džak — wər ənuðər kwār ən. ī wons went (t) Aiərland wi ə tūtri¹ tʃaps, ən əz id wər sʌndi morning ði ō went ə evin ə fēv. (t)bārbər stārted loðərin ən ī loðərt til oūd Džak wər ðad taiərt əz i kuðn stan id nō lūŋgər. ī gīt up ən wōkt fop. ī went in ən əjkst «dʌn jə fēv tər» «āe wi fēvin» sed (t) bārbər». wel fēv mī ðen» sed oūd Džak «ði noūt buð loðərin ōr ðīər»

¹ ‘a few’, see § 20.

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Specimens.

Note. For convenience in reading, an English transcription to the dialect Specimens in here given. They are rendered almost word for word, and no attempt has been made to write correct English.

I.

There is a good deal of tales told about old X. He was reckoned the laziest man in Lancashire and I will just tell you what he did. He once went a-seeking work at a pit, and he goes up to the gaffer and asked him if he could find him a job. «No» said the gaffer «I don't think that we have anything that will do for you.» «What, have you nothing at all then?» asked X. «Yes we've one job» said the gaffer, «but it is in the night.» «Well, I am not having it» said X. «I'd as soon go to hell as work in the daytime, and I will go before I'll work in the night.»

They say he once caught one of his lads working so hard that he was sweating. And he set on to him and gave him a good hiding and asked him if he were going to work himself to the death.

Old Jack - was another queer one. He once went to Ireland with a few chaps, and as it was Sunday morning they all went to have a shave. The barber started lathering, and he lathered until old Jack was that tired that he couldn't stand it any longer. He got up and walked out with his face covered with lather, until he found another shop. He

went in and asked «Do you shave here?» «Yes, we shave» said the barber. «Well, shave me then» said old Jack «they only lather over there.»

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wen (t) big-dʒob¹ kūm tə Oridʒ ði wər ə lot ə rouz bitwīn (t)poūd fōk əz livd ðiər əfuər (t)wārks kūm, ən (t) njū ʊns əz kūm wi (t)wārks. (t)muəst ə ðiʒ njū ʊnz kūm frə Mantfistər rōd on, un ði rēðər lūk(t) dēn o(t) poūd Oridʒərz, se-in əz ði nōd noūt əfuər ðē kūm. (t)poūd Oridʒərz, wərnd se wīl plāst ɔr id, kōz ði poūt ðərsel əz gud əz ʊm, evri bit. əd ani rōd, ði wər nō pop-fops i(t) plēs əfuər, ən ði manidʒd grēdli wīl bi ðərselz. iv evər ani ə (t)poūd Oridʒərz ən (t)njū ənz apnt tə bi evin ə dlas tagedər, ði wər ɔləz sʊmʊt guin on.

ði wər ə tūtri on əm won nūt i(t) Brēn Kē, ən won ə(t) njū kumərz bigʊn ə telin əbēt ə bəlūm əz līt ə (t)top ə(t) Pāek tū ər prī jər əfuər (t) big-dʒob stārtid. Nōbri nōd wod tə mēk on id; ðid nār sin won əfuər, evribodi i Oridʒ went ə evin ə lūk ad id, buð nōn on əm kəd se wod id wər. at last ði foʃt oūd Sami B—, ə oūd tfap ɔr nānti, ʊz ði ed (t)trʊndl ʊp in ə wīlbarə. ī lūk(t) ad id ə lʊŋ wāl ən sed noūt. ðen ī sed «wīl mi rēnd, tfaps.» ði wīlt im rēnd. ī poūt əgen fər əbēt ten minits ən ðen sed «wīl mi rēnd əgen.» ði wīlt im rēnd əgen. ðen ī poūt əgen fər əbēt ə kwārtər əv ən ār. ði poūt poūd tfap ed gon tə slīp. bud ī wər noūt bəd þiŋkin. at last ī sed «a nō wod id iz; its ə sār kəs ən (t)þōsiz is kʊmin (t)morn.» ði wər ɔ satisfād ən wīlt im wʊm əgen.

¹ big-dʒob is used locally to describe the large railway works at Horwich.

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When the big job (railway works) came to Horwich, there were a lot of rows between the old folks who lived there before the works came, and the new ones who came with the works. Most of these new ones came from Manchester way on, and they rather looked down on the old Horwichers, saying that they knew nothing before they came. The old Horwichers were not so well pleased over it, because they thought them-

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selves as good as them, every bit. At any rate, there were no pop-shops (pawn shops) in the place before, and they managed very well by themselves. If ever any of the old Horwichers and the new ones happened to be having a glass together, there was always something going on.

There were a few of them one night in the «Brown Cow», and one of the new comers began a telling about a balloon that let on the top of the «Pike», two or three years before the big job started. Nobody knew what to make of it; they had never seen one before, everybody in Horwich went a having a look at it, but none of them could say what it was. At last they fetched old Sammy B—, an old chap, over ninety, whom they had wheeled up in a wheelbarrow. He looked at it a long while and said nothing. Then he said «Wheel me round chaps.» They wheeled him round. He thought again for about ten minutes and then said «Wheel me round again.» They wheeled him round again. Then he thought again for about a quarter of an hour. They thought the old chap had gone to sleep. But he was only thinking. At last he said «I know what it is; it's a circus and the horses are coming tomorrow.» They were all satisfied and wheeled him home again.

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ði wær ə ɡʊd laf wen id finist ɔdɑd, ən ɔdɑd mēd im tel ənuðɑr. ī sed sʊm ət (t)njū Oridʒɑrsz wons kʃɑtʃt ə oūd Oridʒɑr nod far ɔ̄ (t) Krɛn. (ði wær wāld jə nɔn, ən went əbɛt o ðɑr ɑnzən nɪz.) ði rɪɑrt im ʊp əɡen ə wɔ, ən wɔd did ī dū bʊd bigin ə pɔ̄-in (t)þɑr wi iz ɑndz, ən sed «wɔd mon a du wi dɪz.»

ði wær ə njū Oridʒɑr ðɪɑr əz ed sed noūt ɔ̄ ðis tām, bʊd ī þoūt id wær əbɛt is torn tə pʊd ə wɔrd in. ī sed sʊm njū Oridʒɑrz wær wons ɡuin þrū (t) Krɛn fildz, wɪɑr ði wær sʊm bārli ɡrō in. ði didn nɔ wɔd id wær ən fɔtʃt ə frɛnd əz livd əd Mɑntʃɪʃtɑr, ən nɔd evəriþin. ī sed «wel, ɑv nevər sɪn eni ɡrō-in əfɔr, bʊd əv kuərs a nɔ wɔd ði ɑr. ðɑr frimps.»

sʊm Adlɪtn fɔks wons went tə Lʊndʊn. won dē ði ɡɪt i Mɑdəm Tʊsɔdʒz ən won on ɑm kɔd Oūt sed ɡʊd mɔrning tu ə waks bɔbi. oʊd Tʊm S— wær ɡrēdli əmjʊst əd ɔdɑd ən

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kod-did im ə bit. buð dʒʊst aftar, ði wər egzaminin sʊm figərz ə wimin əz ed numbərz əd ðər fit, ɔ buð won. S— fiftid ər skārts, buð ī wər sərprāst wen u dʒʊmpt ʊp ən sed «oū dār jū.» ðen id wer Oūts tōrn tə laf ən ī sed «ðār Tʊm, ðār dʊn ðis tām. sʊm on jə s sə g—d—fōs.»

ə pārsn wons went ə sī-in ə koliər əz wər dī-in. ðis lokiər wər ə greīt pidʒən flāeər ən wen (t)pārsn bigʊn ə tōkin əbēt evn id mēd im þiŋk əbēt (t) þēndʒəlz wi wiŋgz əz īd sin (t) piktfərz on. ī tōrnt rēnd ən sed tə (t)pārsn «fal ā ev wiŋgz, pārsn, wen a gə tə evn?» «jis» sed(t) pārsn «ən wil jō e wiŋgz, tu,»

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There was a good laugh when he had finished that, and that made him tell another. He said some of the new Horwichers once caught an old Horwicher not far from the «Crown» (they were wild you know and went about on their hands and knees). They reared him up against a wall, and what did he do but begin a pawing the air with his hands, and said «What must I do with these?»

There was a new Horwicher there, who had said nothing all this time, but he thought it was about his turn to put a word in. He said some new Horwichers were once going through the Crown fields, where there was some barley growing. They didn't know what it was and fetched a friend that lived at Manchester and knew everything. He said «Well, I've never seen any growing before, but of course I know what they are. They are shrimps.»

Some Adlington folks once went to London. One day they got in Madame Tussauds, and one of them called Holt said «Good morning» to a wax bobby. Old Tom S—, was much amused at that and coddled (teased) him a bit. But just after they were examining some figures of women, that had numbers at their feet, all but one. S— shifted her skirts, but he was surprised when she jumped up and said «How dare you!» Then it was Holt's turn to laugh and he said «There Tom, you are done this time; some of you are so G— d— smart.»

A parson once went a seeing a collier who was dying. This collier was a great pigeon-flyer, and when the parson began a talking about heaven he made him think

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about the angels with wings, of which he had seen pictures. He turned round and said to the parson «Shall I have wings, parson, when I go to heaven?» «Yes» said the parson

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*wen jō ged dīer.» «jis a fal» sed (t) pärsn, «wel al tel jə wod» sed (t) pidʒən-flāeər,
«wen jə ged dīər al flā jə fər ə sovərin.»*

II.

Come whoam to thy childer an me (Waugh).

Av dzʊst mendid (t) faiər wi ə kob,

oud Swadl əz broūt ði njū fūn;

ðərs sʊm nās bēkn koləps o (t) pɒb,

ən ə kwārt ə hēl posit i (t) pūn:

äv broūt ði top kuət; dus (t) nō,

fər (t) rēnz kʊmin dēn very drɪː

ən (t) p̄ərɸ-stōn 'z əz wāt əz nju snō,

kʊm wʊm tə ði tʃilɔər ən mī.

wen a pʊd litl Sali tə bed.

u krād kōz ər fēðər wərn(d) dīər;

sō a kist (t) litl ɸiŋg ən a sed,

ðad brɪŋg ər ə ribin fru (t) fār;

ən a giv ər ər dol ən sʊm rajgz,

ən ə nās litl wāt kotn bō;

ən a kist ər əgen; bʊd u sed,

əz u wantid tə kis dī ən ō.

ən Dik tu, ad sʊtf wärk wi im,

əfuər a kəd ged im ʊp (t) stārz;

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ða toud im ðad bring im ə drʊm,

ī sed wen ī wər se-in iz prərz;

ðen ī lūkt i mi fēs, ən ī sed,

«es (t) bogərts ten oūd ə mi dad?»

ən ī krād til iz īn wər kwāt red,

ī lāeks ði sʊm wīl, dəz jon lad.

¹ See § 36.1.e.

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«and will you have wings too when you go there?» «Yes, I shall» said the parson.
«Well, I'll tell you what», said the pigeon-flyer, «when you get there I'll fly you for a sovereign.»

VNiVERSiTAS
STVDII
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II.

Come home to your children and me.

I've just mended the fire with a cob,

Old Swaddle has brought your new shoes;

There are some nice bacon collops on the hob,

And a quart of ale posset in the oven;

I've brought your top-coat, do you know.

For the rain's coming down very dree;

And the hearth-stone's as white as new snow,

Come home to your children and me.

When I put little Sally to bed,

She cried 'cos her father wasn't there;

So I kissed the little thing and I said,

You'd bring her a ribbon from the fair;

And I gave her a doll and some rags,

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And a nice little white cotton ball:
And I kissed her again; but she said,
That she wanted to kiss thee and all.

And Dick, too, I'd such work with him,
Before I could get him up stairs;
You told him, you'd bring him a drum,
He said when he was saying his prayers;
Then he looked in my face, and he said,
«Have the boggarts taken hold of my dad?»

And he cried till his eyes were quite red,
He likes you very well, does yon lad.

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*æt lʊŋ lɛŋb a ɡɪt əm lɛd stɪl,
ən a ɑ̃rknt (t) fōks fɪt əz went bæe;
sō a aiərnt ō mi tluɛz rɪt wɪl
ən a aŋgd əm o(t) mēdn¹ tə drāe;
wɛn ad mɛndɪd ði stokinz ən fɑrts,
a sɪt dɛn tə nit i mi tʃɪər;
ən a rɛli did fɪl rɛðər ort, —
mɒn, am lɔnli² wɛn ðɛ arnd ðɪər.*

*av ə drʊm ən ə trʌmpɪt fər Dɪk;
av ə jɑrd ə blʊ rɪbɪn fər Sal;
av ə bʊk fʊl ə bɑbɪz ən ə stɪk,
ən sʊm bɑkə ən pɑps fər mi sɛl;
av brɔʊt ði sʊm kɒfɪ ən tɛ—
ɪv ðal fɪl i mi pɒkɪt, ðal sɪ;
ən av brɔʊt ði ə nju kjɑp tə-dɛ—
bʊd a ɔlɛz brɪŋgz sʊmæt fər ðɪ.*

god bles ði mi las; al gə wum,
ən əl kis ði ən (t) tʃilðər ɔ rēnd;
ða nōz əz wərevər a rōm,
am fēn tə ged bak (t) ʃoūd grēnd;
a kən du wi ə krajk ɔr ə dlas,
a kən du wi ə bit əv ə sprī;
bud av nō grēdli³ kumfərt, mi las,
eksep wi jon tʃilðər ən ði.

¹ mēdn = 'clothes horse'.

² Waugh has *onely*. See § 63. 1. d. Note.

³ See § 43. 1. e.

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At the long length I got them laid still,
and I hearkened the folk's feet, that went by;
So I ironed al my clothes right well,
Ans I hanged them on the maiden to dry;
When I'd mended your stockings and shirts,
I sat down to knit in my chair;
And I really did feel rahter hurt, —
Man, I'm lonely when you are not there.

I've a drum and a trumpet for Dick;
I've a yard of blue ribbon for Sal;
I've a book full of babies and stick,
And some tobacco and pipes for myself;
I've brought you some coffee and tea,—

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If you'll feel in my pocket, you'll see;
And I've brought you a new cap today, —
But I always bring something for thee.

God bless you, my lass; I'll go home,
And I'll kiss you and the children all round;
You know that wherever I roam,
I'm glad to get back to the old ground;
I can do with a crack over a glass,
I can do with a bit of a spree;

But I've no real comfort, my lass,
Except with yon children and thee.

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VNiVERSiTAS
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III.

Dʒon Wōkər.

*Dʒon Wōkər livd ə(t) top (ə) Boŋk,
ən kept ə lot ʊ dʌks,
ən egʒ ði wər sə plentifʊl,
ī pālt əm ʊp i ruks.*

*Dʒon Wōkər ed ə lit-tl lad,
ən ī wər grēdli noūt;
ī bīt im vār-ri il won nīt,
ən ī pord im intə (t) foūt.*

*Dʒon Wōkər ed ə lit-tl dog,
ən id went ɔ̄f id nʌt;
ī kopt id bīt id inɔ̄r leg,*

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ən wārlt id intə (t) kut.

Dʒon Wōkər lāekt ə bit ə spuərt,
wi ēðər fɪf ər brid;
ɪ fot əd ə pidʒən ə (t) þelɪfunt swɪp,
ən kilt ə kē ət stid.

Dʒon Wōkər went tə Grasmīər spuərts.
tə hev ə dū wi Tlār̄k;
ði pūd ðər dʒakɪts ən weskʊts ɔf,
ən buəp went ʊp tə(t) mār̄k.

Dʒon Wōkər ɪ gɪt oūd ə Tlār̄k,
ən Tlār̄k gɪt oūd ə vɪm;
ði pūd wɒn ənʊðər əbēt ə bit,
tɪl (t) tɒn ɒn əm gɪvɪn.

Dʒon Wōkər sed id wərnd ə du
ən ðɪd ev tə hev ənʊðər;
ən Tlār̄k ɪ sed «ō rɪt oūd mɒn,
ən ðā kən fotf ði brʊðər.»

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III.

John Walker.

John Walker lived at top of the «Bonk»,
And kept a lot of ducks,
And eggs they were so plentiful,
He piled them up in rucks.

John Walker had a little lad,

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And he was really naughty;
He beat him very ill one night,
And he kicked him into the fold.

John Walker had a little dog,
And it went off its nut (head);
He caught it by its hind leg,
And whirled it into the cut (canal).

John Walker liked a bit of sport,
With either fish or bird;
He shot at a pidgeon at the «Elephant» sweep,
And killed a cow instead.

John Walker went to Grasmere sports.
To have a do with «Clark»;
They pulled their jackets and waistcoats off,
And both went up to the mark.

John Walker he got hold of Clark,
And Clark got hold of him;
They pulled one another about a bit,
Till the one of them gave in.

John Wlker said it wasn't a do,
And they'd have to have another;
And Clark he said «All right old man,
And you can fetch your brother».

The Salamanca Corpus: A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington (1904)

*ən ī gīt vār-ri oūd;
ī gīt ə bit bi-int wi(t) rent,
ən ō iz guds wər soūd.*

*Dʒon Wōkər gīt iz lāeknəs ten,
bi ə tʃap ə(t) nēm ə Rīd;
ən wen ī gīt ə dlent on id,
ī tūk iz bed ən dīd.*

*Dʒon Wōkər lāəkt ə sōp ə driŋk,
ən wod ī supt wər rʊm,
ī went tə(t) Bēr won seʃərti nūt,
ən ði ed tə dād im wʊm.*

*Dʒon Wōkər went tə sī oūd T.
ī went tə ged ə poū;
oud T. ī pūd id up bi(t) ruts,
ən ðen ðər wər ə roū.*

*Dʒon Wōkər gīt up ęt ə tʃār,
ən reītʃt is-sel ə strop;
ī peīld oūd T. ōl ōr (t) frunt plēs,
til ī wər fit tə dʒrop.*

*wen oūd Tīz wāf kūm intə (t) fop,
ī wor ə wāri sīt;
iz jed wər lēd ət (t) top ə(t) þes,
ən u pūd im ęt bi(t) fīt.*

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John Walker had a little farm,

and he got very old;

He got a bit behind with the rent,

And all his goods were sold.

John Walker got his likeness taken,

By a chap with the name of Reed;

And when he got a peep at it,

He took his bed and died.

John Walker liked a drop of drink,

And what he drank was rum;

He went to the «Bear» on Saturday night,

And they had to help him home.

John Walker went to see old T.,

Je went to get a crop;

Old T., he pulled it up by the roots,

And then there was a row.

John Walker got up out of the chair,

And reached himself a strop;

He knocked old T., all over the place,

Till he was fit to drop.

When old T.'s wife came into the shop,

He was a weary sight;

His head was laid on top of the ashes,

And she pulled him out by the feet.
