A Grammar of the Dialect of Lorton (Cumberland)  
Historical and Descriptive  
With an Appendix on the Scandinavian Element  
Dialect Specimens and a Glossary  

By  
Börje Brilioth  

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PREFACE

The aim of the following treatise is to outline, as accurately as possible, the phonology and grammar of the dialect spoken in and around the village of Lorton in West Cumberland, and also, as far as the phonology is concerned, to illustrate the development of the Old English sounds in the dialect. In choosing the Cumberland dialect as my object of investigation I acted on the advice of Professor Joseph Wright, of the University of Oxford, to whom I am also indebted for many valuable hints during the course of my work. Professor Wright expressed the opinion that in Cumberland, if anywhere, I might hope to find a distinct and well-preserved dialect idiom, and the experience gained during my stay in West Cumberland fully corroborated his statement. I found that the dialect spoken by the true natives of the Lorton district had preserved a striking originality of forms, and that it had been impaired only to a very slight extent by the destructive force of outside influence. The situation of Lorton, in the deep valley of Lorton which is bounded on both sides by high mountain ranges, mostly inhabited by natives of the district, and having very little intercourse with the outside world, has served also to preserve the dialect of the place pure and intact. The nearest town is Cockermouth (about four miles distant), but here also the Cumbrian element seems to be distinctly predominant.

It is a well-known fact to every one who has been engaged in dialect studies of any kind that the task of bringing together a genuine and perfectly reliable dialect material is a most difficult and troublesome one. In order to achieve this task in a satisfactory way, the following points have to be taken into consideration:

(a) Where to find a suitable base of operations, that is to say, a place where the general conditions of life, the situation, and also, if possible, the geographical configuration of the district, have exercised a preserving influence on the dialect and reduced
outside influence to a minimum. In this respect the village of Lorton is, as I have pointed out above, thoroughly well adapted for the purposes of the dialectologist.

(b) The question of finding good and trustworthy helpers, i.e. persons born in the district, who have been accustomed to hearing and speaking the dialect from their childhood, and who still regularly use the local idiom in their daily conversation with friends, neighbours, and members of their own family. In this respect I was very fortunate. On my arrival at Lorton, I fell in with a person who was in every respect thoroughly well adapted for my purposes, and whose kind and untiring assistance has enabled me to get well acquainted with the dialect and to collect in a comparatively short time what I believe to be a fairly rich and reliable dialect material. This person, who became my chief helper throughout my stay in Cumberland, was Mr. George Oglethorpe, the schoolmaster of Lorton. Mr. Oglethorpe is a true Cumbrian, of an old Cumberland family; he was born in 1866 at Dearham, in West Cumberland (the dialect of Dearham hardly differs at all from that of Lorton), has lived in Lorton for twenty-three years, and speaks the local dialect perfectly. George Oglethorpe has during all his life been in constant intercourse with the natives of West Cumberland, and has thus acquired a thorough and intimate knowledge of the dialect. My material was in the first instance supplied by Mr. Oglethorpe, and afterwards carefully controlled and revised during frequent interviews with numerous other helpers, all natives of the district, who began to show a great interest in my work as soon as I had been able to gain their confidence and to explain what I wanted to know, and why I was interested in their dialect. Thanks to Mr. Oglethorpe's great popularity, I had almost daily opportunities of meeting and conversing with 'fellsiders', shepherds and farmers living in and around the village, many of whom had hardly ever been out of their native valley, except perhaps for occasional but rare visits to the nearest towns, Cockermouth and Keswick.

Another difficult but important point always to be kept in view by the dialectologist is the following one:

(c) How to make your helpers talk pure dialect without con-
sciously or unconsciously mixing their conversation up with forms and words derived from standard English.

This difficulty was in my case reduced to a minimum on account of the originality and the clearly defined lines of the Cumbrian idiom: the whole character of the dialect serves to constitute it as a language of its own, quite distinct from standard English, both as regards phonology and vocabulary, and the natives are, in a way, distinctly bilingual, that is to say, if a true Cumbrian speaks his own dialect, he prides himself on talking it quite pure and unmixed, ‘i tōks rīel kumərlan’, but, on the other hand, if he ‘tōks pruud’, i.e. standard English, you will frequently catch him using words derived from his native idiom instead of those belonging to polite English.

The above-mentioned methodological points will perhaps prove of some interest to the reader, and at the same time serve as a guarantee for the general accuracy of my collections. I may also mention that the results of my investigations have been submitted to Mr. S. Dickson-Brown, Hon. Secretary of the Philological Society, who is a Cumbrian by birth, and an expert on the dialect. After having read my manuscript, Mr. Dickson-Brown kindly pronounced the opinion that my analysis of the Lorton dialect seemed to be in every respect accurate and reliable.

Before proceeding to show the results of my researches, I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me during the course of my work in Cumberland. In the first place to Mr. George Oglethorpe for his kind and untiring helpfulness, and to the members of his family for the great kindness shown to me throughout my stay in Lorton.

It also gives me great pleasure to express, in this place, my deep-felt gratitude to the following persons: to Mr. K. F. Sundén, Docent in the University of Upsala, for kindly helping me in revising the historical part of my work; to Professor Joseph Wright, of the University of Oxford; Dr. W. A. Craigie, President of the Philological Society; Dr. E. W. Prevost; Mr. S. Dickson-Brown; and Professor Erik Björkman, of the Upsala University, for much valuable assistance accorded me during the course of my work.

Upsala, 1913.

BÖRJE BRILIOTH.
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(On dialect texts consulted see below, Dialect Specimens.)
GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The dialect dealt with in the present work is spoken in Lorton, a village situated in West Cumberland, 11 1/2 miles from the west coast on a straight line drawn from Workington to Keswick.

According to Ellis's classification (E. E. Pron., vol. v) the Lorton dialect district belongs to the West-Northern division, D. 31. It does not exactly coincide with any of the varieties given by Ellis but falls between Varieties 19 (Clifton) and 18 (Keswick). The dialect forms of Var. 19 (Clifton) are very nearly identical with those of the Lorton dialect, whereas the Keswick variety (18) differs on some minor points.

The Lorton dialect district includes the following parishes: Lorton, Brackenthalwaite, Buttermere, Embleton, Mosser, and Eaglesfield; the same dialect is also spoken in and around Cockermouth (between three and four miles west of Lorton) although, of course, in the town itself the dialect shows a slight admixture of non-Cumbrian elements.
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

PRONUNCIATION

A. THE VOWELS

§ 2. The Lorton dialect contains the following vowel-sounds:

Short vowels: a, e, æ, i, o, u, û, ù.

Long vowels: å, æ, ì, Ù, ù.

Diphthongs: ai, au, ei, ei, ia (ja), ïæ, iu (jû), iu, oi, ou, uu, wô.

Triphthongs: aiæ, au(w)æ, e'æ, iuæ, iu'u, uu(w)æ.

Short Vowels

§ 3. a (mid-back-wide), like the a in German kann, Mann, but with the tongue slightly advanced towards the Æ-position (in standard English man).

apæ apple, dlad glad, swan swan, want want.

§ 4. e (low-front-narrow), the short of Æ (Æ = è in French père; cf. below, § 12).

bed bed, eb ebb, netl nettle, beliz bellows.

§ 5. i (high-front-wide), like the i in standard English spit, but slightly lowered.

bit bit, fig fig, kis kiss, wìs wish.

§ 6. o (low-back-wide-round), like the o in standard English stop, pot.

bodi body, olin-bu's holly-bush, lopstar lobster.

§ 7. û (high-back-wide-round), like the u in standard English bull, put.

bul bull, butør butter, tub tub, wud wood.

§ 8. ù, very much similar to the preceding vowel (u), but pronounced with the tongue slightly lowered towards the mid-back position and a slight widening of the lip-opening (un-rounding). It is a sound midway between the high-back-wide-round u of standard English and the ū (see § 9).

krûtš crutch, mûri merry, nût nut, stûtør to stutter, tûtš to touch.
§ 9. u is still more lowered and unrounded than ù (see § 8 above), like the ā in Swedish skutta, butter.

bûrn to burn, fûrnîš to furnish, kûrk church.

§ 10. e (mid-mixed-narrow), like the o in German Knabe. Note that the o in the standard English er-ending (in letter, mother) is mid-mixed-wide.

amər hammer, betər better, mare marrow, nare narrow.

Long Vowels

§ 11. ā is the long of a (see § 3), consequently mid-back-wide like the ā in German Name, but with a slightly advanced position of the tongue.

bärn child, fādin farthing, wärn warm, wärn to warn, wāt wart.

§ 12. ō is the long of e (low-front-narrow; see § 4 above), like the è in French père.

bēkn bacon, dēe day, lēk to play, tīe clay, wēe way, wēdžiz wages.

§ 13. ĩ (high-front-narrow), like the ĩ in German Biene, Swedish fin.

būd to bleed, fid to feed, nīd need, nīt night, sīt sight.

§ 14. ơ is nearly like the low-back-narrow-round ō in standard English fall, law, but slightly unrounded.

kōf calf, kōld (or kōd) cold, fō to fall, sōv salve, wō wall.

§ 15. ŭ is the long of ū (see § 9 above).

būd bird, mūdər murder, Ђūd third, Ђūti thirty.

The Diphthongs

§ 16. ai (a+i, cf. above, §§ 3, 5).

aidl idle, bait to bite, kaind kind, maild mild, maind mind, waild wild, wait white.

§ 17. au (a+u, cf. §§ 3, 7). The first element of this diphthong is at times somewhat lowered and slightly rounded, thus forming a sound midway between a and o.

baustər bolster, baut (pret. and pp.) bought, braut (pret. and pp.) brought, dauτar daughter, dian to glow, faut (pret. and pp.) fought, kraul to crawl.

§ 18. ei (e+i, cf. §§ 4, 5).

eit eight, feit to fight, wei to weigh, weit weight.
§ 19. ei (e+i, §§ 4, 13).

beim beam, bein bean, dreim dream, greit great, leif leaf, pleiz to please.

Note. When initial, the e-element of this diphthong is weakened into a slight e-glide or disappears altogether: (e)il to heal, (e)it to eat, (e)iizi easy.

§ 20. ia (ja) (i+a, §§ 5, 3). The first element of this diphthong is slightly lowered (towards the e-position) after the liquids l, r. When initial, the i assumes a consonantic character (ia > ja).

bían bone, biáp both, bliád blade, griav to dig, giavlik crowbar, jak oak, jam home, jal ale, jans once, kiák cake, liám lame, mián mane.

§ 21. iæ (i+a, §§ 13, 10). The quantity of the i-element in this diphthong varies between medium and full length.

fias fierce, slæ so, slæ sloe, tis toe, tîse claw.

§ 22. iu (ju) (i+u, §§ 5, 9). The same remarks apply to the first element of this diphthong as to the i of the ia-diphthong above (§ 20); the quality of the second element varies between û and ù (§§ 9, 8) according to the nature of the following sound: it is rounded (towards û) before m or b, otherwise always = y.

briúm broom, giús goose, jûbm oven, jûf hoof, riút root.

§ 23. iu (i+u, see §§ 5, 7). This diphthong sometimes assumes a triphthongal character: a kind of glide (û) arises between the i- and u-elements, especially when the diphthong is not followed by a consonant (see below, the triphthong iûu, § 32).

biúti beauty, friút fruit, siút suit, tiúzdø Tuesday (spiúu, see § 32).

Note that the second element of this diphthong generally is half length.

§ 24. oi (o+i, §§ 6, 5).

boil to boil, džoint joint, oil oil, vois voice.

§ 25. qu. The first element of this diphthong is an open and somewhat unrounded o (§ 6) nearly like the low-back-wide a in French pas, pâte; the second element is u (§ 7).

bould bold, fould to fold, gould gold, toul toll.

§ 26. uu (u+u, §§ 9, 7).

briún brown, dûut doubt, suûnd sound, tiûnd cloud, uûnd hound, wûu wool.

§ 27. wo. I have classified the wo-combination as a diphthong
on account of the semivocalic character of its first element: it is a somewhat relaxed \( w \), bordering on a very tense \( u \). The second element is an \( o \), varying between short and half length (sometimes even full length; cf. examples).

\( \text{kwöm} \) comb, \( \text{kwol} \) coal, \( \text{k worn} \) corn, \( \text{mwörnin} \) morning, \( \text{rwoz} \) rose, \( \text{śwöt} \) short, \( \text{wol} \) hole.

**The Triphthongs**

\( \S \ 28. \ \text{aē} (a + i + e, \S\S \ 3, 5, 10) \). The third element of this triphthong is \( e \), developed as a glide before a following \( r \).

\( \text{aēn} \) iron, \( \text{faēr} \) fire, \( \text{spaēr} \) spire, \( \text{waiēr} \) wire.

\( \S \ 29. \ \text{au(w)e} (a + u + e, \S\S \ 3, 7, 10) \). A bilabial glide is often heard between the second and third elements of this triphthong.

\( \text{au(w)ēr} \) over, \( \text{stau(w)e}n \) pp. stolen, \( \text{fau(w)ēr} \) four.

\( \S \ 30. \ \text{euu} (e + u + u, \S\S \ 4, 9, 7).

\( \text{deuē} \) dew, \( \text{feuē} \) few, \( \text{teuē} \) to tool, to work hard.

\( \S \ 31. \ \text{iuē} (i + u + e, \S\S \ 5, 7, 10).

\( \text{griuēl} \) gruel, \( \text{kriuēl} \) cruel, \( \text{siuēr} \) sure, \( \text{siuēt} \) suet.

\( \S \ 32. \ \text{iuē} (i + u + u, \S\S \ 5, 9, 7).

\( \text{bīuē} \) bough, \( \text{drīuē} \) pret. drew, \( \text{slīuē} \) pret. stole, \( \text{spīuē} \) to spew.

\( \S \ 33. \ \text{uu(w)e} (u + u + e, \S\S \ 9, 7, 10). \) A bilabial glide \( (w) \) is often heard between the second and third elements of the triphthong (cf. \( \text{au(w)e} \) above, \( \S \ 29 \)).

\( \text{dlīu(w)ēr} \) to glower, \( \text{flīu(w)ēr} \) flower, \( \text{flōr} \), \( \text{mūu(w)ēr} \) moor.

**B. The Consonants**

\( \S \ 34. \) The Lorton dialect contains the following consonants:

\( b, d, ɖ, \dd, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, \eta, p, r, s, ś, t, ʈ, \dd, \dd, v, w, z, z. \)

\( \S \ 35. \) \( b \) (lip-stop-voice), like standard English \( b \). It occurs in all positions (initially, medially, and finally).

\( \text{bārn} \) child, \( \text{brek} \) to break, \( \text{kabiś} \) cabbage, \( \text{stubi} \) thickset, \( \text{neb} \) beak, \( \text{web} \) web.

\( \S \ 36. \) \( d \) (gum-stop-voice), like standard English \( d \). It occurs in all positions.

\( \text{dē} \) day, \( \text{dip} \) to dip, \( \text{drīnk} \) to drink, \( \text{duv} \) dove, \( \text{didl} \) to con-

\[\text{1} \] In addition to the above-mentioned consonants the aspirate \( h \) frequently occurs in our dialect in initial position, but OE. and ME. \( h \) has been dropped everywhere, and ‘Cumbrians know nothing of \( h \) as a reliable quantity’ (see Dickson-Brown in Prevost’s Glossary, p. xxv, and below, \( \S \ 372 \)).
fuse, sindær cinder, wader to wander, lid lid, bid to invite, to bid.

§ 37. ɗ is a sound midway between d and ð, a kind of softened (relaxed) interdental stop (see below, § 317). It occurs in a medial position after a preceding short vowel before an r-suffix.

adær adder, bleðær bladder, faðær father, laðær lather, muðær mother.

§ 38. q is a superdental voiced stop like the rd-combination in Swedish borde, värde, svärd, arising from the combination r + d after a vowel (usually a long vowel) or finally in unaccented syllables (cf. below, ð and ð).

buqin (or bürdin) burden, muðær murder, wāqē week-day, bakwā qed backwards, foraq forward.

§ 39. f (lip-teeth-open-breath) occurs in all positions.

daðer father, feit to fight, druft drought, fift fifth, kōf calf, laif life, liāf loaf.

§ 40. g (back-stop-voice), like standard English g; occurs in all positions.

galsiz braces, gärn yarn, geðær to gather, giáp to gape, bogt ghost, boggle, agær coal-hewer, sugar sugar, ag to hack or hew, big barley, lig to lie (or lay) down, ug to carry.

§ 41. j (front-open-voice), like the j in standard English yarn, Swedish and German ja. It only occurs in initial position.

järn a tale, story, jabl able, jakær acre, jistær yesterday, jubm oven.

§ 42. k (back-stop-breath), like standard English k. It occurs initially, medially, and finally.

kaf chaff, kist chest, kūrk church, kredl cradle, skil skill, skiül school, bek brook, ask lizard or newt, mak to make, tak to take, pak to thatch.

§ 43. l (gum-side-voice), like standard English l. As a consonant it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only finally after a consonant in unaccented syllables.

lūt late, liūk look, lonin lane, flit to flit, to remove, tip to clip, ole hollow, tale tallow, fiūl fool, skiül school, tiūl tool, sadl saddle, midl middle.

§ 44. m (lip-nasal-voice), like standard English m. When consonant it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only finally after consonants.

man man, mēr more, muðær mother, amær hammer, brumstn
brimstone, brum brim, rýum room, stem stem, ārm arm, bodm bottom, elm elm.

§ 45. n (gum-nasal-voice), like standard English n. As a consonant it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

nærøn apron, nevi nephew, niúk nook, dwīnl to dwindle, mundæ Monday, uni honey, den den, ābiún above, miún moon, frozn pp. frozen, gitn pp. got, tšwozn pp. chosen.

§ 46. ŋ is a superdental voiced nasal like the rn-combination in Swedish barn, ġärna, arisen from an r+a following n after a long vowel or finally in unaccented syllables (cf. above, d § 38).

fúŋtør furniture, nærøn apron.

§ 47. ŋ (back-nasal-voice), like standard English ng in bring; it occurs in accented syllables in medial and final position.

fíŋer finger, síŋl single, uŋer hunger, suŋk pp. sunk, bøŋ to bang, beat, strøŋ strong, prøŋ busy.

§ 48. p (lip-stop-breath, like standard English p); it occurs in all positions.

peper pepper, put to put, pwol pole, spiád spade, spiúnn spoon, elp to help, jap ape, stop to stop.

§ 49. r (gum-open-voice). Lorton r never disappears altogether, but we can distinguish two different degrees of the r-strength according to the nature of the neighbouring sounds: r₁ and r₂; r₁ is strongly trilled like the Swedish and German r (see § 278 below, and Ellis, E. E. Pr., p. 84*). r₂ is the r described by Ellis, E. E. Pr., v, p. 85* (R) (cf. below, § 280).

On r before a following dental cf. § 281 below. It occurs initially, medially, and finally.

r₁: rau raw, rist to rest, ruf rough, briád broad, frozn frozen, grau to grow, børe to borrow, swori sorry, bärn child, børn to burn.

r₂: støren pres. p. staring, wæri wary, bärk to bark, därk dark, spärk spark, boðar to bother, bruðer brother, fau(w)ør four.

§ 50. s (blade-open-breath, like standard English s in seek, blossom), occurs in all positions.

sai scythe, sau to sew, siúnn soon, smidi smithy, basket basket, blosm blossom, lisn to listen, rúsl to wrestle, ants ants, muus mouse, tsois choice.

§ 51. š (blade-open-point-breath), like standard English sh in ship, radish. It occurs in all positions.
§ 52. t (gum-stop-breath, like standard English t), occurs in all positions.

tenz tongs, top top, tiujf tough, tlajp to elap, tlökær a broody hen, biter bitter, butar butter, jistœp yesterday, ratn-trap rat-trap, drif ut drou th, et hot, lat lath.

§ 53. † (supersential gum-stop-breath, like the combination rt in Swedish hjärta); it arises from r+a following t after a vowel in medial and final position.

ǟ̄t heart, smǟt smart, tlǟti muddy, dirty, wå̄t wart, dǖt dirt, dǖti dirty (see above, d, § 38).

§ 54. J (teeth-open-breath, like the th in standard English thing), occurs initially and finally.

øjisl (or jøusl) thistle, jum thumb, jøuzn(d) thousand, baþ bath, brenþ breadth, lenþ length, wurþ worth.

§ 55. Ø (teeth-open-voice, like the th in standard English though), occurs initially and finally.

 Citizenship then, Ø at that, Øier there, Øyu (Øy) thou, bæØ to bathe, smyuØ smooth.

§ 56. v (lip-teeth-open-voice, like the v in standard English vixen), occurs initially, medially, and finally.

varv very, vois voice, aver oats, nevi nephew, ravv to tear, muuv to move.

§ 57. w (lip-back-open-voice, like standard English w), occurs initially and medially.

water water, wârk work, wid with, wotšëq orchard, wop hope, dwel to dwell, dwinl to dwindle, twilt quilt, fau(w)or four, stau(w)en pp. stolen.

§ 58. z (blade-open-voice, like the z in standard English freeze), occurs medially and finally.

buzm bosom, feznt pheasant, gezlin gosling, puzn poison, beliz bellows, blæz to blaze, raiz to rise, rwoz rose, tliáž clothes.

§ 59. ð (blade-point-open-voice, like the ð in standard English treasure), occurs medially and finally in the combinations dž and nž. 

džüdž to judge, ædž age, inž hinge, swinž to singe, indžin engine.
CHAPTER II

THE OLD ENGLISH, MIDDLE ENGLISH, AND OLD FRENCH EQUIVALENTS OF THE LORTON VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. Short Vowels

a

§ 60. Lorton a corresponds to:

1. OE. œ (a) and ð (before nasals) in originally closed syllables (§ 90): apl apple, as ashes, blak black, bras brass, dias glass, draft draught, lam lamb, slafter slaughter, swan swan, wasp wasp.

2. In a few cases OE. œ (a) in originally open syllables before a suffix containing l or r (§ 100): amør hammer, faðør father, ladl ladle, sadl saddle, water water, and in the words akær acorn, mak to make, šak to shake, šap shape, tak to take (§ 105).


4. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) (§ 207): baral barrel, fašin fashion, kabiš cabbage, karat carrot, natræl natural, vali value.

5. ME. au before a nasal combination (§ 240, b, 2): ant aunt, branš branch, dans dance, tšans chance, tšant to chant.

e

§ 61. Lorton e corresponds to:

1. OE. ə in originally closed syllables (§ 106): edž edge, fetš to fetch, nok neck, net net, retš wretch, set to set, þreš to thresh.

2. OE. æ (a) (although this e in some cases probably is of Scandinavian origin; see § 97): esp hasp, eftær after, eitær halter, eþ ash (-tree), gev pret. gave, kestr to cast, þenk to thank, weš to wash, kredl cradle, gem game, ezl hazel.

3. OE. e in originally open syllables before a following l, r, n, or y (ig)-suffix (§ 116): evn heaven, feðær feather, leðær leather weðær weather.
4. Anglican ē (WS. ā) from W. Germanic ā, in a few words (§ 166, note 1): bleđar bladder, breþ breath, let to let, red pret. read, seteþe Saturday, wet wet.

5. OE. ã, arisen through i-mutation of OE. a (§ 163): aîp health, emti empty, eni any, fleþ flesh, len to lend (OE. lænan), les less.


7. ME. e < O. Fr. e (§ 211): det debt, dželos jealous, medl to meddle, sens sense, treml to tremble.

8. ME. e < O. Fr. ai (§ 212): feznæ phæasant, pleþar pleasure, vesl vessel.

9. ME. ai, ei, of French origin (§ 238, note) in three words: fent faint, ækwent to acquaint, pent to paint.

§ 62. Lorton i corresponds to:
1. OE. i apart from influence of neighbouring sounds (§ 120): bid to invite, bit sb. bit, fîk flitch, lik to lick, pîþ pith, stîþ stitch, tînkîær tinker, wind to wind, find to find.
2. OE. e before a following ñ, nž (§ 110): inlænd England, krînþ to cringe, miþl to mingle, strîn string, swînþ to singe.
3. OE. e influenced by palatal consonants (§ 112): binþ bench, jîstæþ yesterday, jît yet, strîþ to stretch.
4. OE. y (§ 148): brig bridge, dizi dizzy, kîs to kiss, lisn to listen, midþ midge.
5. OE. ã, arisen through i-mutation of OE. a (§ 163) in three words: ivær ever, iv æri every, nivær never.
6. OE. i (shortened, § 173): dwînl to dwindle, fîlt fifth, fîtti fifty, ditþ dîtch, wîzm wisdom.
7. OE. î (shortened, § 192): filþ filth, fist fist, tîkîn chicken, pîml thimble, wiþ wish.
8. ME. i (of French origin, § 215): dinær dinner, livær to deliver, list to enlist, siðæþ scissors.

§ 63. Lorton o corresponds to:
1. OE. ò in originally closed syllables (§ 131): bodm bottom, boks box, folæ to follow, kok cock, kros cross, lopstær lobster, otær otter.
2. OE. o in originally open syllables in a few words (§ 139):
body, broken, frozen, lane, holly, spoken, lose.
3. OE. ð (shortened, § 185): blossom, fodder, foster to foster, came, soft.
4. ME. o (of French origin, § 216): coffin, cost, honour, profit, rock, porridge.

u

§ 64. Lorton u corresponds to:
1. OE. u before, after, or between labials and before nasals, gutturals, and l (§ 140):
bull, butter, thickset, woollen, full, skull, pluck, come, some, sung, tongue, found, ground, pound.
2. OE. i influenced by a preceding w (§ 121, note) in: swim, will, whistle, whisper.
3. OE. y (§ 149) in some words: fill, shrub, brimstone.
4. OE. û (shortened, § 187): but, dove, fuss, plum, thumb.
5. ME. u (< O. Fr. u, § 218): button, double, mustard, mutton.

û

§ 65. Lorton û corresponds to:
1. OE. u before and between dentals (§ 143): nut, ruddy, stutter to stutter, shudder, cluster.
2. OE. y (§ 149) in a few words: blush, much, shut, crutch, merry, worry, work, worm.
3. OE. ð (shortened, § 185): brother, good, Monday, month.
4. ME. u (< O. Fr. u, § 218): dozen, grudge, crust, to touch.

v

§ 66. Lorton v corresponds to:
1. OE. y followed by an r+cons. (§ 125): birch, bird, church.
2. OE. u followed by an r+cons. (§ 144): īst (2nd pers. pres. ind.) durst, to curse, to mourn, turf.
3. OE. y followed by an r + cons. (§ 150): būrþ birth, fyrst first, kūrþ kernel, mūrdēr murder, mūrþ mirth.
4. ME. u (<O. Fr. u) followed by an r + cons. (§ 220, a): núš nurse, pūþ purse, tūrmēst turnip.

2. Long Vowels

§ 67. Lorton ā corresponds to:
1. OE. æ (a, ea) before a following r + cons.: árvist harvest, jād yard, spārk spark, šārp sharp, wārm warm, wārn to warn, wāt (wart) wart (§ 95).
2. W. Germ. e (OE. eor, ior, er, ME. er, ar) in the combination e + r + cons. (§ 113): bārk to bark, dārk dark, kārv to carve, stārv to starve, wārk work.
3. ME., O. Fr. a in the combination ar + cons. (§ 210): bārber barber, gādin garden, kwāt quart, pāt part.
4. ME. e (of French origin) in the combination er + cons. (§ 214): kansārn concern, māsi mercy, sārvēnt servant, sāťs to search, vārmēnt vermin.

ā

§ 68. Lorton ē corresponds to:
1. OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables in a few words: bāðē to bathe, bīēv to behave, frēm frame (§ 103).
2. OE. æğ (ME. ai, § 98): brēn brain, dē day, dēzi daisy, fēn fain, mēn main, slēn pp. slain.
3. OE. æ (a) before an r in originally open syllables (§ 104): ār hare, bēr bare, fēr to fare, kēr care, spēr to spare.
4. OE. e before a following ȝ (= ME. ei, § 115): ēl to ail, blēn blain, ēwēn away, rēn rain, sēl sail.
5. OE. ā in the combination ār (§ 158): mēr more, sēr sore.
7. OE. ē, arisen through i-mutation of OE. ā, in the combination ēg (§ 164): ēdēr either (OE. ēgēr), kē key, nē to neigh, nēdēr neither, tēl clay.
8. OE. ǣ in the combination ǣh (§ 195): fēa flea, nēbēr neighbour.
10. ME. ē < O. Fr. ei, ai (§ 225, note) in three words: disēt deceit, kēnsēt conceit, rēsēt receipt.
11. ME. ai, ei < O. Fr. ai, ei (§ 238): ām aim, bēli bailiff, tēp faith, gēn to gain, mēn main.

12. ME. au < O. Fr. a before a nasal combination (§ 240): strēndz strange, tāndz to change, dāndzor danger.

13. ME. ai, ei, of French origin before an r (§ 241): ār heir, fēr fair, pēr pair, tēr chair.

§ 69. Lorton Ī corresponds to:

1. Anglian Ī (= WS. ē) from W. Germanic ā (§ 165): did deed, niḍl needle, sid seed, sīp to sleep, sīp sheep, tāiz cheese, prīd thread.

2. OE. e before ld (§ 109): fīld field, jīld to yield, wīld to wield.

3. OE. e in the combination eht, eoh, ME. iht, igh (§ 114): bīt bright, rīt right, strīt straight.

4. OE. i in the combination iht, ME. iht, ight (§ 126): dīt to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, nīt night, sīt sight.

5. Medial OE. igh (§ 127) in stil stile.

6. OE. y in the combination yht (§ 152): fīt flight, fītīt fright, rīt wright.

7. OE. ē arisen through ď-mutation of ď (§ 169): blīd to bleed, brīd to breed, fīd to feed, fīl to feel, fīt feet, gīs geese, grīn green, kīn keen.

8. Anglian ĥ (W. Sax. ĥ) from the Ğ-mutation of the diph-thongs ēa, ēo (§ 170): bēlīv to believe, īt height, niḍ need, slīv sleeve, sīt sheet.

9. Anglian ē (W. Sax. ēo, ēa) before the palatals c, g, h (§ 170, II): ī high, īt light, ītmin lightning, rīk to smoke, reek, sīk sick, sī to fly.

10. OE. ē, arising from lengthening in monosyllables: ī he, mī me, wī we.

11. OE. ēa in the combination eah (§ 195): ī high, ī lea, nī nigh, near.

12. ME. ē < O. Fr. ie (§ 228): grīf grief, nīs niece, pīs piece.

13. ME. ē < O. Fr. oe, ue (§ 228, 3): bīf beef, pīpl people.

14. Original OE. ēo (io) in some words (§ 201. 2): bī to be, bī bee, atwīn between, fīlī to fly, fīrī free, þrī three.
§70. Lorton ó corresponds to:
1. OE. ag, aw (ME. au): dōn dawn, lō law, mō maw, nō to gnaw (§ 99).
2. OE. al + cons.: bók bark, fō to fall, kōf calf, òf half, sóv salve, smō small, wō wall, kōld cold, öld old (§ 96).
3. OE. ā in the combination āw (§ 159): blō to blow, krō to crow, nō to know, sō to sow, prō to throw.
4. OE. ā in the combination āg (§ 160): ó to owe, òn adj. own.
5. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) in the combination all, al + cons. (§ 208): bō ball, òmēnaked almanac, òmēnd almond, skōd to scald.
6. ME. õ (< O. Fr. o, § 217) before a following r: fōtšen fortune, kōnrar corner, mōrtar mortar.
7. ME. au < O. Fr. au (§ 240): fōt fault, frōd fraud, pō paw.

§71. Lorton ŭ corresponds to:
1. OE. õ followed by an r + cons. (§ 125): būdq bird, þūd third, þūti thirty.
2. OE. u followed by an r + cons. (§ 144): fūr furrow, kūdz curds.
3. OE. y followed by an r + cons. (§ 150): būdjin burden, gūdļ girdle, mūdger murder, ūdļ hurdle.
4. ME. u < O. Fr. u, followed by an r + cons. (§ 220, a): dāũqi journey, fūniš to furnish, ŭt to hurt.

3. Diphthongs

ai

§72. Lorton ai corresponds to:
1. OE. i (§ 171): baid to bide, braiðl bridle, daik dike, laif life, naif knife, said side.
2. OE. ã (§ 190): braid bride, brain brine, daiv to dive, praid pride, skai sky.
3. OE. i before ld (§ 124): maild mild, tśaïld child, waild wild.
4. Medial OE. ig in: nāin nine, tail tile (§ 127).
5. OE. y followed by nd (§ 151): kaind (OE. gecynde) kind, maind sb. mind, maind to mind.
6. ME. ï of French origin (§ 229): dalait delight, ablaidz to oblige, fain fine, prais price, saiziz assizes, trai to try.
VOWEL EQUIVALENTS IN ACC. SYLLABLES

§ 73. Lorton au corresponds to:
2. OE. og (medial): bau (OE. boga) bow (§ 133).
3. OE. ē in the combination ol + cons. (§ 134): baustēr bolster, baut bolt, kaut colt.
4. OE. ā in the combination āw in some words (§ 159): aut aught, anything, auðēr either (pron. and conj.), nautaðr neither (pron. and conj.), naut naught, nothing, saul soul, ūau to thaw.
5. OE. ē in the combination ēg (§ 160): aun (OE. ēgnian) to own, to possess.
6. OE. ō in the combination oht (§ 182): braut brought, saut sought, baut pret. and pp. thought.
7. OE. ē in the combination òw (§ 184): dlau to glow, grau to grow, stau to stow.
8. ME. ō of French origin before ll or l + cons. (§ 232): maud mould, raul to roll.

§ 74. Lorton ei occurs only in a few stray words which all seem to have been introduced from neighbouring dialects or standard English:
eit eight (§ 94, note), feit to fight (§ 114), wei to weigh (§ 115, note), weit weight (§ 126, note).

§ 75. Lorton ei corresponds to:
1. OE. ē in originally open syllables (§ 118): (e)it to eat, meil meal, meīt meat, steīl to steal, treīd to tread.
2. OE. ēe arisen through i-mutation of OE. ā (§ 162): bleītīs to bleach, deīl to deal, (ē)īl to heal, leīd to lead, treīn clean.
3. OE. ēa (§ 194): beīm beam, beīn bean, dreīm dream, greīt great, leīf leaf.
4. ME. ō < O. Fr. ei, ai (§ 225): diseīv to deceive, (e)īzi easy, greīzi greasy, pleīz to please, seizn season.
5. ME. ō < O. Fr. e, ée (§ 227): feīmael female, preītīs to preach, seikrēt secret, veīl veal.
6. ME. ō < O. Fr. e before st (§ 226): beīst beast, feīst feast, kreīm cream.
§ 76. Lorton iá (ja in initial position) corresponds to:
1. OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables (§ 102): bliád blade, biák to bake, diádl dale, jakr acre, jal ale, kiák cake, skiálz scales.
2. OE. ā, when apart from influences of neighbouring sounds (§ 154): biáñ bone, biáp both, alián alone, grián to groan, liáf loaf, miášt most, riáp rope, siáþ soap, stián stone, tliáþ clothes, jak oak, jam home, jans once.
3. ME. ā of O. Fr. origin (§ 222): bliám to blame, fiáš face, jabl able, kiáþ case, liáþ to lace, stiábl stable, tiášt taste.

iá (ja)

§ 77. Lorton iœ corresponds to:
1. OE. e before an r in originally open syllables (§ 117): biœr to bear, piœr pear, swiœr to swear, tiœr to tear, wiœr to wear.
2. OE. ā when final (§ 156): siœ so, sliœ sloe, tīœ toe, wīœ who, nīœ adj. no.
3. Anglian ē (from W. Germanic ā) in the combination ēr (§ 167): biœr bier, brœiœr briar, tiœr to tear, cœiœr there.
4. Anglian ō (from the i-mutation of ēa, ēo) before an r (§ 170, 1): iœr to hear, iœd, pp. heard.
5. ME. ē < O. Fr. e before an r: fiœš fierce, tiœr clear.

iœ

§ 78. Lorton iũ corresponds to:
1. OE. ō (§ 177): briũm broom, dliũm gloom, fiũt foot, giũs goose, tiũþ tooth, spiuũ spoon.
2. ME. ō of French origin in the words: biũt boot, fiũl fool (§ 233).

iũ (ju)

§ 79. Lorton iũ corresponds to:
1. ME. ū of French origin (§ 237): diũtí duty, fiũt flute, miũsik music, stiũpid stupid.
2. ME. eu (iu) of French origin (§ 243): biũtí beauty, siũt suit.

iũ

§ 80. Lorton oi corresponds to:
ME. oi, ui of French origin (§ 242): boil to boil, džoin to join, koin coin, noiz noise, oil oil, vois voice.
VOWEL EQUIVALENTS IN ACC. SYLLABLES

ou

§ 81. Lorton ou corresponds to:
1. OE. ð before l in boul’d bold, foûld to fold (§ 96).
2. OE. ð in the combination ol + cons. (§ 134 note II): goûld gold, toul toll.

uu

§ 82. Lorton uu corresponds to:
1. OE. û (§ 186): brûñ brown, fuûl foul, lyûs louse, muûs mouse, tuûut clout.
2. OE. medial ug (§ 145) in fuûl fowl.
3. OE. û before nd (§ 142, note I) in grûûnd ground, ūûnd hound.
4. OE. u in the combination u +1 +cons. (§ 146) in šûûdær shoulder.
5. ME. û of French origin (§ 255): bûûnti bounty, dût doubt, eûûnt amount, guût gout, kûûnt to count, šûûnd sound.

wŏ

§ 83. Lorton wŏ corresponds to:
1. OE. ȱ in the combination or + cons. (§ 135): bwŏd board, afwŏd to afford, kworn corn, mwornin morning, šwôt short, pworn thorn.
2. OE. ȱ in originally open syllables (§ 138): bworn pp. born, gwot channel, millstream, kwol coal, nwoz nose, wol hole, wop to hope.
3. ME. ȱ of French origin (§ 231): klwos close, kwot coat, nwobl noble, pwotš to peech, rwost to roast.

4. TRIPHTHONGS

aiœ

§ 84. Lorton aiœ corresponds to:
1. OE. i in the combination ïr (§ 174): aiœn iron, spaïèr spire, waïer wire.
2. OE. ÿ in the combination ÿr (§ 191): aiœr to hire, faïer fire.
3. ME. i of French origin in a few words (§ 280): raiœt riot, vai(œ)løt violet, waïet quiet.

au(w)e

§ 85. Lorton au(w)e corresponds to:
1. OE. medial œg (§ 133): flauwen (pp., OE. flogan) flown.
2. OE. o in the combination o + 1 (with vocalization of the 1, § 139, note II) in stau(w)an pp. stolen.
3. OE. ðo + w (§ 205) in fau(w)ør four.

§ 86. Lorton ðu corresponds to:
OE. ða in the combination ðaw (§ 197): ðeuu dew, ðeuu few, teðu to toil, to work hard.

§ 87. Lorton iuø corresponds to:
1. ME. ù + e of French origin (§ 237) in griual gruel, kriual cruel, siuat suet.
2. ME. ù + r of French origin (§ 237): siuør sure.

§ 88. Lorton iuø corresponds to:
1. OE. i in the combination ðw (§ 175): tí(u)uzda Tuesday, spiðu to spew.
2. OE. ð in the combination ðh (ðg) (§ 183): biðu bough, driðu pret. drew, sliðu pret. slew.
3. OE. ðw (§ 129) in tliðu clue, ball.

§ 89. Lorton ðuðø corresponds to:
1. OE. ð before an r (§ 181): flðuðør floor, mðuðør moor.
2. OE. ù in the combination ðr (§ 188): sðuðør shower, ðuðør our.
3. ME. ù of French origin before an r (§ 236): flðuðør flower, pð(u)war power, tðuðør tower, ðuðør hour.
CHAPTER III

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. Short Vowels

$90$. OE. Æ (a) and ę (before nasals) = ME. a in originally closed syllables.

The normal development of OE. Æ (a), ę (before nasals) = ME. a in the Lorton dialect, as well as in all the other dialectal varieties of Cumberland, is a (cf. § 3). This a has maintained itself surprisingly pure, having undergone influence from neighbouring sounds only in a very few cases, not even a preceding w nor a following nasal or nasal combination having exercised any noticeable influence on this vowel.

The only changes, caused by neighbouring sounds, are:

1. Lengthening before r + cons. (§ 95).
2. The transition a > ə combined with lengthening caused by a following ll or l + cons. (§ 96).
3. The special development of OE. æg — ME. ai into æ, and OE. æg, aw — ME. au into ə (§§ 98, 99).

In the list of examples given in the following paragraphs will be found many words where OE. breaking of a into ea has taken place before a following r or h + cons., but in these cases (as well as in others, where a secondary change of the original OE. vowel has been caused by neighbouring sounds) I have started from the original OE. unbroken forms (with an a), the OE. breaking having exercised no influence on the dialectal development of these vowels. I have followed this principle in all the lists of examples illustrating the Lorton development of the OE. vowels.

Examples of OE. æ (a) in originally closed syllables are: aks axe, amar hammer, ansär answer, apl apple, are arrow, bag bag (perhaps Scand.; cf. Appendix), bak back, blak black, dlad glad, drag to pull, drag, fadm to fathom, fals fallow, flaks flax, gad to c 2
gossip, to run about gossiping (gadan ebyut), gad sb. gossip (prob. < OE. gæd society, fellowship, company), galæz gallows, galæsiz braces, jat gate, kaf (OE. ceaf) chaff, kap cap, kat cat, krak (cf. OE. cearcian) chat, lad (ME. ladde, prob. Celt. origin) boy, lat lath, stap step or rung of a ladder (< OE. stepec), mare marble, nap nap, mare narrow, nat gnat, rat rat (but ratn in the compound ratn-trap < O. Fr. rätton, ME. raton), sad sad (used of bread which has not risen: pasty), sal shall, sale sallow, sat pret. sat, slak slack, slow, spak pret. spoke, spare sparrow, stag stag, šade shadow, tlap (ME. clappen; cf. OE. cleppetung throbhing, pulsation) to clap, tlatér (frequentative of the imitative stem clat, occurring in OE. clattrung clattering) to clatter, tlat gossip, tlatipait a gossiping woman (paiat = magpie; see N. E. D. sub piet), trap trap, snare, pak to thatch.

§ 91. A preceding w has exercised no influence whatever on the following vowel:

wasp wasp, swan swan, swap to exchange, barter (fr. ME. swappen to beat or strike, transferred sense: to beat down the price; cf. the analogous expressions: to beat or strike a bargain), waks wax, wander to wander, wad district, beat (< OE. wadan to go), watš watch, wat what (acc. form).

Neither has a undergone any qualitative change in this position when lengthened by a following r + cons.:

wārm warm, wārn to warn, wāt wart.

§ 92. æ (a) followed by ss, s + cons., f + cons., and þ has remained unchanged:

ask (also aks, eks, as) to ask, askinz banns, bras brass, brast pret. burst, bas basket (see N.E.D. sub bass, bast), dlas glass, fasn to fasten, fast fast, flask flask, gras (also guš with r-metathesis) grass, kasl castle, last last.

a + f + cons.: daft silly, foolish (< ME. dafte gentle, innocent), kraft craft, staf staff, šaf shaft.

a + þ: baþ bath, paþ path.

§ 93. a (o) followed by nasals and nasal combinations has remained unchanged, except in the case of mb, where lengthening has taken place in early Middle English (see Wright, W. H. Gr., § 66).

a (o) followed by m or n: am ham, anl handle, bigan pret. began, dam a dam or mill-pond, kanl candle, kram to cram, man man (on the different forms of man, when used as a pronoun of address, see Accidence), pan pan, ran pret. ran.
a (ə)+nd: and hand, brand brand, fand pret. found, land land, sand sand, stand to stand.

a (ə)+ŋ, ŋk: an (not often used, mostly iŋ; cf. Appendix) to hang, anŋær anchor, anŋk ankle, alŋ along, amaŋ among, dræŋk pret. drank, gan (or gā, see § 150, note I) to go, lanŋ long, raŋk rank, saŋ song, saŋ pret. sank, straŋ strong, šaŋk shank, šuŋwaŋ (< OE. þwang, ME. þwong, with loss of initial /) shoe-lace, þraŋ busy.

Note I. In kwōm comb and wūm womb, we find the preceding vowel lengthened through the influence of a following mb, but these two words are probably dialect loans.

Note II. In lam lamb, we find no lengthening of the stem-vowel. Holthausen (Litt. Ztg., 1855) looks upon the modern short forms of this word as a new formation from the plur. lambru (cf. in Ormulum lammbre acc. plur., but sing. lamb).

§ 94. a + ht (xt) (cf. below, gutturals, chapter vi, and Horn, Untersuchungen, chapter viii); a has undergone no change:
draft draught, slaftər slaughter, laftər laughter; cf. also laf vb. to laugh.

Note. a has become ei in eit eight, eit’ eighth (cf. ME. eighte Chaucer, ehte Orm.); this word seems to be a dialect loan.

§ 95. ar (OE. ear, § 90) followed by a consonant (cf. r-sound, §§ 278 ff.). The vowel has regularly been lengthened into ā. The quantity of this ā varies slightly: it is full length when the r is followed by a voiced consonant, as in wārm, ād; between half and full length when the r is followed by a voiceless consonant as in pārk, šārp.

Examples: ārk ark, chest, bin (for instance, meil-ārk meal-chest, from OE. eare), ārm arm, ārm harm, bārli barley (mostly called big, cf. App.), skārn dung, mārk mark, ārn to earn, ād (or ārd) hard, ārvist harvest, pārk park, šārp sharp, spārk spark, wārm warm, wārn to warn, ārp harp, swārm swarm, stārk stark, ādœn (or ārdœn) to harden, jād (or jārd) yard, wād (or wārd) ward.

§ 96. a1 followed by a consonant or final a1 (on 1, its vocalization and its influence on a preceding a, cf. below, §§ 272 ff.; Horn, Untersuchungen, pp. 11 ff.; Sweet, Hist. of Engl. Sounds, § 908; Kjederqvist, Pewsey Dialect, p. 107).
a1+cons. or final a1 has become ə everywhere, except before a voiced dental (§ 274).
Examples: a1+guttural: bōk balk, tōk chalk, tōk talk,
wök walk, stök to stalk; 1 in this position seems to have been vocalized in all English dialects (preserved in walk, North Devonshire).

\[ a + 1 + \text{labial: kôf calf, öf half, sóv salve, òpní halfpenny. } \]
\[ a₁, \text{ all when final in the Lorton dialect: } õ all, kô to call, fô to fall (also used in transitive sense: to fell). \]

wo wall, smô small, gö gall (note, however, that this ël was medial in OE.).

\[ a + 1 + \text{dental: } 1 \text{ has been vocalized and become } õ \text{ as usual before a } t: \text{ möt malt, sôt salt (cf. Horn, Untersuchungen, p. 20). } \]

In the combination \( a + 1 d \), 1 has been preserved in the Lorton dialect and a became õ or qu:

\[ a > õ \text{ in } kôld cold, õld old, bôld bald, fôld sb. fold. \]
\[ a > qu \text{ in } bould bold, fould vb. to fold. \]

**Note I.** OE. a was lengthened in the above-mentioned words before 1d during the OE. period, but I have registered them under this paragraph, the original stem-vowel being a short a.

**Note II.** There are, however, traces of an old vocalization of 1 before a following d. In od vb. to hold, 1 has been vocalized, and the infinitive od may be looked upon as a new formation from the pp. odn, where the stem-vowel was regularly shortened (cf. Wright, W. H. Gr., § 64). Other traces of this l-vocalization are, for instance, the expression toud man the old man, occasionally heard from old people; also in the placename of Ködbek, with the l still preserved in spelling, Caldbeck.

In other parts of Cumberland forms without an 1 before d are more common, and they are frequently met with in dialect records.

It is therefore probable that this vocalization of 1 before d has taken place freely all over Cumberland, and that the numerous l-forms of Lorton must be ascribed to literary influence. (Ellis, iii, p. 883, gives a pronouncing form boud for bold in his pronouncing vocabulary of the sixteenth century; cf. also Sweet, H. E. S., § 908.)

**Note III.** Original a (OE. ea) has become īə in bīəq beard, via ME. e, berde, berd (cf. gīær from gerwi, ME. gere, App.).

§ 97. In a small number of words we find e instead of a, owing to various reasons. In some words the e is no doubt of Scandinavian origin:

\[ \text{eftar after, OE. } \text{æftor, ME. } \text{eæfter, found in Barbour, Bruce, i. 127, eftir ; cf. ON. eþtr prep., Dan. and Swed. } \text{eæfter.} \]
\[ \text{sek sack (OE. } \text{sæc, cf. Icel. sekkr.} \]
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esp hasp (OE. haeps, metathesis from haesp); ME. (Prompt. Parv.) hespe, Icel., ON. hespa.

eiteær halter (OE. haltera); we find the corresponding e-forms in ME. hettir (Prompt. Parv. 235), heltire (Towrn. 313).

kest vb. to cast, pp. kesn (from ON. kasta); ME. e-forms in Ancr. R. 56 kesten, Hav. 1784 keste, Ayenb. 99 keste.

In the words eš ash(-tree), weš to wash, þeŋk vb. to thank, the e is due to the influence of the following š and ƞ-sounds. This raising of the a-vowel, owing to the palatal nature of the š and ƞ-sounds, is clearly evidenced in several dialects: in the Wind-hill dialect a has regularly been raised into e by a following ƞ, š (cf. W. H. Gr., § 59). In Westmoreland (cf. Hirst, The Dial. of Kendal) we find the same forms weš, eš, þeŋk. Similarly these e-forms occur in ME.; for instance, wœschen Shor. 4, wœsche Cath. 415, wœesse Ayenb. 371, esche Prompt. Parv. 143. I have not found any ME. e-form of thank.

gœv no doubt owes its e to the plural forms of the preterite. We also find e in ev, ez, ed have, has, had.

Note. Some of the above-mentioned e-forms may also be ascribed to i-mutation (cf. Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gram. i, p. 131; Wright, W. H. Gr., § 60).

§ 98. OE. æʒ—ME. ai—Lorton ø (§ 12).

Examples: bræn brain, dœ day, dæzi daisy, fæn fain, fær fair, øl hail (but short in the usual word elstanz hail(stones)), lœd pret. lay, tœl tail, mœn main, mœ may, nøl nail, pœl pail, slœn slain.

Note. snœil snail, points to an original e-form, and is regularly developed from OE. snœl (the standard English form snail from OE. snœgl, snœgl), ME. snœle (Stratmann, ME. Dict.). It may also be derived from ON. snigill (medial ig>i in the Lorton dialect; cf. § 69. 5).


Examples: dœn dawn, ðl awl, nœ to gnaw, lœ law, mœ maw, sœ saw.

Note. thœ claw, points to an unrecorded form *clœ.

§ 100. In the following words, where a is followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing I, r, we meet with a great variety of forms containing long or short stem-vowels, the long vowels arising from the nominative case with early lengthening, the short
ones from generalizing the regularly short stem-vowel of the oblique cases. In Lorton the short a-forms have been generalized:

ladl sb. ladle (but the verb liádl, cf. § 102), sadl saddle, amær hammer, faðær father, water water.

**Note I.** a has been lengthened into æ in ræðær.

**Note II.** We find e instead of a in geðær to gather, representing the numerous ME. e-forms of this word (cf. Stratmann, geðerien; Morsbach, ME. Gram., p. 131). kredl cradle, ME. e in credel Prompt. Parv. 101, credil Seven Sages, 789.

§ 101. OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables has given two different sounds in the Lorton dialect: in the majority of cases ïá (§ 20), in the others æ.

The occurrence of ïá and æ does not seem to be regulated in any way by the influence of neighbouring sounds, and some of the other dialectal varieties of Cumberland have generalized the ia-diphthong, so that they contain very few æ-forms. The ïá-diphthong, representing as well a in open syllables as originally long OE. ã (§ 153), is by far the more common in Cumberland, and the æ-forms may partly be due to the influence of neighbouring dialects or even standard English. Some of these æ-words, however, are surely native words, judging from their character, and they probably represent an earlier stage of the lengthened vowel.¹

The ïá-diphthongization seems to have started after the raising of the lengthened back-vowel into æ (this æ may have been raised further towards ø), and the first stage of the diphthongization process was then æə, a slight glide developing itself after the æ; this glide gains in strength, and we arrive at the next stage øə, which we find represented in the Yorkshire dialect (Wright, W. H. Gr., § 70) and several others, as, for instance, Somerset, N. Devon (cf. Wright, E. D. Gr. and Engl. D. Dict.). By the usual dissimilating process, a gradual raising and closing of the first element into ø—i—i and lowering of the second element ø—u>a, we arrive by the intermediate stages of øə—ia, as represented in the Westmoreland dialect (cf. Hirst, Kendal Dial.) and in several others (cf. E. D. Gr. and E. D. D.), to the ïá-diphthong, the stress having gradually transferred itself to the second element. It is difficult to say when this diphthongization process started, but the ææ-forms in words like meææn, neææm and others in Ellis’s word-lists from the seventeenth century (E. E. Pron. iv, pp. 1001 ff.)

¹ See also § 224 below.
seem to represent the above-mentioned earliest stage of the diphthongization. We find what seems to be an analogous process in the OHG. change of ë into ie, where the ia-diphthong formed one of the intermediate stages; cf. Behaghel, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (in Paul's Grundriss), § 52.

§ 102. OE. æ(a) in originally open syllables has become Lorton iä (when initial ia > ja; after the liquids l, r the first element of the diphthong is lowered into i or even e) in the following words:
biák to bake, bliád blade, diá1 dale, giávlæk (OE. gafèloc) crowbar, griáv to dig (< OE. grafan, but cf. the noun græv grave), jakr acre, jal ale, kiá1 cake, liám lame, liát late, liádí1 ladle (out, but the corresponding noun is ladl, § 100; cf. also griáv to dig, versus græv sb. grave), mián mane, niám name, siám1 same, siá1 sake, skíá1z scales, stiá1k stake, stiá1l pret. stole, stiá1pl staple, šiám (also šam with shortened stem-vowel) shame, tiá1l tale, tiá1m tame.

§ 103. OE. æ(a), ME. a in originally open syllables has become Lorton e in:
æt to hate, bæč vb. to bathe, bi(h)æv to behave, blæz to blaze, fræm frame, græv grave, græz to graze, kræn crane, mæt mate, wæl whale.

§ 104. OE. æ(a), ME. a in the combination æ + r, a + r has always given æ, never iä, in the Lorton dialect:
Examples: ær hare, bær bare, fær to fare, kær to care, spær to spare, stær to stare, šær share.

Note I. A following r seems to have prevented the diphthongization into iä in Lorton, but this is not the case in several other dialectal varieties of Cumberland, where the above-mentioned words have been regularly diphthongized into iä, thus: biär bare, kiär to care, &c.

Note II. Ionin lane, from OE. and ME. o-forms, lone lane, and ing-suffix (cf. dokin dock).

§ 105. We find a short a, although in originally open syllables, in the following words: mak to make, tak to take (Scand. loan in OE.), šak to shake, šap to shape, aken acorn. (We also find short a-forms of these words in the ME. dialects of the North.)

Note. We find a short e in gem game and ezl hazel; cf. ME. gene, Ayenb. 34; hesil, Prompt. Parv. 238. This e may be due to i-umlaut (cf. forms as hesil (above), gammin, Barb. xi. 319; cf. also Morsb., ME. Gram., p. 181).

1 Perhaps of Scand. origin, see Björkman, Scand. Loan-w. in M.E., pp. 218, 244.
§ 106. OE. e in originally closed syllables.

The original West Germanic ë and the secondary OE. e which arose by the i-mutation of a (o) have completely fallen together in the Lorton dialect as well as in all the rest of the modern English dialects (cf. Kluge, Gesch. der engl. Sprache, § 96, and Ellis’s word-lists, E. E. P. v).

The normal development of this W. Germ., OE. e (=ME. ě) is e in the Lorton dialect (§ 4), but the vowel has undergone influence from neighbouring sounds in the following cases:

I. Lengthening and transition into ï before ïd (§ 109).

II. e has become i when followed by ù (§§ 110.2), nž, and in a few other cases (§ 111).

III. e in the combination er + cons. (OE. er, eor, ME. er, ar + cons.) has become ā (§ 113), in a few cases u (§ 113, note).

IV. e has become i through compensation lengthening when arising from the combination e xt, OE. eht, eoh t (§ 114).

§ 107. Examples of e when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

bed bed, best best, dem (OE. fordeman to stop up) to dam (up), eb ebb, edž edge, em hem, fetš to fetch, fres fresh, kres cress, lebm eleven, neb neb (OE. neb face), nek neck, nest nest, net net, netl nettle, retš wretch, sedž sedge, set to set, snek (obscure origin, cf. ME. snekke, Stratmann) door-latch, spek speck, stem stem, step step, twenti twenty, preš to thresh, prešold threshold, web web, wed to wed, wedž wedge, weft weft, west west, slek (OE. gesleccan, ME. sleeken, but perhaps Scand., see App.; used in the expression to slee laim), wetstn whetstone.

Note. sek such, no doubt represents the OE. and ME. e-forms of this word: OE. swelc, ME. sēlk (An. Lit. 5); also a form without l in Tor. of Port. 2241, sech (see Stratmann, ME. Dict.).

§ 108. A following ïl or 1 + cons. (other than d) has exercised no influence on the e-vowel:

beler (<OE., ME. bellen + frequentative er-suffix) to bellow, beli belly, beliz bellows, belt belt, dwel to dwell, el hell, elm helm, elp to help, els else, fel to fell (for instance, to fel a tri; but otherwise to fō, for instance, in wrestling (ruslan)), felī felloe, jelp to yelp, melt to melt, sel self, sel to sell, smel to smell, swel to swell, seldom seldom (OE. ě), selshelf, twelv twelve, welt welt,
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the inner sole of a boot; but also used in the original sense of the word, 'the upper hem of a stocking,' wel sb. well, welp whelp.

Note. Well adv. In Lorton, as well as in several other English dialects, we meet with two different forms of this word, (a) one short, wel; (b) one with long stem-vowel, wil.

(a) wel is mostly used as an interjection, like standard English well, or expressing astonishment at a statement made by another person.

(b) wil, mostly used as an adverb: i dūd it varē wil he did it very well.

We also find two ME. forms, wel and wil (weel), of which the second one, as well as the numerous forms with long vowel in the modern English dialects, points back to the OE. form with long vowel (cf. Wright, E. D. Gr., well, and Bulbring, A. E. Elem.-Buch, § 284).

§ 109. e followed by id has been lengthened in late OE. and become Lorton i:

Examples: fild field, jild to yield (Angl. e but WS. ie), wild to wield.

§ 110. e followed by the nasals n, ñ and the combination nž.

1. e + n: bend to bend, blend to blend, den den, drenš to drench, en hen, end end, men men, pen to pen, send to send, spend to spend, twenti twenty, wenš wench, went pret. went.

2. A following original ñ (now ñ or nž) has exercised its palatalizing influence on the preceding e, which has been raised into i, just as a has become e by a similar influence (cf. W. H. Dial. Gr., §§ 59, 76, and also Morsb., ME. Gram., § 109).

Examples: iŋland England, iŋlıš English, iŋ ŋ hinge, krinž to cringe, lınër to linger (frequentative formation from ME. lengen to tarry or linger), minl to mingle (frequentative from OE. mengan, ME. mengen). In swinž to singe, a parasitic w has been introduced (OE. sengen, ME. sengen). striŋ string, pink to think.

§ 111. A following l also seems to have exercised a palatalizing influence on the preceding vowel. Morsbach (p. 144) quotes several instances of this raising through a following l-sound; thus in the Lorton dialect:

wile willow (OE. welig).

sil to shell (for instance, peas); we find ME. i-forms of this word in Prompt. Parv., p. 446 (schillin).

Note. In the words winʒ wing, inŋ to hang, flinŋ to fling, throw, the i has probably arisen from an original Scand. e through i-muta-

1 Cf. p. 72, footnote.
tion (cf. App.). *dīŋ*, mostly used in the combination *to dīŋ up* to snub, reproach, has been shown by Björkman (Scand. Loan-words in ME., p. 207) to derive its origin from an O. Teut. *dingwan*, O. Dan. *dinge*, ME. *ding*, and probably not from O. W. Scand. *dengja*.

§ 112. A similar palatalizing influence seems to have been exercised in several ME. dialects by nearly all the dentals, dental nasals, and palatals (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 109). We find traces of this palatalization also in the Lorton dialect: *e* > *i* through a following *n* in *binš bench*, and a following *t* in *strīt vb. to stretch*; before a following *s* in *rist vb. to rest* (ME. *rysten*; cf. Morsbach, p. 144 b), *jistēd* yesterday (ME. *gistirdai*, Wycl. John, iv. 52).

Palatalizing influence has also manifested itself in *jit yet*, *siks* six (cf. Bulbring, A.E. Elem.-Buch, §§ 211, 319, Anm.).

§ 113. W. Germanic *er—OE. *e* (ior, er) + *cons. = ME. er, ar + *cons. has become Lorton ār (on the qualitative varieties of the *r*, according to the character of the following consonant, cf. §§ 278 ff.).

Examples: *āt* heart, *ārp* hearth, *bārk* to bark, *bārm barm* (usually called *jist*), *bārn barn* (OE. *bern*, ME. *berne*), *dārk dark*, *dwarf dwarf*, *fār far*, *jāq* (or *jārd*) yard (measure), *kārv vb. to carve*, *smaţ smart*, *stār star*, *stārv to starve*, *wārk sb. work* (but cf. below, the verb *würk*).

Note. We find *u* instead of *ā*-forms in: *urnist earnest*, *burn to burn*, *würk to work* (but cf. above, § 113, *wārk sb. < OE. *wecor*, ME. *werk*), *würp* worth, all of which point to ME. forms containing *y*, *i*, or *u*; I have not found any such ME. (North) forms of *earnest*. In *burn*, *würk*, and *würp* the bilabial has probably caused the vowel to be rounded (cf. ME. Northern *wirken* and *wyrk* in Ormulum, 1156, 1141).

§ 114. OE. (Anglian) *cht* (WS. *coht* ) = ME. *iht*, *igt* has become through loss of *h* and compensation lengthening: *brit bright*, *lit light*, *rīt right*, *strīt straight*.

Note. The word *feit* to fight, should be looked upon as a dialect loan.

§ 115. OE. *eg* = ME. *ei* has had the same development in the Lorton dialect as ME. *ai* from OE. *æg* (cf. above, § 98) into *ē* : *ēl to ail*, *blān blain*, *swē away*, *lēd laid*, *lēn lain*, *plē to play* (mostly *lēk* ; cf. App.), *rēn rain*, *sēl sail*, *wē way*, *sē to say* (from OE. *segan*, ME. *seien*).

Note. We find the ME. diphthong still preserved in *wei* to weigh; this word should, however, be looked upon as a loan.
§ 116. In the following words, where the originally short stem-vowel is followed by a single consonant and l, n, r, or y (ig)-suffix, e has had the same development as in closed syllables, the Lorton dialect having generalized the regularly short stem-vowel arising from the oblique cases:

betær better, ebm even, evi heavy, evn heaven, feðær feather, leðær leather, peni penny, sebm seven, weðær whether, weðær weather.

§ 117. er, when not followed by another consonant, has become iær in the Lorton dialect: bær to bear, miær mare, piær pear, šier to shear, swiær to swear, spier spear, tiær to tear, wiær to wear.

Note. This final er has become år in two words, tår tar, and skår to scare. The år in tår from ME. a-form tarre (P. Plowman c. x. 262), skår from ME. forms like skerren vb., skerre adj. timid, or it may come from a Scandinavian source; Iceel., ON. skjarr shy, timid, would regularly give Lorton skår just as ON. kjarr has given kår (cf. Wall, on the Scandinavian element in the English dialects in Anglia, xx, § 66; cf. also App.). Note that the usual Cumberland word of this sense is flæ from ON. fleya to frighten (see App.).

§ 118. OE. short e in open syllables has become Lorton ei. This sound forms the intermediate stage between the long pure i-sound found in other parts of Cumberland and by Hirst in Kendal (§ 15), and the ei-diphthong as found in the south of Cumberland and in Yorkshire (Wright, W. H. Gr., § 87). The quantity of the e-element forms about one-third of the whole diphthong.

Examples: beíd bead, breîtsh breach, (e)jít to eat, feîvær fever, meîl meal, meît meat, neîd to knead, speîk to speak, steîl to steal, treîd to tread, weîn to wean (rarely used, mostly spián), weîv to weave.

Note I. We usually find short e in fret to fret; but there still exists in Cumberland a form frit, although rarely heard in Lorton. This i-form may be a late shortening of a previous form frit with regularly lengthened stem-vowel; or else a result of the common ME. transition of e into i before a following dental (cf. above, § 112, and Morsb., M.E. Gram., § 109).

We also find short e in brek to break, and the pp. etn eaten.

Note II. The a in rakn to reckon, occurs in several other dialects (cf. Wright, E. D. Gr.) of the North and is found in Scotch dialect records (cf. N.E.D., reckon). This a may be due to influence
from the preceding r, in which case rakn must be looked upon as a loan in the Lorton dialect.

rakn might also be an unrecorded OE. verb, with the stem-vowel a, the same as in OE. racu account.

§ 119. OE. i (=ME. i) has generally remained, but the vowel has undergone influence from neighbouring sounds in the following cases:

I. Lengthening before a following Id (§ 124).
II. Transition into ū before a following r + cons. (§ 125).
III. Transition into u in a few cases through influence from a preceding w (§ 121, note).
IV. The special development of ME. iht and of OE. medial -ig- into i (§§ 126, 127).

§ 120. Examples of OE. i (=ME. i), apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

bid to invite (to a funeral or wedding), bin bin, bit bit, bitter, bitn pp. bitten, briŋ to bring, bitš bitch, bil bill, diŋær to tremble, quiver (imitative origin, cf. N.E.D. sub. didder), dim dim, diš dish, dišn to glisten, dliter to glitter, drift drift, drivn pp. driven, drinḵ to drink, ŝis this, ŝidl fiddle, fin fin, fiš fish, flık flitch, flıkær to flicker, grim grim, grip grip, if if (OE. gif, rare Angl. gef), im (acc. form) him, indær to hinder, in in, it it, iz his, kirjkof (>ME. kinken to cough, pant) whooping-cough, kr isp crisp, lid lid, lip lip, miks to mix, mint mint, miscle mistletoe, mist mist, pig pig, pij pith, siŋk to sink, sit to sit, sling to sink, stinḵ to stink, spit to spit, stisť stitch, smidi smithy, ŝift chemise (although probably of OE. origin the sense of this word seems to have been influenced by the corresponding Scandinavian word: cf. OE. sciftan to divide, and Icel., ON. skipta, Swed. skifta to divide, but also to change, to shift; see Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., p. 126); ŝilin shilling, tik (insect) tick, tinḵler tinker (1 introduced through association with the frequentative verb tinkle; Skeat has found this word in Tudor English—Levin's, tinkler), tinḵ to cling.

Note I. For literary English much the Lorton dialect uses the two forms mutš and mitš, the last-mentioned form especially used by old people. mikl is also occasionally heard and mostly in the sense of big; but it seems to be a Scotch loan and is looked upon as such by the Cumbrian natives of our district.

1 OE. glišian, glišian, gliťian, gliťnian.
NOTE II. The Lorton form of the standard English pronoun I (OE. ic, ME. ic, iche) is ã. We find similar forms of this pronoun in most of the North English dialects, such as ë, ã, õ (cf. N.E.D. sub I); these forms have arisen from the diphthongal form ai by dropping the second element of the diphthong, the first being retained and lengthened into ã; cf. a similar case in †l little (§ 190, note II).

We find typical instances of this monophthongization in the Adlington dialect, where ME. ë after the diphthongization has been monophthongized into ã through the intermediate stage of æ (see A. Hargreaves, A Gram. of the Adlington Dialect, § 39).

§ 121. A preceding w has generally exercised no influence on the following i, except in the four words quoted below (cf. note).

Examples: wisp wisp (ME. wispe, wips), witš witch, wide widow, win to win, wid (also wi, mostly before words beginning with a consonant) with, winter winter, wiŋk to wink, wit sb. wit, witnes witness, twig twig, twin twin, twist to twist, wizn to wizen, to become dry, wider to wither, swil to rinse, to throw water on, swil basket (for instance, thiás-swil clothes-basket) (perhaps connected with OE. swiλian, ME. swilen to wash, rinse).

Note. i has been changed into u by a preceding w in the following words:

wusl to whistle, wusper to whisper, swum to swim, wul vb. will.

This influence from the preceding bilabial consonant has manifested itself in several English dialects. As for wul, we find frequent instances of this form in Middle English, and the change of i into u in this word has especially been facilitated by the fact that it is mostly used in unstressed positions (see further Wright, E. D. Gr., § 69 and index).

§ 122. It should be especially noticed that the general lengthening power of the nasal combinations nd and mb has not manifested itself in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: i + nd: bi(h)int behind (o(h)int also often used in the same sense), bind to bind, blind blind, find to find, wind to wind, wind sb. wind (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 58, Anm. 4).

Note I. This short i before nd is found in several dialects of the North; Ellis, i, p. 277 (E. E. Pron.) quotes the words bind, blind, behind, hinder, hindmost, find, grind, wind as being pronounced with short i in South Shields, Kendal (Westmorel.), Cumberland, and parts of Lancashire; we find the same short i also in Yorkshire (cf. Wright, W. II. D. Gr., p. 37).

Note II. We find a u in grund to grind, and grunstn grindstone; the stem-vowel may have been introduced through
analogue influence from the preterite and past participle (influence from the r may also have been at work; cf. Hirst, Kendal Dialect, p. 7, § 8).

§ 123. i before a following mb is short in tilm to climb.

§ 124. i before a following ld has undergone lengthening and diphthongization: waild wild, maild mild, tśaild child (this word is very seldom used in sing., the usual word being bārn (cf. App.), but often heard in the plural form tśildær with short stem-vowel owing to the following r (from late OE. cildru, cildra, ME. childre, childer)).

§ 125. i followed by r + cons. has become ù or ū (lengthened before a following r + d).

Examples: buð (or byrd) bird, byrk birch, þūd (or ðúrd) third, kurk church, wyrillow whirl (possibly Scand.; cf. Icel., Swed. hvirfla to whirl round), tśūrp to chirp (ME. chirpen).

Note. The pronunciation þūti (þūrti), no doubt the original one, is now heard in our district only from old people; it has been replaced by the more modern pronunciation: þēti.

§ 126. The OE. combination iht (= ME. iht, ight) has become Lorton ï through loss of h and compensation lengthening:

dīt to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, make clean (< OE. dihtan to set in order, to arrange), sit (OE. gesihþ) sight.

Note. In weít weight (OE. (ge)wiht) the ei-diphthong has been introduced from the verb weî (§ 115, note).

§ 127. Medial OE. ig has become ï in stīl (OE. stigel, ME. stile) stīle: aï in nain nine, tāil tile (these two words are perhaps loans from standard English).

Note. lig to lie, and trans. to lāy (down), is the usual dialect form of the North, and represents the OE. inf., 1st pers. sing. and the plur. of pres. ind. and imperative (or it may represent Scand. forms, cf. ON. liggi, Swed. ligga), whereas the standard English form lie derives its origin from the 2nd and 3rd pers. pres. ind. sing. and sing. imperative (cf. N.E.D. lie; Bûlbring, Allengl. Elem.-Buch, § 499).

§ 128. The stem-vowel of the words līv to live, bītl̄ beetle, and wīk week (OE. lifian, libban; bītla, bitula; vieu, vīce, respectively) points back to ME. forms with ê; cf. Morsb., ME. Gram., § 65 a; Wright, E. D. Gr., §§ 79, 80).

§ 129. Original iw has become iwu (§ 88) through vocalization of the w. The diphthong arisen through this vocalization was or became a rising one; its second element was probably lengthened.
into ū and then underwent the usual diphthongization of ū (§ 186), or the ū may merely be a glide, arisen on account of the slowness of the Cumbrian enunciation (cf. the similar development of OE. ēow, § 204).

Example: tliūu (from OE. clīve) clue, ball.

§ 130. OE. o (ME. o) in originally closed syllables has generally become Lorton o (§ 131), but neighbouring sounds have influenced the vowel in the following cases:

I. A following 1+cons. has caused diphthongization of the preceding vowel into au (§ 134) or ūu (§ 134, note II).

II. A following r+cons. has caused the vowel to be lengthened, and the ō then has had the same development as ō in open syllables (§ 138) into wō.

III. The special development of the groups oxt and OE. medial ōg (=ME. ou) into au (§ 132).

§ 131. Examples of o in originally closed syllables when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

- bodm bottom, boks box, bors to borrow, blob to fish for eels with the hand (imitative origin), dof (contraction of do vb. + off) to take off, don (do + on) to put on, dog dog, dōkin (<dock sb., prob. of Dutch origin + the formative ing-suffix; cf. Ionin lane), drop drop, džogl (frequentative of the ME. verb joggen to shake) to juggle, shake, flocks flock, foks fox, folo to follow, frog frog, god God, kok cock, koper copper, kot cot, lopstēr (<OE. loppstēre) lobster, lot lot, mos moss, mop moth, nok to knock, ofn often, op to hop, otēr otter, post post (note that there has been no lengthening of the ō before st), snot (<OE. gesnot) mucus from the nose, also a contemptible term, used of a man: an insignificant fellow, sore sorrow, stop to stop, tlokar a broody hen (imitative origin), tlok (of obscure origin) black-beetle.

Note I. We find long stem-vowel in brōp broth, which should be looked upon as a loan.

Note II. strap strap, is probably not the original word but introduced from standard English. The usual dialect form is strop (from ME. strepe, OE. strepp).

Note III. We find ū instead of o in fūtōr to flutter (from OE. flōtōrian, ME. floteren). This ū must have been introduced through analogical influence about 1600; I have not found any u-forms of the verb earlier than 1591 (cf. N. E. D., flutter, 2), but after 1600 there are u-forms in nearly all records. This might be ex-
plained by assuming influence from the verb to flit (from ON. flutja). These two verbs were originally akin to each other, representing the weak-grade stems *flot- and *flut- respectively of an O. Teut. stem *flett- (in OE. flēotan to fleet), and have developed secondary senses of a very similar nature; it is certain that a partial confusion between these two verbs has taken place as shown by the verbs flit (senses 7 and 8, N.E.D.), flutter (senses 2 and 3, N.E.D.); cf. also flitter, frequentative of flit vb., with exactly the same sense as flutter (2). This confusion of senses has then been accompanied by a confusion of forms, and the u in flutter was introduced from the ME. u-forms of flit, occurring already inOrm. (cf. N.E.D. flit vb.). That this ON. y when arisen through i-mutation of u (< *flut-jan, cf. above) sometimes gives u in English dialects of the North is proved by the forms muk from ON. myki (Wall in Anglia, ix, p. 76, § 48. 5) dirt, dung, prüst thrust < ON. prysta.1

§ 132. The OE. combination oht has given aut (through a similar process to ol + cons. > ou; cf. § 134). The first element of this diphthong is a slightly retracted a, bordering on o.

Examples: baut pret. and pp. bought, dauært daughter, faut pp. fought, raut pret. and pp. wrought.

§ 133. OE. og (medial) has given ME. ou through vocalization of the guttural spirant; the first element of the diphthong then was widened into a.

Examples: baú (OE. boga) bow, flau(w)æn (OE. pp. flogen) flown.

§ 134. The combination ol, when followed by a consonant, has given aut in the Lorton dialect through vocalization of the 1, retention of the parasitic u-glide, and widening of the first element of the diphthong into a (cf. Sweet, H. E. S., p. 266, and above, § 96, al + cons.; cf. also § 274 on the vocalization of 1).

Examples: baustær bolster, kaut colt, laut bolt; cf. maudi-wärp mole (perhaps Scand., from ON. moldvarpa; but see N.E.D.); cf. also pauni pony (from O. Fr. poulenet a small colt).

Note I. 1 has also been dropped in sud should, wad would. This a in wad should be explained from the a-forms occurring in ME. such as walde, La3. 358, 18911; Horn, i. 5; Pricke’ Conseq. 4395 and other instances (cf. Stratmann).

Note II. We find ou in two words, Gould gold, and toull toll; the first element of this diphthong is a very open o, difficult to distinguish from a. These two words should be looked upon as loans from standard English; the original dialect form probably was gaud (cf. above), and I have heard the form goud (in compounds like goudwats), which form has arisen through a compromise between gould and gaud.

1 See further Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., pp. 210, 224, 250.
§ 135. o in the combination or; when followed by a consonant, has undergone lengthening, except in a few cases mentioned below, and this lengthened ō, as well as o in originally open syllables, has developed into a peculiar diphthongal sound wō (cf. § 138). This peculiar development of the lengthened ō-sound seems to be analogous with the O. High Germ. change of ə into uo, a process which extended from the middle of the eighth century up to about 900; this diphthong is still preserved in several German dialects, especially the Bavarian. In the last-mentioned dialect the second element of the diphthong bears the stress, that is to say, we here find a sound of a very similar nature to our Lorton wō-diphthong, which has probably arisen through a similar process. It is not easy to ascertain the intermediate stages of this process in our dialect, nor have we any accurate knowledge in this respect regarding the Old High German ə—wo-change, but the diphthong has most likely arisen through rounding and raising of the tongue at the first part of the vowel, the first stages of the diphthongization then being ōo, uo and then, when the stress was transferred to the second element of the diphthong, the first one assumed a consonant character (u > w). This bilabial element is something like Luick's 'Vorschlags-w', of which we find several instances in ME. and early NE. words like won, word, wother, whole, whore, whome. The whole process was probably facilitated, or even partly caused, by the peculiar slowness of enunciation which was one of the chief characteristics of the Cumbrian dialect. This particular kind of diphthongization has been treated by Luick (Untersuchungen zur engl. Lautgeschichte, §§ 85, 86) and Horn (Untersuchungen zur neuenglischen Lautgeschichte, p. 44); cf. also Geschichte der deutschen Sprache by O. Behaghel in Paul's Grundriss (§ 52).

§ 136. or + cons. > wō; the first element of this diphthong varies between a tense u and a somewhat relaxed w. The quantity of the second element varies slightly, but is generally medium, sometimes full length.

Examples: bwoq board, afwot to afford, fwork vb. to fork (for instance, hay), kworn corn, mwornin morning, pwork to peel (now rarely heard except from old people) thorn, sworn pp. shorn, swōt short, wōtšeq orchard.

Note I. In one case the wo-sound evidently serves to mark the distinction between the noun and the denominative verb:
förk sb. fork, but förk vb. (cf. above) to fork; the noun may, however, be a loan from neighbouring dialects.

Note II. We find ð instead of wo in the words orn horn, ð̂ horse, störm storm, föd ford, nörp north. Most of these words, however, are found with a regularly developed wo-sound in neighbouring varieties of the Cumbrian dialect, and they should therefore be looked upon as loans from neighbouring dialects or standard English.

§ 137. We find u instead of o-forms in a few cases:

wüd word, würld world, smûdar vb. to smother (from OE. vb. smorian to choke, stifle, ME. smother sb. that which stifies, thick smoke, formed with the ther-suffix of the agent, hence the ME. verb smorthren, which has given, through loss of r, NE. smother; cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

Morsbach (ME. Gram., § 120, Anm. I. 3) ascribes this transition of o into u to the influence of the preceding bilabial consonant, which has given rise to similar u-forms already in ME.

The form ûd vb. to hoard (up), also points back to an earlier u-form; these u-forms of hoard seem to occur only in the Northern and Scotch dialects (cf. N.E.D. hoard, vb.); the word may be an instance of the spontaneous transition ð > û in ME. (Luick, Untersuchungen, § 142), but the u may also be ascribed to association with words of a kindred meaning such as Anglo-French hurdice, ME. hurdice palisade, fence, or hurdle, from OE. hrýdel of a somewhat similar sense; cf. also ON. hurð door.

It is also quite probable that association with the verb herd (Lorton ûd) has been at work; some of the senses of this word seem to support this theory (cf. N.E.D. herd, vb. 1, sense 4, to amass; herd, vb. 2, to take care of or tend, to keep safe, to shelter, harbour).

§ 138. o in originally open syllables has been lengthened and generally become wó (cf. § 135).

Examples: bwrn pp. born, fwol foal, gwot channel, mill-stream (< ME. gote, now used only in place-names; for instance, gwot mil Gote mill, near Cockermouth), kwol coal, nwoz nose, rwoz rose, swol (from OE. sole) sole, prwot throat, tšwozn pp. chosen, wól hole, wop to hope.

Note. In øfðær before, the stress has returned to the first element of the diphthong and the second one has been worn down into ø.

§ 139. We find the short stem-vowel ó in the following cases:
(a) Words containing en-suffixes generally kept their short stem-vowel:

\[
\text{opn to open (individually pronounced opm), brokun pp. broken, spoken, frozn pp. frozen. Also in wuvn pp. woven, the short stem-vowel remained, but o became u owing to the influence of the surrounding labials w—v.}
\]

(b) The following four words also kept their short stem-vowel:

bodi body (the ig-suffix has often served to preserve the short stem-vowel; cf. § 116), oli holly (cf. the compound olin-buš, where we find the ME. ending partly preserved (OE. halegn)), lonin lane (from the OE., ME. ð-form lone + ing-suffix, the same as in dokin; cf. § 131); los vb. to lose, has kept its originally short stem-vowel from ME. losien (cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.; Stratmann, p. 405); influence from the short stem-vowel of the corresponding noun OE. los, modern Engl. loss, may also be assumed.

Note I. We find ū instead of o in the following words: pupi poppy (OE. popi, ME. popi), wuvn pp. woven (see above, § 139 a); the u in these two words is evidently due to the influence of the surrounding labials (see Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 120, Anm. I. 3). Also two words with long stem-vowel: stüup (gate-) post (ME. stulpe < ON. stolpi) \(^1\), arisen through vocalization of l and compensation lengthening; süul shovel (OE. scufl); this ū has probably been introduced from the OE. vb. scufan to shove, push. The ūu-diphthong in jübom oven, points back to an ð (see Morsbach, § 119).

Note II. In au(w)er prep. over, the original dento-labial has become bilabial and then vocalized; the first element of the diphthong ou, arisen in this way, has been widened into a.

In stau(w)on pp. stolen, we find another instance of vocalization, although the vocalized consonant here is an l (cf. § 274 on vocalization of l).

\[\text{\textbf{u}}\]

§140. OE. u (= ME. u) has generally become Lorton u or ū, except in a few cases mentioned below (§§ 141, 142, notes I, II). It has been a difficult task to make a satisfactory distinction between these two sounds, the difference being very slight, and in some cases hardly appreciable. u is the high-back-wide-round of standard English (in bull, pull), ū represents the first stage of the transition of the first-mentioned u into the mid-back-narrow of standard English (in but, cup); this u-sound is pronounced with the tongue slightly lowered towards the mid-back position, and with a slight widening of the lip-opening (unrounding). It is a sound midway

\(^1\) Perhaps not a Scand. loan-word; cf. Appendix sub stüup.
between the ü in Swedish skutta, butter, and the u in English put. It is not easy to draw an exact line between the two sounds as far as their occurrence is concerned, but I have been able to make the following observations:

I. u always occurs:
   (a) Before, after, or between the bilabials w, b, m, p, and the dento-labials v, f.
   (b) Before the nasals η, m, and n (before n, however, there is a tendency towards ü).
   (c) Before the gutturals g and k.
   (d) As a rule also before a following l.

II. ü occurs mostly before a following dental (d, t, s), or between dentals.

§ 141. OE. u (ME. u) has been influenced by neighbouring sounds in the following cases:

I. It has become ü before a following r + cons. (§ 144).
II. It has become uu through lengthening before nd in two cases, and through vocalization of a following l in three cases (§§ 142, notes I, II, 146).

III. The special development of medial OE. ug (§ 145).

§ 142. Examples of u (cf. above, § 140):

I. Bilabial influence in bul¹ bull (ME. bule, Orm. 990), bulæk bullock (OE. bullæc), butær butter, buk buck, stubi thick-set, short and thick (OE. stybb, stubb, ME. stubbe stump of a tree; cf. Morsb., M.E. Gram., § 133, Anm. 2), dub pool (of uncertain origin), pus puss (a cat, probably of imitative origin; the word occurs in Swed. dialect pus, Irish and Gael. pus, Low Germ. puus, puuskatte (Skeat)), wud wood, wulin woollen, tub tub (from ME. tubbe), musl muscle, kup cup.

II. Dento-labial and l-influence: ful full, fulør fuller, luv love, skul skull (ME. sculle,骷le, probably Scandinavian ²).


IV. u + nasal; (a) bilabial nasal: dum dumb, kum to come, krum crumb, num numb, sum some, sumær summer, sumæt somewhat, something, tuml to fall, tumble.

(b) u + η: tuŋ tongue, uŋær hunger, and the past participles sluŋ slung, spruŋ sprung, stuŋ stung, suŋk sunk, suŋ sung, swuŋ swung, šruŋk shrunk, tlunŋ clung.

¹ Probably a Scand. loan; see Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., p. 205.
² See Björkman, p. 183.
(c) u + n (this u often shows a tendency to become ū): run to run, sun son, sun sun, undred hundred, sundé Sunday, under under, wundær wonder, grunt to grunt (OE. grunnettan), spun pp. spun, šun to shun, wun pp. won, uni honey, tun tun, barrel.

u before nd has generally remained short except in two cases (cf. note I).

Here belong several past participles of the strong nd-verbs; they all contain u (<ME. ū): bund bound, fund found, grund ground, wund wound, also pund pound.

Note I. nd has caused u to be lengthened into ū, which was afterwards diphthongized into ūu in the words sūund (OE. gesund) sound, and ūund (OE. hund) hound.

Note II. In the words sūu to pull (also short pu) and wuũ wool, a final 1 has been vocalized, and u has become ū—ũu through compensation lengthening.

Note III. Lorton put to put, seems to be regularly developed from the (late) OE. vb. putian, but the preterite pot probably derives its origin from the OE. variant potian. There are o-forms with long and short stem-vowel (pote, pot) occurring promiscuously both in ME. and the modern English dialects, the long forms coming from the regular lengthening of o in open syllables, the short ones from the preterite.

§ 143. We find ū through dental influence in: nūt nut, rūdi (OE. rudig) ruddy, stūtær to stutter (cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.), šūgær to shudder (from ME. schuderen), tūstær to cluster, tūsk tusk.

§ 144. u when followed by an r + cons. has become ũ: dušt (2nd pers. pres. ind.) durst, fūr furrow, kūḏz 1 curds, kūš to curse, mūrn to mourn, snūrtan (ME. snurtn, Prompt. Parv. 462) snorting, only occurring in the combination snūrtan en lafēn snorting and laughing, tūrf turf.

§ 145. u in OE. medial ug has become ũu through vocalization of the ʒ, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the ū in fūl (OE. fugol) fowl.

The form siū sow, points back to an original ʃ-form, iū being the regular development of original closed ō in our dialect. This is our only instance of the transition ū > ō in open syllables of which Luick quotes several instances in his Untersuchungen (§ 392).

§ 146. u has become ũu through vocalization of the 1 (cf. § 274) and the usual diphthongization of ū into ūu (§ 186) in šūdør shoulder (OE. sculdor).

¹ krūž is perhaps more used than kūḏz; origin obscure. See further N.E.D. sub curd,
§ 147. OE. *y*, arisen through *i*-mutation of *u*, is usually represented by *i* in the Lorton dialect, except in the following cases, where influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work:

I. *y* has become *ū* when followed by *r* + *cons.* (§ 150).

II. The special development of the OE. combination *yht* into Lorton *ɪ* (§ 152).

III. *y* has become *ā*, *u* owing to various causes (cf. below, §§ 149, 150, note I).

IV. *y* has been lengthened and diphthongized into ai before a following *nd* (§ 151).

There are no instances of OE. *y* having been lengthened in originally open syllables (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., §§ 64, 130).

§ 148. Examples of OE. *y* when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds:

*bizi* busy (usually *praŋ*; cf. § 98), *brig* bridge, *didl* to dodge, to take in, to confuse (the word seems to be related to or even identical with the OE. verb *dydrían* to delude, to cheat, the formative *l* and *r*-suffixes being interchangeable. Skeat (Etym. Dict.) quotes several words containing the stem-vowel *u* in other languages: E. Fries. *dudjen, bedudjen* to overreach; *dudden* to be stupid, to doze, dream; Norw. *dudda, to hush to sleep*, *dizi* dizzy, *kis* to kiss, *lisn* to listen, *midž* midge, *mitš* much, *nit* to knit, *pit* pit, *rig* ridge, *dip* vb. to dip (OE. *dyppan, dippan*, from a Teut. vb. *dupjan*), *kripl* cripple (ME. *crapel, cripel*, probably from a weak-grade form *crup* of the verb *creopan* + *ilo*-suffix), *kitšin* kitchen, *ip* hip, *kuuslip* (OE. *cuslyppe*) cowslip, *kil* kiln, *il* hill, *mil mill, sil sill,* *pile* pillow, *bild* to build, *gild* to gild (no trace of lengthening before *l*).

*sin* sin, *kiŋ* king, *kin* kin, *kïnl* to bring forth, also used as a noun in the expression *be in kïnl* = to be pregnant (said of animals, especially rabbits), *kindm* (from OE. *cynedôm*) kingdom, *din* din, *pin* thin, *ïnš* inch, *trim* trim, *stint* to stint, to keep something from you, not to give you enough, to put cattle out to graze in an allotment, called ‘stint’ (cf. OE. adj. *stunt* dull, O. Swed. *stunt* to cut short, OE. vb. *forstyntan* to make dull, ME. *stinten*).¹

Note. For standard English *much* we find both *mitš* and *mutš* in the Lorton dialect; *mitš* is occasionally used by old

¹ This word is, however, probably of Scand. origin; cf. Appendix sub *stint*.
people, having been superseded by mutš, which should be looked upon as a loan.

§ 149. We find ū or u instead of i in some words. This ū must be explained from old English forms which have not undergone i-mutation existing beside the y-forms, or in some cases from analogical influence (cf. Morsb., ME. Gram., p. 169, Anm. 4).

Such forms are: blūš to blush (ME. bluschen, bloschen, and blischen (rare)); Morsbach explains this u-form from an unrecorded OE. *blucian besides the usual blysce, bliscen.

ful to fill; we find corresponding ME. and OE. double forms: OE. fullian, late OE. gefullan (Rule of St. Benet, 81/4), besides OE. fyflan; ME. fullen (Havel. 354/5), and several other instances (cf. Stratmann, ME. Dict.), besides the usual fillen.

šūt to shut, should be explained in a similar way (Morsb., ME. Gram., § 129, Anm. 4 c).

šrub shrub (OE. scribbe); we find ME. u-forms—schrub, and with an o—schrōb (Skeat). The labial may have exercised some influence on the preceding vowel, or the word may have been influenced by the corresponding Scandinavian word, represented by Norw. skrubba the dwarf cornel (Asen, Skeat); Dan. dial. skrub brushwood.

krūtš crutch (from OE. croyec) has, according to Morsbach’s opinion, been influenced by Anglo-Norman crouche, cruche.

The u in brumstn brimstone is due to the influence of the preceding r (cf. § 122, note II) and the following bilabial.

§ 150. OE. y, when followed by r + cons., has become ū (in a few cases ū; cf. note I) in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: būðin burden, tūrn (old people occasionally say kūrn) churn, fūrst first, mūrp mirth, mūrdær (or mūðær) to murder (OE. myrōrian), ūdī hurdle, gūdl girdle, kūrnī kernel, tūds (or turdz, from OE. plural noun tūrdlu, ME. tyrdyl ‘sheeps droppings’, Prompt. Parv. 494; cf. Bosworth-Toller) the droppings of sheep.

Note I. In the words wūrm worm, wūrk vb. to work, wūri to worry, the preceding w has exercised its labializing influence on the following vowel; this influence had been at work already in late West Saxon (Bülbirng, Altengl. Elem.-Buch, § 280).

Note II. In the words beri to bury, and meri merry, the e is probably due to the influence of the following r (Morsb., ME. Gram., § 129, Anm. 2), but I look upon these e-forms as loans in our dialect, especially as old people still may be heard to use the old form mūri; thus always in the combination mūri nīt, a
special kind of Cumbrian festivity (cf. J. Andersson, *A Blackel murri-neet*).

§ 151. OE. ð when followed by nd has been lengthened and diphthongized into ai: kaind (OE. gecynde) kind, maind sb. mind, maind vb. to remember, recollect.

§ 152. The OE. combination yht has had the same development as the combination iht (cf. § 126) into Lorton í: flit flight, frit fright, rít wright.

2. Long Vowels

ä

§ 153. OE. a, when not influenced by neighbouring sounds, has had the same development as OE. ä in originally open syllables into iá, íe (on the development of this diphthong from OE. ä cf. § 101). This iá-diphthong becomes ja, when initial.

In a final position we find íe with stress on the first element. After a preceding l or r the first element (i) is somewhat lowered towards e.

Influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work in the following cases:

I. A following r in the OE. combination är has prevented the diphthongization into iá (§ 158).

II. The special development of the OE. combination áw (§ 159).

III. The special development of the OE. combination ág (§ 160).

§ 154. OE. ä when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds has become iá in the Lorton dialect:

bian bone, biáþ both, briáþ broad, ælián alone, grián to groan, liád sb. load (cf. OE. lâd way, journey, conveyance, but the meaning of the word has been influenced through association with the OE. vb. hladan, NE. to lade to load, to charge or fill; cf. N.E.D. sub load sb. and lade vb.), liáþ loaf, miáþ most, smiáþ almost, riáþ rope, siáþ soap, stiáþ stone, tiáþ toad (OE. tâd-ige), tliáþ cloth (no shortening of the á), griáþ to grop (OE. grâpien to seize, handle). kriáþ to croak, points back to an OE. unrecorded vb. crâcian. liáþ loath, tliáþ to clothe, tliáþ clothes.

§ 155. When initial the first element of the iá-diphthong assumes a consonant character:

jak oak, jam home, jål whole, jans once, jan one.
NOTE. The following words, where we find an ö instead of ja, should be looked upon as loans from literary English: önti only, is hardly ever used by a dialect speaker, nöbst being used instead; the same remark applies to öts oats, which is hardly known in our district, avar (cf. App.) being the usual word. ör oar, and öp oath, also probably are loans.

§ 156. When final the ia-diphthong has remained at an earlier stage of the diphthongization process represented by iə, with the stress on the first element of the diphthong:

sliə sloe (OE. slā), tie toe (OE. tā), sīə so (OE. swā, with loss of w. wiə who, is still occasionally heard from old people in our district, but is now usually replaced by wö; in other parts of Cumberland (especially in the North), however, wiə is the usual form. nīə adj. no (ME. nā, nō, a reduced form of OE. nān); cf. also niębodi nobody.

NOTE I. We find the ä preserved in gā vb. to go, owing to influence from the form garj, which is used alongside with gā, no special distinction being noticeable between the two forms as far as meaning and occurrence are concerned.

NOTE II. The original form of ‘two’ is twiə, as shown by some of the Cumbrian dialectal varieties, but in Lorton the form tua (from standard English or neighbouring dialects) has taken its place.

§ 157. We find wö (§ 135) instead of ia in some words; this wö points back to a ME. ə, and these words must be looked upon as ME. loans from some neighbouring dialect. Such words are bwot boat, fwōm foam, gwot goat, mwon vb. to moan, rwōd road, swori sorry, rwōr vb. to roar.

§ 158. The OE. combination ār has become Lorton ār : mār more, sār sore.

NOTE. bōr boar (OE. bār) is a loan from neighbouring dialects or standard English.

§ 159. The OE. combination āw has developed in two different ways in the Lorton dialect: it has given ö or au. It became ö when arising from OE. āw in medial position between vowels, but au in the combination āw + cons.

I. ö; through shortening of the ā and vocalization of the w we get the diphthong au; this au has then been monophthongized into ö (cf. Sweet, NE. Gr., p. 266; Horn, Untersuchungen zur NE. Lautgesch., pp. 21 ff.).

sō saw (OE. sāwon, pret. plur.), snō snow, sō to sow,
pro to throw, blö to blow, krö to crow, nó to know, mö to mow.

II. OE. āw has become au in the following words where the diphthong has been preserved through the following consonant:

aut aught, anything; naut naught, nothing. OE. æciht, nāwiht underwent contraction, thus giving forms such as OE. āxt, nāxt; the ā was then shortened, and the usual u-glide (cf. § 132) developed before the spirant x, whence the ME. forms auxt, nauxt. The spirant x (still retained in the Scotch dialects) has now disappeared in Cumberland (probably quite recently), but it undoubtedly exercised a preserving influence on the au-diphthong.

auðar either (of two), nauðer neither (of two)< OE. āhwæðer and nāhwæðer; these OE. forms were contracted into OE. æudær, nāudær; through vocalization of the w and shortening of the ā we then arrive at the ME. forms æudær, nauðær>Lorton auðær, nauðer with the ME. au-diphthong still preserved (on the transition of intervocalic ə into ā or ð see consonants, § 317).

saul soul, has arisen from the oblique cases of OE. sāwol (genitive sāwles) with vocalization of the w and retention of the au-diphthong.

§ 160. The OE. combination æg (in words where the z was intervocalic) shows the same development as OE. āw (§ 159); the ā was shortened and the z vocalized, the result being ō, through monophthongization of the au-diphthong (arisen through the above-mentioned vocalization) (see above, § 159, I).

Examples of ō: ō vb. to owe (OE. āgan), lō low (Scand.; cf. Icel. lægr).

OE. æg became au in the OE. combination æg + cons. : aun vb. to own, to possess (OE. āgnian) (see § 159, II).

§ 161. We find OE. ā represented by various short vowels in the following words:

i in nin pron. none; OE. nān would regularly develop into nián, a form still found in the NNW. Yorkshire dialect; the second element of the diphthong was then weakened into e, ə (cf. N. Cumberland form nien and S. Scotch nien), and finally dropped.

ā in asand aks, pret. ast, akst (shortened from OE. āscian) to ask.

We find two e-forms, of which, no doubt, the first one owes its e to Scandinavian forms: eli-de holiday (OE. hālig deg), Icel.
ON. helgr, contracted form of older heilagr, Dan. heilig, Swed. helig; cf. Swed. helgdag, helg, Icel. helgr holiday, feast, sabbath.

et hot (OE. hat) has perhaps arisen through shortening of the Scandinavian form, Icel. ON. heitr, Swed. het, but may also be explained from the forms with shortened stem-vowel of the past participle and preterite of the corresponding verb (Chaucer, Parl. Foules 145, hette, pret.; Trevisa, Higden (Rolls) ii. 17, i-het, pp., and several other instances (cf. N.E.D., heat vb.).

\[ \text{æ} \]

§ 162. OE. \[ æ \], arisen through \( i \)-mutation of \( a \), has developed into Lorton e\[ ð \], when not influenced by neighbouring sounds.

Examples: bleît\[ ŭ \] to bleach, tleîn clean, deîl to deal, (e)ît\[ ŭ \] each, (e)îl to heal, (e)ît heat, (e)îp health, (e)î\[ ŭ \]en heathen, leîd to lead, leîn to lean, leîn adj. lean, leîst least, leîv to leave, meîn to mean, meîn adj. mean, reît\[ ŭ \] to reach, sei sea, spreîd to spread, sweît to sweat (mostly used by old people, sweat now being the usual form), teît\[ ŭ \] to teach (hardly ever used, mostly lärn), teîz to tease, weît wheat, reîf wreath.

§ 163. We find several words whose stem-vowel has undergone shortening, the result of this shortening being \( a \), \( õ \), and, in three cases, \( i \), the different vowels dating from the different periods at which the shortening has taken place.

\( a \) in bad bad (<ME. badde; origin somewhat obscure, but cf. OE. abôded, and N.E.D. sub bad), fat fat, represents the earliest shortening from the end of the OE. period.

\( õ \) in tled pp. clad, emti empty, fleš flesh, el\[ ŭ \] health, left left, len (OE. lænan) vb. to lend, les less, eni any. Most of these \( õ \)-forms represent a later shortening after the raising of the OE. \( a \) into ME. \( õ \); but this \( õ \) may also have arisen through analogical influence (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 96); such is the case in the Lorton form bren\[ ŭ \] breadth, analogical form to leîn length.

\( i \) in three words: nivar never, ivar ever, iv(ô)ri every. It is difficult to explain the origin of this \( i \), but the three above-mentioned \( i \)-forms are very common in the modern English dialects, especially those of the North, and no doubt originated in ME.

§ 164. OE. æg has had the same development as the OE. combination æg (§ 98) (=ME. ai):

tlěi clay, nel neigh, kěi key, æděr (OE. ædër) either, nědăr neither.
Anglian ē (=W. Saxon æ)

§ 165. Anglian ē (W. Saxon æ) from W. Germanic ā, Germanic æ, has become ī in the Lorton dialect when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds.

Influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work in the following cases:

I. The OE. combination ēr has become īər (§ 167).

II. The special development of the OE. combination ēg (§ 168).

§ 166. Anglian ē (from W. Germ. ā) apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

dīd deed, grīdi greedy, ɪb(ə)nin evening, īl eel, ītā leech, nīdī needle, sīd seed, sīp sheep, sīlp to sleep, spītō speech, strīt street (W. Germ. loan from Latin strāta).

The following words, whose stem-vowel has undergone shortening in standard English, have retained their regularly long stem-vowel in the Lorton dialect:

drīd to dread, mīdē meadow, sīlpt pp. slept (this form may, however, be a secondary formation), ērid thread, wīpən weapon.

Note I. The stem-vowel of the following words has undergone shortening into ē:

bleədər bladder, breq breath, let vb. to let, red pret. read, wet wet, setədə Saturday; ēdər adder, is still heard from old people, but this form has now been superseded by aɡər from standard English.

The above-mentioned shortenings have mostly taken place by the end of the OE. period (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 59 ff.).

Note II. We find an ā in blast vb. to blast; the word is probably a loan from some neighbouring dialect, or the a may be due to Scandinavian influence (a shortening of ā; cf. Icel. ON. blāstr).

Note III. We find an ĩ, probably the result of a late shortening, in the words sili silly, sīpərd shepherd.

§ 167. The Anglian combination ēr (W. Saxon ær, from W. Germ. ār) has generally become īər in the Lorton dialect:

briər briar, ðiər there, ɹiər to fear, biər bier, ðerent errand; in īər year, the initial palatal consonant has been dropped (cf. § 271, note I).

§ 168. The OE. combination ēg (W. Saxon æg) has given æ:

græ gray.

wei whey, is probably a dialect loan.
OE. ë (arisen through i-mutation of ǭ)

§ 169. OE. ë, arisen through i-mutation of ǭ, has become i in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: bitš beech, blíd to bleed, bríd to breed, fid to feed, fil to feel, fit pl. feet, gís pl. geese, grín green, îl heel, kíp vb. to keep, mít to meet, kŵin queen, sik to seek, spîd speed, swît sweet, tip teeth, kípt pp. kept, dim to deem, grít to greet, salute, wîp to weep, filt pret. felt, îd to heed, kîn keen.

Note. We find several shortened forms where the stem-vowel was shortened at an early period before consonant combinations:

fed pret. of feed; met pp. and pret. of meet; bled pret. of bleed; bles (OE. blêtsian) vb. to bless; bred pret. of breed vb.; gezlin gosling.

Inbritš (OE. brîč) breech, we find an instance of late shortening.

§ 170. OE. (Anglian) è from various sources.

I. Anglian ë from the i-mutation of the diphthongs ēa, ēo (W. Saxon ie) has had the same development in the Lorton dialect as the ë arisen through i-mutation of ǭ (§ 169).


We find the same development of this Anglian ë before r, but with the usual ȝ-glide developed before the r:

îer to hear (Angl. hêran), iæq pp. heard (Angl. gehêred).

Note. The form iæq, however, may have been formed on analogy with the infinitive, for we find another form ȧq, regularly developed from the early shortened forms of the preterite (Orm. hërde, pret. and pp. hêrd).

II. Anglian ë (=WS. ēo, ēa) before the palatals c, g, h has also given i in our dialect:

lit light (Angl. lêht, WS. lêoht), litnin lightning, rîk to smoke, to reek (Angl. rôcan, WS. rôocon), ĵî high (Angl. hêh, later hêh, WS. hêah).

Note. nekst (occasionally nikst) represents an early shortening of Angl. nehst.

III. Germanic ë has become i (+ the ȝ-glide) in îer here.
IV. OE. ē, arising from lengthening in monosyllables, has also become ĭ. Instances are the stressed forms of the personal pronouns:

ī he, mī me, wī we, wīl (besides wel) (<OE. wēl).

Note. ğa (<OE. gere) has the OE. stressed form with long vowel has not been preserved in our dialect (but cf. Acc., adverbs).

ī

§ 171. OE. ĭ (=ME. ĭ) has been diphthongized into ai in the Lorton dialect; when followed by an r, this ai becomes triphthongal, the usual æ-glide arising before a following r.

ī has been shortened in a good many cases into ɪ (§173).

§ 172. Examples: aɪd sb. hide, aɪd1 idle, aɪs ice, aɪvī ivy, bайд to bide, to remain, bāit to bite, braid1 bridle, daɪk dike, hedge, draɪv to drive, faɪv five, fraɪde Friday, slaɪv alive (OE. on lifē), laɪf life, laɪk like (OE. gelic), laɪm lime, lain line, main (poss. pron.) mine, mAɪt (OE. mɪte) mite, mail mile, naɪf knife, pail (OE. pile) pile, paɪk pike, pain (OE. pین-تروئ(و) pīne, paɪp pipe, raid to ride, rait to write, raɪz to rise, raɪp ripe, said side, slai’d to slide, slai’m slime, smait to smile, straɪd to strike, šain to shine, šait (OE. scitan) cacare, slaɪp to take or slip off the covering of something (for instance, the skin of an eel), to cut off a thin piece (cf. OE. slɪpan with a similar sense, see Bosworth-Toller, OE. Dict., slɪpan, p. 885: ‘Se cyning-s lýpte his beah of’), taim time, tshaɪq to chide, twain to twine, wail while, waɪp to wipe, wain to whine, wait white.

§ 173. OE. ɪ has undergone shortening before double consonants and consonant combinations in some words; this shortening had generally taken place during the last part of the OE. period (cf. Morsb., ME. Gram., § 59, Anm. 4).

fifti (OE. fɪfɪg) fifty, fɪft (OE. fɪfta) fifth, dwɪnɪ (OE. dɔwinan+ the diminutive and frequentative suffix -le) to dwindle, krisn (OE. crɪstnɪan) to christen, krismɔs (OE. crɪstes mæssɛ) Christmas (there also exists a metaphoric form of this word often heard from old people, kɔʂmɔʂ), dɪtš (OE. dɪcɛ) ditch, wɪzdm wisdom, wɪmɪn women, fɪpms fivepence. In wumɔn woman, we find u instead of i on account of the surrounding bilabials. In sturɛp stirrup (OE. stɪræp) the ɪ has become ʊ through the influence of the following r.

Short are also linɪn (or lɪn) linen (originally an adjective formed
from OE. ēn by the usual en-suffix). In the word lain-sid linseed, occasionally heard from old people, we find the regular development of the OE. ē.

§ 174. The OE. combination ēr has become aiər (cf. § 84): airon, spaiər spire, waier wire.

§ 175. The OE. combination ēw has become i(u)u (cf. § 129) through vocalization of the w:

tiùzde Tuesday (OE. Tuesdæg), spiuu to spew (OE. spiuwan).

ö

§ 176. The regular development of OE. œ (=ME. ə) in the Lorton dialect is iū (cf. below, § 178); the quality of the second element of this diphthong varies slightly through the influence of the following consonant: it assumes a character very similar to that of ʊ (mentioned in § 140) when followed by an m, b, but before the other consonants it is unrounded into ʊ and when final into ə (§ 180). When initial the first element of the diphthong assumes a consonantic character (i > j).

§ 177. Influence of neighbouring sounds has prevented the diphthongization of ō into iū in the following cases:
I. When followed by an r the ō has become uu(w)ə (§ 181).
II. The special development of the combination ōht into au(t) (§ 182).
III. The special development of OE. əh (əg) (§ 183).
IV. The OE. combination ōw > au (§ 184).
V. OE. ō has been shortened before consonant combinations in some cases (§ 185).

§ 178. OE. ō (=ME. ə), when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds, has become Lorton iū.

The ō of the North was fronted into the same sound as that which arose from O. Fr. ü, as shown by rhymes like sone : fortone (=fortūne) (Sweet, H. E. S., § 693), and by the fact that these two sounds are written in the same way (Luick, Unters., § 119). This ü-sound still existed in the dialects of Scotland and the North as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, testified by Smith and Gill (Luick, Unters., § 119), and we find it represented in the dialects of modern Scotch by û, ə, and ë-sounds, but it has undergone a late diphthongization (probably not earlier than the eighteenth century) in the North English dialects. The various diphthongs arisen through this diphthongization (ūu, iœ, ie, iu)
have all developed in the same way through a process analogous to that of the iá-diphthongization and the development of O. Fr. üi in standard English, that is to say, a raising and unrounding of the first part of the above-mentioned üi-vowel (from O. Fr. üi and original ë). Through the usual dissimilation process and shifting of the stress on to the second element we get Lorton iū and the iū prevailing all over the rest of the North and North-western dialect district, except in North Cumberland where we find üu, probably representing one of the earlier stages of the diphthongization process, whereas the varieties iæ (M. and NE. Yorksh., S. Durh., SW. Northumb.; cf. Luick, § 111), and iced (SE. Northumberland in the coal-mining districts), probably are secondary developments of the iū-diphthong, arisen through weakening and unrounding of the u-element.

§ 179. Examples of iū: biūk book, biūt boot (OE. bōt), bliūd blood, briūm broom, diūn pp. done, dliūm gloom, dliūv glove, fiūt foot, fiūd flood, giūs goose, jūf hoof, jūk hook, kiūk sb. cook, kiūl cool. kriūn to croon (M. Dutch or Low Germ. origin; cf. M. Dutch, Low Germ. krönen to groan, to murmur) points to a ME. ó. liūk to look, miūd mood, miūn moon, niūk nook, niūn noon, priūv to prove, riūd (OE. rōd) rood, riūk rook (OE. hrōc), riūt root, riūf roof, siūn soon, siūt soot, skiūl school, stiūl stool, spiuūn spoon, tiūl tool, tiūp tooth.

**Note I.** In fūd food, the vowel has been shortened before the beginning of the diphthongization process (or fūd may simply be a loan from a neighbouring dialect or standard English); but we find the regular development into iū in the adj. flūdi, used in the expression: av e flūdi filin in mi stomak.

**Note II.** smuūč smooth, is probably a loan; the original Cumberland word for smooth is snod (perhaps Scand.; cf. App.).

§ 180. Final ë has become ió, iū, in diā, diū vb. to do, through weakening and unrounding of the u-element; we find another development of this u-element in the peculiar form div¹ (1st pers. sing. and 1st and 2nd pers. plur. of the pres. ind.), mostly used before a following vowel, for instance, divēnt-jē sī don't you see?

¹ This form (div) has perhaps developed under analogical influence from the verb to have, the v-forms of both verbs occurring in the 1st pers. sing. and 1st and 2nd pers. plur. of the pres. ind. (I owe this suggestion to Mr. S. Dickson-Brown).
The u-element has here assumed a consonantic character between two vowels. We also find an infinitive form ði to do, which may have arisen through monophthongization of the ið (ié)-diphthong or have been introduced from some neighbouring dialect; from this infinitive have arisen the forms (ð, i) diz (I, he) does, (ðuu) dist (thou) dost, of the pres. ind. sing.

§ 181. When followed by an r the OE. õ has become ūu(w)a; the following r has prevented the diphthongization into ið; the fronting process of õ into ū, referred to above, has stopped at the ū-stage; this ū has then been diphthongized in the same way as OE. ù (cf. § 186), and the usual ÷-glide has arisen before the r (on the w-glide cf. § 33).

Examples: ūu(w)ar floor, ūu(w)ar moor.

§ 182. The OE. combination õht has given Lorton aut; the first element of the diphthong is a slightly retracted a, bordering on õ. The õ was shortened already in OE. (cf. Wright, E. D. Gr., § 166), a parasitic ù-glide developed before the h (the h was subsequently dropped), and the first element of the ou-diphthong was widened into a (cf. the similar development of the OE. combinations ol and ox into au, and Sweet, H. E. S., §§ 897, 907).

Examples: braut pret. and pp. brought, saut pret. and pp. sought, ëaut pret. and pp. thought.

§ 183. õ in the OE. combination õh (œg) has been regularly diphthongized into iu, but there is a slight difference according as the spirant has been absorbed or retained. When absorbed the spirant seems to have caused compensation lengthening of the u-element into (i)û, and the ū has then probably been diphthongized into ūu (cf. § 186) (or the ū may be merely a glide-sound).

Examples: biuð bough, siuð slew (pret.), driuð drew. The two last-mentioned forms, however, may have been influenced by analogy from the old ew-preterites, knew, crew, &c. (cf. Sweet, H. E. S., § 897).

The spirant has been preserved as an f in two words (where õ is represented by iû): tiûf tough, aniûf enough.

§ 184. The OE. combination õw has given Lorton au through shortening of the õ, vocalization of the w, and widening of the first element of the ou-diphthong into a.

Examples: dlau to glow, grau to grow, stau to stow.

§ 185. In the words mentioned below the long stem-vowel has been shortened in the Lorton dialect. The OE. õ has had a two-
fold development into ð or ù (≈), according to the different periods at which the shortening has taken place.

(a) The words with ð no doubt represent an earlier period of shortening than those with ù.

Examples: bloßm blossom, fodær fodder, fostær to foster, kom pret. came (OE. c(w)ōm), soft soft, þrosl (≪ OE. þróstle) thrush.

(b) The words with ù represent a later shortening of the stem-vowel; the ð was over-rounded and became ù in the sixteenth century, as shown by Ellis's pronunciation vocabulary (iii, pp. 881 ff.), and subsequently shortened into u (or û).

Examples: brùðær brother, buzom bosom, gûd good, muðær mother, mındæ Monday, munþ month, stûd stood, ûd hood, ûðær other.

§ 186. OE. û appears as ūu in the Lorton dialect. This sound undoubtedly represents the first stage of the diphthongization of û.

Examples: brûun brown, brûu brow, þûuns to bounce, ūu thou (acc. form), əþuut about, fûul foul, kûu cow, lûus louse, mûus mouse, mûþþ mouth, nûu now, þruud proud, sûuk to suck (≪ OE. súcæn), sûþþ south, sërûd shroud, tûuð cloud, tûuðt clout, tûun town, þûužæn(d) thousand, ūu how, ūus house, ūuut out.

§ 187. A good number of words containing OE. û have had their stem-vowels shortened owing to various reasons; this shortening took place at an early period and in most cases we find the corresponding forms with short stem-vowels in ME.

Examples: but but, dûv dove, dûst dust, fûus fuss, ûzben(d) husband, plûm plum, rûst rust, ūuv to shove, þum thumb, tûsk tusk, up up, ūz us, kûd could (acc. form), sup to drink (from OE. sûpan).

§ 188. OE. û in the combination ûr has had the same development, but the usual ð-glide has arisen before the r.

Examples: Ĭþu(w)ær shower, ūu(w)ær our.

§ 189. û in the OE. combination ûg (ûh) has had the normal development in þuþ to bow, where the spirant has been dropped, but was shortened into u in the words druþt drought, and ruf rough, where the spirant remained.
§ 190. OE. ĕ, arisen through i-mutation or ū, has had the same development as OE. ĭ and ī in open syllables: it was diphthongized into ai. Before a following r this ai becomes a triphthong, the usual e-glide arising before the r. OE. ĕ was shortened into ĭ in some words (§ 192).

Examples: aid to hide, āiv hive, braid bride, braidl bridal, brain brine, daiv to dive, drai dry, laiv lice, mais mice, praid pride.

Note I. wei why, is probably a loan from some neighbouring district (probably from the Carlisle district, where OE. ĕ and ī appear as ei instead of Lorton ai).1

Note II. In læl little (OE. lētel) the t disappeared through assimilation with the following l. The ĕ was regularly diphthongized into ai, and this diphthong was then monophthongized into ā. In the Carlisle dialect we find the form leil with the diphthong still preserved, and in the proper name laitel (spelt Little) we find a form where t1-assimilation has not taken place. We find instances of this monophthongization of ai in the Cumberland form of the personal pronoun I: ā, and in the Adlington dialect, where original ĭ appears as ā, arisen through the same process (A. Hargreaves, A Grammar of the Adlington Dialect, § 39).

§ 191. Before a following r OE. ĕ appears as ai (§ 84):

faiar fire, aier hire.

§ 192. OE. ĕ underwent early shortening into ĭ in the following words:

tšikin chicken, ūlp filth, fist fist, ūmil thimble, wiš to wish.

3. Diphthongs

ēa

§ 193. OE. ēa has given Lorton ei, except in the cases mentioned below, where influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work:

I. The WS. combination ēah, Anglian ēh (§ 195).
II. The WS. combination ēag, Anglian ēg (§ 196).
III. The OE. combination ēaw (§ 197).

§ 194. OE. ēa was monophthongized into ME. ē and then became Lorton ei like OE. ē in originally open syllables.

1 The form wai why, is also often used. Cf. dialect specimens below.
Examples: beim beam, bein bean, beit to beat, breid bread, deid dead, deip death, deif deaf, dreim dream, (e)id head, (e)just east, (e)jester Easter, greit great, leif leaf, reid red, seim seam, steim steam, streim stream, teim team, tseip cheap, preitn to threaten.

§ 195. In the OE. combination ea the diphthong was smoothed before the following h (cf. Sweet, H. E. S., § 677, and Bülbring, A.E. Elem.-Buch., § 200); this combination has given rise to a great variety of forms in the modern English dialects (Wright, E. D. Gr., § 184). In Lorton Angl. eh, WS. eah, ME. eh, has partly given i, viz. ni (Angl. nēh) nigh, near, í (Angl. héh) high, ii (Angl. lēh) lea; partly e, viz. fle (Angl. fleh) fleas, and nēber (Angl. nēh-gebur) neighbour. (It is probable that the forms fle and nēber have originated in some neighbouring dialect.)

§ 196. The OE. combination ea, Angl. eg, appears as ai in dai to dye, ai eye; old people, however, still use the form i, pl. in, for eye, eyes.

dai and ai are evidently loans from standard English.

§ 197. The OE. combination eaw has given Lorton euu in teu (OE. tēawian) to toil, to work hard, deu dew, feu few; these forms originate from the ME. forms tēwen, dēwe, fēwe, through vocalization of the w, the u-element in the triphthong being the usual excrescent glide of which we find numerous instances in similar sound combinations, whereas the Lorton form rau (OE. hrēaw) raw, has arisen from the ME. form raw (<OE. hrēaw with shortened stem-vowel).

NOTE. ŝō (OE. ge-scēawian) to show, has evidently been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 198. ea in the OE. combination ear has regularly given ǣ in fēr ear (the old Cumberland word, however, is lug, prob. of Scandinavian origin; see Appendix); it has given ār in nār near, regularly developed from the ME. form nerre adj.

§ 199. OE. āa has been shortened into a in saf (OE. sceaf) sheaf, tsgap (OE. cēapman) chap, laðar (OE. leðor) lather—all pointing back to ME. short a-forms; into e in efēr (OE. hēahfore, Angl. hēhfore heifer, from a ME. short e-form like hēfere (heffre, Pr. P. 234, Voc. 250, Trev. iv. 451).

NOTE. The diphthong in əgián again, points back to OE. and ME. forms with ā (ME. agān <OE. agān; see N.E.D. sub again).
§ 200. Primitive Germanic eu has had a twofold development in West Germanic: in the majority of cases it appears as W. Germ. eu, but when followed by an i, ĭ, or j in the next syllable it became W. Germ. iu. These two W. Germ. diphthongs in the first instance gave rise to the original OE. diphthongs ēo (<W. Germ. eu) and īo (<W. Germ. iu); ēo and īo were kept apart during the whole of the OE. period only in the Northumbrian (see Bülbring, A.E. Elem.-Buch, § 111), in the other dialects they were completely mixed up in use, so that ēo and īo were used promiscuously both for W. Germanic eu and iu. The OE. diphthong ēo remained in WS. and Mercian, but in Northumbrian it mostly became ēa (see Bülbring, A.E. Elem.-Buch, § 114; J. Wright, OE. Gram., § 187; Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 150, Anm. I). This ēa-diphthong then evidently had the same development as original OE. ēa (<Germanic au) in the Lorton dialect into ei (in the majority of cases; see § 201. 1 below). In some cases the OE. ēo, īo was the result of a contraction after the disappearance of an intervocalic j (w or h), thus for instance in OE. friond, frōnd (cf. Goth. frījōnds, and § 203 below), OE. bīo, běo (<*bijōn), and others.

§ 201. OE. ēo (Anglian ēa; see § 194 above), īo, appears as ei or ĭ in the Lorton dialect; it has been a difficult task to make a satisfactory distinction between these two sounds, the difference between them being very slight, and in some cases I have not been able to decide whether the ĭ was preceded by an e-glide or not (in these words I have written (e) ĭ; see examples under 3 below).

1. We find Lorton ei, pointing to an Anglian ēa (see the diphthong ēa, § 194), in breišt breast, deīp deep, deīpþ depth, fleīs fleece, freīz to freeze, leīf lief, preišt priest, treiť tree, peiť thief, weīl wheel, weīd weed.

2. We find Lorton ĭ in bi to be, bi bee, atwín between, fli to flee, frī free, sik (WS. sēoc, Angl. sēc) sick, prī three.

3. Doubtful cases are n(e)jí knee, s(e)jí to see.

§ 202. OE. ēo, īo in the combination ēog (ēoh) has been smoothed into Anglian ē and become Lorton ĭ:

fli (WS. fleōgan, Angl. flēgan) to fly, flī (WS. fleōge, Angl.
fly, li (OE. lēgan, Angl. lēgan) to lie, pī (OE. bēoh, Angl. bēh) thigh.¹

§ 203. OE. éo, ío has been shortened in some words.

The preterites OE. bēot and fēoll, Lorton bet and fel, have been shortened, probably under analogical influence from the numerous weak verbs with regularly short e-preterites: felō fellow (late OE. fēolaga, a Scand. loan-word in OE.).

OE. éo, ío appears as ï in divl devil, frind friend, sistē seest thou? These three forms probably represent a somewhat later shortening.

éo appears as e in the compound prepms threepence (shortened before a consonant combination).

éo has been shortened into o in fōti forty (but we find an ô in fōtnôp fortnight).

Note. OE. éo in the combination ëor underwent early shortening in the compound OE. dēorling. We find short forms of this word already inOrmulum (derrling). This ë then had the same development as OE. short ō before a following r + cons. into ā : Lorton därlin (see § 113).

§ 204. The OE. combination ëow (in Anglian often ëaw ; see Bülbring, § 114, Anm. 2) has become Lorton iu̯ (in a few cases au ; see § 205 below) through monophthongization (into ME. ëw), vocalization of the w, and raising of the first element of the diphthong into i ; note, however, that this i is somewhat lowered (especially after the liquids r, l), bordering on ɰ (on the u-glide between i and u see § 129).

Examples: bliu̯ pret. blew, briu̯ to brew, griu̯ pret. grew, niu̯ pret. knew, niu̯ new, riu̯ to rue, triu̯ true, tri(u)u̯p truth.

When initial the first element of the diphthong assumes a consonantic character: jũu (OE. ëow) yew.

§ 205. OE. ëow (in Anglian often appearing as ëaw) has become au in a few cases: fau̯(w)ar four (OE. fëower), fau̯(w)ṭin fourteen (OE. fëowertiene), faut fourth (note that the w in the two first-mentioned words is nothing but the usual glide arising between u and e in triphthongs), sau (OE. seówian, *sëawian) to sew, tšau (OE. cëovan, *cëawian) to chew.

¹ Here also belongs the adj. dřī = tedious, slow, wearisome, persistent<ME. dreg, dregh, probably from an Anglian unrecorded form *dřēh, *dřig (W. Sax. *drēg) ; see N.E.D. sub dree, dreigh.
These forms cannot be explained from the ME. ëw-forms (cf. § 204), but point to ME. forms with ëw; in the case of fau(w)ær four, the present Lorton form is regularly developed from the ME. fower, and we must assume similar ME. forms for sau and tšau, thus ME. *sōwen, *chōwen (cf. the development of ME., OE. ë + w, § 184).

§ 206. OE. ëo, ëo (Angl. ëa) before a following r has given Lorton ëa:

bier beer, diér dear, diér deer.
CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH ELEMENT

THE ME. VOWELS OF FRENCH ORIGIN AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN THE LORTON DIALECT

1. Short Vowels

a

§ 207. ME. ā = O. Fr. a has generally become a in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: baraļ barrel, fašin fashion, galen gallon, kabiš cabbage, kap (O. Fr. cape sb. cap, ME. capen vb. to cover with a cap) to surpass, for instance, kani öld Cumərlan kapsəm ĵ (from an old Cumbrian song), karət carrot, lamp lamp, natrəl natural, radiš radish, saləd salad, vali value, vali valley.

A following st has not affected the a in words like pastər pasture, bastəq bastard.

§ 208. The ME. combination all and a1 + cons. has become Lorton ĵ, like OE. a in the same position, and through exactly the same process (§ 96).

Examples: bō ball, õmənak almanac, õmənd almond, skod to scald.

§ 209. A preceding bilabial consonant has not affected the quality of the a:

kwaliti quality, kwat quart, walar to beat, to illtreat (ME. walopen; see Stratmann, ME. Dict.; Skeat, Etym. Dict., sub gallo), perhaps originally the same word as gallop and of imitative origin. We find the original sense of the word preserved in our dialect: to move quickly and awkwardly (Prevost, p. 358). The etymology of this word, however, is somewhat uncertain.

§ 210. ME., O. Fr. a in the combination ar + cons. has been regularly lengthened into ā (§ 95).

Examples: bārbər barber, bārgin bargain, gādən garden, kād card, kwat quart, pāsəl parcel, pət part, skārlət scarlet, t sædə charge.
§ 211. ME. ę = O. Fr. e generally appears as e in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: det debt, dres dress, dželšs jealous, dželši jelly, letør letter, letør lettuce, medl to meddle, mend to mend, præntis apprentice, selør cellar, sens sense, spektikls spectacles, treml to tremble.

§ 212. ME. ě < O. Fr. ai was shortened to e and has given e in our dialect.

Examples: feznt pheasant, plezør pleasure, pleznt pleasant, vesl vessel.

Note. The a in vare very, is probably due to the influence of the following r. The a in salri celery, is probably a modern adoption (see Kjederqvist, The Dialect of Pewsey, p. 62). According to N.E.D. the word was also written sallary in the eighteenth century.

§ 213. ME. e = O. Fr. e has become i before dental and palatal nasals in a few words; we find numerous instances of the transition e > i in the same position in ME. (Morsbach, ME. Grammatik, § 109; cf. also the transition of OE. e > i in a similar position, §§ 110–12).

Examples: indžin engine, inšk ink, lintls lentils.

We find instances of this transition also in unaccented syllables, for instance, indžoi to enjoy, ingéédž to engage (cf. § 256).

§ 214. ME. ě of French origin in the combination er + cons. has become Lorton a, like the e in the combination W. Germ. er—OE. eor—ME. er + cons. (§ 113).

kensærn concern, mäši mercy, păšen parson, sârvænt servant, sârmænt sermon, sârpænt serpent, sârvæs service, sâfši to search, tlærk clerk, værmænt vermin.

Note I. We find a short a in two words, tariær terrier, and saro to serve; the e in serve should probably be looked upon as a svarabhakti-vowel developed between r and v, final v having subsequently been dropped.

Note II. The form jærh herb, must be a loan from some neighbouring dialect; the identical form occurs in the dialects of Edinburgh, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire (see Wright, E. D. Gr., § 248).
§ 215. ME., O. Fr. ı has remained in the Lorton dialect.
Examples: dinar dinner, gimlik gimlet, kənsiqar to consider, limet limit, linet linnet, list to enlist, livar to deliver, pinian opinion, piti pity, sidaš scissors, sistan cistern, twilt quilt. Some of these words, however, may be loans, introduced at a later period.

§ 216. ME. ı = O. Fr. ı has remained in the Lorton dialect.
Examples: forıner foreigner, koftın coffin, kolır collar, kost to cost, kotın cotton, obstıkl obstacle, onır honour, podiš porridge (a corrupted form of O. Fr. pottage), profit profit, rok rock (may also be of Celtic origin).

§ 217. ME. ı, O. Fr. ı before a following r has been lengthened to ı.
Examples: fıtşen fortune, körnër corner, mösël morsel, mőtër mortar.

§ 218. ME. u = O. Fr. u has become Lorton u or ū, the occurrence of these two u-varieties being regulated by the rules laid down in § 140 above. Note that in ME. this sound was frequently written o, although the quality of the sound undoubtedly was that of u (see Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 121, Anm. I and II).

butn button, dubl double, dūzn dozen, grudž to grudge (probably an altered form of the verb grutch < O. Fr. grucier, grucer, groucher; see N.E.D. sub grudge and grutch), krūst crust, kuntrì country, kuvor to cover, kūzn cousin, mustęd mustard, mutn mutton, pulpot pulpit (the last syllable probably formed through association with pot), puš to push, sufer to suffer, supër supper, trubl trouble, tūtš to touch (see Behrens, Französische Elem. im Engl., § 39 in Kluge’s Geschichte der engl. Sprache).

Note. wišin cushion, has arisen from ME. forms with i such as quissin, quisshen (see Stratmann, M.E. Dict., and Skeat, Elym. Dict.).

§ 219. ME. u < O. Fr. ui has become Lorton ū in krūs to crush.

§ 220. ME. ū < O. Fr. ū has given Lorton ū in džudž to judge, džūst just.
§ 220 a. ME. \( u = O. \text{Fr.} \ u \) before \( r + \text{cons.} \) has had the same development as \( u \) in the OE. combination \( ur \) into \( ū \) (§ 144).

Examples: \( džũni \) journey, \( ũniš \) to furnish, \( ũnitər \) furniture, \( kərn \) currant, \( ňuš \) nurse, \( pũš \) purse, \( ũrtət \) turnip, \( ũtt \) to hurt.

Note. The pronunciation of \( u + ũn \) is somewhat unsettled; although the usual pronunciation is \( ũnitər, ũniš, džũni \), old people may frequently be heard to pronounce these words with a distinctly trilled \( r \) and short \( ũ \): \( ũrniš, ũrnitər, džũni \) (see § 281).

2. Long Vowels

\( ā \)

§ 221. ME. \( ā \), the lengthening of \( O. \text{Fr.} \ ō \), has generally had the same development as OE. \( œ \) (a) in originally open syllables into \( ōi \), initially \( ja \) (§ 101). We find, however, a considerable number of words where the original diphthong has been supplanted by \( ā \) through the influence of standard English or that else are loans from standard English (cf. above, § 103, and also Hirst, \textit{A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal}, § 52). That the \( œ—iā \)-diphthongization has also taken place in these words is clearly shown by the fact that in some dialectal varieties of Central and East Cumberland they all contain the \( iā \)-diphthong.

§ 222. ME. \( ā < O. \text{Fr.} \ ō \) has become Lorton \( ōi \) (ja) in:

\( bliām \) to blame, \( jabi\ell \) able, \( fi\as \) face, \( ki\as \) case, \( li\as \) to lace, \( pi\as t \) paste, \( pli\as \) place, \( pli\as t \) plate, \( sli\as t \) slate, \( ski\as lζ \) scales (<O. Fr. \( \textit{escal}e \)), \( sti\as bl \) stable, \( ti\as bl \) table, \( ti\as st \) taste.

§ 223. ME. \( ā \), earlier \( au < O. \text{Fr.} \ au \) before labial has also become \( ō \) in \( si\as f \) safe, \( si\as v \) to save.

§ 224. ME. \( ā < O. \text{Fr.} \ ō > \text{Lorton} \ ŏ \). The occurrence of this \( ţ ā \) instead of the original \( ņiā \)-diphthong may be ascribed to various reasons:

(a) A following \( dž \) (or \( ndž \)) seems to have prevented the development of the \( a \)-element, owing to the dental nature of the \( dž \)-sound: \( ōdž \) age, \( kœdž \) cage, \( dœndżər \) danger, \( pœdž \) page, \( rœdž \) rage, \( řeŋdždž \) to engage, \( wœdždžζ \) wages.

(b) The word is a late loan from standard English; thus, for instance, \( ŋepe\text{ŋ}^1 \) apron, the original Cumberland word for \textit{apron} being \textit{brat} (from Celt. \textit{brat} a rag, pinafore), and \( půni \), a shortened form of \textit{pinafore}. Some of the words quoted under the next category (c) may also belong here.

\(^1\) I have also heard the form \( ŋepeŋ \) (see Accidence, sub indef. article).
(c) In the following words the ā-vowel has supplanted the original diphthong through influence from standard English, although we cannot look upon the words themselves as direct loans from the literary language. Such are, for instance: bēkn bacon, dēt date, fēd to fade, lēzi lazy, māsn mason, rēt rate, grēt grate, nāter nature, fiām flame.

**ME. ē**

§ 225. ME. ē < O. Fr. ei, ai has become Lorton ei:
dizeiz disease, diseiv to deceive, (e)ūzi easy, greizi greasy, pleiz to please, peis peace, rēsv to receive, treit to treat, (e)iger eager, feitēr feature, reizn reason, seiżn season.

Note. We find an ā in the words disēt deceit, kænsēt conceit, râsēt receipt; these ā-forms have no doubt originated from ME. forms that had preserved the original O. Fr. ei-diphthong, Lorton ā being the regular development of ei (ai) (§§ 98, 115), whereas the ei-diphthong mentioned above has arisen through a later diphthongization of ME. ē.

§ 226. ME. ē < O. Fr. e before st has also become Lorton ei in beist beast (ME. bēst), feist feast (ME. fēste).

ME. ē = O. Fr. e before s + cons. has become Lorton ei: kreîm cream (O. Fr. cresme).

§ 227. ME. ē < O. Fr. e, eē has become Lorton ei: feîmâl female, tâseit to cheat, seiž to cease, neît neat, preîs to preach, veîl veal, seîkrât secret.

Note. We find a short stem-vowel in mezîz measles (O. Fr. mesel, Lat. misellus).

**ME. ē**

§ 228. 1. ME. ē < O. Fr. ie has become Lorton ī: pîs piece, nîs niece, grîf grief.

2. ME. final ē in grî to agree.

3. ME. ē (older ā) < O. Fr. oe, ue: bîf beef, pîpl people.

**ME. ī**

§ 229. ME. ī of French origin has become Lorton ai:
dalâit delight, āblaiðz to oblige, ādvâis advice, fain fine, nais nice, pai pie, paint pint, prâis price, râis rice, sain sign, saiziz assizes, tais to entice, trai to try, traiß trifle, vaipør viper (this word, however, probably is a late loan; the original Cumbrian word is ag-wûrm (Scandinavian origin, see App.), applied to the viper, common snake, or slow-worm).
NOTE. The Lorton form lēlik lilac, cannot be derived from O. Fr. lilac; the œ points to an original form with ei, like Turkish leilag, which might be the origin of the provincial forms laylock, lolok (see N.E.D. sub lilac).

§ 230. ME. i of French origin has been diphthongized into ai before a vowel in the following words, where a ME. change of intensity has taken place: (h)wait quiet, raiet riot, vaiæt violet.

ME. ō

§ 231. ME. ō < O. Fr. o has become Lorton wo through exactly the same process as OE. ō (in originally open syllables) > wō (§§ 135, 138).

Examples: klwos close, kwot coat, kwotš coach, nwobl noble, nwotis notice, pwortš to poach, rwoist to roast; also before an r in stwōri story.

§ 232. ME. ō < O. Fr. o before l or 1+ cons. has become Lorton au in raul to roll, maud mould (with the usual vocalization of 1 before a following dental, § 274).

NOTE. We find ſ in pultri poultry; this u-form also occurs in ME. (Stratm.) and is, according to Koeppel’s opinion (Spelling Pron., pp. 58–60), due to the influence of the following 1+ cons.

ME. ō

§ 233. ME. ō occurs in a few words of French origin; it has become Lorton iu like OE. ō (§ 176) in biuët boot, fiuël fool.

NOTE. The ūu-diphthong in muuv to move, points to a ME. form with long ū, which has not been recorded; the word is probably a loan from standard English.

§ 234. ME. ō before an r in poor < ME. përe, pëvre, O. Fr. povre, has given Lorton iœ in piœr poor; this form is mostly used by old people and has arisen through the usual iœ-diphthongization of ME. ō; the ū-element was then weakened into ū. This form, however, has now been superseded by p(y)u(w)œr, no doubt a late loan from standard English.

ME. ŭ

§ 235. ME. ŭ of French origin has developed in the same way as OE. ŭ into Lorton ŭu (§ 186).

Examples: buunti bounty, dyut doubt, ėmũunt amount, frũun to frown, guũn gown, guũt gout, kũunt to count, krieved crown, lũu to allow, rũund round, sũund sound (a noise), stũut stout, ūuns ounce, vũu to vow, trũuœœs trousers.
§ 236. ME. û of French origin before an r has become Lorton uə when the r was followed by a consonant as in kues course; the û underwent shortening and the usual u-glide arose before the r. When the r was final the û was regularly diphthongized and the triphthong ūu(w)ə arose (a distinct bilabial glide is heard between the u and the ë).

Examples: flûu(w)ər flower, flour, pûu(w)ər power, tûu(w)ər tower, ūu(w)ər hour.

ME. û

§ 237. ME. û of French origin has become Lorton iu when not followed by a consonant, otherwise iú; the u-element of this diphthong is half-length.

ME. ʊ < O. Fr. u (eu): diûu due (when final the pronunciation of the diphthong was somewhat prolonged and a û-glide consequently arose; cf. § 129), diûk duke, diûti duty (< Anglo-French dueté, N.E.D.), ūût flute, ūûter future, grûûl gruel, jûs use, kriûel cruel, miûûl music, riûûr rhubarb, stiûûl stupid, siûst suet. siûûr sure, is no doubt the original Lorton form; it is now occasionally used by old people, the usual form being suuar, a loan from standard English.

ME. ʊ < O. Fr. ui: friût fruit, piûu pew.

3. Diphthongs

ME. ai (ei)

§ 238. This ME. ai answers to the O. Fr. diphthongs ai or ei. It has had the same development as ME. ai, ei < OE. æg, eȝ respectively, into Lorton æ (cf. §§ 98, 115).

æm aim, (bum)bæli bailiff, fæp faith, gæ gay, gàen to gain (ME. gaine), but the i-element of the ME. diphthong is due to the palatalized ñ in O. Fr. gàûñer), græn grain, mæn main, pæ to pay, pæn pain, plæn plain, tæliër tailor, træn train, tæm claim, tæn chain, wæt to wait.

Note. We find e instead of æ before the consonant combination nt in fent vb. and sb. faint, pent vb. and sb. paint, ækwent to acquaint. There are several æ-forms of these words besides the ai-forms already in ME., and neighbouring dialects also show æ-forms, for instance the Westmoreland dialect (J. Sixtus, Der Sprachgebrauch des Dialektschriftstellers Frank Robinson zu Bowness in Westmorland, § 145, Anm. 3; Behrens, Beiträge, pp. 184, 157).
§ 239. ME. air (eir) < O. Fr. air, eir has become Lorton ër: ñør
fair (O. Fr. feire, Fr. foire), ær heir, pœr pair, tšœr chair.
A faint ë-glide may sometimes be heard between the æ and the
following r.

ME. au

§ 240. This ME. diphthong has a twofold origin:
(a) ME. au < original O. Fr. au in words like because, fault, paw
(O. Fr. poue, ME. powe, pawe; the origin of the word is obscure, but
N. E. D. assumes Old Low Germ. origin from an original form
*pauta). This au has given Lorton ɵ (see below, § 241, a).
(b) ME. au < O. Fr. a before a following nasal + cons. Opinions
differ as to the quality of this ME. sound; according to F. Behrens
and Ten Brink it represents the sound of a deep à. Luick, on the
other hand, assumes a ME. ai-diphthong and suggests the follow-
ing development: au > a deep à-sound which was then raised to æ
and then again lowered into ò.

The Lorton dialect shows a twofold development of this sound:
(1) it has remained at the æ-stage when the vowel was followed
by the nasal combination ndž (§ 241, b, 1), but (2) it has become a,
a shortening at the above-mentioned à-stage, when the n was fol-
lowed by a consonant other than d.

§ 241. ME. au < O. Fr. au:
(a) pô paw (cf. above, § 240), frôd fraud, sôs sauce; also when
the au arose before an 1+cons. (the 1 was vocalized, § 274):
fôt fault (this form, however, has probably never contained an 1
in our dialect, being the direct development of ME. faute), skôd to
scald.

Note. The ò has been shortened to o in koz because, owing
to the fact that the word is generally used in unaccented position.
(b) ME. au < O. Fr. a before nasal + cons.:
1. Before the nasal combination ndž: dændžør danger,
tšândž to change, strândž strange, stråndžær stranger.
2. The nasal combination contains a consonant other than d:
ant aunt, branš branch, dans dance, grant to grant, plant plant,
tsans chance, tšant to chant.

ME. oi, ui

§ 242. The ME. diphthongs oi and ui (< O. Fr. oi, ui) have
fallen together in the Lorton dialect and given Lorton oi (we find
a trace of the ui-diphthong in one word only; cf. below, Note).
Examples: boil to boil, džoin to join, džoint joint, ēnoi to annoy, koin coin, loin loin, moist moist, noiz noise, oil oil, oistar oyster, point point, soil to soil, spoil to spoil, vois voice.

Note. In puzn vb. and sb. poison, the last element of the original ui-diphthong was dropped; the preceding bilabial has no doubt exercised a preserving influence on the u; cf. the ME. form puisun, Kath. 2344, H. M. 33 (Stratmann-Bradley).

ME. eu

§ 243. (a) ME. eu < O. Fr. eau has become Lorton iú in biúti beauty (the second element of the iú-diphthong is half-length like the iú < O. Fr. u, ME. ū, § 237).

(b) ME. eu (iu) < O. Fr. eu has also become Lorton iú in siút suit.
CHAPTER V

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 244. Short and long vowels as well as diphthongs in unaccented syllables have been weakened into ø, i, or disappeared altogether. These weakenings may be divided into two different groups: A. Weakenings caused by word-stress; B. Weakenings caused by sentence-stress. To the former group belong chiefly prefixes and suffixes as well as initial, medial, and final syllables preceded or followed by the principal accent; to the latter enclitic and proclitic words, articles, pronouns, particles, prepositions, and auxiliaries.

A. WEAKENINGS THROUGH WORD-STRESS

1. Unaccented vowels weakened into ø

§ 245. (a) In syllables followed by the principal accent:

The a-prefixes from various sources have all been weakened into ø (or lost, cf. § 262) in both native and French words.

In words of native origin: øbyut about, øbiún above (OE. abāfan), øföt afloat, øfuer afore, before, øgián again, øgō ago, ølián alone, ølaiv alive, ømaŋ among, østīd instead (with a prefixal change in ø (ø)), øwē away, øfwōd to afford, øaffle (<OE. afēred) afraid, økrōs across, øniūf enough.

In words of French origin: økwent to acquaint, øgrī to agree, ønoi to annoy, øplai to apply, øseml to assemble.

§ 246. In some prefixes of French origin: kőnsāŋ concern, kőnsāt conceal, kņtrāri contrary, rēsāt receipt, rēsei to receive, skōdānmlai accordingly.

Note. The vowel of the be-prefix has generally become i (§ 254), but ø in two or three words before a following ı: bēlīv to believe, baleīf belief, bålō below.

§ 247. (b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

bastej bastard, bulēk bullock, buzej buzzard, dělēs jealous, elidē holiday, feklēs feeble, figwēt figwort, galēp gallop, karēt
carrot, kolap slice of bacon, kubap cupboard, kustap custard, mustap mustard, olas always, salap salad, saklas foolish, simple, seap Saturday, siap scissors, simatri cemetery, sturap stirrup, siap shepherd, undrap hundred, windap window, wotap orchard, blap blanket, bulap bullet, linap linnet, rapap rabbit.  

§ 248. All the present participles in the Lorton dialect have the ending an (after a consonant) or n (after a vowel). This an-ending is the weakened form of the original OE. -ende of the present participle 2 (the ing-suffix has given Lorton in, § 258).

Examples: bindan binding, baitan biting, brekan breaking, feitan fighting, inen hanging, standan standing, raitan writing.

§ 249. The or-suffix:
aner hammer, barber barber, blepar bladder, butpar butter, daenpar danger, fapar father, fepar feather, gepar to gather, ivar ever, kanger to rust, legpar leather, muapar mother, nirpar never, slumar slumber, sypar to shudder, punpar thunder, uren hunger, warpar water.

§ 250. The French ure-suffix is rendered by or in our dialect; the or-suffix has probably been substituted for the original French suffix: flupar future, mezar measure, moistar moisture, natapar nature, pastapar pasture, pikpar picture, plezar pleasure.

§ 251. The ow-suffix, arising from the OE. combination 1 or r + 3 or w (ME. 1w, rw), has become Lorton a:

folap to follow, furap furrow, nara narrow, sapap shadow, salap shallow, sorap sorrow, sparap sparrow, swalap to swallow, talap tallow, widap widow, wilap willow, jarp yarrow.

§ 252. I have given some compounds above (§ 247); here are a few more typical weakenings of compounds:

biakap bakehouse, kwoap coal-house, wesap wash-house, wapa week-day, jistaap yesterday, bakwepap backward, forap forward, okap awkward, fotap fort-night, nekap neck-cloth, penap pennyworth, sumap something.

2. Unaccented vowels weakened to i

§ 253. This i is somewhat lowered towards the e-position and sometimes hard to distinguish from e.

1 It has been difficult to ascertain whether the three last-mentioned words have a(t) or s(t); the quality of this unaccented vowel seems to be somewhere midway between a and i.

2 But it may also represent the ON. ending -ande of the present participle.
In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent:

§ 254. The be-prefix: biāv to behave, bigin to begin, bijint behind, bijond beyond, binīp beneath.

§ 255. The de-prefix in dilē delay, dilait delight, disēt deceit.

§ 256. The en-prefix: ingēdā to engage, indēzoi to enjoy (possibly a prefixal change en > in through influence from standard English).

In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

§ 257. Here belongs the Lorton i-suffix of various origin.

1. Lorton i < OE. i: aivi ivy, beri to bury, bodi body, bizi busy, dizi dizzy, emti empty, eni any, evi heavy, fīti fifty, foji forty, lādi lady, meni (moni) many, peni penny, priti pretty, sili silly, stidi steady, swori sorry, twenti twenty.

2. Lorton i < OE. ic-suffix: bālī barley, ounli only.


Note. In some of the above-mentioned words, such as bēlī, nevi, valī (value), the i-suffix has possibly been substituted for the original French suffix.

§ 258. The Lorton in-suffix of various origin:

1. Lorton in < the formative ing-suffix:

askinz banns, ībnin evening, fāqin farthing, gezlin gosling, mwörnin morning, șilen shilling, topin the fore part of the hair (top sb. + ing-suffix).

2. Lorton in < OE. en-suffix: burdin (or būqin) burden, tšikin chicken.

3. Lorton in-suffix of French origin: bargin (O. Fr. bargein) bargain, gāqin (O. Fr., Picard gardin) garden, forin (O. Fr. forain) foreign.

§ 259. Lorton idā, iś < O. Fr. age: vantidā advantage, damiś damage, podiś porridge (< Fr. potage; see § 216).

§ 260. Lorton ikī < O. Fr. acle: obstikl obstacle, spektiklīz spectacles.

§ 261. Lorton ist < OE. est (ust): ārvist harvest, ẓurnist earnest.

Loss of vowel or syllable

§ 262. (a) In syllables followed by the principal accent:

bake tobacco, būn above, koz because, lūu to allow, lēbm eleven, list to enlist, līvar to deliver, lotmants allotments, pinian opinion, prentes apprentice, saiēti society, saiziz assizes, sailm
asylum, tētūz potatoes, tais to entice, twīn between, vantidž advantage.

(b) Medially in syllables preceded by the principal accent:

aktšii actually, dženrēl general, ībnīn evening, kumpni company, natrēl natural, ōpnī halfpenny, ōpēp halfpennyworth, penēp pennyworth, reglēr regular, salrē celery, sumdī somebody.

Note. We find a typical instance of weakening in the word ridimaizi (contraction < Reading Made Easy), an old elementary reader used in the Cumbrian schools up to 1870.

B. WEAKENINGS CAUSED BY SENTENCE-STRESS

§ 263. To this group belong enclitic and proclitic words in general, unaccented forms of articles, pronouns, conjunctions, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. I originally intended to give here a fairly complete list of these weakened forms, but as I shall be obliged to enumerate the words in question (quoting accented as well as unaccented forms) in the Accidence (Chapter VII), I have preferred to refer to that part of my work, where the above-mentioned words will be found under their respective headings together with examples illustrating their use and occurrence in whole sentences (articles, §§ 386–8; pronouns, §§ 406–21; conjunctions, § 468; prepositions, § 467; verbs, §§ 422–65; adverbs, § 466).
CHAPTER VI
THE CONSONANTS

§ 264. The native and the French consonants have generally fallen together and shared the same development in the Lorton dialect. I have therefore treated them together, except the consonants k, g, ŝ, and the consonant combinations dz and ts, which have been treated separately in §§ 377-85.

SEMI-VOWELS

w

§ 265. OE. initial w before vowels has remained:
water water, wärk work, wil, wul will, wid with, wulf wolf, wumn woman.

Note I. An initial w has arisen in the wō-diphthong < OE. ɔ lengthened before r + cons. and in originally open syllables (as well as ME. o < O. Fr. o, § 281) in words like wōtšæd orchard, wol hole, wop hope.

Note II. Initial w has been dropped in the unaccented forms ə1, 1 will, əd, d would (cf. Acc., § 464).

§ 266. We find initial w < O. Northern French w (Central French gu) in the words wēdžiz wages, wēt to wait, warent warrant.

§ 267. OE. initial w in the combination wr has disappeared:
raŋ wrong, rek wreck, rait to write, raut pp. wrought, ruʃl to wrestle.

2. Medial w

§ 268. w (of native and French origin) in the combinations dw, hw, kw, sw, tw, Ʌw has generally remained:

dw: dwärf dwarf, dwel to dwell, dwinl to dwindle.
hw (the h has been dropped; cf. § 372): wat what, wen when, wör where, wusl to whistle, wō who (interr. pron.).
kw: kwēk to quake, kwēkər quaker, kwāt quart, twilt
quilt, kwaliti quality. The k has been dropped, but the w remained in wišin (ME. quisshen, § 380) cushion, waiat quiet, wik alive (OE. cwicu).

sw : swel to swell, swöd sword, swör pret. swore.

tw : twain to twine, twais twice, twelv twelve, twist to twist.

Note. The w has disappeared in sek such, tũu two.

pw : the dental has disappeared but the w remained in waŋ (OE. jwang) thong, witl to whistle (cf. OE. jwitan to cut, ME. jwitel knife).

§ 269. OE. w has not remained in the combination cons. + w + final vowel:

jare (OE. gearwe) yarrow, spare sparrow, swale swallow, widẽ widow.

The e-ending in these words has arisen through weakening of the vowel that was developed between the preceding consonant and the w in the OE., ME. forms of the above-mentioned words, such as OE., ME. widewe, widewe, sparewe, sparwe, &c.

§ 270. OE. w in the combination vowel + w + vowel has combined itself with the preceding vowel as the second element of a diphthong. It has given different results according to the nature of the vowel preceding the w.

1. OE. combination aw, āw > ME. au > Lorton ō: ől awl, sō pret. saw, snō snow (§§ 99, 159).

2. OE. ēaw > ME. ēw > Lorton eũu: ţeũ to work hard, deũu dew, feũu few (§ 197).

3. OE. ēow (sometimes Angl. ēaw) > ME. ēw (ēw) > Lorton i(u)u (§ 204): briũu to brew, niũu new, triũp truth.

4. OE. īw > Lorton i(u)u: spiũu vb. to spew, tiũzdẽ Tuesday (§ 175).

5. OE. ōw > Lorton au: dlau to glow, grau to grow, stau to stow (§ 184).

Note. Medial w has disappeared on account of weak stress in the following compounds:

foraŋ forward, ōkaŋ awkward, ōlaස always, ōpaŋ halfpennyworth, penaŋ pennyworth, sumat somewhat, something.

j (=W. Germanic j)

§ 271. OE. initial j (j) (=ME. j) has remained in the Lorton dialect, except in one word (cf. note I): ja you, jist yeast, jis yes (rarely used, mostly ai), jit yet, jonder yonder, junŋ young.

1 See also Appendix, sub wai (heifer).
Note I. In the word ĭear year, the j has been absorbed by the following i-vowel. We find tendencies to drop an initial j already in OE., indicated by writings like ĭaron dat. pl. years, ĭogōb youth, for ĭearon, ĭogōb (see Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 176, Anm. 1).

Note II. We find an initial j in ja and jū-diphthongs arisen from the diphthongization of ME. ā (lengthened OE. a (a) in open syllables), OE. ā, lengthened O. Fr. ā and OE. (ME.) ǿ in words beginning with a vowel or an h.

Examples: jam home, jak oak, jabl able, jans once, juf hoof, jük hook.

The Liquids

§ 272. OE. 1 has remained in all positions, except medially in the combinations ā + 1 + cons., o + 1 + cons., in final position after ā and, in two cases, after ū, where it has been vocalized and combined itself with the preceding short vowel (cf. also ul + cons. in one word, § 275).

§ 273. A. 1 preserved:
1. Initial 1: lap lap, liáš late, liūk look, lonin lane.
2. Cons. + 1 + vowel: ĭlip to clip, shear, ĭlokēr a broody hen, flīt to flit, remove, ūflīt to flutter.
3. Medial 1 between vowels: tale tallow, ole hollow, salē sallow.
4. Originally long vowel + 1 + cons. or 1 final: maild mild, waild wild, fiül fool, shriül school, tiül tool.
5. Short vowel, other than ā, ū + 1 + cons.: elp to help, milk milk, silk silk, teilt pret. told.
6. ME. 1 < O. Fr. 1 has been preserved in all positions, except in the cases mentioned below, in § 274. 5: ĭan(w)idž language, plēstēr plaster, dželas jealous, skafēl scaffold, pulpot pulpit, ĭgl eagle, jabl able.

§ 274. B. 1 vocalized:
1. al + guttural: bōk balk, stōk to stalk, tōk talk, tšōk chalk.
2. al + labial: kōf calf, ūf half, ūpni halfpenny, sōv salve.
3. al + dental: al + t in mōt malt, sōt salt.

In the combination al + d we find no instances of vocalization in the present dialect, except in the place-name kōdbek (spelt Caldwell): bōld bald, fōld sb. fold, kōld cold, öld old (§ 96).

We also find two forms containing the diphthong oun: bōuld bold, fould vb. to fold.
This, however, has probably been introduced through literary influence; we find distinct traces (as I have already pointed out in § 96, note II) of an old vocalization of the $\alpha$ also in this position. It is therefore probable that the vocalization of $\alpha$ before $d$ has taken place in the Lorton dialect, especially as we find 1 vocalized in the French word sköd to scald (see below, 5), and in a few other cases as well.

4. 1 has also been vocalized in a final position after $\alpha$ (§ 96): fø to fall, to fell, gö gall, kô to call, smô small, wö wall.

5. 1 has also been vocalized under the same circumstances in French words (§ 208): ömänak almanac, ömend almond, sköd to scald, bô ball.

6. 1 in the combination of $\alpha$ cons. has also been vocalized (§ 134) and, combined with the preceding $\alpha$, given rise to the diphthong au: baustær bolster, baust bolt, kaut colt, also in maudiwærp (ON. moldvarpa, but perhaps of native origin; see N.E.D.) mole, the French word pauni (O. Fr. poulenet a small colt; the word may also be of Celtic origin, Gael. poniadá a little horse; cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.) (on gould gold, and toul toll, see § 134, note II).

§ 275. I have found one instance of 1-vocalization in the combination $\alpha$ cons.: shuðær shoulder (§ 146).

§ 276. 1 has also been vocalized in two cases when final after $\alpha$ in the words: pyu to pull, wu wool.

§ 277. 1 has disappeared in sek such, wits which, and also in šant (sometimes šalant) shall not, wönt (or wilant) will not.

r

(Ellis, E. E. Pr., v, pp. 84*-5*, 182, 830--2; Wright, E. D. Gr., pp. 218 ff.)

§ 278. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Lorton dialect, as well as of the other dialectal varieties in Cumberland, is the distinct pronunciation of the $r$. It has been preserved in all positions, but the strength of the $r$-vibration varies very much according to the nature of the neighbouring sounds. We can distinguish at least two different degrees of the $r$-strength: $r$, strongly trilled like the standard Swedish $r$ and the $r$ in the dialect of Picardy, and 'the true trill as heard in Italy, Scotland, and Wales' (Ellis, E. E. Pr., p. 84*). In the position vowel + $r$ + dental, the $r$ often combines itself with the dental to form a supradental $q$, $t$, like the rt-combination in Swedish hjärta, gårde
THE CONSONANTS

(§§ 38, 53). r is something like Ellis's r (v, p. 85*): 'reverted r, the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for r' (r = my r).

§ 279. We find r, in the following cases:
1. Initially before a vowel: r,aiv to rive, r,au raw, r,ist rest, r,uf rough.
2. In the position cons. + r + vowel: br,iŋ to bring, br,iád broad, fr,èm frame, fr,ozn pp. frozen, gr,au to grow, gr,è gray, kr,èn crane, kr,iáv to crave, pr, iz prize, pr,yud proud.
   r in the position dental (d, t) + r + vowel is not quite so strongly trilled as in the above-mentioned cases: dr,ag to drag, dr,iŋk drink, dr,uf drought, tr,ai to try, tr,ust to trust.
   Note. r in the position dental + r + vowel differs slightly from the ordinary r. It is best described as a kind of supradental glide and also seems to affect the preceding dental, which assumes a character very similar to ð (see § 317).

3. In the combination short vowel + r + final vowel: ber,i berry, bor,e to borrow, mar,e marrow, swor,i sorry.
4. In the combination vowel + r + voiced cons. (except d; cf. below): är,m arm, bär,n child, buär,n to burn, bär,ber barber, kwor,n corn, wur,m worm.

§ 280. We find r, in the following positions:
1. Intervocalic after a preceding long vowel or diphthong: fiär,æn fearing, stær,æn staring, wær,i wary.
2. In the combination long (or half-long) vowel + r + voiceless cons. (except i): bår,k to bark, dår,k dark, spär,k spark, wår,p warp.
3. Final after unaccented vowel in the ending ær: bødær,æ to bother, bruder,æ brother, fau(w)ær,æ four, stutar,æ to stutter.
4. r final after a preceding long vowel or diphthong is not quite so strong as the r mentioned in 1–3 above: fiær,æ fear, styr,æ to stir, tår,æ tar, wår,æ worse.
   Note. In the combination short vowel + r + cons., however, the r is usually strongly trilled (r,): bur,k birch, mur,k dark, wyr,k to work.

§ 281. r in the combination vowel + r + dental (d, t) has two different pronunciations:
(a) The original pronunciation with short vowel + r (strongly trilled) + dental, now mostly heard from old people: bur,d bird, mür,ёр murder, pûr,d third, fûr,niš to furnish.
(b) The r combines itself with the dental, thus forming a supra-
dental $d$, $t$ (occasionally $η$), and the preceding vowel is lengthened: $brud$, bird, $muqar$, murder, $puq$, third, $furish$ to furnish, $dut$, dirt, $swot$ short.

This pronunciation (b) of $r + dental$ seems to me more common than (a).

As for $r + n$, the pronunciation with $η$ is only occasionally heard, the usual pronunciation being $r_1 + n$: $turn$ to turn.

Note I. In unaccented syllables we always find the supra-dentals $d$, $t$, $η$: $foraq$, forward, $muqarq$, murdered, (n)$apen$ apron.

Note II. $r$ in the position vowel + $r + s$ also usually combines with the following $s$, thus forming the sound $ś$ in words like $gus$, grass, $puś$, purse, $nuś$, nurse, $wāsēn$ to grow worse.

§ 282. $r$ has undergone metathesis in the Lorton dialect in the same words as standard English, and in addition to that in the following cases:

- $brust$ (or $brast$) burst (pret.), $gurn$ to grin, $kuśmuś$ Christmas, $kuśnin$ christening, (n)$apen$ apron.

The Nasals

$m$

§ 283. $m$ has generally remained unchanged in all positions in the Lorton dialect:

1. Initial: $man$ man, $mist$ mist, $mēr$ more, $mōtar$ mortar, $muqar$ mother.

2. Medial: $amēr$ hammer, $brumsten$ brimstone, $sumēr$ summer, $tuml$ to tumble.

3. Final (after a vowel): $brim$ (or $brum$) brim, $ruum$ room, $stem$ stem.

Note. In the verb $kum$ to come, the $m$ often disappears before the $s$ ($z$) of the 3rd pers. sing., for instance, ikuz he comes, or when the following word begins on a consonant: $kûbai$ come here, $kûdūn$ come down.

§ 284. When final after a consonant, $m$ becomes sonantic: $ārm$ arm, $bodm$ bottom, $elm$ elm, $storm$ storm, $wārm$ warm, $wurm$ worm.

$n$

§ 285. Initial $n$ has remained unchanged: (n)$apen$ apron, nest, nest, $netl$ nettle, $nižk$ nook, $nevi$ nephew.
§ 286. Medial n has generally remained: kanl candle, dwintl to dwindle, munda Monday, uni honey, unian onion.

Note I. Medial n has also been preserved in kindm (<OE. cynedom) kingdom.

Note II. Medial n sometimes disappears in unstressed syllables: atkisan Atkinson, robisan Robinson, dikisan Dickinson. In astid instead, the a-prefix has probably been substituted for the original in-prefix (§ 245). In some cases we may, however, be concerned with ME. prototypes without an n, e.g. ME. Robyson, Dickysn (cf. K. F. Sundén, 'On the origin of the hypocoristic suffix -y in English' in Cerium Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum, Göteborg, 1910, p. 161.

§ 287. We find a parasitic n in porindžar porringer, sosindžar sausage, and also in the words brenp breadth, winp width, both formed after the analogy of lenp length. In strenp strength, the original η has become n through the dentalizing influence of the following p (cf. ME. lenbe, All. Poems, ii. 425, and Prickie of Consc. 5899; the forms strenče, strenbe frequently occur in Laż., Aner. Riw., All. Poems, and other ME. records).

§ 288. Final n has also generally remained: den den, don (<do+on) to put on, miün moon, obiün above, plaen plain.

Note. Final n has also been preserved in two compounds: olin-buš (<OE. holegn) holly-bush, ratn-trap (<O. Fr. raton, diminutive form of rat, ME. raton) rat-trap.

§ 289. Final n has disappeared in kil (OE. cyln) kiln, in the numeral jan one, before a following noun: jā nit one night, jā man one man, jā ai one eye, jā eg one egg (note that the a of jan has undergone compensation lengthening, § 403).

The n of the indefinite article always disappears when the following word begins with a consonant, but also frequently before a following vowel: e man a man, e bārn a child, e apl an apple, e oistær an oyster.

The n of the prepositions in, on (e, e(n)) disappears before a consonant: i(e) tfild in the field, i trēn in the rain, i(e) tyus in the house (§ 467).

§ 290. Final and medial n in unstressed syllables often becomes m through partial assimilation with a preceding bilabial consonant:

fpms fivepence, propms threepence, jubm oven, lebm eleven, mapm (<may+happen) perhaps, opm to open, sebm seven.
η

§ 291. η generally remained in medial and final position in accented syllables. Note that the Lorton dialect, differing from OE. and standard modern English, has no explosive g-element when the medial η is followed by a vowel or an l (cf. Sweet, H. E. S., §§ 550, 922).


Note I. The past participle drukn drunken, is probably of Scandinavian origin (cf. Icel. drukn pp.).

Note II. Medial η has become n before a following dental in lenp length, strenp strength (cf. above, § 287).

§ 292. Final η has remained in accented syllables: брин to bring, рин to ring, стран strong, прън busy.

§ 293. Final η in unstressed syllables has generally become n in the Lorton dialect.

In the original formative ing-suffix: дарлиn darling, ибнин evening, фацн farthing, мврннин morning.

We also find n in the ending of the present participles: динн doing, дзумпен jumping, рунн running, синн singing; but this n is probably original, a preservation of the OE. present participle ending ende (Scandinavian influence may also have been at work; cf. § 248, footnote).

The Labials

p

§ 294. p has generally remained in all positions:

1. Initially: падl to paddle, пепъr pepper, пиъl people, пуt to put, пвoл pole.
2. Medially: апl apple, дъпъ depth, къптн captain, поплъr poplar, спиъd spade, спънн spoon.
3. Finally: елп to help, япъr ape, мап map, стоп to stop, вълп whelp.

Note I. Assimilation has taken place in the word кубъl cupboard.

Note II. We find no intrusive p in емтн (<OE. ἠμετ(t)ίγ>).
§ 295. b has generally remained in the Lorton dialect initially, medially, and finally:
  bak back, bärn child, bek brook, brant steep, babl to babble, neb beak, web web.

§ 296. b never occurs between m—l, m—r, in words like bruml—bus bramble-bush, muml to mumble, slumar slumber, tuml to tumble, to fall, piml thimble.

In French words where b occurs originally in a similar position, it has been dropped: èseml to assemble, trembl to tremble.

Medial b has also disappeared through assimilation with the preceding m in sumdi somebody.

Note. Medial b has become v in märvel marble.

§ 297. Final b has disappeared in the combination mb: kwöm comb, lam lamb, wuum womb, tlim to climb.

f

§ 298. The voiceless OE. labiodental spirant from Germanic f, and in a few cases (in final position; see Wright, OE. Gram., § 294) from Germanic b, occurred initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally in OE., and has remained in these positions in the Lorton dialect.

§ 299. OE. f < Germanic f:
  Initially: fadar father, fast fast, flkl fickle, fwok folk, fwol foal.

§ 300. Medially before a voiceless consonant: eft haft, sift to sift, weft weft.

Note. OE. f has disappeared in the word eltër (OE. healfter) halter.

§ 301. Final OE. f originally was voiceless everywhere, but it often became medial in the inflected forms of nouns and verbs when followed by a case or personal ending, thus OE. cnif knife, pl. cnifas, genitive cnifes; gēaf pret. gave, pl. gēafon. Thus forms with voiced and voiceless spirant arose of which the Lorton dialect, like standard English, generalized sometimes the one form, sometimes the other.

§ 302. Final OE. f < Germanic b has become: (a) voiced in gēv pret. gave, sōv salve, stēv stave;
  (b) voiceless in deif deaf, kōf calf, laif life, leif leaf, liāf loaf, ďif half, šaf sheaf, þeif thief, waif wife.
§ 303. Final OE. f < Germanic f has become: (a) voiced in faiv five;  
(b) voiceless in naif knife, kaf (OE. ceaf') chaff, riuf roof.

§ 304. ME. f of O. Fr. origin has remained: fibl feeble, finiš to finish, flûu(w)är flower, flour.

v

§ 305. The voiced OE. labiodental spirant, mostly written f, except in a few cases in some of the earliest OE. records (see Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 192, Anm. 2 ; Wright, O.E. Gram., § 296), has a twofold origin: it has arisen from Germanic f or Germanic b. It occurs in medial position in OE., and, when arising from Germanic b, mostly remained in the Lorton dialect.

§ 306. OE. v (written f or b) < Germanic b: evn heaven, liver, lýv love, niávl navel, silver silver, stárv to starve, weiv to weave, sãev to shave.

§ 307. OE. v (written f) < Lat. b in loan-words: dīvl devil, fīver fever, priuv to prove.

§ 308. OE. v (written f) < Germanic f; I have not found any instances where this sound has remained unchanged in our dialect; it appears as b in jubm oven. In this word, as well as most of the words quoted below (§ 309), a transition of final n into m seems to have taken place, and the labiodental then became bilabial (v>b) through partial assimilation.

OE. v of the same origin has disappeared in ãpms fivepence.

§ 309. OE. v (written f or b) < Germanic b appears as b in several words: ebm (OE. efne) even, mostly used in the expression ebm ñenest right against or opposite, ìbnin evening, lebm eleven, sebm seven (see above, jubm, § 308).

§ 310. OE. v < Germanic b has disappeared in ez (2nd and 3rd pers. of pres. ind.) has, abìūn (OE. abūfan) above, anenst or ñenest (< on or for + OE. efne+s and t-suffixes; cf. Pr. Consc. 3678, onence) opposite; also often in forms of the verb to give, for instance: gimet give it me, i gemo sixpmz he gave me sixpence, and the past participle gin given; ìd head (OE. heafod), lêdi (OE. hláfjige) lady, lwōd (OE. hláford) lord, òk (OE. hafoc, heafoc) hawk, òpmi halfpenny, ñuul (OE. scofel) shovel, wumān (OE. wīfman) woman.

Note. In au(w)är over, OE. v has been vocalized (via w) and formed the diphthong ou, the first element of which was afterwards widened into a (cf. §§ 132, 184).
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§ 311. v (of O. Fr. origin) has remained initially and medially in the Lorton dialect: ventər to venture, vitlz victuals, nevi nephew.

The Dentals

t

§ 312. OE. initial t has remained both in native and French words: tanz (or tenz) tongs, task task, tiuf tough, top top, tuts to touch.

Note. An initial t has arisen through the transition kl (spelt cl) > tl (§ 337): tlap to clap, tlip to clip, tloker a broody hen, tluster to cluster.

§ 313. Medial t has also generally remained in the Lorton dialect: bitar bitter, botl bottle, butar butter, jisteda yesterday, otagidar altogether, ratn-trap (O. Fr. dimin. form raton) rat-trap, sistar sister.

Medial t in the combination t + ure-suffix in French words, which has become standard English tə, has remained in our dialect (substitution of suffixes has probably taken place; cf. § 250): feitar feature, moister moisture, nēter nature, pikter picture.

Medial t has disappeared between s—1 and s—n.

s—1: busl bustle, brusl to bristle, kasl castle, ḫusl thistle, prosl (OE. ƀrostl) thrush, wusl to whistle.

s—n: brusn, brosn pp. burst, fasn to fasten, lisn to listen, prosn, prusn pp. thrust.

§ 314. Final t has generally remained in the Lorton dialect:

druft drought, et hot, fift (OE. ｆifta) fifth, lat (OE. ｌaett) lath, sikst (OE. ｓi(e)xta) sixth, šift shirt, siūt soot, tairənt tyrant.

Weak preterites and past participles also usually end in t (cf, Acc., § 455): kipt pret. kept, kript pret. crept, wedit pp. wedded, meint pret. meant, nilt pret. and pp. knelt, telt pret. and pp. told.

Note I. Final t becomes voiced (d) in unaccented position when followed by the principal accent, and when the following word begins on a vowel in word-groups like: gid′id′qut get it out, led′it stop let it stop, gid′up get up, pud′i′dyun put it down, sūd′up shut up.

Note II. We find an excrescent final t in öst hoarse, sär-mënt sermon, skruft scruff, and occasionally in janst (but mostly jans) once, sūdat sudden, twaist twice.

Note III. There are traces of a softening of t before a following
r-suffix in words like stūţař to stutter, flūţař to flutter (cf. further ḍ, § 317).

§ 315. OE. initial ḍ has remained in the Lorton dialect:

ḍ ā day, deĭp deep, deĭp̂ depth, dip to dip, drink to drink, drop drop, duv dove.

Note. An initial ḍ has arisen through the transition gl > ḍl in words like dlad glad, dlīsn to glisten, dlūn(w)ær to glower (§ 352, c, cf. also § 337).

§ 316. Medial ḍ has remained unchanged, except when it was followed by an r-suffix in intervocalic position (cf. below, § 317):

didl to confuse (§ 148), jondēr yonder, midl middle, sindēr cinder, undēr under, undrēd hundred, wandēr to wander.

§ 317. When intervocalic ḍ is followed by an r-suffix it has become ʤ (§ 37); this ʤ is not a ḍ followed by Snackbar but rather a softened interdental stop, midway between ḍ and ʤ. This ʤ also represents OE. intervocalic Snackbar in the same position, and forms one of the most characteristic features of the Lorton dialect as well as of the surrounding dialectal varieties (cf. Hirst, A Gram. of the Kendal Dial., § 286; Wright, E. D. Gr., § 297; Ellis, E. E. Pr., pp. 555–7). According to Wright, this ʤ-sound has arisen from Snackbar; this Snackbar before a following r-suffix in the first instance represented both OE. original Snackbar in words like other, rather, leather, and OE. ḍ in words like father, mother, and the ʤ of our dialect therefore should be looked upon as an intermediate stage of the transition Snackbar > ḍ.

There are, however, several facts that make this theory rather doubtful as far as original ḍ is concerned. Thus, for instance, we find the same softening of the ḍ before an r-suffix in French words like kænsidēr to consider. In the Kendal dialect ʤ also occurs before a following r in words like ďrā to draw, ďrai dry, ďri tedious, ďrēm dream. Furthermore this softening also affects the dental t in the same position1 (cf. ‘A Phonology of the Cumbr. Dialect’, by S. Dickson-Brown, p. xxiv, in A Glossary of the Dial. of Cumberland, by Dickinson and Prevost) in words like flūţař to flutter, stūţař to stutter. These facts seem to point out that we simply have to do with an r-influence on the dental, thus described by S. Dickson-Brown: ‘When the ḍ or t has been

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1 I have found traces of this ʤ before a following r in the Lorton dialect, although not so distinct as in the case of ḍ (cf. § 314, note III).
formed, the tip of the tongue in passing to the r-position is not drawn at once away from but slides down the back of the upper teeth, and thus the dh or th comes into existence. It is therefore quite probable, as far as original d is concerned, that there has been no transition d>ð, but that the original OE. d has been preserved all the way through, although the following r has caused a gradual softening. As for original intervocalic ð in the same position, we might as well assume the transition ð>d and subsequent r-softening of this d, or the ð may represent an intermediate stage of the transition ð>d.

Examples: açær adder, bleðær bladder, brudær brother, foðær fodder, fadær father, gedær to gather, laðær lather, muðær mother, weðær weather.

Note I. This ð-sound seems to occur mostly after a short stem-vowel in the Lorton dialect.

Note II. We find Lorton d<OE. ð in mürðær (or múðær) to murder (<OE. myrfrian).

§ 318. We find no intrusive d in the combination n—1 (and in one case n—r) in our dialect: anl handle, bunl bundle, kinl to kindle, to light, kinlin firewood; also in þunor (<OE. þunor) thunder.

§ 319. Medial d has disappeared in consonant combinations, for instance: anfl handful, ansm handsome, granfaðær grandfather, grunsl groundsel, grunstn grindstone, lanlwöd landlord.

§ 320. Final d appears as d or t, but the occurrence of these two sounds does not follow any definite laws; final d in unaccented syllables and in consonant combinations, however, has become t in the majority of cases.

We find t in most of the preterites and past participles (with the stem ending in a consonant): kilt killed, niilt knelt, filt felt, sîmt seemed, telt told, wedit wedded (see further Accidence, § 455).

§ 321. In the following words d and t are used promiscuously: biïnt or aïnt behind, biïont beyond, ïrânt errand, forêt forward, kûstêt custard, ußbant husband, wöfêt orchard, wusêt worsted.

§ 322. Final d nearly always remains in the combination nd in accented syllables: and hand, bind to bind, blind blind, band, bund pret. and pp. bound, fand, fund pret. and pp. found, wand, wund pret. and pp. wound.

Note I. Final d mostly disappears in an and (unaccented form), and often in þuuzn thousand.
Note II. An excrescent d is occasionally heard in drund to drown, guund gown, suund sound.

§ 323. The OE. dental spirant, written þ or ð promiscuously, was probably voiceless everywhere, except medially between voiced sounds, and has had the following development in the Lorton dialect:

§ 324. Initially it has remained voiceless, except in some words which generally have become voiceless in unstressed position, where it has become voiceless; such words are pronouns and certain adverbs (cf. below):

þisl (or þîsl) thistle, þû(r)zde Thursday, þum thumb, þûuzn(d) thousand.

§ 325. The following pronouns and adverbs which earlier had double forms, one stressed with voiceless spirant (þ), the other unstressed with voiced spirant (ð), have all generalized the last-mentioned form (with ð) in the Lorton dialect:

þai (unaccented ði) thy, þan (ðen) then, þat pron. that, þem them, þis this, þer there, þð though, þûu (unaccented ðu) thou.

Note I. On the definite article (t) and its origin see below, Acc., § 386.

Note II. The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. ðuu (ðu) has become ð when used interrogatively: aste sin þem hast thou seen him? wilta dijút wilt thou do it?

Note III. Initial þ has disappeared before w in the words wan (OE. þwange) thong, witl (OE. þwitan to cut, ME. þwitel knife) to whittle, to cut with a knife.

§ 326. Medial OE. voiced dental spirant (ð) has generally become ð or d:

1. We find ð in intervocalic position before an or-suffix (on the origin and nature of this sound see § 317 above): þeðar feather, leðar leather, ððar other, weðar whether.

2. We find d, ð in faðin farthing, faðm fathom, murðar (or mûðar) murder, smîði smithy. Note that there are many instances of this transition þ > d in OE. (Sievers, Angelsächsische Gram., § 201).

Note. Medial OE. dental spirant has disappeared in tliáx clothes, and usually in muns months.

§ 327. The Lorton dialect mostly agrees with standard English in the treatment of final dental spirant. It is in most cases voiceless, except in a few words where it represents OE. medial ð.

*Voiced* in *bêd* to bathe, *breïd* to breathe, *smuïd* smooth.

**Note I.** Final  readOnly in the preposition *with* has been stopped (Lorton wid), but this form is used only before a following vowel: gâ wid äm go with him! Before a consonant the d is dropped (Lorton wi), for instance, wi bïap on äm with both of them.

**Note II.** The ordinal numerals (except seknd second, and þud third) all end in t, having generalized the t-ending of the OE. numerals, *fiöta, sixta, endleöta, twela* (cf. § 403).


**Note III.** It is difficult to explain the origin of the form sai (<OE. side) scythe. It may, however, be a back-formation from the plural saïz scythes (with loss of the dental; cf. tliâz clothes, muns months, § 326. 2, note).

**The Sibilants**

* s

**§ 328.** OE. s was perhaps voiced between voiced sounds, otherwise voiceless in all positions (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 203). It has had the following development in the Lorton dialect:

**§ 329. Initial** s has remained voiceless before vowels and consonants:

sai scythe, sau to sew, siûn soon, smidi smithy, strîe straw, swap to barter, to exchange.

s before ü in French words (= standard English ë) has also remained unchanged:

siûer sure, suger sugar.

**§ 330. Medial** s is voiced (z) between voiced sounds both in native and French words:

bîzm besom, buzm bosom, feznt pheasant, gezlin gosling, puzn poison, ûznïd husband.

We also find z in French words before a following ü in the un-educing: mezoom measure, lezoom leisure, plezoom pleasure (cf. § 250).

**Note.** It is difficult to explain the dentals ޤ, Ƣ (for original s) in siêæ, siêæ scissors. Wright (*A Gram. of the W. H. Dial.*, § 310. 2) assumes analogical influence from sai decode scythe.

**§ 331. Medial** s in combination with voiceless sounds has remained voiceless; this law also holds good when the voiceless sound has disappeared:

basket basket, blossm blossom, fasn to fasten, liám to listen, rûsl to wrestle, þûsl (or þîsl) thistle, þrosl (OE. þröstle) thrush, wüsli to whistle.
§ 332. Medial and final s, when preceded by an r, has usually combined itself with the r into a supradental sound s (cf. r+t>t, r+d>t, § 28), like the Swedish s in kors, vers: küšän (with r-metathesis) to christen, wäšen to grow worse, sičš scissors, mučš mothers.

§ 333. Final s has generally had the same development as in standard English both in native and French words (except in the case of the combination rs; see § 332).

1. Voiced: an(d)z hands, beliz bellows, blāz to blaze, diz (3rd pers. sing.) does, raiz to rise, rwoz rose, tliáz clothes.

Note. We find z in uz us, on account of its being mostly used in unstressed position.

2. Voiceless: ants ants, ēis this, fīs fleece, ēis geese, greīs sb. grease, mučs mouse, seis to cease, tšois choice, ušs house.

(On the endings s, z of the plurals and the 3rd pers. sing. see Acc., § 455.)

Note. s has disappeared in pē (ME. pese) pea, ridl (OE. rōđelse) riddle, tšūri (O. Fr. cérise) cherry.¹

The W. Germanic Guttural Explosives in the Lorton Dialect

§ 334. The OE. initial explosive c before vowels remained a guttural explosive before guttural vowels and their mutations (see Sievers, Altenlische Gram., §§ 206, 207), but became palatal before palatal vowels and their mutations. It has had the following development in the Lorton dialect:

§ 335. Initial c before originally guttural vowels has remained an explosive in the Lorton dialect:

kaind kind, kanl candle, kat cat, kīn keen, kiāk cake, kil kiln (<OE. cyln< Latin culina), kindm kingdom (OE. cypedōm), kip to keep, kītšīn kitchen, kiūk to cook, kōf calf, kōld cold, kum to come, kūn cow.

§ 336. OE. initial c before palatal vowels, which in the W. Saxon and Mercian dialects has become an affricate (tš), and in Northumbrian an affricate or explosive (tš or k), appears as tš or k in the Lorton dialect.

It appears as:

1. tš in tšaid to chide, tšap chap, tšau to chew, tšaul jaw (<OE. čeafol, ME. chavel; cf. Old Low German kaful), used in the expres-

¹ Probably back-formations from the original forms in s, which were looked upon as plurals.
sion tšik bi tšaul, said of two persons close together, tšeip cheap, tšíz cheese, tšikin chicken, tšíldor children, tšín chin.

2. k in the words quoted below. This k is probably due to Scandinavian influence in some cases, although it cannot be looked upon as a criterion of Scandinavian origin (see further Appendix, and E. Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., pp. 141, 143).

Examples: kaf chaff (OE. ceaf, Dutch kaf, German kaff, Swed. dial. kaf), kist chest (OE. cest, ciste, Swed. kista, Dan. kiste), kíŋkof whooping-cough (<ME. kinken to pant).

kýr-k church; this pronunciation is mostly heard from old people and in place-names such as braidkýr, kúrkstil, the usual form now being tšútš, a late introduction from standard English.

§ 337. OE. initial explosive c has become t in the combination cl (Lorton tl) through partial assimilation. This change cl > tl has taken place in several other English dialects, such as Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands, and in the South and South-western, but also frequently occurs as an individualism among educated people all over England (Wright, E. D. Gr., § 535).

tlap to clap, tlae clay, tied clad, tliáz clothes, tlim to climb, tluud cloud, tlút clout.

§ 338. Initial OE. explosive c has disappeared in the Lorton dialect before an n. The OE. combination cn first became tn through partial assimilation (cf. the analogous change of OE. cl into tl, § 337), as shown by the dialect records of about eighty years ago. I have also met several old people who remember having heard this pronunciation in their childhood (such as tnok to knock, tniav knave). These forms with initial tn (<OE. initial cn) are still preserved in the words knife and knock in the dialects of West Forfar and East Perth (Scotland); see Wright, E. D. Gr., sub knife and knock.

Examples: naïf knife, naív knave, n(e)i knee, nit to knit, nó to know, nok to knock.

§ 339. OE. explosive c has remained in the initial combination cr:

kram to cram, kredl cradle, krib crib, krip to creep.

§ 340. OE. initial explosive c has disappeared in the combination cw in wík (Anglian cvicu) alive (cf. waiêt quiet, wišín cushion, § 380).

§ 341. Non-initial OE. c has undergone several changes in the
Lorton dialect according to its position and the nature of the neighbouring sounds. The combination *sc* has had a development of its own and has therefore been treated separately. As for OE. non-initial *c* in other cases, its development entirely depends on whether the *c* has become final or remained medial in our dialect, and the cases in question have consequently been classified according to this principle.

§ 342. *c* in the combination *sc* was palatalized everywhere in OE., except in loan-words, and became ME. and modern English *ș* (sh) in the majority of cases. But we find in standard English, as well as in the Lorton dialect, several words with *sk* instead of *ș*; this *sk* must as a rule be ascribed to foreign influence; it occurs in Celtic, Latin, and Scand. Loan-words, or in native words that have been influenced by analogy from some of the above-mentioned languages, in the majority of cases the Scandinavian (see Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 733; Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 119; Bübrbing, *AE. Elementarbuch*, §§ 506–11).

§ 343. Initial OE. *sc* appears as Lorton *ș* in some words, all of which also have *ș* in the South-Humbrian dialects:


Note. *șaiw* slice; we find no OE. prototype of this word, and ME. *schive* probably is a loan from M. Low German (*schive*) or Scand. (Icel. *skifa*, Swed. *skiva*, Dan. *skive*).

§ 344. Initial OE. *sc* appears as Lorton *sk* (see above, § 342, and App.) in several words which also have initial *sk* in the South-Humbrian dialects (except *skift*; see below). As for the rest of the words with initial *sk*, see Appendix.

*skiūl* school (OE. *scōlu*, a loan from Lat. *schola*), *skatēr* to scatter (of obscure origin, but perhaps influenced by the Dutch or Scandinavian languages; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, pp. 10, 123), *skift* to shift (the *sk* seems to indicate Scandinavian origin, but see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 126); we also find another form *sift* sb. chemise, which may be of native origin or an anglicized form of the Scand. loan-word (<O. W. Scand. *skipta*; see App.). *skil* skill (O. W. Scand. *skil* discernment, reason, OE. *scilian* vb., ME. *skil*, *schil*, and *schillen*, but probably of Scand. origin; see Björkman, p. 126), *skip* to skip (origin somewhat obscure,
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may be a Celtic or Scand. loan-word; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-

words*, p. 127), skūt skirt (we find two ME. forms: skirte from

O. W. Scand. skyrta, and shirte from OE. scyrte, Björkman, p. 128).

skriuften scurf, may be of Scand. or native origin, but the sk

seems to indicate Scand. influence (see further Björkman, p. 184).

Most of the remaining words with initial sk seem to be of

undoubted Scand. origin, and will therefore be treated below in

the Scand. part of my work.

§ 345. When sc became final in the Lorton dialect it developed

into three different sounds: (1) š, (2) sk, (3) s (in two words).

1. OE. medial and final sc (both appear as final in the Lorton
dialect) has become š in daš to dash, beat (ME. daschen, possibly
Scand. origin, although the form is anglicized; cf. Swed. daska,
Dan. daske to slap, beat), eš ash-tree, fiš fish, fleš flesh, freš fresh,
weš to wash, wiš to wish, naš (neš) (OE. hnesce) fragile, tender.

Note. The origin of the word paš (in the expression ē paš ē
rėn a light shower of rain) is somewhat obscure. We find, how-

ever, a ME. word paschen, that may have its origin in the Scand.
; cf. Swed. dial. paska to beat, used of rain or water (see Wright, *A
Gram. of the Dial. of Windhill*, § 318. 6).

2. Lorton final sc appears as sk in some words of native origin
(on final sk in Scand. words see App.). The sk in these words is

generally accounted for through influence from OE. and ME. forms

with cs, ks, arisen through metathesis of the sc (see Björkman,
p. 135): ask (also as, aks, eks; see below, 3) to ask (OE. ascian,
äcsian, ME. asken, axien), ask (drai ask lizard, wet ask newt)< OE.
ädexe, miks to mix (< OE. miscian, mixian), tūsk tusk (OE. tusc or
tux, ME. tux).

3. Final sc appears as s in two words: as to ask (from the

preterite askt > ast), as ashes (OE. xesc), asmidin ash-pit.

§ 346. Medial explosive c which has not become final in the

Lorton dialect generally remained: akw ø acorn, fikl fickle, sikl
sickle, twiŋk1 to twinkle (OE. twinclian), wōkøn to waken.

Note I. OE. medial c has been palatalized and become tš in

kitšin kitchen.

Note II. OE. medial c has disappeared in the past participle
miād made; between s and l in asl axle, and musl muscle (OE.
muscle, mucle, ME. muscle); and also in the past participle
tiān taken (of Scand. origin; see Acc., § 444).

§ 347. When OE. c is final in the Lorton dialect it appears as

an affricate (tš) or an explosive (k). In order to exemplify the
deviations of the Lorton dialect from the South-Humbrian dialects I have adopted the following classification:

1. Cases where OE. c appears as ō tō both in Lorton and the South-Humbrian dialects: bīsītō to beseech, brefītō break, britis breech, liītō leech, mitō or mutō much, pitō pitch, reītō to reach, stītō stitch, strītō (or streits) to stretch, wātō watch, witō which.

Note. Palatal c after n has become s (the t-element does not appear between n and s: binō bench, drenō to drench, inō inch.

2. Cases where the Lorton dialect has an explosive (k) but the South-Humbrian dialects an affricate (tō); k in these cases is chiefly due to Scand. influence (see Appendix, and Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., pp. 144 ff.) : būrk birch, daik ditch, hedge (Björkman, p. 145), kūrk church (Björkman, p. 146), sleek to extinguish (Björkman, p. 147), sek such (see § 107, note).

3. Cases where OE. c appears as an explosive (k) both in Lorton and the South-Humbrian dialects: bārk to bark, biāk to bake, biūk book, brek to break, driŋk to drink, förk fork, jūk hook, lik to lick, liūk to look, mak to make, mārk mark, nēk neck, prīk to prick, riāk rake, rīk to reek, smoke, siāk sake, speīk to speak, stīāk stake, wīk week, wūrk to work, wārk sb. work.

§ 348. A. OE. initial ȝ was a voiced guttural or palatal spirant (Sievers, Angels. Gram., §§ 211 ff.). It was guttural before consonants, guttural vowels, their mutations, and ð, but it was a palatal spirant before palatal vowels. Later on the above-mentioned guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, ū (i-mutation of ū), and ē (i-mutation of ō).

§ 349. OE. initial explosive ȝ has been preserved in the Lorton dialect: gālōs gallows, galāsiz braces, gēgar to gather, giāp to gape (perhaps Scandinavian; see Björkman, p. 150), giāvlik crowbar, giūs goose, gōst ghost, gould gold, gud, gid good, gwot goat.

§ 350. The ȝ in gest guest, bīgin to begin, git to get, giv (gi) to give, is undoubtedly of Scand. origin (see Björkman, pp. 152–6, and Sweet, New Engl. Gram., §§ 817–18).

§ 351. We find doublets with initial ȝ and j, and with a distinct difference in sense in the case of two words. Of these the forms with ȝ are Scand. loans, those with j of native origin. These words are:

1. gārn yarn (O. W. Scand., O. Swed. garn yarn; see Björkman, p. 150).

jārn story, tale, chat (< OE. geärn).
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2. garbd yard, a small piece of enclosed ground, usually beside a house or other building, a fence or hedge, occurring in the compound stakgarbd a piece of ground with haystacks, enclosed by a fence, and also in place-names (<O. W. Scand. gardr, O. Swed. garper; see Björkman, p. 151).

jäd yard (<OE. geard).

Here might also be mentioned the following two words (of historically different origin); the first one is a Scandinavian loan, whereas the second one derives its origin from OE.:

(a) giat thoroughfare, way, road (ON. gata), also street, for instance in Carlisle, Botchergate, Rickergate; in other place-names, for instance, Clappersgate, Mealsgate. The word is also used adverbially in the expression to get agiát to get into action, to get started (see Björkman, p. 151, and Ellwood, Lakeland and Iceland, p. 25).

(b) jat gate (<OE. geat gate, opening).

§ 352. OE. initial explosive z before consonants appears in the Lorton dialect as follows:

(a) It has remained before a following r: græ grey, grin green, greit great, grund ground, grunt to grunt.

(b) It has disappeared before a following n: nat gnat, nö to gnaw.

(c) Before an l it has become d through partial assimilation (cf. above, kl > tl, § 337): dlad glad, dlas glass, dlitær to glitter, dljuv glove.

§ 353. The OE. initial and palatal spirant z has generally remained in our dialect:

jäd yard, järn yarn, jat gate, yat (see above, § 351. 3), jale yellow, jistæqa yesterday, jök yolk, jurn to yearn.

B. OE. z in medial and final position:

§ 354. OE. spirantic z in medial or final position after a vowel generally combined itself with the preceding vowel, thus forming a long vowel or diphthong. I have contented myself with giving below one or two typical instances of each vowel or diphthong, and refer to the paragraphs above, where the respective vowels have been treated separately.

§ 355. 1. OE. a + z > Lorton ö: dön dawn, drö to draw, mö maw (§ 99).

2. OE. a + z > Lorton ö or au: ö to owe, ön adj. own, aun vb. to own (§ 160).

§ 356. 1. OE. æ + z > Lorton æ: bræn brain, dæ day, dæzi daisy, fæn fain, fær fair, mæn main, næl nail (§ 98).
2. OE. ē + g > Lorton ē : grē gray, kē key, tīē clay (§ 164).

§ 357. OE. e + g > Lorton ē : ēwē away, rēn rain, sēl sail, wē way (§ 115).

§ 358. 1. OE. i + g > Lorton ī or ai : stīl stile, tail tile (§ 127).
2. OE. ī + ā > Lorton ī : stī sty.

§ 359. 1. OE. o + g > Lorton au (au(w)a) : bau (OE. boga) bow, fau(w)en pp. flown (§ 133).
2. OE. ē + g > Lorton ēu : biū bough, driū pret. drew (§ 188).

§ 360. 1. OE. u + g > Lorton ľu : ľūl fowl (§ 145).
2. OE. ū + ā > Lorton ľu : bū ľ to bow (§ 189).

§ 361. OE. y + ā > Lorton ai : bai to buy, drai dry.

§ 362. WS. ëa, Angl. ē > Lorton ī : īn eyes (sometimes also ī sing. eye, § 196).

§ 363. WS. ëog, Angl. ēg > Lorton ī : īli to fly, īli to lie (§ 202).

§ 364. OE. ē often became ē finally after a long guttural vowel, or 1, r (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 214). This ē (no doubt originally a guttural spirant) became a labiodental spirant (f) in some words of our dialect; thus after OE. ā, in duf dough; after ē in anūf enough.

This transition also has taken place after an originally short vowel in trof (OE. trog, troh) trough, and medially in two words: brafin horse-collar (< OE. beorg + ham; see N.E.D. sub bargham; the present form of the word in our dialect seems to have arisen through r-metathesis and a suffixal change). Also in druf (OE. drūgo) drought (§ 189), and finally after r in dūrf dwarf.

§ 365. OE. ē after the liquids l, r when final in the Lorton dialect has given ē (§ 251); the forms with ē have, in the case of the substantives, arisen from the oblique cases where the ē was medial: bora to borrow, marė marrow, soro sorrow.

§ 366. The forms with an i-ending have arisen from the nominative case where ē was final in nouns such as beli belly, beliz bellows; and medially in the verbs beri to bury, wurī to worry.

§ 367. The ending ig became i through the intermediate stage of i in OE. (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 214. 5); it appears as i in the Lorton dialect: bōdi body, dizi dizzy, eni any, evi heavy, meni (or moni) many.

§ 368. We find several words with a final explosive (g); in the majority of these words the ē probably is due to foreign influence (mostly Scandinavian), or the words may simply be loans.
THE CONSONANTS

1. We find three words of native origin which in OE. had geminated $g$ ($gg$, not arisen through the W. Germanic gemination before a following $j$): dog (OE. *dogga*) dog, $frog$ (OE. *frogga*) frog, $šag$ (OE. *seeacga*) shag, rough hair.

2. In the following words the $g$ should probably be accounted for through Scand. influence: big $big$ (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 157, footnote), $brig$ bridge (OE. brýcg, Icel. brýggja, Swed. brygga), $drag$ to drag (OE. *dragan*, but see Björkman, p. 157, footnote), $lig$ to lie, to put or lay down (OE. *licgan*), $rag$ $rag$ (Björkman, p. 35, footnote), $rig$ ridge (OE. hrycg, Icel. hryggr, Swed. rygg), $ug$ to hug, to embrace or carry (possibly Scand.; see N.E.D. sub *hug*), $wag$ to wag (Björkman, p. 256).

3. Of obscure origin are frig $coire$, pro$g$ $food$, provisions to be eaten in the field (Prevost).

§ 369. OE. final $g$, arisen through West Germanic gemination before a $j$ (and therefore palatal; see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 216.1), has become Lorton $dž$: edž $edge$, midž $midge$, sledž $sledge$, wedž $wedge$.

Note. We find $g$ in one word: seg $sedge$ (<OE. *secg* < W. Germanic *sagja*).

§ 370. Palatal OE. $g$ after $n$ has become Lorton $ž$ in $inž$ hinge (ME. hënže, not recorded in OE.), $křinž$ to cringe, $swinž$ to singe (<OE. *sengan* with an intrusive $w$).

$h$

§ 371. OE. initial $h$ was an aspirate like modern English $h$ in horse; it occurred before vowels and in the combinations $hl$, $hr$, $hn$, $hw$ (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 217).

§ 372. Initially before vowels and consonants $h$ has disappeared in the greater part of the modern English dialects and also in Lorton.

1. Before vowels: and hand, $āt$ heart, $ōst$ hoarse, $uu$ how, $uus$ house.

2. Before consonants: liáf loaf, lwōd lord, nit (OE. *hnitu*) nit, nūt nut, riŋ ring, riūk rook, wat what, wor where (see further § 268 above, on the initial combination $hw$).

Note. Initial $h$ before vowels has been retained in the North of Cumberland, owing to the influence of the Scotch dialects, where $h$ has been retained in this position, but in the remaining parts of
Cumberland it has been dropped everywhere, although words originally beginning with a vowel or h often have an h prefixed to them, especially to express strong emphasis. Mr. S. Dickson-Brown, who is one of the foremost experts on the Cumbrian dialect, thus expresses his opinion on the occurrence of initial h in Cumberland (in his Introduction to W. Prevost's Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland, p. xxv): 'It may be laid down as an axiom that Cumbrians know nothing of h as a reliable quantity, and the truth will be vouched for by all—experto crede—who have had the weariness of instructing the Cumbrian youth in its usage.'

§ 373. OE. medial and final h was a voiceless guttural or palatal spirant like the ch in German ach and ich (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 219). It has developed in three different ways in our dialect.

§ 374. (a) h has disappeared altogether, but it generally caused the preceding vowel to be lengthened or diphthonged.

Medially: aut aught, anything (§§ 159, II; 132), baut pp. and pret. bought, braut pret. and pp. brought, dauter daughter, efet (Angl. heifore) heifer, eit eight, feit vb. and sb. fight (§ 114), fit flight, fritn to frighten, lit light, naut nought, nothing, næber neighbour, nit night, raut pp. wrought, rit right, rit wright, saut pret. and pp. sought, sit sight, strit straight, tant pret. and pp. taught, tit tight, baut pret. and pp. thought, weit weight.

Finally: i high, fi (Angl. fleh) flea, nī nigh, near, þi thigh, þruu through; h has given ə in ola hollow (< oblique cases of OE. holh, gen. holwes), but disappeared in für (OE. furh) furrow.

§ 375. (b) OE. medial and final h (or geminated hh) has been preserved as f in some words (cf. OE. g > h > f, above, § 364, and Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 221).

1. In the combination xt in lafter laughter, slafter slaughter.
2. Finally in kof to cough, laf to laugh, ruf rough, tiuf tough.

§ 376. (c) OE. h has been preserved and become k in the combination ks (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 221. 2):

nekest next, siks six, waks to wax.

The French Consonants

§ 377. Most of the French consonants have been treated above with the native ones. It only remains to add a few remarks on ME. k, g, ęż, and the affricates dż and tš of French origin;

1 We also find another form of this word: slauter.
these consonants have, with few exceptions, had the same development in the Lorton dialect as in standard English.

§ 378. ME. k < O. Fr. c (pronounced k) has generally remained.
Examples: kāq card, karōt carrot, kādž cage, kiās case, kuntri country, kwot coat, skafōd scaffold, skōd to scald, blāŋkēt blanket, fākt fact, ĭŋk ink, pōrk pork, rāŋk rank.

§ 379. Initial kl has become tl (see above, § 337) in French as well as in native words: tlärk clerk, tläm to claim, tliar clear.

§ 380. Initial kw appears as w (occasionally hw, heard from old people) in two words: wais quiet, and wiśin cushion ( < ME. quissin, quisshen); see Horn, Untersuchungen zur NE. Lautgesch., p. 61; as tw in twilt quilt (see Horn, Unters., p. 61. 7).

§ 381. ME. g < O. Fr. g has remained in the Lorton dialect (except in the combination initial gl; see below, § 382, and above, § 352).

gāq to guard, gāqin garden, gareč garret, grant to grant, grī to agree, bārgin bargain, ĭger eager.

§ 382. Initial gl has become dl: dlib glebe, dlōb globe, dlōri glory, dlīuU glue, dlūtn glutton.

§ 383. ME. š < O. Fr. ss (pronounced ʃ) has remained in the Lorton dialect (see, however, below, note): brūš brush, finiš to finish, fiŋiš to furnish, krūš to crush, pariš parish, pašin passion.

§ 384. ME. dž < O. Fr. g or j (before e, i) has generally remained: dželš jealous, dželi jelly, džoi joy, džoin to join, džudž to judge, džūst just, ĭblaidž to oblige, kādž cage, dāŋdžer danger, tšāndž to change.

Note. ME. dž = O. Fr. g has become š in the age-ending: damiš damage, podiš porridge (a corrupted form of O. Fr. potage); the affricate may have lost its dental element on account of weak stress, or—what seems to me the most probable explanation—a substitution of the ish-suffix for original -age has taken place.

§ 385. ME. tš < O. Fr. ch has remained in the Lorton dialect: tšans chance, tšapli chapel, tšārm charm, tšēn chain, tšēr chair, tšimlē chimney, preitš to preach, tūtš to touch, sātš to search.

Note. The affricate has lost its dental element finally after n in branš branch, trenš trench.
§ 386. The definite article in Lorton is t. Opinions differ very much as to the origin of this t. It is supposed by some authors to be a clipped form of the neutral pronoun *ðat* (OE. *ðæt*); this theory seems to be supported by Sir J. A. H. Murray (The Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 26); he points out that aphaeresis of initial *ð*, *þ* is a common characteristic of those dialects which have been exposed to Celtic influence (as must have been the case in our district). If this is true, the relative pronoun and conjunction *at* (*at*, see § 417) may just as well be of native origin as Scandinavian (as is generally supposed by most authors who have dealt with the dialects of the North). J. Wright strongly objects to the above-mentioned explanation of the definite article *t* (A Gram. of the Windhill Dialect, p. 118). According to him the *t*-form has arisen through the transition *ð* (*þ*) > *t* on account of its unaccented position. This seems to me to be the most probable explanation, but only part of it, for we must also take into consideration that assimilation with the initial consonants of nouns beginning in *d* or *t* and partial assimilation with a following *s*, *n* must have been at work (see further § 408).

The definite article *t* is more or less distinct according to the nature of the following sound. It is heard quite plainly before vowels: *tudaron* the other one, *tus* the house, *tam* the ham.

Before consonants it is less marked, but hardly ever disappears altogether (except in the cases mentioned below in § 387): *tman* the man, *tn(e)i* the knee, *tfivar* the fever, *tšop* the shop, *tsárvent* the servant. It is often hard to distinguish before a following guttural: (*t*)kap the cap, (*t*)gutar the gutter, (*t*)kof the calf.

Before a following dental (*d*, *t*) the only trace of the article is a suspension (or lengthening) of the *d* or *t*: *t'iád* the toad, *t'op* the top, *d'liáv* the glove, *d'ust* the dust.
The definite article is very often attached to the preceding word, especially if this word is a preposition (or a pronoun): i went intuṭ šop he went into the shop, i əst muŋki ont rigin he has the monkey on the ridge (of his house), that is to say, his house or property is mortgaged.

Owing to liturgical influence the Lorton dialect uses the standard English form ə before łōd (rarely 1wōd) when applied to God, and also in expressions like wat ə divl ḏuḍ i want what the devil did he want? wai ə aŋmənt diz i ƙum ƙar why the hangment does he come here? and other expressions of a similar nature (cf. Wright, E. D. Gr., § 371).

§ 387. The Lorton dialect differs from standard English in the use of the definite article in the following cases:

The definite article is often omitted when talking of domestic animals or familiar objects belonging to the family: dog ız ụt the dog is out, kụu ız il the cow is ill; and also often in expressions with siám same: siám pịn the same thing, siám stuf the same stuff.

NOTE I. The definite article is omitted before words like church, school, grace, bed, and generally in the same cases as the literary language.

NOTE II. The definite article is often used instead of a possessive pronoun when speaking of members of the family and parts of the body: tmisẹs, twaif my wife, Ịz got trumatiks it ọ(e)i he has got the rheumatics in his knee, av got ə tarbl pẹn i tand I have a terrible pain in my hand.

§ 388. The indefinite article is ə, ən. ən is used before vowels, ə before both vowels and consonants: ən apl an apple, ə steg a gander, ə at a hat, ə ask a lizard (or newt).

The ə of the indefinite article ən is often attached to the following word: ə nọtșeŋ an orchard, ə notər an otter; the ə is then often dropped: nụuns ə baka an ounce of tobacco. This use of the indefinite article has given rise to the forms: aŋər adder (<OE. nəddre), ọgar auger (OE. nafo-gər) (but the ə has been preserved in nəpəŋ apron).
NOUNS

Formation of the Plural

1. Plurals in *iz, *z, *s

§ 389. Nouns ending in the sibilants *s, *z, *ś (tš), *ž (dž) form the plural by adding *-iz (this i is, however, somewhat lowered towards the e-position). Examples: *flás face, pl. *flásiz; *nwóz nose, pl. *nwóziz; *uus house, pl. *uuziz; *diš dish, pl. *dišiz; *watš watch, pl. *watšiz; *edž edge, pl. *edžiz.

Nouns ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant other than *z, *ž form the plural by adding *z: *dās day, pl. *dāsiz; *tē toe, pl. *tēsiz; *lad lad, boy, pl. *ladz; *dog dog, pl. *dogz.

Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than *s, *ś add *s in the plural: *bāp bath, pl. *bāps; *deip death, pl. *deips; *kost cost, pl. *kosts; *nest nest, pl. *nests; *munp month, pl. *mun(p)s; *paʃ path, pl. *paʃs; *riuʃ roof, pl. *riuʃs.

But nouns ending in *f and containing a long OE. stem-vowel form the plural by changing *f into *v and adding a *z, in the same cases as in standard English: *leif leaf, pl. *leivz; *kof calf, pl. *kóvz; *liuʃ loaf, pl. *liuʃz; *naif knife, pl. *naivz; *waif wife, pl. *waivz.

Note. *beiʃ beast, has a collective plural form *beiʃ cattle, probably formed after the analogy of the mutation plurals (§ 393), such as *gis geese, *lais lice, *maiʃ mice.

2. Double plural forms

§ 390. We regularly find double plural forms of the words *galąsiz gallows, *braces, *bełąsiz bellows, the numerals *tuusiz twos, *prisiz threes, for instance: *bi *tuusiz *an *prisiz, by twos and threes, and often (although not regularly) of other *s-plurals, such as *wąziz ways, *dogziz dogs, *katsiz cats.

3. Plurals in *n

§ 391. *ai (rarely *i) eyes, pl. *in eyes (OE., WS. *éagan, Angl. *égen); *sun pl. shoes (from the late OE. genitive and dative plurals in *-n: gen. *scoðna, dat. *scoñ; see Wright, OE. Gram., § 334, note, and Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 242, Anm. 2); *kain cows (now almost obsolete, from OE. plur. *n-forms, such as gen. plur. *cynna); the more usual form of this word is *kai (<OE. nom. and acc. plur. *cë, cye cows), but this form is now being super-
seded by the plural s-form kūuz cows; özn stockings (<OE. plur. hosan; see Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 278, Anm. 1).

4. Plurals in r

§ 392. Our only instance is tšildər children (<OE. plur. cildru children).

5. Mutation plurals

flūt foot fit man man
giūs goose gūs mouse mais
kru cow kai (cf. above, § 391) tiūp tooth tiūp
lūs louse lais wuman woman wimin

Note. Plurals in -s, however, frequently occur also of the above-mentioned words: thus flūts feet, giūsiz geese, tiūps teeth, &c.

6. Singular and plural alike

§ 394. Here belong the words: as ashes, erin herring(s), ŝip sheep, swain swine, and also a number of words expressing measure, number, weight, space, and time when preceded by a cardinal numeral. These words are: flūt foot or feet, ŝilin shilling(s), pound(s), inš inch(es), hundred-weight(s), ounce(s), bushel(s), acre(s), mile(s), month(s), wik week(s).

7. Nouns only used in the plural

§ 395. belēsiz bellows, galēsiz braces, krūdz curds, līts lungs of animals, askinz banns, meziz measles, grunz sediment, siĝəs scissors, tenz tongs, trūuzziz trousers.

Formation of the Genitive Case

§ 396. The genitive case is formed by adding s, z, iz, the occurrence of the respective endings being regulated by the rules laid down for the formation of the plural (cf. above, § 389 ff.). Examples: tkats ŝel the cat's tail, džwōdziz ūus George's house, tladz fagăr the boy's father.

1 Thus called on account of the fact that when the intestines of an animal are put in water the lungs, being lighter than the other parts, always rise to the surface (lit = light < Angl. light).
The genitive plural, however, is frequently expressed by adding an additional syllable to the nominative plural: sum fôksiz qûzîs some people's houses, tîadzîs tliâz the clothes of the boys, t'fàrmësiz kûzî the cows of the farmers.

**Note I.** The sign of the genitive is sometimes omitted (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 387): mi fâdâr šûn my father's shoes, iz muđâr ţûs his mother's house.

**Note II.** We find remains of the old adverbial genitive in the expressions: kûm ùî wëzîn come in! gâq jor wëzût go out!

§ 397. The genitive can also be expressed by on, øn, ø (rarely øv; see § 467): od tîd ø toš hold the horse's head! øv je šûn tûrmêts ø tûdâr fârmës have you seen the turnips of the other farmers? øv-je s(e)in tflâs oner have you seen her face?

**ADJECTIVES**

§ 398. One of the most striking mannerisms of the true Cumbrian dialect-speaker is his tendency to avoid—as far as possible—making a definite statement of any kind (see Dickson-Brown's Grammatical Introduction to Dickinson-Prevost's *A Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland*, p. xxxvi). In strict adherence to this habitual non-committal attitude, the Cumbrian is rarely heard to use an adjective without trying to modify its intensity of meaning in one way or another, either by an adverb or adverbial expression of some kind or—still oftener—by affixing one of the toning-down suffixes -ly (li), -ish (iš), or -like (laïk). Thus, for instance, šî iz ø kwîrîli kaind øv ø bodi she is a queer sort of person, iz ø lâl bit kwîrîsh, dâwoni iz Johnny is a little bit queer; also oldîs oldish, fâdis faddish, pîrîs poorish, tlevîrîs cleverish, šâpîsh sharpish, slêpiš a bit slippery. Another down-toner is laïk: ø rûnûlaiq sôjt ø jîn a bit sort of thing; also prûd-laïk a bit proud, rûstilaïk somewhat rusty, daftlaïk poor-witted, stôrmilaïk somewhat stormy, kanîlaiq, nice, good-looking.

**Note.** The work laïk, when used independently, also serves to modify a whole sentence or expression, thus: watsê dîûn ûîr laik what art thou doing there? i let isêl gâ laik he let himself go, âl smâk ţî id laik I will smack thy head.

§ 399. Another tendency of the Cumbrian dialect-speaker is that of intensifying his adjectives in several ways:
1. By combining two adjectives of a kindred meaning: e lāl wi bodi a very small person, e gūt big tšap a very big chap, e ānšent öld yus a very old house.

2. By means of intensifying adverbs, of which we find a great variety in our dialect (note that these intensifiers, although of adverbial function, have the form of an adjective). Examples: e kani gūd man a very good man, e gā fain nit a very fine night, e tarbi tlevr ļass a terribly clever girl (see further Adverbs, § 466).

3. By means of the words ķura thorough, ļruu (en ļruu) through, au(w)ar over. Thus: a ķura gūd lāl miar a thoroughly good little mare, i waz fār au(w)ar gūd to liv lañ he was too good to live long, i waz dzānik ļruu en ļruu he was honest (genuine) through and through.

Note. Intensity is also often expressed by means of metaphorical expressions or similes, in which our dialect abounds. I cannot forgo drawing the reader's attention to some of the most expressive ones: liānli əz e mailstían lonely as a milestone, kriikt əz e dogz aind leg crooked as a dog's hind leg, daft əz e jat et opnz biāp wāz foolish as a gate that opens both ways, fat əz e tēliēs giūs fat as a tailor's goose, grīdi əz e riāk greedy as a rake, ļēzi əz e stī lazy as a ladder, plēn əz e jat sūup plain as a gate-post. For further information on the subject see Dr. E. W. Prevost's interesting and exhaustive list of Cumbrian similes and proverbial expressions (A Supplement to the Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland, pp. 13–21).

Comparison of Adjectives

§ 400. The comparative is formed by adding -ər, the superlative by adding -əst, to the positive. The comparison by mīr more, and mīāst most, is rarely used. Adjectives consisting of two or more syllables also mostly form the comparative and superlative by adding -ər, -əst; adjectives of this kind, however, are very rare in our dialect. Examples: öld old, ĕldər, ĕldəst; smō small, smōər, smōəst; juŋ young, juŋər, juŋəst; fār far, fārər, fārəst.

The following adjectives are compared irregularly, but have also
developed regular forms in -ør, -øst, which are used nearly as often as the irregular ones.

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<th>Good</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gud</td>
<td>Gudør</td>
<td>Gudøst</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Wør or Wøst (see note)</td>
<td>Wøst</td>
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Note. The form wør worse, probably is of Scandinavian origin; cf. Icelandic verr worse, a form that would regularly give Lorton wør (with the usual change of initial v > w in loan-words); cf. also Danish vørre, Swedish värre.

§ 401. Some Lorton adjectives can also be compared by adding -mør, -møst to the positive or comparative. Mør and møst are, of course, weakened forms of mør more, miost most. (We find an analogous case in standard English former and foremost.) Examples: gud good, betarmør, betarmøst; løj low, løjør, løjøst. This kind of comparison is also used to form comparative and superlative adjective forms of other words than adjectives. Thus: toppør higher, toppøst highest; undørør lower down, undørøst lowest; in the same sense also bodmør, bodmøst (formed from bodm bottom).

NUMERALS

§ 402. CARDINAL

| Jan (or jä, cf. below) one | Fušt |
| Tuu two                  | Seknd|
| Pri three                | Pudq |
| Faun(w)ør four           | Faut |
| Faiv five                | Fift |
| Siks six                 | Sikst |
| Sebm seven               | Sebmt |
| Eit eight                | Eit' |
| Nain nine                | Naint |
| Ten                       | Tent (or tenp, see below) |
| Lebm eleven              | Lebmt |
| Twelv twelve             | Twelft |
NUMERALS

Cardinal

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{pufin} & \text{thirteen} \\
\text{faufin} & \text{fourteen} \\
\text{fiftin} & \text{fifteen} \\
\text{sikstin} & \text{sixteen} \\
\text{sebmtin} & \text{seventeen} \\
\text{eitin} & \text{eighteen} \\
\text{naintin} & \text{nineteen} \\
\text{twenti} & \text{twenty} \\
\text{twentijan} & \text{twenty-one} \\
\text{twentituu} & \text{twenty-two} \\
\text{pufi} & \text{thirty} \\
foti & \text{forty} \\
fifti & \text{fifty} \\
siksti & \text{sixty} \\
sebmti & \text{seventy} \\
eiti & \text{eighty} \\
nainti & \text{ninety} \\
undrad & \text{hundred} \\
\text{puzsn(d)} & \text{thousand}
\end{array} \]

Ordinal

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{pufint} & \text{thirteenth} \\
\text{faufint} & \text{fourteenth} \\
\text{fiftint} & \text{fifteenth} \\
\text{sikstint} & \text{sixteenth} \\
\text{sebmtint} & \text{seventeenth} \\
\text{eitint} & \text{eighteenth} \\
\text{naintint} & \text{ninteenth} \\
\text{twentiaf} & \text{twenty} \\
\text{twentifiu\textsuperscript{st}} & \text{twenty-one} \\
\text{twentiseknd} & \text{twenty-two} \\
\text{pufija} & \text{thirty} \\
fotija & \text{forty} \\
fiftija & \text{fifty} \\
sikstija & \text{sixty} \\
sebmtija & \text{seventy} \\
eitija & \text{eighty} \\
naintija & \text{ninty} \\
undrafa & \text{hundred} \\
\text{puzsn(d)ja} & \text{thousand}
\end{array} \]

§ 403. The \( n \) of \( jən \) one, is dropped and the \( a \) is lengthened (>\( jə \)) when this cardinal is used attributively: \( jə \ aɪ \) one eye, \( jə \ mən \) one man.

The ordinals \( twentijan, twentituu, twentijpri, \&c. \), are used only when counting, otherwise always \( jən \ en \ twenti, \text{tu}u \ en \ twenti, \&c. \).

The ordinals 1–19, except \( seknd \) and \( pufq \), and also sometimes \( fiftija \) (\( fiftiat \)) fiftieth, have all generalized the \( t \)-ending of the OE. ordinals \( fi\text{hta}, si\text{hta}, en(\text{d})\text{le(}\text{t}a)\text{t}, \) and \( twelf\text{ta}, \) just as standard English has formed the ordinals \( fi\text{ht}, si\text{xt}, el\text{evnt}, t\text{welft} \) after the analogy of the OE. ordinals in \( -p\), such as \( f\text{eoverf}a, se\text{qof}a, t\text{eof}a \). The only ordinal (except \( fiftija, fiftiat \); see above) with double forms in \( t \) and \( \text{t} \) is \( t\text{en} \); \( t\text{en} \) is used attributively, otherwise always \( t\text{en}\text{p} \), which should be looked upon as a loan from standard English.

§ 404. The fractional numerals are: \( òf \) half, \( ò pufq \) a third, \( ò kw\text{\text{"a}}tər \) a quarter, \( ò faut \) a fourth, \( ò fift \) a fifth, \&c.

§ 405. Numerals in compounds: \( òpni \) halfpenny, \( òpap \) halfpenny-worth, \( t\text{upms} \) twopence, \( b\text{repms} \) threepence, \( f\text{aupms} \) fourpence, \( f\text{ipms} \) fivepence.
### PRONOUNS

#### PERSONAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>a (a) I</td>
<td>jë (ja) you</td>
<td>i (ï, ø) he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>më (mi, mœ) me</td>
<td>jëu, jë (jo) you</td>
<td>ŝi (și) she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>ùz (ez, z, s) us</td>
<td>jëu, jë (jo) you</td>
<td>ūr (ur, ør) her</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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§ 406. First Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>wi (wi, wœ) we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>më (mi, mœ) me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>ùz (ez, z, s) us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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§ 407. 1st Person. The form a (a) of the 1st person singular has arisen through monophthongization of the ai-diphthong (see above, § 190, note II).

Examples are: ãz gân tê s(e)a ^e^m ëstid ø ëI I am going to see him instead of thee, süd a gâ üt shall I go out? i gemœ ø silin he gave me a shilling, kânt we diût nûu can’t we do it now? if wi divant jûl ø tû(u) if we don’t you’ll have to, lets diût wœstli let us do it quietly, i sô ùz bêt nin ø tûder lot he saw us but none of the other lot.

**Note.** The objective form (ùz) of the 1st pers. plural is often used instead of the nom. and acc. of the sing. (a, mi): gívz øn apl give me an apple, wô mun ø eks whom must I ask? wór kœn øz put up øt where can I put up?

---

§ 408. 2nd Person. The weak form te of the 2nd pers. sing. is only used interrogatively in unaccented position; the t of this
form has probably arisen through assimilation with the t-ending in verb-forms like āt art, aut ought, dūst durst, and partial assimilation with the s-ending of the 3rd pers. sing., which ending is often extended to all three persons of the pres. sing. Professor Wright (A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, p. 118) ascribes this transition of ā into t of the form ta, tē solely to the unaccented position of the pronoun, basing his theory on the fact that there are only three verbal forms ending in t (at art, out oughtest, dūst durst), but he has not taken into consideration that partial assimilation with the s-ending of the 2nd pers. sing. may also have been at work: the effort required in pronouncing the sibilant followed by the dental spirant in combinations like wants-pē, dis-pē is undoubtedly much greater than in the case of s + the dental stop in wants-ta, dis-ta.

The 2nd person of the plural āju is no doubt a late loan from standard English and has replaced the original form āi, āi found in the surrounding dialects (see Wright, A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, § 350, and Hirst, A Grammar of the Kendal Dialect, § 442), and also in other parts of Cumberland, but the form āi is sometimes used in accented position, and is still distinctly predominant. āju, āi is also used as a pronoun of address in the singular, but there is a marked difference in use between āju and āju, āi: āju, āi is the pronoun of respect, used by children in addressing their parents and by servants to masters, whereas āju, āi is used by masters to servants, parents to children, between persons in the same rank of life, and also to express contempt on the part of the speaker (see further Dickson-Brown's Grammar in Prevost's A Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland, p. xxxv).

Examples of the 2nd person are: āju mun gā ānu ər il si āi thou must go now or he will see thee, ər jə gān ta suknap todā fađer are you going to Cockermouth to-day, father? āju mun diūt āstid ə im thou must do it instead of him, este bin tūl tūr āroidi hast thou been to the fair already? sistē seest thou? distē dost thou? willē wilt thou?

§ 409. Examples of the 3rd person are: if nībodi els kānt diūt i kānt if no else can do it he can't, ətsi wat iz gān ts diē widēm let us see what he is going to do with him, dūdi əl əut ābyut it did he tell you anything about it? əste s(e)ɪnēm todā hast thou seen him to-day? əi telt ts ət əi wəz gān ts git ōt kēltər she told me that she was going to get all the money,
a sö ūr en tugér las last nít I saw her and the other girl last night, a akster te tel me ñ èbùt it I asked her to tell me all about it, a fan(d) it yut vàre siýn I found it out very soon, dije ñíŋk il diít do you think he will do it? òe mèd èz wìl wàt forëm they might as well wait for him.

§ 410. The Lorton dialect-speaker often uses the objective case of the personal pronouns where an educated Londoner would use the nominative case:

1. When used as a demonstrative after the expressions it is, it was, before a following relative pronoun: it waz ūr ët dùd it it was she who did it, its im ëts gàn nút mì it is he who is going not I, ñèm ët dùd it ël bi pròzèkùtí tòs who did it will be prosecuted, ùz ët bin ìèr ñèk ël lâŋ taim këñèm wìl wë we who have been here such a long time know him well.

2. In sentences where the verb refers to two different persons: im ën mi só ër he and I saw her, jùu ën ùz këñ diìt you and we can do it.

3. When the pronoun is used without a verb in expressions like: wits on ñëm dùd it, ūr ër im which of them did it, she or him? Answer: ūr she.

Possessive Pronouns

A. Conjoint

§ 411. Singular Plural

1st Person: mai (mi) my ñû(w)èr (uèr) our

2nd Person: ñai (ñi) thy j(û)ñèr (jûr, jèr) your

3rd Person: fem.: ūr (èr) her ñèr (ñèr) their

neut.: its its

B. Absolute

§ 412. The weak forms (in parentheses) of the conjoint possessive pronouns are in more frequent use than the strong ones. Of the two forms (iz, is) in the 3rd pers. sing. of the conjoint possessive pronouns, iz is used before a following vowel or voiced consonant, is before voiceless consonants.
Examples: mi ön .dds  my own house, dds iz mai at nút ćiain
this is my hat not thine, a só iz öld fađer jistćeq  I saw his old father
yesterday, fetš is kwót dűn fetch his coat down, a met jër ład
ći mwörnm  I met your boy this morning, kum up tűl uar
.dds come up to our house, av sin biăp ats, bat j(u)uas ěz a gäs lot
fainər nər ĕs I have seen both hats, but yours is a gay lot finer
than hers.

Note I. The occurrence of the possessive pronouns j(u)uər,
jər, juəʃ and ĕai, ĕi, ĕain is regulated by the rules laid down for
the personal pronouns ĭu, jə and ĭu, ĭu, ĭe in § 408 above.

Note II. uu(w)ər, uər is used for mai, mi in the same way as
ṳz instead of ā, mi (see above, Personal Pronouns, § 407, note)
thus: uu(w)ər misiz my wife, giv ěz uər ti give me my tea.

Reflexive Pronouns

§ 413.  

Singular  

Plural  

1st Person: misel myself  

uašelz ourselves  

2nd Person: ĭisəl thyself  

jašelz yourselves  

masc.: isel himself  

3rd Person:  

fem.: ĭel herself  

neut.: itsel itself  


Demonstrative Pronouns

Singular  

Plural  

ći this  

ćiər these  

ćiər that  

ćiər those  

ćiər jon  

ćiər jon  

ćiər son  

ćiər son
Disjunctive forms of the demonstrative pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sisn this one</td>
<td>Sûranz these (ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satn that one</td>
<td>Sînz these (ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Šemnz those (ones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 416. The adverbs šar here, and Šiär there, are frequently appended to Šis, Šîz, Šat, Šem for the sake of emphasis, but there is no appreciable distinction in use or sense between the simple pronouns and the forms combined with šar and Šiär: Šisšar (or Šis) las kûz pre kokmâp this girl comes from Cockermouth, Šat Šiär ūus bîlenz tul tomi bruun that house belongs to Tom Brown.

The forms Šûr and Šûranz these, these ones, although now obsolescent in the Lorton dialect, are still often heard from the older generation of the true dialect-speakers. Šûr and Šûranz are gradually being replaced by Šis, Šîzär, Šîznz, but are undoubtedly the original dialect forms, and can be traced as far back as the first half of the fourteenth century (occurring in Cursor Mundi and other Northern records). The origin of this pronoun is somewhat obscure, but two different explanations have been suggested. Some authors identify it with the ON. demonstrative pronoun þeir þær those (pl. masc.); others look upon it as a combination of þe with hør here (=the here, those here). The first-mentioned theory seems to be supported by the fact that the form Šûr is exclusively Northern, but both explanations present phonological as well as semasiological difficulties (see further N.E.D. sub thir).

The form Šon that, those, is probably a contamination form of jon (OE. geon, ME. geon, gon) and the demonstrative pronouns with initial Š (Šis, Šat, Šîz, Šûr); see N.E.D. sub thon.

The disjunctive forms Šisn, Šatn, Šûranz, &c., are formed from the simple forms of the demonstrative pronouns by adding one (Lorton jan, but the unaccented form is an, n).

Further examples of the demonstrative pronouns are: Šem Šiär tšaps ūr ō rit, bêt Šûranz ūr nîa gûd those chaps (over there) are all right, but these are no good, Šûr šip ūr rîal ūqwiks nîa dût these sheep are, no doubt, real Herdwicks, Šon trod kuz pre butarmiär that path comes from Buttermere, jon kûrk iz rédder öld, bêt Šîsnz nîu that church is rather old, but this one is new.
RELATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 417. There are only two words used as relative pronouns in the Lorton dialect: at and wat (wot). Both at and wat (wot) are used for all persons of the singular and plural, but at is by far the more common of the two; wat (wot), although occasionally used for the masculine and feminine, is in the majority of cases confined to the neuter.

at is also used as a conjunction (=that), and in Furness (see Ellwood, Lakeland and Iceland, p. 3) as a mark of the infinitive. The word is probably of Scandinavian origin (ON., O. Icel. at; see Appendix) and was originally a conjunction (=that), but already in the Scandinavian languages it came to be used also as a relative pronoun (see Noreen, Altislandische und altnordische Grammatik, § 402). at (at) occurred as a relative pronoun already in the ME. dialects of the North (found in the thirteenth century).

NOTE. Sir J. A. H. Murray in The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 194, discusses the origin of at. According to his theory, this word need not necessarily be a Scandinavian loan but rather a clipped form of ðat that, which might have lost its ð under Celtic influence (cf. § 386).

Examples of at and wat (wot) used as relative pronouns: tšap at a só last nit the chap whom I saw last night, tlas wat a gev it tul the girl I gave it to, t’mak ø tliáž øt i justø wíør the make of clothes that he used to wear.

The relative pronoun is often omitted: tšap a meín the chap I mean, d’og a baut jistœø the dog I bought yesterday.

Note that the relative pronouns who (occurring in the Lorton dialect only as an interrogative: wô, see § 418) and that never occur in our dialect.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 418. The Lorton dialect contains the following interrogative pronouns: wô who, gen. wôz whose; wat what; witš which; wedœr which.

The original form wîø who (regularly developed from hwá) is still occasionally heard in some parts of Cumberland, but very rarely in Lorton. A special objective form (=standard English whom) does not exist, wô being used both in the subjective and objective case.

wat what, is used as an absolute pronoun only for the neuter,
but as an indeclinable adjective for all three genders (cf. examples below), just as it is in standard English.

The disjunctive interrogative pronouns *witš* and *weðər* which, are both used absolutely and attributively, but with the following difference in sense: *weðər* (*<OE. hwæþer, hwæþer*) has preserved its original meaning, *which of two* (see Sweet, *N. E. Grammar*, § 1141), whereas *witš* is mostly used when the number referred to by the speaker consists of more than two.

§ 419. Examples are: *wō duɗ je mit čis mwörnin whom did you meet this morning? wōz ču duɗ je bore whose horse did you borrow? wat duɗ je tel am, min what did you tell him, man? wat lad iz čat what boy is that? weðər oen čem tuu ats iz j(u)uen which of those two hats is yours? weðər oenam duɗje si which of them (speaking of two persons) did you see? weðər šip ur ja gān te sel which sheep are you going to sell? (if there are only two being discussed), but *witš* šip ur ja, &c., might as well refer to the whole flock.

**Indefinite Pronouns**

§ 420. The Lorton dialect contains the following indefinite pronouns:


§ 421. Examples are: *sum oen* some of them, *sumdiil əv te gā* somebody will have to go, *al tel je sumat* I will tell you something, *düdi sē aut tūl ju* did he say anything to you? answer: *naut wativər* nothing whatever, *av s(e)in eniu̯f a čis mak a dogz nuu* I have seen enough of this breed of dogs now, *ču̯z ed a gā feu̯u onəm* thou hast had a good few of them, *niabodi els kant diāt* no one else can do it, *este iver s(e)in a sekajan aftər* hast thou ever seen such a one before? *aks tuɗərn* ask the other one.

I have not noticed any difference in sense between *āɗar* (*<OE. āhwæþer*=each of two, both) and *audər* (*<OE. āhwæþer*,
$awber=$one of two), nor between $naudar(<$OE.$n\acute{a}h\nu\acute{a}ber,$n\acute{a}wber$ $=$neither of two) and $n\ddot{\acute{e}}der$ (apparently a contamination form of $\ddot{\acute{e}}der$ and $naudar$), $\ddot{\acute{e}}der$ (or $auder$) $on\acute{\alpha}m$ either of them, both of them, $n\ddot{\acute{e}}der$ or $naudar$ $on\acute{\alpha}m$ neither of them, $wi$ $elp$ $jan\acute{\alpha}nu\ddot{\acute{e}}r$ we help one another, $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $\acute{n}\ddot{\acute{e}}bodi$ $\acute{\i}r$ $\acute{et}$ $n\ddot{\acute{\i}}z$ $jon$ $chap$ there is no one here who knows that chap, $nin$ $on\acute{\alpha}m$ $n\ddot{\acute{o}}d$ $wat$ $i$ $waz$ je$\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\beta}$ut none of them knew what he was babbling about, $wati\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ ja $di\acute{\i}e$ $\acute{\i}n$ $woiv\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ ja $\acute{m}it$ $ja$ $\acute{m}un\acute{\alpha}$t $s\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $aut$ te $\ddot{\acute{d}}\acute{\i}m$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}b\ddot{\acute{\i}}ut$ it whatever you do and whoever you meet you must not say anything to Jim about it!

The accented form of the indefinite pronoun $man$, $min$, $mn$ is rarely used, but the forms $min$ (arisen in unstressed position through the change $man>men>$ $min$; the i of the last-mentioned form is probably partly due to the influence of the following dental) and $mn$ are frequently used as a kind of interjectional pronoun of address when the speaker wants to call the listener's special attention to what is said or impress his words vividly on his interlocutor's mind: $a$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}n$ $\acute{\i}e$ $\acute{\i}n$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}z$ $e$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $n$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ Dick is a regular knave, I tell you.

Note I. $nin$ and $n\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ also have a kind of adverbial function when placed before a comparative in certain phrases: $a$ $waz$ $n\ddot{\acute{\i}}\epsilon$ (or $nin$) $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $w\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $I$ was none the worse.

Note II. The word $bodi$ body, has a kind of pronominal function in expressions like: $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $waz$ $sek$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ l$\acute{\alpha}$l $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $bodi$ she was such a tiny little person, $av$ $niv\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ $s(e)\acute{\i}n$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\acute{\i}}r$ I have never seen that person before.

**VERBS**

§ 422. I have given in the following paragraphs a list containing one hundred and fifty of the verbs that are now in use in the Lorton dialect. They have been classified under three different headings: *Strong Verbs, Weak Verbs, and Minor Groups*; the strong verbs I have again subdivided into seven groups, corresponding to the seven ablaut-classes of the OE. strong verbs. This classification has been made from an historical point of view, but, as a matter of fact, the clearly defined lines that originally separated these groups and classes have to a great extent been obliterated by the force of analogical influence. This force has been at work everywhere, and has resulted in an abundance of verb-forms of various descriptions; thus, for instance, *nearly every strong verb is*
occasionally conjugated as a weak one, and, on the other hand, some of the weak verbs show strong preterites and past participles. The different ablaut-classes of the strong verbs have also exercised a powerful associative influence on each other, especially as far as the forms of the preterite are concerned, so that in many cases we find one or even two by-forms of the preterite besides the original one.

Lastly, the analogical formations which have arisen through the influence of the plural of the preterite on the singular, the past participle on the preterite, and vice versa, have been at work in nearly all the strong verbs quoted below. In cases where two or more forms of the preterite or the past participle occur I have enclosed the less usual ones in brackets.

A. Strong Verbs

Class I

§ 423. Infinitive Pret. singular Pret. plural Past participle
OE.  a  á  ı  ı
Lorton ai  iá  bidn
baid remain, wait biád  biád  bidn
bait bite biát  bitn
draiv drive driáv (driuv, druuv) druuv
ratrie write riád  ridn (rùdn)
raíd ride riád (riz)  rizn (rùzn)
raiz rise riáž (riz)  rizn (rùzn)
straik strike striák, striük (struk)  strukn
šait cacare šit  šitn

§ 424. The preterites in iá and past participles in ı are regularly developed from the OE. preterite singular in á and the past participle in ı. The preterites driáv and striük point to forms containing an ō and are evidently formed after the analogy of the preterites of Class VI (§ 444) (containing an original ō which regularly developed into Lorton ū̞).

The i in the preterite riz has been introduced from the past participle rizn.

The u in druuv, struk, pret., druuvn, strukn, rùzn, rùtn, rùdn, pp. (the two last-mentioned forms only occasionally used by old people) is probably due to analogical influence from the preterites and past participles in u of Classes II, III, and VI. As to druuv and struk, they may be shortenings of the above-
mentioned preterites containing an ō, as has been the case in Class VI (cf. the preterites stūd, tuk, šuk, § 444).

Lastly we are perhaps concerned with the influence of the preceding r (cf. § 122, note II), which may have caused, or at least facilitated, the change of i > u (ū).

The preterite šit owes its i to analogical influence from the past participle šitn.

§ 425. To these should be added the following three verbs, which, however, did not originally belong to this ablaut-class:

- aid to hide (OE. hýdan, weak verb), pret. jad or id, pp. idn.
- strau (< O. Fr. estriver), to strive, pret. striáv (struv), pp. struvn.
- praiv (Scand.; see N.E.D. sub thrive) to thrive, pret. priáv (priúv, pruv), pp. prívvn, pruvn.

For an explanation of the preterites struv, pruv, priúv and the past participles struvn, pruvn see § 424.

Class II


OE. ēo (Anglian ēa u o mostly ēa, § 200)

Most of the verbs originally belonging to this class have become weak. Only four of them still show strong forms:

- freiz freeze freíz, froz (frûz) frozn (frûzn)
- fī flood fleűu flau(w)en
- kr(e)ip creep kriáp, krop kropn (kropm)
- tšuuz choose tšuust (tšwoz) tšwozn

§ 427. The preterites friáž and kriáp have been formed after the analogy of the ía-preterites of Class I.

The o in the preterites froz, krop is due to analogical influence of the past participles frozn and kropn, whereas the u in frûz pret. and frûzn pp. must be ascribed either to the ū of the pret. plur. (OE. fruron, crupon, curon) or to the associative influence of the u-forms in Classes II, III, VI.

The preterite fleuu points to the ME. preterite forms flewe, flew (see N.E.D. sub fly, vb. 1), and the pp. flau(w)en is regularly developed from the OE. pp. flugen (ME. flown; see § 133).

OE. cōsan would regularly have given Lorton *tš(e)iz; the present form tšuuz points to a ME. form chūsen (as found in several records; see N.E.D. sub choose, vb.); and is perhaps a dialect loan.
As to the wo-diphthong of the past participle tśwozn and the preterite tśwoz, it is the regular development of ö when lengthened in originally open syllables (see § 138).

**Class III**

§ 428. The verbs belonging to this class are usually subdivided into four groups in OE.:

Verbs in which the stem-vowel is followed by—
1. a nasal + a consonant;
2. an l + a consonant;
3. r or h + a consonant;
4. by two consonants other than a nasal, l, r, or h + a consonant.

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. OE.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a (o)</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a, u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigin begin</td>
<td>bigan, bigun</td>
<td>bigun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bind bind</td>
<td>band, bund</td>
<td>bund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drirjk drink</td>
<td>draŋk, drunjk</td>
<td>drukn, druŋk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find find</td>
<td>fand, fund</td>
<td>fund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grund grind (§ 122, note II)</td>
<td>grand, grund</td>
<td>grund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riŋ wring</td>
<td>raŋ, ruŋ</td>
<td>ruŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siŋ sing</td>
<td>saŋ, suŋ</td>
<td>suŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siŋk sink</td>
<td>saŋk, sunk</td>
<td>sunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slirŋ sling (OE. slingan; see Bosworth-Toller)</td>
<td>slaŋ, slunj</td>
<td>slunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slirŋk slingk</td>
<td>slarŋk, slunjŋk</td>
<td>slunjŋk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprirŋ spring</td>
<td>sprarŋ, sprunj</td>
<td>sprunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spin spin</td>
<td>span, spun</td>
<td>spun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirŋ sting</td>
<td>starŋ, stuŋ</td>
<td>stuŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirŋk stink</td>
<td>starŋk, stunjŋk</td>
<td>stunjŋk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim (or swum) swim</td>
<td>swaŋ, swunj</td>
<td>swunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swirŋ swing</td>
<td>swarŋ, swunj</td>
<td>swunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šrirŋk shrink</td>
<td>šraŋk, šruŋk</td>
<td>šruŋk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tliŋ cling</td>
<td>tlaŋ, tluŋ</td>
<td>tluŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlim climb</td>
<td>tlam, tlunj</td>
<td>tlunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win win</td>
<td>waŋ, wunj</td>
<td>wunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind wind</td>
<td>wand, wunj</td>
<td>wunj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 429. To these should be added the following verbs which did not originally belong to this ablaut-class in OE.:

A. Three verbs of native origin:

brirŋ bring | braŋ, bruŋ(braut) | bruŋ(braut)
This verb belonged to the weak conjugation in OE., and the Lorton form *braut* (pret. and pp.) is regularly developed from OE. *brōhte* pret. and the pp. (*ge*)*brōht*, but already in OE. we find a strong pp. *brungen* (whence Lorton *bruŋ*), to which our dialect has then added a strong preterite *branje*, formed after the analogy of the a-preterites of Class III of the strong verbs.

ᵫᵱᵣ ᵱᵠᵣ ᵱᵱᵣ ᵱᵢᵣ

This verb, although originally weak (OE. *hringan*), shows strong forms (probably formed through the associative influence of *sing*, vb.) as early as the thirteenth century (see N.E.D. sub *ringe*, vb. 2).

ᵱᵳᵣ ᵱᵳᵣ ᵱᵢᵣ ᵱᵣᵢᵣ ᵱᵣᵢᵣ ᵱᵣᵢᵣ

This verb is a denominative formation *<string*, sb. (*<OE. *strength*) and originally belonged to the weak conjugation.

B. Two verbs of Scandinavian origin (see App.):

ᵱᵳᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ

This verb first appears in the fourteenth-century records and apparently is a Scandinavian loan (*<ON. weak vb. *flengja*, or perhaps *<a prehistoric ON. *flinga*; see N.E.D. sub *fling*, vb.).

ᵱᵢᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ

ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ ᵱᵣᵣ

ᵱᵣᵣ (<ON. causal vb. *hengja*) was originally conjugated as a weak verb but became strong by assimilation to the third ablaut-class (see further N.E.D. sub *hang*, vb.). I have also heard weak forms of the pret. and pp.: *ahnd* (*ahnt*).

§ 430. The a-preterites of the above-mentioned verbs are original, whereas the u-forms are due to associative influence of the preterite plural and the past participle.

As for the pp. *drukn*, it is no doubt of Norse origin (ON., O. Icel. *drukken*, Swed. *drucken*). Wright (*A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 274) quotes several similar past participles (*sukŋ* sunk, *slukŋ* slunk, *šrůkŋ* shrunk); according to his opinion the *ŋ* may have disappeared through assimilation before the following *k*, but he also points out that some of these past participles may be of Norse origin. As *drukn* is our only instance where the *ŋ* of the stem does not appear in the past participle, the latter explanation undoubtedly is the correct one as far as the Lorton dialect is concerned.
The u of the infinitive swum is due to the influence of the surrounding bilabials.

§ 431. 2. Verbs in which the stem-vowel is followed by an 1 + cons.

All the originally strong verbs belonging to this group (see Wright, O.E. Gram., § 499) have become weak in the Lorton dialect, thus:

elp help  
elp help  
elpt melt  
melt melt  
elpt meltit  
meltit, &c.

§ 432. 3. Verbs in which the stem-vowel is followed by r or h + cons.

Only one verb belonging to this group has preserved strong forms:

feit fight  
feit fight  
faut faut  
faut faut

On the infinitive feit see § 114, note.

The preterite faut is probably formed after the analogy of the pp. faut (oht > aut; see § 132), or the au may be due to associative influence of other au-preterites, such as braut brought, paut thought, saut sought, raut wrought.

§ 433. 4. Verbs in which the stem-vowel was originally followed by two consonants other than a nasal, an h, or a liquid + cons.

One of the verbs that originally belonged to this group still shows strong forms:

brust (burst or bûšt) burst  
brast  
brosn, brûsn  

brust seems to be the older form in our dialect and is mostly used by the older generation; burst and bûšt have probably been introduced from standard English.

The pp. brûsn has been formed after the analogy of the infinitive. As for the forms brast, brosn, of the preterite and the past participle, influence from Scandinavian forms has no doubt been at work (cf. ON. pret. brast, pp. brostinn); see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1354.

I have occasionally heard a strong preterite form of þreš to thresh (OE. þerscan) : þraš, but the past participle is always weak (þrešt); see N.E.D. sub thresh, vb.

To these should be added another verb which, although of Scandinavian origin and belonging to the weak conjugation in ME., has passed into the strong conjugation probably through the
associative influence of the verbs brūst and preš: brūst (ME. brūsten, prusten < ON. brūsta; see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1348), pret. brast (prost), pp. prosn (brūsn).

The strong forms of this verb seem to be of a comparatively recent date; N.E.D. (sub thrust, vb.) does not give any strong forms of the preterite and past participle.

**Class IV**

§ 434. To this class belong the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Saxon</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton:</td>
<td>biær bear</td>
<td>bwór</td>
<td>bwōn (or bowed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šiær shear</td>
<td>šwór</td>
<td>šwōn (or sworn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>steil steal</td>
<td>stiál, stiül</td>
<td>stau(w)en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this class also belongs kum to come (see Wright, OE. Gram., § 504), pret. kom, pp. kum (see § 436).

§ 435. The following verbs, which did not originally belong to this ablaut-class in OE., have been remodelled after the analogy of biær and šiær:

wíær wear wór wōn (worn)

was weak in OE. (OE. werian).

swíær swear swór swōn (sworn)

originally belonged to the sixth ablaut-class (OE. swerian, swór, swöron, sworn).

brök break brak, brok brokn

originally belonged to the fifth ablaut-class, but got the pp. brocen already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

§ 436. The vowel (ö) of the past participle in the above-mentioned verbs was extended to the preterite and regularly lengthened into wō (OE. ō in originally open syllables and also in the combination or + cons. > Lorton wō, ō; see § 83), hence the preterites in wō and ō.

The preterite stiál has probably arisen in the following way: the short æ (ME. a) of the singular was first extended to the plural of the preterite; it then underwent the usual lengthening in open syllables (>ā > Lorton ıā), and then again this ā (ıā) was
extended to the singular (see Wright, *A Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, § 371) or the preterite may have been formed on the analogy of the numerous iá-preterites of Class I (§ 423). The form stiúl has probably arisen through analogical influence from the preterites of Class VI (such as tiŭk took, stiúd stood; see § 444).

The vowel of the preterite kom came, has undergone shortening (OE. c(w)óm).

The verb swiær to swear, got its past participles in ò (sworen) already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

brak pret., broke, is the old singular form (OE. bræk), whereas brok is formed after the analogy of the pp. brocen.

### Class V

§ 437. This class includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or nasal (Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 505):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Sax.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æe</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æe</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton:</td>
<td>neid knead</td>
<td>niád, nod</td>
<td>nodn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)(j)it eat</td>
<td>(e)(j)(j)at</td>
<td>etn ((e)(j)tn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giv, gi give</td>
<td>gev</td>
<td>g(e)ín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(§ 438, below)</td>
<td>spak (spok, spiak)</td>
<td>spoken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speik speak</td>
<td>trúd (triád)</td>
<td>trúdn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treid tread</td>
<td>wuv</td>
<td>wuvn, wovn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weiv weave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 438. The verb git to get, gat got, gitn (gotn) probably is a Scandinavian loan, or at least influenced in form and sense by the ON. *geta* (pret. *gat*, *gatum*, pp. *getenn*) to obtain (see N.E.D. sub *get*, vb., and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 155).

*giv, gi* to give, has also been influenced by the Scand. ON. vb. *gefa* (Swed. *gifva, Dan. give*); the forms inf. *gi* and pp. *g(e)ín* have perhaps arisen through lengthening of the ON. *e* in open syllables (and loss of *v*), whereas the *e* of the pret. *gev* may be an early shortening of the Anglian *ē* in the plural of the preterite.

§ 439. As for the preterites niád, spiák, jat, and triád, see the explanation of stiúl stole, above, sub Class IV (§ 426).

The past participles in ò, nodn, spoken, wovn, gotn, evidently are new formations after the analogy of the numerous o-preterites.
of Classes II, III, and IV, and this o has then been extended to the preterite, whence the forms got, nod, spok.

For an explanation of the u-forms wuv and wuvn see § 139, note I.

As to trūd, trūdn, they have probably been formed after the analogy of stūd pret., stūdn pp. of stand (see Class VI, § 444), and other preterites and past participles in u, of the verbs belonging to Class VI (but cf. also Class I, § 423), or the r might have influenced the following vowel.

§ 440. To this class also belong some verbs with i instead of e in the infinitive (see Wright, OE. Gram., § 507):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bid</td>
<td>bid, invite</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>sat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 441. The following verbs, which did not belong to this ablaut-class in OE., have had their preterites and past participles remodelled after the analogy of the above-mentioned two verbs:

it to hit, of Scandinavian origin (late OE. hyttan, ON. hīta to hit upon, light upon, Swed. hitta, Dan. hīta), pret. at, pp. itn.

nit knit (<OE. cnyttan, weak vb.), pret. nat, pp. nitn.

slit to slit, was conjugated as a weak verb in ME. (slitten). It has evidently arisen through shortening of the i in OE. slītan, strong verb (perhaps under the influence of the noun, OE. slīte slit), pret. slat, pp. slitn.

spit represents two OE. weak verbs, spyttan and spētan, and the pret. spat is the OE. pret. spētte, ME. spatte (see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1834); the pp. is spitn.

split (perhaps Scandinavian; see Skeat, Etymol. Dict., p. 582), pret. splat, pp. splitn.

stik stick, pret. stak, stuk, pp. stuk, originally weak, but we find strong forms in ME. (pret. stak, pp. stoken, steken); see further Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1876.

§ 442. To this class also belongs the verb s(e)ī to see (cf. § 201. 3, and Wright, OE. Gram., § 506), pret. sō, pp. s(e)īn. The pp. s(e)īn originally was an adjective which came to be used as a past participle (late Northumbrian gesēne, W. Sax. gesēne visible). It is used in exactly the same sense in the Lorton dialect, for instance: jon treis s(e)īn e lanj wē of yonder tree is visible a long way off.
§ 443. In the past participles bitn, sitn, itn, nitn, &c., of the verbs quoted above, the i of the infinitive has replaced the original OE. e.

Class VI

OE.        a         ō         ō         æ (or a) (see Wright, OE. Gram., §508)
Lorton:    drō draw driuū drōn
fe(r)siāk forsake fe(r)siūk fe(r)siākn
stand stand stiūd, stiād (stiūd) stūdn
slē (OE. slēan) sliūu slēn
*slēahan) slay
šak shake (§105) šuk šuk

To this class also belongs one verb of Scandinavian origin (Sweet, N. E. Gr., §1449):

ME.        tāken     tōk         tāken
Lorton    tak take    tiūk, tiāk, tuk tiān (takn)

§ 445. On the forms drō (OE. dragan) and drōn (OE. dragen) see §99.

The preterites stiād and tiāk are probably formed after the analogy of the numerous iā-preterites of Classes I (§423) and V (§437), such as biād, triād, spiāk, striāk.

On slē and slēn see §195 (nēbor, flē).  

The shortening of original ō into u in the preterites stūd, šuk, tuk and the past participles šuk, stūdn, has no doubt first taken place in the past participle, where we often meet with a short stem-vowel owing to the following en-suffix (see §139, a). This explanation may also apply to the short forms tak to take, šak to shake, and perhaps those mentioned in §105: mak to make, šap to shape.

The pp. tiān has undergone contraction (like mak: pret., pp. miād; see §454); the result of this contraction was a form with long ā, frequently occurring in ME. records (usually written ta'en), which form has regularly given Lorton tiān (see Sweet, N. E. Gr., §1449).

1 The ō of the inf. slē may have been introduced from the pp. slēn.
VERBS

Class VII

§ 446. To this class belong the verbs with originally reduplicated preterites (see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 511). The verbs of this class are usually subdivided into two groups, according as the preterite had ē or ēo in OE. In the Lorton dialect we find no verbs belonging to the first group (with ē in the preterite) with their strong forms preserved, whereas the second group (with ēo in the preterite) is represented by the following verbs in our dialect:

Three verbs where the vowel of the preterite has been shortened into e:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fō fall</td>
<td>fe (§ 203)</td>
<td>fōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od hold</td>
<td>eld</td>
<td>odn (§ 36, note II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beīt beat</td>
<td>bet</td>
<td>beītn (bet)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following verbs all have preterites in iūu, regularly developed from OE. ēow (see § 204):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blō blow</td>
<td>bliūu</td>
<td>blōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grau grow (§ 184)</td>
<td>griūu</td>
<td>grau(w)ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krō crow</td>
<td>kriūu</td>
<td>krōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mō mow</td>
<td>miūu</td>
<td>mōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō know</td>
<td>niūu</td>
<td>nōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snō snow</td>
<td>sniūu</td>
<td>snōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prō throw</td>
<td>priūu</td>
<td>prōn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(All these verbs are, however, frequently conjugated weak.)

The verb pāu (OE. āwian) to thaw, has a strong preterite pīūu (now rarely used, except by old people), formed after the analogy of the iūu-preterites, quoted above.

Note. There are two different Lorton words for standard English *to know*: nō and ken; nō implies knowledge, ken recognition, thus, for instance: a nō wor ēu kuz fre I know where thou comest from, *but a kenam wil I know them well.*

B. Weak Verbs

§ 447. The weak verbs are usually classified according to the formation of the preterite and past participle; but this formation is conditioned by the stem-ending, and I have consequently based my classification on the nature of this ending, subdividing the weak verbs of the Lorton dialect into the following three classes:

1. Verbs whose stem ends in a dental (d or t).
2. Verbs whose stem ends in a voiced sound other than d.
3. Verbs with the stem ending in a voiceless sound other than t.
§ 448. The verbs belonging to this class usually form the preterite and past participle by adding the ending -id or -it to the infinitive. Some of the verbs quoted below, especially those with a short stem-vowel, have the same form in the infinitive, preterite, and past participle; of those with a long stem-vowel, some have a short vowel in the preterite, and others ending in d, and with a short stem-vowel, show preterites and past participles formed in the same way as in standard English; for instance: bend, bent, bent; bild, bilt, bilt (see below, § 449). The forms of the two last-mentioned categories (such as the preterites and past participles bet, led, fed, and bent, bilt) must not be looked upon as originally belonging to the dialect: they are rarely used by the oldest generation of the true dialect-speakers and certainly should be ascribed to the increased influence of elementary education (cf. Wright, Grammar of the Windhill Dialect, § 381).

Some verbs show strong forms in the past participle, arisen through the associative influence of the strong verbs (cf. ksen, letn, putn, &c., below).

As for the occurrence of the endings -id and -it, I have not found it to be regulated by any special law, and have not been able to decide which of the two endings is the more usual one, but the it-ending is, as far as my observations go, more used by the older dialect-speakers than the id-ending.


bend bend bendid (-t), bent bendid (-t), bent
bild build bildid (-t), bilt bildid (-t), bilt
bled bleed blidid (-t), bled brigidid (-t), bred blidid (-t), bled
bred bleed blidid (-t), bilt brigidid (-t), bred blidid (-t), bilt
est feed fdid (-t), fed fdid (-t), fed
est cast cost kastid (-t), kost leidid (-t), led leidid (-t), led
est cast cost kostid (-t), kost leidid (-t), led leidid (-t), led
et lead leid leid leid
et lead leidid (-t), let leidid (-t), let leidid (-t), let
et lead leidid (-t), let leidid (-t), let leidid (-t)
melt (OE. str. vb., Cl. III) melt meltid (-t) melt (meltid, -t)
melt (OE. str. vb., Cl. III) melt meltid (-t) melt (meltid, -t)
mit meet met (mitid, -t) met (mitid, -t)
put put put, pot (see § 142, note III) putn, potn
The preterites sot and kot have probably arisen through the associative influence of pot, and the preterites let lit, lighted, tret treated, have been formed after the analogy of preterites with regularly shortened vowel (bled, bred, met).

Class II

§ 450. To this class belong weak verbs whose stem ends in a voiced sound other than d. These verbs have preterites and past participles ending in t or d. We distinguish three different groups:

(a) Verbs whose weak preterites and past participles always end in d.

(b) Verbs whose weak preterites and past participles always end in t.

(c) Verbs that have preterites and past participles both in d and t.

§ 451. (a) To this group belong the following verbs:

\[
\text{Infinitive.} \quad \text{Preterite.} \quad \text{Past Part.}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>iar</td>
<td>iaq, äq</td>
<td>iaq, äq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>lig (§ 127, note)</td>
<td>ligd</td>
<td>lign (ligd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>lǣ</td>
<td>lǣd</td>
<td>lǣn, lǣd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>sæ</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>ūshoe</td>
<td>ūshod</td>
<td>ūshod, ūshud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>gā, gān</td>
<td>gād</td>
<td>gon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N. E. Gr., § 1458) go

lǣ and lig are used both transitively and intransitively without any difference in sense. The old pp. giān gone, still heard from old people and in other parts of Cumberland, is being rapidly superseded by the standard English form gon.
§ 452. (b) Infinitive.        | Preterite.          | Past Part.         
---                             |                   |                   
deil deal                      | deilt              | deilt              
fil feel                       | filt               | filt               
len lend                       | lent               | lent               
leīv leave                     | left               | left               
lö, lwoz lose                  | lost               | lost               
mein mean                      | meint              | meint              
šēv shave (OE. str. vb., Cl. II)| šēft               | šēft               
bai buy                        | baut (§ 182)       | baut               

The short vowels of the infinitives *len* ("OE. *lēnan*) and *lö* ("OE. *losian*) must be ascribed to influence of the preterite and past participle, where the stem-vowel was regularly shortened; the lengthened form *lwoz* is not so often used as *lö*.

§ 453. (c) The verbs belonging to this group have collateral ð and t-forms in the preterite and past participle, but the t-endings are much more used than those in ð, which are in most cases due to the influence of the literary language.

### Infinitive.        | Preterite.          | Past Part.         
---                             |                   |                   
burn burn                      | burnt (-d)        | burnt (-d)        
bri(u) (OE. str. vb., Cl. II; see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 493) brew | bri(ʊ)ut (-d) | bri(ʊ)ut (-d) |

### § 454. To this class belong weak verbs whose stem ends in a voiceless consonant other than t; these verbs have preterites and past participles in t (except *mak* to make; see below):

1 This explanation of the 6 in *lö* is probably the correct one (not the one given in § 139, b).
### Infinitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elp to help (OE. str. vb., Cl. III)</td>
<td>elpt</td>
<td>elpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katš catch</td>
<td>katšt</td>
<td>katšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kis kiss</td>
<td>kist</td>
<td>kist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reítš reach</td>
<td>reítšt</td>
<td>reítšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šap shape</td>
<td>šapt</td>
<td>šapt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wešt wash</td>
<td>wešt</td>
<td>wešt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řiŋk think</td>
<td>řaut (§ 132)</td>
<td>řaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wůrk work</td>
<td>wůrk</td>
<td>wůrk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this class also belongs the verb mak to make, which has lost its k in the preterite and past participle through contraction (ME. ā, arising through this contraction, has regularly developed into Lorton iá), and consequently has d instead of t in the pret. and pp. miád.

### Verbal Endings

§ 455. **Present Tense.** The personal endings of the present tense are s, z, iz, originally the endings of the 3rd person, that have been extended to the 2nd and also very often to the 1st person of the present indicative singular.

- *s* is used after voiceless sounds other than s, š: wůrk work, elps helps, řiŋks thinks, sits sits.
- *z* is used after voiced sounds other than z, ž: dreimz dreams, lärnz learns, teaches, sauз sews.
- *iz* is used after the spirants s, z, š, ž: kisiz kisses, lwoziz loses, wisiz wishes, swindžiz singes.

On the personal endings of the minor groups see §§ 457-65.

**Preterite.** The strong verbs have no special endings; the singular and plural of the weak verbs end in -id, -it, -d, -t (see §§ 448-54).

**Note.** The i-vowel of the id-, it-, and iz-endings is in most cases considerably lowered and sometimes hard to distinguish from a (cf. § 253).

**Participles.** The present participles all end in -en (cf. § 248). The past participles of the strong verbs end in -n (see §§ 423-46). The past participles of the weak verbs end in -id, -it, -d, -t (see §§ 448-54).

### Minor Groups

§ 456. Under this heading I have treated the following verbs: kan can, darm dare, săl, săl shall, mun must, mAe may, aut ought, ev have, bǐ be, wíl will, dié, diú do.
1. Can

§ 457. The forms of the present tense are:
Strong kan, weak kân, kn.

Preterite: strong kūd, weak kēd.
With not: kane, kanet, kant cannot; kūdēnt (kēdnt).
Interrogatively: kana can I? kanta can thou? kani can he?
kūda could I? kūdēte could thou? kūdi could he?

2. Dare

§ 458. Present: 1st pers., strong form dār, weak dār. 2nd and 3rd pers., strong dār or dāš, weak dēr.

Preterite for all persons: dāq.

With not: a dārēnt I dare not, ṣū(u), i dāšēnt thou, he dares not, a, ṣū(u), i dāqēnt I, thou, he dared not.

Note. I have also found a form dūr, duš, no doubt the remains of the OE. u-forms of dare (see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1480), but I have heard it used only in connexion with not: a dūrēnt I dare not, ṣū(u), i dušēnt thou, he dares not.

3. Shall

§ 459. The Lorton dialect contains two collateral present tense forms of the verb shall: one with initial s, evidently arisen through the influence of standard English, the other with initial s, probably the original dialect form. We distinguish the following forms:

Present. Strong: šal, sal for all persons.
        Weak: šl, sl, (s) "  "

Preterite. Strong: sūd, sud "  "
        Weak: sōd, (st) "  "

With not: Present a, ṣū(u), i šant, sānt, sālēnt, salēnt I, thou, he shall not.

Note. Will is used in many cases where standard English would use shall, especially in the 1st person: al ev te stāf nuu I shall have to start now, al bi gān te kokmēp vāre siūn I shall be going to Cockermouth very soon.

4. Must

§ 460. To express standard English must the Lorton dialect uses a verb of Scandinavian origin: mun from ON., Icel. mono, munu (infinitive) = shall, will.

This verb has only two forms for all persons of the present and preterite, viz. strong mun, weak mān (mn).

Examples are: i mun ev bin a fiūl te diēt he must have been
a fool to do it, ̀yu  mən əbin ont əwuz ə gə laŋ taim  nano thou must have been on the spree a long time now.

Note. mun (mən) is also used in the sense of may, can, owing to partial confusion in sense with mən, med (see § 460 below): muna stop iər te^nit may I stop here to-night? ja mən diə wətiver ja laik you may do whatever you like.

5. May


Weak " " me, me " " "

Preterite. Strong " " med " " "

Weak " " med " " "

With not: Present mənont " "

Preterite medont " "

Note. The pret. med is occasionally used instead of the pres. (mən, me, mə): i med az wil stət  nano he might as well start now.

6. Ought

§ 462. The Lorton dialect has only one form of this verb, used for all persons of the present and preterite tenses: aut (regularly developed from OE. æhte; cf. aut and naut, § 159, II).

Examples: a aut I ought, aut a ought I? i autənt he ought not, autənt ~ja ought you not?

7. Have

§ 463. Pres. sing. 1st person: Strong ev Weak ev, v

2nd and 3rd " " ez, es " " az, z, es, s

The forms of the plural are the same as those of the 1st pers. sing.: ev, əv, v.

Preterite. Strong ed Weak əd, d

Infinitive. " " ev " " ev, ə

The forms ez, az, z of the present tense (2nd and 3rd pers.) are used before a following vowel or a voiced consonant; es, əs, s before voiceless consonants.

Examples are: a ev s(e)iəm tədəə a tel~ja I have seen him today, I tell you, av god~it  nano I have got it now, əzi əiər has he been here? iz əut he is out, əste spokn tyləm hast thou spoken to him? id gon te lətən siəm dəə he had gone to Lorton the same day, i mun ə dənt əsel he must have done it himself, ̀yu just(s) ev (əv) ə tarbl ən ə təleg thou used to have a terrible pain in thy leg.
8. Be

Present Tense

§ 464. *Singular.* 1st person, strong *am, iz* (see below, note II); weak *m, z, s.

2nd and 3rd pers., strong *iz, is*; weak *z, s.*

*Plural.* Strong *yur*; weak *ər, r* (for all persons).

**Note I.** The forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons (present) are nearly always extended to the 1st person, thus: *je divant ken t'sap as tōkan aḥyut you don't know the chap I am talking of, az gan to s(ə)jim tanit I am going to see him to-night.*

**Note II.** The forms *iz, z* of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. are used before a following vowel or a voiced consonant; *is, s* before voiceless consonants.

*Preterite*

*Singular.* Strong: *waz, was*; weak: *wez, wes.*

*Plural.* Strong: *war, wyr*; weak: *wur, wər.*

The form of the pret. sing. is often extended to the plural, thus: *wi wes kumən fre emlsaid sïam mwəqin we were coming from Ambleside the same morning.*

As for the occurrence of the pret. sing. forms in -z and -s, see note II above.

**Note III.** The form *wyr* has evidently arisen through the influence of the preceding *w* on the following vowel; *w* has exercised a similar influence on a following vowel already in OE. (Northumbrian); see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, §§ 52, 55, note I.

The plural form *yur* of the present tense has evidently been formed after the analogy of *wyr.*

Examples with *not*: *ämənt, əz nət I am not, əyu(u) izənt, əyəz nət thou art not, izənt, iz nət he is not, wi ʊrənt, wi ʊr nət we are not, jyənt you are not, ə wəzənt I was not, wi wərənt, wi wyr nət we were not.*

*Interrogatively:* *ama, izə am I? istə art thou? izi is he? əşi is she? ʊrwi are we? ʊrzə are you? ʊrəcə are they? waza, wezə was I? wəsta, wez əyu wert thou? wəzə was he? wyr wi were we? wyr jə were you? wyrəcə were they?*

§ 465. The forms of the *present tense* for all persons of the singular and plural are: strong *wil, weak wul, (ə)l.*

*Preterite.* Strong *wad* (see § 134, note I), weak *wəd, (ə)d.*
The form wul is also occasionally used as a strong form.

Examples with not: ă (ũ(u), i, wĩ, ja, ẽ) wulent, wulent, wön, wina I (thou, he, we, you, they) will not, ă (ũ(u), i, wĩ, ja, ẽ) wadent, wadent I (thou, he, we, you, they) would not.

Interrogatively: wila, wula will I? wilta, wulte wilt thou? wilt, wili will he? wilwa, wulwa, wilaz will we? wilje, wulje will you? wilõa, wulõa will they? wada, wadê would I? wadwi, wadê would we?

10. Do

§ 466. Infinitive: dié (diů), ði (on the origin of these forms see § 180).

Present: ă (wĩ, ja, ẽ) dié (diů), di, div (cf. § 150, footnote) I (we, you, they) do; ũ(u)(ǐ) dûz, diz thou (he) doest (does).

Note I. The second element of the diphthongs ía, ķu in the infinitive varies between ũ and ẽ; it is generally half-length.

Note II. The form div is mostly used negatively (with not, see examples below) and interrogatively.

The preterite forms for all persons of the singular and plural are: dûd, did.

Participles: Present diún, past dûn, (sometimes also diún).

Examples: âz gân te diét (dit) bi misel I am going to do it by myself, iz dunt õridi he has done it already, watste diún õir laik what art thou doing there?

With not: a divent I don't, ũu dizent thou doest not, wi divent we don't.


ADVERBS

§ 467. Adverbs of place: bak back, bakwêqvz backwards, duûn down, õar here, õir there, ebm fênenst right in front (ebm= even, fênenst, see § 310), enispo any where, sumspot somewhere, nîspot nowhere, wîr where, jondar yonder.

Adverbs of time: bìnuu by this time, eftâr bit by-and-by, ivar ever, nîvar never, jans once, jît yet, õîes always, atmîørn (tâ moro) to-morrow, tê dê to-day, jistêqy yesterday, tê nit
to-night, tū Đức the other day, ofn often, ぬぬ now, かん then, うわ (occasionally うわ) when, すいん soon.

Adverbs of manner and degree. Two of these adverbs have the stress on the adverbial suffix: えこどんらい accordingly, すいうらい surely (this pronunciation is now only heard from old people), ねび (ねび), まぷm (contraction of ｍay happen) perhaps, うุ how, う(u)wivər, すいwivər however, なべた (ōni) only, nothing but, えみあ斯特 almost, おん, えずイル too, as well, うィル, け (see § 108) well. すい (sometimes すい) so, thus, うイル why, いあIkli probably, えにuf enough.

Intensifying adverbs are: ｖａｒə very, たえる (たえる) terribly, がだ gaily, たに canny, very, えくstra extra (see above, § 399).

Affirmative and negative particles: あい yes, ね (ね) no, ぬィル, なえ not.

PREPOSITIONS
§ 468. ｅｆた after, あふる before, あとおん between, び (ば) by, び(h)int, え(h)int behind, あぶるt about, はいよt without, えびゅう above (OE. てんぶやん), あぎうan, がい反 against, (あ)る said on along (side of), えまん, まん among, えさい beside, えとど on (えん, え) instead of, ふる for (far) for, ふれ, ふれ from, いつ into, なり near, ふた except, あうεr over, せん since, た, たつ, たれ to, ふる through, でる, えぬンでる under, えぬンでる under, うップ up, うィル (ウィル, usually before a following consonant) with, た at.

おん, えん, え: owing to the dropping of final consonants, the prepositions おん and えふ have been completely confused in sense and use: the unstressed form of both was used both for おん and えふ, whereas the form おゅ, えν can be said to have almost entirely gone out of use in our dialect, おん (え, えん) having taken its place everywhere, for instance: はなて ひんκ t what do you think of it? えふν えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it? えν えνκ t have you heard of it?

The same confusion has taken place between いν and おν: both were reduced to え in unstressed position, but in also to い, and these two forms are now used promiscuously for おν, いν: え (or い) ついνd in the field, えν つしνp in the shop, えν つしνp in the barn, けν.

CONJUNCTIONS
§ 469. ぶたν, はたν but, こζ because, えν (stressed あν) and, で that (see Appendix and § 417), いνν if (ν) if, なθενθ, なθενν neither, なθν nor, お or, あθενθ, あθενν either, なθν than (after a comparative), いνν (たν) until.
APPENDIX

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE CUMBERLAND DIALECT

The sounds of the Scandinavian loan-words in Cumberland—as well as in the rest of the modern English dialects—have generally fallen together with and shared the development of the sounds of native words. I therefore originally intended to treat the Scandinavian and native elements together, but the result of a closer investigation on this point was that, on account of the interesting features exhibited by the surprisingly rich Old Norse element in the Cumberland dialect, it would be more advisable to give a separate and detailed account of the Scandinavian loan-words.

The material used for the alphabetical list of words given below has been derived partly from my own researches in Lorton and the adjoining parts of Cumberland, partly from a careful analysis of the words given in Dickinson-Prevost’s Cumberland Glossary.

For the historical treatment of my material I availed myself of the material collected by E. Björkman in his work on Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, a work that will always prove an extremely valuable source of information to any one dealing with the Scandinavian element in English dialects.

The strong influence of the Old Norse settlers in Cumberland is also evidenced by the local place nomenclature. Any one who wants to gain further information on this point I refer to the reliable and interesting work of H. Lindkvist on Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin (Upsala, 1912), and also Robert Ferguson, The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland (London, 1856).¹

The following authors have also contributed to the study of Scandinavian loan-words in the English dialects: G. T. Flom

¹ Ferguson’s material is both rich and interesting, but the reliability of his work is much impaired by his deficient knowledge of English and Scandinavian sound-laws.

The history of the Scandinavian settlement in the north-western part of England has been inquired into by J. C. H. R. Steenstrup (Normannerne, Kjøbenhavn, 1882), J. J. A. Worsaae (Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Scotland, og Irland, Kjøbenhavn, 1851), Erik Björkman (Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, p. 263), and also by H. Lindkvist and R. Ferguson (cf. above, p. 131).

**ALPHABETICAL GLOSSARY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE CUMBERLAND DIALECT**

-ā Icel. ā, Swedish å, ME. ā (= OE. ēa) occurring in numerous names of rivers and streams in Cumberland. Cf. also the Icel. Landnámabók, where we find many instances of ā as a component in names of rivers (see Rev. T. Ellwood, Lakel. and Iceland, p. 1; Björkman, Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, p. 102; and R. Ferguson, The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 112). Examples are the river-names Betha, Calda, Bratha, Greta, Wisa.

adl to earn; O. W. Scand. ʰa₁la₁sk to acquire, with a change of ʰa₁ > āl, usual in OE. and ME. (see Björkman, Scand. Loan-words, p. 159, and Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 201. 3).

åf-net a pock-net, a sea-net (see Prevost, p. 150; Wall, p. 105); ON. háfr a pock-net, Norw. haav, Swedish hâv; cf. the vb. af ‘to fish with an af-net’, and the comp. af-bók the pole attached to an af-net. (The regular Lorton form would be *jaf-net; the word is probably a dialect loan.)

ag vb. to hack, hew, chop; O. W. Scand. høggua, Swed. hugga, Dan. hugge (see Wall, p. 105; Björkman, p. 34). Der.: ag-wurm (cf. ON. høgg-ormr, Swed. huggorm) ‘a viper, common snake or slow-worm’ (Prevost, p. 151), agør coal-hewer, ag-tlog, ag-stok ‘a chopping-block’, the frequentative vb. agl ‘to cut with a blunt knife, to tease in bargaining, to over-work, fatigue’. ag sb. is used as a field or place-name (see further Prevost, p. 151).
ansæl 'the price of the first article sold, the first use of anything, a bargain or (generally) applied to the money given for the first bargain, a coin given to the wearer of a new suit of clothes (in order to make the suit lucky)'; O. W. Scand. handsel, Dan. handsel, Swed. handsöl (= 'a transference of right, bargain, or duty to another by joining hands'; see Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 29). According to Björkman (p. 242) the Scandinavian origin of this word is very dubious.

ąŋk sb. 'a skein of thread or yarn, a loop, an evil habit'; ąŋk vb. 'to fasten with a hoop, a term in wrestling' (Prevost, p. 154); O. W. Scand. hønk sb., hankā vb., Swed. dial. hank, Dan. hank (Björkman, p. 212; Wall, p. 106). Der.: ąŋkl to entangle.

ąpri 'vexed', but especially applied to a sore: painful, inflamed; O. W. Scand. angr sb. trouble, angra vb., ME. angren vb. to distress, hurt, pain, O. Dan. anger sb., anger vb., Swed. ånger sb., ângra vb., with similar meanings; cf. the comp. angr nælz = nails grown into the flesh (see further Björkman, p. 200; Wall, p. 89). ąŋ-næl may however be derived from OE. ang-næg(w)l whitlow (see Bosw.-T.).

ąps husks (of corn), awns; ON. égn, gen. agnar, Dan. avne, Swed. agnar (Wall, p. 89; N.E.D. sub awn).

[am-sam adv. confusedly, disorderly; cf. Swed. dial. hams carelesss, hamsa to be disorderly (Wall, p. 106).]

ăr 'a scar from a wound, a cicatrix'; ME. erre, arre (only in Northern writers), O. W. Scand. err, err, Swed. ärr, Dan. ar.

ărber harbour, shelter (Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel.: a room, a place of reception); ON. herberge sb., herbergja, herbyrgja vb. We find the original meaning preserved in the Cumberland phrase to be turned out of ụus ǥn ărber 'house and harbour' (cf. Icel. hús ok herbergi; Ellwood, p. 29).

ărk to spit, to bring up spittle with a loud noise; cf. ON. harka to drag or pull something along the ground (with a noise); Dan. harke, Swed. hark(?)a to hawk (up), to clear one's throat.

ărnz 'brains' (Prevost, p. 156); ME. hœrnes, hernes, harnes brains, O. W. Scand. hiarni, O. Swed. hårne, Swed. hjärna (Björkman, p. 213).

ärval adj.: 'applied to anything connected with heirship or inheritance'; ärval dinar 'a dinner held on the day of the funeral'; ärval breid 'cakes which were distributed to the funeral guests'. ärvalz 'the meat and drink supplied at the funerals'; ME. arvell (Björkman, p. 200), 'a funeral feast'; O. W. Scand. erfiol, O. Dan.

asl-(tiuj) a molar or grinder-tooth; ME. axylotohe; Björkman (*Scand. Loan-words*, p. 200) supposes this word to be a loan from the East Scand., the W. Scand. form being jaxl; cf. O. Dan. axle-tand, Swed. dial. asklatand (Wall, p. 89). This word also occurs in the comp. asl-trei, ME. axel-tre; cf. O. W. Scand. oxultré, OE. eox axle-tree, without the Scand. l (Björkman, p. 199); asl-id the back part of the jaw which contains the molars.

at (st), ME. at, used in three different senses: (1) as an indeclinable relative pronoun = standard English that: tstwóri ati telt me justaqe the story that he told me yesterday. (2) As a conjunction: i telt me at i waz gän ta koknap he told me that he was going to Cockermouth. (3) As a mark of the infinitive = standard English to: i akst me at diüt he asked me to do it. In sense 3, however, at is now obsolete except in Furness (cf. Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 3). at occurs in the same senses in ME. (see Björkman, p. 201); it may in some cases be a worn-down form of English that conj. and rel. pron., but is most probably a Scandinavian loan < O. W. Scand. at which was used in the same manner as a pronoun, conjunction, and mark of the infinitive (cf. however, J. A. Murray, *The Dial. of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 26, and above, Accidence, § 417).

-au (usually spelt how) ‘hill, hillock’, very common in place-names; for instance, kassau, dārлинаu (near Lorton); O. W. Scand. havgr; O. Swed. hēgker, Swed. hög (Björkman, p. 70; Wall, p. 107).

auz (or öz) ME. haule, hause, ‘a narrow mountain pass between two valleys’, ON. hals neck (see N.E.D. sub hause). auz apparently is the older form of the two, arisen through the usual vocalization of the l and preservation of the au-diphthong (cf. above, § 96); cf. also Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 30.

aver oats; ME. havør, havyr, O. W. Scand. hafri, O. Swed. hafre, Dan. havre (Björkman, p. 213).

ān ‘to shut up a pasture field till the grass grows again, to preserve untouched, to save’ (Prevost, p. 151); cf. ON. hegna, Swed. hāgna, to enclose with a fence, to preserve or shelter, Dan. hegn, Swed. hagn sb. fencing, shelter.

bag ‘belly, the udder of a cow’; bagin ‘provisions taken into the field for the workmen’ (cf. also bag-sakinz, Prevost, p. 12),
usually derived from O. W. Scand. baggi pack, bundle. Björkman seems inclined to look upon this word as a native one (Scand. Loan-words, p. 228).

baierlö ‘a custom or law established in a township or village’ (obsolete in Lorton, but see Prevost, p. 50), apparently a Scandinavian loan: the first member of the compound is the genitive býjar of ON. býr, bær village, probably from an ON. unrecorded *býjar-log (see further N.E.D. sub byralaw).

ban vb. ‘to beat, strike, knock, to surpass, excel’, may be from ON. banga to beat; cf. Norw. and Swed. dialects banka, Dan. banke, Swed. bang noise (see further N.E.D. sub bang vb., and Wall, p. 90).


bärk bark, cortex, is perhaps a Scandinavian loan (see Björkman, p. 230); vb. bärk ‘to peel the skin or bark off’, bärkn ‘to encrust with dirt, to clot’; cf. O. W. Scand. bærkr, Dan., Swed. bark.

bärn child; OE. bearn, O. Scand. barn. Although the word occurs both in OE. and Scandinavian its occurrence in the dialects of the North seems to indicate that the Scandinavian and native word were mixed up in ME. (see Björkman, p. 230). Der.: bärniš childish, silly.

batn vb. to fatten, thrive; batnz ‘straw which has been half thrashed, given as titbits to weakly cattle’ (Prevost, p. 17). Cf. O. W. Scand. batna ‘to improve’, Swed. dial. batna ‘to be healed, to swell’ (Björkman, p. 202).

baudæstíán ‘a big round stone or piece of rock’; cf. ME. bulderstôn, Swed. butersten (<*buldersten); see further Björkman, p. 232, and N.E.D. sub boulder-stone. The au-diphthong points to an original *bolder (§ 134); ME. *bulder would give Lorton bůuder (§ 146).

bēl in the comp. bēl-faír, ‘signal fires lighted upon the Scottish and Cumbrian borders to denote the outbreak of war’ (Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 3), also bonfire; ME. bāle a funeral pile, bonfire; Prevost (p. 21) gives a short form bēfē, perhaps an early shortening of native ME. bēl, O. W. Scand. bāl blaze, flame,
funeral pile, Swed. bål; OE. bèl, ME. bèl cannot be the source as it would have given Lorton bèil (§ 162) (see Björkman, p. 87).

bæt handy, accommodating (used of a way or road): straight, short, direct (tbeønæst wǣ); ME. bœin, bain < O. W. Scand. beinn straight, direct (Björkman, p. 40); cf. gæn, p. 144.

bæt (1) an intermediate meal, food (for a man or a horse) by the way; also a verb to bæt to stop by the way to feed (Prevost, p. 13) ; ME. baite bait, food, O. W. Scand. bœit, O. Swed. bèt food (Björkman, p. 41), pasture; cf. also the use of the word in modern Swed. dial. bèt 'food whilst on a journey'.

bæt (2) vb., ME. beggten, O. W. Scand. bœita 'to cause to bite, to hunt', especially in the sense 'to set the dogs on, to worry or tease a confined or chained animal'.¹ The OE. verb bètan would give Lorton bèit (see § 162) (Björkman, p. 41).

bek a streamlet or brook, may simply be a Northern form of OE. bœce, or the Scandinavian (O. W. Scand. bèkkr) and the native forms have perhaps been mixed up in use. Another form of the word occurs in place-names, such as bekarmat Beckermet, a village in Cumberland (with preservation of the ON. ð of the genitive).

beŋk, biŋk 'a low bank or ledge of rock, a row of peats piled up' (Prevost, p. 22); cf. O. Swed. bœnker, Dan. bènk, Norw. bènk, the two last-mentioned words also used in the sense of 'a long and narrow ledge of rock' (see Falk and Torp, Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch). The true native form is binš (§ 112) < ME. benneche (Björkman, p. 145).

beria a thrasher; O. W. Scand. berja, O. Swed. bœria to beat (see further Björkman, p. 183, and Wall, p. 91).

big barley; ME. big, ON. bygg, Norw. dial. bygg, Dan. byg, O. Dan. byngg) (Björkman, p. 32; Wall, p. 91). The OE. form of this word is bœw. big vb. to build; ME. biggen, O. W. Scand. byggua, byggia, O. Swed. byggia 'to inhabit, dwell in, build', Mod. Swed. bygga to build (Björkman, p. 32; Wall, p. 91). Der.: bigin, used in compounds like tlœ-bigin clay-building, and place-names such as sunbigin, niubbigin; cf. O. W. Scand. byggind building.

bikær, now obsolete in our dialect (but see Prevost, p. 25, and

¹ Mostly used in the comp. bu1-bœtin, a very popular Cumbrian diversion in the old days: to set the dogs on a bull chained up in the market-place, allowing them to bite him to death.

**biūn** 'service done by a customary tenant for the lord of the manor' (Prevost, p. 24); ME. *bön* prayer, request < O. W. Scand. *bön* of the same sense. On the transition of sense from 'prayer, request' into 'favour conferred, free gift', &c., see N.E.D. sub * boon*, sb. I (Björkman, p. 205).


**blīa-(beriz)** blue-(berries); *blīe* points to a ME. *ā*; cf. ME. *blā*, O. W. Scand. *bār*, O. Swed. *blār*, Dan. *blaar*; whereas the OE. form *blaw* would give Lorton *blo* (§ 159; Björkman, p. 82, footnote, and p. 204).


**brandrep** 'a gridiron', an iron frame on three legs used in the old open hearths for supporting the baking-plate (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 9); ME. *brandrethi, brandrethe*, O. W. Scand. *brandreid*; the corresponding OE. word is *brandrida* (Björkman, p. 63).

**briūkt** adj. 'said of a sheep or cow with a peculiar intermixture of black and white hair on the legs and face' (Prevost, p. 41); possibly of Scandinavian origin; cf. Swed. *brokig* variegated, motley, many-coloured (especially said of cows), Norw. dialect *brōk*, Swed. dial. *brok* pied, piebald used of a horse or a cow (see Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*). The present dialect form points to a ME. *brōk*.

**bul** bull; ME. *bole, bule*, O. W. Scand. *boli*, O. Dan. *bul*. The Scandinavian origin of this word is proved by its local distribution in ME. (Björkman, p. 205). The word occurs in many compounds, such as *bulstan* (see *stan* below) dragon-fly, *bulid* tadpole, &c. (see further Prevost, pp. 45, 46).

**bulk** bulk, 'the quantity of herring-nets shot at one time' (Prevost, p. 45); ME. *bolke* (Björkman, p. 231), O. W. Scand. *bulki* 'heap, cargo of a ship'. We find the same word in the compound *buksem* bulky (with loss of the *l*).

1 On the history of this word see E. Liden, *Arkiv för Nord. Filologi*, vol. 27, p. 259.
būr ‘a rapid whirling motion’ (or the sound produced by such a motion), ‘a short run to gain impetus for a leap’ (Prevost, p. 47); ME. būr, birre ‘a strong wind, force, violent pace’, O. W. Scand.
bushk (obsolescent) ‘to dress, decorate, to hurry, bustle about’; ME. busken ‘to prepare, get ready, dress, adorn’, O. W. Scand.
buask ‘to get oneself ready’ (Björkman, p. 137).
būn (I have not heard the pronunciation baun, given by Prevost, p. 36) ‘ready, prepared, going to do a thing, on the point of starting’; ME. būn ‘ready, prepared’, from O. W. Scand. būinn (cf. O. E. Scand. bóinn), pp. of būa to prepare (Björkman, p. 206).

dauli ‘downhearted, lonely, solitary, desolate’ (applied to places); ON. dounfligr ‘lonely, dull’, Norw. dialect daufleg, ‘tedious, slow’ (Wall, p. 96).

daupt ‘a bay in a lake, a recess, a precipice’; apparently a Scand. loan, from ON. dautp (see N.E.D. sub doûp) ‘a hollow or cleft with steep sides’, Norw. daup ‘hollow’, occurring in several place-names, such as Corby doûp, Howe doûp, The Great Doûp (Prevost, p. 102; Wall, p. 96).

dæl, dial; these forms are now used promiscuously in our dialect, although originally representing two different words with different senses; the form dial, however, is more used than dæl.
The ûæ-diphthong in dial points to an original à (probably from the plural a-forms of OE. dæl dale, valley, but N.E.D. assumes ‘reinforcement’ through influence of the corresponding Scandinavian noun, ON. dalr, Swed., Norw. dal), and the original sense of this word is ‘dale, valley’; it is also used in this sense in the dialects of the North and frequently in place-names. The form dæl, on the other hand, is probably the regular development of ON. deîll deal, part, division, deîla vb. to divide (OE. dæl would give Lorton deîl, see § 162), and the original sense of the word is preserved in our dialect: ‘land held in defined but unfenced parcels in an open field, the ownership changing annually in succession,’ one of these parcels is called a dæl (or dial); also ‘a field near a house, a croft’. The comp. dælzman (or dialzman) probably originally meant the owner of a certain part or dæl of land (on the words dale, dalemal see Lindkvist, M.E. Place-Names of Scand. Origin, p. 30, and ‘Some Old Scand. Deposits in ME.
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Records’ in Minnesskrift tillägnad Prof. A. Erdmann (Upsala, 1913), p. 203).

dæz vb. mostly occurring as a pp. dæzd exhausted, stupid, often used of food badly cooked or prepared; for instance, dæzd broid pasty, improperly baked bread; dæzd eg ‘an addled egg’. Cf. ME. dãsen to grow dim, to be benumbed, to stupefy, bewilder, O. W. Scand. dasask (passive form) ‘to get exhausted, tired’, Norw. dial. dása ‘to grow faint’, Swed. dial. dasa, Dan. dial. dase ‘to be sluggish’ (Björkman, p. 233).

deg vb. (in some parts of Cumberland pronounced dag) ‘to ooze, to flow or drop slowly, to sting’ (said of a throbbing pain), ‘to sprinkle water’; ME. dag sb. ‘dew, thin rain, wet fog’, &c.; dag vb. ‘to bedew, to sprinkle, to drizzle’. deg and dag may represent different Scandinavian forms: O. W. Scand. déggua, Swed. dial. döggja, Norw. dial. deggja, and O. W. Scand. degg dew, Old and New Swed. dagg; or the e in deg is perhaps due to a dialectal change (see further Björkman, p. 33).

des ‘a pile or heap of hay’, a section of a large hayrick, ‘a cutting made from a rick’ (Prevost, 96); des vb. ‘to adorn, to build or pile up’ (for instance potatoes, hay, &c.); ON. des, Icel. hey-des hayrick, Swed. döss.

dil ‘to soothe, to lull to sleep’; ON. dilla ‘to trill, to lull’ (see N. E. D. sub dill vb. 2, and Wall, p. 96); the word mostly occurs in the comp. dil-wata, a kind of soothing mixture.

diŋ vb., ME. dingen, originally meant ‘to strike, to push’, and is still preserved in this sense in other parts of Cumberland (Prevost, 97); in Lorton it is used in the expression to diŋ up to snub, reproach (cf. above, § 111, note), but we find the original sense preserved in the noun diŋ = a blow. It is a Scandinavian loan from O. Teutonic *dingwan, O. Swed. dìunga, O. Dan. dinge (see further Björkman, p. 207).

dleg (not used in Lorton) ‘pleasant, sharp, quick, “well up” (in something)’; cf. ME. gleg, ON. gleggr (or gloggr) ‘clear-sighted’, Swed. dial. glägg ‘sprightly, brisk’ (Wall, p. 103; Björkman, p. 34).

[dilent (or dlint) sb. ‘a glance, twinkle, glimpse’; dilent vb. ‘to glance, to look aside, to sparkle’; ME. gliten ‘to move quickly, to look askance, to flash, gleam’, &c. Perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. dial. glänta to shine, gleam, to open slightly, Dan. dial. glinte to sparkle (Björkman, p. 241; Wall, p. 103).]
[**dlopn** vb. ‘to frighten, startle, amaze’; ME. *glopen* ‘to be astonished, frightened’; cf. ON. *glópna* ‘to quail, to look downcast or frightened’ (see Björkman, p. 241). Scandinavian origin of the word questionable.]

[**døŋk** vb. ‘to be damp, to drizzle’ (Prevost, p. 100); **døŋki** adj. damp, misty. The origin of this word is somewhat uncertain, but perhaps cognate with Swed. dial. *dank* ‘moist place in a field, marshy spot’, *dänka* to moisten; cf. Dan. *dunke* to sprinkle, to moisten, and Norw., Swed. dial. *dunken* adj. moist (Falk and Torp, p. 172). The usual dialect form of this word is *dank*, and the word is probably to be looked upon as a loan in our dialect (see N.E.D. sub *dank* adj.). Scandinavian origin uncertain.]


**dump**; ME. *dumpen, dumpen* vb. ‘to butt with the elbow, knee, or horn’; **dump** sb. ‘a blow with the elbow or knee’; perhaps Scand., cf. O. W. Scand. *dumpa* ‘to beat, thrust’; Swed. dial. *dumpa, dompa* to knock, Dan. *dumpe* ‘to fall heavily’, **dump** ‘a heavy and sudden fall’ (see Björkman, p. 235). We find the word in the comp. *dumpi-kūu* ‘a cow given to attacking people’.

**duna** to shake, tremble (with accompaniment of rumbling) (Prevost, p. 107), probably a frequentative formation of the vb. *dun* (see N.E.D. sub *dun* vb. 2) < ON. *duna* ‘to thunder, to give a hollow sound’.

[**dwałe** vb., only used in the pp. *dwałed* (-at), of hay which has been allowed to remain too long in the fields and thus partly or totally spoilt; it may perhaps be a denominative formation from ON. *dvala* (*dvol*), which originally meant ‘delay, retardation’ (see Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Wörterbuch*, sub *dvale*); cf. also Swed. *dvala*, Norw. dial. *dvala* ‘heavy sleep, stupor, torpor’. The sense of corresponding OE. verb *dwalian* ‘to err’ (Bosworth-Toller) has nothing in common with the Lorton word.]

**eft** vb., mostly used as a pp. *eftit* of ‘mountain sheep let along with a farm and depastured on a particular part of the common or
fell' (Prevost, p. 159); cf. ON. heftla to bind, fetter, to hold back, restrain, Dan. hefte, Swed. häfta to bind, to join (= OE. hæftan to bind).

eg egg; ME. egg, O. W. Scand. egg, O. Swed. æg (Björkman, p. 36).

eg vb. occurring in the combination to eg on to incite, to urge, to encourage; ME. eggen, O. W. Scand. eggja, O. Swed. æggia. Cf. OE. (ge)cgian, but undoubtedly a Scand. loan, as there are no modern dialect forms in dâ (Björkman, pp. 157, 236).

eldin fuel, ON. elding fuel (<eldr fire). The corresponding OE. word is æled fire; see also Wall, p. 38.

e(1) (with loss of initial h, § 872), now obsolete in Lorton (Prevost, p. 161), 'to pour rapidly'; O. W. Scand. hella 'to pour out' (Björkman, p. 170).

eml 'a shed in the field for the shelter of young stock, a shed contiguous to the dwelling-house used as a storage for implements, bracken, &c.' (the word is now obsolete in Lorton, but given by Prevost, p. 153, and occurring in dialect records); cf. Icel. hemill 'an enclosure for cattle', from the vb. hemja to confine, restrict; but see Wall, p. 107.

farentli 'orderly, respectably'; ME. farand 'pleasing, handsome'; O. W. Scand. fura to have a special appearance; Björkman (p. 209) quotes the Scandinavian expressions illa farandi ugly, best farandi handsomest (see also Wall, p. 98).

faut 'a foolish person, a petted child'; cf. O. W. Scand. fauti 'fatuus homo' (Björkman, p. 300).

f(e)il vb. 'to hide, to cover', apparently from O. W. Scand. fela, O. Swed. fiela to hide. The OE. vb. ficolan does not agree in sense with f(e)il (Björkman, p. 209).

fel hill, mountain; ME. fell(e) mountain, O. W. Scand. fell, fjall, Swed. fjäll, Dan. fjæld (Björkman, p. 170; Wall, p. 99).

fest 'to bind an apprentice', to send out cattle to other farms to graze (or perhaps rather: to make an agreement with another farmer to this effect); cf. the comp. festan-penii 'money paid to a servant on hiring to bind the agreement' (Prevost, p. 118). OE. fæstæn, ON. festa, ME. festen. OE. æ in fæstæn would regularly give ME. a, Lorton a, but e might also be expected (see § 97, especially esp, kest). But the numerous ME. e-forms as well as the above-mentioned senses of the word agree with those of
corresponding Scandinavian verb (ON. *festa* to pledge, to bind a servant, ON. *festar* betrothal, ON. *festarmér*, Swed. *fästmö* fiancée, Icel. *festarpeningar* ‘money paid as pledge or bail’) (see N.E.D. sub *fust* vb. 1; Björkman, p. 237).

flaiær (ME. *flairen*) to laugh, sneer, ‘to have a countenance expressive of laughter without laughing out’; cf. Norw. and Swed. dials. *flira* to laugh or titter, Dan. dial. *flire* to grin, ‘to laugh unbecomingly’ (see N.E.D. sub *fleer* vb., and Wall, p. 100).

[*flaip* ‘the rim of a hat’; perhaps cognate with ON. *flípe* ‘a horse’s lip’, Dan. *flip* ‘flap’, Norw. dial. *flípe* ‘flap, lobe’ (Wall, p. 100); but the present dial. form points to an ON. *flisp.*]


flau ‘an extensive and unsheltered peat-bog, a salt marsh on an estuary’ (Prevost, p. 124). Both N.E.D. and Wall (p. 100) assume this word to be of Scandinavian origin. N.E.D. (sub *flow* sb. 2) derives it from an unrecorded ON. *flówe* (which would regularly give Lorton *flau*; cf. § 184); the *v* in this form might be a glide arisen between the two vowels in ON. *flóe* (Norw. dial. *flóe*), Icel. *flói*, as in *grofé*, *grufe*, ‘grow’ < ON. *gróa*, or in the Lorton triphthongs *uuwe*, *auwe*, cf. above, §§ 29, 33, and O. Ritter, ‘Zur Mundart des nordöstlichen Schottlands,’ § 196. 2 (in *Englische Studien*, 46. 1).

flæ to scare, to frighten; N.E.D. quotes two probable OE. forms, *flægan* and *flægan*, but both these verbs would have given Lorton *fli*, whereas ON. *fleyja* would regularly develop into *flæ*, and this word may consequently be looked upon as a Scandinavian loan, especially as the dialectal distribution of the word seems to support such a supposition.

flæk (in the north and east of Cumberland also pronounced *flīk*; see Prevost, p. 121) ‘a sheep-hurdle, a barred water heck, a frame horizontally suspended from the ceiling, on which flitches of bacon, &c., are laid to dry’; cf. ON. *flake*, *flëke* hurdle, wicker shield (see N.E.D. sub *flake* sb. 1).


fræ, fre (individually pronounced *pré*, *pre*) prep. from; ME. *frä*, O. W. Scand. *frä* from (Björkman, p. 100).

fwöös (or fōš) waterfall or cascade, mostly occurring in place-names, such as fwöös spirut Force *Spout* (near Lorton), Scale Force, Birker Force. ON. *fors*, Swed. *fors*, Dan. *fös* ‘waterfall’.

gad-wan(d)z ‘a rod or whip used in driving horses’ (now obsolete in our dialect); ME. *gadd* ‘a sharp pike of metal, a pointed rod or stick used for driving oxen, &c.’; O. W. Scand. *gaddr*, O. Swed. *gadder*, N. Swed. *gadd* ‘goad, spike, sting’ (Björkman, p. 168).

gap ‘an opening in a fence, a hedge, or the ridge of a mountain’, also used of the mountain passes in Cumberland; cf. the verb *giap* to *gape*; both *gap* and *giap* are probably of Scandinavian origin; ME. *gap* sb., *gapen* vb., from ON. *gap* ‘chasm, opening’; cf. Swed. *gap*, Dan. *gab*, opening of the mouth, chasm, and ON. *gapa*, Swed. *gapa*, Dan. *gabe* to open the mouth. A corresponding OE. *gapiyan* has not been recorded (see N.E.D. sub *gape* vb., and Björkman, p. 150).

gär ‘to compel, to make’ (some one do something); ME. *geren, gerren, garen*, O. W. Scand. *gerva, gerva, gera* ‘to make, do’; OE. *giervan* (gearvian), ME. *gearwen*. The form as well as the sense and the dialectal distribution of the word point to its Scandinavian origin (see further N.E.D. sub *gar* vb., and Björkman, p. 151).

gärn, ME. *garn* sb. yarn, O. W. Scand. *garn*, O. and New Swed, *garn* yarn. We also find the native form of the word OE. *gearn* > Lorton *järn* in the sense of ‘tale, story’ (see above, § 351) (Björkman, p. 150); cf. the comp. *gärn-winalz*.

gärp ‘yard, a small piece of enclosed ground’, &c., O. W. Scand. *garðr*, O. Swed. *garber*, occurring in several place-names (such as Garth-head, West-garth), and in compounds: *stak-gärp* a stack-yard, *kōf-gärp* an enclosure for the calves, &c. (cf. above, § 351. 2, and Björkman, p. 151).

Gauk ‘the cuckoo’; O. W. Scand. *gaukr*, OE. *geac* (Björkman, p. 69); the word is also used in the sense of ‘a fool, an ungainly person’. Cf. the adj. *gauki* ‘awkward, ungainly’ (Prevost, p. 144; Björkman, p. 69).

Gaul ‘to howl or yell’, especially applied to the cry of the hounds when hunting on the fell sides; ME. *goulen* (also *gawlen*,}
gaulen), O.W. Scand. gaula ‘to howl, low, bellow’; cf. Icel. göla (also applied to the yell of dogs; cf. Wall, p. 104; Björkman, p. 69).

gau (now obsolete) vb. ‘to understand, to give attention to, to take care of’; gau sb. ‘attention’; ME. gôm sb. ‘care, heed, attention’, from O.W. Scand. gau, gauum ‘heed, attention’.

gauonuz ‘a handful, the two hands full’; O.W. Scand. gaump, O.Swed. göpen ‘the hollow of the hand’ (Björkman, p. 70).

gauri ‘dull, stupid, gloomy’; cf. ON. gaurr ‘a rough, sad fellow’ (Wall, p. 104).

-gaut ‘a male pig’; ME. galte, ON. galte, goltr (Wall, p. 101), Swed. galt (on the transition al+cons. > au, see § 134); cf. also gelt, gilt (p. 145).

[gauz ‘to burst out suddenly, a rush or gush of fluid’; cf. Norw. dial. gaus ‘rush of fluid’, gausa ‘to run, rush’ (Björkman, p. 300).]

gên (cf. bên, p. 136) ‘handy, short, direct’ (used of a pathway or road); ME. gein, gain adj. ‘straight, near’, O.W. Scand. gên, adj. ‘handy, direct, convenient’; cf. Swed. gen, Dan. gêen, short, direct (way) (Björkman, p. 151).

geld ‘barren, not pregnant’, said of a woman or an animal; ME. gelde ‘barren’, gelden vb. ‘to castrate’, O.W. Scand. geldr castrated, geldu to castrate (see N.E.D. sub geld adj., and Björkman, p. 240).

gest guest, ME. gest, gist, O.W. Scand. gestr (Björkman, p. 152).

gezlin ‘gosling, the young of geese’, ME. geslyng, ON. göslíngr a gosling (see further N.E.D. sub gosling).

giát ‘path, road, way’, passage, street; ME. gate ‘way, road’, O.W. Scand., O.Swed. gata in the same sense (Björkman, p. 151). Cf. the expression to git ágiat to get on one’s way, to get started.

giar ‘cart and plough harness, wealth, dress, property in general’ (Prevost, p. 136); ME. gere ‘equipment, apparatus, manner, habit’, &c., ME. vb. geren ‘to adorn, equip, harness’, probably Scandinavian, from O.W. Scand. gêrv, gervi (cf. OE. gearwe) (see Björkman, p. 151, and N.E.D. sub gear sb.).

gil ‘a ravine, a cleft in the rocks’ (usually with a stream in it); ME. gill, gille(-strêm) ‘a deep rocky cleft or ravine’, O.W. Scand. gil ‘a crack, fissure, narrow glen’, Norw. dial. gil. Frequent in place-names.
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*gildær* 'horse-hair snares attached to cross-strings running across a hoop or bent stick', hair nooses; ME. *gilder* 'snare', ON. *gildra* 'snare', O. Swed. *gilder*, Norw. *gilder* (Björkman, p. 154).


*gis, gisi* 'call-notes for swine', also applied to the swine itself, an altered form of *grais* 'young pigs, wild swine', now obsolete, but occurring in place-names (Grisedale); ME. *gris* a young pig, O. W. Scand. *griss*, Swed., Dan. *gris* a pig; cf. also Swed. *giss* call-note for swine (Björkman, p. 211).


*[gof* (mining term) 'the space remaining in a pit after the removal of the coal' (Prevost, p. 142); from ON. *golf* 'floor, apartment' (with vocalization of the *l*; cf. § 274, 6); cf. Swed. *golf*, Dan. *gulv* floor. ON. *golf* would give Lorton *gauf*; the word is perhaps a dialect loan.]

*grasom* 'a fine paid by all the tenants of a manor on the death of the lord', sometimes used to signify a manorial rent; ME. *gersume, garsume*, O. W. Scand. *gørsemi, gersemi*, O. Dan. *gørsom* 'a treasure'. OE. *gersume* is a Scandinavian loan (see Wall, p. 104; Björkman, p. 152). The word has evidently got its present dialect form through association with *grass* sb.

*grædli* (obsolescent and rare) 'good, proper' (Prevost, p. 145); ME. *greidlic* suitable, ON. *greidlir* 'prepared, equipped'.

*grænz* 'the prongs of a fork, branches of a tree'; ME. *grein, græyn* 'some part of a weapon, arm of a sea, &c.', ON. *grein* 'branch, division, bough, twig', Swed. *gren* branch, Dan. dial. *gren* 'prong of a fork' (see N.E.D. sub *grain* sb. 2, and Björkman, p. 48).

*græp* 'a dung-fork'; apparently <ON. *greip*, only recorded in the sense of grip, grasp, or the part of the hand and fingers which is used for grasping; but cf. Norw. *greip*, Swed. *grep* with exactly the same sense as Lorton *græp* : 'a fork used for digging or as a dung-fork'. But we also find in the north and north-west (see
Prevost, p. 148) a form griáþ which seems to point to the OE. gróþ grasp.

gróþ sb. (not used in Lorton but occurring in dialect records, see Prevost, p. 145) 'wealth, horsegear'. gróþ vb. 'to dress, accoutre'; ON. greiða vb. 'to prepare', greiðe sb. 'entertainment, arrangement', &c. (Wall, p. 104, and Björkman, p. 48).

gríþp 'the space behind the cows in a stall, a narrow passage, a privy, a sink'; cf. ON. gróþ the narrow furrow or groove of a rill (see Falk and Torp), Icel. gróþ groove, Swed., Norw. gróþ hollow, cavity. The above-mentioned ON. forms have given ME. gróþ (see N.E.D. sub group) and then regularly Lorton gríþp (§ 176).

gríþv a pit, 'a place from whence coal, slate, &c., have been dug' (Prevost, p. 147); possibly from ON. gróþ (>ME. gróþ> Lorton gríþv, § 176) 'hollow, pit'; cf. Goth. gróba 'cavity, hollow', Dan. gróv hollow, cavity. N.E.D. (sub groove) derives groove from the Dutch grove 'sulcus, fossa, scrobes'.

gul (jelæ gul) 'the corn marigold', Chrysanthemum segetum (Prevost, p. 149); cf. ME. gul(l) 'yellow, pale', ON. gulr, Swed., Dan. gul yellow (Björkman, p. 212).

iI adj. 'evil, wicked'; iI vb. 'to degrade, slander' (Prevost, p. 175); ME. ille adj. 'evil, bad', O. W. Scand. illr, illa adj. with the same sense, Swed. illa adv. 'badly', Dan. ild (Björkman, p. 171).

iñ 'meadow in a low or moist situation, a long and narrow field'. The word also seems to occur in place-names, such as Long-ings, Far-ings, &c. (Prevost, p. 176); ME. eng 'meadow'<ON. eng, Swed. äng, Dan. eng 'meadow' (on the transition e>i before y, see § 110. 2).

iñ vb. 'to hang', pret. añ (uñ, see § 429, B), pp. un; apparently from ON. hengja to hang (see further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 157). The form añ to hang, is also frequently used, but without any appreciable distinction in sense.

intak 'an enclosed piece of land near a farm-house', 'an enclosure taken from the common'; cf. Swed. intaka 'an enclosed common', Norw. intak, Swed. intäkt, Dan. intag 'what is taken in' (see Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 33; Wall, p. 108).

jũu(w)ær 'a cow's udder'; from ON. iugr, O. Swed. iugher (through vocalization of g, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the ã > u; see § 145). Cf. Norw. juver, jur, Swed. jufver.
kail ‘a boil or sore’; ME. kīle, ON. kýλi ‘a boil or abscess’ (Wall, p. 109).

kam ‘ridge, crest’, probably from ON. kambr (Dan. and Swed. kam) = ‘crest, ridge’ (of a hill, &c.). The native correspondency is Lorton kwōm (see § 93, note 1).

kār ‘an extensive hollow place where water stands in winter, small, hollow, cup-shaped fields’; ME. keor marshy ground, O. W. Scand. kiarr, Dan. kjær, Swed. kārr (Björkman, p. 142).

kārl ‘a coarse unmanly fellow, a countryman’; ME. carl ‘a man’, ON. karl, Dan., Swed. karl ‘man, male, man of the people’. We find the original sense of the word preserved in the comp. kārl-kat ‘a male cat’ (Prevost, p. 55); cf. ON. karl-dýr ‘a male beast’, OE. carl-fugol ‘male bird’, &c. (Björkman, p. 215; Wall, p. 93).

kaup vb. ‘to exchange, barter’; kauper sb. a dealer (generally a horse-dealer); ME. coupen, copen from O. W. Scand. kaupa, O. Swed. köpa, Swed. köpa to buy (Björkman, p. 70).

kāk (-bitit) used of sheep: ‘having the ear (usually the left ear) marked by the removal of a square piece cut out from the edge’; cf. Dan. dial. kei ‘the left hand’, Swed. kaja ‘left hand’, kajhändt ‘left-handed’ (see N. E. D. sub kai, key adj., and Björkman, p. 56).

kāk vb. ‘a twist or bend to one side’; ON. keiktia ‘to bend backwards’, keïkr adj. ‘bent backwards’, Norw. keika ‘to turn, to twist’ (see further Falk and Torp, sub keitet, and Wall, p. 108).

kel(d) ‘a weak spring of water in arable land, a marshy place’; also occurring in frequent place-names (see N. E. D. sub keld sb. 2); ON. kelda, Swed. källa, Dan. kilde ‘a spring of water, a fountain or well’.


[kep ‘to catch, to seize in the air’; ME. kippen ‘to seize, to take up hastily’; cf. O. W. Scand. kippa ‘to snatch’. The e in kep may perhaps be due to analogical influence from ketš to catch.]

kest ‘to cast, throw’, &c. (see further Prevost, p. 185); ME. casten, cesten, ON. kasta, Swed. kasta, Dan. kaste (Björkman, p. 142).

ket ‘filth, rubbish, carrion’; adj. keti ‘dirty, mean’; ME.
ket 'flesh', ON. kipt 'flesh, carrion' (see further Wall, p. 109, and Björkman, p. 142).

ketl kettle; cf. O. Scand. ketill kettle, OE. ceptel. If not a loan, at least influenced by Scandinavian (Björkman, p. 142).

kiáv 'to paw with the foot in a restless or uneasy manner' (often said of horses; see further Prevost, p. 182); cf. Norw. dial. kava 'to be restless, eager', Swed. dial. kafva to fumble or grope about (see also Wall, p. 108).

kiávl 'to kick or leap awkwardly'; apparently a frequentative formation of the above-mentioned word.

kid kid; ME. kide, O. W. Scand. kid, O. Swed. kip, Dan. kid. Undoubtedly Scandinavian (see further Björkman, p. 143).

kilp 'a hook or handle attached to a vessel' (mostly used in the combination kilps on kriiks; see Prevost, p. 186); ME. kilp, kelp handle (Björkman, p. 143), from ON. kilpr handle, loop.

kilt vb. used in the combination to kilt up 'to fasten up the skirts of a dress'; evidently of Scand. origin; cf. ON. kilting, kelta, kjolting in the sense: 'a fold formed by fastening or tucking up the dress or skirt' (cf. Falk and Torp, sub kitle), Dan. kille or kiltre usually in combination with op (= up) 'to fasten up', Swed. dial. kilta vb. 'to carry something in the lap or in a fold of the dress', kiltra sej refl. vb. 'to fasten up one's skirt'; cf. the expression kilti kwot pegi 'a woman who tucks up her clothes to work, a careful person' (Prevost, p. 186).

kinl vb. 'to kindle or light (a fire)'; kinlin 'firewood, materials used for lighting a fire'; ME. binnen, kindlen to kindle, O. W. Scand. kynda 'to set on fire', kyndill 'candle, torch', Dan. kyndel 'a candle' (see further Björkman, p. 276).

[kist chest, box, is perhaps influenced by Scandinavian or a direct Scandinavian loan; cf. ON. kista, Swed. kista, Dan. kiste, OE. cest, cist.]

kitti vb. to tickle, 'to take potatoes out of the ground with the hands, leaving the tops'; kitl adj. 'active, quick, excitable'. The word may be a Scandinavian loan or at least influenced by ON. kilta (Swed. katta) to tickle (see further N.E.D. sub kittle).

kittlin kitten, a young animal, probably from ON. kettingr, Norw. kjetting kitten. (The transition e > i is probably due to influence of the following dental; cf. above, § 112).

k(e)ivl 'the flat wooden bar round which the string is worked when making the meshes of a net' (Prevost, p. 183); ME. kevel


*kûrn* vb. and sb. churn. I have heard this word only in the comp. *kûrn-milk* buttermilk; ME. *kyrne* 'churn' may be due to ON. *körna* churn (see N.E.D. sub churn, and Björkman, p. 143). Der.: *kûrn-super* 'a harvest festival where half-churned cream was served' (see further Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 35).

*kûu(w)er*, occurring in the adverbial expression umli *kûu(w)es* (to sit) in a huddled-up position, used of the miners when sitting in a squatting position and with the elbows resting on the knee (umli, perhaps from the sb. *hummel* 'a drone, a lazy fellow'; see N.E.D. sub hummel sb.); cf. ME. *curen* to cower, and Norw. dial. *küre* 'to bend oneself down', Swed. *kura*, Dan. *küre* with similar senses (Björkman, p. 248).

*lægin* the ends of the staves which project outside a cask or tub'; cf. ON. *løgg*, Swed. *lågg* 'a stave', *lågg-kårl* a wooden cask or tub composed of staves.

*lait* vb. always with *on*: to lait on 'to depend upon, to trust, to rely on'; ON. *hlita* 'to rely on, to trust', Swed. *lita*, Dan. *lide*.

*læå* vb. 'to listen to'; cf. the expressions *læå-numu*, *læsta* listen now! listen thou! (this word is now obsolete in Lorton, but some of the older people remember having heard it used about fifty years ago); ME. *lifer*, *lidæn*, ON. *hlýda* to listen, Dan. *lyde*, Norw. and Swed. dials. *lyđa* to listen.

*lau* sb. 'fire, flame, blaze, a torch used by fish-poachers'; vb. 'to flame, blaze, to go fish-poaching with a torch'; ME. *loghe*, *lowe*


laus adj. 'loose, out of service or apprenticeship'; vb. 'to loose, to set free' (see further Prevost, p. 204); ME. *lous*, *louvs*, *laus* adj. 'loose', *lousen*, *lousen*, *lausen* vb. 'to loose, to set free', O. W. Scand. *lauss*, Norw. dial. *laus*, Swed. *lös* loose, free (see Wall, p. 111, and Björkman, p. 71).


læn (not known in Lorton, but given by Ferguson and Prevost, p. 192) 'to conceal, connive at, or hide a fault'; ON. *leyni* 'hiding-place', *leyna* 'to hide', but cf. also OE. *lēgn(i)an*, *lēgn(i)an* to deny.

læri 'dirty with mud or clay'; læft 'said of a horse or cow which has got stuck in a bog' (Prevost, p. 191); ME. *lai*re mud, clay, ON. *leir*, Swed. *lēra* clay, mud.

læt 'to seek, to fetch, to bring'; ME. *legtenn* 'to inquire, seek, look for', ON. *leita*, Old and Mod. Swedish *leia* 'to seek, to look for'.

āev 'what is left, remainder'; the æ points to Scandinavian rather than native origin; cf. ON. *leif* remainder, which would regularly give Lorton läf or lēv, whereas OE. *lāf* would develop into Lorton liáf.

[led, occurring in the combination *led* fārm 'an additional farm on which the occupier does not reside'; a farm of this kind is often let out or hired by another person, and the word *led* may therefore be the shortened past participle of the ON. vb. *leiga*, Dan. *leie*, Swed. *lega*, *leja*, Norw. *leiga* (see Falk and Torp, sub *leie* vb.) 'to hire or rent'; cf. ON. *leiguland* 'hired or rented land'. We find the word represented in ME. *lēge* 'hire, daily pay' (cf. also Björkman, p. 61). The short vowel of the past participle may perhaps be accounted for through associative influence of *let* vb.]

li scythe; from ON. *lé*, Dan. *lee* (Swed. *lie*); comp. li-stián 'a whetting-stone for scythes'.

lift 'to lift, to leave a company, to remove a corpse for burial';
(Björkman, p. 249).
liŋ 'heather'; ME. *ling, ON. *lyng, Dan. *lyng, Swed. *ljung
'heather'.
liðsk the flank or groin; ME. *lesske; cf. O. Swed. *liuskke, O. Dan.
liuskke, Dan. *lyske with the same sense (Björkman, p. 138). (On
the transition ME. e > i see § 112.)
lístær 'a pronged and barbed fish-spear'; ON. lióstr, Norw.
ló low; ME. lāh, lāg, līg low, ON. lágr low, Swed. låg, &c. (see
further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 90).
lof (or lwof; see Prevost, p. 201) sb. 'offer, opportunity, chance';
vb. to offer. This word may possibly be derived from ON. *lof sb.
permission, admission, consent, loťa vb. to permit, to accede to (a
request); this word later adopted the sense of promise, to promise
(see Falk and Torp, sub lov, II), which we find in Mod. Swed. loťa,
Dan. love to promise. Some of the examples given by Prevost
seem to be closely connected with the original Scandinavian sense
(promise, permission) of the word and therefore point to Scandi-
navian origin.
loft 'a garret, the second story of a farm-house open to the
rafters'; ME. *loft 'upper room, height', ON. loft 'air, sky, upper
room', Icel. *lopt, Swed., Dan. loft 'upper room, garret'.
lop a flea (not used in Lorton, but given by Prevost, p. 203);
apparently Scandinavian; not recorded in ON., but cf. Swed. loppa,
Dan. loppé; according to N.E.D. the ON. form probably was
*hloppa, from the root of hlaupa to leap; but see Falk and Torp, s.v.
[lopá* 'coagulated, curdled' (said of milk or cream; a pp. of
the vb. lopa*); ME. lopred (see N.E.D.); cf. ON. lopma 'to curdle,
coagulate'.]
lug 'ear, the handle of a pail or jug', &c.; cf. Swed. lugg fore-
lock, lugga to pull a person's hair, ME. luggen 'to drag, pull'. The
sb. lug does not appear in the above-mentioned sense (= ear) before
1500. The transition of sense forelock > ear is somewhat difficult
to account for, but the original sense of the word may have been
'something that is hanging down' (like a forelock or the ear of a
dog), and the word was then probably first used of the ears of
animals and later as a slang word of the human ear. But see
N.E.D. sub lug sb. 2, and Björkman, p. 217.]
maiær ‘mire, mud’, &c.; ME. *mire ‘mire, deep mud, wet, slimy soil’, from ON. *mýr-r, Mod. Icel. méirí, Swed. myr, Dan. myre, myr ‘moor, bog’. Compounds: maiær-drum ‘a bittern’ (Prevost, p. 28); maiær-duk ‘the wild duck or mallard’ (Prevost, p. 146).

melder ‘the quantity of corn ground at one time, the quantity of corn carried to the mill’; ON. meldr (< *mala to grind), Swed. måld, Norw. dial. meld, melder.

mel-d(u)u(w)ar ‘a passage between the front and back doors of a farm-house, double doors enclosing the farm-yard’, &c. (Prevost, p. 212); ME. a (i, e) melle; cf. O. Dan. mellum, mêllin, melle, Swed. emellan, between (see further Björkman, p. 171).

mens ‘propriety, decorum, good manners’; ME. *mennisk ‘human’, menskly ‘honourably’, menske ‘dignity, honour’, &c. (see further Björkman, p. 189); O. W. Scand. menska ‘humanity’, menskr ‘human’, O. Swed. menaska ‘goodness, generosity’; but cf. also OE. mennise ‘mankind’; cf. the comp. mensful ‘hospitable, generous, liberal’. (The k has probably been lost in compounds like menskly, mens(f)ul.)


m(e)ülz ‘sand-hills’, occurring in several place-names, such as Esk Meals, Mealsgate, &c. (see Prevost, p. 211); ON. melr ‘sand-bank, also bent grass’ (see N.E.D. sub meal sb. 5).

miskén ‘to form a mistaken idea with regard to a person, to misunderstand, to be ignorant of’ (Prevost, p. 215); cf. ON. miskenna not to recognize a person, and see N.E.D. sub misken vb.

mök ‘a maggot’; ME. *mådek, mawg, möke, probably from ON. madkr; cf. Dan. maddek, Swed. dial. makk (and also OE. mæða maggot (see further Wall, p. 111, and N.E.D. sub maddock and mawk).

mug ‘a small drinking-pot’, perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. mugg, Dan. mugge, Norw. mugga, mugge ‘an open can or jug’ (see further N.E.D. sub mug sb. 1).

mugi ‘damp, foggy’; cf. ME. *mugen ‘to become cloudy’, ON. mugga mist, drizzle, Dan. muggen ‘musty, mouldy’.

muk ‘manure, dung, dirt; ME. *muk, mukke, mok, mokke; probably Scandinavian; cf. ON. myki ‘dung’, Norw. dial. mykka
heap, pile', Swed. dial. mokka a small heap of dung, O. Dan. mug (<"muk") dung (see further N.E.D., and Björkman, p. 250).

mun (man, cf. above, § 459) must; ON. monu, munu 'shall, will' (see further N.E.D., and Wall, p. 112).

mur mouth; the word is not known in Lorton, but according to Prevost (p. 142) used in C., N., and SW. Cumberland; ON. munnr, Swed. mun, Dan. mund mouth (Wall, p. 112).

nab 'a promontory in a lake, a rocky projection, a high place'; occurring in place-names (cf. Prevost, p. 221); ME. nab 'projecting point of a hill', from O. W. Scand. nabbr 'hill-top, projection of the sea-coast', Norw. and Swed. dials. nabb 'a projecting tongue of land or rock'. Cf. OE. nebb 'nose' occurring in the place-name Skelly Neb and others (Björkman, p. 250).

nag vb. 'to scold'; naggi adj. 'cross, short-tempered', perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Norw., Swed. nagga, Dan. nagge 'to bite, nibble, to vex, irritate, to be painful', Icel. nagga 'to complain'; nag 'remorse, rancour, gnawing'; but cf. also OE. gnagan to gnaw (see further N.E.D. sub nag vb.).

[närk 'to grate, to cut against the grain'; apparently cognate with Dan. knarke, Norw. and Swed. dials. knarka 'to creak, to grate'. The above-mentioned words evidently have been formed on the stem knarr (by adding the frequentative k-suffix) occurring in Swed. knarra to grate, to grumble, Dan. knarre (knurre) to growl, snarl (see also Wall, p. 113.).]

naut 'cattle' (I have not heard this word used in Lorton, but it is still current in other parts of Cumberland; see Prevost, p. 228); ME. nout, nowut, O. W. Scand. naut (see further Björkman, p. 71).

næ, nee no; ME. nxi, nai, O. W. Scand. nei, Mod. Swed. nej (OE. nā has given Lorton nā; cf. nībdī nobody, and see § 156; Björkman, p. 47).

nêt 'to use, make use of' (the word is obsolete in Lorton but given by Prevost, p. 222); cf. ME. nait 'useful, vigorous', nainen 'to use', O. W. Scand. neytr 'fit, useful', neyt 'to make use of, profit', Swed. nōta 'to use, to wear' (Björkman, p. 65).

n(e)jf 'the clenched fist'; ME. neve, nefē, from ON. hnefī fist, Norw. dial. nève, Swed. nāfve, Dan. nøve. The f in n(e)jf is perhaps due to influence from the plural (nēfs).

[nigl 'to work steadily and persistently, though progress may
be small'; niglar 'a busy industrious person or animal, a penurious person'; niglēs 'upright cast-iron plates used for contracting the fire-place' (Prevost, p. 226). All the above-mentioned words are formed on the stem nīg and point to a Scand. *hniggy; cf. ME. nīg 'niggardly' (Björkman, p. 34), Swed. dial. nigla 'to be parsimonious', Swed. niugg 'parsimonious, stingy'; Norw. dial. nigla (see N.E.D.); cf. also O. W. Scand. knēggr 'niggardly'.]

nīz 'to sneeze, to scrape the throat with a half coughing noise' (Prevost, p. 224); perhaps Scandinavian; cf. ON. hnjōsa, Swed. nysa, Dan. nyse 'to sneeze', and see N.E.D. sub neese vb.

[nog 'the handle fixed on the shaft of a scythe', &c. (see further Prevost, p. 227); cf. ON. naggr a peg (Wall, p. 113) or Swed. knagg 'the handle of a scythe' (Falk and Torp, p. 543), Dan. knag, knagge 'peg, handle of scythe'. (The o in nog is, however, difficult to account for.)]

od occurring in the expression wat−odz 'what does it matter? what difference does it make?' and the comp. odments 'scraps, odds and ends, worthless things'; cf. ME. odde 'odd, distinguished, special', od sb. 'point', O. W. Scand. oddi 'odds, quarrel, odd number', oddr 'point', Swed. udda (udda tal odd number); see further Björkman, p. 169, and N.E.D. sub odd.

[ōf 'a blockhead, idiot, half-wit, simpleton'; perhaps from ON. alfr fairy, hobgoblin (see N.E.D. sub auf), Dan.; Swed. alf, Norw. dial. alv. The word originally meant a changeling left by the fairies, then a misbegotten, deformed, idiot child (cf. OE. ælf>NE. elf.).]

okær 'to scramble awkwardly, to bend' (Prevost, p. 168, hardly known in Lorton); cf. ON. hokra 'to crouch, to go bent', and Norw. dial. hokra with the same sense (Wall, p. 107).

ōm (oum, aum) spelt holm(e), occurring in several place-names, such as Abbey Holme, Eden Holme, House Holm, Ling Holm in the sense of 'alluvial land by the river side, an island, especially in a lake or creek' (Prevost, p. 169); from ON. holmri 'islet in a bay, creek, lake, or river, meadow on the shore'; cf. Dan. holm, Norw., Swed. holm(e) with a similar sense.

ōm-trēi the common elm; apparently from ON. almr, Norw. alm, Swed. alm. In the north of Cumberland we find the peculiar form em(e), apparently an altered form (through metathesis) of OE. elm (Prevost, p. 231).
önd (aund) (now obsolete in Lorton) 'fated, destined'; ON. auðna 'to be ordained by fate' (pp. auðnaðr), Norw. dial. aunden 'ordained, determined' (Wall, p. 90). ò instead of au in this word may depend on influence of ön adj. own.

paik peak, 'a pillar or cairn of stones', &c. (see Prevost, p. 243); it is impossible to decide whether the word is Scandinavian or native (cf. ON. pik, OE. pic, Swed. pik, &c.), but the frequent occurrence of the word in dialects of the North as well as in the local nomenclature of those dialect districts which show a strong Scandinavian element seems to point to, if not a direct Scandinavian source, at least Scandinavian influence (see further N.E.D., and Björkman, p. 145).

pilivar according to Prevost (p. 244) = 'a pillow', but in the quotation (ibid.) given it may as well mean 'pillow-case' < ME. pilewer 'pillow-case' where the last component of the word probably is O. W. Scand. ver 'covering', Swed. var (Björkman, p. 258).

pisimaior (with the variants pisimæ, pismudær, pismidær; see Prevost, p. 245) 'the ant'; ME. pismire 'ant'; cf. O. Swed. myra, Dan. myre, Swed. myra (Björkman, p. 115).

raiv 'to tear or split', &c. (Prevost, p. 265); ON. and Icel. rifa, Norw. riva, Swed. riva, Dan. rive.

ram 'having a fetid or rancid odour'; cf. ON. rammr, ramr 'strong, sharp, bitter', Dan. ram 'bitter, strong, acrid'; cf. also ramíš 'violent, untamed'.

[raml̥ slíat 'a very coarse kind of slate', evidently rough pieces of slate which have fallen down from the rock; and raml may then perhaps be identical or cognate with Swed. ramla, Dan. ramle to fall or tumble down.]

raml̥ trei or raml̥ bók 'a cross piece of wood in a chimney on which the chimney-crook is hung' (see further Prevost, p. 258). The word is probably of Scandinavian origin, although the l in raml is difficult to account for; cf. Norw. rand in the sense of 'the space above the fire-place', Dan. dial. raan, rane 'bars for the hens to roost on', Swed. dial. ränne, Norw. dial. randa-tre with the same sense as raml̥ trei (see further Wall, p. 115, and N.E.D.).

rap occurring in the expressions: rap o t'nuklz to rap on the knuckles, to snub; rap uut 'to speak with rapidity'. The word is probably of imitative origin and not recorded in ON., but
cf. Swed., Dan. *ræp* (p) 'a smart blow' (with a whip or a stick), Swed. *rappa* to flog, to beat.


*ræup* auction, from the verb *ræup*, which is now obsolete in Lorton but occurring in other dialects of the North (see N.E.D. sub *ræup* vb.); cf. Icel. *raupa* to 'boast, brag', M. Sw. *röpa* 'to shout' (*<ræupa*); O. Dan. *rope* 'to shout, to accuse, to snub'; ON. *hröpa*, Swed. *ropa* 'to shout' seem to be unrelated to *ræup* (see also Falk and Torp, p. 932).

*raut* vb. 'to roar, to bellow as a cow'; *raut* sb. 'the prolonged roar of a cow'; ME. *routen*, O. W. Scand. *rauta*, Norw. *rauta* (see N.E.D. sub *rout*, and Björkman, p. 72).

*ræ(u)en-trei* 'the mountain-ash'; cf. Norw. dial. *raun* mountain-ash (but ON. *reyner*, Swed. *rönn*, Dan. *ren*; the ON. form has arisen through i-mutation, whereas the forms of the Lorton and Norwegian dialects represent the non-mutated forms of the Scandinavian word (see Wall, p. 115, and N.E.D. sub *rowan*).

*ræft* vb. 'to follow in a line as sheep do, to stray as cattle in search of food, to wander far and wildly'; *ræk* sb. 'a journey, a mountain track or narrow path'; ME. *reike*, *räike* 'course, path', *reiken, raiken* to wander, O. W. Scand. *reik* 'wandering', *reika* 'to wander, to waver' (Björkman, p. 48).

*ræ°t* 'to become rotten, to whiten by bleaching on the grass' (Prevost, p. 259); cf. Norw. dial. *roya*, 'to ret flax', Swed. *röta* with a similar sense. According to Falk and Torp the same word as ON. *roya*, to tear off, pick off (cf. Björkman, p. 188; Wall, p. 183).

*ræze* 'a cairn or pile of stones', occurring in place-names, such as *High Raise, Blakeley Raise*, &c.; ON. *hreyse*, Swed. *rös(e)* (Wall, p. 114).

*ræklin* 'the smallest or weakest member of a litter of pigs or a brood of chickens'; ON., *reklingr* an outcast (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Iceland*, p. 48); from ON., Norw. *reka* 'to pursue, to throw away, to chase'. Cf. *rek-en* 'a tithe hen that formerly had to be paid from the poultry yard' (Prevost, p. 260).
riók, in the expression ríók tfíier 'to cover up the fire with coals at night'; cf. ON. raka, Swed. raka, Dan. rage to scrape, rake, but cf. also OE. raca m., racu f. 'a rake', which has perhaps influenced the above-mentioned word (see N.E.D.).

rift (or ruft) vb. 'to belch'; sb. 'an eructation'; ME. riften, ON. rypta, repta (from a stem *rup; see N.E.D.) 'to belch'.

rújst pp. 'praised, commended' (Prevost, p. 262); ME. rós praise, rósen 'to praise', O. W. Scand. hrós praise, hrósa to praise, Swed., Dan. rósa to praise.

rok 'a distaff'; cf. ON. rokkur, Icel. rokkur, Norw. rokk, Swed. rock, spinn-rock, Dan. rok 'a spinning-wheel or distaff'. The word also occurs in other Germanic languages: M. Du. rokke sb., rocken vb., OHG. rocco sb., MLG. rocken vb., and may be of native origin although not recorded in OE. (see further N.E.D.).

rúd (or rid), often combined with up: 'to uproot trees or hedges', to clear away; also frequently occurring in the place-names rúdin, ridin, applied to houses and fields; ON. ryðja, pret. rúddi, pp. rúddr (whence probably the u-forms rúd and rúdin), Norw. rydja, Dan. rydde, Swed. rödja 'to clear' (land or wood), 'to clear a space, make room' (see N.E.D. sub rid vb.).

rug 'to shake, to pull roughly'; ME. ruggen 'to shock, agitate', O. W. Scand. rugga 'to shake, rock', Swed. and Norw. dial. rugga 'to move to and fro, to shake'; cf. Dan. rygge 'to shake'; see Björkman, p. 252.

rukk 'the chief part, the majority'; rukl 'a crowd, a great number'. Both these words point to a ME. ĭ (Björkman, p. 252: růke (röke ?)); cf. Swed. ruka a heap, Norw. dial. ruka a heap, pile; cf. ME. rukelen vb. 'to heap up', whence apparently Lorton rukl (see above); see further Björkman, l. c.

rump, occurring in the expression rump and stump 'entirely, completely', is probably < ME. rumpe 'cauda'; cf. Norw. dial. rumpa, O. Swed. rumpa, rompa 'tail', Swed. dial. rumpa, rompe 'tail'.

saik 'a small wet hollow, a watercourse frequently dry in summer, a field in which springs of water rise, the margin of a lake or large pond at times under water', occurring in place-names (see Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 54). Cf. ON. sik, sike ditch, OE. sic 'gutter, watercourse', but the local distribution of the word seems to favour Scandinavian origin (see E.D.D. sub sike).
sail vb. to strain; sail sb. a strainer; ME. *silen 'to strain'; cf. Norw. dial. sila, Swed. *sila 'to strain, filter' (<Scand. sil sb. strainer) (Björkman, p. 253).

sain 'to decant, drain off', said of a cow which ceases to give milk when she approaches calving; cf. Swed. sina, Norw. dial. sina to cease flowing (of a well), 'to cease to give milk'.

saklaas 'feeble, weak-minded, simple, inoffensive'; cf. ON. sak-lauss, Swed. saklös 'innocent'; the late OE. sacléas was probably formed after the pattern of ON. saklauss, and occurs only as an adverb in the sense of 'without cause' (see N.E.D.).

särk shirt; ME. *serk, ON. *særkr, O. Swed. særker, Swed. särk shirt (Björkman, p. 147).

saut sb., also sautit (pp.), applied to different kinds of cattle diseases and to any general unsoundness in animals (see further Prevost, p. 306). The word is regularly developed from ME. soght 'sickness', a Scandinavian loan-word; cf. O. W. Scand. sött(t), O. Swed. söt 'illness' (the ò(t) has arisen through assimilation of ht > tt, but the Scandinavian word had been introduced into English before the time of this assimilation; cf. Björkman, pp. 170–7). OE. suht 'illness' would have given Lorton *suut, or *suft (cf. above, §§ 189, 375).

sau(w)är (or suu(w)är) 'boggy, swampy, moist' (used of land); the word seems to have got this special sense from the Scand.: the form sau(w)är points to ON. sauur 'moist land, dirt', whereas suu(w)är is from ON. súrr 'sour, unpleasant', or OE. súr sour. Both forms have been mixed up in sense and use. Also occurring in place-names (see Ellwood, *Lake, and Icel.*, p. 57).

[seg 'a callosity on the hand or foot'; cf. ON. sigg 'hard place on skin' (Wall, p. 118). The e in Lorton seg is, however, difficult to account for.]

seng 'a heap (or bed) of hay consisting of two swathes or rows with a hollow between them'; perhaps from ON. séing, séng, Dan. seng, Swed. säng bed.

siám same; ME. same, ON. same masc., sama fem. and neut., Swed. samme, samma.

s(e)it 'a farm-house on the lower slope of a mountain with a right of pasture above', also occurring in place-names; cf. ON. sætr, Dan., Norw. sæter, Swed. säter, a place where the cattle of the farms are sent to graze, and also ME. sæte, sète seat, O. W. Scand. sæti, Swed. sète (Björkman, p. 253).
s(e)īv 'the common rush'; cf. ON. sēf sedge, Norw. dial. sēv, Swed. sēfund (Wall, p. 118).

skant, skantīš 'deficient, scarce'; skantit pp. 'kept short, insufficiently supplied'; ME. scant 'scarce, scantinesse 'scanty', ON. skamt, neuter of skammr 'short, brief', O. Swed. skam(pt).

skär sb. 'a fright', adj. 'shy, wild'; ME. skerre, skarre 'scare, timid', O. W. Scand. skjarr 'shy, timid', Swed. dial. skärr to frighten ( Björkman, p. 124).

skär 'a bare and broken place on the side of a mountain, the face of a rock, the rock itself, a cliff cut off', also occurring in place-names (see further Prevost, p. 273); ME. sker(re), skarre 'a projecting rock', ON. sker 'a projecting rock, an isolated rock in the sea', O. Swed. skær, Swed. skär, Dan. skjer (Björkman, p. 124; Wall, p. 117).

skärf 'a cormorant'; lāl skärf the green shag (Prevost, p. 273); ON. skærfr, Norw., Swed. skar (see N.E.D.).

[skärf, occurring in place-names, for instance Scarf Gap 'a narrow pass in the ridge of a mountain'; cf. Swed. skarf, Norw. skarv in the sense of 'a joining piece, a seam', skarva vb. 'to lengthen by joining together'. skärf in the above-mentioned place-name may thus mean the joining gap which joins two valleys or the two sides of a mountain together.]

[skau, a tin or iron dish, a scoop', vb. 'to scoop, to empty out'. The origin of this word is obscure, but cf. O. Swed. skopa, N. Swed. skopa 'scoop' (this word is, however, generally derived from L. Germ. schope (see Björkman, p. 129)); the Lorton form points to an original *skau.]

skōō 'loss, damage, hurt'; ME. skathe, scathe 'injury, loss', &c., ON. skade 'harm, damage', Swed. skade, Dan. skade; cf. OE. sc(e)ad a 'malefactor, hurt, injury', and see N.E.D. sub scathe sb.; Björkman, p. 123.

skeli 'to squint, a squint'; cf. O. W. Scand. skialgr 'squinting', O. Swed. skileg her 'squinting', Swed. skelögd 'squint-eyed' (Björkman, 124).

skeml 'a long seat without a back used in a farm-house kitchen'; cf. Icel. skemil a bench (Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 55), ON. skemill, OE. scamol.

[skensmadm 'a mock dish set upon the table for show'; cf. ME. skenten 'to amuse, delight', ON. skemta 'to amuse, entertain', Swed. skämta.]
skep 'a circular basket of straw or rushes, a bee-hive'; ME. skeppe 'a carrying-basket'; ON. skeppa 'a measure, bushel' (Björkman, p. 124).

skiál (also skēl) 'a shed or building on a fell-side in which peats are housed'; also occurring in place-names, such as Scale Hill, Winscales, &c. (Prevost, p. 291); ME. scale 'shanty', ON. skále 'shed, hut', Norw. dial. skuále 'a hut' (Björkman, p. 93; Wall, p. 116).

skil 'skill', skili 'skilful'; ME. skill(l), ON. skil 'skill, discrimination, reason', &c. (cf. also Björkman, p. 126).

-skö, occurring in place-names, such as Brisco, Wesco, Scowgarth (Prevost, p. 273); ski(y)u 'a steep rough bank, thick with brushwood'; also in place-names, such as Scale Scough; ME. scoogh wood, ON. skógr, O. Swed. skögher, Swed. skog, Dan. skov.

skraik 'to screech'; cf. Icel skrikja, O. Swed. skrika, Dan., Norw. skrike (see further Björkman, p. 131).

skrati (or skrat) the name of a hobgoblin or boggle, a mysterious being, which used to haunt the fell-sides, emitting fearful sounds; cf. ME. skratt, scratte 'wizard, monster, hermaphrodite', ON. skratti a wizard or hobgoblin, Swed. skrattr( en) 'a ghost, heard by night'.

skr(e)i 'the running débris on the side of a mountain like Westwater'; cf. Swed., Dan. skred, Norw. dial. skrið, skrið a landslip, a slip of rock or snow'; ON. skriða vb. 'to glide', to proceed slowly, skriða sb. 'a landslip'. The Lorton form points to an orig. *skrē.

skug 'shade, to shelter under a hedge, to hide' (obsolete); O. W. Scand. skuggi 'a shade, shadow' (see further Björkman, p. 35).

[skut, skutær 'to make short runs, to hurry away as mice do'; cf. Swed. skutta to hop, jump.]

slaftær 'slaughter, the aggregate of hides and skins taken off in one establishment'; ME. slahter; cf. ON. slátir 'meat of killed cattle', slitra to kill cattle, OE. slaht slaughter. The word is generally supposed to be of Scandinavian origin (see further Björkman, pp. 173, 253).

slaør 'to glide, especially on the ice'; cf. Swed. slira 'to glide, slip'.

slak 'a shallow dell'; ME. slac 'ravine'; cf. Swed. dial. slack sloping, Norw. dial. slakke 'a slight hollow on a level or slope' (Björkman, p. 254).

slator 'a wet mess on a table, &c., to spill, slop'; slateri 'wet,
messy, slovenly'; ME. slatten; cf. ON. slatta, sletta 'to dab', 'to dash', 'to squirt out liquids' (see further Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; Stratmann-Bradley, *ME. Dict.*; and Wall, p. 120).

slæk vb. 'to besmear slightly, to wipe gently'; sb. 'a slight rubbing, a smear of grease'; probably from ON. sleikja 'to lick'; cf. Swed. dial. sleka 'to lick'.

slæp 'slippery, smooth'; ON. sleipr slippery, Norw. dial. sleip slippery (see Wall, p. 119).

slær sb. 'dirt'; vb. 'to saunter, to be careless'; slæri adj. 'nasty, dirty, sticky, untidy'; cf. Norw. dial. slera 'to move slowly, to be slow, careless', Swed. dial. slöra 'to loiter or saunter about' (see Falk and Torp, sub sler, II), but the present dialect form points to an ON. form *sleir (or *slår).

sled sledge; ME. slede; cf. ON. sleði, Dan. slede, Swed. slåde sledge. (On the transition ð > d see § 326.)

slúp 'dog 'a blood-hound''; cf. ME. slop 'track', ON. slöd 'track, way' (see Björkman, p. 165, and Stratmann-Bradley, sub slojp).

slok 'to quench thirst, to slake lime'; ME. sloknen, sloken 'to extinguish, stop', ON. slökena 'to get extinguished', Swed. slöckna (Björkman, p. 219; Wall, p. 120).

[smuut, smiút (wol hole) 'a hole in a wall or hedge to creep through' (Prevost, p. 299); Wall (p. 120) gives an ON. smutta 'narrow passage' for smätta; cf. Dan. smutte 'to slink (through)', Swed. dial. smutta, Dan. smutte 'a secret path', Swed. dial. smutt 'a narrow opening, loophole' (Falk and Torp, p. 1085; Wall, p. 120). The present dialect form points to ME. *smüt and *smót.]

snag 'a projecting end where a branch has been cut off a tree', 'to cut off or notch'. Skeat derives this word from Celtic (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* sub snag), but cf. also ON. snaga 'an axe with protruding ends (corners)', Norw. dial. snage 'a protruding point, a promontory', snaga 'to protrude, to jut out' (see further Falk and Torp, p. 1089). The present dialect form points to an original *snagg.

sñaarl 'a snare, noose, or loop'; sñaarl not 'a knot that cannot be drawn loose'; cf. Icel. snerfli 'entanglement'; Ellwood (*Lakel. and Icel.* p. 54) gives the following Icelandic expression: férr í er alt i snerli 'the line (of a new fishing tackle) is all in a sñaarl= 'all twisted into a knot'; cf. Dan. snerté, snerre 'bindweed' (convolus), ON. snara 'to sling or wind' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1093).
**scand** to snub, to curb or restrain, ‘a snub’; ME. *snaipen* ‘to check’, ON. *sneypa* ‘to dishonour, disgrace’, Swed. *snöpa* ‘to castrate’, &c. (see further Wall, p. 120; Björkman, p. 65).


**snurp** = *snärl* (see above). This word evidently represents an ablaut form of ON. *snerpa* ‘to strengthen’, &c. (see Falk and Torp, p. 1094), as appearing in Norw. *snurp* ‘to bind or sew together loosely’, Norw. dial. *snyrpa* of a similar meaning; cf. Swed. *snöp* = *snurpe* (above).

**stak** a (hay)stack, ON. *stakker*, Swed. *stack*, Dan. *stak* ‘a stack of hay, a heap, pile’.

**staŋ** ‘a pole’; ON. *steng*, Dan. *stang*, Swed. *stäng* (= OE. *steng* ‘pole, stake’).


**stau(w)er** ‘a stake, handle of a pole-net’; ON. *staurr*, Swed. *stör*, Norw. *staur* with the same sense.


**steg** ‘a gander’; ON. *steggr*, Norw. dial. *steg* ‘a male bird’ (Wall, p. 122).


**stint** (or stent) ‘to keep something from you, to limit, cut short, to send out cattle to graze in an allotment’, &c. (Prevost,
störfkn 'to coagulate, congeal, stiffen'; ON. storkna, Dan. störfne 'to grow stiff, to coagulate', Norw. storkna, Swed. störkna 'to grow stiff with choking, to choke'. The regular Lorton form would be *stwörkn (§ 136); störfkn should therefore be explained in the same way as the words in § 136, note II.

stüp, jat stüp a gate-post, 'the turning-post in a race'; ME. stulpe; cf. ON. stolpi, Swed. stolpe, Dan. stolpe (if Scandinavian, the u in ME. stulpe is difficult to account for).

swañ 'a wet hollow lying among pasture or arable land, a field-name'; cf. Icel. svange 'the hollow between the back and belly of a cow'; ON. svangr 'thin, emaciated', Swed. dial. sväng svängar 'thin, hungry, empty' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1210).

swärp 'the skin of hams and bacon, also used in speaking of aftermath'; ME. swarthe 'sward, skin', ON. svgrór 'hairy skin, sward'. The usual Lorton word is swad (cf. Wall, p. 123, and Björkman, p. 166).

swäv 'to cause to swing round, to wave'; ME. swaiuen, W. Scand. sveifa 'to hover, glide', O. Swed. sveva 'to turn'; cf. also Lorton swévl 'to reel and stagger like a drunken man, to move in such a manner that the whole of the body is in motion', and O. W. Scand. sveifla 'to swing, to set in motion' (Björkman, p. 49).

[swiðer sb. 'a mixed state of perplexity and distress acute enough to affect the inwards'; vb. 'to shiver with cold, hesitate, turn the stomach'. swiðer always seems to imply physical disturbance or pain; cf. ME. swihen 'to burn, light up' (Björkman, p. 166), O. W. Scand. sviða 'to burn, singe' and the frequentative sviðra (Wall, p. 123; Björkman, p. 221).]

taik 'a dog, an unruly fellow' a severe term of abuse; ME. tike 'dog, churl', ON. tik, Swed., Norw. tik 'a bitch'. Scandinavian origin uncertain (Björkman, p. 256).

tain 'to lose'; ME. tinen 'to lose', ON. týna 'to lose' (see Wall, p. 125, and Björkman, p. 116).

tait or tit 'soon, quickly, easily'; ME. tit, tit (Stratmann-Bradley, p. 607) 'quickly', ON. titt 'frequently, quickly' (neutral form of ON. tóð adj. 'frequent, quick'; cf. Swed. tidt in the expression...
tidt och ofta 'often, every now and then’; cf. also the comp. titnær 'sooner, rather, first, foremost’, and titnærst soonest.

tak vb. to take, pret. tíúk (tíák), pp. tíán; from late OE. tacan, tóc, *taçen < ON. taka, tók, tekinn (O. Swed. taka, Dan. tage, Swed. taga). Concerning the short vowel of the inf. see above, §445. The pp. has arisen through contraction (cf. miád, § 454); we find contracted forms such as y-tan, tan, tane, tain, &c., as early as the fourteenth century (see N.E.D. sub take). On the numerous expressions with tak, see Prevost, pp. 329, 330.

tanz 'prongs of a fork’, is perhaps the same word as ME. tange 'sting, dagger, pugio’; O. W. Scand. tangi 'the pointed end by which the blade is driven into the handle’, Swed. dial. tange, tånge, ‘point’ (Björkman, p. 255); cf. the verb. ten 'to sting’ (Prevost, p. 334, and Wall, p. 124).

tärn 'a small lake’; ME. terne 'tarn, lake’, ON. tiórn, gen. tiarnar from *ternu tarn, Swed. tjärn, Swed. dial. tärn, Dan. tjern, Norw. tjörn.


taum (see Prevost, p. 342) 'a hair fishing-line, a cord or string partly untwisted’; cf. ON. taumr, Norw. taum, Swed. töm, Dan. temme 'rein, bridle’ (=OE. lēam 'a line’, &c.; see Bosworth-Toller, sub lēam).

til, tél prep. and conj. to till; ME. til 'to till’, ON. til prep. 'to’.
The word occurs also in OE., but the local distribution points to Scandinavian origin (see Björkman, p. 222).

tit tight; ME. tháht 'firm’, tiht 'dense’, &c., ON. þéttr, Swed. tít, Dan. tét (see further Björkman, p. 223).

tíum (or tím) 'to empty, pour out”; ME. töm 'empty’, témén 'to empty, pour out’, ON. tömr, Swed. tom empty, ON. töma 'to make empty’, Swed. tömma, Dan. temme. But cf. OE. tom 'free from’. The local distribution of the word favours Scandinavian origin.

tlagi 'sticky, adhesive’; tlag 'to adhere, stick to’, &c.; tlagar ‘anything difficult to shake off’ (see further Prevost, p. 63); perhaps Scandinavian, cf. Dan. klag, klæge 'sticky, mud, clay’, klæg, klæget adj. ‘viscous, sticky’; cf. below, tleg (see further
Björkman, p. 215). On the transition kl > t in this word and also in tåg, tiekin, tåp, see § 337).

tåg gadfly, horse-fly; O. W. Scand. klev, Swed. klägg, Dan. kleg ‘a gadfly’ (Björkman, p. 215).

tiekin ‘a brood of chickens, the set of eggs from which the brood is produced’; ME. elken vb. ‘to hatch, bring forth’ may be native or Scand. ; cf. ON. flekja, O. Swed. klækkia, Swed. kläcka (see further Björkman, p. 146).

tåp vb. ‘to cut with scissors, to shear sheep’; ME. clippen, O. W. Scand. klippa, Swed. klippa, Dan. klippe.

toft ‘homestead’, ‘ground occupied by a dwelling-place’; ME. toft ‘piece of ground’, ‘campus’, OE. toft ‘piece of ground’, ON. toft, toft ‘a place marked out for a homestead or building, a homestead, a piece of ground’, Swed. toft (occurring in frequent place-names). The special sense of ‘homestead’ favours Scandinavian origin as far as our dialect is concerned.

trig ‘full, trim, neat, well in health’; cf. ME. trigg ‘faithful, secure’, ON. tryggr ‘trustful, faithful, true’, Dan. tryg, Swed. trygg ‘safe, secure’.

[trug ‘a wooden box for carrying coals, peats’, &c.; cf. ON. troy (with the diminutive form trygill; see Falk and Torp, p. 1289), Norw., Dan. trug, Swed. träg a wooden trough or vessel. OE. trōg, troh has become Lorton trof (§ 364). The present dialect form seems to point to a ME. ON. *trugg.]

tåft jaw; from ON. kjaptr, Swed. kfd, Dan. kjeft, Norw. dial. kjeft (see further N.E.D. sub chaft). Another form of this word is tÅp jaw (now obsolete in Lorton).

tup(-seg) ‘a wether sheep’; ME. tuppe ‘tup, ram’; cf. Swed., Norw. tup ‘a cock’, also tupp, used in many Swedish compounds to denote a male bird of any kind, such as orr-tupp ‘a black cock’, tjåder-tupp ‘a cock capercailzie’, kalkon-tupp ‘a turkey-cock’, &c.

pr(e)ivil or priáv (Prevost, p. 338) ‘a bundle consisting of twenty-four sheaves of straw’; ME. brave (Æpriáv), brieve (>pr(e)ivil); cf. O. W. Scand. prei, Swed. trave, Dan. trave (Björkman, p. 223).

syr pron. ‘these’; súrenz ‘these ones’; ME. bir, ier ‘these’ is possibly from ON. þeir, þær those (but see N.E.D., and above, § 6).

þväst ‘a clearing in the wood, a piece of land cut off by a fence’, now only occurring in place-names, of which there are a great number in Cumberland (cf. H. Lindkvist, Scandinavian Place-Names
in ME., pp. 98 ff.), ON. þweit lit. ‘a cutting’, ‘a piece of land, a paddock’ (related to OE. āwitan ‘to cut’), Norw. dial. tveit, Swed. dial. tvet, Dan. tvede.


uptak ‘lifting, finding, the beginning’; cf. ON. upptak ‘income, resource’, upptaka ‘a taking up, seizure’ (Wall, p. 126).

wai (also kwei (?); see Prevost, p. 366) ‘a heifer’ (up to the age of three years); cf. ON. kviga, Swed. kviga, Norw. kvige, Dan. kvie. (Initial k has been dropped before v; see § 268 above.)

wandi (<wand sb. wand, rod) ‘slim and flexible as a willow wand’; cf. ME. wand, wond, ON. vōndr, Dan. vaand wand, rod.

want ‘to require, deserve, to do without’; wanti ‘deficient, imperfect’: wantær ‘a marriageable person’; ME. wan(n)t, wont ‘lacking, deficient’, want ‘deficiency’, want(n)ten(n) ‘to want, to be lacking’, ON. vanr ‘lacking’ (neutral vanl), vanta ‘to want, lack’, &c. (see further Björkman, p. 225).

wāda week-day, working day’; cf. ON. hverr dagr ‘every day which is not a holiday’, and verkdagr ‘a working day’ (see Falk and Torp, p. 438), Dan. hverdag, Swed. hvardag.

wär worse (comp. of bad; cf. above, § 400 note); ME. werre, from ON. verr, verri, Dan. vørre, Swed. värre.

wārp ‘to lay eggs’; ON. verpa (eggjum) ‘to lay eggs’, Swed. värpa, Dan. verpe (=OE. weorpen), thus lit. ‘to throw eggs’.

waf ‘ford’, now mostly occurring in place-names; ON. vaf, O. Swed. waf, Swed. vad ford.

wā, wia ‘woe, pity, sad, pitiful’, &c.; Prevost gives both forms (p. 357) for the central, north, and south-west of Cumberland, but I have not heard the word in Lorton. wā would be the regular development of ME. wei, wai, wagg, ON. vei (on the history of the ME. word see further Björkman, pp. 50–2); wīa, on the other hand, would regularly develop from OE. wā, ME. *wā (see above, § 156).

wēk ‘weak, poorly’; ME. weik, waik ‘weak, debilis, imbecilis, lentus’; ON. veikr; Swed. vek.

wēl or w(ej)l ‘choice, selection, majority, to select, pick out, choose’ (Prevost, p. 357); cf. ME. wale ‘choice, option’, walen,
velen 'to choose', ON. val 'choice', velja 'to choose' (see Björkman, p. 256).

(gärn) winlz 'a wooden cross from which the yarn is wound'; according to Ellwood (Lakel. and Icel., p. 25) the same word as in Icel. vindil-ass 'windlass', also Icel. vindill 'a winding instrument'; cf. Icel., Swed. garn-vinda.

[wost 'curds' (for cheese); cf. ON. ostr cheese, Swed., Dan. ost cheese. The present dialect form points to a ME. ðost (§ 188, above).]
The phonetic transcriptions given in the following pages include four of the most widely known and popular pieces written in the West Cumbrian dialect. The first one is taken from the well-known and often quoted Betty Wilson’s Cumberland Teals; the three remaining ones from A. C. Gibson’s excellent collection of Cumberland tales and songs, entitled The Folk-Speech of Cumberland and some districts adjacent; being Short Stories and Rhymes in the Dialects of the West Border Counties (see further List of Works consulted, p. ix).

I should like to enter more fully into the extremely rich and interesting Cumbrian dialect literature, but the limitations of the present work unfortunately do not permit me to do so. I therefore content myself with mentioning some of the best known and popular names of the Cumbrian dialect authors.

The Rev. Josiah Relph, whose works date from the first half of the eighteenth century, has written some charming pastorals, poems, epigrams, and translations in the Cumberland dialect; his works are the earliest recorded productions in the dialect, and most of them are of high literary value.

Susannah Blamire, ‘the Muse of Cumberland’ (died 1794), together with her friend and literary coadjutor Catherine Gilpin (died 1811), wrote some excellent poetical sketches of Cumberland life (collected by Henry Lonsdale and first edited by C. Thurnam, Carlisle, 1842).

Ewan Clark, whose literary productions date from the last half of the eighteenth century, is the author of some poetical dialogues, pastorals, and songs in the dialect (printed by J. Ware & Son, Whitehaven, 1779).

Isaac Ritson, of Eamont Bridge, Cumberland, whose Copy of a letter wrote by a young shepherd of Borrowdale at his return from Dublin to one of his acquaintance is perhaps the best known and most popular of all the literary productions in the Cumberland dialect. The Borrowdale Letter was published for the first time at

Another famous Cumbrian dialect writer is John Stagg, 'the blind bard of Cumberland,' of whose poetical productions the picturesque and humorous *Bridewain* and *The Return* are the best known (first printed by J. Scott, Carlisle, in 1804).

John Rayson, of Aglionby, is the author of some excellent dialect songs (*Miscellaneous Poems and Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect*, first printed by G. Irwin, Carlisle, 1830).

Among the best writers of the dialect in later times should be noticed: Betty Wilson, whose humorous *Cummerland Teals* first appeared in the *West Cumberland Times* (collected by Thomas Farrall, of Aspatria, and published by James C. Mason, Carlisle, 1901); Alex. Craig Gibson, *The Folk-speech of Cumberland and some districts adjacent* (Geo. Coward, Carlisle, 1869); the popular and well-known tales *Joe and the Geologist* and *Poor Bobby Banks' Bodderment*, by an anonymous author; John Richardson, *Cummerland Talk* (G. Coward, Carlisle, 1871).

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the various dialect contributions that have appeared in the local press, but it is to be hoped that one of the numerous friends and admirers of Cumberland and its dialect will take upon himself the task of collecting and publishing all the literary dialect productions that have hitherto appeared. The above-mentioned dialect works are to a great extent of no mean literary and artistic value; they form excellent and interesting illustrations of Cumberland life, manners, and customs, but are—from a purely linguistic point of view—of small value, owing to the imperfectness of spelling and the constant mixing up of true dialect forms with those of the literary language and standard English.

The following dialect specimens have been dictated to me in the Lorton dialect by my chief helper, Mr. George Oglethorpe, and have since been re-read and revised by other natives of the district.
a maind əz wr əz ift əd nobət bin las nit—ən its vanər twenti ŋər sen nəu—ləl Məri Džəksən sent əc(r) sərvəntləd Tomi Wilsən, ə təəp ət wəz ələs kənəsidət rəədər lit, bət nə kənəkəsnə əmən
maind, ət el mə ətə wəz əntət au(w)ər təət wətə əftər nəin ətələk.

‘wə əntət mo?’ seə. ‘(yu)wər Məri,’ seə. ‘varə əl, Tomi,’ ə sed, ‘al bi ətər dəəz nəu.’ ən əwə Tomi went, sanətən əfələk
əz if id dəəz əndət yət əən ə ənən ilənən ənəz if iz təət wəd ənən əd
wət kudikəkiə.

ənən əntələd tel əət ləl Məri wəz ən ənlə əuətər, ən ər əfələr ən
muədər ədə əfərm in Eməltən bodən, əən lələd dəəzəin əu(w)əxə, ən
təət ənən təət kətə Məri wəd ev ə bitə ə kəltə 3, ən əz əwə gən
kenə leliət ətəfəl 4, əi ələs ed ələntə ətəšəp. ətər wəzəg Big Dək
Odəzn ələs ənən əbətə; ən lələ Bili Karik kom mənə ə əknəd prə
Bwəl; ən Dəzəmi Bel prə Kezik wəz əən liəkən əftər ər ət Kək-
məp mərkət ətəfəkə əət ñədəntələ mak ə matəs əntəfər
ə bit. (yu)wəvər əats əntət ənən wət mi təiəl.

əsə əsiən əz ad ətənə əpiŋzə ənət əntə əmən əənən supəə ən dəəz
wešt əuət, əpən ə əltən kap, mi ətət brət 6, ən ə əpər ə ətərən lelər
slipəx ətə ətə əqəmakə miədənə, ən ətən ələl lantrənə ə miən ən
əset əfər Dəzəksəν əuə. ənən əgət ətərətəd əfəkə ənətən te
bed, ən lələ Məri əskət ər nə(ə)fi7 ət əmə, əz mutəə əste səə:
‘diənt let ənən əntə ə əfər jə’;

əftər əfər ən əu(w)əxə kəktə əftərə əfəkə əntət əfət ənət ə
ətələ Məri ənən mi dəəz əən əu(w)əxələz. Məri əsiən əgən ən ətən-
əpsə ətə ətəx ə(n)ənən Dəzəmi Bel prə Mikləmən əfətə, ən ə ədən ə wətən əənən ə peəntən
Sundə, ənət ətə fədə miədənə, ən ətət wədə bi ənən, əjət, ən fəənəbl.
‘əən səə,’ əse ətə, ‘it
kəm əntət. ətsə əfən bənəgə ənən ə piən; ənən ənən əkələ ə əntət ət-
ətəd, ləntə ənən əpadət ənən kətən ənən, ələk əfəξə ətəkət ənən. əel, ə
kədəntə mak əztət wət wətət wəzən. ənən siəərələi ət iz; əjət ənən ədət;

1 Tea-cosy.
2 Donkey’s shoes (see N.E.D. sub cuddy, and calkin sb., calk vb. II).
3 Money (of obscure etymology; cf. N.E.D. sub kelter 3).
4 Besides.
5 Served (cf. § 214, note I).
6 Apron (of Celtic origin; cf. O. Irish brat ‘cloth, plaid, cloak’, Gaelic brat
‘apron, covering, mantle, veil’).
7 Fist (of Scand. orig.; cf. Appendix).
8 Went off, cleared off (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub. shunt vb.).
9 Cotton-wool (see N.E.D. sub backing sb., sense 11).
en fašnobl al lig më laif ont, fër a niver sō aut et kaind of(y)u(w)ər. nyu wan ad gitēn fâdər en mudder of tyl tmârkât, a tukt intul tfruntyps1 en pot e pär o dlûyv, e neklap2, e leem brat, en uder o dînz intylt, ez if a wæz gân tyl ts(e)rəs, bit it oûd naut te fasnt wid ner naut te karit bi—së a sez, âis wîlent fit. wîl, a tuk tînz yût âgiân en kom intel tkitâin en tlenmt up tfaîersaid, sënên te misel o t'aim: nais, jusël, en fašnobl. o et jans a dzâmp3 up en sez: a heft ot last, its e wurkbag! siûn biâp bobinz en ndlz en prîd en tiâp en butnz ân en a nô nut wat wûr int; bit a fand âis waznt it waz for, for e grett bob on'top ot4 bodm, weðeriver twaz, wadent let it stand—it dźüst toîtalt au(w)ər en let o tînz yût ontel-flû(w)ər. a puzelt mi brën o tfunjûn, en dźüst ez ad gitôn mî dîner anûder paut et struk më: its en iûnu at for tvintor—of forsn soô at, al bi bund!

'upstâkâ a flîu, fetâlt5 up mi âr en ed it on in e krak. šaf6, it wadent fît me nô wâ! twaz fâr au(w)ər laü en went duyn au(w)ər mi n tël a kudent st â bit. a turnt it tûger wâ, bit it wazent o bit beter, en së a dźüst prîquât duyn ont bed en sed a wad boget me măr tyl je kom en sôt.' ñan ôwâ ñi went fôt7, ôn siuër onîûf it waz nais, jusfl, en fašnobl. wen a sôt, a laft rît yût, 'wai, wumn,,' sezā, 'âis iz o tîkwôzi! ' tîkwôzi,' sez Māri, 'wats cat? ' 'wai,' sezā, 'nekst taim wen Dźimi Bel kuz, makêm â kupøj'tt, put âis au(w)ər tîpot en itel kîpt ez wârm ez twost, en Dźîmil st et âyu kenst yu to jyust.'

furst tîpaţi Dźim ân Māri ed etfûr dë war wedît âbyút â düzń on uz wëz invaitit tylt, en a miâdôm o laf tel dë vanâr krâkt ñer saîdž bi telen tstwôri âbyút Mâriz tîkwôzi; en Māri, blûshân o tfiâs auwer, dżîont in tlaf.

II

e snekposet8

nîver âgiân, Edî, nîver âgiân!
if a munt ev ë lad etel kwot me âliân,
etel od bi jà swîtât en mî bi cet jän,
am mun baid ëz a iz tël a ùt.

1 Parlour (lit. front-house).
2 Neck-cloth (cf. § 252).
3 Pret. of dzâmp to jump.
4 Contraction of or + the (def. article).
5 Fixed (up), arranged (see N.E.D. sub fettle sb. and vb).
6 An interjection expressing annoyance, = bother it !
7 for + it.
8 A rebuff, a disappointment, commonly applied to suitors who are not
Suuz kodelt Kiat Kroset, An Atšin, Džen Blær, Beke Rud, Māri Mōsn, Rejmp Laitl, en mār, Su uz its û fun en sek fun mā bi får bít it dizent sin džanik1 to mī.

a fēvēt'e, ai, abin û tładz abyut, a 'paut laik ø fīçl øtjø sigylt mø yut fre tūdoš, øn av bin rít sarot nø dyut tø trūst sek ø teštrɔ 2 øt øt.

rít sarot bai džiš! a woz wārnt gāli wi, a woz telt ūu ōūd fīûlt øn čān left Griāsi Pil, øn wat rít ød a tø balv 师事务 wad deif øder fērør ør fontor3 wi mī?

fwōk telt mo ūy kom øv ø slēp4 snuki brīd, øt ø tuŋ sek øz āin seldm un øv ø (e)åd, øt twais ø 'při taimz wan ūy sed aut ūy lid, bit a fansit čat aqlı kud br;

fo(r) Spiātri a kent wez ø ädpøskn pliás, øn a 'paut meap5 ūy bin ræt abyut Griās—

God elp mē! a 'paut a red triüp ø ìi fiás wən ūy swör ūy kät onli fer mī.

wier sīli uz lasiz—wier mēžlinz6 onö, wier tmiǎst tiǎn wē čem øt ūu(w)ør frens miást miskō, øn wan wier tiǎn in, wīste7 šier wēt wi sō, øn tø riŋu sek mistaks tøl wi ūt.

bit lit kom ātaim, en it kom ø øt jans;

a sōt fār oniuʃ, bøt tø gīçø jā tʂans

a went bi misel tø Džen Łonkistōš dans, džiust tø st if ūy dud kār for mī.

admitted (š sneck door-latch, of obscure origin + possēt a Cumberland dish; see further Prevost, p. 302).

1 Fair, honest, straightforward (of obscure etymology; see N.E.D. sub jannock).

2 Good-for-nothing; possibly an altered form of taster (see N.E.D. sub taster sense 2) with secondary sense of ‘contemptible fellow, good-for-nothing’.

3 More tenderly; comp. of fonā in the sense of ‘affectionate, tender’ (see N.E.D. sub fonā).

4 Slippery (Scand. ; cf. Appendix).

5 may + happen, perhaps.

6 Idiotic, stupid persons.

7 We have to.
III

tpariš-tlärks gumšin 9

en old preist o Waiburn 10 telz o stwori obuut finden tparištlärk ja Sunde mwörnin siten waižli ostridl o tkurkrigin. i wantit to nó wot iz biznaes waz čtor, oen Džo sed: 'wai, Džemi Ökrig brak jan ov iz kar-riaps 11 tüdødje o täsfild, oen če gat tbelriap oen fær(gat te brjyt bak øgián, sə av bin fwošt to git up on trigin 12 oen riŋ wi mi andž; oen a baut it woz me jūus kumən duun øgián øtwën taimz, oen as stopen to git travyd ryund, oen čan al bi wid ja.'

1 Poor (cf. § 234).
2 A bur, 'the rough seed-ball of the burdock' (see N.E.D. sub bur sb.).
3 To annoy, vex, irritate (of obscure etymology).
4 To look askance (of obscure origin; see N.E.D. sub glime vb.).
5 A snub, disappointment (origin unknown).
6 Heart-whole.
7 Draw thy stake, get off (originally used of an animal tethered by a stake or pole).
8 Snubbed, scolded (Scand.; cf. Appendix).
9 Common sense, shrewdness, discernment (see N.E.D. sub gumption).
10 Wythburn.
11 Cart-ropes.
12 The ridge (of a house).
Dzwoni, git yut!

git yut wi ɗe, Dzwoni, ɗuuz nobet ɗ faš¹, ɗyl kum til ɗu ræziz ɗ desp(ə)ret tlaš², ɗyz fɔr ivori dæ džust tə put jan əbyut, øn ɗu moideš³ jan tarəbl—Dzwoni, git yut!

wat sestə? az boni? wai čats nuat øts niu. ɗyz wantøn ø switət? ɗyz ed ø gë feyu øn ɗyz tʃeʃit øm jan eʃtør nía duət; but òz nút tø bi tʃeʃit—stə, Dzwoni, git yut!

ɗiøš plënti ø ladz ø biåp Lample øn Din øz jabl øz ɗi øn øz fit tø bi s(e)in; øn a med tak mi pik ømaŋ ø ɗiør øbyut, di şe pënk øle øi ɗan?—Dzwoni, git yut!

wat? nüt jan ømaŋ øm øz laiks mø øø wil? wai min! ɗiøš Dik Wøkø øn Dżonapøn Prl fuərsetøn⁴ mø ʊlæs ø tloninz øbyut, biåp wantøn tø swiøtøt mø—Dzwoni, git yut!

wat? ɗyu wil ev ø kis?—à bøt, takt if ɗu dår! a tel øø al skwil if øu traiət tø ku nør; tak kær ø mi koler, øyu maflin⁵, al şyut! nø øu šant øv ønuqør—niu, Dzwoni, git yut!

git yut wiøø, Dzwoni, ɗyz te(y)ut⁶ mø rît sær; øyz brokn mi kwøm øn øyz tuuølt mi ør. a wiønt bi kist, øyu unmanø(r)li ləut⁷! waz øør ivør sek ømpidens?—Dzwoni, git yut!

¹ Bother, annoyance (from O. Fr. fascher, Mod. Fr. fâcher to trouble, annoy).
² Gossip, slander.
³ To confuse, bother, fatigue (origin obscure).
⁴ Getting in front of, intercepting.
⁵ Silly person (see N.E.D. sub maflø vb.).
⁶ Tired, pulled about (cf. § 197).
⁷ An awkward, ill-mannered fellow (see N.E.D. sub lout sb., sense 2).
SPECIMENS OF THE LORTON DIALECT

git yut wiő, Dzwoni, a tel ĉe bi diûn!
diste ŭink al tak up wid An Dikson's öld ŝiûn?
ĉu me gâ tûl An Diksên ĵen pûu ĵr ĵbût,
ĉu salênt pûu mi—ste, Dżwoni, git yut!

wel, ĉats sent im of, ĵn ĵs swori it ez:
i med ken ĵ las nîvér meînz of ŝi sez.
iz ĵ rit kani fele, ŭu(w)ivêr ĵ flûut—
its gitên ĵd wârk ĵe sâ: Dżwoni, git yut!
GLOSSARY

The alphabetical order in the Glossary is:

a, ā, b, d, q, e, a, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, ŋ, o, p, r, s, š, t, ṭ, ṭ, ñ, u (ù, ù), v, w, z, ž.

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