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, 'tōks ričl kumərlən', but, on the other hand, if he 'tōks pruni', 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\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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, Brackenthwaite, 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, ü, u.

Long vowels: à, Æ, i, ò, ù.

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

Triphthongs: aia, au(w)æ, eiu, iuæ, iuu, 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 ø-position (in standard English man).

apl apple, dlad glad, swan swan, want want.

§ 4. e (low-front-narrow), the short of Æ (æ = e 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, wïs wish.

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

bodi body, olin-buš holly-bush, lopstær lobster.

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

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

§ 8. û, 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 (unrounding). It is a sound midway between the high-back-wide-round u of standard English and the ù (see § 9).

krútš crutch, müri merry, nút nut, stútær to stutter, tútš to touch.
§ 9. u is still more lowered and unrounded than ü (see § 8 above), like the ü in Swedish skutta, butter.

burn to burn, furniš to furnish, kürk church.

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

ämär hammer, betær better, mære narrow, naræ narrow.

Long Vowels

§ 11. å is the long of a (see § 8), consequently mid-back-wide like the ä in German Name, but with a slightly advanced position of the tongue.

bärn child, faðin farthing, wärn warm, wärn to warn, wät wart.

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

bañ kn bacon, dæ day, læk to play, tæ clay, wæ way, wæðiz wages.

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

blid to bleed, fid to feed, nid need, nit night, sit sight.

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

køf calf, køld (or kod) cold, fò to fall, sóv salve, wō wall.

§ 15. ü is the long of u (see § 9 above).

bød, bird, mujder murder, þuð third, þuði thirty.

The Diphthongs

§ 16. ai (a+i, cf. above, §§ 3, 5).

aidl idle, bait to bite, kaind kind, maild mild, maind mind, wailld 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 ø.

bausær bolster, baut (pret. and pp.) bought, braut (pret. and pp.) brought, dautær daughter, dlau to glow, faut (pret. and pp.) fought, kraul to crawl.

§ 18. ei (e+i, cf. §§ 4, 5).

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

beam, 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-glade or disappears altogether: (e)il to heal, (e)it to eat, (e)izi easy.

§ 20. iá (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 (iá > ja).

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)izi easy.

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

fias fierce, siæ so, siæ sloe, tæ toe, tæ claw.

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

briüm broom, giús goose, jùbm oven, juf hoof, riút root.

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

biüti beauty, friüti fruit, siüti suit, tiüzdø Tuesday (spiüu, 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).

bryun brown, duüt doubt, suund sound, tiünd cloud, yund hound, wuu wool.

§ 27. wö. I have classified the wö-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).

kwöm comb, kwol coal, kworn corn, mwörnin morning, rwoz rose, šwöť short, wol hole.

The Triphthongs

§ 28. aie (a + i + e, §§ 3, 5, 10). The third element of this triphthong is e, developed as a glide before a following r.
aie̯ iron, faie̯ fire, spaie̯ spire, waie̯ wire.
§ 29. au(w)e (a + u + e, §§ 3, 7, 10). A bilabial glide is often heard between the second and third elements of this triphthong.
au(w)e̯ over, stau(w)e̯n pp. stolen, fau(w)e̯r four.
§ 30. euu e + u + u, §§ 4, 9, 7).
deuu dew, feuu few, teuu to toil, to work hard.
§ 31. iu(e) e + u + e, §§ 5, 7, 10).
griuu gruel, kriuu cruel, siuuu sure, siu̯u to suit.
§ 32. iuu (i + u + u, §§ 5, 9, 7).
biiuu bough, driuu pret. drew, sliuu pret. slew, spiuu to spew.
§ 33. uu(w)e (u + u + e, §§ 9, 7, 10). A bilabial glide (w) is often heard between the second and third elements of the triphthong (cf. au(w)e above, § 29).
dluu(w)e̯r to glower, fliuu(w)e̯r flower, flour, myuu(w)e̯r moor.

B. The Consonants

§ 34. The Lorton dialect contains the following consonants: b, d, q, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, ñ, p, r, s, š, t, ť, ť, v, w, z, ž.1
§ 35. b (lip-stop-voice), like standard English b. It occurs in all positions (initially, medially, and finally).
bärn child, brek to break, kabiš cabbage, stubi thickset, neb beak, web web.
§ 36. d (gum-stop-voice), like standard English d. It occurs in all positions.
dæ̯ day, dip to dip, drîŋk to drink, duv dove, didl to con-

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, § 372).
fuse, sindär cinder, wandär to wander, lid lid, bid to invite, to bid.

§ 37. ɖ is a sound midway between d and ʂ, 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.

aŋər adder, bleŋər bladder, faŋər father, laŋər lather, muŋər mother.

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

buŋən (or buɾdən) burden, muŋər murder, wǻđe week-day, bakwaŋə backwords, foraŋə forward.

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

faŋər father, feit to fight, druft drought, fift fifth, kōf calf, laif life, liåf loaf.

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

galəsiz braces, gärn yarn, geŋər to gather, giáŋp to gape, bogt ghost, boggle, agər 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, jakər acre, jistãoj yesterday, júbmn oven.

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

kaŋf chaff, kist chest, kyrk church, kredl cradle, skil skill, skiuul 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.

liåt late, liuk look, lonin lane, flit to flit, to remove, tiŋp to clip, olə hollow, tala tallow, fiul fool, skiuul school, tiul tool, sadl saddle, midl middle.

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

man man, mɛr more, muŋər mother, amər hammer, brumstn
brimstone, brum brim, rylum room, stem stem, arm 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.

næpən apron, nevi nephew, nißk nook, dwinl to dwindle, munde Monday, uni honey, den den, æbiýn above, miýn moon, frozn pp. frozen, gitn pp. got, tɛwozn pp. chosen.

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

fʊŋɪtər furniture, næpən apron.

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

fɪŋer finger, siŋl single, uŋjør hunger, suŋk pp. sunk, bɑŋ to bang, beat, straŋ strong, prɑŋ busy.

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

pepər pepper, put to put, pwol pole, spiád spade, spigün 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* (a) (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, bore to borrow, swori sorry, bårn child, burn to burn.

r₂: stærən pres. p. staring, wɛri wary, bärk to bark, dårk dark, spärk spark, bɑðər to bother, brɑdər brother, fau(w)ər four.

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

sai scythe, sau to sew, siɣn soon, smidi smithy, bɑʃeɪt basket, blosm blossom, lisn to listen, rʉsl to wrestle, ants ants, muus mouse, tɔoís choice.

§ 51. š (blade-open-point-breath), like standard English sh in ship, radish. It occurs in all positions.
\( \text{šap} \) shape, šak to shake, šip ship, tšans chance, tšëmbər chamber, fašin fashion, kabiš cabbage, mitš much, weš to wash.

§ 52. \( t \) (gum-stop-breath, like standard English \( t \)), occurs in all positions.

\( \text{tener} \) tongs, top top, tiʧʧ tough, \( \text{tlap} \) to clap, tiokər a broody hen, biər bitter, butər butter, jistəʤ yesterday, ratn-trap rat-trap, druft drought, et hot, lat lath.

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

\( \text{at} \) heart, smāʃ smart, tlāti muddy, dirty, wāt wart, dūt dirt, dūti dirty (see above, \( q \), § 38).

§ 54. \( p \) (teeth-open-breath, like the \( \text{th} \) in standard English \( \text{thing} \)), occurs initially and finally.

\( \text{þisl} \) (or \( \text{þusl} \)) thistle, \( \text{þum} \) thumb, \( \text{þuuzn(d)} \) thousand, \( \text{bap} \) bath, \( \text{breŋp} \) breadth, \( \text{lenp} \) length, \( \text{wurp} \) worth.

§ 55. \( c \) (teeth-open-voice, like the \( \text{th} \) in standard English \( \text{though} \)), occurs initially and finally.

\( \text{çan} \) then, \( \text{çat} \) that, \( \text{çier} \) there, \( \text{çyu} (\text{çu}) \) thou, \( \text{bæç} \) to bathe, \( \text{smʌuð} \) smooth.

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

\( \text{vara} \) very, \( \text{vois} \) voice, \( \text{aʃer} \) oats, \( \text{nevi} \) nephew, \( \text{raiv} \) to tear, \( \text{muuv} \) to move.

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

\( \text{water} \) water, \( \text{wark} \) work, \( \text{wid} \) with, \( \text{wotʃəd} \) orchard, \( \text{wop} \) hope, \( \text{dwel} \) to dwell, \( \text{dwinl} \) to dwindle, \( \text{twilt} \) quilt, \( \text{fa(w)or} \) four, \( \text{stau(w)or} \) pp. stolen.

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

\( \text{buzm} \) bosom, \( \text{fəznt} \) pheasant, \( \text{gezlin} \) gosling, \( \text{puzn} \) poison, \( \text{beliz} \) bellows, \( \text{blæz} \) to blaze, \( \text{raiz} \) to rise, \( \text{rwoz} \) rose, \( \text{tliaz} \) clothes.

§ 59. \( ž \) (blade-point-open-voice, like the \( z \) in standard English \( \text{treasure} \)), occurs medially and finally in the combinations \( \text{dz} \) and \( \text{nž} \).

\( \text{džudž} \) to judge, \( \text{ædž} \) age, \( \text{inž} \) hinge, \( \text{swinž} \) to singe, \( \text{indžin} \) 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. æ (a) and œ (before nasals) in originally closed syllables (§ 90): apl apple, as ashes, blak black, bras brass, dlas glass, draft draught, lam lamb, slafter slaughter, swan swan, wasp wasp.

2. In a few cases OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables before a suffix containing 1 or r (§ 100): amør hammer, fæðer father, ladl ladle, sadl saddle, waðer water, and in the words akæ acorn, mak to make, šak to shake, šap shape, tak to take (§ 105).


4. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) (§ 207): barəl barrel, fašin fashion, kabiš cabbage, karət carrot, natrəl 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. ë in originally closed syllables (§ 106): edž edge, fetš to fetch, nek neck, net net, retš wretch, set to set, preš to thresh.

2. OE. æ (a) (although this e in some cases probably is of Scandinavian origin; see § 97): esp hasp, eftər after, eitər halter, eš ash (-tree), gev pret. gave, kest to cast, peŋk to thank, weš to wash, kredi 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 ë (WS. â) from W. Germanic ą, in a few words (§ 166, note 1): bledær bladder, breþ breath, let to let, red pret. read, setææ Saturday, wet wet.

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

6. Early shortening of OE. æ, arisen through i-mutation of ò (§ 169, note): bled pret. of to bleed, bles to bless, fed pret. of to feed.

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

8. ME. ë < O. Fr. ai (§ 212): feznt pheasant, pleþær 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, flïk flitch, lik to lick, piþ pith, stïtïch stitch, tënklær tinker, wind to wind, find to find.

2. OE. e before a following ð, nã (§ 110): ïnland England, krïnz to cringe, miñl to mingle, strïŋ string, swïnz to singe.

3. OE. e influenced by palatal consonants (§ 112): binïs bench, jïstæð yesterday, jit yet, strïtïs to stretch.

4. OE. y (§ 148): brig bridge, dizi dizzy, kïs to kiss, lïsn to listen, midë midge.

5. OE. â, arisen through i-mutation of OE. ä (§ 163) in three words: ivær ever, iv(æ)ri every, nivær never.

6. OE. i (shortened, § 173): dwïnl to dwindle, fïlt fifth, fïltï fifty, ditïs ditches, wiïzdm wisdom.

7. OE. y (shortened, § 192): filiqu filth, fist fist, tïskïn chicken, þïml thimble, wiïs wish.

8. ME. i (of French origin, § 215): dinær dinner, livær to deliver, list to enlist, ñidæs scissors.

§ 63. Lorton o corresponds to:

1. OE. o in originally closed syllables (§ 131): bodm bottom, boks box, folæ to follow, kok cock, kros cross, lopstær lobster, otær otter.
2. OE. ə in originally open syllables in a few words (§ 139): body, broken, frozen, lane, holly, spoken, lose.

3. OE. ə (shortened, § 185): blossom, fodder, foster to foster, home, 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, wool, full, skull, pluck, kum to come, sum some, sung tongue, found.

2. OE. t influenced by a preceding w (§ 121, note) in: swim, will, whistle.

3. OE. y in some words: full to fill, shrub, brimstone.

4. OE. ü (shortened, § 187): but, dove, fuss, plum plum, thumb.

5. ME. u (<O. Fr. u, § 218): button, double, country, mustard, mutton.

ü

§ 65. Lorton ü corresponds to:

1. OE. ü before and between dentals (§ 143): nut nut, ruddy, stutter to stutter, shudder to shudder, cluster.

2. OE. y in a few words: blush to blush, much, shut to shut, crutch, merry, worry, work, worm.

3. OE. Ə(shortened, § 185): brother, good, Monday, month.

4. ME. u (<O. Fr. u, § 218): dozen, grudge, crust, touch.

ų

§ 66. Lorton ū corresponds to:

1. OE. ū followed by an r+cons. (§ 125): bird, church.

2. OE. ū followed by an r+cons. (§ 144): duşt (2nd pers. pres. ind.) dust, to curse, mourn, turf.
3. OE. $y$ followed by an $r + \text{cons.}$ (§ 150): bürf birth, fürst first, kürn kernel, mürder murder, mürf mirth.

4. ME. u (<O. Fr. u) followed by an $r + \text{cons.}$ (§ 220, a): núš nurse, puš purse, türmst turnip.

2. Long Vowels

ä

§ 67. Lorton ä corresponds to:

1. OE. æ (a, ea) before a following $r + \text{cons.}$: ärvist harvest, jäd yard, spårk spark, šårp sharp, wärnk warm, wärn to warn, wärnt (wart) wart (§ 95).

2. W. Germ. e (OE. eor, ior, er, ME. er, er) in the combination $e + r + \text{cons.}$ (§ 113): bärk to bark, dårk dark, kärv to carve, stärv to starve, wärck work.

3. ME., O. Fr. a in the combination $ar + \text{cons.}$ (§ 210): bårber barber, gädin garden, kwät quart, pät part.

4. ME. e (of French origin) in the combination $er + \text{cons.}$ (§ 214): kansärn concern, mäsi mercy, särvent servant, sätš to search, värment vermin.

å

§ 68. Lorton å corresponds to:

1. OE. æ(a) in originally open syllables in a few words: båd to bathe, båév to behave, fråm frame (§ 103).

2. OE. æg (ME. ei, § 98): bråen brain, dåe day, dåzi daisy, fåen fain, måen main, slåen pp. slain.

3. OE. æ (a) before an $r$ in originally open syllables (§ 104): år hare, bår bare, får to fare, kår care, spår to spare.

4. OE. e before a following $g$ (=ME. ei, § 115): ål to ail, blåen blain, ewåe away, råen rain, sål sail.

5. OE. a in the combination år (§ 158): mår more, sår sore.


7. OE. å, arisen through $i$-mutation of OE. a, in the combination åg (§ 164): ådær either (OE. ågær), kåe key, måe to neigh, nådær neither, tåe clay.

8. OE. ɔa in the combination åah (§ 195): flåe flea, nåbær neighbour.


10. ME. ê < O. Fr. ei, ai (§ 225, note) in three words: disēt deceit, kensēt conceit, resēt receipt.
VOWEL EQUIVALENTS IN ACC. SYLLABLES

11. ME. ai, ei < O. Fr. ai, ei (§ 238): ðm aim, bëli bailiff, ðfp faith, gën to gain, mën main.
12. ME. au < O. Fr. a before a nasal combination (§ 240): strëndz strange, tshëndz to change, dëndzæ danger.
13. ME. ai, ei, of French origin before an r (§ 241): ðr heir, fër fair, për pair, tshër chair.

§ 69. Lorton ï corresponds to:
1. Anglian æ (= WS. æ) from W. Germanic ë (§ 165): did deed, nïdl needle, sid seed, slip to sleep, sïp sheep, tshiz cheese, prïd thread.
2. OE. e before l (§ 109): fïld field, jïlld to yield, wïld to wield.
3. OE. e in the combination eht, oeh, ME. iht, igh (§ 114): brït bright, rït right, strït straight.
4. OE. ï in the combination iht, ME. iht, igh (§ 126): dit to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, nït night, sït sight.
5. Medial OE. ig (§ 127) in stil stile.
6. OE. y in the combination yht (§ 152): flït flight, frït fright, rït wright.
7. OE. ë arisen through ï-mutation of ò (§ 169): blïd to bleed, brïd to breed, fïd to feed, fïl to feel, fït feet, gïs geese, grïn green, kïn keen.
8. Anglian è (W. Sax. ie) from the ï-mutation of the diphthongs ëa, ëo (§ 170): bæliv to believe, ët height, nïd need, slïv sleeve, sït sheet.
9. Anglian è (= W. Sax. ëo, ëa) before the palatals c, g, h (§ 170, II): ë high, ët light, ëtlin lightning, rïk to smoke, reek, sïk sick, ët to fly.
10. OE. ë, arising from lengthening in monosyllables: ë he, më me, wï we.
11. OE. ëa in the combination ëah (§ 195): ë high, ël lea, nï nigh, near.
12. ME. ë < O. Fr. ie (§ 228): grïf grief, nïs niece, pïs piece.
13. ME. ë < O. Fr. oe, ue (§ 228. 3): bïf beef, pïpl people.
14. Original OE. ëo (io) in some words (§ 201. 2): bï to be, bï bee, ëtwïn between, fïl to fly, fri free, ëri three.
§ 70. Lorton ö corresponds to:
1. OE. æg, aw (ME. au): don dawn, lò law, mò maw, nò to gnaw (§ 99).
2. OE. al+cons.: bök balk, fò to fall, kö to call, kòf calf, òf half, sòv salve, smò small, wò wall, kold cold, old old (§ 96).
3. OE. å in the combination ðaw (§ 159): blò to blow, krò to crow, nò to know, sò to sow, prò to throw.
4. OE. a in the combination ðag (§ 160): ð to owe, ðn adj. own.
5. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) in the combination all, al+cons. (§ 208): bô ball, ðomnäk almanac, ðomänd almond, sköd to scald.
6. ME. ð (< O. Fr. o, § 217) before a following r: fòtšen fortune, kòrrer corner, mòţer mortar.
7. ME. au < O. Fr. au (§ 240): fòt fault, fröd fraud, pò paw.

§ 71. Lorton ü corresponds to:
1. OE. i followed by an r+cons. (§ 125): bûq bird, þûq third, þûti thirty.
2. OE. u followed by an r+cons. (§ 144): fûr furrow, kûd curds.
3. OE. y followed by an r+cons. (§ 150): bûdgin burden, gûd girdle, mûdger murder, ùdl hurdle.
4. ME. u < O. Fr. u, followed by an r+cons. (§ 220, a): dûnqi journey, fûnji to furnish, űṯ to hurt.

3. DIPHTHONGS

ai

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

2. OE. og (medial): bau (OE. boga) bow (§ 133).
3. OE. ŏ in the combination ol + cons. (§ 134): baustær bolster, baut bolt, kaut colt.
4. OE. ā in the combination āw in some words (§ 159): aut aught, anything, auðær either (pron. and conj.), nauðær neither (pron. and conj.), nauð naught, nothing, saun soul, ðau to thaw.
5. OE. ā in the combination āg (§ 160): aun (OE. āgnian) to own, to possess.
6. OE. ŏ in the combination oht (§ 182): braut brought, saut sought, baut pret. and pp. thought.
7. OE. ŏ in the combination ðow (§ 184): dlau to glow, grau to grow, stan to stow.
8. ME. ā of French origin before 1l or I + 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. ā in originally open syllables (§ 118): (e)it to eat, meil meal, meit meat, steil to steal, treid to tread.
2. OE. āe arisen through i-mutation of OE. ā (§ 162): bleits to bleach, deil to deal, (e)iil to heal, leid to lead, tein clean.
3. OE. ēa (§ 194): beim beam, bein bean, dreim dream, greit great, leif leaf.
4. ME. ē < O. Fr. ei, ai (§ 225): diseiv to deceive, (e)ai easy, greizi greasy, pleiz to please, seizn season.
5. ME. ē < O. Fr. e, ée (§ 227): feimāl female, preišt to preach, seikrēt secret, veil veil.
6. ME. ē < O. Fr. e before st (§ 226): beist beast, feist feast, kreiim cream.
7. Original OE. eo (Anglian ēa, § 201. 1): deip deep, fleis fleece, kreiip to creep, leif leaf.
§ 76. Lorton ía (ja in initial position) corresponds to:
1. OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables (§ 102): biaächt blade, biaék to bake, diaľl dale, jakr acre, jal ale, kiák cake, skiált scales.
2. OE. ā, when apart from influences of neighbouring sounds (§ 154): bián bone, biąd both, alián alone, grián to groan, liáf loaf, miást most, riáp rope, siáp soap, stián stone, tliáz clothes, jak oak, jam home, jans once.
3. ME. ā of O. Fr. origin (§ 222): bliám to blame, fliás face, jable able, kiás case, liás to lace, stiábł stable, tiást taste.

iá

§ 77. Lorton iœ corresponds to:
1. OE. e before an r in originally open syllables (§ 117): biør to bear, piær pear, swiør to swear, tiør to tear, wiør to wear.
2. OE. ā when final (§ 156): sīœ so, sliœ sloe, tīœ toe, wiœ who, niœ adj. no.
3. Anglian ō (from W. Germanic ā) in the combination ēr (§ 167): biør bier, briør briar, tiør to fear, wiør there.
4. Anglian ō (from the i-mutation of ōa, ōo) before an r (§ 170, I): iør to hear, iæ adj. heard.
5. ME. ō < O. Fr. e before an r: fliœs fierce, tiir clear.

iœ

§ 78. Lorton iů corresponds to:
1. OE. ȝ (§ 177): briům broom, dliům gloom, fliůt foot, giůs goose, tiůþ tooth, spiůn spoon.
2. ME. ſ of French origin in the words: biůt boot, fůl fool (§ 233).

iů

§ 79. Lorton iů corresponds to:
1. ME. ū of French origin (§ 237): diůtí duty, fliůt flute, miůšik music, stiůpīd stupid.
2. ME. eu (iu) of French origin (§ 243): biůti beauty, siůt suit.

iů

§ 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

§ 81. Lorton Ѳу corresponds to:
1. OE. ā before lд in bōuld bold, fōuld to fold (§ 96).
2. OE. ō in the combination ol+cons. (§ 134 note II): gōuld gold, tōul toll.

§ 82. Lorton Ѳу corresponds to:
1. OE. ū (§ 186): brūn brown, fūul foul, īūs louse, myūs mouse, tūut clout.
2. OE. medial uগ (§ 145) in fūul fowl.
3. OE. ū before nd (§ 142, note I) in grūund ground, upyter hound.
4. OE. u in the combination u+1+cons. (§ 146) in ūudder shoulder.
5. ME. ū of French origin (§ 235): būnti bounty, dūnt doubt, ēmūnt amount, gūt gout, kun̄t to count, ywaćnd sound.

§ 83. Lorton wō corresponds to:
1. OE. ō in the combination or + cons. (§ 135): bwōd̆d̆ board, əfwōd̆d̆ to afford, kworn corn, mwornin morning, šwōt short, pworn thorn.
2. OE. ō in originally open syllables (§ 138): bworn pp. born, gwot channel, millstream, kwol coal, nwoz nose, wōl hole, wop to hope.
3. ME. ō of French origin (§ 231): kla̱wos close, kwot coat, nwobl noble, pwot̆ to peach, rwost to roast.

4. TRIPHTHONGS

§ 84. Lorton aie corresponds to:
1. OE. i in the combination īr (§ 174): aĩn̆ iron, spaĩer spire, waĩer wire.
2. OE. ĭ in the combination īr (§ 191): aĩer to hire, faĩer fire.
3. ME. i of French origin in a few words (§ 280): raiĕt riot, vai(ə)lət violet, waĩet quiet.

§ 85. Lorton au(w)e corresponds to:
1. OE. medial ŏg (§ 133): flauwen (pp., OE. fle̱ogen) flown.
2. OE. o in the combination o + 1 (with vocalization of the 1, § 139, note II) in sta(w)an pp. stolen.
3. OE. òo+w (§ 205) in fau(w)er four.

§ 86. Lorton euu corresponds to:
OE. ēa in the combination ēaw (§ 197): deyu dew, feyu few, teyu to toil, to work hard.

§ 87. Lorton iuə corresponds to:
1. ME. ü + ə of French origin (§ 237) in griual gruel, kriual cruel, siuat suet.
2. ME. ü + r of French origin (§ 237): siuar sure.

§ 88. Lorton iu corresponds to:
1. OE. i in the combination iw (§ 175): ti(u)uzda Tuesday, spiuu to spew.
2. OE. ə in the combination ōh (ōg) (§ 183): biuũ bough, driũu pret. drew, sliũu pret. slew.
3. OE. iw (§ 129) in tiũu clue, ball.

§ 89. Lorton uu(w)ə corresponds to:
1. OE. ō before an r (§ 181): flũu(w)ər floor, múu(w)ər moor.
2. OE. ū in the combination ūr (§ 188): sũu(w)ər shower, uu(w)ər our.
3. ME. ü of French origin before an r (§ 236): flũu(w)ər flower, pu(u)wər power, tũu(w)ər tower, uu(w)ər hour.
CHAPTER III

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. Short Vowels

§ 90. OE. æ (a) and ø (before nasals) = ME. a in originally closed syllables.

The normal development of OE. æ (a), ø (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 > œ combined with lengthening caused by a following ll or l + cons. (§ 96).
3. The special development of OE. œg—ME. ai into æ, and OE. æg, aw—ME. au into ò (§§ 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, amær hammer, anser answer, apl apple, aræ arrow, bag bag (perhaps Scand.; cf. Appendix), bak back, blæk black, dlæd glad, drag to pull, drag, fadm to fathom, falæ fallow, flæks flax, gad to c 2
gossip, to run about gossiping (gadan əbʊt), gad sb. gossip (prob. < OE. ɡæd society, fellowship, company), galaζ gallows, galaseζ braces, jet gate, kaf (OE. ecef) chaff, kap cap, kat cat, kрак (cf. OE. cearcian) chat, lad (ME. ladde, prob. Celt. origin) boy, lat lath, stap step or rung of a ladder (< OE. stæpe, mare marrow, nap nap, narε narrow, nat gnat, rat rat (but ratn in the compound ratn-trap < O. Fr. rátön, 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, spere sparrow, stag stag, śade shadow, tlap (ME. clappen; cf. OE. clæppetung throbbing, pulsation) to clap, tlætæ (frequentative of the imitative stem clat, occurring in OE. clættrung clattering) to clatter, tlæt gossip, tlæt-paiat 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), watʃ watch, wat what (acc. form).

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

wärn warm, wärn to warn, wát wart.

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

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

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

a + ċ: ba liberated, pa 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, and 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.
VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

a (ɔ) + nd: and hand, brand brand, fand pret. found, land land, sand sand, stand to stand.

a (ɔ) + ə, ək : aŋ (not often used, mostly iŋ ; cf. Appendix) to hang, ankər anchor, əŋk ankkle, ələŋ along, əməŋ among, draŋk pret. drank, gan (or gə, see § 150, note I) to go, lan long, raŋk rank, saŋ song, saŋ pret. sank, straŋ strong, šaŋk shank, šnuwaŋ (< OE. āwān, ME. āwong, with loss of initial ʃ) shoe-lace, ʃraŋ busy.

Note I. In kwəm comb and wuum 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 lam∂re 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, slafter slaughter, lafter 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 wär̂m, ād; between half and full length when the r is followed by a voiceless consonant as in pärk, šarp.

Examples: ārk ark, chest, bin (for instance, meil-ārk meal-chest, from OE. earc), ārm arm, ārm harm, bārli barley (mostly called big, cf. App.), skārn dung, mārk mark, ārn to earn, ād (or ārd) hard, ārvist harvest, pärk park, šarp sharp, spärk spark, wär̂m warm, wärn to warn, ārp harp, swær̂m swarm, stärk stark, ādən (or ārdən) to harden, jād (or jārd) yard, wād (or wārd) ward.

§ 96. al followed by a consonant or final all (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).

al + cons. or final all has become ō everywhere, except before a voiced dental (§ 274).

Examples: a + 1 + guttural: bök balk, tšök chalk, tık talk,
wük walk, stök to stalk; 1 in this position seems to have been vocalized in all English dialects (preserved in walk, North Devonshire).

a + 1 + labial: kof calf, of half, sōv salve, öpni halfpenny.

al, all when final in the Lorton dialect: ō all, kō to call, fō to fall (also used in transitive sense: to fell).

wō wall, smō small, gō gall (note, however, that this 11 was medial in OE.).

a + 1 + dental: 1 has been vocalized and become ō as usual before a t: mōt malt, sōt salt (cf. Horn, Untersuchungen, p. 20).

In the combination a + ld, 1 has been preserved in the Lorton dialect and a became ō or qu:

a > ō in kōld cold, öld old, bōld bald, fōld sb. fold.

a > qu in bōuld bold, fōuld vb. to fold.

Note I. OE. a was lengthened in the above-mentioned words before td 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 1 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 ǣ in bǣd beard, via ME. e, berde, berd (cf. ger ð from gerwī, 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:

after after, OE. aefter, ME. after, found in Barbour, Bruce, i. 127, aeftr; cf. ON. eftir prep., Dan. and Swed. after.

sek sack (OE. sacc), cf. Icel. sekkur.
VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

esp hasp (OE. *haeps, metathesis from *haesp); ME. (Prompt. Parv.) hespe, Icel., ON. hespa.

eiter halter (OE. *helfter); we find the corresponding e-forms in ME. helbir (Prompt. Parv. 235), heltere (Towln. 313).

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

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

gev 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. æg—ME. ai—Lorton ø (§ 12).

Examples: bræn brain, dæ day, dæzi daisy, fæn fain, fær fair, ñæl hail (but short in the usual word elstænz hail(stones)), lød pret. lay, tæl tail, mæn main, mœ may, nœl nail, pœl pail, slœn slain.

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


Examples: dön dawn, ðl awl, nó to gnaw, lō law, mó maw, só saw.

Note. tlæe claw, points to an unrecorded form *clæa.

§ 100. In the following words, where a is followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing l, 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, amar hammer, faðer father, water water.

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

**Note II.** We find e instead of a in gedær to gather, representing the numerous ME. e-forms of this word (cf. Stratmann, *geþerien*; Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, p. 131). credl 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 ia (§ 20), in the others æ.

The occurrence of iá 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 iá-diphthong, so that they contain very few æ-forms. The iá-diphthong, representing as well a in open syllables as originally long OE. a (§ 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 iá-diphthongization seems to have started after the raising of the lengthened back-vowel into æ (this æ may have been raised further towards ê), and the first stage of the diphthongization process was then æa, a slight glide developing itself after the æ; this glide gains in strength, and we arrive at the next stage ëæ, 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 ë—i—i and lowering of the second element æ—e—a, we arrive by the intermediate stages of ëæ—ïæ, as represented in the Westmoreland dialect (cf. Hirst, *Kendal Dial.*) and in several others (cf. *E. D. Gr.* and *E. D. D.*), to the iá-diphthong, the stress having gradually transferred itself to the second element. It is difficult to say when this diphthongization process started, but the eæ-forms in words like meæn, neæm and others in Ellis's word-lists from the seventeenth century (*E. E. Pron.* iv, pp. 1001 ff.)

¹ See also § 224 below.
read the text clearly and accurately.
§ 106. OE. e in originally closed syllables.

The original West Germanic ē 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. ē) 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 ē before ĭ (§ 109).

II. e has become ī when followed by ē (§§ 110.2), nēz, 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 ē (§ 113, note).

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

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

bed bed, best best, dem (OE. fordemandan to stop up) to dam (up), eb ebb, edēz edge, em hem, fetēs to fetch, fresē fresh, kres cress, lebm eleven, neb neb (OE. neb face), nēk neck, nest nest, net net, netēl nettle, retēs wretch, sedēz sedge, set to set, snek (obscure origin, cf. ME. snekke, Stratmann) door-latch, spek speck, stem stem, step step, twenti twenty, ēreṣ to thresh, ērehōl threshold, web web, wed to wed, wedēz wedge, weft weft, west west, slek (OE. gesēccan, ME. slecken, but perhaps Scand., see App.; used in the expression to slek lain), wēstn whetstone.

Note. ēsek such, no doubt represents the OE. and ME. ē-forms of this word: OE. swēlc, ME. selv (An. Lit. 5); also a form without ē in Tor. of Port. 2241, sech (see Stratmann, ME. Dict.).

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

belēr (<OE., ME. bellēn + frequentative er-suffix) to bellow, belēy belly, beliz bellows, belt belt, dwēl to dwell, el hell, elm helm, ϵlp to help, ēls 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, swēl to swell, sēldm seldom (OE. ēl), self shelf, twelv twelve, wēlt weft,
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 dud it varə wil he did it
very well.

We also find two ME. forms, wel and wel (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, η and the combination nz.
1. e + n: bend to bend, blend to blend, den den, drenς to
drench, en hen, end end, men men, pen to pen, send to send,
spend to spend, twenti twenty, wenς wench, went pret. went.

2. A following original η (now η or nz) 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.

Examples: inļland England, inļiš English, inς hinge, krinς to
cringle, liņər to linger (frequentative formation from ME. lengen
to tarry or linger), miņl to mingle (frequentative from OE. mengan,
ME. mengen). In swinς to singe, a parasitic w has been intro-
duced (OE. sengan, ME. sengen). striņ 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).

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

Note. In the words wiŋ 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.
dinga, 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 *binʃ bench*, and a following *t* in *strits vb.* to
stretch; before a following *s* in *rist vb.* to rest (ME. *ysten*; cf.
Morsbach, p. 144 b), *jistœq* yesterday (ME. *gistirdai*, Wycl. John,
iv. 52).

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

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

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

*Note.* We find *u* instead of *a*-forms in: *urnist earnest, bûrn to burn, wûrk to work* (but cf. above, § 113, wārk sh. < OE.
*wecor*, ME. *werk*), *wûrb* 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 *bûrn, wûrk*, and *wûrb* the bilabial has
probably caused the vowel to be rounded (cf. ME. Northern *wirken*
and *wurʃ* in Ormulum, 1156, 1141).

§ 114. OE. (Anglian) *cht* (WS. *coht*) = ME. *iht, ight* has become
through loss of *h* and compensation lengthening: *brit bright,*
*lit light, rît right, strît 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. *eg* (cf. above, § 98) into *ai*:
*eil* to ail, *blæn blain, ðwē away, lǣd laid, lēn lain, plēe to play*
(mostly *lǣk*; cf. App.), *rën rain, sēl sail, wē way, sē* to say
(from OE. *seegan*, 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 1, 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 ier in the Lorton dialect: biær to bear, miær mare, piær pear, sjær to shear, swiær to swear, spiær spear, tiær to tear, wiær to wear.

**Note.** This final er has become är in two words, tär tar, and skär to scare. The är in tär from ME. a-form tarre (P. Plowman c. x. 262), skär from ME. forms like skerren vb., skerre adj. timid, or it may come from a Scandinavian source; Icel., ON. skjarrr shy, timid, would regularly give Lorton skär just as ON. kjarr has given kär (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: beid bead, breið breach, (e)jít to eat, feiðær fever, meîl meal, meît meat, neîd to knead, speið to speak, steîl to steal, treîd to tread, weîn to wean (rarely used, mostly spián), weið 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, brīn to bring, bitsh bitch, bil bill, diğer to tremble, quiver (imitative origin, cf. N.E.D. sub. didder), dim dim, diš dish, dilsn1 to glisten, ditor1 to glitter, drift drift, drivn pp. driven, driŋk to drink, ūs this, ūd1 fiddle, ūn ūn, ūsh fish, ūlīk flitch, ūlīk to flicker, grim grim, ūrip grip, if if (OE. giff, rare Angl. gef), im (acc. form) him, inder to hinder, in in, it it, iz his, kirjkof (> ME. kinken to cough, pant) whooping-cough, krisp crisp, lid lid, lip lip, miks to mix, mint mint, mizlto mistletoe, mist mist, pig pig, pīp pith, siŋk to sink, sit to sit, slīŋk to slink, stīŋk to stink, spit to spit, stītū stroke, smidi smithy, ūift 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); ūlīn shining, tik (insect) tick, tiŋklær tinker (1 introduced through association with the frequentative verb tinkle; Skeat has found this word in Tudor English—Levins, tinkler), tlin to cling.

Note I. For literary English much the Lorton dialect uses the two forms muts and mitś, the last-mentioned form especially used by old people. mikit 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. gilsian, gilisian, gilitan, gütian.


**NOTE II.** The Lorton form of the standard English pronoun *I* (OE. *ic*, ME. *ic*, *ich*) is ā. We find similar forms of this pronoun in most of the North English dialects, such as ā, ā, ā (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 ā; cf. a similar case in ū+l little (§ 190, note II).

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

§ 121. *A preceding* w has generally exercised no influence on the following ē, 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, wǐnk to wink, wit sb. wit, witnēs witness, twig twig, twin twin, twist to twist, wizn to wizen, to become dry, wīder to wither, swil to rinse, to throw water on, swil basket (for instance, tliás-swil clothes-basket) (perhaps connected with OE. swilian, ME. swilen to wash, rinse).

**Note.** ē has been changed into ū 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 ē into ū 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).

**Norr I.** This short ē 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 ē in South Shields, Kendal (Westmorel.), Cumberland, and parts of Lancashire; we find the same short ē also in Yorkshire (cf. Wright, *W. II. D. Gr.*, p. 37).

**Note II.** We find a ū in grund to grind, and grunstn grindstone; the stem-vowel may have been introduced through
analogical 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 id has undergone lengthening and diphthongization: wanild wild, maild mild, tsaild child (this word is very seldom used in sing., the usual word being ba:n (cf. App.), but often heard in the plural form tsi:lder 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: bu:ð (or bu:rð) bird, bu:rk birch, bu:ð (or bu:rð) third, kurk church, wurl whirl (possibly Scand.; cf. Icel., Swed. hwirfla to whirl round), tsurp to chirp (ME. chirpen).

Note. The pronunciation bu:ţi (pu:rti), no doubt the original one, is now heard in our district only from old people; it has been replaced by the more modern pronunciation: ðötti.

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

dit to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, make clean (<OE. di:htan to set in order, to arrange), sit (OE. gesihþ) sight.

Note. In we:t weight (OE. (ge)wiht) the ei-diphthong has been introduced from the verb we:i (§ 115, note).

§ 127. Medial OE. ig has become i in stil (OE. stigel, ME. stile) stile:

ai in main nine, tail tile (these two words are perhaps loans from standard English).

Note. lig to lie, and trans. to lay (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. liggiia, 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; Bulbring, Altengl. Elem.-Buch, § 499).

§ 128. The stem-vowel of the words li:v to live, bitl beetle, and wik week (OE. lifian, libban; bitela, bitula; wieu, wise, respectively) points back to ME. forms with ë; cf. Morsb., ME. Gram., § 65 a; Wright, E. D. Gr., §§ 79, 80).

§ 129. Original iw has become i:w (§ 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. ðow, § 204).

Example: tliu (from OE. clive) clue, ball.

§ 130. OE. o (ME. œ) 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 ou (§ 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 ó in open syllables (§ 138) into wō.

III. The special development of the groups ọxt and OE. medial ọg (=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, dokin (<dock sb., prob. of Dutch origin + the formative ing-suffix; cf. lonin lane), drop drop, džogl (frequentative of the ME. verb joggen to shake) to joggle, shake, fok flock, foks fox, folo to follow, frog frog, god God, kok cock, koper copper, kot cot, lopster (<OE. loppestre) lobster, lot lot, mos moss, mop moth, nok to knock, ofn often, op to hop, otar 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. strope, OE. stropp).

Note III. We find ű instead of o in flutar to flutter (from OE. flotorian, ME. floteren). This ű 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. *fjötyja*). These two verbs were originally akin to each other, representing the weak-grade stems *fleut- and *fiut- respectively of an O. Teut. stem *fleut- (in OE. *fleotan* 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 *flutter*, 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 * in *flutter* was introduced from the ME. *-forms of *flit*, occurring already inOrm. (cf. N.E.D. *flit* vb.). That this ON. *y* when arisen through *-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*.

§ 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*.


§ 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: *ban* (OE. *boga* bow, *flau(w)an* (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, *ol + cons.* ; cf. also § 274 on the vocalization of 1).

Examples: *bau*ter bolster, *kaut* colt, *baut* bolt ; cf. maudi-wærp 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 *wad* should, *wad* would. This *a* in *wad* should be explained from the *a*-forms occurring in ME. such as *walde*, *laj*. 358, 18911 ; Horn, i. 5 ; Pricke' Conse. 4995 and other instances (cf. Stratmann).

Note II. We find *qu* in two words, *gould* gold, and *tqu* 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 *gau* (cf. above), and I have heard the form *goud* (in compounds like *goudwats*), which form has arisen through a compromise between *gould* and *gau*.

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 ò, as well as o in originally open syllables, has developed into a peculiar diphthongal sound wò (cf. § 138). This peculiar development of the lengthened ò-sound seems to be analogous with the O. High Germ. change of ò into wo, 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 wò-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 ò—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 òò, ùo 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 neuentglichen Lautgeschichte, p. 44); cf. also Geschichte der deutschen Sprache by O. Behaghel in Paul’s Grundriss (§ 52).

§ 136. or + cons. > wò; 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: bwoð board, awöð to afford, fwork vb. to fork (for instance, hay), kworn corn, mwörnin morning, þworn (now rarely heard except from old people) thorn, ðworn pp. shorn, ðwòt short, wôtsöd 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 ðwork 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, ðs horse, störm storm, föd ford, nörb 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:

wöð word, würld world, smûðer vb. to smother (from OE. vb. smorian to choke, stifle, ME. smother sb. that which stifles, thick smoke, formed with the ther-suffix of the agent, hence the ME. verb smorthern, 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 ðöd 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 > ð 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. hyrdel of a somewhat similar sense; cf. also ON. hurð door.

It is also quite probable that association with the verb herd (Lorton ðöd) 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 wō (cf. § 135).

Examples: bwornd pp. born, fwo1 foal, gwot channel, mill-stream (< ME. gote, now used only in place-names; for instance, gwot mil Gote mill, near Cockermouth), kwol coal, nwōz nose, rwoz rose, swol (from OE. sole) sole, prwot throat, tšwozn pp. chosen, wōl hole, wop to hope.

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

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

open to open (individually pronounced opm), broken, spoken, frozen. Also in 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), holly (cf. the compound olin-buš, where we find the OE. ending partly preserved (OE. holeg)), lane lane (from the OE., ME. ə-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 ūu instead of o in the following words: poppy (OE. popi, ME. popi), woven (see above, § 189 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: stup (gate-) post (ME. стulpe < ON. stolp), arisen through vocalization of l and compensation lengthening; shovel (OE. scufan); this ū has probably been introduced from the OE. vb. scūfan to shove, push. The ūu-diphthong in ūbnm oven, points back to an ŏ (see Morsbach, § 119).

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

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 stup.
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 ð, 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 ù 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 bulbull (ME. bule, Orm. 900), bulëk bullock (OE. bullæc), butær butter, buk buck, stubi thick-set, short and thick (OE. stybb, stubb, ME. stubbe stump of a tree; cf. Morsh., 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, puus-katte (Skeat)), wud wood, wulin woollen, tub tub (from ME. tubbe), musl muscle, kup cup.

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


IV. u + nasal; (a) bilabial nasal: dum dumb, kum to come, krum crumb, num numb, sum some, sumær summer, sumet somewhat, something, tuml to fall, tumble.
   (b) u + ð: tuñ tongue, uñær hunger, and the past participles sluñ slung, spruñ sprung, stuñ stung, suñk sunk, suñ sun, swuñ swung, šruñk shrunk, tlunñ 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 û): run to run, sun son, sun sun, undred hundred, sundé Sunday, under under, wunder wonder, grunt to grunt (OE. grinnetton), 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. ŏ): bund bound, fund found, grund ground, wund wound, also pund pound.

NOTE I. nd has caused u to be lengthened into Ż, which was afterwards diphthongized into ŭ in the words sünd (OE. gesund) sound, and ŭund (OE. hund) hound.

NOTE II. In the words pŭu to pull (also short pu) and wuũ wool, a final 1 has been vocalized, and u has become ŭ—ŭu 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 ŭ through dental influence in: nūt nut, rūdi (OE. rudig) ruddy, stūtēr to stutter (cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.), šūgēr to shudder (from ME. schuderen), tūlūtēr to cluster, tūsk tusk.

§ 144. u when followed by an r+cons. has become ŭ: dušt (2nd pers. pres. ind.) dust, fūr furrow, kūdzą curds, kūš to curse, mūrn to mourn, snūrtēn (ME. snurtin, Prompt. Parv. 462) snorting, only occurring in the combination snūrtēn en lafen snorting and laughing, tūrf turf.

§ 145. u in OE. medial ug has become ŭu through vocalization of the ţ, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the ŭ in fūul (OE. fugol) fowl.

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

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

1 krūdzą is perhaps more used than kūdzą; origin obscure. See further N.E.D. sub curd.
§ 147. OE. \( \text{y} \), 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. \( \text{y} \) has become \( \text{u} \) when followed by \( r + \text{cons.} \) (§ 150).

II. The special development of the OE. combination \( \text{yht} \) into Lorton \( i \) (§ 152).

III. \( \text{y} \) has become \( \text{u} \), \( \text{u} \) owing to various causes (cf. below, §§ 149, 150, note I).

IV. \( \text{y} \) has been lengthened and diphthongized into \( \text{ai} \) before a following \( \text{nd} \) (§ 151).

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

§ 148. Examples of OE. \( \text{y} \) when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds:

bizi busy (usually \( \text{praŋ} \); cf. § 93), brig bridge, didl to dodge, to take in, to confuse (the word seems to be related to or even identical with the OE. verb \( \text{dydrían} \) to delude, to cheat, the formative \( l \) and \( r \)-suffixes being interchangeable. Skeat (\textit{Etym. Dict.}) quotes several words containing the stem-vowel \( u \) in other languages: E. Fries. \( \text{dudjen, bedudjen} \) to overreach; \( \text{dudden} \) to be stupid, to doze, dream; Norw. \( \text{dudda}, \text{dizzi} \) dizzy, \( \text{kis} \) to kiss, \( \text{lisn} \) to listen, \( \text{midž} \) midge, \( \text{mitš} \) much, \( \text{nit} \) to knit, pit pit, \( \text{rig} \) ridge, \( \text{dip} \) vb. to dip (OE. \( \text{dyppan, dippan} \), from a Teut. vb. *\( \text{dupjan} \)), \( \text{kripl} \) cripple (ME. \( \text{crupel, cripel} \), probably from a weak-grade form *\( \text{crup} \) of the verb \( \text{creopan} + \text{ilo-suffix} \)), \( \text{kitšin} \) kitchen, \( \text{ip} \) hip, \( \text{kyuşlip} \) (OE. \( \text{cuslyppe} \)) cowslip, \( \text{kil} \) kiln, \( \text{il} \) hill, \( \text{mil} \) mill, \( \text{sil} \) sill, \( \text{pile} \) pillow, \( \text{bild} \) to build, gild to gild (no trace of lengthening before \( \text{Id} \)).

sin sin, \( \text{kiŋ} \) king, \( \text{kin} \) kin, \( \text{kinl} \) to bring forth, also used as a noun in the expression \( \text{be in kinl} = \) to be pregnant (said of animals, especially rabbits), \( \text{kindm} \) (from OE. \( \text{cynedōm} \)) kingdom, \( \text{din} \) din, \( \text{pin} \) thin, \( \text{inš} \) 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. \( \text{stunt} \) dull, O. Swed. \( \text{stunt} \) to cut short, OE. vb. \( \text{forstytntan} \) to make dull, ME. \( \text{stinten} \)).

\textbf{Note.} For standard English \( \text{much} \) we find both \( \text{mitš} \) and \( \text{muts} \) in the Lorton dialect; \( \text{mitš} \) is occasionally used by old

\textsuperscript{1} This word is, however, probably of Scand. origin; cf. Appendix sub \( \text{stint} \).
people, having been superseded by mutš, which should be looked upon as a loan.

§ 149. We find ũ or u instead of i in some words. This ũ 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: bíũš to blush (ME. bluschen, bolschen, and blischen (rare)); Morsbach explains this u-form from an unrecorded OE. *bluscean besides the usual blyscan, bliscean.

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

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

šrub shrub (OE. srybbe); 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. shrub brushwood.

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

The ũ 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 ũ (in a few cases ũ; cf. note I) in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: būðin burden, tūrn (old people occasionally say kūrn) churn, fūrst first, mūþ mirth, mūrdar (or mūđer) to murder (OE. myrðrian), ūdl hurdle, ēgūl girdle, kūrnīn kernel, tūds (or tūrdz, from OE. plural noun tyrdlu, ME. tyrdyl ‘scheyps donge’, 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 (Büllbring, 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 ṅd 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 ī: flit flight, frit fright, rīt wright.

2. Long Vowels

ā

§ 153. OE. ā, when not influenced by neighbouring sounds, has had the same development as OE. ā in originally open syllables into iā, iē (on the development of this diphthong from OE. ā cf. § 101). This iā-diphthong becomes īa, when initial.

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

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

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

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

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

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

biān bone, biāp both, briād broad, elicān alone, griān to groan, liād sb. load (cf. OE. lād 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.), liāf loaf, miāst most, smiāst almost, riāp rope, siāp soap, stuān stone, tiād toad (OE. tād-ige), tūiāp cloth (no shortening of the ā), griāp to grope (OE. grāpian to seize, handle). kriāk to croak, points back to an OE. unrecorded vb. crācian. liāp loath, tliās to clothe, tliaz clothes.

§ 155. When initial the first element of the iā-diphthong assumes a consonantic character:

jak oak, jam home, jāl whole, jans once, jan one.
NOTE. The following words, where we find an o instead of ja, should be looked upon as loans from literary English: only, is hardly ever used by a dialect speaker, not being used instead; the same remark applies to ots oats, which is hardly known in our district, avar (cf. App.) being the usual word. or car, and op oath, also probably are loans.

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

slie sloe (OE. slā), tie toe (OE. tā), sī so (OE. swā, with loss of w. wiē who, is still occasionally heard from old people in our district, but is now usually replaced by wō; in other parts of Cumberland (especially in the North), however, wiē is the usual form. nīē adj. no (ME. nā, nū, a reduced form of OE. nān); cf. also niēbodi nobody.

NOTE I. We find the ā preserved in gā vb. to go, owing to influence from the form gaa, 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 twiē, as shown by some of the Cumbrian dialectal varieties, but in Lorton the form tuu (from standard English or neighbouring dialects) has taken its place.

§ 157. We find wō (§ 155) instead of ia in some words; this wō points back to a ME. ǭ, 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 ēr: mēr more, sēr sore.

Note. bör 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 ǭ or au. It became ǭ when arising from OE. āw in medial position between vowels, but au in the combination āw + cons.

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

sō saw (OE. sawon, pret. plur.), snō snow, sō to sow,
pro to throw, blo to blow, kro to crow, no to know, mo to mow.

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

aut aught, anything, naut naught, nothing. OE. æwih, nœwih underwent contraction, thus giving forms such as OE. æxt, nœxt; the æ 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. hwæðer and nœwær; these OE. forms were contracted into OE. auðer, nœwër; through vocalization of the w and shortening of the æ we then arrive at the ME. forms auðer, nauðer>Lorton auðer, nauðer with the ME. au-diphthong still preserved (on the transition of intervocalic ë into ð or ð see consonants, § 317).

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

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

Examples of ë: ë vb. to owe (OE. ágan), ëo low (Scand.; cf. Icel. laðr).

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

§ 161. We find OE. á 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, ø (cf. N. Cumberland form nien and S. Scotch nien), and finally dropped.

á as and aks, pret. ast, akst (shortened from OE. áscian) to ask.

We find two e-forms, of which, no doubt, the first one owes its e to Scandinavian forms: eli-de holiday (OE. hálig dêg), Icel.
ON. helgr, contracted form of older heilagr, Dan. hellig, 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. Mt, 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.)).

162. OE. æ, arisen through i-mutation of a, has developed into Lorton ei, when not influenced by neighbouring sounds.

Examples: bleits to bleach, leîn clean, deîl to deal, (e)iits each, (e)iil to heal, (e)iit heat, (e)iip health, (e)iân heathen, leîd to lead, leîn to lean, leîn adj. lean, leîst least, leîv to leave, meîn to mean, meîn adj. mean, reîts to reach, sei sea, spreîd to spread, sweît to sweat (mostly used by old people, swet now being the usual form), teïts to teach (hardly ever used, mostly lärn), teîz to tease, weît wheat, reîp wreath.

163. We find several words whose stem-vowel has undergone shortening, the result of this shortening being a, ē, 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. abed, and N.E.D. sub bad), fat fat, represents the earliest shortening from the end of the OE. period.

ē in tled pp. clad, emti empty, fleîs flesh, elîp health, left left, len (OE. lēnan) vb. to lend, les less, eni any. Most of these ē-forms represent a later shortening after the raising of the OE. æ into ME. ē; but this ē may also have arisen through analogical influence (cf. Morsbach, ME. Gram., § 96); such is the case in the Lorton form brenp breadth, analogical form to leîp length.

i in three words: nivar never, iver ever, iv(e)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):

tleî clay, nēî neigh, kēî key, æðer (OE. æðer) either, nēgär neither.
Anglian ð (=W. Saxon ðð)

§ 165. Anglian ð (W. Saxon ðð) from W. Germanic ā, Germanic æ, has become i 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 iar (§ 167).

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

§ 166. Anglian ð (from W. Germ. å) apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

did deed, grãdi greedy, ib(æ)nin evening, îl eel, îltš leech, nidl needle, sid seed, âip sheep, âip to sleep, âiptr speech, strit street (W. Germ. loan from Latin strátæ).

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

drid to dread, midē meadow, slipt pp. slept (this form may, however, be a secondary formation), prid thread, wîpna weapon.

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

bleðer bladder, breþ breath, let vb. to let, red pret. read, wet wet, setaðe Saturday; eðer adder, is still heard from old people, but this form has now been superseded by âđer from standard English.

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

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

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

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

briar briar, fier there, fier to fear, bier bier, iring errand; in iar 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.
§ 169. OE. ē, arisen through i-mutation of ō, has become i in
the Lorton dialect.

Examples: bitš beech, blid to bleed, brid to breed, fid to
feed, fil to feel, fit pl. feet, gis pl. geese, grín green, īl heel,
kīp vb. to keep, mit to meet, kwin queen, spīd speed, swīt sweet, tīp teeth, kipt pp. kept, dim to deem, grīt
to greet, salute, wīp to weep, fīlt pret. felt, īd to heed, kīn
keen.

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

fed pret. of feed; met pp. and pret. of meet; bled pret. of
bleed; bles (OE. blētśian) vb. to bless; bred pret. of breed vb.;
gezlīn gośling. In britś (OE. brēc) breech, we find an instance of late shortening.

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

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

Examples: balīv vb. to believe, tāiz cheese (Angl. čēse, WS.
čēse < *ceasi, Lat. ċāseus), nīd need, sīn pp. seen (Angl. gesēne,
WS. gesēne; i-mutation of ō), sīt sheet, sīliv sleeve, sīl steel
(Angl. ē, WS. ē < Germ. *st文化交流a), īt height, stīpl steeple.

We find the same development of this Anglian ē before r, but
with the usual ə-glīde developed before the r:

īer to hear (Angl. ĕrēran), ēd, pp. heard (Angl. gehēred).

Note. The form ēd, however, may have been formed on
analogy with the infinitive, for we find another form ēd, in the
Lorton dialect (pret. and pp.), regularly developed from the early
shortened forms of the preterite (Orm. herrđe, pret. and pp. hérđ).

II. Anglian ē (=WS. ēō, ēa) before the palatals c, g, h has
also given ā in our dialect:

lit light (Angl. lēht, WS. lēht), lītnin lightning, rīk to smoke,
to reek (Angl. rēcan, WS. rēocan), ī high (Angl. ĕh, later ĕh, WS. ĕh).

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

III. Germanic ē has become i (+the ə-glīde) in īer here.
IV. OE. ē, arising from lengthening in monosyllables, has also become ĩ. Instances are the stressed forms of the personal pronouns:

ĩ he, mĩ me, wĩ we, unsafe we (besides well) (<OE. wēl).  

Note.  io (shortening of OE. geō); the OE. stressed form with long vowel has not been preserved in our dialect (but cf. Acc., adverbs).

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

ĩ has been shortened in a good many cases into i (§173).

§ 172. Examples: aid sb. hide, aídle idle, ais ice, aivi ivy, baid to bide, to remain, baut to bite, braíd1 bridle, daik dike, hedge, draív to drive, faiv five, fraíde Friday, slaív alive (OE. on life), laif life, laik like (OE. gelic), laim lime, lain line, main (poss. pron.) mine, mait (OE. mite) mite, mail mile, naif knife, pail (OE. pile) pile, paik pike, pain (OE. pin-trō(w)) pine, paip pipe, raid to ride, rait to write, raiz to rise, raip ripe, said side, slaid to slide, slaim slime, smait to smite, straíd to stride, straikh to strike, šain to shine, šait (OE. scitan) cacare, slaip to take or slip off the covering of something (for instance, the skin of an eel), to cut off a thin piece (cf. OE. slipan with a similar sense, see Bosworth-Toller, OE. Dict., slipan, p. 885: ‘Se cyning-slypte his beah of’), taim time, tšaiq to chide, twain to twine, wail while, waip to wipe, wain to whine, wait white.

§ 173. OE. ĭ 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).

fīfti (OE. fīftig) fifty, fīft (OE. fīfta) fifth, dwīn (OE. dwinan+ the diminutive and frequentative suffix -le) to dwindle, krisn (OE. cristnian) to christen, kri 스 (OE. cristes mæsse) Christmas (there also exists a metaphetic form of this word often heard from old people, kæ스mæ스), ditš (OE. dicē) ditch, wizdm wisdom, wimin women, fīmps fivepence. In wuman woman, we find u instead of i on account of the surrounding bilabials. In stūrep stirrup (OE. stirāp) the i has become u through the influence of the following r.

Short are also linin (or 1in) linen (originally an adjective formed
VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

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 aiær (cf. § 84):
aiær iron, spaiaër spire, waiaër wire.

§ 175. The OE. combination ēw has become i(γ)u (cf. § 129) through vocalization of the w:
tiūzde Tuesday (OE. Tuvesdæg), spiuu to spew (OE. spiwan).

ō

§ 176. The regular development of OE. ē (=ME. ē) in the Lorton dialect is iu (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 ū (mentioned in § 140) when followed by an m, b, but before the other consonants it is unrounded into ū and when final into ō (§ 180). When initial the first element of the diphthong assumes a consonant type character (i > j).

§ 177. Influence of neighbouring sounds has prevented the diphthongization of ō into iu in the following cases:
I. When followed by an r the ō has become uu(w)a (§ 181).
II. The special development of the combination ōht into au(t) (§ 182).
III. The special development of OE. ōn (ōg) (§ 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. ē), when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds, has become Lorton iu.

The ē of the North was fronted into the same sound as that which arose from O. Fr. ē, as shown by rhymes like sone : fortune (= fortūne) (Sweet, H. E. S., § 693), and by the fact that these two sounds are written in the same way (Luick, Unters., § 119). This ē-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 ē, é, and ī-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, iæ, iæ, iu)
have all developed in the same way through a process analogous to that of the iā-diphthongization and the development of O. Fr. ü in standard English, that is to say, a raising and unrounding of the first part of the above-mentioned ü-vowel (from O. Fr. ü and original ö). Through the usual dissimilation process and shifting of the stress on to the second element we get Lorton ũ and the iu prevailing all over the rest of the North and North-western dialect district, except in North Cumberland where we find ũu, probably representing one of the earlier stages of the diphthongization process, whereas the varieties iə (M. and NE. Yorksh., S. Durh., SW. Northumb.; cf. Luick, § 111), and ɨe (SE. Northumberland in the coal-mining districts), probably are secondary developments of the iu-diphthong, arisen through weakening and unrounding of the u-element.

§ 179. Examples of iu: biuk boot (OE. bōt), bliūd blood, briu[n] broom, dîu[n] pp. done, dliūm gloom, dliūv glove, flūt foot, flīu[n] flood, giūs goose, jūf hoof, juk hook, kiūk sb. cook, kiūl cool. kruün to croon (M. Dutch or Low Germ. origin; cf. M. Dutch, Low Germ. krōen to groan, to murmur) points to a ME. ō. liūk to look, miūd mood, miūn moon, niūk nook, niûn noon, prīu[n] to prove, riūd (OE. rōd) rood, riūk rook (OE. hrōc), riūt root, riūf roof, siûn soon, siût soot, skiûl school, stiūl stool, spīûn spoon, tiūl tool, tiûp 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 iu in the adj. flūdi, used in the expression: av e flūdi filīn in mi stomak.

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

§ 180. Final ō has become iō, iu, in diā, diu 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, divent-je 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 ðf to do, which may have arisen through monophthongization of the iy (iê)-diphthong or have been introduced from some neighbouring dialect; from this infinitive have arisen the forms (a, i) diz (I, he) does, (ûuu) dist (thou) dost, of the pres. ind. sing.

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

Examples: ùuu(w)œr floor, ùuu(w)œr moor.

§ 182. The OE. combination òht has given Lorton au; the first element of the diphthong is a slightly retracted a, bordering on œ. The ò 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 òx into au, and Sweet, H. E. S., §§ 897, 907).

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

§ 183. ò in the OE. combination òh (òg) 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 û has then probably been diphthongized into ùu (cf. § 186) (or the û may be merely a glide-sound).

Examples: biûu bough, slûu slew (pret.), driûu 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 ð in two words (where ð is represented by iy): tiûf tough, aniûf enough.

§ 184. The OE. combination òw has given Lorton au through shortening of the ò, 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. ò has had a two-
fold development into ð or ù (û), 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 u.

Examples: blosm blossom, fodar fodder, foster to foster, kom pret. came (OE. c(w)om), soft soft, þrosl (<OE. þrostle) thrush.

(b) The words with u 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 ù).

Examples: brœðor brother, buzôm bosom, gûd good, muðor mother, mundæ Monday, munþ month, stûd stood, ûd hood, ûðor other.

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

Examples: brûun brown, brûn brow, þûns to bounce, ðû thou (acc. form), ðût about, ðûl foul, kûu cow, lûus louse, mûus mouse, mûþ mouth, nûu now, prûnt proud, sûuk to suck (<OE. súcan), sûnt south, sðûnt shroud, tûnt cloud, tûnt clout, tûnn town, þûzn(d) thousand, ðu how, ðus house, ðut out.

§ 187. A good number of words containing OE. ù 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, fûs fuss, ðûzn(d) husband, plum plum, rûst rust, sûv to shove, þum thumb, tûsk tusk, up up, ðûs us, kûd could (acc. form), sup to drink (from OE. súpan).

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

Examples: ðûn(w)er shower, ðûn(w)er our.

§ 189. ù in the OE. combination ùg (ûh) has had the normal development in ðûn to bow, where the spirant has been dropped, but was shortened into ù in the words drûft drought, and rûf rough, where the spirant remained.
§ 190. OE. ŷ, arisen through \(i\)-mutation or ū, has had the same development as OE. \(i\) and \(i\) in open syllables: it was diphthongized into ai. Before a following \(r\) this ai becomes a triphthong, the usual \(a\)-glide arising before the \(r\). OE. ŷ was shortened into \(i\) in some words (§ 192).

Examples: aid to hide, aïv hive, braid bride, braidl1 bridal, brain brine, daïv to dive, draï dry, laïs lice, mais mice, praid pride.

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

**Note II.** In lâl little (OE. \(\text{lýtel}\)) the \(t\) disappeared through assimilation with the following \(l\). The ŷ was regularly diphthongized into ai, and this diphthong was then monophthongized into \(a\). In the Carlisle dialect we find the form leïl with the diphthong still preserved, and in the proper name laïtel (spelt Little) we find a form where \(t\)-assimilation has not taken place. We find instances of this monophthongization of ai in the Cumberland form of the personal pronoun \(I\): \(a\), and in the Adlington dialect, where original \(i\) appears as \(a\), arisen through the same process (A. Hargreaves, *A Grammar of the Adlington Dialect*, § 39).

§ 191. Before a following \(r\) OE. ŷ appears as ai\(ë\) (§ 84):
faïr fire, aïr hire.

§ 192. OE. ŷ underwent early shortening into \(i\) in the following words:
tšïkin chicken, filïp filth, fïst fist, pïml thimble, wiï to wish.

3. **Diphthongs**

\(\text{ēa}\)

§ 193. OE. \(\text{ēa}\) has given Lorton \(eï\), except in the cases mentioned below, where influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work:
I. The WS. combination \(\text{ēah}\), Anglian \(\text{ēh}\) (§ 195).
II. The WS. combination \(\text{ēag}\), Anglian \(\text{ēg}\) (§ 196).
III. The OE. combination \(\text{ēaw}\) (§ 197).

§ 194. OE. \(\text{ēa}\) was monophthongized into ME. \(\text{ē}\) and then became Lorton \(eï\) like OE. \(\text{ē}\) 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, deiß death, deiß deaf, dreiß dream, (e)id head, (e)jast east, (e)jaststar Easter, greit great, leiß leaf, reid red, seim seam, steim steam, streiß stream, teim team, tseipp cheap, breitn to threaten.

§ 195. In the OE. combination ēah 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. ēh, WS. ēah, ME. ēh, has partly given ī, viz. ni (Angl. nēh) nigh, near, ī (Angl. leh) high, ī (Angl. leh) lea; partly ϕ, viz. fle (Angl. fēh) flea, and näber (Angl. nēh-gebur) neighbour. (It is probable that the forms fle and näber have originated in some neighbouring dialect.)

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

Dai and ai are evidently loans from standard English.

§ 197. The OE. combination ēaw has given Lorton euu in teuiu (OE. teawian) to toil, to work hard, deu dew, feu few; these forms originate from the ME. forms tīwen, 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. ū (OE. ge-sceawian) to show, has evidently been borrowed from the literary language.

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

§ 199. OE. ēa has been shortened into a in ūaf (OE. scēaf) sheaf, tšap (OE. cēapman) chap, lagdr (OE. leador) lather—all pointing back to ME. short a-forms; into e in efär (OE. heahfær, Angl. hehføre heifer, from a ME. short e-form like heffre, Pr. P. 234, Voc. 250, Trev. iv. 451).

Note. The diphthong in ēgian 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, i, 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 ëo (<W. Germ. eu) and ïo (<W. Germ. iu); ëo and ïo were kept apart during the whole of the OE. period only in the Northumbrian (see Bülbbring, AE. Elem.-Buch, § 111), in the other dialects they were completely mixed up in use, so that ëo and ïo were used promiscuously both for W. Germanic eu and iu. The OE. diphthong ëo remained in WS. and Mercian, but in Northumbrian it mostly became ēa (see Bülbbring, AE. Elem.-Buch, § 114; J. Wright, OE. Gram., § 137; 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. eo, io was the result of a contraction after the disappearance of an intervocalic j (w or h), thus for instance in OE. friond, fréond (cf. Goth. fríjonds, and § 203 below), OE. bío, béo (<*bijon), and others.

§ 201. OE. ëo (Anglian ēa; see § 194 above), ïo, appears as ei or i 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 i was preceded by an e-glide or not (in these words I have written (e)i; see examples under 3 below).

1. We find Lorton ei, pointing to an Anglian ēa (see the diphthong ēa, § 194), in breist breast, deip deep, deīp depth, fleís fleece, freiz to freeze, leǐf lief, preǐst priest, treīv to cleave, treǐ tree, peǐf thief, weǐl wheel, weǐd weed.

2. We find Lorton i in bi to be, bi bee, etwīn between, fīi to flee, fri free, sǐk (WS. sõoc, Angl. sēc) sick, prī three.

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

§ 202. OE. ëo, ïo in the combination ëog (ëoh) has been smoothed into Anglian ē and become Lorton i:

fīi (WS. fleogān, Angl. flégan) to fly, fīī (WS. fleōge, Angl. feōge).
§ 203. OE. Ṗo, Ṗo has been shortened in some words.

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

OE. Ṗo, Ṗo appears as i in divl devil, frînd friend, sistê seeest thou? These three forms probably represent a somewhat later shortening.

Ṗo appears as ō in the compound prêpms threepence (shortened before a consonant combination).

Ṗo has been shortened into o in fôti forty (but we find an ō in fôtnêp fort-night).

Note. OE. Ṗo in the combination ēor underwent early shortening in the compound OE. dêorling. We find short forms of this word already in Ormulum (derrling). This ē then had the same development as OE. short e before a following r + cons. into ä: Lorton dârlin (see § 113).

§ 204. The OE. combination ēow (in Anglian often ēaw; see Bülbring, § 114, Anm. 2) has become Lorton iûu (in a few cases au; see § 205 below) through monophthongization (into ME. ēw), 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 ō (on the u-glide between i and u see § 129).

Examples: bliûu pret. blew, briûu to brew, griûu pret. grew, niûu pret. knew, niûu new, riûu to rue, triûu true, tri(u)uj> truth.

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

§ 205. OE. ēow (in Anglian often appearing as ēaw) has become au in a few cases: fau(w)ar four (OE. fêower), fau(w)êtin fourteen (OE. fêowertiene), 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. sêowian, *sêawan) to sew, tâau (OE. cêovan, *cêawan) to chew.

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

§ 206. OE. ēo, īo (Angl. ēa) before a following r has given Lorton īə:

bīər beer, dīər dear, dīər deer.
CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH ELEMENT

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

1. Short Vowels

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

Examples: barâl barrel, faśin fashion, galân gallon, kabiś cabbage, kap (O. Fr. cape sb. cap, ME. capen vb. to cover with a cap) to surpass, for instance, kani öld Cumarlan kapsem ē (from an old Cumbrian song), karât carrot, lamp lamp, natârâl natural, radiś radish, salâd salad, vali value, vali valley.

A following st has not affected the a in words like pastâr pasture, bastâd bastard.

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

Examples: bō ball, ōmenâk almanac, ōmendor almond, skōd to scald.

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

kwâliti quality, kwât quart, walâp to beat, to illtreat (ME. wâlopen; see Stratmann, M.E. Dict.; Skeat, Etym. Dict., sub gallop), 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: bârber barber, bârgin bargain, gâdjin garden, kâd. card, kwât quart, pâsél parcel, pât part, skârlêt scarlet, tśâdq charge.
§ 211. ME. ë = O. Fr. e generally appears as e in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: det debt, dres dress, dželøs jealous, dželi jelly, letør letter, letøs lettuce, medl to meddle, mend to mend, prentis apprentice, selør cellar, sens sense, spektiklz spectacles, treml to tremble.

§ 212. ME. ë < 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 varø 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 Powsay, p. 62). According to N.E.D. the word was also written sallary in the eighteenth century.

§ 213. ME. ë = 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, ink ink, lintis lentils.

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

§ 214. ME. ë 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).

kønsørn concern, mæsi mercy, pæsøn parson, særønt servant, særønt sermon, særønt serpent, særønt service, sæjš to search, tlærk clerk, værønt vermin.

Note I. We find a short a in two words, tariør terrier, and særø 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 jærø 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. i has remained in the Lorton dialect.
Examples: dinner, gimlik gimlet, kənsiğər to consider, limət limit, limət linnet, list to enlist, livər to deliver, pinian opinion, piti pity, sidəş scissors, sistən cistern, twilt quilt. Some of these words, however, may be loans, introduced at a later period.

§ 216. ME. q = O. Fr. o has remained in the Lorton dialect.
Examples: forənər foreigner, kofin coffin, kələr collar, kost to cost, kətn cotton, obstikl obstacle, onər honour, podiš porridge (a corrupted form of O. Fr. pottage), profi profit, rok rock (may also be of Celtic origin).

§ 217. ME. q, O. Fr. o before a following r has been lengthened to ə.
Examples: fətšən fortune, kərnər corner, məšəl morsel, mətər mortar.

§ 218. ME. u = O. Fr. u has become Lorton u or uə, 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, dəzn dozen, grudə to grudge (probably an altered form of the verb grutch < O. Fr. grucier, grucer, groucher; see N.E.D. sub grudge and grutch), krəst crust, kuntri cousin, kuvar to cover, kuzən cousin, mustəq mustard, mutn mutton, pulpot pulpit (the last syllable probably formed through association with pot), puş to push, sufer to suffer, supper, trubl trouble, tətəš to touch (see Behrens, Französische Elem. im Engl., § 39 in Kluge's Geschichte der engl. Sprache).

Note. wişin cushion, has arisen from ME. forms with i such as quissin, quisshen (see Stratmann, ME. Dict., and Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

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

§ 220. ME. ү < O. Fr. ü has given Lorton ū in dũdũ to judge, dũst just.
§ 220 a. ME. u = O. Fr. u before r + cons. has had the same development as u in the OE. combination ur into ū (§ 144).

Examples: dźũñi journey, ūñĩš to furnish, ūñĩtẽr furniture, kũrn currant, ūšu nurse, pũš purse, tũrmẽt turnip, ūtt to hurt.

Note. The pronunciation of ū + ŵ is somewhat unsettled; although the usual pronunciation is ūñĩtẽr, ūñĩš, dźũñi, old people may frequently be heard to pronounce these words with a distinctly trilled r and short ū: ūmũnĩ, ūmũtẽr, dźũnĩ (see § 281).

2. Long Vowels

ä

§ 221. ME. ā, the lengthening of O. Fr. ā, has generally had the same development as OE.œ (a) in originally open syllables into iá, initially ja (§ 101). We find, however, a considerable number of words where the original diphthong has been supplanted by æ through the influence of standard English or that else are loans from standard English (cf. above, § 103, and also Hirst, A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal, § 52). That the œ—iá-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 iá-diphthong.

§ 222. ME. ā < O. Fr. ā has become Lorton iá (ja) in:

bliám to blame, jabol able, fiáš face, kiáš case, liáš to lace, piášt paste, pliáš place, pliášt plate, sliášt slate, skiážs scales (< O. Fr. escale), stiábl stable, tiábl table, tiášt taste.

§ 223. ME. ā, earlier au < O. Fr. au before labial has also become iá in siáť safe, siáv to save.

§ 224. ME. ā < O. Fr. ā > Lorton ť. The occurrence of this ť instead of the original iá-diphthong may be ascribed to various reasons:

(a) A following dă (or ndă) seems to have prevented the development of the a-element, owing to the dental nature of the dă-sound: ēdă age, kōdă cage, dōndžer danger, pēdă page, rēdă rage, ingēdă to engage, wēdăźiz wages.

(b) The word is a late loan from standard English; thus, for instance, ēpăñ¹ apron, the original Cumberland word for apron being brat (from Celt. brat a rag, pinafore), and pini, a shortened form of pinafore. Some of the words quoted under the next category (c) may also belong here.

¹ I have also heard the form nēpęñ (see Accidence, sub indef. article).
(c) In the following words the æ-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, gret grate, nētēr nature, flēm flame.

**ME. ĕ**

§ 225. ME. ĕ < O. Fr. ei, ai has become Lorton ēi:

diseiz disease, diseiv to deceive, (e)ūzi easy, greizi greasy, pleiz to please, peis peace, raseiv to receive, treit to treat, (e)īgər eager, feitər feature, reizn reason, seizn season.

**NOTE.** We find an ā in the words disēt deceit, kāsēt conceit, rāsēt receipt; these ā-forms, however, have no doubt originated from ME. forms that had preserved the original O. Fr. ei-diphthong, Lorton ē 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.  ĕ < O. Fr. e before st has also become Lorton ē in beist beast (ME. bēst), feist feast (ME. fēste).

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

§ 227. ME.  ĕ < O. Fr. e, ēe has become Lorton ēi: feimēl female, tēsēit to cheat, seiz to cease, neit neat, preitē to preach, veil veal, seikrēt secret.

**NOTE.** We find a short stem-vowel in mezlz measles (O. Fr. mesel, Lat. misellus).

**ME. ę**

§ 228. 1. ME. ę < O. Fr. ie has become Lorton ī: pis piece, nīs niece, grif grief.

2. ME. final ě in grī to agree.

3. ME. ę (older ā) < O. Fr. oe, ue: bif beef, pīpl people.

**ME. į**

§ 229. ME. į of French origin has become Lorton ai:

dalait delight, āblaidž to oblige, ādvais advice, fain fine, nais nice, pai pie, paint pint, prais price, rais rice, sain sign, saiziz assizes, tais to entice, trai to try, traiť trifle, vaipēr viper (this word, however, probably is a late loan; the original Cumbrian word is ag-wurm (Scandinavian origin, see App.), applied to the viper, common snake, or slow-worm).
ME. VOWELS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

Note. The Lorton form lilak lilac, cannot be derived from O. Fr. lilac; the æ points to an original form with ei, like Turkish leilag, which might be the origin of the provincial forms laylock, telok (see N.E.D. sub lilac).

§ 230. ME. ī 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)waiæt quiet, raïæt riot, vaïælæt violet.

ME. ĕ

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

Examples: klwos close, kwot coat, kwotĕ coach, nwotis notice, pwotă to poach, rwost to roast; also before an r in stwōri story.

§ 232. ME. ĕ < O. Fr. o before 11 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 ū 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. ū

§ 233. ME. ū occurs in a few words of French origin; it has become Lorton iū like OE. ū ( § 176) in biūt boot, fiūl 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. ū before an r in poor < ME. pûre, pōvre, O. Fr. pouvre, has given Lorton iā in piār poor; this form is mostly used by old people and has arisen through the usual iū-diphthongization of ME. ū; the u-element was then weakened into ā. This form, however, has now been superseded by p(u)u(w)ar, no doubt a late loan from standard English.

ME. ū

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

Examples: buunti bounty, duût doubt, amuûnt amount, fruũn to frown, guûn gown, guût gout, kuûnt to count, krũn crown, lũ to allow, ruûnd round, suûnd sound (a noise), stũût stout, ũûns ounce, vuû to vow, trũũsẽš trousers.
§ 236. ME. û of French origin before an r has become Lorton uə when the r was followed by a consonant as in kus course; the û underwent shortening and the usual ə-glide arose before the r. When the r was final the û was regularly diphthongized and the triphthong uu(w)ə arose (a distinct bilabial glide is heard between the u and the ə).

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

ME. ü

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

ME. ü < O. Fr. u (eu): diûu due (when final the pronunciation of the diphthong was somewhat prolonged and a y-glide consequently arose; cf. § 129), diûk duke, diûti duty (< Anglo-French dueté, N.E.D.), flûût flute, flûûtər future, griûel cruel, jûs use, kriûel cruel, miûsik music, riûbärb rhubarb, stîûpid stupid, siûst suet. siûûar sure, is no doubt the original Lorton form; it is now occasionally used by old people, the usual form being ñuûar, a loan from standard English.

ME. û < 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, eg respectively, into Lorton ə (cf. §§ 98, 115).

ēm aim, (bum)bâli bailiff, ëf faith, gē gay, gēn to gain (ME. gaine), but the i-element of the ME. diphthong is due to the palatalized ā in O. Fr. gânger), grēn grain, mēn main, pē to pay, pēn pain, plēn plain, tēliər tailor, trēn train, tēm claim, tēðn chain, wēt to wait.

Note. We find æ instead of ə before the consonant combination nt in fent vb. and sb. fain, pent vb. and sb. paint, skwent to acquaint. There are several ə-forms of these words besides the ai-forms already in ME., and neighbouring dialects also show ə-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: ër fair (O. Fr. feire, Fr. foire), ër heir, ër pair, ër chair.

A faint ë-glide may sometimes be heard between the ë 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 ô (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 a. Luick, on the other hand, assumes a ME. au-diphthong and suggests the following development: au > a deep a-sound which was then raised to ë and then again lowered into ä.

The Lorton dialect shows a twofold development of this sound:

(1) it has remained at the ë- or 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 a-stage, when the n was followed by a consonant other than d.

§ 241. ME. au < O. Fr. au:

(a) po paw (cf. above, § 240), fröd fraud, sös sauce; also when the au arose before an 1 + cons. (the 1 was vocalized, § 274): föt fault (this form, however, has probably never contained an 1 in our dialect, being the direct development of ME. faute), sköd to scald.

Note. The ë 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: dændžèr danger, tændž to change, strændžèr stranger.

2. The nasal combination contains a consonant other than d: ant aunt, branš branch, dans dance, grant to grant, plant plant, tšans 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, anoi 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. ü, § 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 e, 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 e

§ 245. (a) In syllables followed by the principal accent:
The a-prefixes from various sources have all been weakened into e (or lost, cf. § 262) in both native and French words.

In words of native origin: ēbuat about, ēbiün above (OE. abūfan), ēfōt afloat, ēfūar afore, before, ēgián again, ēgō ago, ēliān alone, ēlaiv alive, ēmaŋ among, ēstïd instead (with a prefixal change in >a (e)), ēwē away, ēfwōd to afford, ēfēd (<OE. ēfēred) afraid, ēkros across, ēnīuf enough.

In words of French origin: ēkwent to acquaint, ēgrī to agree, ēnoi to annoy, ēplai to apply, ēsemīl to assemble.

§ 246. In some prefixes of French origin: kēnsēn concern, kēnsēt conceal, kōntrēri contrary, rēsēt receipt, rēseĪv to receive, ōkōdēnīlai accordingly.

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

§ 247. (b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent:
bāstēd bastard, būlēk bullock, būzēd buzzard, dēzēs jealous, elīde holiday, fēkīs seeble, figwēt figwort, galēp gallop, karēt
carrot, kolap slice of bacon, kubæq cupboard, kustæq custard, mustæq mustard, ölæs always, salæd salad, saklæs foolish, simple, sœtæq Saturday, siæq scissors, simætri cemetery, sturæq stirrup, ñiæq shepherd, undræq hundred, winæq window, wotæq orchard, blækat blanket, buæt bullet, linæt linnet, rætæq rabbit.  

§ 248. All the present participles in the Lorton dialect have the ending æn (after a consonant) or n (after a vowel). This æn-ending is the weakened form of the original OE. -ende of the present participle  
Examples: bindæn binding, bætæn biting, brekæn breaking, feitan fighting, inæn hanging, standæn standing, raitæn writing. 

§ 249. The ær-suffix: 
amer hammer, bærær barber, bleær bladder, butær butter, ñændær danger, faær father, feær feather, geær to gather, iævær ever, käækær to rust, læær leather, mùær mother, niær never, slümær slumber, ñuær to shudder, þumær thunder, ñær hunger, wæær water. 

§ 250. The French ure-suffix is rendered by ær in our dialect; the ær-suffix has probably been substituted for the original French suffix: flætær future, meæær measure, moæstær moisture, nææætær nature, pastær pasture, pikær picture, pleæær pleasure. 

§ 251. The ow-suffix, arising from the OE. combination 1 or r + æ or w (ME. 1w, rw), has become Lorton æ: 
fælæ to follow, færæ furrow, nææær narrow, sâææ shadow, sâææ shallow, søræ sorrow, spæræ sparrow, swælæ to swallow, tælæ tallow, wældæ widow, wîæælæ willow, jæræ yarrow. 

§ 252. I have given some compounds above (§ 247); here are a few more typical weakenings of compounds: 
biækææ bakehouse, kwæsæ coal-house, wæsæ wash-house, wædææ week-day, jistæqæ yesterday, bakæqæ backward, foræqæ forward, ökæqæ awkward, fōtnæp fortnight, neklæp neck-cloth, penæp pennyworth, sumætæqæ something. 

2. Unaccented vowels weakened to i 

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

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

2 But it may also represent the ON. ending -ænde of the present participle.
VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

(a) In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent:

§ 254. The be-prefix: bibav to behave, bigin to begin, bihjint behind, bijond beyond, binip beneath.

§ 255. The de-prefix in dilæ delay, dilait delight, diisæt deceit.

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

(b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

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

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

2. Lorton i<OE. ie-suffix: bærli barley, onli only.

3. Lorton i in suffixes of French origin: bæli bailiff, kuntri country, nevi nephew, saizit society, vali valley, vali value.

Note. In some of the above-mentioned words, such as bæli, nevi, vali (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, ibnin evening, faqin farthing, gezlin gosling, mwörnin morning, šilin shilling, topin the fore part of the hair (top sb. + ing-suffix).

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

3. Lorton in-suffix of French origin: bægirin (O. Fr. bargaine) bargain, gæqin (O. Fr., Picard gardin) garden, forin (O. Fr. forain) foreign.

§ 259. Lorton idæ, iæ<OE. Fr. age: vantidæ advantage, damiæ damage, podiæ porridge (<Fr. potage; see § 216).

§ 260. Lorton ikæ<OE. Fr. acle: obstikl obstacle, spektiklz spectacles.

§ 261. Lorton ist<OE. est (ust): àrvist harvest, ùrnist earnest.

Loss of vowel or syllable

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

bake tobacco, biùn above, koz because, lyu to allow, lebm eleven, list to enlist, liver to deliver, lotments allotments, pinian opinion, prentæs apprentice, saïeti society, saiziz assizes, sailm
asylum, tētiz potatoes, tais to entice, twīn between, vantidž advantage.

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

aktšii actually, dženrēl general, ĭburn evening, kumpni company, natrēl natural, ōpni halfpenny, ōpēp halfpennyworth, penēp pennyworth, regler regular, salri celery, sumdi somebody.

Note. We find a typical instance of weakening in the word ridimsīzi (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, š, and the consonant combinations dž and tš, which have been treated separately in §§ 377–85.

SEMI-VOWELS

w

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

Note I. An initial w has arisen in the wō-diphthong < OE. ō lengthened before r + cons. and in originally open syllables (as well as ME. o < O. Fr. o, § 231) in words like wōtšað orchard, wōl hole, wōp hope.

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

§ 266. We find initial w < O. Northern French w (Central French gu) in the words wādžiz wages, wāt to wait, wārent warrant.

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

2. Medial w

§ 268. w (of native and French origin) in the combinations dw, hw, kw, sw, tw, þw has generally remained:
dw: dwārf dwarf, dwel to dwell, dwinl to dwindle.
hw (the h has been dropped; cf. § 372): wat what, wen when, wōr where, wusl to whistle, wō who (interr. pron.).
kw: kwēk to quake, kwēkər quaker, kwat quart, twilt
quilt, kwaliti quality. The k has been dropped, but the w remained in wiśin (ME. quisshen, § 380) cushion, waist quiet, wik alive (OE. cwicew).

sw: swel to swell, swōd sword, swōr pret. swore.
tw: twain to twine, twais twice, twely twelve, twist to twist.

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

pw: the dental has disappeared but the w remained in waŋ (OE. āwang) thong, witl to whittle (cf. OE. āwitlan to cut, ME. āwitel knife).

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

jare (OE. gearwe) yarrow, spare sparrow, swale swallow, wide 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. widuwe, 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: ōl awl, só pret. saw, snō snow (§§ 99, 159).

2. OE. āaw > ME. āw > Lorton ōwu: tēwu to work hard, dēwu dew, fewu few (§ 197).

3. OE. āow (sometimes Angl. āaw) > ME. āw (āw) > Lorton i(u)u (§ 204): briwu to brew, niwu new, triuþ truth.

4. OE. īw > Lorton i(u)u: spiwu vb. to spew, tuþdē 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:

forād forward, ŏkād awkward, ōlās always, ŏpād halfpennyworth, penād 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): jā you, jist yeast, jis yes (rarely used, mostly ai), jit yet, jondēr yonder, junŋ young.

1 See also Appendix, sub wai (heifer).
Note I. In the word 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 earon dat. pl. years, eogob youth, for gearon, geoob (see Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 176, Anm. 1).

Note II. We find an initial j in ja and ji^-diph thongs arisen from the diphthongization of ME. a (lengthened OE. æ (a) in open syllables), OE. a, lengthened O. Fr. a and OE. (ME.) ø in words beginning with a vowel or an h.

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

THE LIQUIDS

§ 272. OE. 1 has remained in all positions, except medially in the combinations â +1+ cons., o +1+ cons., in final position after â and, in two cases, after ù, 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, liát late, liük look, lonin lane.
2. Cons.+1+vowel: tlip to clip, shear, tlokær a broody hen, flit to lit, remove, flütør to flutter.
4. Originally long vowel +1+ cons. or 1 final: maild mild, waild wild, fiül fool, skiül school, tiül tool.
5. Short vowel, other than ã, ð +1+ cons. : elp to help, milk milk, silk silk, telt pret. told.
6. ME. 1<0. Fr. 1 has been preserved in all positions, except in the cases mentioned below, in § 274. 5: lan(w)idž language, plæst ter plaster, dželas jealous, skæfd scaffold, pulpit pulpit, ðgl eagle, jabl able.

§ 274. B. 1 vocalized:
1. al + guttural: bök balk, stök to stalk, tök talk, tšök chalk.
2. al + labial: kof calf, of half, òpni halfpenny, sóv salve.
3. al + dental: alo+t in möt malt, sót salt.

In the combination al + d we find no instances of vocalization in the present dialect, except in the place-name kódbek (spelt Caldbeck): bold bald, föld sb. fold, kold cold, öld old (§ 96).

We also find two forms containing the diphthong ou: bould bold, fould vb. to fold.
This I, 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 I also in this position. It is therefore probable that the vocalization of I before d has taken place in the Lorton dialect, especially as we find I vocalized in the French word skod to scald (see below, 5), and in a few other cases as well.

4. I has also been vocalized in a final position after ą (§ 96): fô to fall, to fell, gô gall, kô to call, smô small, wô wall.

5. I has also been vocalized under the same circumstances in French words (§ 208): ômenak almanac, ômend almond, skôd to scald, bô ball.

6. I in the combination ol + cons. has also been vocalized (§ 134) and, combined with the preceding ą, given rise to the diphthong au: baustœr bolster, baunt bolt, kaunt 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. poniadh a little horse; cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict.) (on Gould gold, and toul toll, see § 134, note II).

§ 275. I have found one instance of I-vocalization in the combination ą + l + cons.: šuudœr shoulder (§ 146).

§ 276. I has also been vocalized in two cases when final after ą in the words: pyu to pull, wu wool.

§ 277. I has disappeared in sek such, wîtš which, and also in šánt (sometimes šalënt) shall not, wönt (or wilënt) 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 hjärt, gärde
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 r1).

§ 279. We find r, in the following cases:

1. Initially before a vowel: r,aiν to rive, r,aun raw, r,ist rest, r,uf rough.

2. In the position cons. + r + vowel: br,iŋ to bring, br,iád broad, fr,εm frame, fr,oζn pp. frozen, gr,au to grow, gr,ŋε gray, kr,ěn crane, kr,iáv to crave, pr, iz prize, pr,ud 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,ŋk drink, dr,uft 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 supra- dental glide and also seems to affect the preceding dental, which assumes a character very similar to q (see § 317).

3. In the combination short vowel+r+final vowel: ber,i berry, bor,o to borrow, mar,e marrow, swor,i sorry.

4. In the combination vowel+r+ voiced cons. (except d; cf. below): ār,m arm, bār,n child, būr,n to burn, bār,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: fiɔr,en fearing, stær,en staring, wær,i wary.

2. In the combination long (or half-long) vowel+r+voiceless cons. (except i): bār,k to bark, dār,k dark, spār,k spark, wār,p warp.

3. Final after unaccented vowel in the ending ər: boqər, to bother, bruŋær, brother, fuaw(ər) four, stutær, 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: fiɔr,z fear, stĩr,z to stir, tãr, tar, wãr,z worse.

Note. In the combination short vowel+r+cons., however, the r is usually strongly trilled (r1): būr,k birch, mūr,k dark, wūr,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: būr,d bird, mūr,ðər murder, puər,d third, fūr,nis to furnish.

(b) The r combines itself with the dental, thus forming a supra-
dental $d$, $t$ (occasionally $n$), and the preceding vowel is lengthened: $b\ddot{u}d$, bird, $\ddot{m}u\ddot{d}e\ddot{r}$ murder, $\ddot{p}u\ddot{d}$ third, $\ddot{r}u\ddot{m}i\ddot{s}$ to furnish, $\ddot{d}u\ddot{t}$ dirt, $\ddot{s}w\ddot{o}\ddot{t}$ short.

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

As for $r + n$, the pronunciation with $n$ is only occasionally heard, the usual pronunciation being $r + n : t\ddot{u}rn$ to turn.

Note I. In unaccented syllables we always find the supradentals $d$, $t$, $n$: $f\ddot{o}r\ddot{e}d$, forward, $m\ddot{u}\ddot{d}e\ddot{r}$ murdered, $(n)e\ddot{p}e\ddot{m}$ apron.

Note II. $r$ in the position vowel + $r + s$ also usually combines with the following $s$, thus forming the sound $\ddot{s}$ in words like grew, grass, purs, purs nurse, wad 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, kysmus Christmas, kysnin christening, $(n)e\ddot{p}e\ddot{m}$ apron.

The Nasals

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

1. Initial: man man, mist mist, more, mőr mortar, mő$\ddot{u}$r mother.

2. Medial: amër hammer, brumstn brimstone, sumër summer, tuml to tumble.

3. Final (after a vowel): brim (or brum) brim, room 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: kum$\ddot{c}b$ai come here, kum$\ddot{d}yun$ come down.

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

§ 285. Initial $n$ has remained unchanged: $(n)e\ddot{p}e\ddot{m}$ apron, nest nest, netl nettle, ni$\ddot{u}$k nook, nevi nephew.
§ 286. **Medial n has generally remained:** kanl candle, dwinl to dwindle, munde Monday, uni honey, union onion.

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

**Note II.** Medial n sometimes disappears in unstressed syllables: atkisan Atkinson, robisan Robinson, dikisan Dickens. In æstid 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. Robysun, Dickyson (cf. K. F. Sunden, ‘On the origin of the hypocoristic suffix -y in English’ in Certum Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum, Göteborg, 1910, p. 161.

§ 287. We find a parasitic n in porindzær porringer, sosindzær sausage, and also in the words brenp breadth, winp width, both formed after the analogy of lenp length. In strenp strength, the original ð has become n through the dentalizing influence of the following p (cf. ME. lenpe, All. Poems, ii. 425, and Prickie of Cons. 5899; the forms strendæ, strendæ frequently occur in Læ., 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, plän plain.

**Note.** Final n has also been preserved in two compounds: olin-bus (<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: jæ nit one night, jæ man one man, jæ ai one eye, jæ 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: æ man a man, æ bärn a child, æ apl an apple, æ oistër an oyster.

The n of the prepositions in, on (æ, æ(n)) disappears before a consonant: i(æ) tfild in the field, i træn in the rain, i(æ) tysz in the house (§ 467).

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

flpms fivepence, prepms threepence, jubm oven, lebm eleven, mapm (<may+happen) perhaps, opm to open, sebm seven.
§ 291. \( \eta \) 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 \( \eta \) is followed by a vowel or an l (cf. Sweet, H. E. S., §§ 550, 922).

\( \eta \) finger, \( \eta \)land England, \( \eta \)l to mingle, \( \eta \)le single, \( \eta \)unger hunger, \( \eta \)unk pp. slunk, \( \eta \)nk pp. sunk, \( \eta \)runk pp. shrunk.

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

**Note II.** Medial \( \eta \) has become n before a following dental in len\( \bar{v} \) length, stren\( \bar{v} \) strength (cf. above, § 287).

§ 292. *Final* \( \eta \) has remained in accented syllables: bri\( \bar{j} \) to bring, riq to ring, stra\( \bar{n} \)g strong, pra\( \bar{n} \) busy.

§ 293. *Final* \( \eta \) in unstressed syllables has generally become n in the Lorton dialect.

In the original formative ing-suffix: därlin darling, ibia morning, fän darling, mwörn morning.

We also find n in the ending of the present participles: dän doing, džumpen jumping, runän running, sinän 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*: pad\( \bar{l} \) to paddle, pepe\( \bar{r} \) pepper, pepl people, put to put, pwol pole.

2. *Medially*: apl apple, dipp depth, kaptn captain, popleo poplar, spiá spade, spiün spoon.

3. *Finally*: elp to help, jap ape, map map, stop to stop, welp whelp.

**Note I.** Assimilation has taken place in the word kubac cupboard.

**Note II.** We find no intrusive \( p \) in emti (<OE. æmet(t)ig).
§ 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-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: eseml to assemble, treml to tremble.

In the Lorton dialect, 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, wyum 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, fíkl fickle, fwoł folk, fwoł foil.

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

Note. OE. f has disappeared in the word eltær (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; geaf pret. gave, pl. geafon. 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, ēf 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, riiuf roof.

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

§ 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, luv love, niavl navel, silver silver, starv to starve, weiv to weave, šev to shave.

§ 307. OE. v (written f) < Late. b in loan-words: divl devil, fiver fever, priųv 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 fipms 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 feңenst right against or opposite, ibnin evening, lebm eleven, sobm seven (see above, jubm, § 308).

§ 310. OE. v < Germanic b has disappeared in ez (2nd and 3rd pers. of pres. ind.) has, sbiűn (OE. abűfan) above, anenst or feңenst (< on or for + OE. efne + s and t-suffixes; cf. Pr. Cons. 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 ginen given; id head (OE. hafoc, lađi (OE. hlāđige) lady, lwōd (OE. hlāford) lord, ök (OE. hafoc, hafoc) hawk, öpmi halfpenny, šul (OE. scofel) shovel, wumæn (OE. wifman) woman.

Note. In au(w)er 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).
§ 311. v (of O. Fr. origin) has remained initially and medially in the Lorton dialect: ventər to venture, vītlə victuals, nevir nephew.

**THE CONSONANTS**

§ 312. OE. initial t has remained both in native and French words: təŋz (or tənəz) tongs, task task, tiʃf tough, top top, tʊtə to touch.

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

§ 313. Medial t has also generally remained in the Lorton dialect: bitər bitter, butəl bottle, butər butter, jistədə yesterday, ōtəgiər altogether, ratn-trap (O. Fr. dimin. form raton) rat-trap, sistər 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): feɪtər feature, moɪsər moisture, nətər nature, pikər picture.

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

s—1: busl bustle, brusl to bristle, kasl castle, pusl thistle, prosl (OE. prəstle) thrust, wusl to whistle.

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

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

druft drought, et hot, fift (OE. fiʃtə) fifth, lat (OE. lətət) lath, sikst (OE. si(e)xta) sixth, sɨft shirt, siʃt 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, meɪnt pret. meant, nɪlt 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—uut get it out, led—i stop let it stop, gid—up get up, pud—i—duun put it down, şud—up shut up.

**Note II.** We find an excrescent final t in oʃt hoarse, sær—mənt sermon, skruft scruff, and occasionally in janst (but mostly jans) once, sʊdənt sudden, twaišt twice.

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

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

dā day, deiph deep, deipj depth, dip to dip, drik to drink, drop drop, duv dove.

Note. An initial ḡ has arisen through the transition gl > ḡl in words like dlad glad, dlisn to glisten, dlunan(w)er to glower (§ 352, c, cf. also § 337).

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

didl to confuse (§ 148), jondar yonder, midl middle, sindar cinder, undar under, undred hundred, wandar to wander.

§ 317. When intervocalic ḡ is followed by an r-suffix it has become ḡ (§ 37); this ḡ is not a ḡ followed by ḡ but rather a softened interdental stop, midway between ḡ and ḡ. This ḡ also represents OE. intervocalic ḡ 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 ḡ-sound has arisen from ḡ; this ḡ before a following r-suffix in the first instance represented both OE. original ḡ in words like other, rather, leather, and OE. ḡ in words like father, mother, and the ḡ of our dialect therefore should be looked upon as an intermediate stage of the transition ḡ > ḡ.

There are, however, several facts that make this theory rather doubtful as far as original ḡ is concerned. Thus, for instance, we find the same softening of the ḡ before an r-suffix in French words like kansidær to consider. In the Kendal dialect ḡ also occurs before a following r in words like ḡra to draw, ḡrai dry, ḡri tedious, ḡriam dream. Furthermore this softening also affects the dental t in the same position ¹ (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 flutar to flutter, stutær 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 ḡ or t has been

¹ I have found traces of this ḡ before a following r in the Lorton dialect, although not so distinct as in the case of ḡ (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 \( d > \emptyset \), 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 \( \emptyset \) in the
same position, we might as well assume the transition \( \emptyset > d \) and
subsequent \( r \)-softening of this \( d \), or the \( \emptyset \) may represent an inter-
mediate stage of the transition \( \emptyset > d \).

Examples: \( \text{adar} \) adder, \( \text{biader} \) bladder, \( \text{bruader} \) brother, \( \text{fodaer} \)
fodder, \( \text{faader} \) father, \( \text{gedaer} \) to gather, \( \text{ladaer} \) lather, \( \text{mudaer} \) mother, \( \text{weader} \) weather.

Note I. This \( d \)-sound seems to occur mostly after a short
stem-vowel in the Lorton dialect.

Note II. We find Lorton \( d < OE. \emptyset \) in \( \text{murdar} \) (or \( \text{mudar} \)) to
murder (\( < OE. \text{myrfr} \)ian).

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

§ 319. Medial \( d \) has disappeared in consonant combinations, for
instance: \( \text{anfl} \) handful, \( \text{ansm} \) handsome, \( \text{grunfa} \)\( \text{a} \) grandfather,
\( \text{grunsl} \) groundsel, \( \text{grunstn} \) grindstone, \( \text{lanlwod} \) 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): \( \text{kilt} \) killed, \( \text{nilt} \) knelt, \( \text{filt} \) felt, \( \text{si} \)\( \text{mt} \)
seemed, \( \text{telt} \) told, \( \text{wedt} \) wedded (see further Accidence, § 455).

§ 321. In the following words \( d \) and \( t \) are used promiscuously:
\( \text{biint} \) or \( \text{aint} \) behind, \( \text{bijont} \) beyond, \( \text{i} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{ent} \) errand, \( \text{forst} \) forward,
\( \text{kustat} \) custard, \( \text{uzbant} \) husband, \( \text{wotstat} \) orchard, \( \text{wusot} \) worsted.

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

Note I. Final \( d \) mostly disappears in \( an \) and (unaccented
form), and often in \( \text{punzn} \) thousand.

g 2
Note II. An excrescent $d$ is occasionally heard in $d$ruund to drown, $g$uund gown, $s$uund sound.

$p$, $\delta$

§ 323. The OE. dental spirant, written $p$ or $\delta$ 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 are generally used in unstressed position, where it has become voiced; such words are pronouns and certain adverbs (cf. below):

$p$isl (or $\ddot{p}$isl) thistle, $p\ddot{u}$rzd thursday, $p$um thumb, $p$u$\ddot{u}$zn(d) thousand.

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

$\ddot{c}$ai (unaccented $\ddot{c}$i) thy, $\ddot{c}$an (\ddot{c}en) then, $\ddot{c}$at pron. that, $\ddot{c}$em them, $\ddot{c}$is this, $\ddot{c}$er there, $\ddot{c}$oth though, $\ddot{c}$uu (unaccented $\ddot{c}$u) 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. $\ddot{c}$uu ($\ddot{c}$u) has become te when used interrogatively: asta sin $\ddot{c}$em hast thou seen him? wilta diijt wilt thou do it?

Note III. Initial $p$ has disappeared before w in the words $w$an (OE. $\ddot{h}$wan) thong, witl (OE. $\ddot{h}$witan to cut, ME. $\ddot{h}$witil knife) to whittle, to cut with a knife.

§ 326. Medial OE. voiced dental spirant ($\delta$) has generally become $\ddot{c}$ or $d$:

1. We find $\ddot{c}$ in intervocalic position before an er-suffix (on the origin and nature of this sound see § 317 above): $fe\ddot{c}ar$ feather, $le\ddot{c}ar$ leather, $ud\ddot{c}$er other, $we\ddot{c}ar$ whether.

2. We find $d$, $\ddot{c}$ in fa$\ddot{c}$in farthing, fa$\ddot{c}$m fathom, m$\ddot{u}$dar (or m$\ddot{u}$d$\ddot{c}$ar) murder, smidi smithy. Note that there are many instances of this transition $p > d$ in OE. (Sievers, Angelsächsische Gram., § 201).

Note. Medial OE. dental spirant has disappeared in $\ddot{t}$li$\ddot{a}$z clothes, and usually in $m$uns 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 $\delta$. 
We find voiceless spirant in \( \text{b}\top\text{p} \) bath, \( \text{br}\top\text{p} \) breadth, \( \text{d}\top\text{e}\text{i} \) depth, \( \text{e}\top\text{l} \) health, \( \text{l}\top\text{e}\text{n} \) length, \( \text{p}\top\text{a} \) path, \( \text{s}\top\text{t}\text{r} \) strength, \( \text{w}\top\text{u}\text{r} \) worth.

Voiced in \( \text{b}\text{e}\text{e}\text{t} \) to bathe, \( \text{b}\text{e}\text{e}\text{t} \) to breathe, \( \text{s}\text{m}\text{u}\text{u}\text{t} \) smooth.

**Note I.** Final \( \text{\&} \) in the preposition with has been stopped (Lorton wid), but this form is used only before a following vowel: ga\text{\&} wid\text{\&}m go with him! Before a consonant the \( \text{d} \) is dropped (Lorton wi), for instance, wi\text{\&}\text{m} with both of them.

**Note II.** The ordinal numerals (except seknd second, and \( \text{b}\text{u}\text{d} \) third) all end in \( \text{t} \), having generalized the \( \text{t} \)-ending of the OE. numerals, \( \text{f}\text{i}\text{f} \), \( \text{s}\text{i}\text{x} \), \( \text{e}\text{n}\text{d}\text{t} \text{e}\text{o} \), \( \text{t}\text{w}\text{e}\text{l} \text{f} \) (cf. § 403).

Examples: \( \text{f}\text{u}\text{r}\text{s} \) first, \( \text{f}\text{i}\text{t} \) fifth, \( \text{n}\text{a}\text{i}\text{nt} \) ninth, &c.

**Note III.** It is difficult to explain the origin of the form \( \text{s}\text{i}\text{i} \) (<OE. \( \text{s}\text{i}\text{d} \) scythe). It may, however, be a back-formation from the plural saiz scythes (with loss of the dental; cf. tliåz clothes, muns months, § 326. 2, note).

**The Sibilants**

\( \text{s} \)

§ 328. OE. \( \text{s} \) 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 \( \text{s} \) has remained voiceless before vowels and consonants:

\( \text{s} \) scythe, \( \text{s}\text{u}\text{u} \) to sew, \( \text{s}\text{i}\text{n} \) soon, \( \text{s}\text{m}\text{i} \) smithy, \( \text{s}\text{t}\text{r} \) straw, swap to barter, to exchange.

\( \text{s} \) before \( \text{u} \) in French words (= standard English \( \text{s} \)) has also remained unchanged:

\( \text{s}\text{i}\text{u}\text{\&} \) sure, \( \text{s}\text{u}\text{g} \) sugar.

§ 330. Medial \( \text{s} \) is voiced (\( \text{z} \)) between voiced sounds both in native and French words:

\( \text{b}\text{i}\text{z} \) besom, \( \text{b}\text{u}\text{z} \) bosom, \( \text{f}\text{e}\text{n} \) pheasant, \( \text{g}\text{e}\text{z} \) gosling, \( \text{p}\text{u}\text{z} \) poison, \( \text{\text{u}\text{\&}n} \) husband.

We also find \( \text{z} \) in French words before a following \( \text{u} \) in the ure-ending: \( \text{m}\text{e}\text{z} \text{\&} \) measure, \( \text{l}\text{\&} \) leisure, \( \text{p}\text{\&} \) pleasure (cf. § 250).

**Note.** It is difficult to explain the dentals \( \text{\&}, \text{d} \) (for original \( \text{s} \)) in si\( \text{\&} \text{s} \), si\( \text{\&} \text{s} \) scissors. Wright (*A Gram. of the W. H. Dial.*, § 310. 2) assumes analogical influence from sai\( \text{\&} \) scythe.

§ 331. Medial \( \text{s} \) in combination with voiceless sounds has remained voiceless; this law also holds good when the voiceless sound has disappeared:

baskat basket, blosm blossom, fasn to fasten, lism to listen, r\( \text{u}\text{\&} \) to wrestle, p\( \text{u}\text{\&} \) (or p\( \text{\&} \)) thistle, prosl (OE. pr\( \text{\&} \)stle) thrush, wusl to whistle.
§ 332. Medial and final s, when preceded by an r, has usually combined itself with the r into a supradental sound ŋ (cf. r + t > ŋ, r + d > ŋ, § 28), like the Swedish ŋ in kors, vers: kušn (with r-metathesis) to christen, wāšen to grow worse, siðsa scissors, mujsa 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, blēz to blaze, diz (3rd pers. sing.) does, raiz to rise, rwoz rose, tliāz clothes.

   NOTE. We find z in uz us, on account of its being mostly used in unstressed position.

2. Voiceless: ants ants, ōis this, ōis fleece, ĝis geese, greis sb. grease, muus mouse, seis to cease, tsois choice, uus 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. rǣdelse) riddle, tšuri (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, Altenglische 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, kīάk cake, kil kiln (<OE. cyln < Latin culina), kindm kingdom (OE. cynedōm), kīp to keep, kitšin kitchen, kīǔk 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, tšeíp cheap, tšiz cheese, tšikin chicken, tšílder 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), kǐnkof whooping-cough (<ME. kinken to pant).

kùrk church; this pronunciation is mostly heard from old people and in place-names such as braidkùrk, kùrkstil, the usual form now being tšùtš, 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, tlē clay, tied clad, tliáz clothes, tlim to climb, tluud cloud, tlut 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: naif knife, niav knave, n(e)i knee, nit to knit, nò 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 wik (Anglian cwicu) alive (cf. waist quiet, wišin 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 š (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 š; 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; Bülbring, A. E. Elementarbuch, §§ 506–11).

§ 343. Initial OE. sc appears as Lorton š in some words, all of which also have š in the South-Humbrian dialects:

šait cacre (<OE. scitan), šak to shake, šam shame, šap shape, šed shade, šelf shelf, šër to shear, šin shin, šipæd shepherd, šip ship, šop shop, šüt to shut, šuv to shove, šriŋk to shrink, šrûd shroud.

Note. šaiv slice; we find no OE. prototype of this word, and ME. schive probably is a loan from M. Low German (schive) or Scand. (Icel. skífa, 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.

skiül school (OE. scólu, a loan from Lat. schola), skater 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 šift 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,
may be a Celtic or Scand. loan-word; see Björkman, Scand. Loan-
words, p. 127), sküst skirt (we find two ME. forms: skirte from
O. W. Scand. skyrta, and shirte from OE. scyrte, Björkman, p. 128).
skriuf 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, nas (neš) (OE. hnesce) fragile, tender.

Note. The origin of the word paš (in the expression a paš a
ræn a light shower of rain) is somewhat obscure. We find, how-
ever, a 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,
acsian, ME. asken, axien), ask (drai ask lizard, wet ask newt)< OE.
öðxe, miks to mix (< OE. miscian, mixian), tüs tusk (OE. tuse or
tux, ME. tux).

3. Final sc appears as s in two words: as to ask (from the
preterite askt > ast), as ashes (OE. æscce), asmidin ash-pit.

§ 346. Medial explosive c which has not become final in the
Lorton dialect generally remained: akən acorn, fik1 fickle, sik1
sickle, twiŋk1 to twinkle (OE. twincian), wókən 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
miád made; between s and l in as1 axle, and musl muscle (OE.
muscle, muxle, ME. muscle); and also in the past participle
tián 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 þ both in Lorton and the South-Humbrian dialects: bisitþ to beseech, breitþ breach, braitþ breek, litþ leech, mitþ or mutþ much, pitþ pitch, reitþ to reach, stitþ stitch, stritþ (or stretþ) to stretch, watþ watch, witþ which.

Note. Palatal c after n has become ð (the t-element does not appear between n and ð: binþ bench, drenþ to drench, inþ inch.

2. Cases where the Lorton dialect has an explosive (k) but the South-Humbrian dialects an affricate (tš); k in these cases is chiefly due to Scand. influence (see Appendix, and Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., pp. 144 ff.): burk birch, daik ditch, hedge (Björkman, p. 145), kurk 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: bärk to bark, biák to bake, biük book, brek to break, driňk to drink, förk fork, jük hook, lik to liek, liük to look, mak to make, märk mark, nek neck, prik to prick, riák rake, rik to reek, smoke, siák sake, speık to speak, stiák stake, wiks week, wyrk to work, wärk sb. work.

§ 348. A. OE. initial g was a voiced guttural or palatal spirant (Sievers, Angels. Gram., §§ 211 ff.). It was guttural before consonants, guttural vowels, their mutations, and æ, but it was a palatal spirant before palatal vowels. Later on the above-mentioned guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, ſ (i-mutation of ð), and ð (i-mutation of ŏ).

§ 349. OE. initial explosive g has been preserved in the Lorton dialect: galæs gallows, galæsiz braces, geþar to gather, giap to gape (perhaps Scandinavian; see Björkman, p. 150), giávlik crowbar, giús goose, góst ghost, gould gold, gud, gid good, gwot goat.

§ 350. The g in gest guest, bigin 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 g and j, and with a distinct difference in sense in the case of two words. Of these the forms with g are Scand. loans, those with j of native origin. These words are:

1. gärn yarn (O. W. Scand., O. Swed. garn yarn; see Björkman, p. 150). järn story, tale, chat (< OE. gearn).
2. gar[p yard, a small piece of enclosed ground, usually beside a house or other building, a fence or hedge, occurring in the compound stakgar[p a piece of ground with haystacks, enclosed by a fence, and also in place-names (<O. W. Scand. gar[d, O. Swed. gar[er; see Björkman, p. 151).

jāq 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) giát 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 g before consonants appears in the Lorton dialect as follows:

(a) It has remained before a following r: grē grey, grin green, greit great, grund ground, grunt to grunt.

(b) It has disappeared before a following n: nat gnat, nō to gnaw.

(c) Before an l it has become d through partial assimilation (cf. above, k1>tl, § 337): dlad glad, dlas glass, dlitar to glitter, dlīu glove.

§ 353. The OE. initial and palatal spirant g has generally remained in our dialect:

jāq yard, jārn yarn, jat gate, yat (see above, § 351. 3), jāl yellow, jistāsq yesterday, jōk yolk, jūrn to yearn.

B. OE. g in medial and final position:

§ 354. OE. spirant g 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+g>Lorton Ø: dön dawn, drō to draw, mó maw (§ 99).

2. OE. a+g>Lorton Ø or au: ō to owe, ōn adj. own, aun vb. to own (§ 160).

§ 356. 1. OE. æ+g>Lorton æ: brēn brain, dē day, dēzi daisy, fēn fain, fēr fair, mēn may, mēn main, nēl nail (§ 98).
2. OE. ǣ + ȝ > Lorton ǣ: grǣ gray, kǣ key, tiǣ clay (§ 164).

§ 357. OE. e + ȝ > Lorton ē: ãwē away, rēn rain, sæl sail, wē way (§ 115).

§ 358. 1. OE. i + ȝ > Lorton ī or ai: stil stile, tail tile (§ 127).
2. OE. į + ȝ > Lorton ī: stī sty.

§ 359. 1. OE. ə + ȝ > Lorton au (au(w)a): bau (OE. boga) bow, fla(w)ən pp. flown (§ 133).
2. OE. ɵ + ȝ > Lorton įu: biyu bough, druft pret. drew (§ 188).

§ 360. 1. OE. u + ȝ > Lorton ĕu : fũul fowl (§ 145).
2. OE. ū + ȝ > Lorton ĕu : bũu to bow (§ 189).

§ 361. OE. y + ȝ > Lorton īai : bai to buy, drai dry.

§ 362. WS. ēəg, Angl. ēg > Lorton ī: īn eyes (sometimes also ī sing. eye, § 196).

§ 363. WS. ëəg, Angl. ëg > Lorton ī: ēli to fly, īli to lie (§ 202).

§ 364. OE. ĝ often became ĥ finally after a long guttural vowel, or ī, ē (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 214). This ĥ (no doubt originally a guttural spirant) became a labiodental spirant (f) in some words of our dialect; thus after OE. ā, in dufl dough; after ĝ in səniuf enough.

This transition also has taken place after an originally short vowel in trof (OE. trog, troh) trough, and medially in two words: brafln 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 druft (OE. drūgo) drought (§ 189), and finally after r in dwārf dwarf.

§ 365. OE. ĝ after the liquids ī, ē when final in the Lorton dialect has given ā (§ 251); the forms with ā have, in the case of the substantives, arisen from the oblique cases where the ķ was medial: bora to borrow, mara marrow, sora sorrow.

§ 366. The forms with an i-ending have arisen from the nominative case where ĝ was final in nouns such as beli belly, beliz bellows; and medially in the verbs beri to bury, wuri to worry.

§ 367. The ending ĭg became ī through the intermediate stage of ī in OE. (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 214. 5); it appears as ī in the Lorton dialect: bodī 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 ĝ probably is due to foreign influence (mostly Scandinavian), or the words may simply be loans.
1. We find three words of native origin which in OE. had geminated g (33, not arisen through the W. Germanic gemination before a following j): dog (OE. dogga) dog, frog (OE. frogga) frog, ōg (OE. sceacga) 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. brycg, Icel. bryggja, Swed. brygga), drag to drag (OE. dragan, but see Björkman, p. 157, footnote), lig to lie, to put or lay down (OE. liegan), 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, prog food, provisions to be eaten in the field (Prevost).

§ 369. OE. final cęg, 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. sece <W. Germanic *sagja).

§ 370. Palatal OE. ĝ after n has become Lorton ž in inž hinge (ME. hengę, not recorded in OE.), krinž 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, ēst hoarse, ūu how, ūus house.

2. Before consonants: liáf loaf, lwód lord, nit (OE. hinitu) nit, nút nut, riŋ ring, riük 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 diphthongized.

Medially: aught, anything (§§ 159, II; 132), baut pp. and pret. bought, braut pret. and pp. brought, dauter daughter, efer (Angl. ēhfor) heifer, eit eight, feit vb. and sb. fight (§ 114), fit flight, frītn to frighten, lit light, naut nought, nothing, nāber neighbour, nīt night, raut pp. wrought, rīt right, rīt wright, saut pret. and pp. sought, sit sight, strīt straight, tant pret. and pp. taught, tīt tight, taut pret. and pp. thought, weīt weight.

Finally: ē high, flī (Angl. flēh) flea, nī nigh, near, þī thigh, þruu through; h has given œ in olo hollow (< oblique cases of OE. holh, gen. holhces), but disappeared in für (OE. fürh) 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 χt in lafter laughter, slafter 1 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 χs (Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 221. 2):

neikut 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, š, and the affricates dž 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, karēt carrot, kēdž cage, kiās case, kuntri country, kwot coat, skafāld scaffold, skōd to scald, blaŋkēt blanket, fākt fact, iŋk ink, pōrk pork, raŋk rank.

§ 379. Initial kl has become tl (see above, § 337) in French as well as in native words: tlārk clerk, tlēm to claim, tlōr clear.

§ 380. Initial kw appears as w (occasionally hw, heard from old people) in two words: waiat 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, gareūt garret, grant to grant, gri to agree, bārgin bargain, īgēr eager.

§ 382. Initial gl has become dl: dlib glebe, dlōb globe, dlōri glory, dliūu glue, dlūtn glutton.

§ 383. ME. ș < O. Fr. ss (pronounced š) has remained in the Lorton dialect (see, however, below, note): brūš brush, finiš to finish, fūniš to furnish, krūš to crush, pariš parish, pašin passion.

§ 384. ME. dž < O. Fr. g or j (before e, i) has generally remained: dželūs jealous, dželi jelly, džoi joy, džoin to join, džūdž to judge, džūst just, əblaidž to oblige, kēdž cage, dēndžer danger, tšēndž to change.

Note. ME. dž = O. Fr. g has become š in the age-ending: daṃiš 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, tšapī chapel, tšārm charm, tšēn chain, tšēr chair, tšimla chimney, preiš 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 *at* (OE. *æt*); 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 aptharresis of initial *æ*, *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 Æ (> 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: tūðæren the other one, tūns 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)jī the knee, tfīvar the fever, tšop the shop, tsārvant the servant. It is often hard to distinguish before a following guttural: (t)kap the cap, (t)gutar the gutter, (t)kōf 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′iād the toad, t′op the top, d′liūv 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 intu̇t šop* he went into the shop, *i est mu̇ŋki ont rīgin* 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 *a* before *lōd* (rarely *lويد*) when applied to God, and also in expressions like *wat a āmānt diz i kum ār* 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 īz īut* the dog is out, *kuu īz īl* the cow is ill; and also often in expressions with *siām* same: *siām ānē* the same thing, *siām ānā* 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: *tmīsēs, twaif my wife,* *iz āt trumātiks* it *n(e)i* he has got the rheumatics in his knee, *av got ā tarbl pān* i *tānd* I have a terrible pain in my hand.

§ 388. The indefinite article is *a, an.* *An* is used before vowels, *ā* before both vowels and consonants: *an āpl* an apple, *ā steg* a gander, *ā at* a hat, *ā ask* a lizard (or newt).

The *n* of the indefinite article *ān* is often attached to the following word: *nētāl* an orchard, *ā notār* an otter; the *ā* is then often dropped: *nuuns ā bākē* an ounce of tobacco. This use of the indefinite article has given rise to the forms: *ādār* adder (< OE. *nēddre*), *ōgār* auger (OE. *nafo-gār*) (but the *n* has been preserved in *nēpēn* apron).
§ 389. Nouns ending in the sibilants s, z, š (tš), ž (dž) form the plural by adding -iz (this i is, however, somewhat lowered towards the e-position). Examples: flas face, pl. flásiz; nwoz nose, pl. nwóziz; ūus house, pl. ūuziz; 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:

- dse day, pl. dsez;
- tia toe, pl. tiaz;
- lad lad, pl. ladz;
- dog dog, pl. dogz.

Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than s, š add s in the plural:

- baj bath, pl. baj>s;
- dei death, pl. dei>s;
- kost cost, pl. kósts;
- nest nest, pl. nestz;
- paj path, pl. paj>s;
- riiif roof, pl. riiifs.

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; liaf loaf, pl. liavz; naif knife, pl. naivz; waif wife, pl. waivz.

Note. beíst beast, has a collective plural form beís cattle, probably formed after the analogy of the mutation plurals (§ 393), such as gis geese, lais lice, mais mice.

2. Double plural forms

§ 390. We regularly find double plural forms of the words galásiz gallows, braces, belásiz bellows, the numerals tuusiz twos, prísiz threes, for instance: bi tuusiz en prísiz, by twos and threes, and often (although not regularly) of other s-plurals, such as wæziz ways, dogziz dogs, katsiz cats.

3. Plurals in n

§ 391. ai (rarely ī) eyes, pl. in eyes (OE., WS. ēagan, Angl. ēgen); sun pl. shoes (from the late OE. genitive and dative plurals in -n: gen. sceóna, dat. scón; 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. cýna); the more usual form of this word is kai (<OE. nom. and acc. plur. cý, cýe cows), but this form is now being super-
NOUNS

4. Plurals in r

§ 392. Our only instance is tšildar children (<OE. plur. cīldru children).

5. Mutation plurals


füt foot fit man man
gišs goose gīs myus mouse mais
kruu cow kai (cf. above, tiüp tooth ti proprietà
§ 391)
luus louse lais wuman woman wimin

Note. Plurals in -s, however, frequently occur also of the above-mentioned words: thus füts feet, gišsiz geese, tiüp teeth, &c.

6. Singular and plural alike

§ 394. Here belong the words: as ashes, erin herring(s), šip 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: füt foot or feet, šilin shilling(s), pund pound(s), inš inch(es), undrœdweit hundred-weight(s), ūuns ounce(s), bušel bushel(s), jakr acre(s), mail mile(s), munṯ month(s), wik week(s).

7. Nouns only used in the plural

§ 395. bolœsiz bellows, galœsiz braces, krūdž curds, lits¹ lungs of animals, askinz banns, mezlz measles, grunz sediment, siqœs scissors, tenz tongs, truüziz 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 tēl the cat’s tail, dźwōdziz ūus George’s house, tladz faqdar 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. ēht).
The genitive plural, however, is frequently expressed by adding an additional syllable to the nominative plural: sum foksiz quuziz some people’s houses, tladziz tliáž the clothes of the boys, t’färmešiz kuuz the cows of the farmers.

**Note I.** The sign of the genitive is sometimes omitted (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 387): mi faðer šun my father’s shoes, iz muðer ũus his mother’s house.

**Note II.** We find remains of the old adverbial genitive in the expressions: kum ũi wéez in come in! gaŋ jor wéez ũut go out!

§ 397. The genitive can also be expressed by on, en, ø (rarely øv; see § 467): od tìd ø toš hold the horse’s head! øv øø sin t’urmæs ø tudær färmeš have you seen the turnips of the other farmers? øv øø s(e)øn tliás onør have you seen her face?

**ADJECTIVES**

§ 398. One of the most striking mannerisms of the true Cumbrían 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 Cumbrían 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 (laik). Thus, for instance, ši iz ø kwêrli kaind øv ø bodi she is a queer sort of person, ïz ø lâl bit kwêrliš, džwoni iz Johnny is a little bit queer; also öldiš oldish, fadiš faddish, pišiš poorish, tleviriš cleverish, šärpiš sharpish, slêpiš a bit slippery. Another down-toner is laik: ø ryundlaik sòt ø pìŋ a round sort of thing; also prud-laik a bit proud, rûstilaik somewhat rusty, daftlaik poor-witted, stôrmilaik somewhat stormy, kanililaik, nice, good-looking.

**Note.** The work laik, when used independently, also serves to modify a whole sentence or expression, thus: watste diùn øøør laik what art thou doing there? i let isel gâ laik he let himself go, ál smak ši ið laik I will smack thy head.

§ 399. Another tendency of the Cumbrían dialect-speaker is that of intensifying his adjectives in several ways:
1. By combining two adjectives of a kindred meaning: a lāl wi bodi a very small person, a gūt big tšap a very big chap, a ēnšent old ūus 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: a kani gūd man a very good man, a gē fain nīt a very fine night, a tarbl tlevar lass a terribly clever girl (see further Adverbs, § 466).

3. By means of the words purē thorough, pruū (ēn pruū) through, au(w)ēr over. Thus: a purē gūd lāl miar a thoroughly good little mare, i wēz fār au(w)ēr gūd tē liv laŋ he was too good to live long, i wēz džanik pruū ēn pruū 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 ēz a mailstiān lonely as a milestone, kriūkt ēz a dogz aind leg crooked as a dog’s hind leg, daft ēz a jat ēt opnź biāp wēz foolish as a gate that opens both ways, fat ēz a tēliēs giūs fat as a tailor’s goose, grīdi ēz a riāk greedy as a rake, lēzi ēz a stī lazy as a ladder, plēn ēz a jat stūup 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 -ēr, the superlative by adding -ēst, to the positive. The comparison by mēr more, and miāst most, is rarely used. Adjectives consisting of two or more syllables also mostly form the comparative and superlative by adding -ēr, -ēst; adjectives of this kind, however, are very rare in our dialect. Examples: ōld old, ōldēr, ōldēst; smō small, smōēr, smōēst; jūŋ young, jūŋēr, jūŋēst; fār far, fārēr, fārēst.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gud</th>
<th>good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>betør</td>
<td>best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudør</td>
<td>gudøst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bad</th>
<th>bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wær</td>
<td>wær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudør</td>
<td>gudøst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bødør</td>
<td>bødøst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lal</th>
<th>little</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalør</td>
<td>laløst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meni (or moni)</th>
<th>mær</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>muts (or mit)</th>
<th>mær</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miast</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>liát</th>
<th>late</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liátøst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liátst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

när near

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nør</th>
<th>near</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nørøst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nørst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikst (or nekst)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE. The form wær worse, probably is of Scandinavian origin; cf. Icelandic verr worse, a form that would regularly give Lorton wær (with the usual change of initial v > w in loan-words); cf. also Danish værre, 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 mær more, miast most. (We find an analogous case in standard English former and foremost.) Examples: gud good, betørmør, betørmøst; lø low, lømør, lømøst. This kind of comparison is also used to form comparative and superlative adjective forms of other words than adjectives. Thus: topmør higher, topmøst highest; undørmør lower down, undørmøst lowest; in the same sense also bodmør, bodmøst (formed from bodm bottom).

NUMERALS

§ 402. Cardinal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAN</th>
<th>(or jã, cf. below) one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fryu</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pri</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fau(w)ør</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faiv</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siks</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebm</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eit</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nain</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebm</td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twelv</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seknd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebmt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tent (or ten³, see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebmt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twelft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NUMERALS

Cardinal  Ordinal
puţin thirteen  puţint
fauţin fourteen  fauţint
fiftin fifteen  fiftint
sikstin sixteen  sikstint
sebmtin seventeen  sebmtint
eitin eighteen  eitint
naintin nineteen  naintint
twenti twenty  twentiap
twentijan (see below) twenty-one  twentifuşt
twentituu ( " " ) twenty-two  twentiseknd
pũţi thirty  pũţiap
foţi forty  foţiap
fitti fifty  fittiap (or fittiap)
siksti sixty  sikstiap
sebmti seventy  sebmtiap
eiti eighty  eitiap
nainti ninety  naintiap
undrad hundred  undradap
puţuzn(d) thousand  puţuzn(d)ap

§ 403. The n of jan one, is dropped and the a is lengthened (>jā) when this cardinal is used attributively: jā ai one eye, jā man one man.

The ordinals twentijan, twentituu, twentipri, &c., are used only when counting, otherwise always jan an twenti, tuu an twenti, &c.

The ordinals 1-19, except seknd and pűq, and also sometimes fittiap (fittiap) fiftieth, have all generalized the t-ending of the OE. ordinals fifta, sixta, en(â)le(o)fta, and twelfta, just as standard English has formed the ordinals fiftth, sixoth, elvenoth, twelfth after the analogy of the OE. ordinals in -th, such as feowerft, seofopa, tēofa. The only ordinal (except fittiap, fittiap; see above) with double forms in -t and -ap is ten; tent is used attributively, otherwise always tenap, which should be looked upon as a loan from standard English.

§ 404. The fractional numerals are: of half, e pūq a third, e kwâţer a quarter, e faut a fourth, e fift a fifth, &c.

§ 405. Numerals in compounds: āpni halfpenny, āpap halfpenny-worth, tupms twopence, þreþpms threepence, faþpms fourpence, fipms fivepence.
### Pronouns

#### Personal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§ 406.</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. á (a) I</td>
<td>wí (wi, wa) we</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative mi (mi, me) me</td>
<td>ùz (ez, z, s) us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Second Person</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ỹuu (ỹu, ṣe, te)</td>
<td>jỹuu, jũ (jẽ) you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see below, § 408</td>
<td>thou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣi (ẽ) thee</td>
<td>jỹuu, jũ (jẽ) you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Third Person</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. i (i, e) he</td>
<td>šī (ši) she</td>
<td>it (t) it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. } im (əm, m) him</td>
<td>ūr (ûr, ūr) her</td>
<td>it (t) it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

| Nom. ṣe (ẽ) |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Dat. } ẽm (ẽm, ẽm) |
| Acc. | | |

(The secondary and unstressed forms are in parentheses.)

| § 407. 1st Person. | The form á (a) of the 1st person singular has arisen through monophthongization of the ai-diphthong (see above, § 190, note II).

Examples are: āz găn te s(e)ɨ ẽm əstid e ši I am going to see him instead of thee, sùd ə gã űnt shall I go out? i gemyə šilin he gave me a shilling, kãnt ə ṣe diüt nũu can’t we do it now? if wì divant jũl əv tũ(u) if we don’t you’ll have to, letś diüt waistli let us do it quietly, i sõ ūz ṣeṭ nin ṣ tũdər lɔt he saw us but none of the other lot.

Note. The objective form (ūz) of the 1st pers. plural is often used instead of the nom. and acc. of the sing. (ā, mi): givz ṣe apl give me an apple, wō mun əz eks whom must I ask? wor kæn əz put up at 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

```markdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nom. ỹuu (ỹu, ṣe, te)</th>
<th>jỹuu, jũ (jẽ) you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see below, § 408</td>
<td>thou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣi (ẽ) thee</td>
<td>jỹuu, jũ (jẽ) you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
form has probably arisen through assimilation with the t-ending in verb-forms like āt art, aut ought, duōst 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 ð 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, dāst 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-ðe, dis-ðe is undoubtedly much greater than in the case of s + the dental stop in wants-ta, dis-ta.

The 2nd person of the plural jūu is no doubt a late loan from standard English and has replaced the original form ji, ji 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 jē is sometimes used in accented position, and is still distinctly predominant. jūu, jē is also used as a pronoun of address in the singular, but there is a marked difference in use between ḍūu and āu, jē: jūu, jē is the pronoun of respect, used by children in addressing their parents and by servants to masters, whereas ḍūu, ḍē 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: ḍū mun gā nuu ər il sē thou must go now or he will see thee, ur jē gān ta koknōp todā faďar are you going to Cockermouth to-day, father? ḍūu mun diūt āstīd ə im thou must do it instead of him, ēstō bin tūl tfēr əridi hast thou been to the fair already? sistē seest thou? distē dost thou? witē wilt thou?

§ 409. Examples of the 3rd person are: if niēbodi els kānt diūt ē kānt if no else can do it he can’t, etsi wat iz gān te diē widēm let us see what he is going to do with him, duōd tel jē aut ēbyut it did he tell you anything about it? ēstō s(e)īnēm todā hast thou seen him to-day? etsi telt mē ət sī wēz gān to git ōt kēlēr she told me that she was going to get all the money,
a só ūr ēn tuďar las last nūt I saw her and the other girl last night, a akstar te tel me ō ēbûut it I asked her to tell me all about it, a fān(d) it ūt vārē siyu ē I found it out very soon, diē pînkJ il diît do you think he will do it? ÷ē mēd ēz wîl wāt forām 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 was ūr ēt dūd it was she who did it, its im ēts gān nūt mī it is he who is going not I, ēm ēt dūd it ēl bi prozekiûtiīt those who did it will be prosecuted, ūz ēt bin ēr sek ē lanj taim kenām wîl wē we who have been here such a long time know him well.

2. In sentences where the verb refers to two different persons: im ēn mi só ēr ēh and I saw her, jū ēn ūz kēn diît you and we can do it.

3. When the pronoun is used without a verb in expressions like: wītē on ēm dūd it, ūr ēr im which of them did it, she or him? Answer: ūr she.

Possessive Pronouns

A. Conjoint

§ 411.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person :</td>
<td>mai (mi) my</td>
<td>ūu(w)ēr (uēr) our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person :</td>
<td>ëai (śi) thy</td>
<td>j(y)uēr (jūr, jēr) your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(masc. : iz, is his</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person :</td>
<td>[fem. : ūr (ēr) her</td>
<td>ḍēr (ṭēr) their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(neut. : its its</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Absolute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person :</td>
<td>main mine</td>
<td>ūu(w)ēs ours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person :</td>
<td>ëain thine</td>
<td>j(y)uēs yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(masc. : iz his</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person :</td>
<td>[fem. : ūs hers</td>
<td>ṭēς theirs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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 òn ùus my own house, ðis iz mai at nùt ñain this is my hat not thine, a só iz òld ðaðer jistëpë I saw his old father yesterday, fëtë is kwòt ðuun fetch his coat down, a met jër lad ðis mwörmë I met your boy this morning, kum up tul ùsr ùus come up to our house, av sën biåp åts, bët j(ù)uës iz ñ gël lot ñäiner nër ùs I have seen both hats, but yours is a gay lot finer than hers.

Note I. The occurrence of the possessive pronouns j(u)uër, jër, ùuës and ñaï, ñi, ñaïn is regulated by the rules laid down for the personal pronouns jùu, jë and ñuû, ñuû, ñë in § 408 above.

Note II. ùu(w)ër, ùër is used for mëi, ñi in the same way as ùz instead of ñi, ñi (see above, Personal Pronouns, § 407, note) thus: ùu(w)ër misiz my wife, giv æz ùër ti give me my tea.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

§ 413. Singular Plural
1st Person: misel myself uasëlz ourselves
2nd Person: (ñisäl thyself ješelz yourselves
masc. : isel himself
3rd Person: {fem. : aël herself çëšelz themselves
neut. : itsel itself

Note. Besides the above-mentioned forms I have also occasionally heard the forms misën myself, uasën ourselves, ñisën thyself, ješën yourselves, isën himself, but they are of rare occurrence and probably not original in our dialect (see Wright, A Grammar of the Windhill Dialect, p. 123).

§ 414. The reflexive pronouns of the 3rd person (singular and plural) are formed from the possessive case of the personal pronouns. The accusative of the personal pronouns is often used instead of the reflexive in expressions like az gän te lig më duun I am going to lay (myself) down, site duun sit (thysel) down! av sën mi diù wàs džobz nër ðis I have seen myself do worse jobs than this.

§ 415. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Singular Plural
ñis this ñûr
ñisër this ñiz ñësìër
ñat that ñem
ñat ñër ñëm ñër
jon jën
ñon those jën
Disjunctive forms of the demonstrative pronouns are:

**Singular**
- *Sis* this one
- *Satn* that one

**Plural**
- *Sūrans* these (ones)
- *Siznz* those (ones)

§ 416. The adverbs *ıar* here, and *ıar* there, are frequently appended to *Sis*, *Siz*, *Sat*, *Sem* for the sake of emphasis, but there is no appreciable distinction in use or sense between the simple pronouns and the forms combined with *ıar* and *ıar*: *Sisıar* (or *Sis*) las kūz pre kokma these (ones) this girl comes from Cockermouth, *Sat* *ıar* uus bilenz tu tuli tomi bruun that house belongs to Tom Brown.

The forms *Sūr* and *Sūrans* these, these ones, although now obsolescent in the Lorton dialect, are still often heard from the older generation of the true dialect-speakers. *Sūr* and *Sūrans* are gradually being replaced by *Siz*, *Sizıar*, *Siznz*, 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 hör here (=the here, those here). The first-mentioned theory seems to be supported by the fact that the form *Sūr* is exclusively Northern, but both explanations present phonological as well as semasiological difficulties (see further N.E.D. sub *thir*).

The form *Son* that, those, is probably a contamination form of *jon* (OE. *geon*, ME. *geon*, *gon*) and the demonstrative pronouns with initial *S* (*Sis*, *Sat*, *Siz*, *Sūr*); see N.E.D. sub *thon*.

The disjunctive forms *Sisn*, *Satn*, *Sūrans*, &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: *Sem* *ıar* tšaps *ur* o *rit*, *bet* *Sūrans* *ur* nīa gūd* these* chaps (over there) are all right, but these are no good, *Sūr* *šıp* *ur* rīal *uqwiks* nīa dūut these sheep are, no doubt, real Herdskins, *Son* trod kūz pre butormıar that path comes from Buttermere, *Jon* kurk iz rēder old, *bet* *Sisnz* niu* 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 (wat). Both at and wat (wat) are used for all persons of the singular and plural, but at is by far the more common of the two; wat (wat), 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, Altisländische 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 ŝat that, which might have lost its $ under Celtic influence (cf. § 386).

Examples of at and wat (wat) used as relative pronouns: tšap at a só last nit the chap whom I saw last night, tlaš wat a gev it tůl the girl I gave it to, t'mak æ tliáz æt i justæ wiær 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 jistæða 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; weðær which.

The original form wîæ who (regularly developed from hwai) 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 weďar which, are both used absolutely and attributively, but with the following difference in sense: weďar (<OE. hweþer, hweþer) 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 dud ja mit įis mwörnin whom did you meet this morning? wōz os dud ja bore whose horse did you borrow? wat dud ja tel am, min what did you tell him, man? wat lad iz čat what boy is that? weďar en čem tuu ats iz j(Founded) which of those two hats is yours? weďar onem dudje sī which of them (speaking of two persons) did you see? weďar 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:

sum some, sumdi somebody, sumat something, aut aught, anything, naut nothing, ėniuţ enough, feu few, iv(ē)ri every, ē all, els else, sek such, sekajan such a one, uďar other, ēnuďar another, janauďar one another, ēdor, audar either, nādor, naudar neither (see below, sub ēdor), eni (occasionally oni) any, enibodi (onibodi) anybody, meni (sometimes moni) many, jan one, pl. janz, nābodi nobody, nin none (see § 161), woivēr whoever, wativer whatever, (man) min, mn man, used as a pronoun of address (cf. examples).

§ 421. Examples are: sum onem some of them, sumdii ēv te gā somebody will have to go, al tel ja sumat I will tell you something, dūdi sē aut tūl ja did he say anything to you? answer: naut wativer nothing whatever, av s(ē)in ėniuţ ē įis mak ē dogz nūu I have seen enough of this breed of dogs now, ēs uz ed ē gā feu tuu onem thou hast had a good few of them, nābodi els kānt didt no one else can do it, este īver s(ē)in ē sekajan ētuard hast thou ever seen such a one before? aks tuďeřn ask the other one.

I have not noticed any difference in sense between ēdor (<OE. ēghweþer = each of two, both) and audar (<OE. ēhweþer,
ñiêđer (one of two), nor between naudër (<OE. nāwëþer, nāwêþer = neither of two) and nêđer (apparently a contamination form of ëđer and naudër), ëđer (or auder) onam either of them, both of them, nêđer or naudër onam neither of them, we elp jananugär we help one another, ñyurz niêbodi iêr et nôz jon chap there is no one here who knows that chap, nin onam nôd wêt i wâzd jeđeràen ëbüjut none of them knew what he was babbling about, wativér je dié en woivér je mit ja munet sê aut te džim ëbüjut 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 tel je min iz a reglar niâv dik iz Dick is a regular knave, I tell you.

Note I. nin and niê also have a kind of adverbial function when placed before a comparative in certain phrases: a wâzd niê (or nin) wâš I was none the worse.

Note II. The word bodi body, has a kind of pronominal function in expressions like: ñi wâzd sek ə lâl wi bodi she was such a tiny little person, av nivâr s(e)in ñat bodi âfuør 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.  i  a  i  i

Lorton  ai  iá  bidn

baid remain, wait  biád  bitn

bait bite  biát

draiv drive  driáv (driův, druv)  druvn

rait write  riád  ridn (rúdn)

raid ride  riád

raiz rise  riáž (riz)  rizn (rúzn)

straik strike  striák, striůk (struk)  strukn

šait cacare  šit  šitn

§ 424. The preterites in iá and past participles in i are regularly developed from the OE. preterite singular in a and the past participle in i. The preterites driův and striůk point to forms containing an ů and are evidently formed after the analogy of the preterites of Class VI (§ 444) (containing an original ů which regularly developed into Lorton iů).

The i in the preterite riz has been introduced from the past participle rizn.

The u in druuv, struk, pret., druuvn, strukn, různ, růtn, růdn, 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 ū, 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.
- straiv (< 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. prúvn, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>freiz</td>
<td>friáž, froz (frúz)</td>
<td>frozn (frúzn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fliy</td>
<td>fleųu</td>
<td>flau(w)an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr(e)jp creep</td>
<td>kriáp, krop</td>
<td>kropn (kropm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšuuz chose</td>
<td>tšuust (tšwoz)</td>
<td>tšwozn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 427. The preterites friáž and kriáp have been formed after the analogy of the iá-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 frúz pret. and frúzn pp. must be ascribed either to the ū of the pret. plur. (OE. fraron, crupon, curon) or to the associative influence of the u-forms in Classes II, III, VI.

The preterite fleųu points to the ME. preterite forms flewe, flew (see N.E.D. sub fly, vb. 1), and the pp. flau(w)an is regularly developed from the OE. pp. flugen (ME. flowen; see § 183).

OE. čósan would regularly have given Lorton *tš(e)jž; 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: 1488.1
As to the wo-diphthong of the past participle tėwozn and the preterite tėwoz, it is the regular development of œ 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 1 + a consonant;
3. r or h + a consonant;
4. by two consonants other than a nasal, l, r, or h + a consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigin</td>
<td>begin</td>
<td>bigan, bigun</td>
<td>bigun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bind</td>
<td>bind</td>
<td>band, bund</td>
<td>bund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drirjk</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>dранk, друк</td>
<td>dрукн, dрук</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>find</td>
<td>фанд, фунд</td>
<td>фунд</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grund</td>
<td>grind (§ 122, note II)</td>
<td>grand, grund</td>
<td>grund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riŋ</td>
<td>wring</td>
<td>раң, руң</td>
<td>руң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siŋ</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>сaң, сuң</td>
<td>сuң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siŋ</td>
<td>sink</td>
<td>сaŋк, сuŋк</td>
<td>сuŋк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slirj</td>
<td>sling (OE. slingan; see Bosworth-Toller)</td>
<td>slaңк, sluңк</td>
<td>sluңк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slirjk</td>
<td>slink</td>
<td>slaŋк, sluŋк</td>
<td>sluŋк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprirj</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>спраң, спруң</td>
<td>спруң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spin</td>
<td>spin</td>
<td>спин, спин</td>
<td>спун</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirj</td>
<td>sting</td>
<td>стаңк, стуңк</td>
<td>стуңк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirjk</td>
<td>stink</td>
<td>stמkк, стuңк</td>
<td>стuңк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>(or swum)</td>
<td>swam, swum</td>
<td>swum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>(or swum)</td>
<td>swaң, swuң</td>
<td>swuң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šriŋ</td>
<td>shrink</td>
<td>спраңк, șруңк</td>
<td>șруңк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tliŋ</td>
<td>cling</td>
<td>тlaңк, тluң</td>
<td>tluң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlim</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>тlаm, тlуң</td>
<td>тlуң</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win</td>
<td>win</td>
<td>wаң, wун</td>
<td>wун</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>wаңd, wунд</td>
<td>wунд</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:

| briŋ  | bring       | бран, бруң (braut) | бруң (braut) |
This verb belonged to the weak conjugation in OE., and the Lorton form braut (pret. and pp.) is regularly developed from OE. bröhte pret. and the pp. (ge)bröht, but already in OE. we find a strong pp. brungen (whence Lorton brun), to which our dialect has then added a strong preterite bran, formed after the analogy of the a-preterites of Class III of the strong verbs.

ring ring  ran, ruŋ  ruŋ

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 ring, vb. 2).

string string  stran, strun  strun

This verb is a denominative formation < string, sb. (< OE. streng) and originally belonged to the weak conjugation.

B. Two verbs of Scandinavian origin (see App.):

fling fling  flan, flun  flun

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.).

hang (trans. and intrans.) an, arŋ  urŋ

(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.: and (aŋt).

§ 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. drukkan, Swed. drucken). Wright (A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, § 274) quotes several similar past participles (sunk sunk, slunk slunk, shrunk 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, *OE. Gram.*, § 499) have become weak in the Lorton dialect, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elp</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>elpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melt</td>
<td>melt</td>
<td>meltit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feit</td>
<td>fight</td>
<td>faut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the infinitive *feit* see § 114, note.

The preterite *faut* is probably formed after the analogy of the pp. *faust* (*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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brust (burst or bušt)</td>
<td>burst</td>
<td>brast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*brust* seems to be the older form in our dialect and is mostly used by the older generation; *burst* and *bušt* 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 *preš* to thresh (*OE. þerscan*): *praš*, but the past participle is always weak (*prešt*); 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 brüst and þreþ: þreþt (ME. brüsten, þrysten < ON. brysta; see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1348), pret. þrast (þrost), pp. þrosn (þrûsn).

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>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Saxon</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton:</td>
<td>biær bear</td>
<td>bwær</td>
<td>bwœn (or bworn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šiær shear</td>
<td>šwær</td>
<td>šwœn (or šworn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>steil steal</td>
<td>stiœl, stiœl</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:

- wœr wear
- wœn (worn)

was weak in OE. (OE. werian).

- swœr swear
- swœn (sworn)

originally belonged to the sixth ablaut-class (OE. swerian, swœr, swœron, sworen).

- brok break
- brak, brok
- brokhn

originally belonged to the fifth ablaut-class, but got the pp. brocen already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

§ 436. The vowel (œ) of the past participle in the above-mentioned verbs was extended to the preterite and regularly lengthened into wœ (OE. œ in originally open syllables and also in the combination or + cons. > Lorton wœ, œ; see § 83), hence the preterites in wœ and œ.

The preterite stiœl 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 (> ã > Lorton iá), and then again this ā (iã) 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 íá-preterites of Class I (§ 423). The form stiúl has probably arisen through analogical influence from the preterites of Class VI (such as tiúk took, stiúd stood; see § 444).

The vowel of the preterite kom came, has undergone shortening (OE. c(w)om).

The verb swiar to swear, got its past participles in o (sworen) already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

brak pret., broke, is the old singular form (OE. brœk), 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>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Sax.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton: neid knead</td>
<td>niád, nod</td>
<td>nodn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)jít eat</td>
<td>(e)jít (jat)</td>
<td>etn ((e)jtn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giv, gi̯ give</td>
<td>gev</td>
<td>g(e)jın</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(§ 438, below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spéik speak</td>
<td>spak (spok, spiák)</td>
<td>spokn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treíd tread</td>
<td>trùd (triád)</td>
<td>trùdn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weiv weave</td>
<td>wuv</td>
<td>wuvn, wovn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 438. The verb git to get, gat got, gitn (gøtn) probably is a Scandinavian loan, or at least influenced in form and sense by the ON. gate (pret. gat, gatum, pp. getenn) to obtain (see N.E.D. sub get, vb., and Björkman, Scand. Loan-words in ME., p. 155).

giv, gi̯ to give, has also been influenced by the Scand. ON. vb. gefa (Swed. gi̯fa, Dan. give); the forms inf. gi̯ and pp. g(e)jın 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 e 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 ó, nodn, spokn, 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 trùd, trùdn, they have probably been formed after the analogy of stûd pret., stûdn 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, bid, invite</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>bidn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit, sit</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>sitn</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. hitta to hit upon, light upon, Swed. hitta, Dan. hitta), 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. slitan, strong verb (perhaps under the influence of the noun, OE. slite 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., § 1384); 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)i to see (cf. § 201. 3, and Wright, OE. Gram., § 506), pret. sô, pp. s(e)în. The pp. s(e)în originally was an adjective which came to be used as a past participle (late Northumbrian gesêne, W. Sax. gesêne visible). It is used in exactly the same sense in the Lorton dialect, for instance: jon treis s(e)în a laȝ wê 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. ë.

Class VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorton:</td>
<td>drō draw</td>
<td>drium</td>
<td>drōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fe(r)siâk forsake</td>
<td>fe(r)siâk</td>
<td>fe(r)siâkn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stand stand</td>
<td>stiūd, stiād (stūd)</td>
<td>stūdn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slē (OE. slēan&lt; sliū</td>
<td>sliū</td>
<td>slēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*slēahan) slay</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šak shake (§ 105)</td>
<td>suk</td>
<td>šuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this class also belongs one verb of Scandinavian origin (Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1449):

ME. täken | tōk | taken |
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 (nēber, faē).¹

The shortening of original ë into ū 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, sap 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'ēn), which form has regularly given Lorton tiān (see Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1449).

¹ The ë of the inf. slē may have been introduced from the pp. slēn.
§ 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 ē:

- *fō* fall
- *od* hold
- *beīt* beat

The following verbs all have preterites in ēu, regularly developed from OE. *ēow* (see § 204):

- *blō* blow
- *grau* grow (§ 184)
- *krō* crow
- *mō* mow
- *nō* know
- *snō* snow
- *prō* throw

(All these verbs are, however, frequently conjugated weak.)

The verb *pau* (OE. *pauian*) to thaw, has a strong preterite *piu* (now rarely used, except by old people), formed after the analogy of the ēu-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 Ȝu kuz fre I know where thou comest from, but a kenem 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, bild, 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. kest, kust, melt, &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
blid  bleed  blidid (-t), bled  blidid (-t), bled
brid  breed  bridid (-t), bred  bridid (-t), bred
ǔt  hurt  ǔtid (-t), ǔt  ǔtid (-t), ǔt
fid  feed  fidid (-t), fed  fidid (-t), fed
kest  cast  kest  kest
kùt  cut  kùt, kot  kùtn
kost  cost  kostid (-t), kost  kostn
leid  lead  leidid (-t), led  led, ledn
let  let  let  letn
lit  light  litid (-t), let  litid (-t), let
melt (OE. str. vb., Cl. III)  meltid (-t)  meltid (-t)
mìt  meet  met (mìtid, -t)  met (mìtid, -t)
put  put  put, pot  putn, potn (see § 142, note III)
### VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>send send</td>
<td>sendid (-t), sent</td>
<td>sendid (-t), sent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set set</td>
<td>set</td>
<td>setn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spend spend</td>
<td>spendid (-t), spent</td>
<td>spendid (-t), spent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šôt shut</td>
<td>šôt, šôt</td>
<td>šôt, šôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweat sweat (§ 162)</td>
<td>sweitid (-t), swetid</td>
<td>sweitid (-t), swetn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweat</td>
<td>swet</td>
<td>swet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treit treat (see § 225)</td>
<td>treitid (-t), treit</td>
<td>treitid (-t), treit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšeit (§ 227) cheat</td>
<td>tšeitid (-t)</td>
<td>tšeitid (-t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wed wed</td>
<td>wedid (-t)</td>
<td>wedid (-t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet wet</td>
<td>wetid (-t)</td>
<td>wetid (-t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preterites šôt 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>iad, ād (§170, note)</td>
<td>iad, ād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lig (§ 127, note) lay</td>
<td>ligd</td>
<td>lign (ligd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>lēd</td>
<td>lēn, lēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>šod (šuud)</td>
<td>šod, šuud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gā, gān (§ 156, note I; Sweet, went, gād</td>
<td></td>
<td>gon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N. E. Gr., § 1458) go

lē 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deal</td>
<td>deilt</td>
<td>deilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel</td>
<td>filt</td>
<td>filt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lend</td>
<td>lent</td>
<td>lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave</td>
<td>left</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lose</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mean</td>
<td>meint</td>
<td>meint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shave</td>
<td>šeali</td>
<td>šeali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>baut</td>
<td>baut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The short vowels of the infinitives *len* (<OE. *lēnan*) and *los*¹ (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 *los*.

§ 453. (c) The verbs belonging to this group have collateral *d* and *t*-forms in the preterite and past participle, but the *t*-endings are much more used than those in *d*, which are in most cases due to the influence of the literary language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>burnt (-d)</td>
<td>burnt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briuu (OE. str. vb., Cl. II; see Wright, <em>OE. Gram.</em>, § 493)</td>
<td>bri(u)ut (-d)</td>
<td>bri(u)ut (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dreim</td>
<td>dreimt (-d)</td>
<td>dreimt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leim</td>
<td>leint (-d)</td>
<td>leint (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lärn</td>
<td>lärnt (-d)</td>
<td>lärnt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riuu rue</td>
<td>ri(u)ut (-d)</td>
<td>ri(u)ut (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>saut (-d)</td>
<td>saut (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel</td>
<td>sel (d)</td>
<td>sel (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smel</td>
<td>smelt (-d)</td>
<td>smelt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spel</td>
<td>spelt (-d)</td>
<td>spelt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spil</td>
<td>spilt (-d)</td>
<td>spilt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoil</td>
<td>spoilt (-d)</td>
<td>spoilt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swel</td>
<td>swelt (-d)</td>
<td>swelt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sö show</td>
<td>sö (d)</td>
<td>söd, sön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel</td>
<td>telt (-d)</td>
<td>telt (-d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tliáö clothe</td>
<td>tliápt (-öd)</td>
<td>tliápt (-öd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšau chew</td>
<td>tšaut (-d)</td>
<td>tšaut (-d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class III**

§ 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 *ö* in *los* is probably the correct one (not the one given in § 139, b).
**Infinitive.**

elp to help (OE. elpt

str. vb., Cl. III)
kats catch
kis kiss
reitš reach
šap shape
weš wash
pišk think
wurk work

**Preterite.**

elp

elpt

katšt
kist
reitšt
šapt
wešt
paut (§ 132)
raut (,, )

**Past Part.**

elpt

katšt
kist
reitšt
šapt
wešt
paut
raut

To this class also belongs the verb mak to make, which has lost its k in the preterite and past participle through contraction (ME. raut, arising through this contraction, has regularly developed into Lorton raut, 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: wurks works, elps helps, pišks thinks, sits sits.

z is used after voiced sounds other than z, ź: dreimz dreams, lärnz learns, teaches, sauż sews.

iz is used after the spirants s, z, š, ź: kisiz kisses, Iwoziz loses, wišiz 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. § 258).

Particiles. 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, dār dare, šal, šal shall, mun must, mæ may, aut ought, ev have, bí be, wil will, dié, diů do.
1. Can

§ 457. The forms of the present tense are:
Strong kan, weak kan, kn.
Preterite: strong kʊd, weak kʊd.
With not: kanə, kanət, kənt cannot; kʊdənt (kədnt).
Interrogatively: kana can I? kanta can thou? kani can he?
kʊda could I? kʊd-tə could thou? kʊdi could he?

2. Dare

§ 458. Present: 1st pers., strong form dər, weak dər. 2nd and 3rd pers., strong dər or dəʃ, weak dər.
Preterite for all persons: dəq.
With not: a dərent I dare not, sə(u), i dəsənt thou, he dares not, a, sə(u), i dəqənt I, thou, he dared not.

Note. I have also found a form dʊr, dʊʃ, 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 dʊrent I dare not, sə(u), i dʊsənt 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: səl, səl for all persons.
Weak: sl, sl, (s) " "

Preterite. Strong: sʊd, sʊd " "
Weak: səd, (st) " "

With not: Present a, sə(u), i sənt, sənt, sələnt, sələnt 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 stəf nuu I shall have to start now, al bi gən te kɔkmeə vəre siuə 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. monə, munu (infinitive) = shall, will.
This verb has only two forms for all persons of the present and preterite, viz. strong mun, weak mən (mn).
Examples are: i mun ev bin e fiul te diət he must have been
a fool to do it, ḍu mėn əbin ont ɓuuz ə gā laŋ taim Ṵu thou must have been on the spree a long time now.

**Note.** mun (man) is also used in the sense of may, can, owing to partial confusion in sense with mā, med (see § 460 below): muna stop ier teŋ nit may I stop here to-night? jē mēn diŋ ʄeŋvēr ja laŋk you may do whatever you like.

5. May

§ 461. **Present.** Strong form: mā for all persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Strong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me, mē</td>
<td>med</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterite.** Strong " me, mē " " "

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Strong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mēd</td>
<td>mēnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **not**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mānt</td>
<td>medēnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** The pret. med is occasionally used instead of the pres. (mē, me, mē): i med əz wil stāŋ Ṵu 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. āhte; cf. aut and naut, § 159, II).

Examples: a aut I ought, aut a ought I? i autēnt he ought not, autēnt−ja ought you not?

7. Have

§ 463. **Pres. sing. 1st person:** Strong ev Weak əv, v

2nd and 3rd " " " ez, es " " əz, z, əs, s

The forms of the plural are the same as those of the 1st pers. sing.: ev, əv, v.

**Preterite.** Strong ed Weak ad, d

**Infinitive.** " ev " əv, e

The forms ez, əz, 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)ïnëm tēdē a tel−ja I have seen him today, I tell you, av god−it Ṵu I have got it now, əzî bin iər has he been here? iz ɨut he is out, əstə spokn tûləm hast thou spoken to him? id gon tə ɻōŋ siām dē he had gone to Lorton the same day, i mun ə dūnt isel he must have done it himself, ḍu just(a) ev (əv) a ɻarbl pēn a tleg 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 ūr; weak ėr, 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 divent ken t'šap as tōkan ēbuut you don't know the chap I am talking of, az gan to s(e)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.


The form of the pret. sing. is often extended to the plural, thus: wi wes kūmen fre emlsaid siām mwōnin 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 wūr 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 ūr of the present tense has evidently been formed after the analogy of wūr.

Examples with not: āmānt, āz nūt I am not, ēyu(u) izēnt, ēyu nūt thou art not, izēnt, iz nūt he is not, wi ūrēnt, wi ēr nūt we are not, jūrēnt you are not, ā wazēnt I was not, wi wārēnt, wi wūr nūt we were not.

Interrogatively: ama, iza am I? ista art thou? izi is he? īši is she? ūrwi are we? ūrē are you? ūrē are they? waza, wezā was I? wasta, wes ēyu were thou? wazi was he? wūr wi were we? wūr jē were you? wūrē were they?

9. Will

§ 465. The forms of the present tense for all persons of the singular and plural are: strong wil, weak wul, (a).l.

Preterite. Strong wad (see § 134, note I), weak wēd, (a)d.
The form wul is also occasionally used as a strong form.

Examples with not: ā (ðu(u), i, wi, je, ðe) wulænt, wulænt, wönt, wina I (thou, he, we, you, they) will not, ā (ðu(u), i, wi, je, ðe) wadænt, wædænt I (thou, he, we, you, they) would not.

Interrogatively: wila, wula will I? wilte, wulte wilt thou? will, wili will he? wilwa, wulwa, wileæ will we? wilja, wulja will you? wilða, wulða will they? wada, wæda would I? wadwi, wædæ would we?

10. Do

§ 466. Infinitive: diá (diú), dī (on the origin of these forms see § 180).

Present: ā (wi, je, ðe) diá (diú), di, div (cf. § 150, footnote) I (we, you, they) do; ðu(u) (i) dūz, diz thou (he) doest (does).

Note I. The second element of the diphthongs iā, iū in the infinitive varies between ū and ē; 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: dūd, did.

Participles: Present diūn, past dūn, (sometimes also diūn).

Examples: āz gānt te diēt (dīt) bi misel I am going to do it by myself, iz dunt oridi he has done it already, watste diūn ðiðr laik what art thou doing there?

With not: a divænt I don’t, ðyu dizænt thou doest not, wi divænt we don’t.


ADVERBS

§ 467. Adverbs of place: bak back, bakwædz backwards, dūn down, ðær here, ðiðer there, ëmðæn right in front (ëm= even, ñænæst, see § 310), enispot anywhere, sumspot somewhere, níspot nowhere, wœr where, jondær yonder.

Adverbs of time: binuð by this time, eftær’æ’bit by-and-by, ðivær ever, nivær never, jans once, jit yet, ðæls always, ðetmærn (tær’moró) to-morrow, tær’dæ to-day, jistæða yesterday, tær’nit
to-night, tâdêdê the other day, ofn often, nuu now, cân then, won (occasionally wan) when, siûn soon.

Adverbs of manner and degree. Two of these adverbs have the stress on the adverbial suffix: akocâlai accordingly, siuarlai surely (this pronunciation is now only heard from old people), mebi (meba), mapm (contraction of may happen) perhaps, ûu how, û(u)wívër, wívër however, nobet (ônli) only, nothing but, âmîrà almost, ânô, âzwîl too, as well, wîl, wel (see § 108) well. Sîe (sometimes sîa) so, thus, wai why, lâilkî probably, âniûf enough.

Intensifying adverbs are: vara very, tèrbl (tarbl) terribly, gâe gaily, kâni canny, very, ekstrâ extra (see above, § 399).

Affirmative and negative particles: ai yes, nâ (ne) no, nût, nêt not.

PREPOSITIONS

§ 468. eftar after, âfuor before, âtwîn between, bi (ba) by, bi(h)înt, e(h)înt behind, âbût about, widût without, âbiyûn above (OE. onbûfan), agiàn, giàn against, (e)laj said on along (side of), ômanj, manj among, ôsaid beside, ôstîd on (en, ô) instead of, for (fâr) for, frê, prê from, intul into, när near, bût except, awwêr over, sen since, tê, tul, têl to, prû through, under, ônundar under, up up, wid (wi, usually before a following consonant) with, ât at.

ôn, en, ô: owing to the dropping of final consonants, the prepositions on and of have been completely confused in sense and use: the unstressed form of both was used both for on and of, whereas the form ov, av can be said to have almost entirely gone out of use in our dialect, on (ô, en) having taken its place everywhere, for instance: wat dije âñk out what do you think of it? ëv jê åd q ont have you heard of it? en t'op ont on top of it, ýut on (en) out of, insaid out inside of it, t'fïas oner her face.

The same confusion has taken place between in and on: both were reduced to ô in unstressed position, but in also to i, and these two forms are now used promiscuously for on, in: ô (or i) t'fïld in the field, ô t'sôp in the shop, ô-t'hiâp in the barn, &c.

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 469. bût, bat but, koz because, ân (stressed and) and, ât that (see Appendix and § 417), if (f) if, nâder, naudar neither, nêr nor, ôr or, âdâr, audar either, nêr than (after a comparative), til, tul (têl) 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.
(Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch), J. A. Murray
(The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland), T. O. Hirst (A
Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal), Arnold Wall ('A Contribution
towards the Study of the Scandinavian Element in the English
Dialects', Anglia, xx), H. Mutschmann (A Phonology of the North-
Eastern Scotch Dialect).

The history of the Scandinavian settlement in the north-western
part of England has been inquired into by J. C. H. R. Steenstrup
(Normannerne, Kjobenhavn, 1882), J. J. A. Worsaae (Minder om de
Danske og Nordmændene i England, Scotland, og Irland, Kjoben-
havn, 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

-á Icel. á, Swedish å, ME. ã (= OE. ēa) occurring in numerous
names of rivers and streams in Cumberland. Cf. also the Icel.
Landnámabók, where we find many instances of á as a com-
ponent 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 West-
moreland, p. 112). Examples are the river-names Betha, Calda,
Bratha, Greta, Wisa.

adl to earn ; O. W. Scand. øðlask to acquire, with a change of
øl > ål, usual in OE. and ME. (see Björkman, Scand. Loan-words,

áf-net a pock-net, a sea-net (see Prevost, p. 150 ; Wall, p. 105) ;
ON. háfr a pock-net, Norw. hauv, Swedish hâv ; cf. the vb. áf ' to
fish with an áf-net', and the comp. áf-bók the pole attached to an
áf-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), agor 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).
ansel '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. handsal, Dan. handsel, Swed. handsol (= '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.

aŋk sb. 'a skein of thread or yarn, a loop, an evil habit'; aŋk vb. 'to fasten with a hoop, a term in wrestling' (Prevost, p. 154); O. W. Scand. hönk sb., hanka vb., Swed. dial. hank; Dan. hank (Björkman, p. 212; Wall, p. 106). Der.: aŋkl to entangle.

apri 'vexed', but especially applied to a sore: painful, inflamed; O. W. Scand. angsr sb. trouble, angra vb., ME. angren vb. to distress, hurt, pain, O. Dan. anger sb., angre vb., Swed. ånger sb., ångra vb., with similar meanings; cf. the comp. aŋr nālz = nails grown into the flesh (see further Björkman, p. 200; Wall, p. 89). aŋ-nāl may however be derived from OE. ang-nægð whitlow (see Bosw.-T.).

aŋzh husks (of corn), awns; ON. ǫgn, gen. øgnar, Dan. øvne, Swed. øgnar (Wall, p. 89; N.E.D. sub øw).

[am-sam adv. confusedly, disorderly; cf. Swed. dial. hams carefulness, hamsa to be disorderly (Wall, p. 106).]

ær 'a scar from a wound, a cicatrix'; ME. erre, erre (only in Northern writers), O. W. Scand. err, err, Swed. ẽrr, Dan. ar.

årðer 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 þus æn årðer 'house and harbour' (cf. Icel. hús ok herbergi; Ellwood, p. 29).

årk 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. harkla to hawk (up), to clear one's throat.

ärnz 'brains' (Prevost, p. 156); ME. hærenes, hernes, harnes brains, O. W. Scand. hiarni, O. Swed. hjerne, Swed. hjärna (Björkman, p. 213).

årval adj.: 'applied to anything connected with heirship or inheritance'; årval dinar 'a dinner held on the day of the funeral'; årval breid 'cakes which were distributed to the funeral guests'. årvalz 'the meat and drink supplied at the funerals'; ME. arvell (Björkman, p. 200), 'a funeral feast'; O. W. Scand. erfjöl, O. Dan.
arveel, Icel. arfr, Swed. arf (see also Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 2; Prevost, A Gloss. of the Dial. of Cumberland, p. 6).

asl(-tiuj) a molar or grinder-tooth; ME. axylotothe; 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. axeltand, Swed. dial. akslatand (Wall, p. 89). This word also occurs in the comp. asl-trei, ME. axel-ire; cf. O. W. Scand. gxlultré, OE. eax axle-tree, without the Scand. (Björkman, p. 199); asl-id the back part of the jaw which contains the molars.

at (at), ME. at, used in three different senses: (1) as an indeclinable relative pronoun = standard English that: tswöri ati telt me jistœ the story that he told me yesterday. (2) As a conjunction: i telt me at i was gän te kokœp he told me that he was going to Cockermouth. (3) As a mark of the infinitive = standard English to: i akst me at diût 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, därлинаu (near Lorton); O. W. Scand. hauyr, O. Swed. hegher, Swed. hög (Björkman, p. 70; Wall, p. 107).

auz (or öz) ME. hause, 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.

avær oats; ME. hawør, hawyr, O. W. Scand. hafri, O. Swed. havre, Dan. havre (Björkman, p. 213).

æn 'to shut up a pasture field till the grass grows again, to preserve untouched, to save' (Prevost, p. 151); cf. ON. hegna, Swed. hägna, to enclose with a fence, to preserve or shelter, Dan. heg, 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 bylaw).

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. bång noise (see further N.E.D. sub bang vb., and Wall, p. 90).

bånk 'bank, elevation', but mostly used in the comp. adverbs denoting direction: up-bånk=upwards, in-bånk, duun-bånk =downwards; cf. Dan. banke, 'a raised ridge of ground, a shelving elevation in the sea, a heap, dunghill', Dan. dial. bank 'a hill, a bank of clouds'; cf. the cognate words O. W. Scand. bækti ridge, hill, Dan. bakke, Swed. backe hill, hillock (Björkman, p. 230).

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. bërkr, Dan., Swed. bark.

bærn 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).

baudæstían 'a big round stone or piece of rock'; cf. ME. builderstyn, Swed. bullersten (< *buidersten); see further Björkman, p. 232, and N.E.D. sub boulder-stone. The au-diphthong points to an original *bolder (§ 134); ME. *bolder would give Lorton bûdar (§ 146).

bæl in the comp. bæl-faier, 'signal fires lighted upon the Scottish and Cumbrian borders to denote the outbreak of war' (Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 3), also bonfire; ME. bûte a funeral pile, bonfire; Prevost (p. 21) gives a short form bêfâre, perhaps an early shortening of native ME. bêl, O. W. Scand. bäl blaze, flame,
funeral pile, Swed. båt; OE. bēl, ME. bēl cannot be the source as it would have given Lorton beǐl (§ 162) (see Björkman, p. 87).

bēt handy, accommodating (used of a way or road): straight, short, direct (tbēnast wǣ); ME. bein, bain < O. W. Scand. beinn straight, direct (Björkman, p. 40); cf. gēn, p. 144.

bēt (1) an intermediate meal, food (for a man or a horse) by the way; also a verb to bēt to stop by the way to feed (Prevost, p. 13); ME. baite bait, food, O. W. Scand. bēt, O. Swed. bēt food (Björkman, p. 41), pasture; cf. also the use of the word in modern Swed. dial. bēt 'food whilst on a journey'.

bēt (2) vb., ME. beggtēn, O. W. Scand. beita 'to cause to bite, to hunt', especially in the sense 'to set the dogs on, to worry or tease a confined or chained animal'.

The OE. verb bētan would give Lorton beǐt (see § 162) (Björkman, p. 41).

bek a streamlet or brook, may simply be a Northern form of OE. byce, or the Scandinavian (O. W. Scand. bekkr) 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. r of the genitive).

bēnk, biŋk 'a low bank or ledge of rock, a row of peats piled up' (Prevost, p. 22); cf. O. Swed. bēnker, Dan. bēnk, Norw. benk, 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. bennche (Björkman, p. 145).

beriā a thrasher; O. W. Scand. berja, O. Swed. bēria to beat (see further Björkman, p. 183, and Wall, p. 91).

big barley; ME. big, ON. bygg, Norw. dial. bygg, Dan. byg, O. Dan. biug(g) (Björkman, p. 32; Wall, p. 91). The OE. form of this word is bēow.

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 tiē-bīgin clay-building, and place-names such as sunbigin, niuubigham; cf. O. W. Scand. bygging building.

bikār, now obsolete in our dialect (but see Prevost, p. 25, and

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1 Mostly used in the comp. bu1-bōtēn, 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.

*bútn* ‘service done by a customary tenant for the lord of the manor’ (Prevost, p. 24); ME. *bôn* prayer, request < O. W. Scand. *bôn* of the same sense. On the transition of sense from ‘prayer, request’ into ‘favour conferred, free gift’, &c., see N. E. D. *boon*, sb. 1 (Björkman, p. 205).


*bliæ*-(beriz) blue-(berries); *bliæ* points to a ME. *ä*; cf. ME. *blå*, O. W. Scand. *bär*, O. Swed. *blär*, Dan. *blaæ*; whereas the OE. form *blæw* 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. *brandreth, brandrethe*, O. W. Scand. *brandreið*; the corresponding OE. word is *brandrida* (Björkman, p. 63).

*briükkt* 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. *brökg* variegated, motley, many-coloured (especially said of cows), Norw. dialect *brök*, 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. *embrök*.

*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 *bulstæn* (see *stæn* 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 *buksaemm* 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. byrr ‘a favourable wind’, O. Swed. byr ‘fair wind’, Swed. dial. byr, bōr ‘wind, fair wind’ (Björkman, p. 204).

busk (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. bīn ‘ready, prepared’, from O. W. Scand. būinn (cf. O. E. Scand. būinn), pp. of būa to prepare (Björkman, p. 206).

dauli ‘downhearted, lonely, solitary, desolate’ (applied to places); ON. dounfligr ‘lonely, dull’, Norw. dialect dauflég, ‘tedious, slow’ (Wall, p. 96).

daup ‘a bay in a lake, a recess, a precipice’; apparently a Scand. loan, from ON. daup (see N.E.D. sub doup) ‘a hollow or cleft with steep sides’, Norw. doup ‘hollow’, occurring in several place-names, such as Corby doup, Howe doup, The Great Doup (Prevost, p. 102; Wall, p. 96).

dæl, diál; these forms are now used promiscuously in our dialect, although originally representing two different words with different senses; the form diál, however, is more used than dæl. The ið-diphthong in diál points to an original â (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. deill deal, part, division, deila vb. to divide (OE. dæl would give Lorton döil, 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 diál); also ‘a field near a house, a croft’. The comp. dælzman (or diálzman) probably originally meant the owner of a certain part or dæl of land (on the words dale, dalemal see Lindkvist, ME. Place-Names of Scand. Origin, p. 30, and ‘Some Old Scand. Deposits in ME.
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. dæsen 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. daggwa, Swed. dial. dögga, Norw. dial. deggja, and O. W. Scand. dögg 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. dös.

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-water, 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. diunga, O. Dan. dinge (see further Björkman, p. 207).

dleg (not used in Lorton) ‘pleasant, sharp, quick, “well up” (in something)’; cf. ME. gleg, ON. glegr (or glegr) ‘clear-sighted’, Swed. dial. glägg ‘sprightly, brisk’ (Wall, p. 103; Björkman, p. 34).

[dient (or dlint) sb. ‘a glance, twinkle, glimpse’; dient vb. ‘to glance, to look aside, to sparkle’; ME. glenten ‘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. *glýpna* 'to quail, to look downcast or frightened' (see Björkman, p. 241). Scandinavian origin of the word questionable.]

[**doŋk** vb. 'to be damp, to drizzle' (Prevost, p. 100); **doŋki** 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'; cf. Dan. *dýnke* 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.]


**druun** 'to drown'; ME. *drünen* (arisen from an original Old Scand. *drunkna* through consonant dissimilation; thus *druun* > *druyna* > *druyna* > ME. *drünen* > Lorton *druun*; see further Björkman, p. 176).

**dump**; ME. *dumpen, dompen* 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-kuu* 'a cow given to attacking people'.

**duner** 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'.

[**dwale** vb., only used in the pp. *dwałed* (-et), 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, *Norv.-Dün. Worterbuch*, sub *dvala*); cf. also Swed. *dvale*, Norw. dial. *dvale* '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. hefta to bind, fetter, to hold back, restrain, Dan. hefte, Swed. häfta to bind, to join (= OE. heftan 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. æggja. Cf. OE. (ge)ægian, but undoubtedly a Scand. loan, as there are no modern dialect forms in dž (Björkman, pp. 157, 236).

eldin fuel, ON. elding fuel (<eldr fire). The corresponding OE. word is æled fire; see also Wall, p. 38.

ei (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.

farantli 'orderly, respectfully'; 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. fjela 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, fiall, 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. festen-peni 'money paid to a servant on hiring to bind the agreement' (Prevost, p. 118). OE. faestan, ON. festa, ME. festen. OE. æ in faestan would regularly give ME. a, Lorton a, but e might also be expected (see § 97, especially esp, kæst). 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 fast vb. 1; Björkman, p. 287).

flau (ME. fiären) 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. flipe ‘a horse’s lip’, Dan. flip ‘flap’, Norw. dial. flipe ‘flap, lobe’ (Wall, p. 100); but the present dial. form points to an ON. *flip.]

flat (ME. flat) flat, prostrate, &c., O. W. Scand. flatr, Swed. flat, Dan. flad (see N.E.D. sub flat adj., and Björkman, p. 288).

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. *flowe (which would regularly give Lorton flau; cf. § 184); the w in this form might be a glide arisen between the two vowels in ON. flóe (Norw. dial. floe), Icel. floi, as in grofé, grufsé, ‘grow’<ON. gróa, or in the Lorton triphthongs uuwa, auwa, cf. above, §§ 29, 33, and O. Ritter, ‘Zur Mundart des nordöstlichen Schottlands,’ § 196. 2 (in Englische Studien, 46. 1).

fleæ to scare, to frighten; N.E.D. quotes two probable OE. forms, *fligan and *floegan, but both these verbs would have given Lorton fli, whereas ON. flyæja would regularly develop into fleæ, 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 flık; see Prevost, p. 121) ‘a sheep-hurdle, a barred water heck, a frame horizontally suspended from the ceiling, on which fitches of bacon, &c., are laid to dry’; cf. ON. flake, fleke hurdle, wicker shield (see N.E.D. sub flake sb. 1).

flit ‘to remove goods, especially secretly and when in debt’; ME. flitten, flitten ‘to flit, carry, migrate’, O. W. Scand. flytja, O. Swed. flytia, Swed. flytta to remove (Björkman, p. 210).

fræ, fre (individually pronounced þræ, þre) prep. from; ME. fræ, O. W. Scand. frá from (Björkman, p. 100).
fuml vb. to fumble; fuml sb. 'a blundering attempt'; perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. fumla, Dan. fumle, fomle, Norw. dial. fumla in the same sense (Björkman, p. 236).

twöôs (or rôô) waterfall or cascade, mostly occurring in place-names, such as twöôs spûqt Force Spout (near Lorton), Scale Force, Birker Force. ON. fors, Swed. fors, Dan. fos '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 giáp to gape; both gap and giáp 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. *gapian 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. gierwan (gearwian), ME. garwen. 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. gärn 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. gardr, O. Swed. garðer, occurring in several place-names (such as Garth-head, West-garth), and in compounds: stak-gärp a stack-yard, kof-gärp an enclosure for the calves, &c. (cf. above, § 351. 2, and Björkman, p. 151).

gauk 'the cuckoo'; O. W. Scand. gaukr, OE. géac (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. goulon (also gawlon,
gaulen), O. W. Scand. gaula ‘to howl, low, bellow’; cf. Icel. gūla (also applied to the yell of dogs; cf. Wall, p. 104; Björkman, p. 69).

gau (now obsolete in Lorton but quoted by Prevost and Ferguson) vb. ‘to understand, to give attention to, to take care of’; gau sb. ‘attention’; ME. gōm sb. ‘care, heed, attention’, from O. W. Scand. gaum, gaumr ‘heed, attention’.

gauonz ‘a handful, the two hands full’; O. W. Scand. gauon, 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, gultr (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).]

gēn (cf. bēn, p. 136) ‘handy, short, direct’ (used of a pathway or road); ME. gein, gain adj. ‘straight, near’, O. W. Scand. geyn, adj. ‘handy, direct, convenient’; cf. Swed. gen, Dan. gjen, 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. géslingr 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 a giát to get on one’s way, to get started.

giær ‘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. gérvi, 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.
gilder 'horse-hair snares attached to cross-strings running across a hoop or bent stick', hair nooses; ME. gilder 'snare', ON. gilda 'snare', O. Swed. gilder, Norw. gilder (Björkman, p. 154).

gilt 'a young sow intended for breeding purposes'; ME. gilte sow, O. W. Scand. gyltr, gylta (Björkman, p. 210).

gimmerlam 'a female sheep not exceeding two years old'; ME. gymbre, gymbure 'young sheep', O. W. Scand. gimbr 'young female sheep', Dan. gimmerlam, Norw. gimber, gymbu (see Falk and Torp, p. 310, and Björkman, p. 211).

gis, gisi 'call-notes for swine', also applied to the swine itself, an altered form of gras '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).

git to get, pret. get, pp. gitn; ME. geten, O. W. Scand. geta, O. Swed. gita (see Björkman, p. 153, and above § 112).

giv to give, pret. gev (see Accidence, § 438), pp. gin; ME. giuen, O. W. Scand. geva, O. Swed. giva (Björkman, p. 154).

[göf (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.]

grasem '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, gartume, O. W. Scand. gårsemi, gersemi, O. Dan. gersom '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.

grädlí (obsolescent and rare) 'good, proper' (Prevost, p. 145); ME. greidlíc suitable, ON. greiðligr 'prepared, equipped'.

gränz 'the prongs of a fork, branches of a tree'; ME. grein, grøyn '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. 43).

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 griáp which seems to point to the OE. gröp grasp.


griúp ‘the space behind the cows in a stall, a narrow passage, a privy, a sink’; cf. ON. gröp the narrow furrow or groove of a rill (see Falk and Torp), Icel. gröpa groove, Swed., Norw. gröp hollow, cavity. The above-mentioned ON. forms have given ME. gröp (see N.E.D. sub groop) and then regularly Lorton griúp (§ 176).

griúv a pit, ‘a place from whence coal, slate, &c., have been dug’ (Prevost, p. 147); possibly from ON. gráf (&ME. gröv > Lorton griúv, § 176) ‘hollow, pit’; cf. Goth. gróba ‘cavity, hollow’, Dan. gröv hollow, cavity. N.E.D. (sub groove) derives groove from the Dutch groeve ‘sulcus, fossa, scrobs’.


il adj. ‘evil, wicked’; il vb. ‘to degrade, slander’ (Prevost, p. 175); ME. ille adj. ‘evil, bad’, O. W. Scand. illr, ìlla adj. with the same sense, Swed. ìlla adv. ‘badly’, Dan. ìlde (Björkman, p. 171).

iŋ ‘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).

iŋ vb. ‘to hang’, pret. anŋ (ynŋ, see § 429, B), pp. unŋ; apparently from ON. hengja to hang (see further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 157). The form anŋ to hang, is also frequently used, but without any appreciable distinction in sense.


jµu(w)ær ‘a cow’s udder’; from ON. iuagr, O. Swed. iugher (through vocalization of g, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the ù > yu; see § 145). Cf. Norw. juver, jur, Swed. jufver.
kail 'a boil or sore', ME. kile, ON. kýlí '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 kwóm (see § 93, note 1).

cär 'an extensive hollow place where water stands in winter, small, hollow, cup-shaped fields'; ME. ker marshy ground, O. W. Scand. kiarr, Dan. kjær, Swed. käär (Björkman, p. 142).

cär 'a coarse unmannerly fellow, a countryman'; ME. carl 'a man', ON. kari, Dan., Swed. karl 'man, male, man of the people'. We find the original sense of the word preserved in the comp. kärl-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'; kaupær sb. a dealer (generally a horse-dealer); ME. copen, copen from O. W. Scand. kaupa, O. Swed. kopa, Swed. köpa to buy (Björkman, p. 70).

kää (-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', kaj-händt 'left-handed' (see N.E.D. sub kay, key adj., and Björkman, p. 56).

kæk vb. 'a twist or bend to one side'; ON. keiktia 'to bend backwards', keíkr adj. 'bent backwards', Norw. keika 'to turn, to twist' (see further Falk and Torp, sub keit, 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'.

kenspek(a)lt 'conspicuous, visible, distinct'; perhaps Scandinavian; cf. ON. kennispeki 'faculty of recognition', Norw. kenne-spak, Swed. dial. kännspak adj. 'quick at recognizing persons or things'. Scandinavian origin, however, somewhat doubtful (see further Björkman, sub spac, p. 220, and Wall, p. 108).

[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, esten, ON. kasta, Swed. kasta, Dan. kaste (Björkman, p. 142).

ket 'filth, rubbish, carrion'; adj. keti 'dirty, mean'; ME.
ket 'flesh', ON. kigt 'flesh, carrion' (see further Wall, p. 109, and Björkman, p. 142).

ketl kettle; cf. O. Scand. ketill kettle, OE. cetel. 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. kafa 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. kilp, Dan. kid. Undoubtedly Scandinavian (see further Björkman, p. 143).

kilp 'a hook or handle attached to a vessel' (mostly used in the combination kilps en kriðks; 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. kitting, kella, kjöllting in the sense: 'a fold formed by fastening or tucking up the dress or skirt' (cf. Falk and Torp, sub kitte), 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).

kín1 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.]

kit1 vb. to tickle, 'to take potatoes out of the ground with the hands, leaving the tops'; kit1 adj. active, quick, excitable. The word may be a Scandinavian loan or at least influenced by ON. kitla (Swed. kitta) to tickle (see further N.E.D. sub kittle).

kitlin kitten, a young animal, probably from ON. kettingr, Norw. kjøtting 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
'bridele-bit, clamp, hook, lot' < O. W. Scand. kefil (kafil), O. Dan. kefle, Swed. kafle (Björkman, p. 142).


kraul 'to crawl'; ME. craulen, ON. krafla, Swed. krafla, Dan. krawle 'to crawl' (see further, Björkman, p. 215).

kræk 'crow', occurring in the comp. kræk-beri 'crowberry'; ME. croke, ON. kraka, Swed. kråka, Norw. kraaka, Dan. krage (see further Björkman, p. 25, and Wall, p. 94).

kriðk crook; ME. croke, ON. krókr, O. Swed. kroker, Swed. krok.

kýrk 'church' (ME. kirke in Orm., according to Björkman 'distinctly Scandinavian in form'; see p. 143); cf. ON. kyrkja, Dan. kirke, Swed. kyrka, OE. cir(i)ce. Cf. the comp. kyrk-garp churchyard (kýrk + ON. garbr yard).

kýrn vb. and sb. churn. I have heard this word only in the comp. kýrn-milk buttermilk; ME. kyrne 'churn' may be due to ON. kyrna churn (see N.E.D. sub churn, and Björkman, p. 143). Der. : kýrn-supær 'a harvest festival where half-churned cream was served' (see further Ellwood, Lakel. and Icel., p. 35).

ký(u)wær, occurring in the adverbiaal expression umli ký(u)wær (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. kýre 'to bend oneself down', Swed. kýra, Dan. kýre with similar senses (Björkman, p. 248).

lagin 'the ends of the staves which project outside a cask or tub'; cf. ON. logg, Swed. lagg 'a stave', lagg-kárl 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.

läð vb. 'to listen to'; cf. the expressions läð-nvu, lästa 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. lîfen, lîfen, ON. hlîða to listen, Dan. lyde, Norw. and Swed. dials. lyda 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*, *lows*, *laus* adj. 'loose', *lousen*, *louisen* 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. *legn(i)an, liegn(i)an* to deny.

læri 'dirty with mud or clay'; lêf 'said of a horse or cow which has got stuck in a bog' (Prevost, p. 191); ME. *läre* mud, clay, ON. *leir*, Swed. *lêra* clay, mud.

læt 'to seek, to fetch, to bring'; ME. *legtenn* 'to inquire, seek, look for', ON. *leita*, Old and Mod. Swedish *leita* 'to seek, to look for'.

äv 'what is left, remainder'; the *ä* points to Scandinavian rather than native origin; cf. ON. *leif* remainder, which would regularly give Lorton læf or læv, whereas OE. *læf* would develop into Lorton liåf.

[led, occurring in the combination led fàrm '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. *лège* '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'.


**lín** 'heather'; ME. *ling*, ON. *lyng*, Dan. *lyng*, Swed. *ljung* 'heather'.

**lisk** the flank or groin; ME. *lesske*; cf. O. Swed. *liuske*, O. Dan. *liuske*, Dan. *lyske* with the same sense (Björkman, p. 138). (On the transition ME. *e* > *i* see § 112.)


**ló** low; ME. *lāh*, *lāg*, *łag* low, ON. *lágr* low, Swed. *läg*, &c. (see further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 90).

**lóf** (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, *lofa* 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. *lofa*, 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 Scandinavian 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. *loppe*, Dan. *loppe*; 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.

**lopēt** 'coagulated, curdled' (said of milk or cream; a pp. of the vb. *lopēr*); ME. *lopred* (see N.E.D.); cf. ON. *lopna* 'to curdle, coagulate'.

**lug** 'ear, the handle of a pail or jug', &c.; cf. Swed. *lugga* forelock, *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.]
maier ‘mire, mud’, &c.; ME. mire ‘mire, deep mud, wet, slimy soil’, from ON. myr-r, Mod. Icel. myr, Swed. myr, Dan. myre, myr ‘moor, bog’. Compounds: maier-drum ‘a bittern’ (Prevost, p. 28); maier-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. mäld, Norw. dial. meld, meld.

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. ʃ (i, ʃ) melle; cf. O. Dan. měllum, měllin, 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. menska ‘goodness, generosity’; but cf. also OE. mennisce ‘mankind’; cf. the comp. mensful ‘hospitable, generous, liberal’. (The k has probably been lost in compounds like menskly, mens(k)ful.)


m(e)ilz ‘sand-hills’, occurring in several place-names, such as Esk Meals, Mealsgate, &c. (see Prevost, p. 211); ON. mělr ‘sand-bank, also bent grass’ (see N.E.D. sub meal sb. 5).

miskenn ‘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.

mōk ‘a maggot’; ME. mādek, mauk, mōke, probably from ON. mādr; cf. Dan. māddik, Swed. dial. makk (and also OE. māda 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. muggen ‘to become cloudy’, ON. mugga mist, drizzle, Dan. muggen ‘musty, mouldy’.

muk ‘manure, dung, dirt; ME. muk, mūke, mōk, mōke’; probably Scandinavian; cf. ON. myki ‘dung’, Norw. dial. mūka
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).

mun 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. 118).]

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, nouwt, O. W. Scand. naut (see further Björkman, p. 71).

næ, nee no; ME. nei, nai, O. W. Scand. nei, Mod. Swed. nej (OE. nā has given Lorton nē; cf. nībodi nobody, and see § 156; Björkman, p. 47).

næt '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', neyta '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. hnefi fist, Norw. dial. neve, Swed. näfve, 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'; nigta's 'upright cast-iron plates used for contracting the fire-place' (Prevost, p. 226). All the above-mentioned words are formed on the stem nig and point to a Scand. *hniggy; cf. ME. nig 'niggardly' (Björkman, p. 34), Swed. dial. nigga 'to be parsimonious', Swed. niugg 'parsimonious, stingy;' Norw. dial. nigla (see N.E.D.); cf. also O. W. Scand. knogg 'niggardly'.]

niz 'to sneeze, to scrape the throat with a half coughing noise' (Prevost, p. 224); perhaps Scandinavian; cf. ON. hnjösa, Swed. nysa, Dan. nys '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. odmants 'scrap, odds and ends, worthless things'; cf. ME. odd '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.

[öf '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).

öm (oom, 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. holmr 'islet in a bay, creek, lake, or river, meadow on the shore'; cf. Dan. holm, Norw., Swed. holm(e) with a similar sense.

öm-treål 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. 
aundr ‘to be ordained by fate’ (pp. auðnaðr), Norw. dialect. auden ‘ordained, determined’ (Wall, p. 90). ó instead of au in this word may depend on influence of ōn 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. pík, OE. píc, Swed. pík, &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. pileweor ‘pillow-case’ where the last component of the word probably is O. W. Scand. ver ‘covering’, Swed. var (Björkman, p. 258).

pisimaiør (with the variants pisimar, pismuðar, pismiðar; 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. rammur, ramr ‘strong, sharp, bitter’, Dan. ram ‘bitter, strong, acrid’; cf. also ramiš ‘violent, untamed’.

[ramlɔ sliát ‘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.]

ramlɔtrei or ramlɔ 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. råne, Norw. dial. randa-trei with the same sense as ramlɔtrei (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


raup auction, from the verb *raup*, which is now obsolete in Lorton but occurring in other dialects of the North (see N.E.D. sub *raup* vb.); cf. Icel. *raupa* to ‘boast, brag’, M. Sw. *röpa* ‘to shout’ (*<*raupa); O. Dan. *robe* ‘to shout, to accuse, to snub’, ON. *hröpa*, Swed. *ropa* ‘to shout’ seem to be unrelated to *raup* (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 *rou* and Björkman, p. 72).

rau(w)e(n)-trei ‘the mountain-ash’; cf. Norw. dial. *raun* mountain-ash (but ON. *reyner*, Swed. *rönn*, Dan. *ron*; 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*).

ræk 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*, raike ‘course, path’, *reiken*, *raiken* to wander, O. W. Scand. *reik* ‘wandering’, *reika* ‘to wander, to waver’ (Björkman, p. 48).

ræt ‘to become rotten, to whiten by bleaching on the grass’ (Prevost, p. 259); cf. Norw. dial. *reyta*, ‘to ret flax’, Swed. *röta* with a similar sense. According to Falk and Torp the same word as ON. *reyta*, to tear off, pick off (cf. Björkman, p. 188; Wall, p. 133).

ræz ‘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).

reklín ‘the smallest or weakest member of a litter of pigs or a brood of chickens’; ON., *reklingr* an outcast (Ellwood, *Laekel. and Iceland*, p. 48); from ON., Norw. *reka* ‘to pursue, to throw away, to chase’. Cf. rek-ên ‘a tithe hen that formerly had to be paid from the poultry yard’ (Prevost, p. 260).
riák, in the expression riák tfaier '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. riñt, ON. rypta, repta (from a stem *rupū; see N.E.D.) 'to belch'.

riñst pp. 'praised, commended' (Prevost, p. 262); ME. rōs praise, rōsen 'to praise', O. W. Scand. hrōs praise, hrösa to praise, Swed., Dan. rōsa 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. rocke 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.).

rūd (or rid), often combined with up: 'to uproot trees or hedges', to clear away; also frequently occurring in the place-names rūdin, ridin, applied to houses and fields; ON. rydja, pret. ruddi, pp. ruddr (whence probably the u-forms rūd and rūdin), Norw. rydja, Dan. rydde, Swed. rūdjä '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.

ruk 'the chief part, the majority'; rukl 'a crowd, a great number'. Both these words point to a ME. ụ (Björkman, p. 252: āke (āke ?)); 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).

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’.

saklaes ‘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. sérk, ON. *sérkr, 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. söt(t), O. Swed. söt ‘illness’ (the t(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)ær (or sǔu(w)ær) ‘boggy, swampy, moist’ (used of land); the word seems to have got this special sense from the Scand.: the form sau(w)ær points to ON. suurr ‘moist land, dirt’, whereas sǔu(w)ær is from ON. sürr ‘sour, unpleasant’, or OE. sür sour. Both forms have been mixed up in sense and use. Also occurring in place-names (see Ellwood, *Lakel. 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.]

seŋ ‘a heap (or bed) of hay consisting of two swathes or rows with a hollow between them’; perhaps from ON. séxing, séng, Dan. seng, Swed. säng bed.

siáam 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. sátr, Dan., Norw. søter, Swed. säter, a place where the cattle of the farms are sent to graze, and also ME. sæte, sête seat, O. W. Scand. sæt, Swed. säte (Björkman, p. 253).
s(e)ív 'the common rush'; cf. ON. sef sedge, Norw. dial. sev, Swed. súf (Wall, p. 118).

skant, skantiš 'deficient, scarce'; skanttit pp. 'kept short, insufficiently supplied'; ME. scant 'scarce', scantnesse 'scantiness', ON. skamti, neuter of skammr 'short, brief', O. Swed. skam(pt).

skär sb. 'a fright', adj. 'shy, wild'; ME. skerre, skarre 'scare, timid', O. W. Scand. skjärr '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), skar(re) 'a projecting rock', ON. skor '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'; läl skärf the green shag (Prevost, p. 273); ON. skarfri, Norw., Swed. skarf (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.]

[skaupe 'a tin or iron dish, a scoop', vb. 'to scoop, to empty out'. The origin of this word is obscure, but cf. O. Swed. sköpa, N. Swed. skopa 'scoop' (this word is, however, generally derived from L. Germ. schöpe (see Björkman, p. 129)); the Lorton form points to an original *skaupe.]

sköd 'loss, damage, hurt'; ME. skathe, scathe 'injury, loss', &c., ON. skaðe 'harm, damage', Swed. skade, Dan. skade; cf. OE. sc(e)ada '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. skielgheir '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. skaale 'a hut' (Björkman, p. 93; Wall, p. 116).

skil 'skill', skili 'skillful'; ME. skil(l), ON. skil 'skill, discrimination, reason', &c. (cf. also Björkman, p. 126).

-sko, 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 Sceugh; ME. scogh wood, ON. skógr, O. Swed. skågher, Swed. skog, Dan. skov.

skraik 'to screech'; cf. Icel skriðja, 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. skratt(en) 'a ghost, heard by night'.

skr(e)j 'the running débris on the side of a mountain like Westwater'; cf. Swed., Dan. skred, Norw. dial. skreid, skrid 'a landslip, a slip of rock or snow'; ON. skrida vb. 'to glide', to proceed slowly, skrida sb. 'a landslip'. The Lorton form points to an orig. *skré.

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.]

slaftæ 'slaughter, the aggregate of hides and skins taken off in one establishment'; ME. slafter; cf. ON. slattr 'meat of killed cattle', slitra to kill cattle, OE. sleekt slaughter. The word is generally supposed to be of Scandinavian origin (see further Björkman, pp. 173, 253).

slaær 'to glide, especially on the ice'; cf. Swed. stira 'to glide, slip'.

slak 'a shallow dell'; ME. slæc 'ravine'; cf. Swed. dial. slack sloping, Norw. dial. slakke 'a slight hollow on a level or slope' (Björkman, p. 254).

slætor 'a wet mess on a table, &c., to spill, slop'; slætæri '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).

slide 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’.

slip ‘slippery, smooth’; ON. sleipr slippery, Norw. dial. sleip slippery (see Wall, p. 119).

slice 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 *slær).

sled sledge; ME. slede; cf. ON. sleði, Dan. slede, Swed. slude sledge. (On the transition ð>θ see § 326.)

slipp ‘dog ‘a blood-hound’; cf. ME. slöp ‘track’; ON. slö ó ‘track, way’ (see Björkman, p. 165, and Stratmann-Bradley, sub slöp).

slökn ‘to quench thirst, to slake lime’; ME. sloken, sloken ‘to extinguish, stop’, ON. sloka ‘to get extinguished’, Swed. stockna (Björkman, p. 219; Wall, p. 120).

[smuut, smiût (wol hole) ‘a hole in a wall or hedge to creep through’ (Prevost, p. 299); Wall (p. 120) gives an ON. smötta ‘narrow passage’ for smatta; 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. *smuut and *smöt.]

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.

snarl ‘a snare, noose, or loop’; snærl not ‘a knot that cannot be drawn loose’; cf. Icel. snarill ‘entanglement’; Ellwood (Lakeł. and Icel., p. 54) gives the following Icelandic expression: færið er alt i snerrí ‘the line (of a new fishing tackle) is all in a snarl’ = ‘all twisted into a knot’; cf. Dan. snerte, snerre ‘bindweed’ (convolvulus), ON. snara ‘to sling or wind’ (see Falk and Torp, p. 1093).
**Snæp** ‘to snub, to curb or restrain’, ‘a snub’; ME. *snaipen* ‘to check’, ON. *sneyppa* ‘to dishonour, disgrace’, Swed. *snöpa* ‘to castrate’, &c. (see further Wall, p. 120; Björkman, p. 65).


**Snurp** = *snærl* (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. *snurpe* ‘to bind or sew together loosely’, Norw. dial. *snyrpa* of a similar meaning; cf. Swed. *snörp* = *snurpe* (above).

**Stak** a (hay)stack, ON. *stakk*, Swed. *stack*, Dan. *stak* ‘a stack of hay, a heap, pile’.

**Stan** ‘a pole’; ON. *steng*, Dan. *stang*, Swed. *stång* (= OE. *steng* ‘pole, stake’).


**Staunder** ‘a stake, handle of a pole-net’; ON. *staurr*, Swed. *stör*, Norw. *staur* with the same sense.


**Steg** ‘a gander’; ON. *steogr*, Norw. dial. *steg* ‘a male bird’ (Wall, p. 122).


**Stidi** anvil; ME. *stepe, stèpe*, ON. *steði*, O. Swed. *stæbi*, Swed. *städ* anvil (on the transition *d* > *d* cf. § 326).


**Stint** (or stent) ‘to keep something from you, to limit, cut short, to send out cattle to graze in an allotment’, &c. (Prevost,
IN THE CUMBERLAND DIALECT

ME. stänten, stiten, starten 'to stint, stop', ON. styttu (tt < nt) 'to cut short', Norv. dial. styttu, Swed. dial. stytt upp 'to shorten', &c. (cf. Björkman, p. 221; but see Ekwall, Shak. Voc., p. 68).

störkn 'to coagulate, congeal, stiffen'; ON. storkna, Dan. störkne 'to grow stiff, to coagulate', Norw. storkna, Swed. storkna 'to grow stiff with choking, to choke'. The regular Lorton form would be *stöwrkn (§ 136); störkn should therefore be explained in the same way as the words in § 136, note II.

stůup, jat stůup a gate-post, 'the turning-post in a race'; ME. stulp; 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. svung svânger 'thin, hungry, empty' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1210).

swärp 'the skin of hams and bacon, also used in speaking of aftermath'; ME. swarthe 'spread, skin', ON. svegr 'hairy skin, sward'. The usual Lorton word is swad (cf. Wall, p. 128, and Björkman, p. 166).

swäv 'to cause to swing round, to wave'; ME. swaiuen, W. Scand. sveifa 'to hover, glide', O. Swed. sveea 'to turn'; cf. also Lorton svevl '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. sveiflo '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. swiken 'to burn, light up' (Björkman, p. 166), O. W. Scand. sviða 'to burn, singe' and the frequentative sviðra (Wall, p. 128; Björkman, p. 221).]

talik '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. tíðna '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. tür adj. 'frequent, quick'; cf. Swed. tidt in the expression
tidt och ofta 'often, every now and then’; cf. also the comp. titer 'sooner, rather, first, foremost’, and tittmost soonest.

tak vb. to take, pret. tiúk (tiák), pp. tián; from late OE. tacaen, toc, *tacen < ON. taka, tok, 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. tiørn, gen. tiarnar from *ternu tarn, Swed. tjärn, Swed. dial. tärn, Dan. tjern, Norw. tjørn.


taum (see Prevost, p. 342) 'a hair fishing-line, a cord or string partly untwisted’; cf. ON. taumr, Norw. taum, Swed. tóm, Dan. temme ‘rein, bridle’ (=OE. tæam ‘a line’, &c.; see Bosworth-Toller, sub tæam).

til, tül 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. thíht ‘firm’, tiht 'dense’, &c., ON. þéttir, Swed. tät, Dan. tet (see further Björkman, p. 223).

tiúm (or tím) 'to empty, pour out’; ME. tóm 'empty', tómen 'to empty, pour out’, ON. tómr, 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, klagge 'sticky, mud, clay’, klæg, klæget adj. ‘viscous, sticky’; cf. below, tleg (see further
Björkman, p. 215). On the transition kl > l in this word and also in tlég, tlekin, tlip, see § 337).

tlég gadfly, horse-fly; O. W. Scand. kleggj, Swed. klägg, Dan. klæg ‘a gadfly’ (Björkman, p. 215).

tlekin ‘a brood of chickens, the set of eggs from which the brood is produced’; ME. cleken vb. ‘to hatch, bring forth’ may be native or Scand.; cf. ON. klekja, O. Swed. klækkia, Swed. kläcka (see further Björkman, p. 146).

tlip 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. toftp, 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 ‘trusty, 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. tråg a wooden trough or vessel. OE. troy, troh has become Lorton trof (§ 364). The present dialect form seems to point to a ME. ON. *trugg.]

tšaft jaw; from ON. kjaptr, Swed. köft, Dan. kjøft, Norw. dial. kjøft (see further N.E.D. sub chaft). Another form of this word is tsøp 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’, tjäder-tupp ‘a cock capercailzie’, kalkon-tupp ‘a turkey-cock’, &c.

pr(e)iv or priáv (Prevost, p. 338) ‘a bundle consisting of twenty-four sheaves of straw’; ME. brave (>priáv), bravee (>pr(e)iv); cf. O. W. Scand. prei, Swed. trafve, Dan. trave (Björkman, p. 223).

svr pron. ‘these’; sůrenz ‘these ones’; ME. þir, þer ‘these’ is possibly from ON. þeir, þær those (but see N.E.D., and above, § 6).

þvåt ‘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
ugti ugly; ME. ugly 'horrid, frightful', ug 'fear', uggen 'to feel horror', ON. uggdr 'fear', uggligr adj. 'frightful (Björkman, p. 224).
upptak '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 w; see § 268 above.)
wandi (<wand sb. wand, rod) 'slim and flexible as a willow wand'; cf. ME. wand, wond, ON. vondr, Dan. vaand wand, rod.
want 'to require, deserve, to do without'; wanti 'deficient, imperfect': wantar 'a marriageable person'; ME. wan(t), wont 'lacking, deficient', want 'deficiency', wan(t)ten(t) 'to want, to be lacking', ON. vanr 'lacking' (neutral vanl), vanta 'to want, lack', &c. (see further Björkman, p. 225).
wàða week-day, working day'; cf. ON. hverr dagr 'every day which is not a holiday', and verkadagr '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.
wærp '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. waph, Swed. vad ford.
wā, wie '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.
wæl or w(e)ål 'choice, selection, majority, to select, pick out, choose' (Prevost, p. 357); cf. ME. wale 'choice, option', walen,
weilen ‘to choose’, ON. val ‘choice’, velja ‘to choose’ (see Björkman, p. 256).

(gärm) 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. ēost (§ 188, above).]
SPECIMENS OF THE LORTON DIALECT

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 Cumberland 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, Cumberland 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 Ogle thorpe, and have since been re-read and revised by other natives of the district.
I

†Ikwózi

a maind əz w̃l əz ift əd nobət ən las ñt—ən its vanár twenti rər sen ñy—lāl Məri Džakson sent Ña(r) sərvotepləd Tomi Wilson, a təp ət wəz əłəs kənəsiət rədər l̃t, bət mə kənək̃n—ə—main maind, tə tel me əta wəz wantit au(w)ər tw̃e əftər nain ətlək.

‘wò wants—mə?’ seə. ‘(u)uwer Məri,’ seə. ‘vərə w̃l, Tomi,’ a sed, ‘al bi ətər džus ñy.’ ən əwə Tomi went, santron—əf laik əz if id džus məndit yut əv ə laŋ ılnəs ən əz if iz tlogz əd ən bəd wid kudikəkəs².

a mon džus tel jo ət lāl Məri wəz ən onli dautər, ən əfərən ən mugər əd ə fərm in Emlətən bodən, ər ənd džoinən uu(w)əx, ən twəz komm tək ət Məri wad ev ə bit ə kəlter³, ən əz əsi wəz gə kəni tə liŋk ət fəbəi ⁴, əsi əłəs ed plənti ə təsaps. ətər wəz big Džak Odžin əłəs i̇nən əbəqut; ən lāl Bili Karik kom meni ə wkənd əf Bywəl; ən Dzimis Bel ŋe Kezik wəz ən liŋkən eftər ət Koko məp mərkət ət fəwəks ətər əc wəd sərtəntli mak ə məts ənt eftər ə bit. (u)uəvər əts ñt giten on wi mə tial.

əs—siin əz ad giten tpijg sərət⁵ ənt—mən ər supəx ən džis əst̃e up, ə pot ən ə tleın kap, mi wai brat⁶, ən ə pər ə strən lejər slipəx ət təsumək mədə mə, ən takən tələ lanən ə mi ənd a set of for Džaksonz yus. wən a gat ətər tələd fəwəks edənt giten te bed, ən lāl Məri šakt ər n(ə)if⁷ at mə, əz muts əste sə: ‘divənt let on a sent fo(r) jo’

eftər of ən uu(w)əx krak tələd fəwəks šuntit of⁸ ən ləft Məri ən mi džus əuu(w)əxelz. Məri siin əgən ən telt—mə ət şid s(ə)in Dzimis Bel ə Miklimes fədqə, ən ə səd ən wəd send ər ə prəzent nikst Sunda, jan ət əd wəd bi nais, jusfə, ən faʃnəbl. ‘ən əə, əi sez, ‘it kom last ñt. its e′fain bag kain əv ə piŋ; ə məl nais kular uthsəd, laint wi silk ən padit wi kənən bəkin⁹, laik faqəs kwət nək. wel, a kudənt mak qut wat it waz for. nais siuərlai it iz; jusfə ni dəqut;

¹ Tea-cosy.
² Donkey’s shoes (see N.E.D. sub cuddy, and calkin sb., ca'k vb. II).
³ Money (of obscure etymology; cf. N.E.D. sub kelt 3).
⁴ Besides.
⁵ Served (cf. § 214, note I).
⁶ Apron (of Celtic origin; cf. O. Ir. 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).
an fašnabl al lig me laif ont, fër a niver só aut ét-kaind of(y)u(w)er. nỳu wan ad gitën faðer en muðer of tul tmärket, a tukt intul tfruntýus ¹ en pot ò pär ø dliýyz, ø neklo², ø tlem brat, ø uder ø þinz intult, øz if a wëz gän tul ts(e)said, bit it ød naut te fasn wit nёр naut te karit bi —sø a søz, òís wilenf hit. wïl, a tuk þïnz þut ògián øn kom intul tkitšin øn tranent up tfaiøsaid, sœøn te misel ø t'aim: nais, jusfl, øn fašnabl. ø øt jans a džamp³ up øn søz: a heft øt last, its ø wurkbag! siùn biap bobinz øn ndlz øn þrid øn tiáø øn butnz øn a nó nùt wat wyr int; bit a fand òís waznt wat it waz for, for ø greit bob on-²'øp øf⁴ bodm, weðeriver twaz, wadent it let stand —it džúst toitalt au(w)er øn let ø—tþïnz þut ontal—fluu(w)er. a puzølt mi brëø ø tfuøjën, øn džúst øz ad gitën mi diner anuðer paut øt struk me: its ø niyu øt for twinter—ø forin snø øt, al bi bund!

‘upstæø a fluu, fetølt⁵ up mi ær øn ed it øn in ø krak. šaf⁶, it wadent fit me nö wë! twez fär au(w)er laj øn went duøn au(w)er mi in tël a kudønt st ø bit. a tûrnt it tüger wë, bit it wazent ø øt bit better, øn sø a džúst priøt duøn ønt bed øn sed a wad boøtet nö mær tül je kom øn søt.’ ãan øwë sø went fof⁷, øn siøør oniʃøt it waz nais, jusfl, øn fašnobl. wen a sòt, a laøt rit ýut, ‘wai, wëmnn,’ sæzä, ‘øis iz ø tkøwïzi!’ ‘tkøwïzi,’ søz Mæø, ‘wats ðat?’ ‘wai,’ sæzä, ‘nekst taim wen Džimi Bel kuz, makøm ø kup—ø’tt, put øis au(w)er t’øpøn ønt iatli kïpt øz wërm øz twøst, øn Džimil øt øt òyu kenst yu ø jøust.’

furst tøpøt Džim øn Mæø ed øfter øø war wedit øbøøt ø duøn øn uz wëz invaitit tült, øn a miøøem ø laøø tøø øø vanøør krakt øer saidz bi telen tøswøøi øbøøt Mæøøiz tkøwïzi; øø Mæø, bluøøø ø tfiøs auøøer, džøøønt in tlaø.

II

ø snekposøt⁸

nivør øgïøn, Edi, nivør øgïøn!
if a munt øv ø laøø øtøl kwøøt me øliøn,
øtøl ød øi jø swiøtøt øn mi bi ðat jan,
am baid øø ø a iz tøl ø dï.

¹ Parlour (lit. front-house).
² Neck-cloth (cf. § 252).
³ Pret. of džamp to jump.
⁴ Contraction of ør + the (def. article).
⁵ Fixed (up), arranged (see N.E.D. sub fetøø 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 Kiát Krostet, An Atšin, Džēn Blēr, Beke Rūd, Māri Mōsn, Reúp Laitl, en mēr, 
Su uz its 6 fun ɐn sek fun mā bi ēr 
bit it dizent ɪm džanik1 ɪʊ mi.

a fɛvoʔe, ai, əbijn o ḥladz aḥwut, 
a ɲaut laik ə fiɣt ətɨd siʔal ʊni yut 
fre tuʔoʃ, ɐn av ɪn rɪt sarət nɨ ɗyut 
ʁtə ːздəɾ 2 əz ɾi.

rɪt sarət bai džɨɲ! a wez wɐɾnɾt gəli wɨl, 
a wez telt ʊu cʰud fiʃt en ɹan left Griāsi Pil, 
ɐn wɨt rɪt əd ɹa ːte bolv ʊu wad deň 
əder fəɾər əɾ fonɾo3 wi mi?

fwōk telt ɹu kom ən ə slēp4 snuki ɮrɪd, 
ɔt ə tuq əz ɹɛnɬən sedm ʊɲ ən ə (e)ɾd, 
ɔt twɑis ə ɡɾt taimən wɑn ɹu sed aut ɹu lid, 
bǐt ə fansit ɭat aqlɿ kud ɨt;

fo(ɾ) Spiāтри a kent wez ə ɹaqspokn pɨlæs, 
ən ə ɲaut meaɾ5 ɣɨd ɡin raŋt əbɥut Griās—
God elp ɹə! a ɲaut a red trişp ə ɹi fiɣs 
wan ɹu swɔɾ ɹu kæt ənlɨ fər mi.

wɨəɾ sɪli uz lasiz—wɨəɾ mæzlnz6 ənə, 
wɨəɾ tniɬəst tiən wi ɭəm ət ɣu(w)ɔɾ fɾɛnɬ miəst mɪskə, 
ən wan wɨəɾ tiən ɪn, wɪʃtə7 ɹiɬəɾ wɛt wi ɬo, 
ən to riyu əz ɹiʃak ɹek miʃakə təl wi ɗt.

bit lɨt kom ətəiəm, en it kom ɡət jɑnɬ;

əɾ tɨɾ əniɬɨf, bɨt ɬø ɡıɾə jɑ tʃəns 
əɾəɾt ə ɾiʃəl ə Džən Lónkɪsəs ɹənɬ, 
dʒuʃt te si if ɹu dud kər ɹər mi.

admitted (< sneck door-latch, of obscure origin + posset 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 fɑnd in the sense of 'affectionate, tender' (see N.E.D. sub fonɽ).

4 Slippery (Scand.; cf. Appendix).

5 may + happen, perhaps.

6 Idiotic, stupid persons.

7 We have to.
SPECIMENS OF THE LORTON DIALECT

III

tpariš-tlärks gumšin

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 giime 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).
Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

git ✯ut wi ɂe, Dżwoni, ɗuuz nobet ə faş¹, ɗy1 kum til ɗy ræziz ə desp(ə)ret tlaš², ɗyz ɗor ivori dē džüst te put jan ɓyut, ən ɗy moidæ³ jan tarœli—Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

wat sestə? az boni? wai ṭats naut əts niyu. ɗyz wantən ə switət? ɗyz ed ə gē feyə ən ɗyz tʃeətət om jan eʃər tə duyt; but az nūt te bi tʃeət—stå, Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

ɗiəs plenti ə ladz ə biapache Lamplə ən Din əx jəbl əx di en əx fit te bi s(e)in; ən a med tak mi pik əmaŋ ə djer ɓyut, distə pink âle di ɕan?—Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

wat? nūt jan əmaŋ ɭəm əx laiks mə so wîl? wai min! ɗiəs Dik Wōkər ən Džonapən Pil fuəɾsetən⁴ mə ṭles ə tloninz ɓyut, biapache wantən te switət mə—Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

wat? ṭyū wil ev ə kis?—a bət, takt if ṭy dər! a tel ɂe al skwil if ṭy traiz te ku nár; tak kər ə mi koler, ṭyū maflin⁵, al ɓyut! nē ṭy śant ev ənuđər—ȵyu, Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

git ✯ut wiɗə, Dżwoni, ɗyz te(y)ut⁶ mə rit sēr; ɗyz brokn mi kwōm ən ɗyz təuzəlt mi ār. a wilənt bi kist, ṭyū unmanə(r)li lụt⁷! waz ɗər ɪvər sek ɪmpidens?—Dżwoni, git ✯ut!

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 mafle 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 wiče, Dzwoni, a tel ḍe bi diün!
dite ḥink al tak up wid An Diksens olid šiún?
ći me gā tūl An Dikson ēn pūu ụr əbyut,
ći salent pūu mī—ste, Dzwoni, git yut!" wel, ḥats sent im of, ēn ās swori it ez:
i med ken ɕ las nivar mēinz əf ɕi sez.
iz ə rīt kani fele, ụu(w)jīvər ə flut—
its gitōn ād wārk te sā: Dzwoni, git yut!"
GLOSSARY

The alphabetical order in the Glossary is:

a, ā, b, d, q, e, ə, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p, s, š, t, t̪, ẓ, u (ʊ, ū), v, w, z, ž.

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