

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE
HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH GUTTURAL
SOUNDS IN ENGLISH**

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Contributions to the History of the English Guttural Sounds in English by Henry Cecil Wyld

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HENRY CECIL WYLD

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

I am indebted to Professor Napier for several valuable corrections and suggestions connected with my paper, and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for the time and trouble he has bestowed upon my work while in proof. In the subjoined list of emendations I have added (N.) after each remark which Mr. Napier suggested. For all other slips or errors throughout the work which are left uncorrected, I alone am responsible.

July, 1899.

H. C. W.

- Page 9. "These forms (in *-sints*) are not particularly early," etc. Adreintum, suffocato, and acwainte, compressit; occur in a gloss of eleventh century, shortly to be published by Mr. Napier. (N.)
- " 9. After words "Ruthwell Cross, circ. 680," add (?). (N.)
- " 10 (bottom of page). "in *often* appears as *ciu*"; read 'sometimes.' (N.)
- " 12. Domesday spellings do not yield much evidence one way or the other, as they are those of foreign scribes. (N.)
- " 13, line 12. For *secan* read *secan*.
- " 13, line 31. The spelling *bisshop* is noted by Reimann in his dissertation on the Hatton Gospels.
- " 14, line 14. "*k* apparently is not used at all." This is an error. (N.) *k* is rare in *Vespas*, A. 22, but occurs occasionally, e.g. in the word 'king' several times, on pp. 231, 233, and 235, etc. (Morris, "O.E. Homilies," 1st series).
- " 16. Delete 'workinde,' line 15, and 'swinken,' line 17.
- " 19, line 20. "before O.E. *æ* = Germ. *a*," etc.; for *æ* read *a*.
- " 22. The form *hiniongæ* cannot be explained as due to a scribal error. The fronted form occurs in *Durham Book*. (N.) Cf. *Cook's Glossary*, p. 92. The fronting awaits explanation.
- " 23, line 22. For 'doubtless' read 'possibly.'
- " 24. "Pronunciation of M.E. *g*, *ɣ*." *ɣ* had disappeared (in pronunciation at least) already in O.E. after front vowels, and even when written often does not imply a consonantal sound. Cf. O.E. *swegn* = O.N. *svain*. (N.) I have already pointed out that even *Epinal* has *snel* (p. 20, l. 38).
- " 26, last line. Read *Lady Margaret Hall*.
- " 35. Another example of *k* + open consonant becoming *e* in O.E. is *weosteall* = *weohsteall*, for which form see Napier, "Engl. Stud.," xi, p. 64. (N.)
- " 35, etc. It should be distinctly understood that in the lists which follow two distinct phenomena are illustrated: (1) The stopping of *ɣ* and *k* before open consonants; (2) the unfronting of *e* and *eɣ* before open consonants.
- " 56. *Werchte* has been by a slip included in the *Kentish Gospels* list of *-reā* words. *cā* in this word represents of course the voiceless open consonant.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GUTTURAL SOUNDS IN ENGLISH.

By HENRY CECIL WYLD, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April 14, 1899.*]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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THE following is a study and history of four classes of English sounds:—

1. Old Engl. *c*. Back (guttural) and front (palatal).
2. Old Engl. *ç*. Back and front.
3. Old Engl. *ç̄*.
4. Old Engl. *h*. Back and front.

All these sounds are here considered only as occurring medially and finally. My remarks are based upon an extensive collection of forms which I have culled with no little labour from O.E. and M.E. texts, and from modern dialect glossaries. My collections of Literary English words are from Professor Skeat's larger Etymological Dictionary. I shall discuss the pronunciation of the sounds which I have mentioned in O.E., and it will be seen that in several points I venture to differ from the commonly received views of Messieurs Kluge, Sievers, and Bülbring. I shall then investigate the M.E. forms of O.E. *c*, *ç*, *ç̄*, etc., as they appear in the most important texts of M.E. For this purpose the word-lists are arranged chronologically and geographically, so as to show at once the historical development of the sounds, and their distribution in the various M.E. dialects. With regard to the modern dialects, the arrangement is chiefly geographical, beginning with the North and working down to the extreme South of England. The order of the lists is as far as possible from west to east.

I have also added other lists which show at a glance in which dialects of Modern English many of the most important words of the above-mentioned four classes occur. A special feature of the

paper is the explanation which I venture to offer of the so-called 'irregular' or 'Northern' forms, such as 'seek,' 'think,' 'hagthorn,' 'heckfer,' 'to lig = to lie,' etc., etc. (See p. 119.)

I cannot but think that in the main the law here formulated must be accepted, though it is of course inevitable that many of my applications of it will be disputed, and that opinions will differ as to the exact geographical area over which it obtained.

In conclusion, I have to thank Professors Napier and Wright for their kindness and courtesy at all times in giving me valuable advice and suggestions. To Dr. Sweet I owe far more than I can adequately set down here; not only have I had the privilege of a training in practical phonetics from him, but I have also enjoyed the advantage of frequent private discussion with him of every part of my work in the course of its carrying out.

Oxford, April, 1899.

LIST OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS USED IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.

SCOTCH AND NORTHERN TEXTS.

Barbour's Bruce, 1330.
 Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.
 Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522.
 Complaynt of Scotland, 1549. _____

Metrical Psalter, Yrks., before 1300.
 Cursor Mundi, Yrks., 1300.
 Minot, Yrks., 1322-52.
 Prick of Conscience, Yrks., before 1349.
 Sir Gawayn, Northern, 1360.
 Townley Mysteries, Yrks., 1450.
 Northern Glossary (Wright-Wülcker, xviii), fifteenth century.
 Wars of Alexander, Yrks., late fifteenth century.
 Catholicon, Yrks., 1483.
 Manipulus, Yrks., 1570.

MIDLAND TEXTS.

Alliterative Poems, Lancashire, 1360.
 Metrical Romances, Lancs., 1420. _____

Ormulum, Lincs., 1200.
 Havelok the Dane, N.E. Midland, 1300.
 Robert of Brunne, 1338. _____

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.
 William of Palerne, W. Midl., 1350.
 Earliest Prose Psalter, W. Midl., 1375.
 Myrc, Shropshire, 1400.

MS. Harl. 2253 (Böddeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen*), Herefordshire, 1310.
 A Worcester Glossary (Wright-Wülcker, xiii), twelfth century.
 Luzamon, Worcs., 1205.
 Guy of Warwick, thirteenth century.
 Songs and Carols (Wright, Warton Club, 1856), Warwickshire, 1400.
 Palladius on Husbandrie, Essex, 1420.
 Peterborough Chronicle, 1122-1164.
 Bestiary, E. Midl., before 1250.
 Genesis and Exodus, E. Midl., 1260.
 Returns of Norfolk Guilds, 1389.
 Wills and Inventories, Norfolk, fifteenth century.
 Promptorium, Norfolk, 1440.
 Bokenham's Poems, Suffolk, before 1447.
 Wicliffe. E.E.T.S., 1880.
 Chaucer. Skeat's ed., six vols.
 Political Songs. Wright, *Rolls Series*, 1859-61; 2 vols.

SOUTHERN TEXAS.

St. Katherine, Gloucestershire, 1200.
 Robt. of Gloucester, 1300.
 St. Juliana (*Metrical Life*), Gloucestershire, 1300.
 Piers Plowman, 1363-93.

Sir Ferumbras, Devon, 1380.

St. Editha, Wilts, 1400.

St. Juliana (*Prose Life*), Dorset, 1200.
 Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.
 Wooing of our Lord, Dorset, 1210.
 Ancren Riwe, Dorset, 1225.
 Owle and Nightingale, Dorset, 1246-50.

Sir Beves of Hantoun, Hants, 1327.
 Usages of Winchester, Hants, 1360.

Kentish Gospels, 1150.
 Kentish Homilies (*Vespas*, A. 22), 1200.
 Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.
 Moral Ode (MS. Digby, 4), Kent, early thirteenth century.
 Kentish Sermons, 1200-50.
 William of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.
 Ayenbite of Inwyt, Kent, 1340.
 Libeaux Desconus, Kent, 1350.

LIST OF MODERN DIALECTS, WITH AUTHORS OF GLOSSARIES
HERE USED.

- Northumberland, Heslop, 1892-4.
 Cumberland, Dickinson, 1878-81.
 Westmoreland, Wheeler, 1802; Westmoreland and Cumberland, 1839.
 Durham (Hetton-le-Hole), Paigrave, 1896; Teesdale Glossary, 1849.
 Yorkshire { W. Yrks. (Cleveland), Atkinson, 1869-76.
 N. Yrks. (Swaledale), Harland, 1878.
 N.E. Yrks. (Whitby), Robinson, 1876.
 N. Mid. Yrks. (Windhill), Wright, 1893.
 Mid. Yrks. , Robinson, 1876.
 W. Yrks. (Almondsbury and Huddersfield), Easther, 1883.
 S.W. Yrks. (Sheffield), Addy, 1888-90.
 Lancashire, Nodall and Milner, 1875-82.
 Cheshire, Holland, 1884-6; South Cheshire, Darlington, 1887.
 Derbyshire, Pegge, Skeat, Hallam.
 Lincolnshire { N. Lincs., Sutton, 1881.
 N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.
 S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.
 Shropshire, Jackson, 1879; Salopia Antiqua, Hartshorne, 1841.
 Staffordshire, Poole, 1880.
 Leicestershire, Evans, 1881.
 Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.
 Norfolk, Rye (East Anglia, 1895); Spurlens, 1879; Cosens-Hardy, 1893;
 Nail, 1866.
 Herefordshire, Haevergal, 1887.
 Worcestershire { Upton-on-Severn, Lawson, 1884.
 W. Wrcs., Chamberlains, 1882.
 S.E. Wrcs., Salisbury, 1894.
 Warwickshire, Northall, 1896.
 Northamptonshire, Baker, 1854.
 Bedfordshire, Batchelor, 1809 (Glossary at end of "An Orthoëpical Analysis
 of the English Language").
 Suffolk, Moore, 1823.
 Gloucestershire, Robertson, 1890.
 Oxfordshire, Parker, 1876-81.
 Berkshire, Lowsley, 1888.
 Essex, Charnock, 1880; Clarke, Tales in Essex Dialect.
 W. Somersetshire, Elworthy, 1886.
 Wiltshire, Dartnell and Goddard, 1893; Akerman, 1842.
 Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1876-93.
 Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.
 Cornwall { W. Cornwall, Courtney.
 E. Cornwall, Couch.
 Cornish Glossary, Monthly Mag., 1809.
 " " Journ. of Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1864,
 Garland; another in same place by Couch; Cornish Tales,
 Tregelles.
 Devon, Hewett, 1892; (Harland) Chope, 1891; Exmoor Scolding.
 Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

