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# THE DE ANALOGIA ANGLICANI SERMONIS OF THOMAS TONKIS 

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(i)


#### Abstract

The unique manuscript of Thomas Tonkis's De Analogia Anglicani Sermonis: Liber Grammaticus (1612) is preserved in the Royal Manuscript Collection of the British Library (l2.F.xviii). It consists of fifteen leaves measuring approximately $18.5 \times 27.7 \mathrm{~cm}$. The definitive Warner and Gilson catalogue describes it as folio; the considerably older Casley catalogue, as quarto. ${ }^{1}$ Since the manuscript is somewhat smaller than the usual folio page, Casley was probably describing size, not binding.

For the most part, the manuscript is both neatly and systematically penned, probably by the author himself, since casual errors are virtually non-existent. The body of the work is in Latin, penned in an Italian hand, while the English examples are set forth in a secretary hand, for contrast. This system is not completely consistent, for a few English words were inadvertently written in an Italian hand. Further, there are some marginal and interlinear insertions in a hasty but readable hybrid hand which, on the evidence of Greek characters in both the body of the manuscript and the additions, were almost certainly added by the same scribe who did the careful transcription. The last five pages, from f.l3v on, are entirely in this same hybrid hand. The scribe exercised great care over the earlier portion of the manuscript, even to ruling multiple margins to help with his indentation, and he often left large spaces at the end of chapters and between major subheadings within chapters to allow for the possible insertion of more material. ${ }^{2}$

The presence of this manuscript in the Royal MS Collection can be traced to its dedication to Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine (1596-1632), and maternal grandfather of King George I. In the late fall of l612, the year inscribed on the title page, Frederick was in England doing the ceremonial rounds prior to his marriage to the Princess Elizabeth in February, 1613. According to the biographical entry in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (VII, p.623), Frederick had received a creditable classical education at Sedan under Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, spoke French as fluently as his native German, and was an accomplished Latinist. Curiously, this manuscript grammar, though written in Latin, often makes reference to French and to Greek, and, in a couple of instances,


to Spanish and Italian in defining English words and constructions, but never to German, except for an inserted marginal reference to the "German $g$ ". Although it is hard to imagine anyone actually learning to speak or understand English from this grammar, one can reasonably assume that it was presented to the young Elector, under circumstances which will probably remain for ever obscure, and was either placed in the library of James I at that time, or fortuitously survived the misfortunes of the "Winter King" of Bohemia and the Thirty Years' War which he helped to precipitate, to end up in the Hanoverian Royal Collection.

The latter is the more likely hypothesis, for the manuscript does not appear in the listings of Edward Bernard's Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae (1698), nor in the inventories of collections acquired after l612, notably that of John Theyer (comp. 1678); but, as previously noted, it is listed in Casley (1734). The same is true of other MSS which were presented to the Elector and his bride: complimentary verses on the marriage by John Gordon (12.A.xxvii); a description of the display of fireworks following the ceremony by John Nodes and Thomas Butler (17.C.xxxv); and a French grammar dedicated to the Princess (16.E.vii). According to the respective entries in Warner and Gilson, these MSS are "Not in the old catalogues", which is also true of the Tonkis MS. However, a poem by William Vennor addressed to James I on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to the Elector (18.A.xxii) is listed in the Royal Library Catalogue of 1661 (Royal App. 86). ${ }^{3}$ Therefore, the Hanoverian hypothesis is the most probable provenance of this manuscript, although there is also a very tenuous connection, through Trinity College, Cambridge, between the author and the Royal Librarian at the time of composition, Patrick Young. But all attempts to account for the presence of the manuscript in the Royal Collection are ultimately conjecture.

There are similar problems about the identity and the qualifications of the author, Thomas Tonkis. From the inscription of the title page, "Auctore Thoma Tonkisio Anglo è Collegio Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis in Academia Cantabrigiensj", he can be identified only as a Thomas Tomkis who was admitted Scholar to Trinity College in 1599, and was B.A. in $1600 / \mathrm{Ol}$ and M.A. in 1604. A careful check of Venn's Alumni Cantabrigiensis for the relevant period reveals no other possibility. That being the case, the said gentleman (and the spelling of his name in the documents is variously Tunkes, Tonckes, Tompkys, and Tomkys, though we will keep with the spelling which occurs twice on the manuscript) was born in Wolverhampton about 1580 or 1581. In 1583 the family moved to Shrewsbury, where his father, John, was the Public Preacher. ${ }^{4}$ The third of four children, and the youngest son, Thomas was enrolled as oppidan at Shrewsbury School in 1591, but it is not known if he stayed on after the death of his father in the following year. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, about 1597, proceeding through the course of honors and degrees previously mentioned, until 1610, when there is no further record of him in residence at the college. According to Mander, this would have been the longest he could have stayed on in residence without taking orders, and at any event, his residence was already jeopardized by his having apparently married
by 1603: there are records in Wolverhampton of baptisms of children of a Thomas Tonkis and his wife Margaret Brindley, in 1603/04, 1606, and 1614. A small inheritance in 1610 furnished him with the means to purchase land in Wolverhampton, where for the next ten years he appears in the records as an attorney of some standing, and thereafter as a supervisor of the local grammar school. He died in September, 1634, one year after the death of his wife.

He is best known as the author of two plays, the allegorical burlesque Lingua (1607), and especially Albumazar (1615), ${ }^{5}$ based closely on the play Lo Astrologo, by Giambattista della Portas (1606). This second play was apparently first performed at Cambridge before James I on March $9,1614 / 15$, and although records are somewhat ambiguous on this point, it appears that Tonkis was recalled from Wolverhampton to write and direct it. The play is remembered primarily as the germ of Ben Jonson's Alchemist. Apart from the possibility of some other university plays, now lost, these, with the grammar, constitute his entire literary output.

This output, and the revelations of his life records, are summarized by Hugh Dick:

The meager details of the man's career suggest an easygoing nature which was willing to accept a quiet, undistinguished place in life. His academic career suggests ability without brilliance; his return to the placidities of Wolverhampton proves his lack of literary ambition. ${ }^{6}$

As so often happens, the life records of the man of letters give practically no hint of the works themselves. In this instance, there is nothing in the records, or in the other pieces of writing attributed to him, which gives any hint of the grammarian, except his interest in the Wolverhampton school, many years after the writing of the grammar. Consequently, the questions of where the impetus of the work lay, what its intentions were, indeed, its whole background and raison d'être, will probably never receive other than conjectural answers.

## (ii)

Nonetheless, the grammar remains for our study, and the life records of the author permit us to make the preliminary conclusions that it is the work of a linguistic amateur, and that where it represents his own usage it is the usage of a well-educated native of the West Midlands.

The first chapter (p.l43ff., as here printed) is, loosely speaking, a phonology; the rest is a morphology. The discussion of the sounds of English is, not surprisingly, as they are represented in writing by the letters of the alphabet. The presentation is in alphabetical order, and the evidence, as E.J. Dobson indicates in his own discussion, ${ }^{7}$ is less useful than one might wish, since it is essentially circular. Sounds are described with reference to letters in other languages, or Tonkis freely borrows from the disconcertingly vague traditional "phonological" vocabulary then in
general use, e.g., "exilè", "obscurè", "clarus", "sonorus". Consequently, it is not very helpful as a guide to the pronunciation of Early Modern English.

As might be expected, there is more material on the vowels than on the consonants. The letter a is "more thinly [i.e., less sonorously?] heard than the French $a^{\prime \prime},^{8}$ apparently to be sounded as $/ x /$. Before a double 1 , it is sounded as an "open" /a/, as also before the $l$ plus a consonant in any position. The letter $e$, initially and medially, is sounded "like the French e", presumably $/ \varepsilon /$, but it "virtually disappears" finally. However, it "should not be casually added on" as a final letter, because where properly used it renders an antecedent vowel "the more clear and resonant", as the examples given illustrate after a fashion. Before a final $n$, it becomes "obscure", presumably /ə/, as it does when written after final 1 (actually syllabic 1 ) and between /v/ and l. Most of the discussion of $i$ distinguishes between the vowel and the consonant, but Tonkis indicates that initially and medially the vowel is pronounced /I/, while finally it is "stronger", especially, according to a hastily appended note, where written in verse for $y$.

The material given for $o$ is somewhat more complex. Before two consonants, either initially or medially, it is either /o/ "thick", or / / / "obscure", but before a single consonant it is $/ 0 /$, possibly lengthened, "like omega". Finally before a consonant it is "obscure", though the examples given would indicate /a/; but if there is a final vowel, and the example indicates the final $e$, it is pronounced / / / An exception is made for the sequence ove; the pronunciation is described only by the puzzling Latin non-word clesmentia (perhaps some form of clemens was intended). Tonkis indicates that before a final $n, o$ is pronounced / / "very obscurely", and /o/ before final w. Double 0 is pronounced "like the French ou;" that the examples include good, blood, and flood suggests some shifting between the indicated /u/ and the expected /v/. As with $i$, the discussion of $u$ is largely taken up with distinguishing the consonant /v/ from the vowel. Once this ground is cleared, Tonkis indicates that the vocalic $u$ before a single consonant is pronounced /iu/ "as if an $i$ were inserted", but before two consonants, "the $i$ sound is removed", as is the case "finally before stops", presumably indicating /v/.

This is scanty, inferential material, and the entries for the consonants are generally even less helpful. There is nothing either significant or particularly striking in the discussion of $b, f, l$, $m, n, p$ ( $p h$ is described as "frothy", like phi), $q$ ("never written without $u$ "), $r, t$, consonantal $u(/ v /)$, wh (sounded "with the greatest aspiration"), $x, y$ ("written for $j$ "), or $z$. These letters are usually described as being sounded "like the French", or whatever, with some examples following. ${ }^{9}$

But for some of the other consonant letters there is evidence, however small, of significant observation on Tonkis's part or at least of something requiring further study and commentary. With $c$, for instance, he makes the traditional Latin distinction between /s/ "before $e$ or $i$ ", and /k/ "before $a, o, u "$, a distinction made without examples, indicative, perhaps, of over-reliance upon
classroom Latin models. He likens ch to the Spanish ch or the Italian $C$ before e or $i$ (thus /t//), except in words of Greek derivation. As a preterit or participial ending for a verb, the $d$ is "clearly heard", not as /t/, "as the French customarily do". The letter $g$ is pronounced /d3/ before $e$ and $i$, with the indication of several exceptions, but is pronounced "like the German $g$ " in present participle and other $n g$ circumstances, which would seem to indicate, contrary to the usual opinion, that the -ing was still pronounced /Ing/, rather than /In/ or /In/, at least in the West Midlands. The combination gu is $/ \mathrm{g} /$, save for some words of Italian derivation; however, Tonkis indicates that $g h$ in mid-syllable "represents a gutteral sound", but it is difficult to believe that there would be more than a vestigial $[x]$ or $\left[\underset{]}{]}\right.$ at this date. ${ }^{10}$ Similarly, under $k$, the example knaue might be taken as evidence for the hint of a $/ k /$ before $/ n /$. The letter $h$ is "rarely unaspirated", though some exceptions are listed. Tonkis then notes that it adds a "breathing quality" when appended to letters, but his example thigh is unfortunately ambiguous: the reference would be to either the th or the gh (if the latter, it again suggests [ç]). Along this line, he later distinguishes between the voiceless th ("like theta") and the voiced ("like final Spanish $d$ "); generally it is voiced medially, except in words of Greek derivation, and voiceless finally and initially, but he lists exceptions to all three instances. The letter $s$ is indicated as being pronounced /z/ intervocalically; one assumes that elsewhere it is voiceless. The combination sh is described as /f/, "like French ch . . . or Italian sc". The letter $w$, unhelpfully said to be sounded "in its own characteristic manner", is described as the second element in a consonant cluster with $s, d, t$; but following $a, e, 0$, "it is sounded diphthongally, like $u^{\prime \prime}$.

Appended to this chapter on pronunciation is a brief section on "diphthongs", actually digraphs, for Tonkis lists double letter combinations rather than vowel sound combinations within a syllable. The entries are therefore of only marginal usefulness, and then only if the cognate sound specified in another language can be identified. For this reason, the entries for $a e, a i, a u, e u$, and oa are not very helpful. Tonkis posits an ei in artificial contradistinction to ai. However, ea might be likened to $/ \varepsilon: /$ ("like the French masculine e"), ou is apparently /ou/ ("more open than the French ou"), but oi is truly a puzzle ("like oy in moy").

In addition to the phonological material just described, which constitutes the whole of Chapter One, there are two implicit indications throughout the manuscript of phonological evidence of a sort. One of these is the listing of certain contractions in the paradigms of declensions and conjugations. The second is the habit of marking the stressed syllable on some of the English words.

Contractions are first listed in the section on the declension of the articles in Chapter Two, and also appear in the chapters which follow. Basically they indicate spoken as against written usage, with a possibility of dialectal variations as well. The following list (with line numbers given in parentheses) includes some of the contractions mentioned which might be expected at the time
the manuscript was written: o'the (167), th'asse (171), th'host (174: earlier, it was indicated that host has a silent $h$ ); ómmee, tómmee (324: for "of me", "to me", respectively, the spelling indicating / / / in the stressed syllable); on'im "of him", to'em "to them" (326); to'er (327); thou lou'st (373); lou'd (377); let's (401); hee's, y'are "you are" (455). Sometimes we have a progression, as hee had to hee'ad to hee'd (383). It is made evident that some contracted forms are joined to the preceding word, as in $o^{\prime} t h ', ~ t o t h ', ~ b y t h ' ~(167), ~ a n d ~ i n ~ h i s ~ i l l u s t r a t i v e ~ s e n t e n c e ~ I ~ k n o w ~$ th' man (185), Tonkis notes that "th is joined to the preceding word", in effect making it knowth. Some of the contractions are much less common in primary source material, and might therefore be indicative of dialectal usage: wummee as contrasted with wimmee "with me" (324); wee-you "with you" (325); ${ }^{11}$ the loue "they love" (373); hee'as, y'a "you have" (and th'a "they have" [380]); and th'are "they are" (455). Finally, as an indication of the changing of an inflected ending, hee lou's is listed as the "contraction", and thus the spoken counterpart of, hee loueth (373).

Some of the contractions listed, however, are problematical. For instance, of, as listed in the declensions with of the (167), of a (177), of the man (185) and of us (324) is shown to have a contracted form ov. Dobson (I, p.316) concludes that Tonkis here is indicating that the formal /f/ becomes informal /v/. There is the ambiguous entry at the end of Chapter one which might buttress this argument: "Consonants at the end of a word are pronounced most distinctly". However, we have already pointed out that Tonkis intends the contracted form to indicate spoken, rather than written usage. Along the same line, "could", "would", and "should" are "contracted" respectively to cou'd (424), woo'd or wu'd, and shu'd (437). Though the "uncontracted" forms may have been spoken in very formal circumstances, it is not wise to push this possibility very far.

The marking of the stressed syllable goes on in an unsystematic way throughout the whole manuscript. In some passages, almost all of the English words are so marked, but not in others. There is no real method to the markings, and nowhere in the text is any rationale given. Generally speaking, the stress markings are precisely as one would expect them then or now, but there are a few exceptions. For instance, éuél "evil" (44) is marked with stress on both syllables. There are a few indications, all open to question, of what today would be incorrectly marked stress: vntò (497), intò (498) and díctateth (767). ${ }^{12}$ Occasionally, too, there is a stressed monosyllable: thînck (105), heeré, theré (715), but with respect to the last two mentioned, it should be said that virtually every other English word in the section ("Adverbs") is marked for stress, and perhaps the writer just got carried away. Sometimes the stress markings might have possibilities as evidence, if independently verified elsewhere, like orátion (84), which suggests a four-syllable pronunciation, and lóued (377), hánged (619), loósed (633), thrówen (700), which suggest a disyllabic pronunciation.

In sum, then, Tonkis's descriptions of the sounds of English are of only limited usefulness to anyone studying the pronunciation
of Early Modern English. The circularity of the examples given, the appeal to other languages, including the classical languages, as norms, his use of traditional terminology, but most importantly, his constant use of writing and spelling as his criteria, all indicate that we must be most cautious in drawing conclusions. One wonders, in passing, just what the Warner and Gilson Catalogue annotator was using as a basis of comparison when he wrote, "The directions for pronunciation are unusually full . . . ." ${ }^{13}$

Chapters Two to Six, the sixth chapter having several major sub-sections, together constitute a "morphology", in the wider sense of the term. Here, too, Tonkis is the slave to custom, for his organizational model is traditional Latin grammar, and his examples and paradigms closely follow the standard Latin pattern. For instance, the genitive of the definite article is of the, the dative to the, and so on. In particular, the verbs are described in the traditional tense sequences which antedate the Lily-Colet grammar. Nevertheless, there are some surprises, some indications of linguistic acumen, some details concerning contractions, dialect forms, and word derivations, which make this more than just another Latin-based grammar. Some of these areas of significance form part of the discussion below.

In Chapter Two, "On the Articles" (p.145ff.), the model generally appealed to is French. There is the traditional distinction between the finite and the infinite, with the predictable definitions, not always helpful in themselves, but made more understandable by the illustrative examples. The actual declension is Latin in its order, with prepositions doing the work of Latin case endings. As we have already noted, Tonkis here distinguishes between the full written form and the contracted spoken form, in the course of which it becomes evident that he is not necessarily setting up a contrast between standard forms and "low" forms. One unusual area in this chapter is the listing of an exceptional instance when a proper noun or a pronoun can take an article - a section which, as we will detail later, shows up practically verbatim in Ben Jonson's grammar.

Chapter Three, "On the Distinction of the Nouns" (p.l46ff.), likewise uses the traditional Latin declensions. There is, as well, a backward look at the Latin concept of gender ("articles, nouns, participles do not recognize gender"; the pronouns he and she "refer to words in which there is a sex distinction") and a similar appeal occurs in the section on number. Generally, the plural is described solely in terms of writing, "by adding $s$ to the singular", but there are a select number of instances given where the spelling calls for -es, as well as a list of nouns in which a stem $f$ becomes a $v$. Appended to the chapter is a small but reasonably characteristic list of irregular plurals. The examples bee/been and cow/ kine indicate a slightly conservative tendency in the author; the example sow/swine is etymologically dubious at best, but turns up in the work of several later seventeenth-century grammarians.

Chapter Four, "On the analogous forms of the Nouns" (p.147ff.), deals in an interesting way with what today would be called derivational affixes. First is described the creation of adjectives from substantives, with the addition of a suffix. The affixes given
are -less, -ful, -ly (described as being "similar to like"; lovely is a dubious illustration); $-y$, -en ("adjective of material", as oaken); -some ("added to a substantive or adjective", my italics: noisome is an example of the latter, given without comment); and -ish (which "added to a substantive . . . retains its meaning", but "added to an adjective, lessens its meaning"). The comment on the prefix un- does not fit this substantive-to-adjective pattern; the passage was added later in the hybrid hand, probably in this linguistically inappropriate spot because of the semantic similarity to -less. It is specifically likened to the Greek $\alpha$-negative prefix. Mention is made here of the ability to combine negative forms, e.g., unharmless (". . . infrequent, but linguistic analogy can allow this freedom").

The second set of derivations are listed as those which create substantives from adjectives, as with -ness, but most of the examples are noun from noun, as with -ful, -hood (-head), -ship, -dom. An interesting example is the combination spit/spitful, glossed "veru", and thus is clearly not spite/spiteful, which is in fact mentioned in the next paragraph. The third section treats of substantives created from verbs, as with -er, here given as $-r$, and -ment. In describing the latter, Tonkis limits its use to verbs ending in -dge, -sh, -ise, -ze, with the examples judgement, punishment, disguisement, amazement. ${ }^{14}$ The fourth section covers the creation of adverbs from adjectives with the addition of $-1 y$. This category is extended to some derived adjectives, including some forms previously mentioned, and participles. Among the examples given are goodlily, listed in the OED as obsolete, the sole citation being in Chaucer; and stealingly, listed as common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the sense of "furtively".

These sections on "analogy" are followed by a section on adjective comparison, it being usual for the grammars of the period to include both nouns and adjectives under the "substantive" label. Comparison is described with the inflections -er, -est, but the examples given are awkward by today's standards: hopefuller, lovinger. The superlative is cited with a contracted form, hopeful'st, etc., a possible instance of a poetic contraction, which Tonkis allows for as well as those which occur in the spoken language (see p.146). Mention is also made of periphrastic comparison with more/most, less/least, but no guidance is given on their use as distinct from the inflected use, though the examples given include more/most hopefull. Marginally appended to a discussion of irregularly compared adjectives is a list, in the hybrid hand, of quasi-superlatives in -most.

This chapter is concluded with a brief list of diminutives, especially of nicknames and of baby animals. The semantic oddities in this list include bulchin (listed as obsolete in the OED), bullock (which apparently originally was diminutive), and the combination stare/starling, both referring to the same obnoxious bird, though the former form is now listed in the OED as obsolete or dialectal. All in all, this chapter is useful for what it tells of Tonkis's own powers of observation; one wishes that the treatment were more exhaustive.

The fifth chapter, "On Pronouns" (p.l5lff.) consists mainly of the traditional paradigms of declensions, interesting primarily for the lists of contractions, already mentioned. What is particularly noteworthy is that there is no reference at all to it, either directly or to the oblique forms. In describing the relative pronouns, Tonkis states that which and that can "refer to things or persons", but who "refers only to persons". In a final section, his is shown to be the basis of the possessive (Virgill his life), but mention is quickly made of the written and spoken "contraction", Virgil's life, one of the earliest systematic instances of the consistent use of the apostrophe for the genitive. Tonkis also notes the syllabic form after a final sibilant, as Polibius'us historie. ${ }^{15}$

Chapter Six, (p.152ff.) the largest in the entire manuscript, begins with the English verbs. The organization is severely paradigmatic, closely following the Latin forms, even to using to love as the general example. There is a good deal of artificiality in the presentation, especially in such wooden (and yet longstanding) concepts as the optative mood (p.154) "I pray God I love" or "I would to God I loved". Nor is there much usefulness in describing a given form as being rendered by a specified Greek or French form.

However, there are some significant statements which indicate that Tonkis was observing his native language with reasonable alextness. He indicates that the "secondary" present tense, with do, as $I$ do love, etc., is used "for emphasis, or in questions", though he sometimes includes it interchangeably with the "primary" present form I love, etc. (p.153). Discussing the "primary" future, with will, he indicates that in the first person, singular and plural, this form is used to state volition, but in the other persons, it indicates either volition or simple future time, his examples indicating that a lot depends upon the context. Then he states that the "secondary" future, with shall, implies necessity and certainty, sometimes with "imperative force", although somewhat cryptically noting that the "first person of whatever number never holds out a promise to the rest", and later, much the same thing is indicated about the second and third persons. "But it is otherwise with the Scots, who when they should say $I$ will love, say $I$ shall love you" (p.154).

In a similar way, Tonkis divides up the "potential mood" (p.155). The "primary" form, with can, indicates possibility. The "secondary" form, with may, basically indicates permission, although one example is given of its signification of opportunity. The imperfect forms, in could or might, are said to signify much the same as their present forms, and so on through some of the other synthetic forms, though Tonkis sometimes has trouble finding a Latin equivalent for some of them: "I can have loved" is glossed as amaverim, and "I may have loved" as forte an amaverim. Although Tonkis is trying to establish something like the "abilitypermission" distinction which is still observed in traditional grammars, if not in real life, we must at least consider these descriptions seriously as indications of the writer's usage, unless it can be clearly shown that Tonkis was only following an already established artificial tradition.

The paradigms of the subjunctive and the infinitive show us nothing of significance, nor do the lengthy paradigms for the verb be. Likewise, a discussion of the formation of verbs with some standard prefixes does not yield us anything that is new, although it is interrupted to discuss the treatment of forms analogous to the Latin supines (the discussion indicates that they are best handled by the prefix a- plus the present participle) and later to discuss the formation of verbs from nouns, and the use of participles as adjectives. This brings us to the most interesting part of the chapter, the listing of the principal parts of "anomalous" verbs ( p .160 ) .

Tonkis has already indicated that he considers regular English verbs to be those which take a dental suffix in the preterit, though his discussion is done in terms of writing. This list of anomalies, therefore, though presented unsystematically by alphabetical order, generally treats of those verbs with vowel gradation, with a few exceptions, like can, could, bene able. For the most part, this listing seems to reflect early seventeenth-century usage with only a few possible dialectal variants. The latter, like root came; past ("aorist") clombe, hat (for "hit"), loape ("leaped"), raught ("reached"), snew'd, stooke ("staked in gambling"), and thewd ("thawed"); and participial lopen, loden, and writhen, tend to indicate that the author's home area is generally West- to North-west-Midland, but nothing more definite than that. There is a problem in this section with spelling consistency: the principal parts beat, beet, beaten; shead, shed, shed; spread, spred, spred; and sweat, swett, swett all need to be worked out before one can rely on the phonological evidence.

This chapter on verbs is the last of the sections specifically marked off as a chapter in itself. From this point until the end of the manuscript there are major sections, but no new chapters as such. The sections which follow are on adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, but all of them are glorified glosses, giving us no linguistic information, and very little of semantic interest. With the section on prepositions, the carefully copied portion of the manuscript comes to an end.

Beginning on $f .13 v(p .165 f f$.$) are three sections written in$ the hasty hybrid hand. A section on permutation discusses how one part of speech may substitute for another. A section on etymology takes up the anglicising of Latin derivatives, after a brief discussion of the sources of English borrowings. Finally, a section on arrangement discusses the positioning of words and modifiers. All of these sections contain some interesting English examples. The bold appending of a "finis" toward the bottom of f .15 v is a clear indication that the manuscript can be considered complete as to sections, although Tonkis left space for additional material in some of the preceding parts.
(iii)

With someone whose credentials are as obscure as those of Tonkis, one immediately looks for parallels in grammars of English
which appeared before or nearly contemporaneously with his. However, this has proved to be a fruitless task. Tonkis was not primarily interested in spelling and spelling reform, and this lack of interest is demonstrated by a corresponding lack of parallels in the works of the spelling reformers: Thomas Smith, De Recta et Emendata Linguae Anglicae Scriptione (1568), John Hart, An Orthographie (1569), and Richard Mulcaster, The First Part of the Elementarie (1582). There is a superficial resemblance between Tonkis's work and William Bullokar's Pamphlet for Grammar (1586, sometimes called the Bref Grammar for English), but this is primarily in the arrangement, using the traditional system of declensions and conjugations, and indicative of a similarity of source: the classical tradition exemplified by the Lily-Colet grammar. There is also a surface similarity to Paul Graves's (or Greaves's) Grammatica Anglicana (1594), mostly in the terseness of comment, leading to spottiness. But the differences are again far greater, in that Graves has a Ranean bias, that there are no similarities in either content or examples (except where a paucity of examples makes overlapping inevitable, as with "anomalous" forms), and that an entire second part on syntax has no counterpart in Tonkis. Further, in those grammars which appeared immediately after Tonkis's, namely Alexander Hume, of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue (c. 1617), also part of the Royal MS Collection, and Alexander Gil, Logonomia Anglica (1619, 1621), there is no indication that the writers were aware of the Tonkis work at all. But the situation is significantly, if not dramatically, otherwise when one turns to the English Grammar of Ben Jonson (1644).

Almost immediately we find a striking similarity with the opening passage of Tonkis:

A, With us, in most words is pronounced lesse, then the French à, as in,
art. act. apple. ancient.
But, when it comes before 1. in the end of a Syllabe, it obtaineth the full French sound, and is utter'd with the mouth, and throat wide open'd, the tongue bent backe from the teeth, as in
al. smal. gal. fal. tal. cal.
So in the Syllabes, where a Consonant followeth the 1. as in

Salt. malt. balme. calme. ${ }^{16}$

Both the text and the examples closely parallel Tonkis. Another similarity occurs in Jonson's discussion of the article, which he appends to a chapter on the Parts of Speech, the article being an addition to the traditional eight:

The finite is set before Nounes Appellatives: as
The Horse. The Tree.
The Earth. or specially
The nature of the Earth.
Proper Names, and Pronounes refuse Articles, but for
Emphasis sake: as
The Henry of Henries.

## The only Hee of the Towne． <br> where Hee stands for a Noune，and signifies Man．（p．506）

One is again struck both by the similarity in the organization and in the examples，particularly the long and unusual list of articles with proper nouns or pronouns．But the most striking passage of all is the virtually complete inclusion of Tonkis＇s＂De Compositione＂ （p．166）as a marginal addition to Jonson＇s chapter 8，＂The Notation of a Word．＂Jonson＇s passage in full is as follows：

```
Compositio.
Saepe tria coagmen [tantur] Nom[ina]:
            A foot-ball-plaier.
            A Tennis-court-keeper.
Saepissime duo Substant[iva] :
            ut Hand-ker chif. Rain-bow.
            Ey-sore. Table-napkin.
            Head-ach, \(x \in \not \subset \alpha \lambda \alpha \gamma \dot{\iota} \alpha\).
Substantivum cum verbo:
                [ut] Wood-bind.
Pronomen cum Substantivo:
            ut Self-love, фし入autía.
            self-freedome, aủтovo \(\mu \mathrm{L} \alpha\).
Verbum cum substantivo:
            ut A Puff-cheeke, \(\varnothing\) U \(u \gamma \cup \hat{O} \Theta o s\)
            Draw-well. Draw-bridge.
Adjectivum cum Substantivo:
            ut New-ton, veáro入しs.
            Handi-craft, Xeしpoooøட́a.
Adverbium cum Substantivo:
    ut Down-fall.
Adverbium cum Participio:
    ut Vp-rising. Downe-lying. (pp.504-5)
```

Except for the addition of the entry＂Adverb with Substantive＂this passage shows every appearance of having been hastily taken from Tonkis，or from a common source．But this is practically the only section of Jonson which is directly parallel to Tonkis．Although other sections，like the chapter on diminutives of the nouns，have examples and discussion similar to those in Tonkis，they differ in that Jonson＇s are far more systematic．

Occasionally one finds the same examples used．Where Tonkis cites languish，anguish as examples of the $g+u$ in the Italian manner，Jonson cites Guin，guerdon，languish，anguish．But as one moves through both works，one finds fewer and fewer correspondences， and where they exist，it can be attributed to the limitations implicit in the subject，rather than any overt copying．Such is certainly the case with the pronoun，and such probably accounts for the fact that Tonkis and Jonson both cite the same ll2 irregular verbs in their lists，with an additional 19 in Jonson not in Tonkis， and an additional 39 in Tonkis not in Jonson．The key factor is Jonson＇s systematic presentation；where Tonkis is systematic，it is only in the old traditional sense，a sense which Jonson eschews．

There are several other considerations to take into account on this point. Foremost is the fact that the Jonson work was published long after the date on the Tonkis MS, and even if they were at work on them at roughly the same time, there is the fact of the fire in 1623 which destroyed a preliminary manuscript of the Jonson grammar. Further, the Jonson work, which was posthumously published, was variously derivative, primarily from Mulcaster (a source which he never acknowledged), Smith, and Ramus. It is possible that Jonson was able to see the Tonkis manuscript, so as to make the rather minimal use of it cited above (for only the three passages quoted in full above show direct influence) and it is likewise possible that he was able to weave further strands of it into his own work, as exemplified by the occasional use of the same or similar examples. This conclusion is further buttressed by Jonson's systematic approach, which makes Tonkis seem almost random by comparison. The only other possibility is the use of common sources, which must, for the moment, remain unknown.

As Ian Michael comments, "No common English source suggests itself, and the question is roused whether Tomkis [sic] saw the first, and full, form of Jonson's grammar, or whether Jonson saw Tomkis's." ${ }^{17}$ It is a question for which there is no very satisfactory answer.

With the understanding, then, that there are still many questions and problems about it that cannot be answered at this time, an edition of the Tonkis grammar still should be available to scholars in the field. For despite its heavy overlay of the Latin tradition, it makes its small contribution to our understanding of the grammar of Early Modern English.

## A Note on the Edition

This edition attempts to represent the original manuscript faithfully, with the following exceptions. All abbreviations have been expanded, some silently, as for instance the macroned (or tilded) vowel (for $m$ or $n$ following), the tailed $q$ (que), the barred $p$ (per), and such obvious grammatical terms as singul., plu(r)., perf.. Where there may be doubt mention is made of the crux in the textual notes. The punctuation is made consistent (as in the use of a comma before ut prior to a series of examples; a colon in like circumstances where ut is omitted; alternating comma/semi-colon in a complex series) but no attempt is made to conform rigidly to modern standards of punctuation and capitalization. The basic content is Tonkis's own; these are aids to the reader.

As for the typography, the basic Latin text is in Roman type. In order to supply emphasis by "calling out" letters, words, and phrases, italics have been used, except for English examples, which are in CAPS. Any significant extensions of the manuscript, apart from the traditional abbreviations described above, are enclosed in [brackets]. Additions to the manuscript in the so-called hybrid hand are enclosed in <angles>.

Because the lines as printed here do not "turn" precisely as they do in the manuscript, line numbers, inserted for ease of reference, follow the printed form. However we have followed the manuscript as far as possible in starting new lines for new topics and in indentation. Multiple bracketed lines, as for instance in noun, pronoun, and verb paradigms, are counted as one line.

Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection (London, 1921) II, p.66; and David Casley, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library (London, l734) p. 213.

These insertions in the hybrid hand are identified in this edition of the text by enclosure in angles $\langle>$. Mention of space allowances is made in the textual notes.

The Royal Collection, sometimes called the "Old Royal" Collection, to distinguish it from the "King's Library" of George III, consists of the manuscripts "collected by successive sovereigns of England from Edward IV to George II, who transferred them to the newly founded British Museum by Letters patent of 6 August 1757" (British Museum, Catalogues of the Manuscript Collections (London, 1962) p.12). In the physical arrangement of the Royal Collection itself, press 12 "begins with a number of the complimentary books presented to sovereigns, and goes on with grammar, astrology, medicine . . ." (M.R. James, "The Royal Manuscripts at the British Museum", The Library, Fourth Series, 2 (1921-22) p.196).

This and the following biographical information is taken primarily from Hugh G. Dick's introduction to his edition of the play Albumazar (University of California Publications in English 13 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944) pp.1-16) and the note by Gerald P. Mander in TLS, March 31, 1945, p.151. The entry in DNB (XIX, pp.940-1) has several substantive errors and omissions and cannot be trusted.

Ed. cit., note 4 above.

Op. cit., p.9. It might be noted that none of the biographers mentioned above seems to have been aware of the existence of the grammar.

English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1968) I, pp. 313-16. Reference to this manuscript is also made, though in a different context, in Ian Michael, English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800 (Cambridge, 1970) passim.

A complete translation of Tonkis's Latin text is not supplied in this edition, but translations of individual words and phrases are given as they arise throughout this Introduction.

It might be added here that the example Paulsgraue, given for the letter
 (1530), as Dobson seems to believe (I, p.315n), but to the Elector Palatine himself (see OED, s.v. "palsgrave"). There is no evidence, explicit or otherwise, that Tonkis was even aware of John (or Jean) Palgrave's work.

One of the examples given is spright, which is historically sprite or spirit, just one more indication that Tonkis was overcompensating for the spelling.

And not just wee, as Dobson has it (I, p.316), conjecturing that it might be dialectal "with ye". There are, in fact, several exrors in transcription in Dobson's discussion.

Almost all of the stress markings are with the acute accent, but occasionally there is a grave: underneàth (IO4), to dispùte (but dispüter, 281). Normally, Tonkis uses the grave only to mark Latin adverbial forms. A circumflex is also used, though not consistently, on 0 , as a (somewhat artificial) way of differentiating the vocative from a mere expression of surprise.

Op. cit., note 1 above.

One can bring to mind commandment, advancement, commencement, inducement, debatement, among others, all of which appear in Shakespeare, to give the lie to this surprising statement.

15 Dobson (I, p.316) makes mention of this as an apparent pronunciational variation, as against Claudius'is and Plautus'is in the same passage, but it is difficult to make much phonological significance out of such a spelling. Besides, one wonders why Tonkis did not make like "variations" elsewhere in the work.

The Oxford Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1947) VIII, p.471. All further citations of the Jonson English Grammar are given parenthetically from this edition and volume. It is interesting to note that both Tonkis and Jonson cite apple and ancient as examples of the same a sound, which might be an indication of a variant pronunciation in the development of a + nasal (Tonkis includes answer as well).

English Grammatical Categories, p. 549.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The text and the two illustrative facsimiles of the original MS are reproduced by permission of the British Library.

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De Analogia[f.1]
Anglicani Sermonis
Liber Grammaticus
Auctore
Thoma Tonkisio Anglo5è Collegio
sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis
in
Academia Cantabrigiensj
Anno salutis ..... 10
MDCXIJ
[Blank] ..... [f.lv]
Illustrissimo Principi Friderico eius nominis ..... [f.2]
Quinto Romani Imperij Electori et
Archidapifero Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum et Vtriusque Bauariæ Duci etc.: ..... 15
Dedicat inscribis
Thomas Tonkis
[Blank][f.2v]

## of pers




 omfaties, pact.











 cbil coat


NICVM

 $f(\min , f$ max,

BL MS Royal l2.F.xviii, f. 3.

```
    Literæ nobis sunt quatuor et vigintj.
    a apud nos exilius exauditur quam a Gallicum, vt APPLE, ÁNSWERE, ÁNCIENT.
a. At in fine ante duplex 1, pronuntiatur vt apud Gallos,
    patentj et hiulco sono, vt ALL, SMALL, TALL, FALL.
    Sic in principio, medio et fine eorum quæ consonantem
    post I habent, vt CÁLMENESSE, VNFÁLTIIE, FALT.
bee b. vt b gallicum. BENIAMIN.
cee c vt apud gallos. ante e et j cum sibilo vt s. ante a, o, u,
            vt u. vel k.
        ch. vt ch hispanorum, mucho, MUCH; vel vt c ante e vel j apud 30
            Italos, vt cento: CHEEREFULL, CHIMNEY, CHINKE, CHOSEN.
        Excipe vocabula a Græcis deducta vt EUNUCH, vbi ch vt }u
dee d. vt d Gallicum, in fine vero vocabulj liquidiùs auditur, vt
            PROFERED, LOUED, non PROFERET, LOUET, vt galli solent.
e
        e. in principio et medio vt e Gallorum, in fine vero penè
            deperit, temerè tamen non adscribitur, producit enim
            vocalem antecedentem, eamque reddit magis claram et
            sonoram, vt SPIT, SPITE, CLOCK, CLOKE, PIL, PILE.
            e ante n in fine dictionis obscurè sonat, vt SWEETEN,
                STRÉNGTHEN, LÉNGHTHEN.
            e post l in fine obscurè, vt TÍCKLE, BRÍTTLE, FÍCKLE,
                TREMBLE, THÍMBLE.
            e ante l solam in fine modo u consonans præcedat,
                obscurè, vt DÍUEL, DRÍUEL, ÉUÉL, SHÓUEL.
            e nunquam sonat a, vt ACCIDENT, non accidant vt Galli.
ef f. vt f Gallicum, vt FILL, FILBERT.
gee g ante e et j vocales vt g Italicum, vt GINGER, GERK.
    Excipe, GIUE, cum compositis, GIRLE, GIRT, GIMLETT.
    Excipe omnia etiam quæ }n\mathrm{ ante }g\mathrm{ habent, cuiusmodj sunt
    *hoc est 
    Germanorum. excipe, GINGER.
                        g ante u. vt gu Gallorum, excipe LÁNGUISH, ÁNGUISH, vbi
                        vt gu Italorum.
                        g ante h, in media syllaba gutturalem reddit sonum, vt
                        SPRIGHT, LIGHT, AFFRIGHT, NAUGHT, TAUGHT, FRAUGHT,
                            RAUGHT, CAUGH'T.
ach. h rarissimè sine aspiratione legitur; HAUING, HART, HASTIE,
                    HIGH.
        h. spiritum addit literæ cuj coniunctum: vt THIGH.
                                6 0
    h. in HONEST, HOST, HOSTESSE, HONOR, cum derivatis quiescit.
i i ante vocalem eiusdem syllabæ consonans, ante consonantem
    [f.3v]
vocalis.
    i consonans sonat g Italicum, vt IÁUELIN, IEST, IADE, IETT,
        IÉLOUS, IÓYFULL, IOYNT, IÚNKETT, IÚSTLE, IÚSTICE.
    i in principio et medio dictionum vt i gallicum, vt INTIMATE,
            ÍNCIDENT.
        i vocalis in fine pleniore profertur sono vt HABILITIE, vbi
```

bili gallicè, tie anglicè, <at hoc in carmine plerumque fit, sæpius enim pro $y$ scribit ie.>
ka $k$. vt $\mu$. KALENDER, KNAUE.
el
em
en

- ő óxpov habemus, et $\dot{\omega} \mu \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \alpha$, vnica tantum nota, sono differentj. o ante duas consonantes vel densum, in principio vel medio vocabuli obscurè profertur, vt ÓFTEN, IMPÓRTUNATE, OTHER, BROTHER, at ante consonantem solam vt $\omega$ vt OPEN, OUER.
o in fine sj vox consonantj clauditur obscurè, vt NOT, BEGOT, SPOT, aut sj vocalis sequatur vt $\omega$, vt NOTE, excipe 80 clesmentia in $v$ consonante et $e, ~ v t$ LOUE, MOUE, PROUE, ABOUE, BEHOUE, etc.
o ante $n$ in fine obscurissimè, vt TOMSON, PEASON, CONTRIBÚTION, ORÁTION, RÉASON.
o ante $w$, in KNOW, GROW, SNOW, SOW, ROW, FLOW, cum compositis, et in BILLOW, WILLOW, PILLOW, CROW, ELBOW, vt $w$.
Oo ut ou Gallicum, GOOD, BLOOD, FLOOD, ROOD, BROOD, MOODE.
pee $p$. ut $p$ Gallorum vt PRINCESSE, PAULSGRAUE, PRETTIE.
ph. spumosiùs vt $\varnothing$, PHILLIP.
qu $q$ nunquam sine u scribitur, sonat qu Etruschorum, vt QUÉSTION. 90
ar $r$. vt $r$ Gallicum. RUSTIC, RULE.
ess. $s$, inter duas vocales vt $z$ : MUSE.
sh. vt ch. apud Gallos, vt SHIRT, SHEETE, LANGUISH, POLISH, <vel ut sc Italorum.>
tee. $t$. vt $t$ Gallicum: TIDING, TILTING.
th. aliquando vt $\theta$, aliquando vt $d$ hispanicum in fine; verdad.
th. in medio semper vt $d$ hispanicum, vt MÓTHER, BRÓTHER, ÓTHER, SMÓTHER, exceptis a Græcis originem ducentibus, vt ATHENIEN, excipe etiam hæc vocabula, METHÉGLEN, STRÉNGTHNING, LÉNGTHNING. infinita. excipe pauca verba, vt TO BATHE, TO BEQUÉATH, TO CLOATH, et hæc nomina, SITHE, SHEATH, TITHE, WREATH, et VNDERNEATH <vbi ut d Hispanicum.>
th in principio vt $\Theta$, vt THÉATER, THÍRSTIE, THÍNCK, excipe, THAT, THEN, THENCE, THERE, THEY, THINE, THIS, THEISE, THOSE, THEATHER, THOU, THOUGH.
u. inter duas consonantes vocalis, vt PULL, FULL, PULE. in principio vocabuli ante vocalem consonans vt VEALE, 109 ante consonantem vocalis, vt VPPÒN, VPRİGHT, VPHÒ̀D. in medio inter duas vocales consonans incipitque syllabam, vt RECEIÚED.
in fine inter duas vocales quarum vltima est e obscurum consonans est, vt LOUE, MOUE, etc., etiam post 1 vel $r$ vt TWELUE, STARUE, CARUE, etc.
u $u$ consonans vt $u$ gallicum vel digamam, VILLANIE, VILE. $u$ vocalis ante consonantem solam pronunciatur ac si interpuncta esset $j, ~ v t ~ R E P U T E, ~ R E F U T E, ~ q u a s i ~ R E P I U T E, ~ R E F I U T E, ~ a t ~$ ante duas sonus ille $j$ tollitur, vt, PUTTING, FULFILL, et huiusmodj plurima, in fine etiam ante mutam, vt BUT, PUT, SHUT, etc.
doble u w proprio quodam modo profertur, vt WILL, WÍLFULL, WÓODCOCKE,

WÍNTER, SWEARE, SWEEPE, SWEETEN, SWILL, DWELL, TWIBILL, TWENTIE, TWELUE.
$w$ in eadem syllaba aliquando sequitur, $s, d, t$, vt in iam dictis exemplis, cum alijs consonantibus nunquam coniungitur in eadem syllaba, in diuersis vero sæpe, vt WORMEWOOD.
$w$ post $a, e, o$, in eadem syllaba, sonat vt $u$ in dipthongis $a u, e u, o u, ~ v t ~ T H A W, ~ S E W, ~ N O W, ~ q u a s i ~ T H A U, ~ S E U, ~ N O U . ~$
wh. summa cum aspiratione, vt WHAT, WHETHER, WHEN, WHOM, WHO.
ex $\quad x$ vt $x$ latinum, vt BOX, POX, OX.
y. $\quad y$ vt $j$. vnde sæpe scribitur pro $j$.
ezard. $z$ ut $\zeta$ græcum.
De Dipthongis
e vt apud Latinos.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}a j \\ a u\end{array}\right\}$ ut Italicum, vt WHAY, WAY, MAU, AUTUMNE.
ea vt e masculinum gallicum, vt BREAD, DEAD, FEAST.
ej vt ej Latinum, vt THEY.
eu vt $\varepsilon U$ græcum: GREU, DEU.
oa vt $\omega$ : OAKE, SMOAKE.
oj vt oy in moy, vt ANNOY, BOY, TOY.
ou apertius quam ou gallorum, vt THOU.
Nulla pene apud nos quiescit litera, nimirum dum distinctè [f.4v] loquimur.
Consonantes in fine dictionum durissimè efferuntur. Derivatio et compositio non variat literarum sonum.

De Articulis.
Caput secundum.
Articulus est duplex $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { finitus, vt THE, le <vel la Gallicum.> } \\ \text { infinitus seu vagus, vt } A, \text { un <vel une.> }\end{array} \quad 150\right.$
Articulus [in]finitus vim habet vt incerta et infinita declaret et definiat, vt A MAN vn homme, THE MAN l'homme.
Articulus finitus præponitur appellativis: vel generaliter, vt THE EARTH, la terre, vel specialiter, vt THE NÁTURE OF VÍRTUE, la nature de vertu.
Nomina propria et prænomina articulos recusant nisi sit emphaseōs gratia, vt THE HARRY OF HARRIES, Henricus Henricorum, THE ONELIE SHEE OR HEE OF THE TOWNE, vnicus ille vel vnica illa vrbis, vbi SHEE et HEE, pro nominibus stant, et significant, vir, fæmina.

Articulorum declinatio
Quæ ad contractionem attinet hic sine regulis scribemus; sic autem omnia collocamus, vt primum distinctè loquendj et scribendj modus, tum vulgaris et contractus adscribatur.

```
Articulus finitus. THE. le ou la. [f.5]
                                    Contractio
```



```
In vulgari et contractiore loquendi forma, et
apud Poetas, articulus, THE, cum nominibus à
vocalj incipientibus contrahitur vt si una pars
orationis esset, vt THE ASSE, TH'ASSE, SUvos; }17
THE OTHER, TH'OTHER, &̈te\rhoOS; THE IMAGE, TH'IMAGE,
et hoc semper fit.
Aliquando ante h, cum h. quiescit, vt TH'HOST,
TH'HONOR, TH'HONEST.
```



```
Articulus A, si vocabulum sequens a vocalj
incipiat vel h tenuj accipit n. ut hiatus
tollatur, vt AN OX, AN ASSE, AN EVENING, AN 180
HOST, AN HONEST, AN HONORABLE MAN.
De variatione Nominum.
                    Caput tertium.
Declinatio nominum fit præponendo articulos, ut
```



```
Eodem modo variatur nomen cum articulo vago, vt A MAN, OF A MAN, TO A MAN, \&C.
```

Articuli, nomina, participia, non agnoscunt genera. E Pronominibus HEE ille, et SHEE illa, admittunt generis
distinctionem, id est, referuntur ad dictiones quibus sexus discrimen adest, vt HEE IS HEERE, ille adest; SHEE IS HEERE, illa adest.

De Numero.
Articulis, adiectivis, participijs idem est singularis et pluralis, vt THE MAN, THE MEN, HÓNEST MAN, HÓNES'T MEN, LÓUING MAN, LOUING MEN, LÓUED MAN, LÓUED MEN.
Substantiuorum pluralis fit addendo s. singularj, vt HANDE, HANDES, STONE, STONES, BONE, BONES.
Finita in $i$ vel $y$, in $s s, i n s$ consonante præcedente, et in $x$, 200 accipiunt e in pluralj, vt INFÍRMITIE, INFÍRMITIES. CHÁRITY, CHÁRITYES. HARDINES, HARDINESSES. PURSE, PURSES. BOX, BOXES.
Quæ $f$. habent in fine $f$ vertunt in $v$ consonante, ut CALF, CALVS. BEEF, BEEVS. THEEF, THEEVS. KNIFE, KNIVS. WIFE, WIUES. LIFE, LIVES.
HæC sunt irregularia, MAN, MEN; WÓMAN, WÓMEN; SOW, truye, SWINE; OX, bœuf, OXEN; BEE, mouche a miel, BEEN; MOUSE, souris, MISE; TOOTH, dens, TEETH; LOUSE, poux, LISE; FOOTE, pied, FEETE; COW, vache, KINE; CHILDE, CHILDREN.

De Nominum analogia.
Caput quartum.

De Adiectivis.
lesse. Addendo syllabam LESSE substantivi fini, fit adiectirum significationis contrariæ redditque apud Græcos $\alpha$
 FATHERLESSE, MOTHERLESSE, BROTHERLESSE, MONYLESSE.
un. <Syllaba UN in principio vim otepntしxìv obtinet $\alpha$ ut à FAINED feint fit VNFAINED, non feint. FAITHFULNESSE fidelitas. UNFAITHFULNESS, infidelitas. reperiuntur aliæ formæ o $\tau \varepsilon \rho \eta \tau \iota x$ in eadem voce. possumus dicere 220
 sunt frequentes licet linguæ analogia hanc libertatem ferre queat.>
full. Si FULL substantiuo adiungas, fiet adiectiuum eiusdem sensus, plenitudinem quandam significans, vt HÓpefuLi; FULL enim valet plenum: vt FEÁREFULL, HARMEFULL, SINFULL, GUILEFULL, MINDEFULL, memor.
ly LY in fine substantiui adiectium eiusdem significationis facit; LI a like similis; vnde in LY finita similitudinem significant: vt LOUELY, FATHERLY, MOTHERLY, BROTHERLY, 230 SISTERLY, FREINDLY.
y. Y in fine substantiui adiectiuum eiusdem sensus: vt WATER aqua, WÁTERY aquosus, AERY, EARTHY, STONY, FIERY.
en. EN substantivo adiunctum adiectivum facit materiale, vt
beech fagus, beechen faginus, oak ilex, oAken ilignum, GOLD aurum, GOLDEN aureus.
some Syllaba SOME addita substantivo vel adiectivo sensum retinet. vt BRIGHT clarus BRIGHTSOME, LIGHT lucidus LIGHTSOME, gladsome, noysome.
ISH substantivo datum fit adiectiuum sensumque retinet. vt 240
ish. WATER WÁTERISH, SALT SÁLTISH, FOOLE FOÓLISH, CHILDE CHíldish, SLUT SLÚUTISH.
Datum vero adiectivo, sensum diminuit, vt RED rufus, RÉDDISH subrufus; BITTER amarus, BÍTTERISH subamarus; SWEETISH, YELLOWISH, WHITISH.

De substantivis.
Addimus syllabam, NESSE, adiectivo et fit substantivum sensus
 MOTHERLESNESSE tò $\alpha \mu \eta t o \rho, ~ F A T H E R L E S N E S, ~ H O P E F U L L N E S S E ~$

nesse. FATHERLINESSE paternitas, FREINDIINESSE tò фL入しxòv, EARTHINESSE tò $\gamma \eta u ̈ v o ̄ v, ~ S T O N Y N E S S E ~ t o ̀ ~ \lambda l \Theta \iota V o ̀ v, ~ B R I G H T S O M E-~$ NesSe claritudo, GLADSOMENESSE tò $\chi \alpha \rho \tau \iota x O ̀ v$, SALTISHNESSE

Idem accidit adiectivis principalibus, vt WHITE, WHITENESSE [f.6v] albedo, GOOD bonus, GOODNES bonitas, LIGHT levis, LIghtnesse leuitas, SMOOTH lœuis, smOOTHNESSE lœuitas.
Vocabula qua continere aliquid possunt accepto FULL fiunt substantiua mensuram significantia, vt SPOONE Cochleare, SPOONEFULL COchlearium, HANDE HANDEFULL poignée, HOUSE 260
full maison, hóUSEFULL, TówNEFULL, SHIPFULL, SPIT veru SPITFULL.
Vocabula vero qua continerj possunt vel re vel cogitatione addito FULL fiunt adiectiua vt supra, FEAREFULL, DISDAINEFULL quæ forma optime quadrat vocibus affectiones vel aliquod simile significantibus, vt Hópefull, SPÍTEFULL, f̂́REFULL, GUÍLEFULL.
HOOD, vel HEAD addita substantivis qualitatem notat, vt
hood vel MÁNHOOD virilitas, WÓMANHOOD fœminea. virtus, KNÍGHTHOOD
head Ia cheualerie, PREISTHOOD sacerdotium; aliquando adiectivis vt LIVELYHOOD <viuacitas,> BEASTLYHEAD <bestialité.>
SHIP nominis cauda officium vel munus denotans, vt CónSULSEIP shipp cónsulatus, PRÁETORSHIPPE, CÉNSORSHIPPE, WÓRSHIP dignitas, LÓRDSHIP signiorie.
dome. Est altera forma terminationis, vt KINGDOME regnum, EARLEDOME counté.

De verbalibus.
Dicuntur a themate verborum definentium in vocalem addendo $r$, in consonantem er, vt TO LOUE amare, A LÓUER amator; TO DISPÙTE, 280 A DIȘPÚTER; TO SING, A SÍNGER; TO CRY, A CRYER; TO HURT, A HÚRTER; TO KNOCKE, A KNÓCKER; TO QUAFFE, A QUAFFER; TO HUNT, A HUNTER.
Quadam in MENT finiunt, a verbis in dge, sh, ise, vel ze finitis, vt JÚDGEMENT, ABRÍDGEMENT, BÁNISHMENT, RÁUISHMENT, PÛ́NISHMENT,

IMPóUERISHMENT, DISGUÍSEMENT, AMÁZEMENT.

De Analogia adverbiorum.
Adverbia ab adiectivis principalibus formantur appositione LY fini: vt HÓNEST HÓNESTLY, MÓDEST MÓDESTLIE, FINE FÍNELY brauement, TRUE TRULY vrayement. formantur etiam a deriuatis, vt
fréindlesly, féarefuliy, ÉArthyly, líghtsomely, Sáitishly, RÉDDISHLY, WÓODDENLY, GÓODLILY, FRÉINDLILY. Fiunt etiam a Participijs activus, vt LóUINGLY, STÉALINGLY, et sæpe a passivis, vt AMAZEDLY.

De gradibus comparationis.
Comparantur recta et regularia in ER, superlativa in EST. hac vero forma adiectiva, participia, adverbia, abundè fruuntur.
adiect. HÓPEFULL HÓPEFULLER HÓPEFULLEST per HOPEFUL'ST Part. act. Ló́UING LÓUINGER LÓUINGEST $\}$ contrac- LOUING'ST Part. pass. LÉARNED LÉARNEDER LÉARNEDEST $\}$ tionem LEARNED'ST Adverb. PÓORELY PÓORELIER PÓORELIEST
Aliter comparantur cum MORE plus, et LESSE minus, vel TOO MUCH 302
nimium, TOO LITTLE nimis parum, quorum superlativum est MOST, exempli gratia:

HOPEFULL MORE HOPEFULL MOST HOPEFULL <alia forma superlativorum
HOPEFULL LESSE HOPEFULL LEAST HOPEFULL VPPER VPPERMOST
Quæ sequuntur sunt irregularia:

Kaxòs BAD WORSE vel WÓRSER WORST LOWER LOWERMOST 310
$\mu$ upòs LITTLE LESSE vel LESSER LEAST FORMER FORMOST $\pi \rho \bar{\omega} T o s ~ \pi \rho \tilde{\omega} \tau 乚 \sigma t o s>$

De Diminitivis.
Rarò admittimus diminitiva nisj in nominibus proprijs quorum vsus frequens ut RICHARD DICKE, THOMAS TOM, WILLIAM WILL, ROBERT ROBIN, \&C. <CHRISTOFER KIT,> ELIZABETH BESSE, CATHERINE CATE, \&C.
Aliquando in Appellativis vt LAMB LAMBKIN, BULL BULCHIN vel BULLOCKE, CHICK CHICKEN, GOOSE GOSLING, DUCKE DUCKLING, SUCKLING, DEARE DARLING, STARE STARELING, CÁPON CÁPONET.


BL MS Royal 12.F.xviii, f.7v.

## De Pronomine.

[f.7v]

Caput [quintum].
Demonstrativa sunt $I$, THOU, HEE, SHEE.


Addimus epitagmaticon MY SELF hisce Pronominibus, vt I MY SELF, THOU THY SELF, HEE HIM SELF, genitivo OF MEE MY SELF, OF THEE THY SELF, OF HIM HIM SELF. Pluralis WEE OUR SELUES, YOU YOUR 330 SELUES, THEY THEM SELUES. Genitivo OF VS OUR SELUES \&c., OF YOU YOUR SELUES, OF THEM THEM SELUES etc, in obliquis.

Possessiua. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Præpositiva, MY, THY, HIS, pluralis OUR, YOUR, THEIRE. } \\ \text { Subiunctiva, MYNE, THYNE, HIS, pluralis OURS, YOURS, }\end{array}\right.$ THEIRES.

Cum vox sequens a vocali incipit vtimur subiunctivis præpositivorum vice, vt MINE AUNT, MINE VNCLE, at hic solum in numero singularj fit.
Possessivum nunquam recipit articulum vt apud Gallos. le mien etc.
Provocabulum WHICH vel THAT, reddit qui qua quod referturque ad res et personas.
WHO vero solum refertur ad personam, vt THE MAN wHO LOUES YOU, vir 340 qui te amat, nunquam ad res non enim dicimus THE STONE WHO IS HARD, sed THE STONE WHICH vel THAT IS HARD, saxum quod durum est.
WHO in obliquis habet WHOM, vt OF WHOM, TO WHOM, WHOM, FROM, BY, WITH WHOM.
<WHOSE reddit cujus vel quorum, ut WHOSE BOOKE IS THIS. cujus est hic liber.>
THIS singularis, ce. THEIS pluralis, ces. THAT illud. THOSE illa.[f.8]
HIS post substantivum possessionem significat, vt VIRGILL HIS LIFE, Virgilij vita, SCÁEUOLA HIS HAND, manus Sceuolx, CAESAR HIS 350 COMENTARY etc. quod in scripta oratione sæpe, et cum loquimur, semper contrahitur cum substantivo, hoc modo, VIRGIL'S LIFE, SCÁEVOLA'S HAND, CAESAR'S COMENTARY, CASAUBON'S POLIBIUS, at post nomina $s$ finita, sic, POLIBIUS'US HISTORIE, CALUDIUS'IS MESSALINA, PLAUTUS'IS COMOEDIES.
<THEAROF reddit Gallorum en, ut HEE HATH EATEN THEAREOF. il en a mangé.>

## De Verbo.

Caput [sextum].
Vnica nobis verborum coniugatio a qua quæ deflectunt verba, sunt anomala.
In regularibus thema prius considerandum est, dein aoristum et participium passiuum: a quo facta sunt præterita tempora.
Aoristum verborum regularium fit a themate addendo d si litera vltima fuerit vocalis, vt TO LOUE amare, aoristum I LOUED amauj, sin consonans, ed, vt TO OMITT, aoristum I OMITTED.
Litera Characteristica nunquam mutantur.
Adiunguntur semper verbis personæ.
Terminatio personarum pluralium non diffidet a prima singulari.
<Passiuum fit a participio passivo et verbo substantivo, ut I AM 370 LOVED, je suis aimé. I AM HURT, je suis blessé.>

Promiscuè vtimur duplici huius temporis forma, at sæpius prima,
secunda vero cum emphaticos loquimur, vel in interrogationibus.
j'aymay
Imperfectum $\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text { Singularis } & \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { I DID } \\ \text { THOU DIDST } \\ \text { HEE DID } \\ \text { Pluralis }\end{array}\right. \\ \left.\begin{array}{l}\text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\} \text { DID }\end{array}\right\}$ LOUE
j'aymay
Aoristum $\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text { Singularis }\end{array} \begin{cases}\text { I LÓUED } & \text { I LOU'D } \\ \text { THOU LÓUEDST } & \text { THOU LOU'DST } \\ \text { HEE LOUED } & \text { HEE LOU'd }\end{cases}\right.$
Hoc tempus aoristum Græcum vel Gallicum reddit: vt I MADE $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi 0$ ín $\sigma \alpha$, je fis.

Hoc tempus vim præteriti perfecti Græcj vel Gallicj retinet, vt
I HAVE MADE $\pi \varepsilon \pi \mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{l}}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{K} \alpha$ j'ay fait.



In prima persona singularj et pluralj semper voluntas agendj significatur; in cæteris, modo voluntas, modo simplex futuri temporis eventus, vt HEE WILL COME, il viendra, HEE WILL BEE HANGED, il veult estre pendu; primum: il sera pendu.
futurum
secundum \(\left\{\begin{array}{l}singularis <br>
pluralis <br>
\left\{\begin{array}{l}I SHALL <br>
THOU SHALT <br>
HEE SHALL <br>
YEE <br>

THEY\end{array}\right\} SHALL\end{array}\right\}\) LOUE. $\quad$| Prima persona |
| :--- |
| vtriusque numerj |
| subseruit promissis |

Hoc futurum necessitatem, certitudinem eventus, omnibus personis et numeris enunciat: sæpe imperativj vim obtinet.
Secunda et tertia persona vtriusque numerj subserviunt promissis et imperijs, prima vero nunquam. At Scotj aliter: qui cum dicerent I WILL LOVE, dicunt I SHALL LOUE YOU.


Fit a futuro verbi HAUE et participio præteritj: vnde significatio mixta est, gallicè j'auray aimé, I SHALL HAUE WRITTEN $\gamma \in \gamma \rho \alpha \not \omega_{\mathrm{L}}$ हैסO $\alpha \alpha$ et interrogatiué, SHALL ONE HAUE SENT SO MANY TO HELL? vnus tot miserit orco?

Imperativus.
400
aime:
qu'il aime $\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text { singularis } \\ \text { pluralis }\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { LOUE. } \\ \text { LET HIM LOUE. }\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { LET VS LOUE. } \\ \text { LOUE YOU LOUE. } \\ \text { LET THEM LOUE. }\end{array}\right.\right.\right.$
LET HIM LOUE, verbatim, sine illum amare.
Optativus.
ie prie dieu
que i'aime.
I PRAY GOD
Præsens $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { singularis } \\ \text { pluralis }\end{array} \begin{array}{l}\text { I } \\ \text { THOU } \\ \text { HEE } \\ \text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\}$ LOUE.

Imperfectum: vt aoristum indicativj vt I WOULD TO GOD, vel I WOULD (per contractionem I WUD) I LOUED, vtinam amarem, \&c.
Perfectum vt perfectum indicativj: I PRAY GOD I HAUE LOUED, vtinam amauerim.
Plusquam perfectum vt plusquam perfectum indicativj: I WOULD TO GOD, vel I WOULD I HAD LOUED vtinam amauissem.
futurum vt præsens, addendo, HEEREAFTER, cy-apres, vt I PRAY GOD I LOUE HEEREAFTER.
Modus Potentialis, potentiam, permissionem, vel casum quendam enuntiat.
præsens
primum $\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text { singularis } \\ \text { pluralis }\end{array} \quad\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { I CAN } \\ \text { THOU CANST } \\ \text { HEE CAN } \\ \text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\}\right.$ CAN,$~ L O U E . ~$
I CAN LOUE verbatim, possum amare, potentiam enim prima hæc forma nunciat: vt nec sperent Tartara regem, HELL CANNOT EXPECT A KING.
præsens
secundum $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { singularis } \\ \text { pluralis }\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { I MAY } \\ \text { THOU MAIST } \\ \text { HEE MAY } \\ \text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\}\right.$ MAY,$~ L O U E . ~$
Hæc forma permissionis vim habet, vt expectes hoc a me; THOU MAIST EXPECT THIS OF ME. primum, Liceat tibi hoc etc. vel potes etc. I MAY SPEAKE THE TRUTH, Licet mihi loqui veritatem: HEE MAY DOE MEE GOOD, hic casum significat.

Fit a secunda forma præsentis, eiusque significationem retinet permissivam vel fortuitam.


futurum: a præsenti non discrepat, vt I MAY LOUE HEEREAFTER, I CAN LOUE HEEREAFTER.

Subiunctivus.
Præsens: vt præsens optativi: vt THOUGH I LOUE, ALTHOUGH I LOUE
quamvis amem.


THOUGH I SHOULD LOUE, quamvis deberem amare, THOU SHOULDST LABOR, deberes laborare, YOU SHOULD SPEAKE, vous deuriez parler.

præsens et imperfectum: TO LOUE amare.
perfectum et plusquam perfectum: TO HAUE LOUED amavisse. futurum: TO LOUE HEEREAFTER. 445
<participium activum:> LOUING fit a themate addendo ING. si in consonantem definat, vt TO HELP, HELPING adiuuans. sin in vocalem, reijce vocalem et adde ING, vt LOUE LOUZING, MOUE MOUEING.
Participium passivum: LOUED, in regularibus non discrepat ab aoristo.

De verbo substantivo, I AM, sum, a quo cum participio passiuo, omnia verba passiva facta sunt: vt I AM LOUED amor, I WAS LOUED amabar etc.

Indicativus.
je suis
præsens $\begin{cases}\text { singularis } & \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { I AM } \\ \text { THOU ART } \\ \text { HEE IS }\end{array}\right. \\ \text { pluralis } & \left.\begin{array}{l}\text { TH'ART } \\ \text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\} \text { ARE }\end{cases}$
j'estoy vel
$\begin{gathered}\text { je fus } \\ \text { imperfectum } \\ \text { et aoristum }\end{gathered}$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { singularis }\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { I WAS } \\ \text { THOU WAST } \\ \text { HEE WAS } \\ \text { pluralis }\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { WEE } \\ \text { YOU } \\ \text { THEY }\end{array}\right\}\right.\right.$ WERE
j'ay esté
perfectum: I HAUE BENE, THOU HAST BENE, HEE HATH BENE etc.
plusquam perfectum: I HAD BENE, THOU HADST BENE, HEE HAD BENE etc.
je seray (primum: I WILBEE, THOU WILT BEE, HEE WILBEE etc.
futurum: secundum: I SHALBEE, THOU SHALT BEE, HEE SHALBEE etc.
j'auray esté tertium: I WILL vel SHALL HAUE BENE, THOU WILT vel 460
SHALT HAUE BENE, HEE WILL vel SHALL HAUE BENE etc.

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                            Imperativus.
soys. BEE THOU, LET HIM BEE, LET VS BEE, BEE YOU, LET THEM BEE.
vtinam sim Optativus.
præsens: I PRAIE GOD I BEE, THOU BEE vel BEEST, HEE BEE, WEE BEE,
    YOU BEE, THEY BEE.
imperfectum: essem I WOULD I WERE, THOU WER'ST vel WEART, HEE WEARE,
    WEE WEARE, YOU WEARE, THEY WEARE.
perfectum: fuerim I PRAY GOD I HAUE BENE, THOU HAST BENE etc.
plusquam perfectum: fuissem WOULD I HAD BENE, THOU HADST BENE etc.
futurum: fuero: PRAY GOD I BEE HEEREAFTER, THOU BEEST HEEREAFTER etc.
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Potentialis.
præsens $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { primum: I CAN BEE, THOU CANST BEE, HEE CAN BEE, WEE CAN } \\ \text { BEE etc. } \\ \text { secundum: I MAY BEE, THOU MAIST BEE, HEE MAY BEE, WEE } \\ \text { MAY BEE etc. }\end{array}\right.$
imperfectum $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { primum: I COULD BEE, THOU COULDST BEE, HEE COULD BEE, } \\ \text { WEE COULD BEE etc: } \\ \text { secundum: I MIGHT BEE, THOU MIGHTST BEE, HEE MIGHT BEE, } \\ \text { WEE MIGHT BEE etc. }\end{array}\right.$
perfectum $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { primum: I CAN HAUE BENE, THOU CANST HAUE BENE, HEE CAN } \\ \text { HAUE BENE, WEE CAN HAUE BENE etc. } \\ \text { secundum: I MAY HAUE BENE, THOU MAYST HAUE BENE, HEE } \\ \text { MAY HAUE BENE, WEE MAY HAUE BENE etc. }\end{array}\right.$
plusquam
perfectum $\left\{\begin{array}{r}\text { primum: I COULD HAUE BENE, THOU COULDST HAUE BENE, HEE } \\ \text { COULD HAUE BENE, WEE COULD HAUE BENE etc. } \\ \text { secundum: I MIGHT HAUE BENE, THOU MIGHTST HAUE BENE, } 475 \\ \text { HEE MIGHT HAUE BENE, WEE MIGHT HAUE BENE etc. }\end{array}\right.$
primum: I CAN BEE HEEREAFTER, THOU CANST BEE HEEREAFTER.
futurum
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { primum: I CAN BEE HEEREAFTER, THOU CANST BEE H } \\ \text { secundum: I MAY BEE HEEREAFTER, THOU MAYST BEE } \\ \text { HEEREAFTER. }\end{array}\right.$

Subiunctivus.
Præsens: THOUGH I BEE, THOUGH THOU BEEST vel BEE, HEE BEE, WEE BEE etc.
imperfectum: THOUGH I WEARE, THOU WEARST vel WEART, HEE WEARE, WEE 480 WEARE, YOU WEARE, THEY WEARE.
Imperfectum THOUGH I WOULD BEE, THOU WOULDST BEE, HEE WOULD BEE,
proprium WEE WOULD BEE etc.
Subjunctivo: THOUGH I SHOULD BEE, THOU SHOULDST BEE, HEE SHOULD BEE, WEE SHOULD BEE etc.
THOUGH I WOULD HAUE BENE, THOU WOULDST HAUE BENE, HEE WOULD HAUE BENE.
THOUGH I SHOULD HAUE BENE, THOU SHOULDST HAUE BENE, HEE SHOULD HAUE BENE.

Infinitus.
490
præsens et imperfectum: TO BEE estre.

en pension.
Horum verborum Participia passiva frequentèr vsurpantur, vt
A MAN WELL LANDED, vn homme qui a beaucoup de terre,
LAND WELL WATERED terre la ou il y a beaucoup d'eau,
A COUNTRIE WELL MEADOWED, WEEE WOODDED, WELL TOWN'D,
WELL VILLAGED, vn pais plein de prés, de bois, de

Anomala ordine Alphabeti descripta.

|  | Thema | Aoristum | Participium |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A | ABIDE | AbODE | ABIDDEN | remanere |
|  | ARISE | ARȮSE | ARİSEN | surgere |
|  | AWAKE | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { AWOOKE } \\ \text { AWOKE } \\ \text { AWAKED }\end{array}\right\}$ | AWAKED | <experge fierj> 565 |
| B | BACKEBITE | BACKEBİTT | BACKEBİITTEN | calumniarj, verbatim dorsum mordere. |
|  | BEARE | BORE | BORNE | ferre vel parere |
|  | BEAT | BEET | BEÁTEN | verberare |
|  | BEGİN | BEGÃN | BEGȮN | incipere |
|  | BEHOU̇LD | BEHEेLD | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { BEHELD } \\ \text { BEHOLDEN }\end{array}\right\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { contemplari vel } \quad 570 \\ & \text { aspicere } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | BEND | BENT | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { BENT } \\ \text { BENDED }\end{array}\right\}$ | intendere |
|  | BEEREÀUE | BEEREFT | BEEREFT | auferre |
|  | BIDD | BAD | BIDDEN | iubere |
|  | BINDE | BOUND | BOUND | vincire |
|  | BITE | BITT | BITTEN | mordere |
|  | BLEEDE | BLED | BLED | cruentari vel <br> <mittere sanguine> |
|  | BLOW | BLEW | BLOWEN | flare |
|  | BREAKE | BROKE | BROKEN | rumpere |
|  | BREED | BRED | BRED | procreare |
|  | BRING | BROUGHT | BROUGHT | afferre 580 |
|  | BUILD | BUILT | BUILT | mdificare |
|  | BUY | BOUGHT | BOUGHT | emere |
| C | CAN | COULD | BENE ABLE | posse |
|  | CATCH | CAUGHT | CAUGHT | prensare |
|  | CHAW | CHEW | CHEWD | manducare |
|  | CHIDE | CHID | CHİDEN | reprehendere |
|  | Choose | CHOASE | CHÓASEN | eligere |
|  | CleAue | CLEFT | CLÓUEN | se prendre |


|  | CLIME | CLOMBE | CLIMED | scandere |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CLEEUE | CLOAUE | CLEFT | findere | 590 |
|  | COUGH | COUGHT | COUGHT | tussire |  |
|  | CAME | CAME | CUMN | venire |  |
|  | COMB | KEM'D | KEMB vel KEMPT | pectere |  |
|  | CREEPE | CREPT | CREPT | repere, serpere |  |
| D | DING | DUNG | DING'D | infligere |  |
|  | DARE | DURST | DARDE | audere |  |
|  | DEALE | DELT | DELT | distribuere |  |
|  | DOE | DID | DON | agere |  |
|  | DRAW | DREW | DRAWNE | trahere |  |
|  | DRINKE | DRUNKE | DRUNKE vel DRÚNKEN | bibere | 600 |
|  | DRIUE | DROUE | DRÍUEN | agere, pellere |  |
| E | EEAT | ATE | EÁtEN | edere |  |
| F | FALL | F'ELL | FALNE | cadere |  |
|  | FELL | FELLD | FELLD | arbores cedere |  |
|  | FEEDE | FED | FED | pascere |  |
|  | FEELE | FELT | FELT | sentire vel palpare |  |
|  | FETCH | FETT | FETCH ${ }^{\text {T }}$ | apporter |  |
|  | FIGHT | FOUGHT | FOUGHT vel FOUGHTEN | pugnare |  |
|  | FINDE | FOWND | FOWND | invenire |  |
|  | [FLY] | FLEW | FLOWNE | fugere vel volare | 610 |
|  | FLING | FLUNG | FLUNG | iacere |  |
|  | FORSAKE | FORSOOKE | FORSAKEN | abandonner |  |
|  | FRAIGHT | FRAUGHT | FRAUGHT | onerare navem |  |
|  | FREESE | FROSE | FRÓzEN | glaciare, congelare |  |
| G | GETT | GOTT | GÓTTEN | parare |  |
|  | GIUE | GAUE | GÁUEN | dare |  |
|  | GOE | WENT | GONE | ire |  |
|  | GROW | GREW | GROWNE | crescere |  |
| H | HANG | HUNG | HÁNGED | pendere |  |
|  | HEARE | HEARD | HEARD | audire | 620 |
|  | HELPE | HOLPE | HOLPEN vel HELPT | adiuuare |  |
|  | HIDE | HID | HídDEN | abscondere |  |
|  | HITT | HAT | HÍTTEN vel HITT |  |  |
|  | HOULD | HELD | HÓLDEN vel HELD | tenere |  |
| K | KEEPE | KEP'T | KEPT | servare |  |
|  | KNOW | KNEW | KNOWNE | noscere |  |
| L | LODE | LADE | LÓDEN | onerare |  |
|  | LEAD | LED | LED | ducere |  |
|  | LEAPE | LEPT vel LOAPE | LEPT vel Lópen | saltare |  |
|  | LEAUE | LEFT | LEFT | relinquere | 630 |
|  | LEND | LENT | LENT | mutuo dare |  |
|  | LY | LIAY | LAYD | iacére |  |
|  | LOOSE | LOOST | LOÓSED | dissoluere |  |
|  | LOSE | LOST | LOST | perdere |  |
| M | MAKE | MADE | MADE | facere |  |
|  | MEETE | MET | MET | obviam ire |  |
|  | MELT | MÓLTED | MÓLTEN | fundere |  |
| $P$ | PERRBREAKE | PÉRBROAKE | PERBROAKEN | vomere |  |


| R | REACH | RAUGHT | REACH'T | porrigere |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | RIDE | RID, RODE | RİDDEN, RODE | equitare | 640 |
|  | RING | RUNG | RUNG | pulsare nolam |  |
|  | RISE | ROSE | RÍSEN | surgere |  |
|  | RUN | RAN | RUN | currere |  |
| S | SEE | SAW | SEENE | videre |  |
|  | SEETH | SOR | SOBDDEN vel SOD | bullire vel coquere |  |
|  | SELL | SOULD | SOULD | vendere |  |
|  | SEND | SENT | SENT | mittere |  |
|  | SHAKE | SHOOKE | SHAKKEN vel. SHOOKE | quatere |  |
|  | SHEERE | SHORE | SHORNE | tondere |  |
|  | SHEAD | SHED | SHED | effundendo perdere | 650 |
|  | SHINE | SHONE | SHÍNED vel SHONE | lucere |  |
|  | SHITE | SHITT | SHÍTTEN vel SHITT | cacare |  |
|  | SHOOTE | SHOTT | SHOTT vel SHOTTEN | $\tau \bigcirc \xi \varepsilon$ บ́عしข |  |
|  | SHEW | SHOD | SHOD | calciamentum induere calciare |  |
|  | SHRINKE | SHRONK | SHRONK | retroissir, succumbere onerj |  |
|  | SING | SONG, SANG | SONG | cantare |  |
|  | SINKE | SUNKE, SANKE | SUNKE | dissidere |  |
|  | SITT | SATE | SİtTEN | sedere |  |
|  | SKIM | SKUM | SKIM'D | escumer | 659 |
|  | SLAY | SLEW | SLAINE | occidere, necare [ | [f.12v] |
|  | SLEEPE | SLEPT | SLEPT | dormire |  |
|  | SLIDE | SLID | SLİDDEN | gliscere |  |
|  | SLING | SLUNG | SLUNG | funditare |  |
|  | SWELL | SWELD | SWOLNE | enfler |  |
|  | SMELL | SMELT | SMELT | olere vel olfacere |  |
|  | SMITE | SMITT, SMOTE | SMITTEN | percutere |  |
|  | SNOW | SNEW'D | SNEW'D, SNOW'D | ningere |  |
|  | SPEAKE | SPOKE, SPAKE | SPÓKEN | loquj |  |
|  | SPEND | SPENT | SPENT | impendere |  |
|  | SPITT | SPAT | SPITTEN, SPITT | spuere | 670 |
|  | SPILL | SPILT | SPILT |  |  |
|  | SPLITT | SPIIT | SPLIT | <findere> |  |
|  | SPREAD | SPRED | SPRED | explicare |  |
|  | SPRING | SPRONG | SPRONG | scaturire |  |
|  | SPIN | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { SPAN } \\ \text { SPUN }\end{array}\right\}$ | SPUN | nere |  |
|  | STAKE | STOOKE | STAK ${ }^{\prime}$ T | <mettre argent pour jouer> |  |
|  | STAND | STOOD | STOOD | stare |  |
|  | Steale | STOALE | STÓLEN | furere |  |
|  | STENCH | STENCH'T | STENCHED | sistere quod fluit |  |
|  | STICKE | STOOCKE | STICKT | harere | 680 |
|  | STING | STUNG | STUNG | infigere aculeum |  |
|  | STINKE | STUNKE, STANKE | STUNKE | male olere |  |
|  | STROW | STREW | STROWNE | sternere |  |
|  | STRIDE | STRIDD | STRİDDEN | diuaricare |  |


|  | STRIKE | STROOKE | STRİCKEN | percellere |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | STRING | STRONG | STRONG | instruere nervis |  |
|  | STRIUE | Stroaut | STRIUEN | contendere |  |
|  | SWEARE | SWOARE | SWORNE | iurare |  |
|  | SWEATE | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { SWETT } \\ \text { SWATT }\end{array}\right\}$ | SWETT | sudare |  |
|  | SWEEPE | SWEPT | SWEPT | vérrere | 690 |
|  | SWIM | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { SWAM } \\ \text { SWUM }\end{array}\right\}$ | SWUM | natare |  |
|  | SWING | SWONG | SWONG | <brimballer, oscillare> |  |
| T | TAKE | TOOKE | TAKEN | accipere |  |
|  | TEACH | TAUGHT | TAUGHT | docere |  |
|  | TEARE | TOARE | TORNE | <dechirer> |  |
|  | TELL | TOLD | TOLD | dicere |  |
|  | THAW | THAW'D vel THEWD | THAW'D | <degeler> |  |
|  | THINKE | THOUGHT, THAUGHT | THOUGHT | putare |  |
|  | THRIUE | THROUE | THRÍUEN | crescere |  |
|  | THROW | THREW | THRÓWEN | iacere | 700 |
|  | TREAD | TRODE | TRÓDEN | fouller |  |
| W | WEARE | WOARE | WORNE | <user en portant> |  |
|  | [WEAUE] | WOUE | WOUEN | ordir |  |
|  | WEEPE | WEPT | WEPT | lachrimare |  |
|  | WINDE | WOWND | WOWND |  |  |
|  | WINKE | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { WONKE } \\ \text { WINK'T }\end{array}\right\}$ | WINK'T | connivere |  |
|  | WIN | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { WAN } \\ \text { WUN }\end{array}\right\}$ | WUN | vincere |  |
|  | WIPE | WIP'T | WIP'T | abstergere |  |
|  | WORKE | WROUGH'T | WRAUGHT | laborare |  |
|  | WRING | WRONG | WRING'D | stringere | 710 |
|  | WRITE | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { WRITT } \\ \text { WROTE }\end{array}\right\}$ | WRÍTTEN | scribere |  |
|  | WRITHE | WRITH'D | WRITHEN | torquere |  |
|  | WHET | WHETTED | WHET | <acuere, aiguiser> |  |

Adverbia.



## De Coniunctione.

AND et, EITHER aut, OR vel, NEITHER neque, NOR nec.
Coniunctionem, vel, geminatam sic reddimus: vel scribit vel dictat, HEE EITHER WRITTETH OR DÍCTATETH, nec scribit nec legit, HEE NEITHER WRITETH NOR READETH, et scribit et loquitur HEE BOTH WRÍTETH AND SPEAKETH.
BUT sed, NAY BUT at, TRUELIE vero, BUT IF quod sj. 770
THEREFORE ergo, WHEREFORE? quare?
FORTHY (poeticum) igitur, FOR nam, WHEATHER an, ALTHOUGH etsi, YET 亡amen, NOTWITHSTANDING non obstante, AT LENGTH saltem, SINCE quando, SITHEN quando.

De Præpositione.
Apud poetas frequenter postponuntur.
WITH cum
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { VNTO } \\ \text { VPTO }\end{array}\right\}$ tenus
TOWARDS versus
OUT ex
TO ad
BEFORE ante, ob, præ
AGAINST adversus vel contra
ON THIS SIDE cis
ON THAT SIDE trans

BEYOND trans
WITHIN intra
WITHOUT extra, sine
ABOUT circum, circa
BETWEENE inter
BELOW infra
OUER AGAINST iuxta
BY per
NEARE prope
BESIDE præter

AFTER post FROM $a, a b$ OF de
OUT OF e 780
FOR pro
IN in
ABOUE super
BELOW subter
VNDER subter.

## Enallage partium.

Substantivum pro adjectivo ut SEA WATER aqua marina, FEILD MOUSE mus agrostis, WATER RATT sorex aquatis, SKY COLOR.
Adjectivum pro substantivo, addendo articulum, ut TAKE THE GOOD AND LEAVE THE BADD prennez le bon et laissez le mal; ut apud 791 Latinos triste lupus stabulis.
Adjectivum pro adverbio, ut HEE SPEAK'S ELOQUENT pro ELOQUENTLY.
Participium activum cum articulo pro nomine, ut THE SPEAKINGE pro THE SPEACH elocutio, THE LOOKINGE pro THE LOOKES aspectus, THE GOINGE pro THE GATE gressus.
Pronomen vice nominis addito articulo, ut THE HEE, THE SHEE.
Verbum infinitum pro nomine, ut TO SPEAKE WELL AND SELDOME IS WISDOME benè loqui et rarò sapientia est.
Præpositio pro adverbio, ut HEE WENT BEEFORE præijt.
800
Præpositio pro verbo, ut I WILL OVER THE RIVER pro I WILL GOE OVER THE RIVER transito flumen, quod Græcis familiare. Aliæ fiunt mutationes quas omitto.

De etymologia.
Mixtam esse Anglorum linguam non inficias eo, quod et cæteræ regiones faterj necesse habent, quæ incolarum mutationes passæ sunt. Maximam dialecti nostræ partem Germanis debemus, Normannis magnam, à Gallis spolia quædam et verborum manubias retulerunt patres qui olim rerum in Galliis potiti sunt. Ab Italis equitandi, æđificandi aliquot vocabula transtulimus. Hispani gladiandi quædam dederunt. 810 De etymo verborum quæ ab his traximus nullus loquar, quoniam quisque suæ linguæ peritus quæ mutuò accepimus facillimè notaterit. Heic solum voces quæ à Lingua Latina (communj cæterarum thesauro) propiùs absunt tractabo, quæ vero longiùs petitæ fuerint prudens sciensque omitto.

Nomina latina in tas, tas vertunt in ty, ut veritas VERITY, facilitas FACILITY.
Quæ in io apud Latinos finiunt, à genitivis faciunt ion ut institutio INSTITUTION, ADMINISTRATION; etc.
Ab ornamentum ORNAMENT, auri pigmentum ORPEMENT, et sic de cæteris. 820 Quæ in alis definunt vertuntur in al ut materialis MATERIAL. A fortitudo FORTITUDE, etc.
Quæ in bilis cadunt in ble mutantur, ut detestabilis DETESTABLE.
Quæ in ntia in nce, ut à temperantia TEMPERANCE, sapientia

SAPIENCE, etc.
Verba ut plurimum à participijs passivis Latinis deducta sunt aliquando à themate.
Prima conjugationis Latinæ plurima à participio, ut à celebratum, TO CELEBRATE, inanimatum TO INANIMATE, etc.
Quæ verò duplicem consonantem in penultima habent cujuscunque
fuerint ordinis, formant nostratia à themate, ut TO COMMEND, CONDEMN, TO DEFEND, TO INTEND, a commendo, condemno, defendo, intendo.
Quædam etiam ita sese non habentia a themate, ut TO PREPARE, COMPARE, TO NOTE, TO PROVOKE, a paro, noto, provoco.
Secundæ conjugationis plurima à participio, ut TO PROHIBIT, EXHIBIT, REVISE, etc.
Quædam à themate, ut TO CONTAINE, RETAINE, à teneo; TO PERSWADE, etc.
In tertia, à participio, ut TO AFFLICT, TO REJECT, DETECT, RESPECT, 840 CONTRACT, EXACT, DEDUCT, etc.
Quædam à themate: TO INVADE, DEDUCE, TRADUCE, etc.
Quædam à participiis et gerundiis, ut TO COMPOSE, DISPOSE, EXPOSE, PROPOSE; à gerundiis: TO COMPOUND, EXPOUND, PROPOUND. Hæc Scoti à themate ducunt, ut TO PROPONE, EXPONE, COMPONE, etc.
In quarta à participijs, ut TO INVEST, PREVENT, TO EXHAUST.
Gallj fere omnia à themate ducunt, nos è contra à participijs,
quod argumento esse queat, nos hoc genus vocabula non a Gallis (ut quidam volunt) sed $a b$ ipso fonte petijsse.
Sexcenta sunt hujuscemodj verba et nomina quæ Latinè scientibus facilè notarj possunt. Verùm nostrates his loquendj formulis nimis abundè utuntur, cum linguæ propriæ analogiam vel turpitèr nesciant vel prudentes negligant.

De compositione.
Mira nobis in hoc genere fœlicitas, quo Gallos, Italos, Hispanos immane quantum superamus.
Sæpè tria coagmentantur nomina, ut A FOOTE-BAL-PLAYER, qui pila ludit pede, A TENNIS-COURT-KEEPER spharisterij prefectus, gallicum tripotier, A WOOD-COCK-KILLER un homme qui tue des
becasses.
Sæpissimè duo substantiva, ut HAND-KERCHER mouchoir, TABLE-NAPKIN mappa, TABLE-CLOTH la nappe, HEAD-AKE reф $\alpha \lambda \alpha \gamma \dot{C} \alpha$, RAINBOW areus cœlestis, EISORE oculorum dolor, HART-AKE cordolium.
Substantivum cum verbali frequentèr, ut à MAN-SLAYER $\dot{\alpha} v \delta \rho \circ \phi o ́ v o s$, HORSE-STEALER qui derobe des cheuaux.
Substantivum cum verbo, ut WOODBIND, WOODSPECK.
Pronomen cum substantivo, ut SELF-LOVE фL $\lambda \alpha \cup T$ La, SELF-FREEDOM

Verbum cum substantivo, ut PUFF-CHEEKE фUoǐva日os, DRAW-BRIDG pont 870 leue, etc.
 $X \in し \rho \subset \sigma O \not \subset \subset \alpha$.
Adverbium cum participio, ut UP-RISINGE, WEL-SPEAKINGE, DOWNELOOKINGE, etc.
Longum esset omnes hujuscemodi formas enumerare nam omnes orationis
partes inter se vicissim cohærent, atque id non sine summa elocutionis elegantia modo non inverecundè votamur.

## TEXTUAL NOTES

```
Tonkisiol n superimposed over erasure (m?)
erasure after et which seems to be a partially obscured A
exauditur],inserted as omission in MS.
ÁNCIENT.] ÁNCIENT, (with space for more examples)
hiulcol superimposed over erasure
Gallicuml Gall:
Gallicum.] Gall:
gallicum.] gall:
scribit ie.] MS much faded
space after BROTHER for one other example
space after SPOT for one other example
clesmentia] so in MS. consonantel conson.
REASON.] REASON, (with considerable space for more
examples)
86 erasure of two or three letters between vt and w.
8 7 \text { Gallicum.] Gall:}
88 PAULSGRAUE] first u might be cancelled
95 Gallicum:] Gall.
97 hispanicum,] hisp:
104 Hispanicum.] Hisp:
116 gallicum] gall:
117 solam] originally solum, with emending stroke through u
to make a
    124 TWELUE.] TWELUE, (with space for more examples)
    131 WHO.] WHO, (with space for more examples)
    132 OX.] OX, (with space for more examples)
    134 graecum.] graec.
    137 Italicum,] Ital.
    138 masculinum gallicuml mas. gall. FEAST.] FEAST, (with
space for more examples)
    139 Latinum,] Latin:
    140 graecum:] graec.
    141 SMOAKE.] SMOAKE, (with space for more examples)
    150 Gallicum.] Gall: 151 [in]finitus] finitus
    156 emphaseōs] emphasews
    l67 TOTH' may have been set down as two words (but see BYTH'
below)
    174-5 HOST, HONOR, HONEST] h at least partially erased in each
word
    185 TH'MAN] MS has THE MAN with e erased; elsewhere TH'. KNOW
TH'MAN] so MS, although KNOWTH['] MAN is intended. \hat{O TH'MAN] O}
TH'MAN
    200 etl ut crossed out, et inserted above it
    203 consonante,] conso.
    207 mouche] e conjectured; MS bound tightly at this point
    2 2 8 ~ s u b s t a n t i u i l ~ s u b s t a n t . ~
    232 substantiui] sutstan:
    235 ilignum] ilignu (m possibly erased)
    250-1 MS has toे \phi८\lambda\iotaหoेv after LOUELIENESSE as well as
FREINDLINESSE (but clearly not a misreading of हं\pi\alpha\emptyset\rhoo\delta\nu\sigma\dot{\ell}\alpha)
    262 SPITFULL] SPITEFULI (with e partially erased)
    277 About l/3 of a page left blank before "de verbalibus"
```

```
    291 space between FRÉINDLESLY and FEAREFULLY, as if for gloss
(note hastily inserted glosses at 271, 272 above for LIVELYHOOD and
BEASTLYHEAD)
    324 WITH MEE.] WITH, MEE
    325 © THEE] O THEE. O'YOU] OYOU. WITH YOU.] WITH, YOU.
    327 FROM'ER] FROM 'HER (h blotted out)
    3 3 5 \text { ve struck out after solum}
    357 Over a third of a page left blank before heading of
Chapter 6
    375 emphaticōs] emphaticus
    393 At Scotj aliter] considerably erased
    409 perfectum] perfect
    4 2 6 ~ p e r m i s s i v a m ] ~ p e r m i s s i - v a m ~
    4 3 0 ~ M I G H T S T ] ~ M I G H S T T
    441 WOULD HAUE BELEIUED] WOUD HAUE BELEIUED.
    448-9 LOUZING . . . MOUELING] SO MS
    462 BEE YOU,] BEE YOU (u inserted as correction)
    473 MIGHTST] first t inserted as correction
    5 3 1 ~ M I S I N T E R P R E T ] ~ l e t t e r ~ d e l e t e d ~ b e t w e e n ~ R ~ a n d ~ P ; ~ f i n a l ~ T '
written over another letter
    565 experge fierjl expergefierj
    610 [FLY]] absent in MS
    6 5 3 ~ \tau о \xi \varepsilon u ́ \& し \nu ] ~ \tau o े ~ \xi u \varepsilon \iota v ~
    703 [WEAUE]] WEARE
    740 DINNER] conjectured reading
    747 millies.] millies, (with space for more examples)
    751 quippenj] quippe nj
    753 non.] non, (with space for more examples)
    765 nec.] nec, (with space for more examples)
    770 sj.] sj, (with space for more examples)
    7 7 1 ~ q u a r e ? ] ~ q u a r e ? , ~ ( w i t h ~ s p a c e ~ f o r ~ m o r e ~ e x a m p l e s )
    787 From this point to the end of the MS, penned in another,
hybrid hand
    8 0 4 \text { De Etymologial title used as well for running head of}
f.14v and l5
    816 latinal inserted
    8 5 5 ~ D e ~ c o m p o s i t i o n e ] ~ t i t l e ~ a l s o ~ r u n n i n g ~ h e a d ~ f o r ~ f . l 5 v ~
    869 \dot{\alphau\tauóx\varepsilonし\rho] \alphaU\tauóxEL\rhoĹ\alpha. with last two letters deleted}
```


## EXPLANATORY NOTES

20 quatuor et vigintj: because $I / J$ and $U / V$ were taken to be "the same" letters by most commentators, though Graves's Grammatica Anglicana (1594) lists the now traditional twenty-six.

21-2 For the similarity of this passage on the letter a to the one in Jonson's English Grammar, see Introduction, p.l35.

27 BENIAMIN: this entry might be evidence indicative of a relationship with Jonson.

28-32 There is a surface similarity here to Jonson (Works, VIII, p.480, 483, 495); however, none of the examples coincides, and Tonkis states the $/ \mathrm{s} /-/ \mathrm{k} /$ distinction rather perfunctorily, without examples. Jonson clearly borrowed both statement and illustrations from Smith's De Recta (1568; ed. Deibel, 1913, ff. $21 \mathrm{v}-$ 24) and Mulcaster's Elementarie (1582; p.ll9). Here, too, none of Tonkis's examples coincides, and his mention of Spanish ch does not occur in any of the earlier sources. Graves (ed. Funke, 1938, p.7) briefly mentions the $/ \mathrm{s} /-/ \mathrm{k} / \mathrm{distinction}$ and the ch form. Somehow, one gets the impression that much of this was "common knowledge" derived from the Latin classroom, indifferently transferred to English.

35 ff In general, what Tonkis here treats very hastily is given in far more detail in Jonson and Mulcaster, especially the part on the modification of a preceding vowel by the final e. There is little coincidence of examples: in the segments on final -le, brittle occurs in both Jonson and Mulcaster, and fickle and thimble in Jonson. For the sequence vel (not in Jonson) Mulcaster gives the examples diuel, riuel, rauel, shouel. (Rivel as noun and verb meant "wrinkle"; if Tonkis had consulted Mulcaster, which is by no means proved, he may have been led to the more familiar drivel.) Tonkis's note on final -en is not echoed in any of the earlier works, and only inferred in Jonson (p.472). The final caution about never sounding e as a seems to be particularly addressed to a continental audience.

47ff There is little here to compare with the earlier works: Tonkis seems to have omitted entirely $g+a, o, u$. On the other hand, he seems to have been the first to notice the special quality of the combination $n g$. Of his illustrations, ginger appears in both Mulcaster and Jonson, and give in Jonson; on the "Italian gu." cf. Jonson (p.484): "And in Guin. guerdon. languish. anguish. where it speakes the Italian gu." Guin and guerdon occur in Mulcaster, but not the two examples in Tonkis. Tonkis seems to be alone in hearing the "gutteral sound" of gh; cf. Dobson, I, p.315.

61 Cf. Mulcaster, p.121: "Somtime it is writen, without anie force in vtterance, as in manie enfranchised words, as, honest, humble, hoste, hostice. Where the vowell after $h$, is heard, as if there went no aspiration before." Substantially the same is in

Jonson, p.495, save for the omission of the example hostess. The other passages on $h$ in Tonkis are too vague for further comparison.

64-5 g Italicum: the concept occurs in Jonson (p.475), as do the examples jest and joy. These examples, plus jet, occur also in Mulcaster, p.ll5.

66-7 Jonson (p.472) has the example incident, and Mulcaster (p.114), coincident, but both in a much more detailed setting. Here Tonkis is worse than perfunctory, if that is possible.

71 Cf. Jonson (p.487): "K, Which is a Letter the Latines never acknowledged, but only borrow'd in the word Kalende. They used qu. for it. Wee found [sic. ? sound] it as the Greeke $\mu$ and as a necessarie Letter it precedes, and followes all Vowells with us. It goes before no Consonants but $n$. as in knave. knel. knot. \&c." The last, including the example knave, is in Mulcaster (p.121).

76-82 Though Jonson's discussion (p.475) differs completely from Tonkis in that, following Mulcaster, he tries to distinguish systematically between the different kinds of sounds, the following examples do co-occur: open, over, note, brother, love, prove. of these, only love appears in Mulcaster, pp.115-16.

83-6 Cf. Jonson (p.476): "In the last Syllabes before $n$. and $w$. it frequently looseth [i.e., becomes /ə/]: as in persòn, actiòn, willòw, billòw." Jonson used the grave to mark a "flat" vowel; Tonkis's marking does not follow this system. Earlier (p.475) Jonson used sow as an example, among others, of "diphthongs" in ow; it occurs in a similar list in Mulcaster (p.ll5). Peason is the obsolete or dialectal plural of pease, now pea.

87 On the apparent variation of the illustrations, see Dobson, I, p. 314 .

88 PAULSGRAUE: usually Palsgrave; Count Palatine.
89 The example Phillip occurs in Mulcaster ( $p .123$ ) and Jonson (p.496).

92 Cf. Jonson (p.491): "Sometime it inclineth to $z$. as in these, Muse. use. rose. nose. wise." A similar passage is in Mulcaster (p.122), but without the illustration muse. See also Graves (p.8): "Perperam profertur S. pro z. ut az, iz, wize, pro as, is, wise." Tonkis and Graves lack a good bit of material on initial and final $s$, which occur in the other commentaries.

93 Cf. Jonson (p.496): "Sh Is meerely English; and hath the force of . . . the French ch . . . ." None of the examples coincides.

96 Cf. Smith (f. 33v), speaking of the Old English thorn and eth: "Nam illud Saxonum [eth] respondet illi sono quem vulgaris Graeca lingua facit quando pronuntiant suum [delta], aut Hispani d
literam suam melliorem, vt cum veritatem verdad appellant. Spina autem illa videtur mihi referre prorsus Graecorum $\ominus$." Jonson ( $p$. 496) adapted much of this, though without the Spanish illustration.

97 In Jonson (p.496) lengthen, strengthen, loveth are among the examples of th sounded like the Greek theta, and this, that, then, thence, those, bathe, bequeath, make up the entire list of words illustrative of delta or Spanish d. In Smith (f.32v), thou, those, these (spelled "thës"), that, this, and brother are among the words illustrative of a th spelling.

99 METHÉGLEN: (sometimes metheglin) a beverage, once very popular, of honey and water, usually fermented; mead.

103 SITHE: probably a variant of sigh, or equally of scythe.
108 PULE: to cry, whine.
109-15 Cf. Mulcaster (p.116): "It is vsed consonantlike also as well as i, when it leadeth a sounding vowell in the same syllab, as vantage, reuiue, deliuer. or the silent $e$, in the end, as beleue, reproue." In the like passage in Jonson, though garbled (p.479), the example love occurs.
ll7ff This account of the pronunciation of $\mathrm{ME} / \mathrm{y}: / \mathrm{has}$ no counterpart in Mulcaster, Graves, or Jonson, and the remarks in Smith lead to a somewhat different conclusion; see Dobson, I, 315; II, 699-713.

123 TWIBILL: a two-edged axe, mattock, battle-axe.
131 In his passage on initial wh, which he analyzes as /hw/ (p.479), Jonson lists as examples what, which, wheele, whether.

132 In considerably longer, and interrelated, passages, Smith (f.31) and Jonson (p.492) share the example box, and Mulcaster (p.123) cites the anomalous oxen.

133 Jonson (pp.479-80), Mulcaster (p.117), and Smith (f.18) all go into considerable detail about this initial semi-vowel.

134 This Greek pronunciation example is also in Jonson (p.492) and Smith (f.3lv). The OED cites ezod, izzard, and uzzard as variants of zed, but not ezard.

136-43 Mulcaster (pp.118-19) listed twelve "diphthongs" (actually digraphs); Jonson (pp.498-9) cut it back to nine. Of the latter, $O$ and ui are not in Tonkis, but $a e$ and oa are not in Jonson or Mulcaster; both agree that oa (and ee) are orthographically unnecessary. Smith (f.15) includes \& ("diphthongus Latina" [sic]) as a somewhat modified form of ai. Only smith includes directions for pronunciation, but the directions in Tonkis are so brief that any connection would be impossible to prove. However, Smith calls eu "diphthongum Graecum" and of oi he says, "Gallis frequentissima,
ita nobis est rarissima" (f.l6). Of the examples given, way, dew, toy, boy, are in Jonson; and these, plus mau ("stomachus"), are in Smith. WHAY is probably whey.

150-60 On the striking similarities between this passage and that in Jonson, see the Introduction, pp.135-6.

171 SƯvos: so in MS, apparently to show elision; normally o üvos.
l84ff This declension of the English noun has no direct counterpart in any of the other English grammars: Jonson and Graves give no declension at all, and Bullokar, Pamphlet for Grammar (1586) rather futilely lists the nouns in Latin case order without article or preposition.

203-9 Cf. Graves (p.9): "Anomalia vero multiplex est. ut Man, men: Goose, geese: Cowe, kine: Oxe, oxen: Childe, children: Tooth, teeth: Foote, feete: Brother, brethren: Louse, lise: Mouse, Mice: huc vertentia $f$. in v. ut Staffe, Staves: Beefe, beeves: Life, liues: Sheafe, Sheaues: Theefe, theeues: wife, wives: Knife, knives." Obviously, much of the similarity arises from the limited examples in closed categories. However, the Cambridge connection of both Tonkis and the Grammatica Anglicana must be borne in mind.

213-16 Cf. Graves (p.10): "Faecundissimus hic omnium adjectivorum ortus est, in lesse. cuius substantivique connexu fiunt. ut faithlesse, toothlesse, wifelesse, horselesse. id est, without faith, teeth, wife, horse." Except for a brief mention later of nouns formed from adjectives in -ness and adverbs from adjectives in $-l y$, this is all that Graves has on derivational affixes.

240-5 Jonson (pp.508-9) lists -ish as a diminutive suffix for adjectives. The sole coinciding example is white/whitish.

270-2 BEASTLYHEAD: As synonymous with beasthood as well as beastliness, attested by two OED citations, 1579 (Spenser) and 1616.

284-6 On the dubious nature of this statement, see Introduction, note 14.

292 FREINDLILY: OED has four citations dating from l680; though awkward, the form is nonetheless analogically sound. On GOODLILY, and STEALINGLY in the next line, see Introduction, p.l32.

300ff The example learned, learneder, learnedest occurs in Jonson (p.509), and neither he nor Graves nor Bullokar (not to mention Tonkis) gives any directions for distinguishing between the use of the inflected comparison and the periphrastic with more/ most. Citations abound throughout the lith century to indicate a general state of flux.
$313 f f$ A longer, more systematic section on diminutives appears
in Jonson (pp.508-9). Examples which coincide are capon, caponet; bull, bullock; goose, gosling; duck, duckling; dear, darling; Richard, Dick; William, Will.

320 STARE: a bird of the genus sturnus; starling.
32lff De Pronomine: This presentation is far more complete as to exposition, and bears no resemblance to the discussion in the other grammars of the time. However, here, as elsewhere in his presentation of the parts of speech, Tonkis shows no interest in definitions or similar linguistic niceties.

323 Demonstrativa sunt I, THOU, HE, SHE: a concept strongly influenced by the traditional Latin grammar, in that ille and is could be used either as demonstratives or as personal pronouns. At the time, the grammatical concepts relative and demonstrative were considered synonymous. See Michael, p.328ff.

338-47 Jonson mentions only relative which; Graves, who and which, though the latter discussion is somewhat confusing ( p .12 ). Only Bullokar, like Tonkis, gives relatives who, which, that. Jonson denied place to that as a relative pronoun, according to Drummond of Hawthorndon, but in practice he used it often enough. (See "Conversations with Jonson", in Jonson's Works, I, p.149.)

349-55 Cf. Jonson (p.51l): "Which distinctions [of the proper spelling of the genitives of nouns ending in sibilants], not observed, brought in first the monstrous Syntaxe of the Pronoune, his, joyning with a Noune, betokening a Possessor; as, the Prince his house; for, the Princis house."

354 POLIBIUS'US See Introduction, p.133.
360-1 Tonkis here seems to be an echo of Graves in insisting on one conjugation, lumping all departures from the preterit in -ed into the "anomalous" category. Bullokar had three conjugations, and the systematic Jonson, four.

372ff Although Tonkis took the schemata of Lily as his model, his nine separate tenses are by far the largest number in any single English grammar of that time. His dependence on a Latin model is likewise shown by his artificial use of all six possible moods: indicative, imperative, infinitive, optative, potential, and subjunctive. See Michael, pp. 398-9, 433-5.

385 ff Tonkis seems to have been the first commentator on English grammar to make such a clear distinction between will and shall. Bullokar, Graves, and Jonson all seem to indicate that will and shall were used interchangeably. Despite all the studies of recent years, the historical situation is by no means clear; see J. Taglicht, "The Genesis of the Conventional Rules for the Use of Shall and Will", English Studies 51 (1970) pp.193-213.
the l7th century the interchanging of the "proper" use of shall and will has popularly been considered Scottish, Northern, provincial, and non-British English usage. However, Hume, On the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue (c.1617), mentions and makes use only of will in his description of verb forms and tenses.

399 vnus . . . orco: Cf. "juvenum primos tot miserit Orco?" (Aeneid, IX, 785).

417 nec. . . regem: Georgics, I, 36.
420ff This seems to be the earliest attempt to distinguish between the usage of may and can. The other grammars treat of them as anomalous or auxiliary forms, but not as markers of a "potential mood". As with shall/will, the historical development of these forms needs thorough review.

442 It should be noted that Tonkis is a sufficiently able observer of his native tongue to avoid the Latin trap which Graves and Bullokar blindly blundered into: the positing of a "past pluperfect" infinitive, "to had loved".

561ff Both Graves and Jonson have long lists of irregular verbs, the latter being much more systematically presented. Omitting from the comparison occurrences in Tonkis of variants of Jonson's "first conjugation" (formations of the past in /t/, as cough, loose, stench (i.e., stanch/staunch), wipe; formation of the preterit in /t/ from base forms ending in /d/, as bend, build, send; variants of regular /d/ preterits, as smell, spill; and invariables, as split, whet;) plus fell ("chop down") and prefixed verbs, as arise, awake, backbite, perbreak, we find that Tonkis has far the larger list, though Jonson may not have been working for comprehensiveness. Verbs not included in either Jonson or Graves are behold, bereave, chaw, comb, ding, deal, fetch, freeze, melt, shit, show, skim, sling, swell, spit, stake, strow, string, thaw, writhe. Six more are in Tonkis and Graves, but not Jonson, whereas 27 are in Jonson and Tonkis, but not Graves. On the other hand, read, will (wolle in Jonson), shall (sholle in Jonson), seek, owe, may, be, occur in Jonson and Graves, but not Tonkis. In addition, dread, shread, speed, crow, quite ("quit"), hight ("name"), grind, hew, mow, mean, are in Jonson, and steep, weet ( $?=$ wit), have, are in Graves, but not the others. The overall inference is that if there was any borrowing going on, it was from Tonkis's longer, but unorganized list to Jonson's systematic discussion.

565 AWOKE: OED lists awook as a l3th-century form; it is not mentioned in Wright's English Dialect Grammar or Dictionary. However, the simplex wooke is listed up to the l6th century.

585 CHAW: according to OED, "a by-form of chew . . . very common in the 16 th-l7th c." In any case, the preterit would seem to have been chawed/chewed.
early l7th-century citations in OED, but there is no attestation for participial cloven.

589 CLOMBE: used in the 17 th century as an affectedly archaic form; the usual preterit was climbed or dialectal clum $/ \mathrm{kl}$ (əm/.

592 CAME: there is no attestation for present tense came; perhaps (though the order here is not rigidly alphabetical) come is intended.

593 COMB: kembed, kempt were common variants of combed, the latter surviving in unkempt, but participial kemb is not attested elsewhere.

595 DING'D: occasionally found as a Southern variant of participial dung in the 16 th and 17 th centuries.

604 FELL: probably included to differentiate from fall.
616 GÁUEN: not clearly attested in OED except as geaven (Wriothesley, Chronicles, 1538).

623 HAT: listed in OED as the Scottish and Northern preterit of hit from the l7th century, and still attested as such in Wright's English Dialect Grammar. It might be noted that Tonkis twice explicitly mentions Scots usage. (See 11.393, 845; and cf. Notes to 11.547, 557.)

624 HÓLDEN: according to OED, "in the l6th c. [participial] holden began to be displaced by held from the past tense, and is now archaic, but preserved by its use in legal and formal language."

627 LADE: existed as a parallel form to load, but not as a preterit of it. The normal preterit was loaded/laded.

629 LEAPE: both preterit loape and participial lopen exist as Scottish and Northern forms.

638 PERBREAKE: vomit, spew forth; parallel form for parbreak. The preterit and participial forms seem to have been per- or parbreaked, not those listed here analogical to break, broke, broken.

639 RAUGHT: according to OED, "continued in general use down to $c .1600$, and was frequently employed for half a century later, but is now only archaic, or dialectal in the forms raucht (Scottish), rought (Lanc., Chesh., Staff.), and raught (West Midlands)."

659 SKUM: the form scum developed side by side with skim, and possibly preceded it, but in either case, the preterit was usually scummed/skimmed.

676 STAKE: the only instance of a preterit in the OED, in the sense "to gamble", is the relatively late (1802) staked. Stooke is
not attested.

679 STENCH: the form stanch/staunch was far commoner.
706 WONKE: according to OED, "Examples of a strong conjugation in English (past tense wank, wonk) are very rare."

772 FORTHY: this word, and its parallel forthon, were archaisms by the mid-l6th century. Likewise for sithen (line 774) and its reduced form sith.

787 Enallage: literally "exchange" or "interchange"; as a grammatical term, the substitution, as here, of one part of speech for another.

792 Triste . . . stabulis: "Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus impres,/ Arboribar venti." Eclogues, III, 80.

820 ORPEMENT: also orpiment, auripigment, trisulphide of arsenic, called "yellow axsenic" or "the king's yellow".

867ff For comment on the exact parallel of this passage with a marginal note in Jonson, see Introduction, p.l36.

867 WOODBIND: common variant of woodbine. wOODSPECK: a woodpecker; the word actually derives from wood plus speck, speight, spite, "woodpecker", and thus the second element is not etymologically a verb.

870 PUFF-CHEEKE: not in OED; the Greek is an allusion to puff-cheek, the name of a frog in Batrachomyomachia, 56.

## EDITOR'S NOTE

We plan to print an edition by Professor Cook of John Evelyn's English Grammer in Leeds Studies in English Vol. XIV.

