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English Spelling in the Seventeenth Century:

A study of the nature of standardisation as seen through the MS and Printed versions of the Duke of Newcastle's "A New Method ...".

(Volume One of Two Volumes)

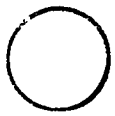
by

Margaret J–M Sönmez

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of English and Linguistics

The University of Durham
1993



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English Spelling in the Seventeenth Century:
A study of standardisation as seen through
the MS and printed versions of the Duke of Newcastle's
"A New Method....."

Margaret J-M Sönmez

PhD thesis, 1993

Abstract

This thesis investigates 17th century English spelling from the points of view of variation and standardisation. Following a survey of both contemporary and present-day commentaries on Early Modern English spelling, the linguistic nature and social contexts of the standardisation of written English are examined. In accordance with Milroy 1992's research, it is found that this process may usefully be studied as a form of language change. Unlike this earlier study, however, it is postulated that the standardisation of spelling itself (rather than of speech) will show patterns in variation that are similar to those found in the spoken language where change is in progress.

The comparative analysis of the spellings of manuscript and printed versions of the first Duke of Newcastle's English book on Horsemanship shows variation at a number of different textual and linguistic levels, conforming to sociolinguistic theories of variation patterning in accordance with formality. This is the first attempt to examine such spelling variation extensively, using methods other than phoneme–grapheme mapping. The analyses provide specific and numerically–substantiated information about 17th century spelling. They also show that the process of spelling standardisation demonstrates the patterns of structured variation that have been associated by sociolinguists with change towards an acknowledged prestige.

Three appendices provide a complete word list of all spellings found in manuscript and printed texts, with numerical occurrences, a list of uncanonical verbal endings found in the texts, and a full, diplomatic transcription of the manuscripts used in the analyses.

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For my father

Contents

Acknowledgements 3

Introduction 7

1 Background to English Spelling in the 17th Century 11

1.1 20th Century Studies & Descriptions of EModE Spelling . . . 11

1.1.1 General Histories of the Language and Histories of Spelling . 11

1.1.2 Histories of Pronunciation: Wyld 19

1.1.3 Descriptive Bibliography and Editorial Commentary 20

1.2 EModE Studies and Descriptions of Spelling 23

1.2.1 Spelling Reform 23

1.2.2 Spelling Books and Dictionaries 25

1.3 Standardisation & the Social Background to 17th c. Spelling 34

1.3.1 What is Spelling Standardisation? 34

1.3.2 The Social Background: Class 42

1.3.3 The Social Background: Education 43

1.3.4 Printing 49

1.4 Summary 59

2 Present–Day Studies of English Spelling 60

2.1 Two Aspects of Spelling Studies: Production and Reception 60

2.2 Studies of Entire Spelling Systems 62

2.3 Historical Studies and Editorial Processes 65

2.3.1 Editorial Treatment of Non–Standardised Features 68

2.3.2 Different Treatment of EModE MS and Print 69

2.4 Educational and Cognitive Studies 74

2.5 Theoretical Linguistics 76

2.6 Analytic Approaches of this Thesis Contextualised 77

3 Selection and Description of Materials 80

3.0.1 Sources 80

3.1 Selection 82

3.2 Description 83

3.2.1 The Manuscripts 84

3.2.2 The Printed Book 90
3.2.3 The Writer: The Duke of Newcastle (1592–1676) 96
3.2.4 The Printer: Thomas Milbourn(e) 99

4 Methodology 101
4.1 Preparation of Material 103
4.2 Order of Presentation 104
4.3 The Tables 104
4.3.1 Computation 104
4.3.2 Presentation and Content 105
4.3.3 Calculations 106
4.4 Referring to the Texts 106

5 Non–Traditional Features of Spelling 107
5.1 Definition of Terms 107
5.1.1 Multivalent Graphic Features in MS and Print 111
5.2 Analysis of Multivalent Graphic Features in the Texts. . . . 113
5.2.1 Non–Possessive Apostrophe 113
5.2.2 Superscript Dash or Macron 114
5.2.3 Capitalisation Within Sentences 116
5.2.4 Non–Alphabetic Forms Referring to Words 120
5.2.5 Abbreviations 121
5.2.6 Spaces Between Words: Word Division and Hyphenation . 122
5.2.7 Possessive Apostrophe 130
5.2.8 Dash to Fill Space or as a Flourish 130
5.2.9 Asterisk and Other Special Devices. 130
5.2.10 Rules 131
5.2.11 Paragraphing, General Layout 131
5.2.12 Capitals at the Beginning of Sentences. 131
5.3 Summary 131

6 The Spellings of Morphemes and False–Morphemes 133
6.1 Prefixes 135
6.1.1 al– 135
6.1.2 be– 138
6.1.3 com– 138

6.1.4 de– 139
6.1.5 dis– 141
6.1.6 en– 141
6.1.7 ex– & extra 142
6.1.8 in– 144
6.1.9 out– 144
6.2 Suffixes 146
6.2.1 –age 146
6.2.2 –al 147
6.2.3 –ance and –ence 149
6.2.4 –ant & –ent 150
6.2.5 –ar, –er and –or 152
6.2.6 –ate 154
6.2.7 –able and –ible 155
6.2.8 –dom 156
6.2.9 –ed 156
6.2.10 Comparative –er 160
6.2.11 –en 160
6.2.12 –ful 161
6.2.13 –hood 162
6.2.14 –ic 162
6.2.15 –ify 162
6.2.16 –ing 164
6.2.17 –ise and –ize 166
6.2.18 –ish 167
6.2.19 –ity 168
6.2.20 –ive 170
6.2.21 –less 170
6.2.22 –ly 170
6.2.23 –ment 173
6.2.24 –ness 173
6.2.25 –our 174
6.2.26 –ous 175
6.2.27 –s 177

6.2.28 –ship 185
6.2.29 Superlative –(e)st 185
6.2.30 –sion & –tion 187
6.2.31 –ward 188
6.2.32 Word–Final –y 189
6.2.33 Conclusions 191

7 Grapheme Variation and Alternation 199
7.1 Spellings of PresE Unstressed Vowels 199
7.2 Word– and Morpheme–Final ⟨e⟩ 200
7.2.1 Final ⟨e⟩ 201
7.2.2 Medial ⟨e⟩ 203
7.3 Consonant Doubling 206
7.3.1 Base–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling 208
7.3.2 Non–Suffixed Word–Final Consonant Doubling 211
7.3.3 Word (Morpheme) Medial Consonant Doubling 212
7.3.4 Possible Homographs 215
7.4 Vowel Doubling 216
7.4.1 Morpheme–Medial Double Vowels 216
7.4.2 Morpheme–Final Double Vowels 219
7.5 Graph or Digraph Alternation 220
7.5.1 c/k/ck Alternation 221
7.5.2 c/s Alternation 223
7.5.3 ch/tch Alternation 224
7.5.4 g/j Alternation 225
7.5.5 th/d Alternation 226
7.5.6 th/'thorn' Alternation 227
7.5.7 ti/ci/si Alternation 227
7.5.8 ⟨s⟩/⟨ſ⟩ 228
7.5.9 ⟨i⟩/⟨j⟩ 228
7.5.10 ⟨u⟩/⟨v⟩ 228
7.5.11 Loss of Medial Vowels in Trisyllabic Words 229
7.5.12 Loss of Initial Segment 229
7.5.13 i/y 230
7.5.14 u/w Alternation 236

7.5.15 i/e Alternation 242
7.5.16 Alternations Between ⟨ea⟩, ⟨ee⟩, ⟨ei⟩ and ⟨ie⟩ 243
7.5.17 er/ar Alternation 245
7.5.18 re/er Alternation 247
7.6 PresE Single Vowels in Stressed Position 251
7.7 Learned, Etymological and Miscellaneous Other Spellings . 254
7.7.1 Weak Forms 256
7.7.2 Other Spelling Features 257

8 Results 260
8.1 Substantive Findings 260
8.1.1 Variation Within and Between the Texts 265
8.1.2 Difference Between Spellings of the Texts and of PresE . . . 269
8.2 Qualitative Interpretations 271
8.2.1 Features Not Traditionally Considered to Pertain to Spelling 271
8.2.2 Morphological Level 272
8.2.3 Phonological Level 274
8.3 General Observations 276

9 Conclusion 279

A Complete Word List with Definitions 281

B Uncanonical Verbal Inflexions 413

Selected Bibliography 424

C Transcriptions of PwV21 and PwV22 436

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1a. Inspiration 13

Fig. 1b. Diffusion 14

Fig. 1c (i) Variation and Alteration 16

Fig. 1c (ii) Variation and Alteration 16

Fig 1c (iii) Variation and Alteration 18

Fig. 1 (d): Spelling variation explicitly mentioned by EModE sources 32

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Population in England and in London in the EModE Period 43

Table 5.1: All instances of non–possessive apostrophe 114

Table 5.2: All instances of macron 114

Table 5.3 Non–sentence–initial capitalisation 119

Table 5.4: Non–alphabetic forms of words. 121

Table 5.5: Abbreviations and Contractions 121

Table 5.6 (a): Words showing unetymological word division 125

Table 5.6 (b): Where PresE has single words but the texts show divided or hyphenated forms 126

Table 5.7 (a) Words which are hyphenated in PresE 129

Table 6.1 (a): Morphemic al– 135

Table 6.1 (b): non–morphemic al– 136

Table 6.2 (a): Summary of main variable in Table 6.2 (b): where PresE has –mm– 138

Table 6.2 (b): Morphemic and non–morphemic (polysyllabic) com– 138

Table 6.3 (a): Summary of all spellings of initial de– 140

Table 6.3 (b): All ⟨di⟩ spellings of initial de– 140

Table 6.4: Spellings of PresE initial en– 141

Table 6.5: Words spelt with ⟨c⟩ or a vowel following ⟨ex⟩ in 1667 and PresE 142

Table 6.6: PresE ⟨in–⟩ 144

Table 6.7: All instances of PresE ⟨out(–)⟩ 144
Table 6.8: All PresE –⟨age(–)⟩ 146
Table 6.9 (a): All spellings of PresE ⟨-al(–)⟩ 147
Table 6.9 (b): Spellings of 'continually' 148
Table 6.10 (a): PresE –ance 149
Table 6.10 (b): PresE –ence 149
Table 6.11 (a): PresE –ant 150
Table 6.11 (b): PresE –ent 152
Table 6.12 (a): PresE –ar 152
Table 6.12 (b): PresE –or 154
Table 6.13: All PresE syllabic –ate 154
Table 6.14: PresE –dom 156
Table 6.15 (a): All –ed words 156
Table 6.15 (b): Simple Past 158
Table 6.15 (c): Participial and Adjectival –ed 159
Table 6.16 (a): Morphemic –en 160
Table 6.16 (b): non–morphemic syllabic –en 161
Table 6.17: Spellings of PresE –ful(–) 161
Table 6.18: Spellings of PresE –ic 162
Table 6.19: Spellings of PresE –ify 162
Table 6.20: Spellings of PresE –ing 165
Table 6.21: Spellings of PresE stressed –ise and –ize 166
Table 6.22 Syllabic –ish 168
Tables 6.23 (a) and (b): PresE ⟨ity⟩ and ⟨ities⟩ 169
Table 6.23 (c) PresE ⟨ety⟩ 169
Table 6.24 (a): Spellings of PresE –ly 171

Table 6.24 (b): PresE –ley 172
Table 6.25 173
Table 6.26 174
Table 6.27 (a): Spellings of syllabic PresE –our 174
Table 6.27 (b): Summary of spellings of syllabic PresE –our 174
Table 6.28: –ious and –ous 176
Table 6.29 (a): Where PresE has non–syllabic –'s 178
Table 6.29 (b): Where PresE has non–syllabic –e's 178
Table 6.29 (c): Where PresE has syllabic –'s or –s' 179
Table 6.29 (d): PresE non–syllabic plural inflexions 181
Table 6.29 (e): PresE syllabic plural inflexions 181
Table 6.29 (f): PresE non–syllabic ⟨s⟩ and Table 6.29 (g): PresE non–syllabic ⟨es⟩ 183
Table 6.29 (h): PresE syllabic ⟨es⟩ and Table 6.29 (i): PresE ⟨ies⟩ 183
Tables 6.29 (j) and (k) 183
Table 6.29 (l): Non–syllabic ⟨s⟩ and Table 6.29 (m): non–syllabic ⟨es⟩ 184
Tables 6.29 (n): Syllabic ⟨es⟩ and 6.29 (o): PresE ⟨ies⟩ 184
Table 6.30 185
Table 6.31 (a): syllabic –est 186
Table 6.31 (b): all words incorporating ⟨e⟩–less superlative morph 186
Table 6.32 (a): all PresE –sion and Table 6.32 (b): PresE morphemic –tion 188
Table 6.33: All spellings of PresE –ward 188
Table 6.34 (a): PresE –y (unstressed) 189
Table 6.34 (b): PresE –ey (unstressed) 190

Tables 6.34 (c) and (d): PresE stressed -y, polysyllables (c) and monosyllables (d) 191
Table 6.35 (a): Prefix–to–base consonant doubling 191
Table 6.35 (b): ⟨i⟩/⟨e⟩ alternation in prefixes 191
Table 6.35 (c i): Suffix– and word–final double consonants 193
Table 6.35 (c ii): Word–final consonant doubling after false–suffixes 193
Table 6.35 (d) Suffix–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling. 193
Table 6.35 (e) Suffixes ending with ⟨e⟩ in PresE 195
Table 6.35 (f) — Continued overleaf. 195
Table 6.35 (f) contd. : Suffixes which do not have final ⟨e⟩ in Pres E 195
Table 7.1: Vowels in PresE unstressed segments: Base–forms only 199
Table 7.2 (a): Word–final ⟨e⟩ — all words 201
Table 7.2 (b i): non–suffixed words with final ⟨e⟩ in PresE 201
Table 7.2 (b ii): non–suffixed words without word–final –e in PresE 202
Table 7.2 (c i) : medial ⟨e⟩ 204
Table 7.2 (c ii): Where texts show variable use of medial ⟨e⟩ 205
Table 7.3 (a): Morpheme–medial and Morpheme–final consonant doubling 207
Table 7.3 (b i) Base–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling: Monosyllables where PresE has doubled consonants 208
Table 7.3 (b ii): Where PresE has base–to–suffix doubled ⟨l⟩ 209
Table 7.3 (b iii) Where PresE has base–to–suffix single consonants 210
Table 7.3 (c i) Words which take doubled final consonant in PresE 211
Table 7.3 (c ii) Words which appear in texts under investigation with doubled final consonant but which do not have doubled consonants in PresE spelling 211

Table 7.3 (d i) Morpheme–medial consonants where consonants doubled in PresE 213
Table 7.3 (d ii): Consonant Doubling on (possible) prefix–to–base boundaries 214
Table 7.3 (d iii) Morpheme–medial consonant doubling: where consonants not doubled in PresE 214
Table 7.3 (e): Where consonant doubling avoids homography in PresE 215
Table 7.4 (a): All doubling in vowel spellings 216
Table 7.4 (b i) Treatment of morpheme–medial vowels where PresE has double vowel 216
Table 7.4 (b ii): PresE V digraphs, double V in texts 217
Table 7.4 (b iii): Spellings with double vowels where PresE has single vowels 218
Table 7.4 (c i): Where PresE has morpheme–final double vowel 219
Table 7.4 (c ii): Where texts show morpheme–final double vowels but this is not found in PresE 219
Table 7.5 (a i): Spellings of PresE ⟨c⟩ where pronunciation is [k] 221
Table 7.5 (a ii): Where PresE has ⟨c⟩ word–medially and Table 7.5 (a iv): Where PresE has ⟨cc⟩ word–medially 221
Table 7.5 (a iv): Where PresE has c in word–initial position 221
Table 7.5 (a v): Where PresE has ⟨ch⟩ for [k] and Table 7.5 (a vi): Where PresE has ⟨ck⟩ 222
Table 7.5 (b): PresE ⟨c⟩ for [s] 224
Table 7.5 (c i): Where PresE has ⟨ch⟩ for [tʃ] or [ʃ] 225
Table 7.5 (c ii): Where PresE has ⟨tch⟩ 225
Table 7.5 (d): Where PresE has ⟨g⟩ for [dž] 226
Table 7.5 (e i): Where PresE has ⟨ci⟩ plus vowel 227
Table 7.5 (f i): Loss of word-medial vowels 229
Table 7.5 (f ii): Loss of word-medial syllables 229

Table 7.5 (g i): Word–final spellings of PresE –y in suffixes and false suffixes 230
Table 7.5 (g ii) : non–digraph i/y alternation in base–forms 230
Table 7.5 (g iii): where PresE has ⟨y⟩ 231
Table 7.5 (g iv): All instances of PresE ⟨Vi⟩ 231
Table 7.5 (g v): All instances of PresE ⟨Vy⟩ 231
Table 7.5 (g vi): Words which take ⟨ai⟩ in PresE 232
Table 7.5 (g vii) Words which take ⟨ay⟩ in PresE 233
Table 7.5 (g viii): Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE 233
Table 7.5 (g ix): Words which take stressed ⟨ey⟩ in PresE 234
Table 7.5 (g x): Words which take oi in PresE 235
Table 7.5 (g xi): Words which take oy in PresE 235
Table 7.5 (g xii): Words which take ui in PresE 236
Table 7.5 (h i): All instances of PresE ⟨Vu⟩ 236
Table 7.5 (h ii): All instances of PresE ⟨Vw⟩ 237
Table 7.5 (h iii): Where PresE has ⟨au⟩ 237
Table 7.5 (h iv): Where PresE has ⟨aw⟩ 238
Table 7.5 (h v): Where PresE has ⟨ew⟩ 239
Table 7.5 (h vi): Where PresE has ⟨ou⟩ 240
Table 7.5 (h vii): Where PresE has ⟨ow⟩ 240
Table 7.5 (h viii): Where texts have ⟨ou⟩ but PresE does not 241
Table 7.5 (i i): Summary of ⟨e⟩/⟨i⟩ alternation in Tables 5.4 (a) and (b) 242
Table 7.5 (i ii): ⟨e⟩/⟨i⟩ alternation where PresE has ⟨i⟩ 243
Table 7.5 (j i): Words which take ⟨ea⟩ in PresE 244
Table 7.5 (j ii): Words which take ⟨ee⟩ in PresE 244
Table 7.5 (j iii): Words which take ⟨ie⟩ in PresE 245

Table 7.5 (k i): Words in PresE stressed ⟨er⟩ which are spelt ⟨ar⟩ in some of the texts 246
Table 7.5 (k ii): ⟨er⟩ for PresE ⟨ar⟩ 247
Table 7.5 (j iii): Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE 247
Table 7.5 (l i): All spellings of PresE –Vre 248
Table 7.5 (l ii): PresE –⟨are⟩ 249
Table 7.5 (l iii): PresE –⟨ere⟩ 249
Table 7.5 (l iv): PresE –⟨ire⟩ 250
Table 7.5 (l v): PresE –⟨ore⟩ 250
Table 7.5 (l vi): PresE –⟨ure⟩ 250
Table 7.6 Spellings of stressed Vowels (contd overleaf) 251
Table 7.6: Spellings of vowels in PresE stressed segments (contd.) 253
Table 7.7 (a i): Where PresE has ⟨gh⟩ 254
Table 7.7 (a ii): Where PresE has ⟨ph⟩ 255
Table 7.7 (b i) Loss of consonants in word-medial consonant clusters 257
Table 7.7 (b ii): C loss in word–final C clusters (contd. overleaf) 258
Table 7.7 (b ii): Loss of C in word-final C clusters (contd.) 259
Table 8.1: Variation where two or less spellings used 262
Table 8.2 Variation where more than two spellings used 262
Table 8.3: Averages of figures given in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 263
Table 8.4: Highest number of spelling variants 265
Table 8.5: Most frequent non–PresE spellings 269

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The thesis was produced using TEX on the Durham University Unix Service.

Abbreviations used in this Thesis

Bibliographical (see bibliography for full details)

Authorised Version	*The Holy Bible*
B & C	Baugh and Cable 1978
C	cramped hand sections of PwV21 and PwV22
Collins	*Collins English Dictionary*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography ...*
F	fair hand section of PwV21
Hart's Rules	*Hart's Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press Oxford*
Newcastle	William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle
OED	unless otherwise specified this refers to *A New English Dictionary ... 1888*
P & A	Pyles and Algeo 1982
PwV21	MS Portland: Cavendish Holles PwV21
PwV22	MS Portland: Cavendish Holles PwV22
RS	*Right Spelling*
WSC	*Writing Scholar's Companion*
1667	Newcastle *A New Method...*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press

Linguistic

adj.	adjective
C	any consonant letter
CC	any two identical consonant letters
Du.	Dutch
EModE	Early Modern English (roughly 1500-1750)
exclam.	exclamation
Fr.	French
gen.	genitive
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
ME	Middle English

n.	noun
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
pret.	preterite
pl.	plural
PresE	Present British English (20th century)
pret.	preterite
sing.	singular
Sp.	Spanish
str.	stressed
syll(s).	syllable(s)
unstr.	unstressed
V	any vowel letter
VV	any two identical vowel letters
v.	verb
3rd. pers.	third person

Other

Etym. Sps.	etymological spellings
geog.	geographical term
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
Sig.	signature
Std.	standard

References follow the guidelines set out in the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* 1988; 86–135

In this thesis all words or segments appearing in italics refer to words or other linguistic items (such as morphemes, spelling strings) which may appear in the same or in different forms in actual usage. Angled brackets refer to actual spellings, slant brackets to phonological units or to broad phonetic transcriptions, square brackets refer to narrower phonetic transcriptions.

Introduction

It is the aim of this thesis to identify the nature of English written language standardisation, to cast some light on the spelling practices pertaining at a time during which spelling is traditionally considered to have been undergoing standardisation, to describe and investigate the symptoms of language change in respect of spelling standardisation found in the materials studied, and to provide at the same time a body of information concerning EModE spelling options that may be useful to scholars of that period's written language.

Although it is well known that the private spellings of the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries differed in many respects from those found in printed works, most books dealing with the history of the language seem to assume, with the benefit of hindsight, that from the early 17th century there was a single convention for correct spelling, albeit incorporating a greater number of alternants than is now the case[1]. This, it is implied, was universally acknowledged and followed by educated writers[2], much as is the case with our present spelling conventions. The concomitant assumption is that spellings which were at variance with this implied standard were looked upon in much the same way as non–standard spellings are now viewed, that is to say that they were considered at the time to be incorrect and that consistent use of such spellings was then, as now, seen as an indication of an ignorant or ill–educated writer[3]. This view of earlier spelling habits may not be

[1] In PresE some classes of words remain unfixed in respect of their spellings: these are: uncommon words, some proper names, some words where medial ⟨e⟩ is optional (such as *judgement*), and some consonantal alternants such as ⟨x⟩ or⟨ct⟩ in *connexion, inflexion*, ⟨g⟩ or ⟨j⟩ in *gibe/jibe* ⟨c⟩ or ⟨k⟩ in *celtic/keltic* (these alternative spellings are found in *Collins*).

[2] In the 17th century these were mostly men, the education of women only rarely comprising advanced instruction in writing.

[3] See Milroy and Milroy 1985:1–15 for comments on the social and educational effects of such attitudes.

expressed in the most recent handbooks (such as Burnley 1992 and Freeborn 1992), but neither is it explicitly refuted. Earlier writings, such as those of Zachrisson, Dobson and Wolfe are explicitly belittling of the education of those EModE writers whose spellings are unorthodox.

Examination of MS sources from this period brings to light a great discrepancy between the assumptions outlined above and the reality of EModE (and later) writings. Many highly educated, indeed literary, figures are seen to have spelling habits far removed from the invariance and conventionality now expected of them. Ignoring this evidence has made the process of spelling standardisation seem to have been a straightforward, chronologically linear process: a surprisingly unidimensional image for a process (language change) which linguists know to be complex.

The written language has long been seen by linguists as secondary in evidential importance to the spoken language[4]. Writing is seen as reflecting less directly than speech the mental processes which lie behind all linguistic events. It is furthermore taken by some writers to be in some respects dependent on spoken language, which should, therefore, 'be given priority over the written language in general linguistic theory' (Lyons 1989:66). Writing has consequently been left out of most research in theoretical linguistics. Dialectology, pragmatics and sociolinguistics also ignore the written language even though they are dealing with language in its social context, which for many speakers must include writing.

Chapter I explores both modern and 17th century opinions of EModE spelling, and examines the question of standardisation.

There is no single chapter dealing with a review of all available spelling literature, information from many and divers sources being used and cited in the appropriate chapters. Chapter II does, however, attempt to show the most important trends in current scholarship relating to this subject. Identification of a need for concrete information about actual spelling habits leads to a discussion,

[4] Discussions of written language are frequently prefaced by short histories of the swing from the taking of writing as primary evidence in the days of Grimm and Verner to the outright rejection of writing in this role by Saussure and subsequent scholars. Bloomfield's pronouncement that 'Writing is not language but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks' (Bloomfield 1935:21) is frequently presented as the clearest statement of this opinion (eg in Vachek 1973:11).

in chapter III, of the selection of appropriate research materials, and thence to a description of the materials selected. Chapter IV outlines the rationale and techniques of the analyses found in the three subsequent chapters.

Chapter V discusses the extension of modern editorial principles to present–day perceptions of spelling, and how the proliferation of edited and printed texts continuously reinforces anachronistic judgements about the orthographic facts of EModE MS material. Features of MS writing that are not traditionally described as spelling matters, but that are nevertheless related to orthography, are examined.

Chapter VI takes us into the undisputed realm of spelling, analysing the spellings of forms that occur frequently in written language and can readily be classified into semantically–related categories — affixes. It is hoped that a comparison of the findings from this chapter and those from the next will establish whether or not these morphemic segments show significantly different spelling tendencies from those found in a more general investigation of the spellings.

Chapter VII analyses the occurrences or non–occurrences of particular letter strings with reference to either their inclusion in the texts under consideration or their occurrence in PresE spelling. Reference to position in the word and to PresE pronunciation (where this is the most precise method of identification of a segment under investigation) are occasionally made, but the unit of analysis remains the letter or letter sequence.

Chapter VIII applies the results of the three preceding analytic chapters to the questions and issues addressed in the first chapter. This involves both quantitative results and qualitative explanations.

The conclusion (chapter IX) provides a commentary on the relative importance of these different results and on the place and relevance of this and any future study of spelling in modern linguistic approaches to the written language.

There are three appendices to this thesis: appendix A provides a complete alphabetic word list from the texts analysed in the thesis. All spellings of each word are given, as well as definitions of any words which are deemed unfamiliar. Appendix B provides lists of non–PresE verbal endings, as discussed in 6.2.27.

Finally, appendix C, which is bound separately, is my transcription of the MS texts PwV21 and PwV22.

Chapter I

Background to English Spelling in the 17th Century

The aim of this chapter is to place this thesis and its research materials in their contexts of present–day scholarship and 17th century spelling habits. The chapter has three sections:

- 20th century studies and descriptions of EModE spelling.
- EModE studies and descriptions of spelling.
- Standardisation & the social background to 17th century spelling.

1.1 20th Century Studies & Descriptions of EModE Spelling

The study of EModE spelling is a neglected area. There is no full–scale work which deals solely or even mainly with this subject. There are however a number of books and articles which treat of the subject among other concerns, and these will be discussed here. In almost all cases, and for valid reasons, we have to look at what these books say about spellings of the EModE period, rather than searching for specific references to the 17th century. Like other manifestations of language, the spellings of this period cannot be accurately seen in isolation from the habits of previous ages, and extending one's investigation into the practices of subsequent times is essential if one's description is to be qualitative in any meaningful way. The layout of the handbooks reflects this.

1.1.1 General Histories of the Language and Histories of Spelling

The general histories of the language provide useful insights into the accepted opinions about the history of English. The histories of spelling, for this period at any rate, provide no more background information than is carried in the more generalised handbooks, although they do provide more details of particular spellings. Because they provide little or no extra qualitative information about EModE

spelling these histories of spelling (and there are only two, Vallins 1954 and Scragg 1974) are being treated together with the more general historical handbooks.

As far as the habits and developments of EModE spelling are concerned, all are agreed on the movement from highly variable ME spelling to largely fixed late EModE spelling. A number of writers note a discrepancy between handwritten and printed texts in the degree of fixed spellings shown (Vallins 1954:79, Strang 1970:107, Pyles and Algeo 1982:168, Wakelin 1988:109, Millward 1989:225), but the overall picture provided by these books is one of a gradual and somehow logical fixing of the spelling[5].

The handbooks provide a uniform description of EModE spelling, in varying degrees of detail. It would be tedious and repetitive to list separately the various statements of all these writers. It is nevertheless useful to have an accurate assessment of what information they provide, without reporting any of the non–spelling information which they often include in sections which are ostensibly dedicated to spelling (surveys of the works of EModE orthoepists, grammarians and spelling reformers are sometimes put here).

To this purpose I formulated three core questions and applied them to twelve general histories of the language and the two books on spelling[6]. The questions asked were: Why did spellings become (mostly) fixed during this period rather than at any other time, or not at all? This is the **Inspiration** question. How did this regularisation spread? This is a question of **Diffusion**. The third question was: what is the spelling of this time like — in detail? This question demands details of **Variation and Alteration**. The first two questions, when raised, are most often treated as though they are the same thing: as if the factors which these

[5] The underlying assumption that this is a progression which is logically to be expected is found very frequently, especially among those books which provide little or no reasons for the change in spelling habits, eg Pyles and Algeo 1982. It is likely to be shared by many readers insofar as it appeals to our retrospective expectations and our present–day attitudes which declare a fixed spelling system to be better and more functional than a less fixed one. This attitude may be interpreted as a result of the ideology of standardisation and should not, therefore, be unquestioningly accepted.

[6] The fourteen books are : Classen 1919, R. F. Jones 1953, Strang 1970, Barber 1976, Baugh & Cable 1978 ('B & C'), Pyles & Algeo 1982 ('P & A'), Leith 1983, Burchfield 1985, Wakelin 1988, Millward 1989, Görlach 1991, Freeborn 1992, Vallins 1954, Scragg 1974. Jespersen 1935 is not included in this survey because he does not deal with the subject in this book. He states most clearly his reasons why: 'I have [also] deliberately omitted all the problems connected with that pseudo–historical and anti–educational abomination, the English Spelling' 1935:227).

writers see as determining the spread of a fixed spelling are the same as those which prompted the urge to fix them. In not asking the most pertinent questions about the standardisation of spelling, cause and primary effect are mistakenly conflated, which, besides providing circular explanations (of the type 'standardisation was an effect of printing and printing was a good way to effect the standardisation of spelling') ignores the wider social and linguistic aspects of this process.

	Natural Tendency or from Chancery	Desire to Improve lang.	Growth of Literacy	Reflects Std.speech	Copy Fr. reformists
Jones	X	X			X
Barber		X			
B & C	X	X			
Burchfield			X		
Wakelin	X				
Millward	X				X
Freeborn			X	X	
Scragg	X	X			

Fig. 1a. Inspiration

In the case of the first question, nearly half of the books provided no answers at all. These are therefore not present in Fig 1.a. On the matter of diffusion, more information was available, although at times this was either implied or stated very indirectly. Nevertheless, all the books surveyed provided some details of EModE spellings; even so, as responses to question 3, the items chosen for figs. 1c (i) and (ii) (examples of variation and alteration) are not selections from a teeming pool — they represent the near–totality of details provided by the general histories of the language (some books, such as Wakelin 1988, provide facsimiles or transcriptions of EModE writings which include features not in these figures). Number of items mentioned should not be taken as an indication of the fullness of that book's

treatment of the subject, as a single, unexplained mention of a particular feature is marked in the same way as a book which devotes a whole section to that same feature. Thus Burchfield 1985, which provides very scanty information indeed, seems from Fig. 1c (i) to treat the subject more fully than Baugh and Cable 1978, which in fact discusses EModE spellings in much greater detail.

	Print	Sp. Bks. & Dictionaries	Teachers /School	Prestige
Classen	X			
Jones		X		
Strang			X	
Barber		X		
B & C		X		
P & A	X	X		
Leith	X			
Burchfield	X	X		
Wakelin	X			
Millward	X			
Görlach	X	X	X	X
Freeborn		X		X
Vallins	X			
Scragg	X		X	

Fig. 1b. Diffusion

The spelling features in Figs. 1c (i), (ii) and (iii) refer to the following spelling variations and alterations. These are the spellings specifically mentioned in the books mentioned above, they do not comprise a complete list of EModE spelling variables.

i/j, s/ſ, u/v: The continuing use, in MS and print, of these pairs of letters as positional variants.

g/j, s/c, t/th: the second elements of each of these pairs is sometimes found where PresE spelling has the first. Occasionally the substitution works the other way, and the first is found where now we have the second.

'thorn'/th/y: Any of these may be found in places where now only ⟨th⟩ occurs. They are free graphic variants.

ee/ea/ie/eCe: By the 17th century all these spellings were used, as now, in segments which were in some dialects the same sound, /i:/. Again as now they were also used in segments which could be pronounced as /e:/. Variations between these spellings are very commonly found in EModE. Standardisation resulted in a lexicalisation of many of these variants as in, for example, *meet* and *meat*.

oo/oa: The <oa> spelling was a relative newcomer in the representation of long vowels, and was not always used in those places where it is now conventional to use it, ⟨oo⟩ being sometimes used instead.

–ic/–ick, –que: Word final ⟨ick⟩ replaces ⟨ic⟩ in the EModE period; ⟨que⟩ is sometimes found here also.

Etym.Sps.: These are sometimes called 'learned spellings'; they are spellings constructed by orthographers and grammarians in the belief that they are more true to the origins of words which had previously been spelt differently. These include ⟨scissors⟩ from Lat. *scindere*, ⟨debt⟩ from Lat. *debitum*, ⟨fault⟩ from Lat. *fallere* and ⟨island⟩ from Lat. *insula*.

CC/C : This represents the alternation of spellings with double or single consonants. It is particularly noticeable at the ends of words, although it occurs medially as well.

ar/er: Use of ⟨ar⟩ where PresE has ⟨er⟩ is familiar to readers of EModE writings; eg ⟨marchant⟩, ⟨sarvant⟩.

–e: this is perhaps the best–known feature of the spellings of the past — the inclusion of a word–final ⟨e⟩ where PresE has none. In EModE times it occurs often where now it does not, and on occasion does not occur where now it is expected.

h: In the sample only two writers (P & A and Vallins) mention this common EModE spelling feature. It refers to the use of ⟨h⟩ where it is now omitted or the omission of ⟨h⟩ where now it is required[7].

ci/ti: The alternation of ⟨–cion⟩ and ⟨–tion⟩ endings.

a/au: The use of originally French ⟨au⟩ spellings for words with long /a:/, eg in ⟨chaumbre⟩ ('chamber').

ou/ow: Alternation between these two spellings of what had in some (Southern) dialects become a diphthong is found in the now lexicalised pair ⟨flour⟩ vs. ⟨flower⟩.

–re/–er: The spelling of this word–final segment is variable, where now it is a marker of British or American spelling, eg ⟨centre⟩ vs. ⟨center⟩

in–/en–: This represents a variation in the spelling of prefixes which, anyway, had the same semantic function. It is still operational in the PresE pair ⟨inquire⟩ and ⟨enquire⟩; it is very widespread in EModE writings.

[7] See also Milroy's 1983 paper 'On the Sociolinguistic History of /h/–dropping in English', which examines some spelling evidence for the phonetic phenomenon.

					'thorn'		ee/ea
	s/ʃ	u/v	i/j	i/y/ie	/th/y	th/t	ie/eCe
Classen		X	X	X	X		
Jones*		X		X			
Strang		X	X	X	X	X	
Barber		X	X	X		X	
B & C				X			
P & A		X	X		X	X	X
Burchfield		X	X	X	X		
Wakelin		X	X	X	X		X
Millward	X	X	X		X		
Görlach	X	X	X		X		X
Freeborn	X	X	X		X		X
Vallins	X	X	X	X			X
Scragg		X	X	X			X

* Jones reports on some features mentioned by EModE spelling reformers, but does not himself provide any analysis of these spelling habits.

Fig. 1c (i) Variation and Alteration

	oo/oa	ic/ick	C/CC	ar/er	–e	etym. sps.	h
Classen					X		
Jones*		X		X	X		
Strang		X				X	
Barber			X	X	X	X	
B & C		X	X		X	X	
P & A	X					X	X
Burchfield		X	X		X		
Wakelin			X	X	X	X	
Millward						X	
Görlach	X	X	X		X	X	
Freeborn				X	X		
Vallins		X	X	X	X	X	X
Scragg	X	X	X	X	X	X	

Fig. 1c (ii) Variation and Alteration

* See note to Fig. 1c (i) above.

The following features are noted by Vallins and Scragg but do not appear in the general histories:

	ci/ti	g/j	s/c	re/er	in/en	–que	a/au	ou/ow
Vallins	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Scragg	X		X					X

Fig 1c (iii) Variation and Alteration

1.1.2 Histories of Pronunciation: Wyld

Although spelling is not the first concern of these works, it is one of the main resources for reconstruction of past pronunciations. Rejected by some as being unreliable — notably by Dobson 1957 — it nevertheless retains importance as evidence, whether it is considered to be primary evidence (Zachrisson 1913, Wyld 1920) or secondary (Dobson 1957). Wyld 1920 and Zachrisson 1913 are the only full–scale works on the pronunciations of the past to use spellings extensively as evidence.

Wyld's work illustrates the limited usefulness of this sort of book to the present thesis. I cannot summarise the information it contains as concisely as was possible for the general histories of the language and the books on spelling, because it provides very much more, and more detailed, information than they do. This quantitative advantage is unfortunately offset by the methodology. Wyld provides no statistical information about the spellings he cites, nor does he mention whether or not there are other spellings of these words. We do not therefore know whether the original writers spelt words in the given forms habitually or so rarely that these spellings can scarcely be called integral parts of their spelling systems. It is also unfortunate for the purposes of this study that he uses modern editions of EModE writings, and we cannot be confident that the transcriptions he relied upon are accurate[8]. Wijk 1937, for instance, has noted a great number of transcriptional errors in Nichols's 1848 edition of Machyn's *Diary* (the edition used by Wyld), and Nevalainen and Raumolin–Brunberg , who mention the case of Nichols, also warn that

> 'A number of the "standard" editions of EModE non–literary texts are equally suspect, especially those that were produced for the use of 19th century historians (eg the early Camden Society volumes).'
>
> (Nevalainen and Raumolin–Brunberg 1989:88 n. 13)

One should nevertheless not ignore the fruits of Wyld's industry here: his

[8] This is also a drawback in Zachrisson's studies. Dobson notes that both Zachrisson and Wyld have been shown to have misreported original spellings from the Paston Letters and the Cely Papers. He nevertheless uses information provided by these two scholars, noting that he has not checked the spellings 'for it is a task for experts who have been at pains to familiarise themselves with the idiosyncracies of the writers of the documents in question' and that any 'argument from spellings must therefore be to some degree provisional. (Dobson 1957, I: vi–vii).

work, and the 1920 book in particular, illustrates the range of uncanonical spellings used in this period as well as the social diversity of those who used them: from erudite monarch (Elizabeth II, James I) to country housewife (Mrs Basire). He provides many details of variation in EModE spelling habits, even though these are not systematically described. This is information not easily gleaned from the handbooks, although recent publications such as Wakelin 1988 and Freeborn 1992 are now bringing it (in small measures) to the attention of students.

1.1.3 Descriptive Bibliography and Editorial Commentary

Works of descriptive bibliography (such as McKerrow 1939 and Bowers 1959) provide information which is less amenable to generalisation than the information provided by editors. Amongst other, non–spelling matters, bibliographers analyse the patterns of variation in their sources in order to uncover individual habits, for purposes of reconstructing the material or authorial history of their texts. Thus, while it is interesting to learn that one compositor or writer had, for example, a habit of spelling *do, so* and *no* as ⟨doe⟩, ⟨soe⟩, ⟨noe⟩ where another did not, it does not greatly add to our knowledge of EModE spelling or, indeed to the spelling habits of the time in general. To get this more generally applicable information we need to know either how most people spelt or what an individual's complete system looked like. The detective work of descriptive bibliography does not provide this because its subject is rarely or never the unproblematic text; most of the time it is a technique applied to authorially, scriptorially or compositorially complex sources. In these cases bibliographic descriptions of spelling are confined to those features which, in the opinion of the scholar, can be attributed beyond reasonable doubt to one writer or compositor. This means that the totality of a writer's or compositor's system is not revealed in works of descriptive bibliography, since there will always be spellings (the majority of them) that are authorially neutral — that may be shared by any writer or compositor working on the text[9].

The usefulness of works of descriptive bibliography to this thesis lies not so much in spelling evidence as in the evidence they provide of the activities of printers. Through such works, for instance, we learn that it is very common for a text

[9] 'The habits of two compositors with respect to the spelling of many of the commonest words may be very different — or they may be, alas, very much alike. Yet compositor identification ... must in any event depend largely upon spelling evidence.' (Hinman 1963, vol. i:181).

to have more than one compositor[10] (this is unsurprising) and even to be printed in more than one printing house[11] (this is more surprising). Information of this sort will be considered in section 1.3.

Editors' policies towards the spellings of their copy texts will be discussed in chapter V in greater detail than here. For the moment it is sufficient to note that policies depend mainly on the reasons for editing the text(s), and we therefore find that in many cases a decision has been made to modernise the spellings throughout, in which case no further details of the original spellings are provided. This is the practise in, for example, most editions produced for historians. With literary texts the question of whether or how much to modernise spellings can be very complex. Very few EModE literary works exist in authorial manuscripts, and the early printed copies which constitute the nearest substitutes will often demonstrate differences of spellings, as well as more substantially literary (textual) differences[12]. Every editor of a Shakespeare play has to contend with this difficulty.

Regardless of the degree of methodological complication, editors of EModE texts who do not modernise all spellings are necessarily transcribing spellings which will, to greater or lesser extent depending on the original writer's habits, differ from their own. In many cases this is thought worthy of comment, and from these commentaries we can gain some useful information about the spelling habits of the period. The spelling features that have already been listed in this chapter are frequently mentioned, as are a number of others. Here, as a good example of how well editorial commentaries compare with histories of the language and even with the books on spelling, is a summary of the features mentioned in Salmon's

[10] See Hinman 1963:180–226 for a reconstruction of the compositors' roles in the printing of the Shakespeare First Folio.

[11] Bowers notes that 'it was a common practice for Restoration play quartos to be cast–off and the copy for the first half of the play to be printed on one press and that for the second half on another. When firm evidence is wanting for any given book, it will perhaps remain a difference of opinion whether these two presses were in the same shop ..., or whether the work was farmed out between two printers for greater speed.' (Bowers 1964:129). Further mention of such practice may be indicated by Plant's comments that 'the individual book seems on occasion to have wandered backwards and forwards between one publishing–house and another. Robert Wyer, for example, published at his house ... works ... which were largely sold for him by other printers; he printed for John Gough, Richard Bankes and others, although they themselves ran printing–presses ...' (Plant 1965:61).

[12] Sometimes, of course, differences of spellings *are* the cause of literary difficulties.

discussion of orthographic differences between Elizabethan and modern English (1986: xliv–xlvii):

i/j, s/ſ, u/v
Final ⟨e⟩
Double/single consonants
Word final ic/ick
ie/y
au/a
ee/ea
oo/oa
false etymology (included in 'Etym. Sps.' Fig 1c (ii) above)
ar/er
final or excrescent ⟨t⟩ or ⟨d⟩
th/d
e/i
loss of intervocalic ⟨v⟩, eg ⟨e'en⟩, ⟨e'er⟩
Word final er/ure, eg ⟨jointer⟩
Loss of medial vowel in trisyllabic words
Loss of consonant in consonant clusters
Epenthesis of consonant in some clusters, eg ⟨dreampt⟩
Spellings closer to French source, eg ⟨soudain⟩
Indication of glide before some vowels, eg ⟨yerb⟩
Unstressed or weak forms.

This illustrates the extent to which editorial commentary can be more detailed in matters of EModE spelling than the other books to which I have referred, a phenomenon which may be explained through the fact that editors are dealing directly with real and complete examples of spelling practice and may have greater experience of the writings of that particular period than the writers of general histories of the language.

There remain two more features of EModE spelling which are frequently noted by editors and only sometimes mentioned by writers of histories of the language. These are:

- that proper nouns were just as likely to display spelling variation as other words.
- that there was a much wider use of abbreviation than is now the case.

I include these in order to complete my survey of the most common 20th century observations about EModE spelling.

1.2 EModE Studies and Descriptions of Spelling

We have three main sources of information about EModE practices and attitudes towards spelling. Firstly we may look at the comments of the spelling reformers; secondly we have information provided by the many spelling books and dictionaries of the time; and thirdly we have the actual practices of the people.

1.2.1 Spelling Reform

The spelling reformers (Smith 1568, Cheke 1550, Hart 1551, 1569, 1570, Bullokar 1580, Mulcaster 1582, Gil 1619 and Hodges 1644) are in most cases not very informative about the spelling details of the practices which they are attempting to reform. Although they explain that there are systematic inconsistencies and inconveniences in English spelling most of them do not illustrate these with more than a very few examples[13] or with very general comments[14], Mulcaster and Hodges being the exceptions.

Mulcaster's 'Generall Table', which will be discussed more fully in the section on dictionaries below, provides many examples of spelling variation. Hodges 1644, while not discussing spelling variation, assumes a relatively fixed spelling which he then embellishes with diacritics to help the reader to pronounce each word. We may assume that these spellings were, if not fixed, at least regularly found in print.

The main thrust of the work of Hart, Gil, Cheke and Bullokar is the correlation, or lack of correlation, between the sounds of a word and its spelling: some of the spelling reformers provide detailed phonetic analyses of the language, and for this

[13] Gil 1619 provides one implied example with his inclusion of variant spellings ⟨sonne⟩ and ⟨sunne⟩ under the *[usus] antiquus* column of the table on page 13.

[14] Such as Hart's mention of 'the abused doobling of consonants' (Hart 1551:199).

reason they have become well–known in the field of EModE studies: Dobson, for instance, finds the information provided by them to be far more useful than that provided by the writers of spelling manuals and dictionaries. For details about the attitudes and habits of the majority of EModE writers, however, they are of limited use. In their attempts to render reading more easily learned[15] the spelling reformers provide information only about how they think the words should be spelt; and these desired spellings accord to newly–devised systems, which in most cases involved the use of unfamiliar symbols (Hart 1569, Gil 1619) and/or diacritics (Cheke c.1550 (see Görlach 1991:51), W. Bullokar 1580, Hodges 1644). Only indirectly do they show us how the words actually were spelt.

It should be noted that spelling reform and spelling standardisation are not the same thing. Apart from the facts that standardisation in English spelling can hardly be attributed to the efforts of these few individuals (the reformers) and that the outcome was far removed from that devised by any single spelling reformer, the eventual fixing of English spelling involved no claims that the outcome was maximally effective from either linguistic or educational points of view. The attribution of correctness to one form over another is not justified as being the result of any consistently applied system. It seems, in fact, as if the essential activity of standardisation is the fixing of a single spelling for each word, rather than the rational selection of any particular spellings.

Mulcaster's approach to spelling reform is completely different from that of the others listed above, and his 1582 book, *The First Part of the Elementarie*, is a rich source of commentary about the spelling habits of his contemporaries. He is not concerned with promulgating new theories and systems of spelling, but with the practicalities of what he calls 'the training vp of childern' (1582:1). The difference of his approach and the greater quantity of spelling information he provides are

[15] In the case of Hodges this is claimed to be for the sake of enabling more people to read the Bible and thereby to save their souls: 'When we consider ... the shortness, and the uncertaintie of our life ... what great cause have wee ... to bee very diligent to improve the talent of Time, and the use of al means, which may further us in the True–Knowledge of God ... so that thereby, wee may gain the glorious Hope of Eternity? One special Means for the furtherance thereof is, to bee wel acquainted with The Holy Scriptures; ... How needful therefore is it for every one to learn to read!' (1644:To The Reader). This may, however, have been in some cases the exercise of a minor *topos* of EModE prefaces in educational works. In writings on education: 'the most consistent theme [especially before 1640] was that the main object of education was the inculcation of correct religious views' Sharpe 1987:254. See also Cressy 1975:2–4, 28–42).

connected phenomena. Whereas the other spelling reformers limit themselves to a 'phonetic' ideal of spelling, Mulcaster concentrates on the pragmatic aspects of spelling and spelling reform. He argues that there is so much variation in ideolect and dialect, and between the speech of the generations, that no single spelling system can reach the 'phonetic' ideals of such reformers and that, in addition, the difficulty of learning completely new systems doom these attempts to failure. He notes that the spellings of his time are easily interpretable in spite of their phonetic failings and concludes therefrom that convention is as important as phonetic accuracy. From these observations he moves to suggest the regularisation of the present spelling system, rather than the imposition of a different system[16]

> 'I will do my best ... to set furth som certaintie for the English writing, ... both to correct, and to direct the worse and more grosse, without either innouating anie thing, as theie which set furth new deuises, or by mistaking my waie, as theie do, which despare, that our tung can be brought to anie certaintie, without som maruellous foren help'
>
> (Mulcaster 1582:83)

and provides many examples of the sorts of spellings which may be preferred above others. That is, he uses the variety of existing EModE spellings as his source for selecting one alternative spelling above another.

1.2.2 Spelling Books and Dictionaries

The spelling books and dictionaries are a richer source of information about EModE spelling habits than are the works of the spelling reformers. These books are not theses or treatises attempting to change a system perceived as faulty, and aimed at an audience of teachers and learned men. They are simple manuals: introductory text books, teaching guides or reference books aimed at a less learned readership. They were intended for use in schools or by children and others of little or no formal education (thus women are often included in the list of those to whom the books should be useful). Their concern with and display of 'real' spellings is bound up with the educational purposes for which they were written[17], and in

[16] He does however use some accents, which seem to be pronunciation aids.

[17] In some of these religion is again stated to be the motivation for writing: Lye 1677, for instance, states on the title page that this is 'A New Spelling Book ... By the help whereof, with God's blessing, little children & others of ordinary capacities, may in a few months be enabled exactly to Read & Spell the whole Bible ...'.

this respect Mulcaster 1582 may be considered to be as much a spelling book as a work of spelling reform. Dobson, in his commentary on Mulcaster's *Elementarie* notes the essential difference between such spelling books and the works of spelling reformers. He saw that

> 'Mulcaster's treatment of English orthography is ... chiefly intended as a preliminary to the discussion of reading, an important fact to remember, for a school–master must of necessity teach the established spelling and is therefore more likely to concern himself with and defend its principles than to attempt to discover and propagate those which ought theoretically to apply in a reformed spelling'.
>
> (Dobson 1957, I: 118).

The *Elementarie* in fact provides so lucid an argument against radical spelling reform[18] that it seems unlikely that its writer would have agreed that new principles needed to be discovered and propagated. In fact he sets out his plan as the *regularisation* of spelling with some small concomitant simplification, not the changing of it.

The EModE spelling books occasionally provide some detailed information about spelling habits of the day. This is not as frequently come across as one might expect, however, because the spelling that they teach is not the same thing as that practice which is known as spelling in our present time. It refers to the 'spelling out loud' of (parts of) words as part of the process of learning to read. This method of teaching reading does not require much discussion of variant spellings, for once the principle of, for instance, word–final ⟨e⟩ being silent is learned, there is no need to detail in which words this may be found, thus leaving the learner without direction in that matter when he or she comes to writing. Similarly, once word medial or word final ⟨gh⟩ is established as either being pronounced as [f], or as [w], or not being pronounced at all, it scarcely matters that some writers spell that same segment of the words with /f/ or miss it out altogether, and the learner is again left without direction as to where this segment should or should not be included in his or her spellings. Other, frequent, causes of spelling variation in English which may arise from being taught reading on this principle and not being

[18] See pp 96–97 where he argues against further complicating the system by adding new symbols and where he notes that for all its imperfections the present system is well enough understood and that change would, anyway, be difficult because of the force of 'custom'.

taught spelling from the writer's point of view, are those of consonant doubling and variation between different spellings relating to the vowel [i:].

Most spelling books provide only one spelling of each word and give no explicit information about possible or existing variation, although the variable spellings found in their own books (which spellings may anyway be the product of the printers, or at any rate, the printers' variations may be different from those of the writers' original variations) provide some of this information implicitly. Fox and Hookes 1673, for instance, provides none. Many of the books which do give spelling examples use examples which are suspiciously similar, indeed often identical, to those used in previous publications. This copying is an important feature of the spelling books — in fact of the EModE book trade in general. It is worth briefly examining this phenomenon because it has some implications for our interpretation of evidence.

Dobson remarks on the influence of Coote's 1596 *English Schoole-Maister* (1957:33) and on the near-plagiarism found in the anonymous *Writing Scholar's Companion* and *Right Spelling very much Improved* of 1695 and 1704 respectively (1957, I: 358–365), noting that 'at least three-quarters' of the material in the *Writing Scholar's Companion* 'is taken over bodily ... from Part II of Cooper's English edition' (a point which Ekwall noted in his 1911 edition of WSC) and that both WSC and RS 'also take[s] material from Lye, who in turn uses Price' (Dobson 1957 I:358). The copying of parts of one EModE spelling or pronunciation book into another becomes a much-repeated theme in Sheldon 1938's investigation of pronunciation from these EModE sources[19]. The wholesale copying of headwords and definitions which is a feature of EModE dictionaries and has since (in modified form) become a part of lexicographic technique, is amply illustrated in Starnes and Noyes 1946 and commented on in Hayashi 1978. Schafer shows that the habit goes back further than Cawdrey or Coote, noting of Cawdrey (1604), Bullokar (1616) and Cockeram (1623) that 'These hard-word dictionaries belong in the tradition of the sixteenth-century monolingual glossaries, which influenced both their form

[19] She notices that each repetition reduces the subtlety of the point that was originally made, and that the very strongly prescriptive remarks of the late 18th century orthoepists and grammarians can in many instances be traced back to very mild comments in 17th century books.

and their material' (Schafer 1987:66)[20].

The importance of this practice to a study of spelling habits lies in its potential for misleading twentieth century readers, who may feel that the repetition of certain points and examples indicates their relative noteworthiness, where this may not always have been the case. On the other hand it is possible that frequent inclusions in spelling books and dictionaries (many of which were very popular and went into several editions) may have created, during the EModE period, a noteworthiness which had not at first been present, feeding the information back into the readership and creating a new awareness of these particular oft–mentioned spelling features[21].

EModE dictionaries and wordlists provide examples of spellings which are no longer in use, implicit information about spelling variation (the different spellings found in the texts but not drawn to the attention of the reader) and explicit examples of alternative spellings. A full study of the first two of these would be a thesis in itself. I have concentrated on the third item, and extracted from a selection of EModE wordlists and dictionaries all the information explicitly provided. The earliest list used is Mulcaster 1587's 'Generall Table', put at the end of the *Elementarie* to exemplify the system he is promoting and to act as 'An help for ignorance and an ease for knowledge' (Mulcaster 1582:164).

As with Coote 1596 and Cawdrey 1604, the list aims to provide not comprehensiveness but usefulness. Mulcaster therefore gives mostly single, suggested spellings of 'the most of those words, which we commonlie use in our hole speche.' (Mulcaster 1582:163). No definitions are provided (they are presumably deemed unnecessary in words commonly used) and any alternative spellings provided are

[20] The Duke of Newcastle, in the texts which form the core of this thesis, also provides evidence of this practice. He remarks that most of the books on horsemanship or on the curing of horse diseases that he has read are copied from one or two earlier works, and are not the original productions of their writers at all. See, for instance, his comment on La Broue's books in his printed (1667) work: 'His Book is very Tedious, many Words for little Matter; and his first Book is absolutely all Stolen out of Grison, and his second Book from Signior Pignatell's Lessons;' (1667:3 [Sig. $B2^{r}$]); he issues further warnings about other writers on horsemanship: 'And thus much of Mr. Blundevils Riding, which is Grison Translated into English' (Sig. $G2^{r}$), 'Markham is but Blundevil with other Names, and will not Acknowledge it' (1667:32 [Sig.$I2^{v}$]), 'De La Gray, which is but, Blundevil with some New Medicins that are but Indifferent' (*ibid*).

[21] It is possible that a present–day convention of notably illiterate spellings, as in 'wot no beer?', 'down with skool', has developed in an analogous manner.

explained as either contractions (eg *abused* and *abusd* or variable because they are 'enfranchised' — that is, borrowed (eg *adiew, adew*). The approach to spelling which involved the provision of a word list rather than the formulation of sets of rules may be seen as giving precedence to the fixing of spellings of individual words above the imposition of regularity across the system. One may alternatively see the provision of such a list as the methodological consequence of a lexicalisation that was already in progress. From whichever angle it is viewed the essential point remains that, unless it is accompanied by an analysis of the place of those spellings in the system as a whole, a word list on its own can only suggest spellings for those words it illustrates.

Coote 1596 provides a list of 'hard words' set out for purposes of interpretation. That is, its usefulness lies in explaining the meaning of these difficult words. The emphasis is not, therefore, on spelling and very few alternative spellings are explicitly provided (only five, in fact). Sometimes, what look like alternative spellings are given as definitions: *abesse* is defined as 'abbatesse', *bankrupt* as 'bankerout' (and there are many more instances). This is a practice continued in Cawdrey 1604, who takes most of Coote's *Table* and adds to it more words as well as some variant spellings. The distinction between what constitutes a different word and what constitutes 'merely' a different spelling is not always easy or even possible to make[22]. Cawdrey's *Table* quite frequently provides an alternative-spelling headword (the headwords are usually in Roman type) with a simple definition (usually in Gothic type), such as *difficil* (headword) with 'difficult' as definition, and *dulcimar* with 'dulcimur' (definition), *habilitie* with 'abilitie'. Sometimes, however, the use of Roman and Gothic type only adds to the confusion over which entry is the headword and which the definition, because the typographic distinction is not strictly maintained by the printers.

The Dictionary of J.K. (accepted by Alston as John Kersey) of 1702 provides a convenient comparison to the earlier works of Mulcaster, Coote and Cawdrey, being, as Alston says in his Note prefacing the facsimile edition, 'The first attempt to include the whole range of English vocabulary' (J.K. (1702) 1969: Editor's

[22] A fixed, 'standard' spelling system makes possible some distinctions which previously were made through context only: *parson* and *person*, for instance, and *flower* and *flour*. In this way some existing spelling variation became lexicalised with standardisation.

Note). It explicitly provides very many more details of variant spellings than are found in the earlier works, something which may be only partly explained by the much greater length of this dictionary. One can not help noticing the very large number of times that a word spelt one way in one part of the dictionary appears with a different spelling elsewhere in the same book. This may of course be due to the compositors' habits and not to the writer's copy, but given the many alternative spellings explicitly provided as headwords it seems likely that the writer himself displayed at least a comparable amount of spelling variation. The spelling variation found in all parts of this dictionary must lead us to question Freeborn 1992's assertion that dictionaries were the main force behind the regularisation of spelling[23].

Extracting specific features of EModE spelling from all the sources mentioned in this section provides a much longer list of items than was found from the examination of 20th century books on the subject. Approximately 151 spelling features were noted from the earlier sources[24], whereas a total of only 32 spelling features were identified by the 20th century writers. Books which provided little or no explicit spelling information (such as Hart, Fox and Hookes) are not included in this list, nor is the *WSC* because it owes so very much to Cooper. All of the features noted in modern books are mentioned in the EModE works, with the addition of the features set out in Figs. 1 c (i–iii) (that is, those features which have already been mentioned in this chapter, such as word–final ⟨e⟩, variation between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨i⟩, are not included in the list or in Fig. 1 (d)).

Because most of the features in Fig. 1 (d) are taken from variation in the spelling of individual words provided by the EModE sources, examples of some of these individual words are given below. The list is divided into those items showing spelling features which seem likely to have been restricted to the specific examples given (and possible a very few other words) and those items showing spelling features which seem likely to have had a more general distribution. Many of the spelling pairs reflect either alternative pronunciations or one spelling which reflects

[23] Osselton 1963:274 notes that the 18th century dictionaries 'followed the printers with a certain time–lag, and exercised no influence on printers' practice. The only sense in which we can perhaps speak of influence is on the habits of spelling in private correspondence'.

[24] It is not possible to be more precise, because many of the features given are generalised and may incorporate some or all of the other features provided in greater detail elsewhere.

etymology and another which reflects pronunciation. Those spelling features which are mainly associated with sound segments known to have undergone or to have been undergoing sound change in EModE are therefore likely to represent a larger group of words than those which are not associated with the large-scale sound changes of the time.

In the list and in Fig. 1 (d) the sources will be referred to by the following abbreviations: M = Mulcaster 1582, Caw = Cawdrey 1604, D = Daines 1640, H = Hodges 1644, W = Wharton 1654, C = Cooper 1687, K = Kersey 1702. In the list there is a preponderance of examples from Mulcaster and Kersey because these are the works which provide actual, detailed, examples of variation, whereas other works mention classes of variation without providing examples and, where examples are provided (for instance, in Cooper), these most often belong to the well-known categories of variation mentioned by PresE handbooks and therefore left out of this list.

Examples of spelling features likely to have had more restricted distribution:

ae/ee	ordael : ordeel K
Str. ar/ur	gnar : gnur K
ay/ea	flea : flay K
(d)g/(t)ch	hodg–podg : hotch–potch [: hotch–pot], orache : orage K
e/o	estridge : ostridge M K, unsew : unsow K
g(e)/k	imbarge : imbark Caw, tweag tweak K
m/n	loriner : lorimer K
r/t	porrage : potage M
ss/sh	bansa : basha K
sc/sh	scalop : shalop M
upt/out	bankrupt : bankrout M Caw Coote C

Examples of spelling features likely to have had more general distribution:

ai/ei	weight : waight M K, faign : fain : fein,
	plait : pleit : plat C
ch/c/k	anchor : anker etc. M C, strichel : strickle K, biscot : bisket,

	caudle : chaudle M K
medial e	forman : foreman M K
g/ge/dge	allege : alledge, bouget : budget, cabbage :
	cabbidg : cabbidge C, fridg : frig K
g–/gh–/gu–	ghess : guess, gizzard : ghizzard, gherkin : guerkin K C
lV/Vl	fertle : fertile M, cattel : cattle etc K, meazles : measels
	(also s/z) C
in/ing	savin : saving M K
rV/Vr	childeren : children : childern M K, crud : curd,
	girn :grin, C, furmentie : frumentie
	M K pomegarnet : pomegranet M, garnar : granar Caw C
sion/tion	distorsion : distortion K
u/w	dissuade : disswade K, doun : down, laund : lawn,
	persuade : perswade sour : sowr etc K
V in unstr. sylls.	biscot : bisket M K, forceable : forcible M,
	hipocrase : hipocrise M, renet : renate M

We cannot chart the progress of spelling standardisation from these lists. Beyond the provision of a catalogue of features known to be variable by contemporaries, looking chronologically at the EModE spelling features given by the various writers of the time is not very informative, partly because of the habit of copying information from previous books, and partly because the different aims of the books result in information of differing degrees of specificity being provided.

Although no 17th century orthoepist or writer of spelling books provides a detailed analysis of spelling variation in the practice of his contemporaries, such writers do all express a desire to minimise spelling variation. In some cases (Hodges 1644, Lye 1677) the writers claim it is their desire to make reading easier so that all people may learn their religion and thus save their souls. In other cases, such as that of Mulcaster, it is a matter of removing an obstacle to learning and thus to a better quality of existence for all men and thence to a more peaceful State. He asks, in the first place: 'is it not a verie necessarie labor to set the writing certain, that the reading maie be sure?' (Mulcaster 1582:62), through providing a start to the ordering of the written language: 'For all tungs kepe one, and the same rule for their main, tho euerie one haue his propertie in part' (*ibid.* 62).

a/ay						K		g–/gh–									
a/e						K		gu–/0	M		D		W	C	K		
a/o						K		g/k		Caw					k		
ae/ee						K		h/wh							K		
ai/ea						K		i/oi/y/oy							K		
ai/ei	M	D			C	K		in/ing	M						K		
ai/aCe	M				C	K		iV/0V	M								
al/au/aw						K		j/y							K		
ar/ear						K		ks/sk/x			D			C	K		
ar/ur						K		l/0	M		D	H	W	C	K		
are/ear						K		lV/Vl	M					C	K		
au/o						K		m/n							K		
au/ou				W	C			nce/nts	M								
ay/ea						K		oa/oCe						C	K		
b/0		D		W	C	K		o/ou							K		
b/p						K		o/u			D			C	K		
c/g	M					K		oe/oo			D				K		
c/qu						K		oi/oy	M			H	W	C			
c/sh						K		ol/owl							K		
ch/c/k	M	D		W	C	K		oo/ou	M					C	K		
ch/ge						K		oo/u							K		
ch/qu						K		our/er/or	M	Caw	D	H	W	C	K		
ch/tch	M	D	H	W		K		-ous/-us			D	H					
c/ck/k	M				C	K		ch/gh							K		
d/t	M					K		rV/Vr	M		D			C	K		
dis/un/in						K		r/t	M								
e/ea	M				C	K		s/sh							K		
ea/i						K		sc/sh	M								
e/o	M					K		sion/tion						K			
medial e	M		H	W	C	K		s/z	M		D			C	K		
ee/i						K		u/w	M		D	H		C	K		
ei/ie/i						K		u/ue/ew	M		D			C	K		
ey/y					C			V in									
f/ph	M	D		W	C	K		unstr.sylls.	M						K		
f/v						K		upt/out	M	Caw							
g/0				W	C	K		word div.			D			C			
g/ge/dge	M	D	H	W	C	K											

Fig. 1 (d): Spelling variation explicitly mentioned by EModE sources

Whatever the given reason, the desire of these EModE writers to fix English spelling is interpreted by many of the 20th century books mentioned in section 1.1 as part of the diffusion, if not the cause (inspiration) of spelling standardisation. We may quibble as to its importance in this process, but that it is a part of it cannot be denied. An examination of standardisation and of its EModE social context should clarify the place of this desire for fixing the spelling in the process of standardisation.

1.3 Standardisation & the Social Background to 17th c. Spelling

1.3.1 What is Spelling Standardisation?

The end result of spelling standardisation, having in PresE gone almost as far as it can, may tell us something about the process. In the first place, it is a highly constrained system (Milroy and Milroy's 'minimum variation'), which allows only one spelling for each word[25]. This involves either the elimination or the lexicalisation of spelling variants. Thus we see that there are no longer any spellings such as ⟨flowre⟩, ⟨sume⟩ and ⟨streyte⟩ and that the spellings ⟨flour⟩ and ⟨flower⟩, ⟨some⟩ and ⟨sum⟩ and ⟨straight⟩ and ⟨strait⟩ have each become the unique forms of their particular lexical items.

We may next note that not all words are admitted into the standard written language, and that many of the thus excluded words have become, through their replacements in the written language, categorised as phonetic or local variants of another, more 'correct' word. Thus it is that a sociolinguist will describe the co-existence in a dialect of 'canna' with 'cannot' as lexical variation (Kerswill 1987:29). This is the case with, among others, weak forms and a number of regionally-restricted words.

Finally, word boundaries are fixed in a standardised system, and these too are lexicalised. *Everyone* and *every one* do not now mean the same thing, nor do *always* and *all ways*, *into* and *in to* (Partridge 1947:25, 112, 157, Vallins 1954:170–173). This area of standardisation is not as far advanced as others, however, and

[25] The many exceptions to this belong either to the category of foreign words and names or to words of rare usage (the spelling of *jenet*, which varies in the texts analysed in this thesis, is still unfixed, see *Collins*) or to a small set of words showing single alternant spellings, such as ⟨judgement⟩/⟨judgment⟩, ⟨connection⟩/⟨connexion⟩.

there still exist a number of unfixed variants, as mentioned in Vallins 1954:168–169[26].

These characteristics show standardisation as a word–based process, and as language change it seems likely therefore to proceed through lexical diffusion, although this remains to be investigated. The association of an invariable spelling with each word divorces the written language from the spoken, with its many variations in pronunciation and its homophones. The fact that those phonetic regularities which do remain in the spelling system are notoriously insufficient as a guide to the whole system (being incomplete across the lexicon and not showing exclusivity) show that spelling standardisation was not, anyway, based on the desire to make the system correlate more closely to speech. Although misspelling of common words is in present times probably the most heavily castigated of orthographic crimes, it is closely followed in condemnation by misspellings due to the over–generalisation of sound–to–spelling rules or to the creation of spelling analogies where none exist. These are the two kinds spellings which are classed and satirised as illiterate spellings: ⟨wot⟩ and ⟨there⟩ (for *their*), ⟨skool⟩ and ⟨bilding⟩, for example. The fact that the shape of the written word is often quite noticeably changed in such cases may also be related to their selection for particular criticism. Other misspellings — those that are not due to over-extension of rules and analogies but which are nevertheless still phonetically possible (such as ⟨roccocco⟩ and ⟨accomodation⟩) are not generally considered to be signs of poor education (and it should also be noted that they affect the shape of the word less drastically).

As indicated by all the general histories of the language, by histories of spelling and pronunciation and by socio–historical works dealing with this period, the process of language standardisation was under way in the 17th century. The fixing or regularisation of spelling is seen as part of that process.

We have seen that the handbooks ascribe the regularisation of spelling to the influence of print, of spelling books and dictionaries, of the educational system, supported by a desire to 'improve' the language and the spur of prestige. Regularisation of spelling is often described as spelling standardisation and treated as

[26] See chapter V, note 155.

the counterpart of a postulated developing standardisation of pronunciation (development of a prestige accent). In books of this kind there is an unfortunate tendency to use the term 'standardisation' in a very loose way, and because of this loose treatment of the term we find it being cited as the cause of many and diverse changes. Two things arise from this observation: it is necessary in any discussion of standardisation to make clear which aspect of language is undergoing the process, and it is equally necessary to provide unambiguous definitions of standardisation in its various forms (as a state or ideal of language, as a linguistic process, as a social process, and so on).

It is generally agreed that language standardisation reaches its most complete stages in writing only, and spelling, being so obviously conventional and so easily codified, is seen as the most totally subjected level of written standardisation (Milroy 1992:22 and 65). Perhaps because spelling provides its own first order evidence (McIntosh *et al.* 1986:5) its part in this standardisation has been taken for granted, and the use of the phrase 'spelling standardisation' as a synonym for the fixing of spelling has not been questioned.

The fact that 'it is only in the spelling system that full standardisation really has been achieved' (Milroy 1992:22) must place spelling regularisation in a special category of its own, for we have here a case of exceptional linguistic behaviour, and the opportunity to observe the implementation of complete standardisation, something which Milroy and Milroy (1985:22) note is otherwise to be found only in dead languages. I have taken care to use the terms 'regularisation' or 'fixing' of spellings and the term 'standardisation' with attention to an important distinction between them: regularisation or fixing being one of the symptoms or outwardly noticeable effects of a more abstract process which we call standardisation.

We cannot deny that, in literary and academic writings at least, there was from late ME times a growing standardisation of the written language, but it should be noted that this affected syntax, morphology, lexis and spelling in different ways; and that these separate linguistic symptoms of standardisation, should not therefore be confused with the social or ideological movement for standardisation, what Milroy and Milroy have called 'standardisation as an ideology and standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality' (1985:22–23),

which can be traced in these and other events of the time. The standardisation of written syntax and morphology, for instance, was at first largely a matter of selecting, or favouring, the forms of one regional (and possibly social[27]) dialect over all others, and subsequently prescribing a number of 'rules' taken from interpretations of Latin grammar (such as the condemnation of ending sentences with prepositions) and ideals of 'logical' or 'mathematical' language (the derogation of double negatives). Standardisation of lexis in the written language, on the other hand, involved the elimination of non–urban dialectal terms and the borrowing of many foreign words, especially from Latin and the Latinate languages. The overall effect of a standardising ideology on the spelling of literary or academic writing involved the use of spellings which reflected the origins of Latin or Greek borrowings, and other mostly southern spelling conventions (this habit started with the documents produced by the Chancery in the 15th century), and which avoided spellings which reflected informal or conversation–style pronunciations, ie certain metatheses, ellipses, epentheses and excrescent letters in general[28]. Respellings based on over–zealous etymologising account for the standardised forms of some words (these were referred to as 'Etym. sps.' in Fig 1c (ii)).

We can see, then, that although there are clear similarities in the process as it affected the different levels of written language, there are also clear differences: for instance, standardisation of syntax, morphology and, to some extent, lexis involved primarily the selection of a social model (urban educated), whereas standardisation of spelling involved primarily the selection of a register model (formal, non–conversational[29]). Indeed, since a spelling gradually fixed largely in accordance with past and foreign conventions cannot be a phonetic transcription of any single spoken dialect, the fixing of a single spelling for each word is bound logically to divorce that fixed system from this (pronunciation) aspect of the spoken language. Written language almost always seems to be more formal than spoken

[27] The extent to which there existed in early EModE times a class dialect is a much debated and still unsettled matter.

[28] Spellings such as ⟨yearn⟩ for *earn* and ⟨nox⟩ for *ox* are regular butts of criticism in 17th century orthoepic and orthographic handbooks, see Sheldon 1938.

[29] Elimination of strictly conversational forms from the regularised spelling repertoire means that twentieth century writers do not know how to spell such words at all — eg is it ⟨O.K.⟩ or ⟨okay⟩? McKerrow, discussing the editing of Shakespeare's plays, notes that 'There are, or course, a number of colloquial expressions which can hardly be said to have any regular spellings at all, such as "birlady", "godigoden", &c.' (McKerrow 1939:23 n. 3).

language, although this impression is largely due to the fact that much of writing is produced for purposes that are themselves more formal than our everyday verbal transactions. There is in writing a scale of formality as there is in speech, with certain genres of writing such as domestic communication (eg notes to self, letters to close friends and family) at the informal end of the scale, and others, such as official (especially printed), that is public, communications at the other. This seems always to have been the case, and can most certainly be seen in EModE, where regularisation of spelling becomes part of the scale of formality — the more formal the writing, the more fixed the spelling. Osselton 1984 provides several examples of this from PresE as well as from EModE: ⟨tho⟩ and ⟨though⟩, ⟨alright⟩ and ⟨all right⟩, ⟨can't⟩ and ⟨cannot⟩. Similarly, Devitt found that 'Genre proved to be a highly significant variable for Scots–English anglicisation, as significant a variable as time' (1989:54).

Although there are many general definitions of 'standard language', there have been very few in–depth investigations of this phenomenon[30]. It is a rich area, and not the straightforward matter that some of the more general descriptions imply (eg. Crystal 1985:286). Joseph, in the first words of his preface, proved the point, saying that 'A rather simple question generated this book: what is a standard language, and how does it come into being? Piecing together an answer has taken almost a decade of research...' (1987:ix).

The generally accepted and widely used linguistic definition of a standard language variety is that provided by Haugen, which declares the characteristics of such a variety to be the ideal combinations of 'minimal variation in form' with 'maximal variation in function' (Haugen 1966:931 quoted in Joseph 1987:14). The process or force of linguistic standardisation is therefore defined by Milroy and Milroy as the elimination or 'suppression of optional variability in language' (Milroy and Milroy 1985:8).

Social or socio–linguistic definitions of the standard language variety — for

[30] The phenomenon of standardisation is now, however, attracting increasing attention and a number of books on the subject have recently been published. These are Milroy and Milroy 1985, Joseph 1987, Thomas 1991 and Milroy 1992.

English at least[31] — describe it in strongly political terms. The rhetoric of these definitions is that of power and domination, suppression and subjugation[32].

Definitions of standardisation as a social or socio–linguistic process are usually[33] based on Haugen's four stages of standardisation:

- Selection of a variety
- Acceptance of that variety above all other for certain language uses
- Elaboration
- Codification

As descriptions of the standard language tend to be political and emotive, so the descriptions of standardisation as a social or socio–linguistic process are correspondingly saturated with images of cultural elitism and enforcement.

There should be no confusion between the state of being a fully–standardised variety, and the (linguistic and social) forces of standardisation. The processes of change which may be retrospectively seen as affected by the forces of standardisation are not always recognizable as standardisation processes at the time of their occurrences. Thus, it is only retrospectively that we can see works such as the early dictionaries as a central part or symptom of the social as well as linguistic process of standardisation, whereas the creation of new spelling systems, universal languages and shorthand systems, all of which are features of the same era, are seen as peripheral to the linguistic process.

Sociolinguistic studies have indicated that a feature undergoing change will show variation across linguistic repertoire and across social groups. The process of standardisation is a form of language change and can therefore be expected to involve variation, even though its thrust is towards uniformity. Analyses of

[31] Joseph 1987:7 notes that we have standardised the meaning of the term 'standard' in making the specifically western forms of this phenomenon appear universal and, therefore, applying it misleadingly to other language situations.

[32] See, eg, Edwards 1982 who notes that 'a standard dialect is one spoken by educated members of society, used in writing and the media, and supported and encouraged at school ... As a marker of power and dominance ... it is in some sense *primus inter pares*' (Edwards 1982:22).

[33] eg Leith 1983:32.

sociolinguistic variation have mostly referred to the spoken language[34], and before using information gained from these works in a discussion of the written language we should remind ourselves of two relevant facts.

The first of these concerns the role of the unconscious: it is an important concern of sociolinguistic fieldwork that it should try to elicit un–selfconscious utterances (as well as more formal, probably self–conscious ones), that is, that the subjects should speak, as far as possible, as if they were unaware that their speech is under scrutiny. This is because it is assumed that sociolinguistic variables are sensitive to situation, leading to a largely unconscious, situationally–influenced change in patterns of speech[35]. Can we usefully discuss levels of consciousness and formality in the field of spelling? Yes, it seems that the scale of formality in written language, which has been mentioned earlier, may show a concomitant scale of spelling 'behaviour'. The question of consciousness is less easy to address[36] and all we can say at this stage is that it must be linked with the scale of formality in a way similar to its links with formal or casual speech, but that such parallels between speech and writing are unlikely to be exact correspondences[37]. However, making assumptions about levels of linguistic consciousness for people and periods of which we have no first–hand knowledge is highly speculative and requires the utmost circumspection. The mechanical and sensory aspects of writing may induce in the writer greater linguistic consciousness than is assumed to be the case with the speaker largely because, as is frequently noted, writing takes longer than speaking. Concerning the linguistic aspects of this consciousness, Joseph notes that the analytic character of alphabetic writing encourages user–consciousness of, notably, the phonological and morphophonological structure of the language

[34] Exceptions are Romaine 1982 and Devitt 1989, which will be discussed in chapter II.

[35] Milroy 1987:1–45 discusses the relevance and methods of overcoming the 'observer's paradox'.

[36] There has been, as far as I am aware, no research into the extent that spelling (or any graphic aspect writing) is a conscious activity. The studies of cognitive psychologists, for instance dealing with dyslexia, investigate the learning, storing (acquisition) and recognition of spellings rather than the levels of consciousness involved in these acts.

[37] Devitt 1989:22 postulates, however, that 'during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spelling variation was so common that a writer need not have been conscious that he was using both forms [of a written word or morpheme]. In fact, such uses of both forms in a single sentence suggest that these writers may not have been conscious of the variation. This evidence is not surprising if we assume that processes of sound change and of written change may share many traits, since we know that speakers involved in a sound change may use variable pronunciations without being aware of that variation'.

(1987:65). Although he is writing in the context of lexical selection, Thomas's comment that 'It is probable that ... any attempt at writing involves some form of conscious self–censorship' (Thomas 1991:115) must be relevant at most levels.

The second factor is that of the sort of knowledge we, as linguists, have about spelling. In the case of the spoken language we have developed powerful models and methodological tools of analysis, based on a large body of research into phonetics, phonological behaviour and sociolinguistic investigations. We have no such backing for the study of spelling. Current research on the written language concentrates on either content and context (broadly speaking discourse analysis), or on social and educational needs (see, for example, Cooper and Greenbaum 1986, Rafoth and Rubin 1988, Stubbs 1980 and Tannen 1982); cognitive psychology has provided some much–needed and very useful research into the psychological characterisation of spelling (Frith 1980, Ellis 1984, Sterling and Robson 1992), but purely linguistic studies of spelling are rare. The study of what has been called graphemics tends towards theoretical abstraction (eg Augst 1986), the Prague School's writings (eg Vachek 1973, Vachek 1989) tend towards the philosophico–theoretical (functionalism, structuralism and so on), and the only other sources are scattered articles, found in journals as diverse as *Library*, *Neuphilologische Mitteleitung* and the *International Journal of Documentation*. We have no generally accepted linguistic model of what spelling is, and we can therefore only tentatively transfer some of the lessons of sociolinguistics (dealing with spoken language) to this little–understood aspect of the written language. This is what Devitt 1989 and this thesis attempt to do.

We may not be able to gauge the levels of consciousness relevant to the linguistic processes involved in spelling, but we do have some evidence of the levels of social or cultural consciousness of standardisation in the EModE period. If, and this must be relevant, as Milroy and Milroy 1985 suggest, standardisation can usefully be seen as an ideology in addition to being interpreted as a linguistic process of change and if, as Joseph opines, 'opposing language change through cultural intervention [is close to or part of] the attitudes and beliefs about language that underlie Western culture and its standardisation tradition' (Joseph 1987:35), then social history should provide the pertinent background to an investigation of 17th century spelling habits.

1.3.2 The Social Background: Class

Some idea of the social stratification of Early Modern England in class terms is important if the investigation is to be related to modern sociolinguistic theories of language change. According to Sharpe (1987:121) the phenomena that are now described with various terms including the word 'class' (working, lower, middle or upper class, class attitudes, class mobility) were not described and perhaps not recognized in the same way in the EModE period[38]. He notes that we have no records of this use of the word until the late 18th century and that it only became commonly used in the early 19th century. For this and other reasons 'that earlier catch–all concept "the rise of the middle classes"' should not be applied to whatever social changes were going on in Early Modern England (Sharpe 1987:97). That social change occurred is, however, undeniable. Using old–fashioned terms, Bush 1945:12 spoke of a rapid change in urban life and the 'definite emergence of a substantial *bourgeoisie* [which] had of course the most varied social ... consequences' during the first half of the 17th century, and Sharpe allows himself to speak of the 'sharpened social stratification' which took place in the EModE period as a whole, with the towns as the possible centres of change (1987:98).

Historians interested in the development of a class ideology and the behaviour and practices associated with it are thus understandably intrigued by EModE urban centres, and London in particular[39]. The rendering of 'the older style of communal values redundant' (Sharpe 1987:98), and the restructuring of the 'more or less horizontal gradations' (Sharpe 1987:121) into the modern vertical class structure are perhaps seen earliest and most clearly in London. An example of this is the London season, an early version of which Sharpe claims to have emerged in the early 17th century (Sharpe 1987:87). Such social changes may be seen as near–ideal conditions for fostering and spreading an ideology of language standardisation.

Towns have also been the focus of attention for socio–linguists, especially in the last thirty years. Particular attention has been paid to language in towns, not only because of the rich inter–mixing of and conflicts between the speech of so many different groups of people but also, and often mainly, because it is postulated that

[38] Terms such as 'gentry', 'yeomanry', 'the meaner sort', 'the labouring poor' were used.

[39] Sharpe 1987:117 'London was a powerful force for national integration, economically, culturally and politically.'

it is in these conditions that language change happens most speedily, and because it may be from these centres that most of the 'western' industrialised countries' language changes originate[40]. Certainly our earliest records of what we would now call 'class–based' observations about the different language habits of different sorts of people come from the towns — EModE London to be more precise. The comments of Puttenham (1589:120) and Hart (1569:17b–21a, 1570:IIb, IIIb), for instance, testify to an awareness of different language used by different sorts of people, although it is dangerous to take these comments out of the context of their origins[41].

It would be the matter of a separate full–scale piece of research to try and unearth evidence about EModE urban life that may be compared with the linguistically–relevant evidence that we have about PresE urban life, but the facts that the population of London was increasing very fast in the EModE period, and that urbanisation and rapid language change are likely to be related, must be noted. London's population increase can be seen from the figures provided by Sharpe (1987:42 and 85) and the percentages (my calculations) in Table 1.1.

Date	Pop. of London (approx)	Pop. of England (approx)	% of Pop. in London (approx)
1550	120,000	5,000,000	2.4%
1600	200,000	5,000,000	4%
1650	365,000	5,000,000	7.3%
1700	490,000	< 5,000,000	> 9.8%
1750	675,000	6,000,000	11.25%

Table 1.1: Population in England and in London in the EModE Period

[40] As, for instance, the recent spread from London of /h/ dropping into previously /h/–retaining Norwich described in Trudgill 1974.

[41] Are the people making such comments in any position to be taken seriously as representative of a general attitude, or do educators and phoneticians have too much interest vested in the subject to be trusted?

1.3.3 The Social Background: Education

For centuries all but the most preliminary of schooling in England had been centred on Latin, which was considered the only language suitable for texts of intellectual worth. The EModE period, however, saw a change in the attitudes expressed about the relative 'poverty' of the vernacular. Confidence in English as a culturally fully–developed language flowered in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (this was the age of the 'Triumph of English', see Jones 1953), and by the 1630s language and language teaching had become a favourite topic of the scholars:

> 'The [Hartlib] papers reveal that innumerable scholars of the time were engaged in working out more efficient methods of teaching languages than had been devised in the sixteenth century; almost any schoolmaster of initiative, it appears, was busy circulating his method for the approval of his friends, with the eventual aim of publication'
>
> (Salmon 1979:4).

The teaching of living languages in the schools did not, however, immediately benefit from these intellectual predilections. Indeed, the educational practices of 16th and 17th century England may provide some reasons for the discrepancy between the linguistic ideals expressed in so many treatises and the practice of so many of the apparently best–educated men[42]. The early 17th century may have seen an increased rate of founding new schools (Bush 1945:14, Sharpe 1987:118, 264–265), but the new buildings did not imply new teaching systems. In 1660 Charles Hoole wrote that many schools were establishments in which an underpaid and overburdened schoolmaster struggled to teach all the children of the parish. These schools, he noted, taught little more than reading and writing, because the master had too many beginners to be able to teach the others, and the parents were for the most part unwilling to send to school any child who might otherwise be able to earn a penny or two out of school (Cressy 1975:44–45). Hayashi 1978:31 notes that English began to be taught in primary schools in the 16th and 17th centuries (spelling books were presumably aimed at these institutions, as well as

[42] This discrepancy is all the more evident from the present–day scholars' habit of concentrating their researches on those people most obviously involved in the standardisation business, that is, the codifiers (reformers, educationalists, lexicographers). The spelling practices of the rest of the population then seem exceptional in their irregularities to PresE readers.

at the less–educated adult). There is evidence that English taught in primary schools was either treated merely as an aid to achieving literacy, as a necessary preliminary to learning Latin (Sir Thomas Elyot 1531 and Charles 1660, in Cressy 1975:60 and 75 respectively), or taught as a rudimentary skill for children who were not imagined to need much education ('the meaner boys, born to the spade and the plough' mentioned by White Kennett 1706 in Cressy 1975:58). Hayashi notes that English was later taught in secondary schools, but this must refer to the second half of the 17th century, because it is well–documented that, for the first part of this century at least, not only was Latin the medium of teaching (Sharpe 1987:265), but boys were punished if found speaking English *at all* during class (Bush 1945:15, Lyte 1899:147, Stanier 1958:102, Cressy 1975:92). The same policy held at the universities, at which attendance increased in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Sharpe 1987:118, 256–259), with the parliamentary committee of 1649 reaffirming the old policy that only Latin or Greek should be spoken there (Bush 1945:17).

Sons of the nobility and gentry were often educated at home by private tutors until it was time for them to attend university; information about the sort of education these young men received and how it might have differed from that provided by schools is lacking. It must, of course, have varied from family to family, tutor to tutor and boy to boy, although the classical languages requirement of the universities must have ensured that many of them received their share of drilling in these subjects. There was further if less specific encouragement from the emergence of education as 'one of the defining attributes of gentility' (Sharpe 1987:168). A study of the education of royal children (Marples 1965) shows that Latin was certainly an important part of the curriculum from the time of the education of Henry VII's sons to the time of Charles I's sons. Not all royal children were model students; it is recorded, for instance, that the young Charles II would not or could not grow familiar with Latin, and did not learn later, either[43]. There were, no doubt, many nobles who would have had the same difficulties at the same time: specific notions of gentility such as that of the educated man cannot have appeared and had effect overnight; and we have in the Duke of Newcastle at least

[43] 'Clarendon ... advising an obsequious author not to dedicate his work to Charles with a flattering foreword in Latin, remarked that the Prince would be incapable of understanding it' (Marples 1965:90).

one example of a man for whom school learning held no appeal. We have no record of these princes or of EModE schoolboys receiving any tuition in the subject of English.

With the sphere of written English increasing to incorporate subjects previously written only in Latin, the well–educated man of the 17th century was increasingly writing a language in which he had not been taught beyond primary school level. However many 'standardising' books were produced, there was no post–primary school institutional outlet for them, and their direct effects, if they had any, would have been found scattered among those who wished to educate themselves, that is, the very 'Ladies, Gentlewomen and other unskilfull persons' (Cawdrey 1604) for whom these books were explicitly produced[44]. We should be careful to recognize in the adjective 'unskilled' not a reference to any lower or 'meaner' sort of person who may lack all skills, but a reference to those unskilled in reading and writing. Literacy amongst the very meanest sort was virtually non–existent (Sharpe 1987:270) and, even though books became more affordable by the mid 17th century (Watt 1991:261), they would not normally have been within the means of such people. Johnson 1950 calculates that books cost around one third of a penny per sheet in the 1550s (Johnson 1950:89), and around one halfpenny per sheet between 1580 and 1635 (Johnson 1950:90). After that prices rose to between 0.70d. and 0.75d. per sheet (the study only caters for the period 1550–1640). However small the book, it seems that, apart from broadsides, none was sold for less than 2d. (Johnson 1950:93). Using the figures given by Johnson for the period up to 1640 and information in Rogers 1888 (Johnson's source) for later books[45], a rough calculation of the possible prices for the spelling books from 1587 to 1700 listed in Alston's 1969 bibliography of spelling books (vol iv, also the Supplement) shows prices varying from 2d. to 1s 1.5d.[46] Of the spelling books previously mentioned in this chapter only two are listed : Coote 1596, which at 96 paginated pages in quarto (which means a minimum of 12 sheets of paper) would

[44] See Hayashi 1978:40–41 for a summary of the readership of early dictionaries as indicated by their prefaces and title–pages.

[45] Rogers mentions a small rise in paper prices towards the end of the century. I have therefore calculated at 0.8d. per sheet from 1680.

[46] Six books only qualify for the cheapest price: items 49 (Joseph Pratt 1622), 50 (S.W.A. 1625), 57 (Joseph Brooksbank 1654), 140a (Francis Calverley 1681) and 175 (J.G 1694). The most expensive spelling book is the inappropriately named *The Poors English Spelling–Book ...* by Tobias Ellis (1684).

have been sold at the time of publication at around 6d., and Fox and Hookes 1670 (143 paginated pages duodecimo, a minimum of 6 sheets) which would have been sold at the time of its publication 74 years later, for around 4.8d.

Watt reports that

> 'Keith Wrightson estimates a basic cost of subsistence of around £11–14 for a family in a normal year, while the wages of a labouring man might total only £9–10 .... clearly there was little 'surplus' for luxuries like pamphlets.'
>
> (Watt 1991:261)

Taking a present–day male manual worker's gross earnings as approximately £14,000 p.a.[47] we note that this is 1400 times greater than the 17th century's labourer's £10, which means that the cheapest spelling books cost the equivalent of £11.66.[48] For a person on a PresE subsistence income of around £3,000 the equivalent figure for the cheapest spelling book is £2 10s or £2.50 and the most expensive cost the equivalent of £16 17s 7d. or £16.88[49].

Whereas for 17th century men we may to some extent equate wealth with education and education with knowledge of Latin, no such general rule is applicable to the women. It is no surprise that the ladies and gentlewomen were considered unskilful, since they received little or no formal education. Comenius paraphrases the attitudes found expressed in other writings (shown in most of the passages comprising chapter VII 'Education of Women' in Cressy 1975, 106–114) when he claims that people may ask 'What will be the result if artisans, rustics, porters, and even women become lettered?' (Comenius 1657 quoted in Cressy 1975:101). Cressy, whose final entry in the chapter on women's education can hardly be bettered, sums up the situation for the majority of young women in the following way:

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[47] Calculated from the figures provided in *New Earnings Survey 1992: Part F* which, in Table F159.1 gives average gross weekly earnings of full-time manual males to be £268.3. (The figure has been rounded up, rather than down, to the nearest thousand because the higher range of 17th century earning will be taken in the calculations).

[48] This must include skilled workers. I find it hard to believe that this reflects the salary earned by unskilled present–day labourers.

[49] I am grateful to Dr R. H. Britnell, Senior Lecturer in Durham University's History Department, for checking and correcting these figures.

'This note in a propaganda sheet of the charity school movement suggests all too accurately the educational expectations of most of the girls fortunate enough to receive any formal education at all.

"As soon as the boys can read competently well the master shall teach them to write a fair legible hand, with the grounds of arithmetic, to fit them for services or apprentices.

The girls learn to read, etc., and generally to knit their stockings and gloves, to mark, sew, make and mend their clothes, several learn to write and some to spin their clothes." '

(*An Account of Charity Schools Lately Erected* (1706), p.4. quoted in Cressy 1975:114)

Sharpe 1987:270 notes that in the mid 17 century about 10% of women could sign their names, but that most of these would have come from the 'better sort' of people. It should also be noted that being able to sign one's name is only a very rough indication of ability to write, many people who have this skill being able to write very little else.

Some wealthier families allowed their daughters to benefit from the tutors hired for their sons, and some girls attended petty schools (Cressy 1975:106) but most, it seems, did not. Mothers taught daughters to read and write if they themselves knew how to, and there were a few boarding–schools for girls, but these did not encourage academic skills:

'There were a few fashionable academies — notably Robert Perwick's at Hackney, whose inmates were much ogled by fashionable gallants. Both Pepys and Evelyn write of expeditions to Hackney church and Ladies' Hall in Deptford to view the "pretty young ladies". These schools trained girls in fashionable accomplishments rather than the mathematics, Latin and Greek advocated by the more advanced educators like Bathsua Makin, Mary Astell and Elizabeth Elstob. Charity schools for the poorer classes of women quickly degenerated into training grounds for domestic service or, later, sweated labour in the textile industry.'

(Jones 1988:11)

Bush 1945 and Stone 1979 provide similar descriptions of girls' boarding schools in the 17th century. Stone provides two further pieces of information about these schools: he says that they were 'fairly common' at this time, and he provides an extract from what must, presumably, have been some sort of advertisment for one

of these schools, at Islington. This runs as follows: 'the young gentlewomen may be instructed in all manner of curious work, as also reading, writing, music, dancing and the french language' (Stone 1979:230).

The spelling books and grammars produced in such large numbers during the early 17th century may have found ready customers in these schools. If this was the case, however, the 'young gentlewomen' may not have paid overmuch attention to their books, for the spelling of women is most of the time very much less orthodox than that of their male counterparts, even though the girls may have continued to learn to read and write in English for some time after the boys had left that subject and turned all their attention to the classical languages. Unlike the practices of the upper classes in the previous century, most 17th century girls received no tuition in Latin or Greek. The best known evidence of this is Sir Ralph Verney's (1652) comments to his otherwise much–indulged god–daughter when she expressed a desire to learn the classical languages, quoted in Bush 1945:22 and elsewhere. This, in fact, may largely explain the qualitative differences between the spellings of educated men and those of women at this time: in general the men are far more likely than the women to show spellings influenced by Latin, many of which are today considered correct.

With these educational conditions, we cannot account schooling very highly in the promotion (or diffusion) of a fixed *English* spelling during the 17th century. If the aristocracy and well known scholars spelt (as various MS sources and the comments of their editors affirm) erratically[50], one can say that prestige of the obvious kind was not involved either. Printing is generally thought to be a prime agent in the regularisation of spelling and it is to this that we now turn.

1.3.4 Printing

As noted in Section 1.1, a number of scholars place printing as a main cause of spelling regularisation. It is seen as a powerful tool of diffusion as well as, in some writers' opinions, of origination. Millward, for instance, states that: 'Printing

[50] Pyles & Algeo 1982:167 state that 'learned men preferred an archaic spelling', but this does not seem to have been investigated in any detail. It would, in fact, be very hard to substantiate this claim, with problems arising over the definitions of 'learned' and 'unlearned' as well as over 'archaic'.

... was heavily responsible for freezing English spelling' (Millward 1989:194) and again, that '... the scribes of the Chancery (...) and the printers probably had more to do with this stabilization than the reformers did' (*ibid.* 203).

Fewer writers attempt to explain why the printers should have had such a powerful effect on people's spelling habits, although many mention it:

> 'The invention of printing made standardised spellings more important, and, in turning attention to the relations between writing and pronunciation, aroused interest, since then perennial, in the problem of spelling reform'
>
> (Robins 1967:112–113);

> 'Printers were key figures in the standardisation of spelling, grammar, and vocabulary'
>
> (Graff 1987:117).

These comments are fairly typical, and show how little the influence of the printers is analysed. These and other writers do not concern themselves with such details, concentrating as they do on the trend–illuminating but detail–eliminating broad sweep of history, and dealing in slices of time no smaller than three hundred years.

Leith 1983 is one of the few to attempt an explanation for the printers' influence, but it is an unfortunate one. He writes that

> 'it is too expensive for compositors to keep changing spellings, either through personal whim or social custom, so that since the fifteenth century certain spellings owe their continued existence to the convenience of the printers'
>
> (Leith 1973:34).

EModE print did not rely on the sort of technology that makes *variation* in spelling an expensive practice, and printed productions from this period do indeed show spelling variation. Although the number of words printed in more than one way decreased with time, the technology remained the same. Furthermore, although the numbers and tastes of readers change over this period, there is no alteration in the practices of the book trade which could be seen as putting a financial pressure on the compositors to regularise spellings. It was only if the

printer or compositor wished to *alter* a spelling that had already been composed that time, and possibly expense, was incurred.

The information that we have concerning the general characteristics of the printers does not encourage the view that they were the heroes of any sort of idealistic movement for the 'improvement' of the language. Bush 1945 explains that

> 'From the first, English printers had rarely approached the standard of scholarship, taste, and technical execution set by the great continental printers, and if in the 17th century continental work declined, English printing hardly advanced. Most printers were men of business without much interest in literature and without very exalting ideals in mechanical matters'
>
> (Bush 1945:27).

17th century English printers most certainly have a bad reputation. Steinberg, in his greatly respected survey of the history of European printing, confirms this. He talks (Steinberg 1955:204) about the 'low quality of English book–work in the period' and gives examples of slip-shod practice from printed bibles, such as the 'wicked bible' of 1632 which contained the commandment 'Thou shalt commit adultery' and the 'Printers' bible' of 1702 in which David is made to lament that 'Printers have persecuted me' (Psalm 119:161 — this more traditionally appears as 'Princes have persecuted me'). Tempting as it may be, one should probably not ascribe these to the irreverent humour of the compositors.

With this reputation for bad workmanship it is surprising to find so many scholars giving these same printers the credit for so much standardising influence. Steinberg (1955:123) and many others (especially in the general histories of the language) place the first conscious act of standardisation to be carried out by a printer right at the beginning of English printing history with Caxton's adoption of a single dialect for all his printed output; and it is not just spelling that printing is meant to have affected in this way.

> 'The standardisation of the English language through the effect of printing has led to a tremendous expansion of the vocabulary, a virtual ban on the development of accidence and syntax, and an ever–widening gulf between the spoken and the written word'
>
> (Steinberg 1955:124)

he says, and this view is shared by others, as illustrated by the quotation from Graff 1987 given on page 50 above. Spelling is nevertheless singled out as 'The most remarkable, or at least the most visible, expression of the standardisation of the English language through the egalitarianism of the press' (Steinberg 1955:125).

Eisenstein (1985:87) confines her comments on this subject to a brief reference to Price's 1939 article 'Grammar and the Compositor in the 16th and 17th Centuries'[51]. These writers argue that many EModE compositors freely changed the spellings found in their copy, and that their alterations were (nearly) always to those spellings which have since become the uniquely acceptable forms (see, eg, Price 1939:543).

Steinberg, Simpson, Price and Eisenstein are able to make these strong and informative statements largely because they take as their area of study a very wide time–scale. The march of time is a great eliminator of details, and these studies provide a pleasant change of perspective from detailed studies of individual compositorial habits. There is however a large discrepancy between these two sets of information which could usefully be investigated. What, for instance, is the reason for the change from a situation where, even within a printing–house, the standard of printing — including the regularity of spelling — is highly variable (Price 1939:546–7) to one in which all compositors set up regular and agreed–upon spellings?

Evidence of irregular spelling in print abounds. Price who, as we have seen, says that the compositor was a modernising and regularizing speller, does not ignore these irregularities. Trying to explain the production by the same printing–house of 'bad' editions followed by much improved later productions, he suggests that

> 'We might suppose that when the compositor was confronted with a perfectly foul copy studded thick with horrible spellings, he found it saved time to print the text more or less as it stood. Stopping to puzzle out what those perverse spellings meant, would have prevented him from doing his daily stint.'

[51] Which article, in turn, uses information largely gleaned from P. Simpson's *Proof–reading in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries.*

(Price 1939:547)[52]

(an explanation which, by the way, gives a reason for maintaining *non*–regularised spellings.) The dates of the pairs of editions he examines in this respect are 1620 and 1622, and 1642 and 1645[53].

Discussing the printing of Shakespeare's plays, Hinman 1963 notes that 'spelling — or at any rate the spelling of *ordinary* words — was by and large a compositorial prerogative' (Hinman 1963 I:180), but later appears to contradict this with the following:

> 'A compositor will have no strongly preferred spelling for many words and so will tend simply to reproduce these words as he finds them. If therefore they happen to be spelt variously in his copy they are likely also to be spelt variously in what he set from that copy ... '
>
> (Hinman 1963 I:181).

Apparent contradictions like this are probably no more than reflections of varying EModE compositorial practice and modern confusion arising from generalising the habits of more than one generation of compositors — more than one generation working at the same time, and more than one generation's worth of time being described. While some compositors followed their copy meticulously, including errors and variations[54], some took seriously their roles as those 'professionally concerned with orthography' (McKerrow 1939:23 n 2), and others did neither.

From information mostly provided by Simpson 1935, the following is a reconstruction of printers' procedures in those aspects which may have affected spelling in 17th century England.

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[52] This reconstruction of events appears to suggest that in some cases the compositor was unable to link the spellings of some words in his copy with any recognisable or textually appropriate word. If, however, the modern reader can decipher what was printed without difficulty (as is usually the case), then the compositor too must have been able to do so (Bowers' 1964:92 comment that any copyist in any medium will have 'the tendency to see what he anticipates he will see' is relevant here). Price's supposition here stands, it seems to me, only in those cases where clearly inappropriate or even nonsense words were printed.

[53] Fletcher's *Philaster* 1620 and 1622, printed by Thomas Walkley; Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* 1642 and 1645, printed by Crooke.

[54] See, for example, the errors common to MS and print in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Lydgate's 'Siege of Thebes' described in Bone 1931:289–292.

First of all, the copy given to the printer: this may have been neatly copied by the author (see Simpson 1935:106) or by an amenuensis[55]. The duties of the copyist seem often to have extended to altering the spellings of the original, or at least it frequently seems as if it did not matter to the author if his or her spellings were changed at this stage (see, for instance, Simpson 1935:98). The copy may, however, have been very untidy indeed, as is admitted by a number of authors (Simpson 1935:9–10, 13) such as Bartholomew Young: '...The faults escaped in the Printing, the copie being very darke and enterlined, and I loth to write it out againe...' (Young 1598 quoted in Simpson 1935:9), and commented on by a number of printers (Simpson 1935:33–37).

We should next consider the composition of the text. Simpson makes the sensible suggestion that

> 'In the matter of spelling the tendency, even at an early date, was for the printer [even more likely, the compositor — M.S.] to have a rough–and–ready system of his own. The compositor got through his task more rapidly if he did not have to reproduce the varying practice of authors in an age when spelling was flexible.'
>
> (Simpson 1935:51).

to which I would add the reminder that, although some printed works show a high degree of spelling regularity[56], we have plenty of evidence showing that this rough–and–ready system was itself not free of variation (eg the number of variant spellings found in EModE dictionaries and spelling books but not commented upon, which were discussed earlier in this chapter (1.2.2)). It should also be remembered that, even though the printers' spellings often varied less than those found in MSS, printed preferences were not always those which later became fixed (Rushforth 1930 shows, for instance, how the 1645 printed copy of John Taylor's *The Causes of the diseases and distempers of this Kingdom* changes the ⟨d⟩ in ⟨murder⟩, ⟨murderer⟩ to ⟨th⟩ (Rushforth 1930:189)) and that even if an individual

[55] The Duchess of Newcastle refers to the death of 'my secretary, who did copy my writings for the press' (M. Cavendish 1667:lxii) and Simpson 1935:90–99 shows how works by Clarendon, Milton, Thomas Jackson and George Harbin were submitted to the printer in copies made by other than authorial hands. See also Simpson 1935:40.

[56] The pamphlet printed by Lichfield and compared with its manuscript copy in Rushforth 1930 seems, from Rushforth's comments and the facsimile page presented, to have shown almost invariable spellings. From the facsimile I have found only one spelling variation: ⟨good⟩ (once) and ⟨gud⟩ (twice).

printer/compositor produced highly regular spellings, these would probably not all have been the same as the highly regular spellings produced by a different printer or compositor. It is important to remember these points in order to avoid constructing an over–simplified explanation of the influence of printing on spelling standardisation.

Once the press was working the author would have had the opportunity to change the spellings, if he could 'attend the press'. This would seem to have been a fairly common habit[57], or at least to have been an opportunity commonly open to authors residing within reach of the printing house. We have the lively description of an author 'attending' provided for us by the printer Jaggard, who says of Brooke's behaviour during the printing of the *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, &c., of England since the Norman Conquest* (1619):

> 'hee stood sentinell at the Presse, kept such strict and diligent quard there, as a letter could not passe out of his due ranke, but was instantly chekt and reduced into order;...'
>
> (Jaggard in Vincent 1622[58] quoted by Simpson 1935:7)

The sending of proofs to the author, which became habitual in the 18th century (Simpson 1935:42; Plant 1965:71), was probably rarer in the preceding century although evidence of this practice is found early (1529 — see Simpson 1935:5-7). The many instances of errors excused by author or printer as due to the author's inability or unwillingness in attending the press imply that sending out the proofs was not a common option.

It was not rare for a printer to employ a corrector (See Simpson 1935:28, 110–167) but this would have been an unwelcome expense for many of the printers (Plant 1965:70–71). It would in most cases have made sense if 'the proprietor was often his own corrector' (*ibid.* 110) as Simpson suggests and as Hornschuch colourfully claims occurred in Germany[59]:

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[57] Simpson 1935:6–17 gives 23 contemporary mentions of authors attending or, more often, being unable to attend the press for corrections.

[58] This is *A Discourse of Errours In the first Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, Published by Raphe Brooke* and in a work of this nature we may expect the printer of the first edition to be keen to shift the responsibility away from his business. It is nevertheless an informative picture of what a writer *could* do, even if he did not.

[59] Hornschuch (1608) specifically mentions the following printers errors — bad Latin (p. 6), transposition or letters (p. 7), dittography (pp 17–18), faults due to bad distribution of type (p. 18),

> 'Printers have become so greedy that they even begrudge paying correctors' their wages And when they do the correctors' job themselves, they are unskilled, bungling, and inadequate; ... rarely if ever do they check their work, or examine the care taken by the workmen, who naturally become more lax ...'
>
> (Hornschuch 1608:6–7)

While Rushforth 1930 and Simpson 1935 suggest that the compositor was in some cases expected to carry out alterations while composing, Moxon provides documentary proof of the compositor's role in changing the spellings of the copy at some stage of the printing process, although whether this was automatically carried out during composition or at a later stage is not stated. He says that:

> '... the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as a task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. to discern and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy, if it be English'
>
> (Moxon 1683 II, 197–198 quoted in Simpson 1935:112)[60].

Febvre and Martin 1990:130 and 136 do not mention conscious alteration of spellings during composition, but they do state that the master and/or the head compositor corrected proofs[61]. They note, however, that in the 17th century most French and English printing houses had 'only one or two presses', in which places the workforce was often only one or two men plus the master (Febvre and Martin 1990:131). In England, Star Chamber had in 1615 ordered that the number of presses in all printing houses be limited to one or two (depending on the establishment), and this was modified in 1637 to two or three (Plant 1965:86–87). Although these restrictions lapsed during the Civil War, they were reconfirmed by the 1662 Licensing Act. Many such small establishments may have had no 'head' compositor. The role of compositor as proof reader alerts us to the question of his education which, say Febvre and Martin, had to include Latin and sometimes

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mixed founts (p. 19), lack of spelling distinction between nouns and verbs (p. 22) unnecessary adding of letters (p. 22) and unnecessary space between letters (p. 22).

[60] No reference to Moxon appears in the bibliography attached to this thesis, because only vol. I of his *Mechanical Exercises* (which does not contain any information about printing) is available in reprint.

[61] Febvre and Martin's survey deals mostly and almost exclusively with continental book production; the practice in England may have differed in many respects from that described in this work. See also Plant 1965:86.

also Greek (Febvre and Martin 1990:129). One should remember that knowledge of Latin implied education beyond primary level, but not necessarily much more than that.

Only when the matter to be printed was in a foreign language or of an exceptionally technical nature would extra help, in the form of the learned corrector be brought in (see Simpson 1935:110, 112 and Plant 1965:70), and not always even then (Plant 1965:70 notes that the master printer might assume the responsibility himself, if he were a scholar; and Simpson 1935:110 shows how the first Folio of *Henry V* was clearly not checked by anyone familiar with French (*il & appelle* printed for *Il est appelé*, for instance[62]).

Once the book was printed, only minor adjustments could be made. Some printers produced corrections printed onto strips of paper, known as 'cancel strips', to be glued on the page in the appropriate places (Simpson 1935:19–23), others provided lists of errors with their corrections, or *errata* (Simpson 1935:113–122). Occasionally the printer would scratch out the error and print in the correction with a hand stamp specially made for the purpose, but this was a very laborious activity and is therefore rare. Finally, and even more laborious was the correction of errors by hand, which was done by some authors in copies that they wished to use as presentations (Simpson 1935:97, 114).

From this summary one may imagine that the printer was very much in control of the spellings found in his productions or at least that spelling was an issue that printers were very conscious of. Authors' complaints and, more frequently, the variation and inconsistency found in printers' spellings should lead one to modify this impression.

Although in some cases they may have checked the proofs for the spellings of some learned or foreign words, it seems that neither the authors nor the correctors had much effect on the majority of spellings found in 17th century printed texts[63]. To very many writers whether the spellings in the printed work were the same as those in the copy or not was, most probably, a matter of complete indifference.

[62] This may not be the best example, however, because the small amount of French in this text would hardly justify the expense of hiring a corrector.

[63] A well known exception to this is Milton (Simpson 1935:19, 25–30, 95–97).

Even among those with learned reputations to safeguard, one may imagine, there would have been writers who were quite happy to leave spelling matters to the printing house. This is not to say that it was extremely rare for an author to have set views about spelling, it is to point out that just as practices differed, so there existed different attitudes towards this matter.

Although authors and correctors attending the press could and did alter some spellings, changes at this late stage of production were more usually at the word or line level (omission or faulty inclusion of words, bad lineation etc., see Simpson 1935:10 ff). Without a doubt, the most important stage in printing from the spelling point of view was that of composition, during which the compositor's spelling system (rough–and–ready as Simpson imagines, but usually no more erratic than that of the author) would have taken precedence over that of his copy unless special circumstances dictated otherwise.

For most cases we do not know to what extent the writers' desires in such matters would have been expressed prior to composition and it seems most likely that the printer did not as a rule follow the copy's spelling unless such a practice had been explicitly agreed in advance. In the following century, when the ideology of standardisation was so much more advanced and the concomitant doctrine of correctness had already taken such a firm grip, the question of whose spellings to use in print became a more important and therefore a more open matter, with some writers openly desiring their printers to alter or 'correct' this and similar aspects of their work (punctuation was also often left to the discretion of the printer)[64] and others desiring the printer to follow the copy most exactly[65].

Why the spellings of even early compositors tend to be less variable than those of their copies cannot be completely explained; we may nevertheless hazard a number of possibly contributing factors. Among these are the compositors' education

[64] Writers such as Jane Austin relied on their printers in this way.

[65] Some writers presented copy that was meticulously prepared for the printer, being marked up for the printer's most faithful transposition into print: Simpson 1935:99 notes that Pope presented copy that already looked like print, and other writers managed to get the printers to follow their most unconventional demands; in 1760 Akenside had his marks of elision placed centrally above the letter which was to be elided, thus demanding the printer to cut a new block for each vowel concerned (see Dix 1992:55–58).

combined with a heightened awareness of spelling that the occupation of composing text might propagate, and the fact that the compositor is involved in producing a public text (at the formal end of the written 'register' scale). We should also remember that the compositor had contact with many different spelling habits, including some very regular spelling systems. In some cases the age difference between writer and compositor might explain different spelling habits, with the younger compositors using newer and often more regular spellings than the older writers, as educational practices and individual attitudes towards spelling gradually reflect the encroaching ideology of standardisation. It is in the combination of all these with — perhaps the most important ingredients — the compositor's classical education and whatever training he received in the printing house, that the answer lies.

The cause of this growing consciousness of 'correctness' in spelling does not seem to lie in any single place, but rather in the combination of social and cultural factors which led to the development of a more generalised ideology of standardisation which affected not only linguistic practice but the whole world–view of Early Modern England.

1.4 Summary

We have seen in this chapter how the lack of a detailed study of EModE spelling has led to only general information being available about the forms and extent of spelling variation and about the mechanisms of change involved in regularisation. A brief examination of evidence concerning education and printing, the most frequently quoted perpetrators of written–language standardisation, has shown that education does not seem likely to have had a direct effect on spelling in the 17th century. It has been seen that, although the compositors' practice of changing the spellings they found in their copy text was probably one of the most direct ways in which regularisation gained currency, there is no evidence until Moxon (1683) that this was a conscious policy of the printers.

Chapter II

Present–Day Studies of English Spelling

Research on EModE spelling is, of course, only a small part of the scholarship expended on the more general issue of English spelling. Indeed, the contents and approaches of works dealing with this subject differ greatly. There is no recognised field of 'spelling studies' but rather a dispersed corpus of individual studies carried out for different reasons by students of a number of disciplines and sub–disciplines. The main areas of present–day studies of English spelling may be grouped into four types: studies of single, entire spelling systems, historical surveys and commentaries on spelling (including editorial notes and policies), educational and psycholinguistic (cognitive) studies, and theoretical linguistics. Each of these has its own model — often only implicit — of what spelling is and, naturally enough, each analyses spelling in the way best suited to that particular model. In spite of the diversity of foci, there is a high degree of congruity in their basic assumptions about spelling, which is reflected in a single, dominant analytic approach.

2.1 Two Aspects of Spelling Studies: Production and Reception

A brief survey of writings on the subject shows that very different things are studied under the title of spelling, and that the aims of each study largely dictate how the subject of 'spelling' is interpreted. There are two main ways of studying the subject 'spelling': from the point of view of production, and from that of reception. In the first of these, spelling is seen as an activity to be learnt or a faculty to be developed, each writing event being an instance of this learnt activity or of this faculty's use. In the second, reception, spelling is a given, part of a text; it is something which may be analysed for further, non–spelling, evidence.

English spelling has been written about since EModE times. Of the earliest extant full–scale studies, which are the educational works mentioned in chapter I, some are clearly dealing with the production aspect (Mulcaster's word list and the early dictionaries), while others (Mulcaster's discussion of the rationale underlying

the existing system, and those which show how to read or pronounce written words) are dealing with the reception side of spelling studies.

Studies in the late 20th century have shown a growing interest in spelling production, while reception–based analyses continue to be popular: a period of interest in historical spellings as evidence for past pronunciations (PresE reception of EModE spellings) started with Zachrisson's 1913 thesis and faded as the focus of historical phonology studies moved away from empirical evidence and towards increasingly abstract theories of change. In recent years we have reverted to the EModE focus on contemporary spelling as primarily a matter of educational importance (both reception and production). Although, as outlined in Venezky (1970:16–24), many early educationally–based works favoured spelling reform (production), alternative spelling systems or intermediate alphabets, such as the *Initial Teaching Alphabet* that was introduced in some schools in the late 1960s and 1970s, are not part of present mainstream research, having largely fallen out of favour for practical and financial reasons[66]. In this current and politically–sensitive area of research, cognitive psychologists have joined educationalists in the attempt to understand spelling production. Researchers strive to discover how spelling operates as a mental function, why some learners find spelling easier to learn than other learners (or why some learners find some words easier to spell than other words) and how, therefore, to teach the subject with optimum success.

Whether they are reception– or production–oriented, there is a single dominant assumption about spelling which is found in all the studies, albeit to varying degrees and with different effects. This is that there is a strong and analytically relevant link between sound and spelling. Without this assumption, most obviously, spelling could not be used as evidence for pronunciation, nor would most of the complaints against English spelling (be they from the 17th or the 20th century) be based on its lack of sound–to–spelling consistency; furthermore, attempts at 'improving' the spelling would be totally different from those which have so far been

[66] Some educationalists and some parents of pupils who started with the *I.T.A.* feel that the teaching system would have been a general success if it had been implemented across all schools, thus allowing children who had started with the *I.T.A.* to make a controlled transition to orthodox spelling. Such implementation would have demanded a financial and political degree of commitment that was apparently not forthcoming. See Upward 1992:21–28 for a brief review of the most well known reformed alphabets of the 20th century and for comments concerning why the I.T.A. was not continued.

suggested, all of which have been based on this assumption. Again, the assumption that alphabetic writing is at least partly phonologically–based informs many editorial comments and has been strongly supported by the results of many of the studies of cognitive psychologists. In most cases this assumption is the base from which subsequent studies have been launched. Those few theoretical linguists who write about spelling systems are also strongly influenced by this same assumption. It is, in fact, at the roots of the most common analytic approach to spelling, which I shall call 'phoneme–grapheme mapping'.

Phoneme–grapheme mapping is the traditional, philological approach to spelling. Studies using this technique are numerous and dominate the research of historical spelling. By phoneme–grapheme mapping is meant the practice of referring to and analysing spellings by examining them in relation to the phonemes of which they are or were the presumed signs. That is, the undoubted correlations between alphabetic writing and segmental phonology are used as the primary method for describing and categorising spelling.

2.2 Studies of Entire Spelling Systems

It is rare to find works whose primary aim is description of an EModE spelling system *per se*. Partial descriptions are sometimes found as bibliographical descriptions attached to scholarly editions of historical texts. While certain spellings in these writings may be explained as reflections of pronunciation, there is often a largely unconscious abandoning of phoneme–grapheme mapping while the editors provide detailed descriptions of scribal or compositorial habits. This is especially common in the case of printed works where, as will be discussed in chapter V, any temptation to attach phonological meaning to graphic form is lessened by the anonymity of the compositor and the lateness of the date. In such descriptions one may even find descriptions of graphic details which are elsewhere ignored, such as punctuation, abbreviation and capitalisation. These studies may be fairly comprehensive in terms of the features discussed, but they are not designed for the purpose of describing or explaining the spellings, being analyses of particular features in order to clarify the scribal or authorial status of the text.

Accounts of the spellings of individual EModE writers exist but are rare. The use of spelling evidence in such works as Zachrisson 1913 and Wyld 1914

has already been mentioned. Wijk's 1937 *The Orthography and Pronunciation of Henry Machyn ...*, McLaughlin's *A Grapheme–Phoneme Study of a Middle English Manuscript* (1963, also about Machyn), and Shawcross's 1958 *Milton's Spelling: Its Bibliographical and Critical Implications* are, perhaps, the only full–scale analyses of known EModE writers' spelling systems, and Shawcross 1958 is the only one which is not undertaken for purposes of reconstructing pronunciation. This thesis analyses Miltons's spelling variations from a chronological point of view, the main thrust of the work being the attempt to find change in Milton's spelling habits. Although the study does find positive results — that is, it seems that Milton's spelling habits changed from a preponderance of 'unsimplified, redundant spellings' before 1638 to a preference for 'simplification and pronunciational spelling' from 1641 — lack of any social, historical or linguistic background largely confines the relevance of this thesis to the field of Milton studies. The reasons why Milton changed his spellings, and the question of whether spellings in literary writings are subject to different constraints from those in other sorts of writings, are not explored.

Spellings from a variety of MS and printed texts are used as data, and it is assumed that the printer and the poet's amenuenses followed his spellings closely. There is very little discussion of the possibilities that Milton's printers may have changed his spellings or even of reasons why this might not have been so. This is particularly disturbing in a study where printed spellings are taken as examples of the author's own habits.

The thesis is very long, containing nearly 800 pages of which more than half show lists of spellings with their text references. Most words, however, are found only a very few times in any one text. The number of instances of most of the spellings discussed is extremely small. This, perhaps the single most damaging fact in the light of present analytical approaches, combined with the lack of discrimination between different texts, and in particular between printed and MS spellings, weakens the significance of Shawcross's findings. Shawcross 1958 does not set out to answer any of the questions raised in the present thesis, and the information about Milton's spellings that he so copiously provides cannot, unfortunately, be taken as representative of any other 17th century writer's spelling habits.

Other works, or parts of works, which may be considered purely descriptive

are the transcriptions and facsimiles provided in handbooks. In 1934 Constance Davies produced a book in which such transcriptions were given more space and pedagogic importance than had hitherto been the case (she also provided the more traditional approach of interpretive analysis using phoneme–grapheme mapping); no other books of this sort appeared in English until Wakelin 1988. Since then a number of handbooks using this technique have appeared, these include the translation of Görlach's originally German *Introduction to Early Modern English* (1990), Freeborn 1992 and Burnley 1992.

Vallins 1954 and Scragg 1974, which have already been discussed in chapter I, do not attempt to describe any single spelling system, be it of the past or present. Rather, they provide historical explanations for many features of the PresE system, and, in the case of Vallins 1954, some discussion of PresE spelling anomalies and variations.

As far as I know there has been only one comprehensive study of the PresE spelling system. This is Venezky's work, published in 1970, which had the explicit aim: 'to show the patterning which exists in the present orthography — not just in terms of regular spelling–to–sound rules, but in terms of the more general phonemic and morphemic elements which characterize the system.' (Venezky 1970:11).

Like all other studies of PresE spelling, Venezky's study deals with a closed system; it is a very thorough synchronic description of the fixed spelling conventions of the present day which pays no attention to those spellings which are still unfixed or indeed to any other variation (there is, for instance, no discussion of common spelling errors or difficulties). Furthermore, Venezky employs what he calls a 'spelling to sound model' (1970:46) in which a number of graphotactical, morphophonemic and phonotactical rules are applied to each written word in order to arrive at its successful (phonological and semantic) deciphering. This is a reading model, not a spelling model; it attempts to show how spelling works for the reader, not how it is constructed by the writer. The model is consciously descended from popular linguistic models of processing, transforming and generating meaningful linguistic output, a theoretical ancestry that explains its synchronicity and avoidance of issues such as variation and change.

Although they structure their works differently, Vallins 1954, Shawcross 1958, Venezky 1970 and Scragg 1974 all use phoneme–grapheme mapping in classifying spelling conventions[67].

The work of spelling reformers should be mentioned here, although their main complaint, lack of direct correlation between sound and symbol, has not changed since the 16th century. As Wells 1984:19 points out, the EModE spelling reformers highlight the fact that the spelling had already moved very far from the simple sound–symbol equivalence that all reformers since then have sought. The proposals of spelling reformers rely heavily and sometimes even simplistically on a phoneme–grapheme model of spelling. The spelling systems they describe are those which they propose as replacements to the orthodox and, in their eyes, flawed one. Such descriptions cannot be more than schematic, because none of these systems has ever been fully or even substantially implemented.

2.3 Historical Studies and Editorial Processes

There have been a number of works which attempt to reconstruct the pronunciations of the past through spellings. Although editors have always allowed that some conventions of spelling are purely graphic, the possibilities of unearthing auditory meanings from old spellings have attracted more attention than the possibilities of finding visual meanings[68]. Traditional approaches to reconstructing the pronunciations of the past rely on spelling evidence. Until Zachrisson, in his thesis of 1913, showed how 17th century spellings could be used for this same purpose it had been assumed that by the late Middle Ages creeping convention, that is, some sort of nationwide regularisation, had interrupted the 'purity' of the evidence[69]. Rationale for using what are called 'occasional spellings' as pronunci-

[67] This is particularly evident in Vallins 1954, chapter 2 'Spelling and the Alphabet'; Venezky, who uses 'a computer program ... to derive and tabulate spelling–to–sound correspondence in the 20,000 most common English words', 1970:12, most of Shawcross 1958 and the whole of Scragg 1974.

[68] McIntosh 1956:5 'orthographic variation rarely attracts much interest unless it offers at least the possibility of clues about phonetic variation'.

[69] This view is expressed in, for example, Wijk 1937, where it is noted that the wills, verdicts and letters of the late 15th century used in Ida Baumann's work 'are so strongly influenced by Standard English that it is impossible to draw any safe [dialectal] conclusions from them' (1937:18). Similarly, and even though they are looking at different features of orthography, McIntosh *et al* 1986 survey no documents after the early 1460s because from this time onwards, they explain, standardised spelling forms have largely obliterated localized forms (1986: Introduction).

ation evidence lies in the assumption that, when not constrained by learnt forms, writers lapse into phonically constructed spellings.

Wyld (1914 and 1920) followed in Zachrisson's footsteps, describing his spelling evidence as 'phonetic spellings' (eg 1914:vi), but over twenty years later Wrenn (1943) argues strongly against any but the most cautious use of spelling as pronunciation evidence, however early the period of investigation (this even though he unquestioningly describes our writing system as a phoneme–grapheme parallel). In 1957 Dobson expressed a preference for the considered statements of orthoepists and grammarians, stating that it is 'unreasonable and unscientific to prefer the accidental mis–spellings of imperfectly literate people, however well–born, to the intentionally phonetic transcriptions of intelligent and well–educated men' (1957:I:197).

He nevertheless uses 'occasional' spellings as supporting evidence for his reconstructed pronunciations. Wolfe 1972 argues against the use of spelling as pronunciation evidence in much the same vein as does Dobson, and does not use any spellings in her study of the Great Vowel Shift.

It seems that the later the spellings the more aware the researcher is of the purely graphic conventions involved and thus the less happy he or she is to make phonological analyses on that evidence alone. Strangely enough, the response to this realisation has been not so much to reassess approaches to ME texts (they too must contain purely graphic conventions, but only Wrenn explicitly warns of the dangers they pose), but rather to restrict use of the later texts to a few items — so called 'occasional' spellings — whose selection seems on the whole to be determined by the pronunciation(s) which the researcher wishes to discuss.

Other than Shawcross 1958, Scragg 1974, parts of Vallins 1954 and sections in general histories of the language, I have come across no studies of English spelling change, nor (again with the exception of Shawcross 1958) have I encountered any comparisons of MS and print spellings, although any PresE analysis or description of non–orthodox spellings will involve a covert comparison with PresE printed spellings which represent to contemporary eyes the 'norm', or 'correct' spellings. As was discussed in chapter I, printed spellings are studied for reasons very different from those which prompt the study of MS spellings. Only the editors of printed

texts pay any attention to printed spellings, an area which has grown considerably since Fredson Bowers' *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (1964) and the growth of descriptive bibliography as a scholarly discipline. Such studies do not detail every part of the spellings found, they concentrate instead on those features which may lead to clarification of the text's printed history.

Old spellings have frequently been seen as regional. Many editors and scholars of OE and ME manuscripts try to identify the dialect/region of their text's original version, as well as the dialect/region of its copyist(s), from its spellings. This is usually done using the traditional phoneme–grapheme mapping techniques, although modern scholars can now have recourse also to the purely orthographic evidence found by McIntosh *et al.* Wijk 1937, whose work is mostly on the phoneme–grapheme mapping system, noted, without the benefit of McIntosh's findings, that non–phonic systematic spelling characteristics could be regional–specific (1937:24–25). Where most traditional philologists saw the regional variation in spellings as evidence of regional variation in pronunciation, McIntosh *et al* note that not all spelling variation has (or can have) phonological or phonetic relevance. In addition, they postulate that spelling habits of the past may have demonstrated regionalisms through what we may call 'regional orthographic habit'. What makes this approach original is the fact that they consciously abandon the traditional and still predominant habit of phoneme–grapheme mapping.

> 'There is a great deal to be learnt from a thorough examination of those numerous cases of orthographic variation which have no phonetic implications ... they can be plotted on maps like any other variants, and many of them turn out to be demonstrably regional ...'
>
> (McIntosh 1956:5).

It is only in Romaine 1982 and Devitt 1989 that I have come across variations of written language used in sociolinguistic study, and both of these are historical studies. Romaine's study is not, however, concerned with spelling variation, but with syntactic variables (relative clause markers); much of her book is dedicated to methodology and description of the statistical package (programme) she uses. Devitt, on the other hand, uses spelling variation as the identifier of variables. That is, although her concern is the replacement of Scottish–English forms with Anglo–English forms, she cannot separate form from spelling, because the only way

she can find a difference between these forms is through their spellings. She selects the variables shown below, from where it can be seen that for some of her variables, notably the first listed, there is no non–spelling difference to be investigated, while for others the spellings almost certainly represent completely different morphs with their concomitant different pronunciations, the last item on the list being the most clear instance of this. The extent to which the variant spellings of the second, third and fourth items reflect different pronunciations that would actually have been used by the writers in those particular contexts may be disputed and can never be resolved.

quh–/wh–	(Relative Clause Markers)
–it/–ed	(Preterite Suffixes)
ane/a(n)	(Indefinite Articles)
na/no & nocht/not	(Negative Particles)
–and/–ing	(Present Participles)

Devitt's table of major variables analysed (Devitt 1989:16)

Devitt's treatments of the individual variables reflect their different statuses with regard to pronunciation. In the cases of the relative clause markers and the present participles no mention of pronunciation is made, whereas the spellings of preterite suffixes and indefinite articles are examined in relation to their phonetic environments (1989:22 and 24); negative particles are again treated solely on the orthographic level, although mention of their relevance to other scholars' discussions of pronunciation is made (*ibid*:27–28). Although her focus of research (anglicisation) and selection of materials (a variety of texts from different times) and variables (few) all differ from mine, her interpretation of standardisation as language change and her application of sociolinguistic models of [speech] variation to features of the written language support the approaches used in this thesis.

2.3.1 Editorial Treatment of Non–Standardised Features

Editors' notes found in modern editions of older texts, both literary and documentary, have been scrutinised in an attempt to gather more precisely what are

the editorial tendencies relating to the subjects discussed in this chapter. Other books, such as Bowers 1964 and Wells 1984, dealing specifically with the problems of editing have also been consulted. They are not, however, referred to as often as are the editors' notes in actual editions, because they tend to put forward ideas of what ought to be done rather than what actually is done by editors answerable to public and publisher alike.

2.3.2 Different Treatment of EModE MS and Print

Our historical and textual interests are strongly directed towards personality and authority: the scholastic canon requires provenance wherever possible and in as great a detail as possible. Early MS texts rarely provide this information in a straightforward fashion, so students of these writings become detectives whose information lies in the very subjects of their investigations. Habits of spelling, punctuation and what are often called accidentals (letter formation, capitalisation and so on) are used to distinguish scribe from scribe, text from copy–text, and copy–text(s) from postulated ancestral text. In short, anonymity of the writing hand leads to a close inspection of graphic features and variants for applied purposes.

Modern editors of Old and Middle English writings frequently divide their textual notes into sections on spelling, punctuation and accidentals. They analyse spelling variants, often in great detail, as evidence of the writer's or the scribe's dialect whereas punctuation and accidentals may be mentioned but will rarely be discussed in any detail. Belief in a systematic correlation of writing to regional background makes such study relevant as an investigation of either spoken dialects or written regionalisms[70].

Editors of early MSS or of printed texts (post mid–fifteenth century by definition) are dealing with anonymity of the writing (not necessarily the authorial) or compositorial hand. Just as OE and ME MSS have been seen to be the subject of much detective work, so has the printed text with its history of multiple compositors and multiple editions. Editors analyse graphic variants of these printed works in order to establish 'authoritative' readings, to identify different compositorial

[70] McIntosh *et al* 1986:5 'It is only at one remove that spelling is evidence about spoken language, but it is *direct* evidence about written language...'.

hands, and to justify their selection of one variant over another. Spelling, punctuation and accidentals may all be called upon as evidence in this exercise. Such activity is usually deemed unnecessary for editions of the post–printing–age MSS: while textual notes in modern scholarly editions of 17th century manuscripts, for instance, state the editorial policies effected (which, graphically speaking, means explaining the extent of the modernisation implemented), and will usually describe the spelling and punctuation if these have been changed, none of these or other graphic features will be closely analysed. The elimination of the previously mentioned reasons for analysis of graphic information in anonymously produced texts (reconstruction of dialects and provenance/authority of text) are relevant here.

The belief that systematic correlation no longer exists between written forms and social and geographical identity of the writing hand in most late ME and EModE writings discourages further study of the subject. This quite possibly affects the attitude of scholars towards it, and thus indirectly lies behind a number of editorial decisions.

It is held that any local standard disappears at some time between the 14th and 15th centuries (McIntosh et al. 1986), depending on geographical region and individual education and attitude. Naive spellings which may indicate individual pronunciation usually occur alongside learnt spellings which do not reflect pronunciation (Zachrisson 1913:41); they are thus referred to as occasional spellings. Such mixed systems, combined with spelling variations that are not phonetically informative, are understandably seen as chaotic, unsystematic and idiosyncratic: Dobson called them 'the accidental mis-spellings of imperfectly literate people' (Dobson 1957 I:197). The fact that spelling variation in late ME andEModE texts can rarely be directly linked to geographical or linguistic factors has fuelled the belief that English spelling had somehow deteriorated from the times in which this was more possible. That is to say, there is not so much an acknowledgement that the late ME and EModE spellings show complex variations but, rather, a value judgement is applied, and these spellings are rejected as uninformative or at least unreliable because their writers are deemed illiterate or careless (Dobson 1957 I:197; Wrenn 1967:167, Wolfe 1972:115).

The proliferation of spelling and other graphic variation within as well as across

texts is then seen as a case of 'bad' spelling as well as being regarded as linguistically uninformative. The value judgement is applied even more rigorously to the spelling variation found in texts from EModE times onward, because from that time, as was mentioned in chapter I, we find a (slowly) increasing number of writings with notably regularised spelling. The fact that in the 17th century most of these more regular writings are the products of the presses and the others are the efforts of a few individuals who do not seem to have been in the majority, does not deter writers of handbooks and general histories of the language from labelling this the period of spelling standardisation. This, through the distortions which seem almost inevitable where information is repeated at several removes from its context, is apparently taken as a mandate to 'standardise' those 17th century spellings which appear particularly irregular, and to consider the writer of such spellings to be a poor speller or an uneducated person.

Editors will therefore dismiss a high proportion of the graphic features of their sources as in need of 'normalization'. The discarded forms are presented as the result of lack of formal education (Snyder 1975:xxxvii), lack of spelling lessons in the formal education of the time (Kraus 1972:xxxiii), individual inability or carelessness (Keynes 1931:xvi), or the general 'uncertain art' of 17th century spelling (Lansdowne 1927: I, xxxvi). That is, variation or unorthodox use in these features are taken to reflect a general lack of taught writing conventions rather than any specific regional or educational influence, and they are therefore not considered relevant to the interpretation of the text or context. If original spellings are maintained it is for either general but non–specified principles of non–interference[71], or for what might be loosely described as aesthetic effect: see, for instance the statement that:

> To divest a seventeenth–century text of these peculiarities [spelling, punctuation, use of capitals and roman and italic founts, abbreviations, &c.] is like scraping a work of old architecture, and destroys both its beauty and historical character.
>
> (Ghosh 1932:89)[72]

[71] This is exemplified by the following two quotations: 'My endeavour has been to preserve the original' (Snyder 1975:xxxvii); 'The editor [of Massinger's *Believe As You List*] (C.G.) has produced a text which follows the original manuscript as closely as possible and translates the physical characteristics of Massinger's work into print;' (Edwards & Gibson 1976: I, lxxiii).

[72] de Beer 1955:62 and Browning 1936:xv provide further examples of the emotive language used

In fact, in spite of these emotive words from well–intentioned editors, original spellings are practically never kept in their entirety: proper nouns are usually 'normalised' and abbreviations expanded at the very least. Punctuation and whatever the editors of earlier manuscripts call accidentals are almost always changed. I have found no edition of 17th century MSS that does not modify punctuation; most also change word spacing and paragraphing, and a large number regularise the capitalisation of their originals. The term accidentals is rarely used for these aspects of the later writings; handwriting, capitalisation, spacing (and italics in editions of printed sources) being separately treated.

17th century variation of written forms has not been looked at for evidence of written regionalisms (not necessarily those which directly reflect pronunciation) as has been done by McIntosh *et al* for earlier times because, as they explain:

> In the course of the fifteenth century ... regional diversity gives way increasingly to Chancery Standard ... By the end of the same century, moreover, the establishment of printing was instrumental in the redevelopment of a national literary standard. The dialects of the spoken language did not die out, but those of the written language did.
>
> (McIntosh *et al* 1986:3)

Nevertheless some editors have considered uncanonical 17th century spellings to be phonetic (Ghosh 1932:91, Snyder 1975:xxxvii), while others have produced strong arguments against taking these considerations into editorial practice. Wells 1984:19–21 provides a summary of the practices of editors of Shakespeare in keeping or modernising old spellings while adding his own voice to the debate. He speaks of

> the fallacious assumption of a far greater degree of correlation between spelling and pronunciation in both Elizabethan and modern English
>
> (Wells 1984:19)

noting that

> If Elizabethan spelling had been genuinely phonetic, there would have been no stimulus to the many contemporary advocates of spelling reform
>
> (*ibid*).

in this respect, saying that over–modernisation of 17th century texts 'debases' and 'emasculates' them.

and concluding that, while

> some Elizabethan spellings give a modern reader a more accurate impression of the pronunciations likely to have been used in Shakespeare's time than would the modern, standardised spellings of these words ... [only a certain sort of phonetic information is thus indicated and this, moreover] needs to be interpreted by experts.
>
> (*ibid*)

The belief in a systematic correlation between written forms and the identity of their writer(s), which may be used to establish provenance and authoritative readings of texts, was the second reason given for analysing the graphic features of pre–15th century MSS and EModE printed materials. For some texts, 17th century holographs for example, provenance is normally a given, and there is therefore no need to to investigate spellings and other graphic information for this reason. This is not, however the case for non–authorial manuscripts, where the situation may be the same as for earlier scribal material (anonymity of the writing hand, copies of copies). Here there is just as much reason to analyse the graphic features of these sources as there is for the ME scribal writings, but it is not done. All such activity for 17th century writings is confined to printed work, even though it is known that very many writings (especially religious works and poems) were circulated in manuscript form. It is hard to say why there should be such a lack of interest in this field, but the reason may be connected with the importance to the modern canon of previously printed material.

As has been shown, 17th century spellings are not thought to correlate with particular regions. They seem, in the case of manuscript spellings, to be considered as not correlating even to particular writers, which is odd when one thinks of the efforts of descriptive bibliographers to trace compositorial spelling profiles. I think the sight of so much graphic variation (spelling, punctuation and accidentals all demonstrating some inconsistency) has proved unnecessarily daunting here, and that it must be possible to define spelling profiles for these writers as easily — in fact more easily because handwriting provides more clues of individuality than does type. There remains, nevertheless, the obstacle of insufficient motivation, for there exists a wide gulf between the world of anonymous scripts, which provide our only sources for a limited ME literary canon, and the world of MSS and printed

works, which provide a superfluity of literary and scholarly texts from which only a few are to be admitted to the EModE and PresE canon.

2.4 Educational and Cognitive Studies

These two areas of scholarship have been combined in this section because their aims conflate in the desire to understand how spelling is learned, stored and retrieved.

There have long existed conflicting accounts of the nature of spelling, and more recently, in the field of theoretical linguistics, disagreements about the words *letter* and *grapheme* have arisen. These may all be seen in the light of cognitive psychology as reflecting the complexity of the mental processing involved in writing. From a spelling point of view one may even say that the existence of such debates reflects the essential versatility of an effective system. Cognitive analyses of spellings have as a prime aim the further understanding of the mental processes involved in spelling. Most cognitive models are based on the well–supported assumption that spelling is at one time phonic and lexical; that is, most fluent spellers have use of a mental 'store' of spellings as well as recourse to a phonic spelling–construction facility.

Many are the pieces of research which contain tests designed to investigate links between phonological development and spelling ability. That there is a strong connection between the two is never questioned — it has even been found, through their performances in various tests, that children born profoundly deaf exhibit in their spellings some phonological awareness[73]. Although other processes are shown to be also at work in the construction of spellings, the relation between phonology and spelling ability is never questioned. Tests which set out to investigate this phonological route quite explicitly use phoneme–grapheme mapping techniques. Results are often classified into correct, possible and other spellings, the possible spellings referring to those which are considered to be potentially explicable on a phoneme–grapheme mapping basis[74].

[73] See, for example, Campbell, Burden and Wright 1992.

[74] See, for instance, Goulandris 1992 and Sterling and Seed 1992.

Cognitive models of spelling alert us to many aspects of the subject that linguists should pay attention to. Firstly they show how spelling — ie writing out words — is not the reverse process of reading[75]. This is a mistake many linguists, notably Venezky, have made in their discussions of spelling. Secondly they show that fluent writers use a multiplicity of spelling strategies[76]. Thirdly they show that the strategies used depend not only on the familiarity or lack of familiarity of the word to be written, but also on the individual writer; just as we all have idiolects, so it seems we all have personal spelling strategies and personal spelling lexicons[77]. In addition, some cognitive models of reading based on artificial language incorporate details of sequencing which show how it is possible to have many different linguistic processes happening simultaneously while interacting (the Rumelhart and McClelland model of direct visual word recognition, and the notion of sequences 'in cascade', described in Ellis 1984:17–22).

Seen from the point of view of cognitive models of spelling, the historical process of the fixing of English spelling is a move from phonically 'assembled spellings' to mentally 'addressed spellings', which are defined as 'spellings retrieved for [*sic*] some form of long–term store of learned spellings' (Ellis 1984:64–65)[78]. That is, a system tolerant of variation is likely to accept a greater proportion of phonically constructed ('assembled') spellings than is one which will accept only a single (and often phonically opaque) spelling for each word.

Cognitive psychology provides insights into mental spelling mechanisms which are very useful to anyone wishing to examine spelling, whether the study be synchronic or diachronic. Nevertheless, works whose primary aim is the description

[75] See Frith's 1980 paper about good readers who are atrocious spellers and other evidence in the same publication provided by Morton (especially p. 124), Henderson and Chard (pp 111–112) and others. More recently, Burden's 1992 paper discusses what are called 'Type B readers' — those who are good at reading but poor at spelling. Even without the knowledge of cognitive processes that these writers have, it can readily be seen that 'far fewer words are consistent, and therefore predictable, in the sound–to–print (spelling) direction than in the print–to–sound (reading) direction' Ellis 1984:64. Haas 1970 argues that reading is easier than spelling *for beginners* because in reading they are translating from the unfamiliar to the familiar (p. 42), but that there is very little within the English spelling system that makes either process easier than the other since in this system 'most graphemes are "polyphonic" and most phonemes are "polygraphic".'(p.52).

[76] Some of the other strategies are, eg, analogy, and morphological interpretation.

[77] See Baron, Treiman, Wilf and Kellman 1980.

[78] Professor Ellis has confirmed (personal communication 14.4.93) that 'for' is indeed a mistake, and the correct reading should be 'from some form of long–term store of learned spellings'.

of the mental processes involved in reading and writing do not tend to analyse pre–existing writings, and research in the psychology of spelling relies on specially designed tests applied to learners or sufferers of dyslexias and dysgraphias[79]. They concentrate on pathology — that is, evidence from subjects whose spelling mechanisms are damaged or unformed — and the appropriateness of applying such information to models of normally–functioning spelling mechanisms may be questioned. In addition, all models of spelling are based on the assumption that there is a single spelling system, incorporating only unique spellings for each word, to be acquired. Acquisition or use of a system tolerant of a high degree of variation is not even mentioned[80].

2.5 Theoretical Linguistics

Although I have not found any such study which uses English spelling as evidence, the work which calls itself 'graphemics' should be mentioned here. Some few linguists have investigated writing as a semi–autonomous linguistic system and have used theories of sign, system and referentiality to discuss theories of spelling. The only publication to which I refer in which such theories are expounded is Augst 1986, which is a collection of papers originally presented at the University of Siegen, Germany in 1985. This collection provides one with a taste of the level of abstraction at which these theories operate, a level far beyond the detailed examination of actual usage.

These papers deal with the semiological level of writing (its status as linguistic sign) rather than with the practicalities of its production. That is, in approaching the question of what spelling is, graphemics takes neither a production nor a reception view, but instead offers a broadly structuralist, self–defining explanation. No single model of spelling is provided by this area of scholarship, and those which are proposed suffer in any comparison with the models put forward by cognitive

[79] *Dysgraphia* is inability to spell correctly, whereas *dyslexia*, the more familiar term, refers to difficulties in spelling and reading, as well as a number of other, related cognitive problems (See Hampshire 1981, where the associated difficulties of not being able to distinguish right from left or learn ordered sequences such as the alphabet are movingly recounted.

[80] Bailey noticed a reluctance in theoretical or psychological approaches to linguistics to deal with variation. He noted that 'the patterns of variation in language could well provide psycholinguists with interesting hypotheses concerning the structure of the brain for profitable future investigations' (Bailey 1973:23).

psychologists whose work, unlike that of the theoretical linguists, is supported by a huge research base (in all areas of cognitive research as well as in education theory) and a mass of concrete evidence. An additional weakness of these theoretical studies is their persistent unwillingness to account for, or even address, issues of variation in language or, in this case, in spellings.

Like many other scholars, most researchers in this field agree that the phoneme–grapheme correspondence does not explain the totality of either reading or spelling alphabetically–written words. The Prague School, which approaches written language from a functionalist point of view, accords the written language autonomy but does not pay particular attention to questions of spelling. Needless to say, this autonomy obviates the need for reference to any phonic aspects of writing.

2.6 Analytic Approaches of this Thesis Contextualised

Although spelling is the subject of many different studies — descriptive, historical, theoretical, cognitive and educational — all of them rely to some extent on phoneme–grapheme mapping. This does not seem to be affected by the fact that it has been recognised by a number of scholars, such as Haas and Ellis, that the relation between sound and symbol is not simple. Similarly, all psycholinguistic and theoretical studies show the presence of many processes other than phoneme–grapheme transference in operation in the spelling faculty, but these discoveries are largely ignored in the other fields (theoretical, historical and descriptive).

At the same time we must note that none of these studies pays more than lip service to the idea of variation in spelling. Most, in fact, do not even mention it. This may not be due to any ignorance of past practices, but rather to a determinedly synchronic viewpoint and the subliminal effects of two or three centuries of standardisation. Nevertheless we must admit that the brainwashing effect of such a relatively long–standing, societally and perceptually reinforced ideology is not part of the spelling system or faculty itself; it is an extra–systemic factor.

This fixation with the idea of a monolithic, invariable spelling system must be seen as a weakness in all fields where it is applicable. In all other aspects of linguistics the fact of variation in language is increasingly being taken into both

theoretical and applied models[81]. Either the practitioners themselves are turning to variation studies (sociolinguists, dialectologists, educationalists and pragmaticists) or alternative models are being offered in opposition to non–variationist theories (countering Chomsky's model of competence and performance with the idea of communicative competence, for instance, thus introducing variation into the previously uncompromisingly rigid level of the mentalist model of grammar). Where, then, is the variationist lobby for spelling studies?

The importance of this point should not be ignored. Linguistically, if it can be shown that in a 'normal' (socially and linguistically unexceptional) text much of its spelling variation is structured, then we cannot dismiss such variation as the equivalent of performative error. This is quite apart from the other historical evidence that we have concerning the acceptability of variation in past times. As a corollary of this, we may say that if spelling variation is a structured part of the language then models of spelling which do not allow for this flexibility are grossly over–simplified. Whatever *society* says, the idea of the spelling variant as *linguistic* error is simply not true and is fudging one of the most important issues of our orthographic system: that, both in its more standardised form and in its correlation with phonemic segmentation of language, we can easily use and interpret very different spellings in the same overall system without any linguistic, communicative or perceptual problems. Change in usage from a more to a less varied system or *vice versa* is not a particularly problematic event, involving the learning skills rather than linguistic adaptation, although the reception (reading) side of the process will be, at first, easier than the production (writing) side[82]. It is, for instance, a very different process from that involved in learning another language or in mastering the production of another dialect of one's own language. Given that the story of spelling standardisation is one of disallowing variation, it is strange that historical studies have so consistently ignored this point.

[81] The acceptance of variation into models of all aspects of human behaviour must be one of the defining characteristics of the present day. Almost all social, political and even religious groups are under increasing pressure to show such acceptance. Whether or not this is considered an admirable thing must depend upon the beliefs of each individual, but it is surely unscholarly to reject without explanation such an opportunity to reexamine our ideas.

[82] For instances of the reverse process we should look at the processes involved in reading old texts or children's writings.

The aims of the research undertaken here have been set out in the introduction. They may be summarised in this way:

As part of the questions 'how did people really spell in the 17th century and what aspects of standardisation were active and visible in their spellings', I wish to do the following

- To provide largely 'unedited' (holistic) accounts of the spelling system(s) used by one or more individuals in the 17th century.
- To compare the spelling system(s) used in manuscript writing with that or those used in printed text(s).
- To analyse any significant findings from the comparison in terms of language change (standardisation).

It seems that these three aims have not been treated in a single study before, although Shawcross 1958 investigates the first two of these issues and Devitt 1989 has made an important contribution to the third. Relating these aims to previous research we find that the targets of those works are quite different and that their methods of description and analysis are therefore not strictly appropriate to this thesis.

Chapter III

Selection and Description of Materials

Chapters I and II have shown that, for a feature of our language that is generally considered to be exceptional in its complexities, and for which unmodified historical development is usually blamed, there is a surprising dearth of full–scale historically–based research. Such a study of 17th century spelling must start somewhere, but with the wide variety of texts available the question of selection of research material becomes as important as that of analytic technique.

The present–day understanding of 'English spelling' as a collection of single, correct spellings from which any deviation comprises error is inappropriate to an understanding of 17th century spelling habits. With spelling habits varying between stylistic registers (the same writer spelling differently in formal and informal writings), between men and women (with men showing patterns of regularisation and variation different from those shown by women), between print and manuscript, and between one person and the next, it is clear that no single set of writings can represent the generality of 17th century spelling. There is no such thing as a 'typical' 17th century spelling, only a typical 17th century printed spelling, or a typical 17th century educated man's spelling in his letters, and so on. Which sort of writer and writing, then, would be most appropriate and informative for a study of standardisation in 17th century spelling habits?

3.0.1 Sources

Extant 17th century writings fall into the categories shown overleaf:

MANUSCRIPT	PRINTED
Literary MSS	Literary works
non-literary formal writings	non-literary formal writings
Less formal letters	*less formal letters (men only)
Diaries	*Diaries (men only)
Legal documents (wills, indentures, court records)	Government papers
other (inventories, accounts)	public notices, broadsheets
MS corrections of printed copy	

*As far as I am aware, no genuine letters or diaries by women were published in the 17th century — by genuine I mean that their origins were epistolary and personal, not literary (cf the letters included in the Duchess of Newcastle's *The CCXI Sociable Letters* (1664)).

It seems that no single text can represent very much more than its own spelling patterns[83], and that an investigation of a group of texts (to examine the spelling habits within that particular category of text), or of some pre–selected spelling feature(s) across all types of texts (to investigate the details of register–dependent spelling variation) would have to take very many years and cover very many texts in order to provide results concerning the spelling system(s) as a whole[84]. The approach taken in this thesis may be seen as a compromise between these two poles of the inadequate and the over–ambitious, being a comparison between two types of text, each potentially showing different spelling habits due to their different levels of formality, but the texts being nevertheless connected, in this case through content and (relative) contemporaneity.

[83] The over–simplified picture of EModE spelling found in most general histories of the language until very recently is due to this problem, with too much attention having been paid to the spellings found in printed, literary works, and not enough to those occurring elsewhere.

[84] Investigation of a strictly limited number of spelling features such as is found in Devitt 1989 would enable either of these approaches, but what this may gain in analytic clarity would be lost in descriptive adequacy.

3.1 Selection

When a standard English spelling became an acknowledged and taught thing, it comprised, in general, the spellings that had been favoured by the printers. That is, EModE printed spellings resembled those of the eventually fixed system more closely that most MS spellings . This was due to more than the specific regularising efforts exerted by the printers (for as we have seen, there is not much evidence of such conscious effort until the late 17th century, by which time we find an already well–developed regularisation of most printed spellings), rather it comes from the nature of standardisation as it is generally understood in the 20th century. Rather than say that printing used standardised spellings before they were used in other texts, or that standardisation was a product of printing house habits, it would probably be more accurate to say that print became synonymous with written formality, and that printed texts are the EModE formal writings most familiar to most present–day readers *as they were to most EModE readers* (see Watt 1991), and that, as the codification of register or of prestige markers is an essential part of the *ideology of standardisation*, *printed texts may therefore be seen as the largest* and most widely–spread repository of those spellings which conform to present–day definitions of standardisation. The relevance of the fact that these printed texts were as much accessible sources of formal written English to EModE readers as they are to modern readers, lies in their role of associating a particular spelling style (increased regularity) with textual register, in this case formality, from which it is only a small step to associating absence of this style (irregularity of spelling) with a very different register (informality, even intimacy). These associations are essential to the development, acceptance and diffusion of standardisation.

These printed spellings are therefore, clearly, of major importance in any study of spelling standardisation, and it is hoped that descriptions of a manuscript and printed version of the same work will show patterns of regularisation being practiced by the printers and the writer of the MS, but in different proportions and in different ways, and that a comparison of these spelling habits may illuminate which spelling features were acceptable at this stage of the standardisation process (those admitted into formal, printed texts) and which were already considered to be non–standard (those not admitted into the formal, printed text). This is not to say that the printed text chosen will represent all the spelling attitudes of all

the printing houses at the time, just as the MSS chosen will not represent the spelling habits of all writers at that time; but any regularising trends it may show will be of interest in showing how (what sorts of spellings) and how much the printed text cuts down on the variation shown in MS, remembering the definition of standardisation as a minimising of variation.

The following criteria were considered while selecting the MS/printed text pair. In the first place, it was important to establish the order of production of the texts. Just because a text is handwritten does not mean that it was written before the printed book appeared — authors occasionally made MS copies of their printed works for presentation[85], and scribal publication was still an option used up to the 1690's, according to an article by Harold Love (Love 1987:130)[86]. Secondly, the writer or printing house, (preferably both), should be known, as well as something of their circumstances. This is because the education, occupation and age of the writer are likely to be relevant to that writer's spelling habits, as discussed in chapter I, and some information concerning the printing house may also be of similar value (for instance, was that establishment regularly printing Latin works, or works of academic interest, or was it in the main producing pamphlets, broadsheets, almanacks and prognostications and similar popular but non-academic works?). Concerning the writer of the MS, authentication of the hand is important, because, as we have seen, use of amanuenses was widespread in EModE times, and the author was not always therefore the same person as the writer/speller.

3.2 Description

The material chosen consists of two volumes of manuscript and one printed book, all by William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle (henceforth referred to as Newcastle), and all pertaining to horsemanship. The manuscripts and printed book do not contain identical text; the manuscripts being, apparently, not the final copy of the text. Everything that appears in the printed book is to be found in the manuscripts, but not necessarily in the same order, and there are sections in

[85] I am indebted to Miss E Rayney, sub-librarian (special collections), Durham University Library for this information.

[86] Owning these scribal copies apparently carried high social prestige, and it would be interesting to compare spellings in such works with those of their (contemporary) printed counterparts.

the manuscripts which do not occur in the printed work as well as a number of repeated passages.

3.2.1 The Manuscripts

These are from the Cavendish Holles section of the Portland Collection, which was held at Welbeck Abbey until 1949, when it was transferred to its present location, the Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections at the Hallward Library, University of Nottingham. They are there catalogued as Portland: Cavendish Holles PwV21 and PwV22; I shall henceforth refer to them by these figures[87].

PwV21

Covering: Vellum, 200x314mm. Tooled covers, plain spine. Good condition. The number 14 has been written on the top and slightly to the right of the front cover, in old ink. There are four old (faded and broken) ribbons attached, two each to the front and back covers.

Pages: Paper with gilded edges, good condition. Three different watermarks are found, corresponding to three different page sizes. ff.106–190 are of a thinner paper than the rest[88].

Dimensions: ff.1–184 & 197: 196x304mm; ff.185–190: 180x258mm; ff.191–196: 198x290.

Folding: Folio, foliated in pencil by a later hand.

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[87] The Hallward Library also holds the following manuscript writings in Newcastle's hand (catalogue numbers follow the brief descriptions): In Pw1:— 1661 letters to James Mosley nos. 388–390; letter to Viscount Latimer (shaky writing) no. 529; 1643/4, letter to Prince Rupert no. 530 ; 1653, letter to unnamed correspondent no. 531; 1643–1644, 3 letters and orders to Alderman Watkinson nos. 532 to 534; 1649, letter to unnamed correspondent no. 537; In PwV:— 1675–6 and undated, 3 folio volumes of Poems and Plays nos. 24–26 — 24 all in Newcastle's hand, 25 and 26 various hands including Newcastle's; photocopy (undated) of MS.Harl.7650 in the British Museum (*The Country Captain* no.27; photocopy (undated) of MS.Harl.7367 in the British Museum *The Humorous Lovers* no. 28; photocopy of (1645) MS.Harl.32497 in the British Museum *The Phanseys of the Marquesse of Newcastle sett by him in Verse at Paris* no. 29; undated, bound quarto book containing 'rare minerall receipts collected at Paris...' no. 90 — mostly in hand of Thomas Farr but some pages in Newcastle's hands.

[88] Within these pages the text is discontinuous. 189^{v} ends with '... when he faules to the' and 190^{r} starts: '*butt* those thatt are neerer the center ...'.

Binding and Gathering: The first (unnumbered) and last (f.197) pages have been pasted to the covers. There does not appear to be any writing on the pasted–down sides.

The front pasted–down page and ff.1 and 2 are not part of the first gathering, being bound into the volume by means of guards. f104^{v} is similarly attached to a guard, and the following pages, ff.105–196 are bound into the volume by this means.

The page–edges of the three different sizes of paper do not lie at the same level, ff.185–190 lying approximately 12mm inside the line of the rest of the paper edges, but they are nevertheless all gilded. This indicates that the pages were gilded in previous bindings.

Order of Text: the text reads in the following order: 3^{r} (Title only), 4^{r} to 197^{r} (pasted to back cover), then 1^{r} (which starts with the words 'This Is to follow the laste thing iñ the Booke ...'), and 1^{v} to 3^{r} (except the title). There is one blank page, 196^{v}.

Ruling: ff.4^{r} to 87^{v} are frame–ruled in reddish–brown ink, leaving margins of between 20 and 30 mm on the left, 25 to 26 mm on the right, 30 mm on top and between 30 and 24 mm on the bottom. ff.4^{r} to 24^{v} are ruled within the frames, with between 24 and 32 horizontal lines, in pencil, about 10mm apart[89].

Hand: Italic, of varying size, slope and currency. Comparison with autograph letters shows that this is Newcastle's hand throughout[90]. Two main different styles are noted:

Fair: A deliberate, upright italic with ornamented capitals. This is found from f.4^{r} up to and including the first paragraph of f.41^{r}; it also occurs in the six (ruled) lines of the title on f.3^{r} and in the occasional section

[89] The exact measurements of frame and other rulings vary from page to page.

[90] The supposition in this thesis has been that the two hands, described as the Fair Hand and the Cramped Hand, were both written by the Duke of Newcastle. This seems now not to be the case, but rather that the Cramped Hand is his and the Fair Hand that most probably of a secretary. The corpus of material examined in the thesis has, however, been organised according to hand not writer, so that the calculations and the analysis are not fundamentally affected.

titles written above the top frame rules between ff.4^{r} and 41^{r}. The writing lies on the horizontal rulings and does not overlap the frame rules.

Cramped: A rapid, sloping and unornamented italic, varying in size. This is found from the second paragraph of f.41^{r} up to the end of the volume, and on ff.1^{r} to 3^{r} (excluding the title) and the pasted–down, unnumbered first page. It also occurs from time to time in the marginal comments and interlinear additions of the Fair Hand section, ff.4^{r} to 41^{r}.

From the second paragraph of f.41^{r} to the end of the text (i.e. including the front paste–down and ff.1^{r}–3^{r}) the lines are closer together than in the Fair Hand section, and they slope up to the right. In general, the writing gets smaller and more cramped as we progress towards the end of the volume, with the smallest, most cramped writing occurring on the later pages, although this is a general trend, not an absolute formula. The number of lines per page alters accordingly (see the following description of written space for further details).

Written Space: The majority of the text, both Fair Hand and Cramped Hand, has been cancelled with diagonal lines of old ink. These lines frequently mark their facing pages, creating a lattice–effect and indicating that the pages were turned shortly after cancelling, before the ink had time to dry. The text is cancelled in sections or paragraphs rather than whole pages, with new sets of cancellation lines starting on new sections. Only a very few paragraphs remain uncancelled[91]. This looks like the work, possibly, of a copyist, cancelling the passages he has copied.

ff.4^{r} to first paragraph of f.41^{r} — the Fair Hand section: here most of the writing lies within the frame rules and on the ruled lines, being 25 to 32 in number. Numerals are placed in the left margin on ff.4^{r} and 4^{v}, and asterisks and trefoils occur in this margin every now and then. The bottom frame rule is overlapped by diagrams on ff.10^{r}, 11^{r} and 36^{v}.

[91] The cancelled passages include many which do not appear in the printed book, as well as most which do, so the cancellation is not directly related to a final, printer's copy.

Section titles are written on ruled lines above the frame–rules on ff. 7^{v}, 9^{r}, 9^{v}, 10^{v}, 11^{v}, 12^{r}, 15^{r}, 17^{r}, 19^{r}, 21^{v}, 22^{v}, 23^{r}, 25^{v}, 26^{r}, 31^{v}, 33^{r}, 33^{v}, 35^{r} and 37^{v}. Catchwords are written on the right hand side of the bottom frame rules.

ff.41^{r} (second paragraph) to f.87^{v}) — frame ruled, cramped hand: On these pages, which have no rulings other than the frames, the writing mostly stays within the top and side frame rules, but continues below the base rule to the end of a section of text on 21 of these pages[92].

ff.88^{r} to 184^{v} — unframed pages of the largest size: In general the writing covers the whole of the pages, leaving only left–hand margins of varying widths. f.88^{r}, for instance, is covered with writing from 1mm from the top, 1mm from the bottom and 1mm from the right–hand margin (in the case of the longest lines, approximately 15mm from the right in the case of the shortest ones) and has a left–hand margin varying in width from 15mm at the top to 23mm at the bottom. On some pages, f.131^{v}, for example, the writing starts so high on the page that the ascenders of the first line of writing are lost.

The number of lines per page co–varies with letter–size, with a greater number of lines to be found in the later pages where the writing is smallest. There are, for instance, 54 lines on f.88^{r} and 78 lines on f.184^{r}. The appearance of the pages is also much altered by the presence or absence of marginal and interlinear additions[93]. Marginal notes here, as in the previous two sections described, are written horizontally in the left–hand margin. Asterisks and trefoils are found in this margin in increasing numbers as we progress through the volume.

ff.185^{r} to 190^{v} — the section written on the smallest size of paper in this volume: Also unframed and unruled, the writing on these pages is of the same cramped style as in the preceeding pages, although the ink is different. Being shorter than the preceeding pages, there are fewer lines

[92] 41^{v}, 48^{r}, 48^{v}, 50^{v}, 54^{r}, 56^{r}, 58^{v}, 61^{v}, 63^{r}, 66^{r}, 69^{v}, 71^{r}, 72^{r}, 73^{v}, 77^{r}, 80^{v}, 83^{v}, 85^{r}, 85^{v}, 86^{v}, 87^{r}.

[93] These interlinear writings have not been counted in the computation of number of lines per page.

— 44 lines on f.185^{r} and 38 lines on f.190^{v}, but the pages appear just as full of writing. These pages are bound into the volume by means of guards, which makes the left–hand margins — at around 35mm from the paper fold — seem wider than those of the preceeding pages, which are bound directly into the spine. On these pages the marginal additions are written vertically in the left–hand margins.

ff.191^{r} to 196^{r} — paper of medium-size: apart from the different dimensions of these pages, the appearance of the written space is much the same as in all the preceeding, unframed, cramped–hand pages of this volume. As in many of the pages following 88^{r}, the writing reaches to within 1mm of the tops of the pages and to a couple of mm to the right–hand sides. The last line of writing is, at its lowest (left side) a few mm from the bottom edges. Like the smaller paper which preceeded this section, the left–hand margin seems wider than for ff. 1 to 184, again largely because of being bound in by guards and not directly to the spine. The left–hand margin of f.191^{r} is the widest in the volume, measuring 50mm. As in ff.185–190, the marginal comments are written horizontally.

f.196^{v}: This page is blank.

ff.197^{r} and ff. 1^{r} to 3^{r}: these pages are of the same dimensions as ff.4–184, the largest size in this volume. Being just as crammed with writing as the rest of the later pages (within 1mm of the top and bottom of the pages and within 2mm of the right–hand side) they contain a comparable number of lines. 197^{r} has 71 lines, there are 64 lines on 1^{r} and on 1^{v}, 63 on 2^{r}, 70 on 2^{v} and 57 lines of cramped hand with 6 lines of fair hand (the title) on 3^{r}. Marginal comments are written horizontally, as in the first parts of this volume.

Date: The watermarks[94] cannot provide as accurate a range of possible dates for this manuscript as does the internal evidence. We know from this that it was written after the printing of his first (French) book on Horsemanship

[94] I could positively identify only one of them in Churchill 1935's listing: this is number 314, identified as 1620, watermark of Giles Duran (Churchill 1935:CCXLIX).

which was published in Antwerp in 1658[95], and before the restoration of Charles II to his throne in 1660[96].

PwV22

Covering: Vellum, 210x300mm. Tooled covers, plain spine. No ribbons. Good condition.

Pages: Paper with gilded edges, good condition. Same size, quality, and watermark[97] throughout volume. Dimensions: 190mmx292mm.

Folding: Folio; foliated in later pencil on ff. 2^{r} and 3^{r} only.

Gathering and binding: All the pages of this volume are sewn into one quire and bound into the covers by means of a single guard, which is attached to the first and last pages of the quire.

Order of text: the text reads from ff.1^{r} to 17^{r} the following 30 folios being blank.

Ruling: none of the pages is ruled.

Hand: This is Newcastle's cramped hand as described in the above section on PwV21; its slope is greater than is found in most of that volume, and the ascenders and descenders slightly longer, intertwining between lines and occasionally overlapping the line of writing above and below. In this volume the hand is of medium size, being not as small as the final pages of PwV21, but rather of a size comparable with the middle pages of that volume.

Written space: f.1^{r} is blank except for the title 'Horse–manshipp', which is underlined, and a small cross underneath; f.1^{v} is blank. ff.2 to 17^{r} are well covered with writing, which extends to 1mm from the top and bottom

[95] Amongst other similarly revealing statements, Newcastle writes in PwV21: 'hee askte oftẽ for My Booke off Horse–Manshipp before Itt came oute, & seemed to bee as glad off Itt whẽn I sente one to presente Itt to hiṁ whẽn hee was heer att Antwerpe' (f.157^{v}), 'the newe methode Off my Printed Booke which I refer you to' (ff.164^{v}–165^{r}).

[96] '...and so God preserue him ['his Ma:^{tie}'] I besech hiṁ & restore hiṁ to his kingdomes to the coumphorte of all his loyall subiects' (f.159^{r}).

[97] This is a different watermark from any of the three found in PwV21.

edges of the pages and 1mm of the right–hand side, with left–hand margins of between 10 and 15mm. There are between 41 and 44 lines per page.

Date: This manuscript was written after the Restoration of 1660 and Newcastle's return to England[98], and probably before the final, printers' copy. Evidence for this pre–printing dating stems from the fact that much of what it contains occurs in the printed book but not in PwV21, and it contains what appear to be instructions to a copyist: 'Heer mingled Iñ the mos proper places. I woulde haue figures putt, to represente The Breedinge mares with the Stallion ....' (f.7^{r}).

3.2.2 The Printed Book

This is the Durham copy of *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses...* by the Duke of Newcastle, printed in London by Thomas Milbourn[99] in 1667. The copy is not mentioned in Wing, where the book appears under 'Newcastle, William Cavendish, duke of' as number 887; eleven libraries are listed as holding copies[100].

The Durham copy is held at the University of Durham Library, Palace Green section, where it is catalogued as Cosin W.II.7. Its provenance is unknown[101]. In this thesis it will henceforth be referred to as '1667'.

Covering: Old calf front and back covers, blind tooled, over new spine and reinforcing boards. A note inside the back cover notes that the book was restored in 1963. The present dimensions of the cover are 234x369mm; the old cover is 231mm at the widest part and covers the reinforcing boards vertically, to 369mm in height.

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[98] 'Heer in Englande' (f.3^{r}).

[99] This is spelt *Milbourn* on title page of this book, in Wing and in Plomer 1922:205, but *Milbourne* in Plomer 1907:128.

[100] These are: the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Rothamsted Experimental Station Library, Edinburgh University Library, The Henry E Huntington Library, the John Crerar Library, Harvard University Library, the University of Texas Library, the Folger Library and Yale University Library.

[101] It is part of the Cosin collection; although the presence of the book in this collection and the following information may very probably not be connected, it is worth mentioning that Newcastle had some early connection with Cosin when, in 1642, he 'constituted that learned and eminent divine the then Dean of Peterborough, now Lord Bishop of Durham, to view all sermons that were to be preached...' (M. Newcastle 1667:21).

Pages: Paper, generally good condition; some discolouration around the open edges. Small tears are found on the title page and on Sig.3Z^{r}. There is some water damage noticeable on the outside bottom corners of most pages, extending to almost half–way up the page (still along the edges of the pages) on the last pages of the book.

Dimensions: 230x365mm.

Folding: Folio with red marbled edges.

Gathering/Binding: The front and back paste–downs, and their facing pages, are blank. The guards on the folds of these pages are either restorations of decayed folds or the new means of attaching the paste–downs to their facing pages, neither of which are bound with the rest of the pages. The rest of the pages are bound into the spine. There is an eight–page insertion between the two leaves of gathering 4S.

Order of Sheets: Being folio, all printed leaves should carry signatures, but this is not the case. The following irregularities in signature numbers are found:

There are no signatures until the fourth loose page of the book, which bears the signature (b). The previous page, which is printed with the dedication, is unsigned, and carries the catchword 'A', which does not relate to any of the first words on the next page[102].

There are no Sigs.S2, Y2, 2F2, 2L2, 2O2 or 2Q2. The pages which should carry these signatures are not signed at all. In many of these cases[103] the last line of print is higher than usual, the text coming to the end of a section at those places. A high last line of print does not always result in loss of signature, however; Sig.Y^{r}, for example has the signature printed on the same line as the catchword[104], even though this is only half–way down the page.

[102] The facts that this letter is on the reverse side of a signed page (Sig.(c)2), that it is placed up against the right–hand margin, where all catchwords appear, and that it is an unbracketed, capital letter, whereas the signatures immediately following are bracketed and miniscule, all indicate that it is a catchword, not a signature.

[103] i.e. on those pages which should carry the Sigs. S2, 2F2, 2L2 and 2O2.

[104] As it is in all cases where it appears in this book.

Sig.4F is followed by Sig.3F2. This is an error of signature numbers, not of binding or text order.

Sig.4S is followed by Sig.***4S2. This is then followed by an unsigned page (numbered as page 003) and then a page signed with the three stars alone. Another unsigned page, numbered as page 007, follows, then come 4S2, 4T, 4T2, and so on in regular order.

Pagination: The book is paginated by the printer, with the first page number occurring on Sig.B^{r}, and the last on Sig.4U2^{v}. The following interruptions and mispaginations occur:

Sigs.2C^{v} and 2C2^{r} are mispaginated as 94 and 95, where they should be paginated as pages 98 and 99.

Sig.2Q^{v} is mispaginated as 152 when it should be page 150.

No page number appears on Sig.3Z^{v}, and nothing at all is printed on this page. The following page starts a new Part of the book and is correctly numbered 271, as if the blank page had been paginated 270 (the previous page having been 269).

Sigs.***4S2 and the following 3 pages (being an unsigned page, a page marked *** and another unsigned one): These pages, which have peculiar signatures, are numbered 001 (=Sig.***4S2^{r}) to 008 (=Sig.V^{v}). The page preceeding Sig.***4S2 is correctly numbered 342, and the pagination following Sig.V^{v} resumes at 343. The catchword on page 342 corresponds to the first word of page 343.

Sigs.4X and 4X2, the last four printed pages of the book, are unpaginated.

Watermarks: These were checked in order to see if the eight–page insertion, Sig.***4S2 to Sig.V, was printed on different paper. The watermarks, of which there are two to each sheet, are identical in all parts of the book.

Print: A large type is used. Section ends are marked with ornaments: either ornamental rules or decorative blocks. There are no diagrams or other pictorial illustrations. Inking is mostly even, a few pages are under–inked.

Manuscript alterations: the additions, replacements and deletions found in 1667 are listed below. Anything here in **bold** represents a manuscript addition, anything in *italic* represents a printed sign which has been crossed out in ink, and anything written in ordinary type represents the unaltered print.

Additions: Sig.2E^{r}: 'Hard on $^{\text{the}}$ Hand'; Sig.2I2^{v}: 'Knife–$^{\text{of}}$Heat'; Sig.2P^{v}: 'Motion of **his** leg...'; Sig.2P^{v}: 'Leggs'; Sig.3E^{r}: 'and **feare** makes them diligent'; Sig.4D^{r}: 'Fore–parts' (hyphen added by pen); Sig.4D^{v}: 'Side–wayes' (hyphen added by pen); Sig.4U^{r}: 'with$^{\text{out}}$';

Replacements: Sig.G^{v}: '*two***Some** stories'; Sig.R^{v}: 'the more Room to Lay*their***n** *good leggs*'; Sig.S^{r}: 'and **a** Lute–|String*s*'; Sig.2I^{r}: 'and *Ready* $^{\text{Hay}}$ Feeders'; Sig.3H^{v}: '*your* $^{\text{the}}$ outward'; Sigs.3M2^{r}, 3N2^{v}, 3P2^{r}, 3T2^{v} (x2), 3Z2^{r} (x2), 4C2^{v} (x2), 4O2^{v}, 4P2^{v} & 4R^{v}: 'P*a*$^{\text{e}}$ssad*o*es'; Sig.3L^{v}: 'En–Caval*ier***are**'; Sig.3M2^{r}: '*in*$^{\text{out}}$ward'; Sig.3M2^{r}: '*out*$^{\text{in}}$side; Sigs.3O2^{r} & 3U2^{r}: 'P*a*$^{\text{e}}$ssa–|s*o*es'; Sig.3Q^{v}: 'N*e*$^{\text{o}}$ck'; Sig.3T^{r}: 'P*a*$^{\text{e}}$ssad*oe*'; Sig.3T2^{r}: 'they do not *Work* $^{\text{Trauell}}$ with' Sig.3U2^{r}: 'P*a*$^{\text{e}}$s–|sager'; Sig.4C^{r}: 'P*a*$^{\text{e}}$ssad*o*es'; Sigs.4D2^{r}: & 4F^{v} (x2): 'P*a*essad*o*es'; Sig.4F^{v}: 'P*a*essad*oe*'; Sig.4H2^{r}: '*Doing* $^{\text{Demy}}$ Voltoes'; Sig 4I^{v}: 'he still doth it g$^{\text{i}}$umble; Sig.4O^{v}: ' P*a*$^{\text{e}}$s–|sad*o*es'.

Deletions: Sig.G^{v}: 'The Leggs *of it* are *to be* so Loose'; Sig.2N2^{r}: '*Do not* give it Cold by any means. *Hott* Sirrup of Lemmons ...'.

The ink of these alterations is old and the hand italic, very similar to that of Newcastle. There is, however, not enough manuscript writing to identify the hand as his, and there is some evidence against this, being the alterations to the word *passade(s)*, where the spellings suggested by the manuscript alterations are not those found in PwV21 or PwV22.

Other copies of the book: For purposes of general comparison the eleven libraries listed in Wing as holding copies of this book were contacted. These libraries were asked if their copies showed incorrect signatures on the leaf following Sig.(c)2, and whether their copies contained the eight–page insertion between Sigs.4S and 4S2. They were also asked if their copies show

manuscript additions, alterations and deletions on 30 of the pages mentioned above, and finally photocopies of four pages[105] were requested. (The focus of this thesis being spelling — the spellings of PwV21 and PwV22 and the Durham copy of 1667 in particular — and not descriptive bibliography, a full investigation of these other copies is not necessary.) Replies from ten libraries[106] were received, providing the following information about ten copies of 1667 (Cambridge University Library holds two copies, Rothamsted Experimental Station, UK has lost its copy).

Signatures: In all copies Sig.(c)2 is followed by Sig.B.

Inserted pages: all but one of the copies show an insertion after Sig.4S but not necessarily the same as was found in the Durham copy:

One of the two copies held by Cambridge University Library has no insertion after 4S2, but has forty pages added at the end, which include pages 001–008, being identical to the pages 001–008 elsewhere inserted after 4S2. The forty added pages are numbered 001–040, with pages 009–040 being signed (a)–(h). The other copy held here has the same insertion as in the Durham copy, and no more.

The Edinburgh University Library copy has insertions at this place described in the following way: 'The four leaves signed ***Ssss2 and *** are inserted in another interpolated group of gatherings, signed (a)–(f)2 (f)–(h)2, and paginated 009–032,001–008, 029–040.' The four leaves signed ***4S2 and *** are, as in the Durham copy, numbered 001–008. A further complication is described: 'The second sig. (f) repeats the page numeration 029–032 and contains the text of the first (f) but reset...'[107].

The copy held by the Huntington Library[108] shows the following sequence of signatures in the relevant part of the book: B–4R2 fol-

[105] The Title page and Sigs. N^{r}, R^{v} and $3O2^{r}$.

[106] No response from the John Crerar Library, USA.

[107] Jean Archibald of Edinburgh University Library (Special Collections) kindly provided me with this description.

[108] Their catalogue ref. RB 120152.

lowed by 4S2 (4S1 + ***4S2 (a)–(h)2) then 4T2.

The catalogue entry for the copy held by the Houghton Library of Harvard University[109] states that there are forty extra pages (numbered 001–040 following p.342; moreover, the two leaves of gathering 4S are apparently signed Sfff and ***Sfff2 in this copy.

The copies in the Bodleian Library[110], the British Library[111], the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Beinecke Rare Book Library (part of Yale University Library), the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center[112] (University of Texas at Austin) and one of the copies held by Cambridge University Library have the same eight–page insertion, with the same signatures, as the Durham copy.

Manuscript alterations: The copies held by the Beinecke Rare Book Library, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the HRHRC and the Huntington Library, show manuscript alterations on many of the pages on which they are found in the Durham copy. Each book showing slightly differing amounts of manuscript alteration, some with more and some with less than the Durham copy. One of the Cambridge University Library copies has similar alterations — this copy is said to have been donated by the author, and the other remains unsearched. The Edinburgh University copy and the copy held by the Houghton Library have apparantly got no manuscript alterations.

Photocopied pages: All the libraries which replied to my queries, with the exception of the Bodleian, the Folger Shakespeare, the Houghton and, of course, the Rothamsted Experimental Station Libraries, were able to supply the photocopied pages requested; photocopies from only one of the Cambridge copies were provided; in all, photocopies from six copies were received.

109 Catalogue ref. *fEC65 N4328 667na.

110 Shelfmark A.1.1 Med.Seld.

111 Shelfmark 558*.f.24.

112 Henceforth referred to as the HRHRC.

These photocopied pages, and their equivalents in the Durham copy, show no difference in printed content, but there are some minor differences in treatment of manuscript alterations. As mentioned earlier, it seems that there are no alterations at all in the Edinburgh copy. All other photocopied pages sent to me showed at least one example of manuscript alteration to the text. The Durham copy shows such alteration on Sigs.R^{v} and 3O2 and there are similar alterations in the same places in the Beinecke (Yale), British Library, and Cambridge copies. The HRHRC's copy shows no MS alteration on Sig.3O2[113]. The only other difference between these photocopied pages and the Durham copy is the nature of the alteration on Sig.R^{v}. In the Durham copy the printed word 'their' has had its first three letters deleted, and the last letter altered into an 'n' by addition of a short vertical stroke, and the two following words ('good leggs') have been deleted. This strategy has also been used in the British Library, HRHRC, and Huntington copies. In the Beinecke and Cambridge copies all three words are deleted and the word 'in' has been added above the (deleted) word 'their'.

3.2.3 The Writer: The Duke of Newcastle (1592–1676)

William Cavendish, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle, Earl of Ogle, Viscount Mansfield and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, of Bertram, Bothal, and Hepple, as he styles himself on the first page of 1667, was a nobleman fond of horses but not overmuch keen on scholarship. The only information we have about his education was that he was a reluctant school boy (whether his schooling was at home or elsewhere we have no records) who entered St. John's College, Cambridge but had left by 1610, in which year he went to the continent with Sir Henry Wotton. His wife wrote that:

> ' His education was according to his birth; for as he was born a gentleman, so he was bred like a gentleman. To school learning he never showed a great inclination; for though he was sent to the University, and was a student of St. John's College in Cambridge, and had his tutors to instruct him, yet thay could not persuade him to read or study much, he taking

[113] The Huntington Library sent page 302 instead of Sig.3O2, so I don't know whether or not this alteration appears in their copy; but they sent a very detailed response to my letter, listing many alterations, amongst which this one does not appear.

more delight in sports, than in learning; so that his father being a wise man ... suffered him to follow his own genius;'

(M. Newcastle 1667:193–194)

He was a very wealthy man[114] who sought position at court and, for reasons not unconnected with this ambition, gave extravagant entertainment to the king on two occasions[115], for which Ben Jonson wrote his Masques *Love's Welcome at Welbeck* and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*. Made Governor to the Prince of Wales in 1638, in his letter of advice to the prince[116] he advised the future king not to pay over–much attention to books:

' "I would rather have you study things then words, matter rather than language"
"I would not have you too studious, for too much contemplation spoils action"
"Take heed of too much book"
"The greatest clerks are not the wisest men; and the great troublers of the world, the greatest captains, were not the greatest scholars; neither have I known bookworms great statesmen".

(Marples 1965:89)

He was proud to have been 'the first that Sate Him [Charles II] on Horse–back' (1667:Sig.(c)2). He resigned from his post as Governor in 1641, apparently after involvement in a court intrigue (*DNB*: 1274). Between this time and the start of the Civil War, he wrote and had printed a few plays[117], of which no–one, apart from his wife, (then or now) thinks very highly. His literary activities extended to patronage, the three best–known figures who received this being Davenant, Shadwell and Dryden.

During the Civil War he declared for the King, provided troops and money, and 'was held in awe by his soldiers and his enemies alike' (Ashley 1992:96). At first successful –'most of the north–east had by June 1643 fallen to the earl of Newcastle' (Hirst 1986:237), he met the end of his military career (one distinguished by great courage) on Marston Moor in 1644, after which dreadful massacre of both sides,

114 Ashley 1992:6.

115 *DNB*: 1274.

116 *DNB*:1274 refers the reader to Ellis *Original Letters*, 1st ser.iii.288.

117 *DNB*:1277 provides a list of Newcastle's literary efforts.

he left England for the continent[118]. In 1648 he was one of only seven of the unpardoned royalist supporters who were sentenced to death by parliament. As 'the first firebrand in the the North' he headed the list (Hardacre 1956:37).

Exiled and relatively poor for the first time in his life, with no access to revenue from his English estates, Newcastle lived in Paris for four years before moving to Antwerp with his new wife and household. In 1645 he had married for the second time. His wife was Margaret Lucas, who later gained fame as an eccentric through her writing activities (or, more specifically, her decision to write for publication) and her singular mode of dress[119]. The couple eventually took up residence in the house belonging to Rubens' widow. It was there that Newcastle ran his famous stables or 'mannage' (*manège*)[120] and that the Duchess took up her writing; and it was there that he wrote his two treatises on horsemanship.

The first of these was translated into French and printed in that language in 1657 (this date is said to be altered to 1658 in some copies), by Jacques van Meurs of Antwerp. This French book, *La Methode et Invention Nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux*, has been edited and reprinted by Jean and Lily Powell Froissart[121]. It was a lavish production, with many diagrams and engravings, and, along with 1667, made the Duke's reputation as foremost authority on horsemanship survive the man himself:

> 'Walpole, who never loses an opportunity of sneering at Newcastle, says, referring to his plays and poems "He would soon have been forgotten in the walk of fame which he chose for himself. Yet as an author he is familiar to those who scarce know any other author from his book of horsemanship". (*Royal and Noble Authors*, iii. 175)'
>
> (Firth 1886:xxiv)

[118] See *DNB*:1274-1275 for details of his military achievements and reasons for leaving England.

[119] See *DNB* under 'Cavendish Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle', the Preface to Firth's 1886 edition of the Duchess of Newcastle's *Life* of her husband and *True Relation* of her own life, and the sympathetic biography written by Kathleen Jones in 1988, where contemporary comments (eg those of Pepys) are quoted more fully than in other sources.

[120] 'No stranger of distinction passed through Antwerp without visiting the Marquis of Newcastle's riding-house', says the *DNB* (p.1276), noting that the Duke recorded a number of the compliments he received from such visitors in his 1653 (French) book, (compliments are again recorded in 1667).

[121] Powell Froissart 1983. They mention the Nottingham manuscripts in their Preface, under the mistaken impression that they are the pre-translation version of the 1657 book, and noting that they remain unedited to this day.

The popularity of these books is testified by the translation of his French book into English and of his English book into French, and by new editions of these works:

> 'A second edition was published in 1737, London, folio, and a translation of the duke's treatise is contained in the first volume of 'A General System of Horsemanship', London, 1743 or 1748, folio. Lowndes also mentions editions published at Paris and Nuremburg[122].'
>
> (*DNB*:1276).

As soon as Charles II was restored to his throne, Newcastle returned to England. There he spent the rest of his life, mostly away from court, repairing the damage wrought to his estates during the long period of his exile. In 1667, the same year as the publication of his wife's *Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* he published the *New Method ...* which has been described above. There were two further editions of this book, in 1677 and 1740, and a French translation was made in 1671.

3.2.4 The Printer: Thomas Milbourn(e)

Milbourn is not a well–known printer. Plomer 1907:128 and Plomer 1922:205 each provide a short entry of one paragraph under his name. From these and the references given in these places, most of the following information has been gleaned.

A printer 'could not print or publish a book in London and put [his (or her)] name on it' unless he had taken up his freedom (Arber 1875, iii:20). Thomas Milbourn took up his freedom in 1634. He was a printer based in Jewin Street[123], London, where he lived for forty years. In the earlier volume of Plomer, which deals with records of printers from 1641 to 1667, it is noted that he '... made overtures for printing the weekly Gazette, and undertook that a new fount of type should be cast for it ...' (Plomer 1907:128).

He married four times and, according to John Dunton, who also lived in Jewin Street[124], ' was a tender Husband to all. He was free from flattery and affectation;

122 But provides no dates. See Lowndes 1871: under **Newcastle**.

123 Plomer notes that this is present–day Aldersgate Street.

124 'when I lived in Jewin–Street' (Dunton 1705:370).

and being a nice Conformist, the best Churchmen did copy from him.' (Dunton 1705:244).

In spite of this conformity, in December 1666 he and his wife were questioned about the printing of *An Apology of the English Catholics* (Green 1864 vi (1666):296,361), and he was imprisoned on this charge, being released on July 11th 1667 on a bail of £100 (Green 1864 vii (1667):287). It was, of course, in this year that he printed Newcastle's book on horsemanship. A year later, in 1668, a survey by the Company of Stationers shows Milbourn as having two presses, no apprentices and two workmen (Plomer 1922:205). He died at the age of 74.

The *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers ... 1641–1700* (Morrison 1955:136–137) shows 15 titles printed by Milbourn before 1667. Of these few are well–known, perhaps the most famous being the first entry in this list, the 5th edition of Sir Thomas Browne's *A True and Full Coppy of ... Religio Medici* (1659). 1667 is the first work of Newcastle's to be printed by Milbourn. The 1671 *Methode Nouvelle* mentioned in the above section on Newcastle is listed in Wing (N884) as having also been printed by Milbourn. There are no other Newcastle works from his press, as far as our records relate. Neither are there any records of Milbourn printing any of the works of the Duchess of Newcastle, nor the works of Davenant, Dryden or Shadwell, writers with whom the Duke had contact either as patron (Davenant and Shadwell) or as collaborator (Dryden).

Chapter IV

Methodology

It is hoped that the analysis of the spellings in the three texts will show in the written language something of the patterned variation that is associated by linguists of the spoken language with language change, patterns that may be seen from the point of view of standardisation as a form of language change. Knowing the eventual outcome of this change is a great advantage, providing the analysis with a focus (the fixing of the spellings) and also with an analytic device which enables classes of spellings to be identified without direct recourse to pronunciation (the 17th century spellings are charted against their PresE spellings). In addition, prior knowledge of the direction and outcome of this language change means that this exercise may be used to check the premise that certain patterns of variation may indicate change in progress, as well as to investigate the extent to which this premise, developed from research into spoken language, is applicable to the written language.

If, in general, printed texts were more subject to the influence of standardisation than were manuscript writings, and if there was a scale of spelling standardisation roughly parallel to a scale of formality of writings (as suggested in chapter I), we may expect to find greater regularity in the printed spellings than in the manuscript writings; and if it was, as assumed, the formal, printed spellings which became the models for a fixed spelling system, then we may expect the spellings of the printed text to be closer to those of present standard English than those found in the manuscript. It is possible that we may also find a difference of spelling between the fair hand section and the cramped hand section of the manuscript, not because these are written by different people — they are both in Newcastle's hand — but because they represent different levels of written stylistic register, being the equivalents of fair copy and rough notes. For these reasons a comparison is made between not only the printed and the handwritten texts, but between the printed, the fair hand and the cramped hand writings. I shall refer to these as if they were three separate texts, even though the fair hand and cramped hand writings are,

in PwV21, parts of the same MS, bound together and with continuous subject matter.

The summary in chapter II showed that spelling evidence is amenable to a multitude of approaches. The processes discussed by cognitive psychologists and theoretical linguists are all seen in the context of a set and standardised spelling system, but when dealing with the spellings of the 17th century we have to take into account the fact that the received context (accepted practice, systemic constraints, personal habits) is one of much greater variation than is now the norm. An investigation of standardisation with such materials is then an investigation of the factors which govern that variation, a search for the elements which constrain variation, for clues as to how and where the tightening of such constraints occur. Variation studies (ie sociolinguistic or socio–historical studies) are result motivated — they use features (variables) which have been selected because it is hypothesised that they will show patterned behaviour. Such patterning can only be shown by mapping the variables against an invariable template such as the march of time, but there are available in any linguistic performance many other variables that will not show such convenient patterning in any simple mapping exercise. It is possible that most motivated studies, like the theories of structured heterogeneity which they seek to demonstrate, hide the complexity of the phenomenon of variation when taken as a whole. Different spelling variables will have different causes and different linguistic significances[125]; it is possible that what is known as free variation abounds. If this is the case, a holistic account of variation will be a messy thing, showing a lot of apparently unstructured variation as well as some patterned behaviour. Such messiness is nevertheless not to be deplored, because cognitive forces such as those of analogy (graphic, phonic, morphemic and lexical levels are all involved here) are interactional and, to that extent, affected by the untidy mixture of free and patterned variation. It was expected that a study such as this one (which investigates non–traditional spelling features such as abbreviations and word–spacing, morphological, graphological and — occasionally— phonological aspects of all the spellings in a particular text or texts), would capture this unstructured variation as well as patterned spelling habits, and no effort to minimise the analytic repercussions of any lack of patterning was made.

[125] Devitt 1989:55 found that 'Genre, time passed, and linguistic feature' interacted significantly in her study of the anglicization of Scots English.

The aim of the analysis is twofold: to compare the spellings of the three texts with each other and with the spellings which have become the only correct ones[126], and to find any patterns of spelling or spelling variation, again with reference to the eventual fixing of the spelling. The major obstacles in planning a suitable technique of analysis and presentation is the quantity of information — the data base amounts to 1627 vocabulary items in the forms of 6924 different spellings with a total of 167215 words in the MSS, and 1621 vocabulary items in the forms of 4755 different spellings and a total of 70282 words in 1677. Since even a simple, untabulated presentation of each word with its various spellings takes 172 pages the analysis must condense the material, although it must do this without losing any essential information.

The processes carried out in order to obtain the tables which are found in chapters V, VI and VII of this thesis are described in this chapter.

4.1 Preparation of Material

A careful, handwritten transcript of the manuscript materials was copied into a computer–readable format. This transcript had added to it various symbols which related to such things as status of handwriting (fair, cramped or illegible), uncanonical word–division, deletions and superscript passages. Through the special permission of the staff of Durham Library Palace Green section, the transcription of 1667 was made directly into computer. Great attention was paid to meticulous proof–reading of the printout from each text.

[126] Any present day analysis of an individual's spelling habits contains an implicit comparison with printed spellings. We are so accustomed to thinking of English spelling as being that set of spellings which we consider to be correct that any spelling which diverges from these is marked out as odd and wrong. Modern printers follow these set spelling conventions; and so, in identifying a spelling as wrong we are automatically if unconsciously identifying it as a spelling which would not occur in print. Spellings found in present–day printed works are, indeed, usually 'correct', with the exception of misprints and accurate transcriptions of non–standard spellings, be they intentional (as in *Finnegan's Wake*) or unintentional (as in reported authorial spelling mistakes). Psychological, educational and forensic study of individual spellings may therefore be seen as comparisons with the printed conventions of spelling. There are some important differences between these studies and mine, however. In the first place we have noted that they are comparing the spellings implicitly and not explicitly, secondly we have noted that the printed spellings which are the unconscious force of such comparisons are consistent and invariable (taking the role of an experimental control) and thirdly, like the majority of spelling studies, these studies concentrate on a few selected characteristics, rather than examining systems in their entirety. In addition, studies of spelling acquisition and dysgraphia use data from specific tests, not from what we may call undirected spelling, and are therefore to some extent artificial.

Using the Oxford Concordance Program Version 2.3, three word lists were compiled, one each from the fair and cramped hand manuscript texts and one from 1667. Using the same concordance programme and the transcripts to identify homographs and ambiguous spellings, a complete, lexical word list of all the words in all the texts was then compiled. This is the 172 page document mentioned above; it is presented in annotated form[127] as appendix A.

4.2 Order of Presentation

The analysis is divided into three main parts, each of which comprises one chapter. The first of these analytic chapters, chapter V, deals with non–traditional spelling matters and investigates the extent to which these may be seen to have undergone change (standardisation). Chapter VI looks at the spellings of the regular inflexional morphs and segments which may be taken for these morphs, and chapter VII provides an examination of the spelling features specifically mentioned by 17th and 20th century commentators on spelling (and listed in chapter I). The main results of these investigations are presented in chapter VIII.

4.3 The Tables

4.3.1 Computation

The tables in chapter V were compiled by obtaining concordances of all instances of the segments under investigation, be they uncanonical word–division, macrons or hyphens. In some cases other spellings of the words in which these segments were found were then obtained from the lexicon and included in the tables, thus ensuring that all instances of the segments examined, as well as all occurrences of any word in which they occurred, were included in the tables. In other cases, such as that of the macron, the number of words affected was too great and the diffusion of the feature too wide to provide any useful information, so the unaffected words were not included in the tables.

In chapter VI the data for the section on prefixes could be obtained directly from the complete word list, but this could not always be the case for the section on suffix spellings. The latter case demanded reading through the complete word

[127] Definitions of less familiar words have been added.

list to pick up any possible spellings of the suffixes under scrutiny, and sometimes (for instance in the cases of *–ed* and *–s*) obtaining a concordance of those letter strings to eliminate all instances which were not applicable, before calculating the incidences of each spelling and placing the results in the tables. The impossibility of drawing a firm line between morphs and non–morphemic look-alikes in cases such as *butler, music*, where an etymological case may be made for the morphemic nature of the (in these cases) final syllable but where this is generally hidden to PresE perceptions of the words (and we do not know how they appeared to 17th century people), is avoided or at least side–stepped by placing them in the category of 'false morphemes'. It is postulated that such 'false–morphs' may show similar spelling patterns to those shown by their undoubtedly morphemic equivalents. Any marked differences of spelling may be taken to reflect either the history of the words and/or the writer's perceptions of the morphemic structure of words.

The complete word list provided the information for many of the tables in chapter VII, although concordances of particular letter strings were required for tables which include spellings which do not occur in PresE.

4.3.2 Presentation and Content

As has already been mentioned, presenting each spelling of each word would take up far too much space. It was therefore decided to condense the information by providing only the end results of each analysis. With the exception of cases where such lists would be excessively long, a list of all the words in which the segment under investigation is found is provided with each table. Where fuller explanation may be required, notes are provided, and where only a few words are involved in the analysis, these are fully presented in the tables.

Only the segments to be examined are presented in the tables. Variations in the spelling of the word listed which are not related to the segment under analysis are not noted. In chapters V to VIII a hyphen before or after a segment indicates that further letters are to be found in that position (but these may be different in each instance of the word; indicating them in this abbreviated form saves a great deal of uninformative space). Where a hyphen appears in brackets it means that some, but not all, of the instances of this word or segment have further letters in that position.

4.3.3 Calculations

The figures following each entry in each table refer to the total of *all* occurrences of that entry in the text. Where any occurrence of a segment under analysis is excluded from the appropriate table this is noted.

Where it is thought that percentages may clarify the results of an analysis these are provided. In most cases, however, the figures of actual occurrences in the texts bear more information than percentages — 67% of 3 being a very different matter (having entirely different interpretative implications) from 67% of 5,000, for instance. Percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number.

Most of the segments recorded in the tables occur too few times to provide data from which significant results could be obtained through statistical packages. Where high enough incidence rates occur they are usually in the same category of analysis as other segments with low incidence rates and, again, the qualitative implications of this are so obvious that no further mathematical analysis is necessary[128].

In spite of the low incidences of individual segments analysed, patterns in spelling variation are easily found and thus, although no statistical programme was used in the process, relevant — indeed significant — results may be said to have been obtained.

4.4 Referring to the Texts

Where extended reference to the content of the texts is necessary the relevant passages are either provided in the thesis or in appendix A. In the analytical chapters page/folio references are only very rarely given, such information being most of the time unnecessary to the discussion. Should further contextual information be required, however, a transcription of the two manuscript texts is provided in appendix C.

[128] I am grateful to M. Cornelius, Durham University Numeracy Fellow for his guidance in this matter.

Chapter V

Non–Traditional Features of Spelling

Looking *at* the spellings of selected materials gives rise to a set of considerations which do not arise to the same extent when materials are looked *through* for selected spellings or words. From the first perspective, that of this thesis, spellings are seen as integral to the whole of the graphic and semantic corpus which comprises text (they have semiotic value). From the second perspective, which is the most commonly found, textuality in this sense is ignored. This chapter considers issues particular to a vision of spelling as part of graphic text.

Examining the editing principles applied to modern editions of manuscripts for evidence of what is and is not perceived as relevant to spelling, the chapter discusses a number of features found in PwV21, PwV22 and 1667 which are not usually seen as part of the spelling system but which may nevertheless be relevant to it. The chapter examines the perceived boundaries between those graphic marks which are seen as relevant to spelling and others which are not, notes how practices in these respects are affected by the change from handwriting to print, and how this is related to standardisation; it looks at the extent to which the graphic dimensions of writing have been standardised, and the relationship between this and spelling standardisation as it is more traditionally understood.

5.1 Definition of Terms

The boundary between those parts of writing which constitute 'spelling', 'punctuation' and 'accidentals' must depend on a definition of terms, however well understood these words may seem at first sight. The terms, so frequently used in editors' notes, are never there defined; it is generally assumed that the reader, especially the sort of reader who looks at the editor's notes, will know what they mean. For most readers this is usually sufficient, the notes being further information about the sources, not philological or linguistic discourses; but when looked

at more specifically we see that these words refer to fairly badly defined areas, containing overlapping aspects of writing which have been allocated to these editorial categories by usage and habit only.

'Orthography' is now commonly used to refer to either of two things: it may simply be an alternative word for 'spelling' or it may refer to all those aspects of writing which are not strictly paleographic. Ever conservative, most dictionaries still insist on its earlier and etymological sense of correct writing/spelling[129] but in the past both 'orthography' and 'spelling' have had slightly different meanings from those they now hold. Early schoolbooks, Hodges 1644, for instance, often refer to the practice of spelling as the oral exercise of what we now call 'spelling out loud', which involves verbally separating the syllables of words, not necessarily the individual letters. Orthography, or 'right writing' was interpreted in a number of ways: W. Kempe 1588, for example, is quoted in the *OED* as including 'points' (punctuation) in his definition of orthography, and Daines 1640 discusses capital letters, punctuation and elision in his section on orthography. Bullokar 1619 defined orthography as 'that part of grammar that determines the value of letters, individually or in combination, in making sounds or words'[130] (quoted in Partridge 1964:1–2) — which was, and still is, more usually called 'orthoepy'.

By 'spelling' we now understand linear groups of alphabetic graphs (which are called by their common name 'letters' in this thesis)[131], each group[132] representing

[129] *OED* defines it as correct spelling according to accepted usage (although this is modified 'by extension' to include 'any mode or system of spelling' (def.1), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* gives 'Correct or conventional spelling; spelling with reference to its correctness (*his orthography is shocking*; Mario Pei's *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology* simply says 'see spelling'. Partridge 1964:3 finds its general usage to be 'rather vague' and states that he will use it to mean 'that part of writing ... which is concerned with accidentals such as spelling, punctuation, elision, syncope and contractions generally'; Vachek 1987:167 ' "Spelling" and "orthography" rank as synonyms for a large majority of learners of Present Day English'.

[130] An understanding of the word which must have been common in 1888 for the *OED* of that date to warn that 'when we use the word "orthography", we do not mean a mode of spelling which is true to the pronunciation, but one which is conventionally correct.'

[131] Shepherd defines 'letter' as 'any complete alphabetical sign' (1971:23) but Kohrt 1986:81 comments that 'Nowadays "letter" is considered a layman's term, unworthy of any real full blooded linguist' — he submits to this pressure and duly refers to 'characters', but I wish to distinguish alphabetic forms (letters!) from other marks which may represent words, such as ampersand, paragraph and section marks, and such things, all of which may be described as 'characters'. Gallmann, while using the term 'character' in the same way as Kohrt, was in my view quite right to reject the inelegant term 'Alphagrapheme' (1986:49).

[132] Only one current English word, *a*, is spelt with a single letter. Now confined to the indefinite

a word[133]. The words represented in writing are usually separated from other words by spaces.

'Punctuation' is the least disputed term here[134]. It refers to a closed set of non–alphabetic marks which, without themselves representing words, elucidate the relationship between word sequences, either grammatically or rhetorically. This meaning has always applied, although the term 'pointing' was used in earlier times; different eras and different scholars have emphasised the grammatical over the rhetorical or vice versa, both uses of punctuation being mentioned in EModE spelling and grammar books, which often concentrate on its prosodic uses as this provided a relatively easy approach to a still unregulated subject[135]. In terms of standardisation, the conventions of punctuation (in both form and function) were different from those of PresE and were less universally accepted for a longer time than those of spelling and capitalisation; unlike spelling, it rarely showed regional characteristics more specific than national habits, and seems on the whole to have been a matter of personal preference to a much greater extent than most other aspects of writing[136]. It is one of the last aspects of written language to have become largely regularised, and is still less fixed than spelling.

'Accidentals', when used by editors of pre–15th century MSS, and as I have used it in the preceding paragraphs, is a catch–all for any other graphic feature which is part of the word–sequence — alternative letters such as thorn and yogh, abbreviation, capitalisation, diacritics, and so on. Those few editors of 17th century MSS who use this term apparently do so with this same meaning, or as a general term meaning all those graphic features of the text which are not spelling matters (eg Wells 1984:11). In general however, as mentioned before, editors of

article, it has for centuries had other meanings. It was the most common spelling for the reduced forms of 'of', 'have' 'him' and many other words; it is found with some of these meanings in the MSS — See chapter VII.

133 Sidestepping the complex business of defining precisely what is a word, I take it to be generally understood, at least synchronically, as a meaningful linguistic unit having the qualities of 'positional mobility and internal stability' (Lyons 1968:203).

134 But see Gallmann's 1986 comment mentioned in the footnote below.

135 Cooper explicitly mentions its lack of regulation: 'Concerning Pointing, the Learned themselves do not altogether agree' 1687:114.

136 Parkes 1992:40 mentions that the Cistercians (for a while) and Carthusians (for a longer while) developed uniform systems of punctuation, but these remained isolated incidents of regularisation.

these later writings refer by their separate names to features such as capitalisation, abbreviation and word spacing.

I have tried here to define these terms as I think they are generally understood, to illustrate that they do not describe mutually exclusive phenomena. This is particularly noticeable if we try to allocate features such as ampersand, numerals and spaces between words, to a single category only. The functions of the categories overlap considerably: punctuation marks such as the dash and the apostrophe function as spelling when used as marks of omission or in elision[137], capitalisation can distinguish between homonyms thus becoming in some respects a spelling matter and its invariable presence at the start of a sentence renders it also a matter of punctuation, ditto marks represent words or word sequences. Features such as these, which participate in more than one of the categories or, at least, do not fit neatly into them, I shall call 'multivalent'.

I have found only a few papers providing non–editorial and non–bibliographical treatments of these features, and these are all in Augst 1986. Of these only Gallmann discusses non–alphabetic aspects of text more than briefly. In his contribution he presents an analysis of all elementary graphic means that can be assigned a specific linguistic function', to which set of forms or features he extends the much–used term 'graphemes' (1986:48)[138]. In setting out these 'graphic means' in tabular form he uses a tree structure, thus implying some sort of hierarchy which cannot be accepted as reflecting any sort of practical reality. That is, can anyone justify the placing of, for instance, underlining above capitalisation? This model is clearly a theoretical hypothesis, not a working description. My own view, as expanded below, is that many forms have more than one function, especially in handwriting (fluidity of form) and even more especially in a non–standardised system which is tolerant of a high degree of functional variation, such as we find in EModE writings.

[137] Gallmann 1986:51 'I deliberately avoid using the term "punctuation mark", because it implies a one–to–one relation of form and function. It is exactly for this functional connotation implicit to [sic.] the term "punctuation mark" that hyphen and apostrophe are often excluded.' He uses the term 'syngraphemes' for what we usually call punctuation marks.

[138] This word has been so much disputed and has such close affiliation with particular linguistic schools of thought that I do not use it, preferring simple terms such as 'letter', 'full stop', 'hyphen', 'dot', 'asterisk' or any other unambiguous descriptive term that is required.

5.1.1 Multivalent Graphic Features in MS and Print

Multivalent graphic features are found in both MS and print. At a time when there were fewer fixed conventions of orthography the amount of functional overlapping between what we now consider to be separate aspects of the written language was greater than is now the case; furthermore, between two examples of writing of which one allows greater graphic variability than the other, it is the one with the higher incidence of variation that will usually demonstrate the greater number of multivalent graphic features. We may therefore expect to find more in 17th century texts than in modern writings, and we expect handwritten texts, such as PwV21 and PwV22 to show more than printed texts such as 1667.

A form of multivalent graphic feature which is peculiar to manuscript writings is what I shall call the indeterminate graphic form. The potential graphic repertoire of handwriting is infinite and the actual repertoire is huge. Although not restricted to MS texts, handwriting marks are more open to varying interpretation than are marks made by type; a letter form may be ambiguous, a squiggle at the end of a word may be seen as a letter, a mark of punctuation, an accidental movement of the hand or as a flourish. The important point about such forms is that they cannot be given a single 'correct' interpretation[139]. Their essence is their indeterminacy; they are characteristic of handwriting in general.

Until very recently printing has involved use of a limited repertoire of type. Transposing manuscripts into print eliminates most of the features of graphic indeterminacy through conventions which originate in the type–founders' moulds and the compositors' cases, and which are perpetuated in editors' practices. That is, each type face in a traditional fount is designed to be distinct from the others, and indeterminate forms in print are the result of error, accident (faulty inking, worn or broken type) or ingenuity in the face of some unexpected need. Modern technology has overcome the limitations of traditional founts, and it is now possible to print almost any shape of graphic mark; we have nevertheless got used to associating printed texts with a graphic clarity that we do not expect from handwriting;

[139] Shepherd 1971:34 writes that 'No figure is to be ignored if it is of a size which suggests intention, unless it belongs to a well-known category of such figures as serifs. Flourishes and ornaments often assume large proportions, but the reader is not to be expected to know which of these are significant and which are not'.

market forces always dictate, and editors continue to edit manuscripts with the intention of reducing the original graphic variability to a set of easily reproduceable, familiar and unambiguous marks.

We should be aware, especially in our dealings with printed editions of MS writings, that printing is a drastic graphic simplification. Written language comprises many systems of graphic representation[140] not all of which relate to the word–level of communication — the size, colour, hand and layout of the text play important roles in communicating non–verbal meaning — and printing emphasises some of them while it limits or eliminates others. This is one of the reasons for differences between printed and MS spellings. However clear the handwriting and however obscure the print, when we read the former we expect to have to make graphic interpretations which we do not expect to have to make with the latter. Indeterminate graphic forms are rare in print; typographically, there is no such thing as an open text and to ignore or marginalise the unfixable essence of indeterminate graphic forms in manuscripts is to demonstrate one of the 'subliminal effects [that] are engendered by repeatedly scanning lines of print presented in standardised format' (McLuhan 1962; quoted in Eisenstein 1985:16).

Indeterminate graphic forms can occur in any part of a text, their ambiguities lie at the graphic level of writing. The ambiguity of multivalent graphic features, on the other hand, lies at the interpretative level of their existence: their graphic forms are irrelevant to their multivalency. The following features, which may be described as multivalent, are found in at least one of the texts under examination and are analysed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

(1) Features which may be considered as spelling matters and/or accidentals:

- Non–possessive apostrophe (mark of elision)
- Superscript dash or macron
- Capitalisation within sentences

[140] Catach, in a paper which deals mainly with the signifying force of alphabetic systems, mentions 'word signs ... morpheme signs ... phoneme signs ... a whole series of micro systems, secondary yet fundamental, such as punctuation, blanks, abbreviations, scientific and technical pictograms and ideograms, figures and numbers' 1986:2.

- Non–alphabetic characters referring to words
- Abbreviations.

(2) Features partaking of characteristics of spelling, accidentals and punctuation:

- Spaces between words

(3) Features where spelling and punctuation overlap:

- Hyphen
- Possessive apostrophe

(4) Features which belong to both the categories of accidentals and punctuation:

- Dash to fill space or as a flourish
- Asterisk
- Rules
- Paragraphing, general layout
- Capitals at the beginning of sentences.

5.2 Analysis of Multivalent Graphic Features in the Texts.

5.2.1 Non–Possessive Apostrophe

(See 5.2.7 for comments on the possessive apostrophe.)

Both printed and handwritten texts of this period can show fairly indiscriminate use of apostrophe. The editor of Otway's works, for instance, notes the 'occasional employment of an apostrophe before the terminal *–s* of (a) plural nouns and (b) third person singular verbs' (Ghosh 1931:91) and 'Misplaced, superfluous, or omitted apostrophe in contracted forms' (*ibid.*:92) in the first Quartos of his materials.

Table 5.1 shows distribution of the non–possessive apostrophe through the texts. It is found only once in the MSS, in C but is frequently found in 1667, where

it is found in *e*–less forms of regular past as well as participial and adjectival *ed*, before (three instances of) third person *s*, before enclitic *s* meaning *is* (in *that's*, for instance) in aphetic *'tis*, and before the reduced forms of the French definite article, possessive preposition and negative particle before vowels and *y*.

	C	1667
'd or *'t**	1	136
3rd pers. *s*		3
is written *'s*		19
'tis		7
French *l'*		15
French *d'*		27
French *n'*		1
TOTAL	1	208

* See Tables 6.15 (a), (b) and (c) for details

Table 5.1: All instances of non–possessive apostrophe

Because apostrophe is not used to indicate omission or elision in the MS spellings of past forms with no penultimate ⟨e⟩, spellings with no penultimate ⟨e⟩ in these MSS cannot be described as 'omitting' the letter and these ⟨e⟩–less forms can only be interpreted as part of a set of spelling variables for the item they represent (as shown in Tables 6.15 (b) and (c)[141]).

5.2.2 Superscript Dash or Macron

This mark is the traditional short form of *m*, *n* or *tion*; it is not used in 1667, but is found above the letters ⟨m⟩ and ⟨n⟩ in both MS texts. It is not used in place of *tion*. Table 5.2 shows its distribution.

The figures show a clear pattern, with 1667 showing PresE total lack of such a

[141] *cf.* Robbins' problem with abbreviations noted in 5.3.5 below.

Macron found above	C	F
word–final –m	2565	
word–final –me	9	
morpheme final –m–	33	3
morpheme medial –m–	293	29
word–final –n	6756	1
word–final –ne	3	
morpheme final –n–	151	
morpheme medial –n–	60	5
cañnott	2	
vñnaturall	1	
comānd		1
Mātie	1	
braūghte	1	

Table 5.2: All instances of macron

mark, F showing some macrons but less than C, which shows the greatest number of this non–PresE feature. This tendency for 1667 to show a practice which is more like that of PresE, while C shows a practice most at variance with PresE norms and for F to show the intermediary case, will be found over and again in the following analyses, be they of non–alphabetic or of traditional spelling matters.

The macron is here considered to be an indeterminate graphic form because the extent to which it is a mark of omission and the extent to which it may be a mark made automatically above certain letters is unascertainable. Evidence for both interpretations is set out below:

That this mark is so very frequently found, often in positions where intended consonant addition is unlikely (this is particularly noticeable in those three cases of macrons being found above vowels, may indicate that in these texts it is a motor writing habit akin to a loop or flourish, rather than a spelling matter. This

impression is reinforced by the occurrence of similar marks over ⟨e⟩s in F where, in some cases the superscript mark is part of the letter (a secretary hand ⟨e⟩) but not in others (italic ⟨e⟩). Other points which indicate that the mark so frequently found over ⟨m⟩ and ⟨n⟩ is here not a mark of omission are (1) that it never entirely substitutes for a letter — that is, it appears only above these letters, not above the place where the letter could or should be but is not, (2) that it occurs three times above an already doubled ⟨n⟩, (3) that its use varies, with some blocks of writing having a liberal scattering of macrons and others showing it hardly at all, and (4) that it occurs 3 times over vowels, on two occasions where no ⟨m⟩ or ⟨n⟩ is present or required. On the other hand, the mark never occurs in word–initial position, where consonant doubling has always been unconventional in English spelling and, apart from the instances above vowel letters and over an ⟨n⟩ that is already doubled, it occurs only in positions where ⟨m⟩ or ⟨n⟩ doubling is possible, even if not expected.

5.2.3 Capitalisation Within Sentences

Standardisation of practices of capitalising word–initial letters has, as with certain spelling alternatives, meant lexicalisation. Fixed conventions of capitalisation now mean that different meanings in phrases such as 'the house' (residential building) and 'the House' (part of parliamentary buildings/Christ Church, Oxford) can be distinguished in writing. In the 17th century capitalisation was not fixed to such an extent; indeed, by the middle of the century we are told that it was on its way to a situation where most writers and printers capitalised almost all nouns[142]. Evidence from PwV21 and PwV22 shows that some writers capitalised many non–substantive words as well.

Capitalisation in EModE was not only, as now, multivalent (being definable as belonging to the categories of spelling, accidentals and punctuation), but was also in many cases an indeterminate graphic form. This has been noted by many editors of their MSS, and is the case in PwV21 and PwV22.

In many EModE scripts, whether or not a letter is majuscule is not always clear, especially in the case of letters where the majuscule shape is the same as

[142] Osselton 1985:50, Fig. 1 shows this.

that of the minuscule and the only difference between them is that of size. The difficulties that this may cause the editor, who usually has to decide between either one or the other, is clearly expressed in the following passage from De Beer's notes to his edition of Evelyn's *Diary*:

> Besides capitals and small letters he [Evelyn] uses an intermediate, not always readily distinguishable from one or other of the other two forms. ... The intermediate is used very frequently where the seventeenth–century printers would use a capital, but occasionally where the use of a capital seems wrong. Very often the intermediate is probably an attempt to make a clear small initial letter; this is noticeably the case with c and e. It is very difficult to distinguish between capital and small s.
>
> (De Beer 1955:50–51)

Preference for the capitalised version of an initial letter seems anyway to be a very common habit of handwriting: Snyder notes that Godolphin: 'usually capitalized any part of speech beginning with the letter 'c'.' (Snyder 1975:xxxviii) and I have noted the same tendency in my own writing, extending also to the letters ⟨l⟩ and ⟨s⟩. The same habitual preference for one form or size of initial letter may also dictate uncanonical minuscules, as, for instance, noted by Partridge of Munday's use of small ⟨w⟩ in the holograph of John a Kent (1590s). Here, apparently, '... w is practically always in the lower case' (Partridge 1964:31).

In PwV21 and PwV22 the letters ⟨c l m p s u w⟩ and ⟨i⟩ show intermediate forms (or rather, sizes) in the way described above[143]. The case of Newcastle's initial ⟨i⟩s is particularly frequent and a little more complex than that of the other letters. Following the common practice of his time, Newcastle uses the letters ⟨i⟩ and ⟨j⟩ as positional variants (see 7.4.1 below). We can make this statement because in many cases what would in PresE be an initial ⟨i⟩ is unambiguously written as a capital ⟨j⟩, what would in PresE be a medial ⟨j⟩ is always written as ⟨i⟩, what would in PresE be written as initial ⟨j⟩ is also written with capital ⟨j⟩, and what is written in PresE as medial ⟨i⟩ is so written in the texts. There are also, however, a very large number of instances where PresE initial ⟨i⟩ is written as something that looks like a capital ⟨i⟩ — a simple vertical line, whereas initial

[143] There are two instances of word–initial ⟨ff⟩ in 'for', one in each of the MS texts. This doubling of initial consonant letters is an old form of capitalisation, particularly used for ⟨f⟩. In the texts neither instance is sentence initial.

⟨j⟩ is looped at the top and curved at the bottom. Is this vertical line, which is often intermediate in height between the majuscule and minuscule letters, a variant form of capital ⟨j⟩, a variant form of minuscule ⟨i⟩ or ⟨j⟩, or a variant form of capital ⟨i⟩ (showing sporadic modern use of differentiating between vowel and consonant in distribution of these letters)? A retrospective view of writing habits favours this latter interpretation, but as has been shown, the matter is not entirely clear. The number of apparently capitalised forms of this letter is far greater than that of any other letter, which may be because it is easier to use a single pen stroke than to use two separate writing movements and because there are so many words with initial ⟨i⟩, but most of these words are non–substantives, a category in which initial capitalisation is otherwise quite rare (there are 2155 instances of *in* (including those in sentence–initial position) in C, most of them showing the single vertical stroke form of ⟨i⟩).

In cases where a word has been divided[144] and the internal space is of an indeterminate size, a following capital letter disambiguates the status of the split, because nowhere else are medial letters capitalised. That is, in such cases we may speak with confidence of word–division. Capitalisation in word-medial position is found in the following words, which are marked with a vertical line to show where the split occurs (the figures following indicate the number of times such a case of internal capitalisation is found in C or, if so marked, in F.):

after|noon (1), any|thing(1), an|other (1), arch|duke (1), a|bate (1), a|gain (8), ad|just (spelt without the ⟨d⟩) *(3), a|like (F=1), a|lone (2), a|long (F=1) a|stride (2), en|large (F=2), every|thing (8), for|ever (2), fore|leg (F=27, C=22), fore|parts (F=2), French|man (2), grand|child (1), him|self (1), Holland|tide (1), horse|man (1), in|caputiato (1), jacka|napes (1), lady|like (1), l'a|mie (1), l'en|dormi (1), noble|men (1), no|body (1), out|side (F=1, C=74), out|leap (F=4), over|come (1), school|boy (1), Stafford|shire (1), whereso|ever (1), what|soever (F=1, C=4), when|soever (F=1), York|shire (1).*

Such a practice has not, to my knowledge, previously been noted, although it is not a peculiarity of Newcastle's (I have recorded several instances in the letters

[144] See 5.3.6 below.

of Lady Brilliana Harley[145]).

1667 shows no cases of indeterminate capitalisation; there are nevertheless differences between the practices of these 17th century printers and the printers of the present day[146], as there are in the MS writings.

Accurate figures for capitalisation in the MSS cannot be given because of the difficulty in C of determining what is and what is not a capital letter, as described above. Enough unambiguous cases remain, nevertheless, to describe this text in the words used by Lansdowne of the writings of Newcastle's contemporary, William Petty: 'initial capitals ... are often absent where they might be expected and more often present where they might not.' (Lansdowne 1927: I, xxvi).

Instances of non–sentence–initial capitalisation in PwV21, PwV22 and 1667 are far too numerous (and in many cases in C too ambiguous) to be accurately analysed. In order to capture the regularities or irregularities of practice in the text, a sample analysis was nevertheless carried out, the results of which are presented in Table 5.3 below. In order to obtain these figures one page near the middle of each of the texts was taken as a sample for analysis; these pages were f. 81^{r} in C, f. 18^{v} in F and p.180 (Sig.2Z2^{v}) in 1667. Although sentences are not, in the MSS, necessarily marked with full–stops, any break in the discourse which marked a grammatical and logical division between expressions was taken as a sentence break, and the capitalisation of the following word was not included in the calculations.

In general the MSS under investigation look as if they have at least as much capitalisation as is found in 1667, but the figures in Table 5.3 show that this is not the case. The misleading impression of the MSS frequency of capitalisation may be due to the sporadic but nevertheless quite frequent capitalisation of such non–substantive words as conjunctions and prepositions, cases which are particularly noticeable to any reader accustomed to PresE practice.

The first row of this table shows one of the rare occasions in which F shows practice which is further removed from that of 1667 than the practice of C. As

[145] BM Add.MS 7001/4, 70035, 70087, 700105, 70110.

[146] For an analysis of the 17th and 18th century practices of noun capitalisation see Osselton 1985:49–61.

	C	F	1667
nouns	34 (54%)	20 (43%)	26 (93%)
verbs	5 (10%)	3 (11%)	5 (28%)
pronouns	2 (4%)	1 (6%)	
qualifiers	8 (16%)	9 (24%)	16 (62%)
prepositions	5 (12%)	5 (21%)	
conjunctions	1 (4%)	2 (11%)	
articles	1 (3%)	5 (25%)	
other			5 (20%)
% capitalisation on pg.	(13%)	(18%)	(25%)

Table 5.3 Non–sentence–initial capitalisation

we can see, capitalisation in 1667 is largely 'polarised' onto the nouns, whereas all other major parts of speech are capitalised at least once in the MS samples, giving a more diffused pattern of capitalisation, with F showing the least polarisation (greatest diffusion) of all. On the other hand, F is closer to 1667 than is C in a quantitative analysis, although the small size of the sample may well be misleading in this respect.

5.2.4 Non–Alphabetic Forms Referring to Words

While we can agree that graphic forms ⟨&⟩, ⟨and⟩ and ⟨ande⟩, all of which appear in the MSS, are all forms referring to the conjunction *and*, we do not usually think of ⟨&⟩ as a variant spelling. Non–alphabetic characters are like shorthand forms in having conventions of their own, separate from those of spelling and punctuation. They are nevertheless subject to change and most probably, therefore, to the forces of standardisation. In PresE conventions consistency is the rule–of–thumb for the use of these 'accidentals'. There is no prescripton of, for instance, ampersand or numerals, merely a demand that they should not be used alongside their alphabetically written equivalents in the same text or sub–text

(that is, it may be permissible for numerals or ampersand to appear in chapter or section titles where the alphabetic forms are used in the rest of the text, but not to use both forms in either of these).

Table 5.4 below shows the non–alphabetic forms with their alphabetic equivalents found in the texts.

Form	C	F	1667
⟨&⟩	6628 (95%)	577 (80%)	7 (> 1%)
alphabetically written *and*	366 (5%)	148 (20%)	3128 (100%)
⟨&c⟩			3
⟨^{l}⟩*	3 (25%)		
alphabetically written *pound*	9 (75%)		14
numerals	508 (42%)	23 (17%)	22 (4%)
alphabetically written numbers	715 (58%)	113 (83%)	491 (96%)

*This is the only sign for *pound*, ⟨£⟩ is not found.

Table 5.4: Non–alphabetic forms of words.

5.2.5 Abbreviations

Differing practices of abbreviation and contraction are found in C, F and 1667, and these are shown in Table 5.5. These abbreviations and contractions are in no way graphically ambiguous, although this is not always the case with texts from this period: they have proved to be functionally indeterminate in a number of cases, as noted, for instance, by Robbins (1938) and de Beer (1955)[147].

[147] Robbins stated that is was 'by no means easy to decide when Milward is abbreviating and when he is simply spelling eccentrically' (1938:1); Evelyn uses 'a device for shortening the labour of writing' described by de Beer as follows:'Where there occurs a group of letters which are formed by a series of similar strokes the requisite number of strokes is not made...'. He notes that 'It is not always possible to be certain of the correct reading where this device is used, especially when occurring at the end of words, it may offer the alternatives of singular and plural.' (1955:50).

C	F	1667
BB. 1		BB. 1
captin 3 captiñ 18		capt 1 captain 3
H. the 8. 1 Hen(e)ry(e) 3		 Henry 3
ma^{tie} 18 ma^{ties} 3 matie 1		majesty 9 majesties 6
mr 6 m^{r} 25		mr 32
s^{r} 7		sir 8
  the 9253 thee 4	ye 1 y^{e} 1046 the 228	 the 3985
wich 1 wh 4 which 897	w^{c}h 117 w^{ch} 1 w^{h} 25	 which 471

C	F	1667
with 1044	with 12 w^{t} 1 w^{t}h 157	with 539
withall 15	 w^{t}all 2	withall 1 withal 7
with^{in} 2 withiñ 195 withen 1	w^{t}hin 43	within 65
 withoute 2	w^{t}hout 28 without(e) 2	with^{out} 1 without 94
 your(e) 888 yours 1	yo^{r} 72 your 3	 your 362 yours 3
you selfe 1 your selfe 13	yo^{r}selfe 2	 your selfe 2
Jus. 1		
		st 1
		Tho 1
		viz 1

Table 5.5: Abbreviations and Contractions

5.2.6 Spaces Between Words: Word Division and Hyphenation

From the time of those OE writings which showed no regular spacing between word or word–like units, up to and including early (incunable) printing days[148], word boundaries in English were not as rigidly fixed as they are now. Irregular or,

[148] See, for instance, the illustration in Steinberg 1955:105 from Bartholomaeus Anglicus' dictionary printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494.

to PresE readers, unfamiliar word spacing is rarely mentioned[149]. When discussed, it is usually presented as a 'merely' aesthetic (scribal or typographical) matter of style (a matter of squashed space). In spite of the impression of scarcity that this lack of discussion engenders, the feature continues into EModE times, where it is regularly found in MSS, and into present day MS writings[150], although in the latter it is less probably likely to be found in the writings of the highly educated (because this feature, like so many other aspects of the written language has undergone standardisation). In addition, however, in PresE as in EModE, many writers show varying sizes of space between and within words, so that in some cases it is not possible to tell from the graphic cues alone where some of the words start and stop or are divided. In PresE we interpret word–boundaries according to our expectations, which are moulded by the conventions of a highly standardised system, and we even feel disturbed if faced with more than the occasional unclear or unspecified word–boundary. This was clearly not always the case in EModE times, when people wrote and read many words with varying graphic word–divisions. It is possible that this also reflects in EModE a less rigid definition of word-boundaries, perceptually as well as materially.

Word spacing is not usually considered as a spelling or punctuation matter[151], but its semantic, prosodic and intonation repercussions (compare *everyone* with *every one*) make it multivalent in respect of these, especially when we remember the 17th century definitions of punctuation which referred so frequently to its role in reading aloud[152].

Evidence from the materials that I have been scrutinising indicates that not only does early word spacing provide useful insights into perceptions of what a word is and where its boundaries lie, but that these practices and perceptions were strongly influenced by the standardisation of the written language. We may

[149] This feature is usually only mentioned when writing systems different from our present alphabetic one are discussed, in descriptions of semitic script or runic writing, for instance.

[150] Some PresE 'errors' in word spacing, such as ⟨aswell⟩, have a long history, being found in the MS writings of almost every age.

[151] Although Parkes 1992, whose historical survey of spelling shows the impossibility of drawing strict boundaries between punctuation and 'accidentals', discusses it as a matter of punctuation (eg p 10.

[152] For example, Fox and Hookes 1673:97 where comma is defined as 'a little stop or breathing' and semi–colon is 'a longer stop or breathing'.

identify two main types of post–OE word spacing which have been subjected to standardisation with concomitantly different degrees of completion: The first is that of unetymological word splitting. In this category belong forms such as the ⟨a nother⟩ that is so common in ME (and EModE) writings, being found in print (see the illustration from Wynkyn de Worde's 1494 production illustrated in Steinberg 1955:105) as well as MSS. Confusion concerning the word boundaries of items beginning in ⟨a⟩ or ⟨na⟩ is as old as our written records and has in some well–known cases, such as *adder* (from OE *nædre*) and *apron* (from OFr *napron*), lead to the fixing of a new and unetymological word boundary in the language. Such internal word division is now considered wrong and is never found in print unless special circumstances, such as error or literary requirements[153], are involved. The second category of word spacing practices that have been subject to standardisation is that of compound words. Standardisation (which in this case means the fixing of unique written forms) is far from complete in this matter. Although many words that were not fixed as single, compound or hyphenated words in EModE are now so codified, many more recent compounds are unfixed[154]. PresE may show regularities of practice which have been presented as rules (by Partridge 1953:134–153 and *Hart's Rules*:76–81, for instance), but these do not cater for all instances, especially newer ones. The unfixed nature of word division in compound words may largely be explained by the fact that compounding is perhaps the most productive method of bringing new words into the everyday language of PresE.

Concerning the first of these categories, we find many examples of unetymological word division in Newcastle's MS writings, but none at all in 1667. Table 5.6 (a) displays these spellings, most of which involve the separating of the first letter of words beginning with ⟨a⟩ from the rest of the word[155]. Three spellings in C not included in the tables below (being ⟨añ nagg⟩ (1), ⟨añ nigarde⟩ (1), ⟨añ noble⟩ (1)) show the same fluctuating interpretation of word boundary, where the first syllable of the substantive may be taken to be all or part of the indefinite article preceding

[153] As in J. B. Priestley's 'poor norphan' in *The Good Companions*.

[154] The present situation remains much as is described in Partridge 1953:140ff and Vallins 1954:168–173: Vallins notes the fact that for many words 'there are ... always three possibilities — keeping separate, hyphening, and joining' (169–170).

[155] Word division involving initial ⟨a⟩ in this way is very frequent in the letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, who writes, for instance, ⟨a bove⟩, ⟨a cording⟩ and ⟨a gaine⟩; she also has divisions which are less easy to explain, such as ⟨tru bell⟩ for *trouble* and ⟨in a bell⟩ for *enable*.

it[156]. The same tendency is found in Newcastle's spellings of some French words spelt with initial ⟨a⟩ or ⟨e⟩, with this letter being on occasion written as the second letter of the definite article (for example, ⟨la mour⟩ for *l'amour*).

	C	F
1. English words split after initial ⟨a⟩	167	26
2. French words split after initial ⟨a⟩	12	1
3. French words split after initial ⟨de⟩	6	
4. French words split after initial ⟨e⟩	1	
5. French words split after initial ⟨en⟩*	1	

* That is Present Fr. ⟨en⟩; the spelling in C is ⟨Lan Dormye⟩

Table 5.6 (a): Words showing unetymological word division

Words which showed word division listed in 1. of Table 5.6 (a) are:

In C: *abate (1), above (21), about (36), abroad (3), abundance (6), abuse (1), ado (5), afraid (1), against (2), again (39), agility (1), ago (3), adjust (3), alike (5), alone (5), along (1), amiss (1), apiece (6), appear (8), appropriate (1), assure (2), astride (2), away (13)* and *awry (1)*. Total occurrence of these words (whether split or not) in C is 343, with the split words accounting for 49% of this total.

In F: *above (9), about (2), afoot (1), against (5), again (1), alight (1), along (2), amiss (1), appropriated (1)* and *away (3)*. Total occurrence of these words (whether split of not) in F is 43, with the split words accounting for 60% of this total.

Words which showed word division listed in 2. of the table above are:

In C: *appui (10)* (spelt ⟨a pewie⟩ once, ⟨a pewye⟩ eight times and ⟨a puie⟩ once), *ami (1)* (spelt ⟨La mie⟩) and *amour (1)* (spelt ⟨La mour⟩);

[156] In no other case does Newcastle use ⟨an⟩ before words beginning with consonants.

In F: *appui (1)* (spelt ⟨a pewie⟩).

Two words showed division after ⟨de⟩ as shown in 3. of the table above: *dedans (4)* (spelt ⟨de dans⟩) and *devant (2)* (spelt ⟨de vant⟩).

The word in 4. of the table above is: *etoile* (⟨Le Toyle⟩).

The word in 5. of the table above is: *endormi (1)* (⟨Lan Dormye⟩).

Many words which are now written and pronounced as single words are treated in the MSS as compound words with some or all of their spellings showing separation of the elements and/or hyphens. These elements may be genuine bound morphs (affixes or suffixes) or, more frequently, free morphs which have since been fully compounded to make new words (such as *everything, Frenchman*[157]). The table below shows the treatment of words which are now single units but which appear at least once in at least one of the texts as two units or as one hyphenated unit. (Words which are two units or hyphenated in PresE are not presented in this table. See Table 5.7 for these).

	C	F	1667
1 word	4349 (78%)	533 (77%)	1743 (82%)
2 (or more) words	1023 (18%)	155 (23%)	48 (2%)
hyphenated	217 (4%)	2 (1%)	339 (16%)

Table 5.6 (b): Where PresE has single words but the texts show divided or hyphenated forms

The words from which Table 5.6 (b) was compiled are: *afternoon, almost, always, anybody, anything, anyway, anywhere, archduke, bayberry, bedchamber, cannot, carthorse, childhood, Cornishman, countertimes, countrymen, currycomb,*

[157] Looking through *Collins* to check the PresE forms of these words an anomaly came to light: while expressions such as 'fore leg' and 'fore parts' have in PresE become single words, the expressions 'hinder leg' and 'hinder parts' have not. *Fore* is now defined as a prefix (from OE *fore* adv.), and *hinder* is defined as a prenominal adjective (also from OE).

demivolt, downward(s), enlarge, enthrone, everybody, everyone, everything, everywhere, forefeet, forefoot, forehead, foreleg, foremost, forepart, foreshoe, footcloth, Frenchman, Frenchmen, gentleman, gentlemen, gentleness, grandchild, greyhound, haircloth, halfway, hartshorn, headstall, hedgehog, hereafter, heretofore, highway, himself, leg, hollandtide, holidays, horseback, horsekind, horseman, horsemanship, horsemen, huntsman, incommode, indeed, inside, into, itself, inward, jackanapes, ladylike, leapfrog, Leicestershire, lukewarm, mankind, methinks, methought, myself, nearside, noblemen, nobody, noseband, nothing, Nottinghamshire, nowhere, offspring, otherwise, outleap, outside, outward, overcomes, overcurious, overthrow, pennyworth, postboy, quicksilver, runaway, schoolboy, sideways, slopewise, something, sometimes, somewhat, Staffordshire, statesman, statesmen, stateswoman, swordman, themselves, thereabouts, therefore, together, touchstone, tradesmen, understand, understood, upon, upright, upset, warehouse, whatnot, whatsoever, whensoever, whereas, wheresoever, whosoever, windmill, without, Worcestershire, Yorkshire and *yourself*.

Two hyphenated spellings in 1667 are not included in Table 5.6 (b). These are: ⟨Man–nage⟩ for *manège* (occurs once in this spelling and 99 times as an unhyphenated word in 1667, and 159 and 9 times as a single word in C and F respectively) and ⟨Pa–sterne⟩ (occurs once in this spelling and 5 times as an unhyphenated word in 1667 and 8 times as a single word in C. It is not found in F).

Only a few words, which appear in the above table in the 'two (or more) words' row and, in one case, also in the 'hyphenated word' row, are written in three units: ⟨heer to fore⟩ (C = 1); ⟨horse–mañ shipp⟩ (C = 2); ⟨jack a napes⟩ (C = 2); ⟨run a waye⟩ (C = 2); ⟨what so ever⟩ (F = 1).

Whereas 1667 shows considerably less internal division of compound words than the MSS, it shows a very much more liberal use of hyphens in words which are not now compounded. Hyphenation of compound words can be seen as a sign *par excellence* of acknowledged multivalency: the writer or printer indicates through its use that the compound word has the status of a single lexical item and is at the same time perceived as more than one word. It is the concretisation of a particular sort of lexical indeterminacy. In some hands it may also be graphi-

cally indeterminate, being easily taken for a letter that is frequently written as a horizontal line[158].

Hyphens are not indeterminate graphic forms in PwV21 or PwV22, because the individual marks from Newcastle's pen are usually very distinct, even when the writing is cramped and overlapping. He uses a single, short pen stroke for hyphens in compound words and double, slanted pen strokes (like 'equals' signs) for words divided at line ends. He regularly hyphenates at line ends but not very often within a line. F scarcely shows any hyphens at all. 1667, on the other hand, abounds in hyphenated words, many of which were not, as far as I know, usually hyphenated and are certainly not hyphenated in PresE. The following word pairs or triplets, which are not hyphenated in PresE, appear hyphenated in C and/or 1667:

In C only : *all whips (1), aqua fortis (9).*

In 1667 only: *all upon (1), angle rod (1), armed man (2), barley break (1), bay salt (1), beautiful horse (1), before mentioned (1), bodies helps (1), bowling green (1), brewers cart (1), bridle hand (14), bridle reyns (1), brown bay (1), buck hunters (1), buck hunting (1), bulls pisle (1), camels milk (1), coach horses (2), cooling glisters (1), cooling julips (1), cooling potion (1), cow dung (1), damask roses (1), demi air(s) (7), denmark horse (1), diet drink (1), double heart (1), dusting cloth (1), dutch horse(s) (2), faint sweats (1), far foreleg (1), far side (2), fasting spittle (1), fig leaf breeches (1), fleshy head (1), French rider(s) (2), fir bushes (1), get out (1), gowty man (1), grass cold (1), grey hairs 2 (1), greyhound's whelp (1), hackney horses (1), hand whips (1), hawking nags (2), head strain (1), high Germans (1), horse colts (1), hot cordials (1), horse foal (1), hunting geldings (1), hunting horse(s) (2), illfavoured jades (1), knife of heat (1), Lancashire hound (2), leaping horse(s) (6), left finger (1), left hand (20), left leg (1), left shoulder (2), light bay (1), low Dutch (1), lute strings (1), mare foal (1), metz air (1), middle age (1), middle strength (1), middling horses (1), mountain barbs (1), noble shaped (1), pad gelding (1), paris pints (1), perpendicular line (2), play days (1), ploughed field (1), polonia heel (2), privy council (1), ready horse(s) (15), ready man (1),*

[158] Lady Brilliana Harley's father, Lord Conway (d.1631) writes in a hand that has so many letters reduced to horizontal lines that it is on many occasions illegible.

riding house (1), riding rod (1), right hand(ed) (15), right legg (2), right shoulder (2), right finger (1), running horse(s) (13), rye straw (1), salad oil (1), she asses (1), sinewy legs (1), single combat (2), soil time (1), Spanish horse(s) (2), stiffling joint (1), stone horse(s) (3), sugar candy (1), sweet salad oil (1), three soled shoes (2), three years (1), thrown down (1), too violent (1), town bull (1), Trent North (1), two years old (1), water chain (1), watering bitt(s) (5), west country (1), west Friesland (1), wheat bran (4), wheat straw (1), white wine (1), windmill sails (1), winter galoping (1), young horses (1).

In both C and 1667: *bit maker (1667=2, C=1), dutch brewers (1667=1, C=1), horse courser(s) (1667=3 C=1), hunts boy (1667=2, C=1), pad nag(s) (1667=1,C=1).*

There are only two cases of such uncanonical hyphenation in C which are not also found in 1667: *slap cover* (1) and *tawny colour* (1).

Table 5.7 (a) shows treatment of words which are hyphenated in PresE. These words are: *broken-winded, brother-in-law, dapple-grey, full-necked, half-dressed, hide-bound, ill-assured, ill-favoured, ill-fired, ill-hooved, ill-natured, ill-shaped, long-lived, long-necked, new-fashioned, short-necked, stiff-necked, son-in-law, stall-fed, weak-necked, well-armed, well-chosen, well-disposed, well-dressed, well-fed, well-fitted, well-filleted, well-heated, well-lined, well-marked, well-made, well-proportioned, well-recovered, well-shaped, well-studied, well-tempered, well-travelled, well-tuned, well-turned, well-winded* and *well-wrought.*

Form	C	1667
1 word	6 (11%)	
2 words	45 (82%)	6 (19%)
hyphenated	4 (7%)	25 (81%)

Table 5.7 (a) Words which are hyphenated in PresE

5.2.7 Possessive Apostrophe

All use of apostrophes was highly irregular in the 17th century, as we have seen from Ghosh's remarks quoted in 5.3.1 above. This irregularity was the case in both printed and handwritten texts, although by the second half of the 17th century printers did on the whole use apostrophes much as they do now, but with more omissions and misplacings. In 1667 we find that the usage is regular and according to standard usage as it evolved. PwV21–22, on the other hand, never use possessive apostrophes. Very occasionally the old 'the king his crown' genitive construction is used[159], and more often an 'of' phrase is used where possessive ⟨'s⟩ would now be found. Tables 6.29 a–c show use of possessive apostrophe in the three texts.

5.2.8 Dash to Fill Space or as a Flourish

Newcastle's writings are littered with what look to modern eyes as extraneous dashes. Any space between the end of a sentence or paragraph and the right–hand margin or edge of the page is filled with a dash. In most cases this is long enough not to be confused with a hyphen, and once the reader has become accustomed to this habit even the shorter ones are easy to identify. The general direction of his letters being vertical or slightly slanted, horizontal lines are not found as letter tails or as flourishes. Dashes as space fillers or as flourishes are not found in 1667.

5.2.9 Asterisk and Other Special Devices.

Large star–like marks are such frequent occupants of the left–hand margins in C that it is hard to attribute any meaning to them. There is no indication as to any link with the preceding, adjacent or following text and their great number and concentration eliminates the possibility that they are used to draw attention to particularly important passages. They are not used to indicate places where a passage written elsewhere should be added, a small cross being the preferred signal for such a matter, and insertion of a passage above the line or in the nearest margin being the most frequent device.

[159] See PxV22 f.15^{r}: 'a Horse his leggs'.

Trefoils are also liberally scattered throughout C. Unlike the stars, an explanation to these marks is provided with the following passage at the end of f.126^{r}: 'You muste Remember thatt though all the presepts of this Booke bee good, yett all those laste Rules thatt are markt with the floure, Is the quintesence off our Arte.'

No asterisks, trefoils or other such marks are found in 1667.

5.2.10 Rules

In the MSS, sections are separated by rules extended right across the page. This is not the case in 1667. For descriptions of margins and other rulings see chapter III.

5.2.11 Paragraphing, General Layout

In the MSS the only indication of paragraph division lies in the rules described above or in a larger than usual gap at the base of a page which probably means that the section starting on the following page is a new paragraph. In 1667 the conventions of spacing and indentation used for paragraphs are the same as those of PresE.

5.2.12 Capitals at the Beginning of Sentences.

Most, but not all, sentences in the MSS begin with capital letters; in 1667 all sentences begin with capitals.

5.3 Summary

A number of graphic aspects of texts are closely related to spelling and some others, while not being so related, can nevertheless be linguistically informative. Although these features are often mentioned in editors' notes as part of their detailed descriptions of texts, they are rarely mentioned in connection with spelling or, indeed, with the standardisation of the written language.

Analyses of some such features in the three texts under investigation have shown that the different texts treat these features differently. In some cases only the MSS show the feature concerned (this is the case with macron, asterisk and

trefoil) while in others only the printed text shows it (as for non–possessive apostrophe); elsewhere the feature may be shown by all texts but with differing frequencies of occurrence (the examples here are the features of word–division and hyphenation). Occasionally the three texts show very different treatments of these graphetic features, as has been shown to be the case with abbreviations and the use of non–alphabetic words.

Chapter VI

The Spellings of Morphemes and False–Morphemes

It was shown in chapter II that most studies of EModE spellings have discussed spelling in relation to pronunciation. If, as was argued in chapter I, spelling standardisation was to a large extent a matter of lexicalisation, then we cannot assume that comparing spellings with matters of pronunciation is necessarily the best way to investigate the matter. A study of spelling standardisation must then examine the extent to which spellings show regularity or irregularity within each text, as well as the extent to which spellings conform or diverge from the spellings which later became fixed.

There are, in the three texts under examination, too many words for us to examine the regularity or irregularity of each word's spelling individually. A glance at the complete word list (appendix A) will show that many of the variations in spellings stem from similar (and often non–phonetically related) habits. Many of these, such as the addition or elimination of word–final ⟨e⟩, are well-known to writers on the spellings of the time (see chapter I). Individual letters in certain positions, letter sequences both with and without lexical/morphological relevance, as well as whole words, show different behaviours in respect to variation. It seems, therefore, worth trying to discover the different levels at which variation did or did not occur in these texts.

Non–traditional graphic features of spelling were looked at in chapter V, and we now turn to the more familiar, that is the alphabetic, side of spelling, always remembering that we are looking for aspects of spelling which may show different or changing extents of variation. In this chapter the spellings of some lexical units are examined. Prefixes and suffixes have been chosen because, while having lexical relevence, they form a closed and not overly numerous set, and are therefore easier to analyse than words. Chapter VII will examine those aspects of spelling which have been identified, either by previous scholars (see chapter I) or by my own observation of the spellings in PwV21, PwV22 and 1667, as those features most

likely to be involved in variation. Both chapters VI and VII address the question of conformity with eventually–fixed spellings, but only chapter VI deals directly with the issue of lexicalisation (the most complete information about this aspect of the spellings is, of course, the complete word list in appendix A). The results of the analyses reported in chapters VI and VII are found in chapter VIII.

False morphemes are included in the analyses provided in this chapter. They were mentioned in chapter IV, where it was noted that there is a considerable likelihood that these would be treated as if they were 'real' morphemes. This is often but not always indicated by the data reported below. See, as an example of different treatment, spellings of PresE initial ⟨en⟩, which in C and F show only ⟨i⟩ when morphemic, but a preponderance of ⟨e⟩ when non–morphemic, and in 1667 show a mixture of ⟨i⟩ and ⟨e⟩ when morphemic but only ⟨e⟩ when non–morphemic (Table 6.4).

As in all tables in this thesis, unless otherwise stated each of the tables which follow is compiled from all words occurring in the texts which contain the segment(s) under investigation, and each entry refers to all instances of that spelling in the text(s) under which it is listed; the total entries for any single word or part of a word refer to the total occurrences of that word or part of word in the texts under which it is listed. Where affixes occur in a small number of words, or show variation which appear to be base–form related, each word is given in all its spellings. Elsewhere only the spellings of the affixes are shown.

The most frequent causes of variation in the spellings detailed in the rest of this chapter are their treatments of the (unstressed) vowel letters, of segment–final ⟨e⟩[160] and of doubled or single consonants. The remaining variables are alternations between the following letters: ⟨e⟩/ ⟨i⟩ and ⟨i⟩/⟨y⟩ (which may also be considered among the unstressed vowel category), ⟨c⟩/⟨s⟩, ⟨c⟩/⟨ck⟩/⟨k⟩, ⟨eC⟩/⟨Ce⟩/⟨C⟩, ⟨s⟩/⟨z⟩, ⟨x⟩/⟨xs⟩ and the use of macrons. All of these with the exception of the last two items can readily be recognised as features mentioned by the present–day handbooks as well as in EModE books of orthoepy and orthography. Variable use of macron was examined in 5.3.2, Table 5.2, and the other features noted here will be further analysed in chapter VII.

[160] By segment–final is meant morpheme– or false morpheme–final, which may not always be the same as word–final.

In this chapter each affix will have its various spellings displayed in a table and where there is significant variation other than in the treatment of segment–final ⟨e⟩, this will be summarised in a further table.

6.1 Prefixes

The prefixes and false prefixes examined were: *al–, arch–, be–, com–, con–, contra–, de–, dis–, en–, ex–, im–, in–, mal–, mis–, out–, over–, per–, pre–, pro–, re–, sub–, super–, sur–, trans–, un–.*

The prefix *fore* is not examined in this section, because in these texts it is not used as a bound morph. Like PresE *hinder*, it is used as a prenominal adjective; see chapter V, note 157.

Forms which refer to identical morphemes, such as {im} and {in} are found next to each other. This occurs without changing the alphabetical arrangement of this list because their spelling differences arose as a reflection of the phonological process of assimilation to the sounds of the following segments and it is therefore the final parts of the prefixes that differ, not the initial letters.

All prefixes and false prefixes are spelt regularly as in PresE in all texts with the following exceptions:

6.1.1 al–

The two tables below show some variation between ⟨al⟩ and ⟨all⟩ spellings in cases of morphemic *al–*, whereas there is none in the case of non–morphemic word–initial PresE *al–*.

BASE FORM	C	F	1667
also	als– 47	als– 9	als– 53
almost	allm– 1 alm– 19	all m– 1 alm– 1	 alm– 10
already	alr– 3		alr– 2
although		alth– 1	alth– 1
altogether	 alt– 1		all t– 1 alt– 1
always	allw– 11 all w– 1 alw– 169	 alw– 34	 alw– 72 al–w– 1
TOTALS	al– 239 (95%) all– 13 (5%)	al– 45 (98%) all– 1 (2%)	al– 140 (100%) all– 1 (< 1%)

Table 6.1 (a): Morphemic al–

The ⟨ll⟩ in some of the prefixes (*altogether, always*) may be due to analogy with the word *all*, which is only spelt ⟨all⟩ in all texts (815 occurrences in C, 79 in F and 402 in 1667).

No words with PresE non–morphemic ⟨al–⟩ are found in F but a number are found in the other two texts. Table 6.1 (b) shows these.

BASE FORM	C	1667
alacrity	ala– 1 ale– 1	
Alexander	Ale– 4	
alike	ali– 1	al– 2
almain	alma– 5	al– 1
almanack	alme– 1	al– 1
Almenara		Al– 1
aloes		al- 2 all– 1
alone	alo– 8	al– 9
along	alo– 3	al– 2
alter	alt– 11	al– 2
alum	all– 5	all– 2
TOTAL	al– 35 all– 5	al– 20 all– 3

Table 6.1 (b): non–morphemic al–

On two occasions C shows the spelling ⟨alegre⟩, which may indicate the word *allegro*, but it is not entirely clear that this is the case. These have been excluded from the table.

6.1.2 be–

There are two instances of the spelling ⟨bee–⟩ in the manuscript: ⟨beefore⟩ occurs once in C (there are 1308 spellings of 'before' spelt with ⟨be–⟩) and ⟨beetween⟩ occurs once in F (there are 175 spellings of 'between' with ⟨be–⟩). The low incidence of these spellings makes them apparently insignificant, but it should be noted that the verb 'to be' occurs with the spelling ⟨bee⟩ 1005 times in C and 125 times in F and, at morpheme boundaries, the letter ⟨e⟩ is doubled more frequently than any other vowel letter[161] making the forces of habit possibly relevant to these two spellings.

6.1.3 com–

The main and virtually only variation lies in MS use of ⟨m̄⟩, which is summarised in Table 6.2 (a). Spellings of *com–* in each word are shown in table 6.2 (b).

variable	C	F	1667
–m̄–	44 (88%)	3 (75%)	
–mm–	1 (2%)		42 (100%)
–m–	5 (10%)	1 (25%)	

Table 6.2 (a): Summary of main variable in Table 6.2 (b): where PresE has –mm–

As in PresE, 1667 shows double ⟨m⟩ before vowels in all cases, and the two MS texts show ⟨m̄⟩ or (in one case) ⟨mm⟩ in the great majority of pre–vocalic instances.

[161] There are 2959 morpheme–boundary ⟨ee⟩ occurrences (plus one ⟨eee⟩!) in C, 370 in F, and 199 in 1667. The figures for ⟨oo⟩ are: C = 4, F = 4, 1667 = 159 (of which 136 are in the spelling ⟨too⟩).

BASE FORM	C	F	1667
command	coma̅– 9	coma̅– 1	comma– 7
combat	comb– 6		comb– 5
combine	comb– 1		
commend	come– 1		
	come̅– 9	come̅– 1	comme– 7
comfort	coumph– 1		comf– 2
commit	comi̅– 1		commit– 2
	commi– 1		
Commodious			commo– 1
			[in–commo– 1]
commodity	como– 2		
common	como̅– 25	como̅– 1	commo– 24
	como– 2	como– 1	
compact	comp– 1		
company	comp– 3		comp– 1
compare	comp– 7		comp– 6
	comp̅– 1		
compass	comp– 2	comp– 1	comp– 1
complete	comp– 2		comp– 2
complaisant	comp– 1		
compose	comp– 6		comp– 5
compound	comp– 1		comp– 1
Comprehend	comp– 1		

Table 6.2 (b): Morphemic and non–morphemic (polysyllabic) com–

6.1.4 de–

Spellings of *debauch, decay, decease, deceive, dedicate, defend, deform, degenerate, degree, delicate, delight, deliver, demonstrate, depend, deprive, deride, derive,*

describe, descent, deserve, design, desire, despair, despise, determine, detract, and *device* show, in the MSS, some spellings in ⟨di–⟩:

C	F	1667
de– 132 (94%) di– 9 (6%)	de– 15 (88%) di– 2 (12%)	de– 74 (100%)

Table 6.3 (a): Summary of all spellings of initial de–

All but one of these ⟨di–⟩ spellings preceed an ⟨s⟩, but apart from possible analogy with the {dis–} morph due to this ⟨s⟩ there seems to be nothing to indicate why these and not others should be spelt with an ⟨i⟩. Not all PresE ⟨de⟩ + ⟨s⟩ spellings show ⟨di⟩ variants.

C	F
diseaued 1	
diformde 1	
discribde 1 discribed 2 discribes 1	 discription 2
dispayer 1 dispayre 1	
dispise 1	

Table 6.3 (b): All ⟨di⟩ spellings of initial de–

On the other hand, there is no reason why they should not be so spelt if one discounts etymological reasons and the thrust of standardisation. From a phonetic point of view, these prefixes would be unstressed and could be pronounced in a number of ways, including [ɪ], so there would be no phonetic reason *not* to spell

them with ⟨i⟩. Alternation between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨i⟩ is the commonest form of spelling variation in the MS spellings of prefixes and also occurs (less frequently, however) in the printed prefixes, as we shall see in *en–*.

6.1.5 dis–

This is regularly spelt as in PresE with the exception of ⟨desolue⟩, which occurs once in C. C has 107 ⟨dis⟩ spellings, F has 25 and 1667 has 72. The relevant words are: *discharge, discompose, discourage, discourse, discrete, disease, disgrace, disgust, discipline, dislike, dismount, disobey, disorder, disparage, displease, dispose, dispute, dissolve, distance, distemper, distinct, disunite.*

6.1.6 en–

This is the prefix which shows the greatest amount of spelling variation, not in the number of spelling variants, but rather in the distribution of the alternative spellings. That is, although there was some spelling variation, in all the prefixes investigated so far we have found that the spelling which became the 'standard' one was the dominant (that is, by far the most frequently found) spelling. In the case of PresE ⟨en–⟩, however, a spelling which did not become the standard one is the only spelling in the manuscript, while the printed text shows variation between this 'non–standard' spelling and the now standardised ⟨en–⟩. Furthermore, both MS and print show a different treatment for morphemic and non–morphemic initial *en–*.

The words showing morphemic {en–} from which the first part of the following table is compiled are: *encage, encircle, enclose, encounter, encourage, endanger, endure, enfeeble, enlarge, enquire, enthrone, entrench.*

Only *enquire* shows ⟨en⟩ spellings in C (⟨en⟩ x 4, ⟨in⟩ x 2). The other 8 PresE ⟨en⟩ words in this text (*enrage, encourage, encounter, endanger, endure, enlarge, enthrone,* and *entrench*) have only ⟨in⟩ spellings. Of F's 16 ⟨in⟩ spellings, 15 come from *enlarge* and one from *encircle.* In 1667, 4 words show both ⟨en⟩ and ⟨in⟩ spellings (*encourage, endanger, endure* and *enlarge*). The remaining words each occur only once: *enclosed*, and *enfeeble* being spelt with ⟨in⟩, and *encounter, enquire, enthrone* and *entrench* being spelt with ⟨en⟩.

		C	F	1667
Morphemic	in–	88 (98%)	16 (100%)	23 (67%)
	iñ–	2 (2%)		
	en–			11 (33%)
Non-morphemic	in–	3 (2%)		
	en–	136 (98%)	2 (100%)	67 (100%)

Table 6.4: Spellings of PresE initial en–

In the case of non–morphemic *en–* Newcastle uses the ⟨en–⟩ spellings on all occasions except in the word 'engine', which is only spelt with ⟨in–⟩, and the printed text shows only ⟨en–⟩ (3 occurrences in each text). The words used in this part of the table are: *encomium, endive, enemy, engine, England, English, enough, enter, entry, enquire, envy.*

The converse spelling — ⟨en–⟩ for PresE ⟨in–⟩ — does not occur. {in–} is consistently spelt with ⟨i–⟩ in manuscript and print; see Table 6.6.

6.1.7 ex– & extra

The {ex} prefix is spelt ⟨ex–⟩ or ⟨exs–⟩ in the MS writings with ⟨exs⟩ occurring if the following letter is a vowel. Where the manuscript may have ⟨exs⟩ the printed text only has ⟨ex–⟩ or, as in PresE, ⟨exc–⟩. Thus we find ⟨exs⟩ in *examine* (in all 4 occurrences in C), in *example* (14 out of 18 occurrences of this word), and even in the single occurrence of *Exeter*. In F, ⟨exs–⟩ spellings are rarer: ⟨exsample⟩ 7 times and ⟨exsept–⟩ 3 times. 1667 uses ⟨ex–⟩ and ⟨exc–⟩ as they are now used. The details are set out in Table 6.5.

Other words beginning with *ex–* that occur in the texts and are not in the Table 6.5 are: *exile, expect, experience, experiment, expert, explain, express, extend, extol, extraordinary, extravagant* and *extreme. Extraordinary* and *extravagant* are the only words with {extra–} in the texts. *Extraordinary* is spelt with ⟨exter⟩ in all 5 of its occurrences in C, and ⟨extra⟩ in its 7 appearances in 1667 (it is not

BASE FORM	C	F	1667
exact	exa– 29	exa– 3	exa– 11
examine	exsa– 4		exa– 1
example	exa– 4 exsa– 14	exsa– 7	exa– 16
exceed			exce– 1
excell	exse– 13 exe– 1	exce– 19	exce– 90
except	exce– 2 exse– 35	exse– 3	exce– 16
excuse	excu– 3		excu– 3
execute	excu– 1 execu– 1		
exempt	exe– 1		
exercise *Exeter*	exe– 17 exse– 1		exe– 15

Table 6.5: Words spelt with ⟨c⟩ or a vowel following ⟨ex⟩ in 1667 and PresE

found in F). The prefix of *extravagant* is only spelt as in PresE. It occurs 4 times in C and once each in F and 1667.

It should be noted that in other words containing ⟨x⟩, use of ⟨s⟩ after ⟨x⟩ is only found in ⟨Alexsander⟩ (C=1), ⟨Alexsanders⟩ (C=1), also spelt ⟨Alesanders⟩ and ⟨ HAlexanders⟩ once each in C, and ⟨Alexanders⟩ once in 1667). and the plural ⟨poluxs⟩ ('polacks', C=1, spelt ⟨Polacks⟩ twice in 1667). There are two instances of ⟨xz⟩ in spellings of *elixir*: ⟨elixzer⟩ (C=1) and ⟨elixze⟩ (F=1), which is also spelt ⟨elixir⟩ once in C and once in 1667, and ⟨elixer⟩ once in 1667. The remaining instances of ⟨x⟩ plus consonant letter are ⟨fixte⟩ (C=2, F=1), ⟨foxte⟩ (C=1) and

⟨nexte⟩ (C=47, F=5).

6.1.8 in–

The only spelling variation in PresE ⟨in⟩ is the use of the macron:

	C	F	1667
in–	1165	111	419
in̄–	80		

Table 6.6: PresE ⟨in–⟩

The words in the texts from which Table 6.6 was compiled are: *incaputiato, incavelare, incest, inclination, inconvenience, incord, incorporate, increase, incredible, indeed, indigo, indifferent, indiscrete, infallibly, infinitely, inform, infuse, injury, inmost, insensible, inside, insist, insert, inspire, instant, instead, instinct, instruct, instrument, intelligence, intemperate, intend, intention, into, intolerable, invent, inward, instead.*

6.1.9 out–

Apart from in the word *outward*, where C has 764 ⟨out–⟩ spellings (which account for 99.74% of all spellings of *outward* in this text), this prefix is regularly spelt ⟨oute–⟩ in C. 1667 shows only the spelling ⟨out–⟩ and F shows mostly this ⟨e⟩–less spelling, with only two ⟨oute⟩ spellings, both occurring in the monomorphemic word *out.* Fluctuating spacing and hyphenation of *outleap* and *outside* indicate that the writer may have perceived these words as comprising two free morphs (whereas the present–day spelling shows them as compounds of free and bound morphs). See also Table 5.6 (b).

		C	F	1667
where 'out'	out	1	32	190
may be	oute	425	2	
interpreted	outt	3	2	
as a single	out–leap			5
word	out leape		5	
	outside		9	63
	outeside	9		
	oute side	250		
	out–side			11
	oute–Side	1		
	out side		3	
	oute side(s)	2		
	outward		56	216
	outwarde(s)	763	3	
	outword			1
	outworde	1		
	otwarde	1		
	outewarde	2		
	out–ward			16
	out ward		4	
where 'out'	out	764 (74%)	80 (100%)	307 (100%)
is a prefix	oute	264 (26%)		
	ot	1		

Table 6.7: All instances of PresE ⟨out(–)⟩

Table 6.7 shows the spellings of all instances of the word *out* as well as all words carrying the *out–* prefix. In prefixal use the only variation is in C, and in this text the only significant variation is that of segment–final ⟨e⟩.

6.2 Suffixes

There are more variable spelling features found in suffixes than in prefixes, a fact which is largely due to variable use of word–final ⟨e⟩ and of consonant doubling, variations which can only rarely occur in prefixes. There are, in addition, a number of semantically and phonetically similar suffixes whose spellings may easily be interchanged, since the only reason for their PresE different spellings lies in the class to which the original Latin verb belonged or the spelling of the original Latin base form. To these categories belong the pairs *able:ible, ant:ent, ance:ence,* and *cio–:tio–*. It will be seen, however, that these suffixes show less spelling variation than may be expected on purely phonetic grounds, *–able* and *–ible*, for instance, are invariably spelt as in PresE.

The order of presentation in this section is again only broadly alphabetic, since morphs (and their syllabic look–alikes) which relate to the same morpheme and are distinguished from each other only by etymologically moulded conventions of spelling (such as the pairs listed above and agentive or instrumental {–ar}, {–er} and {–or}) are grouped together.

Suffixes and false–suffixes examined in the following sections are: *–age, –al, –ance* and *–ence, –ant* and *–ent, –ar, –er* and *–or, –ate, –able* and *–ible, –dom, –ed* (simple past and adjectival/participial suffixes), *–en, –full, –hood, –ic, –ify, –ing, –ise, –ish, –ity, –ive, –less, –ly, –ment, –ness, –our, –ous, –s* (possessive, plural and verbal), *–ship, –th, –(e)st, –tion, –ward* and *–y*.

6.2.1 –age

In Table 6.8 the spellings of non–word–initial syllabic PresE *–age* segments are set out. All qualifying words in all texts except the French terms *equipage* and *passager* are included. The words are: *advantage, borrage, courage, discourage, disparage, encourage, language, marriage, passage, patronage, vantage, voyage.* None of these words occur in F.

The two non–⟨a⟩ spellings in C refer to ⟨discoureged⟩ and ⟨marigges⟩. C has two other spellings of the former: ⟨discouragde⟩ and ⟨discouraged⟩, 1667 spells

	C	1667
–age	34	19
–agde	1	
–aged	1	1
–agement		1
–ages	3	3
–eged	1	
–igges	1	

Table 6.8: All PresE –⟨age(–)⟩

this word ⟨discouraged⟩; C has no other spellings of *marriages*, which 1667 spells ⟨marriages⟩ each of the three times it appears.

6.2.2 –al

The texts show *–al* in: *animal, artificial, cardinal, continual, cordial, effectual, equal, especial, formal, general, hermaphrodical, marshal, methodical, musical, natural, partial, perpetual, philosophical, principal*[162]*, prodigal, punctual, rational, several, total, unnatural, universal, usual.* We see in the table below that C and F show a marked preference for the spelling ⟨–all⟩, whereas 1667 has only ⟨–al⟩. When followed by another morpheme C more often makes the ⟨l⟩ single, whereas F and 1667 have double consonants in these cases. The same pattern is to be found in {–ful} and {–fully}.

The main source of variation in the spellings of {al} is between ⟨l⟩ and ⟨ll⟩. In word–final position, word–final *al* is generally spelt with ⟨ll⟩ in the MSS and with ⟨l⟩ in the printed text. The exceptions are C's spellings of the segment in *cardinal* (the only instance of this word), and *rational* (⟨al⟩ and ⟨ell⟩ once each, ⟨all⟩ twice).

The spellings of non–word–final *–al* show a tendency towards the contrary

[162] *principal* and *principle* are kept separate by the same conventions as are found in PresE. C has *principle* (⟨principle⟩) twice.

		C	F	1667
Word-final -al	-al	2 (1%)		80 (100%)
	-all	149 (98%)	31 (100%)	
	-ell	1 (1%)		
Non-word-final	-ales	1 (1%)		
	-als			2 (11%)
	-alls	2 (2%)		
-al	-alye	77 (83%)		
	-aly	5 (5%)		
	-ally		7 (88%)	15 (79%)
	-allye	4 (4%)		
	-aleye	3 (3%)		
	-aletye	1 (1%)		
	-allety		1 (12%)	
	-ality			1 (5%)
	-alry			1 (5%)
Summary of non-	-l-	97		4
word-final -al	-ll-	6	8	15

Table 6.9 (a): All spellings of PresE ⟨-al(-)⟩

case, with the C showing mostly single ⟨l⟩s and the print showing mostly doubled ⟨l⟩s. F's spellings in this case resemble those of 1667 rather than those of C.

In C the word *continual(ly)* is on two occasions spelt without the ⟨a⟩. Nowhere else does this happen (See Table 6.9 (b)):

C	F	1667
contineuly 1 continewlye 1		
continualy 1 continualye 8	continually 1	continually 3

Table 6.9 (b): Spellings of 'continually'

6.2.3 –ance and –ence

The spellings of the PresE *–ance* are presented in Table 6.10 (a) below. Words in the texts showing morphemic *–ance* are *abundance, extravagance, hinderance, ignorance, resistance*; and words showing non–morphemic *ance* are: *advance, chance, dance, distance, France* and *mischance.*

		C	F	1667
Morphemic –ance	–anc(–) –ans(–)	15 (90%) 3 (10%)	5 (100%)	17 (100%)
Non–Morphemic –ance	–anc(–) –ans(–)	51 (83%) 10 (17%)	3 (100%)	33 (97%) 1 (3%)

Table 6.10 (a): PresE –ance

The spellings of PresE morphemic *–ence* in the texts, shown in the first 4 rows of Table 6.10 (b), are taken from the following words: *cadence, circumference, conscience, consequence, convenience, difference, diligence, excellence, experience, impatience, inconvenience, intelligence, obedience, offence, patience, preeminence, quintessence, reverence, science, violence.* Non–morphemic PresE *–ence* (shown in the last 2 rows of the same table) were found in *pretence, thence* and *whence.*

	C		F	1667
Morphemic	–enc(–)	115 (85%)	16 (100%)	60 (98%)
	–anc(–)	15 (11%)		1 (2%)
	–ens(–)	4 (3%)		
	–ans(–)	1 (1%)		
Non–Morphemic–	–enc(–)	5 (100%)		4 (100%)

Table 6.10 (b): PresE –ence

Florence, which is spelt as in PresE in its two occurrences in C and its single occurrence in 1667, is included in Table 6.10 (b), because it may be interpreted as Lat. *flor* + *entia*.

6.2.4 –ant & –ent

Table 6.11 (a) shows all morphemic and non–morphemic PresE ⟨–ant⟩ found in the texts, except *want*[163]. A horse's name, ⟨Arrogante⟩, is included in the ⟨–ante⟩ spellings of C and 1667 in this table (being the only such spelling in 1667). The name is not found in F. The full list of words from which table 6.11 (a) is drawn is: *abundant, Arogante, Brabant, complaisant, constant, elephant, extravagant, gallant, ignorant, inhabitant, instant, lieutenant, malignant, merchant, pleasant, predominant, puissant*[164]*, remnant, tyrant, warrant.*

[163] *want* is excluded because, being monosyllabic, its *–ant* segment is unlikely to be perceived as a false morpheme.

[164] *Puissant* is used in C and 1667 as if it were a native English word or a technical term.

		C	F	1667
Word–final	–añ*	1 (1%)		
	–ande*	1 (1%)		
	–ant	1 (1%)	4 (50%)	39 (100%)
	–ante	61 (94%)	4 (50%)	
	–ente**	1 (3%)		
Non–word–final	–antley		1	
	–antly		1	5
	–antlye	6		
	–antes	6		
	–ants	5		9

Table 6.11 (a): PresE –ant

*These two spellings are both found in C's spelling of the place name *Brabant.* C also spells this as ⟨Brabante⟩ (once). The word does not occur in F, but is found in 1667, spelt ⟨Brabant⟩ (4 times).

** ⟨warrente⟩. This is also spelt with ⟨ante⟩ twice in C.

The words showing morphemic and (non–morphemic) syllabic *–ent* from which Table 6.11 (b) is compiled are: *accident, apparent, confident, consequent, content, convenient, correspondent, descent, different, diligent, excellent, fervent, frequent, impatient, impertinent, indifferent, intent, invent, lament, negligent, obedient, parent, patient, present, prevent, represent, sufficient, unguent, violent.*

		C	F	1667
Word-final	-ante	1 (<1%)	1 (4%)	
	-ēn	1 (<1%)		
	-ent	3 (1%)	11 (44%)	141 (100%)
	-ente	215 (97%)	13 (52%)	
	-onte	1 (<1%)		
Non-word-final	-entable	1		1
	-ented	4		7
	-antlye	1		
	-ently(e)	41	3	23
	-entment	5		1
	-entes	2		
	-ents			1
	-ention-	6	3	9

Table 6.11 (b): PresE -ent

6.2.5 -ar, -er and -or

There are only three words with morphemic PresE *-ar* in the texts: *beggar, circular* (adj.) and *scholar.*

The texts do, however, contain a number words which in PresE show syllabic *-ar* in the positions appropriate for them to be considered false morphemes. These are: *particular, mortar, perpendicular, pillar, scimitar, sugar, vulgar.* The spellings of this segment in these words are shown in the lower part of Table 6.12 (a).

True agentive and instrumental PresE *-er* morphs are found in the following words in the texts under examination: *breeder, brewer, bungler, carrier, commander, courser, courtier, defender, derider, dyer, falconer, feeder, galloper, Hollander, hunter, lawyer, maker, officer, owner, painter, philosopher, Polander, preacher, preserver, pretender, reader, rider, saddler, scoffer, scraper, setter,*

		C	F	1667
morphemic	beggar	1		1
	schollar(s)			7
	scoller(s)	9	2	3
	circular(–)	18	2	7
	circuler(–)	2	1	
Summary:	–ar(s)	19 (63%)	2 (40%)	11 (52%)
	–er(s)	11 (37%)	3 (60%)	10 (48%)
non	–ar(–)	4 (2%)		53 (96%)
morphemic	–er(–)	156 (98%)	83 (100%)	2 (4%)

Table 6.12 (a): PresE –ar

spurrer, teacher, tinker, writer. These are invariably spelt ⟨–er⟩ (C=130, F=6, 1667=70).

Words containing syllabic, non–morphemic PresE –er: *after, Alexander, alter, anger, answer, asunder, Bolsover, brother, butler, butter, chapter, choler, clister, consider, copper, corner, counter, cover, danger, daughter, deliver, differ, disorder, distemper, Dover, either, encounter, endanger, ever, Exeter, farrier, father, feather, fever, finger, Flanders, flatter, flutter, fodder, former, founder* (v.), *garter, glanders, Gloucester, grass–hopper, hinder, hither, improper, Jupiter, leather, Leicester, letter, lever, litter, liver, manger, manner, master, matter, member, monster, mother, neither, never, number, offer, order, other, over, paper, patter, pepper, porter, powder, power, proper, prosper, quarter, rather, recover, refer, remember, render, river, Royster, shoulder, silver, sister, slender, soldier, Spenser, stranger, suffer, sumpter, summer, sunder, temper, tender, thither, (al)together, trencher, under, Walter, water, weather, whether, winter, wonder.* These also are spelt ⟨er⟩[165], except in C where we find one instance each of ⟨disordes⟩ (*disorders*), ⟨formarly⟩, ⟨our⟩ (*over*), and two instances each of ⟨referr⟩ and ⟨watringe⟩. The

[165] The words which appear in the MSS as ⟨saker⟩ and ⟨salenger⟩ have been excluded from this list because I cannot find their PresE spellings.

⟨er⟩ spellings here total 2448 in C, 296 in F and 1261 in 1667.

Agentive and instrumental PresE –or

The relevant words in the texts are: *ambassador, author, chancellor, detractor, emperor, governor, spectator, translator.* Their suffixal spellings are tabulated in the top part of Table 6.12 (b).

Spellings of *–or* as a false morpheme, in *ancestors, doctor, error, liquor, mogor ('mogul'), tutor* are shown in the lower part of Table 6.12 (b).

		C	F	1667
Morphemic	–or(–)	10 (38%)	1 (100%)	18 (69%)
PresE –or	–our(–)			8 (31%)
	–er(–)	16 (62%)		
Non–	–er(–)	5 (26%)		
morphemic	–or(–)	14 (74%)	3 (100%)	8 (62%)
PresE –or	–our(–)			5 (38%)

Table 6.12 (b): PresE –or

In the above table it should be noted that the ⟨er⟩ spellings in C all occur in the word *doctor*, and the ⟨our⟩ spellings in 1667 all occur in the word *error*, which is also spelt with ⟨or⟩.

6.2.6 –ate

In Table 6.13 all non–word–initial syllabic PresE –ate spellings are listed with the exception of the French term *pesate.* The words included are: *abate, accommodate, appropriate, consecrate, create, dedicate, degenerate, delicate, demonstrate, desperate, dilate, facilitate, immediate, imitate, incorporate, intemperate, moderate, necessitate, obstinate, operate, participate, private, separate, temperate, translate, vindicate.*

	C	F	1667
–ate	42		19
–att		1	
–atte		1	
–ated	30	2	17
–ating(e)	1		3
–ately			4
–atlye	4		
–ates	2		

Table 6.13: All PresE syllabic –ate

6.2.7 –able and –ible

The distribution of the spellings with ⟨a⟩ and with ⟨i⟩ in *–able/ly* and *–ible/ly* is exactly the same in all texts as in PresE, and there is no spelling variation within the suffixes.

The following words in *able* were found in the texts: *abominable, admirable, answerable, capable, chargeable, commendable, comparable, considerable, curable, damnable, favourable, honourable, immovable, intolerable, irreasonable [sic.], irreparable, peaceable, probable, reasonable* and *unreasonable.* C showed 42 incidences of ⟨able⟩, F showed 3, and 1667 showed 25.

Words in ⟨ible⟩ in the texts are *forcible, horrible, impossible, incredible, insensible, possible* and *sensible.* The word *docible* is also found, consistently spelt with ⟨ible⟩[166]. Including this word, there are 97 instances of *–ible* words in C, 5 in F and 32 in 1667.

6.2.8 –dom

Occurrence of this suffix in the texts is confined to four words, whose various spellings are set out in table 6.14.

		C	F	1667
	christendom			1
	christendome	1		1
	freedom			1
	freedome		1	
	freedum̄	3		
	kingdom			4
	kingdome	3		
	kingdoume	2		
	kingdomes	2		
	kingdoumes	1		
	wisdom			2
	wisdome	4		
Summary:	–dom(–)	10 (62%)	1 (100%)	9 (100%)
	–doum(–)	3 (19%)		
	–dum(–)	3 (19%)		

Table 6.14: PresE –dom

6.2.9 –ed

In order to see whether the spellings of these words vary according to grammatical function, phonetic correspondence or just randomly, they are listed below in 3 tables. All the spellings of words which would now be spelt with *–ed* are first shown in Table 6.15 (a).

	C	F	1667
–ed	591 (44%)	86 (51%)	462 (60%)
–de	405 (30%)	20 (12%)	
–et	2 (<1%)	2 (1%)	
–te	336 (25%)	23 (14%)	
–d	6 (1%)	38 (22%)	1 (<1%)
–'d			110 (16%)
–t	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	102 (14%)
–'t			26 (4%)

Table 6.15 (a): All –ed words

Secondly, in Tables 6.15 (b) and (c), the spellings are analysed according to grammatical function. Here we meet the well–known problem of determining the grammatical function of these words. Of the three sorts of *–ed* verbs, simple past, participles and adjectives, the last two are, in PresE, often virtually impossible to distinguish from each other. Quirk and Greenbaum note that:

> 'Often the difference between the adjective and the participle is not clear–cut, and lies in the verbal force retained by the latter'
> (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:140)

and in the idiom of another era the verbal force of an *–ed* form is not always clear. Although it is sometimes possible to tell that an *–ed* form is acting as participle or as adjective, the many times that this is not possible require the analysis not to treat these two performances of *–ed* verbs separately. These two closely–related categories of *–ed* words are therefore analysed together as *–ed* participles/adjectives.

In the Table 6.15 (b): simple past spellings, the words from which the table was compiled are: *abused, admired, ambled, anatomised, answered, appeared, applied, armed, asked, called, charged, commended, considered, cried, crossed, devised, died, dressed, excused, favoured, failed, filled, foaled, galloped, governed, helped, hoped, intended, invened* (meaning unclear), *killed, laughed, leaped, liked, lived, looked,*

married, missed, mounted, noted, observed, offered, perceived, pleased, practised, presented, pressed, promised, pulled, purged, puzzled, received, reigned, removed, repeated, said, seemed, served, settled, showed, spoiled, studied, tied, tormented, trained, treated, trotted, used, wanted, waited.

	C	F	1667
–de	61 (49%)		
–d		2 (33%)	
–'d			12 (24%)
–ed	52 (42%)	3 (50%)	32 (64%)
–te	11 (9%)	1 (17%)	
–t			6 (12%)

Table 6.15 (b): Simple Past

Table 6.15 (c) below was compiled from the spellings of participial/adjectival endings of the following words: *abandoned, above–said, abated, abused, accounted, accustomed, added, advanced, advised, afeared, aged, allumed, altered, amended, anatomised, answered, applied, appointed, appropriated, acquainted, armed, asked, assured, backed, baited, banished, baptised, bastarded, backed, bathed, bestowed, boiled, bowed, called, caused, changed, charged, cherished, circumscribed, closed, clothed, coated, coloured, combed, comed*[167], *commanded, committed, compared, compassed, composed, compounded, conceived, concerned, considered, constrained, consumed, contented, continued, converted, corrected, covered, coupled, crossed, curbed, cured, curled, debauched, decayed, deceased, deceived, deformed, delivered, derived, described, deceived, desired, determined, devised, died, defused, deformed, dilated, discomposed, discouraged, discoursed, disordered, displaced, displeased, disposed, dissolved, distempered, disunited, divided, dogged, dressed, dried, eased, encircled, enclosed, enlarged, enquired, enthroned, erred, established, esteemed, ex-*

[167] This is found once in F. Could it possibly be a Northernism, influenced by Scottish English? Devitt 1989:23 cites Smith 1902 as mentioning a 'tendency of Scots–English to shift strong class verbs into the weak class, writing *cumit* rather than *cum* or *cumen*' (Smith 1902:xxxvii), although (she points out) Murray (1873:201) cites *cumit* as a particular lexical case rather than part of a larger tendency.

amined, excused, exempted, expressed, extended, famed, fashioned, fastened, ill–favoured, fenced, filled, filletted, finished, fired, firmed, fitted, fixed, foaled, followed, forced, fortified, fothered (meaning unclear), *foundered, foxed, furnished, gained, galloped, girded, glued, governed, graced, haltered, handed, handled, hardened, hearted, hastened, heated, helped, hindered, hooved, housed, hulled, ill–fired, imagined, informed, infused, inspired, instructed, invented, joined, judged, killed, laid, lamed, lapped, laughed, leapt, learnt, handed, legged, lifted, lined, littered, lived, loosened, marked, meant, melted, mended, mentioned, mingled, mixed, moistened, mortified, mounted, moved, muscled, named, narrowed, natured, nailed, necked, necessitated, nursed, observed, operated, ordained, ordered, painted, paced, perceived, performed, persuaded, picked, pinched, placed, planted, pleased, pleated, ploughed, powdered, practiced, praised, prayed, prejudiced, presented, preserved, pressed, printed, produced, promised, proportioned, proved, pulled, punished, purchased, purged, raised, received, reclaimed, recovered, reduced, refined, refused, removed, repeated, represented, required, resolved, rested, returned, revenged, rewarded, robed, ruined, sacred, saddled, said, satisfied, saved, scoured, scraped, searched, separated, served, settled, shaped, showed, shipped, shod, shunned, sized, slackened, slacked, soled* (in 'soled shoe'), *sorted, soiled, spoiled, spurred, starved, stayed, stitched, stoned, stopped, straightened, stretched, studied, stuffed, subjected, suppled* (made supple), *surfeited, surprised, sustained, talked, tethered, tempered, tied, tired, tormented, touched, trained, translated, travelled, tried, troubled, trounced, tumbled, tuned, turned, unconstrained, undressed, united, unsettled, urged, used, valued, wakened, walked, washed, watered, weakened, weaned, whetted, winded, wished.*

Spellings which occur only once in C are ⟨pull̇'de⟩ and ⟨prestte⟩; spellings occuring once only in F are ⟨tiede⟩ and ⟨pincht⟩; and in 1667 the single case of ⟨–d⟩ occurs in ⟨inlargd⟩.

In both simple past and participles/adjectives the variation between *–ed* endings spelt with ⟨d⟩ or ⟨t⟩ has some possible phonetic correlation. That is, the ⟨t⟩ spellings occur after segments probably pronounced with the following unvoiced sounds: /k/, /p/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ks/, /tʃ/. ⟨t⟩ spellings also occur after some /r/ and some /n/.

	C	F	1667
–de	327 (27%)	17 (10%)	
–'de	1 (<1%)		
–'d			96 (15%)
–d	4 (<1%)	42 (25%)	1 (<1%)
–ed	546 (45%)	81 (49%)	423 (66%)
–ede	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	
–et	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	
–te	328 (27%)	21 (14%)	
–tte	1 (<1%)		
–'t			26 (4%)
–t	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	92 (15%)

Table 6.15 (c): Participial and Adjectival –ed

6.2.10 Comparative –er

The comparative morph {er} is spelt ⟨er⟩ throughout all three texts.

6.2.11 –en

The spellings of this morph, which acts as a past participal or plural ending or converts nouns to verbs or adjectives, is shown in Table 6.16. Here its spellings in the following words are examined: *barren, beaten, broken, children, chosen, christendom, citizen, eaten, embolden, fasten, fatten, forgiven, given, golden, gotten, hasten, lengthen, loosen, mistaken, oxen, quicken, ridden, risen, shorten, shotten, slacken, spoken, stiffen, stolen, straighten, taken, threaten, waken, weaken, widen, woolen* and *written* are examined.

	C	F	1667
⟨en⟩	45 (29%)	7 (18%)	70 (67%)
⟨en–⟩	54 (35%)	30 (75%)	18 (17%)
⟨eñ⟩	52 (33%)		
⟨n–⟩	4 (3%)	3 (7%)	17 (16%)

Table 6.16 (a): Morphemic –en

Syllabic but non–morphemic PresE ⟨–en⟩ in the words *dozen, even, garden, happen, linnen, often, open, seven* and *sudden* are spelt as displayed in Table 6.16 (b).

	C	F	1667
⟨en⟩	45 (48%)	6 (67%)	48 (92%)
⟨en–⟩	5 (5%)	3 (33%)	4 (8%)
⟨eñ⟩	44 (46%)		
⟨n–⟩	1 (1%)		

Table 6.16 (b): non–morphemic syllabic –en

6.2.12 –ful

Table 6.17 was compiled using the following words from the texts: *beautiful, careful, delightful, disgraceful, fearful, flerceful* (meaning unclear), *fruitful, graceful, handful, healthful, hopeful, merciful, needful, plentiful, powerful, skilful, spoonful, unuseful, useful, woeful, wonderful.* There are no false morphemes with this structure.

		C	F	1667
Word–final	–full	54 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (5%)
	–ful			56 (95%)
Non–word–	–fullye	5		
final	–fully	2		6
	–fulste	1		
	–fuleste	4		
	–fuleste	1		
	–fullest			4
	–fulnes	1		1
	–fulls			1
Summary non–	–ll–	7 (50%)		11 (92%)
word–final	–l–	7 (50%)		1 (8%)

Table 6.17: Spellings of PresE –ful(–)

For alternation between single and double ⟨l⟩ depending on following segments see also *–al* above.

6.2.13 –hood

This is an infrequent suffix in the texts, with both C and F containing only the words *childhood* and *falsehood*, each appearing once in each text and always spelt as PresE. There are no words with the suffix in F.

6.2.14 –ic

The words whose morphemic *ic* spellings are shown in the first part of Table 6.18 are: *choleric, phlegmatic, hermaphrodical, methodical, philosophical* and *Polic*, meaning 'Polish'. Words with non–morphemic word–final PresE *–ic*, shown in the second part of the table are: *catholic, logic, music* and *Physic*.

		C	F	1667
morphemic	–ick	9 (75%)		1 (100%)
	–ike	3 (25%)		
	–ical			3
	–icall	2		
	–ically	1		2
non–morphemic	–ick	5 (63%)	1 (100%)	8 (100%)
	–icke		1	
	–ike	3 (37%)		
	–ical			3
	–icall	3	3	

Table 6.18: Spellings of PresE –ic

6.2.15 –ify

The words whose suffixal spellings appear in Table 6.19 are: *beautify, falsify, fortify, magnify, mortify, pacify, qualify, rectify, signify.*

		C	F	1667
Word-final	–ify			5
	–ifie			4
	–efye	5		
	–efie	8		
Summary of final vowel segment	–ie	8 (62%)		4 (44%)
	–y(e)	5 (38%)		5 (56%)
Non–word–final	–ifies			3
	–efies	2		
	–ified	1		1
	–ifi'd			1
	–efieing		1	
	–ifying			2
Summary of first vowel (all cases)	–ef–	15 (94%)	1 (100%)	
	–if–	1 (6%)		16 (100%)

Table 6.19: Spellings of PresE –ify

With only a single exception C shows ⟨e⟩ as the first vowel in the suffix, whereas 1667 has only ⟨i⟩ in this position.

6.2.16 –ing

The many instances of morphemic (and syllabic) *–ing* occurring in the texts, whose spellings are tabulated in Table 6.20, are: *according, accompanying, advancing, ambling, arming, augmenting, backing, beating, beginning, being, bending, biting, bleeding, boiling, bounding, bowing, bowling, breaking, breeding, bringing, bunching, burning, buying, calling, caressing, caring, casting, catching, changing, clapping, clinching, clothing, cocking, coming, commending, composing, concerning, converting, cooling, correcting, corroding, curvetting, covering, cowering, crossing, crouping, curing, cuffing, cunning, cutting, dancing, daubing, delighting, desiring, dying, dieting, differing, diminishing, directing, disobeying, disordering,*

displeasing, doing, doubling, drawing, dressing, drinking, ducking, dusting, eating, embracing, enlarging, envying, exceeding, exercising, falling, fatening, feeding, feeling, finding, finishing, fitting, flattering, flying, foaling, following, forcing, gaining, galloping, gaping, gelding, getting, giving, going, granting, grasping, grouping, hanging, hating, having, hawking, hearing, helping, herring, hitting, holding, housing, Hunings (name), *hunting, hurting, inclining, jeering, jerking, jumbling, journeying, keeping, knowing, laming, lapping, laughing, laying, leading, leaning, leaping, learning, leaving, letting, lying, lifting, lighting, lining, living, looking, loosing, loving, making, maneging* (verbal form of *manège*), *marking, measuring, middling, mingling, mistaking, morning, mourning, moving, naming, obeying, obliging, offending, offering, opening, ordering, paring, participating, pacing, passing, peering, pinching, placing, plaiting, playing, pleasing, pleating, plunging, pointing, poising, prancing, preserving, pressing, pricking, prying, pudding, pulling, punishing, putting, railing, raising, reading, reckoning, rectifying, refreshing, resting, rewarding, riding, rising, rubbing, running, saying, seeing, selling, sending, separating, settling, setting, showing, shilling, shooing, shooting, shuffling, shunning, singing, sitting, slacking, sliding, slipping, sloping, speaking, spurring, standing, staring, starting, staying, sterling, stifling, stopping, straddling, straightening, straining, strengthening, striking, stroking, sucking, suffering, suppling, sustaining, taking, talking, teaching, tending, thinking, threatening, throwing, thrusting, topping, tormenting, touching, trampling, travelling, trotting, trusting, trying, tuning, turning, tying, understanding, undertaking, unwilling, using, vaulting, walking, wanting, warning, washing, watering, waving, weighing, wearing, whetting, whistling, whoring, willing, working, wrangling, writing, yearing.*

		C	F	1667
Morphemic	–ing	9	207	851
	–inge	1455	13	
	–enge	45		
	–en	*2		
	–ynge	1		
	–ingest(e)	1		1
	–ingly(e)	6		6
	–inges	21		
	–ings			21
	–englye	**1		
Summary: vowel spellings	–i–	1492 (97%)	220 (100%)	879 (100%)
	–y–	1		
	–e–	48 (3%)		
Non–morphemic	–ing	***1	35	270
	–inge	463	22	

* ⟨coroden⟩ (1) and ⟨stayen⟩ (1); ** ⟨flaterenglye⟩; *** ⟨thing⟩

Table 6.20: Spellings of PresE –ing

The words from which the spellings of non–morphemic *–ing* are taken are: *bring, fling, ring, spring* (including *offspring*), *string, thing* (including ***anything,*** *everything, something, nothing*).

6.2.17 –ise and –ize

All PresE *ise* and *ize* suffixes or final segments are spelt ⟨ise⟩ in C and F, and all except those in *anatomize* are so spelt in 1667. Summaries of the incidences of these spellings are shown in Table 6.21.

		C	F	1667
advertise	–ise	2		1
chastisements	–isments	1		
anatomize(d)	–is–	3		
	–ize–			4
baptized	–is–	1		
Non-morphemic:	–ise	117	13	67
all with –ise	–ised	5		3
in PresE	–isde	1		
	–isely			3
	–iser	2		2
	–ises	5		
	–isest			4
	–iseste	5		
	–isinge	1		

Table 6.21: Spellings of PresE stressed –ise and –ize

PresE spelling of the morphemic segment is variable, and dictionaries often present both spellings as alternatives. In the table above the spellings suggested by Collins have been followed, although in both words with ⟨ize⟩ the ⟨s⟩ spelling is also given.

Non–morphemic *ise*: The table summarises occurrences of this segment, which was found in the following words: *advise, despise, devise, exercise, likewise, rise, slopewise, surprise, wise.*

6.2.18 –ish

Morphemic and non–morphemic –ish is usually spelt ⟨ishe⟩ in C, with only two exceptions, both in the word *English*, which is also spelt with ⟨ishe⟩ 28 times in this text. The segment is spelt ⟨ish⟩ with only one exception (⟨Cavendishe⟩) in

1667. There are not enough instances of this segment in F to make any reliable observations, the only instances of *ish* being spelt ⟨ish(–)⟩. The words in which this segment was found, and whose spellings are presented in Table 6.22, are: *astonish, banish, burnish, Cavendish, cherish, Cornish, diminish, English, establish, finish, fish, foolish, furnish, Irish, jadish, lickerish*[168], *lumpish, nourish, publish, punish, radish, skittish, slavish, Spanish, Swedish, ticklish, Turkish* and *wish*.

	C	F	1667
–ish	2	3	108
–ishe	132		1
–ished	2		4
–ish'd			2
–isht			4
–ishte	5		
–ishes	3		2
–isheste	1		
–ishing		1	2
–ishinge	3		
–ishlye	2		
–ishment			4
–ishmente	8		
–ishmentes	1		
–ishments	1	1	

Table 6.22 Syllabic –ish

6.2.19 –ity

Tables 6.23 (a) and (b) show the spellings of the *–ity* segment of the following words: *ability, agility, alacrity, authority, commodity, curiosity, diversity, ex-*

[168] *Collins* gives both **lickerish** or **liquorish** (in this order) as spellings. It occurs once in 1667, spelt ⟨liquorish⟩.

tremity, familiarity, facility, formality, humidity, impossibility, jollity, mediocrity, necessity, nobility, probability, purity, quality, severity, superfluity, university, vanity, vivacity; and *comodities, curiosities, extremities, impossibilities, qualities, superfluities, universities.* The most notable feature of these spellings is the lack of any overlapping in spelling variants between texts: the manuscript texts only show spellings with ⟨e⟩ as the first vowel, and the printed text only shows ⟨i⟩ in this position. It can also be seen that only C ever spells the vowel when final with ⟨ie⟩, whereas F and 1667 have only ⟨y⟩ spellings finally.

	C	F	1667
–etie	12		
–ettye	1		
–etye	71	1	
–ety	5	7	
–ity			42

	C	F	1667
–eties	17		
–etyes	1		
–etyes		1	
–ities		2	9

Tables 6.23 (a) and (b): PresE ⟨ity⟩ and ⟨ities⟩

The C spellings of 6.23 (b) also uniformly show ⟨e⟩ as the first vowel of the segment, and unlike 6.23 (a) there are a couple of ⟨i⟩ spellings in F. As in Table 6.23 (a) 1667 has only ⟨i⟩ in this position.

The words *gaiety, propriety, rarety, safety subtlety, variety* are spelt in the texts as shown in Table 6.23 (c) below.

	C	F	1667
–etie	1		
–etye	8		
–ety		2	5
–ity			1

Table 6.23 (c) PresE ⟨ety⟩

6.2.20 –ive

Both C and 1667 show ⟨–ive⟩ (written ⟨iue⟩ in C) spelling for this morpheme; there is no occurrence of morphemic *–ive* in F. The five words which show {–ive} are: *apprehensive* (C=1, 1667=2), *attentive* (1667=1), *operative* (1667=2), *restive* (C=6), *vindictive* (C=1).

Non–morphemic PresE *–ive*, whether syllabic or not, is also always spelt ⟨ive⟩ or ⟨iue⟩ in all texts (238 instances in C, 35 in F and 174 in 1667). These are found in *deprive, derive, drive, endive, five, forgive, give, live, olive, positive, prerogative, strive, thrive, wives.*

6.2.21 –less

Only four occurrences of the {less} morpheme occur in the texts. These are: ⟨sensles⟩ once in C, ⟨vnless⟩ and ⟨unless⟩ once in each of C and 1667, and ⟨useless⟩ once in 1667.

6.2.22 –ly

Words with morphemic *–ly* in the text are: *abominably, absolutely, abundantly, accordingly, admirably, amply, aptly, boldly, bravely, briefly, carefully, constantly, certainly, circularly, civilly, cleanly, clearly, comely, commonly, completely, consequently, constantly, continually, conveniently, craftily, cruelly, curiously, dayly, deadly, delicately, deservedly, diligently, directly, discretely, dis-*

gracefully, disorderly, duly, eagerly, earnestly, easily, effectually, equally, especially, exactly, excellently, extravagantly, extremely, falsely, familiarly, fervently, fifthly, finely, firmly, flatteringly, foolishly, formerly, fourthly, freely, frequently, fully, furiously, generously, gently, gracefully, graciously, gravely, handsomely, hardly, heartily, heavily, highly, horribly, humbly, ignorantly, ill-favouredly, immediately, impatiently, incredibly, infallibly, infinitely, insensibly, instantly, judiciously, justly, kingly, knowingly, lately, leisurely, lightly, likely, licentiously, lively, maliciously, manly, meanly, merely, methodically, mightily, moderately, naturally, neatly, necessarily, newly, niggardly, nimbly, nobly, obliquely, oddly, only, orderly, ordinarily, peaceably, perfectly, perpetually, particularly, purely, philosophically, plainly, pleasantly, positively, possibly, powerfully, presently, princely, properly, proportionably, punctually, quickly, quietly, rarely, readily, really, rebelliously, regularly, restily, restively, rightly, roundly, safely, scarcely, secondly, secretly, seriously, severely, sharply, shortly, sickly, smartly, softly, soundly, steadily, strangely, strictly, strongly, subtley, suddenly, sufficiently, surely, swiftly, thirdly, timely, totally, truly, uncomely, unorderly, unruly, untowardly, utterly, violently, warmly, willingly, wisely, wonderfully, worthily.

		C	F	1667
Morphemic	–ley	3	6	
	–leye	141	2	
	–lie	1		
	–ly	43	31	587
	–lye	924	1	
Summary	–ley(e)	144 (13%)	8 (20%)	
	–ly(e)	967 (87%)	32 (80%)	587 (100%)
	–lie	1 (<1%)		
Non–morphemic	–ley	1		5
	–leye	22		
	–lye	32	1	
	–ly	7	6	28
Summary (non)	–ley(e)	23 (37%)		5 (15%)
–morphemic	–ly(e)	39 (63%)	7 (100%)	28 (85%)

Table 6.24 (a): Spellings of PresE –ly

The words used for the second part (non–morphemic) of the table *–ly* are: *belly, Chamberly, Filly, folly, Italy, melancholly, Willy.*

We should not forget those words which now end with syllabic ⟨ley⟩ which is now and most probably was, by the 17th century, pronounced the same as syllabic ⟨ly⟩. There are only three in the texts (F has none of them), being *barley, galley* and *pulley*; their spellings are (see Table 6.24 (b)):

C	1667
barleye 8	barley 13
galleye 1	galley 1
puleye 1	

Table 6.24 (b): PresE –ley

6.2.23 –ment

The following words with *–ment* are found in the text and form the basis of Table 6.25: *argument, augment, chastisment, contentment, disparagement, divertisment, element, experiment, instrument, judgement, ornament, ointment, punishment, torment.*

	C	F	1667
–ment		1	23
–mente	36	1	
–ments	9	1	9
–mentes	3		
–mented	2		1
–menting			1
–mentinge	3		

Table 6.25

6.2.24 –ness

Table 6.26 was compiled from the spellings of: *business, coldness, comeliness, darkness, deafness, dullness, faintness, falseness, firmness, fruitfulness, fullness, gentleness, goodness, handsomness, healthfulness, highness, justness, kind-*

ness, lameness, largeness, lightness, liveliness, loveliness, maliciousness, manliness, miraculousness, obliqueness, readiness, ridiculousness, restiness, restiveness, shortness, sickliness, sickness, stiffness, suppleness, sweetness, swiftness, uncomeliness, unquietness, viciousness, weakness, wideness.

	C	F	1667
–nes	130 (91%)	12 (100%)	
–ness	13 (9%)		55 (100%)
–neses	3 (100%)		
–nesses			1 (100%)

Table 6.26

6.2.25 –our

Although this is not a true morpheme, its characteristic spelling in PresE occurs often enough to endow it with a semi–morphemic status. The words in the text which now have this spelling are: *colour, favour, honour, humour, labour, neighbour, rancour, rigour, savour, valour.*

This segment has been included here, because its pseudo–morphemic position and its spelling patterns may usefully be contrasted with those listed under Table 6.12 (b) (PresE *–or* words). Most of these words are spelt with ⟨or⟩ in C and with ⟨our⟩ in 1667, with the exceptions of *colour* (which has six different spellings for the final syllable) and *rigour* (which has one ⟨ur⟩ spelling). F shows both ⟨or⟩ and ⟨our⟩. The full list of all PresE *–our* spellings is presented in Table 6.27 below.

WORD		C	F	1667
colour	–er	13		
	–er–	23		
	–or	1		
	–our	2		our 9
	–ower	7		
	–ower–	2		
	–owr–	2		
	–owre(–)	2		
	–our–	1		14
Favour	–or(–)	3	2	
	–our(–)		7	5
Honour	–or	6		
	–our(–)			9
Humour	–or(–)	3		
Labour	–or(–)	13		
	–our			9
Neighbour	–our			1
Rancour	–or	1		
Rigour	–or	2		
	–ur	1		
Savour	–or–	1		
Valour	–or	1		
	–our			1

Table 6.27 (a): Spellings of syllabic PresE –our

	C	F	1667
–er(–)	36 (43%)		
–or(–)	31 (37%)	2 (22%)	
–our(–)	3 (3%)	7 (78%)	48 (100%)
–ower(–)	9 (11%)		
–owr(–)	4 (5%)		
–ur(–)	1 (1%)		

Table 6.27 (b): Summary of spellings of syllabic PresE –our

6.2.26 –ous

The following *–ous* words are found: *commodious, curious, dangerous, erronious, famous, furious, generous, glorious, gracious, licencious, malicious, marvellous, miraculous, mountainous, nauseous, nervous, pernicious, presumptious, rebellious, ridiculous, serious, spacious, superfluous, tedious, timorous, various, vicious, umbrageous.*

PresE Form		C	F	1667
–ious	ious*	1 (<1%)	3 (60%)	45 (92%)
	ieus	1 (<1%)		
	eous			1 (2%)
	eioes	1 (<1%)		
	ius	56 (95%)	2 (40%)	
	uous**			3 (6%)
–ous	ous(–)	46 (79%)	3 (100%)	31 (100%)
	us(–)	12 (21%)		

* ⟨dangerious⟩, ** ⟨presumptuous⟩ (3)
(also found in 1667 is the spelling ⟨presumptious⟩ (1).)

Table 6.28: –ious and –ous

6.2.27 –s

As an inflexion, PresE use of word–final –s marks the possessive case or plural number of native English nouns, and the third singular person of weak or 'regular' verbs in the present tense. *–s* undertook all three of these functions in 17th century English, although alternative strategies remained for each of these functions (although not always in all words).

Possessive –s

Although use of word–final *–s* to indicate the possessive case was very common from ME times, the old alternative sentence structure involving the possessive pronoun is still found in EModE writings[169]. As was seen in 5.3.7 (possessive apostrophe) Newcastle uses this strategy in PwV22 f.15^{r}: 'a Horse his Leggs'. The modern convention of using an apostrophe as a further marker of the possessive case was used by some writers and printers but, as Tables 6.29 (a) – (d) show,

[169] As in, for instance, the titles of the 1649 pamphlets *King Charls his tryal in London* and *King Charls his Speech made upon the Scaffold.*

this was often sporadic, and frequently (perhaps in the majority of manuscript writings) was not used at all. Where apostrophe is used in EModE writing, it is not generally found for possessive plurals, which means that possessive plurals are not differentiated from other regular (–s inflected) plurals.

The tables below show the spellings of possessive inflexions as found in the three sample texts. Possessives have been separated into singular and plural, and within these categories into those which do and those which do not have morpheme–boundary ⟨e⟩ in PresE, and those whose inflexions are pronounced as separate syllables (due to a preceeding sibillant segment).

Singular Possessives.

Possessives where PresE has non–syllabic ⟨'s⟩ are found in *admiral's, Alexander's, body's, barb's, Blundevil's, book's, boy's, brewer's, bull's, camel's, cavesson's, colt's, courser's, Denmark's, finger's, foal's, gentleman's, God's, hog's, horseman's, host's, jockey's, John's, king's, majesty's, man's, master's, Mazin's, mogul's, month's, North's, Oldenberg's, Paulett's, Pignatel's, Pluvinel's, Polander's, rider's, Rutland's, soldier's, Spain's, year's.* The spellings of these segments are shown in Table 6.29 (a).

C	F	1667
–s 61 (74%)	–s 5 (83%)	–s 31 (23%)
		–'s 23 (17%)
–es 21 (26%)	–es 1 (17%)	–es 6 (4%)
		–e's 68 (50%)
		–e';s 1 (1%)
		–ies 7 (5%)

Table 6.29 (a): Where PresE has non–syllabic –'s

PresE non–syllabic ⟨–e's⟩ in *Broue's, jade's, mare's, mule's, nature's, Newcastle's, one's, state's, Swede's, swine's* are tabulated in 6.29 (b).

	C	F	1667
–s	2 (14%)		
–es	11 (79%)	2 (100%)	8 (89%)
–e's			1 (11%)
–is*	1 (7%)		

Table 6.29 (b): Where PresE has non–syllabic –e's

* ⟨Jadis⟩

Singular Possessives where PresE has syllabic *–'s or –s'*[170]: these are tabulated in Table 6.29 (c).

	C	F	1667
Bankes's (name)			1
horses	174	31	77
horse's			32

Table 6.29 (c): Where PresE has syllabic –'s or –s'

It should be noted that in the MSS spelling ⟨horses⟩, singular and plural possessives (or, indeed non–possessive plural) are not orthographically distinguished. This, combined with the unreliability of third–person inflexions and the often loose sentence structure, leads on many occasions to ambiguity. For this reason there is no attempt in Table 6.29 (c) to separate singular or plural possessive of this word.

[170] *Hart's Rules* advises using *–'s* 'for possessive case in English names and surnames whenever possible; ie. in all monosyllables and disyllables, and in longer words accented on the penult' (p.31). Examples such as *Charles's* are given, and it is made clear that this use of apostrophe is related in such cases to pronunciation of a separate syllable. Variable use is nevertheless indicated by the statement that 'Euphony may decide the addition or omission of 's. It is often omitted when the last syllable of the name is pronounced *–iz*, as in Bridges', Moses'.

Plural Possessives.

PresE *–s'*: *bunglers', carriers', cats', sumpters'* and *windmills'* are spelt with ⟨–s⟩

in C, and *brewers', bulls', carriers', cats', logicians'* and *soldiers'* are also spelt with ⟨–s⟩ in 1667. C shows two ⟨–es⟩ spellings, found in *days' and stalks'*, and 1667 has ⟨–es⟩ in *days'*.

The few spellings of PresE ⟨–es'⟩ and ⟨–ies⟩ that occur in the texts (in *bodies', horses', wives'*) are the same as now. C has ⟨horses⟩ (2) and ⟨wives⟩ (1), and 1667 has ⟨bodies⟩ (1)[171] and ⟨horses⟩ (2). Once again F provides no examples.

Only three other plural possessives in the texts (but not in F) remain to be mentioned: *men's*, spelt ⟨mens⟩ (C=2, 1667=1), *ours*, spelt ⟨ours⟩ (C=2, 1667=2), and *theirs* spelt ⟨theirs⟩ (1667=1).

Plural and Verbal –s

The spelling of the inflexions which mark plural number and third singular person are in PresE governed by the following pronunciation–based rules[172]:

- Where the base form ends in either of the sounds /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, or /ž/ (including the affricates /tʃ/ and /dž/). Here the inflexion is spelt ⟨es⟩ — involving addition of ⟨s⟩ to those base forms whose final letter is ⟨e⟩[173], or ⟨es⟩ to those whose final letter is a consonant[174] — and is pronounced as a separate, unstressed syllable.

- Where a word–final unstressed syllable ends in ⟨y⟩, the spelling of the inflected syllable is ⟨ies⟩.

- In all other cases the letter ⟨s⟩ is added to the base form (and no separate syllable is formed).

171 This occurs in the phrase 'bodies helps', where *bodies* is possessive and *helps* is plural.

172 The possessive suffix is governed by the same pronunciation rules, but its spelling is not affected by them to the same extent.

173 *eg horses, forces.*

174 *eg princesses, catches.*

In order to show differences and similarities of practice between the 17th century texts and between these and PresE practice, four tables are shown for each of the following two sections. These relate to:

(1) Where PresE shows non–syllabic ⟨s⟩;

(2) Where PresE shows non–syllabic ⟨es⟩[175] (excluding ⟨ies⟩ spellings);

(3) Where PresE shows syllabic ⟨es⟩; and

(4) Where PresE shows ⟨ies⟩.

Plural –s:

In EModE a few words which now take the regular *–s* plural suffix are found in their older plural forms. These include *shooen* for 'shoes' (not in the texts considered here) and *kine* for 'cows' (see PwV22 f21^{v})[176]. The tables below were compiled from all –s inflected plural nouns in the three texts.

		C	F	1667
PresE ⟨s⟩	–s	1909 (51%)	386 (78%)	1812 (91%)
	–es	1818 (49%)	112 (22%)	171 (9%)
	–ies*	1		
PresE ⟨es⟩	–s	41 (4%)	12 (8%)	18 (4%)
	–es	909 (96%)	136 (92%)	418 (96%)

* ⟨campanies⟩, meaning *campaigns*

Table 6.29 (d): PresE non–syllabic plural inflexions

[175] eg *makes*.

[176] Newcastle also uses the word *kye* for 'cow', see PwV21 f165^{v}.

		C	F	1667
PresE Syllabic	–es	1244	126	680
⟨*es*⟩	–eies		1	
	–eyes	7		
	–eys	1		
	–ies			3*
	–yes	1		
⟨*ies*⟩	–ies	67	2	62
	–eies	2	1	
	–es	6	1	
	–eyes	10		
	–eys	2		5
	–is	2		
	–yes	5	1	
	–ys	1		

* ⟨extravagancies⟩ (1), ⟨inconveniencies⟩ (2)

Table 6.29 (e): PresE syllabic plural inflexions

verbal –s or –th

In the course of the 17th century the *–th* ending of third person singular verbs was gradually replaced by the *–s* ending which is now used in standard written PresE. Both forms were found in the MS and printed texts, but strictly confined to a few words only. The two tables following show (1) the spellings of those verbs using *–s* in the third person singular, and (2) the spellings of those verbs using *–th*. This is the main difference between the present tense inflexions of the texts under investigation and those in use in standard, written PresE. The third table in this section relates to the other difference: use of the *–s* inflexion for third person plural subjects. Of these we note that, according to *B & C*:247, they are found

occasionally throughout the EModE period[177].

(1) Third Person Singular *-s* inflexions

C	F	1667
-s 596	-s 68	-s 533
-es 817	-es 119	-es 46
		-'s *2

C	F	1667
-s 5		
-es 872	-es 127	-es 360

* rebell's 1; scoure's 1

Table 6.29 (f): PresE non-syllabic ⟨s⟩ and Table 6.29 (g): PresE non-syllabic ⟨es⟩

C	F	1667
-es 186	-es 31	-es 75

C	F	1667
-ies 5	-ies 1	-ies 18
	-yes 10	-yes 2

Table 6.29 (h): PresE syllabic ⟨es⟩ and Table 6.29 (i): PresE ⟨ies⟩

(2) Third Person Singular *-th* Inflexions

Syntactic factors are in evidence in the preponderance of certain modal verbs amongst whose verbs whose third person endings are spelt ⟨th⟩. These are *hath*

[177] A list of these verbs with their contexts is provided in appendix B. Many of the instances of *-s* inflexion for third person plural occur with what we may call an aggregate subject, that is a single subject which refers to a composite thing, such as 'foreparts', 'spurs'. Similarly, the *-s* inflexion is found where the verb relates to more than one subject, such as in 1667, Sig 2I2^{r}: 'Moist Feeding, and Exercise, breeds great corruption'. On a number of other occasions the subject is separated from the verb by an inserted clause.

C	F	1667
bringeth 1		bringeth 1
cometh 1		
coumeth 2		
corecteth 1		
doth 209	doth 17	doth 77
feareth 1		
goeth 1		
hapneth 1		
hath 163	hath 21	hath 108
holdeth 1		
maketh 1		
rayseth 1		
		returneth 1
riseth 2		
		saith 1
serueth 2		serveth 1
		teacheth 1
		waxeth 1

C	F	1667
bringes 40	bringes 6	brings 15
coumes 50	comes *9	comes 22
corects 1		
does 4		
fears 1		fears 2
feares 3		
goes 280	goes 51	goes 108
hapens 3	hapens 1	happens 2
has 1		
holdes 14	holdes 1	holds 8
makes 366	makes 33	makes 122
rayses 3	rayses 2	raises 4
rises 29	rises 2	rises 14
sayes 44	sayes 1	sayes 30
serues 10		serves 1
teaches 1		

Tables 6.29 (j) and (k)

and *doth*, which show the highest incidences of this ending in all texts. The figures are shown in Table 6.29 (j).

Table 6.29 (k) shows the other spellings of all the *–th* 3rd person inflexions shown in Table 6.299 (j). It should be noted that 3 of the 9 ⟨comes⟩ spellings in F relate to 3rd person plural subjects.

(3) Third Person Plural *–s* Inflexions

C	F	1667
–s 5	–s 2	–s 5
–es 52	–es 19	–es 1

C	F	1667
–es 75	–es 15	–es 5

Table 6.29 (l): Non–syllabic ⟨s⟩ and Table 6.29 (m): non–syllabic ⟨es⟩

C	F	1667
–es 4	–es 1	

C	F	1667
–ies 3		
–is 1		
	–yes 8	

Tables 6.29 (n): Syllabic ⟨es⟩ and 6.29 (o): PresE ⟨ies⟩

6.2.28 –ship

This suffix is found in only two words in the texts: *horsemanship* and *courtship*. The various spellings are presented in Table 6.30.

C	F	1667
–ship 43	–ship 1	–ship 46
–shipe 1	–shipe 1	
–shipp 8		
–shipes 1		

Table 6.30

6.2.29 Superlative –(e)st

The words used for Table 6.31 (a), many of which are not now permitted in 'correct' PresE usage, are: *bravest, cheapest, chiefest, disgracefullest, dullest, easiest, eldest, falsest, farthest, finest, firmest, fittest, foolishest, furthest, gentlest, gracefullest, greatest, handsomest, hardest, healthfullest, highest, hopefullest, justest, largest, lightest, likliest, loftiest, longest, lovingest, meanest, narrowest, neatest, nearest, noblest, perfectest, principalest, properest, proudest, quietest, rarest, readiest, simplest, slowest, soonest, stillest, strangest, strongest, stubbornest, surest,*

swiftest, thinnest, truest, usefullest, weakest, widest, wisest, woefullest[178].

C	F	1667
–est 3	–est 2	–est 96
–este 140	–este 16	
–ste* 3		

* disgrasefulste 1, principalste 1, stuburnste 1

Table 6.31 (a): syllabic –est

Here we see, as in so many other suffixes, that the MS texts consistently make use of word–final ⟨e⟩ whereas 1667 never does. The same pattern is found in the spellings of superlative *–st*, which are set out in Table 6.31 (b).

[178] 1667 contains a number of the forms which are not allowed in PresE, notably *beautifullest, disgracefullest, healthfullest, lovingest* and *woefullest*. This is one of the few occasions in which 1667 does not change MS forms into ones closer to PresE usage.

C	F	1667
best 1 beaste 2 beste 154	beste 17	best 93
first 1 firste 168 furste 1	firste 18	first 83
formoste 2		
inmoste 1 iñmoste 1		
laste 32 lastte 1	laste 3	last 14
leaste 36	leaste 4	least 21
most 1 moste 193	moste 32	most 122
worste 15	worste 1	worst 12

Table 6.31 (b): all words incorporating ⟨e⟩–less superlative morph

6.2.30 –sion & –tion

Words found in the texts with morphemic PresE *–sion* are: *apprehension, commission, infusion, profession* and *reprehension.* Apart from for the word *profession*, these are consistently spelt with ⟨tion⟩ in C (see Table 6.32 (a)). The non–morphemic words in PresE *–sion* shown in the second part of this table are *occasion* and *passion.* C spell both with ⟨tion⟩, but has one ⟨sion⟩ spelling for *passion.*

The words used in compiling Table 6.32 (b) below are: *action, addition, affection, alteration, ambition, application, commendation, composition, condition, conjuration, consideration, contradiction, correction, corruption, digestion, description, discretion, disposition, distinction, edition, estimation, exception, execution, fiction, foundation, fortification, generation, imagination, imperfection, inclination, instruction, intention, invention, inspiration, mention, moderation, motion, mutation, nation, navigation, observation, obstruction, operation, opposition, partition, perfection, portion, position, potion, preemption, preparation, procreation, proportion, question, rational, recreation, reation [sic], relation, repetition, reputation, resolution, restoration, satisfaction, section, subjection, supposition, translation, vacation.*

		C	1667
Morphemic	–tion(s)	7	
	–tiõn	2	
	–sion(s)	3	2
	–siõn	1	3
Non–morphemic	–tion(s)	10	
	–tiõn	18	
	–sion(s)	1	9

	C	F	1667
–tion	112	77	169
–tiõn	213		
–tione	2		
–tions	168	10	32

Table 6.32 (a): all PresE –sion and Table 6.32 (b): PresE morphemic –tion

6.2.31 –ward

The words in the texts in which ⟨ward⟩ is found in PresE are: *afterward(s), backward(s), downward(s), Edward, forward, inward(s), outward(s), reward(s), toward(s)* and *upward(s).* Their spellings are tabulated below.

	C	F	1667
–ward	3	197	564
–warde	1899	4	
–word			1
–worde	1		
–warded	1		1
–wardes	121	6	*11
–wordes	1		
–wards	3	6	41
–warder	11		3
–ardlye	1		
–warding		1	1

* all 11 instances are in ⟨forwardes⟩

Table 6.33: All spellings of PresE –ward

Spellings in ⟨o⟩ are found in C in ⟨outworde⟩ and ⟨backwordes⟩, and in 1667 in ⟨outword⟩.

6.2.32 Word–Final –y

The spellings of *–ly, –ity, –ify* discussed earlier are not included here. Spellings of morphemic and non–morphemic unstressed final PresE ⟨–y⟩ are conflated in Table 6.34 (a) because of the frequent difficult of saying whether *–y* in such words is morphemic or not. Nevertheless, the list does not comprise all PresE ⟨–y⟩ spellings, since only those which could, by phonetic analogy (being unstressed in PresE), be considered morphemic are included. Spellings of excluded words are laid out in the following tables 6.34 (b) (c) and (d), to show whether or not the spellings reflect PresE stress patterns or even morphemic identities.

C	F	1667
–eie 2		
–eye 116		
–ey 5	–ey 3	-ey 5
	–i 1	
–ie 263	–ie 2	–ie 10
–y 71	–y 161	–y 930
–ye 1114	4	

Table 6.34 (a): PresE –y (unstressed)

For this table the spellings of the following words were examined: *academy, already, angry, any, anybody, Barbary, beauty, Bessy, blasphemy, blueberry, bloudy, body, bounty, candy, carry, casualty, company, cony*[179], *contrary, country, county, courtesy, customary, dainty, duty, difficulty, dizzy, easy, efficacy, empty, enemy, entry, epitomy, equerry, every, everybody, excellency, extraordinary, fifty, filthy, flabby, flattery, fleshy, foggy, foolery, foppery, forty, fury, gentry, Germany, Ginny, Goldy [Locks], gouty, happy, hasty, heavy, Henry, honesty, Hungary, imaginary, injury, Italy, lady, lazy, liberty, lusty, majesty, many, marry, Mary, martialry, Meggy, memory, mercy, merry, mighty, mystery, mopsy, monkey, Muscovy, musty, naughty, necessary, nobody, ordinary, Peggy, philosophy, pity, plenty, pretty, property, puppy, pursy, ready, remedy, resty, safety, Salisbury, satisfactory, saucy, sinewy, solitary, sorry, steady, stony, study, stuffy, subtlety, suckory, Tartary, tawny, thirty, Titbury, treaty, twenty, unruly, vary, very, weary, witty, worthy.*

[179] *Collins* also gives ⟨coney⟩ as an alternative spelling.

C	1667
–ey 1	–ey 14
–eye 17	
–ye 1	

Table 6.34 (b): PresE –ey (unstressed)

The words with PresE ⟨ey⟩ used for the Table 6.34 (c) are: *farsey, hackney, honey, jockey, journey, money, Turkey*; and the polysyllables whose spellings are indicated in Table 6.34 (c) are *apply* and *awry*.

C	1667
–ie 2	
–y 1	–y 3
–ye 5	

C	F	1667
–ie 21		–ie 5
–y 457	–y 58	–y 170
–ye 107	–ye 1	

Tables 6.34 (c) and (d): PresE stressed –y, polysyllables (c) and monosyllables (d)

The monosyllables in Table 6.34 (d) are: *by, buy, fly, my, ply, shy, try, why* and *wry*.

6.2.33 Conclusions

The following prefixes showed no spelling variation: *arch–, con–, contra–, mal–, mis–, over–, per–, pre–, pro–, re–, sub–, super–, sur–, trans–* and *un–*.

Variation in prefixes was confined to: macrons and consonant doubling in *com–, dis–, im–, ir–* and *un–* (which is summarised in Table 6.35 (a)), and to ⟨i⟩/⟨e⟩ alternation in *de–, dis–* and *en–* (summarised in Table 6.35 (b)).

	WORD	C	F	1667
PresE	*command(-)*	-m̄- 9	-m- 1	-mm- 7
dbl.	*commend(-)*	-m̄- 9	-m̄- 1	-mm- 9
cons.		-m- 1		
	commit/commission	-m̄- 1		-mm- 2
	(in)commod(-)			-mm- 3
	commodity	-m- 2		
	dissolve	-s- 1		-ss— 2
	immoveable	-m- 2		-mm- 2
	irreparable	-r- 1		-rr- 1
	unnatural	-nn- 5		-nn- 3
		-n̄ na- 1		
		-n- 1		
Summary	*macron*	19 (58%)	1 (50%)	
	dbl. cons + macron	1 (3%)		
	Double cons.	5 (15%)		27 (100%)
	Single cons.	8 (24%)	1 (50%)	
PresE	*almost*	-ll- 1	-ll- 1	
sing.		-l- 19	-l- 1	-l- 10
cons.	*altogether*	-l- 1		-l- 1
				-ll- 1
	always	-ll- 12		
		-l- 169	-l- 34	-l- 73
Summary	*Double cons.*	13 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (1%)
	Single cons.	189 (94%)	35 (97%)	84 (99%)

Table 6.35 (a): Prefix–to–base consonant doubling

		C	F	1667
de–	⟨e⟩	132	15	74
	⟨i⟩	9	2	
dis–	⟨e⟩	1		
	⟨i⟩	107	25	72
en–	⟨e⟩			11
	⟨i⟩	90		23

Table 6.35 (b): ⟨i⟩/⟨e⟩ alternation in prefixes

For suffixes the causes of spelling variation were more numerous. Most frequent was consonant doubling, which was the sole cause of variation in *–ful, –ness* and *–ship*, and virtually the only variation found in *–al*. Tables 6.35 (c i) (c ii) and (d) summarise the spellings of these segments.

SUFFIX	C	F	1667
–ness			–ness 55
	–nes 130	–nes 12	
–al	–all 68	–all 17	–all 1
	–al 1		–al 34
	–ell 1		
participle	–tte 1		
	other 1238	*other* 165	*other* 646
–ful	–full 54	–full 7	–full 3
			–ful 56
–ship	–shipp 10		
	–ship 41	–ship 1	–ship 46
	–shipe 1	–shipe 1	

Table 6.35 (c i): Suffix– and word–final double consonants

WORD	C	F	1667
animal	–all 1		
cordial	–all 1		
general	–all 3		–al 5
marshal	–all 1	–all 1	–al 1
principal	–all 7	–all 2	–al 3
several	–all 69	–all 11	–al 35
last	–stte 1		
	–ste 32	–ste 3	–st 14
refer	–err 2		
	–er 2		–er 1

Table 6.35 (c ii): Word–final consonant doubling after false–suffixes

	SUFFIXES	C	F	1667
PresE	*–ages*	–igges 1		–ages 1
–C–	*–ality*	–aletye 1	–allety 1	–ality 1
	–fulness	–fulnes 1		–fulness 4
PresE	*–ally*	–al(e)y(e) 81		
–CC–		–ewlye 1		
		–ally(e) 5	–ally 7	–ally 15
	–illy	–eleye 2		–illy 3
	–fullest	–fuleste 5		–fullest 4
		–fulste 1	–fulste 1	
	–fully	–fully(e) 7		–fully 6
	–nesses	–neses 1		–nesses 1

Table 6.35 (d) Suffix–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling.

The next most frequently occurring variation involved fluctuating use of word–final ⟨e⟩, with the MS texts, in general, showing for more word–final ⟨e⟩ spellings than the printed text. Tables 6.35 (e) and (f) summarise treatment of suffix–final ⟨–e⟩.

For the suffixes which now end in ⟨–e⟩ (that is, *–able, –age, –ance, –ence, –ible,* and *–ate*), all occurrences, with only one exception (⟨seperatt⟩ (F=1)) show word–final ⟨e⟩:

SUFFIX	C	F	1667
able +e	42	3	25
age +e	34		19
ance +e	40	5	19
ence +e	105	10	55
ate +e	43		19
ible +e	97	5	32
TOTALS +e	361	24	169
–e	0	1	0

Table 6.35 (e) Suffixes ending with ⟨e⟩ in PresE

For suffixes which do not end in ⟨e⟩ in Pres E we find more mixed spelling trends. Numbers of words with and without final ⟨e⟩ on these suffixes are shown in the table below; as in all tables, if no number is shown, no such spelling occurs in that text. Of these ⟨e⟩–less PresE suffixes, there are no suffixes which show ⟨e⟩ spellings in all texts, although some texts show preferences for the ⟨e⟩ spellings. In Table 6.35 (f) suffixes which show variation between + or – ⟨e⟩ are shown first, followed by those which never, in any text, show final ⟨e⟩. The totals are given as percentages as well as in the usual numerical forms, because in this case we have sufficient numbers of words for the percentages to be meaningful and perhaps even helpful.

SUFFIX		C	F	1667
al	+e	1		
	−e	151	31	80
ant	+e	66	4	
	−e	2	4	38
dom	+e	20	6	2
	−e	15		19
ed (simple past)	+e	73	1	
	−e	56	5	51
ed (Participial	+e	684	39	
(& adjectival)	−e	555	124	620
ent	+e	216	14	
	−e	4	11	141
hood	+e	1		
	−e	2		1
ic	+e	6	1	
	−e	14	1	9
ify	+e	13		4
	−e			1
ing (morphemic)	+e	1501	13	
	−e	11	207	851
ing (non–	+e	463	22	
mrophemic)	−e	1	35	270
ity	+e	96	1	
	−e	5	9	45
ly	+e	1141	4	
	−e	56	38	639

Table 6.35 (f) — Continued overleaf.

SUFFIX		C	F	1667
–ment	+e	36	1	
	–e		1	23
–our	+e	1		
	–e	48	2	31
–ship	+e	1	1	
	–e	51	1	46
–(e)st	+e	749	91	
	–e	6	2	441
–tion	+e	2		
	–e	328	77	169
–ward	+e	1900	4	
	–e	3	197	565
–ar	–e	89	72	40
–er (morph.)	–e	131	4	35
–er (non morph.)	–e	335	46	183
–or	–e	11	3	8
–full	–e	54	7	59
–ness	–e	143	12	55
–ous	–e	107	9	73
–s (poss.)	–e	287	36	285
–s (pl.)	–e	6026	778	3169
–s (3rd. pers.)	–e	2626	412	1045
–th	–e	387	38	191
TOTALS	+e	6970 (38%)	202 (9%)	6 (0.04%)
	–e	11504 (62%)	2126 (91%)	9183 (99.96%)

Table 6.35 (f) contd. : Suffixes which do not have final ⟨e⟩ in Pres E

We see that, for these suffixes which have no final ⟨e⟩ in PresE, no text shows a majority of ⟨e⟩ spellings when all occurrences are added together. This is not the case if the three {s} suffixes (third person, plural and possessive) are excluded, in which case C shows 73% of ⟨e⟩ forms[180]. In all cases the spellings show variation patterned across texts, with C showing more of the spelling which did not become the standard than F, and 1667 showing the subsequently standard spelling in almost all cases.

Other causes of variation were : alternation betewen ⟨i⟩ and ⟨y⟩, alternation betewen ⟨i⟩ and ⟨e⟩, alternation between ⟨c⟩ and ⟨s⟩ (in *-ence*), the spelling of the vowel in *-ar, -er* and *-or*.

In nearly all cases where variation is present 1667 showed much less spelling variation than the MS texts and also showed more spellings identical with PresE conventions than C or F. This may be demonstrated by listing the affixes for which (only) 1667 invariably demonstrated PresE spellings: *de-* (74 occurrences), *ex-* (190 occurrences), *-age* (24 occurrences), *-ent* (183 occurrences), *-ing* (1149 occurrences), *-ity* and *-ities* (a total of 51 occurrences), morphemic *-ly* (587 occurrences), *-ment* (34 occurrences), *-our* (48 occurrences), *-(e)st* (96 occurrences) and *-tion* (201 occurrences).

[180] If the three {s} suffixes are excluded F shows 18% + ⟨e⟩ and 1667 still only 0.4% of ⟨e⟩ forms.

Chapter VII

Grapheme Variation and Alternation

The spellings of base–forms are investigated in this chapter. It starts with analyses of the three sources of spelling variation in affixes and false affixes that were most frequently found (unstressed vowels, segment–final ⟨e⟩ and consonant doubling), and then continues with examinations of the EModE spelling features listed in chapter I as being mentioned by PresE scholars. These have been arranged into three sections: vowel doubling, graph or digraph alternation and learned and Etymological spellings.

In order to be descriptively useful some of the sections comprise many tables; where this may lead to undue complexity or an obscuring of the main spelling tendencies a table summarising the findings for all spellings of that feature is presented at the beginning of the section.

7.1 Spellings of PresE Unstressed Vowels

This was the most frequent source of spelling variation found in the affixes and false affixes examined in chapter VI. Table 7.1 shows the spellings of unstressed vowels in base–forms. The list of words from which these spellings were taken is not provided because it is neither very informative nor practical, as it comprises nearly all polysyllabic words used in the texts.

PresE letter	Spelling in texts	C	F	1667
⟨a⟩	⟨a⟩	938 (90%)	29 (88%)	733 (99%)
	⟨ay⟩	4 (<1%)		
	⟨e⟩	94 (9%)	3 (9%)	6 (1%)
	⟨o⟩	1 (<1%)	1 (3%)	
	⟨–⟩	3 (<1%)		
⟨e⟩	⟨e⟩	1396 (79%)	152 (69%)	1002 (99%)
	⟨a⟩	363 (21%)	69 (31%)	3 (<1%)
	⟨i⟩			7 (1%)
	⟨o⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨i⟩	⟨i⟩	454 (83%)	41 (93%)	226 (98%)
	⟨e⟩	88 (16%)	4 (7%)	2 (1%)
	⟨y⟩	2 (<1%)		3 (1%)
⟨o⟩	⟨o⟩	978 (71%)	144 (67%)	1256 (100%)
	⟨oo⟩		7 (3%)	
	⟨a⟩	372 (27%)	1 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
	⟨ai⟩		60 (28%)	
	⟨e⟩	1 (<1%)		
	⟨ia⟩		1 (<1%)	
	⟨u⟩	25 (2%)	1 (<1%)	
⟨u⟩	⟨u⟩	354 (89%)	39 (93%)	136 (96%)
	⟨e⟩	2 (1%)		
	⟨i⟩			1 (1%)
	⟨o⟩	40 (10%)	3 (7%)	4 (3%)
SUMMARY	PresE sp	4121 (81%)	405 (73%)	3354 (99%)
	non–PresE sp.	996 (19%)	150 (27%)	30 (1%)

Table 7.1: Vowels in PresE unstressed segments: Base–forms only

7.2 Word– and Morpheme–Final ⟨e⟩

Word–final ⟨e⟩ has been identified by many writers on EModE writing as possibly the most frequently occurring source of spelling variation. Variable use of this ⟨e⟩ in print has often been attributed to printers' efforts at line justification. However much the compositors used this device, we should note that the evidence of these and many other MSS show that the compositors were simply taking advantage of variation that already existed, they were not introducing a new form of variation. The tables in chapter VI showed that it is the second most frequently found variable in the spelling of suffixes in the texts under investigation. This section first shows the treatment of word final –e in all words in all texts (Table 7.2 (a)), then shows how non–suffixed words are spelt in this respect (the suffixal spellings having been shown in Tables 6.35 (a) and (b). Also presented is an analysis of spellings where ⟨e⟩ is morpheme–final, but not word–final.

PresE	In texts	C	F	1667
+ e	+ e	24547 (97%)	2215 (96%)	12007 (100%)
	− e	775 (3%)	97 (4%)	56 (<1%)
− e	− e	73957 (73%)	10641 (84%)	49856 (99%)
	+ e	26668 (27%)	1973 (16%)	624 (1%)

Table 7.2 (a): Word–final ⟨e⟩ — all words

7.2.1 Final ⟨e⟩

7.2 (b i) shows the figures for spellings of those words which take final ⟨e⟩ in PresE, and 7.2 (b ii) shows the figures for spellings of those words which do not take final ⟨e⟩ in PresE. Endings discussed in chapter VI are omitted; together with Table 7.2 (a) these tables cover all occurrences of word–final ⟨e⟩.

	C	F	1667
plus ⟨e⟩	24186 (97%)	2191 (96%)	11838 (100%)
minus ⟨e⟩	775 (3%)	96 (4%)	55 (<1%)

Table 7.2 (b i): non–suffixed words with final ⟨e⟩ in PresE

Almost all of the words which have final ⟨e⟩ in PresE have it in at least one of the spellings (in at least one of the texts), with the following exceptions: *clothe* (spelt ⟨cloth⟩ in C), *enquire* (⟨enquier⟩ and ⟨equier⟩ in C), *baize* (⟨bais⟩ in F and ⟨baies⟩ in 1667), and *shoe* (spelt ⟨shoo⟩ in 1667).

	C	F	1667
plus ⟨e⟩	19698 (24%)	1771 (17%)	618 (1%)
minus ⟨e⟩	62453 (76%)	8515 (83%)	40673 (99%)

Table 7.2 (b ii): non–suffixed words without word–final –e in PresE

A number of words have not been included in the above tables, either because they still have no fixed spelling in regard of word–final ⟨e⟩, or because they are foreign words which have not become anglicised, or because I have not been able to interpret their meaning, so cannot tell what their PresE spelling may be. These words are:

(1) Words which still have no fixed final–⟨e⟩ spelling: ***curvet/courbette***

(2) Some names of people and places: *Antoine, Blundeville, Carasena, Conde, Conestable, Guise* (? ⟨Quise⟩), *Merceane, Ormond, Pankridge, Plessis.*

(3) Foreign words and words of uncertain meaning: ***allegre, angeane, apuy,*** *bardel, broulerie, campanie, cavalcadore,* ***chale, chambriere, croupado/groupado,*** *degourdie, determine* (⟨tetermine⟩ Fr.), ***d'un piste, farge, fure, incavelar, incord,***

racoursi, radopiare, ramase, releve, repolone, retenu, secundine, serpiare, serpient, serpiger, trepignie, tute.

7.2.2 Medial ⟨e⟩

By medial ⟨e⟩ is meant retention of the ⟨e⟩ belonging to the end of the base form of a word, which is lost on addition of most suffixes beginning with vowels except those beginning with ⟨e⟩. In PresE retention of this medial ⟨e⟩ before vowels occurs in the following cases[181]:

(1) In words ending in *-ce* or *-ge* [where] the *e* should be retained to preserve the soft sound of *c* or *g*: bridgeable, changeable, chargeable, noticeable, serviceable ... acknowledgement' (*Hart's Rules*:82, 86). In some cases however, as Vallins 1954:144 notes[182], the ⟨e⟩ is lost even here.

(2) In 'words ending in *ee* [which] retain both letters: agreeable, feeable, foreseeable' (*Hart's Rules*:82)

(3) In some 'words of one syllable in which loss of the final *e* would lead to ambiguity or excessive disguise of the root form'. (*Hart's Rules*:82)

(4) In a small number of other cases. *Hart's Rules* provides only ⟨unshakeable⟩ as an example of these, and even this may be explained as retention of ⟨e⟩ after a monosyllabic base form (*shake*), as noted in the last point above.

In the texts under examination these rules are not always applied. In addition, a pre-suffixal, 'medial', ⟨e⟩ sometimes occurs where no ⟨e⟩ appears at the end of

[181] *Hart's Rules*, which is extensively quoted here, mention these only in relation to retention of ⟨e⟩ before *-age* and, in cases of base forms ending with ⟨-dge⟩, before *-ment*.

[182] He shows, through a comparison of the recommended spellings in *OED*, *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and *Chambers Dictionary* that 'modern practice is pretty evenly divided' (*ibid.*); and checking his examples against updated editions of some of the reference books he used, we find that (in the case of *Chambers* and the *OED* at any rate) this is not so much the case, because these dictionaries are now apparently accepting variation, and listing both alternates without making too many derogatory remarks about either. See, for example, the entries for *Acknowledg(e)ment*: *OED* (2nd edition 1991) '**Acknowledgment**. Also acknowledgement (a spelling more in accordance with English values of letters)'; *Collins* (1990) 'ACKNOWLEDGMENT (sometimes acknowledgement)'. In general it may be noted that the new edition of the *OED* often makes relatively lengthy statements about disputed or variable spellings — see, for instance, the entries under **Ay**, **Aye** and **Accessary** (all words discussed in this paragraph are items mentioned in Vallins 1954).

the base form in PresE spelling. Table 7.2 (c i) shows the treatment of all medial ⟨e⟩s in words with the following suffixes: *-able, -al, -ance, -ant, -dom, -ful, -ing, -less, -ly, -ment, -ness, -ship, -ward* (excluding *reward*).

Words suffixed with segments themselves beginning with ⟨e⟩ (*-ed, -ence, -ent, -est*) are excluded. Similarly, suffixes beginning with ⟨i⟩, with the exception of *-ing*, are left out of the table. This is because in PresE none of these retain the medial ⟨e⟩, and in the texts under examination either the ⟨e⟩ is omitted as in PresE spelling, or an ⟨e⟩ is retained but no suffixal ⟨i⟩ is written (eg ⟨abiletie⟩, which appears once in C), which causes the status of this ⟨e⟩, as either 'medial' or suffixal, to be indeterminable. Words suffixed with *-s* are excluded for more complex reasons: In the first and most easily explicable case, the suffix is occasionally spelt ⟨es⟩ (that is, after segments pronounced with any fricative sound); the other, more elusive, reason is that any other ⟨e⟩ before suffixal *s* is, in present–day perceptions, seen to be word–final rather than 'medial'. This is probably due to the fact that in these cases this suffix comprises only one letter, and does not involve the addition of a syllable in the spoken forms of those words it affects. Finally, words with the suffix *-tion* have been excluded because addition of this suffix involves either addition of a vowel (as in *examine, examination*) or 'merging' of the suffixal ⟨t⟩ with that of the base–form (as in *inhibit, inhibition; relate, relation*).

		C	F	1667
Where PresE	no e	5081 (100%)	437 (86%)	2301 (100%)
has no ⟨e⟩	+ e	9 (<1%)	73 (14%)	4 (<1%)
Where PresE	no e	154 (65%)	10 (45%)	40 (26%)
retains ⟨e⟩	+ e	82 (35%)	12 (55%)	113 (74%)

Table 7.2 (c i) : medial ⟨e⟩

Of the words which retain medial ⟨e⟩ where PresE omits it (the second row of the table), C's 9 comprises 2 in *ful* (both in ⟨fearefull⟩), 2 in *-ing* (⟨preseinge⟩ and ⟨sayeinge⟩), 2 in *-ly* (both in ⟨hyel(e)ye⟩) and 3 in *-ward* (⟨downewarde⟩ (1) and ⟨outewarde⟩ (2)). F's 73 comprises 57 in *-ing* (⟨armeing⟩ (1), ⟨desireing⟩ (1),

⟨feeleing⟩ (1), ⟨goeing⟩ (7), ⟨haueing⟩ (2), ⟨helpeing⟩ (3), ⟨leapeing⟩ (8), ⟨lifteing⟩ (1), ⟨liueing⟩ (2), ⟨lookeing⟩ (2), ⟨makeing⟩ (2), ⟨moueing⟩ (1), ⟨preserueing⟩ (1), ⟨rectefieing⟩ (1), ⟨resteing⟩ (1), ⟨rideing⟩ (1), ⟨thinkeing⟩ (1), ⟨tieing⟩ (11), ⟨walkeing⟩ (1), ⟨whistleing⟩ (1), and ⟨workeing⟩ (8)), 1 in *-ness* (⟨kindenes⟩) and 15 in *-ward* (all in ⟨backeward(s)⟩); and 1667's 4 are all in *-ing* (⟨biteing⟩ (1) and ⟨rideing⟩ (3)).

Of the words which omit medial ⟨e⟩ where PresE retains it (the third row of the table), C's 154 comprise 7 in *-able* (⟨curable⟩ (1)), 3 in *-dom* (all in ⟨fredom⟩), 2 in *-ful* (⟨discrasfullye⟩ [*sic*] (1) and ⟨grasful⟩ (1)), 2 in *-ing* (⟨seinge⟩ and ⟨shooing⟩), 1 in *-less* (⟨sensles⟩), 127 in *-ly* (⟨absolutly(e)⟩ (16), ⟨co(u)ml(e)y(e)⟩ (11) ⟨compleatlye⟩ (1), ⟨delecatlye⟩ (1), ⟨extre(a)ml(e)y(e)⟩ (53), ⟨finleye⟩ (1), ⟨frel(e)ye⟩ (5), ⟨imediatlye⟩ (1), ⟨infinitlye⟩ (2), ⟨infenitlye⟩ (1), ⟨latl(e)ye⟩ (3), ⟨leasurlye⟩ (2), ⟨ liklye⟩ (1), ⟨me(e)rlye⟩ (11), ⟨moderatlye⟩ (4), ⟨obliklye⟩ (1), ⟨pewrlye⟩ (1), ⟨princleye⟩ (1), ⟨saflye⟩ (1), ⟨severlye⟩ (1), ⟨skarsleye⟩ (1), ⟨strangleye⟩ (1), ⟨surly(e)⟩ (2), ⟨shurleye⟩ (1), ⟨timleye⟩ (1), and ⟨wisleye⟩ (3)) and 12 in *-ness* (⟨falsnes(s)⟩ (8), ⟨hansum̄nes(s)⟩ (2), (⟨lamnes⟩ (1) and ⟨obliknes⟩ (1)); F's 10 comprise 8 in *-ly* (⟨absolutly⟩ (1), ⟨extreaml(e)y⟩ (5), ⟨oblikly⟩ (1), and ⟨uncomleye⟩ (1)) and 2 in *-ness* (both in ⟨widdnes⟩). 1667's 40 comprise 3 in *-ful* (all in ⟨woful(lest)⟩), 4 in *-ing* (all in ⟨shooing(s)⟩), 1 in *-less* (⟨sensless⟩) and 32 in *-ly* (⟨compleatly⟩ (1), ⟨extreamly⟩ (24), ⟨meerly⟩ (6), ⟨uncomly⟩ (1)).

Words which, within each text, show variation in the matter of medial ⟨e⟩ are shown in Table 7.2 (c ii).

	C	F	1667
*(im)mov(e)able**	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 4		+ ⟨e⟩ 3
fearful	+ ⟨e⟩ 2, – ⟨e⟩ 4		
graceful	+ ⟨e⟩ 5, – ⟨e⟩ 1		
biting			+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 1
helping		+ ⟨e⟩ 3, – ⟨e⟩ 3	
leaping		+ ⟨e⟩ 8, – ⟨e⟩ 12	
making		+ ⟨e⟩ 2, – ⟨e⟩ 1	
resting		+ ⟨e⟩ 1. – ⟨e⟩ 1	
riding		+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 2	+ ⟨e⟩ 3, – ⟨e⟩ 29
saying	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 5		
seeing	+ ⟨e⟩ 2, – ⟨e⟩ 1		
working		+ ⟨e⟩ 8, – ⟨e⟩ 4	
comely	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 11		
finely	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 1		
firmly	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 1		
freely	+ ⟨e⟩ 5, – ⟨e⟩ 5		
highly	+ ⟨e⟩ 2, – ⟨e⟩ 5		
*judg(e)ment**	+ ⟨e⟩ 6, – ⟨e⟩ 9		+ ⟨e⟩ 3, – ⟨e⟩ 5
backward		+ ⟨e⟩ 15, – ⟨e⟩ 10	
downward	+ ⟨e⟩ 1, – ⟨e⟩ 13		
outward	+ ⟨e⟩ 2, – ⟨e⟩ 756		

* The spellings of these words were not included in Table 7.2 (c i) because they are still unfixed in PresE.

Table 7.2 (c ii): Where texts show variable use of medial ⟨e⟩

7.3 Consonant Doubling

(By consonant doubling is meant two of the same consonant letter, rather than

any two adjacent consonant letters.)

The treatment of consonant doubling in the texts is summarised in Table 7.3 (a) below:

PresE		Texts	C	F	1667
CC	morpheme–	CC	1418 (40%)	346 (66%)	1154 (97%)
	medial	C	2156 (60%)	177 (34%)	39 (3%)
	morpheme–	CC	2787 (92%)	316 (97%)	1575 (100%)
	final	C	232 (8%)	7 (3%)	4 (<1%)
	TOTALS	CC	4205 (64%)	662 (78%)	2729 (98%)
		C	2388 (36%)	184 (22%)	43 (2%)
C	morpheme–	CC	100 (1%)	6 (1%)	185 (5%)
	medial	C	6944 (99%)	829 (99%)	3673 (95%)
	morpheme–	CC	12785 (17%)	819 (8%)	894 (2%)
	final	C	64077 (83%)	8876 (92%)	36158 (98%)
	TOTALS	CC	12885 (15%)	825 (8%)	1079 (3%)
		C	71021 (85%)	9705 (92%)	39831 (97%)

Table 7.3 (a): Morpheme–medial and Morpheme–final consonant doubling

Another frequent cause of spelling variation, in the absence of a following different consonant, consonant doubling is often explained as the only spelling indication of a preceding short vowel. On its own, in most dialects of PresE a doubled consonant letter has no particular phonetic relevance, there being no phonologically significant long consonant sounds apart from at the boundaries of free morphs. In these dialects there is no difference in the pronunciation of the [n]s in *the pen is* and *the penny's*, while there is a difference of length between the first [n] in *pennines* and that in pronunciation of the [n] in *pen–knife*.

Doubling of consonants on morpheme boundaries between prefix and base, between suffixes, and word finally in suffixed words was shown in chapter VI.

These findings were summarised in Tables 6.35 (a) – (f). This section investigates the remaining places in which consonant doubling may occur: between base form and suffixes, word finally for non–suffixed words, and word–medially.

7.3.1 Base–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling

According to *Hart's Rules* pp.67–70 the following factors determine whether or not the consonant is doubled at this morpheme boundary:

- If the base–final consonant is *h, w, x* or *y* it will not be doubled.
- If a monosyllable, or a word ending in a stressed syllable, has a final (single) consonant which is preceded by a single vowel, that consonant is doubled on adding *ed, ing, er* or *est*.
- Exceptions to the above rules are: words ending in ⟨l⟩ (where the last consonant is usually doubled regardless of stress) apart from *appeal, parallel* and *travail*; *inputting, outputting* and *worship (-pped -pping -pper)* which double their final consonants in spite of the stress being carried on the first syllable; and, according to *Hart's Rules*, 'bus, busing (in the sense "transported, transporting by bus")' (p.68).

The base–to–suffix treatment of consonants followed by *ed, ing, er* and *est* in the texts is examined in the light of these three stated present–day conventions, with three tables. The first of these tables shows spellings of the base–final consonants in monosyllabic words, all of which words take a doubled consonant in this environment in PresE. The spellings of polysyllables which conform to the stipulations given in point (2) are then described (but not tabulated). This is followed by a table (7.3 (b ii)) showing the treatment of the base–to–suffix ⟨l⟩ in polysyllables where the final syllable is unstressed, being the exceptions noted in (3). The third table here shows spellings of words which accord to the rules and therefore to PresE practice in having no doubling of consonants on base–to–suffix boundaries.

	C	F	1667
+ double consonant	299 (58%)	56 (85%)	241 (89%)
+ n̄	47 (9%)		
– double consonant	167 (33%)	10 (15%)	31 (11%)

Table 7.3 (b i) Base–to–Suffix Consonant Doubling: Monosyllables where PresE has doubled consonants

The above figures were calculated from the spellings of the appropriately suffixed[183] forms of the following words: *add, beg, big, call, clap, cross, cuff, cut, dog, dress, dull, err, fall, fat, fill, fit, full, get, gross, hit, hot, hull, kill, lap, leg, let, mad, odd, pass, press, pull, put, rub, run, sell, set, ship, shot, shun, sit, skill, slip, spur, stiff, still, stop, stuff, thin, top, trot, up, wet, will, wit.*

Base–to–suffix boundary consonants for the four specified suffixes (*–ed, –ing, –er, –est*) in words of polysyllabic base forms where the stress falls on a short vowel in the final base syllable (that is, where consonant doubling is now conventional) is mostly the same as in PresE. There are only 9 and 4 instances in C and 1667 of words which conform to these stipulations: *begin, caress, commit* and *express* (none of which appear in F). Their spellings (5 doubled consonants, 3 single consonants with macrons, and 1 single consonant in C; 3 doubled consonants and 1 single consonant in 1667) are not, therefore, particularly informative.

Polysyllables whose base–final consonant is ⟨l⟩ show doubling on suffixation in PresE (see point 3 above) but not necessarily in MS. Table 7.3 (b ii) shows these words.

[183] That is, suffixes such as *–s*, which do not demand any change in the number of preceeding consonants in PresE, are not included.

	C	F	1667
civil	–leye 3		–lly 3
cruel	–llye 1		
	–lye 1		
equal	–lye 5	–lly 1	
especial	–ly(e) 35	–lly 2	–lly 12
total	–l(e)ye 6	–lly 1	–lly 2
travel			–lling 3

Table 7.3 (b ii): Where PresE has base–to–suffix doubled ⟨l⟩

Treatment of consonants on the base–to–suffix boundary for –ed, –er, –est, and –ing in monosyllables with a phonologically long vowel, words with more than one base–final consonant in PresE, and polysyllables not stressed on the final syllable, i.e. where doubling is not the rule in PresE, are shown in Table 7.3 (b iii).

	C	F	1667
curl	–lde 2		–lled 1
			–led 1
gallop	–ping(e) 47	–pping 4	–pping 4
			–ping 10
wide		–dder 3	
	–der 7	–der 3	

Table 7.3 (b iii) Where PresE has base–to–suffix single consonants

These findings for base–to–suffix consonant doubling can be compared with the treatment of consonants word–finally. The following two tables show all non–suffixed words which show consonant doubling in any of the texts under examina-

tion. As in the analysis of word–final ⟨e⟩, two lists were compiled, one of words which take final double consonants in PresE, the other of words which appear in any of the texts with final doubled consonants, but which do not take double consonants in PresE.

7.3.2 Non–Suffixed Word–Final Consonant Doubling

	C	F	1667
+ double consonant	2787 (96%)	304 (98%)	1518 (100%)
– double consonant	102 (4%)	7 (2%)	4* (<1%)

* ⟨tale⟩ (*tall*), ⟨wil⟩ (*will*) and two occurrences of ⟨of⟩ (*off*)

Table 7.3 (c i) Words which take doubled final consonant in PresE

Words from which the above figures were calculated are: *all, amiss, ass, ball, bless, bull, business, call, compass, confess, Cornwall, cross, dress, dull, err, fall, fell, fill, full, grass, gross, hill, ill, kill, less, loss, mastiff, mill, miss, odd, off, pass, pill, piss, press, pull, sell, shall, skill, small, snuff, staff, stall, stiff, still, tall, tell, till, wall, well, will.*

Words which have doubled consonants in at least some of their spellings in the texts, but whose PresE spellings I am unsure of, have been omitted. The words (in their present spellings or, if this is untraceable, in the most likely–seeming spellings) are *Belville, Blundeville, Pigniatelli, tengall, terre.*

	C	F	1667
CC	12781 (17%)	815 (8%)	893 (2%)
C	63950 (83%)	8870 (92%)	36130 (98%)

Table 7.3 (c ii) Words which appear in texts under investigation with doubled final consonant but which do not have doubled consonants in PresE spelling

Words from which the figures in Table 7.3 (c ii) were calculated are: *abhor, admit, agile* (spelt ⟨agill⟩ twice in C), *at, bad, bag, Barnet, bar, barrel, basket, beat, benefit, big* (size), *big* (barley), *bit, blood, bran, Brazil, bread, bred, but, cambrel, cannot, capriol, chestnut, civil, cob, combat, credit, cricket, crochet, cruel, cudgel, curvet, cut, deal, diet, dig, dog, doubt* (spelt ⟨doubtt(s)⟩ twice in C), *far, fat, fig, fit, flat, fog, for, forget, forgot, formal, frog, gallop, get, got, habit, had, heel, hit, hog, hoof, hot, hut, if, it, jaret, jennet, jot, knit, knot, lap, laugh* (spelt ⟨laff(–)⟩3 times in C), *led, leg, leap, let, lip, lit, mad, map, mar, marquis, must* (spelt ⟨mustte⟩ twice in C), *nag, near, not, of, omit, on, out, oval, pad, partial, pencil, perfect* (spelt ⟨perfett⟩ twice in C), *permit, pistol, pit, pommel, prod, progit, put, quarrel, quiet, quit, rat, rebel, red, rid, rivet, rod, rub, run, rut, secret, set, ship, shod, shot, sin, sit, skip, slip, sob, somewhat, worrel, spirit, spur, stag, star, stop, strap, that, thin, top, travel, trot, trumpet, up, us, war, web, wet, what, while, whip, withal, writ, yet.* Words omitted from the calculation are *cheval, Dascot (the Duke of), Pluvinel, vantlet, watchet.*

The distribution of the figures in Table 7.3 (c ii) is as follows: In C, the 17% which show CC are found in 124 words, F's 8% with CC occur in 44 words, and 1667's 2% are found in 42 words.

7.3.3 Word (Morpheme) Medial Consonant Doubling

The same device of using PresE spellings as a way to split the material into shorter tables is used here, with Table 7.3 (d i) being a list of all spellings of

words which, in at least one of their spellings, contain morpheme–medial consonant doubling *where this occurs in PresE*, and Table 7.3 (d iii) showing all spellings of those words which show morpheme–medial double consonants in at least one of their forms but which do not have such doubled consonants in PresE.

	C		F		1667	
+ double consonant	1054	(39%)	271	(63%)	766	(99%)
+ n̄	10	(<1%)	4	(1%)		
+ m̄	171	(6%)	28	(7%)		
– double consonant	1499	(55%)	120	(29%)	4	(1%)

Table 7.3 (d i) Morpheme–medial consonants where consonants doubled in PresE

In Table 7.3 (d i), all instances of ⟨m̄⟩ were found in spellings of the word *pommel*; and the four instances of single consonant in 1667 were found in the word *cannon* (meaning a particular sort of horse's bit).

The words used for this table were: *accident, affection, afford, ambassador, appear, appetite, apples, apply, application, appoint, apprehensive, apprehention, apprentice, attend, barricado, barren, belly, berry, Bessy, better, bottom, butter, buttock, button, cannon, carrot, carry, carrier, cassia, cavesson, collar, copper, correct(–), correspond, corruption, cunning, curry–comb, dapple, differ(–), difficult, diffused, dizzy, effect, efficacy, farrier, fellow, fiddle, fillet, flatter, flutter, fodder, follow, folly, gallant, galley, galliard, gallon, gallop, grass–hopper, happen, happy, Holland, holla, hollow, hippomenes, hobby–horse, horrible/y, horrid, indifferent, intelligence, joggle, lesson, letter, lettice, litter, little, manna, marry, Marseilles, matter, meddle, meggy, mettle, middle, million, muzzle, narrow, necessary, niggard, occasion, offence/nd, offer, officer, oppose, passade, passager, passion, patter, Peggy, penny, pillar, pommel, pretty, pudding, puissant, puppy, quintessence, recollect, ribbon, saddle, saffron, settle, shilling, shuffle, skittish, snaffle, sorrel, sorrance, stallion, stirrup, sudden, suffer, sufficient, summer, supple, suppose, tallow, territory, utterly, waggon, William, Willy, yellow.*

Also omitted from Table 7.3 (d i) were the following foreign words and names: *Arogantillio* (a horse's name), *buffon* (another horse's name), *cavallo, chambetta, Cotten, Cottington, Gillion* (horse's name), *Mouton* (horse's name), *quillet, Ruffian* (horse's name) *Russius* (person's name), and *soleille.*

Words which may be considered to show consonant doubling on prefix–to–base boundary, even though the words came into the language in their present (prefixed) forms (and are thus not found in chapter VI), are omitted from Table 7.3 (d i) and are included in Table 7.3 (d ii) below). These are : *accommodate, accord, account, accustom, appease, appropriate* and *assure.* It is these words which, in C, provide 45 'other' (non–doubled consonant digraph) spellings. In Table 7.3 (d ii) they are added to the spellings of: *command, commend, commission, commit, commodity, common, dissolve, immoveable* and *unnatural.*

	C	F	1667
CC	47 (30%)	14 (78%)	112 (100%)
C	20 (13%)	3 (22%)	
C + macron	46 (29%)		
CC + macron	1 (<1%)		
other	45 (28%)		

Table 7.3 (d ii): Consonant Doubling on (possible) prefix–to–base boundaries

In C the 'other' spellings comprise 41 ⟨ck⟩ spellings (38 in *accord* and 3 in *account*), 4 ⟨sh⟩ spellings and 1 ⟨ssh⟩ spelling (in *assure*).

	C	F	1667
+ double consonant	52 (11%)	6 (19%)	132 (45%)
– double consonant	341 (89%)	26 (81%)	160 (55%)

Table 7.3 (d iii) Morpheme–medial consonant doubling: where consonants not doubled in PresE

The above figures (in Table 7.3 (d iii) were calculated from spellings of the following words (the consonant which is doubled in some spellings appears in bold): *after, aloes, alum, aniseed, asunder, borage, butler, career, cavalier, cony, forest, impatient/ce, intolerable, jaret, latin, lemon, lift, manege, melon, often, olive, operate(-), philosopher, refer, salad, study, syrup, tethered*[184], *valour, water.* Consonant doubling in this position appears to be one of the few instances in which 1667 shows more non–PresE spellings than the MS texts.

7.3.4 Possible Homographs

In PresE, homography in a few words is avoided by consonant doubling. These include *as:ass*, *of:off* and *in:inn*, which words are found in the texts. Both *as:ass* and *in:inn* show the same lexicalisation of consonant doubling as occurs in PresE. The spellings of these and of the other pair are:

[184] Spelt ⟨teddered⟩ in 1667.

WORD	C	F	1667
As	⟨as⟩ 1272	⟨as⟩ 108	⟨as⟩ 599
Ass	⟨ass⟩ 2		⟨asse⟩ 1
In	⟨in⟩ 296	⟨in⟩ 249	⟨in⟩ 1089
	⟨in̄⟩ 1859		
Inn	⟨ins⟩ 1		⟨inne⟩
Of	⟨of⟩1025	⟨of⟩ 321	⟨of⟩ 1350
	⟨off⟩ 2499		
Off	⟨off⟩ 29	⟨off⟩ 4	⟨off⟩ 46
		⟨of⟩ 3	⟨of⟩ 2

Table 7.3 (e): Where consonant doubling avoids homography in PresE

7.4 Vowel Doubling

		C	F	1667
+ VV in PresE	− VV in texts	86 (5%)	8 (1%)	8 (<1%)
	other V digraphs	(<1%)	(1%)	(1%)
− VV in PresE	+ VV in texts	13 (<1%)	8 (<1%)	7 (<1%)
	other V digraphs			

Table 7.4 (a): All doubling in vowel spellings

7.4.1 Morpheme–Medial Double Vowels

There are only 7 instances of double vowels appearing where single vowels are found in PresE unstressed position, and these are all in F's spellings of *method* with ⟨oo⟩. All other double vowels occur in stressed syllables.

	C	F	1667
double V	1442 (95%)	189 (99%)	838 (99%)
digraph	7 (<1%)		2 (<1%)
single V	61 (5%)	1 (1%)	8 (1%)

Table 7.4 (b i) Treatment of morpheme–medial vowels where PresE has double vowel

The words from which the above table was compiled were: *been, beer, between, bleed, book, boote* (n), *boot* (v), *breed, career, cheek, cool, deep, esteem, feel, feet, fool, foot, forsooth, fourteen, good, green, groom, heed, heel, hood, hoof, hook, hoop, hooves, indeed, keep, Littlewood, look, loose, meet, moon, moor* (geog.), *blackamoor, moot, need, needles, noon, peer, poor, proceed, queen, roof, room, root, school, seem, seen, seer, sheep, sheer, shoot, sleep, soon, stood, stoop, street, sweet, teeth, took, understood, weed, week, wool.*

Table 7.4 (b i) includes the only word in the texts under examination which has morpheme–medial double vowel in PresE but never shows this in any of the texts: *choose*, which is spelt ⟨chuse⟩ in all texts, appearing 13 times in C, once in F and 7 times in 1667. The remaining word with single V in 1667 is ⟨woolen⟩.

Table 7.4 (b ii) shows the vowel spellings of words which have morpheme–medial vowel digraphs (not double vowels) in PresE and which, in at least one of the texts under examination, are spelt with double vowels. The words from which this table was compiled were: *appear, break, chief, clear, cousen* (verb), *croup, dear, doubt, field, grieve, ground, hear, near, piece, relieve, routine.*

	C	F	1667
double V	116 (12%)	12 (36%)	8 (2%)
single V	14 (1%)	1 (3%)	
digraph (as PresE)	874 (87%)	20 (61%)	376 (97%)
digraph (not as PresE)	5 (<1%)		2 (1%)

Table 7.4 (b ii): PresE V digraphs, double V in texts

The instances in which double vowels are used where PresE has only single morpheme–medial vowels are enumerated in Table 7.4 (b iii).

C		F		1667	
doone	1	done	3	done	34
doñ	49				
duñ	12				
loose(s) [v]	3	looses	1	lose	2
meerlye	5			meer(ly)	7
merlye	6				
method(–)	48	methood	7	method(-)	31
Roome [city]	1				
Rome	1				
sheer [shire]	1				
shyre	1				
staaues	1				
staues	1			staves	1
hooringe	1				

Table 7.4 (b iii): Spellings with double vowels where PresE has single vowels

7.4.2 Morpheme–Final Double Vowels

Words occurring in the texts which have morpheme final double vowels in PresE are: *agree, degree, free, knee, pedigree, see, three, too, tree, woo.* The spellings of these final vowels are as shown in Table 7.4 (c i).

	C	F	1667
word–final	–ee 253 (95%) –eee 1 (1%) –e 11 (4%)	–ee 31 (100%)	–ee 311 (100%)
	–oo 2 (1%) –o 264 (99%) –oe* 1 (33%)	–oo 3 (11%) –o 24 (89%)	–oo 137 (100%)
Non–word–final	–ee– 112 (89%) –e– 14 (11%)	–ee– 10 (100%)	–ee– 44 (100%)

* ⟨woe⟩ for *woo*

Table 7.4 (c i): Where PresE has morpheme–final double vowel

In addition to these words, a number of others, which do not have morpheme–final double vowels in PresE are found with doubled vowels. These are all monosyllabic words, mostly consisting of only 2 letters in their PresE spellings. They are: *be, he, le* (French article), *me, she, shoe, the, we* and their spellings are displayed in Table 7.4 (c ii). Since some words show a huge majority of double–vowel spellings, and others show an equally large majority of single–vowel spellings (notable *le* and *the* the individual spellings are set out in Table 7.4 (c ii).

C		F		1667	
be	69 (6%)	be	2 (2%)	be	575 (100%)
bee	1012 (94%)	bee	118 (98%)		
he	91 (6%)	he	1 (<1%)	he	731 (100%)
hee	1473 (93%)	hee	206 (100%)		
hees	12 (1%)				
le	165 (97%)	le	4 (100%)	le	26 (96%)
lee	6 (3%)			lee	1 (4%)
me	3 (4%)			me	71 (100%)
mee	91 (96%)	mee	3 (100%)		
she	1 (7%)			she	10 (91%)
shee	14 (93%)			shee	1 (9%)
shooes	1 (50%)	shooes	1 (100%)	shooes	11 (50%)
shooinge	1 (50%)			shooing(s)	4 (18%)
				shoo	7 (32%)
the	9249 (100%)	the	228 (100%)	the	3987 (100%)
thee	4 (<1%)				
				we	24 (100%)
wee	46 (100%)	wee	2 (100%)		

Table 7.4 (c ii): Where texts show morpheme–final double vowels but this is not found in PresE

7.5 Graph or Digraph Alternation

This section deals with all of the features mentioned in 1.1.1. Alternation of consonant letters is investigated first, followed by some of the vowel letter alternations found in the texts. Some, such as the mainly positional variants of i/j, u/v, are only briefly mentioned and are accompanied by no tables, because their occurrences are either so regular or so infrequent as to require no further comment.

Others, notably the ⟨i⟩/⟨y⟩ and ⟨u⟩/⟨w⟩ alternations, are examined in detail.

7.5.1 c/k/ck Alternation

		C	F	1667
PresE word–final –c	–ck	15	1	8
	–ke	6		
	–c			2
	–cke		1	
PresE non word–final –c–	–c–	33	3	28
	–ck–	2		
	–k–	4		
PresE word–initial c–	c–	13		12
	k–	3		
Total ⟨c⟩ spellings		46 (61%)	3 (60%)	42 (84%)
Total non–⟨c⟩ spellings		30 (39%)	2 (40%)	8 (16%)

Table 7.5 (a i): Spellings of PresE ⟨c⟩ where pronunciation is [k]

Table 7.5 (a i) was compiled from the spellings of *Languedoc* (being the only word in the texts which has non–suffixal word–final ⟨c⟩ in present–day spelling[185]) and from the spellings presented in Tables 7.5 (a ii) and (a iii), plus the data examined in chapter VI (–ic).

[185] This word is spelt ⟨Languedock⟩ once in C, and ⟨Languedoc⟩ once in 1667.

WORD	C	1667
acorn	–ck– 1	–c– 1
Lancashire	–k– 3	–c– 2
ridiculous	–ck– 1	
	–c– 25	–c– 15
scarce(ly)	–k– 1	
	–c– 2	–c– 2

WORD	C	F	1667
accompany	–ck– 1		
according	–cc– 1	–cc– 9	–cc– 20
	–c– 1		
	–ck– 38		
account	–ck– 3		–cc– 1

Table 7.5 (a ii): Where PresE has ⟨c⟩ word–medially and Table 7.5 (a iv): Where PresE has ⟨cc⟩ word–medially

WORD	C	F	1667
cart	k 1		
	c 12		c 11
clinch	k 1		c 1
catch	k 1		
	c 1		

Table 7.5 (a iv): Where PresE has c in word–initial position

The three words in Table 7.5 (a v) represent all occurrences of PresE ⟨ch⟩ for [k] in the texts.

C		1667	
ake	1	ake	1
arketecture	1		
stomacke	2	stomack	2

WORD	C		1667	
almanack	–ck	1	–ck	1
buckle	–c–	2	–ck–	1
hackney	–c–	1	–ck–	1
neck(-)	–ck(–)	338	–ck(–)	100
	–c–	3		
slack(-)	–ck(–)	61	–ck(–)	19
	–c–	3		
	–k	2		
tickle	–c–	2	–c–	1
SUMMARY ⟨ck⟩	400	(97%)	122	(99%)
⟨c⟩	11	(2%)		
⟨k⟩	2	(1%)	1	(1%)

Table 7.5 (a v): Where PresE has ⟨ch⟩ for [k] and Table 7.5 (a vi): Where PresE has ⟨ck⟩

7.5.2 c/s Alternation

In words which now have ⟨c⟩ pronounced /s/ (in PresE spelling that is words which have ⟨c⟩ followed by ⟨e⟩ or ⟨i⟩), we find in the texts frequent variation between the letters ⟨c⟩ and ⟨s⟩, a variation which is extended to the spelling of *censure* with an initial ⟨s⟩ in C (once, no other spellings of this word in C, but one occurrence in 1667, where it is spelt as in PresE). ⟨s⟩ for PresE ⟨c⟩ mostly occurs in C, but both F and 1667 show some, albeit minimal, variation of this sort. The words from which table 7.5 (b) was compiled (which all show PresE ⟨c⟩ for [s] in the texts) are: all the *–ance* and *–ence*) words listed in 6.2.3, plus *ancestor, avarice, cavallerice, centaur, centre, certain, chancellor, circle, civil, conceit, conceit, conceive, concern, conduce, deceive, descent, dice, discipline, displace, docible, efficacy, embrace, excel, excellent, except, exercise, face, facilitate, facility, force, grace, Gloucester, Iceland, Leicester, lettuce, licentious, muscle, necessary,*

necessitate, necessity, officer, pace, participate, peace, pencil, perceive, place, practice, precepts, price, prince, proceed, produce, race, reduce, scarce, since, space, spice, surcingle, thrice, trounce, twice, unbrace, vice, vivacity, Worcestershire.

	C	F	1667
⟨c⟩	1078 (64%)	168 (93%)	794 (99%)
⟨s⟩	612 (36%)	11 (7%)	5 (1%)
⟨itza⟩		1 (1%)	
⟨izzo⟩			1 (<1%)
⟨–⟩			1* (<1%)

* ⟨prinpal⟩ for *principal*

Table 7.5 (b): PresE ⟨c⟩ for [s]

Not all PresE ⟨c⟩ = [s] words show this ⟨c⟩/⟨s⟩ variation in the texts. Of the *–ance, –ence* words listed in chapter VI only *advance, cadance, chance, dance, reverence, science* and *sorrance* show it, and non–morphemic PresE *–ance* and *–ence* consistently have ⟨c⟩ (*Florence, Provence, hence, thence, whence*, for instance). Other words which have PresE ⟨c⟩ = [s] and show no ⟨c⟩/⟨s⟩ variation (but which are included in table 7.5 (b)) are: *apprentice, circular, circumference, circumscribe, city, citizen, civilities, decease, device* (where *device* and *devise* are distinguished by their spellings as in PresE), *docile, exceeding, fancies, incest, juice, justice, medicine, mercy, notice, once, ounce, piece, pince, princnipal, principle, province, receipt, receive, rejoice, renounce, sacrifice, service, voice.*

7.5.3 ch/tch Alternation

Word–initial PresE ⟨ch⟩ never has the spelling ⟨tch⟩ in the texts, but in all other positions it may show the spelling ⟨tch⟩. The words which have ⟨ch⟩ for [tʃ] or [ʃ] in PresE and which occur in the texts are: *arch, branch, breech, briches, bunch, chain, chance, chancellor, change, chapter, charge, Charles, chastisement, chain, cheap, cheek, cherish, chestnut, chief, childhood, children, chin, chine, choice, chosen, coach, crochet, discharge, each, entrench, French, march, merchant, mis-*

chief, much, over–reach, pinch, preach, quench, search, such, teach, touch, wachet, which. Their spellings are shown in Table 7.5 (c i). Words beginning with ⟨ch⟩ account for 219 of the ⟨ch⟩ spellings in C, for 32 of the ⟨ch⟩ spellings in F, and for 126 of the ⟨ch⟩ spellings in 1667.

	C	F	1667
⟨ch⟩	1729 (96%)	224 (100%)	956 (100%)
⟨tch⟩	65 (4%)		1 (<1%)
⟨sh⟩	5 (<1%)		
⟨s⟩	1 (<1%)		

Table 7.5 (c i): Where PresE has ⟨ch⟩ for [tʃ] or [ʃ]

Where PresE has ⟨tch⟩ only a few spellings in ⟨ch⟩ are found in the texts. The words used in Table 7.5 (c ii) are: *catch, dispatch, ditch, Dutch, fetch, match, Scotch, stretch, scratch, stitch.*

	C	F	1667
⟨tch⟩	25 (63%)	2 (100%)	38 (98%)
⟨ch⟩	15 (37%)		1* (2%)

* ⟨dutch⟩. This word is also spelt ⟨dutch⟩ 17 times in 1667.

Table 7.5 (c ii): Where PresE has ⟨tch⟩

7.5.4 g/j Alternation

Words from which Table 7.5 (d) was compiled are: suffixal *-age* (from Table 6.8), *age, agile, agility, Argentino, arpeggio, change* (n. & v.), *charge* (n. & v.), *danger, dangerous, degenerate, digestion, diligence, diligent, discharge, endanger, engine, enlarge, genealogies, general(-), generation, generous(-), gentle, gentry, germain, German, Germany, George, huge, imagine, intelligence, large, manège,*

manger, negligent, orange, plunge, purge, range, revenge, sponge, strange, stranger, umbrageous, urge and *vegetables*. The words spelt ⟨salengers⟩ and ⟨serpiger⟩, which are not found in PresE, are excluded.

	C	F	1667
⟨g⟩	679 (95%)	78 (99%)	412 (100%)
⟨gg⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨dg⟩	13 (2%)		
⟨gh⟩		1 (1%)	
⟨j⟩	22 (3%)		

Table 7.5 (d): Where PresE has ⟨g⟩ for [dž]

The ⟨j⟩ spellings in C are found in *generation* (⟨g⟩ once and ⟨j⟩ once), *gentle(-)* (⟨g⟩ 84 times and ⟨j⟩ 18 times), and *umbrageous* (⟨i⟩, being the EModE word-medial form of PresE ⟨j⟩, once).

There is also, in C, the analogous ⟨g⟩/⟨j⟩ alternation in spellings of Fr. *gentil* as ⟨Jantie⟩ (2) and ⟨Jantye⟩ (1); this is spelt ⟨Genty⟩ (once). None of these spellings are included in the above table.

There are a few instances of spellings in ⟨g⟩ where PresE may have ⟨j⟩. Most occur in names, where PresE spelling allows alternatives. They are: ⟨Mr Germayne⟩ (*Jermyn*?), ⟨Giñeye⟩ (twice), and ⟨Gillioñ⟩. In 1667 the first of these is spelt ⟨Mr Germain⟩ (once only), the other does not occur. There is, in addition, the case of *genet* or *jenet*: Collins gives ⟨genet⟩ as an obsolete spelling of ⟨jennet⟩, but this obsolescence must have arisen only after the spellings of all words containing the ⟨j⟩ – ⟨g⟩ variable had been fixed.

7.5.5 th/d Alternation

This feature of the spelling of some EModE texts is not found in the texts under investigation apart from in the word *tether*, which is spelt with ⟨d⟩ in all occurences: ⟨tederde⟩ once in C, and ⟨teddered⟩ once in 1667.

7.5.6 th/'thorn' Alternation

Neither C nor 1667 show any use of thorn, but it appears in F. Here, identical in form with the letter ⟨y⟩, it is used 1047 times, all in the word *the* (as ⟨ye⟩). This accounts for 82% of all spellings of the word in this text[186].

7.5.7 ti/ci/si Alternation

All words spelt with ⟨ci⟩ plus following vowel in PresE are spelt ⟨ti⟩ (plus vowel) in the MS texts, except *science*, which is spelt as in PresE (5 occurrences in C, none in F, 4 in 1667). The words in this category are: *artificial, conscience, especial, gracious, licencious, malicious, musician, pernicious, physician, science, spacious, vicious*. Table 7.5 (e i) shows the variation patterns.

C		F		1667	
⟨cience⟩	5 (6%)			⟨cience⟩	4 (9%)
⟨tial⟩	38 (82%)	⟨tial⟩	5 (50%)	⟨cial⟩	15 (34%)
				⟨cious⟩	6 (13%)
⟨ti(o)us⟩	5 (6%)	⟨ti(o)us⟩	3 (30%)	⟨tious⟩	14 (31%)
⟨tian⟩	5 (6%)	⟨tian⟩	2 (20%)	⟨tian⟩	6 (13%)

Table 7.5 (e i): Where PresE has ⟨ci⟩ plus vowel

That is, both MS texts show invariable ⟨ti–⟩ spellings in this context, while 1667 shows only 49% ⟨ti–⟩ spellings. These, however, occur in the words *musician, physician* and *vicious* only (which are only spelt with ⟨t⟩), with *gracious, especial, pernicious, malicious* and *special* being invariably spelt with ⟨c⟩.

The ⟨–ti–⟩ spelling is favoured by C also in those words which occur in the texts which have ⟨–sion⟩ in PresE (See Table 6.32 (a)). One should note the analogous spelling ⟨Prtia⟩ [*sic.*] for *Persia* which occurs once in C (1667 has ⟨Persia⟩).

[186] It is spelt ⟨the⟩ 228 times.

7.5.8 ⟨s⟩/⟨ſ⟩

In the MSS short *s* appears in any and all positions, and long *s* appears in all apart from word-final position. There is a tendency towards using the long letter in word-initial position, but there are too many exceptions to this to make it a rule of Newcastle's writing. There are no instances of long *s* in 1667.

7.5.9 ⟨i⟩/⟨j⟩

The positional variation that is traditional in the case of these two letters is in many cases operative in the MS texts, but not at all in 1667, where the usage is as in PresE. In C it is not always possible to tell if the initial letter in such cases is to be interpreted as a ⟨j⟩ or as a capital ⟨i⟩, the looped handwriting making each letter possible in many cases. There is, in addition, an unlooped letter ⟨i⟩ which appears to be mid-way between majuscule and minuscule in the writer's hand, and which is found mostly in many renditions of the words *in* and *is*. The historical habit of using ⟨j⟩ in word-initial position for PresE ⟨i⟩ as well as PresE ⟨j⟩ is, anyway, less rigorously adhered to in such words, even in earlier times. There is no ambiguity about this alternation in medial position in the texts — in this place PresE ⟨i⟩s and ⟨j⟩s alike are written with ⟨i⟩.

7.5.10 ⟨u⟩/⟨v⟩

Here again 1667 shows PresE practice while F shows mixed usage and C shows the older habit of positional variation. Whereas it is possible to assert that F does occasionally show the vowel/consonant distinction used in PresE spelling, it is not possible to tell how often this is the case, because the unambiguous cases are few compared to the cases where either a ⟨u⟩ or a ⟨v⟩ could be read from the handwriting.

7.5.11 Loss of Medial Vowels in Trisyllabic Words

Only two words, *execute* and *medicine* show this feature:

WORD	C	F	1667
Execute	excute 1		
	execution 1		
Medicine	medciñ 1	medcin(e) 2	medicine(s) 5
	medcins 6		medicins 2

Table 7.5 (f i): Loss of word-medial vowels

A few polysyllabic words show loss of vowel(s) plus consonant (that is, loss of a syllable):

WORD	C	F	1667
Hermaphroditical	hermofrodicall 1		hermaphroditical 1
Philosopher	phisopher 1	bhillosoppers 1	
Together	toger 1		
	together 55	together 6	together 39

Table 7.5 (f ii): Loss of word-medial syllables

7.5.12 Loss of Initial Segment

Loss of initial segments such as occurs in the spellings ⟨oynte⟩, ⟨prentice⟩ and ⟨fore–sayde⟩ which are each found once in C, is well–known in some words, such as *apprentice* but less well documented for others. It should be noted that each of the above spellings involves loss of ⟨a⟩ and, although no preceeding ⟨a⟩ occurs in the text in these cases, there may be some connection with the practice of separating a first syllable (especially *a*) from the rest of the word noted in chapter V. Loss

of word-initial ⟨h⟩, found only in a few MS spellings of *is* (twice in C — 48^{r} and 157^{r}; once in F — 5^{v}) is possibly related to pronunciation, and may be compared with loss of word-medial ⟨h⟩ in ⟨beinde⟩ *behind*, which occurs once in C and in ⟨foreandes⟩ *forehands* (once in F).

7.5.13 i/y

In all environments except as word–initial segments ⟨i⟩ and ⟨y⟩ alternate. There are three main environments in which they do show alternation, and these are here treated separately.

In the first place we find alternation where PresE has word–final ⟨y⟩. Most of these instances are in suffixed words. Spellings of this segment are shown in Table 7.5 (g i), which was compiled from data presented in Tables 6.19 (*–ify*), 6.23 (*–ity*), 6.25 (*–ly*), and 6.35 (syllabic and morphemic *–y*).

	C	F	1667
⟨i⟩		1 (<1%)	
⟨ie⟩	303 (12%)	2 (1%)	19 (1%)
⟨y(e)⟩	3201 (88%)	281 (99%)	1754 (99%)

Table 7.5 (g i): Word–final spellings of PresE –y in suffixes and false suffixes

Secondly, there is alternation between ⟨i⟩ and ⟨y⟩ where either of these letters is found in PresE medially within the base form. In these cases, as shown in Table 7.5 (g ii), C and 1667 show a stronger tendency to use ⟨i⟩ for PresE ⟨y⟩ than the reverse (there is only a very low incidence of ⟨y⟩ for PresE ⟨i⟩).

	C	F	1667
⟨ie⟩ for PresE final ⟨y⟩	303 (12%)	2 (1%)	19 (1%)
⟨i⟩ for PresE non–final ⟨y⟩	1 (8%)		6 (35%)
⟨y⟩ for PresE non–final ⟨i⟩	163 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	8 (<1%)

Table 7.5 (g ii) : non–digraph i/y alternation in base–forms

Words which take ⟨y⟩ in PresE are mostly spelt with ⟨y⟩ in the texts, and Table 7.5 (g iii) therefore shows only those words which show (in one text at least) ⟨i⟩ spellings. These are: *physic, physician, ply, pry, shy, style, syrrup, try, tyrant, why, wry.*

	C	F	1667
⟨y⟩	93 (68%)	5 (71%)	40 (89%)
⟨i⟩	44 (32%)	2 (29%)	5 (11%)

Table 7.5 (g iii): where PresE has ⟨y⟩

Thirdly and finally, there exists alternation of ⟨i⟩ and ⟨y⟩ where these form the second elements of vowel digraphs in PresE. These alternations (along with the small number of other spellings found in these cases) are summarised in Tables 7.5 (g iv) and (g v). The details for each vowel digraph are then shown in Tables 7.5 (g vi) to (g xi).

	C	F	1667
⟨Vi⟩	351 (14%)	61 (19%)	774 (67%)
⟨Vy⟩	1967 (79%)	247 (76%)	379 (33%)
⟨Vyi⟩	1 (<1%)		
other digraph	12 (1%)	2 (<1%)	3 (<1%)
⟨i⟩	10 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	
⟨y⟩	1 (<1%)		
other single ⟨V⟩	149 (6%)	14 (5%)	3 (<1%)

Table 7.5 (g iv): All instances of PresE ⟨Vi⟩

	C	F	1667
⟨Vy⟩	1802	214	1095
⟨Vi⟩*	2	1	3

* all less than 1%

Table 7.5 (g v): All instances of PresE ⟨Vy⟩

The words used to calculate Table 7.5 (g vi) are: *abovesaid, acquaint, aforesaid, afraid, again, against, aim, air, attain, baize, bait, brain, Britain, captain, certain, constrain, constraint, contain, dainty, despair, fail, faint, fair, faith, fountain, gain, hair, laid, main, mountain, nail, ordain, pain, paint, pair, plain, praise, prevail, rail, raise, reclaim, rain, remain, repair, retain, said, sail, Spain, Staines, stairs, stain, straight, strain, sustain, tail, taint, train, uncertain, unconstrained, vain, wait.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ai⟩	17 (2%)	42 (34%)	269 (68%)
⟨ay⟩	702 (86%)	71 (58%)	123 (31%)
⟨ayi⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨a⟩	4 (<1%)		2 (1%)
⟨ey⟩	7 (1%)		
⟨e⟩	87 (11%)	8 (7%)	
⟨i⟩	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	

Table 7.5 (g vi): Words which take ⟨ai⟩ in PresE

In Table 7.5 (g vi) the single ⟨ayi⟩ spelling in C was found in ⟨gayininge⟩, occurrences of ⟨e⟩ were only found in spellings of *again* and *certain*, the single ⟨i⟩ spelling in each of C and F were from ⟨strighte⟩ and ⟨strightend⟩ respectively, and the two instances of ⟨a⟩ in 1667 were from the ⟨pare⟩ spelling of *pair*.

	C	F	1667
word–final ⟨ay⟩	739 (70%)	85 (64%)	390 (69%)
non–word–final ⟨ay⟩	317 (30%)	47 (35%)	170 (30%)
⟨ai⟩	2	1 (1%)	3 (1%)

Table 7.5 (g vii) Words which take ⟨ay⟩ in PresE

The following words provided the figures for table 7.5 (g vii): *always, anyway, away, bay, bray, day, decay, gay, hay, highway, holiday, lay, may, Norway, play, pray, runaway, say, sideways, stay, Sunday, way.*

Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE are analysed below. Apart from their relevance to the question of i/y alternation, these spellings should also be considered together with ⟨ea⟩ ⟨ee⟩ and ⟨ei⟩ spellings, which are dealt with later in this chapter.

	C	F	1667
⟨ei⟩	215 (15%)	12 (6%)	406 (64%)
⟨ey⟩	242 (17%)	25 (13%)	220 (35%)
⟨ea⟩	12 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (<1%)
⟨e⟩	58 (4%)	5 (3%)	
⟨ai⟩		3 (2%)	4 (1%)
⟨ay⟩	875 (62%)	139 (74%)	
⟨i⟩	9 (1%)	2 (1%)	
⟨y⟩	1		

Table 7.5 (g viii): Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE

For Table 7.5 (g viii) the texts provided the following words: *conceit, conceive, deceive, either, eight, height, leisure, neighbour, neither, reign, sovereign, surfeit, their, vein, weigh.*

It should be noted that 56 of the 58 ⟨e⟩ spellings in C and all 5 of these in F are to be found in *-ceive* endings, that the 9 ⟨i⟩ spellings in C occur in *height, receipt* and *their*, with *height* also accounting for the ⟨i⟩ spellings in F and the ⟨y⟩ spelling in C. Most important of all, 213 out of the 215 ⟨ei⟩ spellings in C, and all 12 of these spellings in F, come from the word *their*[187]. This means that, with the exception of this one word, the ⟨ei⟩ digraph is virtually unused in the manuscripts while it is fairly common in the printed text (where 196 instances of ⟨ei⟩ are from *their*, leaving a respectable 210 other occurrences.

Only six words with a stressed segment spelled ⟨ey⟩ in PresE were found in the texts, being: *disobey, eye, grey, obey, they, whey.* They are spelt as follows:

[187] *their* is also spelt with ⟨ay⟩ (once), ⟨ey⟩ (11 times and ⟨i⟩ (once) in C, but ⟨ei⟩ is its only spelling in F and 1667.

	C	F	1667
⟨ey⟩	550 (77%)	57 (73%)	504 (98%)
⟨ay⟩	168 (23%)	21 (27%)	8 (2%)

Table 7.5 (g ix): Words which take stressed ⟨ey⟩ in PresE

Words found in the texts which are spelt with ⟨oi⟩ in PresE are: *adroit, anoint, Antoine, appoint, avoid, boil, choice, counterpoise, join, joint, moist, moisture, noise, oil, ointment, point, poise, poison, rejoice, Roister, soil, spoil, toil, voice.*

	C	F	1667
⟨oi⟩	1 (<1%)		39 (52%)
⟨oy⟩	136 (100%)	7 (100%)	36 (48%)

Table 7.5 (g x): Words which take oi in PresE

There is an evident preference for ⟨oy⟩ over ⟨oi⟩ in the manuscript texts, and mixed usage in the printed book.

When we look at words spelt with ⟨oy⟩ in PresE[188] we find this preference for ⟨oy⟩ in MS continuing, with no alternative spellings being given in any of the texts.

	C	F	1667
⟨oy⟩	34	4	23

Table 7.5 (g xi): Words which take oy in PresE

[188] These are *boy, convoy, coy, employ, joy, loyal, royal, toy* and *voyage.*

PresE ⟨ui⟩ is never spelt ⟨uy⟩ in the texts. The words used for Table 7.5 (g xi) are: *esquire, fruitfulness, juice, marquis*[189], *puissant, quick, quiet, quinsel, quintessence, quite, quit, ruin, sanguine, squire, squirt.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ui⟩	118	4	53
⟨u⟩	1		1

Table 7.5 (g xii): Words which take ui in PresE

The single ⟨u⟩ spellings in C and 1667 are found in *fruitfulness* and *juice* respectively.

It is only in these PresE ⟨ui⟩ spellings that the MSS's preference for digraphs with ⟨y⟩ as second element fails. Given the /i/ pronunciations of all the words spelt in the texts with ⟨ui⟩ we may interpret them as showing the preference for ⟨i⟩ shown in the ⟨i⟩/⟨y⟩ alternation for single graphs. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the only two words spelt ⟨u⟩ (with no ⟨i⟩) are the only words in this list whose pronunciations reflect /u/.

7.5.14 u/w Alternation

Unlike ⟨y⟩, ⟨w⟩ on its own is never found in a vowel position. There is therefore no ⟨u⟩/⟨w⟩ equivalent to the ⟨i⟩/⟨y⟩ word–final or single graph alternations examined in the preceeding section.

Spellings of final segments of vowel digraphs which in PresE take Vu and Vw are shown in Tables 7.5 (h i) and (h ii). The details of the digraphs are shown in Tables 7.5 (h iii) to (h ix).

[189] Collins notes under *Marquess* that, although this is the Fr. form of the title, it is 'often used in place of that of [British] **marquess**'.

	C	F	1667
⟨Vu⟩	6842 (80%)	670 (71%)	3513 (93%)
⟨Vw⟩	84 (1%)	1 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
other digraph	125 (2%)		17 (<1%)
⟨u⟩	10		1 (<1%)
other single ⟨V⟩	1484 (17%)	280 (29%)	228 (6%)

Table 7.5 (h i): All instances of PresE ⟨Vu⟩

	C	F	1667
⟨Vw⟩	1417 (86%)	157 (89%)	723 (100%)
⟨Vu⟩	202 (12%)	18 (10%)	2 (<1%)
other digraph	5 (<1%)	1 (1%)	
⟨o⟩	25 (2%)		
⟨ouw⟩	1 (<1%)		

Table 7.5 (h ii): All instances of PresE ⟨Vw⟩

The words from which the figures in Table 7.5 (h iii) were taken are: *augment, Austria, author, authority, because, cause, centaur, Claudio, daubing, debauched, fault, haunch, jaunt, laugh, Laurentius, naught, naughty, nausious, Paulet, pause, Saucey, taught, vault.*

	C	F	1667
⟨au⟩	461 (35%)	56 (40%)	225 (51%)
⟨a⟩	665 (51%)	51 (37%)	170 (37%)
⟨o⟩	180 (14%)	32 (23%)	58 (12%)

Table 7.5 (h iii): Where PresE has ⟨au⟩

As in the case of the *their* predominance of ⟨ei⟩ spellings in Table 7.5 (g vii), most of the non– ⟨au⟩ spellings above may be accounted for by single words. All ⟨o⟩ spellings (in all texts) are found in ⟨volt⟩ spellings of PresE ⟨vault⟩, except one occurrence of ⟨clodio⟩ in C, and *haunch* spelt with ⟨a⟩ accounts for all but 4 of the occurrences of this spelling. It should be noted that *vault* is spelt either ⟨volta⟩ or ⟨volto⟩ in the texts, and this final vowel may indicate that it was a foreign term or a 'term of art' to the writer.

Although there are a number of ⟨au⟩ spellings of words which have ⟨ou⟩ in PresE, the reverse is not the case. It should however be noted that *naught* can be spelt with either ⟨au⟩ or ⟨ou⟩ in PresE. In the texts it is only spelt with ⟨au⟩,

Words occuring in the texts which take ⟨aw⟩ in PresE are: *away, awe, awry, cawkins, draw, hawk, hawking, law, lawyers, raw, saw, straw, tawny.*

	C	F	1667
⟨aw⟩	86 (92%)	7	64
⟨au⟩	7 (8%)		

Table 7.5 (h iv): Where PresE has ⟨aw⟩

The digraph ⟨eu⟩ does not seem to occur in PresE, and this is also the case in the texts under investigation. Only the foreign words *cœur* (once in 1667), *Dieu* (once in C and twice in 1667), *lieu* (once in 1667), *monsieur* (14 times in

C, twice in F and 10 times in 1667), *paresseux* (once in C and twice in 1667), and the naturalised *lieutenant* (once in 1667) are found with this spelling. Nearly all occurrences of these words show the present spellings, with the exceptions of ⟨monsiuer⟩ once in F, ⟨mounsieur⟩ once in C, ⟨paresues⟩ once in 1667, and ⟨paresus⟩ once each in C and 1667

Words found in the texts which take ⟨ew⟩ in PresE are: *brewer, drew, few, knew, nephew, new, Newcastle, news, renew, reward, shrewd, sinew, threw, view.* These are all spelt with ⟨ew⟩ with the exception on C's renderings of *sinew.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ew⟩	89 (97%)	15	81
⟨ow⟩	1 (1%)		
⟨ue⟩	2 (2%)		

Table 7.5 (h v): Where PresE has ⟨ew⟩

Words with ⟨iu⟩ and ⟨iw⟩ are very rare, perhaps even non–existent[190] in PresE. There are none to be found in the texts.

Words with ⟨ou⟩ in PresE are, on the contrary, extremely common. The following are found in the texts and their vowel spellings are set out in Table 7.5 (h vi) below: *about, account, although, bought, bound, bounty, brought, colour, compound, confound, could, counsel, Count* (title), *counter, country, county, couple, courage, course, courser, court, courtesy, courtier, courtship, cousin, croup, degourdie, discourage, discourse, dismount, double, doubt, encounter, encourage, enough, favour, found, foundation, founder, fountain, four, gout, greyhound, ground, Harborough, hidebound, hound, honour, hour, house, humour, illfavoured, journey, labour, loud, Milbourn, mould, mountain, mount, mountebank, mourning, mouth, neighbour, nourish, ought, ounce, our, out, pirouette, plough, pound, propound, proud, rancour, renounce, rigour, round, routine, savour, shoulder, should, sound, though, thought, thousand, through, touch, trouble, trounce, valour, viscount, without,*

[190] I can think of none.

would, wrought, you, young, your, youth. Foreign words, ie words which have not been adopted into English[191], are excluded. These are *broulerie, racoursi*, and *trouse ques.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ou⟩	6269 (87%)	595 (73%)	3275 (99%)
⟨ow⟩	75 (1%)	1 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
⟨au⟩	107 (2%)	19 (2%)	
⟨o⟩	639 (9%)	187 (23%)	
⟨oo⟩	12 (<1%)		1 (<1%)
⟨oy⟩	70 (1%)	8 (1%)	9 (<1%)
⟨oi⟩*	43 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	7 (<1%)
⟨u⟩	10 (<1%)		1 (<1%)

*All ⟨oi⟩ spellings in all texts are found in spellings of *Pirouette.*

Table 7.5 (h vi): Where PresE has ⟨ou⟩

The following are the words occuring in the texts which have ⟨ow⟩ in PresE and from which Table 7.5 (h vii) is compiled: *acknowledge, below, bestow, blow, bowels, bowling, brown, clown, cow, cowering, crow, crown, down, elbow, fellow, flower, follow, grow, hollow, how, know, knowledge, low, Moscow, narrow, now, nowhere, own, owner, powder, power, row, rowells, scower, show, slow, throw, toward, town, untoward, vow, yellow.*

[191] *cf. Pirouette.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ow⟩	1190 (81%)	122 (79%)	549 (95%)
⟨ou⟩	195 (13%)	18 (12%)	2 (<1%)
⟨o⟩	25 (2%)		
⟨oo⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨ouw⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨oe⟩	2 (<1%)	1 (1%)	
⟨ew⟩	51 (3%)	13 (8%)	29 (5%)

Table 7.5 (h vii): Where PresE has ⟨ow⟩

There are many words which are spelt with ⟨ou⟩ although this is not their PresE spelling. Some of these were seen in chapter VI in the section dealing with the *com-* prefix. ⟨ou⟩ spellings where they do not occur in PresE[192] may possibly be explained on phonetic grounds[193], occurring as they do in positions where a short vowel is expected, and considering both the transitory state of the short /u/ → /ʌ/ or /ʊ/ split and the possibility that Newcastle's dialect did not anyway reflect this split (which occurred in the south only). Whatever the reasons, the following words with short /u/ show ⟨ou⟩ spellings where now they have either ⟨o⟩, ⟨oo⟩ or ⟨u⟩: *accompany, accustom, become, beyond, blood, bunch, colour, come, comely, comfort, constable, corrupt, custom, kingdom, Montague, overcome, room, sudden, supple, welcome, Yorkshire.* Only *blood, Montague* have ⟨ou⟩ in 1667. Table 7.5 (h viii) below shows the extent to which these spellings are used.

Uncanonical ⟨ou⟩ where long vowels are expected is rare, occurring only once in each of *loose, old, soon* and *use* in C only. The one ⟨ou⟩ spelling in *monsieur* is excluded because this is a foreign word.

[192] Excluding the many cases of ⟨ou⟩ where the ⟨u⟩ is consonantal and replaced with ⟨v⟩ in 1667 and PresE.

[193] See 8.2.3.

	C	F	1667
⟨ou⟩	264 (51%)	13 (24%)	2 (1%)
⟨o⟩	82 (16%)	30 (54%)	170 (70%)
⟨u⟩	172 (33%)	12 (22%)	70 (29%)
⟨a⟩*	2 (<1%)		

*⟨beyande⟩ (1), ⟨cames⟩ (1)

Table 7.5 (h viii): Where texts have ⟨ou⟩ but PresE does not

7.5.15 i/e Alternation

Alternation between ⟨i⟩ and ⟨e⟩ in the *en-* prefix was noted in chapter VI and is summarised in Table 7.5 (i i) below. The spellings of some of these words with ⟨i⟩ where now we have ⟨e⟩, and the spelling of *embrace* with ⟨i⟩ in all occurrences in all texts[194], are the only instances of the alternation working in this way. In all other cases we find the ⟨e⟩ spellings being often used where PresE has ⟨i⟩. The fact that the prefix *in-* and the suffix *-ic* are always spelt with ⟨i⟩ is thus shown to be unusual in the general trend of Newcastle's spellings, and may be interpreted as evidence for the morphemic character of spelling acquisition.

	C	F	1667
⟨en⟩ for *en*	133 (57%)	2 (11%)	78 (76%)
⟨in⟩ for *en*	99 (43%)	16 (89%)	24 (24%)

Table 7.5 (i i): Summary of ⟨e⟩/⟨i⟩ alternation in Tables 5.4 (a) and (b)

The use of ⟨e⟩ for PresE ⟨i⟩ was also found in the analysis of *-ify, -ing, and -ity* spellings, where 164 of these suffixes were spelt with ⟨e⟩, 1951 with ⟨i⟩ and 1 in ⟨y⟩ in C; 8 with ⟨e⟩, 278 with ⟨i⟩ in F; and 1203 with ⟨i⟩ in 1667.

[194] 18 in C, 1 in F and 2 in 1667.

There is, in addition, some morpheme–medial alternation of these letters, mostly but not entirely in unstressed syllables. In the following list, for words which have more than one ⟨i⟩ the one which is spelt with ⟨e⟩ in some of its occurrences is printed in bold face. The words affected in this way are *artificial, animal, architecture, bountiful, delicate, difficult, diffuse, diligence, diligent, diminish, divert, divide, efficacy, elixir, furniture, hither, holidays, impossible, infalible, infinite, intelligence, Italian, marquis, martingale, methodical, negligent, participate, pedigree, philosophy, prodigal, rivet, Salisbury, scimitar, spirit, territory, thither, virtue, virtuoso.*

	C	F	1667
⟨i⟩	107 (48%)	6 (40%)	126 (89%)
⟨e⟩	117 (52%)	9 (60%)	11 (9%)
⟨o⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨y⟩			3 (2%)

Table 7.5 (i ii): ⟨e⟩/⟨i⟩ alternation where PresE has ⟨i⟩

There is one more ⟨e⟩ for PresE ⟨i⟩ spelling, ⟨withen⟩, which occurs once in C. This word has not been included in the above figures, because the predominance of its ⟨i⟩ spellings is very different from the variation in the other words, and skews the percentages, giving a distorted image of the patterns of variation. For the single ⟨e⟩ spelling of *within* mentioned above, there are 109 ⟨i⟩ spellings in C, 44 in F and 126 in 1667. Inclusion of these figures would show C as having a 75% rate of ⟨i⟩ spellings in words which show this variation, and 85% and 93% ⟨i⟩ spellings for F and 1667 respectively, thus showing a reverse trend to the one shown above.

7.5.16 Alternations Between ⟨ea⟩, ⟨ee⟩, ⟨ei⟩ and ⟨ie⟩

Words found in the text which take ⟨ea⟩ in PresE are: *already, appear, beagle, bear, bread, beast, beat, bread, breadth, break, breast, breath, cheap, clean, clear, create, creature, dead, deaf, deal, dear, death, decease, disease, displease, each, eager, ear, earl, earth, earnest, ease, east, eat, fear, feather, forbear, forhead,*

grease, great, head, health, hear, heart, heat, heath, heavenly, heavy, increase, instead, lead, lean, leap, learn, least, leather, leave, mean, measure, meat, near, neat, overreach, peace, peacock, pleasant, pleasure, preach, procreation, read, ready, really, reap, rear, reason, recreation, repeat, sea, search, seat, sheath, speak, steady, sweat, teach, threaten, tread, treacle, treat, treatise, treaty, underneath, unreasonable, weak, wean, weapon, wear, weary, weather, wheat, year. Their spellings are shown in Table 7.5 (j i).

	C		F		1667	
⟨ea⟩	1982	(86%)	296	(93%)	1206	(99%)
⟨ee⟩	70	(3%)	7 (*neer*)	(2%)	7 (*neer*)	(1%)
⟨e⟩	228	(10%)	12	(4%)	3 (*breast*)	(<1%)
⟨aa⟩	1 (*break*)	(<1%)				
⟨eea⟩	1 (*easy*)	(<1%)				
⟨a⟩	10	(1%)	3	(1%)		
⟨eae⟩	1 (*sea*)	(<1%)				
⟨ay⟩	1 (*weaned*)	(<1%)				
⟨ie⟩	1 (*rear*)	(<1%)				

Table 7.5 (j i): Words which take ⟨ea⟩ in PresE

The following words which take ⟨ee⟩ were found in the text and are summarised in Table 7.5 (j ii): *aniseed, beseech, between, bleed, breech, breed, career, cheek, cumminseed, degree, enfeeble, esteem, exceed, feed, feel, feet, fenugreek, green, heed, heel, indeed, indiscreet, jeer, keep, knee, meet, need, pedigree, peer, proceed, see, seem, seen, seer, sheep, sleek, sleep, speech, speed, street, sweet, teeth, three, weed, week.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ee⟩	1012 (93%)	128 (100%)	585 (100%)
⟨e⟩	77 (7%)		
⟨ie⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨eee⟩	1 (<1%)		

Table 7.5 (j ii): Words which take ⟨ee⟩ in PresE

Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE were examined in Table 7.5 (g viii) above. In this table we saw that C and F each showed 7 spellings of this segment, the most frequent of which was ⟨ay⟩ (62% in C and 74% in F), and 1667 showed 4 spellings, with ⟨ei⟩ being the most frequent (it was found 64% of the time).

	C	F	1667
⟨ie⟩	383 (83%)	72 (95%)	226 (98%)
⟨ee⟩	24 (5%)	4 (5%)	1 (<1%)
⟨e⟩	36 (8%)		
⟨ei⟩	8 (2%)		2 (1%)
⟨ia⟩	1 (*experience*) (<1%)		
⟨i⟩	2 (*Friesland, Friesan*) (<1%)		2 (*Friesan*) (1%)
⟨aie⟩	1 (*impatient*) (<1%)		
⟨ye⟩	9 (2%)		

Table 7.5 (j iii): Words which take ⟨ie⟩ in PresE

7.5.17 er/ar Alternation

This section deals with the frequently encountered ⟨ar⟩ spellings of certain words which have ⟨er⟩ in stressed position in PresE words. Out of the list *certain,*

concern, conserve, convert, deserve, determine, diverse, divert, expert, fervent, German, Germany, Herbert, imperfect, impertinent, jerk, merchant, mercy, nerve, nervous, observe, Persia, person, preserve, proverb, refer, serve, sterling, term, university, uncertain[195]. These account for 157 words in C, 9 in F and 117 in 1667. Of these 87% or 136 in C, and 100% in F and 1667 are spelt with ⟨er⟩. Only the four words in Table 7.5 (k i) showed any ⟨ar⟩ spellings.

C		F		1667	
marchantes	1				
merchant–	11			merchant–	10
starlinge	1				
sterlinge	1				
yarkinge	1				
jerke–	5	yerke–	2	yerk–	3

Table 7.5 (k i): Words in PresE stressed ⟨er⟩ which are spelt ⟨ar⟩ in some of the texts

One other non–⟨er⟩ spelling is found: ⟨Prtia⟩ for *Persia* once in C (spelt as in PresE once in 1667).

A number of reverse spellings — ⟨er⟩ for PresE ⟨ar⟩ in non–word–final position — are to be found. The following words in PresE ⟨ar⟩ nearly all show ⟨ar⟩ in the texts. *apparent, Arabian, are, argument, arm* (n. & v.), *armourer, army, arse, art, arteries, article, artificial, avarice, bar, barb, Barbary* (two ⟨ar⟩ segments counted), *bardelle, bare, Barnet, baron, barren, barque, barley, barrel, bastarded, cart, carasena, cards, care* (n. & v.), *career, careful, caress, carpet, carrot, carry(er), charge, Charles, Claringdon, compare, comparison, contrary, dare, dark, Denmark, discharge, disparagement, drunkard, enlarge, extraordinary,*

[195] Because of fluctuating stress, the words *perceive, perfect, perform, permit, pernicious, perpendicular, perpetual and persuade* have not been included in the calculations. They are all spelt with ⟨er⟩ in all texts apart from 2 cases of ⟨prfect⟩ in C. The PresE ⟨ere⟩ words *here* and *severe* have also been excluded.

familiarly, familiarity, farewell, farrier, farsey, farthest, forepart, galliard, garden, garter, guard, Harborough, hard(–), hardly, hare, Harlow, hartshorn, hinderpart, Hungary, Hungarian, imaginary, irreparable, large, lukewarm, March, mare, maria, marigold, mark, Markham, marquess, marr, marriages, married, marry, Mars, Marseilles, marshal, martialery, Martin, martingale, martlemas, marvellous, Mary, monarch, narrow, necessar(–), niggard, ordinar(–), overcareful, paradox, paragraphs, parallel, pardon, parents, paring, Paris, parks, part, partial, participate, particle, particular, partition, prepare, preparation, quarrel, quart, quarter, rare(–), regularly, saraband, scarce, separate, share, sharp(–), smart, solitary, Spaniard, spare, square, star, staring, stark, start, starve, Tartary, vagaries, variety, vary, various, ware, warehouse, warm, warn, warrant and *yard*. Three words spelt with ⟨ar⟩ in the texts are excluded. These are ⟨farge⟩, ⟨incavelare⟩ and ⟨jaret⟩, which are not found in any dictionary.

	C		F		1667
⟨ar⟩	2278	(97%)	324	(98%)	1332 (100%)
⟨er⟩	67	(3%)	5	(2%)	
⟨ear⟩			3	(<1%)	
⟨or⟩	1	(<1%)			

Table 7.5 (k ii): ⟨er⟩ for PresE ⟨ar⟩

The ⟨er⟩ spellings in C are found in *Barbary* (15), *bastarded* (1), *participate* (1), par*ticular* (11), *preparation* (2), *saraband* (1), *separate* (25), *Spaniard* (11) and *starve* (1); the ⟨or⟩ spelling is in ⟨norowe⟩. In F the ⟨er⟩ spellings are found in *niggard* (1), *saraband* (3) and *separate* (1); and the ⟨ear⟩ spellings are all in ⟨prepeare⟩.

7.5.18 re/er Alternation

Investigation of PresE ⟨er⟩ words showed no ⟨re⟩ spellings of PresE ⟨er⟩ words in any of the texts. It is noticeable, however, that a number of words which take ⟨re⟩ in PresE are spelt with ⟨er⟩ in the texts.

Centre, for instance, is only spelt with ⟨er⟩ in F (44 occurrences) and 1667 (15 occurrences), and has only one ⟨re⟩ spelling in C, compared with 86 occurrences of ⟨er⟩. Variation in this single word, a well known example of difference between present American spelling and PresE spelling, is not as informative as the variation found in other PresE ⟨re⟩ words. These are words where the PresE ⟨re⟩ follows a vowel.

The analyses below are summarised in Table 7.5 (l i), which is followed by five small tables, each showing the spellings of this segment following one particular vowel. The small tables are presented because there is clearly co–variation in this respect.

	C	F	1667
⟨ei⟩	215 (15%)	12 (6%)	406 (64%)
⟨ey⟩	242 (17%)	25 (13%)	220 (35%)
⟨ea⟩	12 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (<1%)
⟨e⟩	58 (4%)	5 (3%)	
⟨ay⟩	875 (62%)	139 (74%)	
⟨ai⟩		3 (2%)	4 (1%)
⟨i⟩	9 (1%)	2 (1%)	
⟨y⟩	1 (<1%)		

Table 7.5 (j iii): Words which take ⟨ei⟩ in PresE

	C	F	1667
Vre	1806 (79%)	355 (78%)	1284 (100%)
eVre	3 (<1%)		
Ver	137 (6%)	6 (1%)	5 (<1%)
Vere	1 (<1%)	70 (16%)	
Vr	348 (15%)	23 (5%)	1 (<1%)

Table 7.5 (1 i): All spellings of PresE –Vre

The words from which Table 7.5 (1 ii) is compiled are: *are, bare, dare, hare, prepare, rare, share, spare, square, ware.*

C	F	1667
ar 4		
are 615	are 88	are 454

Table 7.5 (1 ii): PresE –⟨are⟩

Table 7.5 (1 iii), concerning of spellings of PresE ⟨re⟩ after ⟨e⟩ was constructed from the spellings of the following words: *here, nowhere, there, were, where.*

C	F	1667
eer 70 (17%)	eere 70 (52%)	
er 326 (80%)	er 23 (17%)	er 1 (<1%)
ere 8 (2%)	ere 41 (31%)	ere 351 (100%)
eare 1 (1%)		

Table 7.5 (1 iii): PresE –⟨ere⟩

PresE ⟨ire⟩ is represented in the texts by the following words[196]: *admire , desire, esquire, fire, require, sire, tire, Worcestershire*, and tabulated in Table 7.5 (l iv).

C	F	1667
ier 33 (97%)	ier 3 (75%)	ier 4 (15%)
	ire 1 (25%)	ire 20 (77%)
		yer* 1 (4%)
yre** 1 (3%)		yre*** 1 (4%)

* ⟨tyer⟩, ** ⟨Wostershyre⟩, *** ⟨tyre⟩

Table 7.5 (l iv): PresE –⟨ire⟩

The following words, with PresE –⟨ore⟩ were found in the texts: *afore, before, fore, more, store, wherefore.* Table 7.5 (l v) shows the spellings of this segment.

C	F	1667
ore 985 (98%)	ore 130 (100%)	ore 338 (100%)
or 17 (2%)		
orr 2 (<1%)		

Table 7.5 (l v): PresE –⟨ore⟩

PresE ⟨ure⟩ words in the texts are: *assure, censure, creature, cure, endure, figure, nature, pasture, pleasure, pure, stature, sure, torture.* See Table 7.5 (l vi):

[196] Suffixed forms of these words are not included in these calculations.

C	F	1667
ure 193 (84%)	ure 25 (89%)	ure 120 (100%)
uer 34 (15%)	uer 3 (11%)	
uere* 1 (<1%)		
ewre 2 (1%)		
er** 1 (<1%)		

* ⟨cuere⟩, ** ⟨torter⟩

Table 7.5 (1 vi): PresE –⟨ure⟩

Of these spellings, only ⟨torter⟩ demonstrates the ⟨ure⟩/⟨er⟩ alternation which Salmon noted in the spellings of Shakespeare's time.

It can be seen from Table 7.5 (1 vi) that, while in C there is mixed spelling in the cases of PresE ⟨ere⟩ and ⟨ure⟩, spellings of PresE ⟨are⟩ and ⟨ore⟩ are invariably in ⟨re⟩, whereas spellings of PresE ⟨ire⟩ are all, with the exception of the suffix *-shire* in ⟨er⟩. 1667 shows ⟨re⟩ in all spellings except one ⟨er⟩ in the PresE ⟨ere⟩ list and 5 ⟨er⟩ spellings in the PresE ⟨ire⟩ list, thus echoing in a muted fashion the pattern shown by C. F, as is so often the case, shows practices mid-way between those of C and 1667, showing more variation than the latter but less than the former.

7.6 PresE Single Vowels in Stressed Position

Due to change in stress patterns and the inevitable uncertainty of the pronunciation of the past, the following table is bound to be an approximate representation of the spellings of stressed vowel segments. It may nevertheless be useful as a background against which to see variation in individual spellings of PresE stressed vowel segments such as are mentioned in the EModE handbooks. It also provides an interesting contrast to Table 7.1, the spellings of PresE unstressed vowel segments.

PresE letter	Spelling in texts	C	F	1667
⟨a⟩	⟨a⟩	17533 (100%)	2073 (100%)	12094 (100%)
	⟨aa⟩	1 (<1%)		
	⟨au⟩	40 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)
	⟨ay⟩	20 (<1%)		
	⟨aw⟩	2 (<1%)		2 (<1%)
	⟨e⟩	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	
	⟨ea⟩		3 (<1%)	
	⟨o⟩	6 (<1%)		
	⟨–⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨e⟩	⟨e⟩	21824 (92%)	2952 (93%)	10966 (99%)
	⟨ea⟩	85 (<1%)	9 (<1%)	31 (<1%)
	⟨ee⟩	1596 (7%)	213 (7%)	16 (<1%)
	⟨a⟩	21 (<1%)	6 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
	⟨ay⟩	4 (<1%)		
	⟨i⟩	2 (<1%)		
	⟨oi⟩	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	7 (<1%)
	⟨oy⟩	68 (<1%)	8 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
	⟨–⟩	8 (<1%)		1 (<1%)

Table 7.6 Spellings of stressed Vowels (contd overleaf)

PresE letter	Spelling in texts	C	F	1667
⟨i⟩	⟨i⟩	25788 (99%)	3145 (90%)	12083 (100%)
	⟨ie⟩	61 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
	⟨e⟩	43 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
	⟨ei⟩			40 (<1%)
	⟨ey⟩	1 (<1%)		
	⟨u⟩	37 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	
	⟨y⟩	41 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
	⟨ye⟩	113 (<1%)		
	⟨–⟩	11 (<1%)	348 (10%)	
⟨o⟩	⟨o⟩	25540 (98%)	3354 (99%)	12596 (98%)
	⟨oa⟩			13 (<1%)
	⟨oe⟩	423 (2%)	27 (1%)	8 (<1%)
	⟨oo⟩	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	
	⟨ou⟩	69 (<1%)		226 (2%)
	⟨a⟩	4 (<1%)		
	⟨au⟩			1 (<1%)
	⟨u⟩	52 (<1%)		3 (<1%)
⟨u⟩	⟨u⟩	8565 (99%)	891 (99%)	4036 (100%)
	⟨ue⟩	54 (1%)	4 (<1%)	
	⟨ew⟩	4 (<1%)		
	⟨o⟩	6 (<1%)		1 (<1%)
	⟨ou⟩	31 (<1%)	6 (1%)	
SUMMARY	PresE sp	99252 (97%)	11415 (95%)	51775 (99%)
	non–PresE sp.	2813 (3%)	643 (5%)	370 (1%)

Table 7.6: Spellings of vowels in PresE stressed segments (contd.)

7.7 Learned, Etymological and Miscellaneous Other Spellings

Words which are now spelt with ⟨gh⟩ often have this segment omitted in C, although it is more frequently included. It is possible that the segment represented by ⟨gh⟩ was pronounced in some words by Newcastle, but in most words it would be silent either through historic loss of the sound or because the ⟨gh⟩ of PresE arose through the respelling of a word which never had a sounded segment in its English pronunciation (such as the word *delight*). For this reason we may categorise the spellings of these words as 'learned'. The following words with PresE ⟨gh⟩ were found in the texts and tabulated below: *although, bought, bright, brought, delight, enough, fight, flight, fortnight, high, knight, laugh, light, might, neighbour, night, ought, plough, Raleigh, right, straight, taught, thigh, thorough, though, thought, through, upright, weigh, wrought, Wright.*

	C	F	1667
⟨gh⟩	873 (72%)	174 (98%)	491 (99%)
⟨ghh⟩	1 (<1%)		
⟨g(e)⟩	4 (<1%)		
⟨ff⟩	3 (<1%)		
⟨w⟩	3 (<1%)		4 (1%)
⟨y⟩	9 (1%)		2 (<1%)
no consonant	329 (27%)	3 (2%)	

Table 7.7 (a i): Where PresE has ⟨gh⟩

In Table 7.7 (a i) the ⟨w⟩ spellings occur in ⟨plowde⟩, ⟨thorawe⟩ and ⟨thorowe⟩ once each in C, and in ⟨plow(–)⟩ and ⟨thorow⟩ three times and once respectively in 1667. The ⟨y⟩ spellings in C are found in ⟨rawleye⟩ (2), ⟨thoroye⟩ (1), ⟨wayenge⟩ (1) and ⟨wayt(–)⟩ (5)iin C, and in ⟨Rawley⟩ (2) in 1667.

Words which are spelt with the foreign (specifically, Greek) ⟨ph⟩ in PresE are often spelt with ⟨f⟩ in C, and almost always spelt ⟨ph⟩ in 1667. This is shown in Table 7.7 (a ii) which shows the appropriate spellings for all words occurring in the

texts which have ⟨ph⟩ in PresE: *blasphemy, elephant, nephew, Philip, philosopher, philosophical(-), philosophy, phlegmatic, physic, physician.*

	C	F	1667
⟨ph⟩	23 (88%)		18 (95%)
⟨bh⟩		1 (50%)	
⟨f⟩	3 (12%)		1 (5%)
⟨pp⟩		1 (50%)	

Table 7.7 (a ii): Where PresE has ⟨ph⟩

Notes: Each occurrence of ⟨ph⟩ in PresE spelling has been counted as 1, so 2 ⟨ph⟩s are counted in ⟨philosophy⟩, for instance, and 1 ⟨ph⟩ and ⟨f⟩ are counted in ⟨philosofocallye⟩. The ⟨bh⟩ and ⟨pp⟩ spellings occur in the single word ⟨bhillosoppers⟩.

Other spellings which are noteworthy in this section concern individual words rather than particular spellings to be found in several words. These are listed below.

- *Abominable.* This word is spelt with an extraneous ⟨h⟩ in all MS occurrences apart from one in C, but without this ⟨h⟩ in 1667: We find ⟨abhominable⟩ 7 times in C and twice in F, ⟨obhominable⟩ once in F, ⟨abhominablye⟩ four times in C, and ⟨abominable⟩ once in C and 3 times in 1667. This spelling, which is quite frequent in EModE writings, was constructed from the false etymology of Lat. *ab homine.*

- *Author, Authority.* All but one of the spellings of these words in MSS have an extraneous ⟨gh⟩: ⟨aughter(s)⟩ 14 times in C and once in F, ⟨aughoretye⟩, ⟨aughtoretie⟩ and ⟨authoretye⟩ once each in C. 1667 shows only spellings without this ⟨gh⟩ (a total of 13 instances). It is hard to explain Newcastle's preference for ⟨gh⟩ spellings in this word, unless we consider them to be false Latinisations, stemming from a consciousness of a 'lost' consonantal segment

before the ⟨t⟩ (Lat. *auctor*) . The word was however brought in to the language from the early Fr. *autour* and thus (like the spelling of *perfect*) never as an English word had the pre– ⟨t⟩ consonant.

- *Doubt.* All occurrences apart from one (in C) are spelt with ⟨b⟩. The ⟨b⟩ spelling, which has become fixed in PresE spelling, was an introduction of EModE writers who constructed it on the basis of Lat. *dubitare.* The word had in fact come into English *via* OFr *douter*, and had thus no historical or pronunciational reason for the ⟨b⟩, in spite of Holofernes' (*Love's Labour's Lost* V.i.21) pontifications on the subject.

- *Guess.* The ⟨ghess⟩ spelling in 1667 (once only) is unhistorical (as is the PresE spelling with ⟨gu⟩) and probably a form of spelling hypercorrection. C has only the original English spelling ⟨gess⟩ (four times) for this word.

- *Huge.* Spelling hypercorrection may explain also the single occurrence of ⟨hugh⟩ in F, where C had ⟨hudge⟩ (3 times) and ⟨huge⟩ (4 times), and 1667 shows only ⟨huge⟩ (4 times).

- *receipt. P & A*:172 note that this word was 'remodeled to give [it] a Latin look' in the EModE period. All 3 occurrences of this word in the MSS (C only) show no ⟨p⟩, whereas all 4 in 1667 include this letter. In both texts the meaning of this word is that of PresE *recipe.*

7.7.1 Weak Forms

There are no weak forms in 1667, but a few may be found in C and F, as well as some forms which may be considered either as weak forms or as idiomatic expressions.

The most frequently occurring weak form is ⟨a⟩ for PresE *on*, in the phrase 'a horse-back' this is found 21 times in C and 7 times in F, and in the phrase 'made a purpose' once in C. With the meaning *him* we find a weak form in C's 'to make a knowe themˉ' (47^{r}), and with the meaning *the* a weak form occurs in 'all a time' (C: 187^{v}).

Indications of common speech forms are also found in the spellings ⟨hees⟩ for

he's (12 times in C), ⟨Ile⟩ for *I'll* (which is found 6 times in C and twice in F), in ⟨Ime⟩ and ⟨Im̄⟩ for *I'm* (once each in C) and ⟨youle⟩ for *you'll* (4 times in C).

7.7.2 Other Spelling Features

Indication of presence or absence of glide before some vowels

Only one instance each of such indications are found in the texts under investigation: ⟨youse⟩ for *use* which occurs once in C, and ⟨coted⟩ for *quoted*, which occurs once in C.

Loss of Consonants in Consonant Clusters

There are a few instances of consonant loss in word-medial consonant clusters, in the spellings of *adjust, answer, esquire, Fenwick, handsome* and *Landsgrave*:

WORD	C		F		1667	
Adjust	aiust					
Answer	anser–	5	answere	3		
Esquire	equier	4			esquier	4
Fenwick	Fen̄wick	1			Fennick	1
Handsome	hans-	7	hans–	1	hands–	8
Landsgrave	lansgraue	1			landgrave	1

Table 7.7 (b i) Loss of consonants in word-medial consonant clusters

More common are the instances of loss of consonant in word-final consonant clusters, especially (but not solely) loss of ⟨t⟩ or ⟨d⟩ after an ⟨n⟩, which are tabulated in Table 7.7 (b ii).

WORD	C		F		1667	
And	an	2				
	añ	1				
	and	6	and	148	and	3128
	ande	356				
	añd	1				
Brabant	Brabañ	1				
	Brabande	1				
	Brabante	1			Brabant	4
Except	exsepe	1				
	exsept(e)	33	excepte	2	except	14
Forward	forwar	1				
			forward	45	forward	91
	forewarde	194	forwarde	2		
					froward	1
Horse	hore	1				
	horse	13172	horse	151	horse	722
	hors	1				
Inward	inwar	2				
	inward	3	inward	73	inward	211
	inwarde	823				
	iñwarde	34				
Lamb	lam̃	1			lamb	1
Perfect	perfett	2				
	perfect	1	perfect	1	perfect	29
	perfecte	55	perfecte	4		
	prfectlye [*sic*]	2				
Saraband	serebañ	1	sereban	1		
	sereband	2	sereband	2	saraban	1

Table 7.7 (b ii): C loss in word–final C clusters (contd. overleaf)

WORD	C		F			
Though	thoug	2				
	thouge	2				
	though(e)	141	though	14	though	73
Turn	turr	1				
	turne	977	turne	65	turn	193

Table 7.7 (b ii): Loss of C in word-final C clusters (contd.)

Loss of intervocalic ⟨v⟩

This loss, noted by Salmon 1986 as a feature of the spelling of Shakespeare's time, is found only once in the texts. This os the spelling of *over* as ⟨our⟩, which occurs once in C. It is possibly more frequently found in literary, and specifically poetic, texts, where its prosodic implications make it valuable.

Consonant epenthesis in some consonant clusters

This is not a feature of any of the texts.

Excrescent final ⟨t⟩ or ⟨d⟩

Only one word shows this, *gallon*, which is spelt ⟨gallande⟩ and ⟨gallonde⟩, twice and three times respectively (both spellings in C).

Chapter VIII

Results

The most important findings to come out of this research may be placed into two categories: that of the substantive and mainly quantitative results and that of the theoretical and mainly qualitative implications. While in this chapter these are presented separately at first, each informs the other and the findings from both these sections therefore frequently overlap.

Before providing the final results of the analyses carried out, the main findings of chapter VII (being the most comprehensive analytic chapter) are summarised. The purpose of this is not only to show how the trends of variation compare with each other, but also to provide a template against which the results of analysing any segment, including those investigated in chapters V and VI, may be viewed. In this section the extents of variation within and between texts, and the extent of difference between the textual spellings and the spellings of PresE are examined. A commentary on the historical, linguistic and theoretical implications of the analyses then follows.

8.1 Substantive Findings

The tables 8.1 and 8.2 provide a summary of what chapter VII has revealed about variation in and across the texts, and also show us the extent to which the spelling of each segment in each of the texts conforms or diverges from that of PresE orthodox spelling. In both tables the rows are ordered by the number of non–PresE spellings found in C (this is shown by the first figure in the 'C' column). Table 8.1 provides this information for those segments which showed two or less spellings. Items such as + or − final ⟨e⟩, and + or − CC and VV can only show two spellings by definition, but in the cases of the other segments included in this table more than two spellings would be possible, even though they were not found. The third column shows the non–PresE spelling of each of these segments. If a segment shows no PresE spellings it is included in this table, with the non–PresE

spelling shown in column 3 and the fact that this is the only spelling indicated by the percentage (100%) in brackets. If a segment shows only one spelling and this is the same as in PresE then the figures 0 and 0% are used. A line indicates that there is no occurrence of that segment in a text. Where two spellings only are found but neither are the PresE spelling the segment will be found in Table 8.2.

In the tables the first column provides a number for reference purposes. The second identifies the PresE form of the spelling variable and the third column indicates either the form of its sole alternant or, in Table 8.2, the total number of spellings for that segment in each text. Figures for non–PresE spellings in the three texts follow, under the main headings of C, F and 1667. A rough indication of the relation between variation in C and in 1667 is provided by the figure under the last column, headed 'range'.

Under the columns headed C, F, 1667 and 'range', the three axes of variation investigated in the earlier tables are indicated in the following ways:

- Variation within each text, or extent to which the spelling of that segment is unfixed in the text, is indicated by the number of different spellings found for that segment. This is either one or two in Table 8.1, as explained above. In Table 8.2 the fourth column shows the number of spellings for each segment in each text. The percentage of non–PresE spellings should also be consulted since a very low percentage of non–PresE spellings shows that the variation within the text is relatively insignificant (regardless of the number of variants), and a very high percentage of non–PresE spellings combined with a low number of variants similarly indicates a relatively insignificant variation (although in this case the predominant spelling is not that of PresE practice).

- Variation between the texts is indicated at the highest level of generalisation by the last column of the tables. The tables in chapters V, VI and VII have shown an overriding tendency for the spellings in C to differ from those in 1667 more strongly than from those in F, and for this reason it is the difference between C and 1667 which is indicated in the 'range' column. This provides a rough index of variation between the two texts, being the difference between the percentages of non–PresE spellings in C and those in 1667. Where C shows a higher percentage of non–PresE variants than 1667 the figure will be high,

where they show similar numbers the figure will be low (and had 1667 shown more non–PresE spellings than C in any segment a minus figure would have been found). A proper analysis of variation between the texts must include a comparison of all the figures given in the tables, however. The percentage figures, which provide an initial indication as to the frequency of non–PresE spellings in each text, must be seen in the light of the total occurences of the segments, which is indicated by the number of non–PresE spellings, and for a comparison of the extent of variability in each text the number of different spellings shown by each segment in each text should also be undertaken.

- Deviation from orthodox PresE spelling is shown by the number of non–PresE spellings present for each segment and in each text. As for questions of variation, however, the relationship between numbers and percentages should be borne in mind. Row 26 of Table 8.2, for example, shows that, where it occurs at all, the variable PresE ⟨ch⟩ for [k] is invariably spelt differently from the orthodox PresE spelling. This alone would indicate that it is among the most frequent or at least important of the differences between the spelling of the texts and that of the present day. The fact that it occurs only 4, 0 and 3 times in C, F and 1667 respectively must lead us to modify this impression, however. In contrast, the variable (PresE –CC) (Table 8.1, row 2) shows non–PresE spellings only 15%, 8% and 3% of the time, indicating that it may not be a very important source of difference between the texts' spellings and that of PresE; but the high incidence rates of 12,885, 825 and 1,079 should cause us to readjust this impression. Certainly the PresE reader will be much more aware of the variable with the higher incidence of non–PresE spellings, in the case of (PresE –CC) there will be approximately 6 instances of non–PresE spelling of this variable on every page, whereas non–PresE spellings of (PresE ⟨ch⟩ for [k]) will be found only every 100 pages or so. The segments at the top of each table are therefore perceptually more important than those at the bottom.

Descriptively, then, it is important to take into consideration both the percentages and the incidences of non–PresE spellings; linguistically a comparison of percentages and of numbers of spellings per segment is necessary; and to explain our PresE, and perhaps also the EModE, perceptions of the spelling variations it is essential to look at the number of occurences.

	Variable (PresE forms)	Appears as	C	F	1667	Range
1.	– final ⟨e⟩	+ final ⟨e⟩	26668 27%	1973 16%	624 1%	26
2.	– CC	+ CC	12885 15%	825 8%	1079 3%	12
3.	+ CC	– CC	2388 36%	184 22%	43 2%	34
4.	+ final ⟨e⟩	– final ⟨e⟩	775 3%	97 4%	56 1%	2
5.	+ medial ⟨e⟩	– medial ⟨e⟩	154 65%	10 45%	40 26%	39
6.	+ VV	– VV	86 5%	8 1%	8 <1%	5
7.	⟨ciV⟩	⟨tiV⟩	48 91%	10 100%	22 91%	0
8.	⟨sion⟩	⟨tion⟩	36 86%	———	0 0	86
9.	⟨tch⟩	⟨ch⟩	15 34%	0 0	1 2%	32
10.	– VV	+ VV	13 <1%	8 <1%	7 <1%	0
11.	– medial ⟨e⟩	+ medial ⟨e⟩	9 <1%	73 14%	4 <1%	9
12.	Str. ⟨er⟩	⟨ar⟩	3 1%	0 0	0 0	1
13.	⟨Vy⟩	⟨Vi⟩	2 <1%	1 <1%	3 <1%	0
14.	⟨th⟩	'thorn'	0 0	1047 82%	0 0	0

Table 8.1: Variation where two or less spellings used

	Variable (PresE forms)	Number of sps. (incl. PresE sp)	C	F	1667	Range
1.	⟨Vi⟩	C=7 F=5 1667=4	2140 86%	265 80%	385 33%	53
2.	Str. ⟨e⟩	C=9 F=6 1667=7	1787 8%	238 7%	65 1%	6
3.	⟨Vu⟩	C=5 F=3 1667=5	1703 20%	281 29%	255 7%	13
4.	⟨ei⟩	C=7 F=7 1667=4	1197 85%	176 94%	227 36%	49
5.	⟨c⟩ for [s]	C=2 F=3 1667=4	612 36%	12 7%	7 1%	35
6.	Str. ⟨o⟩	C=6 F=3 1667=6	551 2%	28 1%	251 2%	0
7.	⟨Vre⟩	C=5 F=4 1667=3	489 21%	99 22%	6 <1%	21
8.	Unstr. ⟨o⟩	C=4 F=6 1667=2	398 29%	70 33%	5 <1%	29
9.	Unstr. ⟨e⟩	C=3 F=2 1667=3	364 21%	69 31%	10 1%	20
10.	⟨ea⟩	C=9 F=4 1667=3	314 14%	22 7%	10 1%	13
11.	Str. ⟨i⟩	C=8 F=6 1667=5	307 1%	360 10%	47 <1%	1
12.	⟨Vw⟩	C=5 F=3 1667=2	233 14%	19 11%	2 <1%	14
13.	⟨gh⟩	C=7 F=2 1667=3	349 28%	3 2%	6 1%	27
14.	Unstr. ⟨a⟩	C=5 F=3 1667=2	102 10%	4 12%	6 1%	9
15.	Str. ⟨u⟩	C=5 F=3 1667=2	95 1%	10 1%	1 <1%	1
16.	Unstr. ⟨i⟩	C=3 F=2 1667=3	90 17%	4 7%	5 2%	15
17.	⟨ie⟩	C=8 F=2 1667=4	81 17%	4 5%	5 2%	15
18.	⟨ee⟩	C=4 F=1 1667=1	78 7%	0 0	0 0	7
19.	Str. ⟨a⟩	C=8 F=4 1667=3	73 <1%	7 <1%	5 <1%	0
20.	⟨ch⟩ for [tʃ]	C=4 F=1 1667=2	71 4%	0 0	1 <1%	4
21.	Str. ⟨ar⟩	C=3 F=3 1667=1	68 3%	8 2%	0 0	3
22.	Unstr. ⟨u⟩	C=3 F=2 1667=3	42 11%	3 7%	5 5%	6
23.	⟨c⟩ for [k]	C=3 F=2 1667=2	30 39%	2 40%	8 16%	23
24.	⟨ck⟩	C=3 F=0 1667=2	13 3%	0 0	1 1%	2
25.	⟨g⟩ for [dz]	C=4 F=2 1667=2	36 5%	1 1%	0 0	5
26.	⟨ch⟩ for [k]	C=3 F=0 1667=2	4 100%	0 0	3 100%	0
27.	⟨ph⟩	C=2 F=2 1667=2	3 12%	2 100%	1 5%	7

Table 8.2 Variation where more than two spellings used

Number of sps. (incl. PresE sp)	C	F	1667
C=3.93 F=2.67 1667=2.68	1353 24%	153 22%	86 7%

Table 8.3: Averages of figures given in Tables 8.1 and 8.2

8.1.1 Variation Within and Between the Texts

For the amount of variation shown in the three texts we should turn to the number of different spellings exhibited by each segment. Segments from Tables 8.1 and 8.2 with the highest number of spelling variants in the three texts are:

C		F		1667	
⟨ea⟩	(9)	PresE ⟨ei⟩	(7)	Str. ⟨e⟩	(7)
Str. ⟨e⟩	(9)	Str. ⟨e⟩	(6)	Str. ⟨o⟩	(6)
Str. ⟨i⟩	(8)	Unstr. ⟨o⟩	(6)	⟨Vu⟩	(5)
⟨ie⟩	(8)	Str. ⟨i⟩	(6)	⟨Vi⟩	(4)
Str. ⟨a⟩	(8)	⟨Vi⟩	(5)	⟨ei⟩	(4)
				⟨c⟩ for [s]	(4)
				⟨ie⟩	(4)

Table 8.4: Highest number of spelling variants

These are not the most frequently noted of variables from EModE spellings. Variations in the spelling of ⟨ei⟩ is mentioned only by Kersey, and, apart from a few individual examples given in EModE spelling books and dictionaries, mention of variation in the spelling of stress–bearing vowels is extremely rare[197]. Variations in the spellings of ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨ie⟩ are, however, mentioned by most EModE writers

[197] Although these have been a favourite target of historical phonologists, largely because of the Great Vowel Shift.

as well as P & A, Wakelin, Görlach, Freeborn, Vallins and Scragg. The high rates of variation exhibited in F by PresE ⟨Vi⟩ and in 1667 by this segment and by ⟨Vu⟩ are only partially noted in the mention of variation between ⟨oi⟩ and ⟨oy⟩ in Kersey 1702, Mulcaster 1582, Hodges 1644, Wharton 1654 and Cooper 1687.

In almost all cases of variation in the segments investigated in chapters VI and VII C shows a higher frequency of non–PresE spellings and more variation in the spelling of segments than F, which itself often shows more frequent non–PresE spellings and greater variation than 1667. The differences between the texts are not equally great, with a distinctly larger gap between the figures for F and those for 1667 than the gap between the figures for the two MS texts. The smaller extent of variation in 1667 would be all the more remarkable if we knew that, while C and F were both written by one person, more than one compositor was involved in the production of 1667. The records we have of Milbourne's printing house in 1668 (two presses, two workmen and no apprentices)[198] strongly indicate only one compositor, although it is always possible that he employed more people the year before, or hired journeymen compositors[199] at busy times. Where higher than usual percentages are found for 1667 one may seek out the pages on which each of the spellings occur in order to discover whether different compositorial hands may explain such spelling variation, but no single variant provides sufficient evidence for analysis along these lines. In terms of the main issues investigated in this thesis the question of how many compositors worked on the printed book is subordinate to the fact that a certain amount of variation was found in this text, which may be taken as broadly representative of the spelling habits of other printed books of the time.

The main exception to the general rule of 1667's closer identity to PresE practices was found in the case of non–sentence–initial capitalisation, where the sample pages analysed in Table 5.5 showed a higher percentage of this non–PresE practice in 1667 than in F (and more non–sentence-initial capitalisation in F than in C). The tendency for 1667 to show less variation than either of the MS texts was, however, maintained in the polarisation of 1667's non–sentence-initial capitalisation towards

[198] See Plomer 1922:205, quoted in 3.2.4.

[199] Febvre 1990:129–130 tells us that on successfully fulfilling their time in the printing house, apprentices became journeymen, some of them composing and others printing.

nouns (93%) (whereas C and F showed a wider diffusion of capitalisation among a larger range of parts of speech). In another feature investigated in chapter V, 1667 shows greater departure from PresE norms than C or F: this is the case of hyphenation where PresE has two words (Table 5.7 (a)). Here 1667 shows very many more (and a higher proportion of) hyphenated words than the MS texts, but it also shows a higher proportion (though not number) of single word forms (the PresE forms) than C or F. It differs from C and F again in the third option here, that of two (unhyphenated) words, which is favoured by both C and F but found only once in 1667.

Although many of the segments conformed with the general pattern of 1667's greater invariability and conformity with PresE spellings, other segments analysed in chapter V show no, or different, patterning between texts from that shown by the segments investigated in chapters VI and VII. For the following features 1667 showed practices closer to those of PresE than those showed by C and F: non–possessive apostrophes (Table 5.1), macrons (Table 5.2), the forms and extent of abbreviations and contractions (Table 5.5), different methods of word–division (Tables 5.6 (a), (b) and 5.7 (b)), and paragraphing and general layout.

Proportions and distribution of the non–alphabetic forms for words analysed in Table 5.4 vary from item to item. Apart from the then usual ⟨l⟩ for *pound(s)* (where PresE now uses the sign ⟨£⟩) all of the forms used in the texts are the same as those used in PresE; conformity to PresE usage lies in the extent of uniformity of usage. Although printers and habitual writers of formal texts may show high degrees of uniformity in avoiding non–alphabetic forms of words, it seems likely that most PresE writers are not particularly regular in this practice, so the mixed usage of C and F is probably as much like PresE MS habits as the much more uniform usage of alphabetically written form in 1667 is like PresE conventions in formal writing.

Less of a divide between the figures for C and F and those for 1667 is shown by the number of different spellings for each segment in 8.1 and 8.2, with C showing an average of nearly 4 spellings per segment and both F and 1667 showing an average of almost 3 spellings per segment. There is, however, a difference in the distribution of these rates of variation. If number of spellings for each spelling

were to be plotted on a graph against number of segments showing that extent of variation there would be a high peak at 2 spellings per segment, with a relatively smooth line falling down away from it, showing a strong tendency in all texts for a lower number of segments to show the higher numbers of spellings. The line for C would not be as smooth as those for F and 1667 because in C more segments show 5, 7 and 8 spellings than 4, 6 and 9. F would show a smoother line with only one other peak, because it consistently decreases the number of segments as the number of spellings increases with only one exception to this, where 3 segments show 6 spellings. The line for 1667 would show no further peaks because in this text the greater the variation in spelling, the smaller the number of segments, with no exception. There is one other comment to be made about the number of spellings shown for any segment, and that concerns the maximum numbers of spellings for a single segment, the figures for which once again show less variation in 1667 and F than in C: C shows a maximum of 9 spellings for a single segment, F and 1667 both show a maximum of 7.

The question of the extent to which the printing house altered the spellings of its copy is here partially answered, with the observation that this printed text shows a considerable regularisation of the spellings found in the author's MSS; but we do not know at which stage this regularisation took place. As described, the MSS are clearly not the printer's copy. Had Newcastle himself prepared a further copy to send to the printer we cannot be sure that he would not have demonstrated even more regular spellings than those shown in F, in which case the regularisation found in 1667 would stem just as much from the (lost) MS as from the printing house. It is more likely, however, that Newcastle employed a secretary to prepare a final copy[200]. Whatever the intermediary history of the text, not only is there much less variation shown in the spellings of 1667 than in the spellings of the MS

[200] Not only was this a fairly common habit of the time (as shown in chapter I) but, as was also very common, Newcastle had a secretary who wrote letters for him (a number of letters signed by Newcastle and held in the Hallward Library, Nottingham University are not in his hand). We have the additional evidence that the Duchess of Newcastle had a secretary to copy her manuscripts for the press and that one such was in her employ at the same time as the copy for 1667 was (probably) being prepared for printing. As noted in 1.3.6, she mentions in *her* 1667 book the difficulties arising from the death of her secretary who was making a copy 'for the press' (M. Newcastle 1667:lxi). The same secretary may not have been used by both, but it seems unlikely that Newcastle would have lacked a secretary while his wife had one.

texts, but the spellings of the printed version are in general much closer to those which eventually became fixed as the standard.

8.1.2 Difference Between Spellings of the Texts and of PresE

We should note that those variables which are most frequently noted by the present–day scholars as differing from PresE spelling are not necessarily those which are most consistently unorthodox in the texts, but that they are those which occur in the non–PresE forms a large number of times.

In order to gauge which segments show the most frequent non–PresE spellings both percentage and number of non–PresE occurences must be considered. One way of doing this is to look only at those segments which show non–PresE spellings more than a specified number of times and then to list them in order of non–PresE percentages. Those segments showing the most significant frequency of non–PresE spellings can then be selected according to percentages. With such varied figures as are found in the three texts under investigation a relatively low number of non–PresE occurences had to be selected, otherwise one of the texts (F) would have been under–represented; a relatively low percentage was selected as the cut–off point for similar reasons (any higher percentage would result in 1667 not being represented at all). Table 8.5 shows for each text those segments which have non–PresE spellings on more than 50 occasions and whose percentages of non–PresE spellings are higher than 30% (where two features in any text have the same percentage the one with the higher number of occurences is listed first). The segments are represented by their PresE forms, as in the preceding tables.

C		F		1667	
⟨Vi⟩	86%	⟨ei⟩	94%	⟨ei⟩	36%
⟨ei⟩	85%	⟨th⟩	82%	⟨Vi⟩	33%
+ medial ⟨e⟩	65%	⟨Vi⟩	80%		
⟨c⟩ for [s]	36%	Unstr. ⟨o⟩	33%		
+ CC	36%	Unstr. ⟨e⟩	31%		

Table 8.5: Most frequent non–PresE spellings

These are not the spelling features most frequently mentioned by present day or EModE commentators on spelling. Most of them are, in fact, rarely mentioned at all. Apart from F's use of thorn for PresE ⟨th⟩ in *the*, PresE ⟨Vi⟩ and PresE ⟨ei⟩ spellings are the most frequent non–PresE spellings in all texts, but these items are specifically mentioned only in Kersey 1702 (both variables mentioned) Mulcaster 1582 and Cooper 1687 (both of whom provide examples of ⟨ai⟩/⟨ei⟩ variation) and, partially, by Hodges 1644 and Wharton 1654. None of the 20th century books surveyed in chapter I mention these variables, although many (Classen 1919, Jones 1953, Strang 1970, Barber 1976, Burchfield 1985, Wakelin 1988, Vallins 1954, Scragg 1974 and Salmon 1986) note ⟨i⟩/⟨y⟩ (and ⟨ie⟩) variation which could be taken as covering most cases of Vi variation, although this is never mentioned or given as an example. The lack of medial ⟨e⟩ where it is now expected, the spelling of PresE CC with only single consonants and the use of different spellings for PresE Unstr. ⟨o⟩ and ⟨e⟩ are also mentioned very infrequently in current literature, although discussions and/or examples of spelling variation in these segments may be found in the EModE spelling books and dictionaries. The case of medial ⟨e⟩, for example, is mentioned in Mulcaster, Hodges, Wharton, Cooper and Kersey (with Mulcaster and Kersey giving the example of ⟨forman⟩/⟨foreman⟩) and both Mulcaster and Kersey show variation in the vowels of numerous unstressed syllables.

Because they so frequently show more than one spelling for a segment, a commentary on the spelling variation exhibited in C and F is largely a commentary on the differences between their spellings and those found in PresE. This is not

the case with 1667, which shows a very high degree of virtually invariable PresE spellings.

Those features which show the highest percentages of non–PresE spellings in 1667 are PresE ⟨ch⟩ for [k] (100%: Table 8.2, row 26), and PresE ⟨ciV⟩ (91%: Table 8.1, row 7). The first of these, which is spelt in two ways in 1667, is found only 3 times (see Table 7.5 (a vi)), and is therefore of minor importance when compared to the second, which is also spelt in two ways but this time in a total of 45 occurences (see Table 7.5 (e i)). This division of the spellings shows no discernible pattern in where they occur in the text, and, as mentioned above, there is anyway insufficient evidence for relating these spellings to different compositors. More important is the lexical diffusion of these spellings, with each word showing this segment being spelt only and always in one of these ways. Details of this are provided under Table 7.5 (e i). We may thus say that the only segment that shows a significant number and percentage of non–PresE spellings in 1667 does not show randomly varied usage; rather it shows lexically fixed spellings, some of which are different from those fixed in PresE spelling.

1667 does not always show the most invariable spellings or spellings closer to PresE than those in the MS texts, although the exceptions to this tendency are very few. One instance of 1667 showing more variation than C or F lies in its spellings of the prefix {en–}, where all MS instances are spelt ⟨in⟩ whereas 33% of those in 1667 are spelt ⟨en⟩ and the remaining 67% are spelt ⟨in⟩ (see Table 6.4). The case of non–sentence–initial capitalisation, where 1667 shows a much higher percentage of capitalisation is an instance of 1667 showing greater non–PresE usage than the MS texts.

8.2 Qualitative Interpretations

8.2.1 Features Not Traditionally Considered to Pertain to Spelling

Although two of the features investigated in chapter V were found to differ from the normal trend of 1667 being more like PresE than the MS texts, more were found to conform with this tendency. The different distribution of non–sentence–capitalisation in 1667 seems to indicate a greater consciousness in the printer of rules governing such practices. In a similar way the greater consistency

in the use of non–alphabetic word–forms points to an awareness of some rule or preferred style. In this case the preferred style is identical to that which dictates the standardisation of the more traditional spelling features: an effort to avoid variation.

8.2.2 Morphological Level

Examination of affix spellings in chapter VI did not produce any strong evidence of a morphologically–based spelling regularisation, although some of the findings may be interpreted in this way. As was also the case in the non–morphemic analyses of the spellings, 1667 regularly demonstrates much less variation and more PresE spellings than the MS texts.

Evidence for a morphological level of spelling lies in the 100% invariance of spellings in many prefixes and in the spellings of the vowel letters of {–ance} {–ence}, {–able} and {–ible}. These segments were all spelt as in PresE, which has fixed on the Latin vowel spellings. Perhaps the most striking difference between spellings in morphological and other segments was shown in the treatment of ⟨e⟩/⟨i⟩ alternation (7.5.15). Here it was noted that ⟨e⟩ was regularly substituted for PresE ⟨i⟩ in all environments *apart from* morphemic *in–* and *–ic*.

These regularities and agreements with PresE conventions may not, however, be primarily due to a morphological process in the learning of spellings. Had these affixes demonstrated fixed spellings very different from their PresE spellings, which are based on their classical etymologies, it would be possible to make strong claims for a morphological level of learned spellings; their conformity to their origins, however, provides a likely explanation for their regularity at a less abstract level, which cannot be ignored. This is the fact mentioned in chapter I, that educated men[201] were taught how to write (and spell) Latin words, but not English words. A resultant ability to spell classically–based affixes better than base forms of a non–classical origin is then unsurprising.

The much greater regularity and conformity to PresE conventions in 1667 than in the MS texts may be taken as evidence of a morphological sensitivity in a structured variation across texts indicating language change from variation

[201] This may not always have applied to educated women.

to single spellings for each word. This interpretation is again overridden by a more evident matter, this time being the tendency of 1667 to show much greater regularity and similarity to PresE spellings than C and F in almost all aspects of spelling.

The final evidence for a morphological interpretation of spelling variation in these texts lies in the over–extension of spellings which originated in classically–based affixes to non–affix segments and in the extension of such affix spellings to the spellings of other, phonologically related affixes. This occurs in the cases of C, F and 1667's *vicious*, C and 1667's *physician*, C and F's *artificial, especial, malicious, musician* and of C's *conscience, gracious, licencious* and *spacious*, in C's ⟨–tion⟩ spellings of PresE *apprehension, infusion, occasion, passion* and, possibly, in the 2 spellings of *routine* with ⟨–inge⟩, also in C. Classical education may again, however, provide an explanation for most these overlapping spellings, because although EModE spelling of Latin was to a very high degree fixed, it did show confusion of Lat. ⟨tio⟩ with Lat. ⟨cio⟩[202]. In all these cases phonological explanations may also be found.

Evidence against morphological interpretation of the spellings lies most strongly in the fact that they show no variation that is different in type or pattern from that shown by other segmental analyses of the texts. In addition, there is some evidence of the word taking precedence over the morpheme in the fixing of spellings. Most notable here are the spellings of PresE ⟨our⟩ in C (see Table 6.26 (a)) and the retension of ⟨th⟩ forms in third person singular suffixes in all texts (see Table 6.28 (l)). The first of these shows different patterns of variation, and in some cases different spellings, in the different words in which PresE ⟨our⟩ occurs; the second of these shows only minimal use of ⟨th⟩ in most verbs with the exceptions of *do* and *have*, which show high proportions of the older form in all texts[203]. Another example of lexical treatment of spelling variation in affixes is found in the ⟨wardes⟩ spelling of *forwards* (11 times) in 1667, where this segment is elsewhere in the text always spelt ⟨wards⟩ (41 times) (see Table 6.32).

[202] Mr David Crane of the English Literature Department, Durham University kindly provided me with this information.

[203] These may be seen as the residue of a language change (from *–th* to *–s* 3rd. pers. sing. endings.) which proceeded through lexical diffusion as explained in Aitchison 1991:83.

It seems, then, that while there is some evidence of a morphologically–based level of spelling regularisation in the texts, a historical account of spelling regularisation can explain this as itself mostly due to the classical origins of English affixes and EModE education. The phonological identity of many affixes may also explain some of their overlapping spellings. While none of these explanations are in conflict, the data provided here is better suited to historical than to cognitive interpretation.

8.2.3 Phonological Level

Almost all alphabetic spellings have origins in phonological correspondence. They are, however, subject to the forces of teaching methods, formation and dissolution of local or temporary standards, importation of foreign words, foreign sounds, foreign spellings, and to interpretations and reinterpretations along phonological, etymological, morphological, analogical and even ideological grounds. For this reason the disentangling of purely phonological or phonetic information from any given spelling is a hazardous enterprise. In this section only those spellings which may best be discussed in terms of their possible pronunciations are mentioned.

The MSS's and 1667's ⟨u⟩ spellings of *fruitfulness* and *juice* (Table 7.5 (g xii)) showed clear phonetic interference, but, being only two instances, their importance is small. A more widescale instance of possible phonetic interference lies in Newcastle's ⟨ou⟩ spellings of segments which in PresE have ⟨o⟩[204]. These may indicate a more rounded pronunciation of the corresponding vowels than is now the case in southern accents or in RP. The words affected are: *accompany* (spelt with ⟨ou⟩ in C in its only occurrence), *accustom* (spelt with ⟨ou⟩ twice in C and once in F), *colour* (spelt ⟨cou–⟩ 35 times in C), *come(-)* (spelt with ⟨ou⟩ 171 times in C), *comfort* and *corrupt* (each spelt with ⟨ou⟩ once in C), *custom* (20 times in C and 4 times in F), *overcomes* and *welcome* (once each in C).

Other features of Newcastle's spelling are well known in the literature investigating EModE spelling as pronunciation evidence. These are listed below:

[204] See 7.5.14.

Lack of ⟨ea⟩ spellings for PresE ⟨ee⟩, where there are many ⟨ee⟩ spellings for PresE ⟨ea⟩ (see Tables 7.5 (j i) and (j i)). This may indicate that those words which are in PresE spelt with ⟨ee⟩, and which are deemed to be the reflexes of words with 'close' /e/, showed in EModE less varied pronunciations than those now spelt with ⟨ea⟩, which are deemed to be the reflexes of 'open' /e/. Spelling trends of this sort have been used by Dobson and Wyld to show the retension of an unraised ME long 'open' /e/ sound at a time when all or most ME long 'close' /e/ had raised to /i/.

The use of ⟨ar⟩ for PresE ⟨er⟩ (found once each in 3 words in C, see Table 7.6 (k i)) and the reverse spellings of ⟨er⟩ for PresE ⟨ar⟩ (this occurs 67 times in 9 words in C and 5 times in 3 words in F, see Table 7.5 (k ii)).

The indication of weak forms such as ⟨a⟩ for *he* or *on* (see 7.7.1).

The writing of ⟨i⟩ for ⟨e⟩ in, eg, the prefixes *de–, en–* and elsewhere.

The omission of vowels or vowel plus consonants in polysyllabic words, as in ⟨excute⟩ and ⟨phisopher⟩ (see 7.5.11).

The omission of ⟨g⟩ in two spellings of *–ing* in C.

The ommission of ⟨h⟩, which occurs 3 times in C and twice in F (see 7.5.12) and the inclusionn of unorthodox ⟨h⟩ in spellings such as ⟨HAlexanders⟩ (see 6.1.7).

The omission of ⟨l⟩ in *Bristol* and *mogul*.

⟨sh⟩ spellings of *s* in *assure* (5 times in C), *suits* (once in C) and *sure* (47 times in C and once in F).

Excrescent ⟨t⟩ or ⟨d⟩ after words ending in *n*, which is found (in C) in two spellings of the word *gallon*, and the reverse case of the omission of word–final ⟨t⟩ or ⟨d⟩ after ⟨n⟩ (in *and, Brabant, except, forward, inward* and *saraband*, see Table 7.7 (b ii)).

Indication of lost glide in the spelling ⟨coted⟩ for *quoted*.

It is generally thought that any variation in the spelling of vowels in what are now unstressed syllables indicates an uncertain or 'schwa' pronunciation on behalf of the writer, but the results of this investigation show that vowel spellings in PresE stressed syllables in many cases show just as much or even more variation, which finding weakens the force of the accepted explanation.

The number of spellings for which phonological issues provide the best explanation is very small; this study indicates that the most frequently found non–PresE spellings (Table 8.5) are not phonetically motivated, although the high number of spelling variants shown by some other segments (Table 8.4) may be at least partly explained in this way.

8.3 General Observations

The most frequent source of spelling variation in affixes and false-affixes, the spellings of unstressed vowels, does not show a high degree of variation in base forms. The variation found in the affixes here is not among the features mentioned by any of the PresE commentators on EModE spelling[205]. All of the EModE writers whose works were searched for the list on p.19, however, provided examples of vowel alternation in affixes, notably that of *–our/–er/–or*, which was mentioned by all seven of them.

Although the fact that 1667 shows less spelling variation than C or, often, F seems to confirm the role of the press in an important role as a standardising mechanism, the fact that comparison of C with F also shows a decrease in spelling variation indicates that it is not the printing press alone that played this part. Rather, the productions of the press are seen to have been at one end of a standardisation continuum which has the various different types or registers of writing spread along it. It is important to note that the individual writers are not to be categorised according to this continuum, since each writer will, as far as his/her educational ability and personal preferences allow, show the spellings associated with different parts of this continuum according to the register of the writing undertaken. F thus shows a 'higher' register of spellings (one which showed less variation and which was closer to the register used in print) than that shown in the rougher draft, C.

[205] The 'unstressed forms' mentioned by Salmon 1986:xlvii are reduced or changed forms of whole–words, such as *he'll*, although Salmon's –ure/–er provides an example of this.

This style shifting and the text–dependent patterns of variation that demonstrate it may be seen as the exact counterparts of the register–dependent style shifting found in the spoken language in features which are undergoing a certain type of change, known as change 'from above'.

It has been convincingly shown by the researches of sociolinguists that some changes in language occur in the direction of an acknowledged prestige feature. Such changes are considered to be above the level of consciousness (thus the term 'from above') and to manifest themselves in style–shifting (see Aitchison 1991:61 and references to her sources): the more frequent use of the prestige feature in more formal or more conscious speech and in reading matter which involves a greater consciousness of the reading/speaking process than others, such as reading word–lists in contrast to reading continuous prose[206]. This type of change is contrasted to change from below the level of consciousness (often change towards a covertly prestigious feature) which has been found not to exhibit register–dependent patterning to the same degree[207].

If spelling standardisation was a change from above, then we should acknowledge that contemporary comments about spelling are very valuable as evidence of the prestige features(s) that fuelled the change. Where so many writings show so many different arguments and so many different proposals, the only feature on which all EModE theorists agree is that of the desirability of 'fixing' the spelling so that it may be easily learned (the educationalists' requirement) and so that it may display some uniformity (the requirement of reformers and grammarians). Similarly, where writers' practices differ in specific spelling details and where individual changes manifested in style–shifting may also differ from one writer to the next, the only exceptionless tendency that can be discerned in their style–shifting and across time is that of a decrease in the quantity and, eventually, in the quality of spelling variation. These observations together with the testimony of the texts examined in this thesis support Milroy's general argument that standardisation is a move to minimise variation. The tendency of the texts to show, in some cases

[206] As in other types of language change, change from above will also be demonstrated in the different speech habits of different generations and different social groups.

[207] Although change from below will manifest itself in social group–dependent style shifting, it will not manifest itself in any change from word–list reading style to continuous prose reading style, or from interview style to reading style.

(as in {–able} and {–ible}, {–ance} and {–ence}), a higher degree of invariance in affixes than in free morphs, and above all the adherence of 1667 to Latin–spellings, may indicate the nature of the diffusion of spelling standardisation as being both morphemic and lexical; it more strongly suggests the adoption of those spellings most familiar to the well–educated as the model for the invariable form.

The reasons for selecting a prestige feature of language and implementing a change from above are, in the studies of the spoken language that have given rise to the current sociolinguistic theories of language change, concerned with the social context of language and not with the language itself. Language features are invested with the social connotations that belong primarily to their speakers. Thus it is that Trudgill 1974 found Norwich youngsters adopting the /h/–dropping habits of Londoners, who were considered to be models of fashion and sophistication. The social context of spelling standardisation has been outlined in chapter I where it was seen that class and the contemporary education theories are unlikely to have directly provided a prestige model, for the simple reason that no–one was given extended or systematic tuition in English spelling. More likely to have been prestigious was the old model of correct writing, classical Latin as taught and used in EModE schools and universities, which demonstrated fixed spellings for each word. The transference of ideals of correctness from Latin to the newly–enfranchised English (Jones 1953) as part of the up–grading of the vernacular no doubt received further encouragement from similar activities on the continent, notably the establishment of the *Academie Francaise*. It is, however, not possible to do much more than offer speculation in this matter.

Chapter IX

Conclusion

This study has shown that spelling variation may fruitfully be investigated without recourse to overriding reliance on phonology. More importantly, it has shown that spelling and other graphic aspects of texts demonstrate patterns of variation very similar to those found in certain areas of the spoken language. This evidence indicates that the minutiae of the written language are not unworthy of rigorous linguistic analysis; with the added evidence from Romaine 1982 and Devitt 1989 it may even be said that a reassessment of the linguistic status of the written language is now due. The implications of this work for models of the mental representation of writing, both cognitively and in the field of theoretical and 'mentalist' linguistics, are many and various.

The difference between private and public spelling habits, which has been mentioned occasionally and often tentatively, was argued in the first chapter and has been very clearly proved to have been the case for these texts. It is suggested that there existed for the writing population of EModE times a scale or continuum of spelling habits which responded to the degree of privateness/publicness of the text and which is both similar to and linguistically related to style or register shifting habits which in spoken language correlate with the perceived formality of the speech situation.

The patterns of variation that were discovered in the analyses were furthermore interpreted in the light of modern theories of language change, and it was seen that the spelling variation of EModE, which may once have shown less intertextual patterning[208], shows features of diffusion through texts that exactly mirror the patterned variation found in speech segments postulated to be undergoing conscious change towards a prestige. This not only provides evidence for the value of writing as linguistic evidence as mentioned above, but it also provides independent evidence for the type of language change that spelling standardisation was. With

[208] This remains to be investigated.

this new dimension of evidence we may once again seek the causes of standardisation in the society which nurtured it, looking at EModE elite and prestige groups with renewed interest.

The quantitative results of the analyses have provided a description of the variables present in writers of Newcastle's generation which is numerically substantiated. Many spelling features that have been said to be characteristic of their time have been examined and have been placed, as it were, side–by–side with other features of writing that are less often mentioned. The extent to which a statistical reality is reflected in statements based on general familiarity with EModE texts and resultant perceptions and insights into their spellings has been tested, with results that largely support the scholars' comments. There are nevertheless a number of features which are not adequately or accurately mentioned in the current literature. The extent to which the comments of EModE writers may be relevant to the texts under investigation was not thoroughly investigated because it was found that these writers' detailed comments on spelling most often centred on a few individual words. It was argued that far from being an accident of the writers' styles this technique was itself an effect of spelling standardisation, which encourages the lexicalisation of spelling. A full–scale comparison of the spelling books' suggestions and criticisms with the practice of their contemporaries remains to be done.

Although it would be naive to expect the results of the tests carried out on these three texts to be duplicated in any other set of texts, the careful selection of texts which are neither literary nor overly erudite but nevertheless written for publication and available in print may encourage one to declare them as suitably representative of the spelling habits of writers of Newcastle's generation and to claim that the foregoing research can therefore be used for reference by any future student of 17th century spelling.

Appendix A

Complete Word List with Definitions

'MS' refers to all spellings found in the MSS (both C and F). The number of any particular spelling found in F is indicated by bracketed figures following the total MS incidence. If no bracketed figures are provided then that spelling is not found in F. 'PRINT' refers to 1667.

A (Fr.) MS: a 42 (F=23); PRINT: A 3

A MS: a 3037 (F=410); PRINT: a 1575, *a* 1.

Abandon MS: abandone 1, abandoned 1; PRINT: abandoned 1

Abate MS: abate 1, a bate 1, abated 2, abatte 1 (F=1); PRINT: Abate 1, abated 1

Abhor MS: abhorr 1

Ability MS: abiletie 1

Able MS: able 5; PRINT: Able 3

Abominable MS: abhominable 9 (F=2), abhominablye 4, abominable 1, obhominable 1 (F=1); PRINT: Abominable 3

About MS: about 1, aboute 28 (F=3), a boute 38 (F=3); PRINT: about 36

Above MS: a bou 1, aboue 12 (F=1), a boue 29 (F=9); PRINT: above 37, a-|bove 1

Abovesaid MS: aboue sayde 2

Abroad MS: abrode 1, a brode 3; PRINT: Abroad 4

Absolute MS: absolute 6, absolutly 5 (F=1), absolutlye 12; PRINT: absolute 3, ab-|solute 1, absolutely 7, abso-|lutely 1

Abstract (n.) MS: abstracte 1

Absurd MS: absurde 2

Abundance MS: abundance 4, a bundance 6; PRINT: abundance 4, Abun-|dance 1

Abundantly MS: abundantlye 1

Abuse (v.) MS: abuse 1, abusde 1, a busde 1; PRINT: abuse 1, Abused 2

Academy MS: academies 4, academye 7; PRINT: Academies 3, Academy 1, Aca-|demy 1

Accident PRINT: Accidents 1

Accommodate MS: acomodate 1; PRINT: Accommodate 1

Accompany MS: ackoumpaninge 1

Accord- MS: according 9 (F=9), accordinge 1, ackordinge 33, ackord|inge 1, a ckordinge 1, acordinge 1, ackordinglye 3; PRINT: accord 1, according 16, ac-|cording 2, accor—| dingly 1

Account (n.) PRINT: Account (n) 1

Account (v.) MS: ackounte 1, ackounted 2;

Accustom MS: acoustomde 1, acoustomed 3 (F=2), acoustum̄ 1, PRINT: Accustomed 2, Ac-|customed 2

Ache (v.) MS: ake 1; PRINT: Ake 1

Acknowledge MS: acknoledge 2; PRINT: Acknowledge 3

Acorn MS: ackrons 1; PRINT: Acorns 1

Acquaint MS: aquaynted 1; PRINT: Acquaint 1

Acre MS: acre 1; PRINT: Acre 2

Act (n.) MS: acte 2; PRINT: Act 2

Action MS: action 70 (F=36), actione 1, actions 28 (F=2), action*s* 2 (F=2), actiō 96; PRINT: Action 46, Actions 7, Acti-|ons 2

Add MS: add 1, added 1, addes 3, adds 1, aded 1; PRINT: added 2

Addition MS: adition 1, aditiō 2; PRINT: Addition 1

Adjust MS: aiuste 1, a juste 2, a justs 1; PRINT: Adjust 2

Admirable (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Ladmirable 1; PRINT: L'Admirable 1

Admire MS: admier 3, admierde 1; PRINT: Admire 1,

Admirable MS: admirable 8; PRINT: Admirable 3, Admi-|rable 1

Admirably MS: admirablye 2

Admiral MS: admiralls 1

Admit MS: admitt 1 (F=1), admitts 2; PRINT: Admit 2

Ado MS: a doe 5; PRINT: ado 2

Adroit MS: adroite 1; PRINT: Adroit 1

Advance (v.) MS: aduance 19, aduancing 1 (F=1), aduanse 1, aduanses 1, aduansinge 1, aduanste 1; PRINT: Advance 4, Ad-|vance 1, advanced 2, advancing 2

Advantage MS: aduantage 13 adva|ntage 1, aduantages 2; PRINT: Advantage 4

Advertise MS: aduertise 2; PRINT: Advertise 1

Advise (v.) MS: aduise 7 (F=2), aduised 1; PRINT: Advise 5

Affection PRINT: Affection 1

Afford MS: afforde 1; PRINT: affords 2

Afoot MS: a foote 1 (F=1)

Afore- MS: aforesayde 3, afore-sayde 3, a fore-sayde 1; PRINT: afore 6, aforementioned 1, aforesaid 2

Afraid MS: aferde 1, afrayde 4, a frayde 1, frayde 1; PRINT: Afraid 2

African MS: africañ 1; PRINT: African 1

After MS: affter 10, after 56 (F=12); PRINT: after 39, af-|ter 1

Afternoon MS: after|noone 1, after noone 1; PRINT: Afternoon 2, Af-|ternoon 1, After—|noon 1

Afterwards MS: affterwarde 1, afterwarde 13, afterwardes 2; PRINT: afterward 4, afterwards 3, af-|terwards 1, after-|wards 1

Again MS: againe 2 (F=1), againñ 1, agayne 10 (F=1), a gayne 16, agen 6 (F=3), a gen 3 (F=1), agene 1, ageñ 15, a geñ 21; PRINT: again 48

Against MS: againest 1 (F=1), againeste 6 (F=6), a gaineste 5 (F=5), a gainste 1, agaynst 1, agaynste 24, a gaynste 10; PRINT: against 21

Age (n.) MS: age 6, ages 2; PRINT: (n): Age 8, Ages 1, Middle-Age 1

Age (v.) MS: agde 2

Agile MS: agill 2

Agility MS: agiletie 1, agilettye 1, agiletye 3, a giletye 1; PRINT: Agility 4

Ago MS: agoe 1, a goe 3; PRINT: ago 1

Agree MS: agree 2; PRINT: agree 5

A hundred, A hundred and fifty MS: a 100 6, a 150 2

Aim (v.) MS: ayme 1

Air MS: aire 1, arie [*sic.*] 1, ayre 91 (F=25), ayres 119 (F=15), ayrs 42 (F=2); PRINT: Ayre 35, Ayres 42

Aire (Fr.) PRINT: Ayre 1

Alacrity MS: alacritye 1, alecretye 1

Alegre MS: alegre 1, alegres 1, alegrir (Fr.?) 1

Alexander MS: Alesander 1, Alexsander 1, alexsanders 1, HAlexanders 1; PRINT: Alex-|anders 1

Alike MS: alike 1, a like 6 (F=1); PRINT: alike 2

All MS: all 894 (F=79); PRINT: all 402 , all-upon 1

All-whips MS: all-whipps 1

Almenara [horse's name] MS: Almenara 1; PRINT: Almenara 1

Almain MS: alman 1, almans 1, almañ 4; PRINT: Alman 1, Almain 1, Almains 2

Almanac MS: almenack 1; PRINT: Almanack 1

Almost MS: allmoste 1, all moste 1 (F=1), almoste 20 (F=1); PRINT: almost 9, al-|most 1

Aloes PRINT: Alloes 1, Aloes 2

Alone MS: alone 8, a lone 5; PRINT: alone 9

Along MS: a long 2 (F=2), alonge 3, a longe 1; PRINT: along 2

Already MS: alreadye 1, alredye 3; PRINT: already 1, al-|ready 1

Also MS: also 56 (F=9); PRINT: also 53

Alter MS: alter 5, alterde 1, alters 3; PRINT: alter 2

Alteration MS: alteration 2

Although MS: although 1 (F=1); PRINT: although 1

Altogether MS: altogether 1; PRINT: altogether 1, all together 1

Alum (n & v) MS: allomde 1, allome 4; PRINT: Allom 2

Always MS: allwayes 11, all wayes 1, alwaies 1 (F=1), alwaye 3, alwayes 194 (F=29), alwa|yes 1, always 4 (F=4); PRINT: alwayes 32, al-wayes 1, al-|wayes 5, always 35

Am MS: am 7 (F=1), am̃ 24; PRINT: am 16

Amaze MS: amase 1, amases 1; PRINT: Amaze 1

Ambassador MS: embasador 3, impasador 1; PRINT: Embassador 1, Embassadour 2

Ambition MS: am̃bition 1

Amble (n.) MS: amble 25 (F=8); PRINT: (n) Amble 13

Amble (v.) MS: amble 10, ambled 1, amblinge 6; PRINT: (v) Amble 8, Ambling 4, Am-|bling 1

Amend MS: amended 1

Ami (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: La Mie 1; PRINT: L'Amie 1

Amiss MS: amise 1 (F=1), amiss 1, a miss 1; PRINT: Amiss 2

Among(st) MS: amongste 2; PRINT: Among 3, amongst 3

Amour (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: La mour 1; PRINT: L'Amour 1

Amply MS: amplye 3

Amuse MS: amuse 1

An MS: an 68 (F=31), añ 125; PRINT: an 127

Anatomize MS: anotomisde 1, anotomise 1, anotomised 1; PRINT: Anatomize 1, Anatomized 3

Ancestor MS: ansestors 1; PRINT: Ancestors 1

And MS: and 154 (F=148), ande 356, añd 1, an 2, añ 1; PRINT: and 3128

Andolusia MS: andolosia 4; PRINT: Andalozia 2

Andrew MS: Andrewe 1

Angeane MS: angeane 1

Anger MS: anger 3

Angle MS: angle 14 (F=1)

Angle rod [*OED*: 'a fishing rod'] PRINT: Angle-Rod 1

Angleterre MS: A*E*ngletere 1; PRINT: Angleterre 1

Angry MS: angerie 2, angry 1 (F=1)

Animal MS: anemales 1, animall 1 (F=1), animalls 1

Aniseed PRINT: Anniseeds 1

Anoint MS: anoynte, 2 oynte 1; PRINT: Anoint 1, Anoynt 3

Another MS: an other 23 (F=8), an|other 2 (F=1), an⌐|other 1, añother 1, añ other 57, añ|other 13; PRINT: another 47, Ano-|ther 1

Answer (n.) MS: anser 3; PRINT: Answer 1

Answer (v.) MS: anser 2, anserde 2, answere 3; PRINT: Answer 2, answer'd 2

Answerable PRINT: Answerable 1

Antoine MS: antoyne 2; PRINT: Anthoine 2

Antonio MS: antonio 3; PRINT: Antonio 1

Antwerp MS: antwerpe 4 (F=1); PRINT: Antwerp 12

Any MS: any 14 (F=6), anye 151; PRINT: any 128

Anybody MS: any body 2 (F=2), anye bodye 1; PRINT: any Body 1

Anything MS: anye thinge 58, anye|thinge 11, any thing 3 (F=3), any thinge 2 (F=1), any|thinge 1; PRINT: any/thing 1, any thing 21, any |thing 1, any thing 2

Anyway MS: anye waye 1

Anywhere MS: anye wher 1

Apace PRINT: apace 2

Apiece MS: a peece 6

Apparent MS: aparente 1

Appear MS: apears 1, apeer 1, a peer 5, a peerde 1, a peers 2, aperes 1, apers 1; PRINT: appear 4, appeared 1, appears 2, ap-|pears 2

Appease MS: apease 1; PRINT: Appease 1

Appetite PRINT: Appetite 1

Apple PRINT: Apples 1

Application MS: aplications 1

Apply MS: aplie 1, aplied 2, aply 1, aplye 4; PRINT: Apply 2, Ap-|plyed 1

Appoint MS: apoynted 1; PRINT: appoint 1

Aprehension MS: aprehention 1, aprehen|tion 1, aprehentions 4, aprehentiõ 1; PRINT: Apprehension 1, Apprehensions 1, Ap-|prehensions 1

Aprehensive MS: aprehensiue 4, aprehensive 1; PRINT: Apprehensive 2

Apprentice MS: prentice 1; PRINT: Apprentices 1

Appropriate (v.) MS: a propriate 1, apropriate 2, a propriated 1 (F=1); PRINT: appropriate 1, Appropriated 1, ap-|propriated 1

Appui [*OED* def.3:'the sense of the action of the bridle on the hand of the horseman' [Chambers *Cycl.*] MS: apewie 25 (F=14), a pewie 2 (F=1), apewy 3, apewye 57, a pewye 8, apuie 3, a puie 1; PRINT: Apuy 17

April PRINT: April 1

Apt MS: apte 11, apted 4 (adj.), apter 5, aptlye 1; PRINT: Apt 5, Apter 1

Aqua-fortis MS: aqua-fortis 9

Arabian MS: arabien 1, arabiens 1, arabiẽ 2; PRINT: Arabian 2, Arabians 1, Arabs 1

Arch MS: arch 1, arches 4; PRINT: Arches 3

Arch-duke MS: arch Duke 1, arch-duke 2; PRINT: Arch-Duke 2

Architecture MS: arketecture 1

Are MS: ar 2, are 636 (F=81); PRINT: are 416

Argentino [horse's name] MS: Argentino 1; PRINT: Argentino 1

Argument MS: argumente 1, arguments 1; PRINT: Argument 1, Arguments 1

Aristotle MS: aristotle 1; PRINT: Aristotle 1

Arm (n.) MS: arme 10 (F=7), armes 23; PRINT: Arm 9, Arms 3

Arm (v.) MS: armde 3, arme 6, armeing 1 (F=1), armes 5 (F=5); PRINT: Arm 2, Armed 2, Armes 4, Arming 1, Armed-Man 2

Armorer [name] MS: Armorer 1

Army MS: armeye 2; PRINT: Army 2

Arnolfiende [name] MS: Arnolfiende 1

Arogante [horse's name] MS: Arogante 1; PRINT: Arrogante 1

Arogantillio [horse's name] MS: Arogantillio 1; PRINT: Arogantillo

Arpeggio [? nearest possible word that I can think of] MS: apagio 1

Arse MS: arse 4, arses 1; PRINT: Arses 1

Art MS: arte 77 (F=16), artes 2; PRINT: Art 48, Arts 1

Artery PRINT: Arteries 1

Article MS: article 3

Artificial MS: artefitiall 5 (F=3); PRINT: artificial 2

As MS: as 1380 (F=108); PRINT: as 599

Ascot PRINT: Ascot 1

Ash MS: ashes 2; PRINT: Ash 1

Ask MS: aske 1 (F=1), askte 3; PRINT: ask 2, ask'd (2)

Ass MS: ass 2, asses 7, ashes 2; PRINT: Asse 1, Asses 7

Assure MS: ashurde 2, a shurde 1, ashure 1, asshure 1, assurde 3, assure 37 (F=3), a ssure 1, assures 2, asure 2; PRINT: assure 25, as-|sure 1, assured 3

Astonish MS: astonishes 3 (F=1); PRINT: A-|stonishes 1

Astride MS: a stride 2; PRINT: Astride 2

Asunder PRINT: Assunder 1

At MS: at 51 (F=48), att 454 (F=27); PRINT: at 65

A thousand MS: a 1000 3, a|1000 1

Attain MS: atayne 1

Attend MS: atende 1, attend 4 (F=4), attende 6 (F=1), attendes 1; PRINT: Attend 8

Attentive MS: atentiue 1; PRINT: Attentive 1

Augment MS: augmente 1, augments 1; PRINT: Augment 4, Aug-|menting 1

Austria MS: Austria 1; PRINT: Austria 1

Author MS: aughter 3, aughters 12 (F=1); PRINT: Author 1, Au-|thor 1, Authors 11, Authours 1

Authority MS: aughoretye 1, aughtoretie 1, authoretye 1; PRINT: Authority 1

Auto MS: auto 2, a-uto 1

Avarice MS: avarise 1; PRINT: Avarice 1

Avoid MS: auoyde 1; PRINT: Avoid 1

Away MS: a way 1 (F=1), away 3 (F=3), awaye 4, a waye 13; PRINT: away 24

Awe MS: awe 4

Awhile PRINT: awhile 1

Awry MS: awrie 1, awrye 1; PRINT: Awry 1

Batista [name] MS: Babbista 1

Back (v & adj) MS: back 144 (F=1), backe 12 (F=12), backed 2, backinge 1, backs 3, bacte 1; PRINT: Back (v.) 1, Back (adj.) 51

Back (n.) MS: Black-back [horse's name] 1; PRINT: Back 16, Backs 4, Backing 2, Horse-Back 14, Horse Back 2

Backward MS: backeward 10 (F=10), backe|ward 1 (F=1), backe wardes 1 (F=1), backewards 3 (F=3), backward 5 (F=5), backwarde 22, backw|arde 1, backwarder 2, backwardes 9 (F=2), backw/ardes 2, backwards 3 (F=3), backwordes 1; PRINT: Backward 9, Back-|ward 3, Backwards 8, Back-|wards 1

Bad MS: bad 2, badd 6; PRINT: Bad 7, Badd 3

Bag MS: bagg 3, bagges 1; PRINT: Bagg 4

Bait MS: bayted 1; PRINT: Baite 1

Baize MS: bais 1 (F=1); PRINT: Baies 1

Ball MS: Snowe-Bale 1, bale 2, ball 1, balls 1; PRINT: Ball 1

Balotado [*OED*: Ballotade = A kind of leap in which a managed horse bends his four legs without jerking out the hind ones. 1727-51 in Chambers *Encycl. Britt. III*] MS: Balatado 1 (F=1), balatadoes 1 (F=1), balotadoes 14 (F=7), balotatoes 1; PRINT: Balotado 1, Balotadoes 5

Balott [horse's name] MS: Balott 1; PRINT: Balott 1

Band MS: bande 7; PRINT: Band 1

Banish MS: banishte 1 (F=1); PRINT: Banish t 1

Bankes [name] PRINT: Bankes's 1

Baptise MS: babtisde 1

Bar MS: barr 1, barres 1, barrs 136 (F=3), bars 3; PRINT: Barr 1, Barrs 27, Bars 7

Barb MS: barbe 21 (F=1), barbes 4, barbs 24; PRINT: Barb 16, Barbe 2, Barbs 17, Barbes 2, Barb's 2

Barbary MS: barberie 4, barberies 1, barberye 10; PRINT: Barbary 5, Bar-|bary 1, Barberies 1, Barbery 2

Barbe (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Barbe 2; PRINT: Le Grand Barbe 1, Le Petit Barbe 1

Bardel [*OED*: obs. rare ... **bardelle** form of *bard*: horse-armour, also 'a long saddle for an ass or mule of canvass' (Cotgr.).] MS: bardell 2, bardelle 2; PRINT: Bardel 1

Bare MS: Bare 2; PRINT: Bare 1

Barnet MS: barnett 1; PRINT: Barnet 1

Baron PRINT: Baron 1

Barren MS: baren 1; PRINT: Bar-|ren 1

Barricade PRINT: Barricado 1

Barque MS: barke 1

Barley MS: barleye 8; PRINT: Barley 10, Bar-|ley 1, Barley-break 1, Barley-Straw 1

Barrel MS: barrell 1; PRINT: Barrel 1

Basket [name] MS: Baskett 1

Bastarded MS: basterded 1; PRINT: Bastarded 1

Batalla (?) PRINT: Batalla 1

Bataille (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Batalie 1; PRINT: La Batalle 1

Bathe PRINT: bathed 1

Battle MS: batle 1

Bay MS: baye 6, bayes 1; PRINT: Bay 1, Bayes 1, Bay-Berries 1, Bay-Salt 1

BB [abbr.] MS: bb 1; PRINT: bb 1

Be MS: be 126 (F=2), bee 1130 (F=118), being 31 (F=29), beinge 219; PRINT: be 574, be 1, be 2, being 116, be—|ing 5

Beagle MS: beagle 1; PRINT: Beagle 1

Bean MS: beane 1; PRINT: Beans 2

Bear (n.) MS: beare 1

Bear (v.) MS: beare 8, beares 2; PRINT: Bear 4, bears 1

Beard MS: beard 1 (F=1); PRINT: Beard 1

Beast MS: beaste 12 (F=2), beastes 6; PRINT: Beast 3, Beasts 3

Beat MS: beate 16, beaten 3 (F=1), beatẽ 1, beates 2, beatinge 4; PRINT: beat 6, bea-|ten 1, beats 2, Beatt 1, bea-|en 1, Beaten 3

Beauté (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Baute 1; PRINT: La Beaute

Beautiful MS: bewtifull 9; PRINT: beautiful 6, Beau-|tiful 1, Beauti-|full 1, Beautifullest 1, Beautifull-Horse 1

Beautify MS: bewtefye 1; PRINT: Beautifie 1, Beautifies 1, Beautifying 1

Beauty PRINT: Beauty 1

Bebely [name] MS: Bebeleye 1

Because MS: because 440 (F=44), beca|use 1; PRINT: Because 139, Be-|cause 15

Bechance MS: bechance 1

Become MS: becoume 2, becoum̃e 1

Bed chamber PRINT: Bed-chamber 1

Been MS: been 21, beene 2, beẽn 16; PRINT: been 24

Beer MS: beer 1; PRINT: Beer 3

Before MS: beefore 1, befor 17, before 551 (F=82); PRINT: before 137, be-|fore 13, before-mentioned 1

Began MS: began 4; PRINT: Began 3

Beget MS: begettes 1

Beggar MS: beggar 1; PRINT: Beggar 1

Begin MS: begin 2, begins 1, begiñ 17, begiñs 5, beginninge 1, begiñinge 2, begiñinges 1; PRINT: begin 6, begins 4, be-|gins 1

Begun MS: beguñ 1; PRINT: begun 1

Behalf PRINT: behalf 1

Behind MS: behind 1, behinde 198 (F=19), beinde 1; PRINT: Behind 31, be-|hind 6

Beholder MS: beholders 14 (F=1); PRINT: Beholders 4

Belief MS: belefe 1

Believe MS: beleue 29; PRINT: beleeve 1, believe 15, be-|lieve 2

Belike MS: belike 1; PRINT: belike 1

Bell [horse's names] MS: Bell in Campo 1, Bessye Bell 1; PRINT: Bell in Campo 1

Bella [horse's name] MS: Bella Donia 1; PRINT: Bella Donna

Bel/Belle MS: Belle 1; PRINT: Bel 1

Bellissimo [horse's name] MS: Bellisimo 1; PRINT: Bellissimo 1

Belville [name] MS: Belluile 1

Belly MS: belley 1, belleye 2, bellies 2, belly 9 (F=4), bellye 25; PRINT: Belley 4, Bellies 1, Belly 11

Belong MS: belonge 1, belonges 6 (F=1); PRINT: belong 1, belongs 3

Below MS: below 2 (F=1), belowe 3; PRINT: Below 1, be-|low 2

Bend MS: bend 1 (F=1), bende 63, bendes 17, bending 3 (F=3), bendinge 8, bends 1; PRINT: Bend 16, bending 7, bends 5

Benefit (n.) MS: benefitt 5 (F=1), benefitts 2 (F=1); PRINT: Benefit 1

Benjamin MS: beniamin 1, beniamiñ 1; PRINT: Benjamin 2

Bent MS: bent 1 (F=1), bente 26 (F=3); PRINT: Bent 11

Berry [horse's name] MS: Blewe-berye 1

Bertram PRINT: Ber-|tram 1

Beseech MS: besech 1; PRINT: beseech 1

Beside MS: beside 1, besides 69 (F=4); PRINT: besides 23, Be-|sides 3

Bessy [horse's name] MS: Bessye Bell 1

Best MS: best 1, beste 171 (F=17); PRINT: Best 94

Bestow PRINT: bestow'd 1, Bestowed 1

Better MS: better 149 (F=13); PRINT: better 64, Bet-|ter 2

Between MS: beetween 1 (F=1), between 23 (F=7), betweene 11 (F=4), betweẽ 5, betwen 1, betwene 7; PRINT: between 12, be-|tween 1

Betwixt MS: betwixte 10; PRINT: betwixt 4

Beyond MS: beyande 1, beyond 4 (F=4), beyonde 30, beyounde 1; PRINT: beyond 21, Be-|yond 3, be-| beyond 1

Bias (adv.) MS: bias 93 (F=5), byas 2; PRINT: Byas 27

Bid (v.) PRINT: Bid 1, bids 1

Bidet [*OED*: (of unknown origin) - pony] PRINT: Bidets 1

Bien (Fr.) MS: Bien 2, biẽn 1; PRINT: bien 2

Big (adj.) MS: Bigg 6 (F=2); PRINT: bigg 6, Bigger 1

Bigg (n.) [*OED:* Bigg, Big = The four-rowed barley, an inferior but hardier variety of the six-rowed or winter barley] MS: Bigg 1; PRINT: bigg (n.) 2.

Bilbao MS: bilbo 1; PRINT: Bilbo 1

Bill PRINT: Bill 1

Bind MS: binde 1, bindes 2; PRINT: Bind 1

Bird MS: birde 1

Bit MS: bitt 203 (F=28), bitts 41 (F=14), Bitt maker 1 (F=1), bitt-maker 1; PRINT: Bit 1, bitt (v.) 1, Bitt (n.) 128, Bitt-Maker 2, Bitts 26

Bite MS: bite 5, bites 2, bitinge 1, byte 1; PRINT: Bite (v.) 4, Biteing 1, Bites (v.) 3, Biting 1

Black MS: black 11, Black-Back [horse's name] 1; PRINT: Black 4

Blackamoor MS: blacka-moore 1

Blasphemy MS: blasphemie 1

Bleed MS: bleed 1, bleede 1, bledinge 1; PRINT: Bleed 1, Bleeding 1, Bleed-|ings 1

Bless MS: bless 1; PRINT: Bless 1

Blessure MS: blessures 1 (F=1)

Blind MS: blinde 5; PRINT: Blind 1

Block MS: block 2; PRINT: Block 1

Blood MS: bloud 4, bloudd 4, bloude 3, bloudy 1, bloudye 1; PRINT: Blood 17, Bloody 1, Bloud 1

Blow MS: blow 4 (F=4), blowe 1; PRINT: Blow 4

Blue MS: blew 1, blewe 7, Blewe-Berye [horse's name] 1

Blundeville MS: blundenile 1, blundevile 17, blundeuill 1, blundeuills 3, blundevile 2; PRINT: Blundevil 21, Blundevils 3, Blundevile 3, Blunde-|vils 1

Blunt MS: blunte 1

Blur MS: blur 1

Blush MS: blushe 2

Board MS: bord 1 (F=1); PRINT: Board 1

Bobtail [horse's name] MS: Bobb Tayle 1

Bodkins MS: bodkins 1

Body MS: bodie 18, body 15 (F=12), bodye 110, bodies 9, bodyes 1; PRINT: Bodies 10, bodies (gen) 1, Bodies-Helps 1, Body 48

Bog PRINT: Bogg 1

Boil MS: boyle 6, boyled 3, boylinge 2; PRINT: Boyl 3

Bold MS: bolde 1, boldly 1 (F=1); PRINT: Bold 2, Boldly 2

Bolsover PRINT: Bolsover 1

Bolt MS: bolte 5, boltes 2 (F=1); PRINT: Bolt 1, Boltes 1

Bon (Fr.) MS: Bon 1, Boñ 1; PRINT: Bon 1

Bona Natura (It.) [horse's name] MS: Bona natura 1; PRINT: Bona Natura 1

Bone MS: bone 1, bones 3; PRINT: Bones 3, Bone-|Setter 1

Bonissimo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Bonisimo 1; PRINT: Bonissimo 1

Bonite (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Bonite 1; PRINT: Bonit 1

Book MS: booke 53 (F=5), bookes 7 (F=1); PRINT: Book 36, Books 10, Book's 1

Boot (n.) MS: bootes 2; PRINT: Boots 1

Boot (v.) MS: boote 6, boute 1; PRINT: boot 2

Borage [*OED* Burrage 'obs. form of Borage ... a genus of plants ... The common British species (Borago officinalis) ... was formerly much estemed as a cordial...'] PRINT: Burrage 2

Borge [name] MS: Borge 1; PRINT: Borge 1

Born/Borne MS: borne 2; PRINT: Born 2

Bosses [protrusions] MS: bosses 1 (F=1); PRINT: Bosses 1

Both MS: both 359 (F=37); PRINT: both 125

Bothal (Proper n. or foreign word) PRINT: Bothal 1

Bottom PRINT: bottom 1

Bouche (Fr.) MS: Boushe 1

Bouffon [horse's name] MS: Le Buffoñ 1; PRINT: Le Bouffon 1

Bought MS: baughte 6, bought 1, boughte 3; PRINT: Bought 4

Bound MS: bounde 3, boundinge 1; PRINT: Bound 5

Bountiful MS: bountefull 1

Bounty MS: bountie 1

Bouton (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le petit button 1; PRINT: Le Petit Boutton

Bow (v.) MS: bow 1 (F=1), bowe 32 (F=1), bowed 1 (F=1), bowes 25 (F=1); PRINT: Bow 11, Bowed 1, Bowing 1, Bows 12, Bow'd 2

Bowels PRINT: Bowels 1

Bowling MS: boulinge 1, bowlinge 1; PRINT: Bowling 1, Bowling-Green 1

Boy MS: boy 1 (F=1), boye 9, boyes 3 (F=3); PRINT: Boy 2, Boyes 5

Boycler [name] MS: Bouklier 1; PRINT: Boy-|cler 1

Brabant MS: brabande 1, brabante 1, brabañ 1; PRINT: Brabant 4

Brain MS: brayne 3, braynes 1

Bran MS: brañ 1; PRINT: Brann 2

Branch (n.) MS: branch 9 (F=6), branche 1, branches 37 (F=15), bran|ches 1, brantches 2; PRINT: Branch 6, Branches 19, Bran-|ches 2

Brave MS: braue 3, braueleye 2; braueste 1; PRINT: Brave 1, Bravely 1, Bravest 1

Bravo (exclam.) MS: Brano 1; PRINT: Bravo 1

Bravo [horse's name] MS: Brauo 1; PRINT: Il Bravo 1

Bray MS: braye 1; PRINT: Bray 1

Brazil MS: brasill 2, brassill 1

Bread MS: breade 1, bredd 1; PRINT: Bread 4

Breadth PRINT: breadth 3

Break MS: braake 1, breake 13, breakes 2, breakinge 1; PRINT: break 6, breaking 2

Breast MS: breaste 18 (F=8), breasts 3, breste 4; PRINT: Breast 6, Breasts 1, Brest 2, Brests 1

Breath MS: breath 9 (F=2); PRINT: Breath 2

Bred MS: bread 1, breadd 1, breade 1, bred 1; PRINT: Bred 7

Breech MS: bretch 1

Breed (n.) MS: breed 5, breede 5, breedes 2; PRINT: Breed 11, Breeds 4, Breeders 1, Breeding 7

Breed (v.) MS: brede 2, bredes 2, bredinge 7, breed 9, breede 12, breedes 2, breedinge 3; PRINT: Breed 17, Breeds 2, Breeding 7

Breeder MS: Breders 2

Brewer MS: brewers 2; PRINT: Brewer 1, Brewers 1, Brewers-Cart 1, Dutch-Brewer's 1

Briches MS: briches 1

Brickle [*Collins*: 'Scot. & northern English dialect brittle ...' from OE *brycel.*]MS: brickle 1

Bride [*OED: bride* for 'Bridle' latest quotation = K. Horn (1300) 772.] MS: bride 4;

Bride (Fr.) ['à toute bride'] MS: Bride 6; PRINT: Bride 1

Bridle (n & v) MS: bridel 1, bridle 268 (F=29), bridled 1 (F=1), bridles 1; PRINT: Bridle 62, Bri-|dle 1, Bri-| dle-Hand 1, Bridle-Hand 14, Bridle-|Hand 3, Bridle-Reyns 1, Bridled 1, Bridles 1

Briefly MS: breiflye 1

Bright MS: brighte 1

Brimstone PRINT: Brim-|stone 1

Bridge MS: bridge 1; PRINT: Bridge 1

Bring MS: bring 9 (F=9), bringe 82 (F=4), bringe^{i}nge 1, bringes 47 (F=6), bringeth 1, bringing 3 (F=2), bringinge 9; PRINT: bring 37, bringeth 1, bringing 2, brings 15

Bristol MS: bristo 1; PRINT: Bristol 1

Britain PRINT: Britain 1

Broad MS: brod 1, broder 1; PRINT: Broad 4

Broke, Broken MS: broke 1, broken 2; PRINT: Broke 1, Broken 2, Broken-Winded 1

Brother MS: brother 6; PRINT: Brother 1, Brother-in-Law 1

Broue MS: Broue 1, Browe 7, Browes 2; PRINT: Broue's 1, Broue 5, Broues 1, Browes 1

Brought MS: braught 4 (F=4), braughte 8, braūghte 1, broughte 3; PRINT: brought 9

Broulerie MS: broulerie 1

Brown MS: broune 1, browne 1; PRINT: Brown-Bay 1

Brown [name] MS: Browne 1

Brush PRINT: Brush 2

Bruxelles MS: bruxells 8; PRINT: Bruxels 2

Buck MS: buck 2; PRINT: Buck-Hunters 1, Buck-Hunting 1

Buckingham MS: buckinghaṁ 1

Buckle MS: bucle 2; PRINT: Buckles 1

Bugloss [*OED*: a name applied to several boraginaceous plants] PRINT: Bugloss 1

Built MS: builte 2 (F=2); PRINT: Built 3

Bull MS: bull 2, bulls 3; PRINT: Bulls-Pisle 1, Bulls-|Pisles 1

Bunch MS: bountch 2, bo^{u}ntch 1, bunches 1, bunchinge 1, buntch 3; PRINT: Bunches 2, Bunching 1

Bungler MS: bunglers 3; PRINT: Bunglers 2

Burn MS: burne 1, burninge 2; PRINT: Burn 1

Burnish PRINT: Burnisht 1

Bush MS: bushes 1

Bushel PRINT: Bushels 1

Business MS: busines 58 (F=2), busineses 1, business 7; PRINT: Business 20, Bu-|siness 2, Busi-~| ness 1, businesses 1

Buskins [horse's name] MS: Buskins 1

But MS: but 118 (F=110), butt 1381 (F=48); PRINT: but 662

Butler [name] MS: Buttler 1; PRINT: Butler 1

Butter MS: butter 1; PRINT: Butter 3

Buttock MS: buttock 13, buttocke 1 (F=1), buttockes 4 (F=1), buttocks 6, buttockte 1; PRINT: Buttock 6, Buttocks 5

Button MS: button 2 (F=1), buttons 5; PRINT: Button 1, Buttons 1

Buy MS: by 1, bye 26 (F=1), byenge 1, byes 1; PRINT: Buy 20

By MS: bie 1, by 257 (F=29), bye 19; PRINT: by 160

Cabin MS: cabeñ 1

Cadance [*OED* '5: *Horsemanship.* An equal measure or proportion which a horse observes in all his motions when he is thoroughly managed' (Farrier's Dict. in Bailey).'] MS: cadance 8, cadanse 1, cadanses 1; PRINT: cadance 1

Caesar [See also **cesare** below] MS: Sesar Pompe 1; PRINT: Cesar 1

Calais MS: calis 1, callis 3; PRINT: Calais 2

Calf MS: calfe 13 (F=5), calfes 1; PRINT: Calf 8

Call (v.) MS: cald 2 (F=2), calde 12, cale 12, caled 11, cales 1, calinge 1, call 4 (F=4), calld 1 (F=1), calles 1 (F=1), calls 1 (F=1); PRINT: call 18, call'd 9, call d 1, called 7, calls 4

Calves [part of leg] MS: calues 3

Camarade (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Comrade 1; PRINT: Le Comarade 1

Cambrel [*Collins*: 'a variant of gambrel'] See Gambrel

Came MS: came 17; PRINT: came 11

Camel MS: camells 2; PRINT: Camel 1, Camels (gen) 1, Camels-Milk 1

Camillo [name] MS: Camillo 1

Campagne [countryside] MS: campanie 1, campanies 1 [='in campanies' - meaning not entirely clear. Does he mean 'companies' as in groups?]

Campe [name] MS: [dell] Campe 2

Can MS: can 60 (F=33), cañ 352; PRINT: can 177

Cannot MS: cannot 10 (F=10), cannott 2 (F=2), can nott 13, cañ not 3, cañnott 2, cañ nott 130; PRINT: cannot 55, can-|not 3

Cannon [*COD*: 'smooth round bit for horse'] MS: canon 2 (F=2), cañon 10 (F=4), cañons 1, cañoñ 2; PRINT: Cannon 1, Cannons 1, Canon 4

Cantle [*Collins* 'The back part of a saddle that slopes upwards ...' 14th c. from Old Northern Fr. *cantel.*] MS: cantle 1 (F=1); PRINT: Cantle 1

Cap MS: Mad Capp 1, capps 3; PRINT: Capps 1

Capable MS: capable 2; PRINT: Capable 1

Capitano (It.) [horse's name] MS: Capitano 1

Capriole [*OED* 2. *Horsemanship.* A high leap made by a horse without advancing, the hind legs being jerked out together at the height of the leap. From It. *capriolare* 'to caper'.] MS: capriole 6, caprioles 6, caprioll 1 (F=1), capriolls 20 (F=9), gapriole 1; PRINT: Capriol 1, Capriole 1, Caprioles 1, Capriols 6

Capricieux (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Capritiuse 1; PRINT: Le Capritieux 1

Captain MS: captin 3, captiñ 18; PRINT: Capt 1, Captain 3

Caputiato [not in *OED*] PRINT: Caputiato 1

Carasena [The Marquis of ...] MS: carasena 2, carasene 1, caresene 1; PRINT: Carasena 2, Carasene 1

Cardinal (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Cardinal 1; PRINT: Le Cardinal 1

Cards MS: cardes 1; PRINT: Cardes 1

Care (n.) MS: care 3; PRINT: care 1

Care (v.) MS: care 3; PRINT: care 1

Career [*OED* 2: of a horse: A short gallop at full speed (often in phr. *to pass a career*). Also a charge, encounter (at a tournament or in battle). obs.] MS: career 2, careere 2, carere 4, carier 1; PRINT: Careers 1, Carreer 2

Carefull MS: carefull 7, carefullye 1; PRINT: careful 6, carefully 3, Care-|fully 1

Caress MS: careses 1, caressinge 1; PRINT: Caressing 1

Carpet MS: carpetts 1; PRINT: Car-|pet 1

Carrot PRINT: Carrots 1

Carry MS: carie 4, carye 2 caringe 1, caris 1; PRINT: carry 3

Carryer MS: carier 1, cariers 2; PRINT: Carriers 2

Cart MS: carte 5, carte Horses 4, carte Horse 2, karte Horse 1; PRINT: Cart 4, Cart-Horse 3, Cart-Horses 4

Case MS: case 13, cases 2; PRINT: case 11

Cassia [*OED* Def.1: 'An inferior kind of cinnamon ...'] PRINT: Cassia 1

Cast (n.) MS: castes 2

Cast (v.) MS: castinge 1; PRINT: Cast 1, casts 1

Castle MS: castle 1, castles 1; PRINT: Castle 1, Castles 1

Casualty MS: casualtye 1; PRINT: Casualty 1

Cat MS: catts 3; PRINT: Catts (gen.) 2

Catch (v.) MS: catch 1, katchinge 1

Catholic MS: catholike 2; PRINT: Catholick 1

Cause (n.) PRINT: cause 3, caused 1

Cause (v.) MS: cause 3; PRINT: cause 4

Cavalcadore MS: caualcadore 2

Cavalier MS: caualier 3, caualiers 3, cauallier 1 (F=1); PRINT: Cavalier 4, Cava-|lier 1, Cavaliers 1

Cavallier (Fr.) MS: caualier 1; PRINT: [horse's name] Le Cavalier 1

Cavallerice [*OED*: Obs. from It. *cavallerizza* (Sp. *caballeriza*) riding-school ... Horsemanship: 1607 Markham (title) *Cavelarice or the English Horseman.* ...] MS: cauallaritza 1 (F=1), cauallerise 1 (F=1), cauelerice 1; PRINT: Cavalarizzo 1

Cavallo [horse's name] MS: Cauallo 3, Le Cauallo 1, Cauallo Imperiall 1; PRINT: Cavallo 5

Cavallo Imperiale (It.) [horse's name] PRINT: Cavallo Imperiale 1

Cavesson [*OED*: from Fr. *cavecon* ... a headstrain.] MS: cauasoñ 1, cauatzaine 59 (F=59), cauatzan 3, cauatzane 340 (F=1), cauatzanes 11, cauatzans 1, cauatzañ 1, cauatziane 1 (F=1), cauatzone 1, cauetsane 3, cauetzane 3, cauetzañ 1, cavatzaine 1 (F=1), cavatzane 6 (F=1); PRINT: Cavazon 1, Ca-|vazone 1, Cava-|zone 1, Cavezon 3, Cavezone 130, Ca⌐|vezone 5, Cav⌐|ezone 1, Cave-|zone 9, Cavezones 1, Cave⌐|zones 1, Cavezone's 62, Cavezon's 3

Cavesson (Fr.) MS: Cauesson 1

Cavendish PRINT: Cavendishe 1

Cawkins MS: cawkins 1

Cenock [name] MS: Cenock 1

Censure MS: sensure (v.) 1; PRINT: Censure 1

Centaur MS: sentaure 1, sentaures 1; PRINT: Centaur 1

Centre MS: center 126 (F=44), centre 1, senter 4; PRINT: Center 14, Cen-|ter 1

Cerebund (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Cerebunde 1

Certain MS: certayne 1, serten 2, sertene 1 (F=1), sertẽ 2, serteyne 5, sertenly 4 (F=3), sertenlye 40; PRINT: certain 8, certainly 20, cer-|tainly 3, Cer—|tainty 1

Cesare [name] MS: Cesare 1, Casere 1

Chain (n.) MS: cheane 6, cheanes 3 (F=1); PRINT: Chain 1, Chains 1

Chale [meaning unclear: 'the chale/chawle band'] MS: chale 1, chawle 1

Chamberly [type of wine or other liquid] MS: chamberly 2

Chambetta MS: chambetta 1; PRINT: Chambetta 1

Chambriere [Spiers: '2. longe whip.'] MS: chambreir 1, Chambrieie 1, chambrier 10 (F=2), chambriers 1, shamberiere 1, shambreier 2, shambrier 6; PRINT: Chambrieres 1, Shambriere 2, Sham-|briere 1

Chance (n.) MS: chance 7 (F=1), chanse 1; PRINT: Chance (n) 5,

Chance (v.) MS: chanses 1; PRINT: Chances 1

Chancellor MS: chanselor 1; PRINT: Chancellor 1

Change (n.) MS: change 6, changes 2; PRINT: Change 2, Changes 1,

Change (v.) MS: chang 3 (F=3), change 41 (F=6), changed 1, changes 11 (F=6), changing 6 (F=6), changinge 17; PRINT: Change 17, Changed 2, Changes 8, Changing 10

Chapter MS: chapter 21, chapters 3

Charge MS: chargde 1, charge (n.) 1, charged 2, charges (n) 1; PRINT: chargeable 1, Charges (n.) 1

Charles PRINT: Charles 1

Chastisments MS: chastismentes 1

Cheap MS: cheape 2, cheapeste 2; PRINT: Cheap 1, Cheapest 2

Cheek MS: cheek 1, cheeke 30, cheekes 56 (F=8), chekes 1; PRINT: Cheek 17, Cheeks 35

Cherish MS: cherishe 4, cherishte 1; PRINT: Cherish 2

Chestnut MS: chestnutt 1

Cheval MS: cheuall 4; PRINT: Cheval 2

Chief MS: cheefeste 2, chefeste 1; PRINT: Chief 1

Childhood MS: childhood 1, childhoode 2; PRINT: child-hood 1

Children MS: childereñ 1; PRINT: Children 2

Chin MS: chin 1, chiñ 1; PRINT: Chin 1

Chine [*OED* sb. def.2 'spine, back bone ... "glanders of the chine" = a disease of horses ... hence perhaps, *chine* as name of a disease'] MS: chine 2, chines 1 (F=1); PRINT: Chine 10, Chines 1

Choice MS: choyce 3, choyse 2; PRINT: Choise 1

Choler MS: coler 1, colerick 3, colerike 2, coller 7, collerick 2, collerike 1

Choose MS: chuse 14 (F=1); PRINT: chuse 7

Chosen MS: chosen 5, choseñ 3; PRINT: Chosen 3

Chrest PRINT: Crest 1

Christendom MS: christendome 1; PRINT: Christendom 1, Christendome 1

Christian MS: christiañ 1

Christmas MS: christmas 1; PRINT: Christmas 1

Cipione [name] MS: Chipione 1

Circle (n.) MS: circiles 1 (F=1), circle 137 (F=23), circles 168 (F=11), circle*s* 2, sircle 5; PRINT: Circle 28, Cir-|cle 1, Circles 45

Circular(ly) MS: circularly 2 (F=2), circularlye 17, circularye 1, circuler 1, circulerly 1, circ^{u}lerly 1 (F=1); PRINT: Circular 1, Circularly 4, Cir-|cularly 2

Circumference MS: circumferance 4, Circumfera|nce 1

Circumscribe MS: circumscribed 1; PRINT: Circum-|scrib'd 1

City MS: citeies 1, citeys 1, cities 1; PRINT: Cities 2

Citizen MS: citiseñ 1; PRINT: Citizen 2

Civil(ly) MS: ciueleye 2, ciuell 1, siveleye 1; PRINT: Civilly 3

Civility PRINT: Civilities 1

Clap MS: clapinge 2, clappinge 1, clapps 1; PRINT: Clapping 1

Claringdon PRINT: Claringdon 1

Claudio MS: Claudio 1, Clodio 1; PRINT: Claudio 1

Clean MS: cleane 9, clenlye 1; PRINT: Clean 18

Clear (adj./adv.) MS: clearlye 1, cleer 5, cleere 1, cleerer 1, clerer 1, clerlye 1; PRINT: clear 1, clearly 3, clear-|ly 1

Cleft (n.) MS: clefte 1

Clinch MS: klinchinge 1; PRINT: Clinching 1

Cling MS: clin*k*e^{ge}e 1; PRINT: Cling 1

Clip PRINT: Clip 1

Clister PRINT: Glister 1, Glisters 1

Close MS: close (adj.) 44 (F=3), closed 2, closer 4; PRINT: Close (adj) 14, close (v.) 1, closer 1, Closse (n.) 1

Cloth MS: cloth 3, clothes 1; PRINT: Cloth 3, Cloath 4, dusting-cloath 1

Clothe MS: cloth 1; PRINT: Cloath [= v 'to rub with a cloth'] 2, Cloathed 1, Cloathing 1

Clothes MS: clothes 5; PRINT: Clothes 4, Cloaths 1

Clothing (n.) MS: clothinge 1; PRINT: cloathing 1

Clown MS: clowne 1; PRINT: Clown 1

Coach (n.) MS: coch 5, coches 5, cotch 1; PRINT: Coach 4, Coaches 4, Coach-horses 2

Coals MS: coles 1

Coat MS: cote 1; PRINT: Coat 4

Cob [horse's name] MS: Cobbe 1

Cocking MS: cockinge 1; PRINT: Cocking 1

Cods PRINT: Codds 1

Cold MS: colde 2, coldes 2, coldnes 1; PRINT: Cold 13, Colder 1, Colds 2

Coller PRINT: Collers 2

Colonel (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Collonell 1; PRINT: Le Collonel 1

Colour MS: collour 1, collower 6, collowers 1, collowrde 1, collowre 1, collowres 1, color 1, colour 1, colours 1, colower 1, colowrs 1, couller 12, coullerde 2, coullers 21; PRINT: Colour 8, Co-|lour 1, Coloured 1, Colours 10, Co-¬|lours 3

Colt MS: colte 15, coltes 13, colts 1 (F=1); PRINT: Colt 13, Coltes 1, Colts 14

Comb (v.) MS: combe 1; PRINT: Comb'd 1

Combat MS: combatt 6; PRINT: Combat 3

Combines MS: combines 1

Come MS: cames 1, come 8 (F=5), comed 1 (F=1) ['his understanding Is not

comed to him'], comes 9 (F=9), cometh 1, coming 2 (F=2), cominge 1, coumm 1, coumde 2, coume 83, coumes 65, coumeth 2, couminge 1, coume 2, coumminge 14; PRINT: come 48, comes 23, coming 5, comn 3

Comely MS: comelye 1, comley 1, comleye 7, comlines 1, comly 1, comlye 1, com*onl*^{lye}y 1 (F=1), coumleye 1; PRINT: Comely 7

Comfort MS: coumphorte (n.) 1; PRINT: comfort (n) 1, comfort (v.) 1

Command (n.) MS: comānd 1 (F=1), comande 2, comandes (n.) 2; PRINT: Command 2, Com-|mands (n.) 1

Command (v.) MS: comanded 1, comandes 2; PRINT: Command 1, Com-|manded 1, Commands 1

Commander MS: comanders 2; PRINT: Commanders 1

Comme (Fr.) PRINT: comme 1

Commend MS: comende 1, comende 4, comended 1, comendes 3, comeñd 1 (F=1); PRINT: Commend 4, Commendable 1, commending 1

Commendation MS: comendations 1; PRINT: Commendation 1, Commendations 1, Commen-|dations 1

Commission PRINT: Commission 1

Commit MS: comitted 1; PRINT: commit 1, Commit-|ted 1

Commodity MS: comodetye 1, comodeties 1

Commodious PRINT: Commodious 1

Common MS: comon 5, comoñ 2, comonly 1 (F=1), comonlye 2, comonly 1, comonlye 20; PRINT: Common 8, commonly 16

Compact MS: compacte 1

Compagnon (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Companion 1; Le Compagnion 1

Company MS: companye 2; PRINT: Company 1

Compare MS: compared 1; PRINT: Com-|pared 1, comparable 1, Compara-|ble 1

Comparison MS: comparison 3, comparisoñ 3, comparisoñ 1; PRINT: Comparison 3

Compass MS: compases (n.) 2, compass (n) 1 (F=1); PRINT: Compas'd 1, Compass 1

Complaisant MS: complesante 1

Complete MS: compleate (adj.) 1, compleatlye 1; PRINT: Com-|pleat (adj) 1, compleatly 1

Compose MS: composed 1, composinge 1; PRINT: Composing 1

Composition MS: compotition 1, compotitions 1, compotitiõ 2; PRINT: Composition 2, Composi-|tion 1, Compositions 1

Compound MS: compounded 1; PRINT: Compounded 1

Comprehend PRINT: Comprehends 1

Concave MS: concaue 26; PRINT: Concave 2, Con-|cave 1

Conceit MS: conseyte 1; PRINT: conceit 2

Conceive MS: conseaue 2, conseued 2; PRINT: Con-|ceaved 1, Con-|ceaved 1

Concern (v.) MS: consernde 2, consernes 1; PRINT: con-|cern 1, Concerned 2, Concerning 2

Conclude MS: conclude 5, concludes 1; PRINT: Conclude 3

Conde MS: conde 2, condye 1; PRINT: Conde 2

Condemn MS: condemne 1, condemnes 1; PRINT: condemns 1

Condition MS: conditiõ 1; PRINT: condition 1

Conduce MS: conduce 1, conduses 1; PRINT: Conduces 1

Conduct MS: conducte 3; PRINT: Conduct 4

Confess MS: confes 1, confess 5; PRINT: confess 2

Confident MS: confidente 1

Confirm MS: confirmes 1; PRINT: Confirm 1

Confound MS: confounde 3, confoundes 4; PRINT: Confounds 1, con-|founds 1

Conjuration MS: coniuratiõ 1; PRINT: Conjuration 1

Conquereur (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Conqueror 1; PRINT: Le Conquereur 1

Conqueror MS: Conquerer 1, Conqeror 1; PRINT: Conquerour 1

Conscience MS: contience 5; PRINT: Conscience 4

Consecrate PRINT: consecrate 1

Conseiller (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Conselier 1; PRINT: Le Conselier 1

Consequence MS: consequence 1; PRINT: Consequence 1

Consequent MS: consequente 1, consequently 2, consequentlye 5; PRINT: consequently 2

Conserve PRINT: Conserve 1, Conserves 3

Consider MS: consider 13 (F=1), considerde 2, considered 3; PRINT: Consider 5, considered 1, Con-|sidered 1, considers 1, Considerable 1

Consideration MS: consideration 1, considerations 2, consideratiõn 1; PRINT: Considerations 1

Consist PRINT: consists 2

Constable MS: Conestable 1, Conetable 1, connetable 1 (F=1), counetable 11 (F=7); PRINT: Conestable 3, Co-|nestable 1, Cone-|stable 1, Connestable 2, Con-|nestable 3

Constant PRINT: constantly 1

Constantinople PRINT: Constantinople 1

Constrain MS: constraynde 10, constrayne 3, constraynes 1, constraynd 2 (F=2); PRINT: constrain'd 1, con-|strains 1

Constraint MS: constrainte 1, constraynte 8

Consume PRINT: Consumed 1

Contain MS: contayne 1, contayns 1; PRINT: contain 2, Contains 1

Contempt MS: contempte 1; PRINT: Contempt 1

Content MS: contented 3, contentmente 5; PRINT: contented 3, Con-|tented 1, Contentment 1

Continual MS: contineulye 1, continewlye 1, continuall 2, continually 1 (F=1), continualy 1, continualye 8; PRINT: continual 1, continually 2, Conti-|nually 1

Continue MS: continew 1, continewde 1, continewe 9, continewed 1, continewes 3, continue 1 (F=1), continued 4, continues 3; PRINT: Continue 4, con-|tinue 1, continued 3, continues 1, con-tinues 1

Contradict MS: contradictiõn 1, contradictories 2

Contrary MS: contrareye 2, contrarie 12, contraries 1, contrary 42 (F=28), contrarye 106; PRINT: Contraries 1, contrary 45, Con-|trary 5, contra-|ry 1

Contratempo MS: Contratempo 1; PRINT: Contratempo 1

Contrecoeur (Fr.) PRINT: Contre-|Coeur (adj.) 1, Le Countre Coeur [horse's name] 1

Convenience MS: conuenienceies 1 (F=1), conueniences 1 (F=1), conuenienceyes 1

Convenient MS: conuenient 1, conueniente 3, conueniently 4; PRINT: Convenient 1, Con-|venient 1

Convert MS: conuerte 5, conuerted 2, conuertinge 3; PRINT: Convert 1

Convex MS: conuex 4 (F=1), conuexe 7, convexe 1; PRINT: Convex 1

Convoy MS: conuoye 1; PRINT: Convoy 1

Cony MS: Connie

Cool MS: cooler 1; PRINT: Cool 11, Cooling 4; Cooling-Glisters 1, Cooling-Julip 1, Cooling-Julips 1, Cooling-Potion 1

Cope Carle (?) [horse's name] MS: Cope Carle 1

Copper MS: copperes 1

Coquin (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Cockin 1; PRINT: Le Coquin 1

Cord PRINT: Cord 1

Cordova MS: Cordoa 1; PRINT: Cordoua 1

Corn PRINT: Corn 1

Corner MS: Corner 10, corners 2

Cornishman MS: cornishe mañ 1

Cornwall MS: cornwell 1; PRINT: Cornwall 1

Coroding MS: coroden 1

Correct (v.) MS: corect 1, corecte 14, corecteth 1, corectinge 2, corects 1; PRINT: Correct 4, Corrected 2, correcting 2

Correction MS: corection 3, corections 21, corectioñ 8 PRINT: Correction 8, Cor-|rection 1, Corrections 4

Correspondent MS: corespondente 1; PRINT: Correspondent 1

Corrupt MS: courupte 1; PRINT: Corruption 2

Coursier [horse's name] MS: Le Coursier Napolitan (Fr.) 1; PRINT: Corsiero Neapolitano (It.) 1

Cosen (v.) MS: coosens 1, coseñ 1

Cost MS: coste 7; PRINT: Cost (n.) 2, cost (v.) 2

Coste [name] MS: Coste 1; PRINT: Coste 2

Cottington MS: cottingtoñ 2; PRINT: Cottington 3

Cotton PRINT: Cotten 1

Could MS: could 10 (F=10), coulde 52, good 1; PRINT: could 40

Councellor [horse's name] MS: Counselor 1

Counsel (n.) [advice] PRINT: Counsel 1

Count (title) MS: counte 3; PRINT: Count 2

Counter MS: counter 3 (F=1)

Counterpoise MS: counterpoyse 3 (F=1), counter-poyse 1; PRINT: Counterpoize 1

Countertimes MS: counter times 3 (F=1); PRINT: Counter-times 4

Country MS: countrey 1, countreye 4, countrie 4, countries 9, countris 1, countrye 9, countrys 1; PRINT: Countries 11, Country 13, Coun-|try 1, Count-¦ tries 1

Countrymen PRINT: Country-Men 2

County PRINT: County 1

Couple MS: couple (n.) 2, coupled 1; PRINT: Couple (n) 3

Couptre Cur. (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Couptre Cur. 1

Courage MS: courage 11; PRINT: Courage 3

Courage (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Courage 1; Le Courageux 1

Course (n.) [*OED*: sb. def. 7: The action or practice of coursing or pursuing game with hounds (esp. hares with greyhounds).] MS: course 5, courses 2; PRINT: Course 2

Course (v.) [*OED* Course vb def.5 intr. To run or gallop about, to run as in a race] PRINT: Course 2

Courser [*OED* Def.2. 'large powerful horse ... since 17th century usually taken as a swift horse, a racer] MS: courser 3, coursers 5; PRINT: Courser 2, Coursers 3

Court (n.) MS: courte 2; PRINT: Court 1

Courtan [horse's name] MS: Le Curtan 1; PRINT: Le Courtan 1

Courtesy MS: curteseye 1; PRINT: Curtesie 1

Courtier MS: courtier 1

Courtship MS: courtshipes 1; PRINT: Courtship 1

Cousin (n.) MS: coosin 1

Cover MS: couer 7, couerde 1, coueringe 1, couers 2; PRINT: Cover (v.) 7, Covered 3, Covering 1, Covering-time 2, Covers (v) 4

Covert MS: couerte 1

Cow MS: cowe 6; PRINT: Cow 4, Cow-Dung 1

Cowering MS: coweringe 1

Coy MS: coye 1

Crack (v.) MS: Crack 1

Craft MS: crafte 1, crafteleye 1; PRINT: Craftily 1

Crane (n.) MS: crane 1

Cream MS: Creame 1

Create MS: create 1

Creature MS: creature 5 (F=1), creatu|re 1, creaturs 2 (F=1); PRINT: Creature 3, Creatures 2

Credenza MS: credensa 3, credenza 5; PRINT: Credensa 1, Credenza 2

Credit MS: creditt 2; PRINT: Credit 1

Crick MS: krick 1; PRINT: Crick 1

Cricket [insect] MS: Crikett 1

Cripple MS: Criple 1

Crop (v.) MS: Crope

Cross (often impossible to say if v or adj) MS: crose 4, croses 1, cross 115 (F=32), crosses 3, crossinge 2, croste 2; PRINT: Cross 41, Crosses 1, Crossing 1, cross'd 1

Crochet MS: crochett 1

Croup [*Collins*: 'the hindquarters of a quadruped, esp. a horse' 13th c. from OFr. *croupe*.] MS: coupe 1, croope 7, crope 1 (F=1), croup 3 (F=2), croupe 656 (F=135), croupes 6 (F=1), groupe 3 (F=2), groupinge 1; PRINT: Croup 223, Croop 1, Croups 1, Crouping 1

Croupe (Fr.) MS: croupe 6

Croupade [not found in *OED* or *Collins*; the *Petit Dictionnaire Francais* givess: 'saut du cheval plus relevé que la courbette'.] MS: cropadoes 1, cropados 1, croupadoes 7 (F=2), gropadoes 1, gropadowe 1, groupado 1 (F=1), groupadoes 8 (F=6), groupadowe 1; PRINT: Croupadoes 3, Crou-|padoes 1, Croupa-—\does 1, Groupado 1

Crowe [name] (Sackuile Crowe, once ambassador in constantinople) MS: crowe 1

Crown MS: crowns 2; PRINT: Crowns 2

Cruel MS: cruell 2, cruellye 1, cruelye 1; PRINT: cruel 1

Crush MS: crush 1 (F=1), crushes 1; PRINT: Crush 1

Cry MS: cried 1; PRINT: cried 1

Cudgell MS: cudgell 4, cudgells 1, cugell 1; PRINT: Cudgel 1

Cuffing MS: cuffinge 1

Cumin seed PRINT: Cumminseed 1

Cunning MS: cuñinge 1; PRINT: Cun-|ning 1

Curable MS: curable 1

Curb MS: curbde 1, curbe 215 (F=14), curbed 1 (F=1), curbs 1 (F=1), curpe (n.) 1; PRINT: Curb 67, Curbed 1, Curbs 1, curb'd 1

Cure MS: cuer 33 (F=3), cuerde 13, cuere 1, cueringe 2, cuers 4, *qu*cuer 1; PRINT: Cure (v.) 15, Cure (n.) 2, Cured 9, Cures 1

Curiosity MS: cureoseties 1, cureseties 1, curioseties 3, curiosety 1, curiosetye 1, curiosoteye 1; PRINT: Curiosities 3, Curio-|sities 1, Curiosity 1

Curious MS: curius 12, curiuslye 3; PRINT: Curious 10, Curiously 2

Curled MS: curlde 2; PRINT: Curled 1, Curlled 1

Currycomb MS: currie-combe 1; PRINT: Curry-Comb 2

Curtio [name] PRINT: Curtio 1

Cussius [name] PRINT: Cussius 1

Custom MS: coustome 17 (F=3), coustume 1 (F=1), coustum̃ 8; PRINT: Custom 8, customary 1

Cut MS: cutt 8 (F=2), Cuttinge 1; PRINT: Cut 5, Cutt 5, Cutting 2

Curvet [*OED*: 'In the manège: a leap of a horse in which the fore-legs are raised together and equally advanced, and the hind-legs raised with a spring before the fore-legs reach the ground. (Often used more or less vaguely of any leap or frisking motion; ... from It. *corvetta*.] MS: coruets 1, coruett 35 (F=5), coruette 3 (F=1), coruettes 7, coruetts 257 (F=50), coruettinge 1, corvett 1, corvetts 3; PRINT: Corvet 11, Corvets 103, Cor-|vets 4, Corvetting 1

Dainty MS: dayntie 2

Dalamore [name] MS: Dalamoore 1

Damask PRINT: Damask-Roses 1

Damm MS: dam̃ 1; PRINT: Damms 1

Damnable MS: damnable 1, dam̃nable 1

Dance MS: dance 4, dances 1, dancinge 2 (F=1), danse 2, danses 3; PRINT: Dance 2, Dancing 2

Danes MS: Danes 1

Danger MS: danger 10; PRINT: Danger 3, Dangerous 4

Dangerous MS: dangerious 1 (F=1), dangerous 15 (F=1), dange|rous 1

Dapple MS: daple 1; PRINT: Dapple-Grayes 1

Dare MS: dare 12 (F=2); PRINT: dare 10, dares 3

Dark MS: darke 6, darker 2, darknes 1

Dascott MS: dascot 2

Daubing MS: daubinge 1; PRINT: Daubing 1

Daughter PRINT: Daughter 1

Davison PRINT: Davison 1

Davy amblers MS: dauye amblers 1

Day MS: day 2 (F=2), daye 33, dayes 10, dayleye 3, daylye 1; PRINT: Day 37, daies 1, dayes 15, dayly 2

De MS: de 31; PRINT: De 15

Dead MS: dead 1; PRINT: Dead 1, Deadly 1

Deaf PRINT: Deaf 2; PRINT: Deafness 1

Deal MS: deale 6, dell 12 (F=2); PRINT: deal 8

Dear PRINT: Dear 4

Death MS: death 5 (F=1); PRINT: Death 3

Debauched MS: debaushed 3, debaushte 1

Decay MS: decayde 2, decayed 2, decayes 1; PRINT: Decayed 2

Decease PRINT: Deceased 1

Deceive MS: deceued 4 (F=3), deseaued 1, deseude 4, deseue 1, deseued 28, deseues 1, diseaued 1; PRINT: Deceiv'd 2, Deceive 1, Deceived 20, De-|ceived 3, De-⸗ceives 1

Dedans (Fr.) MS: dedans 1, de dans 4

Dedicate PRINT: Dedicate 1

Deep MS: deepe 3, deeper 3; PRINT: Deep 1

Deer MS: deer 4

Defend MS: defende 1; PRINT: Defend 1, Defender 1

Deform MS: diformde 1; PRINT: Deformed 1

Defuse MS: defused 2 (F=1)

Degenerate PRINT: Dege-|nerate 1

Degourdie MS: degourdie 1

Degree MS: degree 9, degreee 1, degrees 1; PRINT: De-|gree 1, Degrees 1

Del (It.) MS: dell 4; PRINT: del 2

Delagray [name] MS: Delagra 1, De lagra 1, delagraye 1

Delicat (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Dilicate 1; PRINT: Le Delicat

Delicate MS: delecatlye 1, delicate 3; PRINT: Delicate 2, de-|licate 1, Delicately 1

Delight MS: delight 1, delighte 5 (F=2), delightes 2, delightinge 1; PRINT: delight 4, Delighting 1, Delights 2

Delightful MS: delightfull 1

Delitia [horse's name] PRINT: Delitia 1

Deliver MS: deliuer 1, deliuerde 1; PRINT: Deliver 1

Demi MS: demie 11, demy 52 (F=14), demye 93; PRINT: Demy 1, **Demy** 1

Demi-air PRINT: Demy-Ayre 3, Demy-Ayres 4,

Demivolt MS: demi voltes 1; PRINT: Demy-Vaults 1, Demi-Voltoe 1, Demi-Voltoes 3, Demy-Voltoe 5, Demy-|Voltoe 2, Demy-Voltoes 10, Demy-|Voltoes 1

Demonstrate PRINT: De-|monstrated 1

Denmark MS: denmarke 5, denm|arke 1, denmarkes 1, deñmarke 1, deñ-marke 2; PRINT: Danemark 1, Denmark 2, Denmark-horse 1

Depend MS: depende 4, dependes 10, depends 1; PRINT: Depend 2, Depends 3

Deprive MS: depriues 1; PRINT: de-|prives 1

Deride MS: derider 1

Derive MS: deriued 1

Descent MS: desente 1

Describe MS: describde 1, discribed 2, discribes 1; PRINT: Described 1, De-|scribes 1

Description MS: discription 2 (F=2); PRINT: description 2

Deserve MS: deserue 2; PRINT: Deserve 2, deservedly 1

Design MS: designe 1, designes 1; PRINT: designes 1

Desire MS: desier 12, desierde 4, desiered 1, desieringe 2, desiers 1, desire 1 (F=1), desireing 1 (F=1), desires 6 (F=6); PRINT: desire 3, desiring 1

Despair MS: dispayer 1, dispayre 1

Despatch PRINT: Dispatch 1

Desperate MS: desperate 8; PRINT: Desperate 1

Desperato (It.) [horse's name] MS: Desperato 1; PRINT: Desperato 1

Despise MS: dispise 1 (F=1); PRINT: Despise 1

Desprise (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Desprise 1; PRINT: Le Desprise 1

Determine MS: determined 1, tetermine 1

Determine (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Determine 1; PRINT: Le Determine 1

Determine (Fr.) (adj) MS: determine 4, determines 1

Detract MS: detracter 1

Deux (Fr.) PRINT: deux 1

Devant (Fr.) MS: deuante 2, de vant 2; PRINT: devant 2

Device MS: deuices 2 (F=1); PRINT: Devices (n.) 2

Devise MS: deuisde 1, deuise 1, deuised 2 (F=1), deuises 4; PRINT: Devised 2

Diable (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Diable 1: PRINT: Le Diable 1

Dice MS: dise 1; PRINT: Dice 1

Dick MS: Dick 1

Diamond MS: Dimonde 2; [horse's name]: Diamante 1

Did MS: did 80 (F=8); PRINT: did 49

Die MS:dide 1, died 2; PRINT: Dyed 1

Diet MS: dietinge 2, diett 1; PRINT: Diet 1, Diet-Drink 1, Dyeting 1

Dieu (Fr.) MS: Dieu 1, Die*u*ue 1; PRINT: Dieu 2

Differ MS: differ 3, differes 2 (F=2), differinge 1, differs 6; PRINT: Differ 2, Differs 1

Differance MS: diferance 2, dife|rance 1, diference 11, difference 8 (F=1); PRINT: Difference 7

Different MS: differente 2

Difficult MS: difficulte 1 (F=1), dificullte 1 (F=1), dificulte 7, difecultie 1, difecul|tis 1, dificultie 7, dificulty 1, dificultye 7; PRINT: Difficult 2, dif-|ficult

1, Difficulty 4, Diffi-⌊culty 1

Diffuse MS: defused 2; PRINT: Diffused 2

Dig MS: digg 1; PRINT: Dig 1

Digestion PRINT: Di-⌊gestion 1

Dilate MS: dilated 1 (F=1); PRINT: Dilated 1

Diligence MS: dilegence 1, diligence 1; PRINT: Diligence 1

Diligent (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Dilegent 1; Le Diligent 1

Diligent MS: diligente 1, dilegentlye 1, dilegeñ 1, diligente 1; PRINT: Diligent 3, Di-⌊ligent 1

Dilitia (It.) [horse's name] MS: Dilitia 1

Diminish MS: deminishe 1; PRINT: Diminish 2, Di-⌊minish 1, Diminishing 1

Direct MS: directe 2, directly 1 (F=1), directlye 7; PRINT: directing 1, directly 1

Dirt PRINT: Dirt 1

Discharge MS: discharg 3 (F=3), discharges 2 (F=2); PRINT: Discharge 2, Dis-⌊charges 1

Discipline MS: disipline 1; PRINT: Discipline 1

Discompose MS: discomposed 1

Discourage MS: discouragde 1, discouraged 1, discoureged 1; PRINT: Discouraged 1

Discourse MS: discoursde 1, discourse 3 (F=1), discourses 4; PRINT: discourse 1, Dis-⌊course 1, Discourses 1, dis⌣⌊courses 1

Discreet MS: discreet 2 (F=2), discrete 2, discretlye 3, discritlye 1; PRINT: Discreet 2, discreetly 2

Discretion MS: discretion 3, discretioñ 2; PRINT: Discretion 1

Disease MS: disease 5, diseases 3 (F=1), diseses 1; PRINT: disease 4, Diseases 5

Disgrace MS: discra⌊sfullye 1, disgrace 4, disgrasefulst 1, disgrases 1; PRINT: Disgrace 5, Disgracefullest 1

Disgust MS: disguste 2

Dislike MS: dislike 1; PRINT: Dislikes 1

Dismount MS: dismounte 1

Disobey MS: disobay 1 (F=1), disobaye 8, disobayenge 1, disobayes 1; PRINT: Disobey 1, Disobeying 1

Disorder MS: disorder 6, disorderd 1 (F=1), disorderde 3, disorderinge 1, disorderlye 1, disorders 3, disordes 1; PRINT: Disorder 4, disordered 3, disordering 1, disorders 1

Disparagement PRINT: Disparagement 1

Displaced MS: displaste 1

Displease MS: displeased 3, displeases 2 (F=1), displeasinge 1; PRINT: Displease 1, Displeases 1, Dis-|pleasing 1

Dispose MS: disposde 2, dispose 2, disposed 10 (F=7); PRINT: disposed 3

Disposition MS: disposition 1, dispotition 12 (F=3), dispotitions 3, dispotitiõ 3; PRINT: Disposition 9, Dis-|position 1, Dispo-|sition 3, Disposi—\tion 1, Dispositions 2

Dispute MS: dispute 1, disputes 1 (F=1), disputts 1; PRINT: Dispute 1, Disputes 1

Dissolve MS: disolue 1; PRINT: Dissolved 1, Dissolves 1

Distance MS: distance 2; PRINT: distance 1

Distempered MS: distemperde 1

Distinct MS: distincte 4, distinction 2 (F=2); PRINT: distinct 1, Distinction 2

Disunited MS: disunited 1

Ditch MS: dich 1, ditch 5; PRINT: Ditch 5, Ditches 1

Divers MS: diuers 4, divers 1; PRINT: divers 1, diverse 2

Diversity MS: diuersety 1 (F=1); PRINT: diversity 1

Divert MS: deuirtes 1, diuerte 2, diverts 1; PRINT: Divert 2, Diverts 2

Divertisments MS: diuertisments 1; PRINT: Divertisments 1

Divide MS: deuided 1, deuides 1; PRINT: Divided 2, divides 1

Dizzy MS: diseye 1, dissey 1 (F=1); PRINT: Dizzey 2

Do MS: do 1, doe 347 (F=25), doinge 5; PRINT: do 180, Do 1, doe 1, doing 3, *Doing* 1

Docible MS: dosible 7

Docile PRINT: Docil 5

Dock MS: docke 1 (F=1), docks 1; PRINT: Dock 6, Dockes 1

Doctor MS: docter 1, docters 4; PRINT: Doctor 2, Doctors 1

Doctrine MS: doctrine 1, doctriñ 1

Does MS: does 5, doth 226 (F=17); PRINT: Does 5, Doth 77

Dog MS: dogg 4, dogges 3; PRINT: Dogg 4, Doggs 4

Dogged MS: doged 1, dogged 1; PRINT: Dogged 1

Dolce (It.) [horse's name] MS: Doltche 1; PRINT: Dolce

Dominion MS: dominions 1

Don (Sp.title) MS: Doñ 5; PRINT: Don 3

Done MS: done 3 (F=3), doñ 45, duñ 12; PRINT: done 34,

Donna (It. or Sp.) [horse's name] MS: Bella Donia 1

Dorato (It.) [horse's name] MS: Dorato 1; PRINT: Dorato 1

Doreval [name] MS: Doreuall 1

Dormouse MS: Dormouse 1

Door MS: dore 2

Double MS: double 8 (F=1), doubles 1, duble 1, dublinge 1; PRINT: Double 4, doubles 1, doubling 1, Double-Heart 1

Doubt MS: doote 1, doubt 1, doubte 17 (F=3), doubtt 1, doubtts 1; PRINT: doubt 12

Douceur (Fr.) MS: Dousur 1

Dover MS: douer 1

Down MS: doone 1, doun 1, doune 192 (F=17), douwne 1, downe 90 (F=1); PRINT: down 107

Downward MS: donwardes 1, dounwar 1, dounwarde 10, doun|warde 1, dounw|arde 1, dounwards 1 (F=1), downewarde 1; PRINT: downward 1, down-wards 1

Dozen MS: doseñ 1; PRINT: Dozen 2

Dracone (It.) [horse's name] MS: Dragon 1; PRINT: Dracone 1

Dragon (English) MS: Dragoñ 1

Draw MS: drawe 7, drawinge 3; PRINT: Draw 4, drawing 1, Drawn 1

Dregs PRINT: Dreggs 1

Dress (v.) MS: dresde 3, dresed 1, dress 43 (F=3), dressde 1, dressed 1, dresses 3, dressing 2 (F=2), dressinge 38 (F=2), drest 1, dreste 39 (F=2), drssinge 1; PRINT:

Dress 32, Dresses 5, Dressing 27, Drest 20

Drew MS: drew 1 (F=1); PRINT: drew 1

Drink MS: drinke 2, drinkinge 1; PRINT: Drink 6

Drive MS: driue 3, drive 1; PRINT: Drive 2

Droit (Fr.) MS: Droyt 1

Drum MS: drums 1, drum̃ 1, drum̃s 1; PRINT: Drum 1, Drums 1

Drunkard PRINT: Drunkard 1

Dry MS: drie 3, dried 1, drye 1; PRINT: Dry 16, Dries 1

Du (Fr.) MS: du 6; PRINT: Du 1

Duc (Fr.)[horse's name] MS: Le Duke 1; PRINT: Le Duc 1

Duck (v.) MS: duck 2, duckinge 1

Due MS: dewe 4, dewlye 1; PRINT: due 3

Duel MS: duel 1

Duke MS: duke 11; PRINT: Duke 8

Dull MS: dull 19, duller 1, dulleste 1, dullnes 1, dulls 1; PRINT: Dull 15, Dullest 1

Dung PRINT: Dung 2

D'un piste MS: dunpiste 3 (F=3), dun piste 10 (F=2), duñ piste 70 (F=1); PRINT: D'une piste 26

During MS: duering 1 (F=1); PRINT: during 4

Durst MS: durste 1 (F=1)

Dust PRINT: Dust 10, Dusting-Cloath 1

Du Swayn [name] MS: Du Swayn 1

Dutch MS: duch 13, duch-brewers 1, dutch 5; PRINT: Duch 1, Dutch 13, Dutch-Brewer 1, Dutch-Horse 1, Dutch-Horses 1, Low-Dutch 1

Duty MS: dewtye 1; PRINT: Duty 2

Dye MS: die 5 (n.), die 1 (v.), died 4, dienge 3, dier 1, diers 1, dies 1, dyde 1, dye 15 (v.), dyed 1; PRINT: Dye (v) 1, Dye (n.) 1

Each MS: each 3 (F=2); PRINT: each 4

Eagerly MS: eagerlye 1

Ear MS: Eare 1, eares 9 (F=1); PRINT: Ears 7

Earl MS: earle 5; PRINT: Earl 4, Earle 1

Earnest MS: erneste 2; PRINT: earnest 1, Earnestly 1

Earth MS: earth 2 (F=2), erth 1; PRINT: Earth 2

Ease MS: ease 33 (F=10), eased 2, eases 2 (F=1); PRINT: Ease 9

Easily MS: easeley 2 (F=1), easeleye 39, easely 2 (F=2), easelye 11, easeyly 1 (F=1), easileye 1, easlier 2, easlye 4, eseleir 1; PRINT: Easily 16, Easlier 1

East MS: este 2

Easy MS: easeie 1, easeier 1, easeir 1, easey 6 (F=4), easeye 55, easie 2, easier 21, easieste 2, easileste 1, eeasey 1, esiest 1, esieste 2; PRINT: easie 9, Easier 5

Eat MS: eate 9 (F=3), eatẽ 1; PRINT: Eat 8, Eaten 1, Eating 1

Edition MS: editiõ 1

Edward MS: edwarde 1

Effect MS: effecte 3 (F=1), effectes 11, effects 5; PRINT: Effect 2, Effects 1, Ef-|fects 1

Effectual MS: efectuall 1, effectuall 6 (F=2); PRINT: Effectual 5, Ef-|fectual 1, Effectually 1, Ef-| fectually 1

Efficasy MS: efecaseye 3, effecaseye 1, efficasye 1; PRINT: Efficacy 1

Egg PRINT: Eggs 1

Eight MS: eyght 2 (F=1), eyghte 5; PRINT: Eight 7, Eighth 1

Either MS: eyether 1, eyter 1, eyther 178 (F=16); PRINT: either 75

Elbow MS: elbow 1 (F=1), elbowe 1; PRINT: Elbow 1

Elder MS: elder 1; PRINT: Eldest 1

Elefant (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Lelefante 1; PRINT: l'elefant 2

Element MS: elemente 2, elementes 1, elements 4; PRINT: Element 1, Ele-|ment 1, Elements 5

Elephant MS: elephants 1; PRINT: Elephants 1

Elixir MS: elixze 1 (F=1), elixir 1, elixze[i]r 1; PRINT: Elixer 1, Elixir 1

Elizabeth MS: elizabeth 1; PRINT: Elizabeth 1

Else MS: else 118 (F=11); PRINT: else 45

Embolden MS: emboldeñ 1

Embrace MS: imbrace 2 (F=1), imbrase 14, imbrases 2; PRINT: imbrace 1, Imbracing 1

Emperator [horse's name] MS: Emperator 1

Empereur (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Lamperur 1; PRINT: L'Empereur 1

Emperor MS: emperor 1; PRINT: Emperour 1

Employ MS: imploye 1

Empty MS: emptie 1; PRINT: Empty 1

En MS: En 3, Eñ 2; PRINT: En 3, En Caval*ier* 1

Encage MS: incadge 1

Encircle MS: incircled 1 (F=1)

Enclose PRINT: Inclosed 1

Encomium PRINT: En-|comiums 1

Encounter MS: incounter 1; PRINT: Encounter 1

Encourage MS: incourage 4; PRINT: Encourage 2, Incourage 2

End MS: eende 1, end 7 (F=7), ende 47, endes 8 (F=1); PRINT: End 24, Ends 7

Endanger MS: indanger 4; PRINT: Endanger 1, Indanger 1, In-|danger 1, indangers 1

Endive PRINT: Endive 2

Endormi (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Lan Dormye 1; L'Endormy 1

Endure MS: induer 2, indure 9; PRINT: Endure 3, indure 3, indures 1

Enemy MS: enemeye 1, enemies 2, enemy 1, enemye 4, eneye 1

Enemie (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Lanemie 1; PRINT: L'Ennemy 1

Enfeeble PRINT: Infeeble 1

Engine MS: Ingin 1, Ingins 1, Ingiñ 1; PRINT: Engine 3

England MS: englande 23; PRINT: England 17, Eng-|land 2

English MS: english 2, englishe 28; PRINT: English 23, Eng-|lish 1, English—\man 1

Enlarge MS: inlarge 8, inlargd 7 (F=7), In largd 5 (F=5), Inlargde 15, In largde 1, Inlarged 2 (F=1), in largede 1, Inlarges 35 (F=2), in larges 2, Inlarginge 1; PRINT: enlarge 1, in-largd 2, Inlarge 3, In-|larged 1, Inlarged 2, Inlarges 3

Ennui (Fr.) [horse's name] PRINT: L'Enioue 1

Enough MS: enough 66, enoughe 1; PRINT: enough 15

Enquire MS: enquier 4, inquirde 2; PRINT: Enquired 1

l'Enragé (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Ragee 1; PRINT: L'Enrage

Entendu (Fr.) MS: [?] Landtandew 1 PRINT: en|tendu 1

Enter MS: enters 1

Enthrone MS: in throned 1; PRINT: Enthroned 1

Entier MS: Antier 17, Entier 18; PRINT: Entier 15

Entre (Fr.) PRINT: Entre 2

Entreden [meaning unclear] MS: antreden 1

Entrench MS: intrench 1; PRINT: Entrench 1

Entry MS: enterye 2, entreye 1, entries 1; PRINT: Entry 2

Envy MS: envienge 1

Epitomy MS: epitomey 1 (F=1); PRINT: Epitomy 1

Equal MS: equall 9 (F=2), equally 1 (F=1), equalye 5; PRINT: Equal 4

Equery PRINT: Query 1

Equipage PRINT: equipage 1

Eronious MS: eronius 1

Err MS: err 2, errde 1

Error MS: error 8 (F=3), errors 2

Esam [geog.: 'the vale of...'] MS: esam̄ 1; PRINT: Esam 1

Especially MS: espetially 2 (F=2), espetialy 1, espetialye 35; PRINT: especiall 1, especially 10, especi-|ally 1

Esquillette (Fr.) ['Nowe Le Quillett, W^{c}h is to tie y^{e} Poynte' (PwV21 f.27^{r}; 'Nouer l'Esquillette, which is, To tie the Point' (1667)] MS: Quillett 1; PRINT: Esquillette 1

Esquire MS: Equier 4; PRINT: Esquier 4

Ess [letter name] MS: esses 2 (F=1); PRINT: Esses 1

Essaillé (Fr.) MS: essies 1

Est (Fr.) MS: ett 1; PRINT: est 2

Establish MS: establishte 1; PRINT: Established 1

Esteem MS: esteeme 4, esteemed 1 (F=1), esteme 3, estemed 1, estemes 4; PRINT: Esteem 6, E-|steem 1, esteemed 1, Esteems 1, Esteem'd 1

Estimation MS: estemationn̄ 1, estimationn̄ 1

Etoile (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Toyle 1; PRINT: L'Estoiole 1

Eve MS: eve 1

Even MS: eeuen 2, euen 18 (F=2), euen̄ 18, even 1 (F=1); PRINT: Even 8, eeven 8

Ever MS: eeuer 2, euer 74 (F=8), *n*euer 1; PRINT: ever 48

Every MS: euerie 7, euery 38 (F=29), euerye 108, euerytime 1, every 1 (F=1), everye 1; PRINT: every 80

Everybody MS: euery body 1 (F=1), euerye bodye 3; PRINT: every body 1, every|body 2

Everyone MS: euerye one 1

Everything MS: euere thinge 1, euerye thinge 43, euery thing 1 (F=1), euery thinge 4 (F=4); PRINT: every thing 13, every|Thing 3

Everytime MS: everytime 1 (F=1)

Everywhere MS: euerie wher 2, euerye wher 1; PRINT: every where 1

Evil PRINT: Evil 1

Exact MS: exacte 5, exactly 3 (F=3), exactlye 24; PRINT: exact 5, exactly 5, Ex-|actly 1

Examine MS: exsaminde 2, exsamine 1, exsamiñ 1, PRINT: Examined 1

Example MS: example 4, exsample 20 (F=7), exsamples 1; PRINT: Example 14, Exam-|ple 1, Ex-| amples 1

Exceeding PRINT: exceeding 1

Excellency MS: excellenccy 1 (F=1), exelenceye 1, exselenceye 3, exselencye 1, exselenseye 1; PRINT: Excel-|lency 1

Excellent MS: excellent 8 (F=8), excellente 9 (F=9), excellently 1 (F=1), exselent 1, exselente 130, exse|lente 1, exselently 1, exselentlye 5; PRINT: Excellent 72, Ex-|cellent 9, excel- lent 3, excellently 4, excellent-|ly 1

Except MS: excepte 2 (F=2), exsepe 1, exsept 1, exsepte 32; PRINT: except 13, ex-|cept 1

Exception MS: exseption 1 (F=1), exseptione 1, exseptionn̄ 2; PRINT: Exception 2

Excuse MS: excusde 2, excuse 1; PRINT: Excuse 2, Excuses 1

Execute MS: excute 1, execution 1

Exempted MS: exemted 1

Exercise MS: exercise 1, exersise 13, exersises 1, exersisinge 1, exsersise 1; PRINT: Exercise 15

Exeter MS: exseter 1

Exile PRINT: Exile 1

Expect PRINT: Expect 1

Experience MS: experiance 1, experience 9; PRINT: Experience 8, Ex-|perience 2

Experiment PRINT: Experiments 1

Expert MS: experte 1; PRINT: Expert 1

Explain MS: explayne 3

Express MS: expresde 1, expressed 1, exprssed 1; PRINT: Exprest 1

Extend MS: extended 2

Extoll MS: extolls 2

Extraordinary MS: exterordinarye 5; PRINT: Extraordinary 4, Extra-|ordinary 1, extraor—|dinary 2

Extravagant MS: extrauagante 1, extrauagantly 1 (F=1), extrauagenses 1, extrauagenseyes 2; PRINT: Extravagancies 1

Extreme MS: extream 1, extreame 6, extreames 2, extreamley 2 (F=1), extreamleye 29, extreamly 5 (F=4), extreamlye 15, extrea|mlye 1, extremleye 2, extremlye 4; PRINT: ex-|treme 1, extreamly 21, ex-|treamly 3

Extremity MS: extreametye 1 (F=1), extreametyes 1 (F=1), extremeties 4 (F=1), extremetye 4, extremetyes 1, extremieties 1 (F=1)

Eye MS: eye 19 (F=5), eyes 17 (F=4); PRINT: Eye 6, Eyes 11

Face MS: face 5, fase 1; PRINT: Face 3

Facilitate MS: faciletate 1, fasilitate 3

Facility MS: fasiletie 1, fasiletye 2

Faculty PRINT: Faculties 1

Fail MS:failes 1 (F=1), fayle 10 (F=1), fayled 1 (F=1), fayles 7 (F=1); PRINT: Fail 9, Fails 5

Faint MS: faynte 1, fayntnes 1; PRINT: Faint 1, faintness 1, Faint-Sweats 1

Fair MS: fayre 16, fayres 2; PRINT: Fair 2, Fayr 9, Fayres 1, Fayrs 3

Faire (Fr.) MS: Fayre 1; PRINT: Faire 1

Faith MS: fayth 5; PRINT: Faith 2

Falcadoes MS: falcadoes 3, faleadoes 1 (F=1); PRINT: Falcadoes 3

Falconer PRINT: Falconer 1

Fall MS: fall 5 (F=4), falling 6 (F=6), falls 1 (F=1), faule 16, faules 17, faulinge 4; PRINT: fall 14, Falling 8, Falls 8

False MS: false 146 (F=20), falser 2, falseste 1 (F=1), falsleye 1; PRINT: false 28, Falser 1

Falsehood MS: falshood 1, falshoode 1, falshoodes 1; PRINT: Falshood 1

Falseness MS: falsnes 7, falsness 1

Falsify MS: falsefie 2, falsefies 1, falsefye 1; PRINT: Falsify 4

Fame MS: famde 1, fames 1; PRINT: Famed 1, Famous 4

Familiar PRINT: Familiarily 1

Familiarity MS: familiaretye 1

Famous MS: famous 4 (F=1)

Fancies MS: fanceies 1

Fangle MS: fangle 1

Fantase/Fantasque (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Fantas 1; Le Fantasque 1

Far MS: farr 34 (F=7); PRINT: Far 11, farr 2, Farr-Side 2, Farr-Fore-Legg 1

Farewell PRINT: Farewell 1

Farge (adj.) [meaning unclear, a way of doing things] MS: farge 1

Farrier MS: farier 5, farrier 3; PRINT: Farrier 6, Far-|rier 2, Farriers 1

Farsey MS: farseye 1; PRINT: Farsey 1

Farthest PRINT: Farthest 2

Fashion MS: fation 4, fationde 1, fationn̄ 11; PRINT: Fashion 6

Fast MS: faste 35 (F=5), faster 21 (F=1); PRINT: Fast 6, Faster 5

Fasten MS: fastende 3, fastned 2 (F=2); PRINT: fastened 1, Fastned 4

Fasting-spittle PRINT: Fasting-Spittle 1

Fat MS: fatt 3; PRINT: Fat 1

Fatch MS: [= fetch? 'it will fatch off skin & fleshe'] MS: fatch 1

Fatening MS: fattninge 1; PRINT: Fatning 1, Fatt 3

Father MS: father 2, fathers 2; PRINT: Father 1, Fathers 2

Fault MS: falte 24, faltes 16, faulte 1 (F=1), faultes 1, faults 1 (F=1); PRINT: Fault 12, Faults 8

Faulus (v.) [meaning unclear] MS: Faulus 1

Faut|Falloir (Fr. v.) MS: faus 1, fauste 1, fout 1; PRINT: faut 1

Favorit (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Favorite 1; PRINT: Favory 1

Favour MS: fauor 3 (F=2), fauorde 1, fauorable 1; PRINT: favour 3, Fa-|vour 1, Favours 1

Fear MS: feare 48 (F=6), feares 3, feareth 1, fears 1, fearefull 1, feare-full 1, fearfull 4; PRINT: fear 22, Fearful 2, Fears 2, **feare** 1

Feather MS: fether 2, fethers 3; PRINT: Feather 1, Feathers 3

Feed MS: fedd 7, fedinge 4, feed 1, feedinge 1; PRINT: Fed 3, Feed 5, Feeders 1. Feeding 14, Feed-|ing 1

Feel MS: feele 22, feeleing 1 (F=1), feelinge 16; PRINT: feel 12, feeling 5, feels 1

Feet MS: feet 12, feete 13 (F=3); PRINT: Feet 19

Felice [horse's name] PRINT: Felice 1

Fell MS: fell 1

Fellow MS: fellow 7 (F=7), fellowe 5, fellowes 3; PRINT: Fellow 10, Fellows 3

Felt MS: felte 1; PRINT: Felt 2

Feltche [meaning unclear] [horse's name] MS: Feltche 1

Females MS: females 1; PRINT: Females 1

Fenced MS: fensed 1

Fenugreek PRINT: Fenugreek 1

Fenwick [name] MS: fen̄wick 1; PRINT: Fennick 1

Ferme MS: ferme 1

Fervent PRINT: fervently 1

Fetch MS: fetch 3 (F=1), fetches 2; PRINT: fetch 3, fetches 3

Fetlock PRINT: Fetlock 1

Fever PRINT: Feavers 3

Few MS: few 2 (F=2), fewe 23, fewer 1; PRINT: few 19

Fez [place] MS: Fess 1

Fiasca [name] MS: Fiaske 1, Fiesca 1; PRINT: Fieske 1

Fiction MS: fictiȭ 1

Fiddle PRINT: Fiddle 3

Field MS: feelde 1, feilde 7; PRINT: Field 5, Field-|Room 1, Plow'd Field 1

Fifthly PRINT: Fifthly 1

Fifty PRINT: Fifty 4

Fig MS: figg 2; PRINT: Figg 1, Figg-leaf-Breeches 1

Fight MS: fighte 1; PRINT: Fight 1

Figure MS: figur 1, figure 13, figures 5, figurs 1; PRINT: Figures 2

Fiisory [horse's name] MS: Fiisory 1

File PRINT: File 1

Fill MS: filde 1, fillde 3, filled 1, fills 1 (F=1); PRINT: fill 1, fills 2, fill'd 3

Fillet MS: filleted 1, fillettes 1

Filly MS: filleye 1, filleyes 1; PRINT: Filley 1, Filleys 1, Fillies 3

Filth MS: filthye 1; PRINT: Filth 1

Find MS: find 1, finde 72 (F=3), findes 9 (F=4), findinge 5; PRINT: find 27, finde 1, finds 5

Fine MS: fine 36, fineleye 1, finer 4, finest 1, fineste 10, finleye 1; PRINT: fine 39, finely 1, finely-Shap't 1, Finer 2, Finest 14

Finger MS: finger 17 (F=3), fingers 10 (F=2); PRINT: Finger 19, Fingers 8, Fin-|gers 1

Finir (Fr.) MS: finir 1; PRINT: finis 1

Finish MS: finishe 2, finishinge 1; PRINT: Finished 1

Fir-bushes PRINT: Fur-bushes 1

Fire MS: fier 11 [incl. 'firebrand'], fierde 1, fierye 1, firery 1 (F=1); PRINT: Fire 9, Fired 1, Fiery 1

Firebrand [horse's name] MS: Fier Brande 1

Firm MS: firm 1, firmd 1 (F=1), firme 77 (F=2), firmelye 1, firmer 2, firmes 20 (F=1), firmeste 1, firmleye 1, firmly (F=1); PRINT: firm 17, firme 4, firm-|ly 1, firm'd 1

Firmness MS: firmenss 1, firmnes 1; PRINT: Firmness 1, firms 3

First MS: first 1, firste 186 (F=18), furste 1; PRINT: first 83

Fish MS: fishe 1

Fiske MS: fiske 1

Fist PRINT: Fist 1

Fit MS: fill 1, filleste 1, fitt 47 (F=1), fitted 3 (F=1), fitter 8, fitteste 9 (F=1), fitting 1 (F=1), fitts 5 (F=1); PRINT: (v.) fit 7, Fitt (v.) 1, fits 3, Fitted 1, fitting 1, fitter 5, fittest 5, fit (adj.) 14

Five MS: fiue 14, five 1; PRINT: five 17

Fix MS: fix 3 (F=3), fixe 5, fixed 1 (F=1), fixes 3 (F=2), fixte 3 (F=1); PRINT: fix 6

Flabby MS: flabye 1; PRINT: Flabby 2, Flaby 1

Flanders MS: flanders 3; PRINT: Flanders 7, Flan-|ders 2

Flank MS: flanke 10 (F=2), flankes 1; PRINT: Flanck 1, Flancks 1, Flank 2

Flat PRINT: Flatt 1

Flatter MS: flaterenglye 1, flateries 3, flateringe 1, flatery 1, flaterye 1, flateryes 1, flatter 1, flattery 1; PRINT: Flatter 5, Flatteries 1, Flattering 1, Flatter-|ingly 1

Flerceful (adj.) MS: flercefull 1

Flesh MS: flesh 1, fleshe 4, fleshye 2; PRINT: Flesh 4, Fleshy 5, Fleshy-Head 1

Flexare MS: flexare 1, flexure 11

Flight MS: flighte 1

Fling MS: flinge 2 (F=1)

Florence MS: florence 2; PRINT: Flo-|rence 1

Flower MS: floure 1

Flutter MS: flutter 1

Fly (v.) MS: flie 1, flienge 6, flies 7, fly 3 (F=2), flye 9, flyes 18 (F=18); PRINT: Flie 5, Flies 4, Fly 2, flying 1

Foal MS: foales 1, fole 18, foled 6, foles 13, folinge 1; PRINT: Fole 10, Foles 14, Foled 5

Fodder MS: fodder 12, fotherde 1 ['foddered']

Fog MS: fogg 1, foggeye 2; PRINT: Foggy 2

Follow MS: folloinge 1, follow 10 (F=10), followe 35 (F=1), followed 2, followes 38 (F=8), following 4 (F=4), followinge 11, follows 2 (F=2); PRINT: Follow 22,

followes 2, Following 6, follows 5, follow'd 1

Folly MS: folleye 2, follies 5, folly 2 (F=2), follye 6; PRINT: Follies 3, Folly 7

Fontenay MS: Founteneye 2; PRINT: Founteney 1

Fool MS: foole 1, fooles 1; PRINT: Fools 1

Fooleries MS: fooleries 2, foolerye 1; PRINT: Fooleries 1

Foolish MS: foolish 1 (F=1), foolishe 15, foolisheste 1, foolishlye 2; PRINT: Foolish 9

Foot(-) MS: foot 1, footclothes 1, foote 18 (F=1), foote-clothes 1; PRINT: Foot 18, Foot-|clothes 1

Foppery PRINT: Foppery 1

For MS: ffor 2 (F=1), for 2533 (F=255); PRINT: for 904

Forbear MS: forbeare 1; PRINT: forbear 2

Force MS: force 20 (F=11), forced 1 (F=1), forces 7 (F=4), forcet 2 (F=2), forsde 1, forse 29, forsed 1, forses 15, forsinge 2, forste 10; PRINT: Forc't 1, Force 19, forced 5, forces 10, forcible 1

Fore MS: fore 5 (F=1), forr 2; PRINT: Fore 6

Fore-bolster PRINT: Fore-Bolster 1

Forefoot MS: forfoote 1, fore feete 1 (F=1), forr feete 3; PRINT: Fore-Feet 2, Fore-|Feet 2, Fore-foot 1

Forehand MS: forean*s*des 1 (F=1), fore-handes 2, forhande 2, forhandes 1; PRINT: Forehand 3, Fore-|hand 1, Forehands 2, Fore-|hands 1

Forehead MS: forheade 3; PRINT: Forehead 1, Fore-head 2

Forelegg MS: forelegg 1, fore legg 67 (F=24), fore-legg 2 (F=1), fore legge 2, forelegges 1, fore legges 31 (F=3), fore legge*s* 1, foreleggs 2, fore leggs 18 (F=9), *fore-leggs* 1, forlegg 4, for legg 10, for-legg 4, for legges 1, forleggs 5, for leggs 2, forr legg 47, forr legges 20, forr leggs 2; PRINT: Fore-Leg 1, Fore-Legg 33, Fore-|Legg 5, Fore-Leggs 11, Fore-¬| Leggs 5

Foremost MS: formoste 2; PRINT: fore-most 1

Forepart MS: fore parte 2, forepartes 1, fore partes 55 (F=7), fore-partes 4, foreparts 13 (F=12), fore parts 32 (F=30), fore-|parts 1 (F=1), forpartes 3, for partes 7, for-partes 3, for parts 1, forr partes 27; PRINT: Foreparts 1, Fore-parts 1, Fore-Parts 35, Fore-|parts 2

Fore-right MS: forighte 2; PRINT: Fore-right 1

Foresaid [see **aforesaid**] MS: fore-sayde 1

Fore shoes PRINT: Fore-Shooes 1

Forest MS: forrests 1; PRINT: Forrests 1

Forest(i)er [name] MS: Forestier 1

Forever MS: foreuer 1, for euer 3

Forge MS: forge 1

Forget MS: forgett 2, forgott 6; PRINT: Forgot 1, forgotten 1

Forgive MS: forgiue 6 (F=1), forgiuen̄ 1; PRINT: Forgive 1

Forind [meaning unclear] MS: forind 1 (F=1)

Form MS: forme 6; PRINT: Form 2

Formal MS: formall 1 (F=1); PRINT: Formal 1

Formality MS: formaletye 1, formallety 1 (F=1); PRINT: Formality 1

Former MS: formarly 1, former 17 (F=2), formerleye 1, formerly 3 (F=1), formelye 28; PRINT: Former 5, formerly 6, for-|merly 2

Forsooth MS: forsooth 1; PRINT: forsooth 1

Forth MS: forth 7 (F=1); PRINT: forth 3

Fortification MS: fortifications 1

Fortify MS: fortefies 1, fortified 1; PRINT: Fortifi'd 1, fortifies 1, Fortify 1

Fortnight PRINT: Fortnight 2

Forty MS: fortye 2; PRINT: Forty 1, For-|ty 1

Forward MS: forwar 1, forward 45 (F=45), forwarde 196 (F=2), forwarder 8, forwardes 9, forwards 5, fowarde 1; PRINT: Forward 85, For|ward 1, for-|ward 5, Forwarder 3, Forwards 11; PRINT: froward 1

Fugue [maybe (?) related to *Collins* def. 2: '*Psychiatry.* a dreamlike altered state of consciousness, lasting from a few hours to several days, during which a person loses his memory for his previous life and often wanders away from home. 16th c. from Fr.] MS: fouge 7, [f]ouge 1; PRINT: Fouge 1, Fougue 1

Fouge (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Fouge 1; PRINT: Le Fougeux 1

Foul PRINT: Foul 1

Found MS: found 1 (F=1), founde 13 (F=1); PRINT: found 11

Foundation MS: foundation 10 (F=3), foundatiōn 14, founda|tiōn 1; PRINT: Foundation 10

Founder MS: founder 1, founders 1; PRINT: Foundered 1, Founders 1

Fountain PRINT: Fountain 1

Four(-) MS: for 1, four 1, foure 11 (F=4), fowre 42 (F=1), forscore 1, fourteeñ 1; PRINT: Four 39, Fourscore 1, Fourteen 2, fourth 6, Fourthly 1

Fourth MS: forthly 1 (F=1), forthlye 2, fourth 3

Fowls MS: fowles 1

Fox MS: Foxe 1

Foxed MS: foxte 1; PRINT: Foxt 1

Frame MS: frame 3

France MS: france 18; PRINT: France 13

Francisco MS: Francisco 1, frencisco 1

Fransoges MS: fransoges 1, frenchese 1

Frederick MS: Frederick 3; PRINT: Frederick 1

Free(-) MS: free 24 (F=2), frees 1 (F=1), fredum̃ 3, freedome 1 (F=1), freeley 1 (F=1), freely 1 (F=1), freelye 5, freleye 1, frelye 4,freer 3; PRINT: free 7, Freedom 1, Freely 3, freer 1

Frenato (It.) [in the book title *Cavallo Frenato*] MS: Frenato 2; PRINT: Frenato 1

French MS: french 33 (F=1), french man 1 (F=1), french mañ 1, frenchmen 1, french meñ 1, french-meñ 1, frenshe 5, frense mañ 1; PRINT: French 22, French 1, French-Man 4, French-men 2, French-Rider 1, French-Riders 1

Frequent MS: frequente 1, frequentlye 1

Fresh MS: freshe 4; PRINT: Fresh 6

Friend MS: friende 1; PRINT: Friend 2

Friesan MS: Frisoñ 1; PRINT: Frison 2

Frisan (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Frison 1; PRINT: Frison 1

Friesland, Friesan MS: frislande 1; PRINT: West-Friesland 1

Fright MS: frighte 1

Fripon [horse's name] PRINT: Le Fripon 1

Frog MS: frogg 2

From MS: from 37 (F=32), frome 265, fromẽ 1; PRINT: from 110

Fruitfulness MS: frutfulnes 1; PRINT: Fruitfulness 1

Full MS: full 13 (F=3), fuller 1, fullnes 1, fullye 3; PRINT: full 14, fuller 1, fully 1

Fumble MS: fumble 2

Furious MS: furieus 1, furious 1 (F=1), furyously 1 (F=1); PRINT: Furious 3

Furnish MS: furnishe 1, furnished 1, furnishte 1 (F=1); PRINT: furnish'd 1

Furniture MS: furneture 3; PRINT: Furniture 1

Further MS: further 16 (F=2), furtherest 1 (F=1), furtheste 6 (F=1); PRINT: further 4, furthest 1

Fury MS: fure 1, furie 1, furye 2, [f]ury 1; PRINT: Fury 1

Gagner MS: ganie lee croupe 1

Gain MS: gayininge 1, gaynde 2, gayne 8, gayned 1, gaynes 3; PRINT: gained 1

Galant MS: galantes 1, gallante 2, gallantes 1; PRINT: Gallant 2, Gallants 1

Gall (v.) MS: gale 1, gaule 3 (F=1), gaules 1; PRINT: Gaul 1, gawles 1

Gallant (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Gallante 1; PRINT: Le Gallant

Galley MS: galleye 1; PRINT: Galley-|Slaves 1

Galliard [*Collins* a spirited dance in triple time ...14th c. from OFr. *gaillard.*] MS: galliard 1 (F=1), [Fr. horse's name:] Galliarde 1; PRINT: Galliard 2 [1= horse's name]

Galliardon (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Galliardon 1; PRINT: Galliardon 1

Gallon MS: gallande 2, gallonde 3

Gallop MS: calope 3, calopinge 1, gallop 2, gallope 237 (F=49), galloped 1 (F=1), gallopes 29 (F=5), galloping 4 (F=4), gallopinge 28, galloppe 1 (F=1), galop 1, galope 48, galoped 2, galopers 1, galopes 4, galopinge 18, galops 2; PRINT: Gallop 131, Gal-|lop 3, Galloped 1, Galloping 9, Gallop-|ing 1, Gallopping 3, Gallops 6, Gal-|lops 2

Gallop (Fr. or It.) MS: Gallope 54, Galloppe 1, Galop 1, Galope 27

Gallway MS: galawayes 1, gallawayes 2; PRINT: Gallawayes 1, Gallowayes 1

Gambol MS: camballs 1, gambolls 1; PRINT: Gam-|balls 1, Gambals 2

Gambrel [*Collins*: 1: 'The hock of a horse of similar animal' 16th c. from Old Northern Fr. *gamberel.*] MS: cambrill 5, cambrills 66 (F=2); PRINT: Gambrels 32, Gam-|brels 2

Gape MS: gape 1, gapinge 1; PRINT: Gape 1

Garden MS: gardeñ 2; PRINT: Garden 1

Garter PRINT: Garter 1

Gattino (It.) [horse's name] MS: Gatino 1; PRINT: Gattino 1

Gatto (It.) [horse's name] MS: Gatto 1; PRINT: Gatto 1

Gave MS: gaue 9; PRINT: gave 3

Gay MS: gaye 1 (F=1), gayetye 2; PRINT: Gay 1

Geld MS: gelde 2, gelte 1; PRINT: Geld 3, Gelt-|Naggs 1

Gelding MS: geldinge 4, geldinges 10; PRINT: Gelding 2, Geldings 10, Geld-|ings 1

Genealogies MS: geneoliges 2; PRINT: Genealogies 2

General MS: generall 3 (F=3), generalls 1; PRINT: General 5, Ge-|nerals 1

Generale (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Generall 1; PRINT: Le General 1

Generation MS: generatiõ 1, jenerations 1; PRINT: Generation 3, Ge-|neration 1, Generations 1

Generous MS: generouslye 1; PRINT: Generous 1

Genet [*Collins*: an obsolete spelling of jennet.] See Jennet.

Genette (It. or Sp.) [horse's name] MS: Genette 2; PRINT: Genette 1

Gentil (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Jantie 2, Le Jantye 1; PRINT: Genty 1, Le Janti 1

Gentle MS: gentle 28 (F=6), gentler 2 (F=2), gentleste 3, jentle 7, jentler 1; PRINT: gentle 16, Gentleness 1, Gentler 1, Gentlest 2, gentle-|Walking 1

Gentleman MS: gentle-man 1, gentle-|mans 1, gentlemañ 3, gentle mañ 2, gentle-mañ 10, gentlemens 1, gentle-meñ 9, jentlemen 1, jentle-meñ 1; PRINT: Gentleman 12,Gentle-mans 1, Gentlemen 9, Gentle-|men 1

Gentleness MS: gentlenes 7 (F=2), gentle-nes 1, jentlenes 4; PRINT: Gentleness 1

Gently MS: gentlieste 1, gently 1 (F=1), gentlye 28 (F=2), jentlieste 1, jentlye 3; PRINT: Gently 13, Gent-|ly 1

Gentry MS: gentreye 1, gentrye 2; PRINT: Gentry 2

George MS: Gorge 1

Germain MS: germayne 3

German MS: germane 2, Germayne 1, Germans 1, germayns 3; PRINT: German 2, Germans 1, High-Germans 1

Germany MS: germanye 6; PRINT: Germany 4

Get MS: gett 18 (F=2), gettinge 1, getts 5; PRINT: get 16, Gets 3, getting 1, get-Out 1

Gillian [horse's name] MS: Gillioñ Thruste 1

Ginny [horse's name] MS: Giñeye Jible 1, Giñeye with the wispe 1

Gird MS: girde 5, girded 1, girdes 1, girte 2; PRINT: Gird 5, Girded 1, Girds 1, Girt 3

Girth MS: girth 1, girthes 23 (F=1), girtht 1; PRINT: Girth 2, Girthe 1, Girthes 17, Girths 8

Give MS: giue 130 (F=15), giuen 4 (F=1), giueñ 10, giues 62 (F=10), giuinge 9, giui*nge* 1, give 3, guiue 1; PRINT: give 96, given 11, gives 27, giving 3

Glad MS: glad 1

Glanders [*Collins*: 'a highly infectious bacterial disease of horses ...'. 16th c. from OFr. *glandres* MS: glanders 1; PRINT: Glaunders 1

Glass MS: glass 2

Gloria (It?) MS: Gloria 1; PRINT: Gloria 1

Glorious MS: glorius 3; PRINT: Glorious 4, Glori-|ous 1

Gloucester MS: gloster 2

Gloves MS: gloues 2

Glued MS: glewed 1 (F=1), glude 3; PRINT: Glu'd 1, Glued 1, Glewed 1

Go MS: goe 643 (F=77), goeing 7 (F=7), goenge 1, goes 374 (F=59), goe*s* 1 (F=1), goeth 1, goienge 1, goinge 68; PRINT: go 244, goe 7, goes 109, going 24, go-|ing 2, gone 2

Goad MS: godes 4

Goat PRINT: Goat 1

God MS: god 10, gods 1, god-heade 1; PRINT: God 6, gods 1

Golden MS: golden 1

Goldilocks [horse's name] MS: Goldeye Loxe 1

Gone MS: gone 4

Good MS: god 1, good 295 (F=28), goode 1; PRINT: good 178, good 1

Goodness MS: goodnes 3; PRINT: Goodness 2

Got MS: gott 4, gotten 1; PRINT: got 6

Gout MS: goute 1 (F=1), goutie 1; PRINT: Gout 1, Gowty 1, Gowty-Man 1

Govern MS: gouernde 2, gouerne 1, gouernes 4, gouerns 1; PRINT: Govern 1, Governed 1, Governs 4

Governor MS: gouernor 3; PRINT: Governour 3, Go-|vernour 1

Grace MS: grace 10 (F=5), grase 3, gracefull 5 (F=5), grasefuleste 1, grasefull 4, grase|full 1, grase-fullye 1, grasfull 1, graste 1; PRINT: Grace 13, Graced 1, Graceful 8

Gracious MS: gratius 2, gratiuslye 2; PRINT: Gracious 3, Graciously 1

Grand MS: grande 1, grandes 1

Grand (Fr.) MS: Grande, [horse's name] Le Grande Barbe 1; PRINT: Grand 1

Grandchild MS: grande|childe 1; PRINT: Grand-childe 1

Grandure MS: grandure 1

Grandissimo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Gra^{n}disimo 1; PRINT: Grandissimo 1

Grant MS: grante 3, grantinge 4; PRINT: Grant 1

Grasp MS: grasping 1 (F=1); PRINT: grasping 1

Grass MS: grass 1; PRINT: Grass 10, Grass-Cold 1

Grass-hopper MS: Grass-Hopper 1

Grave PRINT: Gravely 2

Grease MS: greace 3, grease 1; PRINT: Grease 6

Great MS: great 27 (F=11), greate 216 (F=7), greater 21 (F=4), greater 1, greateste 21 (F=1); PRINT: great 154, Greater 13, greatest 14

Green MS: green 6, greene 7, greenes 2, green,es [*sic.*] 1; PRINT: Green 1

Grenouille (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Grenoulie 1; PRINT: La Grenouille 1

Grey MS: gray 1 (F=1), graye 4, grayes 1, Graye Boñie [horse's name] 1, Graye Riall [horse's name]; PRINT: Grey 1, Gray 2, Gray-Hairs 1, Gray [name] 1

Greyhound MS: grewhonde 2, grewhounde 1, grewhoundes 1; PRINT: Gray-Hound 1, Gray-Hounds 1, Gray-Hounds-Whelp 1, Grey-Hound 1

Grief PRINT: Grief 2

Grieve MS: greeue 1; PRINT: Grieve 1

Grison MS: Grison 3, grisoñ 8; PRINT: Grison 9, Gri-|son 1

Gristle MS: gristle 1 (F=1), gristles 1; PRINT: Gristle 1

Groan MS: groane 3

Groom MS: gromes 1, groome 17 (F=5), groomes 7, groume 1, groumes 2; PRINT: Groom 12, Grooms 10

Gross MS: gross 2, grosser 1; PRINT: Gross 7, Grosser 1

Ground MS: groonde 1, groun 1, ground 14 (F=14), grounde 101, groundes 4, groune 1; PRINT: Ground 54, Grounds 5

Groupado See **Croupado**

Grow MS: groe 1, growe 6, growes 3; PRINT: grow 14, Growes 1, grows 3

Guard MS: gard 1 (F=1); PRINT: Guard 1

Guess MS: gess 4; PRINT: Ghess 1

Guide MS: gide 1

Guise [duke of] MS: quise 2; PRINT: Guise 2

Gun PRINT: Guns 1

Habel (Sp.) [horse's name] MS: Habell Hispanie 1

Habit MS: habitt 5; PRINT: Habit 4

Hackney MS: hacneye 1; PRINT: Hackney-Horses 1

Had MS: had 78 (F=5), hadd 2, hade 2; PRINT: had 67

Hair MS: haire 7, haires 1 (F=1), hayre 13; PRINT: Hair 14, Hair-Cloth 1, Haires 1

Half(-) MS: halfe 75 (F=12), halfe waye 1; PRINT: half 40, Half-Drest 1, Half-way 1

Halt MS: halte 4

Haltered MS: halterde 1

Ham MS: hams 2 (F=1), ham̄ 4, ham̃e 4, ham̃es 1, ham̃s 7 (F=3); PRINT: Ham 1, Hamms 3, Hams 2

Hamburg MS: hamberowe 1

Hand (n. & v.) MS: hand 126 (F=126), hande 1088 (F=4), handed 2, handes 54, hands 6 (F=5); PRINT: Hand 291, Hands 23, Hand-whips 1

Handfull MS: handfull 3 (F=1); PRINT: Handful 2, hand-|ful 1

Handle MS: handled 3

Hang MS: hange 5, hanges 2, hanginges 1; PRINT: Hang 1, hangs 2

Haniball MS: haniball 2; PRINT: Hannibal 1

Handsome MS: hansome 2, hansomeley 1 (F=1), hansomer 2, hansum̃ 1,

hansum̃nes 1, hansum̃ness 1; PRINT: Handsome 2, Handsomer 2, Handsomest 1, handsomely 2, handsomly 1

Happen MS: Hapens 4 (F=1), Hapneth 1, Happens 1 (F=1); PRINT: hap-|pen 1, happens 2

Happy PRINT: Happy 3

Harborough MS: Harborowe 1; PRINT: Harborow 2

Hard MS: Hard 10 (F=8), Harde 120, Harder 21 (F=2), Hardeste 6, hardly 2 (F=2), Hardlye 15; PRINT: hard 57, harder 5, Hardest 4

Harden PRINT: Hardned 1

Hardi (Fr.) MS: Le hardi [horse's name] 1, Hardye (adj.) 2; PRINT: Le Hardi [horse's name] 1, hardi (adj.) 2

Hardly PRINT: hardly 14, hard-|ly 1

Hardy PRINT: Hardy 1

Hare MS: 1

Harlow MS: Harlowe 1

Harm MS: Harme 1

Hartshorn PRINT: Harts-Horn 1

Has MS: Has 1, Hath 184 (F=21); PRINT: hath 108

Haste MS: Haste 1, Hasten 2, Hastens 1, Hasteñ 4, Hastie 1, hastned 2, Hastnige 1

Hasten PRINT: Hastens 1

Hasty Pudding PRINT: Hasty-|pudding 1

Hate MS: Hate 2 (F=1), Hates 1, Hatinge 1; PRINT: Hate 1

Haunch MS: Hanch 60 (F=3), Hanche 4, Hanches 532 (F=48), Hanch|es 1, Hantch 19, Hantches 60; PRINT: Hanch 11, Hanches 147, Han-|ches 12

have MS: Hau 1, Haue 554 (F=53), Haueing 2 (F=2), Hauing 1, Hauinge 23; PRINT: have 339, having 19

Hawking MS: Haukinge 6; PRINT: Hawking 2, Hawk-|ing 1, Hawking-Naggs 2

Hawk MS: Haukes 1; PRINT: Hawks 2

Hay MS: Haye 3; PRINT: Hay 7, **Hay** 1

he MS: He 92 (F=1), Hee 1679 (F=206), Hees 12; PRINT: he 731

head MS: Head 56 (F=47), Headdes 1, Heade 379 (F=15), Heades 10; PRINT: Head 112, Heads 14

Headstall MS: Heade-Stall 1; PRINT: Headstal 1, Head-stall 1

Headstrain PRINT: Head-Strain 1

health MS: Helthfull 1, Healthfullnes 1, helfuleste 1 [could also be 'helpfullest']; PRINT: Health 5, Healthful 1, Health-|fullest 1

Hear MS: Heare 14, Hearinge 3, Heeringe 1, Heringe 1; PRINT: Hear 4, heard 6, Hearing 3

Heart MS: Harte 2, Harted 2; PRINT: Heart 3

Heartily PRINT: heartily 1

Heat MS: Heate 5, Heated 1, Heates 5; PRINT: Heat 10, Heated 1, Heats 5

Heaths MS: Heathes 1; PRINT: Heaths 1

Heaven MS: Heauenlye 1

heavy MS: Hauey 1 (F=1), heauelye 1, heauey 1 (F=1), heauie 5 (F=1), heauier 1 (F=1), heauye 5, heuie 6; PRINT: Heavy 6

Hedge MS: Hedge 7, Hedges 1; PRINT: Hedg 1, Hedge 6, Hedges 2

hedgehog MS: Hedge-Hogges 1, Hedghogges 1; PRINT: Hedg-hoggs 1

Heed MS: Heed 9 (F=1), heede 5; PRINT: heed 7

Heel MS: Heel 1, Heele 178 (F=28), Heeles 36 (F=6); PRINT: Heel 49, Heell 1, Heels 32

Height MS: Hight 1, Highte 7 (F=2), hyghte 1; PRINT: Height 2, heighth 3

Held MS: held 1 (F=1), helde 6; PRINT: held 4

Help MS: halpes 1 (F=1), help 1, helpde 1, helpe 361 (F=61), helped 4, helpeing 3 (F=3), helpes 146 (F=23), helping 3 (F=3), helpinge 27, helpte 8; PRINT: Help 123, Helpes (n.) 1, Helping 12, help-|ing 1, Helps (n.) 34, Helpt 3, Help't 1, help (n) 28, help (v.) 95, Helps (v) 2, Bodies-helps 1

Hence MS: hence 1

Henry MS: Henry 1, henerye 1, henrye 1, H the 8. 1; PRINT: Henry 3

Hepple [name] PRINT: Hepple 1

Her MS: her 10 (F=1); PRINT: Her 3

Herbert MS: herberte 1; PRINT: Herbert 1

Here MS: heer 70, heere 7 (F=7), here 1 (F=1), heeres 1, heers 3; PRINT: Here 22

Hereafter, heretofore MS: hear after 1, heerafter 1, heertofore 6, heer tofore 1, heer to fore 1, herafter 3, hereafter 3 (F=3), hertofor 1, hertofore 5; PRINT: hereafter 4, here-|after 2; Heretofore 2

Heresy MS: hereseye 1

Hermaphroditical MS: hermofrodicall 1; PRINT: Hermaphroditical 1

Hess MS: hess 1; PRINT: Hesse 1

Hide [name] MS: Hide 1

Hide MS: hide 1

Hide-bound PRINT: Hide-Bound 1

High MS: hie 9, hier 45, hieste 4, high 4 (F=4), higher 4 (F=4), higheste 1 (F=1), highleye 2, highly 1 (F=1), highlye 1, hye 108, hyeleye 1, hyelye 1, hyer 6, hyleye 2; PRINT: high 37, Higher 16, Highest 2, highly 7, High-Germans 1

Highness MS: highnes 2, highness 1; PRINT: Highness 4

Highway MS: hie waye 1, hye waye 2; PRINT: High-Way 1

Hill MS: hill 7, hills 6; PRINT: Hill 2, Hills 5

Him MS: him 320 (F=234), hime 1 (F=1), him̃ 2051; PRINT: him 960

Himself MS: himselfe 12 (F=12), him selfe 2 (F=1), him̃ self 1, him̃ selfe 44; PRINT: Himself 27, him-|self 3

Hind (adj.) MS: hinde 2

Hind (n.) MS: hindes 1

Hinder MS: hinder 25 (F=1), hinderde 1, hinders 5 (F=1), hinder^{outwar} 1; PRINT: Hinder 17, hin-|der 1,

Hinder (v.) PRINT: Hinders 4, hindred 1

Hinderance MS: hinderance 1, hinderence 1; PRINT: hinderance 2

Hinderfeet MS: hinder feet 1, hinder feete 7, hinder-feete 1, hinder foote 1; PRINT: Hinder-feet 6, Hinder-|foot 1

Hinderhooves MS: hinder|haughes 1; PRINT: Hinder-Houghs 1

Hinderleg MS: hider legges 1, hinder legges 1, hinder leg 1, *hinder* legg 1, hinder legg 391 (F=34), hinder legge 2 (F=1), hinder legges 100 (F=2), hinder legge*s* 1, hinder leggs 47 (F=16), hinder *le*legg 1, hiñder legg 1; PRINT: Hinder-Leg 2, Hin-|der-Legg 1, Hinder-Legg 65, Hinder-|Legg 5, Hinder-Leggs 27

Hinderpart MS: hinder parte 3, hinder partes 55 (F=2), hinderparts 3 (F=3), hinder parts 28 (F=27); PRINT: Hin-|der-parts 2, Hinder-parts 23, Hinder-|parts 3, Hiner-|parts 1

Hindershoes MS: hinder shooes 1

Hipomones [*Collins*: in Greek myth, the husband, in some traditions, of Atalanta.] MS: hipomones 1; PRINT: Hippomenes 1

Hire PRINT: Hire 3

His MS: his 3732 (F=556), hIs 1, *his* 1 (F=1); PRINT: his 1270, **his** 1

Hit MS: hitt 3, hittinge 1, hitts 2; PRINT: Hit 1 , Hits 1, Hitt (pret) 1

Hither MS: hether 5

Hitherto MS: hetherto 1; PRINT: hitherto 1

Hoary PRINT: Hore 1

Hobbler MS: Hobler 1

Hobby horse MS: hobye horses 1; PRINT: Hobby-horses 1

Hobere (Fr.) [horse's name] [meaning unclear] MS: Le Hobere 1; PRINT: Le Hober 1

Hog MS: hoges 1, hogges 2; PRINT: Hogg 1, Hoggs 2

Hold MS: hold 12 (F=12), holde 78 (F=1), holdes 15 (F=1), holdeth 1, holding 2 (F=2), holdinge 14; PRINT: hold 48, holds 8, holding 8, hold-|ing 1

Hole MS: holes 1; PRINT: hole 2

Holiday MS: holedayes 3; PRINT: Holly-daies 1, Holy-dayes 2

Holla MS: hollas 1

Holland MS: holand 1, holanders 1, hollande 2; PRINT: Holland 3

Hollandtide MS: holand tide 1; PRINT: Holland-|Tide 1

Hollow MS: holloe 1, hollowe 3; PRINT: Hollow 4

Homme (Fr.) MS: Home 2; PRINT: homme 2

Honesty MS: honestye 1

Honour(able) MS: honor 6, honorable 1; PRINT: honour 8, Ho-|nour 1, Honourable 1

Honey MS: honye 1; PRINT: Honey 5

Hood MS: hoode 4; PRINT: Hood 4, Hoods 1

Hoof PRINT: Hooff 3, Hooffs 6

Hook MS: hooke 1, hookes 5 (F=3); PRINT: Hooks 3

Hoop MS: hoape 1, hoope 7

Hooves/Hooved MS: hooues 3, houed 1, houes 1

Hope MS: hope 4, hoped 1, hopefuleste 1; PRINT: Hope 1, Hoped 1, Hopefullest 1

Horatio MS: Horatio 1

Horn PRINT: Horn 2

Horrible MS: horible 9, horiblye 2; PRINT: Horrible 3, horribly 2

Horrid MS: horide 3; PRINT: Horrid 1

Horse MS: hore 1, hors 1, horse 1522 (F=151), ho^{r}se, 1, horses 768 (F=84); PRINT: Horse 723, Horses 367, Horse's 33, Hor-|ses 7, Horses (gen) 6, Horse—|Vertues 1

Horseback MS: horse back 2, horse-back 19, horse backe 7 (F=7), horse-backe 2 (F=1); PRINT: Horse-Back 14, Horse-|back 4

Horsecolts PRINT: Horse-Colts 2

Horse-Coursers MS: horse coursers 1, horse-coursers 1, horse-|courser 1; PRINT: Horse-Courser 1, Horse-Coursers 2, Horse-|coursers 1

Horse-foal PRINT: Horse-Fole 1

Horsekind MS: horse kinde 5, horse-kinde 1; PRINT: Horse-kind 4

Horseman MS: horseman 9 (F=7), horse|man 1 (F=1), horse man 4 (F=4), horse-man 1, horsemans 3 (F=1), horse|mans 1, horse-mans 5, horse—|mans 1, horsemañ 1, horse mañ 5, horse|man 1, horse-mañ 60, horsemen 3 (F=3), horse men 2 (F=2), horse-men 2, horse-meñ 24, hors-meñ; PRINT: Horse-man 52, Horse-|man 5, Horse-Mans 1, Horse-men 16, Horse-|men 2

Horsemanship MS: horsemanship 2, horse|manship 1, horse/man/ship 1, horse manship 1 (F=1), horse-manship 29, horse-|manship 1, horsem|anship 1 (F=1), horsemanshipe 1, horseman/shipe 1, horse-manshipp 8, horse-mañship 3, horse-mañ-|ship 1, horse-mañ ship 2, horse-menship 1; PRINT: Horse-manship 34, Horse-|manship 3, Horse-|man-ship 2, Horse-man—|ship 4

Host MS: hoste 1; PRINT: Host 2, Host's 1

Hot MS: hott 9 (F=1), hotter 1; PRINT: Hot 7, Hott 2, *Hott* 1, Hott-Cordials 1

Hound MS: hounde 2

Hour MS: hower 4, howers 5; PRINT: Hour 2, Hours 6

House (n. & v.) MS: house 3, housed 1, houses 2; PRINT: House 2, Housed 2, Houses 1, Housing 5, Housing-|Cloathe 1

How MS: how 12 (F=8), howe 106; PRINT: How 50, How| 1

How(so)ever MS: howsoeuer 1 (F=1); PRINT: however 3, howso-|ever 1

Huge MS: hudge 3, huge 4, hugh 1 (F=1); PRINT: huge 4

Hull (v.) PRINT: Hul'd 1, Hull'd 1

Humble MS: humbly 1

Humidity PRINT: Humidity 1

Humour (n.) MS: humor 1, humors 2; PRINT: Hu-|mours 1

Hundred MS: hunderde 6, hunderds 4, hundered 5; PRINT: Hundred 29, Hun-|dred 1

Hung MS: hunge 1; PRINT: hung 3

Hungary MS: hungaria 1, hungarieñ 2; PRINT: Hungarian 2, Hun-|gary 1

Hunings [name] MS: Huñinges 1

Hunt MS: hunte 2, huntinge 15; PRINT: Hunt 1, Hunting 7, Hunting-Geldings 1, Hunting-Horse 1, Hunting-Horses 1

Hunter MS: hunters 2

Huntsboy MS: huntsboye 1, hunts-boye 1; PRINT: Hunts-Boy 2,

Huntsman MS: huntsmañ 1; PRINT: Hunts-Man 2

Hurt MS: hurte 26 (F=2), hurtes 6 (F=3), hurting 3 (F=3), hurtinge 3, hurts 2 (F=2); PRINT: Hurt 15, Hurting 3, Hurts 1

Hut PRINT: Hutt 1

I MS: I 952 (F=64), Ile 8 (F=2), Ime 1, Iñ 1; PRINT: I 472, Ile 1

Iceland PRINT: Iseland 1

Idle MS: idle 3 (F=1); PRINT: Idle 1

If MS: if 70 (F=62), iff 687 (F=14); PRINT: if 327

Ignorance MS: ignorance 22 (F=5); PRINT: Ignorance 10, Ig-|norance 1, Igno-| rance 1

Ignorant MS: ignorant 5 (F=4), ignorante 42 (F=3), igno|rante 1, ignorantlye 2; PRINT: Igno-|orant 1, ignorant 17, Ig-|norant 1, Igno-|rant 1

il (Fr.) MS: Il 3, Ile 2, Ill 1; PRINT: Il 5

Il (Sp.) MS: Ile 1

Ill MS: ill 43 (F=5); PRINT: ill 22

Illfavoured MS: ilfauorde 4, ilfauordlye 1, ilfauor|dlye 1; PRINT: ill-Favoured 3, ill-favoured-Jade 1, Ill-favouredly 3

Ill-fired MS: ill fierde 1

Ill-natured PRINT: ill-natured 1, ill-na-|tured 1

Ill-shaped PRINT: ill-Shap 1

Illustrissimo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Elustrisimo 1; PRINT: Illustrissimo 1

Imagination MS: imaginatiõ 1; PRINT: Imagination 2

Imagine MS: imaginde 1, imagiñ 3; PRINT: Imagine 5, Imagined 1

Imaginery MS: imaginary 1, imaginarye 2; PRINT: Ima-|ginary 1

Immediately MS: imediatlye 1; PRINT: im-|mediately 1

Imitate MS: imetate 1, imetates 2

Immoveable MS: imouable 2; PRINT: Immoveable 2

Impatience MS: impatience 1, impatiences 1, impatienceye 3

Impatient MS: impatient 1, impatiente 19 (F=2), impati-|ente 1, impatientlye 1, impattaiente 1; PRINT: Impatient 2, Im-|patient 3

Imperfect MS: imperfecte 2, imperfection 2 (F=2), imperfections 2; PRINT: Imperfection 2, Imperfections 3

Impertinent MS: impertinente 1; PRINT: Impertinent 1

Impossible MS: imposible 31 (F=2), impossible 2; PRINT: impossible 9

Impossibility MS: imposebileties 2, imposebiletye 2, imposibeletye 1, imposibileties 1; PRINT: impossibilities 1, Impossibility 2, Impos-|sibility 1

Imprimis MS: imprimis 1

Improper MS: improper 2; PRINT: Improper 1

In MS: in 545 (F=249), iñ 1859, Ith ['in the'] 1; PRINT: in 1089, $^{i}\tilde{n}$ 1

Incaputiato MS: incapuchato 1, incaputiato 6, iñ caputchato 1, iñcaputiato 1; PRINT: Incaputiato 1

Incavalare [meaning not clear] MS: incaualare 1; PRINT: Incavelar 1

Incest PRINT: Incests 1

Inch MS: inch 3 (F=1); PRINT: Inch 2

Inclination MS: inclination 2 (F=2), inclinatiõ 1; PRINT: inclina-|tion 1

Incline MS: inclininge 1

Incommode PRINT: In-commode 1

Inconveniency MS: inconuenienceis 2 (F=2), inconuenienceyes 3, inconueniencyes 1 (F=1); PRINT: Inconveniencies 2

Incord MS: incorde 2; PRINT: Incord 1

Incorporate PRINT: Incorporate 1

Increase MS: increase 3

Incredible MS: incredible 1, incredibly 1; PRINT: Incredible 1

Indeed MS: inded 1, indeed 52 (F=8), in deed 1 (F=1), iñdeed 3, iñ deed 1, iñ deede 2; PRINT: indeed 17, in-|deed 1

Indifferent MS: indiferente 4; PRINT: indifferent 3

Indigo MS: indico 2

Indiscreet MS: indiscrete 2

Infallibly MS: infaleblye 1, infaliblye 1, infaloblye 1; PRINT: Infallibly 3, In-|fallibly 1

Infinite MS: infe|nite 1, infenitlye 1, infinitlye 2; PRINT: Infinitely 3

Inform MS: informde 1, informe 3, iñforme 1; PRINT: Inform 2, Informed 1

Infuse PRINT: infused 1

Infusion MS: infutioñ 1

Inhabitant PRINT: Inhabi-|tants 1

Injury MS: iniurie 1

Inmost MS: inmoste 1, iñmoste 1

Inn PRINT: Inne 1

Inns of Court MS: ins a courte 1

Insensible MS: insensible 1, insensiblye 2; PRINT: Insensibly 2

Inside MS: inside 165 (F=8), in side 4, iñside 24, iñ side 13; PRINT: Inside 61, In-side 1, in-|side 3

Insist PRINT: insist 2

Inspiration MS: inspiration 2, inspiratioñ 3; PRINT: Inspiration 3

Inspire MS: inspierde 1, inspirde 1; PRINT: in-|spired 1

Instant MS: instante 1 (F=1), instantlye 1; PRINT: Instant 1, instantly 3

Instead MS: insteade 2, iñ steade 1; PRINT: instead 1

Instinct PRINT: Instinct 1

Instruct MS: instructe 1, instructe 2, instructed 1; PRINT: instruct 1, Instructs 1

Instruction MS: instructions 2

Instrument MS: instrument 1 (F=1), instrumente 3, instruments 1; PRINT: Instrument 1

Intelligence MS: intelegence 1; PRINT: Intelligence 1

Intemperate MS: intemperate 1

Intend MS: intende 2, intendes 2, iñtended 1; PRINT: intended 1

Intent MS: intente 1

Intention MS: intention 1

Into MS: into 52 (F=6), in to 1 (F=1); PRINT: into 60, in-|to 3

Intolerable MS: intolarable 1, intolerable 2; PRINT: Intollerable 1

Invented MS: inuened 1 (F=1), inuente 2, inuented 4; PRINT: Invented 1

Invention MS: inuention 2 (F=2), inuentions 2, inuentioñ 3, invention 1 (F=1); PRINT: Invention 6, Inventions 2, In-|ventions 1

Inward MS: inwar 2, inward 74 (F=71), in ward 2 (F=2), inwarde 819, in warde 3, inw|arde 1, inwardes 1 (F=1), inwards 1 (F=1), iñwarde 34, iñ warde 1, iñ-warde 2, iñw|arde 1; PRINT: inward 197, In-|ward 13, in-| ward 1, inwards 3

Ireland PRINT: Ireland 1

Irreparable MS: ireparable 1; PRINT: Irreparable 1

Irish MS: irishe 1; PRINT: Irish 1

Iron MS: iron 6 (F=5), irons 1, Iroñ 4; PRINT: Iron 7

Is MS: *h*is 1, his 1, is 3027 (F=396); PRINT: is 1269

Isabell MS: isabells 2; PRINT: Isabells 1, Isabels 1, Isabelle d'Espagne [Fr. horse's name] 1

Island MS: ilandes 2 (F=1), islande 1; PRINT: Iland 1, Islands 1

It MS: it 76 (F=73), itt 1589 (F=122), his 1; PRINT: it 680, ^{i}t 1, it 1, its 2

Italy MS: italeye 14; PRINT: Italy 9

Italian MS: italien 1, italiens 3, italieñ 1, etaliañ 1, etalien 9, etaliens 7, etaliañ 10; PRINT: Italian 15, Italians 6, Itali-|ans 1

Itself MS: itt selfe 1; PRINT: it self 1

Ivory PRINT: Ivory 1

L'Ivrogne (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Liuroine 1; PRINT: L'Yurogne 1

Jack MS: Jack 1

Jackanapes MS: jack a napes 1, jack a nape 1; PRINT: Jack-anapes 1, Jack-|anapes 1

Jade MS: jade 16, jades 12 (F=1), Jadis 1; PRINT: Jade 8, Jades 6, Jadish 1

Jamais (Fr.) MS: Jamayes 1

James MS: james 1; PRINT: James 1

Jangle MS: jangle 2; PRINT: Jangle 2

Jarett [meaning not clear] MS: jarett 1 (F=1); PRINT: Jarrets 1

Jaunt MS: jaunte 1

Jaw MS: jawe 3 (F=2)

Jeer MS: jeringe 1, gerer 1

Jennet [*Collins* def. 2. a small Spanish riding horse. 15th c. from OFr. *genet.*] MS: genett 1; PRINT: Genette 1, Gennet 1

Jerk MS: jerke 1, jerkes 1, yarkinge 1, yerke 1 (F=1), yerkes 1 (F=1) PRINT: Yerk 1, Yerks 2

Jermyn [?] [name] PRINT: Mr Germain 1

Jeteur (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Jetur 1; PRINT: Le Jeteur 1

Jockey MS: jockeye 2, jockeyes 3; PRINT: Jockey 2, Jockeys 2

Joggle MS: jugle 1, jugles 1; PRINT: Joggles 1

John MS: john 4, johns 2, johñ 4; PRINT: John 5

Jollity MS: joletye 1

Jot MS: jott 2; PRINT: jot 1

Join MS: joynde 1, joyne 1; PRINT: Joyn 1

Joint MS: joynte 2; PRINT: Joynt 1

Journey MS: jurneye 4, journeye 1, jurneyes 1, jurnienge 1; PRINT: Journey 6, Jour-|ney 1, Journeys 2

Jove [horse's name] MS: Joue 1

Joy MS: joye 5; PRINT: Joy 3

Judge MS: judgde 1, judge 4; PRINT: judg'd 1, Judge 3, judge 1

Judgement MS: judgemente 6, judgmente 9; PRINT: Judgement 2, Judge-|ment 1, Judgment 4, Judgments 1

Judiciously MS: juditiuslye 1

juge (Fr.) [horse's name] PRINT: Le Juge 1

Juego [name?] PRINT: Juego 1

Juice PRINT: Juce 1

Julip PRINT: Julip 2, Julips 2

Jumble MS: jumble 1, jumblinge 3; PRINT: g^{i}umble 1

Jupiter [horse's name] MS: Jupiter 1; PRINT: Jupiter 1

Juse [horse's name] MS: Le Juse 1

Just MS: juste 105 (F=10), juster 4, justeste 2, justlye 7, justnes 1, justness 2; PRINT: just 45, Just-|est 1, Justly 3, Justness 1

Justice MS: justice 1; PRINT: Justice 3

Keep MS: keep 1, keepe 125 (F=13), keepes 54 (F=7), keepinge 12, keeps 1, kepe 2, kepes 3, kepinge 2, kepte 24; PRINT: Keep 42, Keeping 7, keeps 13, kept 7

Kick MS: kick 2

Kill MS: kilde 5, kill 4; PRINT: Kill 2, Killed 3, kill'd 4

Kildare [?] [horse's name] MS: Kill Deer 1

Kind MS: kinde 38 (F=2), kindes 15 (F=4), kindenes 1 (F=1), kindnes 1; PRINT: Kind 17, Kindes 2, Kinds 8

King MS: kinge 27, kinges 2, kingleye 1; PRINT: King 22, Kings 1, Kingly 1

Kingdom MS: kindoumes 1, kingdome 3, kingdomes 2, kingdoume 2; PRINT: Kingdom 4

Kiss MS: kise 1 (F=1)

Knee MS: knee 5 (F=2), knees 31 (F=2); PRINT: Knee 9, Knees 12

Knew MS: knew 1 (F=1), knewe 7; PRINT: knew 11

Knife PRINT: Knife-$^{\text{of}}$Heat 1

Knight PRINT: Knight 1, Knights 1

Knit MS: knitt 1 (F=1); PRINT: Knit 1

Knob MS: knobs 1; PRINT: Knobs 1

Knock MS: knock 1

Knot MS: knott 1; PRINT: Knot 1

Know MS: knoinge 3, know 3 (F=1), knowe 76 (F=1), knowes 27, knowing 4 (F=4), knowinge 13, knowinglye 3, knowne 8; PRINT: Know 54, Knowing 8, Know-|ing 1, Knowingly 1, Know—| ingly 1, known 17, Knows 10

Knowledge MS: knoledge 6, knowledg 1 (F=1); PRINT: Knowledge 3, Know-|ledge 1

Knuckle MS: knuckle 1, knuckles 82, knucles 1; PRINT: Knuckles 15

Kye/kine MS: kine 1, kye 1; PRINT: Kye 1

l' (Fr.) PRINT: l 1

La MS: la 2 (F=1); PRINT: la 29

Labour MS: labor 12, labors 1; PRINT: Labour 7, La-|bour 2

Lack MS: lack 1; PRINT: lack 1

Ladies MS: ladies 1, ladye 4, ladye like 2; PRINT: Lady 2, Lady-like 3

Laid MS: layd 1 (F=1); PRINT: laid 1

Lamb MS: lam̃ 1; PRINT: Lamb 1

Lame MS: lame 1, lamesd 1, laminge 1, lamnes 1; PRINT: Lame 2, Lameness 1, Laming 1

Lamentable MS: lamentable 1; PRINT: Lamentable 1

Lamp MS: lampe 2

Lampo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Lampo 1; PRINT: Lampo 1

Lanceshire MS: lankeshyre 2, lankishyre 1; PRINT: Lancashire-Hound 2

Land MS: lande 2, landes 2; PRINT: Land 2, Lands 1

Landsgrave [*Collins*: German history 1. (from the 13th c. to 1806) a count who ruled over a specific territory. .... 16th c, via German from Middle High German *lantgrave*...] MS: lansgraue 1; PRINT: Landgrave 1

Language MS: language 1, languages 1; PRINT: Language 1

Languedoc MS: languedock 1; PRINT: Languedoc 1

Lantern MS: Lanterne 1

Lap MS: lape 1 (F=1), lapes 1, lapinge 2, lapp 26, lappes 3, lapps 5 (F=2), laps 1; PRINT: Lap 8, lapp 1, Laps 1, lapped 1, Lapt 1

Large MS: lardge 6, lardgenes 1, lardger 3, larg 4 (F=4), large 122 (F=1), largenes 2, larger 12 (F=2), largest 1 (F=1), largeste 6 (F=1), lo*ar*dge 1, PRINT: Large 53, Larger 5, Largest 3

Larron (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Laroun 1; PRINT: Le Larron 1

Larson [Not in *Collins*. part if the back of a saddle. See Cantle: it appears in C in the sentence 'ye cantle or larson of the saddle'.] MS: larson 1 (F=1); PRINT: l'Arson 1

Last MS: laste 35 (F=4), lastte 1; PRINT: last 13, last-|mentioned 1, Lasts 1

Late MS: late 4; PRINT: late 2

Lately MS: latleye 1, latlye 2; PRINT: lately 1

Lathe MS: Lathe 1

Latin MS: latiñ 2, lattin 1, lattine 1 (F=1), lattiñ 1; PRINT: Latine 2

Laugh MS: laff 1, laffte 1, lauffinge 1, laugh 1, laughing 1 (F=1); PRINT: Laugh 2, Laughing 1, Laugh-|ing 1, Laught 1

Laurentius [name] MS: laurentius 2; PRINT: Laurentius 1

Law MS: lawe 1, lawe-yeares 1

Lawyer PRINT: Lawyers 1

Lay MS: lay 1 (F=1), laye 4, layenge 1; PRINT: lay 4, layes 1, laying 1

Lazy MS: laseye 3; PRINT: Lazy 4

Le MS: *le* 1, le 169, lee 6; PRINT: Le 26, Lee 1

Lead (v.) MS: lead 4 (F=4), leade 32 (F=6), leades 64 (F=26), leading 5 (F=5), leadinge 6; PRINT: Lead 20, Leading 4, Leads 13

Leaf MS: leafe 1

Lean (v.) MS: lean 1, leane 50 (F=1), leanes 10, leaninge 9, leninge 1; PRINT: Lean 10, leaning 1, Leans 8, Lean's [*sic.*] 1

Leap MS: leap 1, leape 104 (F=29), leapeing 8 (F=8), leapes 58 (F=5), leaping 12 (F=12), leapinge 28, leapte 1, lepp 2; PRINT: Leap 52, Leaping 25, Leap-|ing 1, Leaps 19, Leapt 1, Leaping-horse 5, Leaping-Horses 4

Leapfrog PRINT: Leap-Frogg 1,

Learn MS: learne 5 (F=3), lerne 9, lerned 6, lernes 1, lerninge 2, lernte 4; PRINT: Learn 10, Learned 10, learning 1, learnt 2

Least MS: leaste 50 (F=4); PRINT: least 21

Leather MS: leather 9 (F=1), leathers 2, lether 3; PRINT: Leather 8, Lea-|ther 1

Leave MS: leaue 20 (F=1), leaues 5, leauing 1 (F=1); PRINT: leave 8, leaves 5, leaving 2

Led MS: ledd 1; PRINT: Led 1

Left (adj. or n.) MS: lefte 176 (F=40), lefte handed 1 (F=1); PRINT: Left 38, Left-Finger 1, Left-Hand 22, Left-Handed 1, Left-Legg 3, Left-Shoulder 1, Left-Shoul-|der 1

Left (v.) MS: lefte 4

Leg MS: leg 1, legg 403 (F=66), leggde 1, legge 7 (F=1), legges 325 (F=10), legges 1, leggs 102 (F=54), leggs 1, legs 1; PRINT: Legg 127, Legge 5, Legges 3, Leggs 156, Leggms: s 1, Leggs 1, Legs 4

Leicester MS: lester 1, lester|shyre 1; PRINT: Lei-|cester 1, Leicester-shire 1

Leisure MS: leasurlye 2; PRINT: leasurely 1, leisure 1

Lemons PRINT: Lemmons 2

Lend MS: lende 1

Length MS: length 41 (F=6), lengthens 1 (F=1); PRINT: length 13, Lengthens 1

Lenton MS: lentoñ 1; PRINT: Lenton 1

Leopold PRINT: Leopold 2

Leopoldus MS: leopoldus 3

Les (Fr.) MS: Les 1

Less MS: les 1, lese 3, less 44 (F=4), lesse 1, leser 1; PRINT: Less 20

Lesson MS: lesson 19 (F=10), lessons 54 (F=9), lessoñ 36; PRINT: Lesson 31, Les-|son 1, PRINT: Lessons 26, Les—⌊ sons 4

Lest PRINT: lest 1

Let MS: lett 93 (F=7), letting 1 (F=1), lettinge 2, letts 2; PRINT: let 70, lets 2, Lett 6, letting 2

Letter MS: letter 3, letters 3; PRINT: Letter 3

Lettuces PRINT: Lettises 1

Lever MS: lauer 3 (F=3), leuers 1; PRINT: Leavers 1, Lever 3

Liberty MS: libertie 9, liberty 39 (F=33), libertye 81; PRINT: Liberty 61, Li-|berty 4, Liber- ty 1

Licentious MS: lisentius 1, lisentiuslye 1

Lick PRINT: Lick 2

Lie MS: lie 13 (F=1), lienge 1, lies 12, lye 1, lyes 1; PRINT: lie 13, lies 10, lye 1, Lyes 2, lying 1

Lieu ['in lieu of'] PRINT: lieu 1

Lieutenant PRINT: Lieutenant 1

Life MS: life 6; PRINT: Life 7

Lift MS: lifte 2 (F=1), lifted 2, lifteing 1 (F=1), liftes 4 (F=3); PRINT: Liffts 1, Lift 1, Lifted 1, Lifting 1, lifts 2

Light MS: light 14 (F=2), lighte 95 (F=10), lighter 9 (F=1), lightes 4, lightest 1, lighteste 1, lightinge 2, lightlye 1, lights 1, lite 1; PRINT: Leight 27, Leight 6, Leight 1, Leighter 3, Leightly 2, Light 4, Lightness 1, Light-Bay 1

Lighten MS: lighten 4

Lightness MS: lightnes 3; PRINT: Leight-|ness 1

Like MS: like 185 (F=18), liked 2, likes 2; PRINT: lik'd 1, like 89, Liked 1, Likes 1

Likly MS: liklieste 2, liklye 1, liklyer 1

Likewise MS: likwise 5; PRINT: likewise 1

Limb PRINT: Limb 1

Line MS: line 90 (F=11), lined 4, lines 72 (F=11); PRINT: Line 25, Lined 4, Lines 2

Linen MS: lineñ 1, liñen 1; PRINT: Linnen 3

Lining MS: lininge 1

Link MS: linke 1

Lion MS: lioñ 1; PRINT: Lyon 1

Lion (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Lion 1; PRINT: Le Lion 1

Lip MS: Lipp [horse's name] 1, lippe 1 (F=1), lippes 2, lipps 5 (F=5); PRINT: Lipps 1, Lips 5

Liquor MS: liquor 4; PRINT: Liquor 1

Liquorish PRINT: Liquorish 1

List MS: liste 7; PRINT: List 2

Lit MS: litt 1

Litter MS: litter 1; PRINT: Litter 2, Littered 1

Little MS: litle 525, little 8 (F=2); PRINT: little 231

Littlewood [name] MS: Litlewood 1

Live MS: liude 1, liue 6, liued 1, liueing 2 (F=2), liues 2, liuinge 2; PRINT: Liv'd 1, Live 4, Living 1

Liveliness MS: liuelines 1

Lively MS: liueleye 1, liuelye 2, liveleyer 1; PRINT: Livelier 1, Lively 3

Liver MS: liuer 1; PRINT: Liver 1

Loftiest MS: loftieste 1; PRINT: Loftiest 1

Logic PRINT: Logick 1

Logicians MS: logitians 1 (F=1); PRINT: Logitians 1

London MS: londoñ 3; PRINT: LONDON 4

Long MS: long 16 (F=16), longe 112 (F=2); PRINT: Long 50, Longer 14, Long-|Legged 1, Long-Lived 1, Long-Neckt 2

Longer, longest MS: longer 37 (F=8), longeste 3 (F=1), *str*^{l}onger 1; PRINT: Longest 1

Look MS: loke 1, looke 105 (F=9), lookeing 2 (F=2), lookes 26 (F=2), lookinge 11, lookte 4 (F=1); PRINT: Look 35, Looking 2, looks 7, Lookt 2

Loose (adj.) MS: loose 21 (F=2), louse 1, looser 1 (F=1), looses 1 (F=1), loosinge 2; PRINT: loose 10, Looser 1

Loosen MS: loosen 1, loosend 1, loosende 1; PRINT: loosen 1, loosen'd 1

Lord MS: Lo. 2, lo^{ps} 1, lord 4, lorde 10, lordes 5; PRINT: Lord 12, Lords 1, Lordship 1

Lorenzino MS:Lorensino 1

Lorenzo MS:Lorenso 1

Lose PRINT: lose 2

Loss MS: looss 1, loss 4; PRINT: Loss 3

Lost MS: loste 18 (F=7); PRINT: lost 6

Loth MS: loth 2; PRINT: Loath 1

Love MS: loue 21 (F=2), loues 5, louinge 2, louingeste 1, love 1; PRINT: Love 12, Loves 3, Loving 1, Lovingest 1, Love-|Matters 1

Loveliness MS: louelines 1

Low MS: low 3 (F=3), lowe 132 (F=1), lower 24 (F=1); PRINT: Low 28, Lower 5, Low-Dutch 1

Loud MS: lowde 1; PRINT: Lowd 1

Loyal MS: loyall 1; PRINT: Loyal 1

Loyal (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Loyall 1; PRINT: Le Loyall 1

Luke-warm PRINT: Luke-warm 1

Lumpish MS: lumpishe 2

Lunettes MS: lunetts 1

Lungs PRINT: Lungs 1

Lupo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Lupo 1

Lust MS: luste 6, lusteye 1, lustie 2; PRINT: Lust 2, Lusty 1

Lute MS: lute 4 (F=1); PRINT: Lute 2, Lute-Strings 1, Lute-|Strings 1

Lutenist MS: luteniste 1; PRINT: Lutenist 1

Lye [*Collins*:1. any solution obtained by leaching, such as the caustic solution obtained by leaching wood ash. ... OE *leag*.] MS: Lie 2, Lye 2; PRINT: Lie 2

Lyons [place] MS: Lions 1

Mad MS: mad 2, madd 8 (F=1), madder 1, Mad Capp [horse's name] 1; PRINT: Madd 1

Made MS: made 100 (F=10); PRINT: Made 50

Madrid MS: madrid 3; PRINT: Madrid 1, Ma-|drid 1

Magnify MS: magnefie 1; PRINT: Magnifie 1

Mahaumilia [horse's name] MS: Mahaumilia 1; PRINT: Mahaumilia 1

Main MS: mayne 6; PRINT: main 5

Maitresse [horse's name] MS: La Maitres 1; PRINT: La Maitresse 1

Majesty MS: mathtie 1, matie 1, ma$^{\text{tie}}$ 17, ma$^{\text{ties}}$ 3; PRINT: Majesties (gen) 6, Majesty 9

Make MS: make 422 (F=52), makeing 2 (F=2), makes 414 (F=35), makes 1 (F=1), maketh 1, makinge 28; PRINT: make 195, makes 122, making 13

Maker MS: maker 1, makers 1

Malatesta [horse's name] MS: Mala Testa 1; PRINT: Mala testa 1

Males MS: males 1; PRINT: Males 1

Malice MS: malice 5

Malicieux (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Malitius 1; PRINT: Le Malitieux 1

Malicious MS: malitious 1, malitius 4 (F=1), malitiuslye 2, malitiusnes 1; PRINT: Maliciously 1

Malignant MS: malignante 1

Malions MS: malions 1 (F=1); PRINT: Malions 1

Man MS: man 27 (F=21), mans 10 (F=3), mañ 85, mañs 1; PRINT: Man 59, Manly 4, Mans 3, Mans (gen) 2

Manage [*Collins*: 8. an archaic word for *manège*] See Manège

Mane MS: mayne 9, maynes 8, mayns 3; PRINT: Mane 9, Manes 12

Manège [*Collins*: 1. The art of training horses and riders. ... 2. A riding School. 17th c. via Fr. from It. *maneggio*.] MS: manege 162 (F=9), manages 5, maneginge 1; PRINT: Mannage 96, Man-nage 1, Man-|nage 7, Mannages 3

Mange MS: mange 2

Manger PRINT: Manger 4

Mankind MS: mañ kinde 1, mañ|kinde 1

Manly MS: manlye 4, mañlye 2, manlines 1; PRINT: Manliness 1

Manna PRINT: Manna 1

Manner MS: maner 9, mañer 35; PRINT: Manner 20

Mannor PRINT: Mannor 1

Mansfield PRINT: Mansfield 1

Manton [name] MS:Manton 1

Many MS: maneye 1, many 10 (F=6), manye 140; PRINT: many 107, Many-many 1

Map MS: mapp 1 (F=1)

March MS: march 1, martch 1; PRINT: March 1

Mare MS: mare 15, mares 56; PRINT: Mare 11, Mares 47, Mare-Fole 1

Maria MS: maria 1

Marigold [horse's name] MS: Marye Golde 1

Mark MS: marke 12 (F=1), marked 1, markes 7 (F=1), marks 1, markte 1; PRINT: Mark 5, Marking 1, Marks 10

Markham MS: markhame 4; PRINT: Markham 3

Marquess MS: marquis 10 (F=1); PRINT: Marquess 6

Marr MS: marr 2

Marriages MS: marigges 1; PRINT: Marriages 1

Married MS: maried 1

Marry [exclam.] MS: marrye 1, marye 2

Mars [horse's name] MS: Mars 1; PRINT: Mars 1

Marseilles MS: marsellus 5; PRINT: Marselles 4

Marshall MS: mareshall 2 (F=1); PRINT: Marshal 1, Marshalry 1

Martialry MS: martialerye 1

Martin MS: Martin 1; PRINT: Martine 1

Martingale MS: martengall 1, mar|tengall 1, martengalls 1, martingale 29, marting-|ale 1, martingall 1, martingasl 1; PRINT: Martingal 7, Mar-|tingal 2

Martlemas MS: martlemas 1, martle-mas 1; PRINT: Martlemas 3

Marvellous MS: maruolus 1; PRINT: marvellous 1

Mary PRINT: Mary 1

Master MS: master 34 (F=2), masters 19 (F=1); PRINT: Master 18, Ma-|ster 2, Masters 12, Ma-|ster-Piece 1

Mastiff MS: mastiue 1, mastiues 1; PRINT: Mastiff 1, Mastiffs 1

Material PRINT: Material 1

Match MS: match 1, matches 1; PRINT: Match 1, Matches 2

Matter MS: matter 16, matters 1; PRINT: Matter 5

Maxim MS: maxim̃ 4; PRINT: Maxim 1, Maxims 1

May MS: may 23 (F=23), maye 211; PRINT: may 131

Mayor MS: maior 2; PRINT: Mayor 1

Mazin MS: mazin 7, mazines 1, mazin̄ 12; PRINT: Mazine 1, Mazin 1, Mazine 1

Me MS: me 3, mee 94 (F=3); PRINT: me 71

Mean MS: meane 21 (F=2), meanes 27 (F=2), means 1, meante 2 (F=2); PRINT: Mean 7, means 16, Meant 2

Meanest MS: meaneste 3; PRINT: meanest 4

Meanly MS: meanlye 1; PRINT: mean-|ly 1

Measure MS: measure 19 (F=2), measuringe 1; PRINT: measure 3

Meat MS: meate 3; PRINT: Meat 5

Mechant (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Mechante 1; PRINT: Le Mechant 1

Medals MS: medalls 2; PRINT: Medalls 1

Medecine MS: Medcin 1 (F=1), medcine 1 (F=1), medcins 6, medciñ 1; PRINT: Medicine 2, Medicines 2, Medi-|cines 1, Medicins 2

Meddle MS: medle 1, medles 2; PRINT: meddles 1

Mediocrity MS: mediocretye 1

Meet MS: meet 5, meete 1, meetes 1; PRINT: meet 1, meets 1

Meggy MS: Meggeye 1

Mein Herr (Du.) [horse's name] MS: Myne Heare 2; Myn Heare 1

Melancholia [horse's name] MS: Melencolia 1; PRINT: Melancholia 1

Melancholly MS: melencollye 1, melencolye 1; PRINT: Melancholly 1

Melons MS: mellons 2 (F=2), melons 1

Melt PRINT: Melt 1, Melted 1

Melton MS: meltoñ 1; PRINT: Melton 1, PRINT: Malten 1

Members MS: members 2; PRINT: Members 1

Memon [name] MS:Memoñ 1, Meñon 1, Meñoñ 1

Memory MS: memoreie 1, memorie 2, memories 1, memory 1, memorye 7; PRINT: Memories 2, Memory 4

Men MS: m*a*en 1, men 9 (F=6), mens 1, meñ 32; PRINT: men 32, Mens (gen) 1

Mend MS: mend 1 (F=1), mende 5, mended 2; PRINT: mend 1

Mention MS: mentionde 1, mentioned 2 (F=1), metioned 1; PRINT: mention 2

Merceane (the count of) MS: merceane 1

Merchant MS: marchantes 1, merchante 4, merchantes 2, merchants 4, mertchantes 1; PRINT: Merchant 4, Merchants 4, Mer-|chants 2

Mercy MS: merceye 1; PRINT: Merciful 1, Mercy 1

Mere MS: meerlye 5, merlye 6; PRINT: meer 1, meerly 6

Merry MS: merie 1

Merveil (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Mervellie 1; PRINT: La Mervelle 1

Methinks, methought MS: methinkes 1, methoughte 2; PRINT: Me-thinks 1, me-|thinks 2, me-thought 1

Method MS: methode 45, methood 7 (F=7); PRINT: Method 25, Me-|thod 3

Methodical MS: methodecallye 1, methodiall 1, methodicall 1, methodicallye 1; PRINT: Methodical 1, Methodically 1, Me-|thodically 1

Mettle MS: metle 3; PRINT: Mettle 1

Mezo MS: metz 1; PRINT: Metz-Ayre 1, Metzo 1

Middle MS: midle 17 (F=5), midlinge 7; PRINT: middle 7, Middle-Age 1, Middle-Strength 1, Midling-horses 1, Midling 4

Midst MS: midste 1; PRINT: midst 1

Might MS: meyghte 1, might 1, mighte 11; PRINT: might 4

Mightily MS: mighteleye 17, mightyly 2 (F=2), myghteleye 1; PRINT: mightily 9, migh-|tily 1

Mighty MS: mightye 1; PRINT: mighty 1

Mignon (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Minion 1; PRINT: Mignon 1

Milbourn PRINT: Milbourn 1

Mile MS: mile 1, miles 7; PRINT: mile 1, Miles 7

Milk MS: milke 4; PRINT: Milk 2

Mill MS: mill 1

Million MS: millions 1, millioñ 1; PRINT: Million 1, Mil-|lions 1

Mille fiore (It.) [horse's name] MS: Miltes Flore 1; PRINT: Mille Fiore 1

Mind MS: minde 7, mynde 6, myndes 6; PRINT: Mind 2

Mine MS: myne 4 (F=2); PRINT: Mine 7

Mingle MS: mingled 1, minglinge 1, mynglinge 1; PRINT: mingled 2

Miracle MS: miracle 2, miracles 2; PRINT: Miracle 3

Miracle (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Miracle 1; PRINT: Le Miracle 1

Miraculo (Sp.) MS: Meraculo 1; PRINT: Miraculo 1

Miraculous MS: miraculous 7, miraculousnes 1, miraculus 3; PRINT: Miraculous 2

Mirilion [horse's name] MS: Le Mirilion 1; PRINT: L'Emerillon 1

Mirth MS: mirth 1

Mischance PRINT: Mischance 1

Mischief PRINT: Mischief 1

Miss (v.) MS: miste 1; PRINT: misses 1, Mist 1

Mistake MS: mistake 4 (F=1), mistaken 2 (F=1), mistakeñ 2, mistakes 1, mistakinges 1; PRINT: Mistake 4, mistakes 1, mistaken 4, Mi-|staken 1

Mix MS: mixe 1; PRINT: Mix 4, Mixt 1

Mode (Fr.) MS: mode 1; PRINT: Mode 1

Moderate MS: moderate 2, moderatlye 4; PRINT: moderately 1, Mode-|rately 1

Moderation MS: moderatioñ 1

Modern MS: moderne 1; PRINT: Modern 1

Mogul MS: mogors 1; PRINT: Mogul 1

Moist PRINT: Moist 2, Moisten 2, moistned 2, Moysture 2

Molton (see Melton) MS: moltañ 1, molteñ 2; PRINT: Molten 1, Molton 1

Monarch MS: monarke 2; PRINT: Monarch 1, Mo-|narch 1

Money MS: money 1, moneye 5; PRINT: Money 4

Monkey [horse's name] MS: Munkeye 1

Monsieur MS: monsieur 13, monsiuer 1, mounsieur 2; PRINT: Monsieur 10 [1=horse's name], Mon-|sieur 2

Monster MS: monster 1; PRINT: Monster 1

Montague MS: mountagewe 1; PRINT: Mountague 1

Monte (Fr.) (v.) MS: mounte 3; PRINT: monte 2

Month MS: month 3, monthes 11, months 1 (F=1); PRINT: Month 4, Months 9

Montmorrancy MS: Memoranceye 1; PRINT: Mommorancy 1

Moon MS: moone 1, moones 1; PRINT: Moon 3

Moors MS: moores 1; PRINT: Moors 1

Moot PRINT: Moot 1

Mopsey [horse's name] MS: Mopseye 1

More MS: more 447 (F=47); PRINT: more 170

Morning MS: morninge 10 (F=1), morninges 1; PRINT: Morning 10

Morocco MS: morocko 1

Mortar PRINT: Morter 1

Mortified PRINT: Mortified 1

Most MS: mos 1, *mos* 1, most 1, moste 225 (F=32); PRINT: most 121

Mother MS: mother 1; PRINT: Mo-|ther 1

Motion MS: motion 27 (F=19), motions 12 (F=5), motiõ 15; PRINT: Motion 19, Mo-|tion 2, Motions 4

Motives PRINT: Motives 2

Moscow MS: moscouia 1

Mouche (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le mouche 1; PRINT: La Mouche 1

Mould PRINT: Mould 1

Mountain MS: mountayne 1; PRINT: Mountain-Barbs 1, Mountainous 1

Mount MS: mounte 3, mounted 5, mountes 3 (F=1); PRINT: Mounted 3, Mounts 3

Mountbank MS: montebanke 1, mountebanke 3, mounte-bankes 1; PRINT: Mountebanks 1, Moun-|tebank-ship 1

Mourning [a disease] MS: mourninge 1; PRINT: Mourning 1

Mouth MS: mouth 105 (F=11), mouthes 5; PRINT: Mouth 69, Mouths 3

Mouton (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Mutton 1; Le Mouton 1

Move MS: moued 4 (F=2), moueing 1 (F=1), moues 3 (F=1), mouinge 2; PRINT: moved 2, Moves 1, moving 1

Moveable MS: mouable 4, moueable 1; PRINT: Moveable 3

Mr MS: mr 6, m^r 25; PRINT: Mr 32

Much MS: much 447 (F=37), mutch 4; PRINT: much 197

Mule MS: mule 2, mules 6; PRINT: Mule 2, Mules 4, Mules (gen) 1

Muscle PRINT: Musle 1, Musled 1

Muscovy PRINT: Muscovy 1

Music MS: musick 4 (F=1), musicke 1 (F=1), musike 1; PRINT: Musick 3, Mu-|sick 1

Musical MS: musicall 5 (F=2); PRINT: Musical 3

Musician MS: mutitian 1 (F=1), mutitiañ 2; PRINT: Musitian 2, Mu-|sitian 2

Musk melons PRINT: Muskmellons 1

Must MS: must 6 (F=1), muste 718 (F=80), mustte 2, mi^{u}ste 1; PRINT: must 322

Musty MS: mustie 1

Mutations MS: mutations 1

Muzzle MS: mosell 1, mossell 1 (F=1), muselde 1, musle 8, musrole 1, mussell 2 (F=2); PRINT: Muzzle 1

My MS: my 243 (F=22), mye 2; PRINT: my 126

Myself MS: my selfe 5, my|selfe 1; PRINT: my self 2

Mystery MS: mistery 2, misterye 3 (F=1)

n' (Fr.) PRINT: n 1

Nag MS: nagg 3, nagges 9; PRINT: Nagg 5, Naggs 4

Nail MS: nayle 1, nayled 1, nayles 3; PRINT: Nailes 1, Nayl 1, Nayles 1, Nayls 9

Naked MS: naked 4

Name MS: name 1, named 2, names 6, naminge 1; PRINT: Name 1, Named 2, Names 2, naming 1

Naples MS: naples 1 (F=1); PRINT: Naples 8

Napolitan MS: napolitan 3, napolitane 1, napolitans 1, napolitañ 6 PRINT: Neapolitan 9, Neapolitans 1

Narrow MS: naroer 9, narowde 1, narowe 127, narowed 4, narower 11, narowes 41, naroweste 2, narrow 10 (F=10), narrowe 2, narrowed 2 (F=2), narrower 6 (F=6), narrowes 3 (F=2), norowe 1; PRINT: narrow 19, Nar-|row 2, Narrows 3, Narrower 8

Nation MS: nation 1, nations 1, nationñ 7; PRINT: Nation 4, Na-|tion 1, Nations 6, Nati-|ons 2

Native PRINT: Native 1

Natural MS: narurall 1, natturalye 1, naturaleye 1, naturall 35 (F=6), naturallye 1, naturalye 16; PRINT: Natural 6, Na-|tural 1, Naturally 3

Nature MS: naturde 4, nature 74 (F=17), natures 1; PRINT: Nature 25, Na-|ture 3, Natures 2, natured 1

Naught MS: naught 5 (F=1), naughte 15 (F=3); PRINT: Naught 6

Naughty MS: naughti 1 (F=1)

Nauseous MS: nausius 1; PRINT: Nauseous 1

Navigation MS: nauigatiõ 1

Nay MS: nay 5 (F=4), naye 45; PRINT: Nay 24

Ne MS: ne 3, *ne* 1

Near MS: nar 1, narr 6 (F=2), neare 1, neer 39, neere 8 (F=4), neerer 10 (F=2), neereste 2 (F=1), nerer 1; PRINT: Near 17, nearer 2, nearest 1, neer 6, Neerer 1,

Nearside PRINT: Near-Side 2

Neat MS: neate 2, neateste 1, neatlye 4; PRINT: Neat 2, neatest 1, Neatly 2

Necessarily MS: nesesarelye 4; PRINT: necessarily 1

Necessary MS: nesesarye 8; PRINT: Necessary 5, ne-|cessary 1

Necessitated MS: nesesetated 1

Necessity MS: nesesetie 4, nesesety 7 (F=5), nesesetye 36, nesestye 1, nesetye 1; PRINT: Necessity 17, Ne-|cessity 2

Neck MS: neck 328, necke 13 (F=11), neckes 1, necks 5, neckte 2, necte 3; PRINT: Neck 92, Necks 6, Neckt 2

Need MS: nede 1, nedes 1, need 11 (F=3), neede 9, needes 20 (F=2), Needs 3; PRINT: need 9, needs 6

Needful MS: nedfull 1; PRINT: Needful 2

Needles MS: needles 1

Negligence (Fr.) MS: neglegence 1; PRINT: neg-|ligence 1

Negligent MS: neglegente 1; PRINT: Negligent 1

Neighbours PRINT: Neighbours 1

Neither MS: nether 2, neyther 65 (F=8), neither 2; PRINT: neither 22, nei-|ther 2

Nephew MS: nephewe 3; PRINT: Nephew 3

Nerve MS: nerue 4 (F=1), nerues 5; PRINT: Nerve 1, Nerves 3

Nervous MS: neruus 1; PRINT: Nervous 3

Never MS: neuer 281 (F=31); PRINT: never 153, ne-|ver 7

Nevers PRINT: Nevers 1

New MS: new 8 (F=6), newe 25, newlye 2; PRINT: New 20, newly 4, New-fashioned 1

Newcastle MS: newcastle 2 (F=1), new|castle 1, newcastles 1; PRINT: Newcastle 2

News MS: news 1 (F=1), newse 1

Next MS: nexte 52 (F=5); PRINT: next 22

Niggard MS: nigarde 1, nigerdly 1 (F=1); PRINT: Niggard 1

Night MS: nighte 3, nightes 1, nights 1; PRINT: Night 7, Nights 2

Nimble MS: nimble 3, nimbler 2, nimbley 1 (F=1); PRINT: Nimbler 1, Nimbly 1

Nine MS: nine 5 (F=1); PRINT: nine 5

No MS: no 424 (F=38), noe 2; PRINT: no 231

Noble MS: noble 8 (F=1), nobleste 5 (F=1), noblye 1; PRINT: Noble 7, noble-Shap 1, Noblest 2

Nobilissimo (It.) [horse's name] MS: Nobilisimo 1; PRINT: Nobilisimo 1

Nobility MS: nobiletye 2; PRINT: Nobility 1

Noblemen MS: noble mens 1, noble meñ 1; PRINT: Noblemen 1, Noble-men 2

Nobody MS: no body 2 (F=2), nobodye 3, no bodye 6; PRINT: no body 1

Nock MS: nock 3; PRINT: Ne^{o}ck 1

Noise MS: noyse 6; PRINT: Noise 5

None MS: non 4 (F=4), none 40 (F=1); PRINT: none 24

Noon [see **Afternoon**]

Nor MS: nor 124 (F=15); PRINT: nor 77

North MS: northes 1

Northern MS: northereñ 1; PRINT: Northern 1

Norway MS: narawaye 1, norwaye 1; PRINT: Norway 2

Northampton MS: northamton 1, northam|ton 1, northamtoñ 1; PRINT: Northampton 2, Nor-|thampton 1

Nose MS: nose 51 (F=3); PRINT: Nose 18

Noseband MS: nose-bande 1; PRINT: Nose-band 4

Nostrils PRINT: Nostrils 1, No-|strils 1

Not MS: not 112 (F=103), nott 886 (F=8); PRINT: not 471

Note MS: note 13, noted 2, notes 3; PRINT: Note 2, Notes 2

Nothing MS: nothing 10 (F=10), no thing 1 (F=1), nothinge 144 (F=2); PRINT: nothing 83, no-|thing 6

Notice MS: notice 1; PRINT: notice 1

Nottingham MS: nottingame 1, nottingame|shyre 1; PRINT: Nottingham 1, Notting-|ham 1, Notting–|ham-shire 1

Noue [name] MS: Nowe 1

Nouer ['Nouer l'Esquillette'] PRINT: Nouer 1

Nourish PRINT: Nourish 1

Now MS: now 28 (F=25), nowe 138 (F=1); PRINT: now 59

Nowhere MS: no wher 3; PRINT: No where 1

Number MS: number 4; PRINT: Number 1

Nuntio [horse's name] MS: Nuntio 1; PRINT: Nuntio 1

Nurse MS: nurste 1; PRINT: Nurst 1

Nutgall MS: nuttgalls 1

Oath PRINT: Oath 2

Oats MS: otes 6; PRINT: Oats 21

Obedience MS: obedience 17; PRINT: Obedience 4, Obedi-|ence 1

Obedient MS: obedient 3 (F=3), obediente 19; PRINT: Obedient 12, Obe-|dient 1, Obedi–|ent 1

Obey MS: obay 15 (F=15), obaye 104, obayenge 4, obayes 37 (F=1), obaying 1 (F=1), obaynge 1, obays 1 (F=1), obeyes 1; PRINT: Obayes 1, Obey 48, O-|bey 1, obeying 2, Obeys 11

Oblige MS: oblige 3; PRINT: obliging 1

Oblique MS: oblige 1, oblike 118 (F=1), oblikly 1 (F=1), obliklye 1, obliknes 1; PRINT: Oblike 11, Oblique 5

Observations MS: obseruation 11 (F=4), obseruatione 1, obseruations 70 (F=2), obseruatiõ 1, observations 2; PRINT: Observ 1, Observation 3, Observations 9

Observe MS: obserue 6 (F=1), obserued 3; PRINT: Observe 4, observed 1

Obstinate PRINT: Obstinate 2

Obstructions PRINT: Obstructions 1

Occasion MS: ocation 7, ocations 1, ocatiõ 18; PRINT: Occasion 8, Occasions 1

Odd MS: odlye 1; PRINT: odde 1, Oddly 1

Of MS: of 426 (F=325), off 2499 (F=4); PRINT: of 1350

Off MS: of 3 (F=3), off 33 (F=1); PRINT: off 46

Offence MS: offence 1

Offend MS: offend 2 (F=2), offende 9, offendes 4, offendinge 3, PRINT: Offend 4, Offending 2

Offer (v.) MS: offer 8, offerde 1, offeringe 2, offers 5 (F=1); PRINT: offer 4, offered 1, offers 4, of-|fers 1

Officer MS: officers 2, offisers 1; PRINT: Officers 1

Offspring MS: offspringe 2, off springe 1; PRINT: Off-Spring 1, Off-|springs 1

Often MS: offten 13, offten̄ 12, offtner 1, often 3 (F=1), often̄ 3; PRINT: often 19

Ogle [name] PRINT: Ogle 2

Oil MS: oyle 1; PRINT: Oyle 1

Ointment PRINT: Oyntment 1

Oiseau [horse's name] MS: Loisoye 1

Old MS: old 7 (F=6), olde 55, oulde 1; PRINT: Old 47, Older 3

Olde [name] MS: Olde 2

Oldenburg MS: olden|bergs 1, oldenburge 1; PRINT: Oldenburg 1, Olden-|burg 1

Olives MS: oliues 5 (F=5), olliues 1; PRINT: Olives 3

Omit MS: omitt 1

On MS: on 283 (F=106), onn 1 (F=1), on̄ 831; PRINT: on 430

Once MS: once 18 (F=1); PRINT: once 15

One MS: one 296 (F=38), ones 7 (F=3), on̄e 2, ons 7; PRINT: one 130, ones (pl) 12, ones (gen) 1

Only MS: only 38 (F=35), onlye 186; PRINT: only 101, on-|ly 2

Open MS: open 4, opens 1, open̄ 4; PRINT: Open 4, Ope-|ning 1

Operate MS: operated 1

Operation MS: operation 1, operations 6, operation̄ 14; PRINT: Operation 10, Ope-|ration 1, Opera-| tion 1, Ope-| rations 1, Operati-|ons 1, opperation 1

Operative MS: operatiue 1, oporatiue 1; PRINT: Operative 2

Opinion MS: opinion 5 (F=1), opinion̄ 6, opinion̄s 1; PRINT: Opinion 8, Opinions 1, Opini-|ons 1

Oppose MS: opose 10, oposes 1; PRINT: Oppose 4

Opposition MS: opotition 1; PRINT: Opposition 1

Or MS: or 1170 (F=126); PRINT: or 480

Orange MS: orenge 2

Ordain MS: ordaines 1 (F=1), ordaynde 1; PRINT: ordains 1

Order MS: order 18 (F=4), orderde 1, ordererd 1, orderinge 1, orders 1; PRINT: Order 7, Ordered 1, Ordering 5

Orderly MS: orderlye 1; PRINT: orderly 1

Ordinarily MS: ordinarelye 2; PRINT: ordinarily 1

Ordinary MS: ordinarie 2, ordinary 1, ordinarye 6; PRINT: ordinary 5, or-|dinary 1, ordi-⸗nary 1

Ormond MS: ormonde 2

Ornament PRINT: Ornament 1

Other MS: other 195 (F=26), othere 1, others 22; PRINT: other 90, others 10

Otherwise MS: otherwise 53 (F=4), other|wise 1, other wise 3 (F=1); PRINT: otherwise 20, other-|wise 3

Ottaviano [name] MS: Otaviano 1

Ou (Fr.) MS: ou 1

Ought MS: aught 5 (F=3), aughte 61 (F=6), oughte 6 (F=1); PRINT: ought 31

Ounce MS: ounce 2, ounces 3; PRINT: Ounce 8, Ounces 6, Oun-|ces 1

Our MS: our 58 (F=3), oure 1, ours 2; PRINT: Our 36, ours 2

Out MS: out 33 (F=32), oute 427 (F=2), outt 5 (F=2); PRINT: out 191,

Outleap MS: out leape 5 (F=5); PRINT: Out-Leap 5

Outside MS: outeside 9, oute side 251, oute-side 1, oute sides 1, oute sside 1, outside 9 (F=9), out side 3 (F=3); PRINT: Outside 63, Out-side 8, Out-|side 3, *out*$^{\mathbf{in}}$side 1

Outward MS: otwarde 1, outewarde 2, outward 56 (F=56), out|ward 2 (F=2), out ward 2 (F=2), outwarde 760 (F=2), outw|arde 4, outwa/rde 1, outwardes 1, outworde 1; PRINT: Outward 216, out-|ward 16, outword 1

Oval MS: ouall 3, oualls 2 (F=1); PRINT: Oval 1

Over MS: our 1, ouer 104 (F=11); PRINT: over 44

Overcareful PRINT: Over-careful 1

Overcome MS: ouer coumes 1

Overcurious MS: ouer|curious 1 (F=1); PRINT: Over-Curious 1

Overheated PRINT: Over-heater 1, Over-|Heated 2

Overreach MS: ouer-reatch 1

Overridden PRINT: Over-ridden 1

Overthrow MS: ouer throwe 2; PRINT: Overthrow 1

Own MS: owne 39 (F=1); PRINT: own 26

Owner MS: owner 1; PRINT: Owner 1

Oxen MS: oxen̄ 1; PRINT: Oxen 2

Pace MS: pace 14 (F=7), paces 6 (F=4), pasde 1, pase 9, pases 2, pasinge 1; PRINT: Pace 7, Paces 4

Pacify MS: pasefie 1

Pad [*Collins* def. 5.: Archaic or dialect. a slow-paced horse; nag. 16th c. perhaps from Middle Du. *paden.*] MS: padd 7; PRINT: Pad 1, Padd 4, Padds 1

Padd-Gelding PRINT: Padd-Gelding 1

Pad-Nag MS: padd-nagges 1; PRINT: Padd-Nagg 1

Pagano MS: pagano 1; PRINT: Pagano 1

Pegase (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Pagase 1; PRINT: Le Pegase 1

Page MS: page 1; PRINT: Page 1

Pain MS: payne 4 (F=1), paynes 6, payns 1; PRINT: Pain 3, Pains 6

Painted MS: paynted 2; PRINT: Painted 1

Painter MS: paynters 1; PRINT: Painters 1

Pair MS: payre 4 (F=1); PRINT: pair 1, Pare 2

Pale MS: pale 2; PRINT: Pale 1

Palla (Sp.?) PRINT: Palla 1

Palm MS: palme 3

Pan MS: pañ 1

Pankridge [place] MS: pankrich 1, pankridge 1; PRINT: Pank-|rich 1, Pank—| ridge 1

Pape (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Pape 1; PRINT: Le Pape 1

Paper MS: paper 1

Par (Fr.) MS: Par 3; PRINT: Par 2

Paradox PRINT: Paradox 1

Paragon (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Paragon 1; PRINT: Le Parangon 1

Paragraphs PRINT: Paragraphs 1

Parallel MS: paralele 1, parelel 4, parelele 2, parelells 1, parelels 28

Pardon MS: pardon 1

Parents MS: parentes 1

Paresseus MS: paresus 1; PRINT: Pare-|seus 1, Paresus 1

Paring [ie filing] PRINT: Paring 1

Paris MS: paris 10; PRINT: Paris 6, Paris-Pintes 1

Parks MS: parkes 1; PRINT: Parks 1

Part MS: parte 43 (F=6), partes 13, parts 1 (F=1); PRINT: part 36, parts 15

Partial MS: partiall 1; PRINT: Partial 1

Participate MS: partisipate 1, partisi|patinge 1, pertisepates 1; PRINT: Participate 2, par-|ticipate 1, parti—|cipating 1

Particle MS: particle 1; PRINT: Particle 1

Particular MS: perticu|lar 1, perticularlye 1, perticuler 5, perticulerlye 2, perticulers 2; PRINT: particular 3, Particulars 1, parti-|cularly 1

Partition MS: partition 1

Pasar [exact meaning unclear: a horse's movement] MS: pasar 1

Pass (n. or v.) MS: pass 8 (F=1), passes 2, passinge 1, paste 3 [= passed]; PRINT: Pass 2 **Passade** [*Collins*: *Dressage.* the act of moving back and forth in the same place. 17th c. from It. *passata* via Fr.] MS: pasade 1, pasades 1, pasado 1, pasadoe 3 (F=1), pasadoes 69 (F=8), pasados 3, passadoes 1; PRINT: Pasadoes 1, Passado 1, Passadoe 1, Pas-|sadoe 1, Passadoes 11, Pas—|sadoes 1, Passa-|does 1, Pass—|does 1

Passage [|it Collins def. 2. *Dressage*: 1. a sideways walk in which diagonal pairs of feet are lifted alternately. 2. a cadenced lofty trot, the movement of suspension being clearly defined. vb. 3. To move or cause to move at a passage. 18th c. from Fr. *passager*, variant of *passéger*.] MS: pasage 1, pasege 1

Passager [see definitions given for *Passage* above] MS: pasager 8, paseger 140 (F=11), pasegger 1 (F=1), paseier 1, passeger 2; PRINT: Passager 46, Pa^{e}s-|sager 1, Passa-|ger 1, Passeger 2

Passion MS: passion 1, pation 2

Past PRINT: past 1

Pastern [*Collins*: The part of a horse's foot between the fetlock and the hoof ... 14th c. from OFr. *pasturon*.] MS: pasternes 4, pastornes 4; PRINT: Pa-sterne 1, Pasterns 1, Pastorns 4

Pasture MS: pasture 1; PRINT: Pa-|sture 1

Pa-ta [see also 'patter'] MS: pata 3, pa-ta 1, Pa ta 19; PRINT: Pa ta 1

Patience MS: patience 15 (F=7); PRINT: Patience 9

Patient MS: patiente 5 (F=1); PRINT: Patient 1, Pa-|tient 1

Patronage PRINT: Patronage 1

Patter MS: pater 7, patter 1

Paulett MS: pauletts 1; PRINT: Pauletts 1

Paulo MS: Paulo 1

Pause MS: pause 1 (F=1)

Pay MS: paye 3

Payne [name] MS: Payne 1

Pea PRINT: Pease 2, Pease-|Straw 1

Peace MS: pease 1; PRINT: peaceable 1, Peaceably 2

Peaceable MS: peaceable 3, peaseable 1

Peacock MS: Pecocke 1, Pecock [name] 1; PRINT: Peacock 1

Pears PRINT: pears 1

Pedigree MS: pedegrees 1; PRINT: Pedigrees 1

Peer (v.) MS: peers 1, peeringe 1 (F=1); PRINT: Peering 1

Pegasus MS: Pegasus 1

Peggy [horse's name] MS: Peggeye Brigg 1

Pembroke MS: pembroke 2; PRINT: Pembroke 1, Pembrook 1

Pencil MS: pensill 1

Pennyworth PRINT: Penny-worth 2

People MS: people 15 (F=1); PRINT: People 7

Pepper-corn [horse's name] MS: Peper Corne 1

Perceive MS: perceaue 2 (F=2), perceue 13, perceued 5 (F=2), perceues 1, perseaue 3, perseaued 1, perseued 1; PRINT: perceive 4, per-|ceive 2, Perceived 2

Perfect MS: perfect 2 (F=1), perfecte 59 (F=4), perfecteste 2, perfectly 18 (F=12), perfectlye 94, perfett 2, prfectlye 2; PRINT: perfect 29, perfectly 57, per-|fectly 9

Perfection MS: perfection 4 (F=2), perfectiõ 8; PRINT: Perfection 5, per-|fection 1, Perfecti-|on 1

Perfection (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Perfection 1; PRINT: La Perfection

Perform MS: performde 3, performe 2, performed 1

Perle (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: perle 1; PRINT: perle 1

Permit MS: permitt 4; PRINT: permit 1, per-|mit 1

Pernicious PRINT: Pernicious 1

Perpendicular MS: perpendiculer 6 (F=2); PRINT: Perpendicular 3, perpen-|dicular 1, Perpendicular-Line 2

Perpetual MS: perpetuall 1, perpetually 2 (F=2), perpetualy 2, perpe|tualy 1, perpetualye 3; PRINT: per-|petual 1, perpetually 2

Persia MS: prtia 1; PRINT: Persia 1

Person MS: persons 6, personꝫ 3; PRINT: Person 1, Persons 5

Persuade PRINT: perswade 2, Perswaded 1

Pesade [*Collins*: *Dressage*. a position in which the horse stands on the hind legs with the forelegs in the air. 18th c. [*sic.* from Fr. *posade.*] MS: pesades 2, pesate 4 (F=1), pesates 20, pesatoes 1; PRINT: P*a*essad*o*es 12, P*a*^{e}ssa-|s*o*es 2 P*a*^{e}ssad*o*e 1, P*a*essad*o*es 1, P*a*essad*o*es 2 P*a*essad*o*e 1, P*a*^{e}s-|sad*o*es 1

Petit (Fr.) MS: petit 81, petite 2 (F=1), petitt 5, pettit 1; PRINT: petit 24

Philip MS: philipp 2; PRINT: Philip 2

Philips MS: Philipps 1

Philosophe (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Philosophe 1; PRINT: Le Philosophe 1

Philosopher MS: bhillosoppers 1 (F=1), phisopher 1

Philosophy MS: phelosophye 2, philosophy 1, philosophye 1; PRINT: Philosophy 4

Philosophical MS: philosofocallye 1, philosophecallye 1, philosophecalye 1; PRINT: Philosophical 1

Phlegmatic MS: flegmatick 1, flegmetick 1; PRINT: Flegmatick 1

Phrase MS: phrase 1

Physic MS: phisick 2; PRINT: Physick 2

Physician MS: phititiañ 3; PRINT: Physitian 1, Phy-|sitian 1

Pick PRINT: Pick 1

Pictures MS: pictures 1

Piece MS: peece 13 (F=4), peeces 4; PRINT: peice 2, piece 7, Pieces 3

Piero MS: piero 3

Pietro MS: Pietro 1; PRINT: Pietro 1

Pignatel MS: pignatell 1, pigniatell 5, pigniatells 1, pigniotell 11 (F=9), pignitall 1 (F=1), pignotell 2 (F=1); PRINT: Pignatel 6, Pignatell 5, Pigna-|tell 1

Pill MS: *pill* 1, pille 1 (F=1), pills 4; PRINT: Pills 5

Pillar MS: pillar 1, piller 141 (F=68), pillers 57 (F=9); PRINT: Pillar 28, Pillars 6, Pil-|lars 1

Pin MS: piñ 1; PRINT: Pinn-|Buttockt 1

Pince MS: pince 1

Pinch MS: pinch 7 (F=1), pinches 1, pinchinge 5, pincht 1 (F=1), pintches 1; PRINT: Pinch 5, pinches 2, Pinching 1, Pinching 4, Pincht 2

Pint PRINT: Pint 1, Pinte 1, Pints 1

Pintas [name] MS: Pintas 1

Picquant (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Pigante 1

Picqure (Fr.) MS: Le Picur 1; PRINT: Le Piquer 1

Pirouette MS: peroite 1, peroyte 1, piroite 4 (F=2), piroyte 75 (F=8); PRINT: Piroite 7, Piroyte 8, Pi-|royte 1

Pisle MS: pisle 2

Piss MS: piss 4; PRINT: Piss 5

Pissant (Fr.) MS: Le Pisante 1; PRINT: Le Pisante [listed under names for Dutch horses!]'

Piste MS: piste 6; PRINT: piste 26

Pistol [unit of currency] MS: pistoll 2, pistolls 8; PRINT: Pistol 2, Pi-|stolls 1, Pistols 5, Pi-|stols 2

Pit MS: pitt 1

Pity MS: piteye 1; PRINT: Pity 1

Place MS: place 83 (F=9), places 14 (F=2), placet 1 (F=1), plase 1, plased 1, plasinge 1, plaste 2; PRINT: Plac 1, Place 30, Places 7, pla-|ces 2

Plain MS: playne 14 (F=4); PRINT: plain 9

Plainly MS: playnily 1 (F=1), playnleye 3, playnly 2, playnlye 7; PRINT: plainly 1, plain-|ly 1

Plaiting MS: plattinge 2

Planche (Fr.) MS: Planch 1; PRINT: Planche 1

Plant MS: planted 2 (F=2); PRINT: planted 2

Plantine PRINT: Plantine 1

Plates PRINT: Plates 3

Play MS: playe 17, playes 4 (F=2); PRINT: Play 5, Playes 1, Plays 1

Play-days PRINT: Play-dayes 1

Playing MS: playenge 2; PRINT: playing 2

Pleasant MS: pleasante 2, pleasantley 1 (F=1), pleasantlye 2, plesante 2; PRINT: Pleasant 1, plea-|sant 1, Pleasantly 1

Please MS: pleasde 1, please 16 (F=2), pleased 10, pleases 4 (F=1), pleasinge 1; PRINT: pleas 2, Please 10, Pleased 5, please,d [*sic.*] 1, Pleases 1, Pleasing 1

Pleasure MS: pleasure 23 (F=1), pleasures 1, pleasurs 1; PRINT: Pleasure 9

Pleat PRINT: Pleat 3, Pleated 1, Pleating 2, Pleats 1

Plentiful PRINT: Plentiful 1

Plenty MS: plentie 2; PRINT: Plenty 1

Plessy MS: pleseye 1, plesis 1, plessye 1; PRINT: Plessis 1

Ploughed MS: ploude 1, plowde 1; PRINT: Plow 2, Plowed 1

Plumes MS: plumes 1; PRINT: Plumes 1

Plumper MS: plumper 1; PRINT: Plumper 1

Plunging PRINT: Plunging 1

plus (Fr.) MS: plus 1; PRINT: plus 1

Pluvinell MS: pluuinell 12 (F=1), pluuinells 1, pluui|nells 1; PRINT: Pluvinel 6, Plu-|vinel 1, Pluvinels 1

Ply MS: plie 5, plies 1, ply 1 (F=1), plye 15; PRINT: Ply 8, Plyes 1

Point MS: poynte 9 (F=4), poyntes 5; PRINT: Point 6, Points 2

Pointing MS: poyntinge 1

Poise MS: poyse 33; PRINT: poise 2, Poyse 1, Poysing 1

Poison MS: poysen̄ 1;

Poland MS: polande 5, polander 3, polanders 5; PRINT: Poland 6, Polander 2, Polanders 2

Pole MS: pole 1, poles 3

Polish MS: polick 2, poluxs 1; PRINT: Polack 2, Polacks 2

Polonia-Heel PRINT: Polonia-Heel 2

Pomegranates PRINT: Pomgra-|nets 1

Pomell MS: pomell 11 (F=8), pom̃ell 199 (F=28); PRINT: Pommel 56, Pom-|mel 3, Pomel 1

Poor MS: poor 1, poore 5, poorer 1 (F=1); PRINT: poor 5, poorer 1

Porcelain PRINT: Purslane 1

Port MS: porte 1, portes 2; PRINT: Port 1, Portes 2

Porter MS: porter 1

Portion MS: portion 1; PRINT: Portion 1

Posate MS: posate 2, posates 18, posattes 1

Position MS: potition 3, potitiom̄ 3

Positively MS: posetiuelye 1

Possible MS: posible 15 (F=1), possible 1 (F=1); PRINT: Possible 8, pos-|sible 1

Possibly MS: posibly 3 (F=1), posiblye 15; PRINT: possibly 10

Post MS: post 1, poste 2, postes 2; PRINT: Post 1

Postboy MS: poste boye 1; PRINT: Post-Boy 1

Posture MS: posture 48 (F=3), postures 5, posturs 1; PRINT: Posture 4, Postures 1

Potions PRINT: Potions 1

Potrincourt [name] MS: Potrincourte 1

Poultron (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Poultron 1; PRINT: Le Poultron 1

Pound MS: pounde 5, poundes 4; PRINT: Pound 4, Pounds 9, Pownd 1

Pour (Fr.) MS: pour 4; PRINT: Pour 1

Povre (Fr.) (?) [horse's name] PRINT: Le Poure 1

Powder MS: powder 1, powderde 1; PRINT: Powder 2, Powders 1, Pouder 3

Powell [name] MS: Powell 1

Power MS: power 7 (F=2); PRINT: power 4

Powerful MS: powerfully 1, powerfullye 2; PRINT: Powerful 3, Powerfully 1

Poynson [*OED*: obs. f. PUNCHEON ... name of various pointed or piercing instruments. From OFr... *poincon.*] MS: poynson 4 (F=4), poynsons 3, poy|nsons 1, poynsoñ 1, poyntsons 1 (F=1); PRINT: Poinson 2, poynsons 1

Practice MS: practice 4 (F=1), practisde 2, practise 16, practised 6; PRINT: Practice 7, Pra-|ctice 1, Practiced 2, Practised 1

Praise MS: prayes 1, prayse 2, praysed 1; PRINT: Praise 1

Prancing MS: prancinge 2; PRINT: Prauncing 2

Pray MS: prayes 1; PRINT: pray 2, Prayes 1

Preach MS: preach 1, preaches 1, prechers 1; PRINT: Preach 2, Preachers 1

Precepts MS: presepts 1, preseptts 1; PRINT: Precepts 1

Predominant MS: predomante 1

Preeminance PRINT: Prehe-|minence 1

Preempt MS: prehemtioñ 1

Prejudice MS: preiudice 1, preiudiste 1; PRINT: Prejudice 1, prejudiced 1

Prepare MS: prepare 7, prepares 4, prepeare 2 (F=2), prepeares 1 (F=1); PRINT: Prepare 4, prepares 1

Preparation MS: preperatioñ 2; PRINT: preparation 2

Prerogative MS: prerogatiue 1 (F=1)

Present MS: presente 6, presented 1, presentes 1; PRINT: Present 6, presented 1

Presently MS: presently 1 (F=1), presentlye 6; PRINT: presently 8, pre-|sently 1

Preserve MS: preserue 4 (F=1), preserued 1, preseruer 1, preserues 5, preservde 1 preserueing 1 (F=1); PRINT: Preserve 3, Preserved 1, preserves 1, Preserving 1

President (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Presedent 1; PRINT: Le President 1

Press MS: pres 1, prese 2, preseinge 1, preses 8 (F=2), presinge 2, press 87 (F=5), presses 75 (F=5), pressing 1 (F=1), pressinge 18, preste 226 (F=15), prestte 1, prste 1; PRINT: Press 25, presse 1, Presses 19, Pres-|ses 4, pressing 3, Prest 57

Pressure MS: pressures 1 (F=1), presure 4; PRINT: Pressure 3

Presume MS: presume 2, presumes 1; PRINT: presume 2

Presumptious MS: presumtius 3, presum̃tius 1; PRINT: Presumptious 1, Presumptuous 3

Pretences MS: pretences 1

Pretend MS: pretende 1, pretendes 2; PRINT: Pretend 1, Pretends 2

Pretender MS: pretender 1

Pretty MS: pretie 1, prettie 2, pretty 1, prettye 2, pretye 6; PRINT: pretty 3, prety 1

Prevail MS: preuayle 1

Prevent MS: preuente 2, prevente 1; PRINT: Prevent 2, pre-|vent 1

Price MS: pice 1, price 7, prise 1, prises 8; PRINT: Price 11, Prices 9

Prick MS: prick 6, pricke 2 (F=2), prickes 3, prickinge 3; PRINT: Prick 2, Pricking 1

Pride PRINT: Pride 1

Prime MS: prime 9; PRINT: Prime 2

Primrose MS: Prim̃-Rose 1

Prince MS: prince 12, princes 12, prinses 2; PRINT: Prince 9, Princes 8

Prince (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Prince 1; PRINT: Le Prince 1

Princess PRINT: Princess 2

Principal MS: principall 9 (F=2), principalste 1; PRINT: Principal 3, prinpal 1

Principle MS: principle 2

Princly MS: princleye 1; PRINT: Princely 1

Print MS: printe 1, printed 2; PRINT: Print 3, Printed 3, Print-|ed 1, Prints 1

Private MS: priuate 1; PRINT: private 2

Privy Council PRINT: Privy-Councel 1

Probability PRINT: Probability 2

Probable PRINT: Probable 1

Probatum MS: brobatum̃ 1, probatum 1 (F=1)

Proceed MS: prosedes 1, proseede 1

Procreation MS: procreatiõ 1; PRINT: Procreation 1

Prod (v.) MS: predd 1 ?

Prodigal MS: prodegall 1, prodigall 2 (F=1); PRINT: Prodigal 1

Produce MS: produce 3, produces 1, produses 1, produste 1; PRINT: Produc 1, produce 1, Produces 1

Profess MS: proffess 1

Profession MS: profession 1, professions 1, professiõ 2, proffessions 1; PRINT: Profession 1, Professions 2, Pro-|fessions 1

Profit MS: profitt 1; PRINT: Profit 1

Promised MS: promised 1; PRINT: promise 1, Promised 1

Proper MS: proper 51, propereste 2; PRINT: proper 16, pro-|per 1, Properest 1

Properly MS: properlie 1, properlye 5

Property MS: propertie 3; PRINT: Property 1

Proportion MS: proportion 2, proportionde 1, proportiõ 1; PRINT: Proportion 1

Proportionable MS: proportionablye 1

Propriety MS: propriety 1 (F=1), proprietye 1; PRINT: Propriety 1

Propound MS: propounde 2

Prosper MS: prosper 1; PRINT: prosper 1

Prospero MS: prospero 2; PRINT: Prospero 1

Protest MS: proteste 5; PRINT: Protest 1

Proud MS: proude 1, proudeste 2; PRINT: Proudest 2

Prove MS: proue 10, proued 3, proues 1; PRINT: Prove 7, Proved 3, Proves 2

Provence PRINT: Provence 1

Proverb MS: prouerbe 1; PRINT: Proverb 1

Provide MS: prouide 2

Province MS: prouince 2; PRINT: Provinces 1

Prying MS: priinge 1 (F=1); PRINT: Prying 1

Publish PRINT: Publish 1

Pudding MS: Puddinge 1

Puissant MS: puisante 1; PRINT: Puissant 2

Pull MS: puld 2 (F=2), pulde 58, pull 231 (F=16), pulld 1 (F=1), pullde 17 (F=1), pulles 1, pulling 4 (F=3), pullinge 51, pulls 103 (F=8), pult 1; PRINT: pull 133, pull| 2, pulled 5, Pulling 25, pulls 30

Pulley MS: puleye 1

Pumps PRINT: Pumps 3

Punctually MS: punctualye 1

Punish MS: punish 1 (F=1), punishe 6, punished 1, punishing 1 (F=1), punishinge 2, punishte 3; PRINT: Punish 6, Pu-|nish 1, Punished 1, Pu-|nished 1, Punisht 2, Punish-|ing 1

Punishment MS: punishmente 8, punishmentes 1, punishments 2 (F=1); PRINT: Punishment 2, Pu-|nishment 2

Puppy MS: Puppeye 1

Purchased MS: purchaste 1; PRINT: Purchased 1

Pure MS: pewre 2, puer 1; PRINT: Pure 3

Pure (Fr.) MS: Le Pewre 1

Purely MS: pewrlye 1; PRINT: purely 3

Purge MS: purgde 2, purge 1; PRINT: Purge 6, Purged 1, Purges 1

Purity PRINT: Purity 2

Purpose MS: purpose 25; PRINT: purpose 15, pur-|pose 1, Purposes 1

Pursy [*Collins*: def.2: fat; over-weight. from 15thc. Anglo-Fr. *persif*.] MS: purseye 1; PRINT: Pursey 5

Put MS: put 18 (F=15), puts 5 (F=5), putt 502 (F=26), putte 1, puttes 8, putts 383 (F=28); PRINT: put 203, puts 101

Putting MS: puting 2 (F=2), putting 7 (F=6), puttinge 41; PRINT: pu-|ting 1, putting 6, put-|ting 1

Puzzle MS: pusled 1, pusls 1; PRINT: pusled 1

Qualify MS: qualefie 1

Quality MS: qualeties 3, qualetye 9; PRINT: Qualities 2, Quality 4

Quantity PRINT: Quantity 1

Quarrel MS: quarell 1

Quart PRINT: Quart 3

Quarter MS: quarter 17 (F=3), quarters 12 (F=7); Quarter 1, quarters 2

Queen MS: queen 3, queene 2; PRINT: Queen 4

Quench PRINT: Quench 1

Quereleux [horse's name] MS: Le Querelus 1; PRINT: Le Quereleux 1

Question MS: question 1, questiõn 2, qustions 1; PRINT: questi-|onless 1

Qui (Fr.) MS: qui 2; PRINT: qui 2

Quick MS: quick 28, quicker 4 (F=1); PRINT: Quick 7, Quicker 1

Quicken MS: quicken 1, quickens 2; PRINT: Quickens 2

Quickly MS: quicklye 3; PRINT: quickly 2

Quicksilver PRINT: Quick-Silver 2

Quiet MS: quieteste 3, quietlye 2, quiett 6; PRINT: Quiet 4, Quietest 1, Quietly 1

Quinsel MS: quinsell 4; PRINT: Quinsel 1, Quin-|sel 1

Quintessence MS: quintesence 36 (F=2), quintesense 1, quitesence 1; PRINT: Quintescence 2, Quintessence 15

Quitt MS: quitt 4; PRINT: quit 1

Quite MS: quite 7; PRINT: quite 3

Quote MS: coted 1; PRINT: quoted 1

Race MS: race 22, races 11; PRINT: Race 7, Races 7

Rack MS: rack 2; PRINT: Rack 2

Racoursie MS: racourseye 1, racoursie 2, racoursye 1; PRINT: Racoursi 1, Racoursy 1

Radishes PRINT: Radishes 1

Radopiar MS: radopiare 1; PRINT: Radopiare 1

Rail MS: rayle 2, rayles 1; PRINT: Rail 2, Rayls 1

Railing MS: raylinge 1; PRINT: Railing 1

Rain PRINT: rayne 1; PRINT: rain 1

Rainbow [horse's name] MS: Rayne Bowe

Raise MS: raisinge 3, rases 2, raysde 1, rayse 69 (F=7), raysed 3, rayses 5 (F=2), rayseth 1, raysing 2 (F=2), raysinge 9; PRINT: Raise 29, Raised 3, Raise-|ing 1, Raises 4, Raising 7

Rake MS: rake 1

Raleigh MS: rawleye 2; PRINT: Rawley 2

Ramase MS: ramase 1; PRINT: Ramase 1

Ran MS: rañ 3; PRINT: Ran 3

Rancour MS: rancor 1

Ranckles PRINT: Ranckles 1

Range PRINT: Range 1

Rape PRINT: Rape 1

Rare MS: rare 21 (F=3), rareste 3 (F=1); PRINT: Rare 21, Rarest 5

Rarely MS: rarleye 1, rarelye 3; PRINT: Rarely 9

Rarity MS: raretye 1; PRINT: Ra-|rety 1, Rarity 1

Rasp PRINT: Raspe 1

Rat MS: Ratt 1

Rate MS: rate 3, rates 1; PRINT: Rate 3, Rates 1

Rather MS: rather 61 (F=8); PRINT: rather 18, ra-|ther 1

Rational MS: rational 1, rationall 2, rationell 1

Raw MS: rawe 1

Ray MS: raye 1

Reaction MS: reations 1

Read MS: read 7, reade 6 (F=1), readinge 4; PRINT: Read 3, Read (past) 3

Reader MS: readers 1; PRINT: Readers 3

Ready MS: readie 1, readieste 1, ready 3 (F=3), readye 31, redie 4, redier 3, redieste 1, redye 20; PRINT: Ready 15, *Ready* 1, Readier 1, Readiest 2, Ready-Horse 14, Ready-Horses 1, Ready-Man 1

Readily MS: readelye 3

Readiness MS: readines 1; PRINT: Readiness 1

Really MS: realye 2

Reap MS: reape 1

Rear (v.) MS: rier 1

Reason MS: reasons 1, reson 21 (F=7), resons 65 (F=3), resoñ 41; PRINT: Reason 28, Rea-|son 2, Reasons 14, Rea-|sons 1

Reasonable MS: resonable 3; PRINT: Reasonable 2

Rebel MS: rebell 4, rebells 2; PRINT: Rebel 2, Rebell 1, Rebels 1

Rebelious MS: rebeliuslye 1, rebellius 2; PRINT: Rebellious 1

Receive MS: receue 1; PRINT: receiv 3, Receive 2, received 1

Receipt ['recipe'] MS: recite 1, recites 1, receytes 1; PRINT: Receipt 2, Receipts 1, Re-|ceipts 1

Reckon MS: reckoñ 3, recko|ninge 1; PRINT: Reckon 1, Reckoning 2

Reclaimed PRINT: Reclaimed 1

Recollect PRINT: recollect 1

Recommend MS: recomende 2, recom̃end 1 (F=1), recom̃ende 1; PRINT: recom-|mend 1

Recover MS: recouer 10, recouerde 2, recouered 2; PRINT: Recover 7, Recovered 2

Recreation PRINT: Recreation 1

Rectify rectefie 3, rectefieing 1 (F=1), rectefye 3; PRINT: Rectifie 2, Rectifying 1

Red MS: redd 2, Robiñ Red Breste [horse's name] 1; PRINT: red 4

Reduce MS: reduce 6 (F=1), reducet 1 (F=1), reduse 3, redused 1, reduses 1, reduste 5; PRINT: reduc 1, Reduce 1

Refer MS: refer 1, referr 2, reffer 1; PRINT: Refer 1

Refined MS: refined 2

Refresh MS: refreshe 1; PRINT: Refresh 3, Refreshing 1

Refuse MS: refuse 1, refused 1, refuses 1; PRINT: Refuse 1

Regularly PRINT: Regularly 1

Reign PRINT: Reign 2

Rein MS: raine 2, rayn 4, rayne 890 (F=123), raynes 96 (F=14), raynes 1, rayns 7 (F=2), reane 1 [?=v]; PRINT: Rein 4, Reins 28, Reyn 198, Reyne 1, Reynes 4, Reyns 15

Rejoyce MS: reioyce 5; PRINT: Rejoyce 2

Relation MS: relation 1, relatioñ 1

Releve (Fr.) MS: releue 8, releues 1; PRINT: Releve 1

Relieve MS: releeue 1; PRINT: Relieve 1

Remain MS: remayne 1; PRINT: remain 2, remains 1

Remember MS: rember 1, remember 53 (F=2); PRINT: Remember 13, Re-|member 2

Remedy MS: remedie 2, remedies 1, remedy 3 (F=3), remedye 17; PRINT: Re-|medies 1, Remedy 13, Reme¬ |dy 1

Remnant MS: remnante 1; PRINT: Remnant 1

Remove MS: remoude 1, remoue 5 (F=3), remoued 11 (F=3), remoues 17 (F=9); PRINT: Remove 5, removed 6, Removes 7, Re-|moves 1

Renard (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Renarde 1; Le Renard 1

Rencontre (Fr.) MS: Le Rencountre 1; Le Rencontre 1

Render MS: render 2; PRINT: Render 1

Renew MS: renewe 2

Renounce MS: renounce 1

Rent MS: rente 1

Repair MS: repayre 1; PRINT: Repair 1

Repeat MS: repeate 3, repeated 1; PRINT: Repeat 3, Repeat|ed 1

Repetition MS: repetitions 5 (F=1); PRINT: Repeti-|ons 1, Repetitions 1

Repolone MS: repolone 1; PRINT: Repolone 1

Report MS: reporte 1, reportes 1; PRINT: Reports 1

Reprehension MS: reprehentions 1

Represent MS: represente 1; PRINT: Represented 1

Reputation MS: reputation 1, reputations 1, reputation 1; PRINT: Re-|putation 2

Require MS: reqiuer 3 (F=3), requier 4, requiers 1, requirde 1; PRINT: require 1, Requires 3

Requisite MS: requisite 1, requisitt 2 (F=1); PRINT: Requisite 1

Resistance PRINT: Resistance 1

Resolve MS: resolude 2

Resolute MS: resolute 2

Resolution MS: resolution 1, resolution 1

Respect MS: respecte 2; PRINT: respect 1

Rest MS: reste 50 (F=3), resteing 1 (F=1), restes 16, restinge 5 (F=1), riste 1; PRINT: Rest 24, Rested 1, Resting 2, rests 6

Resty resteleye 1, restely 1 (F=1), restie 30 (F=1), resties 1, restye 14 (F=4); PRINT: Resty 18, Restily 1

Restiness restinenes 1, restines 1; PRINT: Restiness 3

Restive MS: restiue 6, restiueleye 1, restiuenes 7, restiueness 1

Restore MS: restore 1; PRINT: Restauration 1

Retain MS: retayne 4, retayns 2; PRINT: Retain 1, retains 3

Retenu MS: retenewe 1, retenu 5, retenue 1; PRINT: Retenu

Return MS: returne 2; PRINT: Return 4, Re-|turn 1, Returneth 1

Revenge MS: reuenged 1

Reverence MS: reuerenses 1; PRINT: Reverences 1

Reward MS: reward 1 (F=1), rewarde 8, rewarded 1, rewardes 4 (F=1), rewarding 1 (F=1); PRINT: Reward 8, Rewarded 1, Rewarding 1

Rhodes [place] MS: Rodes 1

Ribbon MS: ribans 1, ribañs 1, [horse's name:] White Riben 1; PRINT: Ribbons 3

Rich MS: rich 9, richer 1 (F=1), ritch 1; PRINT: Rich 8, richer 1

Rid MS: rid 15, ridd 17 (F=2); PRINT: Rid 15, Ridd 15

Ridden MS: ridden 1, riddeñ 1; PRINT: Ridden 4

Ride MS: ride 109 (F=7), rideing 1 (F=1), rides 7, riding 1 (F=1), ridinge 41 (F=1); PRINT: Ride 62, Rideing 1, Ride-|ing 2, Rides 2, Riding 27, Riding-House 1, Riding-Rod 1

Rider MS: rider 35 (F=3), riders 21; PRINT: Rider 19, Riders 4

Ridiculous MS: redickulous 1, rediculous 18, rediculus 3, reduculus 1, ridiculous 1, rediculousnes 2; PRINT: Ridiculous 12, Ridi-|culous 2, Ridiculous–| ness 1

Right MS: right 79 (F=22), righte 302 (F=40), righter 1, rightly 1 (F=1), rightlye 2; PRINT: Right 76, Rightly 6

Right(-) MS: righte handed 1 (F=1); PRINT: Right-Hand 15, Right-|Hand 1, Right-Handed 1, Right-Legg 2, Right-Shoulder 2

Rigour MS: rigur 1

Ring MS: ringe 7 (F=4), ringes 9 (F=3); PRINT: Ring 7, Rings 6, PRINT: Ring-Fin-|ger 1

Rippon MS: ripoñ 1; PRINT: Rippon 1

Rise MS: rise 33 (F=3), risen 2, riseñ 1, rises 31 (F=2), riseth 2, risinge 1; PRINT: Rise 13, Rises 13, Ri-|ses 1, Rising 1, Risen 3

River PRINT: River 1

Rivet riuett 1; PRINT: Revet 1

Robe MS: robde 1, robes 1

Robert MS: Roberte 1

Robin MS: Robiñ Red Breste 1

Rock [name] MS: Rock 1

Rod MS: radd 1, rod 5, rodd 54 (F=33), rodds 2 (F=2); PRINT: Rod 44, Rodd 3, Rodds 1, Rods 3

Rogue MS: roges 1; PRINT: Rogues 1

Roi (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Roye, Moun Roye 1; PRINT: Le Roy 2, Mon Roy 1

Romano [name] MS: Romano 2; PRINT: Romano 1

Rome MS: rome 2, Roome 1 (F=1); PRINT: Rome 1

Rondinello [horse's name] PRINT: Rondinello 1

Roof MS: roofe 3 (F=1); PRINT: Roof 1

Room MS: roome 10, roume 3; PRINT: Room 8

Root MS: rootes 1; PRINT: Roots 5

Rope MS: rope 19 (F=4), ropes 4; PRINT: Rope 4, Ropes 1

Rosatum PRINT: Rosatum 1

Rose MS: rose 2 (F=1); PRINT: Rose 1, Roses 1

Rote MS: rote 17 (F=5); PRINT: Roat 1, Rote 7

Round MS: round 4 (F=4), rounde 13 (F=1), roundlye 1; PRINT: Round 10

Roundinella [horse's name] MS: Roundinella 1

Rousin (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Rousiñ 1; PRINT: Roussin 1

Routine MS: rootinge 1, routine 4 (F=2), routinge 1, routiñ 7; PRINT: Routin 2, Routine 4

Row (n.) MS: roes (pl) 1 (F=1); PRINT: Rowes 1

Rowel [*Collins*: def. 1. a small spiked wheel attached to a spur ... 14th c. from OFr. *roel*.] PRINT: Rowel 1

Rowells MS: rowells 3; PRINT: rowel 1, Rowells 1, Rowels 2

Royal MS: royall 1

Royster [horse's name] MS: Royster 1

Rub MS: rubb 1 (F=1), rubbinge 1 (F=1), rubbs 1; PRINT: Rub 1, Rubb 2, Rubbs 1

Rubican [horse's name] MS: Rubican 1; PRINT: Rubicano 1

Rude (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Rude 1; PRINT: Le Rude 1

Ruffian (?) [horse'e name] MS: Ruffin 1

Ruin MS: ruinde 2; PRINT: Ruined 2

Rule MS: rule 18 (F=8), rules 7 (F=1); PRINT: Rule 11, Rules 1

Run MS: run 1 (F=1), rune 1, runing 3 (F=3), runinge 4 (F=3), runn 1, runs 2 (F=2), ruñ 40 (F=1), ruñe 1, ruñes 5, ruñinge 37, ruñs 8; PRINT: Run 27, Running 10, Runns 1, Runs 5, Runing-|horse 1, Running-Horse 3, Running-Horses 9, Running-|Horses 2, Running-Horse's 1

Runaway (n.) MS: run away 1 (F=1), run a waye 1, ruñeawaye 4, ruñ a waye 1; PRINT: Run-away 3

Russius [name] MS: Russius 2

Rust PRINT: Rust 1

Rut MS: rutt 1

Rutland MS: rutlandes 1

Rye MS: rye 1; PRINT: Rye 1, Rye-Straw 1

Sacred MS: sacred 2; PRINT: Sacred 1

Sacrificed PRINT: sacri-|ficed 1

Sackvile MS: sackuile 1

Saddle MS: saddles 1, sadle 45 (F=7), sadled 1 (F=1), sadler 2, sadles 12; PRINT: Saddle 25, Saddles 7, Sadle 2, Sadled 1, Sadles 1, Sadler 1

Safe MS: safe 3, safer 1, saflye 1; PRINT: Safe 3, Sa-|fer 1, safely 2

Safety MS: saftye 2; PRINT: Safety 1, Safe-|ty 1

Saffron PRINT: Saffron 1

Said MS: sayd 1 (F=1), sayde 19, sayed 1; PRINT: said 14

Sail MS: sayle 1, sayles 1; PRINT: sail 1

Sake MS: sake 10, sakes 1; PRINT: Sake 2

Saker MS: saker 1, sakers 2; PRINT: Saker 1, Sakers 2

Salad PRINT: Sallet-oyle 1

Sale MS: sale 1, sales 1; PRINT: Sale 1

Salengers [musical or dance piece?] PRINT: Salengers 1

Salisbury MS: salesburye 1; PRINT: Salisbury 1

Salt MS: salte 1; PRINT: Salt 1

Salve MS: salue 1 (F=1)

Same MS: same 252 (F=52); PRINT: same 91

Samum [?] ['too much subjection is like S- Jus.'] MS: samum 1

Sand MS: sande 1

Sanguine MS: sanguin 1; PRINT: Sanguine 1

Sans pareil (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Sans Parellie 1; PRINT: Sans Pareil 1

Saraband [*Collins* 1. a decorous 17th century courtly dance. 2. *Music* a piece of music composed for or in the rhythm of this dance, in slow triple time ... 17th c. from Fr. *sarabande*.] MS: sereban 1 (F=1), sereband 2 (F=2), serebañ 1; PRINT: Saraban 1

Sat (pret.) PRINT: Sate 1

Satisfaction PRINT: Satisfaction 3, Satis-|faction 1, Satisfa-|ction 1

Satisfactory PRINT: satisfactory 1

Satisfy MS: satisfied 1, satisfye 2 (F=1); PRINT: satisfie 2, sa-|tisfied 1

Saucey MS: Sauseye 1

Sauro Speranso (It.) [horse's name] MS: Sauro speranso 1

Save MS: sauinge 2; PRINT: save 1, saved 1

Savour MS: sauors 1

Saw MS: saw 1 (F=1), sawe 36 (F=2); PRINT: saw 19

Say MS: sainge 1, say 8 (F=8), saye 66, sayeinge 1, sayenge 4, sayes 45 (F=1); PRINT: say 55, sayes 31, saying 8, saith 1

Scamble MS: scamble 1

Scarce MS: scarse 2, skarsleye 1; PRINT: Scarce 2

Scatch [*not in Collins* Kersey: 'a kind of horse-bit.] MS: scatch 7 (F=5), *scatch* 10; PRINT: Scatch 2

Schollar MS: scoller 5 (F=1), scollers 6 (F=1); PRINT: Schollar 3, Schollars 4, Scholler 2, Schollers 1

School MS: scoole 10, scooles 1, scoole boye 1; PRINT: School-Boy 1

Science MS: sienses 1; PRINT: Sciences 1

Scimitar MS: semitars 1; PRINT: cymeters 1

Scofer MS: scoffer 1

Score PRINT: score 1

Scorn MS: scorne 1

Scotch MS: scotch 2; PRINT: Scotch 1

Scotland MS: scottlande 1; PRINT: Scotland 1

Scower MS: scouer 1, scouers 1, scowerde 1; PRINT: Scoure 1, Scoured 1

Scramble MS: scramble 1

Scrap PRINT: Scrap 1,

Scrape PRINT: Scraper 1, Scraping 1

Scratch MS: scratch 1

Sea MS: seae 1; PRINT: Sea 2

Seal MS: seales 1

Search MS: sertchte 1; PRINT: Search 1, Searcht 1

Seat MS: seate 21 (F=2), seates 1; PRINT: Seat 7, seate 1, Seats 1

Sebastian MS: sebastiẽ 1; PRINT: Sebastien 1

Second MS: second 10 (F=10), seconde 30; PRINT: second 12, Se-|cond 2

Secondly MS: secondly 2 (F=2), secondlye 4; PRINT: Secondly 3

Secret MS: secret 1 (F=1), secretlye 1, secrets 1 (F=1), secrett 10 (F=2), secretts 4 (F=1); PRINT: Secret 7, Secrets 2

Secundines [*Collins Physiol.*. a technical word for afterbirth. 14th c. from late Lat. *secundinæ*.] MS: secundine 2; PRINT: Secondine 2

Sections PRINT: Sections 1

See MS: see 142 (F=10), seeing 1 (F=1), seeinge 2, sees 5, seinge 1; PRINT: see 70, seeing 3

Seek PRINT: seek 1

Seem MS: seeme 5, seemes 1, semed 2, semes 5; PRINT: seem 4

Seen MS: seen 14 (F=3), seene 12, seeñ 5; PRINT: Seen 20, sees 1

Seer MS: seer 1 (F=1)

Segnieur (Fr.) PRINT: Segnieur 1

Seldom MS: seldome 14 (F=4), seldum̃ 12; PRINT: seldom 11, seldome 1

Self PRINT: self 2

Sell MS: sell 2, sellinge 1, sells 3; PRINT: Sell 3, Selling 1

Selles (Duke or count of) PRINT: selles 1

Sense MS: sence 10 (F=1), sense 4, senses 1; PRINT: Sence 1, Sense 8,

Senseless MS: sensles 10; PRINT: sensless 1

Sensible MS: sencible 1 (F=1), sensible 35, sensiple 1; PRINT: sensible 7, Sen-|sible 2

Sensible (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Sensible 1; PRINT: Le Sensible 1

Send MS: sende 12, sendes 3, sendinge 1; PRINT: Send 6, sending 1

Sent MS: sente 11; PRINT: sent 9

Separate MS: seperated 25, seperatt 1 (F=1); PRINT: separated 10, Sepa-|rated 1, separating 2

Seralvo [meaning unclear] MS: seraluo 2, seraluoes 1; PRINT: Seralvo 2

Seriously PRINT: Seriously 1

Serpiante MS: serpeiante 2, serpeient 1 (F=1)

Serpiger MS: serpeiare 3; PRINT: Serpiger 1

Serve MS: serude 1, serue 8, serued 2, serues 10, serueth 2, serve 1 (F=1); PRINT: serv 1, serve 5, Served 2, serves 1, serveth 1

Service MS: seruice 1; PRINT: service 1

Set MS: set 2, sett 70 (F=4), sette 1 (F=1), settes 2, setting 1, setts 2; PRINT: set 28, sets 2, sett 1, setting 2

Setter MS: setter 1

Settle MS: setlde 3, setle 28 (F=1), setled 11 (F=1), setles 13, setlinge 7, settlde

1, settle 3, settled 2, settles 10, settlinge 5; PRINT: setled 6, setling 2, Settle 11, settled 3, settles 4

Seven MS: seauen 8 (F=2), seauen̄ 2; PRINT: Seven 9, Se-|ven 1, Seventeen 1

Several MS: seuerall 80 (F=11); PRINT: Several 34, seve-|ral 1, Severally

Severely MS: seuerlye 1

Severity MS: seueretye 1

Shake MS: shake 4 (F=1), shakinge 1; PRINT: Shake 2

Shall MS: shall 114 (F=15); PRINT: shall 68

Shape MS: shape 31, shaped 3, shapes 4, shapte 14; PRINT: Shap 13, Shape 15, Shaped 5, Shapt 1

Share MS: share 1 (F=1)

Sharp MS: sharp 1 (F=1), sharpe 11, sh*ra*^{r}pe 1 (F=1); PRINT: sharp 6, Sharper 1

Sharply MS: sharpleye 3, sharply 1, sharplye 1; PRINT: Sharply 4

She MS: she 1, shee 12, shee Ashes ['asses'] 1, shee|asses 1; PRINT: she 10, Shee-Asses 1

Sheath PRINT: Sheath 1

Sheep MS: sheepe 1

Sheer MS: sheer 1, sheers 1; PRINT: Sheeres 1

Shift MS: shifte 6, shiftes 1, shifts 1; PRINT: shift 2

Shilling MS: shillinges 1; PRINT: Shillings 1, Shil-|lings 1

Shine MS: shines 1, shyne 1; PRINT: Shine 1, Shines 1

Ship MS: ship 1, shipp 1; PRINT: ship 1, Shipt 1

Shire MS: shyre 1

Shock MS: shock 3, s^{h}ocks 1, chockes (n.) 1; PRINT: Shock 3

Shod MS: shodd 1; PRINT: Shod 4

Shoe MS: shooes 2 (F=1); PRINT: Shoo 7, Shooes 11

Sholder MS: sholder 266 (F=38), sholders 423 (F=72), shoulder 7, shoulders 20; PRINT: Shoulder 78, Shoul-|der 1, Shoulders 132, Shoul-|ders 7

Shoeing MS: shooinge 1; PRINT: Shooing 3, Shooings 1

Shoot MS: shootinge 1; PRINT: Shoot 1, Shooting 1

Short MS: short 2 (F=1), shorte 117 (F=30), shorter 29 (F=8), shortlye 1; PRINT: short 43, Shorter 11, shor-|ter 1, Shortly 1

Shortness MS: shortnes 1

Shorten MS: shorten 1, shortens 1 (F=1); PRINT: Shortens 1

Shot MS: shott 1; PRINT: Shott 1

Shotten-Herring MS: Shatten Hearinge 1, Shottēn Heringe 1; PRINT: Shotten-Herring 1

Should MS: shold 1, sholde 14, should 28 (F=27), shoulde 165; PRINT: should 82

Show MS: shew 9 (F=8), shewd 1 (F=1), shewde 27 (F=1), shewe 12, shewed 3 (F=1), shewes 11 (F=1), shewing 1 (F=1), showe 1; PRINT: shew 14, shewed 9, shewes 3, shewing 1, shews 2, show 1, shows 1

Shrewd MS: shrewde 1

Shrimp [horse's name] MS: Shrimpe 1

Shuffle MS: shuffle 1, shufflinge 1, shuflinge 1 (F=1); PRINT: Shuffling 2

Shun MS: shun 4 (F=4), shunde 1, shuñ 12, shuñed 1, shuñinge 3; PRINT: Shun 3, shuns 1

Shy MS: shie 1

Sicatrina PRINT: Sicatrina 1, Si-|catrina 1

Sick MS: sick 3; PRINT: Sick 7

Sickly MS: sicklines 1, sicklye 1; PRINT: Sickly 1

Sickness MS: sicknes 2; PRINT: Sickness 2

Side MS: side 259 (F=58), sides 27 (F=9); PRINT: side 68, Sides 17

Sideways MS: sidewayes 3, side wayes 13 (F=6), side-wayes 4, side ways 3; PRINT: sidewayes 1, Side[-wayes 1, Side-wayes 1, Side-ways 8

Sidney MS: sidneye 2; PRINT: Sidney 2

Sigh MS: sigh 2

Sight MS: sight 1 (F=1), sighte 14, sights 2; PRINT: Sight 8, Sights 2

Sigismond MS: Sigismonde 1

Sign MS: signe 5; PRINT: Signe 3

Signify signifies 1; PRINT: signifies 1

Signor MS: signior 21, signiore 2, signiurs 1, signore 1, sinior 2; PRINT: Signior 7, Signor 2

Signior [horse's name] PRINT: SIgniore 1

Silk MS: silke 1, sylke 1; PRINT: Silk 1, Silks 1

Silver MS: siluer 3; PRINT: Silver 2

Since MS: since 27; PRINT: Since 12

Sinew MS: sinewe 3, sinowe 1, sinue 2, sinewey 1; PRINT: Sinewy 3, Sinewy-Leggs 1

Simple MS: simple 5 (F=3), simpleste 1; PRINT: Simple 4

Sin MS: sinne 1; PRINT: Sins 2

Sing MS: singinge 1; PRINT: Singing 1

Single MS: cingle 1, single 36 (F=15); PRINT: Single 15, Single-Combat 2

Sink PRINT: Sink 1

Sir MS: s^{r} 7; PRINT: Sir 8

Sire MS: sier 1, siers 2; PRINT: Sire 1, Sires 2

Sister MS: sister 1

Sit MS: sitt 52 (F=8), sitting 2 (F=2), sittinge 19, sitts 4; PRINT: Sit 28, Sits 3, Sitting 9

Six MS: six 4 (F=3), sixe 15; PRINT: Six 11

Size MS: sise 1 (n.), sised (v.) 1

Skill MS: scill 5, skilfull 2, skill 2, skillfull 1; PRINT: Skill 4, Skilful 2

Skin MS: skiñ 3, skiñs 2; PRINT: Skin 9, Skins 2

Skip MS: skipp 1

Skittish MS: skitishe 2; PRINT: Skittish 2

Slack MS: slack 38, slacke 5 (F=4), slacker 9, slackes 12, slacking 1 (F=1), slacks 1, slackte 1 (F=1), slacte 3, slake 1, slakes 1; PRINT: Slack 11, Slacker 1, Slacking 2, slacks 3, slackt 2

Slacken MS: slackend 2 (F=2), slackens 2 (F=1), slakens 1; PRINT: Slacken 1, Slackens 1, Slackned 1

Slap-cover MS: slap-cover 1; PRINT: Slap-|Cover 1

Slave MS: slaues 2, slauishe 1

Sleek PRINT: Sleek 1

Sleep MS: sleepe 1; PRINT: Sleep 1

Slender MS: slender 5 (F=2); PRINT: slender 7

Slick MS: slick 1

Slide MS: slide 2, sliding 1 (F=1), slidinge 1; PRINT: Sliding 1

Slim MS: slim 1 (F=1); PRINT: slim 1

Slip MS: slip 2, slipp 3; PRINT: Slipping 1

Slope MS: slope 7 (F=4), slope wise 1, slopinge 1; PRINT: Slope 2

Slouch [horse's name] MS: Slouche 1

Sloven [horse's name] MS: Slouen 1

Slow MS: sloer 1, sloeste 1, slow 2 (F=2), slowe 2, slower 9 (F=1); PRINT: Slow 4, Slower 2

Small MS: smale 8, smalle 1; PRINT: Small 7

Smart MS: smarte 2, smartlye 1; PRINT: Smart 2, smartly 1

Smithfield MS: smithfeilde 1, smith-feilde 1; PRINT: Smithfield 1

Smooth PRINT: Smooth 1, Smoother 1

Snaffle MS: snaffle 3, snafle 5, snafles 1; PRINT: Snaffle 12, Snaf-|fle 1, Snaffles 1

Snowball [horse's name] MS: Snowe-Bale 1

Snuff MS: snuff 1

So MS: so 1363 (F=150), soe 6 (F=2), to 1; PRINT: so 499

Soap PRINT: Sope 6

Sob MS: sobb 1

Soever MS: soeuer 39 (F=5), so euer 3 (F=1), soever 1; PRINT: soever 11, so-|ever 1

Soft MS: softe 6 (F=2); PRINT: Soft 4

Softly MS: softlye 3; PRINT: Softly 2

Soil MS: soyle 2, soyled 2; PRINT: Soyl 4, Soyl-Time 1

Sold MS: solde 4; PRINT: sold 3

Soldat (Fr.) MS: Soldat 5, Soldate 1; PRINT: Soldat 2, Le Soldat [horse's name] 1

Soldier MS: solders 1 (F=1), soldier 6, soldiers 6; PRINT: Souldier 1, Souldiers 5, Soul-|diers 2

Soles MS: soles 1

Soleil (Fr.) MS: Le Sollelie 1

Solitary PRINT: solitary 1

Some MS: some 80 (F=10), somẽ 1, sum 1, sum̃ 20; PRINT: some 62, **Some** 1

Something MS: something 1 (F=1), somethinge 4, some|thinge 1, some thinge 4, somethi|nge 1, somthinge 1, sumthinge 5, sum̃ thinge 3; PRINT: something 6, some-|thing 1

Sometimes MS: sometimes 10 (F=3), some times 7 (F=4), some-times 2, somtime 1, somtimes 1, sumtimes 1, sumtimes 5, sum̃ times 2; PRINT: sometimes 19, some-|times 2, somtimes 3

Somewhat MS: somewhat 4, some what 1 (F=1), some-what 1, somewhate 1 (F=1), somewhatt 1, somwhat 1, somwhatt 1; PRINT: somewhat 11

Son MS: soñ 4, soñs 3; PRINT: Son 1, Sons 1

Soon MS: soone 32 (F=1), sooner 10 (F=5), sooneste 1, soune 1; PRINT: soon 20, sooner 6

Soppon [meaning unclear] MS: soppon 1

Soranses [not in *Collins* Kersey: 'a horse-disease.'] MS: sorenses 2, sorenseyes 1, sorenseys 1; PRINT: Sorrance 1

Sore MS: sores 1 (F=1)

Sorel MS: sorell 1, sorrell 1; PRINT: Sorrel 2

Sorry MS: sorye 1

Sort MS: sorte 2, sorted 1, sortes 6 (F=3); PRINT: Sort 2, sorts 7

Soul PRINT: Soul 1

Sound MS: sounde 5 (F=1); PRINT: Sound 9

Soundly MS: soundly 1, soundlye 25, sondlye 1; PRINT: soundly 8

Soutenes MS: soutenes 3

Soutenir (Fr.) PRINT: Soutenir 10, Sou-|tenir 1

Sovereign PRINT: soveraign 3

Space MS: space 10 (F=1), spaces 1, spase 2, spases 1; PRINT: Space 4

Spacious MS: spatius 1

Spain MS: spayne 28, spaynes 1, spayns 1; PRINT: Spain 20

Span MS: spañ 4

Spaniard MS: spanierd 1, spanierde 3, spanierdes 1, spanierds 6; PRINT: Spaniards 9, Spaniard 2

Spaniels MS: spañiells 1; PRINT: Spaniels 1

Spanish MS: spanishe 51; PRINT: Spanish 17, Spanish-horse 1; PRINT: Spanish 21, Spa-|nish 1, Spanish-Horses 1, Spanish-|Horse 1

Spare MS: spare 2

Special PRINT: special 2

Speak MS: speake 10, speakes 5 (F=1), speakinge 4; PRINT: Speak 5, speaking 4, Speaks 3

Spectacles MS: spectacles 5; PRINT: Spectacles 1

Spectators MS: spectaters 1; PRINT: Spectators 1 **Speech** PRINT: Speech 1

Speed MS: speede 1

Spend MS: spende 2

Spenser MS: spenser 2; PRINT: Spenser 2

Spent MS: spente 2

Spice [*Collins* def. 3. *rare*. A small amount.] MS: spice 1, spise 2; PRINT: spice 1

Spink [horse's name] MS: Spinke 1

Spirit MS: speritt 29 (F=2), speritts 6 (F=2); PRINT: Spirit 24, Spi-|rit 3, Spirits 4, Spi-|rits 1

Spite MS: spighte 4 (F=1); PRINT: spight 2

Spoil MS: spoyld (F=1) 9, spoylde 5, spoyle 17 (F=1), spoyled 6, spoyles 9; PRINT: Spoil 3, spoiled 2, spoly'd 1, Spoyl 7, Spoyled 1, spoyls 2

Spoke MS: spoke 2, spokeñ 1; PRINT: spoken 2

Sponge MS: sponge 1; PRINT: Spunge 3

Spoonful PRINT: Spoonful 2, Spoonfulls 1

Sport MS: sporte 2, sportes 1; PRINT: Sport 2

Spot [horse's name] MS: Spotts 1

Spouter [horse's name] MS: Spouter 1

Spring MS: spring 1 (F=1), springe 1; PRINT: spring 1, Springs 1

Sprinkle PRINT: Sprinkle 1

Spur MS: spur 2, spurde 5 (F=1), spured 1, spures 1, spurr 39 (F=3), spurrer 1, spurres 5, spurrs 108 (F=6), spurs 2; PRINT: Spur 11, Spurr 10, Spurrs 61, Spurs 10

Spurring MS: spuringe 1, spurring 2 (F=1), spurringe 5; PRINT: Spurring 3, Spurring 1

Square MS: sqar 1, sqare 1, squar 1, square 17, squares 3, squars 1 (F=1); PRINT: Square 1

Squire MS: Squier 1

Squirrel [horse's name] MS: Squerell 1

Squirt MS: squirte 2, squirtes 2, squirts 1; PRINT: Squirts 1

St PRINT: St 3

Stable MS: stable 16, stables 1; PRINT: Stable 12

Staffordshire stafforde shyre 1; PRINT: Stafford-shire 1

Staff PRINT: Staff 1

Stag MS: stagg 1

Stain MS: stayne 1

Staines (place) MS: Staynes 1; PRINT: Stains 1

Stairs MS: stayres 1; PRINT: Staires 1

Stake MS: stake 2 (F=1); PRINT: Stake 1

Stalks MS: stalkes 1

Stall-fed PRINT: Stall-Fed 1

Stallion MS: stalion 1, stallion 16, stlliones 1, stallions 12, stallioñ 7; PRINT: Stallion 17, Stallions 5

Stand MS: stande 19, standes 9 (F=2), standinge 3, stands 1; PRINT: Stand 5, Standing 3, stands 1

Standers by MS: standers bye 2; PRINT: Standers by 1

Star MS: starr 1, starrs 1; PRINT: Stars 1

Staring MS: staringe 2

Stark MS: starke 7; PRINT: stark 1

Start MS: startes 2, startinge 1; PRINT: Starts 1

Starve MS: starued 1, sterue 1

State MS: state 3, states 2; PRINT: State 2

Statesman MS: stats-mañ 1, statsmeñ 1; PRINT: States-Men 1

Stateswoman MS: states woemañ 1

Statue MS: statue 1 (F=1), statues 1; PRINT: Statue 1

Stature MS: stature 4, statures 1; PRINT: Stature 2

Staves MS: staaues 1, staues 1; PRINT: Staves 1

Stay MS: stay 9 (F=9), stayde 1, staye 53, stayen 1, stayenge 2, stayes 2, staienge 1; PRINT: stay 23, staying 2

Steadily MS: steadelye 4, stedelye 1; PRINT: Steadily 1

Steady MS: steady 3 (F=3), steadye 14; PRINT: steady 4

Step MS: stepps 3; PRINT: Steps 1

Sterling MS: starlinge 1, sterlinge 1

Stick MS: stick 12, stickes 3 (F=1), sticks 5; PRINT: stick 3

Stiff MS: stiff 39 (F=2), stiffe 1 (F=1), stiffer 3, stiffnes 1; PRINT: Stiff 9, Stiffer 1, Stifness 1, Stiff-necked 1

Stiffen MS: stiffens 3; PRINT: Stiffens 3

Stifling MS: stiflinge 1; PRINT: Stifling-Joynt 1

Still MS: stil 1, still 206 (F=26), stilleste 1; PRINT: still 58

Stitched MS: stitcht 1; PRINT: stitcht 1

Stir MS: sturr 2 (F=1)

Stirrup MS: sturope 8, sturopes 3, sturrope 22 (F=1), sturropes 1, sturropps 2 (F=2), sturrops 2; PRINT: Stirrup 2, Stirrups 9

Stock MS: stock 1

Stolen MS: stolen̄ 3, stollen̄ 1; PRINT: stolen 4

Stomach MS: stomacke 1, stom̄ack 1; PRINT: Stomack 1, Sto-|mack 1

Stone MS: stonde 4, stone 3, stones 3; PRINT: Ston 1, Stone 2, Stones 3, Stone-Horse 1, Stone-Horses 2

Stoney MS: stony 1; PRINT: Sto-|ney-Wayes 1

Stood MS: stood 1, stoode 3; PRINT: stood 1

Stoop MS: stoopes 1; PRINT: Stoops 1

Stop MS: stop 3, stopes 2, stopp 79 (F=2), stoppe 3 (F=3), stoppes 9 (F=1), stopps 6 (F=1), stops 1, stopte 4; PRINT: stop 51, Stopp 4, Stops 7, Stopt 3,

Stopping MS: stopinge 14, stopping 2 (F=1), stoppinge 39; PRINT: Stoping 1, Stopping 10, Stop-|ping 4

Store MS: Store 1

Stories PRINT: Sto-|ries 1

Storey [name] (?) MS: Stores 1, storye 1

Straddle MS: stradle 5, stradles 3, stradlinge 8

Straight MS: stayghte 1, straet 1, straight 6 (F=6), straighte 5 (F=5), straite 2, strayght 3, strayghte 8, strayte 82 (F=3), st^{r}ayte 1, straytes 1, streighte 1, streite 1, streyghte 3, streyte 9, strighte 1, PRINT: straight 37, strait 6

Straighten MS: straighten 1 (F=1), straightend 17 (F=17), straightened 1 (F=1), straightens 6 (F=6), straightned 1 (F=1), straitens 1, strayghtend 1 (F=1), strayghtens 1 (F=1), strayten 5, straytende 13, straytens 18, straytẽ 7, straytned 2, straytninge 1, strayttende 1, streytende 1, strightend 1 (F=1); PRINT: straighten 1, Straightens 3, Straightned 8, Straight-|ned 1

Straighter MS: strayter 3; PRINT: Straighter 1, straiter 1

Strain MS: strayne 1 (F=1), straynes 1, strayns 1; PRINT: Strain 2, Straining 1, strains 1

Strange MS: strange 12 (F=1), strangeste 1, strangleye 1; PRINT: Strange 7, strangely 2, strangest 1

Stranger MS: stranger 1, strangers 2; PRINT: Stran-|ger 1, Strangers 2

Strap MS: strapp 1; PRINT: Straps 1

Straw MS: strawe 8, straws 1; PRINT: Straw 6

Strawberries MS: Straberies 1

Street MS: street 3

Strength MS: strenge 1, strength 46 (F=12), strength 1, strenth 2; PRINT: Strength 43, Strengthning 1

Stretch MS: streatchte 1, stretch 2 (F=1), stretches 1, stretchte 2; PRINT: Stretch 2, Stretches 1, stretcht 1

Strict MS: stricte 2 (F=1), strictlye 2; PRINT: Strict 1, strictly 2

Stride MS: stride 1

Strike MS: stricke 7 (F=7), strickes 2 (F=2), strike 11 (F=2), strikes 4, strikinge 1; PRINT: Strike 13, Strikes 5, Striking 2

String MS: string 1 (F=1), stringe 1, stringes 5 (F=1), strings 1 (F=1); PRINT: String 1, Strings 4

Stripes MS: stripes 1

Strive MS: striue 3, striues 1 (F=1); PRINT: Strive 3

Stroke MS: stroke 6 (F=1), strokes 2 (F=2), strokinge 2; PRINT: Stroke 5, Strokes 2, Stroking 1

Strong MS: stornge 1, strong 18 (F=17), stronge 50, stronger 15 (F=5), strongeste 6 (F=3), strongleye 1; PRINT: Strong 39, Stronger 8, Strongest 5, Strongly 1

Struck MS: struck 1

Stubborn MS: stuborne 1, stuburnste 1

Study MS: studdeye 1, studdye 1, studie 2, studied 6, study 2, studye 9; PRINT: Studied 2, Study 7, Studyed 1

Stuffed MS: stuffte 1, stufte 1; PRINT: stufft 1

Stuffy MS: stuffye 1; PRINT: Stuffy 1

Stumble MS: stumble 2; PRINT: Stumble 2

Style MS: stile 1

Subject MS: subiecte 15 (F=3), subiected 16 (F=10), subiectes 1, subiects 5 (F=1), supiected 1, supiected 1; PRINT: Subject 7, Sub-|ject 2, Subjected 7, sub–|jected 1, Subjects 3

Subjection MS: subiection 1, subiectiõ 5; PRINT: Subjection 2

Subtle MS: subtle 2 (F=1), subtly 1 (F=1), sutle 2 (F=1); PRINT: subtil 1, subtile 1, subtle 1

Subtlety MS: subtlety 1 (F=1); PRINT: Subtilty 1

Such MS: such 54 (F=1), sutch 33; PRINT: such 44

Suck MS: suck 3, sucke 1 (F=1), suckes 1, suckinge 2; PRINT: Suck 2, sucking 1, sucks 1

Suckory PRINT: Suckory 3

Sudden MS: sudden 1, suddeñ 1; PRINT: Sudden 2

Suddenly MS: soudenlye 1, suddenly 1 (F=1), sudenlye 1; PRINT: suddenly 2

Suffer MS: sufer 1, suffer 18 (F=4), suffers 1; PRINT: suffer 9, Suf-|fer 2, Suffers 1

Suffering MS: sufferinge 1; PRINT: suf-|fering 1

Sufficient MS: suffitiente 4, suffitientlye 8, sufitientlye 1; PRINT: sufficient 5, Suffici-|ent 1, sufficiently 2, suffici-|ently 1

Sugar MS: suger 1 (F=1); PRINT: Sugar-Candy 1

Suits (v.) MS: shutes 1; PRINT: Sutes 1

Sumpters [*Collins*: a packhorse, mule, or other beast of burden. 14th c. from OFr. *sometier*.] MS: sumters 2; PRINT: Sumpters 2

Summer MS: sum̄er 7; PRINT: Summer 5

Sun MS: sun̄ 3; PRINT: Sun 1

Sunday MS: sundaye 1; PRINT: Sunday 1

Sunder MS: sunder 1 (F=1)

Superbe (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Superbe 2; PRINT: Superbe 2

Superfluity MS: superfluetes 1, superfluetie 2, superfluetye 1, superfluite 1; PRINT: Superfluities 1, Superfluity 2, su-|perfluity 1

Superfluous PRINT: Superfluous 1

Suply MS: suplie 1, suplye 1; PRINT: Supply 2

Supple MS: suplde 12, suple 92 (F=3), supled 8 (F=2), suplede 3, supler 1, suples 45 (F=6), suplinge 13, supple 1, souple 1; PRINT: Suppl 1, supple 37, Suppled 5, supples 13, Suppling 3

Suppleness MS: suplenes 1

Suppose MS: supose 3 (F=1); PRINT: suppose 1

Supposition MS: supotition 1

Supreme MS: supreame 2; PRINT: Supream 1, Supreme 1

Surcingle MS: sursingle 3, sursingles 1; PRINT: Surcingle 3, Surcingles 1

Sure MS: shure 36 (F=1), shurer 2, shureste 1, shurleye 1, sure 8 (F=2), sureste 2; PRINT: sure 24, Surer 1, surest 3, surely 2

Surfeited PRINT: Surfeited 1

Surly MS: surly 1, surlye 1

Surgion MS: surion 1; PRINT: Surgion 1

Surprised MS: surprised 2; PRINT: Surprised 1

Sustain MS: sustayne 8, sustayned 1, sustayninge 4

Swear MS: sweare 2; PRINT: Swear 1

Sweat PRINT: Sweat 1, Sweats 1

Swede MS: sweade 2, sweades 3, swede 1; PRINT: Swede 2, Swedes 1

Sweden PRINT: Sweden 1

Swedish MS: sweadishe 3, swedishe 1; PRINT: Swedish 2

Sweepstake [horse's name] MS: Sweepe Stake 1

Sweet MS: sweet 4, sweete 1; PRINT: Sweet 4, Sweet-Sallet-Oyl 1

Sweetness MS: sweetnes 2, swettnes 1

Swift MS: swifte 6 (F=2), swifter 3 (F=2), swifteste 1, swiftly 1 (F=1); PRINT: Swift 3, Swifter 2, Swiftest 1, Swiftly 1

Swiftness MS: swiftnes 5 (F=5); PRINT: Swiftness 4

Swim MS: swim̃ 1; PRINT: Swim 1

Swines MS: swines 1

Swiss (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Swiss 1; PRINT: Le Swiss [listed under names for Dutch horses!] 1

Sword MS: sorde 4, sords 1 (F=1); PRINT: Sword 6

Swordman MS: sorde mañ 1; PRINT: Sword-Man 1

Sworn MS: sworne 1

Syrup PRINT: Sirrup 6

Tail MS: tale 1, tayle 24, tayles 8; PRINT: Tails 1, Tayl 16, Tayles 3, Tayls 2

Taint MS: taynte 1; PRINT: Taint 1

Take MS: take 98 (F=9), taken 8, takeñ 7, takes 22 (F=2), takinge 5; PRINT: take 69, taken 8, takes 14, taking 3

Tale MS: Tales 1; PRINT: Tale 1, Tales 1

Talk MS: talke 14, talkes 2, talkinge 1, talkte 1; PRINT: Talk 7, Talks 1

Tall MS: tale 1, tall 1; PRINT: Tall 1

Tallow PRINT: Tallow 1

Tanner [horse's name] MS: Tañer 1

Tartary MS: tartarie 1; PRINT: Tartaria 1

Taught MS: taughte 10 (F=2); PRINT: Taught 2

Tawny MS: tawneye 1, tawny 2, tawnye 2

Teach MS: teach 17 (F=1), teaches 1, teaching 1 (F=1), teachinge 4, teatch 4; PRINT: Teach 10, Teacheth 1, teaching 2

Teacher MS: teatchers 2

Tedious MS: tedius 3, tetius 1; PRINT: Tedious 1, Tedi-|ous 1

Teeth MS: teeth 2; PRINT: Teeth 4

Tell MS: tell 54 (F=4), tells 2 (F=1); PRINT: Tell 41, Tells 1

Temper MS: temper 4, temperde 2, tempers 1; PRINT: Tempers 1

Temperate MS: temperate 12

Temperature MS: temperaturs 1; PRINT: Tempera-|tures 1

Tempet (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Tempest 1; La Tempeste 1

Temples PRINT: Temples 2

Tempo MS: Tempo 2; PRINT: Tempo 2

Temps (Fr.) PRINT: temps 1

Ten MS: teñ 11; PRINT: Ten 7

Tend MS: tendes 25 (F=18), tendinge 4, tends 1 (F=1); PRINT: tend 2, tends 2

Tender MS: tender 1; PRINT: Tender 1

Tennis MS: tenis 1, teñis 2

Tent MS: tente 1; PRINT: Tent 1

Tener (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Teñis Ferme 1; PRINT: Le Tenez-ferme 1

Terms MS: termes 1; PRINT: Term 1, Terms 1

Territories MS: teretories 1; PRINT: Terri-|tories 1

Terra MS: terr 2, terra 471 (F=115), terre 427 (F=1); PRINT: ter 1, Terra 178

Terrible (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Terible 1; PRINT: Le Terrible 1

Tethered MS: tederde 1; PRINT: Teddered 1

Than MS: thañ 2; PRINT: than 182

Thank MS: thanke 1, thankes 1; PRINT: thank 1, Thanks 1

That MS: thall 1, that 526 (F=198), *that* 1 (F=1), thats 11 (F=1), thatt 1210 (F=3), thatts 37 (F=1); PRINT: that 856

The MS: the 9481 (F=228), thee 4, ye 1 (F=1), y^e 1046 (F=1046); PRINT: the 3985, *the* 2

Their MS: thayre 1, their 224 (F=12), theire 1, theyr 11, thir 1; PRINT: their 195, Theirs 1

Them MS: tham 1 (F=1), them 55 (F=29), theme 2, themˉ 365; PRINT: them 297

Themselves MS: themselues 1 (F=1), them selues 2 (F=1), themselues 1, them̄ selues 11, then̄ selues 1; PRINT: themselves 13, them-|selves 2

Then MS: then 495 (F=108), then̄ 612, the*t*n 1; PRINT: then 289

Thence MS: thence 2; PRINT: Thence 1

There MS: theare 1, ther 354 (F=22), there 21 (F=17), thers 4, thayre 4 ['they're']; PRINT: ther 1, there 223

Therabouts MS: theraboutes 1, ther aboutes 1, therabouts 1; PRINT: there-abouts 2

Therefore MS: therefore 51 (F=50), therfor 7, ther*for* 1, therfore 283, ther|fore 1, ther fore 2, ther-fore 1; PRINT: therefore 112, There-|fore 8, threr-|fore 1

Therein MS: therin 2, theriñ 3

Therewith PRINT: therewith 2

These MS: thes 2, these 196 (F=22); PRINT: these 70

They MS: thay 3 (F=1), thaye 3, they 88 (F=48), theye 482; PRINT: they 420

Thick MS: thick 4; PRINT: Thick 11

Thigh MS: thies 1, thigh 4 (F=4), thighes 3, thighs 1 (F=1), thyes 1, thygh 1, thyghes 2; PRINT: Thigh 1, Thighes 4

Thin MS: thin 1, thineste 1, thiñ 6, thiñer 1; PRINT: Thin 5, Thinn 1, Thinner 1, Thinnest 1

Thing MS: thing 9 (F=8), thinge 114 (F=7), thinges 139 (F=8); PRINT: thing 81, things 61

Think MS: thinke 67 (F=6), thinkeing 1 (F=1), thinkes 30 (F=4), thinkinge 5; PRINT: think 45, Thinking 3, think-|ing 1, thinks 12

Third MS: thirde 14 (F=2), thirdly 1 (F=1), thirdlye 3; PRINT: third 10, Thirdly 1

Thirst PRINT: Thirst 1

Thirty MS: thirteye 3; PRINT: Thirty 6

This MS: this 707 (F=69); PRINT: this 230

Thither MS: thether 1; PRINT: thither 1

Thomas MS: Thomas 1; PRINT: Tho 1

Thorough MS: thorawe 1, thorowe 10; PRINT: Thorow 1

Those MS: those 166 (F=20); PRINT: those 82

Though MS: thoug 2, thouge 2, though 155 (F=14), thoughe 1; PRINT: though 73

Thought MS: thaught 1 (F=1), thaughte 5, thaughtes 4, thaughts 1, thoughte 2; PRINT: thought 5, Thoughts 2

Thousand MS: thousande 2, thousandes 20; PRINT: Thousand 7, Thousands 3

Threaten MS: threatẽn 1, thretens 1; PRINT: Threaten 1, Threatning 1

Three MS: thre 11, three 100 (F=17); PRINT: Three 80, Three-Soal'd 2, Three-Years 1

Threw MS: threwe 1; PRINT: Threw 1

Thrice MS: thrice 1, thrise 3; PRINT: thrice 4

Thrive PRINT: Thrive 2

Through MS: thoroye 1, through 1 (F=1); PRINT: through 4

Throw MS: throwe 8 (F=1), throwes 1, throwinge 1, throwne 8; PRINT: throw 3, Throwing 1, Thrown 7, Thrown-Down 1, throws 1

Thrush PRINT: Thrush 2

Thrust MS: thrust 1, thruste 32, thrustes 7, thrusting 1 (F=1), thrustinge 4, thrusts 1; PRINT: thrust 12, thrusting 1, Thrusts 2

Thumb MS: thumbe 1 (F=1); PRINT: Thumb 2

Thus MS: this 1, thus 337 (F=39); PRINT: Thus 93

Tickle MS: ticle 1; PRINT: Tickle 1

Ticklish MS: tuclishe 1

Tie MS: tide 2, tie 54 (F=17), tied 187 (F=23), tiede 1, tieing 11 (F=11), tienge 16, tye 6; PRINT: Tie 25, Tied 45, Tye 3, Tyed 19, Tying 7, Ty-|ing 1

Till MS: till 6; PRINT: till 5

Tilt MS: tilte 1; PRINT: Tilt 1

Time MS: time 299 (F=54), times 38 (F=2); PRINT: time 107, times 10

Timely MS: timleye 1; PRINT: timely 1

Timerous MS: timerous 1

Tinker MS: tinker 1; PRINT: Tinker 1

Tire MS: tier 1, tierde 4, tiered 1 (F=1), tiers 1; PRINT: Tire 1, Tyer 1, Tyre 1, Tyred 1

Tirer (Fr.) PRINT: tirer 1

Tis MS: tis 45 (F=6); PRINT: tis 7

Titbury [place] MS: titburie 1, titbury 1

To MS: to 3841 (F=414); PRINT: to 1513

Toe MS: toe 11 (F=2), toes 25 (F=5); PRINT: Toe 5, Toes 7

Together MS: toger 1, together 61 (F=6), to gether 3 (F=2); PRINT: together 33, To-|gether 3, toge—| ther 3

Told MS: told 7 (F=7), tolde 163;PRINT: told 62

Tom MS: tom̄ 2

Tome MS: tome 1

Tongue MS: tong 4 (F=3), tonge 16 (F=3), tonges 2 (F=2); PRINT: Tongue 19, Tongues 2

Too MS: too 5 (F=3), to 264 (F=24); PRINT: too 135, Too-violent 1

Took MS: tooke 4; PRINT: took 3

Top MS: topp 2 (F=1); PRINT: Top 1

Topping MS: toppinges 2; PRINT: Toppings 2

Torment MS: tormente 2, tormented 2, tormentinge 3; PRINT: tormented 1, Tormenting 1

Torn MS: torne 1

Toro(s) (Sp.) MS: Tauro 1; PRINT: Toros 1

Torture MS: torter 1, torture 1

Totally MS: totaleye 2, totally 1 (F=1), totalye 4; PRINT: totally 2

Touch MS: touch 16 (F=4), touches 1 (F=1), touching 1 (F=1), toutched 2; PRINT: touch 13, Touching 1, Toucht 1

Touchstone PRINT: Touch-Stone 1

Tough MS: tough 1

Tout MS: toute 7, touta 1, toutt 1; PRINT: tout 1, toute 1

Towards MS: toward 1 (F=1), towarde 3, towardes 98 (F=1), towa|rdes 1, towards 4 (F=3); PRINT: toward 1, towards 17, to-|wards 4

Towarder MS: towarder 1

Town MS: towne 5, townes 1; PRINT: Town 4, PRINT: Town-Bull 1

Toy MS: toye 1, toyes 6; PRINT: Toyes 5

Tractable MS: tractable 2

Trade MS: drade 1, trade 3, trades 2; PRINT: Trade 4, Trades 1

Tradesmen MS: trads-men̄ 1; PRINT: Trades-|Men 1

Trained MS: traynde 1; PRINT: Trained 1

Trample MS: trample 2, tramplinge 4; PRINT: Trampling 3

Transformation MS: transfo|mation 1

Transilvania MS: transiluania 1; PRINT: Transylvania 1

Translate MS: translated 1; PRINT: Translated 1, Translation 1

Translator MS: translator 1; PRINT: Translator 2

Travel MS: travelde 1, trauell 6, trauells 1, travell 1; PRINT: Travel 5, Travelled 1, Travelling 2, **Trauell** 1, Travel-|ling-Horse 1

Travellor MS: Trauelor 1

Tread MS: treade 1; PRINT: Tread 1

treakle PRINT: Treakle 1

Treat MS: treate 4, treated 1; PRINT: Treat 1, Treated 1

Treatise MS: treatise 1

Treaty MS: treatye 1; PRINT: Treaty 1

Trebocato MS: trebocato 1; PRINT: Tribacato 1

Tree MS: tree 2, trees 1; PRINT: Trees 1

Tregunill [name] MS: tregunill 1

Trench MS: trench 14, trenches 1; PRINT: Trench 13, Trenches 1

Trenchers MS: trenchers 1; PRINT: Trenchers 1

Trent PRINT: Trent 1, Trent-North 1

Trepigne MS: trepigne 3, trepignie 1; PRINT: Trepigner 1

Trick MS: trickes 1, tricks 5; PRINT: Tricks 5

Tripett [horse's name] MS: Tripett 1

Triumph MS: triumph 1; PRINT: Triumph 1

Trompeur (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Troumpur 1; PRINT: Le Troumpeur 1

Trot MS: trot 2 (F=2), trote 1 (F=1), trott 224 (F=26), trotted 1, trotting 2 (F=2), trottinge 27, trotts 5; PRINT: Trot 23, Trots 1, Trott 69, Trotted 1,

Trotting 7

Trot (Fr.) MS: Trott 1

Trouble MS: troublde 1, trouble 7 (F=1), troubled 2, troubles 1 (F=1); PRINT: trouble 3, troubled 2

Troublesome MS: trouble|sum̃ 1, troublsome 1; PRINT: Troublesome 1

Trounce MS: trounce 1, trounste 1

Trouse Ques [tackle which changes appearance of horse's tail] MS: Trouse Ques 1; PRINT: Trouse Ques 1

Trout [horse's name] MS: Troute 1

True MS: treue 1 (F=1), trew 1, trewe 155, trewer 1, treweste 5, true 18 (F=18), trewly 2, trewlye 32, truely 4 (F=4); PRINT: True 46, truly 16, Tru-|ly 1

Trumpet MS: trumpett 1, trumpetts 2; PRINT: Trumpet 1, Trumpets 1

Trust MS: truste 2, trusting 1 (F=1), trustinge 1; PRINT: trust 1, trusting 2

Truth MS: truth 76 (F=3), truthes 3, truths 1 (F=1); PRINT: truth 26, Truths 2

Try MS: try 1 (F=1), trye 4, trie 9, tried 2, trienge 2; PRINT: tried 1, try 5, Tryed 3, Tryes 1, Trying 2

Tumble MS: tumblde 1, tumble 1;

Tune MS: tune 2; PRINT: Tune 3, Tuned 3, Tuning 1

Tunis MS: tunis 1; PRINT: Tunis 1

Turk MS: turke 4, turkes 6, turks 2, turkishe 1; PRINT: Turk 4, Turkish 4, Turks 3

Turkey MS: turkeye 3; PRINT: Turkey 2

Turn MS: turnde 15, turne 642 (F=65), turned 6 (F=1), turnede 1, turnes 29 (F=1), turning 3 (F=2), turninge 23, turr 1; PRINT: Turn 193, Turned 6, turning 3, Turns 10

Turque (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Turke 1; PRINT: Le Turc 1

Tushes MS: tushes 5 (F=1); PRINT: Tushes 4

Tute [adj. tight?] MS: tute 1

Tutor MS: tutor 1

Tutto (It.) MS: Tutto 1; PRINT: Tutto 1

Twelve MS: twelue 1; PRINT: twelve 1

Twenty MS: twentie 3, twentye 3; PRINT: Twenty 5, Twenty Five 1, Twenty |Five 1, Twenty Four 1

Twice MS: twice 7 (F=1), twise 12; PRINT: twice 16

Twist (n.) [meaning not entirely clear] MS: twiste 8 (F=4); PRINT: Twist 6

Twittle-Twattle MS: twitle twatle 1

Two MS: to 2, tow 21, towe 41, two 153 (F=41), twoe 1; PRINT: two 117, *two* 1, Two-Years-old 2

Tyrant MS: tirante 1

Umbragious MS: ombraieioes 1; PRINT: Ombrageux 1

Unbrace MS: vnbrase 3; PRINT: unbrace 1

Uncertain MS: vnserteyne 1 (F=1)

Uncle MS: vncle 1

Uncomley MS: vncomleye 1, vncomlines 1; PRINT: Uncomly 1

Unconstrained MS: vnconstrainde 1

Under MS: vnder 57 (F=5); PRINT: under 27, un-|der 2

Underneath MS: vnderneath 1 (F=1); PRINT: Underneath 1

Understand MS: understand 1 (F=1), understandes 1, vnderstand 2 (F=2), vnderstande 25, vnder stande 1, vnderst|ande 1, vnderstandes 8, vnderstanding 4 (F=4), vnderstandinge 8; PRINT: Understand 11, Understanding 7, Under-|standing 2, Understands 4

Understood MS: vnderstode 2, vnderstood 1 (F=1), vnderstoode 1, vnder stoode 1; PRINT: understood 1

Undertake MS: vndertake 6, vndertakes 1; PRINT: Undertake 4, un-|dertake 2, Undertaking 1

Underwood [name] MS: Vnderwood 1

Undo MS: vndoñ 1; PRINT: Undo 1, Undone 1

Undressed MS: vndreste 1

Une (Fr.) PRINT: une 26

Unguent PRINT: Unguent 1

Unite MS: vnite 1, vnited 1, vnites 1; PRINT: Unite 1

Universal MS: uniuersall 1

University MS: vneuersetie 1, vneuerseties 1, vniuerseties 1

Unless MS: vnless 1; PRINT: unless 1

Unnatural MS: vnaturall 1, vnnaturall 5, vn̄naturall 1; PRINT: Unnatural 1, Un-|natural 2

Unorderly MS: vnorderlye 1

Unquietness MS: vnquietnes 1; PRINT: Unquietness 1

Unreasonable MS: vnresonable 1; PRINT: Irreasonable 1

Unruly PRINT: Un-|ruly 1

Unsettled MS: vnsetlde 1

Untie MS: vntie 1

Until MS: vntill 74 (F=5); PRINT: until 42, un-|til 2, untill 3

Unto MS: vnto 10 (F=1); PRINT: unto 6

Untowardly MS: vntoardlye 1

Unuseful MS: vn^{u}ffull 1, vnusefull 1; PRINT: unuseful 2

Unwilling MS: vnwillinge 1

Unwindes MS: vnwindes 1 (F=1)

Unworthy MS: vnworthye 1

Up MS: upp 2 (F=1), vp 2, vpp 206 (F=31), vppe 1 (F=1); PRINT: up 112

Upper PRINT: Upper 1

Upon MS: vpon 6 (F=3), vpon̄ 4, vppon 342 (F=153), vpp on 1 (F=1), vppon̄ 1049, vp pon̄ 2; PRINT: upon 471, up-|on 4, upun 1

Upright MS: vpp righte 1, vprighte 2

Upsets MS: vpsetts 3; PRINT: Up-sets 2

Upwards MS: vppward 1 (F=1), vppwarde 6, vppwards 1 (F=1), vpwarde 11, vpwardes 5; PRINT: Upward 1, Up-|ward 1, upwards 2

Urge MS: vrgde 2, vrges 1

Urine PRINT: Urine 1

Urselina (Fr.) MS: Vrselina (Fr.) 1, Vrsulina (It.) 1; PRINT: Urselino 1 [listed under names for Dutch horses]

Ury MS: ury 1?

Us MS: vss 3; PRINT: us 9

Use MS: use 6, used 2 (F=1), vsde 1, vse 129 (F=9), vsed 27 (F=4), vses 7, vsinge 3, youse 1; PRINT: use 88, used 16, uses 4, using 2

Useful MS: vsefull 12, vsefulleste 1; PRINT: Useful 11, Use-|ful 2, Usefull 1

Useless PRINT: Useless 1

Usual MS: vsuall 1; PRINT: usual 1

Utterly MS: vterlye 2, vtterlye 3; PRINT: Utterly 1

Vacation MS: vacations 1; PRINT: Vacations 1

Vagaries MS: vegaries 1

Vain MS: vayne 3; PRINT: vain 3

Vale MS: vale 1; PRINT: Vale 1

Valour MS: vallor 1; PRINT: Valour 1

Value MS: valewde 1, valewes 1; PRINT: Value 2

van Dyke MS: Vañ Dike 1; PRINT: Vandike 1

Vantage PRINT: Vantage 2

Vanity MS: vanety 2

Variety MS: varietie 1, varietye 4; PRINT: Variety 1

Various PRINT: Various 1

Vary MS: varies 2 (F=1), vary 1 (F=1), varye 1; PRINT: Varies 1

Vast MS: vaste 2 (F=1); PRINT: vast 3

Vault [*Collins*: *Dressage*. vb. to perform or cause to perform a curvet. n. ... a low leap; curvet. 16th c. from OFr. *voulter*.] MS: valte 2, valtinge 1, voltes, volte 9, volta 27 (F=2), voltae 1, voltaes 144 (F=28), voltas 11 (F=2), volte 1; PRINT: Vaulting 1, Voltoe 2, Voltoes 37, Vol-|toes 1

Vauntlet (name?) MS: Va^{n}tlett 1

Vegetables MS: vegetables 1

Veins PRINT: Veines 1, Veins 3

Velvet MS: Velvett 1

Venture MS: venter 1; PRINT: venture 1

Very MS: vereye 1, verie 6, very 36 (F=26), verye 261; PRINT: very 199

Vessel MS: vessell 1

Via Lactia (It.) [horse's name] MS: via Lactia 1; PRINT: Via Lactea 1

Vice MS: vice 27 (F=3), vices 3 (F=2), vise 4, vises 10; PRINT: Vice 18, Vices 9

Vicious MS: vitious 1 (F=1), vitius 9 (F=1), vitiusnes 3; PRINT: Vitious 13, Vi-|tious 1, Vitiousness 1

Viel (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Vellie 1; PRINT: La Vielle 1

View MS: vewe 1; PRINT: View 1

Villain (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le villine 1; PRINT: Le Vilain 1

Vindicate MS: vindicate 1, vindicative 1; PRINT: Vindicate 1

Violance MS: violence 3; PRINT: Violence 1

Violant MS: violante 2 (F=1), violantlye 1, violente 8 (F=1), violently 1 (F=1), violentlye 5, violonte 1; PRINT: Violent 6, Vio-|lent 1, Violently 3

Violets PRINT: Violets 3

Virtue MS: vertewe 1, vertues 1 (F=1), virtewe 2, virtues 1; PRINT: Vertue 1

Virtuoso MS: vertuoso 1

Viscount MS: viscounte 1; PRINT: Viscount 1, Vis-|count 1

Visit MS: visitt 1; PRINT: Visit 2

Vivacity MS: vivasetie 1

Viz PRINT: viz 1

Voice MS: voyce 7; PRINT: Voice 2, Voyce 3

Volant (Fr.) [horse's name] MS: Le Volante 1; PRINT: Le Volant 1

Volume MS: volume 1; PRINT: Volume 2

Vous (Fr.) MS: vous 4; PRINT: vous 3

Vow MS: vowe 1

Voyage MS: voyage 3; PRINT: Voyage 2

Vulgar PRINT: Vulgar 1

Wagon MS: wagons 1; PRINT: Waggons 1

Waist MS: warste 1

wait MS: wayte 5, wayted 1, waytes 1; PRINT: wait 3

Waken MS: waken 1, wakende 1; PRINT: Wakened 1

Walden MS: walden 1; PRINT: Walden 1

Wales MS: wales 2; PRINT: Wales 2

Walk MS: walke 119 (F=26), walked 1, walkeing 1 (F=1), walkes 1, walkinge 7; PRINT: Walk 31, Walking 2

Wall MS: wall 143 (F=20), walls 16 (F=1); PRINT: Wall 32, Walls 1

Walter MS: walter 2; PRINT: Walter 2

Waltzing [*Collins*: [no horsemanship definitions] ... 4. to move in a sprightly and self-assured manner. ... 18th c. [*sic.*] from German *Walzer.*] MS: walssinge 1

Wans [part of spurs] PRINT: Wans 1

Want MS: wante 10, wanted 3, wantes 1, wanting 1 (F=1), wantinge 96, wants 1 (F=1); PRINT: Want 3, wanted 3, Wanting 6, wants 2

Wanton PRINT: Wanton 1

War MS: warr 5, warrs 4; PRINT: War 4, Warrs 6, Wars 1, VVarrs 1

Wards PRINT: ward 3, wards 1

Ware MS: ware 1; PRINT: Ware 1

Warehouses MS: ware houses 1

Warm MS: warme 5; PRINT: Warm 3, Warmly 1, Warmth 1

Warn MS: warne 2, warninge 2

Warrant MS: warante 2, warente 1; PRINT: warrant 2

Was MS: was 153 (F=8); PRINT: was 121

Wash MS: washe 3, washinge 1; PRINT: Wash 18, Washed 2, Washing 1

Waste MS: waste 8, wastes 1; PRINT: Waste 2

Watchett [a yellow colour. Not in *Collins*] MS: watchett 4

Water MS: water 21, waterde 1, watter 1 (F=1); PRINT: Water 25, Wa-|ter 1, VVater 1, Watered 1, Waters 2, Water-Chain 1

Waterhouse [name] MS: Waterhouse 1

Watering MS: wateringe 1, watringe 2; PRINT: Watering-Bitt 4, Watering-|Bitt 1, Watering-Bitts 1

Waveke [place] MS: Waveke 1

Waving MS: wauinge 1; PRINT: Waving 1

Wax PRINT: wax 1, Waxeth 1

Way MS: way 41 (F=36), waye 306, wayes 41 (F=3); PRINT: Way 86, Wayes 11, ways 5, VVayes 1

We MS: wee 48 (F=2); PRINT: we 24

Weak MS: weake 57 (F=12), w^{e}ake 1, weaker 5 (F=3), weakeste 2 (F=1); PRINT: Weak 27, weaker 3, Weakest 2, Weak-Neckt 1

Weakens MS: weakens 1, weakeñ 1, weakned 1; PRINT: Weaken 1, Weakens 1

Weakness MS: weaknes 2; PRINT: Weakness 2

Wean MS: wayned 1; PRINT: Wean 1

Weapons MS: wepons 1; PRINT: Weapons 1

Wear MS: weare 102 (F=5), weares 1; PRINT: wear 2, wearing 1, Wears 2

Weary MS: wearie 1, wearye 3; PRINT: Weary 2

Weasel MS: Weesell 1

Weather PRINT: Weather 2

Web PRINT: Webb 5

Weed MS: weede 3

Week MS: week 1, weeke 4, weekes 3; PRINT: Week 4, Weeks 5

Weigh MS: wayenge 1; PRINT: Weigh 1, Weighs 3

Weight MS: waighte 3 (F=3), wayghte 5, wayte 8 (F=3); PRINT: waight 1, Weight 7

Welbeck [place] MS: welbeck 1

Welcome MS: welcome 2, welcoume 1

Well MS: *wel* 1, well 235 (F=8); PRINT: well 105, VVell 1, Well-Armed 1, well-chosen 1, Well-disposed 2; PRINT: Well-Markt 1, Well-|Shapt 1, Well-temper 1, Well-Tuned 1, Well-Winded 1

Welsh MS: welshe 1

Wenches MS: wenches 1; PRINT: Wenches 1

Went MS: went 1 (F=1), wente 20 (F=2); PRINT: went 14

Were MS: were 7 (F=5); PRINT: were 58

West MS: weste 2, weste|Indies 1; PRINT: West-Country 1, West-Friesland 1, West-|Indies 1

Wet MS: weatinge 1, wett 1; PRINT: Wett 3, Wetted 1

What MS: wha 1, what 68 (F=12), whatt 103; PRINT: What 83

Whatnot MS: what nott 1

Whatsoever MS: whatsoeuer 3 (F=1), what soeuer 28 (F=6), what|soeuer 5, what so euer 2 (F=1), what-soeuer 5, what soever 1, whattsoeuer 1, whatt soeuer 17, whatt|soeuer 2, whatt-soeuer 1; PRINT: whatsoever 24, what-|soever 1, whatso-¬|ever 1

Wheat MS: wheate 1; PRINT: Wheat 3, Wheat-Bran 2, Wheat-Brann 2, Wheat-Straw 1, Wheat-|Straw 1

Whelp MS: welpe 1, welpte 1, whelpes 2; PRINT: Whelps 1, Whelpt 1

When MS: when 326 (F=84), whẽ 325; PRINT: when 297

Whence MS: wence 1, whence 1; PRINT: Whence 3

Whensoever MS: whensoeuer 5, when|soeuer 1 (F=1), when soeuer 8 (F=5), whẽ soeuer 5; PRINT: whensoever 9, When-|soever 1

Where MS: wher 61 (F=1), where 20 (F=18); PRINT: where 47

Whereas MS: wheras 3, wher as 1, whereas 1 (F=1); PRINT: whereas 5

Whereby MS: wherbye 1; PRINT: Whereby 1

Wherefore MS: wherfore 3; PRINT: wherefore 1

Wherein MS: wherein 3 (F=3), wherin 2, wherĩ 14; PRINT: wherein 12, where-|in 3

Whereof PRINT: whereof 1

Wheresoever MS: wheresoeuer 1 (F=1), whersoeuer 2, wher soeuer 1; PRINT: wheresoever 2

Whereunto PRINT: where-|unto 1

Whereupon PRINT: Whereupon 1

Wherewith MS: wherwith 1; PRINT: wherewith 1, where-|with 1

Whether MS: weather 1, wether 47 (F=5); PRINT: Whether 11

Whey PRINT: Whey 1

Which MS: w^{ch} 1 (F=1), w^{c}h 117 (F=117), wh 28 (F=24), w^{h}1 (F=1), which 897, wich 1; PRINT: which 471

While MS: while 12, whille 1 (F=1), whyle 14; PRINT: while 10

Whilst MS: whilst 1, whilste 6; PRINT: whilest 1, whilst 3

Whip MS: whip 4, whipp 6, w^{h}ipp 1, whippes 1, whipps 2; PRINT: Whip 1, Whipps 1, Whips 2, VVhip 1

Whirligigs MS: whirlegiges 1; PRINT: Whirlegiggs 1

Whisk MS: whiske 8 (F=2); PRINT: Whisk 5

Whisp MS: wispe 1; PRINT: Wisp 1

Whistling MS: whistleing 1 (F=1); PRINT: Whistling 1

White MS: white 16, whyte 2; PRINT: White 12, White-Star 1, White-Wine 1

Who MS: who 1, whoe 6; PRINT: who 21

Whole MS: whole 13; PRINT: whole 8

Wholesome MS: holsome 1

Whom MS: whoeme 1; PRINT: whom 7

Whoring MS: hooringe 1

Whose PRINT: whose 4

Whosoever MS: whoe soeuer 1; PRINT: whoso-|ever 1

Why MS: whie 1, why 9 (F=1), whye 32; PRINT: why 13

Wide MS: widd 1 (F=1), widder 3 (F=3), wide 57 (F=3), widens 3, wider 10 (F=3), wideste 2; PRINT: Wide 2, Wider 4

Wideness MS: widdnes 2 (F=2)

Wild MS: wilde 2

Will MS: will 678 (F=69); PRINT: wil 2, will 349, wills 1

Will [name] MS: Will 1

William MS: william 2; PRINT: William 3

Willing MS: willinge 1, willinglye 3; PRINT: willingly 1, Wil-|lingly 1

Willy MS: willeye 3

Win MS: wiñ 3; PRINT: Win 1

Wind MS: winde 7, winded 2, windes 1; PRINT: Wind 8, PRINT: Winded 1, Winds 1

Windmill MS: winde mills 1, winde|mills 1; PRINT: Wind-Mill-Sayls 1

Winter MS: winter 7, winters 1; PRINT: Winter 8, Win-|ter 1, Winter-Galloping 1

Wipe MS: wipe 1; PRINT: Wipe 1

Wire MS: wier 1; PRINT: Wyre 2

Wisdom MS: wisdome 5 (F=1); PRINT: Wisdom 2

Wise MS: wise 10 (F=2), wiser 2, wiseste 5, wisleye 3; PRINT: Wise 7, wiser 2, Wisest 4, wisely 3

Wish MS: wish 1 (F=1), wishe 10; PRINT: wish 9

With MS: with 1056 (F=12), withe 1, w^{t} 1 (F=1), w^{t}h 156 (F=156), wth 1 (F=1); PRINT: with 539

Withall MS: withall 15, w^{t}hall 2 (F=2); PRINT: withal 7, withall 1

Withers MS: withers 2; PRINT: Withers 1

Within MS: withen 1, within 48 (F=1), with^{in}*oute* 1, withiñ 195, with*oute*^{in} 1, w^{t}hin 43 (F=43); PRINT: within 64, with-|in 1

Withond ['withond him' = beyond? meaning unclear] MS: withond 1

Without MS: without 1 (F=1), withoute 194 (F=1), with oute 1, witho|ute 1, w^{t}hout 26 (F=26), w^{t}h out 1 (F=1), w^{t}h|out 1 (F=1); PRINT: without 85, with-|out 9, with$^{\mathbf{out}}$ 1

Wit MS: witt 8; PRINT: Wit 1

Witty MS: witteye 1; PRINT: Witt 2, Witty 1

Wives MS: wiues 1; PRINT: Wives (gen) 1

Woeful MS: woefuleste 1, woefull 2; PRINT: Woful 1, Wo-|ful 1, Wofullest 1

Women MS: woemeñ 1; PRINT: VVomen 1

Wonder MS: wonder 6 (F=1); PRINT: wonder 7, won-|der 1

Wonderful MS: wonderfull 1, wonderfully 1, wonderfullye 1; PRINT: wonderfully 1

Wool MS: wool 1; PRINT: Wool 3, Woollen 1, Wollen 1

Woo MS: woe 1; PRINT: Woo 1

Worcestershire MS: wostershyre 1; PRINT: Worcester-shire 1

Word MS: worde 10, wordes 1; PRINT: Word 4, Words 2

Work MS: worke 199 (F=22), workeing 8 (F=8), workes 110 (F=20), wo$^{\mathrm{r}}$kes 1 (F=1), working 4 (F=4), workinge 59, workinges 1, works 1; PRINT: Work 77, *Work* 1, working 30, works 56

World MS: world 8 (F=8), worlde 128; PRINT: world 79, VVorld 1

Worms PRINT: Wormes 1, Worms 2

Worn PRINT: worn 1

Worse MS: worse 17 (F=12); PRINT: worse 6, VVorse 1

Worship MS: worship 1

Worst MS: worste 15 (F=1); PRINT: Worst 12

Worth MS: worth 14 (F=1); PRINT: worth 12

Worthily MS: wortheleye 1; PRINT: worth 12, Wor-|thily 1

Worthy MS: worthy 1, worthye 3; PRINT: worth 12, worthy 1

Would MS: would 28 (F=26), woulde 234; PRINT: would 155

Wrangle MS: wrangle 1, wranglinge 2; PRINT: wrangle 1

Wright [name] MS: Wrighte 2; PRINT: Wright 2

Wrinkle PRINT: Wrinckle 1

Wrist MS: wriste 5; PRINT: Wrist 1

Write MS: *r*writes 1, write 8, writinge 2 (F=1), writt 26, written 2, writtẽ 2; PRINT: Writ 12, Write 7, VVrit 2, Written 3

Writer MS: writers 5; PRINT: Writers 6

Writings MS: writinges 2; PRINT: Writings 1

Wrong MS: wrong 11 (F=11), wronge 23; PRINT: Wrong 8

Wrote PRINT: wrote 1

Wrought MS: wraught 3 (F=2), wraughte 33 (F=9), wroughhte 1, wroughte 5; PRINT: wrought 18

Wry (v.) MS: Wrie 1 (F=1); PRINT: Wry 1

Yard MS: yardes 2; PRINT: Yard 2, Yards 1

Year MS: yeare 12, yeares 48 (F=7), years 3; PRINT: Year 9, Years 41, Yearings 2

Yellow MS: yallowe 13, yellowe 2; PRINT: Yellow 1

Yield MS: yelde 3, yeldes 1; PRINT: Yield 1, Yeeld 2

Yet MS: yett 141 (F=13); PRINT: yet 69

Yolks PRINT: Yolks 1

York MS: yorke 2; PRINT: York 1

Yorkshire MS: yourke shyre 1; PRINT: York-shire 1

You MS: you 1917 (F=157), yoy 1; PRINT: you 823, you| 2

You'll MS: youle 4

Young MS: young 3 (F=3), younge 29 (F=1); PRINT: Young 18, Younger 1, Young-Horses 1

Younker (Du.) [horse's name] MS: Younker 1; PRINT: Younker 1

Your MS: yo^{r} 72 (F=72), your 890 (F=3), youre 1, yours 1; PRINT: your 362, *your* 1, Yours 3

Yourself MS: yo^{r}selfe 1, yo^{r} selfe 1, ^{your}m selfe 1, your selfe 9, your|selfe 3, you selfe 1; PRINT: your Self 2

Youth MS: youth 2; PRINT: Youth 3

Appendix B

Uncanonical Verbal Inflexions

–s Inflected 3rd Person Plural verbs

Cramped Hand

All references are to PwV21 unless otherwise specified.

ASTONISH f.86^{r}'Stronge helpes astonishes a weake Horse,'

—— f.108^{r} 'for stronge helpes [...] astonishes a weake Horse,'

AUGMENT f.57^{r} 'All Ayrs augments, their Coller, [& depriues them̄ ...]

BACK f.76^{v} 'our Countrye Riders, thatt backs Coltes...'

BELONG f.27^{r} 'what Belonges to Leaping horses according to y^{e} old opinion, Are these,– ...'

—— f.94^{r} 'none Eyther knowes The helpes thatt belonges to Itt & whatt operatiōn they haue ...'

—— f.153^{v} 'all the mares that belonges to that towne'

BRING f.162^{r} 'those thatt bringes Barberies oute'

CALL f.59^{r} 'some cales'

CARRY f.57^{r} '[all those...] caris their fore legges tute'

COME f.62^{v} 'Corections coumes after faltes'

—— f.108^{r} 'Corections Coumes affter faltes'

—— f.127^{v} 'hinder legges Coumes to the Grounde'

—— f.131^{v} 'these falshoodes coumes by helpinge'

—— f.142^{v} 'sholders Coumes Iñ to much'

—— f.142^{v} 'iff his sholders Coumes iñ to much'

—— f.155^{r} 'manye Barbs Coumes oute'

CONDUCE f.184^{r} 'all of them conduses moste Exselently'

CONFIRM f.154^{v} 'manye others Confirmes itt,

COVER f.167^{v} 'whēn the Asses Couers anye mares'

DEPRIVE f. 57^{r} '[All Ayrs augments, their Coller,] & depriues them̄ off memorye & obedience.'

DO f.151^{v} 'his Sholders does nott'

FETCH f.47^{r} 'hande whipps & all–whipps off wier fetches bloud'

FLY f.99^{v} 'his hinder partes flies the Center'

—— f.99^{v} 'his fore partes flies the center'

FOLLOW f.81^{r} 'qustions [*sic.*] thatt followes.'

—— f.175^{r} 'his hinder partes flies Itt'

—— f.116^{v} 'his other legges followes'

—— f.127^{r} 'hinder legges followes'

—— f.131^{r} 'hinderpartes followes'

—— f.137^{v} 'forr parts followes'

FOUNDER f.163^{v} '[they] founders'

GIVE f.153^{v} 'their fathers giues them̄'

GO f.48^{v} 'for Horses thatt goes En Soldat,'

—— f.56^{r} 'his forepartes goes Vpp'

—— f.56^{r} 'his hinder partes goes downe'

—— f.56^{r} 'his fore partes goes downe'

—— f.56^{r} 'his hinder partes goes vpp'

—— f.94^{v} 'his hinder legges goes Equalye'

—— f.108^{r} 'helpes ... goes before'

—— f.112^{r} 'halfe his sholders goes alwayes before'

—— f.116^{v} 'Indeed all Horses goes beste'

—— f.118^{r} 'halfe his sholders goes befor'

—— f.125^{r} 'hinder partes goes before his fore partes'

—— f.127^{r} 'his hinder legges goes vnder his bellye'

—— f.136^{r} 'his legges goes much falser'

—— f.147^{v} 'forr partes Goes before his hinder partes'

—— f.149^{v} 'howe his legges Goes for a Gallope'

—— f.150^{r} 'howe his legges goes'

—— f.150^{v} 'all horses goes Juster'

—— f.151^{v} 'his legges goes wronge'

—— f.157^{r} 'Hinder partes, & forr partes goes together'

—— f.160^{r} 'iff some Horses goes iñ Ayres'

—— f.162^{r} 'horse coursers [...] goes Into Englande'

—— f.170^{r} 'no Horses goes better theñ his Horses'

—— f.170^{v} 'howe his leggs Goes'

—— f.173^{v} 'halfe his sholders goes'

—— f.173^{v} 'his hinder legges goes vnder his bellye'

—— f.173^{v} [as above]

—— f.173^{v} [as above]

—— f.178^{v} 'his Sholders goes before'

—— f.178^{v} 'his leggs goes Cross'

—— f.179^{r} 'whеñ his sholders goes oute'

—— f.180^{v} 'when the Cheekes goes vpp'

—— f.183^{r} 'wether his Sholders goes before'

—— f.186^{r} 'fore partes goes allwayes'

—— f.197^{r} 'the cheekes goes In to the Turne'

—— PwV22: f.5^{r} 'those that Goes to all these places'

—— PwV22: f.10^{r} 'his foreparts goes Alwayes before'

—— PwV22: f.10^{v} 'Ayre Horses Goes Iñ'

—— PwV22: f.3 ^{r} 'all his legges goes cross like a Trott'

GOVERN f.181^{r} 'which cheekes Gouernes Barrs'

LEAD f.53^{v} 'his Inwarde legges leades'

—— f.55^{r} 'those legges hee leades withall'

—— f.91^{r} 'the other legges leades'

—— f.99^{v} 'Horses forr partes leades'

—— f.99^{v} 'hinder partes leades'

—— f.116^{v} 'Inwarde legges leades'

—— f.131^{r} 'his fore partes leades'

—— f.132^{r} 'fore partes thatt leades'

—— f.137^{v} 'his hinder partes leades'

LIGHT f.56 ^{r} 'his fore legges lightes together att a time'

—— f.56^{r} 'hinder legges lightes together'

—— f.70^{v} 'feete lightes before the printe'

LOVE f.179^{v} 'Hye Germans, loues Horses well'

MAKE f.53^{r} 'his speritts makes him̄ well winded'

—— f.86^{r} 'Stronge helpes [...] makes a restye more restye & makes a dull Horse duller, makes a furius Horse madd & makes a stronge Horse goe to much vppon the Back, & Counter times.'

—— f.88^{v} 'the Bitt makers makes them̄ to longe'

—— f.108^{r} 'for stronge helpes makes a restie Horse more Restye [...], makes a stronge Horse goe to much on̄ the Back & Sholders & to goe a Counter Time, makes a furius Horse madd,...'

—— f.112^{v} 'Ayres makes him̄ butt more'

—— f.150^{r} 'his forr partes makes the largest Circle'

—— f.166^{v} 'their Speritts makes them̄ goe'

—— f.167^{v} 'those men̄ which makes a trade off Itt'

—— f.177^{v} 'all these thinges makes him̄ verye much vppon̄ the hanches'

—— f.187^{r} 'his hinder legges makes the Greater'

—— f.192^{r} 'for the spurres makes a horse more restie'

—— f.194^{v} 'Coruetts makes a horse...'

—— f.195^{r} 'butt leapes makes him̄ harder'

—— PwV22 f.12^{v} 'his hinder Leggs makes the Greate Circle'

—— PwV22 f.2^{r} 'which those helpes makes Itt'

MEET f.165^{v} 'stringes meetes att the Ende'

PREACH f.160^{v} 'though many preaches as theye thinke'

REST f.105^{r} ‹hanches *cheekes* restes Vppon his breste'

—— f.1176^{r} 'Cariers Horses Restes Christmas'

RUB f.179^{v} 'Groomes neuer Rubbs a Horses legges well'

SAY f.160^{v} 'some sayes'

—— f.164^{r} 'younge Gallantes sayes'

—— f.175^{v} 'Some sayes ageñ'

—— f.179^{v} 'Some Sayes theye are'

—— PwV22 f.3^{r} 'Some sayes Iñ Terre a Terre'

SETTLE f.82^{v} 'those Ayres setles'

—— f.169^{v} 'Iñ Coruetts which setles'

—— f.194^{v} 'Coruettes *&* Pesates, settles a horse heade'

STAND f.159^{v} 'So you see thinges Standes nott att a Staye'

STRIKE f.56^{v} 'hinder legges strikes'

—— f.56^{v} [as above]

—— f.70^{r} [as above]

TAKE f.164^{v} 'the Spanierds takes delighte Ītt'

—— f.194^{v} 'Impatiences & Aprehentions takes a waye his memoreie'

TELL f.167^{v} 'others tells mee much more'

—— f.99^{v} '[forr partes leades & therfore] tendes to the Center'

—— f.99^{v} '[hinder partes leades, & therfore] tendes to the Center'

THINK f.64^{v} 'To Serue Ignorante Mens turnes, that thinkes theye knowe'

—— f.81^{v} 'Princes thatt thinkes them selues Graste'

—— f.86^{r} 'Horse-meñ litle thinkes of sittinge'

—— f.160^{v} 'for the Englishe thinkes'

UNDERSTAND f.169^{r} 'fewe vnderstandes'

UNDERTAKE f.159^{r} 'all Vndertakes Itt'

WASTE f.68^{v} 'narowe lessons, dulls, & wastes their Speritts'

Fair Hand

CALLS f.27^{r} 'y^{e} French Calls Nowe Le Quillett'

COME f.12^{v} 'his fore parts leades & comes In'

—— f.20^{v} 'three Leggs Comes'

—— f.38^{r} 'those branches that Comes backe'

DISCHARGE f.39^{v} 'those oliues [...] Discharges them'

FLY f.10^{r} 'hinder parts flyes ill'

—— f.10^{v} 'hinder parts Flyes y^{e} Center'

—— f.12^{v} [as above]

—— f.12^{v} 'fore Parts flyes y^{e} Center'

—— f.12^{v} 'hinder parts flyes y^{e} Center'

—— f.13^{r} 'foreparts flyes y^{e} Center'

—— f.13^{v} 'hinder parts flyes y^{e} Center'

—— f.30^{r} 'fore parts ... flyes y^{e} Center'

FOLLOW f.4^{r} 'Butt firste of y^{e} naturall Paces that Heere folows'

—— f.5^{v} 'hinder legges followes'

—— f.7^{r} 'hinder leggs Followes'

—— f.19^{v} 'fore parts followes'

—— f.30^{r} 'his fore parts follows'

—— f.32^{r} 'hinder partes followes'

—— f.32^{r} 'foreparts followes'

GIVE f.26^{r} 'Coruetts Giues them patience'

—— f.30^{v} 'The Cauatzaine raynes giues y^{e} bent or Ply'

—— f.39^{v} 'those oliues [...] Giues Liberty ...'

GO f.7^{r} 'fore partes goes vpp'

—— f.10^{r} 'fore-Parts goes towards y^{e} Center'

—— f.11^{v} 'sholders goes before his croupe'

—— f.15^{v} 'his sholders goes'

—— f.20^{r} 'when his sholders goes before'

—— f.20^{r} [as above]

—— f.20^{r} 'His Leggs Goes Cross'

—— f.28^{v} 'Comonly Horses goes In that Ayre'

—— f.36^{r} 'so many of their leaping horses, goes between the Pillers'

HAPPEN f.40^{v} 'those thinges neuer happens'

LEAD f.10^{v} 'his fore parts leades'

—— f.12^{v} 'hinder parts leades'

—— f.12^{v} 'fore parts leades'

—— f.12^{v} ' hinder parts Leades'

—— f.12^{v} 'Fore parts Leades'

—— f.12^{v} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{v} 'his foreparts Leades'

—— f.13^{v} [as above]

—— f.22^{r} 'His hinder parts Leades'

—— f.29^{v} 'his fore partes Leades'

MAKE f.4^{r} 'wh his Leggs makes Cross'

—— f.10^{v} 'foreparts makes y^{e} greater Circle'

MOVE f.5^{r} 'his hinder Leggs moues at y^{e} same time'

PUT f.40^{v} 'Euer putts out their tonges'

TEND f.10^{v} '[his fore parts leades and therefore] tendes to y^{e} Center'

—— f.12^{v} '[his hinder Parts Leades, & therefore] tendes to y^{e} Center'

—— f.12^{v} '[fore parts leades,] & tendes to y^{e} Center'

—— f.12^{v} '[fore parts leades, & therefore] tendes to y^{e} Center'

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{r} [as above]

—— f.13^{v} [as above]

—— f.13^{v} [as above]

THINK f.26^{v} 'those that thinkes'

—— f.37^{v} 'liveing Horsemen, that thinkes them selues wise'

TOUCH f.5^{v} 'His fore Legges touches y^{e} Ground'

1667

BEAR Sig.^{r} (p268) 'A Horse's Croup, or Hanches, bears nothing...'

BELONG Sig. 4A^{v} (p274) 'What belongs to Leaping Horses [...] are these things:'

BREED Sig. 2I2^{r} (p123) 'Moist Feeding, and Exercise, breeds great corruption:'

CALL Sig. 3S2^{r} (p251) 'The French calls this Passadoe, Releve;'

COME Sig.4R2^{r} (p339) 'all Horses that ever comes into your Hands;'

—— Sig.3S2^{v} (p344) 'those Branches that comes Back to his Neck'

DEPRIVE Sig.4S^{r} (p293) 'all Ayres augment their Collers, and deprives them of Memory and Obedience.'

DISCHARGE Sig.4T2^{v} (p348) 'and Discharges them;'

DO Sig.4I2^{r} (p307) 'Therefore the Spurs does the Business.'

DRESS Sig.3C^{v} (p190) ''Tis the Hand and the Heels that Dresses Horses,'

—— Sig.3E^{v} (p198) 'but a good Hand, and good Heels, which only Dresses Horses;'

FAIL Sig. *** (p004) 'the hand and the Heel ... and never fails me.'

FLY Sig.3I^{r} (p213) 'his Hinder–Parts flies it'

GIVE Sig.4T2^{v} (p348) 'those Olives [...] gives Liberty for his Lips,'

—— Sig.3Z2 ^{v} (p272) 'Corvets gives them patience'

GO Sig.3T2^{r} (p255) 'half his shoulders goes...'

—— Sig.H^{r} (p25) 'That, and the Bagg, goes together;'

GOVERN Sig.2X2^{r} (p171) 'which Cheeks Governs Barrs and Curb;'

HAPPEN Sig.4U^{v} (p350) 'those things never happens'

HELP Sig.4E^{r} (p289) 'there is no Leggs that Helps him'

KEEP Sig2.K^{v} (p126) 'his Fore–Feet keeps him from'

LEAD Sig.4E^{r} 'leave his Croup free to follow his Fore–parts that Leads.'

LEAP Sig.4M ^{v} (p318) 'First, for their Horses that Leaps over Hedge and Ditch,'

LET SIG.3E^{v} (p198) '[a good hand & good heels]...seldom lets a fault escape'

MAKE Sig.D2^{r} (p11) 'makes him leight before'

—— Sig.D2^{r} (p11) 'and makes him Stop upon the Hanches,'

—— Sig. *** (p004) 'the Hand and the Heel, which makes them all Perfect,'

—— Sig.3D^{v} (p194) 'these three several Helps with the Rod, makes your Horse to Croop,...'

—— Sig 3I^{r} (p213) 'his Hinder Parts being put Out thus, makes him Gallop Right'.

MEET Sig.H^{r}] 'all the Strings meets at the End'

MOVE Sig.2P2^{v} (p148) 'his Hinder Leggs Moves at the same Time'

PRAY Sig.U^{r} (p73) 'And when any of their Sons come to be Men, then their Fathers give them Two Sutes of Armes, with Two Cymeters, and one of these Horses, and Prayes to God to Bless them;'

PUT Sig.D2^{r} ([p11) 'and puts him upon the hanches'...

—— Sig.4G2^{v} (p300) 'and those Lessons puts out his Croup'

—— Sig. 4H2^{r} (p303) 'and both Leggs puts him Forward,'

REST Sig.4M2^{r} (p319) 'because the Branches rests upon'

RISE Sig.3M2^{r} (p227) 'for many Horses Rises Restily'

SETTLE Sig.D2^{r} (p11) 'Corvets, and other Ayres, settles a Horse very well'...

SHOW Sig 2F^{r} (p109) 'That Gray Haires shewes Age'

SPRING Sig.S^{v} (p66) 'Their Colts at two Years old Springs their Mares,'

THINK Sig.4M2^{v} (p320) 'they are Deceived that thinks otherwise.'

NB Sig B2 recto (page 3) plural verb used where now we would use singular form: 'These three aforementioned French–men ... fill'd France with French Horsemen; which before were fill'd with Italians.'

Again, plural form used where now we would use singular form in Sig.3X verso: 'And this is that which none either knows, or have thought of;'

(ii): Plural Verbs Ending With –th Inflection

The MSS: PwV21 and PwV22

DOTH

C: 47^{r}: 'as Spurrs doth;'

C: 57^{r}: 'almoste all those which doth manege lowe before'

C: 57^{v}: 'Capriolls doth nott bringe'

C: 74^{r}: 'all the reste off the Etaliañ Aughters [...] doth the Like.'

C: 96^{v}: 'theñ the Raynes doth no good,'

C: 99^{r}: 'the beholders doth nott perseaue'

C: 162^{v}: 'neyther Indeed doth theye knowe Horses,'

C: 170^{r}: 'goes better theñ his Horses doth;'

C: 177^{v}: 'Thus doth the Horses fore–partes goe'

C: 183^{v}: 'which none off the other wayes doth'

C: 192^{r}: 'rewardes & flateries doth.'

C: 195^{r}: 'Coruettes sertenly doth assure'

C: 195^{r}: 'butt Caprioles doth nott so'

C: PwV22 4^{v}: 'your stallion or mares doth Conduce to Itt'

C: PwV22 6^{v}: 'for all meñ doe nott danse a like nor doth nothinge a like,'

C: –1: 'his Sholders doth nott bende Enough,'

HATH

28^{v}: 'horse men hath nothing To doe'

75^{r}: 'all Aughters thatt hath writteñ off'

78^{v}: 'our greate masters hath troubled them selues'

82^{v}: 'good Horse–Meñ hath much a doe to make themm goe'

113^{r}: 'his Hanches hath nothinge to beare butt his Tayle'

113^{r}: '& his sholders hath his heade & his Neck,'

153^{r}: 'the late warrs Iñ Naples hath Ruinde the kinge of Spayns Race'

158^{v}: 'manye Sweades hath been heer'

159^{r}: 'both nations & Riders of those Nations hath Rid my Horses heer'

159^{v}: 'Thus you see Italeye hath loste their Latiñ for Horse–mañship or Else theye neuer had much'

166^{v}: 'thatt theye haue Ill feet tis trewe some hath, & so haue all Countrye Horses'

175^{r}: 'his hinder legges [...] hath a Joynte more'

179^{r}: 'God & nature hath ordaynde'

PwV22 16^{r} 'whence all Ayrs [...] hath their Juste Begiñinges.'

1667

DOTH

Sig.2L^{r} (p.129): 'makes him Go upon his Heels, as Pumps doth a Man;'

Sig.3K^{v}(p.218): 'Horses doth nothing but by Custon,'

Sig 3Q2^{r}(p.243): 'Thus doth the Horses Fore–parts go'

HATH

Sig.T^{r}(p.69): 'the last Warrs in Naples hath Ruined the King of Spain's Race'

Sig.3Z^{r} (p.269): 'his Shoulders hath his Neck and Head to Bear,

Sig.4B^{r} (p.277): 'Horse–men hath nothing to do in making Leaping Horses'

Sig.4D^{r} (p.285): 'the Ground that his Fore–parts hath got'

Sig.4D^{v} (p.286): 'the Ground that his Hinder–parts hath got;'

Sig.4M^{v} (p.318): 'some Horse men hath been so foolish'

Sig.4U2^{v} (p.352): 'Our great Masters hath troubled themselves'

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