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Dictionaries and Vocabularies in Spanish and English from 1554 to 1740: Their Structure and Development

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Résumé

La lexicographie moderne apparaît à la Renaissance, à la suite du renouveau de l'enseignement qui s'est étendu à toute l'Europe. Ce renouveau suscite l'élaboration de grammaires, de dictionnaires et de vocabulaires qui, grâce à l'imprimerie, deviennent faciles d'accès et circulent désormais plus largement par l'entremise des voyageurs et des marchands. L'intérêt pour l'étude des langues vernaculaires s'intensifie et stimule la compilation de listes de vocabulaire dans les langues modernes. La lexicographie bilingue espagnol-anglais, notamment, occupe une place de choix dans l'enseignement dispensé dans l'Angleterre des Tudor. La présente étude historique et comparative examine douze ouvrages lexicographiques et leurs vingt-deux éditions publiées à Londres entre 1554 et 1740. L'hypothèse du travail est celle de contribution de la structure des premiers ouvrages lexicographiques espagnol-anglais, de nature alphabétique et thématique, et de leurs discours de présentation aux principes de compilation suivis par les lexicographes et aux objectifs de leurs travaux. La recherche a d'abord conduit à une typologie structurelle des ouvrages qui révèle peu de changements dans l'organisation générale des vocabulaires thématiques, mais par contre le passage des grammaires de leur position privilégiée par rapport aux dictionnaires à une place subordonnée. À l'instar des grammaires, les produits lexicographiques remplissent une fonction pédagogique, mais leurs auteurs ne suivent pas les mêmes approches. Ensuite, les thèmes abordés sont métalexicographiques, métalinguistiques ou extralinguistiques, les premiers étant les plus fréquents dans les produits lexicographiques alphabétiques et thématiques. Finalement, le travail présente un nouveau panorama de la lexicographie bilingue espagnol-anglais du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle, qui comprend, pour la première fois, les compilations alphabétiques et thématiques, et les relations qui les unissent.

Mots-clés : lexicographie bilingue espagnol-anglais, lexicographie historique, métalexicographie

Abstract

Modern lexicography originated during the Renaissance, with the revival of learning that spread throughout Europe. The revival of learning stimulated the compilation of grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies which, thanks to printing, were more easily available and circulated among travellers and merchants, reaching larger audiences. Interest in the study of vernacular languages also increased and promoted the compilation of word lists in modern languages. Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, in particular, is an important chapter in the history of the teaching of Spanish in Tudor England. This historical and comparative study is based on twelve wordbooks and twenty-two editions published in London between 1554 and 1740. The general question that this study tries to answer is this: what can the structure of the early alphabetical and topical Spanish and English wordbooks and their outside matter texts tell us about the principles of compilation lexicographers followed and about the purpose of their works? The investigation led, first, to a structural typology of books showing how the overall organization of topical vocabularies changed only slightly, while the relative position of grammars and dictionaries was reversed. Together with grammars, lexicographical products serve a pedagogical function, but not every author follows the same pedagogical approach. Second, topics discussed are metalexicographical, metalinguistic or extralinguistic. Of these three types, the first one is the most common in both alphabetical and topical lexicographical products. Finally, an updated panorama of early Spanish and English bilingual lexicography is presented, one that includes for the first time both alphabetical and thematic compilations and their interrelationships.

Keywords: Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, historical lexicography, metalexicography

Table of Contents

A mis padres

Acknowledgments

Introduction

Historically, the forces giving rise to lexicographic activity are related to several fields of endeavor, such as politics, commerce, education, and translation. Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, in particular, is part of the history of teaching Spanish in England, a practice that started in Tudor times. The Renaissance brought about the decline of Latin and the gradual rise of vernaculars. The increasing interest in the study of vernacular languages themselves promoted the compilation of dictionaries and vocabularies in modern languages that appeared with dialogues, grammars, model letters, and religious texts. Traditionally, the two most important methods of compilation in lexicography are the alphabetical and the topical. A varied terminology has been applied to both types of lexicographical products; in this study, however, *wordbook* will be used as a general term to refer to both types of reference works, following McArthur (1986b). Moreover, speaking of *Spanish and English lexicography* will refer to bilingual works that may have a Spanish-English part and/or an English-Spanish part.

During the second half of the twentieth century, a series of studies was published that signaled the emergence of metalexicography; lexicography developed from the craft of compiling reference books to include a new branch, namely, the scholarly field of the theory of lexicography. In 1970, professor Roger J. Steiner published his seminal book on the history of the Spanish and English lexicography from 1590 to 1800. Steiner's study deals with the dictionaries by Richard Percyvall (1591), John Minsheu (1599, 1623), John Stevens (1706-05, 1726), Pedro Pineda (1740), Hippolyto San Joseph Giral del Pino (1763), Giuseppe Baretti (1778 et seq.), and Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins (1798-97). He also briefly discusses the dictionary by John Thorius (1590), the first edition of the topical vocabulary by William Stepney (1591), and the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary that Minsheu added to his 1617 polyglot dictionary. The emphasis is on the alphabetical tradition, where Steiner establishes a recension or lineage of works, each of which contains material from the preceding one, starting with Percyvall (1591) and ending with Connelly and Higgins (1798-97). At the time Steiner published his book, two anonymous wordbooks (1554) which were unknown to him had just been recorded by Roberts (1970) and are nowadays considered the earliest specimens of Spanish and English lexicography.

Historical overviews published after 1970 have followed Steiner's and some case studies have supplemented aspects not studied by him.

The original purpose of our study was to concentrate on the content of prefatory texts of early Spanish and English dictionaries to explore the topics lexicographers discussed and to see if they explained their practice, something which has previously been virtually unnoticed. As our documentation and research progressed, it became clear that there are inaccuracies and contradicting facts about the early dictionaries and vocabularies, including discrepancies concerning editions, number of entries, content of the word list, and their interdependency. It also became obvious that scholars concentrate primarily on dictionaries and very little research has been devoted to the topical tradition. Furthermore, the overall structure and organization of works has not been taken into consideration nor has it been the object of exegesis. Finally, preliminary analysis and comparison of dictionaries revealed that some of Steiner's conclusions need revision; these aspects are discussed in the body of this dissertation. As a result, the original purpose of our research changed and led to a more general question: what can the structure of the early alphabetical and topical Spanish and English wordbooks and their outside matter texts tell us about the principles of compilation lexicographers followed and about the purpose of their works?

It was, therefore, necessary to widen the scope of our comparative and historical study to include both topical vocabularies and dictionaries Steiner studied briefly or not at all. The diachronic frame of the study covers from the two anonymous wordbooks of 1554 up to the 1740 dictionary by Pedro Pineda. In fact, our corpus comprises every major or minor Spanish and English bilingual wordbook produced between 1554 and 1740, alphabetically or topically arranged. We study only general wordbooks (dictionaries, short vocabularies and nomenclators), and exclude specialized and abridged ones. Wordbooks studied in detail for the first time here are the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554), the short dictionary by Lewis Owen (1605), the second and third editions of William Stepney's vocabulary (1619, 1620), the two editions of Felix de Alvarado's nomenclator (1718, 1719), and the two editions of John Stevens' vocabulary (1725 and 1739). As a rule, no multilingual works are included, with the exception of Minsheu's 1617 polyglot dictionary,

the *Guide into the Tongues*, and its binding companion, the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English (and Sometimes Other Languages)*. These works are included because a discussion of them leads to a better and fuller understanding of Minsheu's lexicographical practice and because they influenced subsequent bilingual dictionaries. The potential relationships between the 1617 two-part volume by Minsheu, subsequent editions of the polyglot dictionary only (1625, 1626 and 1627), and the Stevens dictionary of 1706-05 are also discussed here for the first time. We also provide a fuller analysis than Steiner's of the 1590 Thorius dictionary, the 1591 edition of Stepney's vocabulary, and Minsheu's *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* of 1617.

The method is inductive, starting with an analysis of each work in the corpus and then comparing it to preceding works in order to arrive at a structural typology of wordbooks and a classification of topics discussed therein. Sections dealing with each particular wordbook are organized as follows: discussion begins with introductory remarks on the author's life and work as well as the genesis and compilation of the dictionary or vocabulary in question. It should be mentioned that three rare items (two "prospectuses" and one set of "proposals") pertaining, respectively, to the printing of the two editions of Minsheu's polyglot dictionary (1617 and 1625) and the first edition of Stevens' dictionary (1706) are studied here for the first time. Following the exploration of sources, the megastructure of the work is presented and the outside matter texts are inventoried. Then, the macro- and microstructures are studied and compared to those of previous works. To make a comparison of the dictionaries possible, samples from the beginning, middle, and final parts of the dictionary were taken. These samples also allow us to verify the prevailing ideas about a particular work. Short dictionaries (e.g., Thorius and Owen) and topical vocabularies (e.g., Stepney and Stevens) are studied in their entirety, but it was necessary to take a sample from Alvarado's larger nomenclator. When little or no research exists on a particular work, a description is made based on aspects such as alphabetization, capitalization, use of articles, pronunciation (accents), and the microstructural data. The study of the front and/or back matter texts comes last and provides a comparison of the subjects in the front matter of a particular wordbook with those in the others. This makes it possible to clarify the interrelationships between the wordbooks, as well as the evolution of

the organization and principles of compilation. The analysis of the front matter show how the work was conceived and organized according a particular point of view. Concluding remarks finish the discussion of each work.

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. In the first one, the development of lexicography and the emergence of the new field of the theory of lexicography (or metalexicography) are presented, followed by a discussion of such fundamental concepts as *megastructure, macrostructure, microstructure,* and *outside matter* and its subdivisions. These concepts make a uniform description of the constituent parts of reference works possible. Chapter two presents the literature review, where the first half is devoted to the works of Roger Steiner and the second to other literature in the field, including bibliographies, electronic resources, and important scholarly publications. The statement of the problem as outlined above is presented in the third chapter, which includes the rationale, corpus, and objectives. The content of chapter four is historical: the role and influence of Antonio de Nebrija's works on modern lexicography and on Spanish and English lexicography in particular are explained. This is followed by an overview of the sociopolitical factors that led to the publication of the first wordbooks linking Spanish and English during the second half of the sixteenth century. Chapters five, six and seven deal with the corpus proper; wordbooks have been classified first according to the century when they were published and then in order of publication of their first edition. Thus, the two anonymous wordbooks of the mid-sixteenth century, together with those by John Thorius, Richard Percyvall, William Stepney and John Minsheu are discussed in chapter five (works from the sixteenth century); the short dictionary by Lewis Owen and the polgyglots by Minsheu are studied in chapter six (works from the seventeenth century). Finally, the dictionary by John Stevens, the topical wordbooks by Felix de Alvarado and Stevens himself, and the dictionary by Pedro Pineda are examined in chapter seven (works from the eighteenth century).

In the section devoted to the general conclusion, the historical circumstances that led to the beginning of Spanish and English lexicography are summarized. A typology of wordbooks based on their core structure and peripheral texts is presented. The evolution of each type of structure is traced following the basic distinction between topical and

alphabetic wordbooks. The structural evolution of the outside matter is followed by a classification of the topics discussed by lexicographers in the prefatory texts. The chart at the end of this section presents a comprehensive and updated panorama of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. The bibliography is divided into two sections: the first part lists the wordbooks and the second books, articles, conference papers, and electronic resources on Spanish and English lexicography and related subjects.

Finally, a few notes on the text. Extensive examples have been provided to illustrate in the best possible manner the relevant features of dictionaries and vocabularies. Examples and quotations have been reproduced as accurately as possible, retaining their punctuation and original spelling with the following exceptions: long *s* (ſ, ʃ) has been changed into short *s*, and *β* into *ss*. Boldface is used in examples to highlight features and square brackets to indicate ellipsis. We have also followed the conventions in Kate Turabian's *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (1996) regarding inclusive numbers, abbreviations, and Latin words. Unless otherwise indicated, when lists of entries are given to compare two or more word lists, entries are listed following the order of the most recent word list, which as a rule is the one being discussed and placed first from the right margin of the page.

1) General Survey of Dictionary Research

1.1) Lexicography and metalexicography

Traditionally, lexicography has been defined in narrow terms, as the practice of compiling and writing dictionaries. This brief definition raises a certain number of questions. Is lexicography simply a practice or is it also, as Landau (2001) claims, an art and a craft? Does it include other activities related to the production of dictionaries, such as planning, editing, and revising? Are only dictionaries, and not other types of reference works, studied by lexicographers? Lexicography is a complex activity; it involves planning, data compilation, writing, editing, publishing, and marketing. It is much more than merely mechanical, demanding creativity and craftmanship along with familiarity with underlying theoretical principles to guide the practice. As Kirkness (2004, 56) writes, the definition of lexicography comprises such terms as *art*, *craft*, *process*, and *activity* "to emphasize the high degree of human knowledge, insight, judgement and skill required to produce the text of a successful reference work designed to be of practical use and benefit in real-life situations." Finally, alphabetically-arranged word lists are certainly not the only type of reference works to come under the realm of lexicography.

As a craft, lexicography has existed in various cultures for more than 4000 years, from the first word lists written on clay tablets to modern computerized databanks and online dictionaries. Historically, the forces giving rise to lexicographic activity are related to several fields of endeavour, including commerce, politics, education, religion, sciences, linguistics, language planning, and communication sciences. Interest in lexicography and its products has increased greatly over the last two decades as a result, in part, of international commerce, tourism, foreign language teaching, and the existence of international organizations. There are also scientific reasons that have contributed to this increased interest: the study of the lexicon has become essential in linguistic theory, foreign language teaching methods, and information science. Furthermore, the computer is now widely applied to lexicographical work, which has led not only to new compilation technologies and formats of reference works, but also to the use of lexicographic work in

new fields, such as machine translation. The horizons of lexicography have been extended to such a point that, as Hausmann et al. (1989, xvii) and Hartmann and James (1998, vi) indicate, since the end of the 1970s a more global academic field concerned with dictionaries and other reference works has emerged. It is thus appropriate to provide a more comprehensive definition of lexicography, such as the following by Svensén (1993, 1):

> Lexicography is a branch of applied linguistics which consists in observing, collecting, selecting, and describing units from the stock of words and word combinations in one or more languages. In cases where two or more languages are involved simultaneously, the description takes on the nature of a comparison between the vocabularies of the languages in question. Lexicography also includes the development and description of the theories and methods which are to be the basis of this activity. This part of the subject is sometimes called *metalexicography* [...].

Svensén (1993, 1-2) also makes a useful distinction between *lexicography* and other terms that frequently occur together with it, namely, *lexicology* and *semantics*:

> The terms 'lexicology' and 'lexicography' are often regarded as synonymous. It can also happen that the term 'lexicology' is perceived as being equivalent to lexicographic theory, or that lexicography is regarded as part of lexicology. [...] [L]exicology is regarded as the branch of linguistics which deals with the study of vocabulary, its structure, and other characteristics. This refers first of all to the meanings of words and the relationship between meanings (semantics). To this can be added the study of the formation and structure of individual words (word-formation or morphology). Thus defined, lexicology is not the same as lexicography or lexicographic theory, nor does the term represent a wider concept, of which lexicography constitutes only a part. [1]

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[1] Rey-Debove (1971, 13) provides a clear distinction between dictionary making and lexicology. The differences between lexicography, lexicology and semantics are discussed by Casares (1950, 50 ff.); Fernández et al. (1984, 137-41); Martínez de Sousa (1995, s.vv. *lexicografía, lexicología,* and *semántica*); and Hartmann and James (1998, s.vv. *lexicography, lexicology,* and *semantics*). In Spanish, the terms *lexicografía teórica* and *metalexicografía* are synonyms; see the corresponding entries in Martínez de Sousa (1995).

A similar position is adopted by Hausmann (1988b, 80-1), for whom metalexicography, although a part of lexicography, should not be considered a branch of lexicology or even of linguistics since it is a discipline that goes beyond purely linguistic factors:

> La méta-lexicographie déborde le domaine de la lexicologie non seulement en ce sens qu'elle doit intégrer d'autres disciplines linguistiques, jusques et y compris la phonétique, mais encore dans la mesure où elle est obligée de quitter bien souvent le domaine de la linguistique pour se pencher par exemple sur la biographie d'auteurs et d'éditeurs, pour se familiariser avec les sciences du livre, voire le commerce et la distribution en librairie, sans parler de l'impression ou de la typographie.

Although some scholars consider lexicography a branch of linguistics, for others lexicography has developed into an interdisciplinary field of knowledge with its own principles and practices, into a professional activity and academic field that, while making use of the findings of other disciplines, remains an independent scientific discipline. As Hartmann and James (1998, vi) explain:

> Lexicography [...] is sui generis, a field whose endeavours are informed by the theories and practices of information science, literature, publishing, philosophy, and historical, comparative, and applied linguistics. Sister disciplines, such as terminology, lexicology, encyclopedia work, bibliography, terminography, indexing, information technology, librarianship, media studies, translation and teaching, as well as the neighbouring disciplines of history, education, and anthropology, provide the wider setting within which lexicographers have defined and developed their field.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the epistemological status of lexicography and metalexicography has been a matter of debate. For instance, in a paper dealing with the relation between dictionary making and the theory of lexicography, Atkins (1992-1993, 4), proposes "to interpret the term *theoretical lexicography* in the very general sense of 'a body of theory related to lexicography'," and drawing inspiration from the title of Landau (1984), "to define lexicography as 'the art and craft of dictionary-making'." The theory of lexicography may be considered a part of lexicography, as Hausmann (1989b, 80) and Svensén (1993, 1) maintain, or lexicography can be seen solely as the practical activity of

dictionary-making, distinct from its theorization, as Wiegand (1984, 13), one of the pioneering scholars in the field, writes:

> Lexicography was never a science, it is not a science, and it will probably not become a science. Scientific activities as a whole are aimed at producing theories, and precisely this is not true of lexicographical activities. We must bear in mind that writing on lexicography is part of meta-lexicography and that the theory of lexicography is not part of lexicography.

The scope of the theoretical component mentioned by Svensén has been widened to include the possibility of dictionary research, that is, metalexicography, without actually being involved in the compilation of reference works. Thus, lexicography now includes two branches: lexicographic practice (or lexicography understood in a narrow sense, as the craft of dictionary making) and the scholarly field of the theory of lexicography (or dictionary research). The boundaries between these two basic divisions are fluid, but while the former places emphasis on the product – dictionaries and other reference works – the latter implies that it is possible to work in lexicography without actually compiling dictionaries. In this study lexicography will be understood as comprising both branches: the art and practice of compiling dictionaries according to a system of principles and methods, as well as a second trend within the discipline, whose importance has become increasingly recognised, namely, the theory of lexicography or metalexicography.[2] According to Hausmann et al. (1989, xvii), metalexicography or the theory of lexicography is:

> [A] scientific discipline which studies dictionaries, their forms, structures, and uses; their criticism and history, their position in society; the methodology and procedures of their compilation, and their underlying theoretical stances. [...]

> Since this discipline has a homogeneous object of study, clear perspectives, its own methodology; since it can offer a body of scientific knowledge presented in a way of its own, it can be considered a scientific body of thought on its way to development into a separate scientific discipline. Lexicography as practice and the theory of lexicography have a common goal, namely to foster the effective use of dictionaries.

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[2] See the panel "Lexicography: Theory and Practice" in Hartmann and James (1998, 86), s.v. *lexicography*.

1.2) Component parts of reference works

The theory of lexicography deals with dictionary research; it involves the study of the structure, typology, criticism, history, and uses of dictionaries and other reference works. In the words of Hausmann (1989, 216), one of the most important scholars in the field,

> Si on appelle *lexicographie* la pratique scientifique qui a pour but de confectionner un dictionnaire [...], on pourra appeler *métalexicographie* toute activité qui fait du dictionnaire un objet de réflexion et de recherche mais, qui, elle-même, ne vise pas à la production de dictionnaires.

Concerning the origin and evolution of the academic field of metalexicography, Béjoint and Thoiron (1996, 5) explain that, since the 1960s, the theory of lexicography has undergone extraordinary development. Although research on metalexicography did indeed exist before then, there is general agreement among scholars nowadays to consider the conference held at Indiana University in 1960 (Householder and Saporta, 1967) and Quemada (1967), as turning points in the history of metalexicography in English and French respectively. For the Spanish language, the pioneering work in monolingual lexicography is that of Casares (1950). Pioneering works also include Bruno Migliorini's *Che cos'é un vocabulario?* (1946), Robert-Léon Wagner's *Les vocabulaires français* (1967), Georges Matoré's *Histoire des dictionnaires français* (1968), Jean and Claude Dubois' *Introduction à la lexicographie* (1971), and Helmut Henne's *Semantik und Lexicographie* (1972). Hausmann (1989, 221-2) explains:

> Si la première moitié du 20e siècle a connu un certain nombre de travaux importants sur l'histoire des dictionnaires, [...] elle n'a laissé que peu de réflexions théoriques. Jusqu'en 1966, Casares 1950 et Migliorini 1946 étaient restés les seuls textes introductifs dans le monde occidental. Or, cette situation change brusquement aux alentours de 1970, surtout en France, où entre 1967 et 1971 paraissent cinq livres importants (Wagner 1967, Quemada 1967, Matoré 1968, Dubois/Dubois 1971, Rey-Debove 1971) [...] Mais le tournant est également marqué par la parution, en langue anglaise, du *Manual of Lexicography* (Zgusta 1971) ou, en Allemagne, par la grande thèse métalexicographique de Henne 1972. Depuis, un essor mondial de la

métalexicographie n'a cessé d'être sensible dans de nombreux pays, menant entre autres à la fondation de deux sociétés lexicographiques, la Dictionary Society of North America (DSNA) fondée en 1975, mais dont le nom actuel date de 1977, et l'Association européenne de lexicographie (EURALEX).

In other words, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence and rapid development of the theoretical aspects of lexicography, concerned not simply with the design and compilation of reference works but also with the theoretical foundations of dictionary research, an academic field devoted to the typology, history, and criticism of dictionaries and other reference works. As mentioned in the previous section, the reasons that account for this development lie in the growth of international activities such as commerce and politics, in linguistic factors such as the reintroduction of the lexicon in linguistic theories and foreign language teaching, and, last but not least, in the extraordinary development of computers.

Although a unified theory of lexicography does not exist, two terms – *macrostructure* and *microstructure* – introduced by Josette Rey-Debove in 1971 make possible the systematic description and analysis of the structural components of the dictionary word list. Rey-Debove (1971, 20) distinguished between two constituent elements in a dictionary:

> La plupart des dictionnaires présentent des messages formés de deux parties : un élément linguistique [...] suivi d'un énoncé auquel il donne accès et qui s'y rapporte, constituant l'information explicite. L'élément linguistique s'appelle *entrée*, l'ensemble de l'entrée et du texte constitue un *article*. L'entrée est traditionnellement distinguée de la suite par un caractère typogaphique différent : la séparation entre les deux parties de l'article est toujours nette.

Accordingly, dictionaries contain two distinct structures:

> On appellera *macrostructure* l'ensemble des entrées ordonnées, toujours soumise à une lecture verticale partielle lors du repérage de l'objet du message. On appellera *microstructure* l'ensemble des informations ordonnées de chaque article, réalisant un programme d'information constant pour tous les articles, et qui se lisent horizontalement à la suite de l'entrée

(l'ordre des informations permet, au mieux, une consultation interne). On gardera le terme de microstructure pour un programme n'ayant qu'un type d'information. La macrostructure est couramment nommée *nomenclature.* (Rey-Debove 1971, 21)

The previous terminology has been adapted in modern metalexicographical studies. For example, in their survey of the component parts of a general monolingual dictionary, Hausmann and Wiegand (1989, 328-9) provide the following formulation of Rey-Debove's terminology, using the terms *lemma* (also *entry word* or *headword*) and *dictionary article* for the French *entrée* (or *vedette*) and *article*:

> Roughly speaking the ordered set of all lemmata of the dictionary forms the *macrostructure* [...] The lemma and the whole set of information items which are addressed to the lemma, form the *dictionary article* [...] Roughly speaking, the structure of information within the article is called the *microstructure* [...] In the classical conception of the microstructure [i.e., that of Rey-Debove], the lemma does not belong to the microstructure.

In Rey-Debove's classical conception, "the microstructure of a dictionary article is the total set of linearly ordered information items following the lemma" (Hausmann and Wiegand 1989, 340).

Although there is consistency in the way the terms *macrostructure* and *microstructure* are used by scholars, the synonymy in the terminology of lexicography relating to terms such as *lemma, headword, entry,* and *article* should be mentioned; this synonymy is also found in Spanish (see Martínez de Sousa 1995, s.v. *entrada*). As can be seen in Robinson (1983, 81), and Hausmann and Wiegand (1989, 328), *lemma, headword,* and *entry word* are often used as synonyms. On the other hand, in their dictionary of lexicography, Hartmann and James (1998) establish a difference between *headword* and *lemma,* the former being "a word or phrase which is chosen for the lemma [...]" and the latter "the position at which an entry can be located and found in the structure of a reference work". In a later publication, Hartmann (2001, 174) defines the headword as the "typographically marked canonical form of a word or phrase which is chosen for the position in the dictionary structure where the entry starts." Thus, for these authors, these

two terms are not synonyms. Be that as it may, Hartmann and James (1998, s.v. *lemma*) nevertheless recognize the existing confusion between the two terms:

> Some authorities favour including all information preceding the definition within the notion of the lemma, i.e. all 'formal' items such as spelling, pronunciation and grammar, while others use the term as synonym for 'headword' or even the whole entry.

Hartmann and James (1998, s.vv. *article*, *entry* and *reference unit*) establish a further distinction between *article*, the reference unit in an encyclopedia, and *entry*, the reference unit in a dictionary.

In this study of dictionaries and vocabularies in Spanish and English, the terms *macrostructure* and *microstructure* will be understood as follows: the macrostructure is the set of all headwords $(x_1...x_n)$ in a word list and the microstructure is the set of properties $(p_1...p_n)$ describing a particular headword. The headword, as Hartmann and James (1998, 67, s.v. *headword*) note, "constitutes an important link between the macrostructure and microstructure." Here, the term *entry* refers to the unit formed by a headword and its properties and *word list* to the complete set of entries of a work. The word list, therefore, is the sum of the macrostructure and the microstructure of a particular lexicographical work. The two concepts introduced by Rey-Debove provide two perspectives from which the structure of dictionaries can be studied. In the words of Geeraerts (1989, 295, original italics),

> *[T]heoretical lexicography should systematically explore the relationship between the possible macro- and microstructural choices made by the lexicographers, and the justification of these choices on the basis of the functional purposes to be served* [...].

In the Western lexicographical tradition, an alphabetical organization of the macrostructure is by far the most widespread. There are, however, other ways of ordering headwords: for example, thematically, etymologically, or by frequency. The two most important traditions or methods of compilation are the alphabetical and the thematic (or

topical). Problems arise in naming the resulting lexicographical products. Terms such as *dictionary, vocabulary, glossary*, etc. are historically fuzzy, as shown by the fact that a work may be called a "dictionary" but be thematically arranged, as in the case of John Withals' *A Shorte Dictionary for Yonge Begynners* (1553). Murray (1993, 106-7) gives the following summary of the situation. It is long but worth quoting here:

> The early vocabularies and dictionaries had many names, often quaint and striking; thus one of *c*1420 is entitled the *Nominale*, or Name-book; mention has already been made of the *Medulla Grammatices*, or Marrow of Grammar, the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, or Garden of Words, the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, and the *Catholicon Anglicum*; later we find the *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, or Handful of Vocables, the *Alvearie* or Beehive, the *Abecedarium*, the *Bibliotheca*, or Library, the *Thesaurus*, or Treasury of Words – what Old English times would have called the *Wor-hord*, the *World of Words*, the *Table Alphabetical*, the *English Expositor*, the *Ductor in Linguas*, or Guide to the Tongues, the *Glossographia*, the *New World of Words*, the *Etymologicum*, the *Gazophylacium*; and it would have been impossible to predict in the year 1538, when Sir Thomas Elyot published his 'Dictionary,' that this name would supplant all the others, and even take the place of the older and better-descended word *Vocabulary*; much less that *Dictionary* should become so much a name to conjure with, as to be applied to works which are not word-books at all, but reference-books on all manner of subjects, as Chronology, Geography, Music, Commerce, Manufactures, Chemistry, or National Biography, arranged in Alphabetical or 'Dictionary order.' The very phrase, 'Dictionary order,' would in the first half of the sixteenth century have been unmeaning, for all dictionaries were not yet alphabetical.

McArthur (1986a, 78-9) provides a good overview of this variety of names:

> In the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance periods titles for wordbooks proliferated as men sought to get the right coverall term or stimulating metaphor for what they were doing:
> *abecedarium* – an abecedary or absee, an ABC[3]
> *alvearium* – an alveary (a bee-hive or honey-store)[4]
> *dictionaries* or *dictionarium* – a dictionary, a book of *dictiones* (words and expressions)

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[3] As in Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum* (1552).
[4] As in John Baret's *Alvearie* (1573).

glossarium – a glossary (an explanatory list, usually collected from other lists)

(h)ortus – a 'garden'[5]

lexicon – a lexicon (a wordbook, a collection of *lexis* or words, often of a specialized or classical nature)[6]

manipulus – a maniple (a handful)

medulla – the 'kernel' or 'marrow' of a matter[7]

promptuarium or *promptorium* – a promptuary (a store-house)[8]

thesaurus – a thesaurus (treasury or treasure-house)[9]

vocabularium – a vocabulary (the words of a language, especially if listed in any way)[10]

vulgaria – the 'common things' of life or a language[11]

This varied terminology was applied to both alphabetically- and topically-arranged lexicographical products. In addition to these other terms such as *bibliotheca* (e.g. in John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, 1589, or Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, 1591) and *table* (e.g. in Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall*, 1604) were used for products arranged in alphabetical order, whereas *nominale* (as in the *Mayer Nominale*, ca 1500) and *nomenclator* (e.g. in Hadrianus Junius' *Nomenclator*, 1567) were used for works following a topical arrangement. Within these thematically arranged compilations a further distinction has to be made between *vocabularies* and *nomenclators*. Both followed a similar arrangement but were different in their scope and functions. Renaissance vocabularies were limited in scope and usually a part of schoolbooks intended to meet the increasing communicative needs of travelers and businessmen. Nomenclators were larger vocabularies that served rhetorical education. Hüllen (1999, 346) explains:

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[5] As in the anonymous *[H]ortus Vocabulorum* (1500).

[6] As in James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1659); the second part of this book contains a topical word list entitled *A Particular Vocabulary or Nomenclature*.

[7] As in the anonymous *Medulla Gramatice* (ca 1460).

[8] As in the anonymous *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ca 1440).

[9] As in Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ* (1565), Claudius Hollyband' *Treasurie of the French Tong* (1580), or Sebastian de Cobarruvias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611).

[10] As in Alfonso de Palencia's *Universal vocabulario en latin y en romance* (1490) or John Minsheu's *Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum et Anglicum* (1617).

[11] As in John Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* (1508).

Nomenclator is predominantly the name of topical glossaries which were collected in the spirit of Humanism. The name started to be used in the late sixteenth century and became popular in the seventeenth. Nomenclators had a strong bias towards classical languages, although they also listed one or even two and occasionally many more vernaculars. In this case the classical languages, however, were the leading ones. Nomenclators were based on a strict and precise systematization and did not arrange vocabulary according to presumed necessities of everyday communication. It is the strict method of arrangement, the scientific character of the macrostructure, which gives the nomenclator its Humanist tinge.

In Spanish, scholars use a different term as an equivalent for the English *vocabulary*; Ayala Castro (1992a, 437) uses the generic term *nomenclatura* to refer to thematic compilations:

> Se trata de repertorios léxicos en más de una lengua que ordenan sus materiales de acuerdo con el contenido o con la cosa designada y no con la forma de los términos consignados. Toman como punto de partida el objeto conocido y como punto de llegada la palabra; recogen el vocabulario usual de una lengua, con el fin de enseñar los rudimentos de un idioma; por ello, su extensión es breve en la mayoría de los casos, y pocas veces alcanzan la extensión de los repertorios alfabéticos coetáneos.

Before Ayala Castro, Alvar Ezquerra (1993 [1987], 277) had defined *nomenclatura* in a similar way, and added that works so arranged "permiten una clasificación del mundo a través de la cosa designada, diferente de la que adoptan los diccionarios ideológicos, por un lado, y los de sinónimos, antónimos y voces relacionadas, por otro" (Alvar Ezquerra 1993, 278). However, in his dictionary of lexicography, Martínez de Sousa (1995) gives a different definition of *nomenclatura*: "Conjunto de voces técnicas de una ciencia," whereas a *nomenclátor* is defined as "[c]atálogo o lista de nombres, especialmente de pueblos, de personas o de voces técnicas de una ciencia. [...] Catálogo que contiene la nomenclatura de una ciencia." Furthermore, in the definition of *vocabulario* by Martínez de Sousa (1995) the way the macrostructure is ordered is not a relevant feature: "Conjunto de palabras regionales, de una profesión u oficio, *de un campo semántico*, de un escritor, etc. [...] Lista de palabras definidas sucintamente y colocadas *por orden alfabético* al final de un trabajo o

libro. [...] *Diccionario.*" (our italics). In their overviews of thematic lexicography involving Spanish, neither Alvar Ezquerra nor Ayala Castro make a clear cut distinction between a small vocabulary such as William Stepney's (1591) and the larger nomenclators, such as Hadrianus Junius' *Nomenclator* of 1567 or the one included in Félix de Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues* (1718). For these scholars the term *nomenclatura* is a generic covering both types of works. They do, however, separate the *nomenclaturas* from the thesauri, dictionaries of synonyms and antonyms, and other similar books. In so doing, they follow the distinction established by Quemada (1968, 360 ff.), who groups all thematic works under the heading "classements sémantiques", and then distinguishes four sub-types: *classements méthodiques, synonymiques, analogiques* and *idéologiques.* Topical works to be examined here fall under Quemada's *classements méthodiques.* But three are short word lists and fall under the category of *vocabularies*, the other one (Alvarado 1718) is a large *nomenclator*, which is why it is appropriate to retain the distinction between these two types of thematic compilations:

> Dans le cadre de ce type d'organisation [les classements méthodiques], les recueils de proportions très modestes s'opposent aux ouvrages de plus grande envergure. On distinguera donc les petits *vocabulaires*, limités à 15 ou 20 chapitres qui rassemblent un nombre de mots réduit, [...] Ce sont les petites nomenclatures utilisées la plupart du temps dans l'enseignement, ou les modestes appendices lexicographiques faisant suite à un manuel de langue [...]. Parallèlement, de lourdes compilations de vocables qui peuvent rivaliser avec des dictionnaires généraux quant à l'importance du lexique consigné, totalisent jusqu'à 150 chapitres dans des cas exceptionnels comme le *Decimator* de 1596[12] (Quemada 1968, 364).

Of the twelve terms mentioned by McArthur above, a few are still in use today, but only *dictionary* is currently used as a hyperonym for the others, even when referring to thematically arranged works. McArthur (1986a, 79) explains:

> Of these dozen contenders, only three have survived in modern English as regular generic terms for wordbooks: *dictionary, lexicon* and *thesaurus.* One

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[12] Quemada refers to the polyglot *Tertia Pars Syluæ Vocabvlorvm et Phrasivm, Sive Nomenclator* by Heinrich Decimator, 1596; see bibliographical data in Niederehe (1994, 255).

has survived as a term for a word list (*glossary*), and one as a general term for the words of a language or certain listings of such words (*vocabulary*). [...] Additionally, it is worth recalling that even today sharp-edged distinctions do not exist in practice between the terms 'dictionary', 'lexicon' and 'thesaurus'. The term 'dictionary' in particular [...] has tended to be a coverall term for all sorts of presentations of information about 'words', however conceived.

As will be seen, the terminology in early bilingual Spanish and English lexicography is varied. The first two anonymous word lists are simply called *books*; in later works, *dictionary* is used for alphabetical compilations, irrespective of their length. Other names occasionally given to alphabetical compilations are the Latin word *vocabularium* and the English *guide* and *table*. The term *vocabulary* is used by early lexicographers to refer to short topical word lists. Consequently, it seems preferable in this study to use the term *wordbook* instead of *dictionary* as a generic term to refer to both alphabetically- and topically-arranged compilations, following McArthur (1986b, 159):

> The key generic terms of macro-lexicography [dictionary, encyclopedia, thesaurus, etc.] are therefore inherently fuzzy in strict referential terms, and should be accepted as such; they have been referentially fuzzy since they first came into use in the Middle Ages. This is one reason why I prefer to talk about 'wordbooks' for generic purposes, rather than 'dictionaries'.

This use of the word is accepted by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. The intensional definition of *wordbook* in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* reads: "A book containing a list of words (as of the vocabulary of a language, a book, an art, or science) arranged in alphabetical or other systematic order." Likewise, the *American Heritage Dictionary* (2000) gives the following extensional definition of *wordbook*: "A lexicon, vocabulary, or dictionary," which is how the term is understood here.

Rey-Debove identified a second level of analysis, that of the *microstructure*, referring to the internal design of the entry. It is here that the compiler presents information about the formal and semantic properties of the headword or lemma. When comparing

dictionaries, analysis of the microstructure can be used to evaluate the appropriateness of the discourse structure of the entry in relation to potential users. For Hartmann and James (1998, 94), the microstructure includes two types of information about the headword:

1. Formal properties, such as:

    1.1 Spelling

    1.2 Pronunciation

    1.3 Grammar

2. Semantic properties, such as:

    2.1 Etymology

    2.2 Definition or, in bilingual or multilingual dictionaries, equivalents

    2.3 Usage labels (e.g., diachronic, diatopic, diatechnical, dianormative, diaphasic, etc.)

    2.4 Paradigmatic properties (synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, etc.)

    2.5 Syntagmatic properties (collocations, phraseology, etc.).

Hausmann and Wiegand (1989, 340-4) have expanded Rey-Debove's conception into the following twelve groups of data provided within the microstructure. This more comprehensive typology will be used in this study:

1. Synchronic identification (spelling, pronunciation, part of speech, flexion and aspect)
2. Diachronic identification (etymology)
3. Diasystematic labeling (v.g., diachronic, diatopic, diatechnical, etc.)
4. Explanatory information (definition, linguistic description, encyclopedic description)
5. Syntagmatic information (construction, collocation, example, quotation)
6. Paradigmatic information (synonymy, antonymy, homonymy, word formation, etc.)
7. Other semantic information (information that marks the semantic process undergone by the sign, such as *figuratively* or *metaphorically*)

8. Usage notes

9. Pictorial illustration

10. Ordering devices (figures, letters, brackets, etc., that help clarifying the microstructure)

11. Cross-references

12. Representation or repetition symbols.

The above typology is applicable to the microstructure of a monolingual dictionary. Regarding that of a bilingual dictionary, Haensch et al. (1982, 135) mention the presence of equivalents (or paraphrases or definitions, if there are no equivalents in the target language) as an element of the explanatory information.[13] They also note that usually no paradigmatic information is provided in bilingual dictionaries and that syntagmatic information relates to the equivalent in the target language. Thus, the difference between a monolingual and a bilingual dictionary is not as great as might be thought at first. In the words of Hüllen (1999, 8):

> For the average dictionary user it is probably important whether dictionaries gloss their headwords in the same language or in a different language, that is, by translation. But, lexicographically speaking, the difference between monolingual and bi- or multilingual dictionaries is not so great as it may appear, because they use the same techniques of semanticizing, with or without translation. Depending on the microstructure of entries, either the clarification of a lexeme is done by using it in a syntagma in the form of a definition or a paraphrase or a sample sentence [...]. Or it is done by the juxtaposition of a synonym, a hyponym or hyperonym, the negative form of an antonym, or another type of lexeme which bears a fixed semantic relation ot the lemma. [...] Of course, the techniques can be combined.

The concepts of macro- and microstructure may be applied both to alphabetically arranged and to topically arranged wordbooks.[14] McArthur (1986a, 149) understands the macrostructure as "the set of themes or major topics, [...]". In his study of the English

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[13] On the problems of microstructure organization in bilingual dictionaries, see Al (1991).

[14] For the *topical* arrangement, Hüllen (1999, 13) also uses the terms *thematic, conceptual, ideographical* or *onomasiological*.

topical tradition, Hüllen (1999) uses the two terms as follows: "The macrostructure applies to the dictionary as a whole; more precisely, to the sequence of its sections. It is for an onomasiological dictionary what the alphabet is for the semasiological"; while the "syntactic microstructure applies to the single entry" (Hüllen 1999, 179 and 177). In the topical vocabularies discussed here, the microstructure is as a rule simple and limited to the headword plus the equivalents.

A third concept useful for the analysis of the component parts of a lexicographical work can now be introduced, namely what Hartmann and James (1998, 104) call the *outside matter*, that is, those components that do not form part of the central word list. In Hartmann and James' terminology (1998, 93), the totality of the components of a reference work, that is, the macrostructure plus the outside matter, is called the *megastructure*.[15]

The macrostructure provides a format enabling compilers to organize their work and users to locate information. The outside matter acts as a supplement, in the front, middle or back of the reference work. Thus, the outside matter is divided into:

1. The *front matter*,[16] those constituent elements that precede the central word-list. It comprises such preliminaries as:

   1.1 Title page

   1.2 Copyright page and imprint

   1.3 Acknowledgements and dedication

   1.3 Foreword or preface

   1.4 Table of contents

   1.5 List of contributors

   1.6 List of abbreviations and /or illustrations used

   1.7 In bilingual dictionaries, a pronunciation key of the source language

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[15] In this section we will follow the description by Hartmann and James (1998, s.v. *macrostructure*) of the constituent parts of reference works. Other authors that deal with this subject are Al-Kasimi (1977, 109 ff.), Haensch et al. (1982, 452 ff.), Cop (1989), and Hausmann and Wiegand (1989).
[16] In Spanish: *principios del diccionario*.

1.8 User's guide

1.9 Notes on the nature, history and structure of the language

1.10 Grammatical information (conjugation and declensions).

2. The *middle matter*, those components that can be included in the word-list without being part of it, for example:

2.1 Plates of illustrations

2.2 Maps or diagrams

2.3 Lists of grammatical terms or semantic fields

2.4 Examples; in bilingual dictionaries, examples include lists of phrases or idiomatic expressions.

3. The *back matter*,[17] the subsidiary components (lists, tables, etc.) located between the word list and the end of the work, such as:

3.1 Personal names

3.2 Place names

3.3 Weights and measures

3.4 Military ranks

3.5 Chemical elements

3.6 Alphabetic and numerical symbols

3.7 Musical notations

3.8 Quotations and proverbs

Because most of the Spanish and English wordbooks under consideration in this study are part of books that include grammars, dialogues and other texts, we propose to extend the concept of *outside matter* to refer not only to the constituent parts of the wordbook, but also to any other text with which it may have been published.

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[17] In Spanish: *finales del diccionario.*

To summarize, in metalexicography the structure of a reference work can be accounted for in terms of the macrostructure, the microstructure, and the outside matter. The macrostructure refers to the general (or external, so to speak) structure of the reference work; historical factors have led to the use of the alphabetical arrangement, although other ways of ordering the word list do exist. Preliminary, middle, and subsidiary components of the reference work can be analyzed in terms of the outside matter and, together with the macrostructure, they make up a larger whole called the megastructure. The microstructure, on the other hand, refers to the internal structure of the entry, namely the headword and the presentation and elaboration of its formal and semantic properties. The headword acts as a link between the macro- and the microstructure. These levels of analysis constitute a framework for the structural assessment of reference works and the investigation of the principles of compilation followed by compilers.

2) Literature Review

2.1) The works of Roger J. Steiner on Spanish and English bilingual lexicography

Bilingual lexicography can be defined as the branch of lexicography that deals with the compilation of bilingual dictionaries and other reference works. The remarks already made in relation to lexicography apply to bilingual lexicography, namely that there exist both practical and theoretical trends in this area. Thus it is possible to speak of a metalexicography of bilingual wordbooks, devoted to research on bilingual dictionaries, vocabularies, etc. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the alphabetical monolingual dictionary constitutes, for practical purposes, the reference work *par excellence* for native speakers of most languages. Perhaps for this reason it is the type of dictionary which has been the most thoroughly studied until now.

Historically, it would seem that bilingual or multilingual lexicography appeared before monolingual lexicography. The evolution of lexicography, however, as Kromann et al. (1991, 2711 ff.) observe, is a rather complicated matter, especially if older cultural languages like Latin, Arabic and Hebrew are taken into account. What is the case with modern languages – such as Spanish, English, French or German – may not necessarily be true of older tongues.[1] Be that as it may, Kromann et al. (1991, 2712) explain that "[i]t was not until the 15th century – with the spread of printing – that the needs of trade and travel led to mass production of multilingual dictionaries in particular." The compilation of bilingual wordbooks linking two vernaculars began during the sixteenth century in the lexicographical tradition of German and Romance languages: for example, English and French in 1530, Spanish and English in 1554, and Spanish and Italian in 1570. As the vernaculars gained recognition, bilingual and eventually monolingual wordbooks were published.

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[1] See, for example, Boisson (1996); in this paper the author examines a variety of lexicographical traditions and his conclusions challenge the traditional view, according to which bilingual lexicography came first.

According to Wiezell (1975, 133), "[T]hough the classical world knew some bilingual Greek and Latin glossaries, the Western monolingual dictionary is actually a development of the bilingual glossing that had begun in the eight century". This was the case with the languages dealt with in this study, namely Spanish and English, where there was an evolution from bilingual to monolingual lexicography. Bilingual lexicography preceded monolingual lexicography in both of these languages. Whereas the earliest wordbooks in Spanish and English date from 1554 and Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, traditionally considered the first Spanish-English dictionary, was published in 1591, the first English hard word dictionary, that of Robert Cawdrey, was published in 1604, and Sebastián de Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, the first monolingual Spanish dictionary, appeared in 1611. It was not until the eighteenth century that this first Spanish dictionary was followed by the first Spanish normative dictionary compiled by the *Real Academia Española*, the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (also known as the *Diccionario de autoridades*), published between 1726 and 1739. The hard word tradition in English lexicography continued with a number of works and eventually led to the famous monolingual *Dictionary of the English Language* of Samuel Johnson (1755).

In Western countries, research on monolingual lexicography has reached a fair level of development, while research on bilingual dictionaries has had a relatively short history. In this regard, Hausmann et al. (1989, xxii) point out:

> The amount of research devoted to the bilingual dictionary does not correspond to the complexity of its problems nor to its position on the dictionary market. It has remained practically excluded from the activities of institutional research centers and only seldom does it get the benefit of public funding. The amount of research given to the bilingual dictionary is also smaller than necessary.

With regards to research on bilingual lexicography there is, therefore, a "décalage entre l'importance quantitative et commerciale (somme toute, sociale) de la production et la relative pauvreté de la théorisation [...]" (Béjoint and Thoiron 1996, 5). This disparity

doubtlessly exists because the problems of bilingual lexicography are more complex than those of monolingual lexicography. Indeed, bilingual dictionaries serve as bridges between two languages by means of translation equivalents, in contrast to monolingual dictionaries, which provide the constituent elements of the microstructure in one language. Finding suitable equivalents is known to be very difficult, as Zgusta (1971, 294) explains, due to the fundamental anisomorphism of languages, which refers to "the differences in the organization of designate in the individual languages and [...] other differences between languages."[2] As a result of this complexity, the field of bilingual lexicography has fallen behind that of monolingual lexicography in terms of theorization. This situation began to change in the late 1980s with the publication of the monumental *Dictionaries. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* by Hausmann et al. between 1989-1991, in three volumes, with articles in German, English, and French. This work is an extraordinary attempt to foster the development of metalexicography, both monolingual and bilingual. The first dictionary of Spanish lexicography by Martínez de Sousa (1995) was followed in 1998 by its English counterpart, that of Hartmann and James. These are authoritative and indispensable works when it comes to terminological problems and the theory and practice of mono- and bilingual lexicography in Spanish and English.

As has already been mentioned, there exists a long tradition of the production of bilingual wordbooks; indeed, in many cultures, they preceded the production of monolingual works. In Spanish and English, there was an evolution from multilingual and bilingual lexicography to monolingual lexicography. However, scholars have devoted a great deal of their research to monolingual lexicography, while the literature on Spanish and English bilingual lexicography is comparatively slim.

Roger J. Steiner is the pioneer scholar in the field of English and Spanish bilingual lexicography. He has written a series of papers dealing with specific problems of bilingual

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[2] On the problems of equivalence in bilingual dictionaries, also see Duval (1991) and Svensén (1993, chap. 11).

lexicography (e.g., equivalence, neologisms, the user aspect, problems of directionality, etc.). The core of his work on historical lexicography in Spanish and English is found in the book he devoted to dictionary research on the subject (Steiner 1970), and three papers published in 1985, 1986 (reprinted in 2003), and 1991.[3]

Steiner's *Two Centuries of Spanish and English Bilingual Lexicography (1590-1800)* (1970) is the first book to contain an historical and comparative panorama tracing the evolution of bilingual Spanish and English dictionaries from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries. In the introduction, Steiner (1970, 10-2) presents previous studies to his own on the subject. He includes four bibliographical guides and nine works (papers and monographs) dealing with aspects of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. The bibliographies are those by Knapp (1884), the first – and still useful – annotated bibliography of Spanish grammars and dictionaries from 1490 to 1780; Viñaza's *Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana* (1893, reprinted in 1978), a comprehensive work that inventories not only all types of Spanish dictionaries but also grammars and books on the origin of the Spanish tongue until the nineteenth century – a work which is still valuable today;[4] Luis Cardim's annotated bibliography of grammars (1931) in Spanish and English from 1586 to 1828, based on Kennedy's *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language* (1927, reprinted in 1967); and Collison's *Dictionaries of Foreign Languages* (1955), a bibliographical guide to general and technical dictionaries in several languages, including

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[3] Roger J. Steiner is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Delaware. He received a Ph. D. from the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied under the lexicographer Edwin B. Williams. He taught two years at the University of Bordeaux in France and has done research in Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Mexico, Canada, and France. He was, among other things, Editor in Chief of the second edition of *Simon & Schuster's International Spanish Dictionary, English/Spanish, Spanish/English,* 1997. A comprehensive list of his publications can be found in the bibliography.

[4] As Steiner (1970, 10) points out, this book is especially valuable because in the section on dictionaries Viñaza copies title pages and parts of prefaces. The bibliography by Sbarbi (1891, reprinted 1980) is not mentioned by Steiner, but it is also important because Sbarbi transcribes full title pages of dictionaries and adds relevant commentaries.

Spanish.[5] Of the nine papers and monographies mentioned by Steiner, we were able to consult the following seven:[6]

1. A paper by Louis B. Wright (1931), who devotes two pages (343-4) to Spanish and English bilingual lexicography; in these pages he briefly comments on the first bilingual lexicographers: Stepney, Percyvall and Minsheu;

2. Damaso Alonso's paper (1931) on Spanish phonetics, in which he discusses some aspects of Percyvall's and Minsheu's works;

3. A paper by Starnes (1937, 1010 ff.), which deals with the borrowing of definitions by Minsheu from various sources;

4. The book by Vera Smalley on the sources of Randle Cotgrave's French-English dictionary of 1611; the author discusses Cotgrave's debt to Minsheu;

5. Starnes' book (1954) on Renaissance dictionaries. Although Starnes deals with Latin and English bilingual lexicography, some of the dictionaries Starnes discusses were used by compilers of early Spanish and English dictionaries;

6. Amado Alonso's work on Spanish pronunciation (1955, second edition: 1967, and 1969), a brilliant book that explores grammars, manuals and dictionaries. The emphasis is on Spanish phonetics but Alonso discusses grammars (some of them prepared by lexicographers) that are ancillary to lexicographical studies;

7. Sofía Martín-Gamero's book (1961) on the teaching of English in Spain from the Middle Ages up to the mid-nineteenth century. This books studies grammars, manuals, dialogues as well as dictionaries. It is flawed, however, by inaccuracies, for example, in the transcription of title pages of dictionaries. The book deals with all kinds of pedagogical material (grammars, dictionaries, polyglot works, manuals, etc.) and includes discussions of lexicographical works from the Middle Ages up to

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[5] Spanish and English bilingual dictionaries are listed in pp. 51-4.

[6] The other two papers Steiner consulted are Otto Funke's *Spanische Sprachbücher im elisabethanischen England* (1957) and Wolfgang Schlipf's *Einige Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Spanischen Woerterbuchs in Deutschland* (1956-60); the former is a study of early grammars and dictionaries with emphasis on English pronunciation, the latter is a study of Spanish and German dictionaries (Steiner 1970, 11).

the mid-nineteenth century. The historical overviews are informative. Steiner (1970, 12) warns, however, that the author's lexicographical analysis is "scant and inexact", a fact that we have been able to verify. Despite this, Martín-Gamero's book continues to be used uncritically as a source of lexicographical data, whereas it should be read with caution and all information provided in it should be verified.

Steiner divides the history of Spanish and English lexicography into two periods or *recensions*. What Steiner calls a *recension* is "a series of dictionaries each of which contains plagiarized material of the predecessors" (2003, 85), plagiarism being the main thread linking the dictionaries. The first recension begins in 1591 and ends in 1778; the second begins in 1797-8, with the publication of *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages in Four Volumes*, by Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins, and extends into the nineteenth century. This latter recension includes the works of lexicographers such as Henry Neuman, Mateo Seoane, Mariano Velázquez de la Cadena, and even some revisers in the twentieth century.

Steiner's work is a monograph on comparative dictionary history that studies each of the following lexicographers and their works in chronological order:

1. John Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Grammar*, a grammar to which Thorius appended a fourteen-page Spanish-English dictionary;
2. Richard Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica. Containing a Grammar; with a Dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine*, traditionally considered the first Spanish-English dictionary;
3. William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*, a manual for the teaching of Spanish that contains a topical vocabulary;
4. John Minsheu (1599, 1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*. The second edition of 1623 is a word for word resetting of the 1599 edition, with new spellings and other minor changes (Steiner 1970, 55);

5. John Minsheu (1617): *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine (and English and Sometime Other Languages)* bound together with the *Guide into the Tongues*. Minsheu's 1617 work is divided into two parts: the polyglot *Guide*, a dictionary of eleven languages, and the Spanish-English-Latin dictionary discussed by Steiner. The 1625, 1626, and 1627 editions of the *Guide into the Tongues* contain only the first part of the 1617 work, that is, the polyglot work. These editions contain only nine languages, two – Portuguese and Welsh – having been omitted;

6. Captain John Stevens (1705, 1706, 1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*, followed by *A Dictionary English and Spanish*. The first part is dated 1706 while the second is dated 1705. According to Steiner (1970, 61), the second edition of 1726 is almost identical to the volumes published in 1705 and 1706;

7. Pedro Pineda (1740): *New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish*, based on the Stevens dictionary but with a much more developed English-Spanish part;

8. Hipólito San Joseph Giral del Pino (1763): *Diccionário, español è inglés, è inglés y español*; the additions Giral Delpino made to Pineda's dictionary came from the monolingual dictionaries of the Spanish Academy and Samuel Johnson (Steiner 1970, 77);

9. Giuseppe Marcantonio Baretti (1778, 1786): *A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*. The 1778 work is Baretti's so-called "second edition" of Giral Delpino's dictionary, and the 1786 edition is Baretti's so-called "new edition", which is actually a word-for-word resetting of the previous work (Steiner 1970, 86);[7]

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[7] On the title page of the 1786 edition, London appears as the place of publication, but Viñaza (1978, 766) says that the dictionary was actually printed in Lyon. Steiner (1970, 86, footnote 1) mentions subsequent editions published in 1794, 1800, and 1807. The University of Evansville Libraries online catalog records another edition in 1809, call number PC4640.A2 B3 1809x.

10. Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins (1797-8): *Diccionario nuevo de las dos lenguas española é inglesa*. The first part (Spanish-English) is dated 1798 and the second (English-Spanish) 1797. This was the first Spanish and English dictionary published in Spain. Steiner (1970, 93) notes that it is a new work that resulted from systematically blending together the dictionaries of the Spanish Academy and of Johnson. As such, it marks the end of the first recension and the beginning of the second.

Steiner devotes only a total of seven pages to the group of works by Thorius, Stepney, and Minsheu (1617); on the other hand, he devotes most of the book to the dictionaries by Percyvall, Minsheu (1599), Stevens, Pineda, Giral del Pino, Baretti, and Connelly and Higgings, analyzing each of these seven dictionaries according to the following methodology (1970, 9-10):

I. Description of facts concerning the dictionary

 a) Identification of the dictionary to indicate its relation to its predecessors and its place in the history of lexicography

 b) The dictionary as a volume: printing and format

 c) Transcription of the title page

 d) Sources and data on compilation and publication

II) Description of the text of the dictionary

 a) Contents

  1) Range and choice of entries, idiomatic expressions and proverbs

  2) Glosses: meaning discrimination techniques, etc.

  3) Spelling: orthographical variants and accent marks

  4) Grammar: irregular verb forms, genders, use of articles and prepositions with vocabulary entries

5) Etymology

b) Organization

1) Alphabetical ordering of entries

2) Ordering of expressions and other items

3) Reversibility of the dictionary

III) Concluding remarks

An examination of Steiner's methodology as developed in the book reveals that, from the point of view of the macrostructure, Steiner studies aspects such as the size of the dictionary in terms of the number of entries, the macrostructure (II-a-1), and alphabetization. As for the front matter, he transcribes the title page and refers to the prefaces for information about the sources and compilation of the dictionaries. From the point of view of the microstructure, he analyses the typographical devices, the gloss, pronunciation, grammatical information, etymology (II-a-5), and the reversibility of the dictionary. Regarding the social and cultural context, Steiner examines who are the intended users, the influence of each dictionary and the characteristics that distinguishes it from its predecessors (III).

Let us now turn to the papers. The first is a 12-page paper that Steiner devoted to the problem of the lexicon in Percyvall's dictionary (Steiner 1985). For political reasons, Richard Percyvall was unable to consult regularly with native speakers of Spanish. Steiner shows that the resulting lexicon was not necessarily inaccurate or unrepresentative, although it may have tended to be conservative because of the compiler's dependence on written and bookish sources.

The next two papers (Steiner 2003 [1986] and 1991) are thematically closer to the monograph already discussed, in the sense that they return to the chronological development of Spanish and English dictionaries. Both papers review and summarize information contained in the book, yet they differ in scope. The former (Steiner 2003)

extends the scope of the book to include dictionaries published in the nineteenth century (three centuries of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography), the latter (Steiner 1991) goes up to the twentieth century, constituting a survey of the whole alphabetic tradition in Spanish and English bilingual lexicography.

Since these are short papers, the description of the dictionaries and the analysis of their content are necessarily more concise. In Steiner (2003), the author makes a brief survey of the first recension as presented in his 1970 book, after which he reviews the most important dictionaries published in the second recension. The main revisers during the nineteenth century are Henry Neuman (1802), Mateo Seoane y Sobral (1831), Mariano Velázquez de la Cadena (1852), and J. S. Iribas and Edward Gray (1900). Steiner traces a lineage for this series of dictionary revisions going back to the Connelly and Higgins dictionary of 1797-8. This lineage of editions and printings, sometimes with slight differences, sometimes retouched, shows that, during three centuries of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography,

> [U]sually a lexicographer copies from his predecessor – even our first lexicographer, Percyvall, who copies from an unpublished manuscript. The lineal paternity of Percyvall, Minsheu, Stevens, Pineda, and Delpino ends with Baretti. Connelly and Higgins make a new start and are the source of a new recension: Neuman, Seoane, Velázquez, Iribas and Gray, and even some new revisers in the twentieth century, [...] The main contribution from the old recension of 1591-1778 seems to be the name 'Baretti' on the new recension's title pages (Steiner 2003, 94).

Finally, Steiner's paper included in volume three of *Dictionaries. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* (1991) is a general survey of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. It deals briefly with only those dictionaries necessary for an understanding of the evolution of the field and leaves out small, derivative and specialized dictionaries, as well as those published in Central and South America (Steiner 1991, 2949). Besides the dictionaries belonging to the first and the second recensions, the survey includes those published in America, England, France, Germany and Spain in the twentieth century. Steiner concludes his survey with the following remarks (1991, 2954):

One can take especial note of three things in the history outlined herein: (1) the frequent dependence of one dictionary upon its predecessors; (2) the publication of dictionaries as a reflection of the political and social needs of the time; (3) the accelerating rate at which Spanish and English bilingual works have been published, particularly during the past quarter of a century.

2.2) Other literature

Other papers and books dealing with the subject of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography are listed in the bibliography, along with bilingual dictionaries in language pairs other than Spanish and English that are related to our project. Throughout this study, where appropriate, case studies and analyses of relations between two or more dictionaries are discussed. The purpose of this section is not to provide an annotated reference list of these; rather, certain studies will be cited to give the reader an idea of the research devoted to Spanish and English bilingual lexicography.

In the category of bibliographies, mention must be made of Fabbri 1979, which includes 3500 titles of general and technical reference works in Catalan, Galician and Spanish. Fabbri devotes pages 107 to 117 to Spanish and English dictionaries, presenting them by author in alphabetical order. He includes the title, place of publication, and dates of first and subsequent (if any) editions. Fabbri (1979) is, however, far surpassed in terms of comprehensiveness and reliability by the bibliography of English works by Alston (1967 and 1987) and that of Spanish works by Niederehe (1994, 1997, and 2005). The bibliography by San Vicente (1995) is also useful, but limited to the eighteenth century. The *English Short Title Catalogue*, which is available online, provides valuable data on editions and locations of mono- and multilingual dictionaries and grammars involving the English language. A comprehensive bibliography of lexicography has also been available online since 2003, compiled by Félix Córdoba Rodríguez, of the Universidade da Coruña.

In a second category are the facsimile editions published by Alston of the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?, facsimile edition: 1971) and *A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554, facsimile edition: 1971); John

Thorius' *The Spanish Grammer* (1590, facsimile edition: 1967);[8] and of William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master* (1591, facsimile edition: 1971). The editions by Alston contain short introductory notes. Facsimiles of the polyglot and the bilingual dictionaries by John Minsheu have also been published. In 1978, Jürgen Schäfer published a facsimile edition of Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas (Guide into the Tongues)* and *Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum (A Most Copious Spanish Dictionary)* (1617), with an introductory essay. Later, in 2000, a facsimile reproduction of *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* by Minsheu (1599) was published by Gloria Guerrero Ramos and Fernando Pérez Lagos, also with an introductory essay. All the works included in our corpus are available in microfilm format from *Early English Books* (1475-1640 and 1641-1700) and *The Eighteenth Century*, and they have recently been made available in pdf format (except for the *Book of English and Spanish*) by *Early English Books Online* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

A third category is constituted by surveys of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, such as the *Preface* (1960) that Samuel Gili Gaya wrote to his *Tesoro lexicográfico (1492-1726)*. Although only volume one of this dictionary was published, the preface is an excellent survey of the evolution of Spanish bilingual lexicography up to 1726. Fernández-Sevilla (1974) devotes chapter five to the history of Spanish mono- and bilingual lexicography, listing the most important dictionaries and adding a short commentary on each. In his survey of the evolution of foreign-language dictionaries, Collison (1982, passim) briefly discusses the Spanish and English bilingual dictionaries produced from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The paper by Alvar Ezquerra (1991) is a survey of Spanish mono- and multilingual lexicography; the author devotes two pages to Spanish-English lexicography and this information is virtually the same as that found in the survey published a year later (Alvar Ezquerra 1992). In 1995 the *International Journal of Lexicography* devoted a special issue to a survey of Spanish lexicography. The issue contains another article by Alvar Ezquerra on the history of Spanish mono- and

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[8] The facsimile edition published by Alston has *Antonio del Corro* as the author of the book, which is misleading.

bilingual lexicography, but this article adds little to the preceding two. Another survey, based largely on Steiner (1970), is that by Rizo Rodríguez and Valera Hernández (2001). Whereas these studies concentrate on the alphabetic tradition, only one article included by Alvar Ezquerra (1993, 277-87)[9] and two by Ayala Castro (1992a, b) review the topical tradition with Spanish. For the English topical tradition, there is an overview in Starnes and Noyes (1991 [1946], 197-211) and the standard work is Hüllen (1999).

A number of articles and books deal with theoretical problems of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. The articles include: (1) a series of papers by James E. Iannucci (1957, 1959, 1967, 1974, and 1985), which treat the question of meaning discrimination in various pairs of languages other than Spanish and English (e.g. French and English, English and German, Portuguese and English); only Iannucci (1974) is fully devoted to meaning discrimination techniques in Spanish and English; (2) two papers by the late lexicographer Edwin B. Williams: Williams (1959) discusses problems of content, the order of elements in the microstructure and meaning discrimination techniques; and Williams (1960) deals solely with meaning discrimination; (3) Louis Cooper's paper (1962) on plagiarism in Spanish dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it discusses three lexicographers – Oudin, Vittori and Palet – and touches on Percyvall's and Minsheu's dictionaries; (4) a paper by David L. Gold (1978a) on the problems of microstructure and the middle matter in Spanish bilingual lexicography; (5) R. J. Nelson's paper (1980-1981) on the problem of equivalence in Spanish and English lexicography; and (6) a collection of papers (1992) by Gerd Wotjak; they include papers on Spanish lexicology and on specific problems of Spanish metalexicography, especially at the level of the microstructure (e.g. collocations, polysemy, equivalents, etc.).

To turn now to books dealing with problems of Spanish and English lexicography: (1) the comprehensive works on the theory of lexicography as applied to the Spanish

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[9] This is a paper entitled *Apuntes para la historia de las nomenclaturas del español*, presented by Alvar Ezquerra in the *VII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina* held in 1984; the paper was originally published in the proceedings in 1987.

language by Haensch et al. (1982) and Haensch (1997) are particularly important, with sections on the specific problems of bilingual dictionaries, such as the semantic properties of equivalents in the microstructure and the macro- and microstructural problems of bilingual dictionaries; (2) the unpublished dissertation by Daniel Noland (1987) is the most comprehensive study of the sources of the 1617 polyglot dictionary by Minsheu; (3) the collection of articles in Alvar Ezquerra (1993) deal with a variety of subjects in mono- and bilingual Spanish lexicography; (4) equally important is the collection of articles on historical Spanish lexicography by Azorín Fernández (2000); (5) finally, Bajo Pérez (2000) should be mentioned, the first part of which is devoted to metalexicography and the second to an historical overview of lexicography.

In this category, can also be included works dealing partially with early lexicographers. First is the book on Italian-Spanish lexicography by Gallina (1959), which includes one chapter on Minsheu (1617). Gallina (1959, 249-60) briefly discusses the life and work of Minsheu, transcribes the title pages, and presents a study of the macro- and microstructures. Second, chapter one of Hayashi (1978, 1-30), a book on the history of English lexicography from 1530 to 1791, discusses the theory of bilingual lexicography during the Renaissance; among the compilers studied is Richard Percyvall. Hayashi follows an approach similar to the one adopted in this study: Hayashi is interested in theoretical principles and includes a comparative analysis of front matter texts. Third, in her book on English lexicography prior to the publication of the first monolingual English dictionary by Richard Cawdrey in 1604, Gabriele Stein (1985, 353-77) devotes one chapter to Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591) and John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599). Stein's emphasis is on the compilation of the word list, lemmatization, the structure of the equivalents and the metalinguistic information provided for the headwords, such as indications of pronunciation, grammatical use and usage labels. Stein's work is especially valuable because she provides extracts from the introductions and samples from the letter *B* of the dictionaries. This chapter later became the introduction to the microfiche edition of the Minsheu 1599 dictionary, published by Stein in 1993.

Among other recent works, the *Holt Spanish and English Dictionary* by Edwin Williams (1955) is very important. Hausmann (1988b, 86) explains:

> Il faut mentionner aussi une école de lexicographie et de métalexicographie bilingue formée par le regretté professeur Williams (1891-1975) de l'université de Pennsylvania d'où il est sorti, à part la série des dictionnaires 'Bantam', des travaux historiques sur les dictionnaires bilingues espagnol-anglais et des travaux de critique de dictionnaires. Ces divers courants ont abouti à la fondation de la première societé nord-americaine de lexicographie, la Dictionary Society of North America qui édite une revue annuelle 'Dictionaries' paraissant depuis 1979.

According to Steiner (1991, 2952), "Williams produced one of the few bilingual dictionaries compiled according to a consistent plan". Indeed, because Williams started his dictionary as an entirely new undertaking and did not depend slavishly on older dictionaries, it can be said of him what Steiner (1970, 93) says of Connelly: "[He] started his work with a clean slate." After Williams (1955), Spanish and English bilingual dictionaries started to be published at an increasing rate in America, France, Germany, and Spain. Unfortunately, this increase in quantity does not necessarily imply an increase in quality: "El punto flaco de la lexicografía española de nuestro tiempo son los *diccionarios bilingües* publicados en España. Muchos de ellos están completamente anticuados, en cuanto al léxico registrado y en cuanto al método, y no se renuevan a un ritmo suficiente; [...]. De hecho, son pocos los diccionarios bilingües de 'nueva planta' que se han publicado en España desde hace 35 años; frecuentes, en cambio, las reimpresiones" (Haensch et al. 1982, 124). Thirteen years later, the situation had not changed much: "Publicada una edición, se debe empezar a trabajar ya en la siguiente: no en la siguiente reimpresión, ya que esa no precisa trabajo lexicográfico (*y es la que más se practica en España, especialmente en el terreno de los diccionarios bilingües*), sino en la siguiente reedición", writes Martínez de Sousa (1995, 262, s.v. *material lexicográfico*, my italics).

To sum up, in this section have been presented a series of papers and monographs concerned with the problems of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. The history of the field now covers four centuries, since the earliest wordbooks appeared in the second

half of the sixteenth century. Following Steiner's historical account of the alphabetic tradition, the first recension in Spanish and English bilingual lexicography covers a period of almost two hundred years (from 1591 up to 1778), during which six main lexicographers (Percyvall, Minsheu, Stevens, Pineda, Giral Delpino and Baretti) published dictionaries. Steiner's survey shows that plagiarism was common throughout the period, with lexicographers usually copying from their predecessors. The dictionaries form a chain of borrowed material going back to one of Percyvall's sources, namely the unpublished manuscript by Dr. Thomas D'Oylie. This manuscript served as a basis for Percyvall's dictionary, beginning a lineage that continued with Minsheu, Stevens, Pineda, Giral Delpino, and ended with Baretti. The second recension begins in 1797-98, with the publication of Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins' four-volume bilingual dictionary. This original work was prepared following a new methodology in the treatment of the microstructure, for which the authors consulted Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), Thomas Sheridan's *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780), the Spanish Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726-39) and the *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes* by Esteban de Terreros y Pando (Madrid, 1786-8). The dictionary by Connelly and Higgins began a second lineage, which continued until the first half of the twentieth century, a period that Steiner calls the *second recension*. Of all the compilers belonging to the first recension, Richard Percyvall and John Minsheu have received particular attention; in fact, their sources and methods of compilation have been studied by, among others, Steiner himself, Schäfer (1978a), Stein (1985), Noland (1989), Guerrero Ramos (1992), and Alvar Ezquerra (2002).

Along with the rapid increase in the number of Spanish and English bilingual dictionaries published, the number of bibliographies, facsimile editions, books, journal articles, conference papers, and case studies indicate an increasing interest in our field of study. But there are still areas that require further research. For example, in-depth studies of the sources of each of the early dictionaries, such as that carried out by Professor Noland (1987) on the sources of Minsheu's polyglot dictionary of 1617, remain to be done.

Likewise, little work has been done on the nineteenth century: the different dictionaries and editions have to be inventoried, their sources and relationships explored. Even if Steiner explained the lineage of dictionaries from Percyvall to Connelly and Higgins, his study does not include the anonymous wordbooks of 1554 recorded by Roberts (1970) or Lewis Owen's short dictionary of 1605, nor are his analyses of the works by Thorius (1590), Stepney (1591), and Minsheu (1617) detailed. His discussion of the lives of the early lexicographers and the circumstances surrounding the production of the works is often thin. Therefore, his study published in 1970 needs to be revised and completed with more recent findings. Furthermore, two aspects are conspicuous by their absence, not only from Steiner's works but also from more recent research: topically arranged wordbooks and the structural components of the outside matter. Indeed, prior to studying the nineteenth century, a historical and comparative study of the topics discussed in the front and/or back matter texts of the early Spanish and English wordbooks should be carried out. Such a study should be done bearing in mind that lexicography includes both the alphabetical and the topical traditions, since scholars have dealt primarily with alphabetical works and explored mainly their sources. In this way, future projects would be able to better explore relations among works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and investigate principles followed in the compilation of all types of wordbooks.

3) Statement of the Problem

From the previous review of the literature it is clear that two aspects are missing from existing research on early Spanish and English lexicography: 1) the systematic comparison of topically-arranged wordbooks, and 2) the study of the outside matter of both alphabetic and topical wordbooks.

"There is more to the story of lexicography," writes McArthur (1986b, 157), "than dictionaries – if by 'dictionaries' one means no more and no less than alphabetically organized books that list words and their definitions." McArthur (ibid.) argues that historians have had a limited view of lexicography, generally focusing only on dictionaries. In fact, however, this history is more complicated and a wider approach is required, one that includes both alphabetical and topical wordbooks:

> A more panoramic examination of the history of reference technology and taxonomy suggests that lexicography – the art and craft of marshalling and relating words, etc. – consists of not one strong tradition-cum-format plus some occasionally fascinating fragments of other approaches, but *two* distinct and complementary traditions.
>
> These traditions are *alphabetic lexicography* on the one side and *thematic lexicography* on the other (McArthur 1986b, 157).

According to McArthur, the thematic or topical tradition is older, having its roots in Plato, Aristotle and Pliny and stretching to the Scholastics, whereas the alphabetical tradition became dominant around the seventeenth century. In Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, a study of the thematic tradition of early wordbooks is lacking.

Scholars have also devoted little attention to the outside matter of both alphabetic and thematic compilations. In section 1.2 above, the constituent elements of the outside matter were examined and grouped under three headings: the front matter, the middle matter, and the back matter. According to Cop (1989, 761), these may contain two types of information:

> Front and back matter of a dictionary can be separated into two different categories: such containing information which is essential to the effective

use of the dictionary or which can be considered as an integral part of the main body, and such which complements the information given in the main part of the dictionary or which provides additional linguistic and/or encyclopedic information; this information need not have a direct relationship to the main body.

Cop goes on to explain that to the first category belong component parts such as the preface or foreword, the user's guide, the phonetic alphabet, and a list of abbreviations. Almost every dictionary contains such information, usually in the front matter. The second category of information includes, for example, lists of place names, foreign words and phrases, weights and measures, etc. Of the different texts the front matter may contain, the preface or foreword is essential, serving as an introductory text where data on the purpose, content, sources, intended users, compilers and plan of the dictionary may be given.

In his surveys of the history and theory of lexicography, Hausmann (1988b, 81 and 1989, 216) mentions three important texts for the history of metalexicography prior to the development of this discipline during the twentieth century: ancient prefaces, dictionary reviews, and the entry *dictionary* in early dictionaries and encyclopedias. This is where the prolegomena, so to speak, to modern metalexicography can be found:

> On peut se demander depuis quand il y a une métalexicographie. À la recherche des premiers balbutiements, on épluchera d'abord les préfaces des dictionnaires. Certains parmi les grands lexicographes du temps passé ont beaucoup réfléchi sur leur art et se sont élevés à un niveau théorique admirable. C'est notamment le cas d'auteurs de dictionnaires bilingues qui étaient souvent en même temps enseignants et traducteurs. [...] On se tournera également vers les comptes rendus de dictionnaire, genre qui débute avec éclat dès l'*Anticrusca* de Paolo Beni en 1612, [...] Troisième source à ne pas négliger pour l'histoire de la metalexicographie : les articles consacrés au dictionnaire dans les dictionnaires eux-mêmes et dans les encyclopédies (Hausmann 1988b, 81).

In the case of bilingual dictionaries in particular, Hausmann (1989, 217) explains that prefaces to bilingual dictionaries have remained "dans l'ombre" although they often contain "une grande richesse d'information tant sur le plan métalexicographique que culturel général." This scholar speaks of a "métalexicographie 'préfacière'" (Hausmann,

1989, 220 ff.) and refers to a series of subjects discussed in prefatory texts of mono- and bilingual dictionaries, such as the history of the language, contrastive linguistics, a theory of lexicography, the works of other lexicographers, criticism of other dictionaries, and technical problem of dictionary compilation.

It should be noted that this metalexicographical content has rarely been the object of systematic research and description. The following works have been identified: an article by Naïs (1968) on the prefatory texts of Cotgrave's *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongves* (1611); Hayashi's *The Theory of English Lexicography 1530-1791* (1978), which takes prefatory texts into account in its study of English lexicography (1530-1791); an article by Mazière (1985) on the prefaces of French dictionaries from the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century; an article by Alvar Ezquerra (1993, 215-239) on the prefaces of the Spanish Academy's dictionaries; the critical edition of the prefaces of the French Academy's dictionaries (1694-1992) by Quemada (1997); an article by Francoeur et al. (2000), where the authors examine the evolution of French monolingual dictionaries in the light of two topics from the front matter: the expected readership and comments on previous and/or competing dictionaries; an article by Chrétien et al. (2001) on the prefaces of two of the French Academy's dictionaries (1694 and 1798); and professor Francoeur's unpublished dissertation (2001) on the front matter of French monolingual dictionaries, *Les discours de présentation des dictionnaires monolingues français (1680-2000) : des dictionnaires non institutionnels au 'Dictionnaire de l'Académie française'.* Quemada (1997, viii-ix) is thus correct when he writes:

> Nous manquons d'études d'ensemble sur le *genre Préfaces de dictionnaires*, comme sur les textes qui les complètent ou en tiennent lieu : "Avis au lecteur", "Avant-propos", "Eclaircissement", "Avertissement", "Discours préliminaire", "Prospectus", etc. Destinés à expliquer ou à justifier le projet particulier que représente chaque dictionnaire, à préparer sa réception et son utilisation, ils abordent, à l'occasion ou en marge de la présentation du contenu, de nombreuses questions de linguistique, d'histoire de la langue, de théorie et d'histoire de la lexicographie, quand ce n'est la critique d'ouvrages ou d'auteurs rivaux. [...] [L]a plupart de ces textes éclairent de manière irremplaçable l'entreprise, ses objectifs linguistiques, didactiques,

politiques, les destinataires visés, les positions théoriques et méthodologiques des rédacteurs envers la langue et sa description, les conditions d'exécution de l'ouvrage, etc.

This lack of research on prefaces and other preliminary texts (the front matter) is particularly noticeable in the field of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. Scattered references to prefaces can be found in some of the works mentioned in section (2) above, for example in Martín-Gamero (1961) and Steiner (1970, 1985, and 2003), where there are references to prefaces of the early dictionaries in connection with the sources and compilation or aspects of the microstructure. Martin-Gamero's remarks on the works are often unreliable and vague, however, while Steiner focuses on issues of compilation methodology and dependence to establish a line of dictionaries divided into the historical periods he calls recensions. Steiner pays little or no attention to the way dictionaries are structured or to the texts included in the front matter. Indeed, he does not use the term *preface* consistently but rather to refer to any front matter text, even with a different title. Moreover, when there are various texts with different titles in the front matter of a dictionary he does not specify to which "preface" he is referring. Dictionary structures, and the outside matter in general, have not been approached in a methodical way; there has been no detailed study of the outside matter in general, or of the preliminary texts in particular, of early Spanish and English bilingual wordbooks. Given this, the aim of our research is as follows: to examine this rather neglected area of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, including the works that make up the topical tradition. The general question that this historical and comparative study tries to answer is this: what can the structure of the early alphabetical and topical Spanish and English wordbooks and their outside matter texts tell us about the principles of compilation lexicographers followed and about the purpose of their works?

As for the diachronic frame of the study, the corpus begins with the two anonymous wordbooks of 1554 (the earliest specimens of Spanish and English lexicography known to date) and ends with the second edition of Stevens' grammar and vocabulary (1739) and the dictionary of Pedro Pineda (1740). We end with Pineda's work since in the work of later

bilingual compilers it is possible to observe an increasing dependence on monolingual dictionaries such as Samuel Johnson's authoritative *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) and the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726-39) of the Spanish Academy. Spanish and English dictionaries published after Pineda's were influenced by the normative approach. In fact, Hippolyto Giral Delpino (Pineda's successor) was the first to recognize on the title page of his 1763 *Diccionário, español è inglés, è inglés y español* the authority of the Spanish Academy. The codification of Spanish spelling by the Academy was recognized first in the topical tradition by Sebastian Puchol, the editor of the second edition of Stevens' grammar and vocabulary (1739), but it did not affect the content of the vocabulary beyond spelling. It is necessary to include this edition in the corpus because it contains the only complete version of Stevens' vocabulary.

The following topical and alphabetical wordbooks, and editions, are included in our corpus, presented in order of publication of their first edition:

1. Works from the sixteenth century:

   1.1 *The Book of English and Spanish* (1554?)

   1.2 *A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554)

   1.3 John Thorius' *The Spanish Grammer [...] with a Dictionarie Adioyned unto it* (1590)

   1.4 Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica. Containing a Grammar; with a Dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine* (1591)

   1.5 William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master. Containing Seven Dialogues [...] and a Vocabularie* (1591, 1619, 1620)

   1.6 John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599, 1623)

2. Works from the seventeenth century:

   2.1 Lewis Owen's *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (1605, 1606?)

2.2 John Minsheu's *The Guide into the Tongues* (1617, 1625, 1626, 1627) and *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English (and Sometime Other Languages)* (1617)

3. Works from the eighteenth century:

3.1 Captain John Stevens' *A New Spanish and English Dictionary* (1706-5, 1726)

3.2 Félix Antonio de Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues. With [...] the Construction of the Universe, and the Principal Terms of the Arts and Sciences* (1718, 1719)

3.3 Captain John Stevens' *New Spanish Grammar [...] To Which Is Added, a Vocabulary of the Most Necessary Words* (1725, 1739)

3.4 Pedro Pineda's *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish* (1740).

The list comprises a total of twelve wordbooks and twenty-two editions, of which wordbooks (1.1), (1.5), (3.2) and (3.3) are topical and the rest alphabetical. As a rule, no multilingual works are included, with the exception of Minsheu's 1617 polyglot dictionary, *The Guide into the Tongues*, and its binding companion, the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English (and Sometimes Other Languages)*. These works are included because a discussion of them leads to a better and fuller understanding of Minsheu's lexicographical practice and because they influenced subsequent bilingual dictionaries.

The discussion of each work begins with introductory remarks on the author's life and work as well as the genesis and compilation of the vocabulary or dictionary in question. Following the exploration of sources, the megastructure of the work is presented and the outside matter texts are inventoried. Then, the macro- and microstructures are studied and compared to those of previous works. To make a comparison of the dictionaries

possible, a sample of a total of thirty-two pages (sixteen pages from each part of the dictionary) has been taken from the first four pages under letters *A*, *F*, *L* and *T*. The samples thus cover the beginning, middle, and final parts of the dictionary and provide a starting point for comparing the word lists. Short dictionaries (e.g., Thorius and Owen) and topical vocabularies (e.g., Stepney and Stevens) are studied in their entirety, but it was necessary to take a sample from Alvarado's larger nomenclator. When little or no research exists on a particular work, emphasis is placed on aspects such as alphabetization, capitalization, articles, accents, and the microstructural data. The study of the front and/or back matter texts comes last and provides a comparison of the subjects in the front matter of a particular wordbook with those in the others. This makes it possible to clarify the interrelationships between the wordbooks, as well as the evolution of the organization and lexicographical principles. The levels of analysis explained in section 1.2 above have served as guidelines. First, the following questions are relevant when exploring the organization of the outside matter and the subjects treated therein:

a) How is the outside matter organized?

b) What subjects are discussed by the lexicographer?

c) Are there any theoretical issues discussed in the front or back matter of the work?

d) Are there any linguistic topics, such as the history of languages, discussed?

e) Is there a discussion of any lexicographical subjects, for example, the history of lexicography or the work of previous compilers?

f) Is there any information concerning the preparation of the work?

g) Are the sources mentioned and the method of compilation explained?

h) What is the function of the work? Who is the intended user?

Second, the following questions have been asked regarding the macro- and microstructures:

a) What is the arrangement of the macrostructure and what title does the work bear?

b) Is there an explanation of the formal and semantic properties given for the headwords?

c) Are there remarks on the type of word list compiled, that is, does it contain everyday words, hard words, cant, place names, personal names, etc.?

To summarize, this section has presented the rationale, corpus, and methodology of our study. The research will pay particular attention to the structure of the early alphabetical and topical Spanish and English wordbooks and their outside matter texts to see what they tell us about the principles of compilation lexicographers followed and about the purpose of their works. The research will also review and take into account the findings of other scholars but, unlike in previous studies, both the alphabetical and the topical traditions have been included. The corpus includes two anonymous works plus the works of eight lexicographers, for a total of twenty-two editions from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century. The importance of this project lies in its contribution to the theoretical development of the field of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography.

4) Historical Overview

4.1) Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522) and the birth of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography

Modern lexicography originated during the Renaissance, with the revival of learning that spread throughout Europe. This revival changed the overall conception of lexicographical works, as Quemada (1990, 55) explains:

> [L]a lexicographie moderne a débuté dans l'Europe occidentale, avec la contribution de tous le pays, vers la fin du 15ᵉ et le début du 16ᵉ siècle. Elle avait des antécédents importants, internationaux eux aussi. Mais elle représente bien à cette époque une *Nouvelle lexicographie* car elle propose des produits et des services encore inconnus : les premiers dictionnaires (le mot naît alors avec la chose). Jusque là, seuls étaient réalisés [...] les glossaires et les lexiques qui ont prolongé au long du Moyen Âge la tradition latinisante antérieure.

A variety of factors contributed to this *première révolution lexicographique* – as Quemada (1990, 55) calls it – and the development of a new lexicography. The introduction of printing meant that many more copies of books, of dictionaries in particular, could be made available.[1] The humanistic revival of learning stimulated the compilation of grammars, manuals and wordbooks which, thanks to printing, were not only more easily available but also circulated among travellers, explorers, and merchants, reaching larger audiences. The emergence of the vernaculars had a similar effect on the publication of dictionaries. As a transition from medieval to modern times, the Renaissance had, from a linguistic point of view, a twofold effect: first, the revival of classical learning and the use of Latin as a scholarly language fostered the compilation of Latin-vernacular (or vice versa) dictionaries and vocabularies for cultural and learning purposes; second, the increasing interest in the study of vernacular languages themselves promoted the compilation of word lists in modern languages, useful for travellers and merchants. With the rise of the vernaculars came the realization that modern languages were suited for general political,

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[1] On the impact of printing on lexicography, see Collison (1982, 54-60).

commercial, and international relations. In addition, the Reformation increased the demand for translations and, by the same token, the need for glossaries and vocabularies, just as travel, exploration and trade had.

A variety of factors, therefore, contributed to the extraordinary development of lexicography during the Renaissance. These were cultural, pragmatic, philological, linguistic, commercial, religious, etc. in nature. Nevertheless, in spite of the decline of Latin as a lingua franca brought about by the Renaissance, it remained for some time the language of scholars and of instruction, as well as the preferred second language in bilingual wordbooks. The decline of Latin and the rise of vernaculars was gradual;[2] thus, by the sixteenth century two categories of bilingual wordbooks existed: Latin-vernacular or vernacular-Latin (e.g. Latin-English, Latin-Spanish, Spanish-Latin, etc.), as well as dictionaries combining two vernaculars (e.g., English-French, Spanish-English, Spanish-Italian, etc.).[3]

In this historical framework, the late fifteenth century is a pivotal moment for modern lexicography in Spanish and English, with two works relevant to our subject appearing during the last decade of that century. First, in 1490, the *Universal vocabulario en latín y romance* by Antonio de Palencia,[4] with Latin headwords and glosses in Spanish, and second, two years later, in 1492, the Latin-Spanish dictionary of Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522). The first work still belongs in the medieval lexicographical tradition, as has been demonstrated by Colon and Soberanas (1979, 24) in their introductory essay to the facsimile edition of Nebrija's *Diccionario latino-español.* They write: "Esta obra [Palencia's] se halla todavía anclada en la tradición medieval y nos recuerda, con sus prolijas explicaciones, a los compiladores de los glosarios mediolatinos." Niederehe (1987a, 160) is of a similar opinion: "el diccionario de Fernández de Palencia, aunque

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[2] See Percival (1975, 247 ff.).
[3] On these two categories of dictionaries, see Hayashi (1978, 2), and Haensch (1993-4, 228).
[4] For the full title page and a description of this work, see Viñaza (1978, 723) and Niederehe (1994, 22-3). There is a facsímile edition available online from the *Catálogo General* of the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes.*

declara seguir la pauta de los humanistas, no es otra cosa que una traducción fiel de un diccionario monolingüe latino del siglo XI, el del italiano Papias,[5] y por consiguiente no se puede considerar como una obra renacentista." A similar conclusion has been reached by Azorín Fernández (2000, 13-49), who provides an interesting and well documented overview of Medieval glossaries, the place of Palencia's work in this tradition, and the innovations introduced by Nebrija's works. A link to the Medieval tradition can be seen in the microstructure of Palencia's work, in the sense that he "follows closely the format of his Italian models and uses unreservedly the dissertation technique, that is, an often lengthy prose account of the concept in question, and without significant insight", explains MacDonald (1982, 11). From the point of view of its organization, Palencia's work is not strictly speaking, observes Azorín Fernández (2000, 28), a bilingual dictionary but rather

> un diccionario doble: el texto se presenta en dos columnas, donde la columna de la izquierda contiene un diccionario monolingüe latino; esto es, al entrada es una palabra latina y las explicaciones que siguen a la entrada están también en latín. En la columna de la derecha, Palencia dispone la misma entrada en latín, pero esta vez seguida de la traducción al romance de las explicaciones latinas de la columna de la izquierda.

On the other hand, Nebrija's work was revolutionary, as far as its sources and methodology were concerned, and became a milestone in lexicography.

Antonio de Nebrija is traditionally considered the father of Spanish philology and lexicography. His full name was Antonio Martínez de Cala y Xarana, and he was born in the city of Nebrissa, Sevilla. During his youth he studied in Salamanca and Italy. Returning to Spain he taught rhetoric and grammar at the Universidad de Salamanca, after which, in 1513, he became professor of the Universidad Complutense de Alcalá de Henares. He published a series of works that made him the greatest Spanish humanist and grammarian,[6]

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[5] Grammarian from the eleventh century, the work referred to here is the *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* or *Papiae Elementarium*.

[6] On Nebrija's life, see Cuesta Gutiérrez (1961, 107 ff.), MacDonald (1974, 11 ff.), and Padley (1988, 157 ff.). Regarding the importance of Nebrija in the history of Spanish lexicography, see Gili Gaya (1963, 9-10);

as well as a key figure in modern lexicography.[7] In 1481, he published a Latin grammar which, according to MacDonald (1982, 11), became the standard in Spain for over three centuries. In 1492, he published the first Spanish grammar,[8] a remarkable work that was ahead of his time in technique and insight, and that, MacDonald continues, "served to promote grammatical stability and enabled the public to study the colloquial language in a formal and orderly fashion." For many scholars, it was the first grammar of any vernacular in Europe, as Percival (1975, 249) explains: "The first full-scale grammar of a vernacular (apart from Alberti's brilliant but uninfluential sketch of Tuscan) was the Castilian grammar of the humanist Antonio de Nebrija, which appeared in 1492." Padley (1988, 157), on the other hand, says that the first grammar of any European vernacular is Leon Batista Alberti's *Regole della vulgar lingua fiorentina* (c. 1443). Be that as it may, there is agreement among scholars about the pioneering role of Nebrija's Spanish grammar. More important for this study is the publication in Salamanca, also in 1492, of Nebrija's *Lexicon hoc est dictionarium ex semone latino in hispaniense*, a Latin-Spanish dictionary containing approximately 22,500 entries.[9] In the same city also appeared Nebrija's *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem*,[10] probably in 1495 (the original has no publication date), a Spanish-Latin dictionary with more than 28,000 entries. The influence of these two dictionaries was enormous; in fact, they served as a source for both the content and methodology of subsequent bilingual dictionaries.

Niederehe (1987a, 158 ff.); Guerrero Ramos (1996, 9 ff.); Stammerjohann (1996, 669-71), Azorín Fernández (2000, 14 ff.), Alvar (2001, 149-67), and García-Macho (2001, 43 ff.).

[7] The role of Nebrija as first modern lexicographer has been showed by Gili Gaya (1960, ix ff.), Mac Donald (1974, 1982), Guerrero Ramos (1992, 1995, 1996), Alvar Ezquerra (1991, 1995), and Medina Guerra (1996).

[8] See the 1992 edition of Nebrija's grammar in three volumes: volume one contains a facsimile edition of the grammar, volume two a critical edition by Antonio Quilis, and volume three a series of papers on Nebrija edited by Manuel Alvar. Also see Padley (1988, 157 ff. and 196 ff.) for a discussion of Nebrija's work.

[9] See the facsimile edition with an introduction prepared by Colón and Soberanas in 1979. For a full title page, description and excerpts from this work see Viñaza (1978, 723-32).

[10] See the facsimile edition published in 1951 (reprinted in 1989) by the *Real Academia Española*. There is also a critical edition based on the 1516 edition prepared with an introduction by Gerald MacDonald (1981). See Niederehe (1994 and 1999, passim) for title pages and brief descriptions of the numerous editions of Nebrija's work up to 1700.

Niederehe (1987a, 158 ff.) establishes four periods in the history of Spanish lexicography up to 1599, of which the first two are relevant to our subject. The first covers the period from the early twelfth century up to the publication of Palencia's work in 1490. Palencia's *Vocabulario* is important because it contains Spanish glosses and rich encyclopaedic information; nevertheless, as previously mentioned, it is a work still deeply rooted in the Medieval tradition for its sources and overall structure. Niederehe (1987a, 159) calls the second period *the age of Nebrija*, which testifies to the importance of this lexicographer. This period covers the life and work of Antonio de Nebrija, from the publication of his Latin-Spanish dictionary in 1492 to his death in 1522. Moreover, Nebrija's works underwent numerous editions: in the introductory note the facsimile edition of the Spanish-Latin dictionary, the *Real Academia Española* (1989, unpaginated) remarks that there were some ninety editions of both dictionaries up to 1834. Likewise, Niederehe (1987a, 160) points out that from 1530 up to the end of the sixteenth century, there appeared an average of five editions of Nebrija's works per decade. The dictionaries became true classics, the first in a large series of dictionaries involving the Spanish language as well as other modern languages. Colon and Soberanas (1979) have shown how the 1495 Spanish-Latin work is not a simple reversal of the Latin-Spanish dictionary published three years earlier; they have also traced the potential sources of the 1492 work and demonstrated how difficult it is to find definitive links to previous compilers, a fact that points towards Nebrija's originality with respect to the works that may have been available to him. These aspects have been studied by Guerrero Ramos (1995, 1996) and Azorín Fernández (2000, 36 ff.), who have concluded that Nebrija did not follow any particular source but rather devised modern lexicographical techniques that broke with the long, encyclopaedic compilations that had preceded him.

What made Nebrija's works so influential? From a lexicographical point of view, entries in Nebrija's dictionaries are structurally uniform, as is his treatment of abbreviations and orthography. Such consistency is also evident, according to Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 175-

6), in the grammatical information Nebrija provides and in the simplicity of the equivalents. MacDonald (1982, 12) explains that Nebrija's dictionary of 1492 is:

> [T]he first regular dictionary – one that is neither a selective nor partial lexicon – of a modern European language. It displays technical qualities and strengths which only today are we able to appreciate fully. Primary among these are excellent word processing procedures, including use of origin, status, and usage labels, discriminating glosses, and specification phrases. His definitions may be described as precise and objective, and the entire enterprise as scientific, insightful, and economical in format.

The first modern bilingual dictionaries, such as Christoval de las Casas' *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* (1570) and Jean Palet's *Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa* (1604),[11] made use of Nebrija's word lists, as Gili Gaya (1960, x) points out in the preface to his *Tesoro lexicográfico (1492-1726)*:[12]

> Estos primeros diccionarios bilingües se apoyan igualmente en el de Nebrija, en el cual sustituyen las palabras latinas por sus equivalentes italianas, inglesas o francesas; sus autores añaden por su cuenta un número mayor o menor de vocablos castellanos. Nebrija, reducido y adaptado a las necesidades de la catequesis y de la vida práctica, es también la base de los vocabularios compuestos por los misioneros en lenguas indígenas de América[13] y de las islas del Pacífico. En lenguas europeas, el primero en fecha fue el toscano del P. Las Casas (1570), al cual siguieron el inglés de Percivale (1599)[14] y el francés de Palet (1604); de ellos arrancan la mayor parte de los diccionarios bilingües y plurilingües que se escribieron durante los siglos XVII y XVIII.

According to MacDonald (1982, 12), it is clear that other dictionaries make use of Nebrija's word lists:

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[11] This is the first bidirectional Spanish-French, French-Spanish dictionary.

[12] On the influence of Nebrija on subsequent lexicographers, see Guerrero Ramos (1992 and 1995, 99 ff.), Nieto (1994), and Azorín Fernández (2000, 51 ff.).

[13] For example, in the case of Nahualt; see Bustamante (1987, 86-7).

[14] Here Gili Gaya mistakes Richard Percyvall's Spanish-English dictionary of 1591 with that compiled by John Minsheu in 1599.

[W]e know that the Spanish-Latin dictionaries of Bartolomé Bravo and his successors, the Spanish-Italian vocabularies of Las Casas and Franciosini, the Spanish-French of Oudin and Sobrino, the Spanish-English of Percyvall, Minsheu, and Stevens, the Spanish-Flemish of Trognesius and de la Porte, and even the venerable polyglot Calepino itself, utilize Nebrija's word list as the basis of their Spanish vocabulary. The influential Spanish-Arabic vocabulary of Pedro de Alcalá (1505) uses Nebrija's lexicon exclusively, a fact which he acknowledges frankly.

Thus, Nebrija's lexicographical works are the starting point of modern lexicography. His dictionaries were reprinted several times, well into the nineteenth century, and became a template; indeed, they were imitated, modified, copied (with and without acknowledgement) and followed by all the lexicographers after him, which indicates how dependent upon Nebrija other compilers were. A similar conclusion is reached by Gallina (1959, 329-30), at the end of his book on Italian-Spanish lexicography:

> Da tutto quanto precede, risulta evidente che l'opera fondamentale da cui in misura maggiore o minore quasi tutti lessici posteriori derivano per la parte spagnuola, è il "Vocabolario de romance en latin" del Nebrija, il quale rivendica perciò non solo il merito di essere stato il primo lessico bilingue contenente una lingua viva, concepito modernamente, ma anche l'ispiratore dei suoi successori, miniera inesauribile cui essi attinsero a piene mani durante più di due secoli. Molto contribuì anche il Covarrubias a completare il materiale lessicale spagnuolo dei vocabolari a lui posteriori, ma è un apporto d'importanza assai inferiore sia per quantità sia perchè limitato nel tempo.

Nebrija is one of the truly great intellectual figures of Europe, whose works paved the way for future lexicographical work. Bilingual dictionaries involving two vernacular languages were rare before the sixteenth century: Latin continued to be the language of culture and the bridge between languages. In addition, Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 178) points out that whatever need for translation people had was fulfilled by polyglot works. As the cultural factors characterizing the Renaissance continued to transform society and as the vernaculars continued to assert themselves, the decline of Latin opened the way to a transition from polyglot to bilingual works, modeled upon those by Nebrija. Nebrija's work became the paradigm for bilingual lexicography. Once bilingual dictionaries involving two

vernaculars became increasingly available, monolingual lexicography and modern bilingual dictionaries were just one step away: "Una vez olvidada la autoridad de Nebrija y ante las necesidades reales de las lenguas vulgares surgirá la lexicografía monolingüe y estaremos ante los diccionarios bilingües modernos," as Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 178) puts it.

Let us now continue with a brief overview of the historical circumstances that led to the production of the earliest lexicographical works in Spanish and English bilingual lexicography in sixteenth-century England, namely the *The Boke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* (1554?) and *A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne the Maner of Redyng, Writyng, & Speakyng English and Spanish* (1554). During the first half of the sixteenth century, Spanish and English appeared together in polyglot dictionaries;[15] Salmon (2003, 265) also mentions a few lines in Spanish that appeared in Andrew Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction to Knowledge* (1542).[16] It was during the second half of that century, however, that the increasing political tension between Spain and England fostered the production of bilingual wordbooks linking these two languages.

4.2) Relations between Spain and England in the sixteenth century

In his study of Spanish literature in Tudor England, Underhill (1971, 2 ff.) observes that the alliance between Spain and England during the Renaissance can be traced back to the Middle Ages,[17] when, Underhill explains, the relations between Spain and England

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[15] See the bibliographies by Alston (1967) and Niederehe (1994); on early European polyglot works, also see Stein (1988).

[16] On the life and works of Andrew Boorde (or Borde, 1490?-1549), see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (2: 833-5), as well as F. J. Furnivall's edition of Boorde's *Fyrst Boke* (1981). The lines referred to by Salmon appear in chapter xxxi of Boorde's book, p. 201 of Furnivall's edition. Prior to Furnivall's edition, there was a facsimile of the book printed in 1814 with a short introductory note, see Borde (1814).

[17] For a survey of the relations between Spain and England during this period with emphasis on literature, see Underhill (1971 [1899]) and Ungerer (1965 and 1972). Ungerer (1972, 5-6) warns that Underhill's "presentation of literary facts is spoiled by many a mistake of detail. His bibliography ought to be consulted with utmost caution," but Ungerer acknowledges that Underhill's general conclusions are still valid, and that his political and biographical accounts compensate for Underhill's lack of first-hand literary information. That

were characterized by political expediency: the intermarriage of princes from both nations contributed to establish a diplomatic tradition. This connection between the two states "by marriage and by treaty since medieval times", as Underhill (1971, 58) puts it, prevented war or maintained neutrality depending on the circumstances. As for the relations between France and England, Underhill (1971, 6-7) notes that:

> In the twelfth century the French duchies, which were the patrimony of the Plantagenets, compelled the English to seek the alliance with Portugal and Castile, and to maintain it while territory on the south side of the channel continued to remain in their hands. When the sixteenth century had fairly begun, however, the English possessions in France had shrunk to proportions so inconsiderable that they no longer occupied other than a subordinate rôle [*sic*] in determining the policy of the nation. It was at this juncture that the attitude which Spain and England had maintained toward each other for over three hundred years was reversed, so that an alliance with England grew to be imperative to the interests of Spain itself.

The Renaissance changed the reliance on political expediency that had characterized relations between Spain and England. Indeed, the revival of art and learning, the development of science, the discovery of America, and the increasing trade with the East meant that relations between states had to go beyond the purely political sphere; commercial as well as social and religious factors began to reshape the old alliances. Spain's political power and colonial empire influenced England's social and intellectual life. According to Wiener (1899, 3) during most of the sixteenth century Spanish language and literature were largely unknown in England; nevertheless, a growing interest on the part of English intellectuals in Tudor England in Spanish language and literature led to the publication of the first Spanish grammars and dictionaries in that country at the end of the sixteenth century.[18] According to Ungerer (1965, 178), this interest was due to Catherine of Aragon, who had married Henry VIII in 1509.

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is why we have retained Underhill's book in our discussion of this period. For comprehensive historical studies, see Elliot (1967), and Lynch (1991).

[18] For a historical study of the printing of Spanish books in Tudor England, see Ungerer (1965).

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the relations between Spain and England went through different phases, from alliances and royal marriages to hatred and war. Spain did not pay much attention to artistic, literary, and linguistic activities in England; it was England that became gradually interested in all things Spanish during that period. The changing political situation between the two countries influenced social life in England, in particular literature and lexicography:

> The three phases in the history of this attempt at the maintenance of friendship with the Tudors on the part of Ferdinand and the Austrian House, as they manifested themselves in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., of Mary, and of Elizabeth, respectively, embody quite separately the influence of Spain in England during the sixteenth century, and are distinctly differentiated from each other, not only in politics, but in the social and literary affiliations of the people as well (Underhill 1971, 7-8)

At the end of the fifteenth century, Ferdinand of Aragon's strategy aimed at maintaining and fortifying the alliance that had existed with England since the Middle Ages. Thus, in 1489, Ferdinand and Henry VII signed the treaty of Medina del Campo, agreeing to the marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur, the son of Henry VII. The marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur in 1501, and later to Henry VIII (in 1509, after Arthur's death in 1502) was the first step in a diplomatic policy that involved the residence of Spanish courtiers, ambassadors, and other diplomatic agents in London. Catherine of Aragon played an important role in the history of Spanish letters in England.[19] Underhill (1971, 56) explains that it was due to her that England had access to knowledge of Spanish letters for the first time. She was intelligent and cultivated and, in the words of Ungerer (1965, 178), "the inspiration of Spanish culture at Court and at the Universities." It is not certain whether the members of her court learnt English; in any case, the first Spaniards to learn English did so out of necessity and not out of intellectual curiosity, because they were immigrants in England or members of a prince's court and had no choice

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[19] On the figure and role of Catherine of Aragon in Tudor England, see Travitsky (1997).

but to learn the language of the country where they would temporarily reside.[20] The importance of Catherine's presence in England was enormous; as Ungerer (1965, 178) explains, "All the Spanish books adapted and translated into English during the reign of Henry VIII can ultimately be traced to her influence." Thanks to her presence, the court of Henry VIII became the cradle of translation of Spanish books into English.

On the deaths of Edward VI and of Lady Jane Grey, Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, became Queen of England in 1553. Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, seized the opportunity that the Restoration of Roman Catholicism in England offered to strengthen his interests there, with the marriage of his son, Philip II, to Queen Mary I in 1554. England had become important to Spanish foreign policy and trade and Charles V tried to make it part of his empire: "Charles V had staked the security of the Low Countries on the English alliance and had expressed his wish 'that at all costs England and the Low Countries should be bound together, so that they can provide each other with mutual aid against their enemies'" (Lynch 1991, 252). An alliance with England was imperative and this was the reason of the arranged marriage between Philip II and Queen Mary. As Elliot (1967, 202) explains:

> It was in the hope of making this new empire a viable unit that Charles married Philip to Mary Tudor in 1554. There was about the English match an imaginative boldness typical of the Emperor coupled with a greater awareness of economic and strategic realities than had characterized some of his previous grand designs. In place of the vast and cumbersome geographical monstrosity that passed for an empire under Charles V, Philip II would rule an empire of three logical units: England and the Netherlands, Spain and Italy, and America.

Philip II tried to continue his father's foreign policy and diplomacy, but this failed with the death of Queen Mary in 1558, the ascension of Elizabeth I, and the repeal of Catholicism in England:

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[20] On the practical reasons for learning Spanish at that time see Watson (1909, 469 ff.).

Philip II tried his utmost to salvage what he could from this policy [Charles V's], and before he reached a settlement with France he waged an intense diplomatic campaign to keep the English base in his hands. But circumstances were against him. The fall of Calais ruined the little reputation he still possessed in England, while the death of his wife severed the formal ties of alliance. In desperation he then tried to marry Elizabeth, but she was elusive and noncommittal, and it took Philip about two months to realize that she had no intention of marrying him (Lynch 1991, 252-3).

Philip II then inaugurated a more aggressive imperial policy towards England, a decision which was in part a response to the naval and commercial attacks by English pirates. There were religious reasons as well, with the catholic Philip II fighting the protestant Elizabeth I. Finally, during the 1580s and 1590s shipments of silver from America had increased to an extraordinary extent, allowing Philip II to move towards a more aggressive foreign policy. Elliot (1967, 263) explains:

This new *largueza* – abundance of money – gave Philip real freedom of manoeuvre for the first time in his reign. At last, after long years on the defensive, he could go over to the attack. It was because he had acquired this sudden accession of wealth that Philip was able to embark upon the bold projects and imperial ventures of the 1580s and 1590s: the plans for the recovery of the northern Netherlands, [...] the launching of the Armada against England in 1588; the intervention in the civil wars in France in the 1590s.

This policy of conquest that ultimately led to the defeat of the Spanish Invincible Armada in 1588[21] and the continuation of war against England until 1603 provide the political framework for the origins and development of Spanish letters and lexicography in England.

During the sixteenth century relations between England and Spain were not limited to princes and their courtiers. Commerce with England had been steadily growing since the fifteenth century, and after the marriage of Philip II and Mary, the number of Spanish merchants in London increased; with the death of Mary and the ascension of Elizabeth I, however, religion became a source of dissension and the situation of Spaniards in England

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[21] For a study of the planning and launching of the Spanish Armada, see Lynch (1991, 439-63).

deteriorated. Many left the country. The total number of Spaniards in England diminished even further after the defeat of the Invincible Armada. Commercial relations between both countries also brought merchants from England to Spain, mainly to Madrid and Valladolid, or to ports such as Bilbao and Seville, due to the commercial activity with the colonies in America. In this way, commercial activities followed political alliances, and both in turn influenced the printing of Spanish books (including dictionaries and vocabularies) in England:

> The dissemination of Spanish books in England, therefore, was absolutely dependent upon the course of politics and commerce. It followed their development closely in volume and in kind. The rise and power of Castilian culture in the home of the Tudors were determined by and sensitive to the successive phases of the political contest between the English and Spanish nations (Underhill 1971, 16).

English merchants in Tudor England gradually realized the importance of the study of the languages of the countries with which they traded.[22] Available to them were polyglot vocabularies, conversation manuals, travel books, and grammars. Tudor merchants, and later on Stuart tradesman, took up the study of foreign languages because this knowledge became essential to carry on their trade abroad. At first, French was the language that attracted the merchants' attention due to its widespread use. According to Wiener (1899, 3):

> It was but natural for Englishmen to cling to the French language. Ever since the Norman invasion there was a continuous stream of French literary influences active in England; besides the court pleadings were held in French, and the majority of law-books were written in the same language. This intimate intercourse of Englishmen with the French language had sharpened in them a clearer understanding of its laws than was naturally shown by those Frenchmen who did not have another language with which to compare their own. So it happened that the French grammars and dictionaries which appeared in England in the sixteenth century[23] were more

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[22] See Wright's paper (1931) for a discussion of the different pedagogical works available to Elizabethan merchants.

[23] For example, the works of John Palsgrave and Claudius Hollyband. Palsgrave is the author of *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (1530), a grammar with an English-French dictionary. Hollyband is the author of several works for the teaching of French, such as *The French Schoole-maister* (1573) and *The*

thorough and are of greater philological importance than similar native works of the same period.

English merchants had at their disposal a series of works printed in continental Europe, in particular in France and Flanders. These were the polyglot manuals, dictionaries and vocabularies derived from the works of Adam von Rottweil and Noel van Barlement, as well as grammars and dialogues printed specifically for English merchants. The polyglot vocabularies included languages such as French, Latin, Spanish, Flemish, and English, and proved useful to tradesman wherever they went. Even though Spanish did not attain the importance of French in England, it slowly became essential during the late sixteenth century due to Spain's preeminence. As trade increased, knowledge of Spanish became necessary, despite the growing political tension between Spain and England during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I. According to Ungerer (1965, 177), of the European countries that printed books in Spanish during the sixteenth century, the Netherlands were first, followed by Italy and France. In contrast, Spanish books were printed in England at a later date, beginning with the publication of the *Book of English and Spanish* and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, to be discussed in the following sections.[24] The delay in printing Spanish books in England, notes Ungerer (1965, 183), becomes more evident when it is realized that the earliest English printing of French books dates back to the fifteenth century. Why this late start?

As already mentioned, during the sixteenth century relations between England and Spain went through different phases, from royal marriages and diplomacy to open hostility and war. Merchants were also an important part of these relations. Another group of Spaniards living in England were immigrants who fled Spain for religious motives. Hauben (1967, xii) explains: "Those who escaped Spain and the Inquisition, and others of Spanish

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French Litellton (1576), the *Treasurie of the French Tong* (1580) and *A Dictionarie French and English* (1593).

[24] It should be mentioned that, by the time Ungerer published his survey of the printing of Spanish books in Elizabethan England, these works had not been recorded. Thus, according to Ungerer (1965, 183) Spanish-language printing began in England in 1586 with the publication of Corro's *Reglas gramaticales* and Corro's edition of Alfonso de Valdes' *Dialogo*.

lineage concentrated in cities like Antwerp, had sooner or later to scatter across Western Europe. With Elizabeth's accession London rapidly became their center, much as it was for most Reformed exiles." Consequently, the number of these heterodox Spaniards – such as Cipriano de Valera, Rodrigo Guerrero, and Antonio del Corro – increased after the ascension of Elizabeth I. According to Ungerer (1965, 177), Corro's edition of Alfonso de Valdes' *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma: el año de M.D.XXVII.* (1586) "set the tone for the Spanish books subsequently printed, the majority of which dealt with religious subjects." In addition, there was the increasing interest in Spanish language and literature among Tudor scholars and intellectuals, which can be traced back to the beginning of the century and the presence of Catherine of Aragon. Thus, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there existed in England a group of scholars, grammarians and lexicographers devoted to the study of Spanish, a fact that bears witness to the position and recognition, both political and commercial, this language was receiving by the late sixteenth century. It was this interest that led to the publication in England of Corro's *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa* in 1586, subsequently translated and adapted into English by John Thorius as *The Spanish Grammer*, with a Spanish-English word list added (London, 1590). With the notable exception of the *Book of English and Spanish* and of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, published in the middle of the sixteenth century, the bulk of Spanish books printed in England began to appear in the late sixteenth century.

Ungerer (1965) has studied the reasons why English printers were slow to start printing Spanish texts despite the increasing interest in learning Spanish. As already indicated, there was in Tudor England a group of scholars, translators, and grammarians who knew Spanish and were interested in all things Spanish. Ungerer (1965, 179) indicates that, in the Tudor practice of learning Spanish, Latin was of paramount importance. Spanish translations from Latin were used for pedagogical purposes and Latin was indispensable for Tudor Hispanist grammarians, lexicographers, and translators. Nevertheless, Latin was not the only medium, and other scholars approached Spanish

through French or Italian texts. In addition, there was a lack of suitable printers and proofreaders for Spanish texts at that time. These, together with the conflicting political relations between the two countries, are some of the reasons that led to the delay in printing Spanish books in England. Ungerer (1965, 186) writes:

> The reason for this delay must be sought in the breakdown of the Anglo-Spanish alliance over the issue of England's entry into the Spanish Empire overseas and in the national hatred felt for Queen's Mary's consort [Philip II], whose sole aim had been the annexation of England to Spanish rule and to the Catholic Church. Since Philip's arrival in England, public feeling had run high against Spain. [...] This animosity did not affect the whole structure of English society, nor did it check the pursuit of Spanish studies among the intellectuals and statesmen. Yet it is significant that no English printer contributed to the expansion of Spanish.

In the meantime, this shortage of Spanish texts was met by continental – especially Flemish – printers, who brought out a number of polyglot manuals and dictionaries, grammars, and dialogues for the teaching of languages, intended for the English public. The situation changed in the 1580s with the aggressive foreign policy of Philip II. What had up to then been a slow spread of Spanish in England was quickened by the threat of aggression against England, that is by Spain's imperial policy that led to the attempted invasion of England by the Invincible Armada. This threat resulted in an increase in the production of Spanish texts by the end of the sixteenth century, and in this enterprise Oxford University Press assumed the leading role, by printing Corro's *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa* in 1586. But before examining this work and its relevance to the present study, it is necessary to discuss two earlier books: the *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554).

5) Works from the Sixteenth Century

5.1) Earliest wordbooks

The *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554), which will be discussed in the next two sections, are related to two earlier vernacular wordbooks published in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from which polyglot lexicography on the continent developed. As Stein (1988, 31) explains, the first contains an Italian-German word list arranged thematically. It is the work of Adam von Rottweil (or Adamo de Roduila) and is entitled *Questo libro el quale si chiama introito e porta de quele che voleno imparare e cõprender todescho a latino, cioe taliano [...]* (1477).[1] The second is the *Vocabulaire de nouveau ordonne & de rechief recorrige pour apprendre legierement a bien lire escripre & parler francois & flameng lequel est mis tout la plus part par personnaiges*, a bilingual Flemish-French textbook by Noel van Barlement (or de Berlaimont), published around 1530. The vocabulary list in this second work is arranged alphabetically. The edition princeps of 1530 no longer exists; the title is derived from the earliest version extant, that of 1536.[2] According to Bourland (1933, 289), the title of the work is misleading because it is much more than a vocabulary:

> Designed to provide at the same time a practical Flemish-French vocabulary for merchants and school-children, and a manual of religious and social training for the latter, its subject-matter is heterogeneous. It includes, besides a general glossary of words in common use and lists of the numbers and days of the week, three dialogues, a group of model letters and business documents, a section containing the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Articles of faith, Commandments and two Benedicite, and a treatise on the pronunciation of French, all this comprised in a small quarto volume of 42 folios, printed in Gothic letter in two columns. The entire text is in the two languages except the treatise on French pronunciation, which is in that tongue only.

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[1] See bibliographical data in Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 41); for a discussion of the *Introito e porta* and its derivatives, with a list of the editions of the work in two, four, five, six, seven and eight languages, see Gallina (1959, 27-40) and Hüllen (1999, 331 ff.). A facsimile edition was published in 1987.

[2] Information on Barlement can be found in Bourland (1933, 289 ff.), Gallina (1959, 73-91), Stein (1988, 31 ff.), and Hüllen (1999, 106 ff.). On the Flemish-French version of 1536, see Quemada (1960).

These two works were extraordinarily popular and were published numerous times in Europe, with other languages added. Commenting on their importance, Hüllen (1999, 105) writes:

> On the Continent, two books had a seminal effect, (i) *Introito e porta*, which appeared for the first time in 1477 and instigated a many-branched filiation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even later with its word-lists arranged in topically organized chapters; and (ii) Noel de Berlaimont's vocabulary in French and Flemish, which appeared for the first time in 1530 and, with its dialogues and alphabetical word-lists, also instigated a many-branched filiation for more than 170 years.

Stein (1988, 32-33) remarks that reprints of Rottweil's *Introito e porta* had as their title *Solenissimo vochabuolista* or *Libro utilissimo*; as the work was expanded to include other languages, the title changed.[3] Likewise, polyglot expansions of Barlement's book were called *Colloquia cum dictionariolo*. As we will see, *The Boke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* (*The Book of English and Spanish*)[4] belongs to the family of the *Introito e porta*, while *A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne the Maner of Redyng, Writyng, & Speakyng English and Spanish. Libro muy prouechoso para saber la manera de leer, y screuir, y hablar angleis, y español* (*A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*)[5] is related to Barlement's *Vocabulaire*.

These two earliest works of Spanish and English lexicography were first discussed by Roberts, who described the unique copies acquired by the British Library as two books "bound together in a wrapper formed by a leaf of vellum manuscript" (Roberts 1970, 87). Since then, only a few scholars have studied them: Santoyo (1974, 87-90) briefly discusses both works and their place in bilingual Spanish and English lexicography; Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 164-5) provides a description and a short commentary on the *Book of English*

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[3] On the *Solenissimo Vochabuolista* and its derivatives (title pages, descriptions, and commentaries), see Rossebastiano Bart (1984).

[4] Following the title, with modernized spelling, of the facsimile edition prepared by Alston (1971), this work will be hereinafter referred to as *The Book of English and Spanish*.

[5] As in the previous case, following Alston's facsimile edition (1971), this work will be referred to as *A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*.

and Spanish; Sánchez Pérez makes mention of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* in his paper on Renaissance methodologies for the teaching of Spanish (Sánchez Pérez, 1987, 53), as well as in his book on the history of the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language (Sánchez Pérez, 1992, 56-60). Stein (1988, 41) cites the *Book of English and Spanish* without discussing it; Nieto (2000, 171-2)[6] devotes one paragraph to each work. More recently, Alvar Ezquerra (2001a, 160-1, 2001b, 41,[7] and 2002, 172) mentions both works in his surveys of Spanish lexicography, and Salmon (2003, 266) also mentions both works in connection with early Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. Alston published facsimile editions of the two works in 1971, with short introductory notes.[8] As is evident, other than in Roberts (1970) there has been no detailed study of these books, a lack which we hope to remedy here.

5.1.1 The *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?)

5.1.1.1 Introduction

The *Book of English and Spanish* is a small, undated volume of thirty unnumbered pages.[9] The volume comprises only a word list, with no outside matter. Since the title page is lacking the original title of the work is not known, as Roberts (1970, 87) explains: "Even its title is uncertain, as its title-page is missing, and the name, *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* must accordingly be supplied from the first page of text." Moreover, Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 165) explains that it is impossible to determine accurately the place of the book in the lineage of the *Introito e porta*: "Nuova edizione notevolmente ridotta sia nel testo che nel numero delle lingue, derivante dalla linea Crinitus (1540) – Le Tellier (1546) [...] L'esemplare, unico per quanto mi è noto, è privo del frontespizio; ne

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[6] Reproduced in Nieto (2001, 213-4).

[7] This paper is reproduced in Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 51-84).

[8] Both works are also available on microfilm: the *Book of English and Spanish* is on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 2202: 4; the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 2050: 14. *Early English Books Online* contains only the pdf version of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*. We also consulted the facsimile editions published by Alston in 1971.

[9] For further details, see the bibliographies by Alston (1987, 33) and Niederehe (1994, 122).

consegue l'impossibilità di precisa descrizione della famiglia." The colophon reads: "Imprinted by me Robert Wyer: Dwellynge in S. Martyns paryshe, at the sygne of Saint Johñ Euangelyst beside Charynge Crosse." This mention of the name of the printer does not, however, make it possible to date the text since indications provided in Wyer's publications are notoriously inaccurate. Roberts (1970, 87) notes that "it is probable that in accordance with Wyer's usual habit, the book was originally undated" and Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 164) remarks that "[l]a sua produzione [Wyer's], tipograficamente poco curata, è caratterizzata dalla mancanza di datazione. Publicò opera di natura legale, medica, religiosa. La sua attività fu continuata da Thomas Colwell (c. 1560-1578)." Nevertheless, the colophon does make it possible to situate the book within a certain time frame, as Roberts (1970, 87) explains: "One is reduced firstly to the certainty that the book was printed between the appearance (in about 1535) of the work upon which it is based, and Wyer's ceasing printing in about 1560; [...]" The contents of the book, as we shall see, also provide evidence about the probable date of publication.

5.1.1.2 Sources

Regarding the sources, Roberts (1970, 87) claims that the *Book of English and Spanish* is an abridgement of a work published at Middleburg, probably about 1535, entitled *Septem Linguarum Latinæ Teutonicæ Gallicæ Hispanicæ Italicæ Anglicæ Almanicæ Dilucidissimus Dictionaries*. [10] The *Septem Linguarum* was frequently republished during the sixteenth century, with the number of languages varying from six to eight. Roberts goes on to explain that the next surviving edition was that printed by James Nicholson for John Renys in Southwark in 1537, with the title *Sex Linguarum Latine Teuthonice, Gallice, Hispanice, Italice, Anglice, Dilucidissimus Dictionaries*. [11] According

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[10] For information about the numerous editions of this work, see Alston (1967, 2 ff.), the list in Stein (1988, 63 ff.), and Niederehe (1994, 83 et passim). Stein (1988) contains an overview and a list of early polyglot vocabularies in Europe from the late fifteenth century up to the publication of Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues* (1617).

[11] See Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 122-4) for the title page, full description and a short commentary on this work. It is also listed in Hüllen (1999, 312).

to Stein (1988, 36), this is a polyglot version of the *Introito e porta*, and therefore it is to this family of works that the *Book of English and Spanish* belongs. In the case of the *Sex linguarum*, the number of languages was reduced, but the text is complete, and follows that of the *Septem Linguarum*. Since the *Book of English and Spanish* contains identical errors to those found in the 1548 edition of the *Sex Linguarum* published in Venice,[12] it is most likely that it was published after that year. Thus, even if the text cannot be dated with complete accuracy, Alston says in the introductory note to the facsimile edition that it must have appeared after 1548 and before 1560, when printer Robert Wyer sold his press to Thomas Colwell. The year 1554 is the most probable date since, according to Roberts (1970, 87), the work may have been published "in response to the need felt by Englishmen to become familiar with Spanish" as a result of the marriage of King Philip of Spain to Queen Mary on July 25, 1554.

5.1.1.3   Macro- and microstructures

The *Book of English and Spanish* is printed in two columns, with the English words, phrases, or sentences followed by the Spanish version in a smaller font type. It is a short bilingual word list, topically arranged, of only 506 entries, although according to Santoyo (1974, 88), there are between 600 and 650 entries, while Nieto (2000, 172 and 2001, 214) estimates about 600. Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 165) indicates that this typographical layout is not common among the derivatives of the *Introito e porta*: "La disposizione tipografica si sottrae alle comuni regole del *Vochabuolista*, mediante una sistemazione del testo in colonne in cui il termine inglese è seguito nella riga successiva dalla traduzione spagnola." The bilingual English-Spanish headings making up the macrostructure are distributed as follows:

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[12] See Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 142-3) for the title page, full description and a short commentary on this work. It is also listed in Alston (1967, 3).

1. The Fyrste Chapyter is of god, of the Trinytie, of power, & of ryches (14 entries)

2. The .ii. chapiter of the Pater noster and Aue Maria. In this chapter two prayers, the Pater noster and the Aue Maria, are followed by 37 entries.

3. The .iii. Chapyter is of speches (177 entries). According to Roberts (1970, 89), this chapter was "lifted bodily from the second part of the *Septem linguarum dictionarius.*"

4. The .iiii. chapyter of the .x Commaundementes (11 entries)

5. The .v. Chapyter is of the seuen workes of mercy (8 entries)

6. The .vi. Chapyter is of the seuen deedly synnes (8 entries)

7. The .vii. Chapiter is of symple Nombre; this is a section containing the numbers (45 entries)

8. The .viii. Chapyter is of tyme, yere, month, weke and daye. This part includes 37 entries, yet not all of them are expressions of time proper, but some are related to religious events.

9. The .ix. Chapyter of seruauntes (10 entries)

10. The .x. Chapyter of Graundefather; and all the kynred (29 entries)

11. The xi. Chapyter of Houssholde stuffe and clothes (24 entries)

12. The .xii. Chapyter of breade, and Wyne, and other thynges to be eaten (29 entries)

13. The .xiii. Chapiter of the Deuell, of hel and of purgatorye (15 entries)

14. The .xiiii. Cha [*sic*] of golde, syluer, and of all other metales ẏ maye be caste (14 entries)

15. The .xv. Chapiter is of spyces (26 entries)

16. The .xvi. Chap. of warres, bataylles and players (22 entries).

As can be seen, the book follows a thematic arrangement into sixteen short headings or "chapters"; within each chapter the entries are not alphabetically ordered. As for the

microstructure, capitals are used for the first letter of most of the English headwords and the Spanish equivalents:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .iii. Chapyter is of speches.
El .iii. Cap. es de las palabras.
  [...]
It is fulle
Esta lleno
It is emptye
Esta vazio
Come with me
Ven comigo
Helpe me
Ayuda me
Shewe me hym
Muestra me le
  [...]
The .xii. Chapyter of breade, and Wyne, and other thynges to be eaten.
El .xii. capi. es dell pan y / del Vyno / y de todas las cosos / de comer.
Breade
Pan
Wyne
Vino
Uynegre
Vinagre
  [...]
Salte
Sall
Butter
Longaniza
Cheese
Manteca, queso
Mylke
Leche

There are, however, some exceptions to this rule, found for the most part in the second chapter, "Of the Pater noster and Aue Maria", where only a few entries have initial capitals:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .ii. chapiter of the Pater noster and Aue Maria [...]
El .ii. capi. del Paternoster y dell Aue Maria [...]

Wherfore
Porque
Why not
porque no
Therefore
Por esso
for nought
Por nada
for what cause
por que causa
let it be so aboue
a sabienda i uso
[...]
within a lytell
dentro poco
Inoughe
Assaz
to moche
assaz mucho
[...]
Thankefully
de buena voluntad
one tyme
vna vez
seconde tyme
vna autra vez
many wayes.
Diverso modo.

The English headword, which may take the form of a single word, a phrase or a sentence, is followed by the Spanish equivalent. No accents or stress marks are used in either language. As is often the case with topical word lists, most one-word headwords are nouns, although some are adjectives, as, for example, in chapter thirteen. There are also some verbs conjugated in phrases, and in certain cases they appear in the infinitive (preceded by *to* in English); these features can be seen in the following sets of entries:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .iii. Chapyter is of speches.
El .iii. Cap. es de las palabras.
  […]
  Syt styll
  Sienta quedo
  […]
  I **haue done** it
  Io lo hize
  I **haue not don** it
  No lo hize
  Thou **hast don** it
  Tu lo heziste
  […]
  I **wyll**
  yo quiero
  Thou **woldest**
  Tu queziste
  He **wyll**
  Aquell quiero
  I **wyll do** it
  Quiero hazer
  I **haue done**
  yo hize
  […]
The .viii. Chapyter is of tyme, yere, month, weke and daye.
El .viii. Ca. es dell tiempo / anno / mes / samana / y dia.
[…]
  To laboure
  Labrar
  […]
The .xii. Chapyter of breade, and Wyne, and other thynges to be eaten.
El .xii. capi. es dell pan y / del Vyno / y de todas las cosos / de comer.
  […]
  To eate
  Comer
  […]
  To drynke
  Beber
  […]
  To sleepe
  Dormir
  To aryse

Leuentar
To go to bed
Ir a dormir
[...]
The .xvi. Chap. of warres, bataylles and players.
El xvi. Cap. de la guera / y de los Jugadores.
[...]
To bewytche
Encanter
[...]
To robbe
Robar
To playe
Jugar

Phrases and sentences frequently appear as headwords, as in the following examples:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .iii. Chapyter is of speches.
El .iii. Cap. es de las palabras.
[...]
Of whome
De quien
Of a knaue
De vn bellaco
[...]
Why not
Porque no
[...]
In the fyelde
En la placa
[...]
I shall gyue you it shortly
yo to lo voluere presto
Looke you doo it soone, for I maye tary no longer
Guarda que lo ha gas presto / por que yo no puedo mas seperar
He wyll kyll me
Aquell me quiere matar
He is my deadlye enemye
Aquell es mi enemygo mortall

In the case of nouns, countable English headword nouns and their Spanish equivalents are sometimes preceded by articles, but this usage is irregular in both languages:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .iii. Chapyter is of speches.
El .iii. Cap. es de las palabras.
  [...]
  The right hande
  La mano drecha
  The lefte hande
  La mano yzqueerda
  [...]
The .viii. Chapyter is of tyme, yere, month, weke and daye.
El .viii. Ca. es dell tiempo / anno / mes / samana / y dia.
  [...]
  Christen
  El Christiano
  The yeare
  Anno
  The month
  El mes
  The weke
  La semana
  The daye
  El dia
  An houre
  La hora
  Mydnyght
  La media noche

Articles are more frequent in the second half of the book, and are used consistently in chapters nine, ten, and eleven. In English, the indefinite article is more frequent than the definite (of which there are a few instances in chapters three and eight; see above). When articles are present in the Spanish equivalents, only the definite is used:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The .ix. Chapyter of seruauntes
El .ix. Capitul. de los seruidores
  A footeman
  Don
  A seruaunt
  Moco
  A mayden
  Moca
  […]
  A man chylde
  Varon
  A woman chylde.
  Muchacha.
  […]
The .x. Chapyter of Graundefather; and all the kynred.
El x. Capit. de lo bisaguello / y todo el parentesco.
  […]
  A Sonne
  El hiio
  A doughter
  Hiia
  A stepsonne
  El ahiiado
  A stepdoughter
  La ahiiada
  A Brother
  El hermano
  A Syster
  La hermana
  […]
  A Tutoure
  El tutor
  An Uncle
  El tyo
  An Aunte
  La tya
  An Heyre
  El heredero
  A neyghboure
  El proximo
  An husbande
  El maarido

An huswyfe
La muger

Generally, then, the definite or indefinite article in English corresponds in Spanish to no article or to the definite article. It should be noted, however, that there is inconsistency throughout the book regarding article usage with singular countable nouns. On the other hand, no article precedes plural nouns or uncountable nouns in English headwords, for example:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)

The xi. Chapyter of Houssholde stuffe and clothes
El xi. Capitu. es del apareso casa y vestido.
[…]
Shooes
Zapatos
Slyppers
Galochas
Sockes
Pantoflos
[…]
The .xv. Chapiter is of spyces.
El .xv. Capi. es de le espezia.
Peper
Pimenta
Gynger
Gyngybre
Nutmegges
Nues muscada
Clowes
Clauos
Longe pepper
Pimenta luenga
Cynamom
Canela
[…]
Fygges
Figo
Oyle
Aseyte

Comyne
Comino
Anys
Anys
Chesnottes
Castaña
An aple
Mancana
A peare
Pera
A nutte
Nuez
A haselnot
Avellanas
Sylke
Seda.

Another interesting feature is the use in chapter nine of the indefinite article to show the alternation between singular and plural:

The Book of English and Spanish (1554?)
The .ix. Chapyter of seruauntes
El .ix. Capitul. de los seruidores
[...]
A yonge man
Mancebo
Yonge men
Mancebos
A Chylde
Mochacho
Chyldren
Mochachos

Thus, the use of articles with English headwords distinguishes between countable and uncountable nouns and indicates gender in Spanish equivalents.

5.1.1.4 Concluding remarks

After comparing the contents of the abridged *Book of English and Spanish* to the original *Septem linguarum*, Roberts (1970, 89) is of opinion that "the abridgement selects what is more immediately useful in everyday life" and that the omissions do not "seem to have any relevance to the contemporary religious and political situation." Roberts adds that chapter three, which was taken *in toto* from the *Septem linguarum*, "is in fact the only one that offers any assistance with the small change of everyday speech." Certainly, the *Book of English and Spanish* shows no consistent techniques of compilation, yet, as one of the earliest productions in English-Spanish lexicography, it is a work of considerable importance. It is perhaps even more important as a bilingual example of the ancient thematic (or topical) tradition of wordbook compilation, which coexists with the alphabetical tradition, even if the latter has by the time the *Book* is published become predominant:

> As a format the alphabetic mode was practised rather haphazardly and hesitantly until the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, but thereafter – and particularly from around 1600 – it consolidated itself into the dominant tradition, [...] The thematic mode, however, is the older, broader tradition, with its roots in the classical traditions of Plato, Aristotle and Pliny, and with strong foundations in the world of medieval Scholasticism (McArthur 1986a, 157).

A more detailed study of the development of the topical tradition as compared to the alphabetical can be found in Hüllen (1999, chap. 1); the origins of the topical tradition will be discussed in relation to the work of William Stepney (1591). Suffice it to say for the time being that underlying a topical wordbook or vocabulary is a philosophical view of the world, such that the semantic organization of the macrostructure reflects the structure of a specific view of reality. As Hüllen (1999, 15) explains: "topical dictionaries are organized according to the semantic structure of a whole language, which, however, depends on the structure of reality as language users believe they understand it at a given time." This semantic structure is not easy to see in the *Book of English and Spanish* probably because it is an abridgment and therefore not complete. Yet, the macrostructure begins with God and

prayers (headings one and two) and ends up with the human things (headings fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen), mixing headings of a religious nature (e.g. headings four, five, six, and thirteen) with earthly ones (e.g. headings three, and seven to twelve). A similar semantic structure will be found the works of Stepney (1591) and Alvarado (1718). Unfortunately, whatever outside matter the *Book of English and Spanish* may have contained has been lost and thus cannot provide clues as to the way in which the book was compiled.

5.1.2 The *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554)

5.1.2.1 Introduction

The *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554) is a small volume of sixty-four leaves (1 title page plus 126 unnumbered pages).[13] The title page only provides the title of the book and the date of publication; information about the printer comes in the colophon at the bottom of the last page, which reads: "Imprinted at London by John Kyngston and Henry Sutton dwellynge in Poules churchyarde for John Wyght." The author is unknown; nevertheless, Roberts (1970, 89) notes that there is a strong indication as to the source on D.v.ᵛ: "I John of Barlemõt witness, that I haue let out to Peter Marschalco my house at Andwarpe [...]";[14] the name "Ihon a witnes Barlamon" is also previously found in a model letter on D.iii.ᵛ This mention suggests that the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* is a version of Noel van Barlement's *Vocabulaire*. If this is so, then the *Very Profitable Book* is very important, since, as mentioned in the introductory note to the facsimile edition published by Alston, it antedates the earliest recorded version of Barlement's popular work to include English, namely *A Boke Intituled Italion, Frynsshe, Englesshe and Laten*, published in London (1567?) by Edward Sutton. In his bibliography, Alston (1967, 5) explains that "[a]ccording to the entry in the Stationers' Register (I, 343)

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[13] For a description of this work, see Alston (1987, 33) and Niederehe (1994, 122).
[14] Roberts refers to a model business document entitled "The maner of bargain or setting out an house", found in chapter four, "Of the waie to write epistles, obligacions, and quittaunces".

this appears to be the first English adaptation of Barlement's popular phrase-book and vocabulary, originally published in Antwerp in 1536."

5.1.2.2   Sources

As for the sources, it is not easy to precisely situate the *Very Profitable Book* in the chain of editions of Barlement's book. It is the first to include English, and the Spanish text seems to derive from the edition of Barlement's work printed in Louvain in 1551. [15] Roberts (1970, 90) argues that:

> The English version is clearly unique and without descendants; it remains to establish the origin of the Spanish version. The Spanish cannot itself be original in this edition, as the vocabulary which forms the second book, although it claims to be in alphabetical order, is in fact alphabetized in the order of the Flemish words which Berlaimont originally translated into French. It follows that the Spanish is almost certainly either translated from the immediately preceding edition (the Flemish-French diglot printed at Antwerp in 1552), or lifted bodily from the tetraglot containing Flemish, French, Latin and Spanish, printed at Louvain in 1551. The latter indeed proves to be the source. At the same time, it is clear that the English was not translated from the Spanish, but from one of the other languages.

Roberts (1970, 91) adds that further evidence from the introduction to book two of the *Very Profitable Book* shows that the English was translated from the Latin of the 1551 edition.

5.1.2.3   Megastructure

5.1.2.3.1   Outside matter

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[15] For the full title page and description of this book see Niederehe (1994, 112).

In terms of the structure of the book, the text, like that of the *Book of English and Spanish*, is printed in two columns, except that in this case the English is on the left while the Spanish is on the right, set in a different font type. The book is organized as follows:[16]

1. Title page, in English and Spanish, dated 1554

2. There follows a short introductory bilingual text, "The Table of this Booke" or "La Table de æquesto Libro", running one and a half pages.

3. The first part covers fifty-nine and a half pages, comprising four chapters: three dialogues plus one section of models for writing letters and business documents. The first dialogue "is a feast of .x. interloquutours, in which be contained many dayly faciõs of speaking, whiche we uſe whan wee sytte at meate"; the second dialogue "sheweth the maner of byenge and selling"; and the third dialogue "teacheth the ways of callynge upon your debtors." And finally, the last section "declareth the maner of writing epistles and letters of obligations, solutiõs, and of bargayns." Between the third and fourth chapters, the numbers and days of the week are intercalated.

4. The second part is also fifty-nine and a half pages long and contains the word list and other texts. This second part starts with a one-and-a half page "Preface" or "Prefacion", and then fifty-eight continuous pages of entries. The second part also includes, after the word list, five pages of religious texts and prayers.

5.1.2.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

From a lexicographical point of view the word list of the second part of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* is the more interesting feature. The distribution of entries per page is as follows: fifty-one pages have thirty-one entries each, four pages have thirty entries, one page has thirty-two, another one has thirty-three entries,

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[16] Santoyo (1974, 89) provides a somewhat different description of the book: "El volumen consta de 63 hojas en octavo, con tres secciones diferenciadas: 1. Cuatro coloquios o diálogos (60-1/2 págs.); 2. Vocabulario (60-1/2 págs.); 3. Oraciones o preces (5 págs.)."

and the last page of the word list contains only nineteen entries – a total of 1785 entries. The word list is arranged in two columns, with English headword to the left and the Spanish equivalent to the right. Concerning the macrostructure, the majority of the English headwords are nouns and verbs in the infinitive form (preceded by *to*) although there are also adjectives and adverbs. The first letter of the English headword and the Spanish equivalent are almost always capitalized, but there are some inconsistencies in this regard:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)

Englyshe	Español
Three	Tres
Slepye	Dormilon
Vertue	Virtud
Thynne	Subtil, delgado
Darke	Obscuro
Deere	Caro
A droppe	Gota
An eye	Oio
Eyes	Oios
a thombe	Arteio
Thyes	El muslo
a towel	La toualla
a village	Barrio, o aldea
a douue	Paloma
Thunder	**el** tronido
a seruaunt	**el** ministro
a doughter	**la** hiia
The dyuell	**el** Diabolo
a Dragon	**el** dragon
a loafe of bread	**la** massa del pan
a doseyn	Vna dozena

Notice in the previous examples that in the microstructure there is no synchronic identification of the headword (e.g., pronunciation or grammatical information) nor explanatory information. However, this word list has a series of lexicographical qualities different from those of the *Book of English and Spanish*; for example, there are no long phrases or sentences as headwords:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)	
Englyshe	Español
When thou	Como tu
[…]	[...]
At euery tyme	Qualquier tiempo
This waie	Por aqui
That waie	Por alli
All the daie	Todo el dia
[…]	[...]
To make at a point	Conçertar, passar
[…]	[...]
To confess your syns	Confesarse de los peccados
[…]	[...]
The calfes of ŷ legges	Ancas
[…]	[...]
A clerke of the church	La guarda
[…]	[...]
A towell to wipe your handes	Lienco par limpiar las maños

Moreover, verbs are given always in the infinitive form preceded by the preposition *to*:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)	
Englyshe	Español
To clothe	Vestir
To vnhele	Desnudar
To answere	Responder
To worshippe	Adorar
[...]	[...]
To abstain	A partarse
To agree	Competir
To enterprise	A cometer

Phrasal verbs are included:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)	
Englyshe	Español
To take awaie	Quetar
To strike awaie	Sacudir
[…]	[...]

To call vpon	Inuocar, o llamar
[…]	[…]
To laie doune	Quitar

As for the use of articles, the situation is similar to that in the *Book of English and Spanish*: countable English noun headwords are preceded by the indefinite article while the definite article is used in the Spanish equivalents, with the occasional exception to the rule in both languages:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)

Englyshe	Español
An abbesse.	Abedessa
A craft	Artificio
An Idole	Idolo
[…]	[…]
A napkin	Mantell
An Onion	Cebolla
An Egle	**el** aguila
Almondes,	**el** al mendro
An apple	**el** mançano
An arme	**el** braço
The armes	**Los** braços
Vinegre	**El** vinagre
An answere	**La** respuesta
[…]	[…]
A bedde	Lecho
A chimney	Badil
Bellowes	Fuelle
A basin	Bacin
A leafe	Hoja
Beanes	Hauas
[…]	[…]
A Mouse	**el** raton
the braune,	**las** al mezas peçes de cõcha
Milke	**la** leche
Medlars	**el** mespero
Burden of wodde	**vn** hazazillo de leños
A Marques	**el** marques

Unlike the *Book of English and Spanish*, entries in the *Very Profitable Book* sometimes contain synonyms in both languages although synonyms appear more often in Spanish:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)

Englyshe	Español
To call vpon	Inuocar, o **llamar**
[...]	[...]
Bee it.	Seays, o **sed**
[...]	[...]
An abbot.	Abad, **perlado**
[...]	[...]
A ploughman	Arador, o **trabaiador**
[...]	[...]
Trauaile, **labour**	El trauajo.
[...]	[...]
To make at a poynt	Conçertar, **passar**
[...]	[...]
A bell	Señal, **Cascabel**
[...]	[...]
To ascend. **To clime**	Subir
[...]	[...]
A chappell.	Capilla, **casita**
[...]	[...]
To put awaie	Ahuyantar, **alançar,**
[...]	[...]
a gibette	El madero, **la cruz**
[...]	[...]
Ciuill, **gentle**	Ceuil, **humano**

A feature that differentiates the *Very Profitable Book* from the *Book of English and Spanish* is the presence of other parts of speech (adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, etc.) as headwords. No indication is given when a particular headword can have more that one grammatical category:

A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish (1554)

Englyshe	Español
Aptly, strongly	Conuenible
[...]	[...]

Sometyme	A las vezes
Backwardes	A tras
[...]	[...]
Of	De
[...]	[...]
Lewdely	Yzquierda mente
Otherwise	de otra manera
[...]	[...]
Blynde	Ciego
[...]	[...]
Broade	Ancho
[...]	[...]
Better	Meior
[...]	[...]
Bytter	Amargo
[...]	[...]
Gentle	Agradable
[...]	[...]
Angrie	Airado
[...]	[...]
Comon	Comun
Commonly	Comunmente
[...]	[...]
I	Yo
[...]	[...]
In	En
[...]	[...]
If	Si
[...]	[...]
Yet	Empero
[...]	[...]
Olde	Viejo

5.1.2.4 Analysis of the front matter

Since the *Book of English and Spanish* contains no outside matter, the English and Spanish word list in the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* is the first to be preceded by front matter texts, namely, the "Table of this Booke" and the "Preface". The "Table" at the beginning of the *Very Profitable Book* explains how the book is divided into two parts:

> This booke is verye profitable to lern ẙ maner of redĩg writyng, [&] speaking Englishe [&] Spanishe which is diuided into two parts: of which ẙ firste is diuyded into foure chapters, [&] thre of them cõprehendeth the speakers between of persons. [...] The second part of this work doth côtein vocables necessary in daily talke, set in the order of the Alphabete. or A. b. c.

The "Table" describes the macrostructure as arranged alphabetically: "set in the order of the Alphabete. or A.b.c." This statement is repeated in the "Preface" to the word list itself: "Wheras in the booke afore, ẙ haste heard diuerse maners and fashions, as certain exãples of speakyng Frenche, in this seconde Booke thou shalt here many vsual wordes, set in order of the Alphabete .A.b.c.d. whiche be as it wer a matter loquutions ar ioyned." However, as has already been seen, this is not so, the reason being – as previously mentioned – that the Spanish follows the word order of the Flemish from Barlement's tetraglot (Flemish, French, Latin and Spanish) vocabulary printed in Louvain in 1551. What is more, the English was translated not from the Spanish but most likely from the Latin of the same work (Roberts 1970, 91). In fact, the compiler copied his source so blindly that the English version of the "Preface" opens with a reference – quoted above – to the book being useful for speaking *French*! The anonymous author of the Spanish version was more careful and deleted that reference: "Como en el libro passado ayais oydo diuersas maneras reglas como dechados, en este Segundo Libro oyreis muchas palabras vsadas puestas por el orden del A,b,c,d. las quales son como vna material con la quall las hablas se ayuntan."

What is of more interest for the discussion here is the mention of another tradition of lexicographical compilation, based on alphabetical arrangement. The "Preface" highlights the fact that this method (even if it was not actually carried out in the word list) facilitates consultation of the book: "Therfore whẽ you wil tourne any oraciõs out of the Germaine toungue into Frenche, Latine, or Spanishe, you muste consider nothing els, then of what letter the woorde that you seke, dooeth begin, whiche afterwarde you shall easely finde." Consequently, and even in such an epigrammatic way, it can be said that the "Preface" to the second part of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* already touches on two lexicographical topics, namely alphabetic order and its advantages.

This calls to mind the following remark by Murray (1993, 107): "There is indeed no other connexion between a dictionary and alphabetical order, than that of a balance of convenience." However, the word *dictionary* did not appear in a bilingual Spanish and English wordbook until 1590, on the title page of *The Spanish Grammer [...] with a Dictionarie Adioyned vnto It* by John Thorius.[17] The "Preface" contains a third interesting feature: "The wordes nowe founde, you shall so ioyne, as you haue learned in the booke before. But vnto the right ioinyng of wordes, necessary shal be vnto the, the maner of chaungyng verbes by their tenses, and diuerse persons in their cõiugaciõs." In other words, the word list in the second part was not conceived as an autonomous or independent work; the words it contains were envisaged as the building bricks, so to speak, for constructing a discourse whose rules were exemplified in the first part of the book. The purpose of the first part was to teach the grammar and syntax underlying the dialogues and document templates it contained, while the second part listed the constituent units of those types of discourse. A similar point of view, more clearly expressed, of the relationship between grammar and lexicon will be found in the Percyvall (1591) dictionary. As will be seen, the alphabetical wordbook, not yet called a dictionary, will retain a subordinate position until the very end of the sixteenth century in Spanish and English lexicography.

What are the contents of the word list in the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*? What type of lexicon does it contain? The word list was meant to provide, according to the "Table of this Booke", the "vocables necessary in daily talke" or, as the "Preface" says, "many vsual wordes"; its purpose was to provide, as the "Table" states, some essential, everyday words for "redĩg writing, & speakyng Englishe & Spanishe". The book as a whole and the word list in particular clearly had a pedagogical function. The fact that the title page as well as all the subject matter is bilingual, together with the circumstances surrounding its publication, indicate that it may have been conceived as a

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[17] It is a well known fact that the first work in English lexicography to be called a *dictionary* is the *Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knight* (1538). In Spanish lexicography, the term appeared in the Latin form *dictionarium* in the Latin and Spanish dictionaries by Nebrija (1492 and 1495?), but it did not appear in the

manual or textbook for *both* the English *and* Spanish speaking publics. These features make the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* a very interesting lexicographical work, the first to contain in the front matter the seed of topics which would be developed by future compilers.

5.1.2.5 Concluding remarks

To sum up the discussion of the first two bilingual Spanish and English wordbooks, it can be said that although neither work was completely original, as was often the case in early lexicography, they are important simply by being the earliest known examples of this lexicographical tradition. Deriving from two of the earliest works of European lexicography (Rottweil's *Introito et porta* and Barlements's *Vocabulaire*), they were also important as examples of two traditions of compilation – the topical and the alphabetical – bound together in a small volume containing both books. It is as if the two methods of compilation developed at the same time in Spanish and English bilingual lexicography. Finally, as indicated in the introductory note to Alston's facsimile edition of the *Book of English and Spanish*, these two bound copies antedate, by thirty-two years, the earliest previously recorded Spanish books printed in England, namely Antonio del Corro's *Reglas gramaticales* and Alfonso de Valdes' *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma: el año de M.D.XXVII.*, both dated 1586. As previously mentioned, these two small word lists may have been published to coincide with the increase in activity between England and Spain expected to result from the marriage of Queen Mary and King Philip of Spain in 1554. Now, let us turn to the dictionary by John Thorius (1590).

Spanish form until the first volume of the Spanish Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* was published in 1726.

5.2) John Thorius' *The Spanish Grammer [...] With a Dictionarie adioyned vnto it* (1590)

5.2.1 Introduction

Since John Thorius' work is based on Antonio del Corro's grammar, it is necessary to provide some information about Corro's work in order to understand the genesis of Thorius' Spanish grammar and dictionary.

Antonio del Corro was a Calvinist reformer born in Seville in 1527.[18] According to Nieto (1988, 7), his life can be divided into three periods: 1527-57: Corro lived in Spain, where he entered the ascetic order of the monks of St. Jerome; 1557-67: Corro renounced Roman Catholicism and spent ten years in France and Flanders, during which he composed the *Reglas gramaticales* for Henry IV of France while he was Henry's Spanish tutor in 1560 at Nérac; 1568-91: Corro moved to London in 1568, Hauben (1967, 3) explains, "to be successively a controversial refugee minister in London, theological lecturer at the famous Elizabethan law schools, the Inns of Court, and obtained a similar post at Oxford which occasioned heated debate there." In 1586, he entered Christ Church College in Oxford, where he lived first as a student and then as a lecturer; along with Cipriano de Valera, he was one of the leading peninsular reformers in sixteenth-century England, but his theology was derivative and had little impact (Hauben 1967, 3); he died in London in 1591.

Corro's *Reglas gramaticales* is a comparative grammar of Spanish and French and, according to Alonso (1951g, 226), "un libro capital para la reconstrucción de la antigua pronunciación española." The work, however, has received little attention from scholars. Menendez Pelayo (1880) provides one of the earliest profiles of Corro, discussing his

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[18] For information about Corro's life and work, see the overview in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (4: 1178-9); as well as Menendez Pelayo (1880, 2: 481-91); Underhill (1971 [1899], 190 ff.); Boehmer (1991 and 1904, 1-146); Alonso (1951g, 226-36); Hauben (1967), and Nieto (1988). There is also the unpublished dissertation *The Life and Work of Antonio del Corro (1527-1591)* by William McFadden (1953).

theological works with a passing mention of Thorius' translation; Boehmer (1904) is a comprehensive biography of Corro, including a list of Corro's writings, copies of title pages from Corro's works, and a register of documents concerning Corro. Alonso (1951d, 129-30; 1951e, 267-70;[19] 1951g, 226-36; and 1967, 231-7) studies the phonetic aspects of Spanish in Corro's work. Hauben (1967) devotes part I of his study of Spanish reformers to Corro, placing him in a broader historical setting. Finally, Nieto's facsimile edition of Corro's *Reglas* (1988) contains a well-documented introductory essay in two parts, devoted respectively to Corro's life and the *Reglas gramaticales*. Nieto's edition is also important because it was the first time the *Reglas* was published since 1586.

The full title of Corro's work is *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa, confiriendo la una con la otra, segun el orden de las partes de la oration latinas.*[20] It was printed in Oxford by Joseph Barnes, the first official printer to Oxford Press,[21] without mention of the author's name. In the dedication (Corro, 1988) makes the following reference to the circumstances surrounding the composition and printing of the book:

> [Q]uise seruirme de la presente occasion, en que vn nueuo imprimidor [i.e. Joseph Barnes] delibero tĕtar, si sus obreros sabrian imprimir algo en lengua Castellana : y para con menor peligor hazer la prueua me saccaron sus amigos de las manos ciertas reglas de lengua Española y Francesa, que casi treyenta años passados recogi, quando yo aprendia a hablar Frãces, y enseñaua el lenguaje Español, al Rey Don Enrique de Nauarra, [...]

Alston (1987, 33) and Niederehe (1994, 223) record the Oxford imprint, as well as another edition printed in Paris, which, it turns out, is a fake.[22] Ungerer (1965, 190-1)

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[19] Reproduced *in extenso* in Alonso (1967, 197-8 and 231-7).

[20] For a transcription of the full title page, description, and locations of this work, see Laurenti and Porqueras-Mayo (1983, 324) and Niederehe (1994, 223).

[21] Barnes was the Oxford University printer from 1585 to 1617, for further information, see Madan (1908, 5 ff.), Simpson (1935, 47 and 169), and McKerrow (1968, 22-3). Madan (1908) also contains an overview of the history of the Oxford University Press.

[22] The Oxford imprint is available on microfilm from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 207: 06 and the Paris imprint is on reel 208: 02. Both editions are also available in pdf format from the *Early English Books Online*.

explains that there are two imprint variants of Corro's *Reglas*: one with the imprint of the Oxford University Press and the other the faked Paris one.[23] The Paris edition does not contain the dedication to Horatio Palavicino, but a preface entitled "El corrector de la imprimeria, al prudente Lector". Madan (1908, 6) advanced the hypothesis that, "The feeling against Spain, however, ran so high at that date, just before the Spanish Armada, that it was considered unpatriotic to publish Spanish books in England, so Barnes hastily reissued the Grammar with a forged *Paris* imprint!" However, according to Ungerer (1965, 190) commercial reasons as well as the nature of the books themselves explain the Paris imprint. The commercial explanation, says Ungerer (1965, 188), refers to the fact that these books were intended for a continental public:

> The home market was too small to guarantee financial success. The books were designed for the export market, to be sold and distributed in Spanish territories, as well as in Spain itself. Thus the Elizabethan printers put false imprints to their Spanish books. Barnes issued two impressions of the Grammar [Corro's], one bearing an Oxford imprint, the other a fraudulent Paris one, and he published the Dialogue [Valdes'] with a faked Paris imprint.

The other reason has to do with religion and the Reformation. Ungerer (1965, 192) writes:

> Spanish Protestant literature was known to be subsidized by Spanish merchants of Marrano origin who had settled down in towns like Bordeaux and Antwerp and had developed a decided leaning towards Protestantism. They were anxious to read the gospels in their own tongue and were at the same time determined to spread it in Spanish territories. Their large-scale business with Spain, their factors in Spanish towns, favoured the smuggling and dissemination of Protestant books behind the Spanish border.

The Anglican Church and the government authorized the printing and selling of Spanish Protestant literature to Protestants not only in England but also in the rest of Europe. Ungerer (1965, 198-201) explains that copies of Corro's *Reglas* with the Oxford

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[23] A more detailed account of the printing of the Paris edition, with a reproduction of the title pages and

imprint were sold in England, while those with the false Paris imprint were sent to the Continent.

Another question relating to this text is that of the identity of the author. The *Reglas* were actually published anonymously, with only the initials "A.D.C." at the end of the dedication. The book is not mentioned by Viñaza (1978 [1893]); Knapp's *Bibliography* (1884, 2) gives the title page without mention of the author. Under the entry "1590 Del Corro", Knapp (1884, 3) gives the title page and a description of Thorius's version into English, adding that this is, "[T]he only copy known of this famous Spanish protestant's grammar." In 1899, both Wiener (1899, 3) and Underhill (1899, 194-5, 393) identified the author as Corro, but without an analysis of the text. Later on, Madan (1912, 24) added the following commentary to his description of the book, "As the preface to the *Reglas* states that the author was born in A.D. 1527,[24] there can be no doubt that 'A. D. C.' stands for Antonio del Corro (Antonius Corranus), and that this is the Grammar which was translated into English by Johannes Thorius and published in London in 1590." It was Amado Alonso (1951g, 266 ff.), who, in his paper on early Spanish grammarians, provided certainty about the identification of the author as Antonio del Corro; Alonso's analysis showed, first, that Corro was really the author of the *Reglas gramaticales*; second, that the work was composed in Nérac in 1560; and third, that the similarities between this work and Thorius' version of 1590 are not due to plagiarism (frequent not only among lexicographers but among grammarians as well) but to the fact that Thorius' work is a translation of Corro's. Generally speaking, Corro's grammar is important in the history of Spanish letters in England because:

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detailed bibliographical descriptions, can be seen in Woodfield (1973, 21-3 and 76-7).

[24] Here Madan refers to the following paragraph in the penultimate page of the preface: "Quise juntar con estos preceptos Gramaticales, ciertos dialogos, en que los lectores visoños exercitassen la licion Española : Mas la negligentia de los obreros, impidio mi deseño. Pero con todo esso puse a la fin vna breue narración de las cosas acaecidas en Roma, en el ano M.D.XXVII. que es de mi nacimiento."

1. once Joseph Barnes, the first official printer to Oxford University, began printing Spanish texts, other printers followed his example, especially as tensions between Spain and England grew in the late sixteenth century;

2. it contains invaluable information for the reconstruction of Spanish pronunciation during the sixteenth century;

3. it served as a basis for Thorius' translation into English (1590), which included one of the earliest Spanish-English lexicographical works after the anonymous works of 1554;

4. it also served as a base for the first comprehensive Spanish-English grammar and dictionary, that of Richard Percyvall (1591).

John Thorius (or Thorie) was a poet and translator of Spanish books born in London in 1568.[25] Besides the *Reglas gramaticales*, he translated Bartolomé Felipe's *Tractado del conseio y de los conseieros de los principes* (1589) (English version: *The Counseller, a Treatise of Counsels and Counsellers of Princes*), and the *Espejo, y deceplina militar* by Francisco de Valdés (1590) (English version: *The Sergeant Major: or a Dialogue of the Office of a Sergeant Major*). On October 1, 1586, Thorius, aged 18, and Corro, then aged 59, matriculated at Christ Church College (Boehmer 1904, 75). Thorius became Corro's pupil, and the project of translating the *Reglas* was decided upon. Thorius, "Graduate in Oxenford" as the title page indicates, translated Corro's grammar into English with only a few modifications and adaptations for the English public, adding a dictionary of the words cited in the grammar. However, Thorius' adaptation was not a successful one according to Ungerer (1965, 202):

> Thorie's adaptation improved certain sections by trying to meet the need of the English reader, yet on the whole it merely made matters worse. The rules

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[25] Concerning the life of Thorius, see the overviews in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (19: 764) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (54: 585), as well as Underhill (1971 [1899], 195-6), the *British Biographical Archive* (microfiches 389-396), and Ungerer (1965, 187 and 192).

and explanations have been put into English, the examples, however, remaining in Spanish and French throughout. What Thorie should have done was to dispense with the French part. He was forced to add a dictionary to explain the Spanish examples used in the book.

5.2.2 Sources

Thorius' *Spanish Grammer*[26] was entered on April 7 at the Company of Stationers of London;[27] the record transcribed by Arber (1875b, 2: 544) reads as follows:

vij° Die Aprilis

John wolf[28] / Entred for his copie vnder th[e h] handes of Doctor Cozen and the wardens *The Spanishe Gramer with certen rules teachinge the Spanish and Frenche tonges / with a dictionarye adioyned vnto yt with Spanishe wordes.* . . . . vj[d]

On the title page, Thorius notes that this grammar of Spanish was originally written by Corro and intended for people with a knowledge of French; he also mentions the dictionary he appended, explaining that it contains the words cited in the grammar, and other useful words. Our calculations, based on a small sample from the section "Of the pronunciation of the Spanish and French Alphabet", indicate that this statement is fundamentally true; of the 172 words used as examples in that section of the book, 138 (that is, 80.23%) are entries in the dictionary.

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[26] We consulted the facsimile edition prepared by Alston, (Corro 1967). All our quotations come from this edition, but we have used Thorius' name and the year 1590, instead of Corro (1967), to avoid confusion. See Steiner (1970, 15) for a faithful trasncription of the title page, and Laurenti and Porqueras-Mayo (1983, 325), and Niederehe (1994, 241) for the full title page and description of the volume. It is also available on microfilm from the *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 209: 2.

[27] See Avis (1961) about the role of the Company of Stationers in matters of censorship and general control of book publication. Also see the entry in McKerrow (1968, 256-7) on the Company of Stationers.

[28] John Wolf or Wolfe, printer in London, 1579-1601, see information in McKerrow (1968, 296-8).

5.2.3 Megastructure

5.2.3.1 Outside matter

The *Spanish Grammer* is structured as follows:

1. Title page

2. Dedication, in Latin, to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1 p.)

3. "The Epistle to the Reader" (2 pp.)

4. "A Table comprehending the contentes of each Sexion and diuision of this Grammer"; this table of contents is for the grammar only and does not list the dictionary (2 unnumbered pages)

5. Text of the "Spanish Grammer" (pp. 1- 119)

6. "The Spanish Dictionarie" (14 pp.).

In her description of this book, Martín-Gamero (1961, 80) says the dictionary has only 7 pages. This error is also found in Seris (1964, 405), and Azorín Fernández (2000, 65). Perhaps they were misled by the fact that Knapp's description (1884, 3) reads "(3) pp. 119 + (7) for the vocab." These scholars may have not noticed Knapp's observation on page 2, at the beginning of his annotated bibliography: "Figures in parentheses denote *unnumbered leaves*; ff., numbered leaves, and pp., pages." (our italics).

5.2.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

Calculations vary regarding the size of the word list: Steiner (1970, 15) says the dictionary contains 1100 entries; according to Santoyo (1974, 90), there are 955 entries; Nieto, in the introductory essay to his facsimile edition of Corro's *Reglas* (1988, 21, footnote 51) and in subsequent papers (2000, 178 and 2001, 215), says there are approximately 850 entries. Our count arrives at a total of 953 entries for the dictionary; the number of entries per letter of the alphabet is as follows: A (101), B (30), C (134), D (63),

E (31), F (17), G (40), H (24), I (17), L (35), M (56), N (41), O (39), P (100), Q (14), R (44), S (67), T (45), V (36), X (8), Y (8), and Z (3), for a total of 953 entries. In his brief discussion of the work, Steiner (1970, 15-6) writes that (1) the text of the dictionary is arranged in two columns; (2) capital letters are used for each Spanish headword; (3) no accent marks are used; and (4) the glosses are usually equivalents, although Thorius at times provides definitions and particularizing words and phrases.

Thorius's *Spanish Dictionarie* is a short list of Spanish headwords with explanatory information in English. One guide letter of the alphabet is used at the beginning of each section. Our study of Thorius' dictionary also indicates that alphabetization becomes irregular after the second or third letter,[29] for example:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*

Adelante before.
Adorar to worship.
Adolecer to bee sicke, grieued, or ill at ease.
Adeudarse to bring himselfe in debt.
Adelantar to prefer, to get before.
Adentellar to bite.
[…]
Amonestar to admonish.
Amenazas threatnings.
Amigo a friende.
Amar to loue.
Amo, a master to a slaue or a seruant.
Amargo bitter.
[…]
Fieles they that be faithfull.
Fiebre an ague.
Fiesta an holy day.
[…]
Liberall, liberall.
Librar, to deliuer out of bondage.
Libertar, to sette at froedome.

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[29] Concerning the origins and evolution of alphabetization, see for example Murray (1993 [1900]) and especially Daly's study (1967) on the history of alphabetization up to the Middle Ages.

It is worth noting that the capitalization of the Spanish headwords does not indicate that the word is written with a capital letter in actual discourse. Although single-word headwords are by far the most common, there are a few exceptions to this rule:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*

Derecha mano the right hand.
[…]
Garças ojos squint eyes.
[…]
Luego que, as soone as.
[…]
Nombre proprio, a proper name.
[…]
Otra y ostra vez, againe and again.
[…]
Rezma de papel, a ream of paper.

The microstructure is simple and contains only explanatory information in the form of equivalents, definitions or glosses. Nine entries contain no microstructure whatsoever, namely *Alberchigo, Alberchiga, Aximez, Chiste, Chistar, Chozno, çuño, Gonces*, and *Pichel*. Although in most instances throughout the dictionary only one equivalent is provided, the microstructure may contain a number of English equivalents ranging from one to four:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*

Aculla **there, thither, that way, thence,** De aculla.
[…]
Affloxar **to loosen, to slacken**.
Afuziar **to giue hope, to encorage**.
[…]
Faltar **to want, to lacke**.
[…]
Fe **faith**.
Feo **ilfauoured**.
Feamente **ilfauouredly**.
[…]

Fuero, **without**.
Fuerça, **force, strength**.
Fundamento, **foundation**.

It should be mentioned that at the beginning of the dictionary equivalents are separated from the headword by a comma; this becomes systematic after letter *H*:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*
Llegar, to approch, to draw near, to come vnto, to arriue.
[…]
Lobrego, wretched, miserable, sorrowfull.
[…]
Luz, light, brightnesse.
Luzir, to bee light, to shine, to gli-ster.
[…]
Tabla, a table, or boord,
Tachar, to shew one his vice, to rebuke, to blame, to find fault with.
[…]
Tiembra, a trembling, a quaking.
Tierra, earth, countrie.
Tinta, inke.

When the microstructure contains various equivalents, they are separated by a comma, as in the examples above, and sometimes by the conjunction *or*:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*
Cauallero a knight **or** gentleman,
[…]
Chapin a slipper **or** pantofle.
[…]
Chismero, a collector, **or** gatherer of tribute.
Chismeria, collection, **or** gathering of tribute.
[…]
Espinilla the shanke **or** shin bone of the legge.
[…]
Ethimològia a true saying, a true exposition **or** reason.
[…]
Nouela, a fable **or** tale.
[…]

Trapo, a linnen **or** wollen cloth.

The microstructure may also contain a gloss or a definition *and* equivalents:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*
Agradable **that which is thankful to a man, pleasing, acceptable**.
[...]
Animal **a thing that hath life and sence, a liuing creature, a beast**.
[...]
Cometario [sic][30] **a churchyard, a place where men be buried**.
[...]
Libreria, **a library, a shop of books**.
[...]
Tibieza, **betweene hot and colde: also slownesse, carelesnes, and negligence**.

In some rare cases there are no equivalents; instead, a gloss is provided:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*
Ceja **the space ouer the nose betweene the browes**.
[...]
Fatiga **wearinesse of the body or the troublesomnesse of the minde**.
[...]
Matricula, **a catalogue of proper names**.
[...]
Sanidad, **health of the body**.
[...]
Xiringa, **a kinde of yron pipe or flute**.
[...]
Yerno, **the daughters husband**.
[...]
Zarco, it is commonly taken for one whose eies are blewish and graie: **also** one that turneth his eies, so that all the whose is seene.

This last entry, *Zarco*, demonstrates another feature of Thorius' dictionary that is worth mentioning. By using the adverb *also*, Thorius was able to discriminate the senses of a given headword. He does not frequently use this technique, but there are a handful of cases where he does, such as:

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[30] Instead of *Cementario*, this is one of the printer's errors mentioned by Steiner (1970, 15).

Criado brought by, a seruant **also** created.
[...]
Mañana, a morning, **also** to morrowe.
[...]
Mercado, the market place, **also** cheap, a market.
[...]
Oficial, an Officer, **also** an arte or occupation.
[...]
Palma, palme: **also** the palme of the hand.
[...]
Peon, a footman: also a light horse man, **also** a iourneyman, a mercenarie workman.

Finally, no articles are used in the Spanish headwords while in English both indefinite articles (for count nouns) and definite articles are used, the former being more frequent. Yet again, however, his usage is not consistent:

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Dictionarie*

Arador **a** ploughman.
Arbol **a** tree.
[...]
Artificio **an** occupation, **a** crafte.
[...]
Azeite oyle.
[...]
Boz **the** voice.
[...]
Bonete **a** cappe.
Borro **a** blot.
[...]
Cara **the** face.
Carcell **a** prison.
[...]
Carniceria **the** shambles.
[...]
Enseñador teacher.
[...]
Espiritu spirite.
[...]
Fiebre **an** ague.

Fiesta **an** holy day.
[...]
Lumbral, **a** threshold.
Lumbre, light.
Lluvia, raine.
[...]
Tiembra, **a** trembling, **a** quaking.
Tierra, earth, countrie.

Besides the use of articles, Thorius also added gramatical information by using the preposition *to* to mark the English infinitives. It is clear from the previous examples that this *Spanish Dictionarie* is not an elaborate work; nevertheless, it is important and interesting for lexicography because it contains features that will be developed later. Compared to the previous works of 1554, it is more systematic in its layout and expands the explanatory information, providing definitions and glosses.

5.2.4 Analysis of the front matter

There are references to the "Spanish Dictionarie" in the prefatory texts of the *Spanish Grammer*. Thus, after introducing the grammar in the first part of the title page and crediting the original to Corro, Thorius devotes the following paragraph to his dictionary: "With a Dictionarie adioyned vnto it, of all the Spanish wordes cited in this Booke: and other more wordes most necessarie for all such as desire the knowledge of the same tongue." The subordination of the dictionary to the grammar is obvious from the start; it is merely *appended* to the grammar and acts as a supplement. Thorius explains that the words used in the grammar constitute the source of the macrostructure, to which are added other "most necessarie" words for a knowledge of Spanish. There is no mention of the source of these, however. The pedagogical function of the dictionary is clear from the beginning, as it was conceived for those who wanted to learn Spanish.

Similar topics are mentioned in the "Epistle to the Reader". In this text, Thorius briefly describes his project, namely that he has translated the grammar for the public good:

> But thus muche I thought necessary to aduertise the Reader of, that this Grammar was first written the greater part of it in Spanish, and a litle of the ende in French; in such manner that none could reape any benefit by reading of it, but such as were acquainted with both foresayd languages. In so much that I beeing requested by diuers, but especially mooued with loue and affection toward my country men (beeing most ready at all times to vndertake any labour to procure their ease, and imploy my dearest time to do them pleasure) haue in such sort translated & altered this booke, that any English man may vse it to his profite.

With regards to the dictionary, Thorius seems to have prepared it for the same reasons he adapted the grammar, that is for the public good. His "Spanish Dictionarie" contains:

> [A]ll the Spanish words set down for example in this Grammar, and also many other wordes most vsed. Which paynes (gentle Reader) I shall thinke well imployde if it may doo you good and redowne to your profit: requesting no other meede for my labour, then to haue it accepted as a token of my good will and meaning.

Thorius's references to his lexicographical project are certainly brief, limited to explaining the source of the macrostructure – the "most necessarie" and "most vsed" words he added to the words cited and examples taken from the grammar, the pedagogical purpose behind his enterprise, and the general public for which it was prepared.

5.2.5 Concluding remarks

All these aspects are helpful in arriving at an evaluation of Thorius' work. It is clear that it is important in the history of Spanish-English lexicography, since it paved the way for such major works as those of Richard Percyvall (1591) and John Minsheu (1599). Nevertheless, Steiner (1970, 16) devotes only two pages to this work, ending his discussion by saying that "[t]he dictionary is an apparatus for the convenience of the user of the grammar". Similarly, Martín-Gamero (1961, 80) thinks that "[n]o es una obra de gran mérito"; incidentally, according to this scholar (Martín-Gamero, ibid.), Thorius *never* formulates a definition. We have seen that such is not the case. It is true that, from a

lexicographical point of view, it is not an elaborate work, being nothing more than a brief word list; however, it also represents a step forward in dictionary compilation and this for a number of reasons: entries are arranged in alphabetical order; often more than just one equivalent is provided; definitions are included, as are particularizing words and phrases; a comma is used to separate the headword from the explanatory information, even if not systematically from the beginning of the work; and in some cases an attempt is made to distinguish the different senses of words. In short, this work contains the rudiments of a methodology.

Even if the dictionary was a supplement to the grammar, Thorius never lost sight of it and took advantage of the prefatory texts of the grammar to outline his source, his purpose, and his public. In terms of the size of the macrostructure, Thorius' "Spanish Dictionarie", with its 953 entries, is halfway between the *Book of English and Spanish* (506 entries) and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1785 entries), going beyond them with its more elaborate microstructure. This "Spanish Dictionarie" is the first real example of an alphabetically arranged bilingual wordbook involving Spanish and English. Like its predecessor, the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, it is subordinate to a grammar and contains common words, but the *Spanish Dictionarie* was conceived *only* for the learning of Spanish (and not learning *both* English and Spanish, as were its predecessors). The fact that Spanish becomes the source language is easily understandable, given the relations between Spain and England in the late sixteenth century. The next work to be published as a direct result of this situation is Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* in 1591. Like Thorius' work, this was a grammar with a dictionary appended; unlike Thorius's work, however, the second part of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is traditionally considered, because of its scope, as the first Spanish and English dictionary worthy of the name.

5.3) Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica. Containing a Grammar; with a Dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine* (1591)

5.3.1 Introduction

As has been seen, interest in the Spanish language in England can be traced back to Tudor times; afterwards, during Elizabethan times, this interest continued to grow, while political relations between England and Spain eventually ended in war and the defeat of the Spanish Armada in July 1588.

In spite of war, there was continued interest in Spanish language and literature, reaching a high point at the end of the sixteenth century. The Company of Stationers' records show that between the years 1590 and 1599 five textbooks were licensed for printing.[31] The first was *The Spanish Grammer*, by Thorius (1590), previously discussed. Then, with the date October 19, 1590, there appears an entry in the Stationers' records for a license to John Wolf for a work by Thomas D'Oylie (Arber 1875b, 2: 565):

xix° Octobris

John wolf //   Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of master Hartwell and bothe the wardens, *A Spanish grammer, conformed to our Englishe Accydence. with a large dictionarye conteyninge Spanish, Latyn, and Englishe wordes, with a multitude of Spanish wordes more then are conteyned in the Calapine of x: languages or* Neobrecensis *Dictionare,* Set forth by Thomas D'Oyley Doctor in phisick with the confirence of Natyve Spaniardes.   .   .   .   .   . vj$^{\text{d}}$ / n /

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[31] For a list of Spanish books (grammars, dictionaries, literary works, etc) published in England during Elizabethan times, see Ungerer (1965, 190 ff.), as well as the comprehensive bibliographies by Alston (1987) and Niederehe (1994).

This book was never published. By the end of that same year (1590), a work by Richard Percyvall, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica. Containing a Grammar; with a Dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine*, was licensed for publication (Arber 1875b, 2: 570). In early 1591, there is an entry in the Stationers' record for *The Spanish Schoolmaster. Containing seven Dialogues [...] and a Vocabularie, [...] by W. Stepney* (Arber 1875b, 2: 573). Finally, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, with a grammar and dialogues by John Minsheu, was entered on June 28, 1599 (Arber 1876, 3: 145). The publication of these works constitutes commercial recognition of the popularity of the Spanish tongue.

There is something paradoxical, a fascinating duality, to British interest in the Spanish language, since this love for Spanish literature developed during a period of hatred, political agendas and war. It was, as Ungerer (1972, 43) adequately describes it, an "approach towards Spanish letters through the medium of war and politics." Queen Elizabeth I continued the work of Catherine of Aragon and favoured the publication of Spanish books. She was herself, as Ungerer (1972, 43 ff.) explains, an example of the dual approach towards Spain, for she opposed the policies of King Philip II of Spain but "[a]s head of the English government, she communicated with the Spaniards in their own language, and as a scholar, she read one or two Spanish books for her own instruction." The political situation made it indispensable for Elizabethans to have a knowledge of Spanish; scholars and courtiers were influenced by the literature of Spain and developed an interest in Spanish culture that transcended the purely practical reasons for acquiring the language. Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century there was a group of scholars in England, including grammarians and lexicographers, devoted to the study of the Spanish language and literature.

Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-98), is another example of this dual approach to Spanish culture. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (s.v. *William Cecil, 1ˢᵗ Baron Burghley*), Lord Burghley was "principal adviser to England's Queen Elizabeth I through most of her reign. Cecil was a master of Renaissance statecraft, whose talents as a diplomat, politician, and administrator won him high office and a

peerage." On the one hand, he was a statesman, who needed a knowledge of Spanish in order to keep track of the enemy; on the other, he was a scholar and an omnivorous reader, who encouraged the study of Spanish. Cecil served Queen Elizabeth I as Secretary of State; as such, he was in charge of the secret service, with a staff to help him, among other things, collect and translate all kinds of material that came from Spain. [32] Translation and lexicographical activities developed as a response to the need to stay informed about the movements of the Spanish government during the period. One of the members of Cecil's staff was Richard Percyvall, the author of the first Spanish-English dictionary.

Sir Richard Percyvall [33] (1550-1620) was educated at St. Paul's School and at Lincoln's Inn. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (14: 819-20), when he was a student at Lincoln's Inn, Percyvall led an extravagant life, and his excesses and an early marriage to a penniless girl alienated and offended his father, George Percival. Ruined, Percyvall went to live in Spain, although it is impossible to determine the exact dates of his stay there or the reasons why he chose that country. He remained four years in Spain, until the death of his first wife and, according to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (43: 662), he returned to England in 1585, at the outbreak of war, although Underhill (1971, 335) says his return was around 1583.

The knowledge Percyvall acquired of Spanish would change his life. In England he was introduced by his friend Roger Cave to the circle of Sir William Cecil, who employed him as part of his staff. Due to his knowledge of Spanish, Cecil entrusted Percyvall with deciphering and translating documents seized by the British that contained the first sure information of the planned invasion of England by the Spanish Armada. This he did, and

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[32] On the role of Sir William Cecil during this period, see Ungerer (1972, 48 ff.).

[33] Variant spellings of the name are *Percyuall, Perceval(l), Perciual, Percival, Percyval, Perciuale,* and *Percyuale.* We will use the spelling from the title page of the dictionary, the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera,* and perhaps the most common: *Percyvall.* More information about his life can be found in Santoyo (1974, 75 ff.), who surveyed Percyvall's life and the genesis of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* based on various sources, such as Percyvall's biographers of the eighteenth century mentioned by the *Dictionary of National Biography,* namely James Anderson (*A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery,* 1742), and John Lodge (*The Peerage of Ireland,* 1789).

afterwards his ascent was swift: Queen Elizabeth I rewarded him with a pension, Sir William Cecil made him his protégé, and his father forgave him. He was a member of Parliament in 1603-1604 and, in 1609, he became a member of the London Virginia Company.[34] After having led, in the words of Collison (1971, 62), "a life as fully romantic as that of any hero in a light novel", Percyvall retired to Ireland with his second wife, where he died in 1620. Beginning as a wayward son, he ended up with a secure and prosperous life as a politician and colonist.

According to Ungerer (1965, 203), Percyvall began compiling his dictionary while he was part of the intelligence service of Lord Burghley. Santoyo (1974, 78) advances the probable date of 1587 as the year when Percyvall began working on the grammar and dictionary. Before discussing the sources and megastructure of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, some important details need to be clarified. The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is divided into two parts: first a grammar and next, with a separate title page, the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*, which contains the dictionary proper. First, concerning the title of the work itself, Stein (1985, 354) has rightly noted that, "[T]he title which Percyvall used for his dictionary immediately recalls that of John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica*[35] published two years earlier. Yet as to the work itself, Percyvall has more in common with earlier English dictionaries describing a spoken vernacular of the time than with John Rider's dictionary." In fact, Percyvall himself says, on the second page of the preface "To the Reader" of the dictionary, his purpose was "to explain the Spanish, not to teach the Latine" whereas the subtitle of Rider's works says the dictionary was "*[p]enned for all those that would haue within short space the vse of the Latin tongue, either to speake, or write.*" Second, in the first part, there is a section entitled "To the Reader", where Percyvall comments:

> I open vnto thee a Librarie; wherein thou mayst finde layed readie to thy view and vse, the toonge with which by reason of the troublesome times, thou arte like to haue most acquaintance: hauing trauailed (though at home)

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[34] Also known as "The Virginia Company of London", or just "The Virginia Company", it was set up as a joint stock company by royal charter on April 10, 1606. Its business was the colonization of Virginia.
[35] See Starnes (1954, chap. 15) and Stein (1985, chap. 26) for a discussion of this English-Latin dictionary.

with a more curious endeuour to search out the proprietie thereof; then many that haue spent some years in the Countrie where the toonge is naturall; yea then some Spaniardes, that haue dealt in the same argument. For no doubt, those things that to me being a straunger to the toonge, appeared vpon good reason to bee worth the obseruation: were so ordinarie with them, as they seemed needlesse to be drawen into rule.

Based on this commentary, and on the fact that the exact dates of Percyvall's sojourn in Spain are unknown, some scholars have argued that the composition of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* took place *before* Percyvall's stay in Spain. Dámaso Alonso (1931, 16), in his paper on the distinction between Spanish *b* and *d* fricative, praises Percyvall's "fina sensibilidad de fonético", and credits him with being the first to have established and described such a distinction between those Spanish phones.[36] On page 20, footnote 4 of that paper, Alonso notes that the *Dictionary of National Biography* does not gives the dates of Percyvall's travel, and he remarks that Percyvall was able to describe both sounds *even though he had not been in Spain*. Alonso makes the claim that, from Percyvall's commentary quoted above, it can be deduced that travel to Spain took place after 1591. A similar opinion has been expressed by Amado Alonso (1967, 199), who, in his discussion of Percyvall's grammar, agrees with Dámaso Alonso's claim and assumes travel took place after 1591. Martín-Gamero (1961, 80-1) follows the same line of thought, claiming that Percyvall, "[A]prendió, pues, el español en Inglaterra, tuvo ocasión de practicarlo en España y, a su vuelta a la patria, los conocimientos adquiridos le valieron un nombramiento de traductor de documentos oficiales, que fue el principio de una carrera brillante." The same information has been repeated recently by Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000, 10), in their overview of Percyvall's life in the facsimile edition of John Minsheu' *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*. However, these claims are in contradiction with the fact that Percyvall went to Spain after his first marriage and that it was his knowledge of

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[36] According to Alonso (1931, 16), Percyvall was able to establish "una simetría entre los fenómenos correspondientes a la *b* y a la *d*, simetría reconocida hoy por la fonética moderna; comprende que la posición inicial (de palabra, dice él, inicial absoluta, diríamos nosotros) produce la oclusión de *b* y *d*; se da cuenta de que la fricación de estas letras es lo normal en español, y su oclusión lo excepcional; en fin, nos da la mejor descripción de *d* al decir que suena como *th* inglesa en *them, then, these*."

Spanish that led to his being hired as a translator on the staff of Sir William Cecil, with the consequence that he knew Spanish before undertaking the preparation of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*. What can be deduced from Percyvall's words is that the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* was begun when he was in England and that he did not have a native-like command of Spanish, his second language. Santoyo's assertion (1974, 82) would thus seem to correspond to the facts:

> Lo que en verdad puede deducirse de este párrafo no es que Percyvall desconociera la Península, sino que acaso su estancia en ella trascurrió sin preocupaciones o intereses lingüísticos de ningún tipo; y que solo años después, a causa precisamente de su trabajo en Inglaterra, comenzó a interesarse por el castellano más que quien – como él mismo – había pasado varios años en España sin ese "empeño más cuidadoso".[37]

Steiner (1985, 89) expresses a similar view, when he writes that there is no real contradiction between the facts as presented in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Percyvall's remarks. It can be concluded, then, that the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* was begun when Percyvall returned to England and while he was working for Sir William Cecil, probably in late 1586 or early 1587. According to Santoyo (1974, 77-8), the book was ready for the press in October 1590. The license in the Registers of the Company of Stationers (Arber 1875b, 2: 570), dated December 26, 1590, reads:

26 Decembris [1590]

Master **Watkins**   Entred for his copie vnder th[e h] handes of Master HARTWELL and the wardens *Bibliotheca Hispanica / Contayninge A Grammar with a Dictionary in iij Languages gathered out of diuerse good Aucthors. very profitable for the studious of the Spanyshe tonge.* By R. PERCIUALL .   .   .   .   vj^{d}

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[37] Here, Santoyo refers to Percyvall's words "a more curious endeuour" (found at the beginning of our quotation from the section "To the Reader") which he translates as "empeño más cuidadoso".

The book was printed in London by John Jackson,[38] for the editor Richard Watkins, in 1591. The *British Biographical Archive*, microfiche 343, gives the years 1591 *and* 1592; likewise, the record in Knapp (1884, 3) says, "Repeated 1592". However, we have found no evidence that the book was reprinted in 1592. Interestingly enough, Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 200, footnote 7, and 2002, 175) mentions that his own personal copy of this dictionary belonged to the Kent historian William Lambarde (1536-1601) and that on the cover there is a handwritten note by Lambarde reading "1590 Ex dono Authoris". This leads Alvar Ezquerra to believe that the book was printed before the date on the cover and that some copies were actually distributed by late 1590. He explains (Alvar Ezquerra 2000, 175):

> Estoy convencido de que, cuando el editor recibió la autorización, tenía ya impreso el libro, o, al menos, muy avanzada la impresión. Después no le quedaría nada más que estampar el primer cuadernillo, si es que no se lo había hecho ya con la fecha del año inminente, por si no llegaba a tiempo el permiso, o por no poner un año al que le quedaban muy pocos días y que podría hacer pensar en una obra más vieja de lo que era.

There is an additional interesting aspect to this dictionary that Alvar Ezquerra (ibid.) discovered: not all of the copies of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* are equal. This scholar compared the copy in the *Real Academia Española* with that of the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid and with his own. Alvar Ezquerra noticed spelling errors in certain entries in the copy in the *Real Academia Española* that have been corrected in the copy in the *Biblioteca Nacional* and in his own. This could mean that some copies of the book are older that others, that is that some copies had already been printed while others were still being proofread. Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 176) concludes that the book was certainly printed by December 26, 1590, the day when the license for printing was granted.

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[38] Printer in London (1584-1596), see McKerrow (1968, 150).

5.3.2 Sources

The sources and word list of Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* have been studied by several scholars: Steiner (1970 and 1985), Santoyo (1974), Stein (1985),[39] Guerrero Ramos (1992 and 1995), Nieto (1994), and Alvar Ezquerra (2002).

Like Thorius' work, Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* consists of a Spanish grammar preceding the dictionary. A comparison between the two grammars lies outside the scope of this study; nevertheless, Amado Alonso (1951g, 226 and 1967, 200), in his works on Spanish phonetics, has pointed out Percyvall's debt to Corro's *Reglas gramaticales*. This does not prevent Alonso from recognizing the merits of Percyvall's description of Spanish pronunciation. As mentioned before, Dámaso Alonso (1931, 15 ff.) had already credited Percyvall with being the first to establish the distinction between the Spanish phones *b* and *d*. Alonso (1931, 20) says this merit was "tanto mayor cuanto que tal distinción no se encuentra ni en el *Vocabulario de las Lenguas toscana y castellana*, de Cristóbal de las Casas, ni en las obras de Nebrija, que son las fuentes que nuestro inglés reconoce haber manejado." Similarly, Amado Alonso (1951a, 38, footnote 3, and 1967, 198) praises Percyvall's talents as a phonetician, calling him the best and most careful English grammarian of Spanish at that time (Alonso 1951d, 130-1).

Did Percyvall borrow material from Thorius' dictionary? At the level of the macrostructure, Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 178) has determined that four entries out of forty-one under letter *A* in the first page of Thorius' work are not to be found in Percyvall's. Our analysis shows that only one entry of seventeen under letter *F*, one of thirty-five under *L*, and three of forty-five under letter *T* in Thorius' dictionary are not included in Percyvall's. Yet, these results are not surprising since Percyvall's word list is twelve times larger than Thorius'. The following examples can provide an idea of the similarities and differences between the works as far as the microstructure is concerned:

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[39] Stein (1985, 366-72) reproduces the prefaces to each part as well as a sample from letter *B*.

Thorius (1590): *The Spanish Grammer*	Percyvall (1591): *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*
Ladron, a theefe.	**Ladron, a theefe,** *Latro.*
Leer, to read.	Leer, **Leo,** to reade, *Legere.*
Lengua, a tongue.	Lengua, the tongue, **intelligence,** *Lingua, exploratio.*
Leche, milke.	**Leche, milke,** *Lac.*
Lexia, **lie made of ashes**.	Lexía, **lie to wash with,** *Lixiuium,*
Lexo, farre off, **far from**.	Lexos, farre off, *Procul.*
Ley, **a lawe**.	Ley, **the** law, *Lex.*
Liberall, liberall.	**Liberal, liberall,** *Liberalis.*
Librar, to deliuer out of bondage.	Librar, to deliuer, **to make free, to weigh money,** *Ponderare, liberare, pecuniam decernere.*
Libertar, to sette at fraedome.	Libertar, **to deliuer,** to set free, *Liberare.*
Llamar, to call.	llamar, to call, **to knocke at a gate,** *Vocare, pulsare.*
Llaue, a key.	**llave, a key,** *Clauit.*
Llegar, **to approch, to draw near, to come vnto, to arriue.**	llegar, **to gather togither, to come neare,** *Congregare, appropinquare.*

Notice that short entries are identical (s.vv. *Ladron, Leche, Liberal,* and *Llaue*), or only slightly different (for example s.vv. *Ley* or *Leer,* where Percyvall adds the conjugated form *Leo*). In entries such as *Lengua, Librar, Libertar,* and *llamar* Percyvall's microstructure is longer; whereas for s.v. *Lexos,* it is made up of only one equivalent. Finally, the microstructure may also be different in the two works, as with s.v. *Lexia* and *Llegar.* Generally speaking, there are more differences than similarities between the dictionaries; consequently, it seems unlikely Thorius' work influenced that of Percyvall at the level of the microstructure. Percyvall may have incorporated Thorius' macrostructure, but the microstructure in the former's dictionary is more elaborate. Thus, our results coincide with Steiner's remark (1970, 18), according to which:

> Although many vocabulary entries and English glosses of the Thorius dictionary are duplicated exactly by Percyvall, who adds a comma after the vocabulary entry[40] and adds the Latin gloss after the English gloss, they are of a kind in which duplication is, in some way, inevitable. For instance, if a one-word gloss of the word entry *Abierto* is desired, it is hard to see how Percyvall could have chosen any other word than *open*, which Thorius used. Duplication is not proof that any relationship existed between the two dictionaries. Indeed, the entries are often different [...]

The first source Percyvall mentions using was Thomas D'Oylie's unpublished manuscript mentioned at the beginning of this section, the *Spanish Grammer, Conformed to Our Englishe Accydence. with a Large Dictionarye Conteyninge Spanish, Latyn, and Englishe Wordes*. Thomas D'Oylie (or Doyley, D'Oyly, c.1548–1603) was a Spanish scholar and physician born in Oxfordshire. He studied abroad and travelled for many years, visiting such places as Paris, Basel, and the Low Countries, and returned to England about 1585 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 5: 1322). He had a considerable knowledge of languages and became a friend of Francis Bacon and Sir Robert Cecil, son of Sir William Cecil. D'Oylie was thus part of the group of grammarians, lexicographers, and other scholars involved in the study of Spanish in England at the end of the sixteenth century. Percyvall himself acknowledged his debt to D'Oylie on the title page of his work as well as in some well-known lines from the introductory section "To the Reader", in the first part of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*:

> In very good time, I chaunced to be acquainted with the learned Gentleman, Master *Thomas Doyley* doctor in Phisicke; who had begunne a Dictionary in Spanish, English, and Latine; and seeing mee to bee more foreward to the presse then himselfe; very friendly gaue his consent to the publishing of mine; wishing me to adde the Latine to it as hee had begunne in his; which I performed, being not a little furthered therein by his aduise and conference.

Percyvall explains on the title page that he added the Latin glosses by request of D'Oylie, whose projected *Spanish Grammer* was to contain a Spanish, Latin, and English

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[40] We already mentioned in our discussion of Thorius (1590) that he used the comma after the headword, but that this procedure only became systematic *after* letter *H*, so this part of Steiner's remark is not a valid

dictionary. In the same section from which the above quotation is taken, Percyvall states that he had begun a dictionary in Spanish and English only, using Antonio de Nebrija's and Christoval de las Casas' dictionaries. The dictionary was ready for the press by October 1590 (Santoyo 1974, 788), while D'Oylie was just beginning his. D'Oylie abandoned his project and gave his materials to Percyvall, who subsequently added the Latin glosses. It should be noticed that D'Oylie mentions the dictionaries of Nebrija and Calepine[41] as his sources. Did Percyvall borrow only the Latin glosses from D'Oylie? Is D'Oylie's text the only source of the Latin glosses, as Percyvall claims, or did he consult other Latin and English dictionaries? Regarding the potential relation between Percyvall's dictionary and other Latin and English dictionaries, such as those by Thomas Elyot, Thomas Cooper, and Thomas Thomas, Starnes (1937, 1010) noted that "Brevity of definitions in this volume [Percyvall's] renders extremely difficult proof of indebtedness to the work of Thomas Thomas and his predecessors." [42] Did D'Oylie's manuscript influence Percyvall's macrostructure and/or microstructure? Is there an influence of Calepine's dictionary on Percyvall's work via that of D'Oylie? Unfortunately, there can be no definitive answer to these questions, which require further research.

The other two sources Percyvall mentions using are the works of Antonio de Nebrija and Christoval de las Casas. The importance of Nebrija's works for modern lexicography has already been discussed and his influence on subsequent lexicographers, including Las Casas and Percyvall himself, has been mentioned. As with D'Oylie, Percyvall acknowledged his debt in the previous quotation from the section "To the Reader" to the first part of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*. In the following quotation from this same section, Percyvall first talks about Nebrija and Las Casas and then claims to have

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difference between Thorius (1590) and Percyvall (1591).

[41] The *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarivm* was the work of the Italian monk Ambrogio Calepino (1435-1511), whose Latin dictionary was published in 1502; it was subsequently published in Europe with increasing number of languages added (Martínez de Sousa 1995, 60). The work became so popular that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe the word *calepine* became synonymous with *dictionary*. Several editions containing ten languages appeared after 1585, so it is impossible to know which D'Oylie used. For information on editions, title pages, etc., see Niederehe (1994, passim).

[42] On Thomas's Latin-English dictionary, see Starnes (1954, chap. 10) and Stein (1985, chap. 25).

added 2,000 entries not found in either one of them, finally mentioning the assistance he had from two Spanish prisoners from the Armada in correcting what was up to that moment – before the additions from D'Oylie – only a Spanish-English dictionary:

> The Dictionarie hath coste me greatest paynes; for after that I had collected it into Spanish and English out of *Christoval de las Casas*, and *Nebrissensis*; casting in some small pittaunce of mine owne, amounting well neere two 2000 wordes; which neither of them had; I ranne it ouer twise with *Don Pedro de Valdes*, and *Don Vasco de Sylua*, to whome I had accesse, by the fauour of my worshipfull friend Maister *Richard Drake*, (a Gentleman as uertuouslie minded as any, to further any good attempt): and hauing by their helpe made it readie for the presse with the English interpretation only:

In this quotation, Percyvall acknowledges his debt to Nebrija and Las Casas. Again in the section "To the Reader" of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*, Percyvall recognized having followed Nebrija and Las Casas, specifically, in the alphabetization of the macrostructure: "The *Order* of the letters may seeme somewhat vnorderly. But as it fell out it could be no otherwise; bicause that following *Nebrissensis* and *Casas*, I traced their steps." In that same text, he makes the following remark regarding the methodological principle he followed when borrowing from Nebrija:

> The Spanish words gathered out of *Nebrissensis*, are not al in vse: for him selfe saith; he framed and coined some; yet I haue set downe all, least thou shouldest thinke I dealt scarce faithfully with him: I haue purposely passed ouer his repetitions of the selfe same word, which he often useth to expresse the sense of the Latin words; for I go about to explain the Spanish, not to teach the Latine.

In this way, Percyvall admits to having used the word list from Nebrija almost in its entirety. If it can be assumed, following Santoyo (1974, 77), that Percyvall began working on his dictionary in late 1586 or early 1587, then he would have had access to an edition of Nebrija's Latin-Spanish dictionary from 1581, and, more importantly, an edition of the Spanish-Latin dictionary from 1585, or perhaps even earlier editions from his sojourn in Spain. However, since editions of Nebrija's work were so numerous it is not possible to

know exactly which one Percyvall used; in any case, it probably was a late sixteenth century edition.[43]

Christoval de las Casas' *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* was published in Seville in 1570.[44] Like Percyvall, Las Casas based his work upon that of Nebrija. Las Casas' *Vocabulario* was the first bilingual Italian-Spanish, Spanish-Italian dictionary, of which several editions were published, for example in 1576, 1579, and 1583. As in the case of Nebrija, there can only be speculation about the edition Percyvall used; in this regard, Santoyo (1974, 93) thinks that Percyvall probably used the 1587 edition of Las Casas, and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 179-80) comments:

> No resulta fácil saber cuál pudiera ser la edición empleada, pues los cambios de una edición a otra no son muchos, y el repertorio de Percyvall es más extenso que la parte español-toscano de De las Casas, que tiene unos 10 500 artículos. Si sabemos que Percyvall estuvo en nuestro país, no resulta demasiado aventurado conjeturar que manejaría alguna de las dos ediciones españolas del *Vocabulario* – el resto son venecianas –, la primera y la cuarta (1570 y 1583) – la de 1579 es fantasma –.[45] Si además sabemos que Percyval, llegó en 1579 a nuestro país resulta más probable que conociera alguno de los ejemplares de la primera impresión que uno de la edición siguiente (Venecia, 1576), y que se dejara impresionar por su contenido.

The general conclusion drawn by scholars who have dealt with the relation between Percyvall, Las Casas, and Nebrija is that the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* is a blend, a hybrid product, based on Nebrija and Las Casas. Percyvall borrowed Nebrija's macrostructure almost in its entirety, and Steiner (1970, 20) explains that "[a] comparison of the two dictionaries reveals that this claim is substantially true, although many times Percyvall composed only one vocabulary entry based upon more than one vocabulary entry in Nebrija." Taking Las Casas' work into consideration, Steiner (1970, 21) goes on to

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[43] Editions of Nebrija's dictionaries in the sixteenth century are listed in Niederehe (1994, 450-2).

[44] For bibliographical information about this work (title pages, description, and editions), see Niederehe (1994, passim). For a discussion, see Gallina (1959, 161 ff. and 1991, 2992 ff.).

[45] Here Alvar Ezquerra refers to Gallina (1959, 171, footnote 9), who says in a reference to the 1579 edition: "è probabile che si tratti sempre dell'edizione del 1570, forse con il solo frontespizio cambiato, cosa non rara a quei tempi."

observe that in spite of this direct link between Percyvall and Nebrija "it is on Las Casas that he depended for the basic framework of his word list. Many times both Las Casas and Percyvall will omit the same words from Nebrija [...] and many times both Las Casas and Percyvall will enter words not listed by Nebrija [...] and usually these words are listed in the same sequence". Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 182) explains in greater detail that Percyvall followed Las Casas' way of presenting the overall word list by guide letters:

> [S]eparando cada combinación de dos letras, con las que encabeza cada serie. Así estaba en el italiano, pero no en Nebrija, por más que en el repertorio de éste cada una de esas combinaciones comenzara con una capital, y que cada plana o columna fuera encabezada por una combinación de dos letras que sirve de guía al usuario.

Guerrero Ramos (1992 and 1995) has studied the influence of Nebrija's Spanish-Latin dictionary on a series of lexicographers, from Pedro de Alcala's Spanish-Arabic *Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana* (1505) up to César Oudin's *Thresor des deux langues françoise et espagnole* (1607), including Las Casas and Percyvall. Guerrero Ramos (1992, 463 and 1995, 100) uses a small sample compiled from entries under letter *A* of each work.[46] Her results show that there are a series of words that Percyvall took from Nebrija, but that Las Casas did not take: for example, words with the mark "in aravigo" in Nebrija. In other words, Guerrero Ramos (1992, 467 and 1995, 134) shows that Percyvall's borrowings from Nebrija are more extensive that those of Las Casas. Guerrero Ramos (1992, 467-8 and 1995, 135) also elaborates further on Percyvall's technique of reduction, by means of which several entries in Nebrija sometimes became only one in Percyvall:

> En cuanto a la supresión de vocablos, observamos en Percyvall el mismo procedimiento que en los lexicógrafos hasta ahora estudiados [such as Alcalá and Las Casas]: elimina ciertas formaciones femeninas, como por ejemplo *Alfereza*, y suprime las distintas matizaciones o especificaciones ofrecidas

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[46] In her papers about the influence of Nebrija on subsequent lexicographers, Guerrero Ramos (1992, 1995, and 1996) limits her samples to entries from the letter *A* of each dictionary. Regarding this method of sampling, we agree with Zgusta (1999, 181) in the sense that Guerrero Ramos' conclusions are correct, but that a broader sampler would be preferable, "because within the European languages, entries at the beginning of the letter *a-* in a dictionary are not fully representative of the rest of them."

por Nebrija, tanto si van acompañadas de un vocablo con carácter totalizador, por ejemplo *Alferez* y *Alferez de aguilas*, como si en Nebrija sólo aparecen las matizaciones y Percyvall las engloba bajo una sola entrada, por ejemplo, *Almorrana*.

Nieto (1994) carried out a more specific study, comparing only the dictionaries of Nebrija (1495), Las Casas (1570), and Percyvall (1591) for similarities and differences. Taking Spanish as the source language, Nieto (1994, 352) compiled a sample from letters *A* and *B*. Nieto's samples corroborate the fact that Nebrija's macrostructure is the largest, followed by that of Percyvall and Las Casas, in that order (Nieto 1994, 353). This scholar was able to investigate the reasons behind this quantitative difference: proper names and particularizing words were left out or reduced to a single entry by Las Casas and, later on, by Percyvall:

> [L]as principales causas de las diferencias cuantitativas de registros son tres: la no inclusión de nombres propios por parte de Las Casas, la eliminación que éste hace de no pocas voces registradas por Nebrija y, sobre todo, la precisión, semántica unas veces, contextual otras, que el Catedrático salmantino trata de establecer entre las voces españolas y sus correspondientes Latinas.

According to Nieto (1994, 357), the same three differences are found between Nebrija and Percyvall. Nieto (1994, 358-9) claims that Percyvall conceived his dictionary using Las Casas' *Vocabulario*, and then consulted Nebrija's Spanish-Latin vocabulary to collect entries that Las Casas had left out.

As seen above, in addition to his borrowings from Nebrija and Las Casas Percyvall claims to have added 2,000 words to the dictionary, an increase of approximately 15%.[47] He does not mention the source of these words. About this additions, Wiener (1899, 4) writes that "no doubt part of them came out of Calepine's stupendous dictionary, which contained also a Spanish column, and which Doyley had excerpted." Steiner (1970, 22) has confirmed Percyvall's claim about the number of his additions, affirming that "[o]f these

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[47] Nieto's results (1994, 360) show an increase of 14.68% under letter *A*, and 20.42% under letter *B*.

2,000 vocabulary entries which Percyvall called his own, almost half are derived forms or expressions." Percyvall may have developed these forms, Steiner continues, "by applying some of the principles expounded in the grammar part of his work." The other possibility is, once again, that Percyvall took them from Calepine's work. Steiner (1970, 22): "[H]e may have taken them over from Calepine's *Dictionarium*, which Dr. D'Oylie had used and which might well have included many derived forms because its list is organized etymologically, not alphabetically." On the other hand, Santoyo (1974, 93) believes that these words come from Percyvall's knowledge of Spanish,

> Personalmente, y dado su número y calidad, me inclino a pensar que derivan de un conocimiento directo con la lengua: en numerosas ocasiones, por ejemplo, Percyvall es el primer lexicógrafo que las incluye en un diccionario; otras, caso aún más extremo, es él la primera cita escrita de que disponemos en la historia de muchas palabras.

Finally, Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 184) has also investigated polyglot vocabularies as potential sources, without arriving at any definitive conclusion:

> He intentado averiguar cuál de esos repertorios alfabéticos o temáticos se pudo utilizar para el español-inglés, y no llego a ninguna conclusión satisfactoria tras mirar varias ediciones con diferentes lenguas. Es más, encuentro algunas señales que me guían hacia diccionarios italiano-latín, aunque tampoco consigo ver claro.

In this way, the source of Percyvall's additions remains one aspect of this work that has not been clarified, doubtless because of the great number of polyglot works including Spanish entries available at that time.

So far, the discussion has focussed on the elements on which the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* was based, elements mentioned by the author himself, namely the unpublished manuscript of Dr. D'Oylie, Nebrija's dictionaries, Las Casas' work, and Percyvall's own addition of 2,000 words. The last component mentioned by Percyvall is the assistance of two Spanish informants, Pedro de Valdes and Vasco de Sylva, in revising the dictionary. These two informants were available, Percyvall informs us, through his

friendship with Richard Drake, a relative of Sir Francis Drake.[48] The role of these two prisoners from the Spanish Armada, which failed in its invasion of England in 1588, has been mentioned by Dámaso Alonso (1931, 21 ff.), who thinks that thanks to them Percyvall was able to distinguish phonetic features of Spanish and then record and explain them in the grammar part of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (Alonso 1931, 15-7). A more detailed study, by Steiner (1985), has investigated the relation of Percyvall to his Spanish informants in the broader framework of a lexicographer who has to compile a dictionary of a foreign tongue without any direct contact with the country where that language is spoken. Such was Percyvall's case, since he was unable to consult with native speakers of Spanish on a regular basis due to the political situation between Spain and England. Perhaps the only direct contact with native speakers Percyvall had while compiling the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* was with the aforementioned prisoners from the Invincible Armada, who acted as proofreaders for Percyvall. Steiner (1985, 96) has concluded that the resulting Spanish word list in the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* tends to be conservative, as a result of Percyvall's dependence on written sources, but that it was not inaccurate or nonrepresentative. Furthermore, Steiner (2003, 87) says that a comparison between Percyvall's dictionary and Sebastián de Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*,[49] which can be considered a characteristic example of Spanish as used in Spain in the sixteenth century, "indicates that Percyvall's spellings and meanings do not deviate remarkably from those of Covarrubias." Finally, regarding the word list of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*, Steiner's analysis (1985, 97) reveals a variety of terms:

> 1) idiomatic medical terms possibly supplied by the compiler's acquaintance, Thomas D'Oyley, a physician who had started a Spanish-English dictionary in the Low Countries; 2) idiomatic military terms supplied or corrected by officers of the Royal Armada; 3) Peninsular Spanish represented by the bilingual dictionaries of Nebrija and of Las Casas, and

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[48] For further information about Percyvall's relation to Don Pedro de Valdés and Don Vasco de Silva, see Alonso (1931, 21-2) and Santoyo (1974, 95-6).

[49] Covarrubias' *Tesoro*, traditionally the first Spanish dictionary, appeared in 1611; it remained the standard monolingual Spanish dictionary until the publication of the Spanish Academy's dictionary (1726-39). A second and augmented edition of Covarrubias' work was published in 1673-4.

confirmed by the lexicon of Covarrubias. The Spanish of this dictionary is neither regional nor substandard nor mixed with anglicisms. Conservatism in language on the fringes of a linguistic area is shown by Percyvall, a lexicographer who adopts approved written sources and finds limited opportunity to consult regularly with a variety of native speakers.

5.3.3 Megastructure

5.3.3.1 Outside matter

As we mentioned before, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is divided in two parts, the first a Spanish grammar, and the second, a Spanish-English dictionary with Latin explanatory information.[50] The first part covers twenty-one leaves or forty-two pages[51] and includes the following preliminary texts:

1. Title page[52]

2. Coat of arms (1 p.)[53]

3. Dedication: "To the Right Honorable Robert Earl of Essex and Ewe, Viscovnt Hereford, and Bourghchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourghchier and Louaine, Master of the Queenes Maiesties Horse, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, [...]" (2 pp.)[54]

4. "To the Reader" (1 p.)

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[50] We consulted the microfilm from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*; reel 348: 17, based on the British Library copy. This copy shows the same spelling corrections that Alvar Ezquerra detected in his own copy and in that of the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid. Incidentally, the copy used for the microfilm formerly belonged to the library of the Renaissance scholar Gabriel Harvey (ca. 1550-1630). See Stern's paper (1972) on the importance and contents of Harvey's library; a description of Harvey's copy of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is found on p. 42.

[51] In Santoyo's description (1974, 84), this part has forty-one pages because he did not include a page just before the beginning of the section on syntax, entitled "Hispanicæ Linguæ, à Latina, Deriuatio".

[52] Transcriptions of the title pages can be seen in Steiner (1970, 18), Santoyo (1974, 85-6), and Niederehe (1994, 244-5).

[53] The inscription on the coat of arms is the motto of the Order of the Garter: "Hony Soyt Qui Mal Y Pense".

[54] Robert Deveroux (1565–1601), second earl of Essex, politician and soldier. Notice that among his titles, Percyvall mentions the Order of the Garter, which would explain the coat of arms.

5. Four commendatory poems, three in Latin and one in English (2 pp.). The first poem is entitled "Thomas Doyleus medicinæ doctor"; the second, "Aduena quidam amicus"; the third, "To the practitioners in the Spanish", by James Lea, and the fourth, "Ad Lectorem", is by Percyvall.

6. The "Analyticall Table" (1 p.)

7. The "Spanish Grammar" (35 pp.).

The *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*, or second part of the book, covers ninety-four leaves. It contains a front matter made up of two texts plus the word list; its structure is as follows: [55]

1. Title page, almost identical to that of the first part
2. Preface "To the Reader", in two parallel columns with the English texts to the left and the Latin to the right (2 pp.)
3. The "Dictionnarie in Spanish, English, and Latine" (184 pp.).

5.3.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

Steiner (1970, 17) estimates the number of entries at between 70 and 75 per page, and approximately 12,500 for the whole book (Steiner 1985, 88). Santoyo (1974, 86) estimates the total number at some 13,000, with an average of 70 per page; Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000, 19) count 13,200 entries, while for Alvar Ezquerra (2001a, 161 and 2002, 179) there are some 12,500 entries. Our own calculations, based on a 16-page sample, give an average of 70 entries per page, and thus approximately 12,880 entries for the entire dictionary. The number of entries on a page in our sample ranges from a minimum of 53 to a maximum of 81 entries.

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[55] According to Santoyo (1974, 84), the section "To the Reader" has only 1 page and the dictionary 182 pages. It should also be mentioned that, according to Martín-Gamero (1961, 82), "la gramática ocupa 21 páginas del total y el diccionario el resto, unas 60 paginas", an error repeated by Sánchez Pérez (1992, 54), Azorín Fernández (2000, 67), and Breva-Claramonte (2000, 720).

The alphabetical order which Percyvall followed in his dictionary was not entirely consistent, since it was combined with the etymological order followed by Nebrija. Steiner (1970, 30-1) remarks that Percyvall capitalized the Spanish headword and the first word of the Latin gloss, without indicating if the Spanish word was actually capitalized in current usage, and that he seldom used accents to indicate pronunciation. As Stein (1985, 355) observes, the headwords are usually simple (one word), but sometimes a phrase, a verb followed by an object, or spelling variants also occur. The headword is followed by one or two English equivalents, and then the Latin gloss; English equivalents are generally preceded by the indefinite article although in some cases the definite article is used. There are cases in which no English equivalent is furnished; in these cases, Percyvall gives definitions or explanations for the headword, but Steiner (1970, 27) remarks that "[o]n the average there is only one definition to a page and then it is never encyclopaedic. Percyvall sometimes uses definitions as makeshift substitutes for an equivalent he does not know, [...]" As can be seen in the example used in the comparison of Thorius and Percyvall, s.v. *Leer*, when the headword is an irregular verb Percyvall gives the form of first person singular in the present tense (*Leo*). This was not, in fact, the only grammatical information Percyvall provided. Steiner (1970, 31) points out:

> Part-of-speech labels in Latin occur several times. A syntactical clue often indicates the part of speech: the preposition *to* before English infinitives; the suffix *se* affixed to reflexive Spanish verbs; an explanatory comment in the gloss of an adjective, [...] or an article before an English noun. For those users who knew Latin better than either English or Spanish, the Latin gloss often supplied the grammatical clue for determining part-of-speech function [...].

Finally, Percyvall's treatment of synonymy is exemplified by the use of referrals, a feature which has been studied in some detail by Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 185-7). Thus, the type of data in the microstructure of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* falls into the following categories: synchronic identification (pronunciation, part of speech and flexion of irregular verbs), explanatory information, and paradigmatic information (synonyms). There

are inconsistencies in the presentation of these features, but Percyvall was the first to provide some of them for the Spanish headword and in the microstructure.

Is Percyvall's work a bilingual or a trilingual dictionary? In his comprehensive and detailed typology of dictionaries, exemplified with Spanish dictionaries, Malkiel (1958-9, 391) considers the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* to be a trilingual dictionary: "A trilingual dictionary may be the organic outgrowth of a bilingual prototype, whether the author or one of the co-authors himself arranges for the expansion – as when R. Percivale superimposed Latin, an obvious prestige language, on his earlier confrontation of Spanish and English – ". However, the accepted opinion nowadays is that of Steiner (1970, 28), according to whom the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* should not be called a trilingual dictionary, in spite of the presence of the Latin glosses. Steiner (1970, 27-8) explains that the Latin gloss was used as a meaning discrimination technique and served other functions in the dictionary:

> First of all it provides information as to the part of speech of the vocabulary entry because of possible greater familiarity with the Latin word than with either the English or the Spanish word [...] Secondly, it provides a Latin version of an English definition, [...] sometimes the Latin definition is less a translation of the English definition than it is a new definition of the vocabulary entry [...] Thirdly, it translates the English equivalents of a series of glosses, sometimes each one and in the same sequence so that the Latin gloss amounts to a tag of the English gloss. [...] Lastly, as an exceptional service, the Latin gloss must perform all the work when the English gloss is missing [...]

According to Steiner (1970, 34-5), Percyvall wrote his dictionary keeping in mind the needs of the Englishmen who wanted to read Spanish. The Latin glosses served a pedagogical function for the Renaissance man who knew Latin and for whom Latin was unambiguous and even clearer than his own vernacular language. Yet, the presence of the Latin glosses also reflects the growing importance of vernaculars. Previously, the Latin-vernacular dictionaries had inspired the bilingual dictionaries pairing two vernaculars; in the former, the vernacular had an instrumental function whereas in dictionaries such as

Percyvall's the situation was reversed because now the vernacular was more important and Latin was instrumental:

> La presencia del latín, aparte de la solicitud de D'Oyley, queda justificada no sólo por la tradición lexicográfica, sino también por las necesidades didácticas: pese al papel preponderante que ya tenían las lenguas vulgares, la enseñanza se seguía haciendo en latín, que era la lengua de transmisión cultural y el referente inequívoco (Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 179).

We share Steiner's view because Percyvall himself makes it clear in the preface of the first part that he originally intended to compile a Spanish-English dictionary only, and added the Latin later because D'Oylie asked him to do so. Moreover, Percyvall explains in the preface of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* that his purpose was to explain Spanish and not Latin. Percyvall's aim was primarily to explain Spanish by means of English and used Latin only as explanatory information in the microstructure.

Steiner (1970, 28) characterizes the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* as a "monodirectional, one-part, single-alphabet bilingual dictionary with Latin glosses added." The meaning of *monodirectional* requires some commentary. Steiner (1970, 13) defines the term: "monodirectional: (in lexicography) of a bilingual dictionary: designed for the use of the native speaker of only one of the two languages", and "bidirectional (in lexicography) of each part of a two-part bilingual dictionary: designed for the use of the native speakers of both languages." This is the same meaning these terms have in subsequent papers by Steiner (see 1975 and 2003 [1986]), that is, the author uses the hyperonym *directionality* in terms of the function a dictionary serves depending on the user's four skills for encoding and decoding: speaking, writing, listening, and reading. [56] Hartmann (1983, 222), Hausmann (1988, 12), and Hartmann and James (1998, 44) understand these terms in the same sense as Steiner does. Thus, the *Dictionary of Lexicography* by Hartmann and James (1988, 95) defines a *monodirectional dictionary* as "[a] type of bilingual dictionary in

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[56] Concerning this terminology and the active/passive dictionary typology, see Hausmann (1988, 11-2), Bogaards, (1990), Mikkelsen (1992), and Mugdan (1992).

which the translation equivalents can be accessed only from one of the two languages." In the same work, Hartmann and James (1988, 44) define *directionality* as "[t]he user orientation of the bilingual dictionary according to the direction of the look-up operation." while *functionality* (Hartmann and James 1988, 60) is understood as, "[T]he user perspective of a dictionary according to the purpose of the look-up operation. Most general monolingual dictionaries fulfill several different functions, such as providing information on spelling to assist the writing task." This usage of directionality would seem to overlap with the definition of a *monofunctional dictionary* as formulated by Hartmann and James (1988, 95),

> A type of reference work designed to help a user perform one particular task. Thus a bilingual dictionary for translating from the foreign into the native language (decoding function only) contrasts with a bifunctional dictionary which is aimed at aiding translation from and into the foreign language (both decoding and encoding functions).

Although Steiner's and Hartmann's terminology is legitimate, here the terms *monodirectional* and *bidirectional* will not be understood from the perspective of the user but rather following scholars such as Anderson (1978, 7 et passim), Kibbee (1985, 22 and 1986, 140), Bray (1988), and Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 175), who take them in a different and less confusing sense. Bray (1988, 334, note 4), for example, gives the following definitions:

> Par *unidirectionnalité* nous entendons ici *unilatéralité des équivalences* : les fonctions du dictionnaire (production, réception) n'entrent pas ici en ligne de compte. Un dictionnaire italien-allemand, quelles que soient ses fonctions, quel que soit le public visé, est donc considéré comme *unidirectionnel*; un dictionnaire italien-allemand et allemand-italien comme *bidirectionnel*.

Therefore, for us Percyvall's dictionary is a *monodirectional dictionary* because it has only a Spanish-English part, and not because he was "primarily concerned with the needs of the native English speaker who wished to read Spanish" as Steiner (1970, 35)

says. From the user perspective, we would say that Percyvall's dictionary is *monofunctional*.[57]

5.3.4   Analysis of the front matter

Let us return to the overall structure of the book and its constituent parts. Like that of his predecessor, John Thorius, Percyvall's work contains a grammar followed by a Spanish-English dictionary, with the latter far surpassing the scope of Thorius' modest attempt. Both men make it clear on the title page of their respective books that the dictionary was subordinate, so to speak, to the grammar, meaning that for both authors a student had to learn first the rules, and then the lexicon to master a language. A similar approach was already found in the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*. It is obvious that Percyvall's dictionary has a lesser degree of subordination, since unlike Thorius – whose headwords come primarily from the grammar itself – he consulted other sources.

The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* contains four preliminary texts: the title page, a dedication, a preface, and four poems; the front matter of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*, or dictionary proper, contains a separate title page and a preface. Excerpts from the prefaces were quoted when it was a question of the sources of the book. It was seen that scholars who have studied Percyvall found in the prefaces explicit mention of the sources he consulted (Nebrija, Las Casas, the unpublished *Spanish Grammer* by D'Oylie, and the two Spaniards who helped Percyvall correct the dictionary). Hayashi (1978, 10-1) has emphasized the fact that Percyvall was explicit about the sources and compilation of his dictionary. Excerpts were also quoted from the preface to the dictionary, in which Percyvall referred to the arrangement of the macrostructure, explaining his method of alphabetization. Moreover, the function of the dictionary – to help Englishmen read Spanish – was stated on both title pages, where Percyvall says that the book was "very

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[57] About monofunctional and bifunctional dictionaries in the way we understand these terms, see Kromann et

profitable *for the studious of* the Spanish *toong.*" The fact that all the prefatory texts to both parts are written in English is also indicative in this respect.

What other topics are mentioned in the preliminary texts to the grammar and the front matter of the dictionary? The poems in Percyvall's book offer a picture of the duality that marked the relations between Spain and England at that time. Aware of this fact, Dámaso Alonso (1931, 22, footnote 2) reproduced the Latin poem by Thomas Doyley, because the lines "explican muy bien la aparente contradicción entre la enemistad contra España y el crecimiento de los estudios de español en la Inglaterra de fines del siglo XVI y principios del XVII." Alonso refers in particular to the following lines: "Qvas nouus orbis opes, quas profert India fructus, / Quas mare, quas tellus gemmas, aurique fodinas: / Has habet Hispanus, Iasonis vellere diues. / Cum populo aurato collubet ergo loqui. [...] / Cum quibus aut bellum cupimus, commercia, pacem, / Horum sermo placet [...]."[58] As mentioned in the survey of the relations between these two countries, interest in the Spanish language and literature developed in England during a period of hatred and war with Spain and reached a high point after the defeat of the Spanish Armada: "Inglaterra, al día siguiente de la victoria, consciente del poder y la riqueza de España, se dispone a conocer a su rival y a estudiar su idioma para combatirla o para comerciar con ella" (Alonso 1931, 22). That the interest in Spanish had reached unprecedented heights in Tudor England is also shown in the poem "To the Practitioners in the Spanish", where the author (James Lea) compares Spanish to French and Italian: "Though Spanish speech lay long aside within our Brittish Ile, / (Our Courtiers liking nought save French, or *Tuscane* stately stile) / Yet now at length, (I know not how) steps *Castile* language in, / And craves for credit with the first, though latest she begins [...]." Hayashi (1978, 9) has mentioned and quoted Percyvall's references to the political situation between Spain and England in two other texts. The first is in the dedication to Robert Deveroux, where Percyvall says:

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al. (1991, 2713).

[58] "The wealth of the New World, the fruit that India bears, the jewels and gold mines that both Earth and Ocean yield, all these are held by the Spanish, whom Jason's fleece made rich: to speak with the golden

> But understanding that your Honor bestoweth much time with happie successe, as well in the knowledge of the toongs; as of other commendable learnings beseeming your place and person; and remembring that hauing emploied your selfe so honorablie against the Spanyard in Flanders, Spayne & Portugal; you had gained an immortall memorie with all posteritie, & might perhaps encounter with them againe upon like occasion; [...]

The complete excerpt presents the Earl of Essex in a way similar to Sir William Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, as someone who showed a love for the Spanish language while at war with Spain. The other text quoted by Hayashi is from the beginning of the preface to the grammar, where Percyvall speaks of the need to learn Spanish in the difficult times the country was going through: "I open vnto thee a Librarie; wherein thou mayst finde layed readie to thy view and vse, the toonge with which by reason of the troublesome times, thou arte like to haue most acquaintance [...]."

Our analysis shows other interesting features and issues discussed. Percyvall was proud of his work and in the dedication and the preface to the grammar defends himself against the potential criticism of the "malicious who with their venemous toonges, seeke to deface the labours of others, themselues being vermine altogether unprofitable; [...]" (Percyvall 1591, "To the Reader"). How he thought of his work, however, is best seen in the poem he wrote "Ad Lectorem", where he places his book next to those by Nebrija and Las Casas: "Quod Casas Italis; quod Nebrissensis Iberis; / Pluraque; nostra tibi Bibliotheca dabit."[59] In other words, the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera* is the sum of Nebrija and Las Casas for the English-speaking public who needed a knowledge of Spanish due to the political situation between the two countries. As James Lea writes in the commendatory poem "To the Practitioners in the Spanish":

> Though learned pens in Italy and France do florish more, / And in our happy Britaine, where are learned men such store: / Yet Spanish speech lists giue

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people is therefore to be wished [...] And whether we want war with them, or commerce, or peace, their language is desirable [...]."

[59] "What Casas gave the Italians, what Nebrija gave the Spanish, our *Library* will give you — and even more."

no ground: which here by painfull hand / Of Perciuall, is open laid, for all to vnderstand, / And soon to speake and write the same, by practise in his booke: / In practise, yeeld him praise and thanks, for thee such paines that tooke.

It is interesting to see that Percyvall not only mentioned his sources but also refused to criticize his predecessors:

I am not so malicious as to detract from the labours of any that haue gone before me; but confesse, that I haue both seene and used them where I thought it conuenient: referring it to the indifferent iudgement of the discreete Reader, whether I haue reason to dissent from them in such points as wee varie.

Let us now turn to the preface to the dictionary. This text begins with a sentence that explains Percyvall's idea of the relationship between the rules of grammar (the *form*) and the lexicon (the *matter*):

Beholde good Reader, the seconde part my Librarie : without which this little worke would be maimed and mishapen : for since that hath the forme; and this the matter; vnlesse thou haue that from hence, which the other may set in order, decke, and polish, I shal seeme but slenderly to haue respected thy studies.

Percyvall distinguished between form (the grammar) and matter (the lexicon); both are indispensable but he considers the grammar more important in the learning process, for it is the grammar which "may set in order, decke, and polish". This is a similar outlook to that contained in the "Preface" of the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*. This is a conception also close to that of James Howell in French and English lexicography of the seventeenth century, according to which the grammar should precede the dictionary. In the first two editions of Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611, 1632), the grammar was placed after the dictionary, indicating the primacy of the lexicon in the learning process. Commenting the structure of the dictionary, Naïs (1968, 345) observes that "[t]out se passe comme si l'auteur considérait qu'un dictionnaire (bien complet) suffit pour comprendre la langue; et, pour savoir la parler, il suffit d'y ajouter

quelques rudiments de phonétique et de morphologie." This approach was reversed by James Howell in his third edition of Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary, [...] Whereunto Are Newly Added the Animadversions and Supplements, &c. of James Howell* (1650) for reasons Howell explains at the beginning of the "Proeme" to the prefatory "French Grammar", and worth quoting because they may as well have been the same as Thorius and Percyvall had:

> What Foundations are to materiall fabriques, the same is Grammar to a language, If the Foundation be not well layed, will be but a poor tottring superstructure; If grammaticall grounds go not before, ther is no language can be had in any perfection. [...] Grammar may be compared to the *Feet* or supporters, which the other *two* use to goe upon, and indeed all other *Sciences*, specially the knowledg of Languages.[...] Now, for a *Dictionary*, which contains the whole bulk of a Language, to go before the *Grammar*, is to make the Building precede the *Basic*: Therfore 'twas held more consentaneous to reason and congruous to order, that the *Grammar* should be put here in the first place, for *Art* observes the method of *Nature*, to make us *creep* before we *go*.

Therefore, the position of the grammar and the dictionary within the outside matter is not random: it follows a principle according to which the lexicon is important yet secondary or subordinate to the rules of grammar when teaching languages.

Percyvall then goes on to explain three important things: the use of accents in Spanish, the arrangement of the macrostructure and the alphabet he followed. Percyvall refers to the section "Of Accent" in the grammar where he explains the rules of accents ("Accent, being the second pillar of *Euphonia*, is the sounding of a syllable sharpe or soft, or the pronouncing it long or short, [...]") for nouns, verbs, adverbs, etc. and where he says that the exceptions were to be looked up in the dictionary ("what faileth not within the compasse of this rule, shall be holpen by the Dictionarie, where in words doubtful, I commonly set the accent ouer the sillable"). He explains how he has used accents for irregular verbs and nouns. Then, he attributes the irregularities in the order of the

macrostructure to the fact that he has followed Nebrija and Las Casas.[60] Let us remember that Percyvall's arrangement of the macrostructure is a mixture of the alphabetical order with the etymological order used by Nebrija. Finally, Percyvall sets out the alphabet he followed: "The Alphabet is thus set, *A, B, ca, co, cu, ça, ce, ci, ço, çu, ch, D, E, F, G, H, I, Y, j, L, ll, M, N, ñ, O, P, Q, R, S, T, u, V, X, Z.*" These features have been discussed by Steiner (1970, 31 ff.) and Stein (1985, 355), but it is worth pointing out that Percyvall was the first lexicographer in Spanish and English lexicography to explain his macro- and microstructural choices in the front matter.

5.3.5 Concluding remarks

To sum up, Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), a grammar followed by a Spanish-English dictionary with Latin glosses added, marks a pivotal moment in the history of the field. It was, according to Ungerer (1965, 203), "the most popular primer to be published in the last decade of the sixteenth century"; in fact, it was so successful that the first edition was sold out in a few years. Santoyo (1974, 96-8) has pointed out Percyvall's contributions to the Spanish language and literature, as the first lexicographer to record numerous Spanish words that, although in use had never appeared in printed form. He was also the first to incorporate terms used by writers of the time but not included in the dictionaries by Nebrija, Las Casas or Thorius. From the point of view of the prefatory texts, Thorius had mentioned the circumstances surrounding the preparation of his grammar and dictionary, the pedagogical function of both parts, the intended public, and the source of the macrostructure of his *Spanish Dictionaire*. Percyvall's book had a similar structure to that of Thorius: it is a grammar *containing* a dictionary, hence form precedes matter. But Percyvall discussed other topics in the prefatory texts to the grammar and the front matter of the dictionary and provided more information in the word list. Percyvall referred to the extralinguistic circumstances surrounding the compilation of his book, the sources he

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[60] The corresponding section is quoted in the discussion of sources above: "The *Order* of the letters may seeme somewhat vnorderly. But as it fell out it could be no otherwise; bicause that following *Nebrissensis* and

consulted, his methodology of compilation, and the function of the dictionary. In addition, we showed that he also tried to protect himself from criticism, praised his book, and refused to criticize his predecessors. As for the word list in particular, Percyvall set out the alphabet he followed, the arrangement of the macrostructure, and made some remarks on orthoepy in the case of irregular Spanish verbs and nouns. The importance of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* for bilingual lexicography is thus enormous, serving as a base for subsequent Spanish and English dictionaries and beginning a lineage that lasted until the late eighteenth century. John Minsheu's dictionary (1599) was released after Percyvall's; within the field of Spanish and English lexicography, they are the two dictionaries that have been studied the most. Prior to examining Minsheu's dictionary, however, another work in the topical tradition, which appeared in 1591 shortly after Percyvall's, needs to be discussed.

5.4) William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master. Containing Seven Dialogues [...] and a Vocabularie* (1591, 1619, 1620)

5.4.1   Introduction

In his survey of the evolution of English lexicography, Murray (1993, 107) explains that between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries many vocabularies were organized using class-headings according to subjects or topics. This tradition of vocabulary compilation has been studied for English by Starnes and Noyes (1991 [1946], 197 ff.), Stein (1985), McArthur (1986a and 1986b) and in depth by Hüllen (1999). For Spanish, there are the overviews by Alvar Ezquerra (1992 [1987], 277-87), and Ayala Castro (1992a and 1992b). In the last of these papers, Stepney's book is mentioned in the framework of other thematic works. Relevant to our discussion is the typology of lexicographical works during the Middle Ages established by Buridant (1986, 11-23). According to this scholar, five components can be distinguished in traditional medieval glossography, the first being that of the "*gloses interlinéaires ou marginales / gloses regroupées continues = glossaire*".

Casas, I traced their steps."

Interlinear glosses explained the meaning of difficult words in a variety of texts and were latter compiled in the form of glossaries for pedagogical purposes. The second component is that of the *"regroupements onomasiologiques de vocabulaire se référant aux concepts, techniques,* realia"; these include a whole variety of *nominalia*, or subject-matter vocabularies. The third constituent is represented by the *"regroupements onomasiologiques de vocabulaire se référant à un art du discours; lexicographie et rhétorique"*; this type of work presents models of discourses on specific subjects. The fourth component includes the *"lexiques alphabétiques ; lexiques unilingues, bilingues, réduit / étendus"*; this component refers to alphabetical works prepared following a semasiological approach from textual glosses. The last component is that of the *"lexique et grammaire"*, which refers in the words of Buridant (1986, 22) to the close relationship existing between:

> [L]exique et grammaire: – soit dans le passage des *glossae* à l'*ars grammatica*, les grammairiens utilisant pour l'usage scolaire gloses et glossaires qu'ils introduisent dans les textes grammaticaux ; – soit dans le passage du traité grammatical au glossaire, de l'*ars grammatica* aux *glossae*.
>
> Dans ce sens, les grands lexiques savants de la latinité médiévale sont des témoignages particulièrement significatifs de l'insertion de la grammaire dans des structures lexicographiques dont elle constitue une composante majeure […].

It is important to retain here the second component, that of the *nominalia*. These followed an onomasiological approach that, for the teaching of languages, proved helpful for memorizing material. In fact, according to Hazlitt (1888, 27) the *nominalia*, together with the vocabularies and glossaries, "afford examples of the method of instruction pursued in this country [England] from the Middle Ages to the invention of printing." The tradition of the *nominalia* continued after the Middle Ages in the teaching of languages; Buridant (1986, 17) observes that "[l]e classement onomasiologique est courant dans les vocabulaires biligues [*sic*] ou plurilingues fort répandus aux XVe-XVIe siècles qui ont pu servir de *vademecum* de voyage". Besides the traditional medieval glossography,[61] which

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[61] On the subject of English glossaries, see the overviews in Mathews (1966, 8 ff.), Green (1996, 54 ff.), and Jackson (2002, 31-2); for more detailed analysis, see Starnes and Noyes (1991, 197 ff.), Stein (1985), and

led to modern dictionaries by way of interlinear glosses and bilingual glossaries, Starnes and Noyes (1991, 198) distinguish "a more popular type of vocabulary, which flourished from the Anglo-Saxon period to the nineteenth century, [...] in which the terms were arranged in related groups, according to subjects as *Church, Pulpit, Funeral, Churchyard, etc.*" McArthur (1986a, 74-5) explains that in medieval Western Europe:

> Bilingual grammatical and conversational primers were available, based on models used in ancient world for Romans to learn Greek and Greeks to learn Latin; the acquisition of words, however, was handled generally in terms of special *vocabularia*. These were lists of *vocabula* ('words' or 'utterances') and are the originals of our present-day word 'vocabulary'
>
> A *vocabularium* was organized, not alphabetically, but in themes or conventionalized topics.

The topical vocabulary in Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* (1591) belongs to this tradition that has its roots in the topically arranged wordbooks of the Middle Ages. As such, it is related to a similar work compiled in English and Latin by John Withals, entitled *A Shorte Dictionary for Yonge Begynners* (1553).[62] As Starnes and Noyes (1991, 204) explain:

> Other books besides the Withals gave vogue to the conventional word lists of vocabularies in the second half of the sixteenth century. Most of the bilingual manuals used in teaching modern foreign languages devoted part of their space to such lists. Claudius Hollyband, a teacher of French in London, published two manuals: *The Frenche Littleton* (1566) and *The French Schoole-maister* (1573). These little books contained dialogues of daily life in London, proverbs and sentences, the Lord's Prayer, articles of faith, the ten commandments, and a vocabulary – all on parallel pages with the French before the English. The more extensive vocabulary in *The French Schoole-maister* has many topics similar to those in the Withals, from which it probably drew. The conventional lists appear also in Florio's *Firste Fruites*

Hüllen (1999, 54-77). Regarding Spanish glossography, see the overviews in Menéndez Pidal (1973, 21 ff.), Fernández-Sevilla (1974, 159-61), MacDonald (1982, 9-11), Alvar Ezquerra (1996a, 1153-6), Haensch (1997, 17 ff.), and Nieto (2000, 155 ff.).

[62] About Withals' dictionary, see for example Wheatley (1865, 220-2), Hazlitt (1888, 228-9), Starnes (1954, chap. 13), Stein (1985, chap. 19), and Hüllen (1999, chap. 6).

(1578), in Italian and English, and in William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoolemaster* (1591), in Spanish and English.

At the beginning of the section 5.3, the extraordinary lexicographical activity in England at the end of the sixteenth century was discussed. Mention was made of a series of books for teaching Spanish, entered in the records of the Company of Stationers of London: the works of John Thorius, Richard Percyvall, William Stepney, and John Minsheu, in addition to the unpublished manuscript of Thomas D'Oylie. Let us now turn our attention to Stepney's work, entered in the Stationers' records on January 13, 1591, less than a month after the license for publication was granted to Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*. The entry in Arber (1875b, 2: 270) reads:

xiij° die Januarij

Master **John Harrison** the elder — Entred for his Copie vnder the hande of Master Warden Cawood *the Spanische Schoolemaster conteyninge 7 Dialogues, accordinge to everie daie in the weeke and what is necessarie everie daie to be donne &c* wherevnto *besides the 7. Dialogues* are annexed *most fine proverbs and sentences, as alsoe the Lordes prayre, the Articles of our belief the x. commaundements, with diverse other thinges necessarie to be knowen in the said tonge /* By William Stepney . . . . vj[d]

Like the *Book of English and Spanish*, the word list in Stepney (1591) follows a topical arrangement. Stepney, a professor of Spanish in London, was "the least original of Elizabethan Hispanists" (Ungerer 1965, 203). His book consisted of a manual plus an English-Spanish vocabulary and followed the tradition of the modern-language manuals and vocabularies of the Renaissance. According to Sánchez Pérez (1992, 62), neither the contents nor the methodology it presents deviate from what was usual at the time. Nevertheless, it is an important work, considered by Alston (in the introductory note to the facsimile edition of Stepney's work, 1971) to have inaugurated the study of Spanish in England, despite being published after Corro's *Reglas gramaticales*. The reason for this

probably lies in the contents of the book. Like the works of his predecessors (Thorius and Percyvall), Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* had a clearly pedagogical function, indicated by the inclusion of dialogues, a topical vocabulary, and texts for everyday use. The previous grammars with dictionaries by Thorius and Percyvall had adopted a normative approach (learning through rules), however, and may have not been very adequate for the teaching of the vernaculars to a wide public. These early books also had a pedagogical function but differed in content. This difference in outlook sets Stepney's book apart and highlights its importance. Bourland (1933, 286) comments:

> *The Spanish Schoole-master* was one of the first manuals prepared for teaching Spanish to the English. In spite of the long standing political and commercial relations existing between Spain and England, both French and Italian were preferred to Spanish in the latter country, at least until late in the sixteenth century. Text books for teaching French were made in England as early as 1530, for example John Palsgrave's *Eclaircissement de la langue Françoise*, which was printed in that year. Hollyband's *French Littleton* came out in 1566 and his *French* and *Italian Schoolmasters* in 1573 and 1575 respectively. But for those who wished to learn Spanish, no corresponding books were made until after the expedition of the Armada. From that time on, there is no lack of them. Antonio de Corro's *Spanish Grammer*, published in 1590, heads the list, and it was followed in the next year by *The Spanish Schoole-master* and the better known *Bibliotheca Hispanica* of Richard Percyvall. Although not printed until 1591, Stepney's book was under way before the outbreak of positive hostilities between Spain and England.

The expansion of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century brought about an interest in learning and teaching Spanish as a foreign language. Pedagogical materials for this purpose were rare in Spain, other than Nebrija's grammar of 1492, while books of dialogues, polyglot manuals, and dictionaries began to appear in other European countries. Ungerer (1965, 177) notes that "Spanish books printed outside the Peninsula in the sixteenth century far outnumber those in any other vernacular language outside its home country." Grammars such as those by Nebrija, Corro, Thorius, and Percyvall followed a

theoretical approach derived from the teaching of classical languages. [63] They were normative and modelled on Latin grammars, following a method of teaching through rules; they were probably adequate for the teaching of the vernaculars to scholars and literary men. In the case of Spanish, on the other hand, diplomats and tradesmen needed to be able to communicate; mastery of the language was vital for the development of their mission, trade and commerce. As a result, they needed a more practical, even utilitarian approach, like that followed in books containing dialogues, word lists, proverbs, sentences, etc. Accordingly, the polyglot manuals and vocabularies (such as the vocabulary of Noel van Barlement and its derivatives) published in the Netherlands were more adequate to their needs. A typical example of these works for the teaching of Spanish based on a more practical approach are the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* and Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*. These works typically contained a word list, dialogues, the days of the week, numbers, a religious section of prayers, etc.

5.4.2 Sources

The paper by Bourland (1933) is the most detailed study of the sources for the *Spanish Schoole-master*. Stepney makes no mention of sources in the preliminary texts of his work, but Bourland shows that he took most of his materials from various sources and modified them to suit his purposes. Bourland (1933, 288) provides the following overview on this question:

> All the dialogues except one (the seventh) as well as the "diverse goodly sentences" are lifted bodily from the polyglot derivatives of Noël de Berlaimont's Flemish-French *Vocabulare*, as are also, with some omissions and additions, the sections containing the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of faith and the Commandments, as well as the lists of numbers, days of the week, etc.

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[63] On grammatical theories in Europe from 1500 to 1700, see Padley (1985 and 1988). See also a classification of works according to their pedagogical approach in Sánchez Pérez (1987, 42 ff.).

It should be remembered that Barlement's book of 1536 was a manual for the use of merchants and students of languages and that it included a variety of materials similar to those contained in the *Spanish Schoole-master*. According to Alston (1987, 34), the *Spanish Schoole-master* was adapted from a polyglot derivative of Barlement's book, the *Colloquia cua dictionariolo sex linguarum*, of which there were three editions: 1579, 1583, and 1584.[64] Alston does not mention a specific source for the topical vocabulary, however. It is also possible that Stepney used a later edition of Barlement's book, since the 1536 edition was reprinted many times.[65] Gallina (1959, 76) explains: "Da questo primo nucleo, si sviluppò la serie straordinariamente numerosa (più di cento edizioni) dei vocabolari plurilingui, stampati durante più di 160 anni, in quasi tutti gli stati civili d'Europa." The following remark by Hüllen (1999, 112) also gives an idea of the popularity of Barlement's work: "If we assume that in each print-run some 300 copies were produced, a total of 30,000 copies must have been extant in predominantly Western Europe between 1530 and 1700. This is certainly an impressive number."

Bourland (1933, 288-9) also says that precise sources for other parts of the book are more difficult to determine:

> The rules for pronunciation may be Stepney's own; at all events, they are not those given in the polyglot vocabularies, except in a single instance, nor are they taken from de Corro's *Spanish Grammer*. The Proverbs, 102 in number, are commonplace and without any striking feature which might indicate where the compiler found them. As a rule the Spanish versions are the originals. This is clear from the fact that almost every one of them is a genuine proverb. The English equivalents, per contra, in many cases merely restate in other terms the idea of the Spanish *refrán* and are not paremiological in form. The *Vocabulario* is obviously based on some one of the early polyglot dictionaries in which the words are grouped by subjects, such as *Le Dictionaire des hvict Langaiges*, etc., Paris 1552.[66]

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[64] For information about these editions, see Alston (1967, 6) and Niederehe (1994, 193, 207, and 211).

[65] For a list of the editions of the work in two, three, four, six, seven and eight languages, see Gallina (1959, 87-91). Alston (1967, 5 ff.), Niederehe (1994 and 1999, passim), and Hüllen (1999, 107 ff.).

[66] Bourland refers to the anonymous *Le Dictionaire des hvict langaiges : C'est à sçauoir Grec, Latin, Flameng, Francois, Espagnol, Italien, Anglois & Aleman*; the first edition of this dictionary is from 1546. See

Although Bourland claims that Stepney did not borrow the rules for pronunciation from Corro, Alonso (1951d, 132) has shown that Stepney actually combined two authors: first and foremost Corro: "Stepney lo sigue en el plan y casi siempre en los pormenores, pero abreviándolo, simplificando las dificultades y cambiando algo los ejemplos"; second, and to a lesser extent, Gabriel Meurier's *Coniugaisons, règles et instructions mout propes et necessairement pour ceux qui desirent apprendre français, italien, espagnol et flamen* (1558).[67]

The polyglot derivatives of Barlement's *Vocabulaire*, Bourland (1933, 291-2) explains, can be classified in three groups:

1. Four tetraglot editions printed by Bartolomé de Grave, Louvain, in 1551, 1556, 1558, and 1560;[68]

2. The vocabularies in four languages, also called *Dictionarios, Coloquios o Dialogos en quarto lenguas*, of which the first edition was published by J. Bellere in Antwerp, 1569; and

3. The *Colloquia* in six, seven or eight languages, the first of which was the *Colloquia cum Dictionariolum sex linguarum*, published by H. Heyndrickx, Antwerp, 1583.

In this way, over the course of some 160 years, Barlement's bilingual 84-page vocabulary gave rise to a 448-page volume in eight languages, the last edition of which appeared in 1692 (Bourland 1933, 300). The remarkably long life of this book, and the variety of places throughout Europe where it was published, show that there was a real need for such pedagogical works, especially on the part of merchants and travellers. Spanish was

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information in Alston (1967, 3), Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 159-60), the list in Stein (1988, 66 ff.), and Niederehe (1994, 98 and 114).

[67] On Spanish phonetics as discussed by Stepney, see Dámaso Alonso (1931, 17) and Amado Alonso (1951d, 131-5; 1967, passim; and 1969, passim).

[68] See the list in Gallina (1959, 88-9).

the first vernacular to be added to the original bilingual work in Flemish and French, and, except for French, it is the language most frequently included in all the subsequent polyglot works.

There is a further difference in contents of the polyglot works derived from Barlement's book. The *Dictionarios* include only the first three dialogues, plus the section containing the prayers, articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, etc., whereas the *Colloquia* include the seven dialogues but do not contain the religious texts. Stepney most likely borrowed from both types of works, as Bourland (1933, 300-1) explains:

> Stepney's borrowings from the polyglot vocabularies include the seven dialogues, the moral precepts and the section containing the prayers, Articles of Faith, Commandements and Benedicite. No one type of the vocabularies comprises all these items: the *Dictionarios*, which contain the precepts and the prayers, etc., have only the first three dialogues; while the *Colloquia*, which from 1583 on include the seven dialogues, are without the sections intended for moral and religious training. Obviously, therefore, Stepney when compiling his manual, must have had both these types before him.

Stepney borrowed freely from these works, introducing modifications as he saw fit to produce a book that would be more adequate for and interesting to his English readers.[69] He borrowed from a variety of sources, but it is interesting to note that Bourland gives as a specific source for Stepney's topical vocabulary the *Dictionaire des hvict langaiges* of 1552, since this is, according to Gallina (1959, 37 and 40) and Rossebastiano Bart (1984, 159-60) a polyglot derivative of the Adam von Rottweil's *Introito e porta*. This work was mentioned in connection with the *Book of English and Spanish*, which was also one of its derivatives. The *Introito e porta* originated a long series of polyglot word lists in Europe:

> *Introito e porta* is one of the few textbook families which governed the learning of vernaculars in Europe for many decades. Although certainly designed for self-study, the various editions are most likely also to have been used in schools that were not connected to the Church or the universities with their aims of Humanist education. Other textbook families of similar

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[69] See Bourland (1933, 306-10) regarding the modifications Stepney introduced to the dialogues.

extension and importance are the one called *Colloquia et Dictionariolum*, following the pattern originated by Noel de Berlaimont, and the various *Januæ linguarum* propagated by Johannes Amos Comenius, his forerunners, and followers (Hüllen 1999, 336).

Hüllen (1999, 337) also gives the following short description of the derivatives of the *Introito e porta*:

> The books are of a small size, so they can be carried around and consulted when necessary. They contain about 3,000 words, printed in parallel columns. This gives the simplest microstructure imaginable: the lexemes of four, five, six, seven, or eight languages are supposed to be translations of each other.

As will be seen, this description fits the bilingual topical vocabulary by Stepney. To sum up the discussion to this point, Stepney's book includes material from the derivatives of the two word lists at the origins of polyglot vocabularies in Europe; consequently, it is related to the earliest Spanish and English wordbooks of 1554. First, the topical vocabulary in Stepney (1591) ultimately derives from Rottweil's *Introito e porta*, just like the topical *Book of English and Spanish*. Second, the dialogues, prayers, and other material in the *Spanish Schoole-master* ultimately derive from Barlement's *Vocabulaire*, just like similar texts in the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*.

Before moving on to a discussion of the topical vocabulary, an aspect needs to be clarified concerning the dialogues in the *Spanish Schoole-master*. An erroneous remark made in 1854 by Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia in volume 3 of their Spanish translation of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* regarding a supposed reprint of the dialogues has led to a certain amount of confusion. George Ticknor (1791-1871), the pioneer scholar in the field of Spanish literature in the United States, published his influential *History of Spanish Literature* in 1849, with several editions appearing thereafter. The German translation was completed in 1852, the Spanish version in 1854, and a

translation into French between 1864 and 1872 (Dewey Amner, 1928, 387-8).[70] In the Spanish version, Gayangos and Vedia state that the seven dialogues under discussion here were included in Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* and constitute the *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English* bound together with Minsheu's Spanish and English dictionary of 1623. This erroneous statement, comments Bourland (1933, 283, footnote 3), "[I]s the more unaccountable as Gayangos owned copies of *The Spanish Schoole-master*, of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* and of several of the Polyglot Vocabularies, which, stamped with his name, are now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid." The mistake was repeated in part by Knapp (1884, 3). Knapp realized that no dialogues are contained in Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* but claimed that the seven dialogues by Stepney were reprinted in Minsheu's bilingual dictionary. As he remarks in his commentary on Stepney's work: "First ed. of the 'Seven Dialogues' in Spanish and English, reprinted by Minshew, 1599 (and not by Percival, as Gayangos says in Ticknor III, 559); Stevens, 1706, and Alvarado, 1719; Spanish and French, by Oudin, 1608; Luna, 1619; Spanish and Italian, by Franciosini, 1638." Sbarbi (1980 [1891], 134-5) was the first to realize the double mistake, noting that there are no dialogues in Percyvall's work nor are the seven dialogues in Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* the same as those in Minsheu's *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English*. Foulché-Delbosc (1919 , 35), in his reprint of Stepney's dialogues, observes that there are, indeed, no dialogues in Percyvall's work of 1591, but that "il y en a seulement dans la refonte de 1599, due à Minsheu, et reproduite en 1623; en outre, les sept Dialogues de Stepney (1591) sont une œuvre entièrement distincte des sept Dialogues publiés par Minsheu (1599), ainsi que l'a remarqué le P. José María Sbarbi". Stepney's dialogues were reprinted in the second, revised edition of the *Spanish Schoole-master* in 1619 and in another issue of this edition that appeared in 1620. These editions will be discussed further after an analysis of the topical vocabulary, the most interesting feature from a lexicographical point of view.

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[70] On Ticknor and his *History of Spanish Literature*, see the papers by Cuthbertson (1933) and Rathburn (1960). The journal *Hispania* also published a "Ticknor Number" in vol. 32, n° 4, November 1949.

5.4.3 Megastructure

5.4.3.1 Outside matter

The *Spanish Schoole-master* is a volume comprising preliminary texts (unpaginated), several sections covering a total of 252 pages, and a final page of errata. The organization of the contents of the book is as follows:[71]

1. Title page[72]

2. Dedication: "Al mvy illvstre y noble cavallero Sr. Roberto Cicil, hiio menor del Illustrissimo Sr. Burleigh, [...]"[73] (3 pp.)

3. Preface: "The Epistle to the Reader" (3 pp.)

4. "The pronvciation of the Spanish letters" (pp. 1-6)

5. The "Conivgations" of Spanish verbs (pp. 7-29)

6. Seven dialogues, one for each day of the week (pp. 30-131)

7. Another dialogue entitled "Certaine propositions of marchandise, of goldsmithes, and exchange of money" (pp. 132-47)

8. "Proverbes" (pp. 148-57)

9. Religious texts, such as prayers, the Ten Commandments, etc. (pp. 158-61)

10. The "Nombers", the "Dayes of the weeke", and the "xij. moneths the foure seasons of the yeare, & the festiuall dayes" (pp. 162-5)

11. A section of maxims or "Sentences" (pp. 166-83)

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[71] We consulted the facsimile edition by Alston (1971); the book is available on microfilm from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 333: 3 and in pdf format from *Early English Books Online*.

[72] Several scholars provide a full transcription of the title page: Sbarbi (1891 [1980], 353-4) Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 34), Bourland (1933, 284), Steiner (1970, 36), and Niederehe (1994, 244). The motto of the book, *Spes anchora tuta*, is Latin for *Hope is a safe anchor* or *Hope, a sure anchor*, from the Biblical Epistle to the Hebrews, 6.19.

[73] Robert Cecil (1563-1612), first Earl of Salisbury, the son of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

12. The English-Spanish "Vocabvlario", thematically arranged under 23 headings (pp. 184-252)

13. The errata or "Faultes escaped in the printing, [...]" (1 p.)

The title page, the epistle to the reader, the sections on pronunciation and conjugation, and the errata are in English only; the dedication and the prayers are in Spanish only; the remainder of the book is bilingual.

5.4.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

It was mentioned earlier that according to Bourland (1933, 289) Stepney's topical vocabulary was based on early polyglot dictionaries arranged according to subject headings, such as the anonymous *Dictionaire des hvict langaiges: c'est a scauoir Grec, Latin, Flameng, François, Espagnol, Italien, Anglois & Aleman*, (Paris, 1552), which itself was derived from the *Introito e porta*. In his book on early Spanish and English lexicography, Steiner (1970, 36-7) devotes two pages to the study of Stepney's work. Concerning the vocabulary, he mentions the thematic arrangement of entries into "two dozen or so headings", as well as the lack of alphabetical order within each list, and the fact that sometimes phrases and sentences appear in the lists. He believes the book to be based on the polyglot Flemish works (Steiner 1970, 37):

> As in the polyglot vocabularies, Stepney's bilingual vocabulary includes a frank glossing of the everyday names of the bodily functions and of parts of the body, many words necessary for business, trade, and commerce, and simple terms in the field of natural history. This English vocabulary may well be a reworking of a Belgian counterpart which Stepney could have carried with him back to England.

Our analysis shows that the macrostructure of the vocabulary in *Spanish Schoolemaster*, with the English column on the left and the Spanish on the right, is divided into the following twenty-three headings, comprising a total of 1,816 entries, almost four times more than the thematically arranged *Book of English and Spanish* and roughly the same

number as the alphabetically arranged *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*:[74]

1. Of heaven (29 entries)
2. Of the foure Elements (4 entries)
3. Of the windes (5 entries)
4. Of hell. (16 entries)
5. Of the 7. deadly sinnes (7 entries)
6. Of the earth, moũtaines and valleys (33 entries)
7. Of landes (28 entries)
8. Of townes and Cities (18 entries)
9. Officers of a towne (10 entries)
10. Of degrees of birth by descent and first of nobilitie (19 entries)
11. Ecclesiasticall men (16 entries)
12. Of the Villages, countreymen and fruits of the earth (86 entries)
13. Of the garden and his fruites (94 entries)
14. Of the wood (23 entries)
15. Of the wild beasts and of hunting (43 entries)
16. Of wormes and other venomous beastes (102 entries)
17. Of the birds (57 entries)
18. Of gold, siluer, and melting things: of merchants & all kind of mercerizes (151 entries)
19. Of handy craftes men and their instruments (82 entries)
20. Pond-fish (675 entries)
21. The seuen liberall sciences. (20 entries)
22. Of the kindred (125 entries)

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[74] According to Nieto (2000, 179 and 2001, 215), there are 22 subject headings and approximately 17,000 entries (this last figure is surely an error in print), while Sánchez Pérez (1992, 78) calculates 1,800 words, and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 174) 1,700 entries. In any case, it does not contain "about the same number of vocabulary entries" as Thorius' dictionary, as Steiner (1970, 103) and Rizo and Valera (2001, 344) say.

23. Of all the parts of mans bodie (173 entries)

Two aspects deserve attention. First, these headings show a tendency in Stepney's *Vocabvlario* towards comprehensiveness, beginning with the heavens, the four elements, the earth, cities, and proceeding to the human things, professions, occupations, beasts, birds, etc. and ending with the body parts. Second, this semantic organization of the macrostructure reflects the structure of a specific view of reality underlying a topical wordbook. We already found an instance of such an organization in the *Book of English and Spanish*. Such an arrangement of topics became the rule during the Renaissance, as Starnes and Noyes (1991, 199) explain. In topical or thematically arranged wordbooks, the alphabetical macrostructure is replaced by a semantic arrangement. In the words of Hüllen (1999, 14-5):

> As a rule, a systematic arrangement of topics is selected which is derived in a popularized form from some scientific system, or a semantic classification which can be expected to be generally understood. Unavoidably, the order of a topical dictionary is dependent on a certain philosophical understanding of the world, although it must remain commonly intelligible.

In the vocabulary by Stepney, there are two columns: the entries in English on the left in italics, and the entries in Spanish on the right in normal type. All of the entries under headings seven, nine, ten, and eleven are capitalized. Capital letters are also generally used for the first letter of the first entry under a heading in each language, whether or not it is the lemma. Capitalization was thus not meant to indicate to readers that a word was capitalized in actual use and is not systematic. Consider the following examples:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*

Of the foure Elements.	De los quatro Elementos.
The earth	La tierra
the water	el agua
[...]	[...]
Of hell.	Del infierno.
Hell	Infierno
a deuill	vn diablo

[...]
Of the 7. deadly sinnes,
  Pride
  couetousnes
[...]
Of the earth, moũ-taines and valleys.
  An earthquake
  the earth trembleth
[...]
Of the wild beasts and of hunting.
  A beast
  a wild beast
[...]
Of gold, siluer, and melting things:
  Gold
  fine gold
[...]
Of the windes.
  the east winde
  the west winde
[...]
Of townes and Cities.
  a towne
  a citie
[...]
Of the wood.
  A wood
  a parke
[...]
Of the kindred.
  A great grand father
  a grand father
[...]

[...]
De los siete peccados mortales.
  Soberuia
  codicia
[...]
De la tierra, montañas y valles.
  Vn terremoto
  la tierra trembla
[...]

De las fieras, & de la monterea.
  Vna bestia
  vna fiera
[...]
De oro, plata, y derretimiento:
  Oro
  oro puro
[...]
De los vientos
  El viento del oriente
  el viento de ponente
[...]
De villas y ciudades.
  vna villa
  vna ciudad
[...]
Del bosque.
  vn bosque
  vna caça
[...]
Del linage.
  vn bisabuelo
  vn abuelo
[...]

The vocabulary shows a predominant use of the indefinite article both in English and Spanish (thereby indicating gender in the latter):

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of the earth, moũtaines and valleys.	De la tierra, montañas y valles.
[...]	[...]

a great rocke	**vn** peñasco
a headlong rocke downeward	despeñadero
a steepe hill	derumbadero
a stone	**vna** piedra
a flint stone	**vn** pedernall

The indefinite article is not, however, always used. Consider, for instance, the following series, in which most of the entries in Spanish are not preceded by any article:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</td></tr>
<tr><td>Of townes and Cities.</td><td>De villas y ciudades.</td></tr>
<tr><td>[…]</td><td>[…]</td></tr>
<tr><td>a key</td><td>Llaue</td></tr>
<tr><td>a tower</td><td>torre</td></tr>
<tr><td>a castell</td><td>castillo</td></tr>
<tr><td>a bulwarke</td><td>fortaleza</td></tr>
<tr><td>a street</td><td>vna calle</td></tr>
<tr><td>a lane</td><td>callexuela</td></tr>
</table>

In addition, the definite article in Spanish is used at times to discriminate meaning:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</td></tr>
<tr><td>Of the garden and his fruites.</td><td>Del jardin, y de sus frutas.</td></tr>
<tr><td>[…]</td><td>[…]</td></tr>
<tr><td>a peach</td><td>vn aluarcoque</td></tr>
<tr><td>a peach tree</td><td>el aluarcoque</td></tr>
<tr><td>[…]</td><td>[…]</td></tr>
<tr><td>an oliue</td><td>vn azeytuna</td></tr>
<tr><td>an oliue tree</td><td>el azeytuno</td></tr>
</table>

Headwords can take a variety of forms, but no accent marks are used. Headwords may be:

1. Singular or plural nouns; as Quemada (1968, 362) and Hüllen (1999, 177) explain, these are by far the most common in this kind of word list, hence the word *nominalia*:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of townes and Cities.	De villas y ciudades.
a towne	vna villa
a citie	vna ciudad
[...]	[...]
walles	murallas
gates	puertas

2. Adjectives:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of the earth, moũtaines and valleys.	De la tierra, montañas y valles.
[...]	[...]
durtie	lodoso
foule	suzio
[...]	[...]
Of the wild beasts and of hunting.	De las fieras, & de la monterea.
[...]	[...]
wearie	cansado

3. Adverbs:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of wormes and other venimous beastes.	De los gusanos y cosas ponçoñosas que gatean por el suelo.
[...]	[...]
bitterly	amargamente
softly	poco a poco
sweetely	dulcemente
finely	lindamente

4. Verbs; these are given in the infinitive form and are syntactically marked by the preposition *to* in English:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of the Villages, countreymen and fruits of the earth.	De las villas, villanos y frutas de la tierra.
[...]	[...]
to plough	arar

to digge	cauar
[...]	[...]
to reape	segar
[...]	[...]
to gather	acoger

There are still other occurrences, such as:

5. Adjectives plus nouns:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*

Of the earth, moũtaines and valleys.	De la tierra, montañas y valles.
[...]	[...]
sandie earth	tierra arenosa
[...]	[...]
Of wormes and other venimous beastes.	De los gusanos y cosas ponçoñosas que gatean por el suelo.
[...]	[...]
white wax	cera blanca
Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
a siluer cup	vna taça de plata
a siluer goblet	vn vaso de plata

6. Verbs plus a preposition or an adverb:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*

Of the garden and his fruites.	Del jardin, y de sus frutas.
[...]	[...]
*to roote **out***	desarraygar
*to roote **in***	arraygar
Of the wild beasts and of hunting.	De las fieras, & de la monterea.
[...]	[...]
*to go **about***	rodear
Of gold, siluer, and melting things	De oro, plata, y derritimiento
[...]	[...]
*to depart **away***	despedirse
Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
*to ioyne **together***	ayuntar
Of the kindred.	Del linage.

[...]
*to go **backe***

[...]
voluer las espaldas

7. Verbs followed by a particularizing word or phrase:

<div align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</div>

Of gold, siluer, and melting things [...] *to combe **your head***	De oro, plata, y derritimiento [...] peynar la cabeça
[...] *to set **a price***	[...] hazer el preçio
Of handy craftes men and their instruments. [...] *to boult **the meale***	De los oficiales y sus instrumentos. [...] cernir la harina
Pond-fish. [...] *to draw **a sword out of the sheath***	Pescado de estãque [...] desembaynar la espada
[...] *to scoure **a coate of maill***	[...] limpiar vna cota de malla

8. As Steiner (1970, 37) remarks, phrases and sentences appear in the wordlist; they may be short or rather long:

<div align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</div>

Of the garden and his fruites. [...] *pare me this apple*	Del jardin, y de sus frutas. [...] mũda me essa mãçana
Of the birds. [...] *the birds begin to make their nestes*	De los paxaros. [...] los paxaros comiencẽ hazer los nidos
Of gold, siluer, and melting things [...] *it is a faire iewel*	De oro, plata, y derritimiento [...] este es vn lindo joyel
Of handy craftes men and their instruments [...] *how sell you a pound of this meate?*	De los oficiales y sus instrumentos. [...] como se vende la libra de esta carne?

Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
musicke maketh mirth where money is plentie but small is the mirth where the purse is emptie	musica haze alegria a do ay mucha requiza mas la bolsa vazia trae siempre tristeza

Another interesting feature is that sometimes entries under a particular heading form a small subgroup, such as that of wines:

<div align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</div>

Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
white wine	vino blanco
red wine	vino vermejo
bastard wine	bastardo
bollocke wine	vino tinto
allegant wine	vino de Alicante
canara wine	vino de Canaria
claret wine	vino clareto
Gascoigne wine	vino de Gasconia
french wine	vino de françia
Rochel wine	vino de Rochela

Or of colors:

<div align="center">William Stepney (1591): The Spanish Schoole-master</div>

Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
coulors	colores
red	vermejo
white	blanco
blacke	niegro
yellow	amarillo
greene	verde
blew	azul
tawny	naranjado
gray	pardo
violet	violet

Synonyms appear in both languages, although more frequently in Spanish; in this case, sometimes the conjunctions *or* and *o* are used:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*	
Of the Villages, countreymen and fruits of the earth.	De las villas, villanos y frutas de la tierra.
[...]	[...]
a stable	vn establo, **caballeriza**
[...]	[...]
an hedge	vn soto **o seto**
[...]	[...]
a fan	vn vieldo, **auandor**
Of the wild beasts and of hunting.	De las fieras, & de la monterea.
[...]	[...]
to hunt	montear, **caçar**
a hunter	montero, **caçador**
Of wormes and other venimous beastes.	De los gusanos y cosas ponçoñosas que gatean por el suelo.
[...]	[...]
a butterflie	vna mariposa **o paueliõ**
Of the birds.	De los paxaros.
[...]	[...]
*to sit **or to brood***	yazer sobre los hueuos
Of gold, siluer, and melting things	De oro, plata, y derritimiento
[...]	[...]
snuffe the candell	despauila la vela **o candela**
[...]	[...]
a penknife	vn trinchete, ganiuete
Pond-fish.	Pescado de estãque
[...]	[...]
*to bath **or wash***	bañar en baño
Of the kindred.	Del linage.
[...]	[...]
*a virgin **or maid***	vna donzella

The thematic arrangement makes it possible to occasionally use the left brace to enclose synonyms:

William Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*

Of the Villages, countreymen and fruits of the earth. [...]	De las villas, villanos y frutas de la tierra. [...]
{ *a cribbe* *a manger*	{ vn pesebre
{ *to harrow* *the ground*	{ peynar o quebrantar la tierra, y sachar o escardar la tierra
Of gold, siluer, and melting things [...] { *a bag*	De oro, plata, y derretimiento [...] { vn saco costal

Stepney's vocabulary lacks rigor in the distribution of entries under its headings; thus, there are words that belong to subjects not explicitly mentioned. This is especially the case under heading twenty, which contains the largest number of entries. Even if the macrostructure reflects a particular conception of the world, the actual entries under some headings seem arbitrary. The microstructure cannot be simpler: it contains only explanatory information in the form of equivalents. All in all, the *Spanish Schoole-master* is a compilation of a variety of texts used for teaching languages; had it included a grammar, it would have been a comprehensive manual, as Sánchez Pérez (1992, 64) points out.

5.4.4 The editions of 1619 and 1620

A second edition of Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* appeared in 1619,[75] "[N]ewly corrected by a new Author with many necessary additions", printed by Nicholas

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[75] We consulted the edition on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1466.

Okes for John Harrison, in London;[76] another issue was published in 1620.[77] Ungerer (1965, 204) claims that "[t]he manual was reprinted twice: in its old form in 1619 (entered on 11 April 1614), and in an improved version in 1620"; a similar claim has been made by Ramajo Caño (1987, 238), who says that the 1620 issue was the one "reelaborada por J. Harison". The same confusion regarding the editions is found in Bourland (1933, 284), who makes the following remark concerning the dialogues:

> It is now known that Stepney's Dialogues were reprinted at least once, since a second edition of *The Spanish Schoole-master* was made in 1620 [...] It will also presently be shown that while they were not printed again after that date until 1919 *precisely as Stepney wrote them*, the originals from which they were taken were reproduced many times, both before and after he had brought them out in modified form [...].

Bourland (1933, 284-5) seems to think that the second edition is that of 1620, and gives its full title page in footnote 2 of her paper. However, the dialogues had, in fact, already been modified in the 1619 edition, as can be seen in the following excerpts from the first dialogue:

<div align="center">

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*

</div>

GOd giue you good morrow maister Henrie.	DIos de a v. m. buenos dias S[r]. Henrico.
God giue you good morrow, and many good yeares maister William.	Dios de a v. m. buenos dias y buenos años S[r]. Guillielmo.
How doth your health since **I saw you Last?**	Como ha estado v.m. de su salud desde que nos vimos la otra vez?
So so, reasonable Sir.	Razonablemente Señor.
Me thinketh that you do not so well as you were wont.	A mi me parèce que v. m. no està tan bueno como solia.
How know you that?	En que lo vee v. m?
By your face which is pale.	En su rostro que està amarillo.

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[76] Okes was a printer in London, 1606-39 (Mc Kerrow 1968, 206) and Harrison a bookseller, 1603-39 (McKerrow 1968, 126, s.v. *Harrison (John IV)*).

[77] We consulted the edition on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1586; it lacks pp. 1-12.

Stepney-Grange (1619): *The Spanish Schoole-maister*	
GOd giue you good morrow maister Henry.	DIos dè á v. m. buénos dias **Señor** Henrico.
God giue you good morrow, and many good yeares maister William.	Dios dè à v. m. buénos dias y buenos anos **Señor** Guillielmo.
How doth your health since **we last saw each other?**	Cómo hà estádo v. m. de su salúd désde que nos vímos la otra vez?
So, so, reasonable Sir.	Razonáblemente Señór.
Me thinketh that you do not so well as you were wont.	A mi me paréce que v. m. no ésta tan buéno como solia.
Wherein see you that?	En que lo veé v. m.?
In your face which is pale.	En su rostro que està amarillo.

In fact, the modifications had already been made in the second edition of 1619, while the 1620 issue is a reprint of that.[78] The second edition of 1619 is 239 pages long. It was entered in the records of the Company of Stationers as follows:

11° Aprilis 1614

master **John**

Harrison

Entred for his Copie by order of a full court and Consent of master Harrison the eldest, a booke called *the Spanische Schoolemaster*. vj[d]

5.4.4.1 Megastructure

5.4.4.1.1 Outside matter

The structure of the 1619 edition is identical to the first edition of 1591, except for the inclusion of one more preliminary text: a four-page dedication entitled "[t]o the Lord generall *Cecyll*, &c.". This text, in English, is inserted between the title page and the dedication to Robert Cecil. This new text is signed by "Io. Grange", that is, John Grange,

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[78] Perhaps this confusion about the editions originates in the cards containing their bibliographical data. Microfilm reel 1466 contains the following data: "23257 Stepney, William. The Spanish schoolemaster. [Anr. ed.] 12°. N. Okes f. J. Harison, 1619. Ent. 11 ap. 1614". Microfilm reel 1586 contains the following data: "23258 Stepney, William. The Spanish schoole-master. [Anr. ed.] *Now newly corrected*. 12°. J. Harison, 1620". We show in italics the data that may have led to confusion: notice that the 1620 edition is the one presented as "newly corrected".

who presumably was the "new author" alluded to in the title page, responsible for the corrections and additions. The title page of this second contains differences with respect to the first edition of 1591:[79] the title is now, with a minor difference in spelling, *The Spanish Schoole-maister*; some words and phrases were added, other deleted or rearranged. The title page mentions that the edition was "newly corrected by a new author with many necessary additions"; basically, these corrections and additions refer to changes in spelling and to the fact that the accent mark is provided on Spanish words, even if this is done inconsistently. Some spelling errors mentioned in the errata at the end of the 1591 edition were corrected in 1619, but new ones were made. The 1619 edition is dedicated "[t]o the Lord Generall Cecyll", beginning as follows: "This Booke was first dedicated to your Vncle the Earle of Salisbury: and I must craue pardon if contrary to the common rode, it bee entailed on the most Eminẽt, & not the next of blood: [...]" The dedicatee of the 1591 edition was Sir Robert Cecil, son of Sir William Cecil with his second wife Mildred Cooke. Sir William Cecil also had a son by his first marriage with Mary Cheke: Sir Thomas Cecil (1542–1623), first earl of Exeter. The edition of 1619 is dedicated, therefore, to one of the sons of Sir Thomas Cecil, but it is not known exactly to whom the corrector John Grange is referring since Thomas Cecil and his wife, Dorothy Neville, had thirteen children. There are two possibilities: the first son, William Cecil (1566-1640), second Earl of Exeter, to whom Randle Cotgrave dedicated his *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611), or the third son, Edward Cecil (1572–1638), Viscount Wimbledon, who achieved notoriety as a soldier and politician. This is the most probable dedicatee, since Grange speaks of "the most Eminẽt, & not the next of blood".

5.4.4.1.2 Macro- and microstructures

As already stated, the contents of the second edition are identical to those of the 1591 edition. The topical vocabulary is now to be found between pages 178 to 239. The

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[79] Niederehe (1999, 73) records the 1619 edition, giving only the title, but he gives the full page and description of the 1620 reissue (Niederehe 1999, 76-7).

subject headings are the same, but the number of entries is 1,813 instead of 1,816. The changes affected:

1. Subject heading (10), "Of degrees of birth by descent and first of nobilitie/De genero de linage por descēdencia, y primeramēnte de nobilidad", where the following entry was added at the end, thereby augmenting the number of entries of this section from 19 to 20.

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*		Stepney- Grange (1619): *The Spanish Schoole-maister*	
Ø	Ø	*base people.*	gente canalla.

2. Subject heading (15), "Of the wild beasts and of hunting/De las fieras, y de la monterea", where a relation of synonymy was established between two English entries, thereby reducing the number of entries from 43 to 42:

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*		Stepney- Grange (1619): *The Spanish Schoole-maister*	
to stray	vagar	{ *to stray* *to go about*	{ vagor
to go about	rodear		

3. Subject heading (20), "Pond-fish./Pescado de estanque", where the following entry was deleted:

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*		Stepney- Grange (1619): *The Spanish Schoole-maister*	
an eell	vna anguilla	Ø	Ø

Thus, the number of entries of this section in the 1619 edition is 674, instead of 675 in the 1591 edition.

4.   Subject heading (23), "Of all the parts of mans bodie/De todas las partes del cuerpo humano", in which two entries were deleted at the end of the section, reducing the number of entries from 173 to 171.

The most interesting change would be the addition of synchronic information to the microstructure: accents were used on Spanish words, but unsystematically. Besides the differences in spelling, other minor changes in the English headwords and the Spanish equivalents can be detected in some entries. Consider the following examples taken from different headings and notice the accents, the changes in spelling, headwords, equivalents, and synonyms:

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*		Stepney- Grange (1619): *The Spanish Schoole-maister*	
slipperie **ground**	**tierra resualiza**	*a slipperie* **place**	**un resbalizo**
it is a strong **towne**	es vna fuerte villa	*it is a strong* **cittie**	es una fuérte villa
a Lord	vn Señor	*a Lord*	un Señor
a Baron }*a Ladie*	vn Baron }vn Sʳᵃ	*a Baron*	un Baron
a Knight	vn Cauallero	*a Knight*	un Cavallero
		a Lady	una Señora
a faggot	vna fagota	*a fagot*	una fagota **o gavilla**
a mercer	vn regaton	*a mercer* **or retailer of wares**	un regatón
Lace	parsemana	*lace*	**passamáno**
to **vntye**	desatacar	*to* **untie**	desatacár **o desatár**
to knead	souar la massa	*to knead* **the dough**	sovar la massa
sturgeon	**esturion**	*sturgeog*	**sollo**
a seame	vna **cosedura**	*a stitching*	úna **cosidúra**
a presse	vna **prensa**	*a presse*	una **strésa**
a packbearer	vn ganapan	*a packebearer*	un ganapan **o picaño**
the necke	el pescueço	*the necke*	el **pescuelo o cuello**
the throat	garguero, o **gargauero**	*the throat*	el garguero, o **papo**

5.4.5   Analysis of the front matter

As has been seen, manuals for teaching languages, such as the *Spanish Schoole-master*, were not rare during the Renaissance and usually included a vocabulary based on a

thematic arrangement that can be traced back to the Middle Ages. The first topical vocabulary pairing English and Spanish was the *Book of English and Spanish*, a derivative of Rottweil's *Introito e porta* containing 506 entries under sixteen headings. In 1591 William Stepney compiled the second topical vocabulary pairing English and Spanish. This was most probably also a derivative of the *Introito e porta*, but it included 1816 entries under twenty-three headings. The second edition of 1619 does not differ significantly from that of 1591. Separated by less than forty years, the vocabularies in the *Book of English and Spanish* and the *Spanish Schoole-master* share a number of features at the microstructural level: the predominance of nouns, the verbs in infinitive syntactically marked by the preposition *to*, the presence of phrases, the inconsistent use of articles in both languages, and the lack of accents.

Stepney's topical vocabulary was so much a part of a textbook for teaching Spanish that the author did not make any special comments about it. In our discussion of the book's structure, it was seen that it contains a title page, a dedication, and a preface. The title page outlines the subject matter of the book, with mention of the dialogues, the rules of pronunciation of Spanish, the dialogues, proverbs and maxims, the religious texts, and the vocabulary. Like the works of Thorius and Percyvall, the book was prepared for Englishmen who wanted to learn Spanish, or, in the author's own words, "toward the furtherance of all those which are desirous to learne the said tongue within this our Realme of England." Nevertheless, the presence of texts in Spanish only and the fully bilingual contents of most of the book mean that it may have served the Spanish-speaking public as well.

The dedication to Robert Cecil is of interest because Stepney refers to the popularity of Spanish while explaining the reasons that moved him to dedicate the book to Cecil:

> Assi yo como hombre no conoscido a v. s. y de muy poco mereseimiento, supplico os recebir de mis manos este pequeño tributo, no mirando tanto el don que presento quanto la buena voluntad con que lo hago, loqual es hazeros muy agradable seruiçio; y porque bien se que muchos Caualleros como v.s. (y no de poca calidad) entienden muy bien la lengua Italiana y

> Francesca, las quales entre nuestros cortesanos son de grandissima efficacia y valor, quise tambien segun mi poco saber en la lengua Castillana (aunque mucho trabajo he gastado por sabella) atreuerme hazer y componer este Dialogo, para introduction a la lẽgua Castillana, a la qual bien se que v.s. es muy afficionado, tambien como a las otras lenguas: [...] Yo supplico a v.s. perdonar el atreuimiento pues no desseo otra cosa mas que su passatiempo y consolaçion en edad futura, y porque bien se ay cantidad de personas muy nobles en nuestra Inglatierra que son muy afficionadas a la lengua castillana [...].

In the "Epistle to the Reader", Stepney speaks briefly of the genesis of his book and claims, like Thorius had done before him, to have prepared it for his countrymen. Stepney also expresses his concern for the pronunciation of Spanish and mentions the proverbs and maxims he included:

> Now therfore after long vacation from my studie, and ten yeares peregrination out of mine owne natiue countrey, although not hauing so large an oportunitie as I could wish, yet neuerthelesse I haue found some little leasure, according as my businesse would permit me, and as the small time which I had could afford me: in which little vacation I haue compiled this booke toward the benefite of my countreymen, and haue intituled it by the name of the *Spanish Schoolemaister*, wherein I haue verie briefly set downe the plaine and perfect pronunciation of the Spanish tong, and also adioyned certaine prouerbes and sentences most proper in the sayd tongue.

This passage is important because it illustrates the difference between Stepney, on the one hand, and Thorius and Percyvall on the other. All three had a pedagogical purpose in mind; since they wanted to teach Spanish they included the rules of pronunciation. Of the three, Percyvall went a little further, using accents for Spanish irregular nouns and verbs. However, Stepney also included specimens of *actual usage of the tongue*: dialogues, "[p]roverbes and sentences".

Stepney also had the intention of writing a grammar but was prevented from doing so by the fact that one was already available:

> And being requested sundrie times of diuerse gentlemen my good friends, vnto whom I do reade the sayd tongue, to frame a Grammar for their better

> instruction, I promised to do the same, the which for want of time I omitted, and when as I thought to haue begun it, I was preuented by another, who had taken in hand the like enterprise, and very exquisitely performed the same: and also since there is a Dictionarie come foorth very necessarie for the explanation of the said language, which labour of theirs, being done for the benefite of our countrey-men, we are all bound to gratifie with many thankes and commendations, which may be part of a condigne reward for these their trauelles in that behalfe: [...]

It is impossible to know to which grammar or dictionary Stepney is referring, maybe that of Thorius or Percyvall. In this regard, Steiner (1970, 36) says that the dictionary was probably the one contained in the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*: "Probably Stepney prepared both the errata page [...] and his preface after the printing of the body of his work; therefore he might well have had a copy of Percyvall's dictionary on hand when he wrote his preface."

He ends the preface by highlighting the resources now available for learning Spanish and the status of this tongue in relation to French and Italian:

> [T]hese foĩsdations therfore being layd, I doubt not but that in future age the Spanish tongue will be as well esteemed as the French or the Italian tongues, and in my simple iudgement, it is farre more necessary for our countrey-men then the Italian tongue is: albeit I would not haue you suppose, that I would magnifie the singularitie of the Spanish tongue aboue all other languages: but generally I do commend the knowledge in many tongues.

As for the second edition of 1619, the only interesting feature is that the author now aims not only at explaining "the true and perfect pronunciation of the Spanish tongue" – as the title page states – but also at showing it "with the right accents". Stress was shown on the Spanish words and for the first time this feature was explicitly mentioned on the title page of a bilingual topical vocabulary in this field. This concern with both the rules of pronunciation *and* showing stress is indicative of a movement from the description of sounds to the indication of how a word is actually pronounced. Compilers were increasingly aware that they were describing *living languages* and something as simple as using stress marks is indicative of the rise of the vernaculars in relation to Latin. The first to

mention accentuation on a title page in the alphabetical tradition was John Minsheu in 1599; subsequent lexicographers continued to mention accentuation on the title page as one of the distinguishing features of their dictionaries.

5.4.6 Concluding remarks

Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* is thus important because it contains the second English-Spanish vocabulary in an alternate tradition in lexicographical compiling, that of vocabularies arranged by topics or subject headings. The vocabulary is an integral part of the textbook and has a simpler microstructure than that found in the contemporary works of Thorius and Percyvall. In spite of these differences, there are recurring subjects in the prefatory texts by these lexicographers: indication of the intended public, remarks on the genesis of the work, and commentary relating to the political and social situation of the time.

Spanish and English bilingual lexicography was born in close association with grammars and other varied material. Alphabetically ordered dictionaries in this field will continue to appear together with grammars up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century a dictionary will be published independently of a grammar for the first time (1726), while thematically-arranged vocabularies will continue to be published as parts of textbooks and in one case (John Stevens' grammar of 1725) will even take the place of the alphabetical dictionary.

5.5) John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599, 1623)

5.5.1 Introduction

In the Company of Stationers' records at the end of the sixteenth century the fifth and last entry for a dictionary and grammar is that for the first bidirectional Spanish and

English dictionary, bound together with a *Spanish Grammar* and a set of dialogues, by John Minsheu,[80] "Professor of Languages in London", as the title page states. This entry demonstrates the continuing vogue for Spanish. The entry transcribed by Arber (1876, 3: 145-6) reads:

28. Junij

Arnalt hatfield
Edmond Bolefant

Entred for their copie vnder the hand of my lordes grace [of Canterbury]./ master Hartwell and ye wardens. *A Spannishe grammar and Dictionary first published in ye Englishe tonge by.* Richard Perciuale *gent.* . . . . vj^d

*nowe enlarged and amplified with many thousand woordes as by this marke * to e[a]che of y^{em}* [them] *prefixed maie appeare together with ye accenting of euery woord throughout the whole Dictionary for the true pronunciacon of the language.As also for the Diuerse significations of one and the self same woord*

> All Donne by John Mynshew professour of Languages in London

hereunto are annexed at the end of the *grammar, speches and prouerbes together with delightfull and pleasant Dialogues in Spaneshe and English,* And at the end of ye *dictionary*[,] *an ample Inglish Dictionary alphabetically sett downe with the Spanishe Woordes*

[*thereunto*

adioyned by the same John Mynshew.

Minsheu was also the author of an etymological polyglot dictionary, the *Ductor in linguas* or *Guide into the Tongues* (1617, 1625, 1626, and 1627), to be discussed later.

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[80] Variant spellings of the name are *Mynsheu* and *Minshev*, but the form *Minsheu* is the most common. See Salmon (2003) on other variants and the information they provide for a biography of Minsheu.

Little is known about Minsheu's life and most of the information is found in the introductory texts to his works.[81] The title page of the bilingual dictionary introduces him as a teacher of languages; from the dedication of the *Spanish Grammar* (1599) to the students of one of the legal societies in London at the time – Gray's Inn – it is known that he taught languages there: "I thinke good briefely and plainely to shew unto you how hauing founde my selfe beholding to some of you, whom I had read unto in the toongs, I thought nothing could better agree with my profession as to shew my gratefull minde towards you, then by labouring for your ease, in these instructions of the Spanish toong [...]". One of the commendatory texts in the polyglot *Guide into the Tongues* (1617), entitled "The true Copy of the hands, with the Seale of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in confirmation and approbation of this Worke", states that Minsheu was poor and had "no other Liuing for Himselfe, Wife, and Children, but his Teaching of Languages". Another section in the same book – the "Second Epistle to the Reader" – says he travelled abroad when he was young, learned languages, was taken prisoner and released thanks to the aid of merchants:

> I shall be right glad and comforted that Merchants (that for aduentures sake merite money) might make great vse with pleasure of my paynes (being such an aduenturer as I am) and much the rather for that in my yonger time, aboue thirty yeeres since, by meanes of some worthy Merchants (which here and elsewhere with due respect and thankefulnesse I euer shall acknowledge.) I was first furnished according to my then great desires, to trauell into forreine Countreys, and get the knowledge of some of the Tongues (which I haue professed) and at their seruices here present, and truely affirme, that not onely my furnishing forth, my supplie when I wanted abroad, and my transporting from one Countrey to another, as also my last coming home (when I had beene taken prisoner) was still by Merchants.

Based on the information Minsheu gives about himself in this quotation, Wiener (1899, 7) has speculated on Minsheu's probable dates of birth and death:

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[81] On Minsheu's life, also see the *British Biographical Archive*, fiches 092-093; the *Dictionary of National Biography* (13: 494-5); Underhill (1971, 335), Eccles (1982, 96-7), Salmon (2003, 259-65), and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (38: 362-3).

As he places theses incidents in his younger time "aboue thirty yeeres since," when he certainly was not less than twenty years old, we may assume his birth to have fallen before the year 1567. He died before 1633, for in a copy of Th.[omas] Stafford's *Hibernia Pacata* of that year, there is an imprint: "London, Printed by A.M., and part of the impression made over to be vented for the benefit of the children of John Minsheu deceased."

Similarly, Gallina (1959, 249) proposes the years between 1560 and 1570 for his birth and Noland (1987, 7) the mid-1560's. In any case, by 1625 his health was failing, since in the dedication of the *Minsheus Amends and Augmentation of His Guide into the Tongues* (1625), he says he is old and deaf: "In hoc opere emendando elaboraui quia vetus & valdè surdus, alteri rei minimè idoneus."[82] Williams (1948, 772) was correct in observing that "[b]iographical details await search in unpublished records". Research done by Eccles (1982) and later by Salmon (2003) in the registers of the parish of All Hallows, London Wall, showed that Minsheu was christened in that church in 1560, and was buried there in 1627. Based on the same registers, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* specifies that Minsheu was buried on April 12 of that year, when he was sixty-seven, and gives the years 1559 or 1560 for his date of birth. Minsheu's prefatory texts, with its quotations in several languages (Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, etc.) and references to classical philosophers and writers, present the adventurous lexicographer as a laborious and well-read professor of languages.

5.5.2 Sources

Perhaps no other lexicographer in early Spanish and English lexicography has received more attention from scholars than Minsheu. His works can be classified into two groups. The first group contains the bidirectional dictionary, entitled *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English, first published into the English tongue by Ric. Perciuale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words, as by this marke * to each of them*

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[82] "The improvements I have made here are corrections, for I am old and quite deaf, and hardly fit for anything else."

prefixed may appeere; [...] All done by Iohn Minsheu [...] Hereunto[...] is annexed an ample English dictionarie Alphabetically set downe with the Spanish words thereunto adioyned; followed by *A Spanish Grammar, first collected and published by Richard Perciuale Gent.*; and by the *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English.* The three works are bound together in one volume, although each has separate title pages and pagination. The first edition of this volume was printed in 1599 in London by Edmund Bollifant[83] and the second by John Haviland[84] in 1623 in the same city. The second group contains the etymological dictionary in eleven languages, the *Guide into the Tongues*, also bound together with the *Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum et Anglicum Copiosissimum (A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English)*, first published in 1617 in London by John Brownes; a second edition in nine languages but without the *Vocabularium* was published by John Haviland in 1625 (reprinted in 1626 and 1627) with the title *Minshæi Emendatio, vel à mendis Expurgatio seu Augmentatio sui Ductoris in Linguas (Minsheus Amends and Augmentation of His Guide into the Tongues)*.[85] In the following pages our discussion will center on the works from the first group, beginning with the grammar and the dialogues and moving on to an analysis of the dictionary.

It should be noticed that in our abridged transcription above of the title of the bidirectional dictionary Minsheu makes mention of Percyvall's name, which he did on the title page of the Spanish grammar as well. This has caused confusion among bibliographers, who have catalogued both editions (1599 and 1623) of Minsheu's bilingual dictionary with the Spanish grammar under the heading "Percyvall" or any of the variant

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[83] Printer in London, 1584-1602, see McKerrow (1968, 41).

[84] Printer in London, 1613-1638, see McKerrow (1968, 131-2).

[85] The attention Minsheu's works have attracted can be seen in the fact that, except for the Spanish grammar, all of his works are available in facsimile editions or on the Internet: the 1617 works are available in a facsimile edition prepared by Jürgen Schäfer (Minsheu, 1978), and the bilingual dictionary of 1599 (without the grammar and the dialogues) in an edition by Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000). Available online to academic researchers and librarians only is the Spanish-English section of the dictionary, as part of the *Early Modern English Dictionaries Database (EMEDD)* project of Professor Ian Lancashire, Department of English, University of Toronto. The *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English* (1599) was reprinted by Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 80-145), and a facsimile edition of the same *Dialogues* has been

spellings of this name. For example, Viñaza (1978 [1893] 264, 734, and 1025); Kennedy (1967 [1927], 92, and 100-3);[86] Zaunmüller (1958, col. 369); Gili Gaya (1960, x, xxii, and xxv-xxvi); Laurenti and Porqueras-Mayo (1983, 334-5); Robertson and Robertson (1989, 57); and even Alston (1987, 35 and 42) list these two works by Minsheu under "Percivall". Some scholars, such as Viñaza (ibid.), Gili Gaya (ibid.), Fernández-Sevilla (1974, 167), Robertson and Robertson (1989, x) have ascribed Minsheu's 1599 work to Percyvall, without mention of the 1591 dictionary. To our knowledge the first to point out this mistake was Wiener (1899, 6), followed by Hills (1922, 119), and later by Serís (1964, 405), but even today modern catalogues, such as the excellent *English Short Title Catalogue* online, continue to classify Minsheu's work under Percyvall's name.[87]

This leads to a more interesting problem: why is Percyvall's name mentioned on the title page of the dictionary and the grammar? In particular, why did Minsheu use an asterisk (*) to mark his additions to the dictionary word list? Was this out of respect for Percyvall's work, as Alvar Ezquerra (1991, 12 and 1995, 184) says, or was there another reason? On the genesis of the dictionary, Underhill (1971, 331) comments:

> This dictionary [*Bibliotheca Hispanica*] at once became a recognized success, and a second edition was called for, which appeared in 1599. Perceval, however, had at that time obtained political employment, which

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prepared by Jesús Antonio Cid et al. (2002b) of the *Instituto Cervantes* and is also available online, see Cid (2002a).

[86] Kennedy's mistake was not corrected by Gabrielson (1929).

[87] An example of the confusion created by mistaking Percyvall's dictionary for that of Minsheu is Hendricks' paper (2000) on the concept of *race* in the early modern period. The author makes a philological inquiry on the idea of race in Shakespeare's England, based on the dictionaries by Percyvall and Minsheu. Discussing Percyvall (Hendricks 2000, 15), the author correctly gives the title and date of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (Hendricks 2000, 20, footnote 3) and claims to have used the Folger Library copy. It is clear the author consulted the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* because a quotation included in a footnote (Hendricks 2000, 20-1, footnote 4) was taken from Percyvall's grammar ("Of Spanish words in generall"). But then, on p. 16, Hendricks speaks of the "Spanish and English sections" of Percyvall's dictionary, and just at the end of p. 15 refers to the situation of a reader looking up "the Spanish equivalency for the English word 'race'". Yet, there is no English-Spanish section in Percyvall (1591). Moreover, Hendricks (2000, 21, footnote 6), gives the full title of Minsheu's (1599) dictionary – although the date of publication given on p. 16 ("1611") is wrong – and claims to have used "the Folger copy, STC 19619, copy 1". However, the *English Short Title Catalogue* on-line (Record ID ESTCS 121971) registers this copy as the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*; Minsheu's works have Short Title Catalogue numbers starting at 19620.

furnished him with ample means of subsistence. The dictionary and grammar were therefore revised and sent to the press by John Minsheu, a teacher of languages.

As Steiner (1970, 41) writes, implied in Underhill's words is that an understanding existed between the two lexicographers. Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 189) expresses a view similar to Underhill's when he indicates that "[e]stando él [Percyvall] ya ocupado en menesteres más importantes, *no tuvo inconveniente alguno* para que en 1599 John Minsheu publicara los materiales muy modificados, [...]" (our italics). Nevertheless, Steiner (1970, 41-2 and 113-4) has investigated the matter further and argues that intrigue was involved in the publication of the dictionary by Minsheu (1599), in the sense that Percyvall and D'Oylie wanted to protect their copyright. Therefore, according to Steiner (2003, 87) the printer Edmund Bollifant "was allowed a copyright but had to give top billing on the title page to 'Ric. Perciuale Gent.', [...] and reduce the emphasis on the title page for his own lexicographer, John Minsheu". Steiner (1970, 42) also believes that Minsheu used an asterisk (*) for his additions to the word list essentially in order to protect himself against a charge of plagiarism, since such a mark serves no purpose from the user's point of view. Minsheu, however, used a similar procedure in the *Guide into the Tongues* of 1617, where he starred the additions to his own 1599 English word list, and in the second edition of the *Guide* (1625 et seq.), where the additions to his first edition are marked with a dagger (†). Consequently, the asterisk does not seem to have been used, in our opinion, for the purpose mentioned by Steiner; instead, the asterisk and later the dagger were used by Minsheu to show his original additions and augmentation of the macrostructure. We also think that further research into the printing practices at that time is needed to see if the Percyvall-Minsheu case had any influence on the first editions of subsequent bidirectional dictionaries in other pairs of languages. For example, the title of the first bidirectional French and English dictionary (1632) reads: *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. Compiled by Randle Cotgrave. Whereunto is also annexed a most copious Dictionarie, of the English set before the French. By R. S. L.* [Robert Sherwod Londoner]. Likewise, Giovanni Torriano added in 1659 the first English-Italian part to John Florio's

Worlde of Wordes, or Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English (1598) and the title page reads: *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A Dictionary Italian & English. Formerly Compiled by John Florio,[...]. Whereunto is added A Dictionary English & Italian, [...] By Gio. Torriano* [...]. In both cases, the similarities with the title page of Minsheu's lexicon of 1599 are obvious: on all three title pages more emphasis is placed on the name of the compiler of the first part than on that of the second part of the dictionary. It is possible that Minsheu's printer, E. Bollifant, had to give credit to Percyvall for copyright reasons, but Minsheu may have tried to distance himself from his predecessor by including the dialogues and by reversing the position of the dictionary and grammar, features that would highlight the originality of his work and a difference in his approach. Be that as it may, the relation between the works of Percyvall and Minsheu is difficult to clarify. In the words of Wiener (1899, 6):

> It is not at all apparent why Minsheu should have mentioned his work in conjunction with Percivale's, unless it be that the prestige of the former book seemed to insure a ready acceptance of the new, if it bore Percivale's name on the title-page, or Minsheu may have been under personal obligations, and may have thought that by a public avowal of it he could escape the charge of ingratitude.

In any case, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is certainly at the origin of Minsheu's project, as Ungerer (1965, 203) explains:

> Sir Edward Hoby derived from it [the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*] such an excellent command of Spanish that he was able to translate the military treatise of Don Bernardino de Mendoza,[88] the last Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Queen Elizabeth. [...] His was the idea of a new and revised edition [...], which was published in the second half of 1599. On 29 August 1599 R. White informed Sir Robert Sidney, then stationed on the Netherlands, that the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* was out of print.

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[88] Here Ungerer refers to the *Theorica y practica de guerra* by Bernardino de Mendoza (1595), translated by Hoby as *Theorique and Practise of Warre* (1597).

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (9: 946-8), Sir Edward Hoby (1560-1617), the dedicatee of Minsheu's dialogues, was a scholar, diplomat, and theologian. Hoby rose into high favour at court under the auspices of his maternal uncle, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and was frequently employed on confidential missions. It was Hoby who devised the plan for a second, revised edition of Percyvall's book. Ungerer (1965, 204) mentions that the printing of Minsheu's volume "was finished between 25 October and 10 November [1599], as is made clear by Rowland White's correspondence with Sir Robert Sidney [...]". About Hoby's translation of Mendoza's military text and the interest in Spanish at the end of the sixteenth century, Ungerer (1972, 61) explains:

> It was only in the last decade of the century [16th] that the Elizabethans devoted themselves to a systematic study of Spanish military tracts. A particular set of courtiers, united by ties of family and friendship, was responsible for the influx and dissemination of these tracts in England. They were Sir Edward Hoby, Sir George Carey and Sir George Carew.
>
> The most excellent scholar of this group was Sir Edward Hoby, son of Sir Thomas Hoby, and nephew of Sir William Cecil and Sir Philip Hoby, former agent of Henry VIII in Spain.

This observation reminds us of the role of war and politics in the development of Spanish and English lexicography. Early bilingual lexicographers were close to members of the aristocracy involved in political affairs, which explains why these lexicographers claim in their prefatory texts to have carried out their work for patriotic reasons.

The charge of plagiarism and even multi-plagiarism has cast a long shadow over Minsheu's reputation; scholars have accused him of unscrupulously and blindly copying from other authors without mentioning his sources. Criticism of Minsheu started early: the judgment Ben Johnson passed on him in his *Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* of 1619 (Herford and Simpson 1974, 1: 132-3) is well-known and often quoted: "Certain Informations and maners of Ben Johnson to W. Drumond [...] his censure of the English Poets was this, [...] That Shaksperr wanted Arte / that Sharpham, Day, Dicker were all Rogues, and that Minshew was one." Nevertheless, Noland (1989, 7-8)

correctly points out that Johnson's remark is questionable as it appears in a context where it is also said, among other things, that Shakespeare "wanted Arte". Another remark can be found in Edward Phillips' dedication of his *New World of English Words* (1658): "Mr. Minshaw that spent his life and estate in scrutinizing Languages, still remaines obnoxious to the misconstructions of many." There is harsh criticism by Dámaso Alonso (1931) in his paper on early Spanish phonetics regarding the sources and contents of Minsheu's Spanish grammar. Alonso (1931, 17-8) portrays Minsheu as a "políglota pedantesco, infatigable y poco escrupuloso" and an "ávido aprovechador de cuantos materiales llegaran a sus manos" (Alonso 1931, 17, footnote 3). Of the Spanish grammar, Alonso (1931, 18) comments on the connection between Percyvall and Minsheu as follows: "[E]n su primer libro de español, *A Spanish Grammar*, Londres, 1599, no hace más que ampliar la obra de Percyvall, deuda que ya reconoce en la portada. (Pormenor de honradez que no le impide expoliar a otros muchos autores sin citarlos)". He remarks (Alonso 1931, 18, footnote 1) that Minsheu copied blindly and plagiarized ideas from other authors. As an example, Alonso (1931, 18, footnote 1) shows that Minsheu copied the "Proeme" of his *Spanish Grammar* from the anonymous *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España* (1559),[89] and indeed a comparison of the two texts that we carried out reveals that the "Proeme" is largely an English version of the first book of the grammar. In the same paper, Dámaso Alonso (1931, 19, footnote 1) also shows that Minsheu's description of the sound of the Spanish letter *b*, in the section "Of Orthographie", combines material from both Percyvall and Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*.

A similar opinion of Minsheu was expressed by Amado Alonso in his studies on Spanish phonetics, where remarks about Minsheu's grammar are found in several sections: Alonso (1951b, 147-8; 1951d, 135-9; 1967, 203-9 – reproduced *in extenso* from Alonso 1951d, 135-9 – and 1969, passim). Alonso (1967, 206, footnote 160) showed that, in other parts of Minsheu's grammar, the text is an English version of the *Gramática de la lengua*

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[89] Known as the *Anónimo de Lovaina (1559)*, this is one of the earliest grammars for the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language, see Ramajo Caño (1987, 31).

vulgar de España of 1559. He censures Minsheu as incompetent (Alonso 1951d, 136, footnote 32) and a "trapisondista y malplagiario" (Alonso 1951b, 148) for piling up descriptions from different text books without regard for the resulting contradictions. As for the sources of Minsheu's grammar, Alonso (1951d, 135) explains that Minsheu borrowed from several books without mentioning the authors. Thus, Minsheu's *Spanish Grammar* was collected from the "[a]nónimo de Lovaina de 1559, de Meurier,[90] de Stepney, de Miranda[91] y sobre todo de Antonio de Corro, sin cuidarse de las contradicciones resultantes." However, it is only fair to say that in copying from his predecessors to prepare his grammar (and his dictionary too, as shall be seen), Minsheu was following a widespread practice among grammarians and lexicographers of the time. In fact, this situation has been alluded to by Cooper (1962, 717) in his study of plagiarism in early dictionaries involving Spanish, where Cooper comments on Dámaso Alonso's harsh criticism of Minsheu: "Alonso's statement is cited here not so much because of the evidence of plagiary that it adduces, as because it reveals his mistaken belief that the practice was exceptional at this time."

In our opinion, Minsheu should be criticized not so much for copying without mentioning his sources as for copying uncritically and thereby providing inaccurate descriptions of Spanish phonetics. Furthermore, not everything in the grammar is unacknowledged borrowing. Minsheu was actually a voracious reader of literature and a cultivated man, a fact that emerges from the introductory texts to his works as well as from the *Spanish Grammar* itself. According to Ungerer (1965, 205) his scholarship was reliable and he was "the first Hispanist to make extensive quotations from his personal reading." Ungerer (1972, 40) adds that through these excerpts "Minsheu provides us with conclusive evidence that the *Celestina* was one of the most widely read Spanish books in the last decade of the 16th century." In fact, Minsheu added at the end of the grammar (pp. 75-84) a whole section of "Words, Phrases, Sentences and Proverbes", in Spanish and English, from

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[90] Alonso refers to the *Coniugaisons, règles et instructions mout propes et necessairement pour ceux qui desirent apprendre français, italien, espagnol et flamen* by Gabriel Meurier (1558, 1568).

such classics as Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* (*The Braggart Soldier*) and *Menaechmi* (*The Twin Brothers*), *Los siete libros de la Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor, *La Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*, the *Menosprecio de la corte y alabanza de aldea* by the Spanish writer Fray Antonio de Guevara, *La Floresta española de apotegmas o sentencias* by Melchor de Santa Cruz, Antonio de Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, and the *Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga.

Let us now turn to the *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English*, which come after the *Spanish Grammar* and poses a problem of authorship, specifically of the Spanish text. These dialogues were certainly very popular, being reprinted numerous times – augmented with other dialogues, modified, and translated into other languages – up to the eighteenth century: "Vingt-sept éditions (probablement même davantage) attestent leur vogue, de la fin du XVIe siècle au milieu du XVIIIe", Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 74) explains in his reprint of the dialogues. Sbarbi (1980 [1891], 134), and Viñaza (1978 [1893], 277-8) mention the following editions: the French versions by César Oudin (1608 et seq.) and later by Francisco Sobrino (1708 et seq.); the Spanish edition by Juan de Luna (1619 et seq.), who added five dialogues to the original seven; the Italian version by Lorenzo Franciosini (1626 et seq.); and the versions in Italian, French, and German by Antoine Oudin (1650). The list also includes the Spanish and English versions that accompanied the dictionary and grammar by Captain John Stevens (1706-05), and Félix Antonio de Alvarado (1718, 1719). Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 77-80) provides a comprehensive list of editions and reprints the original dialogues by Minsheu (1599), along with the others added by César Oudin, Juan de Luna, and Francisco Sobrino (Foulché-Delbosc 1919, 146-235).

Was Minsheu really the author of the dialogues? The first to cast doubt on the authorship of the dialogues was Juan de Luna, a professor of Spanish in London, in his augmented edition of the dialogues published in Paris in 1619 and entitled *Diálogos*

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[91] The reference is to Juan de Miranda's *Osservationi della lingua Castigliana* (1565).

familiares, en los cuales se contienen los discursos, modos de hablar, proverbios, y palabras españolas más comunes: muy útiles y provechosos, para los que quieren aprender la lengua castellana. "Vingt ans seulement après l'apparition de ces Dialogues, Juan de Luna déclarait qu'ils avaient été « hechos en Londres por vn castellano » : peut-être ne le disait-il que parce qu'il le savait", comments Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 74).[92] The problem of the authorship of the dialogues has been investigated by Ungerer (1965, 206-7), who considers the English text to be Minsheu's but the Spanish text to have been written by a Spaniard, because of its style and idiomatic character. Spanish was not Minsheu's mother tongue, but the Spanish text stands out, because, as Sánchez Pérez explains (1992, 69), it reads like a text originally written in Spanish: "El estilo y desarrollo de los diálogos no solamente hacen impensable que Minsheu los escribiese, sino que llevan a la conclusión de que el autor era un español que, además, *no parece estar sujeto a condicionamientos didácticos* a la hora de escribir."

According to Ungerer (1965, 206), the author was probably one of the Spanish prisoners (listed in Ungerer 1965, 197-8) taken to England after the raid on Cadiz in 1596:

> Lack of contemporary evidence makes it impossible to identify the Spanish author referred to by Juan de Luna. It seems certain, however, that any clue to authorship must be sought among either the Spanish exiles who had taken up a professional teaching career in England or the Spanish noblemen taken prisoner during the raid on Cadiz. The Spanish exiles can be easily be ruled out: Antonio del Corro had died in 1591; Cipriano de Valera was engaged in writing evangelical literature for the Spanish Protestants in Europe; Adriano de Saravia, once headmaster of the Free Grammar School at Southhampton (1572) and subsequently Vicar of St. Mary's, Lewisham (1596), had no influence on Hispanism in Elizabethan England.

After the defeat of the Spanish Invincible Armada, the Elizabethan navy launched an armada of 150 ships on a mission against Cadiz in 1596. The fleet took Cadiz by surprise, raided the city, and took members of the clergy and the nobility to England as hostages. Sir Edward Hoby took part in this expedition and, according to Ungerer (1965,

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[92] See also the reference to Luna's text in Wiener (1899, 6).

207), it was during the descent on Cadiz that Hoby conceived the plan of a revision of Percyvall's manual: "There it suddenly dawned on Sir Edward how indifferent he had been towards the language of his country's enemies. On his return home, therefore, he immediately took up Spanish." Ungerer (1965, 207) also explains that to learn Spanish Hoby availed himself of Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* and of two of the prisoners, namely "Don Payo Patiño, Archdeacon of Cadiz, and Alonso de Baeza, Treasurer of the King's Customs, whom he accommodated for this purpose in his London residence." The *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English* are dedicated to Hoby, and in the dedication Minsheu explains why he has done so:

> Pues aviéndose de guardár éste conciérto y órden, a v.m. conviene y toca el jusgár de ésta mi obra como aquel que entre todos los demas, tiene el primado de la lengua Española, segun la facilidád con que se le a dádo, y la perfecion con que la habla, peró tambien en otras muchas sciéncias, y facultádes, en que v.m. resplandéce sobre todos los de nuestro tiempo. [...] Dios sabe, si yo quisiera dedicár le toda la obra entera y no partida en parte, (pues quando no uviéra las razones díchas para hazérlo; bastava el agradecimiento y benevoléncia, que v. m. mostró al que primero emprendió lo que he yo ampliado y hecho más copioso. Peró el lo dexádo de hazer por dos razones a my júyzio; la una es la obligación precisa que tengo a las personas a quien va derigida, no solo de obediencia y amistád, sino tambien de ayuda, favór y socorro que me han dado para podér llegarla a su fin; y la otra razón es, averse començado, proseguido y acabado en su nombre, y para que se aprovéchan della, en su ministério. Peró ya que lo que es mayór en cantidád tengo empleado, lo que es ygual en calidád, o fresco y dedico a v.m.

Based on this excerpt, Ungerer (1965, 207) concludes that "it is reasonable to suggest that Sir Edward Hoby, the sponsor of the new edition, invited a Spaniard, perhaps one of his own tutors, to write the seven Dialogues." In a later publication, Ungerer (1972, 64) makes use of this quotation from Minsheu, in particular where Minsheu speaks of having *augmented a work that somebody else had started* ("*al que primero emprendió lo que he yo ampliado y hecho más copioso*") and argues that "[f]rom this statement and from another intimation we may infer that the author of these famous *Dialogues* was probably Alonso de Baeza and that Minsheu was only the translator." If this is the case, it would be a practice

similar to that Minsheu followed in the grammar, where he translated into English sections from the *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España* (1559). In any case, if Hoby asked one of the prisoners to write the popular Spanish dialogues, Minsheu deserves credit for his translation and for having introduced them to the English public, as Wiener (1899, 6) points out.

Ungerer's hypothesis concerning the author of the Spanish text of Minsheu' *Dialogues* has been questioned by J. A. Cid (2002b) in the introduction to his facsimile edition of this work. Cid agrees with Ungerer that there are not many potential candidates for the authorship of the text and that the author must have been a Spaniard due to the style of the dialogues. Cid (2002b, 24-5) rules out such Spanish émigrés to England as Casiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera but retains Antonio del Corro as author of the dialogues:

> Vaya por delante que el círculo de donde pudo salir el autor de los *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues* no es muy amplio. Son muy pocos los que reúnen las especiales condiciones que obligadamente han de concurrir en quien pueda proponerse como plausible autor de la obra: un español, de espíritu libre y crítico, con residencia de varios años en Inglaterra, buen conocedor de la tradición humanística de los coloquios como instrumento pedagógico, y con práctica en la enseñanza de la lengua española a ingleses. Cierto que desde Luis Vives en adelante existió en Inglaterra un pequeño racimo de españoles inquietos que cumplen varias o algunas de esas condiciones. Pero sólo hay uno, al que podamos poner nombre, que las cumpla todas, y que por su cronología vital se ajuste a las fechas posibles de composición de los *Diálogos*: Antonio del Corro.

This scholar argues that just as Corro wrote his *Reglas gramaticales* in 1560 and yet they remained unpublished until 1586, he may have written other works for teaching Spanish that may have remained unpublished too. Cid (2002b, 27) refers to the dedication of Corro's *Reglas*, where the author mentions dialogues that had not been published: "Quise juntar con estos preceptos gramaticales, ciertos diálogos, en que los lectores visoños exercitassen la lición Española; mas la negligentia de los obreros, impidió mi deseño" (Corro, 1988 [1586]). Cid (2002b, 29) argues:

> Los "ciertos diálogos, en que los lectores visoños exercitassen la lición Española", escritos por Corro y que los tipógrafos oxonienses no fueron capaces de imprimir, pueden ser muy bien los que el avispado Minsheu, probado y ávido adaptador de textos ajenos, publicó en 1599.

Cid goes on to discuss Ungerer's hypothesis, which he considers weak and based on a misinterpretation of the section of Minsheu's dedication quoted above, where Minsheu speaks of having augmented a work that somebody else had started and from which, according to Cid (2002b, 34), Ungerer drew a wrong conclusion:

> Infiere de aquí Ungerer que la persona a quien Hoby había mostrado "agradecimiento y benevolencia" es quien le auxilió en la traducción del tratado de Mendoza, es decir Alonso de Baeza, y que el mismo Baeza es el que "primero emprendió lo que yo he ampliado y hecho más copioso". En realidad, Minsheu se está excusando por no dedicar a Hoby la obra entera, es decir el *Diccionario*, la *Gramática* y los *Diálogos*; Hoby merecería esa dedicatoria en solitario, aunque sólo fuera por la ayuda que prestó al que inició la labor de Minsheu, que no es otro que Percyvall, de quien ya vimos que Minsheu se declaraba continuador a todos los efectos, y de quien también Hoby se consideraba deudor. Pero Minsheu tenía compromisos de gratitud con otras personas que le ayudaron a elaborar e imprimir sus obras, y a ellas (y no a Hoby, según interpreta Ungerer) se refiere la última parte del párrafo de la dedicatoria.

Cid (2002b, 35) concludes that it is unlikely that Alonso de Baeza was the author:

> Baeza fue cautivado en el ataque del Conde de Essex a Cádiz en julio de 1596, [...] Quiere decirse que hubiera sido muy escaso el margen de Baeza para adaptarse mínimamente a la realidad inglesa, incluyendo la visión de un buen conocedor de Inglaterra y una óptica amable hacia los ingleses, tal y como se transparenta en los Diálogos. Entre agosto de 1596, y fines de 1598, fecha en que hemos de dar ya por preparados los *Diálogos* para la imprenta, y habiendo estado ocupado hasta marzo de 1597 en colaborar con Hoby en la traducción del tratado militar de Mendoza, parece difícil que Baeza hubiera dispuesto de mucho ocio para redactar diálogos.

Whoever the real author of the *Pleasant and Delightfvll Dialogues* may have been, they surely owed their popularity to the fact that, prior to Minsheu's edition, the dialogues available – such as those included in Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* – were based on

and reprinted numerous times from the polyglot derivatives of Noel van Barlement's *Vocabulaire*.[93] In this sense, Minsheu's dialogues were a new tool for teaching Spanish as a foreign language. In the words of Sánchez Pérez (1992, 66): "Hasta que aparece el libro de Minsheu, los diálogos se habían basado en los *Vocabulare* de Berlainmont, con añadiduras y variantes menores. Minsheu es el primero que rompe la tradición de esos diálogos repetidos hasta la saciedad en multitud de reimpresiones." However, Sánchez Pérez (1992, 69) writes:

> Los diálogos de Minsheu fueron escritos no pensando en alumnos extranjeros (desde luego no principiantes), con dificultades y problemas lingüísticos concretos, sino más bien desarrollando aptitudes literarias y de entretenimiento. Y en verdad que su autor no lo hizo nada mal: son textos más auténticos que los derivados de Berlainmont, pero necesariamente más restringidos en lo que se refiere a sus posibles usuarios. Su comprensión exige sólidos conocimientos de español.

All things considered, it can be said that the dialogues are a more original contribution than the grammar. Interestingly enough, there are two points in common between the three-part volume by Minsheu (1599) and the manual by Stepney (1591): both contain sections of dialogues and proverbs, absent from the work by Percyvall. Nevertheless, there is a feature in which they differ and which constitutes an important contribution by Minsheu: the dictionary. Whereas Stepney includes only a small, thematically arranged word list of fewer than 2,000 entries, Minsheu's *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* is a bidirectional volume of 391 pages, which is highly indebted to Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* but also surpasses it in scope and contents. Let us consider now Minsheu's *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* in more detail.

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[93] Let us remember that some scholars have incorrectly claimed that Minsheu's dialogues were a reprint of Stepney's, see section (5.4.2) above. For a comparison between the dialogues of these two authors, see Sánchez Pérez (1992, 66-72).

5.5.3 Megastructure

5.5.3.1 Outside matter

In the lexicographical works – both topical or alphabetical – discussed so far, the word list was placed at the end of the work, that is after the grammar and/or dialogues and other pedagogical material. Minsheu is the first to reverse that order and in his volume of 1599 the dictionary comes first, followed by the grammar and dialogues. The volume is structured as follows:[94]

1. The *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* contains four texts in the front matter and one in the back matter, as follows:

    1.1. Title page

    1.2. Dedication: "To the Right Vertvovs, and Thrise Worthy, Sir Iohn Scot, sir Henry Bromley, sir Edward Greuel Knights, and Master William Fortescue Esquire, [...]"[95] (2 pp.)

    1.3. "To the Reader" (2 pp.)

    1.4. "Directions for the vnderstanding the use of this Dictionarie, contriued in diuers points differing from other Dictionaries heretofore set foorth, [...]" (2 pp.)

    1.5. "A Dictionarie in Spanish and English" (pp. 1-248)

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[94] We consulted the facsimile edition of the dictionary by Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000), which includes a description of the contents on pages 14-5. We also consulted the microfilm editions in two reels from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, namely, reel 331: 10-1 (dictionary, grammar and dialogues) and reel 2014: 5 (grammar and dialogues). There is also a microfiche edition of the dictionary with a foreword by Gabriele Stein (see Percyvall and Minsheu 1993); the foreword is a reproduction of Stein (1985, 353-64). Full title pages of Minsheu's dictionary, grammar, and dialogues (1599) can be seen in Wiener (1899, 7), Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000, 13-4), and Niederehe (1994, 262-3). Viñaza (1978 [1893], 734, 1025 and 1026) gives the title pages and contents of the 1599 dictionary, and the 1623 grammar and dialogues. Sbarbi (1980 [1891], 134) gives only the title page of the 1599 dialogues. Another transcription of the title page of the dictionary (1599) can also be seen in Steiner (1970, 38-9). Niederehe (1999, 87-9) gives the title pages of the 1623 edition of the dictionary, grammar, and dialogues.

[95] No biographical data can be found in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* nor the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* about these dedicatees.

1.6. "A Dictionarie in English and Spanish" (pp. 249-383)

1.7. "A Briefe Table of sundrie Arabian and Moorish Words vsuall in the Spanish tongue: all which as they stand dispersed in seuerall places in the Dictionarie, [...]" (pp. 384-91)

2. The *Spanish Grammar* contains:

   2.1. Title page

   2.2. Dedication: "To the Right Worshipfvll Gentlemen Stvdents of Grayes Inne [...]" (3 pp.)

   2.3. "To the Reader" (2 pp.)

   2.4. Two commendatory poems: one in Latin entitled "In opus M. Minsheui edendum, [...]" and the second "Soneto de un capitan Español del Autór" (1 p.)

   2.5. Text of the grammar, beginning with a "Proeme" (pp. 1-74)

   2.6. A section of "Words, Phrases, Sentences and Proverbes" (pp. 75-84)

3. The *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English* contain:

   3.1. Title page

   3.2. Dedication: "Al muy illustre Señor, Don Eduardo Hobby [...]" (2 pp.)

   3.3. Text of the seven dialogues (pp. 1-68).

If Minsheu was trying to differentiate his work from Percyvall's, he nonetheless most likely wanted it to be considered the equal of his predecessor's. Thus, just as there are (four) commendatory poems at the beginning of Percyvall's grammar, there are (two) poems in Minsheu's, emphasizing his qualifications, the first stating "Minshæum legito,

lectum (mihi crede) probabis / Ingenium, genium, munera, verba, fidem"[96] and the second: "Vos Minsheu soys el Ercules famoso / Que a pesar de la ynbidia (dragon fiero) / Abristes puerta al huerto ameno umbroso, / De la yspanica lengua, que primero, / Cerrada estubo al yngles curioso, / Do gozara pomas de oro verdadero."

5.5.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

The dictionary is divided into three parts: the front matter texts, the central word lists in Spanish-English (248 p.) and English-Spanish (135 p.), followed by a table of Arabisms as back matter (8 p.). Concerning the number of entries, Steiner (1970, 38) writes: "The dictionary consists of 391 paginated, ruled, triple-column pages with about 150 entries on a page". This would give a total of some 58,650 entries: 37,200 entries for the Spanish-English part, 20,250 entries for the English-Spanish part, and 1,200 entries for the table. Other scholars, however, arrive at a smaller number of entries. Robertson and Robertson (1989, 57), for example, give a number of 27,500 entries for the Spanish-English, and 18,000 for the English-Spanish – a total of 45,500 entries. In the introduction to their facsimile edition of the dictionary, Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos (2000, 19-20) give the total as 46,973 entries, distributed as follows: 27,492 entries in the Spanish-English, 18,170 in the English-Spanish, and 1,311 entries in the table.[97] Finally, Rizo Rodríguez and Valera Hernández (2001, 345) estimate the total as 40,000 entries. Other scholars provide an estimate only for the Spanish-English part, such as Santoyo (1974, 99) and Nieto (2000, 180 and 2001, 215-6), who place the total for that part at 21,000 entries. Noland (1987, 157) estimate some 2,000 Arabisms. Our own calculations, based on a 32-page sample (sixteen pages from each part), put the average number of entries per page at 102 for the Spanish-English section (a minimum of 69 and a maximum of 123 entries per

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[96] "Read Minsheu, and when you have read him – believe me – you will recognize him to be skillful, talented, hard-working, and faithful to his word"

[97] There are two mistakes in Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos' (2000, 20) calculations of the entries in the table of Arabisms: first, they give the number of entries per letter of the alphabet and the total does not add to the 1,311 entries they claim but to 1,019 entries. Second, the number of entries they give under letter Z is 8, but there are really 30 entries under that letter.

page), and thus a total of approximately 25,300 entries for that part; at 135 for the English-Spanish section (a minimum of 117 and a maximum of 150 entries per page), and thus a total of approximately 18,200 entries for that part. Together the two sections add up to some 43,500 entries in the dictionary, with an additional 1,041 entries in the table of Arabisms. The volume thus contains some 44,541 entries altogether. Our results, therefore, are closer to those of Robertson and Robertson, and Guerrero Ramos and Pérez Lagos than to those of Steiner. If, according to our calculations, there are approximately 12,880 entries in Percyvall's Spanish-English dictionary, then Minsheu added some 12,420 entries to the Spanish-English section of his dictionary, an increase of 49.09 per cent. Where do these entries come from?

At the end of one of the prefatory texts to the dictionary, the "Directions for the vnderstanding the use of this Dictionarie", Minsheu mentions the dictionaries of Nebrija, Las Casas, and Percyvall in relation to the order of the alphabet he followed. As for the words he added and marked with the asterisk, he mentions no author in particular:

> For the learners more readie finding out of wordes in this Dictionarie, I bestowed a good deale of time and paines in bringing the wordes into the Alphabet, I heere vse this booke differing from *Nebrissensis, Cristouall de Casas*, and M. *Perciuals* in English: which place next Ca Cl, and not Ce Ch, and place Ch after the ende of Cu, &c. And for the giuing notice of what I haue done without defrauding any thing from the labours of any that haue trauelled in this kinde I haue made a difference of the words I haue merely added by a starre thus *, whereby it may be seene what and how much I haue enlarged by my long labour and paines: and for the most part of the rest of the wordes I haue augmented with diuers Englishes more then heretofore hath beene set downe, as I haue found them in Authors, which the nature of the word may and will containe […].

Since Minsheu added quotations at the end of the grammar from his reading of different authors, it is possible that he culled words from them for inclusion in the dictionary. His most important source, however, was undoubtedly the book by his predecessor in the alphabetic tradition, which he incorporated almost completely, "[A]lmost down to the last syllable," as Steiner (1970, 39) says. Consider the following examples that show Minsheu's

use of the asterisk and alphabetization. To show the corresponding order of entries in Percyvall (1591), a number has been added in brackets in bold to the left of the headword:

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
Ø	* **Fábla**, *vide* fábula, *a tale, a fable.*
Ø	* **Fablár**, *vide* Hablár, *to speake, to talke.*
Ø	* **Fabór**, *m. fauor, good liking.*
[1] Fabrica, a frame, a worke, *Fabrica.*	* **Fábrica**, *a frame, a building.*
[5] Fabricacion, working, *Fabricatio.*	**Fabricac**ión, *f. working or framing of a thing, a building.*
[6] Fabricadamente, cunningly, *Affabre.*	**Fabricad**ámente, *cunningly, by due forme, in frame.*
[4] Fabricado, framed, wrought, *Fabricatus.*	**Fabricádo**, *m. framed, wrought, forged.*
[2] Fabricador, a framer, a worker, *Fabricator.*	**Fabricadór**, *m. a framer, a workman, one that plotteth things, or forgeth, or fashioneth.*
[3] Fabricar, to frame, to worke, *Fabricari.*	**Fabricár**, *Præs.* yo Fabríco, 1. *Præt.* yo Fabriqué, *to frame, to forge, to worke, to fashion, to invent, to make, to builde.*
[7] Fabrificado, framed, *Fabresactus.*	* Fabrificádo, *m. framed, &c. vide* fabricádo.
[8] Fabrificar, to frame, *Fabreficare.*	**Fabrificár**, *vide* **Fabricár**.
Ø	* Fabrique, *vide* Fabricár.
[...]	[...]
Ø	* Fallecér, *to faile.*
Ø	* Fallecído, *failed, missed.*
Ø	* Fallecimiénto, *a failing, a missing.*
Ø	* Falído, *m. failed, missed.*

Note that Minsheu's alphabetization is more regular than Percyvall's and that his practice was to mark not only headwords for which there was no corresponding entry in Percyvall (1591) but also entries he modified (s.vv. *Fábrica* and *Fabrificádo*). Many of his additions are variant spellings or derived forms, as Steiner (1970, 42) and Stein (1985, 359) have observed: see *Fábla, Fablar, Fabrique* and *Fallecér* et seq. above. However, this practice sometimes led Minsheu into unnecessary repetition, as in the case of *Técho, Téche,*

Téja, or Téjo, an entry virtually identical to **Téja, Téjo, or Técho*, and this, in turn, to *Tejádo, or Técho*:

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
Techo, an house, the roofe of an house, *Tectum*.	**Técho, Téche, Téja, *or* Téjo**, *a roofe or couering of a house.*
Ø	* Techo de pája, *a roofe of a house that is thatched.*
Techumbre, *vide* Açotea.	Techúmbre, *vide* Açotéa.
Tecla, the key of virginals, *Clauis*.	* Técla, *as* Músicá de Técla, *musicke of organes, virginalles, clauicordes or such like.*
Ø	* Tégoda, *a ticket or warrant for to haue lodging, victuals, apparell, &c.*
Teja, a linden tree, slate, tile, *Tilia, tegular*.	Téja, *a linden or tillet tree, that beareth fruit as great as a beane, in which are seeds as greate as anise seeds. Also a tile, a slate, to couer houses with.*
Ø	Téja de Tejádo, *a tile.*
Ø	* **Téja, Téjo, *or* Técho**, *the roofe of a house.*
Ø	* Téja de huévo, *an eggeshell.*
Ø	* Téja de péce, *a shell of fish.*
Tejado o techo, the roofe of an house, *Tectum*.	**Tejádo, *or* Técho**, *a roofe of a house.*

Minsheu was consistent in including almost all of Percyvall's entries, although occasionally he would leave one out:

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
Ladrillado, brickworke, *Latericium*.	Ladrilládo, *m. paued, brickworke.*
Ladrillar, to paue with bricks, *Latere pauimentare*.	Ladrillár, *to paue with brickes, to tile.*
Ladrillar, a place where bricks are made, *Laterum furnus*.	Ø
Ladrilejo, small bricks, *Laterculus*.	Ladrilléjo, *m, small brickes.*
Ladrillo, brick, *Later*.	Ladríllo, *m., bricke, tile.*

Another method he used to augment his dictionary was to add a particularizing word to an entry already found in Percyvall:

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
Lana, wooll, *Lana*.	Lána, *f.* wooll.
Ø	* Lána **peynáda**, *wooll combed*.
Ø	* Lána **carmonáda**, *f. carded wooll*.
Lança, a launce, a dart, *Hasta, spiculum, pilũ*.	Lánça, *f. a launce, a dart*.
Ø	* Lánça **ginéta**, *a light horse mans speare*.
Ø	Lança **de rístre**, *a launce*.

Minsheu's debt to Percyvall is unquestionable, and the mention of the latter in the former's dictionary justified. The derivative relationship between Minsheu and Nebrija has been studied by Guerrero Ramos (1992, 468 ff. and 1995, 133-6), who has shown that it is even stronger than on Percyvall: "Junto a todos aquellos vocablos tomados por Percyvall de Nebrija, Minshev presenta algunos más que se encuentran también en el nebrisense, y no habían sido considerados por Percyvall, como por ejemplo *Aliox* y *Aljuba*." The Spanish-English part of Minsheu's dictionary follows the same patterns of borrowing discussed in connection with Percyvall's use of Nebrija. Similarly, when Minsheu left out an entry from Nebrija he followed Percyvall's practice, as Guerrero Ramos (1992, 468) explains:

> El grupo de vocablos incorporados tal como se encuentran en Nebrija se constituye, pues, de todos los que toma de Percyvall más algunos olvidados por éste, como *Algezira, Almazen de Aguaducho*, etc.

> Cuando suprime vocablos, parece actuar también del mismo modo que Percyvall, es decir, elimina las especificaciones o matizaciones que ofrecían Nebrija y, en parte, Las Casas.

The relation between Minsheu and Las Casas involves the work of another lexicographer, namely John Florio, the author of the Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598). In his paper on the dictionaries of Florio, Percyvall, Minsheu, and Cotgrave (1611), Starnes (1937) shows how these lexicographers relied on the Latin-English

dictionaries by lexicographers such as Thomas Elyot, Thomas Cooper, and Thomas Thomas. According to Starnes, Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium Linguæ Latinæ et Anglicanæ* (1587) in particular was a source of English definitions for both Florio and Minsheu; the latter used it, Starnes (1937, 1010) explains, "[I]n defining Spanish words similar in form and meaning to the Latin." Moreover, Starnes' analysis indicates that for the Spanish-English part Minsheu also borrowed definitions from Florio. Yet the relation is complex because in some cases Minsheu borrowed from Thomas, in other cases from Florio, and still in others from both authors:

> A comparative study of texts shows that Minsheu, in addition to his direct borrowing from Thomas, borrowed liberally from Florio's Italian-English dictionary, often taking therefrom English definitions which Florio had got, with slight modification, from Thomas's *Dictionarium*. The relationship is further complicated by the circumstance that Minsheu, in some of his definitions, obviously borrowed matter from both of his predecessors. The Italian and Spanish compilers have also much matter in common which has no basis in Thomas. In the augmentation of Percival's *Bibliotheca. Hispanica*, Minsheu therefore had open before him both the *Dictionarium* and the *Worlde of Wordes*; and he used them freely.

It should be noted, however, that Starnes' conclusions were modified by Smalley (1948, 51, footnote 90) in her discussion of Cotgrave's sources. Smalley writes:

> [I]n his preoccupation with the *Dictionarium* of Thomas Thomas, Starnes is inclined to credit Thomas as the source of many glosses that Cotgrave could just as well have taken from earlier dictionaries that it is certain he consulted as well as the work of Thomas. In fact, the borrowing of definitions by English lexicographers was much more widespread and the interrelationships among dictionaries of that period far more intricate than is indicated in Starnes's study.

In fact, Smalley (1948, 51-2) gives the example of explanatory information found in Thomas Elyot's Latin-English dictionary of 1538 and shows how it was copied over and over in seven subsequent dictionaries that appeared in England, namely Cooper (1548), Cooper (1565), Barret (1573), Thomas (1589), Hollyband (1593), Florio (1598), Minsheu (1599), and Cotgrave (1611). It is possible that, like Cotgrave, Minsheu took English data

from older Latin-English dictionaries than that of Thomas; in fact, according to Smalley (1948, 100), both Florio and Minsheu "borrowed many of the English translations given in the dictionaries of Eliot, Cooper, and Thomas to translate the Italian and Spanish vocabularies of their dictionaries, [...]".[98] In any case, Minsheu's debt to Florio, as argued by Starnes (1937), was later confirmed by Steiner (1970). It is in relation to this that Las Casas' dictionary was involved in the preparation of the Spanish-English part by Minsheu. Steiner (1970, 39) describes the process thus:

> Minsheu proceeded as follows: he turned to a Spanish word in the Spanish-Italian dictionary of Las Casas and then used the Italian gloss to find the desired entry in the Italian-English dictionary of Florio. By the use of this mechanism Minsheu had at his disposal what is, in effect, a bilingual dictionary of Spanish vocabulary words and English glosses, through the intermediary of Italian.

In this way, Las Casas' dictionary was a source for both Percyvall and Minsheu, with the difference that Minsheu added Spanish headwords and definitions by way of Florio's Italian-English dictionary. According to Steiner (1970, 40), another potential source of Minsheu (1599) was Hadrianus Junius' *Nomenclator* (1585).

Minsheu added an English-Spanish part and by doing this he became, in the words of Stein (1986, 222), "[T]he only 16th-century English lexicographer who tried to provide the learner with a double dictionary." For this English-Spanish part, Starner's comparative study (1937), as well as Steiner's (1970, 49), have revealed that Minsheu followed the English-Latin dictionary *Bibliotheca Scholastica* by John Rider (1589).[99] Starnes (1937, 1014) writes:

> For the English-Spanish portion of the dictionary, wholly by Minsheu, the author had precedents in such English-Latin dictionaries as Baret's *Alvearie* (1573, 1580), Higgins's revision of Huloet's dictionary (1572), and Rider's English-Latin text (1589). Of these, Minsheu chose to follow the latest – that by Rider. A comparative study of these texts reveals that Minsheu in his

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[98] Incidentally, Smalley (1948, 98) also shows Minsheu's influence on Cotgrave (1611).

[99] For a discussion of this dictionary see Starnes (1954, chap. 15) and Stein (1985, chap. 26).

English-Spanish section followed closely the English words and phrases of Rider. The order of entries, the phrasing – all the evidence shows close dependence upon Rider.

For the English-Spanish part, Minsheu inverted the Spanish-English word list, taking the English lexicographic information on the Spanish headword and turning it, in many cases, into phraseological headwords. This is why headword phrases are found together with genuine headwords in the English-Spanish part. Steiner (1970, 47) explains the reversal method used by Minsheu as follows: "He took the glosses from the Spanish-English part of his dictionary, rearranged them in alphabetical order, set the word *vide* or its abbreviation *v.* after each of them, and, in their respective positions, placed the Spanish entry words of the Spanish-English part of the dictionary". Noland (1989),[100] however, goes further into the question of the sources for Minsheu's English-Spanish part and finds that there are English headwords that Minsheu could not have taken from Percyvall, which means, according to Noland (1989, 43), that Minsheu "did not invert Percivall's Spanish/English dictionary to get his own English/Spanish section, at least not exclusively." Noland's study confirms that the primary source was Rider but that other sources, such as specialized lexicons, were consulted as well. Noland (1989, 49-50) summarizes Minsheu's method of compilation in the Spanish-English part thus:

> Starting with Percivall's dictionary, which he includes almost *in toto* in his Spanish section, he makes a few minor revisions of his source, mostly in spelling, augments from Las Casas, Nebrissensis, Thomas, Florio, and his own Spanish contributions in the English section, adds a list of Spanish words of Arabic and Moorish derivation from Bedwell, and gives derivatives of some of the simples that he took from Percivall. He looks to Florio and Thomas to increase the English equivalents in the Spanish word list.

Minsheu's procedure for the English-Spanish part was similar to this, starting with one source in particular, in this case Rider's dictionary, and augmenting it with several other sources, such as Richard Huloet's *Abcedarium Anglico Latinvm* (1552, 2nd ed. 1572), John Baret's *An Aluearie or Triple Dictionarie in Englishe, Latin, and French* (1573, 2nd

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[100] Noland (1989) is based on chapter 1 of Noland (1987).

ed. 1580), William Turner's *The Names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englishe, Duche [and] Frenche* (1548), and John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597). Noland (1989, 50) explains:

> In the English/Spanish half, he starts with Rider, again almost *in toto*, adds entries from Huloet, Baret, Florio, Thomas (by using the Latin that D'Oylie had given to Percivall; [...]), the Spanish/English section, Turner or Gerard, and at least once from somewhere else. He reverses the Spanish/English of Percivall to get some of his Spanish equivalents, adding others from Las Casas and Nebrissensis, and provides not a few of his own.

So much, then, for the sources of Minsheu's bidirectional *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, which have been investigated by several scholars. The contents of the dictionary have been studied by Steiner (1970, 42 ff.) and later by Stein (1985, 357 ff.). Among the relevant features are: Minsheu indicated stress and gender for the Spanish headwords, he accounted for irregular conjugations of verbs and developed the Spanish-English microstructure through the addition of synonyms and definitions. Stein (1985, 360) also mentions Minsheu's attempts at morphological analysis (keeping prefixes in lower case and using capitals for the root) and etymology (using the dagger to identify the Arabisms). Thus, the Spanish-English part of Minsheu's dictionary contains not only explanatory information but also synchronic (pronunciation and part of speech) and diachronic information (etymology). Because of its more elaborate microstructure we think it should not be considered merely a second edition of the *Bibliothecæ Hispanicæ Pars Altera*.

Nevertheless, in the English-Spanish part, many of these features are absent:

Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
(English-Spanish Part)

to Faile *or disappoint, v.* Deslatar, Fallecér
to Faile *or faint, v.* Desmedrár.
Failed, v. Falído.
a Failing, v. Fallecimiénto, Fálta.
without Faile, v. Sin fálta.
[...]

a Launce *or speare, v.* Ásta, Lánça.
the staffe of a Launce or speare, v. Ásta.
to hurt or wound with a Launce, vide Alanceár.
a small Launce, v. Lancuéla.

In the preceding examples, note that the use of the reversal procedure results in the lemma proper not beginning the entry. Since for the second part of the dictionary Minsheu took the Spanish-English word list and turned it around, a variety of prelemmatic elements (articles, prepositions, etc.) are to be found in the English headwords, which now can take the form of a single word or even a phrase. In the case of articles Minsheu followed Percyvall's practice in the Spanish-English part of omitting them for the Spanish headwords, but when he reversed that part to obtain the English-Spanish he used the indefinite article for English countable nouns. Capitalization plays a new role in this part, setting off the lemma from the other elements. It is clear that Minsheu included less information for the English headwords; generally speaking, he provided only one or two English equivalents as explanatory information and nothing else. Concerning the microstructure of the second part, Steiner (1970, 48) explains:

> Neither indication of gender nor inflectional irregularities of Spanish words is carried over to the English-Spanish part. However, the accent mark remains on Spanish words even after their reversal and separate Spanish vocabulary entries which offer alternative spellings of the same word usually show up in the same gloss after their reversal. [...] He does retain a great deal of meaning discrimination in the form of particularizing phrases which go through the reversal from target to source language virtually unchanged.

In the examples above, notice how Minsheu placed the word *vide* or its abbreviation *v.* after each English headword, referring readers to the Spanish-English part. This is why Stein (1985, 361 and 364) characterizes this part as an "indexical English-Spanish dictionary in which the alphabetical and the etymological principle of arrangement are combined." Another consequence of the inversion procedure is that the English-Spanish part is not completely independent of the Spanish-English, to which the Spanish microstructure refers.

A second edition of Minsheu's dictionary, grammar, and dialogues appeared in 1623. The *English Short Title Catalogue* records four imprint variants of this second edition[101] by the printer John Haviland for the following booksellers: Edward Blount,[102] William Aspley,[103] Mathew Lownes,[104] and George Latham. From the information in Arber (1894), this is how Steiner (1970, 55) explains the existence of these imprint variants:

> In 1623 John Haviland printed a Minsheu dictionary for Edward Blount, who shortly thereafter assigned his rights to William Aspley, who in turn sold out to Mathew Lownes. The rights were soon passed in the Lownes family from Mathew to Thomas to Humphrey, who shortly assigned the dictionary over to George Latham (Arber V, lxxxii, xcvii, xcviii). It was John Haviland who printed copies for all of these publishers and his name appears on the various title pages of the 1623 edition along with the name of one of the publishers, [...]

The contents of the second edition of the volume are identical to those in the first, but Steiner points out changes in arrangement, typeface, orthography, etc. For example, the title pages show differences in the layout of the text; in the dictionary, in particular, the dedicatory epistle and the section "To the Reader" are now four pages long instead of two. Steiner (1970, 56-7) made a detailed list of the differences between the two editions, explaining (1970, 55) that "[t]his was without a doubt a completely reset job. But it was reset word for word and is not a revision; the only things new in the text are the new spellings and the new typographical errors." Consider the following entries and notice the

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[101] These 1623 reprints are found in several microfilms from *Early English Books, 1475-1640* and not all of them contain the complete work, that is, the dictionary, the grammar, and the dialogues. The distribution is as follows: (1) reel 1755: 4 contains the complete work, but only the dictionary titlepage has the imprint for Edward Blount, while the grammar and dialogues have titlepages with colophon: "Printed at London by Iohn Haviland for William Aspley. 1623"; (2) reels 1356: 3 (dictionary), 1283: 26 (grammar), and 1388: 3 (dialogues) contain the three parts printed for William Aspley; (3) reel 677:05 contains the complete work printed for Matthew Lownes; (4) reels 898: 9 and 2101: 1 contain only the grammar and the dialogues printed for George Latham.

[102] Bookseller in London, 1594-1632, see McKerrow (1968, 39).

[103] Bookseller in London, 1598-1640, see McKerrow (1968, 11).

[104] See the entries in McKerrow (1968, 178 ff.) about the booksellers of the Lownes family.

changes in orthography and, in some cases, the modernized spelling:

Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
aBatír *or* Abatírse, *to **beate** downe, to discourage, to debase, to driue out of **hart**. Also to stowpe as a **hawke** or such like, to abase or vaile bonet.*	aBatír *or* Abatírse, *to **beat** downe, to discourage, to debase, to driue out of **heart**. Also to stowpe as a **Hawke** or such like, to abase or vaile bonet.*
* Abejería, *f. a **companie** of bees, or a place where many **bees** are.*	Abejeria, *f. a **company** of Bees, or a place where many **Bees** are.*
Fabricár, *Præs.* Yo. Fabríco, 1. *Præt.* yo Fabriqué, *to frame, to forge, to worke, to fashion, to invent, to make, to **builde**.*	Fabricár, *Præs.* yo Fabríco, 1. *Præt.* yo Fabriqué, *to frame, to forge, to worke, to fashion, to invent, to make, to **build**.*
* Falsopéto, *m. a pocket in the bosome, such as **priestes** vse in their **cassockes** or frocks to **carrie** their handkerchiefe or booke in.*	* Falsopéto, *m. a pocket in the bosome, such as **priests** vse in their **cassocks** or frocks to **carry** their handkerchiefe or booke in.*
Ladino, *a man that speaketh **anie toong** well and perfectly.*	Ladíno, *a man that speaketh **any tongue** well and perfectly.*
Ladroncíllo, *m. a **yoong** theefe, a petie theefe.*	Ladroncíllo, *m. a **young** theefe, a petie theefe.*
* Tagarmina, *a kinde of thistle **sweete** to **eate**.*	* Tagarmina, *a kinde of thistle **sweet** to **eat**.*
Tálamo, *m., a **bedde chamber** where the bride and bridegroome doe lie.*	Tálamo, *m., a **bed-chamber** where the bride and bridegroome doe lie.*

5.5.4 Analysis of the front matter

Some aspects of the front matter have been studied by Steiner (1970) and Stein (1985). Steiner (1970, 40-2) points out the "patriotic protestations" in the preface and quotes sections from it in his discussion of Minsheu's plagiarism and the intrigue involved in printing his dictionary, in relation to Percyvall's. Steiner (1970, 45-6) also refers to sections of the preface and the directions to the reader, where Minsheu speaks of the alphabetical organization of the dictionary and his method of capitalization in word formation. Finally, Steiner (1970, 50) explains how the alphabetical arrangement of the English-Spanish part was altered sometimes by a thematic arrangement, which may have had something to do with the fact that Minsheu says in the preface that he had been

working on a topically arranged wordbook. In fact, Minsheu says in the section "To the Reader" that he had worked in the bidirectional dictionary and "another little Dictionary with generall heads, shewing the particular parts, as a man and his parts, a house with the implements therein, ships at sea, officers in war, trades and occupations, and divers other things, [...]", but there is no evidence that such a vocabulary was ever completed or published. After Steiner, Stein (1985, 360-2) delineates Minsheu's lexicographical method as contained in the directions to the reader. In this section, Minsheu discusses the alphabetical arrangement and the etymological principle he introduces to deal with irregular verbs,[105] the various spellings of Spanish words and how to find them in the word list,[106] the indication of stress for all Spanish words and its phonological function,[107] the use of capitalization to explain word formation,[108] and the inclusion of grammatical information for the Spanish headwords[109] as well as irregular verbs forms.[110] Stein was the first to

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[105] "Also for the more ease of the learner, and to make vse of this Declining hard and Irregular verbes, I set downe the Tenses of such verbes in their owne Alphabet, as *Trúxe, Trúxo, Truxéra, Truxesse*, and say, *vide Traér*, and there hee shall see him declined at large, lest hee might mistake and thinke *Trúxe, Trúxo, Truxéra, Truxésse*, might come of *Truxér*, or the like, and not of *Traér*. In like manner I say *Cúpe, Cúpo, Cupiéra, Cupiésse, vide Cabér*. also *Quíse, Quisiéra, Quisiésse, vide Querér. Díxe, Díxo, Dixésse, Dixéra, vide Dezír*, and so of all the rest: so that by this meanes he shall not onely finde euerie one of these and their like in their right Alphabet as they shall looke, but also know the true signification and declining them to make him most perfect in any or all of them" (Minsheu 1599, "Directions for the vnderstanding the use of this Dictionarie").

[106] "Besides, I would haue those that haue not read much in this toong to be aduertised, that in diuers good Authors one word is written sometime with one letter or character, and sometime with another, and yet the selfe same worde and the selfesame signification, whereby they confound and vse one letter for another, as B for V consonant, and V consonant for B; as *Ballésta* or *Vallésta*, a crossebow. *Vandéra*, or *Bandéra*, an ensigne, a banner, a flag of a ship [...] Wherefore I aduise the Reader if he finde not the word in B turne to V: if not in V looke to B. In like sort these following, as ç cerilla for z, and z for ç cerilla, as *Haçér*, for *Hazér*, to make or to do; [...]" (Ibid.).

[107] "Likewise I accent euery word in the whole Dictionaire to cause the learner to pronounce it right, otherwise when he speaketh he shall not be vnderstoode of the naturall Spaniard: as *Bacía*, a bowle, a basen, a trey, not *Bácia* [...] This accenting serueth also and marketh one and the selfe same word of diuers significations (wherefore I thought it needfull for the learners behalfe) as *ámo*, a maister, or I loue, *amó*, he hath loued." (Ibid.).

[108] "Further to shew wherehence the compounds do arise, to know their Radix and originall, I make the composition in a smaller letter, and the simple in a greater, thus: *absTenér*, to abstaine, of *Tenér*, to hold, and *abs*, from; [...]" (Ibid.).

[109] "The two letters for two genders m. for masculine, and f. for feminine" (Ibid.).

[110] "First I haue declined all the Irregular and hardest Verbes thorow this whole Booke as they fall in their Alphabeticall order, in the singular number in two moodes, the Indicatiue and Subiuntiue, and three Tenses (by which the other are formed) and in the Indicatiue moode in three persons, and the Subiuntiue in two, *viz.* the Present tense, the first Preterperfect tense, and the Future tense of the Indicatiue moode" (Ibid.).

highlight Minsheu's contribution to etymology by including, after the bilingual word list, the "[t]able of sundrie Arabian and Moorish Words vsuall in the Spanish tongue". The table is made up of those words which Minsheu had marked with a dagger in the word list.

We will begin our analysis with the title page, where Minsheu presents the most important features of the dictionary. On the general title page of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* and the separate title page of the *Pars Altera*, Percyvall had only mentioned the contents of the volume (a grammar followed by a dictionary), the public, and one of his sources (D'Oylie). Unlike Percyvall, Minsheu prepared a detailed title page revealing a more developed lexicographical approach. The first part of the title page is devoted to the Spanish-English part: Minsheu mentions his main source, that is, Percyvall; the additions he made to the word list and how he marked them with an asterisk; and the addition of "diuers hard and vncouth phrases and speeches out of sundry of the best Authors explaned, [...]". Minsheu is not explicit about the authors consulted in addition to the dictionaries of Percyvall, Las Casas, and Nebrija, but at the end of his grammar he adds a section of phrases and proverbs from a variety of literary authors. It is logical to assume that he turned to these sources when enlarging the macrostructure. Minsheu (1599) is, therefore, the first lexicographer to include data not only from existing dictionaries (as Percyvall did) but also from literary sources. This principle reveals a desire to offer the learner examples of the Spanish language in *actual use*. Also listed in the first part of the title page are two topics that Minsheu would develop later in the "Directions for the vnderstanding the use of this Dictionarie": the use of accents to show pronunciation and meaning discrimination ("the accenting of euery worde throughout the whole Dictionarie, for the true pronunciation of the language, as also for the diuers signification of one and the selfesame word [...]"), and a fuller treatment of irregular verbs and the modifications thereby introduced in the alphabetical order ("And for the learners ease and furtherance, the declining of all hard and irregular verbs; and for the same cause the former order of the Alphabet is altered, [...]"

In the second part of the title page, Minsheu says he has added "an ample English Dictionarie, Alphabetically set downe with the Spanish words thereunto adioyned, [...]" It should be noted that, in the preface "To the Reader", Minsheu refers to his English-Spanish part as an *alphabet*, explaining that he had "undertaken more then one worke at one time; as first the Spanish Dictionarie with English following; then an English Alphabet with Spanish following; [...]" It seems, then, there was a difference in the way Minsheu conceived of each part: he always calls the first part a *dictionarie*, and he first calls the second part a *dictionarie* but later an *alphabet*. Let us explore the word list to see if it contains a hint as to how he conceived them differently. Minsheu does not define the term *dictionarie* or its Spanish equivalent, yet a related term is found, namely "Vocabulário, a dictionarie to shew the signification of words." This entry was not reversed and included in the English-Spanish part. A search under *alphabet* provides some insight. Related entries in both parts of the dictionary read:

Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*

Spanish-English	English-Spanish
*Abece, *the crosse rowe or Alphabet of all the letters.*	an Abecedarie *or alphabet, vide* Abece.
*Abecerário, *m. the first booke to learn children the letters, to spell and reade. Also a teacher to spell, reade, and the vse of the A b c, &c.*	an Abecedarie or teacher of petties, *vide* Abecedário.
[...]	[...]
* Alphabéta, *f. an alphabet.*	an Alphabet *or abecedarie,* vide Alphabéta.

In the English-Spanish part Minsheu gives *abecedarie* as a synonym for *alphabet*, and then refers to the Spanish *abecedario* and *abece*. From the definitions of these entries in the Spanish-English part it seems that Minsheu regarded, by analogy, the English-Spanish part as something more elementary, as if in this part his aim was only to provide the learner with the very basic elements (i.e. equivalents and pronunciation), while fuller details about *the signification of words* were to be found in the Spanish-English part. It may be argued that this theoretical distinction, expressed in Minsheu's prefatory texts and

carried out in the body of the dictionary itself, leads to the imbalance between the two parts of his dictionary: the first is a real dictionary, whereas the second is, as Stein says, an index because the microstructure is always introduced by the word *vide*. This means that the Spanish microstructure in the second part refers the reader to the first part for a complete explanation of the word.

The title page also mentions a component not found in works already discussed: the "Alphabeticall Table of Arabicke and Moorish words now commonly receiued and vsed in the Spanish tongue, which being dispersed in their seuerall due places throughout the whole Dictionarie are marked thus † [...]" In our opinion, the fact that Minsheu devoted a back matter section to etymology is not only a significant contribution but also an indication that he was a teacher of languages *primarily* concerned with the lexicon. Minsheu refers to this back matter section as a third lexicographical product (after the Spanish-English *dictionary* and the English-Spanish *alphabet*): a *table*. The word is defined in the English-Spanish part in the sense of "Mésa", but there is another entry closer to the meaning in which the word is being used here: "Tables to write in, *v.* Líbro de memória." *Líbro de memória* is in turn defined, in the Spanish-English part, as "a notebooke." Minsheu's etymological table is a systematic compilation of Spanish words which he thought were derived from Arabic and contains, besides the word itself, the English equivalent or a very short definition. He was not the first to use the term *table* for a lexicographical compilation, since John Palsgrave had used it in 1530 for his English-French *tables* based on word categories and appended to his grammar. In Minsheu (1599) what is important is the relation that the term *table*, in his sense, establishes between etymology, memory, and the lexicon, since etymology has a pedagogical function, aiding in the memorization of the lexicon. This pedagogical approach to etymology is the basis of his magnus opus, the *Guide into the Tongues* (1617), the foundations of which are already laid in the prefatory texts of the 1599 dictionary. For Minsheu, a *table* is a lexicographical compilation that results from etymology and is then subjected to alphabetical arrangement. Unlike Thorius and Percyvall, as a professor of Spanish Minsheu's primary concern was the *lexicon*, while grammar was secondary. It is

not surprising, therefore, that in his lexicographical practice he included in the dictionary elements that had traditionally been part of grammar, namely, pronunciation, morphology, and etymology. And he organized his volume accordingly: the lexical units first (the contents), followed by the grammar (the form), and finally the dialogues (samples of language in actual use).

At the end of the title page Minsheu mentions the directions to the reader he has prepared: "For the right vse of this worke, I referre you to the directions before the Dictionarie, contriued in diuers points differing from other Dictionaries heretofore set foorth." Minsheu was the first lexicographer to devote a separate section of the front matter to the explanation of his method and the characteristics of his dictionary. Percyvall had included certain comments in the preface on the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary, but Minsheu goes to greater lengths to explain the lexicographical method and organization of the dictionary, as Stein (1985, 360-2) notes. Minsheu uses the preface "To the Reader" to defend himself against potential criticism. A phrase from the dedication of the Spanish grammar sheds some light on the apologetic tone of the preface to the dictionary: "there can be no greater iniurie offered to a free minde, then to bee reputed ingratefull [...]" In the preface "To the Reader", Minsheu begins by dividing his readers into three types: "Threefold Reader, for so thou wilt diuide thy selfe, into good, bad, and indifferent; whom I likewise compare to three kindes of creatures, the Bee, the Spider, & the Cameleon". What Minsheu says next is not surprising: "The first, only I hold in account, and I hope he will account of me and my labours, as that it may not be said, *Perit quod facis ingrato*." He then devotes about seventy-five percent of the preface to defending himself from the second type of reader:

> The second, whom I as little regard, as he the credit of others; because like the Spider, conuerting all to poyson; [...] They that busie themselues in reprehending the faults of other mens writings, their owne are likely neuer to come to light: wherefore I wish them to deale gentlemanlike & not upon ods [...].

It is this section, devoted to the second type of reader, that Steiner uses to elucidate the printing intrigue between Percyvall and Minsheu. Afterwards, Minsheu speaks briefly about the third type of reader:

> The thirde sorte of Readers which are as Iohn Indiferent, and resemble the Cameleon, which changeth it selfe into any colour according to the obiect that is neere it; so these men not able to iudge themselues, or not looking into the matter, harken what another saith of it, and so he affirmeth the same, […].

The preface offers some insight into the publication of the dictionary. Minsheu writes that at first he thought the compilation of the dictionary would not take long: "Yet some that presume much, and can iudge little, haue affirmed that a Dictionarie in a yeere might be gathered compleat enough, I answere, that in conceit it may so be, and in much lesse time." Apparently, he soon realized that lexicographical works require time:

> Before we begin, we lay downe our plot in conceit onelie, and thinke we may as soone make an ende, as our imagination or thought (which is the swiftest thing in the world) can flie ouer it. I confesse my selfe I was seduced by this errour, till practise brought me into the right path, & repentance scourged me for going astray […].

The volume was finally printed after much work: "Therefore meanes was made in great haste that it was brought foorth as you see, which if the fathers wealth had beene answerable to his will, it would haue bin better able to haue done his countrey seruice". Minsheu was not able to revise it, however:

> [F]or no doubt many things may escape in Printing, and much the more, for that I was in the countrey upon necessitie, when the Dictionarie was at the presse, and there remained till it was all done: wherefore I meane to peruse the whole worke ouer, which shall be augmented, and if any thing be amisse it shall be amended […].

The dictionary went into a second edition, with some revision (Steiner 1970, 56-7) even though the contents remained the same. The preface closes with the same apologetic tone: "knowing it is harde to please fewe, harder to please many, impossible to please all: I leaue

these my labours to the viewe of all, so to be censured as they shall finde themselues profited by them."

In terms of the general organization of the 1599 volume by Minsheu, the dictionary is placed *before* the grammar. There is a different approach towards the work underlying this organization. Both Percyvall and Minsheu followed a pedagogical approach aimed at satisfying the needs of Englishmen who wanted to learn Spanish. Percyvall placed the dictionary *after* the grammar, since for him form precedes matter, and thus the rules of grammar should come before the building blocks of language, that is, the words themselves. When Minsheu moves the dictionary (now bidirectional and considerably enlarged) to the front, he seems to be saying that those who want to learn a language should begin with the words, which are the matter of language, and only afterwards learn the grammatical rules, which give form to matter and which explain how words are combined. In Percyvall's work, the grammar comprised the dictionary; in Minsheu's volume, the situation was reversed and the dictionary not only antecedes the grammar but also begins to encompass it. The proof of this is that Minsheu, unlike Percyvall, provides some grammatical information for the Spanish headwords and explains word formation. For Minsheu, then, the lexicon is paramount whereas grammar – and even etymology – are secondary and should serve the learning of words. This outlook explains his concerns with orthoepy, meaning discrimination, irregular verb conjugation, indication of gender, and morphology.

5.5.5   Concluding remarks

Minsheu's bilingual work (1599 and 1623) is a mixture of original material and unacknowledged borrowings. On account of this he has been accused of plagiarism, but it would be fair to say that in using previous materials without giving credit to the authors Minsheu was following a widespread practice. By the end of the sixteenth century the sources of these materials are difficult to trace; both grammarians and lexicographers drew from a variety of sources and probably every work is a mixture of original material and

unacknowledged borrowings. On the subject of plagiarism, the remark by Landau (2001, 43) describing the history of English lexicography as "a recital of successive and often successful acts of piracy [...] little more than a record of judicious or flagrant copying from one's predecessors, sometimes with grudging acknowledgment, more often (at least in the seventeenth century) without" is well known and seems to apply to bilingual lexicography as well. Green (1996, 47) has similarly spoken of the "essentially carnivorous nature of lexicography – each dictionary snacking, as it were, on one or more of its predecessors prior to moving on to display its original researches." As Green (1996, 19 ff.) explains in his discussion of plagiarism, every lexicographer looks back for his materials, and then makes his own additions and corrections. Such borrowings may be regarded from different points of view: in those centuries it was a common practice to derive material from different sources without necessarily mentioning them, but to the modern reader this is considered plagiarism. Whether it be the case of Richard Percyvall and John Minsheu in Spanish and English lexicography in the late sixteenth century, or Thomas Blount and Edward Phillips in the English hard word tradition during the mid-seventeenth century, or Guy Miège and Abel Boyer in French and English lexicography in the late seventeenth century, the fact is that accusations of plagiarism are virtually omnipresent in the history of lexicography. In this regard, Green (1996, 21) refers to a passage in Starnes and Noyes (1991, 183) on the English hard word tradition that summarizes very well the situation: "(1) in this early period lexicography progressed by plagiarism; (2) the best lexicographer was often the most discriminating plagiarist; and (3) a good dictionary was its own justification, whatever the method of compilation."

Our analysis shows that however important the contents of the microstructure may be for assessing the first bidirectional Spanish and English dictionary, the overall structure of the volume and the lexicographical discourse developed in the front matter are equally important. In these texts Minsheu already speaks as a lexicographer, as a "harmless drudge" as Samuel Johnson puts it in his English dictionary of 1755. Minsheu notes in the dedication of the dictionary how he "spent some yeares past in this kinde, the most

vnprofitable and vnpleasant studie of searching words for a Dictionarie, in such sort, […] with the candle to light others, and burne out my selfe […]." He speaks about the troubled publication of the work, his method of compilation, and the target public. Moreover, he discusses in detail the organization of the macrostructure and the lexicographical information he provides at the level of the microstructure. The terms he uses to refer to his compilation (dictionary, alphabet, table) indicate a conscious (if not clearly expressed) differentiation among lexicographical products. The lack of balance in terms of length between the two parts of the dictionary derives from Minsheu's theoretical approach. Like many lexicographers at the time, he was cautious and copied from many sources instead of starting with a clean slate; unlike his predecessor, this professor of languages was adventurous in the organization of his work and had a more developed lexicographical approach.

6) Works from the Seventeenth Century

6.1) Lewis Owen's *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (1605, 1606?)

6.1.1 Introduction

In the period between the publication of the two groups of works by Minsheu appeared, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a handbook for teaching Spanish, comprising a grammar, dialogues, a short English-Spanish dictionary, and religious texts. The author was Lewis Owen and his *Key of the Spanish Tongue* was published in 1605.

Owen (1571/2-1633?) was born in Merionethshire and entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1590.[1] He left the university without taking a degree. During the last part of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the beginning of King James', that is during the early seventeenth century, Owen travelled to several countries in Europe, in particular Spain, where he lived for some time. His first book was *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (1605), followed by a translation from French into English of Morton Eudes' *Catholique Traditions. Or a Treatise of the Beliefe of the Christians of Asia, Evropa, and Africa, in the Principall Controuersies of our Time* (1609, 2nd ed. 1610). Owen was also the author of three controversial books against the Jesuits; the first entitled *The Running Register: Recording a Trve Relation of the State of the English Colledges, Seminaries and Cloysters in All Forraine Parts* (1626), followed by the *Vnmasking of all Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuits* (1628, 2nd ed. 1646), and by the *Speculum Iesuiticum. Or, The Iesuites Looking-glasse* (1629). With regards Owen's opposition to the Jesuits, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* notes: "[F]rom the contents of his writings after 1625 it is clear that Owen's religious viewpoint had changed from that of the moderate Anglican in 1609 to that of the crusading puritan who was determined to reveal to the English the menace of Catholic religious orders."

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[1] For information about the life of Owen, see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (14: 1325-6); the *British Biographical Archive*, microfiches 084-092; and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (42: 238-9). Our biographical sketch is based on these sources.

Concerning the genesis of the book, Owen says in the epistle dedicatory that it was prepared in Spain: "[T]his my rude & vnpolished book begotten in Spaine, and brought foorth in great Brittaine." He dedicated it to three patrons and friends from Merionethshire: Sir Roger Owen,[2] Sir Thomas Midleton,[3] and Iohn Lloyd, Esquire. Owen also mentions that he was moved by some friends to publish his "treatise", as he calls it, and dedicate it to the aforesaid patrons.

6.1.2   Sources

As in the case of the previous grammars discussed so far, Amado Alonso is an obligatory reference when it comes to these early works on Spanish. According to Alonso (1951d, 139 ff. and 1967, 209 et passim), there were two main sources for Owen's grammar, and in particular for the section on the pronunciation of Spanish: William Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* and Gabriel Meurier's *Coniugaisons* (1558). Alonso (1951d, 140, footnote 38) describes the relationships between these authors as follows:

> A Stepney lo sigue paso a paso en el plan y en casi todas las explicaciones, unas veces *verbatim*, otras con cambios destinados a disimular la procedencia; [...] De Meurier tuvo a mano la edición de 1558 y no la de 1568; de ahí toma las reglas de las mutaciones de letras del latín al castellano, que siguen a las de la pronunciación; aunque Meurier las tomó a su vez de Nebrija, es seguro que Owen las toma de Meurier, y precisamente de la edición de 1558, porque de ahí copia un curioso ejemplo de confusión b-v que no está en Nebrija, y que Meurier suprimió en la edición de 1568 [...].

Alonso (1951d, 141 and 1967, 209) also explains that Owen deserves credit for his description of the Spanish *g*, *j*, and *x*. Owen's book is not included in the study of Spanish grammars published in Europe between 1492 and 1627 by Ramajo Caño (1987, 23). In his

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[2] Sir Roger Owen (1572/73-1617), landowner and lawyer, son of judge Thomas Owen; see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (14: 1349) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (42: 265).
[3] Sir Thomas Middleton (or Myddelton) (1550-1631) was lord mayor of London and member of parliament for Merionethshire; see further information in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (13: 1337-8), and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (40: 50-2).

study of teaching Spanish as a foreign language, Sánchez Pérez (1992, 120-1) briefly discusses Owen' book but adds little to what Alonso had said, to whom he refers for further details. It would seem that Lope Blanch (1979, xxxix), in his survey of Spanish linguistics during the Renaissance, expresses the general opinion concerning the limited value of Owen's grammar in the history of Spanish linguistics: "Tampoco supuso ningún verdadero progreso *The Key of the Spanish Tongue* (London, 1605) de Lewis Owen, muy limitado como gramático y deficiente conocedor de la lengua española." A possible explanation for this is that Owen prepared the book as a manual for travellers and not for scholarly use. Hazlitt (1888, 153) writes:

> There were certainly English versions of the Spanish grammars of Anthonio de Corro and Cesare Oudin made in the times of Elizabeth and her successor, as well as the original production by Lewis Owen, entitled, *The Key into the Spanish Tongue*. But these were assuredly never used as ordinary school-books, and were rather designed as manuals for travellers and literary students; [...]

Regarding the four dialogues included by Owen, Alonso (1951d, 141, footnote 40), in the footnote in which he briefly describes the content of the *Key of the Spanish Tongue,* says that Owen took three of the dialogues from Stepney. This remark is repeated by Sánchez Pérez (1992, 121), who adds that the dialogues come from Stepney or that there is a common source for both Stepney and Owen. Our comparison of the dialogues in the two works confirms that three dialogues in Owen (1605) are very similar to those in Stepney (1591). In fact, dialogues two, three, and four in Owen (1605) seem to be shorter, modified versions of Stepney's dialogues one, two, and six respectively. Consider, for example, the following excerpt from the first dialogue in Stepney (1591): [4]

> The first dialogve, being vpon monday, teacheth howe trauellers should **aske the waye** from one place to another, **with diuerse familiar communications.**
> "God giue you good morrow maister Henrie."

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[4] For the sake of brevity we offer a comparison only of the English portions of the dialogues; the Spanish version show the same similarities.

"God giue you good morrow, and many good yeares maister William." [...]
"[...] whither ride you so leasurely?"
"Toward **London**, to Bartholomew faire."
"And I also, **if you please we will go together.**"
"**It pleaseth me very well, but you** trauaile **a litle too fast for me.**"
"Let vs ride as you will, it is all one for me, [...]"
"[...] what folke be they that go before vs?"
"I know them not truly, they be marchants, let vs pricke our horses for to ouertake them, for **I am afraid that we be out of our way.**"
"We be not, be not afraid."
"Yet notwithstanding **it is good to aske it. Aske** of that she shepheard."
"My she friend **where is the right way from hence to London?**"
"**Right before you, turning neither on the right hand nor on the left hand, till you come to** an high elme tree, **then turne on the left hand.**" [...]

Notice the resemblance in subject and content between that dialogue and the second dialogue in Owen (1605):

Alexander Robert. The second Dialogue is for to **aske the way, with other famiar** [*sic*] **communications**, being in the Inne.
"God saue you mister Robert."
"Syr God giue you good morow and a good houre." [...]
"Whither goe you now?"
"To **London**; to speake with my brother Peter." [...]
"It is well don; and I also am going to London; **if you please we will goe together?**"
"It pleaseth me very well; **but you** goe **a little too fast for mee;** [...]"
"Let us goe as you please, [...]"
"How do you call this town?"
"Canterberie."
"**I am afraid, that we be out of our way.**"
"No syr, we be not, be not afraid."
"**It is good alwaies to aske it. Aske** of that boy."
"Brother **where is the right way from hence to London**"
"**Right before you, turning neither on the right, nor on the left hand: until you come to** a Church; **then turne on your left hand,** [...]"

The same striking resemblance can be found between dialogue six in Stepney (1591) and dialogue four in Owen (1605). Consider the following excerpt from Stepney (1591):

> The sixt dialogve, being vpon saterday, teacheth familiar communications to vse at our vprising.
> "**Ho**, chamberlaine **let vs rise: Is it not time to rise?**"
> "**What is** it **a clocke?**"
> "It is three of the clocke."
> "It is past foure of the clocke: **bring hither a light, and make some fire that we may rise.**"
> "Ho boy, hast thou called the chamberlaine?"
> "I thinke he is deafe for **he heareth** me **not.**"
> "**Crie** more **aloud, for he heareth you not.**"
> "**Here I am sir, what is your pleasure? It is not day light yet. You may well sleepe two good houres afore it be day.**"
> "**Go go, kindle the fire, thou wilt make vs as sluggish, and as good a husband as thou art. Drie my shirt that I may rise, for it is time: let him lie in bed that listeth, as for me I haue too much** businesse, **where is the horse-keeper? Go tell him that he lead my horse to the riuer:** […]"

In fact, in this case, Owen seems to be even closer to Stepney in spite of differences in spelling and wording:

> The fourth Dialogue, is communication at the vprising. Alonso. Barnabas.
> "**Ho**, shall we rise, **is it not time to rise?**"
> "**What is a clocke?**"
> "It is two of the clocke, it is three of the clocke. Boy, **bring heere some light, and make some fire, that wee may rise. Call louder, he heareth you not.**"
> "Heere I am syr, what is your pleasure? it is not day-light yet, you may well sleepe two good houres before it be day."
> "**Go, go, kindle the fire: thou wilt make us all slougish, and as good husbands as thou art. Dry my shirt, that I may rise. Let him** tarie in bed **that listeth, as for me, I haue much to** doe. **Where is the horse-keeper? goe tell him, that he my horse leade to the riuer:** […]"

The following excerpts are even more telling as they not only show the connection between Stepney's and Owen's texts (in this case, between the second and third dialogues respectively) but also a relationship to the second dialogue from the earlier work *A Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554). There are still differences in spelling and wording, of course, and Owen's version is shorter, but the subject of the three

dialogues is basically the same and the phrases highlighted in bold type make it seem that each dialogue is a modified version of the preceding one. The first excerpt is from the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554):

> The seconde Chapiter. Of fashions of **buiyng and selling** in the Spanishe tongue. **Katerine**, Margarete, **Daniell**.
> K. "I wishe to you good daie cosin. And to your compaignions." [...]
> M. "Be of good chere, it is yet but early daies: God will sende us some buiers."
> K. "So I trust. Lo here cometh one. He commeth to us. Frende, what will ye buie, come hether **Will ye buie any thyng? Behold, whether here bee any thyng ỹ pleseth you**: Come in, I haue here good wollen clothe, good linnen clothe, of all sortes. And good fine silke: Chamlet, Damaske veluet. I haue also good fleshe and fishe, and good herryng. moreouer, also good Chese, of diuerse sortes. [...] **Loke if it please you to buie any thing**. I will sell it for litle Take what liketh you. **I will bryng it out and shew it, you shal se it for nothing.**" [...]
> D. "**What shall I paie for an elle of this clothe?**"
> K. "It shall cost you twentie stuphers."
> D. "How holde you **a pounde of this chese?**"
> K. "A stupher."
> D. "How holde you a tankard **of this wine**"
> K. "At three stuphers." [...]

Next, consider the following excerpt from Stepney (1591):

> The second dialogve for twesday, treateth of marchandise, and teacheth **for to buy and sell**, with diuers familiar communications.
> "God giue you good morrow good gossip, and all your companie." [...]
> "Be of good cheare, it is yet too early: God will send vs some marchants in good time."
> "I hope so there commeth one, he will come hither. friend, **what will you buy? come hither: pleaseth it you to buy any thing? Looke if I haue anything that liketh you, come in**, I haue here good cloth, good linnen cloth of all sortes, good silke, chamlet, damaske, veluet, buckram, fustian, I haue also good flesh, good fish, and good herrings: here is good butter, and also good cheese, of all sortes. [...] Aske for what it pleaseth you, **I will let you see it, the sight shall cost you nothing.**" [...]
> "**How much shall it cost me the yard of this cloth?**"
> " It shall cost you twentie pence."
> "**How much** worth is **a pound of this cheese?**"

"The pound is worth two pence."
"What is the quart of this wine worth?
"The quart is worth one groate." [...]

The third excerpt is taken from Owen (1605):

The third Dialogue, is **for to buy and sell. Katherin. Daniel.**
"WHat will you buy? come hither, pleaseth it you to buy any thing?
looke if I haue any thing that liketh you, come in."
"Haue you good English cloathese, good holland cloath, haue you good
cheese and butter here, for to sell?"
"Yea syr, I haue of all sorts, cloath, silke, and veluet likewise, and of euery
price. Buy somewhat, **I will let you see the sight and it shall cost you**
nothing."
"Howe much shall I pay for an ell of this cloath?"
"You shall pay for it ten shilling: & six pence."
"How much will this cheese cost me?"
"It shall cost you three shillings." [...]
"What is a quart of this wine worth?"
"The quart is worth thre pence." [...]

These excerpts indicate that Owen did not borrow the dialogues exclusively from
Stepney; for example, two characters in Owen's version in the previous dialogue, Katherin
and Daniel, are in the anonymous work of 1554 but not in Stepney's version. In addition,
dialogues two and three in Stepney (1591) are almost identical to dialogues two and three
in the anonymous *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1554). This is
important since both books derive from the polyglot vocabularies that originated in Noel
van Barlement's famous *Vocabulaire*. It stands to reason, then, that for the dialogues, Owen
had recourse to Stepney's work and/or to the derivatives of Barlement's vocabulary. As
Hüllen (1999, 111-2) says, such derivatives were very popular, numerous, and still
available in Europe until 1700.[5] This hypothesis requires verification by further research.

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[5] For the editions including English, see Alston (1967, 5-12), and for those including Spanish, see Niederehe
(1994 and 1999: passim).

6.1.3 Megastructure

6.1.3.1 Outside matter

The full title of the book is *The Key of the Spanish Tongue, or a Plaine and Easie Introduction Whereby a Man May in Very Short Time Attaine to the Knowledge and Perfection of that Language.*[6] It was published in 1605 in London and printed by Thomas Creede[7] for William Welby. Both Alston (1987, 35) and the *English Short Title Catalogue Online* include another issue published in 1606.[8] This issue has no title page and is identical to the 1605 edition; it is unclear why it is dated 1606. Niederehe (1999, 24), for example, lists only the 1605 edition. The book is structured as follows:

1. Title page[9]

2. Dedication: "To the Right worshipful and virtuous Gentlemen: Sir Roger Owen Knight, [...] Sir Thomas Midleton, Knight, [...] and Iohn Lloyd, of the Inner Temple, Esquire" (4 pp.)

3. "To the courteous Reader" (5 pp.)[10]

4. Text of the grammar (pp. 1-99)[11]

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[6] We consulted the microfilm edition from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 968: 09. The full title page and a short description of the book can also be found in Wiener (1899, 6) and Niederehe (1999, 24). Owen's book was included in a list of fourteen ancient Spanish grammars containing small vocabularies made by Alonso (1951f, 326-8, footnote 2) and was recorded later by Serís (1964, 406).

[7] Thomas Creede, printer in London, 1593-1617 (McKerrow 1968, 80-1) and William Welby, bookseller in London, 1604-18 (McKerrow 1968, 286); from 1605-9 he was at The Greyhound, St Paul's Churchyard, which is the place given in the colophon of Owen's book.

[8] Microfilm edition on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1932: 17; pdf version available from *Early English Books Online*.

[9] The motto of the book, *Nescio qua natale solũ dulcedine cunctos Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui*, ("Our native land charms us with inexpressible sweetness, and never allows us to forget that we belong to it") is taken from Ovid's *Letters from the Black Sea* (*Epistulae ex Ponto*, I, 3, 35-36), and can be said to reflect Owen's patriotism.

[10] The text at the end of this section, *Dulcia non meruit, qui non gustavit amara* ("Whoever has not tasted the bitter does not deserve to taste the sweet") is also by Ovid.

[11] See the sections into which the grammar is divided in Alonso (1951d, 141, footnote 40).

5. "Foure Dialogues, for exercise and practise of the Spanish Tongue" (pp. 100-137)

6. The "Short Dictionarie, Alphabetically, or after the order of A.B.C. &c." (pp. 138- 203)

7. "The Numbers" (pp. 203-204), "Of the dayes of the weeke" (204-205), and "The 12. months, and the foure seasons of the yeere" (pp. 205-206)

8. Text of "The First Epistle generall, of Saint Iohn Apostle" (pp. 208-251)[12]

9. Errata: "Faultes that haue escaped in the Printing" (2 pp.).

The conjugation of verbs in the grammar (pp. 20-97) is bilingual, with the Spanish text on the left page and the English on the right. The four dialogues and the religious text are bilingual English-Spanish, but this time the English is on the left page and the Spanish on the right. The text of the dictionary, the numbers, months and seasons is in two columns on a page, with English on the left and Spanish on the right. The rest of the book is in English only.

Like that of his immediate predecessor, namely Minsheu (1599), Owen's work contains a grammar, dialogues, and a dictionary. The similarities stop there, however: the content of the dialogues is not at all similar, and Minsheu's dictionary is far more copious than Owen's. Instead, Owen's *Key of the Spanish Tongue* is closer to Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* (1591), with both volumes containing a grammar, dialogues, religious material, and a small lexicon. There are not many studies devoted to Owen's work, although some researchers do see a connection between the grammar and dialogues of *Key of the Spanish Tongue* and those of the *Spanish Schoole-master*. Let us now turn to a brief

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[12] Pagination begins with the grammar section and ends up in this section. The *English Short Title Catalogue* notes the numerous errors in pagination and gives the number of pages as 247 instead of the 251 that the book shows. Thus, for example, in the grammar pages 54-55 and 58-59 are lacking, while pp. 56-57 and 60-61 are repeated twice. In the dictionary, pages 141-144 are lacking, so it actually runs for 62 pages.

discussion of the grammar and the dialogues, then of the dictionary, and finally of the prefatory text.

6.1.3.2 Macro- and microstructure

To our knowledge, the only paper that deals with Owen's short English-Spanish dictionary is that by Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra (2002). These scholars focus on the Spanish vocabulary and at the end of their paper alphabetically reorganize the dictionary as if Spanish were the source language. From the point of view of Spanish, they compare Owen's dictionary to its predecessors, that is the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, as well as the wordbooks by Thorius, Percyvall, Stepney, and Minsheu. Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 320) point out that Owen's *Short Dictionarie* is not a mere copy of any of them. In Spanish, Owen included new words, past participles and previously unrecorded spelling variants. According to Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 326), Owen's compilation has more in common with the *Book of English and Spanish* than with the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, in that most of the words in both are general vocabulary:

> [P]odemos afirmar que algo más de un tercio de las entradas de *The boke [...]* coinciden con Owen, y que representan, en general, léxico de tipo común, excepción hecha de alguna voz como *almendra* o *calderón* escasamente significativas. La no coincidencia se da en voces más específicas, no pocas de ellas relacionadas con el mundo rural, como *comino, agraz, apero,* avellana, etc., lo que nos lleva a una primera, y provisional, conclusión de independencia de ambos vocabularios o, si se quiere, de falta de influencia de *The boke [...]* en Owen.
>
> En el caso de *A very [...]* se produce un grado de coincidencia menor y, también, con léxico general, lo que no nos autoriza a pensar en un condicionamiento del primero respecto a Owen.

Regarding Thorius' short dictionary of 1590, these scholars estimate at 30 per cent the similarity with the Spanish vocabulary in Owen (1605). Compared to Percyvall's dictionary, Owen's is much shorter but again the degree of coincidence can be estimated in 30 per cent: "[U]na vez hecho el contraste de las dos obras, nos encontramos con que, de

nuevo, hay aproximadamente un tercio de palabras de Owen que no se localizan en Percyvall, aunque en bastantes casos son puras variantes formales [...]" (Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra, 2002, 326). However, Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 327) feel it is difficult to determine whether or not Owen borrowed from Percyvall.

Owen's lexicon is as short as Stepney's and, according to Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 327), similar to it: "[A]proximadamente, el 50% de ellas es coincidente, dándose la circuntancia de que entre las voces de Owen que no constan en Stepney existen muchas de carácter general [...]". Finally, there are a number of different words in Minsheu (1599) and Owen (1605), but again a comparison is difficult due to the copiousness of Minsheu (1599):

> Bien es cierto que, analizadas éstas, en la mayor parte de los casos, obedecen a errores o a diferencias gráficas, según vimos anteriormente, sin que ello excluya la presencia de algunas voces –las menos– propias. ¿Es posible, a la luz de esto, afirmar la dependencia de Owen respecto a Minsheu? Tal vez, pero no necesariamente, entre otras cosas porque, dado el reducido número de voces de Owen, y el amplio de Minsheu, es más probable que, tratándose de palabras de carácter general, las del primero estén incluidas en las del segundo. Pero nos encontramos con no pocas divergencias, aunque sean meramente gráficas, que nos hacen dudar de una dependencia muy directa (Nieto Jimenez and Alvar Ezquerra, 2002, 327).

In conclusion, these authors explain that it is difficult to establish a positive relation between Owen (1605) and one or several of the previous compilations for Spanish:

> [D]ados los numerosos repertorios anteriores, es muy posible que haya tenido en cuenta alguno de ellos, especialmente el de Minsheu, aunque sea difícil rastrear antecedentes concretos. Cabe, también, que el punto de partida no sea el español, como nosotros estamos considerando, sino el inglés, en cuyo caso se reforzaría la posibilidad de una influencia inmediata por parte de Minsheu, único que posee una parte alfabética, en sentido estricto, inglés-español.

Those are the results when studying Owen's short compilation as if Spanish were the source language. Changing our perspective, its 1432 English headwords[13] make Owen's *Short Dictionarie* larger than the *Book of English and Spanish* (504 entries) and Thorius' *Spanish Dictionarie* (953 entries), about the same size as the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* (1785 entries) and Stepney's topical vocabulary (1816 entries), and smaller than Percyvall's and Minsheu's dictionaries (approx. 13,000 and 44,000 entries respectively). Only the the *Book of English and Spanish*, the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, Stepney's topical vocabulary, and Minsheu (1599) have an English-first word list. A detailed comparison with any of these three works is difficult and would require a separate study. Indeed, as has been seen, there is no alphabetical order whatsoever in the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, although the preface claims that the words are "set in order of the Alphabete". The *Book of English and Spanish* and Stepney's topical vocabulary would need to be reorganized alphabetically before a comparison could be carried out with Owen's. Finally, Minsheu's English word list of more than 18,000 entries also renders a comparison with Owen's English word list difficult, since his word list is so much larger than Owen's, with the former probably encompassing the latter. To complicate matters further, Owen's alphabetization does not go beyond first-letter order:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

[...]	[...]
to arriue	ariuabar
Also	assi
Always	siempre
to amend	emendar
Any	alguno
[...]	[...]
an anker	vna ancla
an aunt	tia
Aduantage	ventaja

[13] The entries are distributed as follows: A (67), B (157), C (174), D (83), E (42), F (101), G (66), H (73), I (25), K (24), L (55), M (53), N (23), O (22), P (103), Q (9), R (38), S (159), T (55), W (66), V (16), and Y (21), for a total of 1432 entries.

an arme	braço
[...]	[...]
a father	padre
a fashion	manera
to forsake	desampar
to frie	freyer
a fault	falta
Frute	fruta
[...]	[...]
a lock	cerosa
a lace	passamano
a looking-glasse	espejo
to looke,	mirar
Leauen	leuadura
a lambe	Cordero
[...]	[...]
a table	Mesa
a trencher	Plata
to tell	Contar
to tarrie	Esperar
to tame	Domar

Compared to Minsheu's rigorous alphabetization, which went to third or fourth-letter order, Owen's alphabetization is very basic. Given the similarities between the dialogues highlighted above, one possibility is that he borrowed from Stepney's topical vocabulary and reorganized it alphabetically, without going beyond first-word order. Indeed, setting aside the different arrangement (thematic versus alphabetical), the two word lists – Stepney's and Owen's – are similarly presented: organized in two columns, with the English headwords to the left and in italics and the Spanish equivalents to the right in normal type.

Another interesting feature in Owen's *Short Dictionarie* is the capitalization of English headwords – or rather the lack of it, since only fifty three are capitalized. Most of these are words related to professions, the nobility, the clergy, and religion:

Stepney (1591): *The Spanish Schoole-master*		Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*	
the Almightie	Dios todo poderoso	*Allmightie*	Todo poderoso
an Angell	vn Angel	*an Angell*	Angel
the Angels	los Angeles	*Angells*	Angeles
an apostle	vn Apostol	*the Apostles*	Apostolos
an Auditor	vn Oydor	*an Auditor*	Oydor
an Attorney	vn Procurador	*an Attorney*	Procurador
an Abbot	vn Abad	*an Abbot*	Abád
an Abbesse	vna Abadessa	*an Abbesse*	Abadessa
an Astronomer	vn Astrologo	*an Astronomer*	Astrologo
Astronomy	Astrologia	*Astronomie*	Astrología
Barbarie	Barbaria	*Barbarie*	Barbaria
Barbarians	Moros	*Barbarianes*	Moros
a Baron	vn Baron	*a Baron*	vn Varon
a Bishop	vn Obispo	*a Bishop*	Obispo
Ø	Ø	*Christ*	Christo
Ø	Ø	*a Christian*	Christiano
Ø	Ø	*Christianitie*	Christianidád
a chandeller	vn candelero	*a Chandeler*	Candelero
a Cardinall	vn Cardinal	*a Cardinal*	Cardinal
a Cannon	vn Canonigo	*a Chanon*	Canonigo
Ø	Ø	*a Chapter*	Capitulo
Ø	Ø	*Carsie*	Carisea
a Comet	vna Cometa	*a Comet*	Comèta
a castell	castillo	*a Castle*	Castilla
a Countesse	vna Condessa	*a Countesse*	vna Condessa
a Chronicle	vna Chronica	*a Chronicle*	Cronica
a Duke	vn Duque	*a Duke*	Duque
a Dutchesse	vna Duquesa	*a Dutchesse*	Duquesa
a Deacon	vn Diacono	*a Deacon*	Deácono
England	Inglatierra	*England*	Inglatierra
Englishmen	Ingleses	*Englishmen*	Ingleses
Easter	la pasqua florida	*Easter*	Pascua
an Earle	vn Conde	*an Earle*	Conde
an Emperour	vn Emperador	*an Emperour*	Emperador
an Empresse	vna Emperatriz	*an Emperesse*	Emperatriz
an eagle	vna aguila	*an Eagle*	Aguila
God	Dios	*God*	Dios
Grammar	Grammatica	*a Grammar,*	Grãmatica, Arte
Ø	Ø	*Iesus*	Iesus
Ø	Ø	*Iohn*	Iuan
Irishmen	Irlandeses	*Irishmen*	Irlandeses

a Prince	vn Principe	*A Prince*	Principe
∅	∅	*Saint Paul*	sancto pablo
a Pope	Vn Papa	*The Pope*	Papa
a Prior	vn Prior	*a Prior*	Prior
a Prioresse	vna Prioressa	*a Prioresse*	Prioressa
Philosophie	Philosophia	*Philosophie*	Philosopia
a Philosopher	vn Philosofo	*a Philosopher*	Philosopho
∅	∅	*Qualitie*	Qualidád
∅	∅	*Religion*	Religión
our Sauiour	nuestro Saluador	*our Sauiour*	Saluador
Spaniardes	Españoles	*a Spaniard*	Español
∅	∅	*Yester day in the Euening.*	Ayer tárde

Above are listed all fifty-three capitalized English headwords in Owen (1605) and the corresponding ones in Stepney (1591). Note that when a headword is capitalized in Owen's *Short Dictionarie* it is also capitalized in Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*, a text which also made very limited use of capitalization. Note also that there are pairs of consecutive entries in Owen (1605) that are also consecutive entries in Stepney (1591), such as *an Angell, the Angels*; *an Auditor, an Attorney*; *An Abbot, an Abbesse*; *an Astronomer, Astronomy*; *a Duke, a Dutchesse*; *an Emperour, an Empresse*; and *a Prior, A Prioresse*. This, together with the fact that Owen only considered the first letter of a word when preparing his dictionary, is important since it indicates that Owen probably compiled his English word list from Stepney's topical vocabulary.

As for the Spanish equivalents, only a handful of cases (fourteen in total) are capitalized:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

To abstaine	Abstenir
to bark	Ladrar
to brewe beare	Cozer cerueza
to behead	Degollar
a bellmaker	Campanéro
a burthen	Carga
a butcher	Carnecero

a day	**D**ia
To haue	Auer
A King	Rey
a kingdome	Reyno
a prophet	Propheta
a quaile	Codorniz
an unckle	Tio

Accents are rare in Spanish equivalents; as a general rule they are not provided. For example, only four out of sixty-seven Spanish equivalents for English headwords under letter *A* have them; six out of one hundred and one under *F*; two out of fifty-five under *L*, and four out of fifty-five under *T*. Accents are found in words such as *alméndra, felicidád, amistád, callexúela, trinidád,* and *dedál,* so no pattern is discernible.

Definite and indefinite articles are far more frequent in English than in Spanish. As in the previous case, their usage does not seem to follow a pattern:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

a flower	**vna** flora
a figge	**vn** higo
a foxe	Raposa
a flie	Mosca
a flea	Pulga
full of lice	lleno de peojos
a fowler	**vn** caçador de aues
a feather	**vna** pluma
a faulcon	**vn** halcón
[...]	
a tart	Torta
a terme	Termino
tame	Domestico
a tub	Cuba
a torch	Hacha
a tunnell	Embudo
therefore	pero, por tanto
a trompet	Trompeta
a theefe	Ladron
the *trinitie*	Trinidád

the	El
a towne	**vna** villa
to thresh	Trillar
a thresher	Trillador

The English definite article is far less frequent than the indefinite, but when used the Spanish indefinite article also is usually present:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

the aire	**el** ayre
[...]	[...]
the Apostles	Apostolos
[...]	[...]
the brow	**la** sobreceja
the belly	**el** vientre
the breast	Pecho
the buttockes	Nálgas
the bosome	**el** seño
the bladder	**la** bexiga
the braine pan	**el** crano
the braine	**el** celebro
the backe	**el** dorso
the backe bone	Espinaço
[...]	[...]
the chinne	**la** barba
[...]	[...]
the cough	Tosse
[...]	[...]
the eye lids	**las** cejas
the elbow	Codo
[...]	[...]
the entrailes	Entrañas
[...]	[...]
the evening	**la** tarde
[...]	[...]
the firmament	Firmamento
[...]	[...]
the forehead of ỹ ship	**la** entena
[...]	[...]
the gummes,	**las** enzias
the guts	**las** tripas

[...]	[...]
the head	Cabeça
the *haires*	**los** cabellos
[...]	[...]
the *kidney*	**el** riñon
[...]	[...]
the lawe	Ley
[...]	[...]
the liuer	Higado
[...]	[...]
the *lippes*	**los** labios
[...]	[...]
the *morning*	**la** mañana
[...]	[...]
the moone	Luna

However, this practice disappears in Spanish after letter *M* except in two cases, s.vv. *the soule, el anima* and *the tongue, el lengua*:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*	
the *night*	Noche
[...]	[...]
the *nose*	Nariz
the *nostrels*	Narices
the *necke*	cuello,
the *nauill*	Ombligo
[...]	[...]
the *nightingale*	Ruiseñor
[...]	[...]
the *Pope*	Papa
[...]	[...]
the *pestilence*	Pestilencia
[...]	[...]
the *roofe of the mouth*	Paladár
[...]	[...]
the *sunne*	Sol
[...]	[...]
the *sole of the foot*	Suela
[...]	[...]
the soule	**el anima**
[...]	[...]
the *shoulders*	Espaldas

the squirt	fluxo del vientre
the stomack	Estómago
[...]	[...]
the tongue	**el lengua**
[...]	[...]
the trinitie	Trinidad
[...]	[...]
the thumbe	Pulgar
the throate.	Garguero.

As in the case of Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*, Owen's English headwords include nouns in singular and plural, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, verb phrases, past particles, prepositions and adjectives followed by a noun. Phrases also appear, but not the long phrases occasionally found in Stepney. The microstructure in Owen's *Short Dictionary* is simple, generally limited to one, or infrequently two, Spanish equivalents. Synonyms also appear sporadically in both languages; in English they are joined by the conjunction *or* while in Spanish a comma is used:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

[...]	[...]
to accomplish	acabar, acumplir
[...]	[...]
an asse	borrico, vn asno
[...]	[...]
to aduance **or** *further*	Adelantar
[...]	[...]
faithfull	leal, fiel
[...]	[...]
faire	linda, hermosa
[...]	[...]
to flie from **or** *aduoid*	Huyr
a face	rostro, cara
[...]	[...]
the last	postrera, postremo
[...]	[...]
a line **or** *corde,*	Cuerda
[...]	[...]
therefore	pero, por tanto

As it can be seen in the previous examples, Owen includes no grammatical information; only verbs in infinitive are marked by the preposition *to*:

Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*

[...]	[...]
to force	forçar
to followe	seguir
to forfeit	caer en la pena
[...]	[...]
to tell	contar
to tarrie	esperar
to tame	domar
to tumble	todar

Certain characteristics of Owen's *Short Dictionarie* of 1605 have been presented, displaying – as in the case of the dialogues – a potential relationship to Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* of 1591. However, another possibility needs also to be considered, namely that both works had a common source among the numerous polyglot works derived from Rottweil's and Barlement's books. Owen may have obtained his bilingual list from a polyglot source, just like Stepney before him. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two are certainly striking. A brief comparison with Minsheu's English word list of 1599 remains to be done. For this purpose a small set of consecutive entries under letter *B* from Owen (1605) have been selected, in which the thematic arrangement, subordinated to the alphabetical one, is obvious. This has made it possible to locate the corresponding entries in the last section of Stepney's vocabulary, entitled "Of all the parts of mans bodie/De todas las partes del cuerpo humano":

Stepney (1591): *Spanish Schoole-master* (Of all the parts of mans bodie)	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (English-Spanish Part)	Owen (1605): *The Key of the Spanish Tongue*
the browes las sobrecejas	*a* Browe, *vide* Frénte.	*the brow* la sobreceja

the belly	el vientre	*a Belly, wombe or panch,*	*v.* Vientre.	*the belly*	el vientre
the breast	el pecho	*a* Breast,	*vide* Pécho.	*the breast*	Pecho
buttocks	nalgas	*a* Buttocke or hanch,	*v.* Nálga.	*the buttockes*	Nálgas
the bosome	el seno	*a* Bosome,	*vide* Séno.	*the bosome*	el seño
the bladder	**la bexiga**	*a* Bladder,	*vide* Bexíga.	*the bladder*	**la bexiga**
the braine pan	el craneo	*the* Braine pan,	*vide* Cranéo.	*the braine pan*	el crano
the braine	**el celebro**	*the* Braine,	*vide* Celébro, Cerbélo, *or* Cervélo, Séso.	*the braine*	**el celebro**
the backe	la cuestas o espaldas	*a Backe,*	*vide* Las espáldas, Los lómos.	*the backe*	el dorso
the backbone	el **espinaço**	*the* Backe bone,	*vide,* Espína.	*the backe bone*	**Espinaço**

This small sample shows the difference in Minsheu's consistent use of capital letters for the lemma and the accent mark on the Spanish equivalents. If he had consulted Minsheu (1599), Owen could have borrowed, for example, English synonyms (s.vv. *a Belly, a Buttocke*) and Spanish synonyms too (s.vv. *the Braine, a Backe*); however, the overall impression is that Owen (1605) is closer to Stepney (1591) than to Minsheu (1599).

6.1.4 Analysis of the front matter

This section will present only the introductory texts of the 1605 edition, since the 1606 edition is identical to it. The title page offers no description of the contents of the volume but tells the reader about its limited scope: this book is only "a plaine and easie introduction" to learn Spanish quickly. This reminds us of Hazlitt's remark above, according to which the book was not intended to serve as a textbook, but rather as a sort of vade mecum for travellers and merchants. This may also be why Owen refers to his *Key* as a "rude & vnpolished book" in the dedication, where he also explains that he began the

book in Spain and finished it in England. Similarly, Owen begins by saying in the preface "To the courteous Reader" that he

> compiled this little p̃aphlet at some vacant houres in the Kingdome of Castile, and entituled the same, the *Key of the Spanish tongue*, wherin (amongst other things) is plainely (I hope) declared the true, exact and rediest way to the knowledge and perfection of the Spanish tongue. I haue nowe (at the earnest request and intreatie of diuers worshipfull Gentlemen and Marchants) communicated these my first labours with thee: [...]

Note that Owen mentions the important role merchants played in the publication of the book. The tone of the preface then changes to an apology and defense against criticism, just like that found in the work of his predecessors:

> If any Momist, who neuer doth any thing himselfe, but curiously behold the doings of others, carpe at these my paines, I looke to fare no otherwise, then my betters haue done before me. If any of meer enuie & emulatiõ be greeued hereat, and cannot amend it, I wish them better mindes, and pittie their ignorance. [...] Whẽ I first yeelded to the publishing of this Treatise, I neuer hoped to please all, though I intended to hurt none. It sufficeth mee, that hereby I shall please the wise and iudicious Reader, who hath vnderstanding to discerne, and iudgement to weigh euery mans labour in an equall balance: & also such as being desirous to learne, doe behold all things with a single eye.

He then offers instructions to this readers concerning the pronunciation of Spanish:

> Wherefore before I proceed any further, I must admonish the Reader that intendeth to attaine to the full perfection of this language, to eschew all brevitie of speech, or short pronounciation in vttering his words, which vice the Spaniardes do abhorre. And withal to avoid all perplexity of teaching they that cannot frame their tongues to the pronouncing of these three letters, that is to say (g) when it is written before (e) or (i:) the letter (j) before any vowel, and the letter (x) before or after any vowel, in such sort as I haue hereafter declared, must pronounce the same as (ch) in English, as for example: *virgenidád*: virginitie, *justo*, iust; *abaxo*: beneath, say *virshenitháh, shusto abasho*.

This is interesting because it shows that early compilers paid close attention to the subject of orthoepy; Hayashi (1978, 5) explains, "This concern [with pronunciation] was

doubtlessly due to their recognition that these were *living* languages, not *dead*, as classical Latin or ancient Greek."

The *Key of the Spanish Tongue* has a rather peculiar place within the alphabetical tradition: it contains a short dictionary that cannot be placed in the lineage begun by Thorius and continued by Percyvall and Minsheu, a lineage marked by the progressive preponderance accorded the dictionary in relation to the grammar. In fact, the content of the book puts it closer to the topical tradition of Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*. Like Stepney's vocabulary, the short dictionary is so integrated into the *Key* that the author never mentions it in the prefatory texts. As has already been argued, it is possible that Owen turned to Stepney's vocabulary or to a polyglot wordbook of the same family and simply reorganized it alphabetically to obtain the dictionary.

6.1.5 Concluding remarks

Owen's *Key of the Spanish Tongue* is a minor but nonetheless important work. By combining a grammar with dialogues, a short dictionary and religious texts, Owen seems to have conceived his work for travellers, merchants, and diplomats who needed a quick, casual acquaintance with certain rules of Spanish grammar, conjugations of verbs, peculiar ways of communicating in specific situations, and Spanish equivalents. This may explain the 'abridged' character of the book throughout, and in particular of the dictionary. Perhaps this is why Owen subtitled his book an *introduction* to gain a knowledge of Spanish *in very short time*. The book is also limited as far as the topics presented in the prefatory texts, with scant information about its compilation, the target public and the purpose of the book and no mention at all of sources, methodology or about the dictionary in particular.

6.2) John Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues* (1617, 1625, 1626, 1627) and *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* (1617)

6.2.1 Introduction

In section 5.5 above the first group of works that John Minsheu prepared in the late sixteenth century were discussed, namely a bidirectional Spanish and English dictionary, a Spanish grammar, and a set of bilingual dialogues. Discussion will now turn to the second group, which includes what is considered his magnus opus, the monumental *Ductor in Linguas* or *The Guide into the Tongues*, first published in 1617 bound together with *Vocabularivm Hispanicolatinvm et Anglicum Copiosissimum* or *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English*. A second edition of the polyglot work in nine languages and without the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary appeared in 1625, with the title *Minshœi Emendatio, vel à mendis Expurgatio seu Augmentatio sui Ductoris in Linguas* or *Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the Tongues, or his Etymologicall Dictionarie of Diuers Languages* (reissued in 1626 and 1627).[14] The 1617 edition was published and printed at Minsheu's own charges by John Browne, who, according to McKerrow (1968, 52), was probably John Browne junior, "[B]ookseller and (?) bookbinder in London, 1612-1628; Little Britain".

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[14] These volumes are currently available in pdf format from the *Early English Books Online*. We consulted the facsimile edition of the *Guide* and the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* by Schäfer (see Minsheu 1978), as well as the microfilm editions from *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, found in different reels as follows: (1) reel 1837: 6 contains the *Catalogve and true note of the Names of such Persons which [...] haue receaued the Etymologicall Dictionarie of XI. Languages*; (2) reel 1109: 6 contains the *Guide into the Tongues* and *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*; (3) reel 1248: 8 contains only the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*; (4) reels 1248: 7 and 1901: 5 contains the 1625 *Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the tongues*; and (5) reels 1551: 3 and 1028: 9 contain, respectively, the 1626 and 1627 reprints of the previous work.

In one of the prefatory text of the 1617 *Guide into the Tongues*,[15] the "Second Epistle to the Reader", Minsheu explains the origin and composition of the work. It took him twenty years to compile the dictionaries and get the volume published:

> And seeing I haue made so dangerous a voyage, and aduenture, in so many tempests in an Ocean of trauailes, troubles, and hard sufferings, and wants, the greater part of this twenty yeeres, to bring this tossed Barke vnwreckt, which here vnlades, and layes in order to your viewes the Commodities that are in the same.

Minsheu thus began working on the *Guide* around the same time he was working on his Spanish and English dictionary of 1599. He also says in the same text that he "made an end of the Dictionary Etymologicall of eleuen Languages [i.e., the *Guide*] in Oxford, and began and made an end of the Spanish [i.e. the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*] in Cambridge [...]." The front matter includes two commendations issued by the University of Oxford and other scholars, are dated November 22, 1610 and December 8, 1610 respectively, which means the work was ready for the press at the end of 1610. It was at that time that Minsheu's odyssey to see it printed began due to lack of money, a journey that would make the *Guide* traditionally the first English book published by subscription.

In the same "Second Epistle to the Reader" Minsheu describes his printing adventure. He began by obtaining the testimonials or commendations:

> And whereas some sixe yeeres since, when I had done this Volume Etymologicall of eleuen Languages as copious as I could for the Presse, being then in Oxford, and hauing my Copie, and company of certaine Strangers and Schollers at mine owne charge about the Worke there, I made suit vnto the Uniuersitie to haue the Testimony of my paines, and expence, and their approbation of this Worke, which vnder the Seale of the Vniuersitie, with the hands of the Right Worshipfull M[r.] Vicechancellour, and the rest of the heads of houses there, they then freely gaue mee (to my first comfort, after my so long and chargeable labours herein)

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[15] See the description of the book in sections 6.2.2.2.1 and 6.2.3.2.1 below.

Already in debt, Minsheu then went to "His Maiesties Letters Patents" and obtained a license to print the book. Afterwards, Minsheu informs us in the same text, he went to the Company of Stationers but was refused their aid in selling it. It was at this point that he was forced to find another way to get the book printed and came up with the idea of raising funds from a variety of sources; as he says, "*Multorum manibus grande leuetur opus*", that is, "Many hands make labors light". He first turned to "the Honourable and Right Worshipfull Benchers and Gentlemen, of the honourable Societies of Graies Inne, and Lincolnes Inne,[16] by whose goodnesse and Contributions it was first set on Printing [...]" Next to members of the aristocracy and the clergy: "After them followed diuers Honorable and Right Worshipfull Personages, Bishops and others, which I forbeare to name, for former respects, [...]" Then to the Society of the Inner Temple:

> [A]nd returne to the first setters in Print of this Worke, the honourable Societies of the Innes of Court, with my proceedings by Petition to the honourable Societie of the Inner Temple, with like successe, and here likewise publish my due respect and thankefulnesse to them, for furthering this worke, as the former Innes of Court before had done.

Finally, Minsheu was able to raise enough money to print the work: "I haue by that meanes wrought my selfe in credite againe to borrow great summes thereupon, to make an end thereof, to present it to your viewes as you see, (though it hath cost me the hazard of my life therefore.)". At the end of a long paragraph in the "Second Epistle to the Reader" describing the printing of the book, Minsheu says that "Necessitie makes men Artists, that neuer meant to be skilled". One can only admire his perseverance and resourcefulness.

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[16] Here, Minsheu refers to the four legal societies in London that have the exclusive rights to admit persons to practice at the bar; the four groups of buildings Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, Inner Temple, and Middle Temple belong to these societies. Let us remember that Minsheu, in his Spanish grammar of 1599, says that he taught languages at Gray's Inn.

6.2.1.1 The "Catalogve and true note of the Names of such Persons which [...] haue receaued the Etymologicall Dictionarie of XI. Languages"

That is the story of the printing of the *Guide* in the author's own words. This process has been investigated in detail by Williams (1948).[17] It is also at the origins of the "Catalogve and true note of the Names of such Persons which (upon good liking they haue to the worke being a great helpe to memorie) haue receaued the Etymologicall Dictionarie of XI. Languages", a leaf inserted in some copies of the *Guide* and that may be therefore considered part of its prefatory texts. This catalogue contains a brief introductory note, in which Minsheu retraces his printing odyssey, followed by the list of all the persons he sought as patrons. According to what Minsheu says in the introductory note, it was the refusal from the Company of Stationers of London that made him turn to the subscription method:

> [B]y compiling and printing the same, at his owne charge, for the publicke good, and the aduancement of Learning and Knowledge hee hath not onely exhausted and spent thereon all his stocke and substance, but also runne himselfe into many and great debtes, unpossible for him euer to pay, without the assistance of like Receauers of the said Bookes from his hands: In regard the Company of Stationers of London, vtterly refusing to buy them from him, He is forced to tender them himselfe, to such like worthie persons as are heere in this Catalogue truely set downe.

The catalogue begins with the King, the Queen, and the Prince; it continues with several Lord Bishops and then members of the nobility, earls, lords, preachers, schoolmasters, merchants, benchers of the Inns of Court, libraries, etc.

It has been studied within the broader framework of subscription publication practices from the early seventeenth century until 1669 by Clapp (1931), who on page 204 explains that subscription at that time meant:

> [A]n agreement between an author or a bookseller on the one hand and a number of individuals on the other; the author or the bookseller agrees to

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[17] On the printing of the *Guide*, see also Lucas (2002, 145-6).

produce a book of specified content, size, and quality, whose publication is financed by the individuals, or subscribers, each of whom receives in return a copy or copies of the book. Such is the substance of the subscription method as it was practiced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

For Clapp, Minsheu's *Guide* is the earliest book to be published by this method and the first to contain a list of subscribers, that is, the catalogue of names. Minsheu's practice fits the definition of the subscription method given above: to individuals who contributed money, Minsheu gave books and set the buyer's name in the catalogue. As he explains in the introductory note:

> If in set[ting] d[o]wne these Names, there hath not beene obserued the respect due to the Ranckes and qualityes of persons, Hee intreats t[he] Reader to vnderstand that he hath not done it out of neglect of the regard he owes to them, but only to follow the order he v[sed i]n deliuery of the Bookes to them, which was not according to their degrees, but promiscuously as they tooke them.

This method also explains why Minsheu did not print a definitive catalogue; instead, variant lists exist. Clapp (1931, 211-2) examined copies of the different issues of the *Guide* and noted that not every copy contained such a list of subscribers. She also provided a description of one of the lists she examined; it contains Minsheu's introduction followed by three hundred and ninety five names,

> [P]rinted on a single leaf, placed immediately after the title-page. This leaf is on decidedly heavier paper than the remainder of the book. At the lower right-hand corner are the words "Verte Folium," and on the reverse at the upper right-hand corner "Retro verte Folium." On the obverse, again, on the lower margin is the legend, "At Mr. Borwnes a Bookebinder in little Britaine without Aldersgate." There is no date anywhere. That the printing of this particular list was done after that of the book and the 1617 title-page must be inferred from the circumstance that Bacon has on the list his titles of Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam, which he did not secure until 1618, the latter of them not until July 12.

The copy described is different from the copy we examined, on *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1837: 6.[18] This copy has two pages of five columns each; the first has the words "Verte Folium" in the lower right-hand corner, as in the copy examined by Clapp. The text in the lower margin, however, is slightly different, running "At Mr. Brownes a Booke-binder in Little-Britaine without Aldersgate in London." Following Minsheu's introductory note, there are one hundred and seventy-one individuals plus one library listed. The second page also has a different text in the top margin, in the center: "A Catalogue. Verte folium." Listed on this page are fifty-two individuals and eighteen libraries. It bears Minsheu's signature after the last name, "Mr. Edw: Smith, then Lo: Lieutenant generall of the Honorable Societie of Lincolnes Inne". In total, the copy on microfilm 1837: 6 includes two hundred and twenty-three individuals, plus the names of nineteen libraries, for a total of two hundred and forty-two names. It must, therefore, be an earlier variant than the one studied by Clapp.

The variant mentioned by Wiener (1899, 7) must be an even earlier version, for he speaks of one hundred and seventy subscribers to the book, while the variant mentioned by Wheatley (1865, 231) lists one hundred and seventy-four subscribers. Robertson and Robertson (1989, 54) indicate that each of the ten variants of the catalogue leaf is identified by the name with which it ends. Thus, for example, the Bodleian Library catalogue records a variant from 1617, where the final name is Sir Iohn Franckline, another from 1618 in which the final name is Sir Thomas Metham, and one from 1619 where the final name is Mr. Welles. Minsheu received a variety of contributions from a number of subscribers and the catalogue served to market the book. In the words of Clapp (1931, 212):

> The heavy paper of the list leaf, the directions to turn and to turn back the leaf, and the bookshop direction – these features point to a printing of the leaf independently of the book and to circulation of it as an advertisement and an inducement to additional subscribers. The apparent intent was to provide a sheet stout enough to endure much handling in a bookseller's shop

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[18] This is a reproduction of the original in the Cambridge University Library. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the facsimile edition by Schäfer (see Minsheu 1978) does not contain the catalogue.

or on a billpost, and explicit enough in its account of the book, its indication of distinguished approval already given, its directions to see both sides of the sheet, and its pointing to the place of sale, to bring in other subscribers.

That the catalogue begins with the royal family and the lord bishops indicates, also according to Clapp (1931, 216), that they were approached first in order to attract lesser folk to join as subscribers. Minsheu certainly also used the testimonials or commendations he had obtained from the Oxford University and other scholars in 1610 for this purpose. Likewise, Williams (1948, 764) mentions that the catalogue served a variety of purposes, since "[i]t could be distributed as a handbill, inserted into the dictionary, or posted before a bookstall. It would convince a hesitant purchaser of the distinguished company he was joining."

Scholars such as Wiener (1899, 7), Underhill (1971 [1899], 335), Weekley (1931, 67), Matthews (1966, 23), and Lucas (2002, 144) consider Minsheu's *Guide* to be the first English book published by the subscription method. Nevertheless, this claim has been challenged by Williams (1948, 769), following Edmond Malone, on the grounds that the persons listed in the catalogue did not support the publication of the *Guide* before it was printed and are not, therefore, subscribers in the modern sense of the word. In his paper, Williams traces Minsheu's steps in detail and presents a table describing ten variants of the catalogue. He gives the locations of each variant, the number of names, and the probable date of printing for some of them. The copy on microfilm reel 1837: 6 is described by Williams (1948, 766) as variant five, printed after February 2, 1618. In his analysis of the catalogue, Williams (1948, 768) explains that:

> [I]t might almost serve as a census of literary patrons and the scholarly world at Shakespeare's death. [...] The total of 378 individuals and 39 libraries found in Variant 10 does not represent the full accumulation, however, since 14 persons were intentionally or accidentally dropped at various stages in the series. The grand total is accordingly 392 persons, with over-all of 431. Of the 392 individuals, I have so far –to my own satisfaction– identified well over 300 with historical individuals, and the ultimate residue of unidentifiable will be rather small.

Nevertheless, Williams (1948, 770) confirms Minsheu's position as a pioneer in the subscription field, deserving credit for introducing the subscription method.

6.2.1.2 The prospectus

Williams (1948, 758) says that Minsheu printed a prospectus of the book after he obtained the testimonials in 1610 and refers to the following description of that item by Madan (1912, 60):

> A prospectus of John Minsheu's 'Dictionarium Etymologicum Copiosissimum [undecim linguarum] ...', consisting of four folio pages, contains on the first two pages a specimen of the dictionary, A-About, and on the third 'The true Copy of the hands, with the Seale of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in confirmation and approbation of this worke', a testimonial from eight members of the University, headed by John King, the vice-chancellor, and dated Nov. 22, 1610. There follows on the same page another testimonial from learned men, and the last page contains notes of the signs used in the work. Presumably this is London printing of 1610 or soon after.

The *English Short Title Catalogue* records a two-leaf prospectus for the 1617 edition of the *Guide*, located in Oxford University Bodleian Library [19] and entitled "Glosson-etymologicon. (Id est) the etymologie of tongues, or a most ample dictionary etymologicall. [London s. n. 1611?]." It is most probably to this prospectus that Minsheu refers in the "Second Epistle to the Reader" when he says that after having obtained the testimonials he obtained a royal license for the printing of the book:

> And for that then I found, I had spent all my substance thereupon, and gotten greatly into debt thereby, I laboured for His Maiesties Letters Patents, which by the meanes of certaine Right honourable Personages, *by shewing some part of the Worke*, I obtained his Maiesties gracious Graunt herein. (Our italics)

A note in the *English Short Title Catalogue* record of the prospectus mentions that Minsheu's patent for printing the *Guide* was granted under the title given above, that is

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[19] There is also a copy of this rare item in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Glosson-Etymologicon. (Id est.) the Etymologie of Tongues, or a most ample dictionary etymologicall. A copy of this document was obtained from the Bodleian Library for analysis and the two-leaf prospectus is somewhat different from the one described by Madan. On the first page are what at that time was the title of the book and mention of the eleven languages covered and of the usefulness of the etymological approach for learning languages, in a wording similar to that found on the title page of the first edition of the *Guide*. The difference is that at this point Minsheu mentions a series of tables to be found at the end of the dictionary: "In the end also 10. tables most copiovs to find ovt any word in any of these eleven langvuages; whereby it serves for a dictionarie in all these Languages, [...]" In the "Second Epistle to the Reader" of the *Guide* Minsheu refers to these tables he intended to prepare, but in fact he was only able to complete the Spanish one, which became the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*. There is also mention of "diuers other necessary Notes, and especiall Directions, in this Dictionarie, for the speedy obtaining of any of these, or other Tongues". Such notes and directions are not mentioned on the title page of the *Guide* and are not part of the dictionary. Perhaps Minsheu intended to prepare something similar to the directions to the reader of the 1599 dictionary. On the same page of the prospectus, there follows one of the above-mentioned commendations, the one issued by some scholars and dated December 8, 1610. The commendation mentions the ten tables, the notes, and the directions, but again these were omitted from the final version of the scholars commendations printed in the *Guide*. Compared to the 1617 *Guide*, the prospectus has the commendations reversed because the University of Oxford commendation (dated November 22, 1610) follows on page two of the prospectus and in this case the wording is identical to the same commendation found in the *Guide*. Finally, there are two pages containing entries from the dictionary, the first ranging from *To Abandon* to *To Accord*, and the second from *an Acorne* to *The King of birds, an Eagle*. Thus, this prospectus is similar to that described by Madan, but in his the entry samples are different and both commendations appear on the same page and in the same order as they appear in the *Guide*. Therefore, the question remains whether Minsheu printed more than one version of the prospectus, just as there are variant versions of the catalogue or list of subscribers.

Obtaining the testimonies from Oxford Unievrsity and other scholars in 1610 and the royal patent a year later were the first steps in the tortuous publication history of the *Guide*. Generous friends helped the author in the process, yet Minsheu amassed so many debts that they became impossible for him to repay, as he acknowledges in the introduction to the catalogue. Whether or not the *Guide* is to be considered the first book printed by subscription depends, as the articles by Clapp and Williams show, on the sense in which the term *subscription* is understood. In any case, Minsheu deserves to be considered the first to introduce what would in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries become a common way of printing.

6.2.2 The *Guide into the Tongues* (1617)

6.2.2.1 Sources

Minsheu's work of 1617 has been both praised for its contribution to lexicography and criticized as the work of a plagiarist. Early studies of the *Guide*, such as those by Weekley (1931) and Rosier (1961), highlighted its pioneering contribution to etymology as well as the method and wide scope of sources consulted by Minsheu. Rosier (1961, 75-6) concludes his paper by claiming that:[20]

> Among the 16th- and 17th-century English dictionaries, whether hard-word, bi-lingual or purely etymological, the *Guide into the Tongues* is one of the most interesting and provocative documents for studies of early linguistic knowledge and practices. The importance and popularity of the work is attested not only by the influence which it exerted on later lexicographers, but also by the fact that it is one of the most common Jacobean books extant today. [...] In the dictionary itself we find the reflection of a man who not only had a command of an enormous range of medieval, Renaissance, and contemporary sources, but who used these sources with considered care.

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[20] Rossier's claim regarding the influence of Minsheu on William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659) is questioned by Joan (1962).

A more critical point of view is that of Schäfer, who in 1973 published a paper in which he studied Minsheu's etymologies and methodology. There Schäfer points out Minsheu's unacknowledged debt to John Cowell's *The Interpreter or Booke Containing the Signification of Words [...] As Are Mentioned in the Lawe Writers [...]* (1607) and, upon examination of Minsheu's etymologies in the light of Renaissance theories on the subject, questions Minsheu's scholarly merits, concluding that Minsheu followed no consistent etymological principles but rather compiled his material without any rigorous analysis. Later, in his "Introduction" to the facsimile edition of the *Guide into the Tongues*, Schäfer (1978a) restates his view of Minsheu as an eclectic as far as etymological theories in Renaissance Europe are concerned and discusses Minsheu's debts to Cowell and to Baret's *Alvearie* (1573), Robert Herrey's *The First Table Containing the Interpretation of the Hebrue, Caldean, Greeke, and Latine Wordes and Names Scatteringly Dispersed throughout the Whole Bible* (1578),[21] John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597), Thomas Speght's glossary of Chaucerian terms (1598, 1602), and Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611).[22] For Schäfer (1978, xi) as an etymologist Minsheu was "not a theoretician or learned scholar but a practical teacher of languages", with the result that the *Guide*, for this scholar, is the product of indiscriminate borrowings from a variety of sources and not a work of true scholarship:

> On the basis of the *Ductor in Linguas* Minsheu cannot be regarded as a methodological pioneer in the field of English lexicography. His philological acumen has been overestimated by modern scholars unaware of the extent of his plagiarism. All the features which have been cited as evidence of the outstanding quality of the work —careful bibliographical documentation, extensive citations, remarkable knowledge of foreign and classical languages, acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon— Minsheu found ready-made in his immediate sources. The bulk of his material has not been gathered from the outstanding international studies of the Renaissance mentioned in his

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[21] On the dependence of Minsheu upon Herrey, see also Starnes (1963, 40 ff.).

[22] In our opinion, the relationship between Minsheu and Cotgrave requires further research, especially since Cotgrave borrowed from Minsheu's dictionary of 1599, as Smalley (1948, 98) remarks: "A large proportion of the English translations in Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* came from the Latin-English dictionaries of the series compiled by Elyot, Cooper, and Thomas; from Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*; and from Minsheu's *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*." Smalley's work is not included in Schäfer's list of references, nor in the unpublished dissertation of Noland (1987), the best study of Minsheu's sources for the *Guide*.

preface but rather from the more easily accessible English works of his time, [...] (Schäfer 1978, xviii).

Schäfer criticizes Minsheu's lack of honesty and methodology but nonetheless acknowledges the remarkable achievement the *Guide* is and considers it to be "a major work in the historical development of English lexicography." (Schäfer 1978, xix).

Professor Noland's unpublished dissertation of 1987 is the most comprehensive study of the sources of Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues*. It also contains, in our opinion, a balanced assessment of the dictionary. This dissertation deals with the method of compilation and sources of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* of 1599, the compilation of the English word list in the *Guide*, the foreign language glosses, the practice of etymologizing that Minsheu employed (as presented by Minsheu in the front matter of the *Guide*), and Minsheu's influence on lexicography. According to Noland, Minsheu's lexicographical method was to start with a particular dictionary as a primary source, and then to make additions and modifications to the word list and to the glosses, thus arriving at a new dictionary based on the available sources. Such a methodology is not so different from what most lexicographers did at the time. Yet, Minsheu introduced an important change in his English word list, specifically in the headwords. Noland (1987, 16 ff.) notes:

> As opposed to the earlier dictionaries of Huloet, Baret, and Rider, Minsheu settled on an entry system which included the substantive, verb, adjective, and participial forms, only occasionally adding phrasal entries, which in the other works resulted from defining a Latin word and using that definition as an entry [...].

Whereas previous lexicographers such as Rider included derivatives and parts of speech as subentries, Minsheu presents them as individual entries in the *Guide into the Tongues*. The following two main entries with their subentries in Rider were restructured by Minsheu and are presented here to illustrate his method of listing:

Rider (1589): *Bibliotheca Scholastica*	Minsheu (1617): *The Guide into the Tongues*
To Abash or make ashamed. [...] *To be abashed.* [...]	4 To Abash, *or make ashamed* [...] b To bee Abashed or ashamed.

An abashement. [...]	c An Abashment. [...]
Ø	d An Abashing, [...]
An Abhomination. [...]	20 Abhóminable, or detestable. [...]
Abhominable, or detestable. [...]	b Abhominablie, or detestablie. [...]
Abhominably. [...]	c Abhomination, or detestátion. [...]

The mention of Rider is important here because the *Bibliotheca Scholastica* was the main source for the English-Spanish part of Minsheu's 1599 *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, whose word list, according to Noland (1987, 34), Minsheu used as starting point for the English word list of the *Guide into the Tongues*. Noland says (1987, 35) that a comparison of the words, the alphabetical arrangement, and the spelling shows that the primary source of the word list in the *Guide* is Minsheu's dictionary of 1599 and not Rider's. To verify this relationship, here is a small sample of headwords from the beginning of the three dictionaries, arranged following the order of the *Guide*. Space prevents transcribing the entries in full, especially the long microstructures from the *Guide*. The excerpts cover the same range of entries in all three dictionaries, that is between *to abate* up to (but not including) *an abhomination*:

Rider (1589): *Bibliotheca Scholastica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Minsheu (1617): *The Guide into the Tongues*
To Abate or Diminish. [...] **Abated or diminished.**	*to Abate or diminish,*	5 To Abate, *or diminish,*
	Abated or diminished,	
An **Abating** or Diminishing. *To Abate in accomps.*	**Abating or diminishing,**	b An Abatement, **Abating or diminishing.**
Abated in accompts.	Ø	Ø
An abating in accomptes.	Ø	Ø
To abate ones courage.	Ø	Ø
To abate or diminish ones credite,	Ø	Ø
	Ø	Ø
Ø	Ø	6 Abbasie *vi.* Abbatship.
*To **Abbet**,* vid. ***Maintaine, or aide.***	*to **Abbet**, **maintaine or aide**,*	Ø
An Abbot.	*an Abbot,* vide Abád	7 An Abbat, *or* Abbot, *a Father, Chiefe, or Gouernour among Monckes,*

		who were called, The Couent.
The Abbotshippe or dignity of an Abbot.	*an Abbotship or **dignitie** of an Abbot,*	b Abbatship, Abbotship, i. **dignitie** *or office of an Abbat.*
Ø	***pertaining to an Abbot,***	c Abbatlike, *Abbaylike of or **belonging to an Abbat** or Abbey.*
Ø	Ø	8 An Abbay.
Ø	Ø	9 An Abbáy *or* Barking.
Ø	Ø	10 To Abbay *or* barke,
*An **Abbesse, or Abbatisse.***	*an **Abbesse or Abbatisse,***	11 An Abbesse, *or Lady and Gouernesse of Nunnes.*
An Abbey.	*an* Abbey, *vide* Abadía.	b An Abbey, Abbie, *or cloister for Monks, a Minster.*
Ø	Ø	12 An Abbot,
To Abbreviate, *Abbridg, or make shorte.*	*to **Abbreuiate, abridge, or make short,***	13 To **Abbreuiate**, [...] vi. Abreuiate. [35 To Abreuiate, ***abridge, or make short.***]
Abbreviated, or abridged.	*Abbreuiated or abridged,*	Ø
An abbreviation.	*an **Abbreuiation,***	[35 b An **Abreuiation**, *abridgement or **making** short...*]
To Abbridge.	*to* Abbridge *or **cut short,***	14 15 To Abbridge [...] *vi.* **Abreuiate.**
Abbridged,	*Abbridged or **abreuiated,***	Ø
An abridgement, register, compendious draught, or abstract.	***an Abridgement, register or compendious draught or abstract,***	[38 An Abridgement. Vi. **Abreuiation.**]
To Abutt,	*to* Abbut, *or to border or bound,*	Ø
*An **Abecedarie** or alphabet*	*an **Abecedarie** or alphabet,*	16 An ABC.
*An **abecedarie**, pettie, or teacher of petties.*	*an **Abecedarie** or teacher of petties,*	Ø
Ø	Ø	b An ABC scholar, *or one that learnth the ABC.*
Ø	Ø	17 To Abdicate *or* renounce.
Ø	Ø	18 Abel, abelnesse,
Ø	Ø	19 To Abet, *encourage, set on, or maintaine :*

Ø   Ø   b An Abbetor, *encourager, setter on, or maintainer, it is a terme in our common law.*

There are several interesting features in this sample. First of all, the dependence of Minsheu (1599) on Rider (1589) is clear. If Minsheu (1599) certainly did borrow from Rider, he did not do so blindly; rather, he omitted and/or modified information contained in the *Bibliotheca Scholastica*. Second, it is also clear that while preparing his polyglot work of 1617 Minsheu added new words and deleted others present in his dictionary of 1599. Third, there are cases where the spelling in the *Guide* follows that of Minsheu's dictionary of 1599 and not Rider's. Moreover, at least in one case (s.v. *Abbatlike*), Minsheu (1617) seems to have taken information from Minsheu (1599). The cross-references in the *Guide*, too, seem based on the 1599 dictionary (for example, s.vv. *An Abreuiation* and *To Abbridge*). These examples show the additions he made to the English word list, and this considerable increase in the word list is one of his contributions to lexicography. Noland (1987, 17) explains:

> He [Minsheu] did not depart in kind from the methodology of his predecessors, since he still takes a known work in a field and augments it with other published texts; but, in the subjects he covers, the amount he includes on each subject, and, perhaps most important of all, in the variety of source works which he consults, he far surpasses any contemporary English-first dictionary.

The sources of the additions Minsheu made to the English word list have been investigated by Noland (1987, 33 ff.), who went beyond the sources mentioned by Schäfer and studied the books at Minsheu's disposal dealing with the subjects covered in the *Guide into the Tongues*. For instance, in the case of theological and religious words, Noland studied Minsheu's use of Herrey's and Cotgrave's works. In the case of legal terminology, Schäfer had criticized Minsheu for plagiarizing Cowell; however, Noland (1987, 46) shows that it was not a case of Minsheu copying blindly from Cowell:

> Minsheu does far more than simply lift Cowell. He digests parts, expands others, and uses some entries for his own purposes. [...] What is clear is that Minsheu was not just mechanically looking in an easy reference book to pad his own word list: the additions, deletions and rearrangements are too frequent.

A similar observation has been made by Lucas (2002, 148), according to whom Schäfer's claim that the bulk of the etymologies in the *Guide* are derived from Cowell's work is "a considerable exaggeration." In the case of medicine, or herbal lore, Noland (1987, 52 ff.) distinguished three main sources: John Gerard (already mentioned by Schäfer), Petrus Andre Matthiolus's *Commentaires sur les six livres de Pedacius Dioscorides* (1565), and the work of the Dutchman Rembert Dodoens. Noland (1987, 63 ff.) also explored Minsheu's sources for subjects such as oratory (which at that time comprised rethorics, logic, and grammar), mathematics, music, and geometry. As for the polyglot glosses, Noland (1987, 86-114) shows Minsheu's debt to Rider and Percyvall (Latin), Cotgrave and Robert Estienne (French), Florio (Italian), Hieronymo Cardoso (Portuguese), and a variety of works in the other languages included in the *Guide*, such as Greek, Hebrew, Welsh, Dutch, and German.

6.2.2.2 Megastructure

6.2.2.2.1 Outside matter

The *Guide into the Tongues* has the following megastructure:

1. Title page in Latin and English[23]

2. "A Catalogve and true note of the Names of such Persons which (upon good liking they haue to the worke being a great helpe to memorie) haue receaued the

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[23] Gallina (1959, 249-51, 252-3) transcribes the title pages of the *Guide* and the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English*; of which Robertson and Robertson (1989, 54) also provide a short description. See the complete title pages and descriptions of the whole 1617 volume in Niederehe (1999, 64-7).

Etymologicall Dictionarie of XI. Languages [...]" (This leaf was not included in every copy of the *Guide*)

3. Dedication in Latin to King James: "Potentissimo [...] Iacobo Magnæ Britanniæ Monarchæ [...]" (2 pp.)

4. "Prima Epistola Lectori" (i.e., "First epistle to the reader", 3 pp.)

5. "Secvnda Epistola Lectori" or "The Second Epistle to the Reader" (5 pp.)

6. Two commendations: "The true Copy of the hands, with the Seale of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in confirmation and approbation of this Worke", followed by "A true Copy of the hands of certayne learned men, in approbation, and confirmation of this Worke" (1 p.)

7. "Letters for a Language, and other Markes" (in Latin and English, 1p.)

8. "A Most Copious Dictionarie Etymologicall (in eleuen lánguages) [...]" (pp. 1-543).

6.2.2.2.2 Macro- and microstructures

A glance at any page of the *Guide* shows that printing this dictionary was by any standard a major undertaking. Together with the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*, it is a volume of about seven hundred and fifty folio pages. The *Guide* in particular required not only roman, italic, and bold types, but also Greek, Hebrew, and Saxon characters.

Minsheu's entry numeration system combined alphabetical with etymological arrangement. In the section of "Letters for a Language, and other Markes", Minsheu explains: "The figures tell the number of Primitiue wordes thorow the whole Dictionarie: and the letters b, c, d, &c. doe note the wordes before whom they are placed, to be deriuatiue of their Primitiues next aboue them." The following two series of headwords provide an idea of Minsheu's method of arranging the macrostructure. Note that in his

etymological arrangement Minsheu places the parent noun or verb first, followed by its derivatives and the variant spellings:

Minsheu (1617): *The Guide into the Tongues*
7558 *the Lampreyes
7559-1 *a* Lance, Lancepesado, *a* Lancet *or* Láncelot
7559-2 *to* Lance, *or to* Lanche
7559-3 Lanck
7560 Land, *or ground.*
b Land, *or inheritance*
c *a* Land-*lord*
d-1 *laie* Land, *or fallow ground*
d-2 * *a* Land-*leaper*
d-3 * *to* Land
e *a* Land, *or Region*
f * *a* Land-*graue, or* Lands-*graue*
g ☞ Landtenent
7561 * Lándresse
[...]
11426 ☞ Taint
11427-1 *to* Take
11427-2 *to* Take *away.*
11427-3 *to* Take *away by violence.*
11427-4 *to* Take *away or diminish.*
11427-5 *to* Take *away or depriue.*
11427-6 *to* Take *one unawares.*
11427-7 *to* Take *hold on.*
11427-8 *to* Take *before.*
11427-9 *to* Take *againe.*
11427-10 *to* Take *up before or by the way.*
11427-11 *to* Take *to wife.*
11427-12 *to* Take *out.*
11427-13 *to* Take *heede.*
11427-14 *to* Take *in a net.*
11428-1 Tale.

Following this system, the last entry in the 1617 *Guide* is numbered 12,550. Noland (1987, 13), however, draws attention to the fact that irregularities in the system make it impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the total number of entries in the *Guide* and to have an idea of how much Minsheu augmented the English word list in comparison to

other English dictionaries of the early seventeenth century, scuh as John Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616) and Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (1623). Noland explains that skips, repetitions, and other inconsistencies in numeration occur throughout the book. The examples above show how Minsheu used letters and numbers for derivatives and subentries and this also makes it difficult to estimate the total number of entries. Nevertheless, Robertson and Robertson (1989, x) put at 19,500 the number of entries in the *Guide*; our own calculations arrive at a similar result, with an average of sixteen entries per page and thus 19,548 entries in the dictionary, counting the derivatives as main entries. These figures support Noland's assertion (1987, 14) that in comparison to other English dictionaries "it is apparent that Minsheu has increased the English word list by several thousand entries at the least." How much Minsheu increased the English word list can be understood when a comparison is made with a few English dictionaries of the seventeenth century. Let us remember that the hard-word tradition in seventeenth century English lexicography includes Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604), John Bullokar's *An English Expositour* (1616), Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (1623), Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), Edward Phillips' *The New World of Words* (1658, 1662 et seq.), Elisha Coles' *An English Dictionary* (1676), as well as the anonymous *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689). According to Osselton (1990, 1943), for example, "[T]he first English dictionary, that of Cawdrey 1604, has some 2560 entries […], Bullokar 1616 about twice as many, and even the enlarged fifth edition of the folio Phillips dictionary (1696) no more than 17,000." Compared to those figures, Minsheu's *Guide* of 1617, with approximately 20,000 entries, was only surpassed in the last quarter of the century by the dictionary of Elisha Coles (1676), who, according to Starnes and Noyes (1991, 61) "extended his word list to about 25,000, or some 8,000 more than the fourth revised edition of Phillips' *New World*."[24]

The comparison to other English dictionaries of the seventeenth century is important for an understanding of Minsheu's contribution. Noland (1978, 2) argues that the *Guide* is

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[24] Starnes and Noyes refer to the 1678 edition of Phillips' dictionary.

an English dictionary in the fullest sense, although it is not a dictionary where the English headwords are defined in English. This is why the *Guide* has been left out of the books on the subject, such as Murray (1993 [1900]), and Starnes and Noyes (1991). In this claim, Noland follows Wheatley (1865, 230), the author of one of the earliest surveys of English dictionaries, who characterizes the *Guide* as follows: "Although a polyglot it is a true English Dictionary, and the other languages are only inserted to illustrate and explain English words – of the etymology of which this is the first attempt." For Noland (1987, 2-3) the *Guide* belongs to the tradition of the *Abecedarium Anglico Latinum* by Richard Huloet (1552),[25] the *Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie* by John Baret (1573),[26] and the English-Latin *Bibliotheca Scholastica* of John Rider (1589). These dictionaries, albeit bi- or multilingual, were compilations of English words for English speakers. That this was Minsheu's purpose is clear in the "Second Epistle to the Reader":

> My purpose in placing the English first, before other Tongues, is for the vse chiefly of our owne Nation, or others that vnderstand the English Tongue, to finde out any Word by order of Alphabet they call or looke for, and so by that to haue a fit French, Italian, Spanish word, to speake or write, (in which Calepine is very faultie) besides to haue the Etymologies of them as of all the rest, (the better euer to hold them in their memorie) which none other yet euer hath performed.

In this regard, Stein (1988, 61) mentions the role of the *Guide* in the growing importance of English in early polyglot wordbooks published in Europe as follows:

> The last step in the lexicographical development, the step from the language of the first translation equivalents to the language of the headwords is achieved in 1617. In John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas. The Guide into Tongues* three elements combined to make English triumphant: The Compiler was an Englishman, his native tongue was English and the place of publication was London.

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[25] This English-Latin dictionary was reissued in 1572 with French added: *Huloets Dictionarie, newelye corrected, amended, set in Order and Enlarged [...] Also the Frenche therevnto annexed, by which you may finde the Latin or Frenche, of anye English woorde you will.* See a discussion in Starnes (1954, chap. 12), and Stein (1985, chap. 18).

[26] See a discussion in Starnes (1954, chap. 14), and Stein (1985, chap. 23).

There is still another aspect in which the *Guide into the Tongues* is important in the history of English lexicography: not only was it the earliest polyglot dictionary to place the English macrostructure first, it was also the earliest polyglot to include etymology (Schäfer 1978a, viii). The *Guide* is a polyglot *and* etymological dictionary with English headwords and, as such, the first of its kind. The *Guide* antedates the *Glossographia, or A Dictionary, Interpreting all such Hard Words [...] With Etymologies [...]* (1656, 1661 et seq.), of Thomas Blount, who is "the first lexicographer of a purely English dictionary to attempt etymology of words," according to Starnes and Noyes (1991, 46).[27] In fact, Blount himself listed Minsheu as a source in the preface of his hard word dictionary (1656), where he said he had "extracted the quintessence of Scapula, Minsheu, Cotgrave, Rider, Florio [...]"

Comprehensiveness in size and scope of the word list, rigorous alphabetization, extensive citations, cross-referencing, and aids to pronunciation: these are some of the features of the *Ductor in Linguas* Noland calls attention to in his final assessment of Minsheu's magnus opus. Although primarily concerned with diachronic identification, Minsheu also provided explanatory information in English. Regarding etymology, Noland (1987, 215) indicates that this work, flawed as it may be, was highly influential as it "formed a basis of English etymology for Blount, Phillips, Skinner,[28] Junius, and Bailey, and through them Johnson." Noland (1987, 254) remarks that Minsheu's contributions were far-reaching: "Minsheu established the groundwork for all later English etymological dictionaries, including the modern universal historical dictionaries such as the *OED*." The *Guide* also exerted considerable influence on subsequent works in Spanish and English bilingual lexicography up to the late eighteenth century. In a few words, Minsheu's plans for the *Guide into the Tongues* represents, according to Noland (1987, 256):

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[27] On the influence of Minsheu on Blount, see Starnes and Noyes (1991, 38, 46 et passim). However, Osselton (1990, 1948) remarks that "the beginnings of it [etymology] are to be found in Cawdrey 1604: a letter (g) is there placed after some entry words of Greek origin [...]."

[28] Minsheu is mentioned in the preface "Lectori Candido, S.D. Editor" of Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ* (1671).

[N]othing less than a comparative etymological dictionary for most of the Indo-European family of languages, complete with contemporary spelling variations, pronunciations, and meanings. That he did not fully accomplish this goal is scarcely a surprise. In spite of the group of experts which he had helping him, as editor he still needed to review and correct the entire work himself by hand, while at the same time earning a living at Gray's Inn and elsewhere and peddling the book to hundreds of the intellectual and social leaders of a turbulent Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

6.2.3 The *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English*

Let us now turn to the second part of the volume. Just as the Spanish-English part of the 1599 dictionary served Minsheu in the preparation of the corresponding English-Spanish part, the etymological and polyglot *Guide into the Tongues* was the starting point for the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English*. The two works were bound together, with the monumental size of the former somewhat eclipsing the latter.

Like the Guide, the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* has a Latin and English title page. Alston (1967, 19) observes that in some copies of the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary the imprint is incomplete. There is a variant in *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1248 with complete imprint at the end of the Latin and English title page that reads: "Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, & vendibiles extant Londini apud Ioannem Browne Bibliopolam in vico vocato little Brittaine. / And are to be sold at Iohn Brownes shoppe a Bookbinder in little Brittaine in London." There is also a variant in *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1109 where the name of the publisher is omitted both in the Latin and English parts: "Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, & vendibiles extant Londini apud / And are to be sold at". Niederehe (1999, 64-5) transcribes this particular title page, which is also given by Wiener (1899, 7) and Gallina (1959, 252-3). On the other hand, Steiner (1970, 52-3) transcribes the English part of the complete variant. The existence of printing variants of this work, together with those of the catalogue or lists of subscribers, and of the second edition, seems to reflect its troublesome printing history.

6.2.3.1 Sources

Wiener (1899, 8 ff.), Gallina (1959, 255 ff.), and Steiner (1970, 53) have pointed out potential sources, in particular Sebastian de Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), for the Spanish phraseology; however, an in-depth study of the sources of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* remains to be done.

But what about Minsheu's Spanish and English dictionary of 1599? Is there a relationship between it and the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*? Minsheu himself says at the end of the "Second Epistle to the Reader" that the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* contains "thousands of words" more than the 1599 Spanish-English part; certainly, the 1599 word list would have been a source of ready-made English equivalents for Minsheu (1617). As for the Latin equivalents, Noland (1987) has showed that one of the sources of Latin in the *Guide* was Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* of 1591, so it would be expected that Percyvall would be a source of Latin for Minsheu's Spanish-Latin-English dictionary of 1617. This matter of sources is complicated by the information provided by several scholars. For example, Sánchez (1944, 133) claims in his survey of Spanish dictionaries that Minsheu's dictionary of 1617 is an enlarged and improved version, with Latin added, of the 1599 dictionary. In the bibliographies by Kennedy (1967, 101) and Fabbri (1979, 181), the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* is incorrectly listed as an edition of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599, 1623). A comparison of some examples is indicated here.

In the following series of entries, Minsheu (1617) adds eight new headwords to his 1599 word list, and omits four; of the eight new entries, five are simply cross-references (i.e., *Falír, Fallído, Falsificádo, Falsificadór, Falsificamiénto*), a procedure he had used in 1599 to increase Percyvall's word list of 1591. Percyvall capitalized the Spanish headword and the first word of the Latin gloss, without indicating if the Spanish word was actually capitalized in current usage, whereas Minsheu (1617) capitalizes only the Spanish headword. At the level of the microstructure the changes are more interesting: in terms of the English equivalents, Minsheu either omits those that were available to him from his

1599 work (for example, s.vv. *falla, falido, fallecído, falsia,* and *falsidad*) and puts in cross-references, or, if there are several English equivalents, he keeps only one and drops the rest (such is the case s.vv. *falsaménte, falsár, falso,* and *falta*). When a definition is given in the 1599 dictionary, it appears modified (as in *falsário*) or abridged (as in the case of *falsopéto*) in the 1617 dictionary. A comparison of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* to Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* for the Latin equivalents shows that Minsheu did not always take what he found in Percyvall (for example, s. v. *falsár, falsedad,* and *falta*). As for the English equivalents, Minsheu retained in his 1599 dictionary almost everything he found in Percyvall (1591), as Steiner (1970) has indicated.

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Minsheu (1617): *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*
Falla, *vide* Falta.	Fálla, *vide* Fálta, *f.* **a want, a fault**.	Falla *vt* Falta.
Ø	* Fallár, *vide* Hallár, **to finde**.	Fallár *vt* Hallár, *Item vt* Faltár.
Fallar, *vide* Faltar.	* Fallár, *vide* Faltár, *to want, to fault or doe amisse.*	Ø
Ø	* Falído, *m.* **failed, missed**.	Falido, **part:** *de* **falír**.
Ø	Ø	**Falír, *vi* faltár su palabra**.
Ø	* Fallecér, *to faile.*	Fallecér. L. fallere deficere. A. *to faile.*
Ø	* Fallecído, **failed, missed**.	Fallecído, **part:** *de* **fallecér**.
Ø	* Fallecimiénto, *a failing, a missing.*	Fallecimiento, *verbale.*
Ø	Ø	**Fallído. *vt* falído**.
Ø	Ø	Falquías *capistri genus* q. falsa-riendas A. *false raines for a bridle.*
Ø	Falsádo, *m. counterfeited, falsified.*	Ø
Falsamente, falsely, *Falsò.*	Falsaménte, *falsly,* **counterfaitly, corruptly**.	Falsaménte. L. falso. A. *falsely.*
Falsar, to falsifie, *Adulterare.*	Falsár, *to falsifie,* **to counterfaite, to corrupt**.	Falsár. **L. falsificáre**. A. *To falsifie.*
Falsário, he that falsifieth, *Falsarius.*	Falsário, *m. a counterfeiter, one that falsifieth or corrupteth, a forger.*	Falsário. L. falsarius. A. *a counterfeiter **of writings or money**.*

Falsedad, falsehood, *Fallacia*.	Ø	Falsedád, *vt* falcidád. **L.** falsitas. A. *falshood*.
Ø	Ø	Falséte. L. *vox falsificáta in cantando minimè naturalis*.
Ø	Falsías, *f. falshood, deceits, counterfaite dealing*.	Falsia, *vt.* falcidád. L. falsitas, *vt:* Falacidad.
Ø	Ø	**Falsificádo, *vt.* falcificado.**
Ø	Ø	**Falsificadór, *vt.* falsario.**
Ø	* Falsidád, *f. counterfeit dealing, false play, deceit*.	Falsidád, *vt.* falcidád.
Ø	* Falsificár, *to falsifie, counterfeit or forge*.	Ø
Ø	* Falsifico, *a falsifier, a forger, a counterfeiter*.	Ø
Ø	Ø	**Falsificamiénto, *vi:* falsia.**
Falso, false, *Falsus*.	Fálso, *m. false, vntrue, counterfaite, corrupt*.	Falso. L. falsus. A. *false*. p. 187. n. 4027.
Ø	* Falsopéto, *m. a pocket in the bosome*, such as priestes vse in their cassockes or frocks to carrie their handkerchiefe or booke in.	Falsopéto. L. facculus in pectore tunicæ. A. *a pocket in the bosome*, dict: de Peto. i. pectus.
Falta, want, a fault, *Culpa*, defectus.	Fálta, *f. want, an error, a fault*.	Falta. **L. defectus**. A. *a want, a* fallo, lis.

There is a derivative relationship between the two word lists of 1599 and 1617. The *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* can be said to be an enlarged version of the 1599 Spanish-English dictionary at the macrostructural level only, but it shows a marked inconsistency at the microstructural level and cannot be considered another edition of the 1599 dictionary, as will be seen in the following section.

6.2.3.2 Megastructure

6.2.3.2.1 Outside matter

The front matter of *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* contains three texts followed by the word list, which gives the following megastructure:

1. Title page in Latin and English

2. "Aduertisements to the readers for the better and sooner vnderstanding of this Spanish Dictionarie, as also of the Spanish Tongue" (in Latin and English, 1p.);

3. "Letters standing for a Language and other Markes" (in Latin and English, 1p.);

4. "A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie" (183 unnumbered pages).

6.2.3.2.2 Macro- and microstructures

What is the size of the macrostructure? According to Steiner (1970, 52 and 2003, 88) there are some 55,000 entries; in a latter paper, Steiner (1991, 2950) estimates the number at 50,000 entries. Collison (1982, 77) also puts the figure at over 50,000. These figures seem somewhat high, even when the large number of cross-references contained in the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary is taken into account. Our own calculations arrive at a smaller figure: our 16-page sample contains a total of 3085 entries, or about 193 entries per page; the total for the dictionary then would be approximately 35,319 entries. If the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* is based on the Spanish equivalents of the *Guide into the Tongues*, this figure would seem to be more reasonable, taking into account our estimate of 19,548 entries for the *Guide into the Tongues*. Let us remember the figure of 27,492 entries in the Spanish-English part of 1599, which means that the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* has a larger macrostructure.

Minsheu explains in the "Second Epistle to the Reader" of the *Guide* his purpose in preparing several tables (alphabetical word lists), one of which became the 1617 *Spanish Dictionarie*:

> I had an intent to haue added so many Tables at the end of this Booke; *one I haue done, the Spanish, and that most copious, with diuers thousands of words added to my former Spanish Dictionary, besides I haue interpreted this Spanish Dictionary with the Latine and English, and sometimes French and Italian, and also of all, or the most part of Spanish words therein, I haue giuen there their Etymologies, or referred them by figures in this Volume,

>   where you may finde them, and the reasons of them, with the other tenne
>   Languages.

Minsheu also says he has added thousands of words to the Spanish word list of 1599 and describes the microstructure of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*, explaining that it contains equivalents in Latin and English, as well as in French and Italian, plus etymologies. In spite of this claim, Gallina (1959, 256) has detected a gradual decrease in the amount of information presented in the microstructure of this dictionary:

>   È da notare che dalla lettera B, le traduzioni italiane e francesi vanno
>   progressivamente diminuendo di numero ed estensione, finchè dalla lettera
>   D alla fine si trovano solo le traduzioni latine ed inglesi. Dopo questa lettera
>   vanno gradatamente diminuendo anche la fraseologia e le lunghe definizioni.
>   Poco a poco il vocabolario si riduce solo ad una specie di indice, per lo
>   spagnuolo, del precedente "Ductor in Linguas".

Perhaps that is why Minsheu added on the title page the phrase "sometime other languages" in parenthesis. After letter *B*, Italian and French disappear from the microstructure and the dictionary is gradually reduced to a list of Spanish headwords with Latin and English equivalents only, which is why this dictionary cannot be considered an improved version of the 1599 dictionary at the level of the microstructure. Perhaps he added this dictionary to illustrate the usefulness of his etymological approach as he conceived of it in the *Guide*: any of the ten languages could be used as the source language and the dictionary reversed, deriving a number of etymological tables from the *Guide*, useful to the learner of languages. This is the idea that Minsheu proposed to the learner in the "Second Epistle to the Reader":

>   If you desire further to haue the Etymologies of words, or the consent of
>   diuers Languages, here in this Volume so set downe (as heretofore neuer yet
>   published) you may your selfe as you take delight in a Language, or some
>   for you take paines with penne to set downe, and reduce any Language
>   herein contained, to an Alphabet, or Table, for your owne priuate vse, or for
>   others, (as I haue done in the Spanish for the publike) and it may be it will
>   then best please you when you doe it to your owne minde and methode, and
>   by that meanes to draw out an abstract as in other studies men vse to doe.

The following series of entries continue to show the additions to the Spanish word list in 1617 with respect to that of 1599, as well as further differences in the microstructure. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the grouping of independent entries from Minsheu (1599) into sub-entries in Minsheu (1617) (s.vv. *labór* and *labrado*). Another unusual feature is to find a more elaborate microstructure in the 1617 dictionary (s.v. *labrár*); in this case, Minsheu (1617) retains the lexicographical information of the 1599 dictionary and augments it by including particularizing words and English equivalents. This goes against Minsheu's tendency to abridge the microstructure in the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* and shows that he was not merely copying his previous work. Once again, there are cases where English equivalents (s.v. *labradór*) and even definitions (s.v. *labrandéra*) from 1599 are not present in the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* of 1617; in other entries, the English microstructure has been changed (for example, in *labrado* and *labrança*). Regarding the Latin equivalents, there are both similarities and differences (s.vv. *labor*, *labrador*, *labrança*, *labrandéra*, and *labrár*), suggesting a critical borrowing from Percyvall.

Percyvall (1591): *Bibliotheca Hispanica*	Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Minsheu (1617): *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*
Labor, labour, *Labor*.	**Labór**, *f. worke, labour, trauell.*	**Labór.** *L.* **lábor**, *item* opus. p. 264. n. 7533. **Labór de campo**, *vt.* labránça.
Ø	**Labór de cámpo**, *husbandrie, plowghmans trade.*	[s. v. Labór]
Laborcica, a smal worke, ***Opusculum***.	Laborcíca, *f. a small worke.*	Laborcíca *dim: de* labór.
Ø	Ø	Laborcílla, laborcíllo *idem.*
Ø	* Laborióso, *laborious, painefull.*	Laborióso. *L.* laboriosus.
Ø	Ø	Laborsilla, *vt.* laborcílla.
Ø	* **Labrádo**, *m. wrought, tilled as ground, wrought with the needle.*	**Labrado** *part: à* labrár. **Labrado de aguja**. *L.* acu laboratum. *A. needle work.*

Ø	* **Labrádo de agúja,** *needle woorke.*	[s. v. Labrado]
Labrador, a laborer, a tiller of the ground *Laborator, colonus.*	Labrador, *m. a workeman, a ploughman, a husbandman, a labourer.*	Labradór. *L.* **Arátor**. A. *a ploughman.* p. 371. n. 9370-b.
Ø	Ø	Labradóra, *vt.* Aldeána.
Ø	Ø	Labradoriégo, *vt. laborióso.*
Labrança, tillage, *Agricultura.*	Labránça, *f. tillage, husbandrie.*	Labránça. *L.* **Agricultura**. p. 241. n. 5968-e. *ploughing the ground.*
Labrandera, a laundresse, *Lotrix.*	Labrandéra, *a seamster, a woman that getteth her lining with the needle.*	Labrandéra. *L.* **Sutrix** A. *a seamester.* p. 437. n. 10592.
Ø	Ø	Labránte *qui operatur in Saxis.* A. *a stone hewer.*
Labrar, to worke, to till, *Laborare, colere terram.*	Labrár, *to worke, to till the ground, to worke with the needle.*	Labrár. *L.* **Operari**, laborare. A. *To worke, to till the ground,* to worke in any mechanicall arte, *to worke with the needle.* Labrár piedra, *to hew stone.* Labrár madéra, *to square timber.* Labrár camisas gorguéras, &c. *to worke, or make shirtes, gorgets, &c.* Labrár casa, .i. Edificár.

Another set of examples shows the same features. Once again the word list is increased, entries are transformed into subentries (s.vv. *técho* and *téja*), the English information is reduced or modified (for example, s.vv. *tèa, teátro, tégoda, téja,* and *tejéro*), Latin equivalents are different (s. vv. *tèa, techar,* and *técla*). Only one entry (*tejádo*) is very similar in all three works:

Percyvall (1591): Bibliotheca Hispanica	Minsheu (1599): A Dictionarie in Spanish and English	Minsheu (1617): Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie
Tea, a splinter, a torch, *Assula, tæda*.	Téa, *f.* **the middle of** *the hart* **of the pine tree** *when it is* **growen** *to be* **so fat** *and full of liquor,* **that** *being kindled* **it burneth like a torch.** *Also taken for any match or peece of wood dressed with brimstone and rosin, to burne like a torch. Also a torch.*	Tèa, **L. teda**, A. **the middle of a pinetree** *being* **so fat that it burneth like a torch**, also *a torch*.
Teatro, a theater, **Theatrum**.	Teátro, *m. a theater,* **a place for publike shewes or plaies.**	Teátro, **L. theátrum**, A. *a theater.* p. 487. n. 11532.
Ø	Ø	Techádo, *part.* de techár, *item vt* técho.
Ø	Ø	Techadór, L. tector, A. *a tiler, a pargetter, a plaisterer.*
Techar, to couer a house, **Tegere**.	Techár, *or* Tejár, *to couer a house with tiles.*	Techár, **L. tegere domum**, A. *to tile.* techár de paja, L. domum stramine tegere, A. *to thatch a house.*
Ø	**Técho**, Téche, Téja, *or* Téjo, *a roofe or couering of a house.*	**Técho**, L. tectum, laquear, A. *the couering or roofe of a house.* pag. 100. num. 2486. k. & p. 423. n. 10371. **técho de pája**, L. tectum stramine coopertum, A. *a thatched roofe.*
Ø	* **Técho de pája**, *a roofe of a house that is thatched.*	[s.v. Técho]
Techumbre, *vide* Açotéa.	Techúmbre, *vide* Açotéa.	Techúmbre, L. pauimentum in summo ædium, A. *a flat roofe couered with lead or plaister.*
Tecla, **the key of virginals,** *Clauis*.	* Técla, *as* Música de Técla, *musicke of organs, virginalles, clauicordes or such like.*	Técla, **L. clauis cymbali**, A. *the keyes of organes or virginals*, q. *in forma* tegularum ¶ **cob.** musica de tecla L organorum musica.

		Técla *etiam nomen* Sanctæ, *vt.* Santa Técla.
Ø	* **Tégoda**, *a ticket or warrant for to haue lodging, victuals, apparell, &c.*	**Tégoda**, L. schedula. A. *a ticket for to haue lodging, victuals, apparell, &c.*
Ø	Ø	Tégual, L. census, tributum.
Teja, a linden tree, slate, tile, *Tilia*, **tegula**.	**Téja**, *a linden or tillet tree, that beareth fruit as graet as a beane, in which are seeds as greate as anise seeds. Also a tile, a slate, to couer houses with.*	**Téja**, L. **tilia**, A. *a linden or tillet tree.* item **L.** tegula, A. *a tile*. Hablár de las tejas abáxo, *quod supra nos, nihil ad nos.* **Teja del huévo**, *oui putamen, an egge shell.* **Teja de péce**, *testa piscium,* a shell of a fish.
Ø	Téja de Tejádo, *a tile.*	[s.v. Téja]
Ø	* Téja, Téjo, *or* Techo, *the roofe of a house.*	Ø
Ø	* **Téja de huévo**, *an egge shell.*	[s.v. Téja]
Ø	* **Téja de péce**, *a shell of fish.*	[s.v. Téja]
Tejado o techo, the **roofe of an house**, *Tectum*.	**Tejádo**, *or* Técho, *a roofe of a house.*	**Tejádo**, *i.* el técho cubierto *con.* téjas **L. tectum**, A. *the roofe of an house.*
Ø	Ø	Tejadúra de péces, L. testa piscium, A. *a shell of a fish.*
Ø	Tejár, *to tile,* **to couer with slate**, *&c.*	Tejar, L. lateraria, tegularia, A. *a bricke or tile keele,* item L. tegulis cooperire, A. *to tile a house.*
Tejar, a tile oft, *Tegularia*.	Ø	Ø
Ø	Ø	Tejaróz *est pendulum coopertum tegulis*. A. *the eues of a tiled house.*
Ø	Ø	Tejázo, *ictus qui fit tegula,* A. *a blow with a tile.*
Ø	Ø	Tejér *vt* texér.
Tejero, a tiler, a tile maker, **Tegularius**.	**Tejéro**, *a tiler,* **a slater**. *Also a maker of tiles* **or brickes**.	**Tejéro**, L. tegularius. A. *a tilemaker or a tiler.*

As in the *Guide*, Minsheu made use of citations in the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*: to the abbreviation of the name of the author cited he prefixed the paragraph mark (¶). The above examples contain instances of Minsheu's use of numbers for referrals in his 1617 Spanish dictionary and his marking of citations with the symbol (¶) (s.v. *técla*, where the abbreviation "cob." refers to Covarrubias' work of 1611). Note also that at this point in the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* (letter *F* et seq.), French and Italian equivalents are no longer present, nor is etymology frequent, as Gallina (1959) has pointed out. Finally, the indication of gender in the 1599 dictionary was not carried over to the 1617 compilation.

Thus, Minsheu (1617) incorporates almost all of Minsheu (1599), just as this work incorporated almost all of Percyvall (1591). In his Spanish-Latin-English dictionary of 1617, Minsheu continued his rigorous alphabetization, marked stressed syllables in Spanish to help pronunciation, continued to mark words of Arabic origin, declined irregular verbs, and included numerous spelling variants and cross-referenced them. In other words, although somewhat inconsistently, he provided synchronic and explanatory information on the Spanish headwords in addition to diachronic data. The 1617 Spanish dictionary is related to that of 1599 but cannot be considered merely another edition of the 1599 work; similarly, Minsheu (1599) is not a second edition of Percyvall (1591) but rather a new dictionary. The same conclusion can be reached from a comparison of Percyvall (1591) and Minsheu (1617), as Gallina (1959, 256-7) explains:

> Se invece confrontiamo questo [the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English*] con la prima edizione del Percyvall, cioè con quella originale cui il Minshev non pose mano, vediamo che non si può affatto parlare di plagio. Infatti il Minshev se ne servi si può dire esclusivamente per il materiale lessicale spagnuolo, e quasi affatto per le traduzioni e le definizioni inglesi. Inoltre il Percyvall è assai più ricco di sinonimi, mentre il Minshev si accontenta quasi sempre di una sola voce. In compenso questi accresce molto il numero dei vocaboli, registrando spesso anche varianti ortografiche. Possiamo perciò affermare che il Minshev si è servito del Percyvall non più di quanto si sia servito il Las Casas del vocabolario latino-

spagnuolo del Nebrija: un semplice ausilio che non pregiudica l'originalità dell'opera.

The modifications in the 1617 Spanish dictionary are, therefore, extensive: the macrostructure was increased and, at the same time, the microstructure was modified by omitting and/or changing Latin and English equivalents, by shortening definitions, or sometimes by clustering what formerly were independent entries under a particular headword. Consequently, the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* should not be considered another edition of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*.

From the discussion up to this point of the *Guide* and the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*, the relationship between the two groups of wordbooks Minsheu prepared can be reconstructed: starting from Percyvall's Spanish-English-Latin word list of 1591, he prepared the Spanish-English part of 1599 and then reversed this part to obtain the English-Spanish part of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*. This English-Spanish part of 1599 was the basis for the English word list of the 1617 *Guide*; Minsheu then reversed the *Guide* using Spanish as a source language to obtain the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*, which, in turn, is related to the Spanish-English part of 1599. He had come full circle.

6.2.4 The second edition of the *Guide into the Tongues*, with reprints (1625, 1626, 1627)

On July 22, 1625, a second edition of the *Guide into the Tongues* was printed, with the title *Minshœi Emendatio, vel à mendis Expurgatio seu Augmentatio sui Ductoris in Linguas*, which in the first page of entries is rendered as *Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of His Guide into the Tongues, or His Etymologicall Dictionarie of Divers Languages*. Reprints of this second edition appeared in 1626 and 1627. As in the 1617 edition, the title page is in Latin followed by an English version. The *English Short Title Catalogue*, Alston (1967, 19-20) and Niederehe (1999, 96-7) record two variants of the 1625 edition, each with a different colophon. These variants are contained in *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reels 1248: 7 and 1901: 5. The title page colophon in reel 1248 reads:

"London, Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are by him to be sold at his House in the little Old-Baily in Eliots Court. M. DC. XXV."[29] This is also the wording of the colophon of the 1627 reprint, but there is also a minor change in the 1626 colophon, which reads "London, Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are by him to be sold at his *Printing* house in the little Old-Baily in Eliots Court. M. DC. XXVI" (our italics). The 1626 and 1627 reprints have the respective years in roman numerals. The title page colophon in reel 1901:5 has a similar, but not identical, wording to that of the 1617 edition, showing the name of John Brown instead of John Haviland: "Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, & venales extant Londini, apud Ioannem Browne Bibliopolam in vice vocate little Brittaine. And are to be sold at Iohn Brownes shop a Booke-Seller in little Brittaine without Aldersgate in London."[30]

6.2.4.1 The prospectus

It is important to mention that Williams (1948, 770) records the existence of a prospectus for this second edition of the *Guide* as well. This prospectus is a rare item, of which a copy exists in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The prospectus has gone virtually unnoticed by bibliographers, except for a remark in *Notes and Queries* (1861, 11: 422), to which Williams refers and that runs as follows:

> French Churches. – In the French Church in Threadneedle Street, before the dreadful conflagration, was a library, and Minsheu mentions them[31] to have subscribed for his *Dictionary*. If this be true, then Mr. Ephraim Chambers is in the wrong when, in his *Cyclopedia*, he particularises Bp. Walton's *Polyglot Bible* to have been the first book that was published by subscription in England, an error he was led into by Anthony Wood. [...]

There is a footnote to the word *dictionary* in the previous quotation that reads: "'Mr. Ames has the paper or proposal Minsheu published with all the subscribers' names about the year

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[29] See Gallina (1959, 257-8), and Niederehe (1999, 96) for a transcription of this title page.
[30] See a transcription in Niederehe (1999, 96-7).

1629' (*Oldys.*) Minsheu appears to have printed the names of all the persons who took a copy of his *Dictionary*, and continually added to it, as purchasers came in." Williams (1948, 770) refers to this "stray remark of William Oldys that apparently Joseph Ames possessed a copy [of the prospectus]" and gives the following description of the item:

> The prospectus, printed by John Haviland, is a small folio leaf with an awkward title beginning *A Few Words and Matters of a multitude...added to a former Impresion*. It contains abstract copies of the two 1610 testimonials, an explanatory "preface," a table of abbreviations used in the revised edition, and eight samples of the added word-entries. Minsheu imparts the interesting information that now, after maintaining his family in London thirty years by teaching languages, he has been incapacitated by deafness. Deaf, "decaied, and in debt," he must rely on his pen.

Due to the rarity of this prospectus, Williams (1948, 771) gives excerpts from it, adding that "no trace has been found of a printed subscription list."

The title of the prospectus, a copy of which was obtained from the Folger Shakespeare Library, is certainly awkward and long: *A Few Words and Matters of a multitude and many thousands added to a former Impression, with the reason in this Preface following, of the Authors publishing them, who hath also thought good, to put here in print, an Abstract of the Copies under the hands [and] seale of the Vniversitie of Oxford, as also under the hands of other learned men, in approbation and confirmation of the Worke*. The first page contains, as the title indicates, the summarized versions of the testimonials or commendations issued by the University of Oxford and the scholars, followed by a preface, which continues to the second page. In this preface, Minsheu begins by stating how the first edition was sold out and how he prepared the second edition by correcting and augmenting the first:

> Whereas the Author hath long since vented and sold out his whole first Impression of bookes, which haue beene receiued into the hands of the

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[31] "The *French-Church* Library in *London*" is mentioned by Minsheu at the end of the fourth column of the first page of the *Catalogve and true note of the Names of such Persons which [...] haue receaued the Etymologicall Dictionarie of XI. Languages*, in *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, reel 1837.

chiefe Nobilitie, Clergie and Gentrie of this Land, as by a printed Catalogue of their names in the most part of the bookes may be seene, as also shewed to such as shall desire to view the same.

And hath for some yeeres last past, wholy studied, and with great paines applied himselfe to the augmenting and amending of his former worke, by adding many thousands of words and matters delightfull to louers of learning and discourse, [...]

Note that Minsheu refers to the fact that not every copy of the first edition of the *Guide* contained the catalogue or list of subscribers. On the same page of the prospectus, Minsheu then refers to his etymological method for learning languages and how this approach sets off his dictionary from others; he then moves on to explain the contents of the book (terms of law, description of offices, magistracies, etc.).

The preface continues on the second page of the prospectus. There Minsheu refers to the etymologies of the proper names from the Bible that he added to the second edition, as well as other proper names of people, cities, countries, etc. In comparison to the prospectus for the 1617 edition, this one provides more information about the printing of the book. Minsheu reviews his subscription venture for the first edition and the role of the Company of Stationers, as he had done in the "Second Epistle to the Reader" of the 1617 edition, and how now he is forced to print the second edition in the same way, under equally difficult circumstances:

And because Stationers and Printers in reason may not print it, but for their owne profit, not allowing the Author the benefit, being decaid, and in diuers debts, by his former Impression, as also now a deafe man, and thereby depriued of meanes to liue, but as a Writer to publish in print such his workes according to his Maiesties Letters Patents to him for yeeres on that behalfe granted. Neither will any other men lay downe such summes of money to print the same, except the Author can procure some meanes that the bookes lie not on their hands after they haue laid out their money.

Minsheu also refers to his deafness in the dedicatory epistle of the 1625 edition. Under such difficult personal and economic conditions, Minsheu explains on the second page of the prospectus that had to resort to the subscription method:

Whereby the Author [...] may [...] thus farre require of some noble, worthy, and vertuous good men [...] That they would be pleased to let him obtaine this easie request (to encourage men to lay downe money to print the same) but only to set to their hands to take one booke a peece of him after they be fully printed againe [...] and deliuered perfect into their possessions, and not before, as such price and rate as they themselues shall reasonably value the worth of the Worke, and the greatnesse of the Volume may deferue, or the ordinary price as under the hands of diuers men already are set downe.

This will be a motiue to men to disburse money, when they may be assured that some of it shall come into their purses againe, and an answer to their obiection, *What shall we venture our money, if you cannot make meanes to vent the bookes?*

Printing the second edition of the *Guide* was thus no easy task, since printing the first had ruined him. Minsheu provides a glimpse of his state by 1625 on the second page of the prospectus: "[A]deafe man, decaied, and in debt only by compiling and printing his former Worke, and thereby not fit for other imployment, or his former profession of teaching the tongues, by which he hath maintained an estate and familie 30. yeeres in London." The second half of this page contains the explanation of the abbreviations and marks used in the book, as well as a short sample from the dictionary, consisting of the entries *Abba*, *Abbadon*, *Abel*, *Abid*, *Abigail*, *Abinoham*, and *Capriccious*.

6.2.4.2 Megastructure

6.2.4.2.1 Outside matter

The second edition of the *Guide into the Tongues* has a simpler megastructure than the first: three texts make up the front matter before the central word list. The wordbook is divided as follows:

1. Title page in Latin and English
2. Dedication in Latin: "Reverendissimo presvli, necnon honoratissimo domino Ioanni, divina providentia, Episcopo Lincolniensi, & Magni Sigilli totius Angliæ Custodi." That is, to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln from 1621 to

1625, and one of the Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers of the Seal of England (1 p.)

3. "Letters for a Language, and other Markes" (in Latin and English, 1p.)

4. "Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the tongues." Numbers on the top of the pages of this section refer to columns, not to pages. Thus, the dictionary contains 760 columns, that is, 380 double-column pages.

6.2.4.2.2 Macro- and microstructures

On the title page of the second edition of the *Guide*, Minsheu speaks of having corrected and added material to this edition. He used a dagger (†) to mark the additions, and the number of entries in the book increased from 12,550 to 14,713, following Minsheu's own system of numeration. From a small sample of entries under letter *A*, Gallina (1959, 259) estimates the increase in terms of the first edition to be one third; however, calculations based on samples from letter *A* only may be misleading. Our 16-page sample from letters *A*, *F*, *L*, and *T* contains 92 new entries out of 201 under *A*, 54 out of 180 under *F*, 46 out of 274 under *L*, and 36 out of 353 under *T*, for a total of 228 new entries out of 1008 in our sample. This would mean an increase of 22.6 per cent in the second edition of the *Guide*. In spite of the increase in the number of entries, the second edition is smaller than the first: two languages, Welsh and Portuguese, were omitted, and, as a result, the second edition of the *Guide* is a polyglot of nine languages. The *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* was also omitted, probably, as Williams (1948, 772) says, to avoid competition with the second edition of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* that Haviland had printed in 1623.

In order to illustrate the differences between the two editions of the *Guide*, consider the following examples:

Minsheu (1617): *Guide into the Tongues*	Minsheu (1625): *Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the Tongues*
11427-1 *to* **Take**, *ex* **Belg**: **taeken**, *i.* **arrípere, tangere, deprehendere**, *à* **tango, tactum**, *à quo* & **tacke**, *i. tactus*, ¶ Kilian : L. Capere, [...] Accipere, [...] Sumere, [...] Præhendere, [...] T. Ich fahe, Empfahe [...] Sic. & B. Nemen, *idem cum* G. Prendre. H. P. Prendér. I. *Préndere, Pigliáre*, à Gal: Piller, [...]	**12963** *to* **Take** L. Capere, Accipere, Sumere, Præhendere, B. Nemen. G. Prendre. H. Prendér. I. *Préndere, Pigliare*. Gr. [...]
11427-2 *to* **Take** *away*. L. Abrípere, Dirípere, Erípere, *ab* **ab, de, è,** & **rápere**. Auferre, Adímere, *ab* à & demere, Subdúcere, Remouére. I. *Leuár via*. G. Oftér. H. *Quitár*.	**12964** *to* **Take** *away*. Abrípere, Dirípere, Erípere, Auferre, Adímere, Subdúcere, Remouére. I. *Leuár via*. G. Ostér. H. *Quitár*.
11427-3 *to* Take *away by violence*. [...]	Ø
11427-4 *to* Take *away or diminish*. [...]	Ø
11427-5 *to* Take *away or depriue*. [...]	Ø
11427-6 *to* Take *one unawares*. Vi. *to* Surprise.	**12965** *to* Take *one unawares*. Vi. *to* Surprise.
11427-7 *to* Take *hold on*. [...]	Ø
11427-8 *to* Take *before*. [...]	Ø
11427-9 *to* Take *againe*. [...]	Ø
11427-10 *to* Take *up before or by the way*. [...]	Ø
11427-11 *to* Take *to wife*. Vi. *to* Marrie.	**12966** *to* Take *to wife*. Vi. *to* Marrie.
11427-12 *to* Take *out*. [...]	Ø
11427-13 *to* Take *heede*. [...]	Ø
11427-14 *to* **Take** *in a net*. G. Enueloppér, **Enfermér, Enuironnér de rets. I.** *Prendre con rete, Irretire*, à **Lat: irretire**, *ex* **in** & **rete**, *quasi reti quodam inuoluere*. Obretire, *ex* ob & rete. Reti implicare, Reti circundare. H. **P.** *Enredár*, de *en* & *red*. *Tomar con red*. [...]	**12966-2** *to* **Take** *in a net*. G. Enueloppér, I. *Prendre con rete, Irretire*, à *Lat*. Irretire, Obretire, Reti implicare, Reti circundare. H. *Enredár*, de *en* & *red*. *Tomar con red*. [...]
Ø	(†) 12966-3 **Talaires**, Mercuries *shooes with wings*. G. Talaires. I. H. L. Talaria, [...]
11418-1 Tale. Vi. Talle. [...]	12967 *a* Tale, *of* Tell. Vi. fable, & historie. [...]
11449-2 *to* Tappe *a vessel*. [...]	12997 *to* Tappe *a vessell*. [...]
b *a* Tapster. Sax. [...] B. een tapper, *ex* tap, [...] L. Promus, *quoniam* promit potum, *Vi. cætera in* Butler.	12998 *a* Tapster. B. Een tapper.

11450-1 Taragon. Vi. Goats *thorne*, *in* G. & Dragant, *in* D.

11450-2 *the* **Tarantola**. G. Tarantóle, f. I. H. **P.** *Tarántola*. L. Tarántula. *Est* araneus venenosus, *ita dict: à* Taranto *ciuitate in regno* Neapolis, *ubi maximè abundant :* **the most venemous spider, *so called of* Taranta *a citie in* Naples, *where they abound.*** Vi. Stellio.

11451 Tarboord. Vi. Starboord.

Ø

11452 *to take* Tardie, *ex* tardus. Vi. *to* Surprise.

(†) 12999 **Taragon. Vi. Tarragon**.

13000 * *the* **Tarantola**. G. Tarantóle, f. I. H. *Tarántola*. L. Tarántula. *Est* araneus venenosus, *ita dict: à* Taranto *ciuitate in regno* Neapolis, *ubi maximè abundant*. Vi. Stellio.

13001 Tarboord. Vi. Starboord.

(†) 13001-2 **Tardiloquie**, *slownesse of speech*. G. Tardiloquie. I. H. *Tardiloquio*. L. Tardiloquium, ij.

13002 *to take* Tardie, *ex* tardus. Vi. *to* Surprise.

These entries show, first of all, that Minsheu made changes to his system of numeration (for example, s.vv. *to take* and its derivatives), and this may account in part for the larger number of entries in the book as a whole. Other instances of such changes occur in other places of the dictionary, for example in the series *lada, ládanum, ladde*; *lance, to lance, lancke*; *lanke, lanner, lansknight, lansman*; and *talent, talkatiue, to talke, talke, talker*. In the sample series above, note that deletions are more frequent than additions. The sample is small, however, and probably not representative enough to be able to determine the extent to which Minsheu increased the word list not only by adding new entries but also by changing his numeration system. Note also that additions in the sample (marked with a dagger) take the form of short entries (such as *talaires* and *tardiloquie*) or cross-references (for example, *taragon*). On the other hand, the dictionary was reduced in size as a result of omitting two languages, Welsh and Portuguese (abbrev. *P.*). The sample from 1617 shows two occurrences of the latter (s.vv. *to take in a net* and *tarantola*), where the abbreviation *P.* for Portuguese was removed in 1625. Besides removing two languages and some entries, reduction in size can also be accounted for in the microstruture, where the etymological commentaries and other information were omitted or reduced (for example, s.vv. *to take, to take away, to take in a net*, and *tarantola*), even to the point of leaving only a series of equivalents, as in the case of *to take*. Other cases of such reduction can be seen elsewhere

in the 1625 edition, for example s.vv. *fable, fabricke, facilitie, faction, lace, lacke, ladie, lambe, tabaco, to teach,* and *teare.* As for the additions, according to Schäfer (1978a, xvii) they consist of "more Biblical names, now mentioned on the title page and also drawn from Herrey's concordance, and hard words, [...] taken from Cockeram's *English Dictionarie.*"

6.2.5 Analysis of the front matter

In this section, the content of the front matters of the 1617 *Guide into the Tongues* and *Most Copious Spanish Dictionary* and of the 1625 *Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of His Guide into the Tongues* will be examined, beginning with the *Guide.*

6.2.5.1 The *Guide into the Tongues*

Like the 1599 dictionary title page, that of the 1617 polyglot dictionary offers a synthesis of the features of the wordbook. After the title, Minsheu lists the eleven languages included ("English, British or Welsh, Low Dutch, High Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguez, Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, &c.") and then sketches his pedagogical approach to etymology. He follows a traditional view according to which etymology, by investigating the names, provides a knowledge of the thing for which the name stands. By bringing languages together, therefore, the relationships among them are made clear and this is a mnemonic device for learning. Accordingly, the eleven languages in the *Guide*:

> [A]re so laid together (for the helpe of memory) that any one with ease and facilitie, may not only remember 4. 5. or more of these Languages so laid together, but also by their Etymologies vnder the Name know the Nature, Propertie, Condition, Effect, Matter, Forme, Fashion or End of things there-vnder contayned, differing from all other Dictionaries euer heretofore set forth.

Minsheu then refers to the other feature of his dictionary: the inclusion of legal terminology with an usage mark: "Also the Exposition of the Termes of the Lawes of this Land, drawne from their originall the Saxon and Norman tongues, with the description of

the Magistracies, Offices, and Officers, and Titles of Dignities, noted with this hand ☞ throughout the whole Booke." Finally, the target public is introduced. Minsheu had in mind both the English public and foreigners who could profit from the dictionary by placing a given language first and reversing the word list. Furthermore, this is a dictionary not only for learning to read, but also to write:

> A worke for all Louers of any kinde of Learning, most pleasant and profitable, especially for those of our owne Nation, when by order of the English Alphabet, they may finde out 10. other Tongues, with their Etymologies, most helpfull to Memory, to Speake or Write, then to Strangers, if they will draw out of these one or more Languages, and place them in order of Alphabet and Table, and referre them by figures into this Booke, as they shall best like of.

The catalogue of names included in some copies of the *Guide* contains a short introductory note. The opening sentences are similar in wording to the title page of the dictionary, with the mention of the languages covered and the legal terminology included. As mentioned in the description of the catalogue, Minsheu explains how without the support from the Company of Stationers he was forced to manage printing and selling the book himself and how he added the names of people who bought the book as they obtained a copy.

The next three texts, of increasing length, are related by subject matter but not identical. Noland (1987, 118, footnote 3) notes: "Though there are differences between the first epistle, in Latin, and the second, in English, the second is basically a translation of the first, and both repeat information which had already been included in the dedicatory epistle to James." The dedication to King James contains Minsheu's view on etymology and its pedagogical implications, which he supports with an example and a reference to Plato. At the end of the dedication, he mentions how he intended to compile several "*Alphabeta Etymologica*" but was only able to finish the Spanish *Vocabularivm Hispanicolatinvm et Anglicum*. The "Prima Epistola Lectori" (first letter to the reader, in Latin), expands on these topics with more examples, references to other classical philosophers and scholars. It

mentions the figures of diction ("Próthesis, Aphæresis, Epénthesis, Syncope, Paragóge, Apócope, Metáthesis"), in which languages differ and introduces the principle of *linguas sono consentientes*. It explains the three types of etymology, namely, "vera, verisimilia & ad placitum" (true, likely, and conventional, according to Noland 1987, 120) and the differences between the *Guide* and other polyglot dictionaries such as Calepine, Decimator and Hieronymus Megiserus. Something worth highlighting is the reference in this epistle to the well-known lines from Horace's *Ars Poetica* (vv. 70-2) on usage: "[M]ulta renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque / Quae nunc sunt in honore uocabula, si uolet Usus, / quem penes Arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi."[32] This is important because it shows that Minsheu did not follow a prescriptive approach in lexicography; for him, words are like money whose value is determined by use: "*verba valent vsu sicut numi*". As in the dedication, Minsheu remarks that he has been able to compile only the *Vocabularivm Hispanicolatinvm et Anglicum*, adding that any reader could compile a similar word list by taking any of the languages covered in the *Guide* and reversing and reordering it alphabetically. At the end, he claims he laboured selflessly, for the public good: "*Non enim meæ laudi hic velitor, sed publicæ vtilitati quoad possum inservio [...]*."

The "Second Epistle to the Reader" is the longest, opening with a similar remark to the one found at the beginning of the dedication of 1599 on the drudgery of lexicographical work: "In the search of Tongues (in which these many yeares I haue spent my time and substance) [...]." The second epistle differs from the first in that it contains a fuller explanation of the figures of diction, more examples of Minsheu's pedagogical approach to etymology, the story of the publication of the *Guide*, and remarks on the legal terminology included (similar to those on the title page). Minsheu explains the utility of etymology in learning languages, saying that he has "always found that the true knowledge and the sure holding of them in our memories, consisted, in the knowing of them, by their Causes, Originalls, and Etymologies, that is, their reasons and deriuations, which is the scope I

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[32] "Many terms that have fallen out of use shall be born again, and those shall fall that are now in repute, if Usage so will it, in whose hands lies the judgement, the right and the rule of speech." (Horace 1955, 457).

ayme at in this my Worke Etymologicall, [...]" In the same text Minsheu clearly formulates his principle of *linguas sono consentientes*: "by laying the languages so together that are of one sound, (which I may terme a harmony of Tongues) for that thou mayest with little or no labour, well learne, and fast hold in thy memorie, these languages so layd together." Based on the principle of linking or connecting languages *that are of one sound*, Minsheu's aim is to provide the learner with a variety of synonyms in as many as ten languages, to facilitate the process of memorization. Noland explains that this approach may nowadays seem erroneous, but that it may have seemed appropriate at the time:

> far from having no theoretical approach, Minsheu had adopted the only tenable alternative to dogmatism: to pick and choose, on the basis of the authority of the men he considered best able to render judgement, the derivations of his foreign language entries, both classical and modern, and for English to make himself the connections which seemed most likely in the light of what the period knew about the development of that most mixed of languages, the one most likely to have problematic etymologies (Noland 1987, 163)

Moreover, Minsheu elaborates in the second epistle on the English word list and the public. The following excerpt reveals that his real intention was to compile an English dictionary for the English public:

> My purpose in placing the English first, before other Tongues, is for the vse chiefly of our owne Nation, or others that vnderstand the English Tongue, to finde out any Word by order of Alphabet they call or looke for, and so by that to haue a fit French, Italian, Spanish word, to speake or write, (in which Calepine is very faultie) besides to haue the Etymologies of them as of all the rest, (the better euer to hold them in their memorie) which none other yet euer hath performed.

Among language learners, Minsheu has merchants particularly in mind due to the role these had played in his life:

> What vse Merchants may make of this Booke, especially those that are in person to traficke in forreine Countreys and Tongues, I need not here set downe, when it approoues it selfe so plaine to euery mans vnderstanding, that will vse the same, that by the English Alphabet they may finde any of

these Languages to speake or to write, and the Etymologies for memorie of them.

The second epistle closes with a number of acknowledgements and with the same apology found at the end of the preface *To the Reader* in the 1599 dictionary: "[A]nd so I leaue this Worke, and myselfe, hard to please few, harder to please many, impossible to please all."

Three topics, therefore, run through the dedication and the two prefaces to the reader, linking them: Minsheu's view on etymology, his pedagogical approach, and his belief in the reversal method to produce word lists with a different source language. These topics were already present in his 1599 work. Minsheu does not set out his thoughts on etymology systematically; basically, however, his idea is that the first step in learning, and the basis of all science, is *to investigate the name of things and the origins of these names, and that this knowledge leads to an understanding of a particular thing*. As Minsheu puts it in the Latin dedication: "*[A]d recte docendum oportet primum inquirere nomina quia rerum notitia a nominibus dependet. Nihil enim aliud est scientia nisi scire per causas & originations* [...]." Although languages differ from one another in the figures of diction, bringing them together phonologically makes the reasons for these differences clear and it becomes easier to memorize languages:[33]

> All which figures, you may see better expounded from the Greeke, in this Dictionarie in their proper places, which figures vsed thorow the whole course of this worke, almost in euery word, you may well finde, before you come to the Etymologie of the words, all which being so helpefull to true vnderstanding and memorie, that it might be a sufficient motiue, to men that haue meanes, and desire knowledge, to giue themselues to the vnderstanding of the Tongues from their Originals, the Keyes to vnlocke the Doores, into the Treasurie of all Learning, Diuine and humane: [...]

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[33] Minsheu also expresses this idea in the first epistle: "Qui enim deterrentur ob difficultatem & laborem (vt opinantur) in intelligentia diuersarum linguarum adipiscenda, hos monitos velim *quuod per has dictionis Figuras, viz.* Prothesin, Aphæresin, Epenthesin, Syncopen, Paragogen, Apocopen, Metathesin, &c. *Pleræque linguæ nullo alio* nisi per ipsas *discrimine dignoscuntur*, quare *si eas sono consentientes simul collocaueris*, facsimilè & nullo negotio, eas & intelligere & recte *memoria* tenere possis, [...]."

The result is a semantic field of related words in different languages, useful in language learning:

> Combining etymologies of the several languages leads to a mixture of words which are semantically related with words which are phonologically related in the same article. While it offends our notion of what should be included in the etymological treatment of a given word, for a teacher of languages interested in providing his students and others with multiple foreign language synonyms, the mixture was a successful achievement (Noland, 1987, 149).

The third topic deals specifically with the reversal method in lexicography. In the three texts Minsheu speaks of the way he compiled his *Most Copious Spanish Dictionary* starting from the *Guide*, but only in the two epistles does he invite readers to follow his example in compiling other "*Alphabeta*", as he calls them in the Latin epistle, or "an Alphabet, or Table", in the English epistle. The link to the "English Alphabet with Spanish following" and the "Alphabeticall Table of Arabicke and Moorish words" of 1599 is obvious: both were obtained from a previously compiled word list, the first by reversal, the second by etymology, but by 1617 Minsheu had fused both approaches to obtain the alphabet or table he entitled *A Most Copious Spanish Dictionary*. Before turning to this work, mention should be made of Minsheu's pioneering use of marks, of which he provided a full list. Some of the usage marks include, besides letters for languages and a table of Saxon characters, the following:

> ☞ The hand shewes the expositions of the Termes of the Lawes of this Land, with their Etymologies, drawne from their originall, the Saxon and Norman tongues, also the Description of the Offices and Officers, and Titles of Dignities.
> * The Starre shewes either a word added, or a reference to a Marginall note.
> ¶ This marke is put before Authors names cited in this Worke.
> 1, 2, 3, 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. The figures tell the number of Primitiue wordes thorow the whole Dictionarie: and the letters b, c, d, &c. doe note the wordes before whom they are placed, to be deriuative of their Primitiues next aboue them.
> m. of the Masculine gender.
> f. of the Fœminine gender.

i. That is is to say.
q. As it were.
Vi: see the word elsewhere expounded.

Note that Minsheu continued to use the asterisk to mark his additions to the word list, as he had done in 1599 with respect to Percyvall's dictionary. Minsheu may have thought that by marking his additions readers would easily see the difference between his work and other available dictionaries; after all, the title pages of 1599 and 1617 make explicit his concern with the features of his dictionaries that would set them apart from other dictionaries. Nevertheless, there is a difference in the case of the *Guide*, where the asterisk is not used as consistently as it was in 1599:

> In the same way that Minsheu starred entries in his 1599 dictionary to indicate words that he had added to Percival's extant list, in the *Ductor* he stars words which are additions to the 1599 list. As opposed to the earlier work, though, the starring in 1617 is not as regular or predictable. Minsheu only begins systematic starring in *C*, and by *R* the system has become sporadic (Noland 1987, 41, footnote 7).

Minsheu also marked legal terminology and grammatical information in the microstructure (gender), in addition to using abbreviations for cross-references and explanations. This set of marks and abbreviations shows his concern for the language learner.

6.2.5.2 The *Most Copious Spanish Dictionary, with Latine and English*

Let us now turn our attention to the second part of the 1617 volume. On the title page of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionary*, Minsheu explains his method of referrals by which Spanish words in this second part of his etymological dictionary are "Also referred in Minshev his Etymologicall Dictionary of eleuen Languages, by figures; whereof the first shewes the Page, and the second the number of Primitiue Words in the same Dictionarie contained, that you may also see the Etymologies of the other tenne Tongues." Due to the presence of these cross-reference numbers, Steiner (1970, 53) describes the dictionary as an index. This observation may be further extended, to the conclusion that the *Most*

Copious Spanish Dictionarie therefore shares this indexical character with the English-Spanish part of Minsheu (1599). In the case of the latter work, Minsheu used the word *vide* or its abbreviation *v.* for referrals, but in the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary they are used for cross-references. Instead, referrals in the Spanish-Latin-English dictionary are made by numbers indicating the page and entry number under which the word occurs in the *Guide into the Tongues*.

In the section following the title page, the "Aduertisements to the readers", Minsheu makes certain observations on Spanish pronunciation and orthography, on his way of showing word formation and prefixes, on his treatment of irregular verbs, and on accentuation. This section is very similar to the directions to the reader in 1599, with differences only in examples, wording, and the order in which the topics are discussed. The abbreviations and marks used throughout this dictionary are presented in the third section, "Letters standing for a Language and other Markes". Like the corresponding section in the *Guide*, this list of abbreviations and usage marks is comprehensive and confirms that Minsheu never loses sight of his reader. This list includes letters for languages, abbreviations for cross-references, verb tenses and citations:

A - English,
G - French,
I - Italian,
L - Latine,
Lat: - the same,
Etym: - the Etymologie,
Dim: - the diminutiue of another word,
.i. - that is to say,
Vi: - see the signification of that in another word,
Vt - as,
Præs: - the present Tense,
.i. - Præt the first præterperfect Tense,
Fut: - the future Tense,
Imperat: - the Imperatiue moode,
Imperf: - the præter Imperfect Tense,
Sub:- the Subiuntiue moode,
Part: - a Participle,

Verbal: - a verbale or substantiue deriued of a verbe,
Arab: - Arabicke,
Heb: - Hebrew,
Chald: - Chaldie,
Syr: - Syriack,
Græ: - Greeke,
¶ - a marke before the Citing of an Author,
† - a marke denoting the word before which it is placed, to be an Arabick word.
p. - the Page.
n. - the Number.

As in the case of his *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, Minsheu uses a dagger (†) to indicate words of Arabic origin, as he did in what was his earliest attempt at etymology in his 1599 dictionary.

Finally, following the abbreviations and usage marks, Minsheu explains his system of numbers to refer words in the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* to the those in the *Guide into the Tongues*:

Marke also, when after the Figures in this Dictionarie you shall see b, c, d, &c. immediately following them, you are to vnderstand, that those letters b, c, d, &c. are set before deriuatiue wordes of their primitiues, figured next aboue them in the Etymologicall Dictionarie of eleuen Languages, as for example, in this Dictionarie in the Spanish word *Abril*, figured p. 313. n. 8354-e looke into the Etymologicall Dictionarie of eleuen Languages, the 313. page, and the number of wordes 8354. and you shall finde the word *Moneth*, and in the margine or middle of that page you shall likewise find following that number 8354. the letters b,c,d,e, &c. set before the deriuatiue wordes, then looke in –e, and you shall finde *Abril* with his and other Etymologies.

6.2.5.3 *Mynshevs Amends and Avgmentation of His Guide into the Tongues*

It has already been mentioned that the second edition of the *Guide* (1625, reprinted in 1626 and 1627) is a polyglot of only nine languages, without the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*. Reduction also affected the front matter: apart from the title page, there is a short dedication and the list of abbreviations and usage marks. The only difference between

the title page of 1617 and that of 1625 is that the latter mentions the additions to the word list as follows: "There are added the Etymologies of proper names of the Bible, Adam, Eue, Cain, Abel, Seth, &c. with the Etymologies of Countries, Cities, Townes, Hilles, Riuers, Flouds, Promontories, Ports, Creekes, Islands, Seas, Men, Women, Gods, Peoples, and other things of note, which are marked with this marke (†) through the whole Worke." This is repeated in the short dedication, which ends with the same quotes from Plato and Isidorus that Minsheu had used in the first edition concerning the non-arbitrary link between a thing and its name.

6.2.6   Concluding remarks

It is now possible to conclude our picture of the lexicographical labour of Minsheu. Scholars have pointed out the relationship between the pair of dictionaries of 1599 and the pair of 1617: the latter grew out of the former, as a study of the macro- and microstructure demonstrates. But that is not all. Our study of the front matter of each set of wordbooks makes it possible to determine the similar principles underlying the works, which were compiled on the basis of a general pedagogical outlook and not a normative one. Indeed, the size of the macrostructure of his wordbooks and the number of sources consulted clearly show an all-encompassing approach. The topics are not presented systematically; however, the prefatory texts mention the genesis of the works, their function, the target public and the method of compilation. Moreover, Minsheu explains in detail the arrangement of the macrostructure and the marks and typographical devices he has used to set off the formal and semantic properties of the headwords. And, even though he does not make the distinction explicit, it is clear that he distinguished between a *dictionary*, an *alphabet* and a *table*. These lexicographical products result from two methods of compilation: first, obtaining data from other dictionaries as well as literary sources to built a word list, and then reversing this word list to obtain a derivative index.

In the "Second Epistle to the Reader", Minsheu acknowledged he had the help of "a company of certaine Strangers and Schollers at mine own charge" while compiling the

Guide. This, as Noland (1987, 5) remarks, "gives rise to a vexing problem when trying to sort out just how original and learned Minsheu himself was." Was he a poseur scholar, a plagiarist? In our opinion, his practice was not different from what was usual in early lexicography at the time. What is relevant, however, is his work as a lexicographer. As flawed as it may be, it exerted considerable influence on Spanish and English lexicography, on monolingual English lexicography and etymology, and even on bilingual lexicography in other pairs of languages.[34] At the end of his study of the *Guide*, Noland (1987, 258) sums up Minsheu's work thus:

> Instead of a safe dictionary little changed from those produced before his, Minsheu attempted to unite European and English lexicography, to give England an etymological work to rival those existing in other languages, to incorporate the Germanic languages into traditional philology, and to expand the horizons of lexicography toward a general, universal dictionary. The *Ductor* reflects the widespread interest in and a surprisingly accurate picture of languages and how they change even as early as the beginning of the 17th century.

Indeed, whatever our personal opinion of Minsheu, it should not preclude us from recognizing his industriousness and achievements as lexicographer.

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[34] For instance, O'Connor (1977, 95 and 1990, 58) remarks that Minsheu's polyglot dictionary was one of the sources Robert Sherwood used when compiling the English-French part that he added in 1632 to the second edition of Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*.

7) Works from the Eighteenth Century

7.1) Captain John Stevens' *A New Spanish and English Dictionary* (1706-05, 1726)

Like the late sixteenth century, the eighteenth century was a period of intense activity in Spanish and English lexicography. During the first half of the century, five wordbooks were published: the alphabetical dictionaries by John Stevens (two editions: 1706-05 and 1726) and Pedro Pineda (1740), as well as the topical vocabularies by Felix de Alvarado (1718, reprinted in 1719) and the same John Stevens (1725, reprinted in 1739). In addition, two important monolingual compilations appeared, namely, the Spanish Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, or *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726-39) and Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). These monolingual dictionaries set a standard and began to exert influence on bilingual lexicography during the second half of the eighteenth century, introducing a prescriptive approach. During this period, the Spanish and English dictionary grew and changed: in particular, it was separated from the grammars and dialogues with which it had been published up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, its place taken by topical vocabularies. On this path to a detached, independent bilingual dictionary, the work of John Stevens played a major role.

7.1.1 Introduction

John Stevens (ca. 1662-1726) was born in London, [1] the son of Richard Stevens, a servant to Queen Catherine of Braganza.[2] Stevens received a Benedictine education from which he derived an interest in the history of ancient monasteries and abbeys, and other antiquarian matters. From the correspondence of the Second Earl of Clarendon, Henry

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[1] For information about Stevens' life, see the overviews in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (18: 1118-9), the *British Biographical Archive* (1984), fiches 315-323, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (52: 561-2). Further information can be found in Buckley (1906, 15-7); Pollen and Burton (1909, 219); Murray (1912, ix- xvii); Williams (1936, 144-147); Steele (1975, 99 ff.); Walsh (1990, 74); and Murphy (1999, 437 ff.).

[2] Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705), a Portuguese princess and Roman Catholic, was wife of Charles II of England.

Hyde,[3] it is known that by 1685 Stevens was one of his gentlemen-at-large in Dublin. Hyde also mentions that Stevens' father was page of the back-stairs to the Queen Dowager (Catherine of Braganza), and also served his own father in Madrid.[4]

Stevens had an excellent knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. His journal of the Irish war (1689-91) indicates he lived three years in Portugal before going to Ireland in 1685 (Murray 1912, 213).[5] He would refer again to this "Three Years Residence" in Portugal in the dedication of his book *The Ancient and Present State of Portugal* (1705). In the preface "To the Reader" in that book he speaks of "the City of Lisbon, which I may in a great Measure call my own, having liv'd there a considerable Time; [...]". As for his excellent knowledge of Spanish, in the last paragraph of the preface to his Spanish and English Dictionary (1706), Stevens refers to his "continual reading of Spanish Books of all sorts. For my Knowledge in the Tongue, I was bred to it from my Infancy, and have ever endeavour'd to improve my Knowledge in it by reading, not only of Historians, but of Poets, Orators, Travellers, and other Books of all sorts of Literature." From the above mentioned journal of the Irish war, it is also known that by 1687 Stevens was "employed in Wales in receiving His Majesty's revenue of excise there," (Murray 1912, 4) an appointment Stevens received thanks to Henry Hyde's brother, the Earl of Rochester. The Glorious Revolution (1688-9), which led to the accession of William of Orange and the deposition of James II, changed Stevens' life; it was, in his own words, "the original of all

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[3] The correspondence of Henry Hyde and his brother Laurence, Earl of Rochester, was edited by Samuel W. Singer in 1828, and at the end of volume 1 (Singer 1828, 1: 653) there is a section entitled "The Earl of Clarendon's list of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, with remarks on their character, &c.; drawn up for Lord Rochester's instruction," that contains some remarks on Stevens' character and family. Similar remarks can be found in in volume 2 of Hyde's correspondence, see Singer (1828, 2: 45, 64-5).

[4] Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon (1609-74), was an English statesman and historian; he followed Prince Charles into exile (1646) and at the Restoration returned as Lord Chancellor. The time of his embassy to Madrid was from November 1649 to December 1650.

[5] This journal was not published until 1912, edited by Rev. Robert Murray The sections from the journal that relate to the County Louth had been published with an introduction by Buckley (1906).

this country's and my own misfortunes, to wit, the time of the invasion." (Murray 1912, 4).
Being a Jacobite,[6] he followed James II into exile in 1689:

> The calamities of the royal party and an earnest desire of serving His
> Majesty made me impatient to quit the kingdom. Therefore never regarding
> the difficulties that obstructed his return, or the hardships and miseries I
> might endure in a country, where my sovereign was only upon by courtesy, I
> resolved as soon as possible to leave father, friends, ease, and country to
> bear my part in his fortunes. (Murray 1912, 13-4)

Stevens fled to France and became a member of James II army, landing at Bantry
Bay in 1689.[7] He took part in the war and reached the rank of Captain. The journal he kept
during that time ceases in the middle of an account of the battle of Aughrim.[8] With the
defeat of James II, Stevens lost his previous high position in society: "*Quien se muda, Dios
le ayuda*. God helps him that changes, saith the Spanish proverb. It hath not been my
fortune to verify this saying, for though I have changed from a civil to a military life, my
fortune hitherto hath been retrograde and gone in diminution." (Murray 1912, 78). He
married some time after 1691, but it is not known to whom because there is no record of his
activities from that year until his first translation was published in London in 1695. This
was *The Portugues Asia: or, the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the
Portugues*, from the Spanish original by Manuel de Faria y Sousa. At the very end of the
section "The Translator to the Reader", Stevens speaks of his translation as "my first in this
Nature, after several years spent in far different Imployments." From 1695, he began his
career in London as professional translator, writer, Hispanist, and antiquarian. However, his
only regular employment, Murphy says (1999, 444), was as "'author', or editor, of the
weekly *British Mercury* from July 1712 to July 1715."

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[6] Supporters of the deposed Roman Catholic King James II and his heirs.

[7] Bantry Bay is a long inlet of the Atlantic Ocean in Ireland. It was entered on May 2, 1689, by French fleets
attempting an invasion of Ireland led by King James II. For the events in Ireland from the accession of James
II to the treaty of Limerick, including Bantry Bay, see Simms (1969).

[8] The Battle of Aughrim, on July 12, 1691, was the ultimate battle of the war and a complete defeat for Irish
Jacobitism. Jones (1989-90, 28), in his edition of the alternative introduction to Stevens' journal, says that
"[t]he narrative of events compiled by Stevens is sparing in specific details but it supplies a vivid picture of a

Stevens never regained the position he had had before the Irish war. Pollen and Burton (1909, ix) describe the situation for English Catholics after the ascension of William of Orange as "a time of depression, of lost hopes and discouragement," adding that "[w]ith the flight of James II. and the coming of William III., Catholics saw the ruin of their hopes for the restoration of England to the ancient faith." Nevertheless, Stevens managed to lead a prolific and productive career, and Murphy (1999, 437) points out that "[t]he fact that an avowed Catholic and Jacobite should have succeeded in pursuing a public career as a professional writer in London between 1695-1726 is in itself worthy of note, [...]". In spite of the difficult situation, translations and books on a variety of subjects continued to pour from Stevens' pen from 1695 until his death in 1726; his translations into English – most of them from Spanish, but also from Portuguese and French – were diverse, and the volume of works he translated was considerable. Moreover, Stevens compiled an important Spanish and English dictionary, whose first edition appeared in 1706-05, with a Spanish grammar and dialogues. This Spanish grammar was reprinted in 1725 and 1739, with a small Spanish-English topical vocabulary instead of the alphabetical dictionary. The second edition of the dictionary in 1726 is important as the first Spanish and English dictionary published independently of a grammar and dialogues, as Steiner (1970, 61) has remarked. In this way, observes Williams (1936, 147), Stevens "earned for himself a conspicuous place among those who helped to make the literature of Spain known to English readers." It is not surprising, then, that the French lexicographer Abel Boyer recorded his death in the periodical *The Political State of Great Britain* (1726, 32: 411) in the section devoted to the deaths of *eminent Persons*: "Three Days before *(October 27ᵗʰ)* died Captain *John Stevens*, Author of a Dictionary *Spanish* and *English*, and of several Translations out of the *Spanish* Language."

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turbulent time as seen by an indignant loyalist." The sections of Steven's journal dealing with the siege of Limerick were also published with an introduction by Walsh (1990, 74-88).

As already mentioned, Steven's work as a translator and an author was considerable: the online catalogue of the British Library lists some forty titles.[9] Murphy's paper (1999) on Stevens' life, work, and mentality is valuable as it contains two comprehensive appendixes listing Stevens' works and extant manuscripts. In the first, Murphy (1999, 449-51) records twenty-three translations, followed by nine works by Stevens himself.[10] The second appendix (Murphy 1999, 451-4) includes Stevens' extant manuscripts; some of these are in the British Library, while Stevens' letters to Sir Hans Sloane are in the Sloane Collection. Two manuscript volumes are a part of the collection of Dr. Brian Lawn (1999b, 212), who in 1950 bought "two folio volumes containing unpublished material by Captain John Stevens (*d.* 1726), the prolific translator from the Spanish. These had belonged to John Warburton, Somerset Herald, and they contained additions in his autograph."

Not only the volume of his work attests to Stevens' scholarship; in fact, two other important texts allow us to have an idea of the scope of his reading. The first is "A Catalogue of Authors from whom this Dictionary is Collected", included in the front matter of Stevens' bilingual dictionary (1706-05). This catalogue includes more than 170 works on a variety of subjects used as sources for the dictionary. Steele (1975, 163) points out that these books were part of Stevens' personal library or borrowed. The other document is one of his extant manuscripts, in the Sloane Collection in the British Library.[11] The text of the manuscript was printed by Williams (1936), as part of a paper on Stevens as a literary figure. This item (ca. 1707-09) contains fourteen folios and lists about one hundred titles with commentaries by Stevens. [12] Williams (1936, 144) explains:

> It consists of several folios (30 x 19 cm.) and a few fragments representing, to all appearances, the partial catalogue of a Spanish library, probably from

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[9] Also see Santamaría (1992, 215-7), who lists Stevens' translations of literary works, as well as some of his translations of books on history and travel.

[10] Murphy (1999, 451) notes that his list does not include the Spanish short stories translated by Stevens and published in the periodical the *British Mercury* and elsewhere.

[11] See the list in Murphy (1999, 453), item number 3.

[12] Some of the books appear twice in the manuscript.

the author's own shelves, arranged according to format [folios, quartos, and octavos]. The most significant feature to be noted is that not only lists a number of books, but also comments on their contents. In the light of these notes are revealed the identity of the author and the approximate date of composition, as well as some valuable data regarding translations and editions.

Williams (1936, 145) notes that "[t]he author's identity is easily corroborated further by a comparison of the manuscript with personal correspondence signed by Captain Stevens, which is also preserved in the British Museum." As for its contents, the manuscript provides a fascinating view into Stevens' work as a professional translator, since, after the bibliographical data for a particular work, Stevens includes his own comments and notes, evaluating the work for a potential translation.

Stevens' works cover a variety of subjects, such as history, travel, geography and fiction.[13] Most of his translations into English are from Spanish, but he also translated from Portuguese and French. He was first and foremost a professional translator; in fact, two-thirds of his total production are translations, that is some 25 titles plus short stories published in British journals. The dedications and prefaces he wrote to his translations and books contain information about his ideas on translation. Stevens' place and importance in the translation of classical Spanish and Portuguese books on travel and the geography of the Iberian world have been studied by Steele (1975, 99), who presents Stevens as "a key figure in the history of translations and individually the most significant since Hakluyt and Purchas."[14] Apart from that, there are remarks on Stevens as translator in Williams (1936), Santamaría (1992), and Murphy (1999). Stevens was a lover of history and matters of fact,

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[13] Data on the microfilm editions of Stevens' works can be found in the *English Short Title Catalogue* online. Stevens' work being numerous, we do not provide such information here. Currently, versions in pdf format of Stevens' works are also available in the *Early English Books Online* catalogue, an online database that contains Stevens' translations of the late seventeenth century, while the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* contains his works published during the eighteenth century. It should be mentioned that some of Stevens' translations and books he authored were published anonymously; see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII: 1118, and the Appendix 1 in Murphy (1999, 449-51).

[14] Richard Hakluyt (1552/3-1516) was an English geographer and chronicler whose work contains accounts of famous voyages of discovery. Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) was an English clergyman and compiler of travel books; he inherited Hakluyt's papers and continued his work.

and it is no wonder that most of his translations are from this field. He is also an important figure in the history of Spanish letters as a translator of Quevedo and Cervantes and deserves a distinguished place in the history of translation of Spanish and Portuguese into English for having introduced new authors and material to the English public. The love of Spanish literature had begun in Tudor England during the late sixteenth century and this tireless Hispanist made a remarkable contribution to the knowledge of letters in England during the eighteenth century with an impressive volume of translations and works.

7.1.1.1 The proposals for printing

Alston (1987, 41) records an interesting document, reproduced in his bibliography (plates CIX and CX). To our knowledge, this document has not been discussed although it contains, like Minsheu's prospectuses, an overview of the topics discussed in the prefatory texts of the dictionary. It was found in the Harley manuscript collection of the British Library and entitled *Proposals for Printing by Subscription a New Spanish and English Dictionary, to Which Will Be Added a Compleat Spanish Grammar*. Thus, the first edition of Stevens' dictionary was published by susbscription, a method pioneered by John Minsheu in the early seventeenth century with his *Guide into the Tongues*. Clapp (1931-2, 199), already mentioned in the discussion of Minsheu's polyglot dictionary of 1617, points out that such a method of publication was fairly common in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Clapp (1931-2, 203) also indicates that this method was "a communal sharing in enterprises" and that proof of its popularity is

> the existence of a vocabulary, small but distinguishable, of terms particularly expressive of subscription activities. [...] "Adventurers" or "subscribers" were those who gave in their money to an undertaking. And they did so usually as a result of "proposals," prospectuses setting forth the project and the conditions of entering into its benefits.

Clapp (1931-2, 204) explains terms like *proposals*, found in the document reproduced by Alston:

Yet another of the words in the subscription vocabulary is "proposals," which almost explains itself as a statement of the contract between undertaker and subscribers. The proposal often took the form of a small pamphlet, issued by the undertaker in announcement of the intended book, describing it and the terms of purchase. The pamphlet might accomplish the physical description by being itself "on the same paper and letter" as the proposed book; or there might be included a "specimen page" or pages.[15]

This two-page document contains a description of the dictionary as project, followed by the proposals as such and the name of those who have taken a subscription, one of them being George Sawbridge, whose name appears as printer on the title pages of Steven's dictionary and grammar of 1706-05.[16] The text begins by introducing the author and the circumstances surrounding the origins of the dictionary. Curiously, Stevens' name is not mentioned:

> The New *Dictionary* and Grammar propos'd to be Printed, are Compli'd by a Person perfectly skill'd in the *Spanish* Tongue, and conversant with it from his Infancy. He has for a considerable Time gather'd Materials, in order to perfect so Difficult and laborious an Undertaking; intending it at first only for his own private information: But being of late perswaded and encourag'd by some Gentlemen, curious in hat Language, to make it Publick, he has now methodiz'd it for the Press.

Note the mention that Stevens had gathered materials for his own information; it is possible, then, that the idea of the dictionary resulted from his documentary research for his translation activities.

Next are listed the types of sources Stevens used; with the mention of the dictionaries by Sebastian de Covarrubias, Antonio de Nebrija, Cesar Oudin, Jeronimo Victor, and John Minsheu:

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[15] Clapp (1931-2, 204, footnote 2) says that "[p]roposals, like books, were advertised in newspapers and in the *Term Catalogues*, frequently with a full statement of the subscription terms. Sometimes what is apparently an exact reprint of an entire proposal occurs in a newspaper, [...]"

[16] George Sawbridge the Younger, a bookseller in London (1692-1711), see Plomer (1968, 263).

He laid his Foundation upon *Covarrubias*'s *Spanish* Dictionary, and as a Superstructure, made use of *Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Oudin, Jerome Victor* and *Minshew*, corrected their gross Errors, and sypply'd their Deficiencies with several Thousands of Words. To this end he has carefully read the best *Spanish, viz. Historians, Poets, Orators, Travellers, &c.* that no Word in common Use might escape his Search.

These dictionaries and a comprehensive list of specific authors consulted are mentioned in the catalogue Stevens included in the front matter of the dictionary, and will be discussed later. Following the sources, the comprehensiveness of the dictionary word list is highlighted:

> More especially, the Proper Terms in the Arts and Sciences; as in Navigation, Fortification, Gunnery, Architecture, Musick, &c. To compleat the Work, he has inserted above 2000 Spanish Proverbs, all explain'd Word for Word, with equivalent English Ones for as many as can be found, and these rank'd under the first Substantive in the Proverb; or, if it have none, under the first Verb; [...]

It is clear from the proposals that this dictionary was conceived as an encyclopedia, based on Stevens' readings and translations:

> Besides a Geographical Dictionary of all Kingdoms, Provinces, Towns of Note, Rivers, Lakes, Capes, Bays, &c. in Spain and the West Indies, with some Account of the Principal Families in Spain; here are also the Names, together with an Account of all Drugs, Plants, Minerals and Strange Creatures in the East and West Indies, gather'd from the Ablest pens that have wrote on those subjects, whether Physicians, Philosophers, Natural Historians or Travellers. In fine, nothing is omitted that may satisfy the most Curious, and render the Book valuable, the author having spar'd no Pains in Compiling it.

As will be seen, the descripton of the contents of the dictionary on the title page follows that of the proposals.

On the first page of the text of the proposals there is mention that a specimen of the dictionary is annexed, but unfortunately it has not been reproduced by Alston. The specimen is described in the proposals as "design'd only to give some Idea of what the

Dictionary here propos'd will be. It contains a number of Words in the Letter *A*, not to be found in our Old *Spanish* and English Dictionary, Compos'd by *Minshew*, [...]".[17] To further emphasize the difference with Minsheu's dictionary, the proposals speak of the great number of entries added and how the new dictionary gives "the various Uses and Significations of every Word, wherein all other *Spanish Dictionaries* have fallen short." To highlight the advances of the new work, a comparison is made at the end of the first page of the entry *Alçar* in Minsheu's Spanish and English dictionary and in that being advertised. The second page establishes five proposals, dealing with matters such as the number of sheets, the type of paper and font to be used, prices, and a list of subscriptors. Along with Minsheu's prospectuses for both editions of his polyglot dictionary (1617 and 1625), each of the three texts contains a description of the dictionary as project, that is a sketch of its contents, the characteristics that set it apart from other dictionaries, together with a specimen of the dictionary as evidence of its value and originality, all from a very commercial point of view. The description of the dictionary sketched in the prospectuses and the proposals served as a basis for the title pages of the respective dictionaries. However, the proposals for Stevens' dictionary, as seen from the data included on the second page, also indicate how much the method of printing by subscription had evolved by the eighteenth century.

7.1.2 Sources

According to Amado Alonso (1967, 220), the main sources for Stevens' grammar are Minsheu, Lewis Owen, and the *Grammaire espagnole en français* by César Oudin (1619).[18] As for the dialogues in Spanish and English that close the volume, Viñaza (1978, 1064) believes these are taken from the dialogues by Juan de Luna, but as seen in the discussion of Minsheu's dialogues, the dialogues by Luna are based in turn on those by Minsheu, to which Luna added another five. Stevens' dialogues are borrowed from

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[17] This two-page specimen is in the British Library, shelfmark: Harley 5946 (144).

Minsheu with some minor modifications. Stevens omitted Minsheu's fifth dialogue, reducing the number of dialogues from seven to six, and whereas Minsheu had placed short notes to the sides of the text, Stevens adds some notes and deletes others and converts them all to footnotes. The text of some of the notes is identical to those in Minsheu's text.

What sources did Stevens consult for his dictionary? He was the first in Spanish and English lexicography to provide an extensive list of sources in the "Catalogue of Authors from whom this Dictionary is Collected."[19] This catalogue lists more than 170 works on a variety of subjects. It is clear from the other texts in the front matter of the dictionary that this catalogue applies only to the Spanish-English part, but it is the only explicit indication of sources there is. Relevant to our discussion is the mention in the catalogue of the following six dictionaries:

1. "Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana, por el Licenciado D. Sebastian de Covarrubias Orosco. Fol.". Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*,[20] the first Spanish dictionary, which appeared in 1611 (2nd ed. 1673-4, 3rd ed. 1693). It was the standard monolingual Spanish dictionary until the publication of the Spanish Academy's dictionary (1726-39).

2. "Dictionarium Ælii Antonil Nebrissensis". As mentioned in the discussion of Antonio de Nebrija and his role in modern lexicography, his dictionaries were reprinted numerous times after they first appeared in the late fifteenth century. The Spanish-Latin dictionary, *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem interprete Aelio Antonio Nebrissensi* (1495?), is a source Percyvall and Minsheu

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[18] For further remarks on Spanish phonetics described by Stevens, see Spaulding and Patt (1948, 54-9) and Alonso (1951a, 50, and footnote 34; 1951d, 153-5).

[19] John Florio included a similar book list in his Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes*, that includes a prefatory text of seventy-two sources entitled "The names of the Bookes and Authors, that have bin read of purpose, for the accomplishing of this Dictionarie, and of which it is collected." However, O'Connor (1991, 2970) remarks that "[i]t is a little known fact that the source he used most of all was a Latin-English dictionary deliberately omitted from the booklist: nearly every page of Thomasius 1592 was borrowed by Florio and transcribed word for word."

[20] About Covabrrubias' life, see González Palencia (1925); for information on the dictionary and its editions, see Niederehe (1999, 46, 221-2 and 256).

admitted using for their compilations. Due to the numerous editions of Nebrija's works during the seventheenth century it would be difficult to say which edition Stevens used. The last edition of the seventeenth century listed by Niederehe (1999, 235) appeared in 1681.

3. "Minshew's Spanish *Dictionary*". Stevens clearly refers to Minsheu's Spanish and English dictionary (1599, 1623). As shall be seen, he used the second edition of 1623.

4. "Tesoro de las tres Lenguas, Francesa, Italiana, y Española" and "Tesoro de las tres lenguas Española, Francesa y Italiana, de Jeronimo Victor". The reference is to the *Tesoro de las tres lengvas francesa, italiana, y española* by Gerolamo Vittori (also known as Jeronimo Victor or Hierosme Victor).[21] According to Niederehe (1999, 16), the first edition of the work appeared in 1602; subsequent editions appeared in 1606, 1609 (based on César Oudin's Spanish-French *Thresor des deux langues françoise et espagnole* of 1607, which Vittori translated into Italian), 1627, 1637, 1644, and 1671.

5. "Tesoro de las dos Lenguas Española y Francesa de Cæsar Oudin 8vo". Here the reference is to the above-mentioned Spanish-French work by César Oudin, *Tesoro de las dos lengvas francesa y española. Thresor des devx langues françoise et espagnolle [...] divisé en deux parties [...]* (1607).[22] This famous dictionary, based on Henricus Hornkens' *Recueil de dictionaires francoys, espagnolz et latins* (1599) and Jean Palet's *Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa [...] Dictionaire tres-ample de la langue françoise et espagnole* (1604, 1606 and 1607),[23] was very influential throughout the

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[21] On Vittori's work, see Gallina (1959, 229-46), and Bingen and Van Passen (1991, 3008-9); on the different editions of the dictionary, see Niederehe (1999, 16 et passim).

[22] About César Oudin, see the editions and descriptions in Niederehe (1999, 32 et passim). For overviews, see Niederehe (1987, 17-9) and Verdonk (1991, 2977-8).

[23] Jean Palet (1604) is the first bidirectional Spanish-French, French-Spanish dictionary. The second part comes largely from Hornkens, but there is no consensus as to the sources of the first part: some say Nebrija, and Las Casas, others say Hornkens. Overviews of both works can be seen in Niederehe (1987, 16-7) and Verdonk (1991, 2976-7).

seventeenth century. There are several editions of Oudin's *Tesoro*: 1616 (considerably augmented using Covarrubias 1611 and Vittori 1609), 1625, 1645, and 1675.

6. "Vocabulario Español, y Italiano de Franciosini. 8vo." This book is mentioned twice in the *Catalogue*; the second time as "Vocabulario Español y Italiano de Lorenzo Franciosini." Here Stevens refers to the second part of Lorenzo Franciosini's *Vocabolario Italiano e Spagnolo [...] Vocabolario Español e Italiano [...]*, a work based Las Casas' Spanish-Italian, Italian-Spanish dictionary (1570), Oudin (1607), and Covarrubias (1611). [24] It was first published in 1620 and there were several editions throughout the seventeenth century: 1636, 1638, 1645, and 1666 (Niederehe 1999, 75 et passim). This dictionary continued to be published during the eighteenth century, the first time in 1706 (Niederehe 2005, 27), but it is unlikely Stevens consulted this edition.

From the way Stevens lists these works, for which several editions exist, it is difficult to determine the specific editions he used. The only exception is the dictionary by Minsheu. In this case, the spelling provides valuable information. Let us remember that in the second edition (1623) of the Spanish and English dictionary by Minsheu, spelling was modernized, even if incompletely. Steiner (1970, 105) writes that Stevens followed the 1599 edition of Minsheu. However, a comparison of the two editions of Minsheu's dictionary and the first edition of Stevens' indicates that, where the spelling was modernized, Stevens follows the edition of 1623, and not that of 1599, as in the following examples from the Spanish-English part:

Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
aBatír *or* Abatírse, *to **beate** downe, to discourage, to debase, to driue out of hart. Also to stowpe as a hawke or such like, to abase or vaile bonet.*	aBatír *or* Abatírse, *to **beat** downe, to discourage, to debase, to driue out of heart. Also to stowpe as a Hawke or such like, to abase or vaile bonet.*	*Abatír*, to **beat** down, to discourage or cast down, to debase, to humble.
Abilidád *or* Habilidád, *f. ablenesse, handsomnes, fitnesse, power, meetnesse,* **capacitie.**	Abilidád, *or* Habilidád, *f. ablenesse, handsomnes, fitnesse, power, meetnesse,* **capacity.**	*Abilidád,* or *Habilidád,* Ability, Handiness, **Capacity**.
*Abitár *or* Habitár, *to dwell,* **inhabite,** *lodge or abide in a place.*	*Abitár *or* Habitár, *to dwell,* **inhabit,** *lodge or abide in a place.*	*Abitár,* or *Habitár,* to dwell, live, or **inhabit** in a place. *Lat. Habito.*
Fabricár, *Præs.* yo Fabríco, 1. *Prœt.* yo Fabriqué, *to frame, to forge, to worke, to fashion, to invent, to make, to* **builde.**	Fabricár, *Præs.* yo Fabríco, 1. *Prœt.* yo Fabriqué, *to frame, to forge, to worke, to fashion, to invent, to make, to* **build.**	*Fabricár.* Præs. *Fabríco.* Præt. *Fabriqué;* to **build,** to frame, to forge.
*Falcificár, *Præs.* yo Falcifíco, 1. *Prœt.* yo Falcifiqué, *to falsifie, to* **counterfaite,** *to corrupt.*	*Falcificár, *Præs.* yo Falcifíco, 1. *Prœt.* yo Falcifiqué, *to falsifie, to* **counterfeit,** *to corrupt.*	*Falcificár.* Præs. *Falcifíco.* Præt. *Falcifiqué;* to falsifie, to corrupt, to **counterfeit**.
Famosaménte, **famouslie,** *renowmedly, notably.*	Famosaménte, **famously,** *renowmedly, notably.*	*Famosaménte,* **famously,** notably.
Labránça, *f. tillage,* **husbandrie.**	Labránça, *f. tillage,* **husbandry.**	*Labránça,* Tillage, **Husbandry**; also a Farm, or Parcel of till'd Land.
*Láña, *f. an iron that they vse in buildings to hold the stones* **togither.**	*Láña, *f. an iron that they vse in buildings to hold the stones* **together.**	*Láña,* a cramping Iron to bind Stones **together** in building.
Lanúdo, *m.* **woollie.**	Lanúdo, *m.* **woolly.**	*Lanúdo,* **woolly.**
Tafuréa, *f. a horse* **boate,** *a* **boate** *to ferrie ouer horses with.*	Tafuréa, *f. a horse* **boat,** *a* **boat** *to ferrie ouer horses with.*	*Tafuréa,* a Ferry-**boat** for Horses. *Arab.*
* Tagarmina, *a kinde of thistle* **sweete** *to* **eate.**	* Tagarmina, *a kinde of thistle* **sweet** *to* **eat.**	*Tagarmína,* a sort of **sweet** Thistle, good to **eat.** *Arab.*
Tálamo, *m. a* **bedde**	Tálamo, *m., a* **bed-chamber**	*Tálamo,* a Bridal Bed, or

[24] See Gallina (1959, 263-84) and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 191-220) for a discussion of Franciosini's dictionary.

chamber where the bride and bridegroome doe lie.	*where the bride and bridegroome doe lie.*	**Bed-chamber**, *Greek, Thalamos.*

The situation is similar in the English-Spanish parts of each dictionary, confirming that Stevens used the second edition of Minsheu's dictionary:

Minsheu (1599): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
to Accumulate or heape togither, *vide* Acumulár.	*to Accumulate or heap together*, *vide* Acumulár.	*to Accumulate or heap together*, Acumulár.
a Facultie, v. Facultád.	*a Faculty, v.* Facultád.	*a Faculty*, Facultád.
a Fallowe fielde, v. Barvécho.	*a Fallow field, v.* Barvécho.	*a Fallow field*, Barvécho.
Fallowing time for lande, v. Barvechazón.	*Fallowing time for land, v.* Barvechazón.	*Fallowing time for Land*, Barvechazón.
to Larde, v. Enlardár, Pringár.	*to Lard, v.* Enlardár, Pringár.	*to Lard*, Enlardár, Pringar.
the Latine toong, v. Léngua latína.	*the Latine tongue, v.* Léngua latína.	*the Latin tongue*, Léngua latína.
to Launce, or open a soare, *vide* Abrír herída.	*to Launce or open a sore*, *vide* Abrír herída.	*to Launce, or open a sore*, Abrír herída, Sajár, Lanceteár.
a Table plaier, v. Jugadór de táblas.	*a Table player, v.* Jugadór de táblas.	*a Table Player*, Jugadór de tablas.
a Tanne house, *vide* Tenería.	*a Tan-house, v.* Tenería.	*a Tan house*, Tenería.
to **Tappe** *vessels, vide* Ponér torníllos en barriles.	*to* **Tap** *Vessels, vide* Poner torníllos en barriles.	*to* **Tap** *Vessels*, Ponér torníllos en barríles, *or* Ponér caña.

How much did Stevens borrow from Minsheu (1623)? Opinions among scholars vary. For instance, in the late nineteenth century, Knapp (1884, 8) thought Stevens' dictionary was "[a] painstaking work, and the basis of subsequent Spanish-English dictionaries up to Neuman's (1802)." Wiener (1899, 9) replied to this opinion saying that "John Stevens' *A New Spanish and English Dictionary* is nothing but a shameless copy of Minsheu with some matter of his own of a doubtful character." Based on our study of

Stevens as a professional translator, it can immediately be objected to Wiener's opinion that there is evidence to support the view that Stevens was a man of broad scholarship, that he actually was familiar with the sources of the material he added to the dictionary, and that these sources were far from being of "doubtful character". Like Wiener, Santoyo (1974, 100) discounted Stevens' remarks in the catalogue concerning the sources he used, saying that "[a] pesar de estas detalladas afirmaciones [Stevens'], la obra de Stevens es (en una proporción que llega al 90%) una mera copia de la de Minsheu." In his study of the sources of Stevens' dictionary, Steiner (1970, 60, 65) establishes Stevens' dependence on Minsheu (1599) and Oudin, with the etymologies taken from Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* and Bernardo José Aldrete's *Del origen y principio de la lengva castellana o romance qve oy se vsa en Espana* (1674)[25] (a work mentioned by Stevens in the *Catalogue of Authors*) in the Spanish-English part. In the case of the English-Spanish part, Steiner (1970, 71) considers Minsheu 1599 to be the main source "although available in his time [Stevens'] were monolingual English hard-word dictionaries." Steiner (1970, 105) sums up his opinion as follows: "The 1705 English-Spanish work is almost verbatim copy of Minsheu, while the 1706 Spanish-English work is an amalgamation of Minsheu (1599) and Oudin (1607) with a bit of Aldrete (1606) and Covarrubias (1611) [...]."

Our sample from the Spanish-English part contains a series of identical or quasi-identical entries in Minsheu 1623 and Stevens 1706. Such series are rare, but they clearly illustrate the derivative relationship. Noland (1989, 251-2) says that Stevens also consulted the Spanish word list of Minsheu's *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English* (1617). In the following examples we see that Stevens (1706) was closer to Minsheu (1623):

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[25] The first edition is from 1606, but Stevens may have used the 1674 edition, in which Aldrete's book was bound together with Covarrubias' *Tesoro* or the 1682 edition. For bibliographical data, see Niederehe, 1999, 24-5 and 221-2; there is a facsimile of the 1674 edition available online from the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*.

Minsheu (1617): *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*Abraçáda, *f. an embracing, hugging, or clasping in the armes*. *Also a fathome.*	*Abraçáda,* **an embracing, hugging, or clasping in the Arms.**
Abraçáda. [...] A. *a mingled wine.*	Ø	Ø
Abraçada. [...] A. *the vine embrased or wreathed one within another.*	*Abraçáda vid, *a vine wreathed one with another.*	Ø
Abraçadéras. [...] A. Braces of Iron or wood to hold fast or embrace any worke or building made of wood or stone.	Ø	Ø
Ø	Abraçádo, *m. embraced, hugged, or clasped in armes.*	*Abraçádo,* **embrac'd, hugg'd, or clasp'd in** the **Arms.**
Ø	*Abraçadór, *m. one that embraceth, huggeth, or claspeth in his armes.*	*Abraçadór,* **one that embraces, huggs, or clasps in the Arms.**
Ø	*Abraçamiénto, *m. an embracing, hugging or clasping in his armes.*	*Abraçamiento,* **embracing, hugging, or clasping in the Arms.**
Abraçár. [...] A. *to* **Embrace.** [...]	Abraçar, *to embrace, hug, or claspe in armes.*	*Abraçar,* **to embrace,** to **hugg, or clasp in the Arms;** also to encompass or hem in. From *Braços,* the Arms.
[...] Lavadéro, *vt* Lavatório.	[...] Lavadéro, *m. a washing place.*	[...] *Lavadéro,* **a Washing place.**
[Lavatório. *L.* lavatorium. *a washing place,* ...] Lavádo, *part: à* Lavár. Lavadór. [...] A. *a washer.* Lavadúra. [...] A. *a washing* Lavajál, *vt* Cenadál.	*[Lavatório, *m. a lauer to wash at, a bathe.*] *Lavádo, *m. washed.* Lavadór, *m. a washer.* Lavadúra, *f. washing.* *Lavajál, *Lavajo, wallowing in water or durt, to wash as swine doe, a puddle.*	[*Lavatório,* **a Laver to wash at, a Bath,** a Cistern.] *Lavádo,* **wash'd.** *Lavadór,* **a Washer.** *Lavadúra,* a **Washing.** *Lavajal,* **a Puddle,** a Slough, a place full of Mire.
Lavájo, *idem.*	*Lavájo, *idem.*	*Lavájo, *idem.*

Identical entries do occur in Minsheu (1623) and Stevens (1706), but the following set of examples show that Stevens did not borrow blindly in the Spanish-English section from Minsheu (1623):

Minsheu (1617): *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Abotonádo *part. de* Abotonár.	*aBotonádo, *m. buttoned, clasped, hooked.*	Abotonádo, **button'd, as a Man's Coat, in Trees it is budded.**
Ø	aBotonadúra, *f. a button or claspe.*	Abotonadúra, **buttoning, or the Place on which the Buttons are fastned.**
Abotonadúra de los arboles, [...] A. ***the bud of a tree*** [...]	Ø	Ø
Abotonadúra de oro o plata. [...] A. *Buttons or buckles of gold or silver.* [...]	aBotonadúra de óro o pláta, *a claspe, or button of siluer or gold.*	Ø
Abotonár o **Abrochár la vestidúra.** [...] A. *to button, buckle, or clasp.* V. Botón.	aBotonár, *to button, to claspe, &c. to bud.*	Abotonár, **to button a Garment, in Trees to bud.** **From** Botón, **a Button, or a Bud of a Tree.** [s. v. *Abotonár*]
Abotonár los árboles, o Brotár. I. q. Botár o echár fuéra botones. [...] A. *to bud forth.* [...]	aBotonár los árboles, *to bud, spout, or begin to blossome as trees and herbes doe.*	
Abouár *vi* Abolár.	*Abovádo, *vide* Abobádo.*	Abovádo, vid. *Abobádo.*
Ø	Ø	Abovedádo, **vaulted, or arched.**
Abovedár. [...] A. ***to vault, or make in manner of a vaulted roofe.***	Ø	Abovedár, **to vault, or arch.**
Abovílla *vt* Abubílla. [...]	Ø	Ø
Abrá, *vi.* Abré.	*Abrá, *i.* Avrá, *shall or will haue: the future tense of the Infinitiue* Avér.	Abrá, *or* Aurá, **there will be, or shall be, the Future Tense of** *Avér*, **to have; also it will come, but in this Sense Obs.**
Abra [...] A. ***an opening.***	*A'bra, *a place in Antwerpe*	Abra, **any opening, a Creek**

	so called, where is a hauen comming from sea.	of the Sea, or an Inlet into the Land. From *Abrír*, to open.

Note in the previous examples that entries are added and others deleted or modified, and that Stevens may have borrowed from the Spanish-Latin-English of Minsheu (1617) to modify entries. The following examples from letter *F* of the three dictionaries confirm these features:

Minsheu (1617): *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Fiádo, *part: de* fiár.	*Fiádo, *as dár en fiádo, to deliuer vpon trust, to credit with.*	*Fiádo*, **trusted, credited**.
Fiadór. [...] *a suretie*, [...] à criance, *for a hawke. Item à* **ribon**, *to stay a cloake on ones shoulders*.	Fiadór, *m. a surety that vndertaketh to see another mans debt answered, or that baileth one out of prison.*	*Fiadór*, **a Surety, or Bail; he that is bound for another. In Faulconry it is the small long Line that is fastned to the Hawk's Lease, when she is first Lur'd, to bring her back at Pleasure, and is call'd a Creance.**
[s.v. Fiadór]	Ø	*Fiadór*, is also **the Loop of a Cloak that comes about the Neck to button, that it may not fall off.**
Fiámbre. [...] A. *cold meate*, [...]	*Fiámbre, *f. cold meat.*	*Fiámbre*, Cold Meat, ***Quasi Friambre***.
Fiámbréras. [...] A. *a safe to set cold meate in*.	Ø	*Fiambréra*, **a large Hamper**, in which Great Men when they travel, **carry Cold Meat**.
Fiánça. L. sponsio.	Fiánça, *f. credit, putting in sureties for debt, bailing of prisoners, any assurance.*	*Fiança*, Bail, **Surety**.
Fiár. [...] A. *to trust*, also *to put in a suretie*.	Fiár, *to trust another, to become surety for another, to put in baile for other.*	*Fiár*, to trust, to credit, to bail, to be bound for, **to confide in, to relie on. Prov.** *Ni fies, ni porfies, ni*

		apuéstes, ni préstes, y vivirás éntre las gentes. **Do not trust, nor contend, nor lay Wagers nor lend, and you'll live among Men. That is, you will live peaceably, because those things often breed ill Blood.**
Ø	Ø	*Ficár*, in *Cant*, to play; *Ficánte*, in *Cant*, a Gamester.

There is an increase of approximately 19 per cent in Stevens' English-Spanish part in comparison to that of Minsheu. No detailed study of the potential sources of these additions has been done. According to Steiner (1970, 71), Stevens copied Minsheu for the English-Spanish part and did not consult the English hard-word dictionaries. For his additions, Stevens may have turned to Minsheu's polyglot dictionary; to the Latin and English dictionaries, such as the *Linguæ Latinæ Liber Dictionarius Quatripartitus* of Adam Littleton (1678, 1684); to the *Great French Dictionary* of Guy Miège (1688) or the *Royal Dictionary* of Abel Boyer (1699); or even to the English-Italian part of Giovanni Torriano's *Dictionary Italian & English [...] whereunto is added a Dictionary English & Italian* (1659). Stevens may have also reversed entries from Minsheu's Spanish-English part, just as Minsheu himself had done to develop his English-Spanish part starting from the Spanish-English of Percyvall. The following examples show that, in the English-Spanish part, Stevens relied more heavily on Minsheu (1623) than in the Spanish-English section. They also point to a potential relation to one of the editions of Minsheu's polyglot dictionary, probably that of 1627:[26]

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[26] In these examples, please note that Minsheu uses the following abbreviations in his polyglot dictionary (1617, 1627): *H.* for Spanish, *I.* for Italian, *G.* for French, and *L.* for Latin. Samples from Minsheu (1623)

Minsheu (1617): *The Guide into the Tongues*	Minsheu (1627): *Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the Tongues*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
To Abandon, *cast off, quite give ouer, or vtterly to forsake,* [...] H. **des-Amparár** [...]	*to* Abandon, *cast off, leaue at randome, vtterly to forsake, or quite giue ouer,* [...] H. **des-Amparár**, [...]	*to* Abandon, **put away, or forsake,** *vide* **Abandonár.**	To Abandon, **put away, or forsake,** **Abandonár, Desamparar.**
Ø	Abandoned, [...] H. **des-Amparádo.** [...]	*Abandoned or forsaken, vide* **Abandonádo.**	*Abandoned or forsaken,* **Abandonádo, Desamparádo.**
[...] To Abash, *or make ashamed:* [...] H. **Hazér verguença,** [...]	[...] *to* Abash, *or make ashamed,* [...] H. **Hazér verguença,** [...]	[...] *to* Abash *or make ashamed, vide* Afrentar.	[...] *to* Abash *or make ashamed,* **Avergonçár.**
[...] To Abate, *or diminish,* [...] H. *etiam* **Abaxár.** [...]	[...] *to* Abate, *make lesse, or diminish,* [...] H. **Abaxár.** [...]	[...] *to* Abate *or diminish, vide* **Diminuýr.**	[...] *to* Abate *or diminish,* **Diminuýr, Abaxàr.**
[...] An Abreuiátion, *abridgement, or making short.* [...] H Abreuiación. [...] Ø	*an* Abreuiation, *or* Abridgement. [...] H. Abreuiación. [...] L. **Epitome.** [...] *an* Abridgement, *Abstract, or* **Epitome.** [...] Vi. Abreuiation.	[...] *an* Abbreviation, *vide* **Abreviación.** [...] *an* Abridgement, *register, or compendious draught or abstract, vide* **Abreviatúrá**	[...] *an* Abbreviation, **Abreviación.** [...] *an* Abridgment, *register, or compendious draught or abstract,* **Abreviatúra, Epítome.**
[...] An Abridgement. *Vi.* Abreuiation.	[...] [s.v. *an* Abreuiation]	[...] Ø	[...] *an* Abridgment, Abreviación, Abreviatúra, **Epítome.**

have been placed right before those from Stevens and not before Minsheu (1627) because Minsheu (1623) is Stevens' main source.

[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*to* Accélerate, [...] H. **Apressurárse**. [...]	Ø	*to Accellerate,* **Apressurár**.

The same features are found under letters *F*, *L* and *T*, meaning that Stevens was consistent in his practice of borrowing from Minsheu's bilingual and polyglot dictionaries, in the case of the latter, the 1627 edition seems to be the most likely source:

Minsheu (1617): *The Guide into the Tongues*	Minsheu (1627): *Amends and Avgmentation of his Guide into the Tongues*	Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
Ø	Fabulous, *fained* [...] H. ***Fabulóso***. [...]	Ø	Fabulous, **Fabulóso**.
[...] Ø	[...] Ø	[...] *Factious fellowes, v.* Bandoléros, Vandoléros.	[...] *a Factious fellow,* **Sedicióso**.
Ø	Factious. [...] H. Vanderizo, **Sedicióso**. [...]	*Factious,* *v.* Bandoléro, Vandoléro, Chisméro, Cismático.	Ø
[...] *the* Falling *sicknesse, because those that haue it* fall downe *in the streetes or wheresoeuer*. [...] H. Gota coral, **mal caduco**.	[...] *the* Falling *sicknesse*. [...] H Gota coral, **mal caduco**. [...]	Ø	*the Falling sickness,* **Mal caduco**, Mal de coraçón.
[...] Fántasticke. [...] H. P. I. *Fantástico*. [...]	[...] **Fantasticall**, *or* Fantasticke, [...] H. I. *Fantástico*	[...] Ø	[...] *Fantastical,* **Fantástico**.
[...] a Ladie, [...] H. **Dáma**, Señora. [...]	[...] a Ladie, [...] H. **Dáma**, Señora. [...]	[...] *a* Lady, *v.* Señóra.	[...] *a Lady,* Señora, **Dáma**.

[...] *a* Ladle. [...] G. **Cuilliér à pot**. [...] I. **Cucchiára,** [...] H. Hatáca.[...]	[...] *a* Ladle. [...] G. **Cuilliér à pot**. H. I. *Cucchiára,* [...]	*a* Ladle, *v.* Hatáca.	*a Ladle,* Hatáca, **Cucharón**.
[...] *to* Tame, [...] P. H. *Amansár.* [...]	[...] *to* Tame, [...] H. *Amansár.* [...]	[...] *to* Tame. *make tame,* *subdue, or bring* *vnder, v.* Domár, Desbravár, Desembravecér.	[...] *to Tame, make tame,* *subdue, or bring* *under,* Domár, Desbravár, Desembravecér, Domesticár, **Amansár.**
[...] *a* Target, [...] H. taria, [...]	[...] *a* Target, [...] H. Taria, **Adarga,** [...]	[...] *a* Target *or shield,* *vide* Escúdo, Pavéz, Tárja.	[...] *a Target or Shield,* Escúdo, Pavéz, Tárja, **Adárga.**

As mentioned above, Stevens may have culled headwords and/or equivalents from other sources, such as the English-Latin dictionary of Adam Littleton and the French and English dictionaries by Guy Miège and Abel Boyer. It is possible that Stevens borrowed from these works, which were more recent than those by Minsheu, because Stevens' scholarship and knowledge of languages would have allowed him to consult any of these. Unfortunately, precise sources are difficult to trace due to brevity of the microstructure in Stevens (1705). What is certain is that in the English-Spanish part he followed Minsheu (1623) more closely, even if not exclusively.

Summing up, the main source of data for Stevens (1706-05) is Minsheu (1623), but Stevens also turned to Minsheu 1617 and probably 1627 to modify microstructural information. Nevertheless, the frequent additions and modifications indicate that Stevens did not copy uncritically from his sources.

7.1.3 Megastructure

7.1.3.1 Outside matter

In addition to his activity as a translator and an antiquarian, Stevens compiled a Spanish-English, English-Spanish dictionary, with a Spanish grammar and dialogues. Although the Spanish-English part came first in the volume, it is dated 1706, whereas the English-Spanish part has a separate title page dated 1705. As mentioned in the biographical overview, a second edition of the dictionary was published in 1726, while the grammar and dialogues were published in 1725 and 1739 with a small Spanish-English topical vocabulary taking the place of the dictionary.

The structure of Stevens' dictionary is similar to that of Minsheu's Spanish and English dictionary, with a grammar and dialogues of 1599. The volume prepared by Stevens, too, contains a bidirectional dictionary, followed by a Spanish grammar, and the dialogues in Spanish and English, only in this case the dialogues have no separate title page, as they had in Minsheu's volume, but wrap up the grammar.[27] The book is organized as follows:

1. The *New Spanish and English Dictionary* contains:[28]

[27] See a transcription of the title page and brief description of the 1706 dictionary in Sbarbi (1980 [1891], 151-2), Viñaza (1978 [1893], 1063-4), Alston (1987, plate CXI) and Niederehe (2005, 27-8). A transcription of both title pages (1706 and 1705) is found in Steiner (1970, 58-9), who also transcribes the Spanish part of the title page of 1726. San Vicente (1995, 124-5) gives the title page of the 1706 dictionary edition and that of the 1725 grammar. We consulted the following microfilm editions of his works from *The Eighteenth Century*, as follows: (1) reel 2686:1 contains the *New Spanish and English Dictionary* (1706-05); (2) reel 5318:2 contains the *New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* of 1726; (3) contains the *New Spanish Grammar* (1725); and (4) reel 6421: 18 contains the second edition of the *New Spanish Grammar* edited by Sebastian Puchol (1739). Electronic tables of contents and pdf editions of Stevens' dictionaries and grammars are found in the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, but the 1725 and 1739 tables of contents of the grammar are not complete.

[28] Calculations vary as to the exact number of pages of the each part. The description in the *English Short Title Catalogue* is as follows: 420 pp. in the Spanish-English part and 106 pp. in the English-Spanish. According to the description in reel 2686, the Spanish-English part has 412 pages. Steiner (1970, 62) estimates 415 pp. in the Spanish-English part and 103 pp. in the English-Spanish. Our collation is based on the complete pdf version from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*: 11 pages of preliminaries, 407

1.1. Title page, dated 1706

1.2. Dedication: "To my Honoured Friend Charles Killigrew, Esq" (2 pp.)

1.3. "The Preface" (five-and-a-half pages)

1.4. "Advertisement" (half-page)

1.5. The "Catalogue of Authors from whom this Dictionary is Collected"

(2 pp.)

1.6. "A Spanish and English Dictionary" (unpaginated)

1.7. Separate title page of the English-Spanish part, dated 1705

1.8. "A Dictionary English and Spanish" (unpaginated).

2. The *Spanish Grammar* contains:

2.1. Title page, dated 1706

2.2. Text of the grammar (pp. 3-48)

2.3. The six "Dialogues in Spanish and English. Very useful for the better attaining of the Spanish Tongue" (pp. 49-72).

7.1.3.2 Macro- and microtructures

In the Spanish and English dictionary by Minsheu, the Spanish-English part almost doubled in size the English-Spanish part. This disproportion increased in the case of Stevens' dictionary, whose Spanish-English part has some four hundred pages, whereas the English-Spanish part has only one hundred and four. Regarding the number of entries, Steiner (1970, 58 and 2003, 88), Alvar Ezquerra (1991, 12), and Rizo Rodríguez and Valera Hernández (2001, 346) put at approximately 20,000 the number of entries for the English-Spanish part; the same authors estimate that the Spanish-English part contains

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pages in the Spanish-English part, and 104 pages in the English-Spanish part. It should be mentioned that there are errors in the pagination of the grammar and the dialogues.

some 40,000 entries. In a later paper, Steiner (1991, 2950) proposed 50,000 entries for the Spanish-English part. Based on our 32-page sample from Stevens' dictionary (sixteen pages from each part), and calculating an average of 107 entries per page in the Spanish-English part, there would be approximately 43,600 entries therein. For the English-Spanish part, the average obtained is 216 entries per page, and thus approximately 22,500 entries in this part. Our estimate for the Spanish-English part of Minsheu's dictionary was approximately 25,300 entries and for the English-Spanish part 18,200. Therefore, Stevens' additions mount to 18,300 entries (41.97 per cent) in the Spanish-English part, and 4300 entries (19.11 per cent) in the English-Spanish. Steiner (2003 [1986], 88 and 1991, 2950) says that Stevens followed Minsheu "slavishly". The examples given in the discussion of sources illustrate that Stevens based his work on his predecessor's, but the number of entries he modified or added make further investigation of this matter necessary.

One type of addition to the word list, already mentioned by Steiner (1970, 62 ff.), are entries of an encyclopaedic nature, including proper names, names of towns, and a large number of proverbs:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*Abenruyz*, **The Name of a famous** *Arabian* **Physician**, whence the **Prov.** *Abenruyz, y Galéno tráen a mi cása el bien agéno: Abenruyz* and *Galen* bring other Mens Goods to my House. The Saying of Physicians, who by reading *Abenruyz, Galen*, and other fam'd Physicians, get Wealth. [...]
Ø	*Abigaíl*, a Scripture **Proper Name of a Woman**, the Wife of *Nabal Carmelus*, and afterwards of King *David*, [...] [...]
Abríl, m. the moneth Aprill.	*Abríl*, The Month of *April*. Lat. *Aprilis*. **Prov.** *En Abríl no quites fil:* In *April* do not take off a Thread. [...] **Prov.** *Abríles, y Cóndes los mas son traydóres: Aprils* and

Ø

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Earls, most of them are Traytors. [...] **Prov.**
Abríl y Máyo la lláve de tódo el año: April
and *May* are the Key of all the Year. [...]
[...]
Fábiano, Fabian, **the proper name of a**
Man. *Lat.*
[...]
Familiár del sánto Ofício, Persons of the
greatest Quality take it as an Honour to be
admitted to this Title; and it is much su'd
for, none being admitted, but such as make
out they are not descended from Moors or
Jews. [...]
[...]
Féria, **a small Town in the Province of**
Estremadura **in** ***Spain***; [...]
[...]
Lábaro, the Labarum, or Roman Standard,
on which the Emperor *Constantine*
embroider'd the Cross, and Name of Christ.
See the Description of it in *Eusebius; lib. 1.*
vit. Constans.
[...]
Lábia, Prating, Talkativeness; also a
smooth, deceitful way of talking, Tongue-
padding. From *Labio*, the Lip.
[...]
Lagúna, a **Town in the Province of**
Venezuela, in South *America*, seated on the
West side of the Lake *Maracaybo*, about 40
Leagues from *Coro*, the Metropolis of that
province.
[...]
Taboláça, a Painter's Pallet to hold his
Colours on.
Taborucú, a Tree growing in the Island of
Puerto Rico, in North *America*, which there
distils a bituminous Substance, [...]
Taboucuru, the **name of a River in South**
America, [...]
[...]
Tadousác, a **Port within the great River of**
Canada, in North *America*, near the Mouth

of the River *Saguenay*, in about 48 Degrees of North Latitude. [...]

Our sample shows that the phrases Stevens added to Minsheu's word list are particularly numerous. Examples of those can be found under headwords *Abivár* (5 phrases), *Abrír* (13 phrases), *Falso* (6 phrases), *Fe* (10 phrases), *Lana* (7 phrases), *Lança* (4 phrases), and *Tabla* (7 phrases); some of them are given here:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*Abrír lo sellado*, to unseal.
Ø	*Abrír máno de úna cósa*, to desist from a thing.
Ø	*Abrír portíllo*, to make a Breach.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*A la fe*, by my Faith.
Ø	*Tener fe en otro*, to have Faith in a Man.
Ø	*Guardár fe*, to be just, to keep Promise.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Léngua de perro*, the Herb Hounds-Tongue.
Ø	*Léngua Serpentína*, the Herb Adders-Tongue. [...]
Ø	*Ponér léngua en algúno*, to talk ill of one.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tábla de río*, that part where the River runs smoothest.
Ø	*Tábla de meson*, a Board, which is the Sign of a Lodging-house, or Inn in *Spain*.
Ø	*Tábla del múslo*, the thich brawny part of the Thigh.

More often than not Stevens introduced changes in the microstructure, for example a reduction in the number of equivalents:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Fastidiádo, *m.* **loathed**, *despised much, set at*	*Fastidiádo*, **loath'd**.

naught. Fastidiár, *to be tedious or loathsome, to trouble, to molest, to importune, to cloy. Also* **to loath** *or abborre.*	*Fastidiár*, **to loathe**.
Fastídio, *m.* **loathing** *or loathsomnesse, disdaine, abhorring, setting at naught. Also molestation, trouble, vexation, wearisimnesse, tediousnesse*	*Fastídio*, **a loathing**. *Lat.*
Fastidióso, **one giuen to loathing**, *disdainfull, scornfull, abhorring much. Also troublesome, importuning, tedious, irkesome.*	*Fastidióso*, **loathsome**.
*Fastío, *vide* **Hastío**, *m. loathing, disdaine.*	*Fastío*, Vid. ***Hastío***.
Fásto, *or* **Faústo**, *m. pride, arrogancie, insolency, hautinesse of heart.*	*Fásto*, Vid. ***Faústo***.
Fatál, **fatall**, *that the destinies haue appointed, such as his fortune is.*	*Fatál*, **Fatal**. *Lat.*
Fatíga, *f.* **wearines**, *griefe of mind, vexation, discouragement.*	*Fatíga*, **Weariness**, Fatigue. *Lat.*
Fatigádo, *m.* **wearied**, *vexed, grieued, out of comfort.*	*Fatigádo*, fatigu'd, **wearied**.

Stevens' changes went further than abridging the microstruture. Besides the additions to the word list, Stevens took some equivalents from Minsheu (1623), reworded the microstrutural information, added other equivalents and/or short explanations:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Abreviadúra *or* Abbreviatúra, *f. an abridgement, a cutting off short of the matter, a drawing of it into a short course.* Abreviár, *to abridge, to cut short, to draw into a briefe course.* Ø	*Abreviadúra*, or *Abreviamiénto*, an Abridgment, **Retrenchment**, cutting off, or **shortning**, or **writing with Abbreviations**. *Abreviár*, **to make short**, to be brief, to abridge, to cut off short. From *Bréve*, short. *Abréyro*, a Town in *Portugal* in the District of *Villareal*, 3 Leagues from *Villaflor*. It contains but 120 Houses.
*Abrí, *m. a sunne shining place, a shadowie place from extremitie of heat.* Abridór, *m. one that openeth.*	Ø *Abridór*, one that opens, **also an iron Tool used to starch Bands on**.

[...]

Fervorosaménte, *hotly, ardently, hastily, eagerly.*

*Fervoróso, *vide* Herveróso, *hot, in a chase, hasty, eager, earnest.*

Ø

Festijádo, *feasted, made merry, well entertained.*

Ø

Festijár, *to make good cheere, to feast, to entertaine.*

Festivál, *of a feast, or belonging to a feast, or to good cheere.*

*Festividád, *f. the festiuall day.*

[...]

Lechúga, *f. a lettuce.*

Lechúga créspa, *a curled or ragged leafed lettuce.*

Ø

* Lechúga parráda por el suelo, *a Cabbage lettuce, a leafed or headed Lettuce.*

Ø

*Lechugílla, *f. the ruffe of a ruffe band. Also a little Lettuce.*

[...]

Tapiár, *to make a mud wall.*

*Tapiár los médios cuérpos, *to set one and ram him fast in the ground vp to the middle, and so let him die.*

*Tapiçádo, *hanged with Arras.*

[...]

Fervorosaménte, **earnestly,** eagerly, **zealously.**

Fervoróso, **fervorous,** earnest, eager, **zealous.**

Festeár. Vid. *Festejár.*

Festejádo, **made much of, well entertain'd,** feasted.

Festejadór, one that makes much of, or kindly entertains others.

Festejár, to make **much of,** to entertain kindly, **to treat lovingly.**

Festivál, **Festival, Joyful,** belonging to a Feast.

Festividád, a Festival Day, **or the solemnizing of it.**

[...]

Lechúga, a Lettice. Lat. *Lactúca.* **So call'd from being milky, and good to fill Nurses with Milk. There are many Sorts, which see in** *Ray verb. Lactúca.*

Lechúga créspa, Curl'd, or Ragged-leav'd, or **Endive-leav'd** Lettice.

Lechúga Murciana, the Cabbage-Lettice.

Lechúga parráda, **Broad-leav'd** Lettice.

Lechúga Romána, the Roman Lettice.

Lechuguílla, a little Lettice; also **the scolloping of a Rush, or the like.**

[...]

Tapiár, to make a Mud-wall; **to Wall up a Place.**

Tapiár el medio cuérpo, **an old cruel Punishment, to stick a Man half way in the Earth,** and so let him die.

Tapiçádo, **hung with Tapistry, or the Ground cover'd with Carpets.**

Stevens continued the diachronic identification of the headword, which Minsheu had begun by indicating the etymology of Arabic words. Stevens extended the indication of

etymology further using Aldrete, Covarrubias and, according to Noland (1989, 252), Minsheu's *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie*:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Abiltár, *vide* Aviltár, *to make vile, to debase, to cast downe, to set at nought, to cast off, to hold scorne of.*	*Abiltár*, or *Aviltár*. to debase, to make mean, vile, or abject. **From the Lat.** *Vilis.*
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Fálto*, deficient, wanting. **Gothick.**
[...]	[...]
Fárro, *or* Escándia, *bran, the cribble of meale that is boulted or sifted out: some say it signifieth any hard corne, or bread corne.*	*Fárro*, Obs. Bran. Some will have it to be any Corn; It is also Barley that has the Husk just taken off, which serves to make Ptisan for sick People. **From the** *Latin Far*, Corn.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Legón*, a Spade. **Lat.** *Lígo.*
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tabahóla*, a confuse Noise of many People talking, or otherwise. *Arab.*
[...]	[...]
* Tacáño, *a lewd villanous fellow.*	*Tacaño*, a Knave, a sly deceitful Fellow. **From the** *Hebrew Tacach*, fraud.

Stevens also included cant significations in the Spanish-English part, for instance:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*Abispedár*, **in Cant.** to gaze steadily.
	[...]
Ø	*Faldúdo*, that has great Skirts, or Hanging-Coats. **In** *Cant*, a Target.
	[...]
Ø	*Farabusteár:* **In** *Cant*, to look out sharp.
Ø	*Farabusteadór*, **In** *Cant*, a sharp Thief.
	[...]
Ø	*Filár:* **In** *Cant*, to cut a Purse.
Ø	*Filatéro:* **In** *Cant*, a Cut-Purse.
	[...]
Lándre, *f. kernels in the necke or thigh, the blaines, botches, the pestilence.*	*Landre*, a pestilential sort of Swelling, [...] **In** *Cant*, it is Money ty'd in the corner of a

	Handkerchief, or such like place.
	[...]
Ø	*Tablámes*, **in Cant**, a Table-cloth.
	[...]
Ø	*Taquín*, **in Cant**, a Pick-pocket.
	[...]
Ø	*Tarasáda*, **in Cant**, a Cheat.
Ø	*Tarásas*, **in Cant**, Dice.

Together with cant significations, there are other instances that show how Stevens took pride in stressing "semantic accuracy", as Malkiel (1959-60, 118, footnote 46) indicates. Examples of these are the indication of metaphorical and poetical usage:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Abismo, *a bottomlesse pit, a deepe gulfe where many seas or waters meet, a place in the Sea so deepe as it cannot be sounded, a whirle-poole, a place in hell.*	*Abísmo*, an Abyss, a bottomless Pit, a deep Gulph, a deep Valley. *Met.* Hell, or any profound thing that cannot be comprehended. Lat. *Abyssus*.
[...]	[...]
Fealdád, *f. foulenesse, filthinesse, shamefull dealing, dishonest doing.*	*Fealdád*, Deformity, Ugliness. *Met.* scandalous, or dishonest Dealing.
*Feaménte, *fowly, shamefully, filthily.*	*Feaménte*, uglily, deform'dly. *Met.* scandalously, dishonestly.
[...]	[...]
*Fémina, *vide* Mugér.	*Fémina*, a Woman, **poetical**. *Latin*.
[...]	[...]
*Fenéstra, *vide* Ventána.	*Fenestra*, **Poetical** for a Window. From the *Latin*. The right *Spanish* Name being *Ventána*.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Lambicár*, To distil from a Limbeck or Still. *Met.* To strain, [...]
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Metér la lánça hásta el regatón*, to thrust in the Lance up to the thick part of the Hand. *Met.* To press a Man hard.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tálpa*, a Mole, *Lat.* and **only us'd in Spanish by Poets**, the *Spanish* Name being

Tópo.

Other entries show a diachronic usage mark for obsolete or Old Spanish:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*	Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*Abemolár*, **Obs**. to soften, to supple.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Abéso*, bad, naught. **Obs**.
[...]	[...]
Abondóso or Abundánte, *plentifull, abundant.*	*Abóndo*, or *Abondóso*, **Obs**. plentiful, abounding.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Fáca*, **Obs**. vid. *Háca*.
Ø	*Facanéa*, **Obs**. vid. *Hacanéa*.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Fárpa*, in **Old Spanish** is a Rag, or Rent, or a loose Piece hanging from a Garment. In the Old Laws of *Spain*, call'd *Lyges de las partidas*, Part 2. Law 13. they call the Points of the Standards, cut like Streamers, *Farpas*.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Felonía*, an **Old Spanish** word, signifying Treachery, Disloyalty, Treason; but not what we vulgary call Felony. From the *Latin Fallere*, to deceive.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Lamín*, **Obs**. a dainty, liquorish Fellow.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Lazdrádo*, **Obs**. for *Lazerádo*. Also a Labourer, but out of use.
[...]	[...]
Talantóso, *wilfull, desirous, lustfull, giuen to voluptuous pleasure.*	*Talantóso*, **Obs**. Desirous, Wilful.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tardáme*, **Obs**. a Vessel that is Row'd with Oars.

These procedures indicate that Stevens' general method in relation to Minsheu was to change the microstructure altogether, to add numerous entries and to delete others.

Stevens carried out this method extensively in the Spanish-English part; as a result, the number of identical entries is very small. In other words, in the Spanish-English part Stevens is not a mere copy of Minsheu because the changes are too frequent and too numerous.

Was that also the case in the English-Spanish part? Steiner (1970, 58) remarks that in this part "it is readily obvious that there are additions and subtractions from Minsheu. Stevens removes the word *vide* or its abbreviation *v.* from the borrowed entries; he does not use black letter; he eliminates certain particularizing phrases, [...]" Let us take a closer look at the English-Spanish part. Whereas the additions Stevens made to the Spanish-English part are encyclopedic in nature, the changes in the English-Spanish part are limited to the addition of entries as well as some phrases and equivalents. Stevens also left out equivalents from Minsheu (1623):

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
Ø	*An Adage*, Adagio.
an Adamant stone, *vide* **Ymán, Calamíta.**	*an Adamant*, Diamánte.
Ø	*Adamantine*, Diamantíno, Adamantíno.
to Adde, *vide* Añadír.	*to Add*, Añadír.
*Added **or ioyned**, v.* Añadído.	*Added*, Añadído.
*an Addition, **or putting to of any thing**, v.* **Addición,** Añadídúra.	*an Addition*, Añadídúra.
an Adder, v. Culébra.	*an Adder*, **Bívora.**
[...]	[...]
Ø	*to Fall away in ones flesh*, Enflaquecér.
Ø	*to Fall down plum*, Caér de plómo.
Ø	*to Fall on ones face*, Caér de búzes.
Ø	*to Fall backwards*, Dar de espaldas.
Ø	*to Fall out with another*, Reñír.
[...]	[...]
to Teach, *vide* Amaestrár, Disciplinár, Enseñár.	*to Teach*, Amaestrár, Disciplinar, Enseñár.
a Teacher, v. Ensenadór, Maéstro.	*a Teacher*, Ensenadór, Maéstro.
Teaching, v. Enseñánça, Diciplína.	*Teaching*, Enseñánça, Disciplína.
to Teame *horses together, v.* **Atár cavállos júntos.**	*to Team Horses together*, **juntar los cavállos al cárro.**

to Teare *the haire, vide* Mesár cabéllos.

to Tear the Hair, Mesár cabéllos, **Desgreñárse, Arrancárse los cabéllos**.

Tearing or renting, v. Mesadúra.

Tearing or renting, Mesadúra, **Desgreñadúra**.

to Teare or rent in peeces, v. Despedeçár, Destroçár.

to Tear or rent in pieces, Despedaçár, Destroçar, **Hazér pedaços, Rompér, Rasgár**.

The series of entries between *to Lead* and *Light, or nimble* in our sample from Stevens (1705) is interesting, since it confirms the above mentioned procedures. This series covers 273 entries, of which 55 do not appear in Minsheu (1623) and from which 13 entries were omitted (*a plucking off of the Leaues, to giue License to doe a thing, to* Leauell *by line, a Leauelling line, one that hath leauelleth by line, to Leauell or make euen, a* Lecterne *or deske, Lees,* Leisure, *or leasure, to* Lepe, *Lewsed, a Lewser,* and *I had* Leyser). Stevens added new entries (*Learning* is an exceptional entry as Stevens gives the grammatical category):

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
Ø	*Learning*, **Subst.** Sciéncia, Sabiduría.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Legionary, or belonging to a legion,* Legionário.
Ø	*Legitimate,* Legítimo.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Levell'd, or made plain,* Allanádo, Arrasádo.
Ø	*a Leveller that takes aim,* Apuntadór, Asestadór.
Ø	*a Leveller that makes plain,* Allanadór, Arrasadór.
Ø	*Levelling,* Apuntamiénto, Asestamiénto, Allanamiénto, Arrasamiénto.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Libra, the constellation,* La balánça.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*to Light upon, or find a thing,* Dár con úna cósa.

He also added phrasal entries:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
Ø	*Led aside*, Desviádo.
Ø	*Led into*, Introducído.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*to Let to hire*, Alquilár.
Ø	*to Let alone*, Dexár, Desamparár.
Ø	*to Let go*, Soltár.

And new equivalents:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
Length, *v.* Larguéza, Longúra.	*Length*, Larguéza, Longúra, **Largúra**.
[...]	[...]
Letting, *v.* Embaráço, Embárgo.	*Letting*, Embaráço, Embárgo, **Estórvo, Impediménto**.
[...]	[...]
Liberalitie, *v.* Larguéza, Franquéza, Liberalidád.	*Liberality*, Larguéza, Franquéza, Liberalidád, **Generosidad**.
Liberall, v. Liberál.	*Liberal*, Liberál, **Fránco**.
[...]	[...]
a Liege man or subiect, *v.* Subjéto.	*a Liege man, or subject*, Subjéto, **Súbdito, Vasállo**.

Moreover, Stevens changed equivalents found in Minsheu (1623), his main source for this part:

Minsheu (1623): *A Dictionarie in English and Spanish*	Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*
to Leuie, *tax or sesse*, *v.* Taxár, Empadronár.	*to Levy*, **Levantár**.
Leuied, *v.* Empadronádo, Taxádo.	*Levy'd*, **Levantádo**.
[...]	[...]
to live Lewdly, *v.* Bivír mál.	*a Lewd person*, **Un perdído**.
a Lewd person, *v.* Mal hómbre.	*to live Lewdly*, **Vivír úna vída perdída**.

[...]

Lewdly, v. Malaménte.	*Lewdly,* **Perdidaménte.**
Lewdness, v. Maldád.	*Lewdness,* **Dishonestidád.**

Further aspects of the contents and organization of the dictionary are discussed by Steiner (1970, 59 ff.). Nevertheless, it seems clear that Steiner's statement as to the "slavish" dependence of Stevens upon Minsheu needs revision. In the Spanish-English part, Stevens reduces the synchronic information by omitting the part of speech and keeping only the inflectional irregularities of verbs and the accent on the Spanish headword for pronunciation. Moreover, he does not follow Minsheu's use of a capital letter for paradigmatic information, that is, to indicate word formation. Stevens considerably expands the diachronic information (with more etymologies) and the explanatory information (with encyclopedic descriptions). He provides additional semantic information for the headword (cant, poetical and metaphorical significations; obsolete usage) and adds proverbs for syntagmatic information. It is in the English-Spanish part that Stevens is closer to his predecessor, sometimes keeping long phrasal headwords resulting from Minsheu's reversal method with the lemma capitalized and the synchronic information limited to marking the accent on Spanish equivalents. When reworking Minsheu's dictionary, Stevens followed the common practice at that time, adding such new material as he saw fit from other dictionaries and books on a variety of subjects, especially to the Spanish-English part.

7.1.4   The second edition of 1726

7.1.4.1   Introduction

The second edition of Stevens' dictionary is, in the words of Steiner (1970, 61), "the first dictionary in the history of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography not to share the volume in which it is contained with some other work such as a grammar or dialogues." Steiner, however, is not able to explain how this change took place. Stevens (1726) is a revision of the previous edition in a smaller format, with the corresponding increase in the

number of pages. The publication of the *New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* in 1726 was a shared enterprise involving nine publishers: J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, F. Clay, J. Batley, and E. Symon.[29]

7.1.4.2 Megastructure

7.1.4.2.1 Outside matter

The dictionary is organized as follows: [30]

1. Title page in English and Spanish
2. The "Prologo" or "Preface", in two columns, with the Spanish text on the left and the English on the right (pp. iii-vii, that is, 5 pp.)
3. "A New Spanish and English Dictionary" (unpaginated)
4. "A New Dictionary English and Spanish" (unpaginated)

7.1.4.2.2 Macro- and microstructures

Concerning the number of entries, our calculation determined an average of 69 entries per page in the Spanish-English part, for a total of approximately 44,000 entries, and an average of 144 entries per page for the English-Spanish part, or some 25,000 entries in this section. For the Spanish-English section of 1706 the total was evaluated at

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[29] For information about these publishers, see the corresponding entries in Plomer (1968), and Plomer et al. (1968).

[30] Viñaza (1978, 748-9) transcribes the second part (in Spanish) of the title page, adding a brief description of the work and an excerpt from the "Prologo"; a brief description of the work and complete transcription of the title page can be seen in Niederehe (2005, 63). As in the case of the first edition, the estimated number of pages varies. Both the *English Short Title Catalogue* (Record Id ESTC T153614) and the microfilm reel 5318 describe the dictionary as having seven pages of preliminaries (including a blank page between the title page and the body of the dictionary) plus 945 pages. Steiner (1970, 62) gives 640 pp. and 176 pp. for the first and second parts respectively. The complete pdf version that we also consulted from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and on which our collation is based, contains six pages of preliminaries (there is no blank page between the title page and the body of the dictionary), 632 pp. in the first part and 174 pp. in the second part, for a total of 812 pp.

approximately 43,600 entries, and for the English-Spanish part of 1705 at 22,500 entries. It would seem from these calculations that Stevens did not add as many entries to the first part as he did to the second, and that the two editions are not, strictly speaking, identical. The number of entries added to the Spanish-English part in 1726 may seem negligible, but it is worth exploring this matter briefly by examining the samples themselves. In his description of the dictionary, Steiner (1970, 62) says that the two editions are almost identical:

> The 1726 edition has been reset in a typeface different from that of 1706. The guide letters at the top of each column refer to the subdivisions in the body of the text. Catchwords are used in 1706. [...] The total number of entries remains about the same although a few new vocabulary entries have been added in the 1726 edition [...]. But these changes are far and far between.

In our sample from the Spanish-English part, 51 out of the 991 entries are new, an increase of approximately 5 per cent with respect to the 1706 edition. The additions are normally short entries, such as *Abacáres, Abánco, Abechúcho, Abissínia, Fáço, Fanático, Fastuóso, Fatíble, Ladrilléro, Lançón, Langór, Lapíz, Tacón, Tajadúras, Talégo*, and *Tamborear*; some derivations, such as *Abdicación, Abdicádo, Abdicar, Familiarizádo, Familiarizárse, Farmacía, Farmacopéa*; and some phrases and cant vocabulary as follows:

Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*	Stevens (1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*
Ø	*De Diós abáxo*, Under God.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Fáço*, **in cant** an handkerchief.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Dar lamedór*, among gamesters is **a cant word** to let a man win as first to draw him in to play deep, and win all he has. The words signifying to give him syrrup, that is, to sweeten him.
[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tabáco en pólvo*, snuff.
Ø	*Tabáco de húmo*, smoking tobacco.
Ø	*Un polvillo, o una présa de tabáco*, a pinch

[…]   of snuff.
Ø   [...]
                            Tábla de pan, or *tábla de hórno*, the eight of diamonds at cards, so call'd formerly, because those we call diamonds were then represented on the *Spanish* cards like loaves, and call'd Panes. *Fiél desengáño contra la ociosidád, y los juegos*, fol. 21. p.2.
Ø   *Tábla del tocíno*, a **cant word** among gamesters, for a table where there is much noise, and little or very low play.
Ø   *Tábla de la ovéja*, a **cant word** for a table where they play, and give sparingly to the box.
[…]   [...]
Ø   *Táça penáda*, a cup that is uneasy to drink out of.
Ø   *Táça llána*, a flat cup.

In our sample from the English-Spanish part, 237 out of 2097 entries are new, an increase of 11 per cent with respect to the first edition. These new entries, such as *Ablegation, To accost, An adept, Advowson, To falter in speech, Fare in carriage, To ferment, Finical, The laity, To leer, A lieutenant-general, A life-rent, Tainted, To tantalize, To teaze, A thesis*, and many others, generally follow the same structural pattern of the first edition, that is an English word or phrase followed by one or more Spanish equivalents, some of them new too. Changes in spelling meant that groups of entries were relocated within the word list. There were also some 35 entries deleted in this part of the second edition, whereas in the Spanish-English part of our sample deletions are very rare. It is interesting to note, however, that in some cases Stevens modified the headword itself (discriminating meanings) or the equivalents:

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*
Laced, Atacádo. *Lac'd*, Guarnecído con púntas.	*Laced **as women's stays***, Atacádo. *Laced **as linen, or garments***, Guarnecído con púntas.

[...]
a Lace-maker, Cordonéro.

a Lace-maker, Randéro, Randéra.

[...]
*to **hurt** or wounded with a Launce*, Alanceár.
[...]
***hurt** or wounded with a Launce*, Alanceádo.
a Launce man, or launcier, Lança.
[...]
*to **Lay** as one lays a foundation*, Echár cimiénto, *or* Fundár.
[...]
*a **Legate, or ambassador**, **Embaxadór**, Legádo.
[...]
*a Leveret, **or young Hare***, **Lebrastíllo**.
[...]
Lights in the night, Luminarías.

[...]
Talk, **Colóquio**, Hábla.
[...]
*Talness **of Person***, Altúra.
[...]
*a **Till** or **until***, Hásta.

[...]
*A lace-maker **of such as are us'd for women's stays***, Cordonéro.
*A lace-maker **of such as are use'd for ornament***, Randéro, randéra.
[...]
To wound with a lance, Alanceár.
[...]
Wounded with a lance, Alanceádo.
One that fights with a lance, Lánça.
[...]
To lay a foundation, Echár cimiéntos, fundàr.
[...]
A legate, Legádo.

[...]
A leveret, **Liebrecílla**.
[...]
*Lights **set out** in the night **upon publick rejoycings***, Luminárias.
[...]
Talk, Hábla, **conversaciòn, discúrso**.
[...]
Tallness, Altúra.
[...]
Till, Hásta que.

The previous examples illustrate a difference in typography: in the first edition only the lemma was capitalized, while any pre-lemmatic material was kept in small case; in the second edition only the first word of the entry is capitalized. These minor – and not very frequent – changes are important because they show that not only the two editions are not identical, but that in the 1726 edition most of the new entries were in the English-Spanish part.

7.1.5 Analysis of the front matter

7.1.5.1 The edition of 1706-05

The two sets of dictionaries by Minsheu and the short dictionary by Owen preceded Stevens' dictionary of 1706-05 in the alphabetical tradition, but, for the contents of his dictionary, it is to Minsheu that Stevens is closest. Structurally, the front matter of Stevens (1706) comprises a title page, a dedication, a preface, an advertisement, and the catalogue of sources.

Thematically, the title pages of Minsheu (1599) and Stevens (1706) are similar but not identical. Minsheu explains on the title page that he used lexicographical sources (Percyvall) and culled phrases and expressions from literary sources to enlarge the work of his predecessor. Moreover, he explains the use of the accent, the declension of irregular verbs and the order of the alphabet. On the second part of the title page, he mentions the English-Spanish dictionary and the table etymological at the back of the dictionary. Stevens, too, begins with a general reference to his sources, giving priority to literary texts but with no explicit mention of any wordbook on the title page; his dictionary is "Collected from the Best Spanish Authors, Both Ancient and Modern." Stevens thus relied more than Minsheu had on literary sources, and this preceded the recourse to authorities that would later characterize the dictionary of the Spanish Academy (1726-39).

Like Minsheu, Stevens emphasizes the additions to the macrostructure; his dictionary contains "[s]everal Thousand Words more than any other Dictionary". It is interesting to note that the expansion of the macrostructure will remain a constant feature in subsequent dictionaries – by Stevens himself (1726), Pineda (1740), and Giral Delpino (1763) – but that there is not any criticism of predecessors. In fact, no explicit, direct criticism of previous compilers is made by any lexicographer in either tradition (alphabetical and topical) in the time frame under consideration in this study. This is remarkable considering that criticism of previous compilers started early, in French and English lexicography, for example, with Claudius Hollyband criticizing in 1580 the

anonymous *Dictionarie French and English* of 1571, and continued in the seventeenth century with Miège criticizing Howell's editions of Cotgrave and with Boyer, in turn, criticizing Miège.

On the title page Stevens offers a far more detailed overview than had Minsheu of the macro- and microstructure of his dictionary. Stevens claims he added thousands of words:

> With their Etymology; Their Proper, Figurative, Burlesque, and Cant Significations; The Common Terms of Arts and Sciences; The Proper Names of Men; The Surnames of Families and an Account of them; The Titles of the Nobility of Spain; Together with its Geography, and that of the West Indies; With the Names of such Provinces, Towns and Rivers in other Parts which differ in Spanish from the English.

> Also above Two Thousand Proverbs Literally Translated, with their Equivalents, where any could be found; and many Thousands of Phrases and difficult Expressions Explain'd.

> All the Words throughout the Dictionary Accented, for the ascertaining of the Pronunciation.

The only points in common between the title page in Minsheu and this one is the use of accents for pronunciation (but not for the different meanings of a word, as Minsheu had done) and the inclusion of difficult phrases and expressions. With the help of Covarrubias and Aldrete, Stevens was able to expand the diachronic identification of the headword, limited to Arabisms in Minsheu. Stevens also expanded the semantic characterization of the headword, as the discussion of the microstructure has shown. But it is the nature of the additions to the word list which sets Stevens apart from Minsheu; Stevens enters the encyclopaedic domain, adding specialized terminology ("The Common terms of Arts and Sciences"), proper names, geographical information, and proverbs, all of which justifies the fact that the dictionary is described as an *encyclopaedia* in the proposals for printing. It is important to note that none of Minsheu's recurrent concerns with the language learners are found on Stevens' title page.

Moreover, the terminology Minsheu used to speak of the English-Spanish part (alphabet, abecedarie) disappears in Stevens 1706, who also leaves out the abbreviations used by the former in the body of the dictionary to refer the English-Spanish part to the Spanish-English. With the disappearance of the indexical character of the English-Spanish, this part gains autonomy and is no longer called a table or alphabet, but "[a] Copious English and Spanish *dictionary*" (our italics), with a separate title page. Another important feature is the change in position of the grammar and the dictionary: with Stevens (1706), the prominence of the dictionary continues to increase, for it is now the grammar that is *added* to the dictionary, as Stevens says at the bottom of the title page. The reversal is complete: Percyvall prepared a grammar to which he added a dictionary, as he says on the title page; Minsheu moved the dictionary to the first part of his volume, moved the grammar to the second place, and added seven dialogues; in Stevens' volume of 1706, the dialogues (reduced to six) no longer have a title page but are a continuation of the grammar, which has become only an *appendix* to the dictionary.

Just as Sir Edward Hoby was at the origin of the Minsheu dictionary, Charles Killigrew was the friend who removed all obstacles and made it possible for Stevens to publish his dictionary, as he writes in the dedication. In the dedication of the *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* and in the English epistle of the *Guide into the Tongues*, Minsheu spoke of the years of hard work to compile his wordbooks and of doing it for the public good. None of this selflessness is found in the dedication by Stevens, a professional translator overwhelmed by lexicography:

> But that ungrateful and almost endless Labour of compiling a Dictionary was ever dreadful to me, and I even wonder'd how so many Men had undertaken so difficult and unpleasant a Task, Besides the Drudgery and Toil, I was sensible it had so little Prospect of any sutable Reward, that I could not propose to my self the Wages of a Day Labourer for the Days, or rather Years devoted to such a Work. I own I had not so Publick a Spirit as even to think of engaging in so laborious an Undertaking out of mere good Nature to serve others. Whatsoever Men may pretend, they seldom employ their Capacity without some prospect of Advantage. The Soldier Fights for his Pay, the Lawyer Pleads for his Fee, and even the Church-Man Preaches for

his Benefice. I cannot presume to exceed them all in Generosity, I saw no likelihood of Encouragement, and consequently had no Thoughts of entring my self upon the Service *gratis*, for according to the *Spanish* Proverb, *Quién háze por común háze por ningún*.

If Minsheu's interest in etymology runs through his work, then Stevens' love for history is the mark of his preface, which is nothing less than a history of the Spanish language and one of longest prefatory texts, together with Minsheu's English epistle in the *Guide*, in all the wordbooks studied here. Stevens' aim in the preface is:

> [T]o show how in general the Spanish language is deriv'd from the Latin, and the great Resemblance it still has with it; yet not so as to confine our selves to this particular, but giving an account of what other Languages have any mixture in it, and what else shall be proper to make it more plain, and be for the satisfaction of curious Persons.

None of the previous compilers expressed his love for Spanish as clearly as Stevens does:

> This language [Spanish] naturally for it self, and by the Industry of the Learned, is become so Perfect and Beautiful, that it is nothing inferior to the most celebrated now in use, call'd the living Languages, or even to the Latin from which it is deriv'd; but rather equals them in all Points, and in many Particulars exceeds and surpasses them. It is sweet and harmonious, and yet has at the same time such a Manly and Magestick Grace, that it at once becomes the Mouth of the Soldier, the Courtier, the Preacher, the Statesman, and the nicest Lady; and is withal so Copious that there is nothing wanting in it to express whatsoever can be found in all others put together.

Stevens then starts his historical overview, perhaps based on Aldrete's book, to which the reader is referred for a fuller account: "It will be needless to go about to prove that the Spanish is deriv'd from the Latin. They that are desirous to be fully inform'd in this particular, may read it laid down at large in Alderete's three Books of the Original of the Spanish Tongue; and without that trouble may see it in only turning over this Dictionary, [...]" Stevens stresses the similarities between Spanish and Latin, with many examples to show the morphological changes of words from Latin to Spanish. After that, he deals with

borrowings: "Having said so much of the Latin, as the Ground work and principal Superstructure of the Spanish Tongue, in remains in the next place to give some short account of what Additions it has receiv'd from other Languages; [...]" He begins with Arabic, and continues with Gothic, French, and Greek. From borrowings, Stevens moves on to a brief discussion of Spanish word formation and then gives "a short account of what affinity or Similitude remains betwixt the Spanish and Portugues Tongues [...]." Note how some of these subjects were already contained in the prefatory texts by Minsheu and receive further development by Stevens.

A subject that Stevens introduces is that of a prestige Spanish variety, a standard, even though he does not follow a prescriptive approach in the dictionary: "The general Language of Spain is that we hear treat of, which is spoken in the greatest Perfection in Castile, and therefore sometimes call'd Castilian. Other Provinces are not so refin'd, as we see in England, where the farther we go from London, the more uncooth the Dialect appears, as not so easily Polish'd among the ruder Country People." Stevens devotes one paragraph to comments on the languages spoken in Spain.

The last paragraph of the preface is devoted to the dictionary proper. Stevens received the help of Killigrew in publishing the dictionary but was moved to start the work by other gentlemen students of Spanish: "[T]ill at length by the persuasion of some Gentlemen, Curious in that Tongue I resolv'd to undertake so difficult and unpleasant a Work." He refers to the types of sources he consulted, lexicographical, literary and scholarly:

> To this Effect I have made use of all the Spanish Dictionaries of any Note, which have appear'd in England, interpreted by English, French or Italian; and particularly of Covarrubias, which is Spanish explain'd by Spanish, and Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, being Spanish and Latin; besides, as was mention'd before, my continual reading of Spanish Books of all sorts.

As has been seen, the main sources are listed in detail in the "Catalogue of Authors". In the time frame studied here, no lexicographer is more explicit about his sources than Stevens. Like Minsheu, Stevens closes his preface with an apology against potential criticism:

> I doubt not but many will set up for Judges of the Performance, and the greater Number such as understand it least. These always are sure to find fault, either out of Vanity to be thought Judicious, or out of Spight and Envy that any Man should know more than themselves. Let them proceed and work their own Shame, and let the well-meaning part of Mankind make use of my Endeavours.

Stevens' "Advertisement" is similar in purpose to but lesser in scope than Minsheu's "Directions" to the reader in the bidirectional dictionary and the "Aduertisements" of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionary*. It takes the form of seven short remarks on microstructural choices. The first two show that, like Minsheu, Stevens did not follow a prescriptive approach but rather the Horatian precept. First, he says he has marked words found only in Minsheu and Oudin but not attested by usage: "Words that have Minsh. or Oudin after the English, are such as I find no where but in one of those Dictionaries, and therefore have just Cause to suspect they are scarce good Spanish." Second, he thinks it necessary to have included quotations in the case of uncommon words, again indicating usage: "In some Places Spanish Authors are quoted for such Words as are not common." These two principles indicate that Stevens was concerned with usage but that he was also conservative and sought the authority of the best Spanish writers to attest usage. Given his perspective, it is easier to understand why he included proverbs. The third remark explains how they were placed in the microstructure: "The Proverbs are to be found under the first Substantive in them, or else at the Substantive there is a Reference where to find them. But if they be such as have no Substantive in them, then are they to be look'd for under the first Verb." The other four remarks in the "Advertisement" deal with a topic Stevens inherited from Minsheu, namely the different spellings of Spanish words that may cause confusion: *b* and *v*, *x* and *s*, *x* and *j*, *ph* and *f*. It is surprising, however, that Stevens does not make any remarks in the "Advertisement" about the abbreviations he uses to

indicate usage levels. The "Catalogue of Authors", already discussed, follows the "Advertisement" and is the last text of the 1706 front matter.

7.1.5.2 The edition of 1726

In the topical tradition, Felix Alvarado (1717, 1718) included title pages in Spanish and in English with his vocabulary; the second edition of Stevens (1726) is the first dictionary to divide the title page in English and in Spanish, which means that at this point in time alphabetical dictionaries were being conceived of for a larger public, English and/or foreign. The 1726 title page is shorter that of 1706, containing no mention of the sources of the dictionary, but only of the expansion of the macrostructure: "Much more Copious than any other hitherto Extant." It should be remembered that most of the additions went into the English-Spanish part. Likewise, there is no mention of accentuation but only of the encyclopaedic character of the dictionary:

> Laying Down The true Etymology of Words, with their various Significations; Terms of Arts and Sciences, Proper Names of Men and Women, Surnames of Families, Titles of Honour, the Geography of Spain and the West Indies, and principal Plants growing in those Parts.

> To all which are added, Vast Numbers of Proverbs, Phrases, and Difficult Expressions, all literally explained, with their Equivalents.

The grammar and dialogues are not mentioned either. This change did not come about overnight; rather, it is the result of a structural evolution during which the places of the grammar and the dictionary were reversed until the former disappears and the bilingual dictionary becomes, for the first time in 1726, an independent work.

Reduction also affected the front matter; this edition contains only a preface (bilingual English and Spanish) in addition to the title page. The opening sentences of the preface indicate that Stevens was probably accused of plagiarism:

> Dictionaries of all sorts are so numerous, and the respective Prefaces to them so various, that it will be next to an impossibility to say any thing in this, that

has not been said in some other, for which those ill-natur'd persons, who would be thought Criticks, at the expence of the reputation of such as endeavour to be some way serviceable in their generation, by imparting what they know to the rest that have not yet attain'd the same knowledge, will be ready *to revile the Writer with the title of a Plagiary*. (our italics)

The preface takes on a bitter tone when Stevens comes to the genesis of the book. As Steiner (1970, 61) remarked, Stevens makes it clear in the preface that the edition of 1726 was not published thanks to the support of friends:

> The first thing the compiler of this Work thinks fit to acquaint the Reader with is, that he has not the vanity to impose upon the publick, by telling them, the commands of great men, and the importunity of friends have oblig'd him to undertake this work, those motives have been remote from him, he is a stranger to any mighty persons who have so much generosity as to encourage such an undertaking, and would not easily comply with such pretended friends as should take the liberty to put him upon such a laborious task, without showing him what account it would turn to.

On the contrary, commercial reasons were at the origin of the second edition:

> The only inducement he has had, has been from Booksellers, who finding a demand for a Spanish Dictionary, concluded it would be for their advantage to print one, and for several reasons judg'd him capable of answering their expectation, and accordingly propos'd to him such terms as he thought fit to accept of. This is plain dealing, all other pretences are but empty notions inspir'd by vain glory, when whatsoever falsehood they give out to palliate their avarice, all that the greatest men really aim at is nothing but their interest, and the most celebrated patriots would suffer their country to perish, did they not raise themselves by that which they would have thought a zeal to support it.

This preface is considerably shorter than that of 1706. Stevens makes some comments on the additions to the dictionary, emphasizing its comprehensiveness:

> This may be asserted with truth, and without incurring any censure, *viz.* that it is the most copious of any yet extant, in regard that all those which were publish'd before in several languages, and could be purchas'd, have been consulted, to make the improvements, as may appear upon perusal, their several authors being quoted, where any words are liable to be call'd in

question. Besides, the compiler has read many Spanish authors of late, which he had not seen before, and omitted nothing he could find in them, that was proper to be added, mentioning them particularly where the terms they use seem to deviate very much from the stile of the more modern authors, or what occurs in common conversation.

Again, note the method of compiling from dictionaries as well as from other sources, although there is no explicit mention of any particular work, as there was in 1706.

In the 1706 preface, Stevens mentioned the borrowings of French words into Spanish and twenty years later this was the language with the most influence on Spanish:

> Wherein it is to be observ'd, that the Spanish language has receiv'd greater alteration since the erecting of academies in that nation [Spain], and the great and familiar intercourse with France, upon their admitting of a French king, than it did in two hundred years before that time, so that there is now a multitude of new fram'd Spanish words, which were utterly unknown before this present century.

In 1700 began a period of political, commercial and linguistic influence of France upon Spain, when Philip V, a Bourbon and grandson of Louis XIV of France, became King of Spain. A large number of gallicisms entered the Spanish language, and Stevens refers to this influence in the previous quotation.[31] He also refers to the foundation of the Spanish Academy in 1713 and the influence it started to have on Spanish with the publication in 1726 of the first volume of the Academy's dictionary. The overview of the history of Spanish is here reduced to a few sentences on the Latin origins of Spanish and the historical influence of Gothic, Arabic, French and Italian.

The last paragraph contains two interesting remarks. The first, on the declension of irregular verbs, leads to Stevens' approach, according to which *grammatical rules do not belong in a dictionary*: "The irregular verbs are all conjugated, as far as their irregularities extend, which is a considerable help to all that have occasion to make use of them; *other*

things that are according to the establish'd rules, must be learnt either by grammar or use, as not appertaining to this work" (our italics). This may explain why the grammar was left out of the 1726 edition. The second remark highlights with more emphasis than in 1706 the idea of a standard variety in Spanish. As seen before, Stevens was the first to speak of a prestige variety (that of Castile) in the 1706 preface. Although he probably did not have a chance to consult the first volume of the Academy's dictionary (which appeared in the same year as the second edition of his own) and did not follow a normative approach in bilingual lexicography, in 1726 he made it clear that the variety spoken in the Court of Spain, which is according to him the one used by the best authors, should be considered *standard* Spanish:

> The language of this Dictionary is the same that is spoken at the court of *Spain*, and by all the polite persons of that nation, and consequently the same that is found in all their most celebrated authors; for where other words occur, they are always noted as obsolete, or peculiar to some provinces; and it is to be observ'd, that the same is universal throughout that great monarchy, that is, in all parts of the *West Indies*, the *Philippine Islands*, &c. only allowing some small difference in the pronunciation in remote provinces, as is usual in all other countries.

This section indicates that Stevens was conservative in linguistic matters and more concerned with the language used by classic Spanish authors.

7.1.6   Concluding remarks

Let us remember that Minsheu enlarged Percyvall's dictionary "for the learners ease and furtherance" and, likewise, added the English-Spanish part "for the further profite and pleasure of the learner". The addition of a grammar and dialogues completes Minsheu's effort to provide the learner with a handbook of Spanish: the dictionary provides the contents, the grammar gives the rules, that is, the form, and the dialogues offer samples of

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[31] For an overview of the Spanish language and the influence of French in the eighteenth century, see Diez et al. (1980, 217 ff.), Lapesa (1984, 414 ff.), and San Vicente (1996, 636 ff.). On Bourbon Spain, see Lynch (1989).

language in use. Stevens follows this structural pattern, which might seem to indicate that he shared Minsheu's approach. However, the front matter and the word list reveal a different approach: that of a translator and an antiquarian who compiled an encyclopaedic dictionary.

At the end of the chapter he devotes to Stevens, Steiner (1970, 67) says that "[c]ertainly Stevens did not compile a work which affords a useful record of the inevitable linguistic changes which occur during a whole century." Although Stevens does not say it explicitly, he compiled a dictionary for translators, bringing into the dictionary his vast knowledge of literature, history and geography. This is easier to understand from the picture that emerges from Stevens's prefaces to his dictionaries and translations. The dictionaries, in particular, are the works of an antiquarian and a translator following an encyclopaedic approach.

7.2) Félix Antonio de Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues. With [...] the Construction of the Universe, and the Principal Terms of the Arts and Sciences* (1718, 1719)

7.2.1 Introduction

In the discussion of the *Spanish Schoole-master* by William Stepney (1591), the typological classification of wordbooks during the Middle Ages established by Buridant (1986) was mentioned. Thematically arranged word lists were one of the components of that classification, and the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) and Stepney's *Vocabularie*, included in the *Spanish Schoole-master*, belong to this tradition. Such vocabularies had been helpful in teaching the vernaculars during the Middles Ages and continued to be of use during the Renaissance:

> Le classement onomasiologique et la confection des *Nominalia*, répondant à des impératifs pratiques de mémorisation, sont loin de s'éteindre après le

Moyen Age : le développement du polyglottisme au XVIe siècle en particulier, les dictionnaires et plus particulièrement les méthodes pratiques d'apprentissage des langues emploient volontiers les regroupements onomasiologiques parfois intégrés dans des dialogues ou modèles de conversation (Buridant 1986, 16-7).

The third word list in the Spanish and English topical tradition, in this case a nomenclator, is included in the work of a Spaniard who emigrated to England for religious reasons, Félix Antonio de Alvarado, whose appeared in London in 1718 and 1719.

Very little is known about Alvarado's life. In the title page of the 1719 edition of his *Spanish and English Dialogues* he introduces himself as follows:

Naturál de la Ciudád de Sevílla en España; más Tiempo ha Naturalizádo en éste Réyno; Presbýtero de la Yglésia Anglicana; Capellán de los Honorábles Señóres Ingléses Mercadéres, qué Comércian en España; è Intérprete de la Litúrgia Inglésa en Español, ô Castellano.

Like Antonio del Corro, Alvarado was from Seville and a Protestant. At the end of the previous quotation, Alvarado refers to his translated book *La liturgia ynglesa, o el libro de oración commun y administracion de los sacramentos, y otros ritos y ceremonias de la iglesia, según el uso de la iglesia de inglaterra: [...] Hispanizado por D. Felix Anthony de Alvarado, Ministro de la Palabra de Dios*, published in 1707 in London. According to Menéndez Pelayo (1880, 3:101), Alvarado became a Quaker two years later and by March 1710 he had finished translating the *Apologia de la verdadera theologia cristiana, como ella es professada, y predicada, por el pueblo, llamado en menosprecio los tembladores: [...] escrita en latin è ingles, por Roberto Barclay, [...] Y ahora en castellano por Antonio de Alvarado* (London, 1710).[32] Additional information about Alvardo's life can be found at the very beginning of the dedication of the *Spanish and English Dialogues* to John Carteret, where Alvarado describes himself as "[u]n Forastéro, ya de Edád, y sin ótros Médios, con qué mantenérse, à si, y à su Familia, qué su Indefatigáble Trabájo, è Indústria, qué ha

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[32] A list of Alvarado's books, with a short description and transcription of the title pages, can be seen in Aguilar Piñal (1981, 1: 177-8); this list, however, does not include the 1719 edition of the dialogues.

dexado su Pátria, y huýdo de la Persecución por el testimonio de úna buéna Conciencia, [...]" Finally, at the end of the 1719 edition there is an "Advertisement", which is actually a brief biographical note: "The Author of this Book teaches in Gentlemen's Houses, and at Home: He liveth in James-Street, over against the Rainbow Coffee-House, in Covent-Garden."

7.2.2 Sources

Only a few scholars have briefly discussed Alvarado's work: for instance, Martín-Gamero (1961, 133-7), Ayala Castro (1992b, 146-8), and Sánchez Pérez (1992, 172-7). The section on Spanish orthography of the *Dialogues* was studied by Amado Alonso (1951e, 288), who says that Alvarado "[n]o añade ninguna aportación personal; todo es un refrito de manuales anteriores, incluyendo el de Juan de Miranda, 1565 [...]". As for the dialogues, Alonso believes Alvarado copied them from William Stepney. However, Sáez Rivera (2002, 16) says that the "Orthographía Española" actually comes from one of Alvarado's main sources, the *Diálogos nuevos en español y en francés* by Francisco Sobrino (1708).

Concerning the sources of the dialogues, there is consensus among scholars that Alvarado copied his first thirteen dialogues from Sobrino (1708) and provided the English versions (Martín-Gamero 1961, 136; Sánchez Pérez 1992, 174; and Sáez Rivera 2002, 16). The ultimate source of seven of Sobrino's dialogues is Minsheu (1599), and Minsheu is also the source of Stevens' six dialogues. Consequently, there is a link between Stevens and Alvarado; in fact, dialogues one, two, three, five, eight, and nine in Alvarado's work correspond to dialogues one to six, respectively, in Stevens (1706). Alvarado introduced some modifications, however, that show that his model was the version by Sobrino. In this way, both the dialogues by Stevens (1706) and by Alvarado belong to the tradition of dialogues derived from Minsheu, and not from Stepney, as Sáez Rivera (2002, 18-22) explains. The chain of copied material that began in the late sixteenth century involved not only dictionaries, but dialogues and grammars as well.

The work by Sobrino (1708) also included, besides the dialogues, a nomenclator.[33] However, for his nomenclator (or "Fourteenth Dialogue") Alvarado turned to another of Sobrino's works. In fact, according to Ayala Castro (1992b, 147), the fourteenth dialogue was taken from Sobrino's *Diccionario nuevo de las lenguas francesa y española* (1705):

> Alvarado ne nous propose rien de nouveau, puisque la nomenclature qui constitue le "Diálogo catorce" est une copie exacte de celle que Francisco Sobrino publiait en 1705, incluse dans le *Diccionario Nuevo de las lenguas Francesa y Española*.[34] Même le titre en tête de la classification thématique et l' "Aviso al lector" sont copiés littéralement de l'ouvrage de Sobrino, auxquels Alvarado ajoute la version anglaise, faisant de même avec le reste de l'ouvrage.

The compilation by Sobrino (1705) is a bidirectional Spanish-French, French-Spanish dictionary in two volumes, published in Brussels. In his record of the book, Viñaza (1978, 748) transcribes the title of the appendix to the second volume: "Methode Facile pour aprendre la langue espagnole; Par l'avangement [sic] des mots selon la construction de l'Univers, avec les principaux termes des Arts & des sciences." Viñaza also gives the following description of this "Methode Facile":[35]

> Redúcese á tres partes, divididas en capítulos, donde se hallan, respectivamente, clasificadas las palabras que corresponden á un mismo orden de ideas, primero la francesa, después la castellana. Primera parte. Del mundo: su creación. – Segunda parte. Del hombre y su división. – Tercera parte. De una ciudad y de sus partes. Es, en resolución, un inventario de aquéllos que los antiguos llamaban *nominalia*.

The "Methode Facile pour aprendre la langue espagnole" is a lengthy nomenclator in form of dialogue that Sobrino (1705) in turn borrowed from François Pomey. Ayala Castro

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[33] See the edition of these dialogues with an introduction on the life and work of Sobrino by Sáez Rivera (2002). Sáez Rivera did not include the nomenclator although it is possible to have an idea of its thematic arrangement from the table of contents of the dialogues. About the life and work of Sobrino, also see the overviews by Niederehe (1987b, 20-1), Verdonk (1991, 2978-9), Ayala Castro (1992b, 143-5), and Alvar Ezquerra (1993, 283-4 and 1995, 180).

[34] See the full title page, description, and excerpts in Viñaza (1978, 747-8) and in Niederehe (2005, 25-6); for a discussion of sources see Verdonk (1991, 2978-9).

(1992b, 147) explains that Alvarado preferred this dialogue in Sobrino (1705) to the nomenclator in Sobrino (1708):

> Le répertoire de Sobrino n'est pas original, il s'agit d'une copie exacte du *Indiculus Universalis* du Jésuite François Pomey, ouvrage qui parut pour la première fois à Lyon en 1667. Celui-ci est rédigé en français et en latin, et Francisco Sobrino s'est borné à rassembler le texte français et à y ajouter la version en espagnol (Ayala Castro 1992b, 144).

In other words, Pomey's work found its way into Spanish and English bilingual lexicography virtually unaltered via Sobrino (1705) and from there to Alvarado (1718). The *Indiculus Universalis* (or *L'univers en abregé*, 1667) is a nomenclator for the teaching of Latin. As the reader will see below in the description of Alvarado's fourteenth dialogue, the *Indiculus* has a systematic and detailed classification of subjects based on the philosophical ideas of the time and follows what Quemada (1968, 366) calls "[u]n classement logique, 'philosophique'. C'est celui qui rend compte d'une vision organisée du monde. Il est à l'origine des futurs classements notionnels ou analogiques. C'est celui qui a été le plus souvent utilisé dans les nomenclatures développées comme la *Sylva* de Decimator ou l'*Indiculus Universalis* du Père Pomey [...]." In the preface,[36] Pomey explains that he originally intended to compile a word list for teaching Latin to elementary school students: "Ma premiere pensée n'avoit esté que de travailler pour les Ecoliers de Grammaire; & c'est pour cela que je n'ay rien dit en Latin dans tout ce Livre, que je náye mis la vulgaire devant." Searching for the best way to present his topical word list, he chose the dialogue: "C'est aussi pour cette fin, que je me suis servy, sur tout au commencement, de la maniere la plus methodique, & la plus propre à insinuer & faire comprendre les choses; qui est celle du Dialogue, [...]". This explains the hybrid, so to speak, form of the work, which contains dialogues intermixed with word lists arranged according to the logical or philosophical order mentioned above, typical of nomenclators. In the end, Pomey produced an

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[35] We follow the description by Viñaza because Sobrino's dictionary of 1705 is available neither in microfilm nor in pdf format.
[36] We consulted the English, Latin and French edition of 1679 available in pdf format from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, see Pomey (1679).

encyclopaedic work not only for students but also for scholars:[37] "[m]ais apres savoir composé ces listes, je me suis pris garde, que j'estois allé plus loin que je ne voulois; & qui n'ayant en dessein que d'obliger les petits Disciples, j'avois fait quelque chose, qui peut-estre ne seroit pas desagreable aux Maîtres, ny inutile aux plus scavans." This is a type of didactic nomenclator that, as Hüllen (1999, 346) explains, "served foreign-language teaching in very much the same way as other topical dictionaries do, primarily the teaching of Latin or Greek, but also of vernaculars."

The *Indiculus Universalis* has been described by Ayala Castro (1996), who mentions the mixture of dialogues and topical word lists included in the book and that sets it apart from other thematic compilations:

> La característica más notable que presenta esta obra en relación con otras de su género es que las partes en las que está dividida presentan una introducción dialogada y, en muchas ocasiones, también aparecen diálogos dentro de los apartados que constituyen los capítulos, combinándose las preguntas y respuestas con los textos en prosa y con series de vocablos (Ayala Castro 1996, 52).

This remark also applies to the contents and structure of Alvarado's fourteenth dialogue. Another characteristic mentioned by Ayala Castro (1996, 55) is that the *Indiculus* was not published as part of another work for the teaching of languages, as it is generally the case with this compilations:

> Otra peculiaridad del *Indiculus Universalis* es que constituye una obra independiente, cuando lo frecuente es que estos repertorios, concebidos con el intento de ayudar a los hablantes a emitir mensajes en otras lenguas, aparezcan [...] formando parte de otras obras más amplias que recogen más de una lengua, como suplemento de las clasificaciones de tipo alfabético, como apéndices de obras gramaticales, diálogos plurilingües, etc.

In this case, Alvarado placed the topical compilation by Pomey among other dialogues and varied material in spite of its lenght. As for the sources of the *Indiculus*, Ayala Castro

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[37] The first edition of 1667 has 276 pages and, according to Ayala Castro (1996, 50) some 5,700 entries.

(1996, 55) is of opinion that it is an original work; this scholar compared Pomey's work to other topical wordbooks and did not discover any derivative relationship: "[N]i en la ordenación de los apartados que la componen, ni en el contenido de los mismos, se encuentra ninguna semejanza significativa con otras nomenclaturas anteriores, por la que se pueda deducir cuál fue la fuente utilizada por François Pomey para componer la suya" (Ayala Castro 1996, 56). On the other hand, the *Indiculus Universalis* did serve as source for other compilers, such as Sobrino and Alvarado.

The *WorldCat* database records several editions and reprints of François Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis*. After the first edition of 1667 at Lyon, others were published in the following years: 1671 (Nuremberg, in Latin, German, Greek and French), in 1672 and 1673 (Lyon, in French and Latin), 1679 (Lyon and London, the latter in Latin, French, and English added by A. Lovell), 1682 (Rouen, in French and Latin), 1684 (Lyon, in French and Latin), 1689 (Utrecht, in Latin, French, and Flemish), 1691 and 1699 (Bologna, in Italian and Latin), 1701 (Rouen, in French and Latin), 1703 (Amsterdam, in Latin, French and Dutch), and even one in Spanish in 1705 (Lyon).[38] A comparison of the edition of Pomey's *Indiculus* (1679), which contains an English word list, with Alvarado's fourteenth dialogue, shows that the latter follows the same general division of the *Indiculus* macrostructure into three parts of five, six, and nine chapters respectively. Although the purpose here is not to investigate in detail Alvarado's sources, our samples from Alvarado's dialogue show, as far as the English version is concerned, a strong resemblance to the 1679 edition of Pomey's *Indiculus*. The samples also show some differences, however; for example, in chapter four of the first part, the entries under the heading "Tame Beasts" of the *Indiculus* are arranged alphabetically, which is not the case under the corresponding heading "Domestick Animals" in Alvarado's fourteenth dialogue of 1719. Moreover, the number of entries is not the same and some English equivalents are different. This does not mean that Alvarado did not follow Sobrino, but it suggests that the

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[38] See the titlepage and description of the edition containing Spanish in Niederehe (2005, 25); see also the data in Alston (2002, 151).

relationship between the works of Pomey, Sobrino, and Alvarado need further study, since Alvarado may have had access to the editions of Pomey's *Indiculus* containing English and/or Spanish. Ayala Castro says (1992b, 158) that she consulted the fourth edition of Pomey's *Indiculus* published in Lyon (1684) and does not mention the London edition of 1679. Unfortunately, she does not provide a comparison of the entries to support her assertion that Alvarado copied literally from Sobrino (1705), adding only the English version.

7.2.3 Megastructure

7.2.3.1 Outside matter

The dialogues by Alvarado have one title page in Spanish and one in English.[39] The latter reads as follows in the edition of 1718: *Spanish and English Dialogues. With Many Proverbs, and the Explications of Several Manners of Speaking, Proper to the Spanish Tongue [...]*. The second edition of 1719 is a reprint with a slightly different title page: *Spanish and English Dialogues. Containing an Easy Method of Learning Either of Those Languages. With Many Proverbs, and the Explications of Several Manners of Speaking, Proper to the Spanish Tongue [...]*. In the 1719 edition, Alvarado added the phrase "Translator of the English Liturgy into the Spanish Tongue", and whereas the first edition was "Printed for W. Hinchliffe, at Dryden's Head, under the Royal Exchange. 1718", the second was "Printed for W. Hinchliffe, and J. Walthoe, Jun. at the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1719". The most important difference between the two is that the second edition was for teaching *both* Spanish and English, as can be seen from the added phrase "Containing An Easy Method of Learning either of those Languages". In this way,

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[39] See the full Spanish title page from 1718 in Menéndez Pelayo (1880, 3: 100, footnote 1), Sbarbi (1980 [1891], 132-3), Foulché-Delbosc (1919, 79), and Ayala Castro (1992, 146-7). A partial transcription of the 1718 Spanish title page can be seen in Alston (1987, 37), while a partial transcription of the 1718 English title page can be found in the record of the *English Short Title Catalogue*. Niederehe's record 225 (2005, 45), entitled "1718. Alvarado, Félix Antonio de", actually contains a partial transcription of the *1719* English title page; he partially transcribes the 1719 Spanish title page on p. 46 .

Alvarado became, according to Martín-Gamero (1961, 135), the first Spaniard to write a book for teaching English. It would be more accurate, however, to say that Alvarado merely expanded his target readers on the 1719 title page to include the learners of English, since the two editions are identical in contents. It is possible that Alvarado thought about a wider clientele for the second edition due to the mostly bilingual contents of his book.

Alvarado's work is a volume of some six hundred and sixty pages, containing fifteen dialogues (one of which is actually a nomenclator), religious texts, and other material organized as follows:[40]

1. Title pages in Spanish and English

2. Dedication: "Al muy Ilústre, Nóble, y Generóso Señor Don Juan, Lord Carteret, Baron de Hawnes [...]"[41] The four-page text in Spanish is followed by the English version of the same length.

3. "To The Reader" (6 pp.)

4. "Table of the Contents of this Book" (pp. xix-xxxix)[42]

5. The "Errata Corrigenda" (3 pp.)

6. Commendatory poem: "Versos Al Muy Noble Señor Don Juan Lord Carteret" (2 pp.)

7. Thirteen Spanish and English dialogues (pp. 1-223)

8. The "Fourteenth Dialogue", which contains the nomenclator with separate title pages (but no colophons) in Spanish and English (pp. 224-486)

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[40] As far as we know, there is neither a microfilm edition nor a pdf version of the 1718 edition available. We consulted the microfilm version of the 1719 edition from *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 2553; there is an imprint variant in reel 12942, both available also in pdf format from the database *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Electronic table of contents of both variants are also available from this source but the description of the front matter is not complete in either table. For our study, we obtained photocopies of the 1718 front matter from McMaster University, Mills Library (call number B16565) to verify that the content of the prefatory texts in both editions was the same.

[41] John Carteret, 1st Earl Granville, Viscount Carteret, Baron Carteret Of Hawnes (1690-1763) was an English statesman, secretary of state and minister.

[42] In the original, pp. xxxviii and xxxix are misnumbered xxviii and xxix.

9. First religous text: "The Fifteenth Dialogue. Between Two Protestants, [...] shewing their Reasons, why they will not be Papists" (pp. 487-544)

10. Second religious text: "A Table. In Which [...] is shewn the Difference [...] between the Ancient Doctrine of God [...] and the New Doctrine of Men [...] Maintained in the Romish, or Popish Church" (pp. 545-71)

11. Third religious text: "A Protestant Father's Letter of Advice to his Son, in Danger of being seduced to Popery" (pp. 572-86)

12. A section of "Titles. Which are to be given to all sorts of Persons [...] according to their Quality, and Profession", followed by "Several Superscriptions of Letters" (pp. 587-92)

13. The "Spanish Orthography"(pp. 593-611)

14. The "Traveller's Guide into the finest Places of Europe, Asia, and Africa" (612-5);

15. The "Advertisement", an unnumbered page with a short paragraph of personal data quoted above.

As in the case of Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*, most of the content of Alvarado's dialogues is bilingual: the title of a particular section is in Spanish and then in English and the texts are in two columns on a page, with the Spanish to the left and the English to the right. The only exceptions are the preface, the errata, the section of "Titles", and the "Advertisement", which are only in English, and the poem, which is in Spanish.

7.2.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

As mentioned above, dialogue number fourteen by Alvarado follows the structure of Pomey's *Indiculus*, combining dialogues in the strict sense with a lengthy topical word list in Spanish and English. This nomenclator is entitled in English *An Easy Method of Learning the Spanish Tongue; by the Placing of Words According to the Construction of the Universe; with the Principal Terms of the Arts and Sciences* and is divided into three parts, each part in turn containing a number of chapters, under which a variable number of

headings are arranged. There is a title page in Spanish and one in English, plus a prefatory text, the whole organized as follows:

1. Title pages in Spanish and English

2. The "Advertisement to the Reader" (2 p. each)

3. The First Part. Of the World and its Parts (pp. 230-93), divided as follows:

   3.1 The First Chapter. Of the Parts of the World (twelve headings)

   3.2 The Second Chapter. Of the Air (three headings)

   3.3 The Third Chapter. Of Fire (three headings)

   3.4 The Fourth Chapter. Of the Earth (forty-two headings)

   3.5 The Fifth Chapter. Of Water (eighteen headings).

4. The Second Part. Of a Man, and his Parts (pp. 294-324), divided as follows:

   4.1 The First Chapter. Of the Humane Body (eleven headings)

   4.2 The Second Chapter. Of the Defects of Humane Body (two headings)

   4.3 The Third Chapter. Of Cloaths (six headings)

   4.4 The Fourth Chapter. Of Victuals (nine headings)

   4.5 The Fifth Chapter. Of the Soul (nineteen headings)

   4.6 The Sixth Chapter. Bad Actions, which produce Vices, and Irregular Passions (one heading).

5. The Third Part. Of a City, and its Parts (pp. 325-486), divided as follows:

   5.1 The First Chapter. Of the Inhabitants of a City (eight headings)

   5.2 The Second Chapter. Of a House, and its Parts (thirteen headings)

   5.3 The Third Chapter. Of a Church, and its Parts (twelve headings)

   5.4 The Fourth Chapter. Of the Hall of Justice (four headings)

It was mentioned earlier that this fourtenth dialogue intermixes dialogues with word lists. The nomenclator contains a total of 5,694 entries (almost three times the number of entries in Stepney 1591), grouped under a hierarchical macrostructure of three parts, twenty chapters and three hundred and sixty-six headings.

A sample of five pages of continuous entries was taken from each of the three parts of the dialogues, for a total of fifteen pages. As already indicated, the text is in two columns per page with the Spanish to the left and the English to the right. Normal type is used for the Spanish while italics are used for the English. In our sample, Spanish headwords and English equivalents vary from single words to phrases; the lemma is marked typographically by capitals, but this use varies. Capitalization is more consistent for the Spanish than for the English; in fact, as a general rule only the first word in Spanish is capitalized, be it the lemma or an article. Spanish synonyms that follow the headword are generally capitalized as well. In the English column, capitalization is more frequent, but irregular at times, save for the lemma, nouns, and the definite or indefinite article, which, as a rule, precedes the lemma and is always capitalized:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

ANIMÁLES DOMÉSTICOS.	DOMESTICK ANIMALS.
[...]	[...]
Béstia feròz,	*A Beast of prey,*
Béstia doméstica de su naturaléza,	*A Beast tame by Nature,*
Béstia mánsa,	*A Beast tame by Art,*
Béstia, qué róe la yérva,	*A Beast that browzes,*

Javalì, ô Puèrco montès,	*A wild Boar,*
Càça del Javalì,	*Hunting the wild Boar,*
Carnéro,	*A Ram,*
Buéy,	*An Ox,*
Háca,	*A Teat,*
Haquília,	*A little Teat,*
[...]	[...]
TEJADO.	The ROOF.
Coronílla de ún Edifício,	*The Top of a Structure,*
Téja,	*A Tile,*
Piçárra,	*A Slate,*
Tablílla, Rípia,	*A Shingle,*
Tejádo, cubiérto de tejas, piçárras, ô rípias,	*A Roof cover'd with Tiles, Slates, or Shingles,*
Ála de tejádo,	*The Eves of the House,*
Súlco, canal pára sangrár el água de la llúvia	*The Gutters,*
Tejádo tódo líso, y lláno,	*A flat Roof,*
Tejádo, qué declína,	*A shelving Roof,*
Tejádo redóndo, y hécho en púnta.	*A round Roof ending in a Point.*

The use of articles is interesting; there are three general cases. The most frequent is no article in Spanish and the indefinite article in English:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue* (Fourteenth Dialogue)

Partes Interióres del Cuérpo Humáno.	The Interiour PARTS of the Humane Body.
Pártes divididas por tódo el cuérpo,	*Parts distributed through the whole Body,*
Cárne,	*Flesh,*
Morecíllo,	*A Muscle,*
Grássa, ô Gordúra,	*Fat,*
Membrána,	*A Membrane,*
Nérvio,	*A Nerve,*
Véna,	*A Vein.*
Artéria,	*An Artery,*
Ternílla,	*A Gristle,*
Huésso,	*A Bone,*
Meóllo.	*Marrow.*
[...]	[...]
CÁMARA.	The CHAMBER.

Méssa,	*A Table,*
Messílla,	*A little Table,*
Bánco,	*A Bench,*
Sílla,	*A Chair,*
Sílla de respáldo, ô de bráços,	*An Arm'd Chair,*
Sílla reál,	*A Throne,*
Taburéte,	*A Chair with a Back,*
Banquíllo,	*A Stool,*
[…]	[…]

It is possible for there to be indefinite articles both in the Spanish headwords and in English equivalents:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

PÁRTES Exterióres del Cuérpo humáno.	The Exteriour PARTS of the Humane Body.
[…]	[…]
La oréja,	*The Ear,*
Las oréjas,	*The Ears,*
La ternílla de la oréja,	*The Gristle of the Ear,*
El cóncavo de la oréja,	*The Hollow of the Ear,*
La téla del oýdo,	*The Drum of the Ear,*
La céja,	*The Eyebrow,*
Las céjas,	*The Eyebrows,*
El párpado,	*The Eyelid,*
Los párpados,	*The Eyelids,*
Las pestáñas,	*The Eye-Lashes,*
El lagrimál, ô la cuénca del ójo,	*The Corner of the Eye,*
[…]	[…]

Finally, there may be no article in Spanish and the indefinite or definite article in English, as in the above entries under the heading *TEJÁDO* /The Roof:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

De úna Cása, y de sus Pártes.	Of a House and its Parts.
[…]	[…]
Pátio,	*The Court,*

Facháda de Cása,	*The Front,*
Sobrádo,	*The Floor,*
Sobrádo, ô Entresuélo,	*A Room taken out between two Floors,*
Caquiçamì, Artezón,	*The Cieling,*
Bóveda,	*A Vault,*
Álto de Cása,	*A Story,*
Escaléra,	*The Stairs,*
Tejádo,	*A Roof,*
Puérta,	*A Door*
[...]	[...]

The discussion of Stepney's vocabulary of 1591 showed that capital letters were generally used for the first letter of the first entry under a heading in each language and that the indefinite article was usually used in both Spanish and English. The examples cited from Alvarado (1719) show that neither the use of capitals nor of articles is systematic and that only general trends can be identified. The use of articles in English does not seem to depend on whether the noun is countable. In Stepney's vocabulary, the English headword took a variety of forms (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and phrases), with nouns the most common. The samples from Alvarado indicate a predominance of nouns as Spanish headwords although other parts of speech can also appear. Phrases, too, appear occasionally:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

ANIMÁLES FERÓZES.	*SAVAGE BEASTS.*
[...]	[...]
El Javalì póne los piés de atrás en las pisádas de los de delánte; lo qué no háze el Puérco.	***The Wild Boar puts his hind Feet in the Tracks of those befote which the Hog does not,***
[...]	[...]
PÁRTES Ossarias.	Bony PARTS.
[...]	[...]
Esqueléto, es la párte, dónde todos los huéssos se hállan, cáda úno en su lugár.	*A Skeleton.*
[...]	[...]

De úna Cása, y de sus Pártes.	*Of a House and its Parts.*
[...]	[...]
Armário dónde se pónen las Alhájas mas preciósas,	*A Cabinet of Rarities,*

Our sample also shows that in two cases entries form a small subgroup under a particular heading, as was the case in Stepney (1591). For example, the subgroup of horses:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

ANIMÁLES DOMÉSTICOS.	DOMESTICK ANIMALS.
[...]	[...]
Cavállo,	*A Horse,*
Cavállo castrádo,	*A Gelding,*
Garañon,	*A Stallion,*
Cavallíto,	*A little Horse,*
Cavallo corredor,	*A Race Horse,*
Cavállo para mudár,	*A Stage Horse,*
Cavállo de máno,	*A Led Horse,*
Cavállo de pósta,	*A Post Horse,*

Or of dogs:

Alvarado (1719): *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*
(Fourteenth Dialogue)

ANIMÁLES DOMÉSTICOS.	DOMESTICK ANIMALS.
[...]	[...]
Pérro,	*A Dog,*
Pérro de cáça.	*A Hound.*
Sabueso,	*A Blood-Hound,*
Pérro perdiguéro ô Podénco,	*A Setting Dog,*
Pérro colládo,	*A Buck Hound, which don't open in Chase,*
Pérro báxo,	*A Terrier,*
Lebrél,	*A Grey Hound,*
Pérro ventór, término de *Montería,*	*A Finder,*

It should be mentioned, nevertheless, that the subgroups originated in the alphabetical arrangement used in that section of Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis*. Finally, there are synonyms in both languages, but more frequently in Spanish, as was also the case in Stepney's vocabulary. This brief description of Alvarado's nomenclator *An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue*, comparing it to Stepney's topical vocabulary (1591) even though the direction of the word lists is reversed, is interesting since it shows how few changes were made to the macro- and microstructures in topical wordbooks in over a century. Indeed, the only distinctive feature in Alvarado's miscrostructure, besides occasional definitions and explanations, is the systematic indication of stress by means of the accent mark on Spanish words as a help for pronunciation, a feature that appeared irregularly in the second edition of Stepney's vocabulary in 1619 and 1620. However, the hierarchical macrostructure that Alvarado borrowed from Sobrino (and ultimately from Pomey) is more developed and consistent than that followed by Stepney, which, in turn, is more systematic than that of the *Book of English and Spanish*. All three share a number of headings and a semantic structure underlies, albeit irregularly, the headings in the *Book of English and Spanish*. Stepney goes further and his vocabulary, although not entirely consistent, reveals an order of the universe, starting with the heavens and ending with the parts of the human body. Although Alvarado's macrostructure is not originally his own, he introduced into the Spanish and English topical tradition a much more rigorous and detailed thematic organization "by the placing of words according to the construction of the Universe", surpassing his two predecessors. Nevertheless, none of the organizations found in such works is truly universal, and Quemada (1968, 366-7) warns us against giving an absolute value to any of such classifications:

> Si le classement des différents thèmes proposés laisse percevoir une certaine volonté d'ordonner l'Univers, on se gardera bien de lui accorder valeur d'absolu. Il n'est représentatif que d'une organisation à la fois globale et traditionnelle, dans laquelle il faut faire la part des éléments perturbateurs : commodité de la présentation, désir de modifier des rubriques déjà utilisées, parfois même [...] maquillage de certains emprunts.

The usefulness of these thematically arranged wordbooks lies not in the amount and variety of data contained in each entry but rather in their pedagogical value as comprehensive classifications of the world, facilitating the tasks of memorization and conversation since the Middle Ages:

> En las nomenclaturas el vocabulario aparece ordenado por materias, si bien no siempre de la misma manera, ni bajo los mismos criterios, como es lógico, ni el número de voces que aparece en ellos es constante.
>
> Su origen hay que buscarlo en los intentos de clasificar el saber enciclopédico, [...] antes de la generalización del orden alfabético. Más tarde, su éxito se debió a figurar como apéndices de los manuales de gramática o en los repertorios de los modelos de conversación que tanta difusión tuvieron durante el Renacimiento, de manera que la clasificación temática del léxico permitía su utilización en los ejercicios complementarios (Alvar Ezquerra 1993, 277-8).

7.2.4 Analysis of the front matter

The first two thematic wordbooks appeared during the second half of the sixteenth century and combined English and Spanish. Both are derivatives of the *Introito e porta* and their respective macrostructures or order of headings are similar but not identical. As for their scope, Stepney's vocabulary more than triples in entries the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish*. Alvarado derives his materials from Francisco Sobrino (1705 and 1708) and is ultimately indebted to Pomey for the nomenclator, which has over three times the number of entries in Stepney's. Whatever front matter the *Book of English and Spanish* may have contained no longer exists, so a comparison from this point of view can be made only between Stepney's book and Alvarado's.

Stepney (1599) outlined the contents of his book on the title page, mentioning the inclusion of dialogues, rules of pronunciation, proverbs, maxims, religious texts, and the vocabulary; the second edition (1619, 1620) adds only the accentuation of Spanish words. Similarly, the title page of Alvarado (1718) outlines the subject matter: dialogues, proverbs, and "the Explications of several Manners of speaking, proper to the Spanish Tongue".

There is no reference to the religious texts it contains, but it is worth noting that the contents of both books are very similar. To the previous materials is added the "Construction of the Universe, and the Principal Terms of the Arts and Sciences", a reference to the nomenclator and technical terms included. The reader may recall that Stevens (1706) also mentioned on the title page the inclusion of terms from the arts and sciences, that is, technical terms. The same is true in Alvarado (1718), which indicates that in the eighteenth century compilers of both alphabetical and topical wordbooks were consciously expanding their scope to include terminology and not only common words. In the topical tradition, Alvarado is the first to make such a reference to the contents of the vocabulary.

As already indicated, the title page, the dedication and the advertisement at the end of the book provide data about Alvarado's life. More important is the preface "To the Reader". There it is clear that from the very beginning Alvarado had in mind teaching both Spanish and English, although this aim was made explicit only on the title page of the 1719 edition. In fact, teaching English takes precedence over Spanish in Alvarado's preface, which begins: "When first I undertook this Treatise, I was advised to render it Verbatim, as the most effectual Way to teach a Young Beginner Spanish, by letting him see, after what Manner a Spaniard would express himself in English." Given this opening sentence, it is surprising that the 1718 title page emphasizes the Spanish language and only the 1719 edition adds English and presents the book as containing "An Easy Method of Learning Either of those Languages."

In the preface, Alvarado makes it clear that he did not follow a normative approach in the dialogues:

> In the English I have writ the Words as used in Common Discourse, as being more agreeable to Dialogue, not as spoken by Grammarians, (ex. gr. thou lovest, he loveth,) but you love, he loves; which Difference between Common Discourse, and Grammar, very much confounds all Foreigners, to whom also I was willing to make this Treatise in some Measure Useful, in order to their more easily Learning English.

Foreigners who needed to learn English, and in particular young beginners were, therefore, one type of public Alvarado wanted to serve: "These Dialogues are composed for the Improvement of Young Beginners, and as they were of great Advantage to some, so I thought they might be also to the Publick: considering that we have so few Helps in English, to the Attaining this Fine Language."

In the eighteenth century, Spain was under the influence of France but remained a powerful empire; the linguistic influence of Spanish was felt in Europe after the flourishing literary production of the seventeenth century (Spain's Golden Age). In this context, Alvarado is close to Stevens in his appreciation of Spanish, although the latter had a better knowledge of the history of this tongue:

> Their Language is Grave, Lofty, and Expressive, the better you are acquainted with it, the more you will admire it, there being something in it inexpressibly Charming. It is composed of the Latin, French, and Italian. There being as little of the Moorish Tongue, as of the Moorish Blood, now left in Spain. And if we take in the Portuguese, which is a Subdialect of it, it is of more use, than all the Languages of Europe, put together. For if we consider the vast Extent of the Dominions of Spain, exceeding those of any of the Four Empires in their highest Glory, insomuch that 'tis a Paradox, that the Sun never sets in the Spanish Dominions; we might very well call it an Universal Tongue.

At the end of the "Epistle to the Reader", Stepney (1591) placed Spanish at the level of French and Italian in importance for an Englishman and recommended the knowledge of several languages. After his remarks on Spanish, Alvarado offers a similar point of view, but for the advancement of English:

> Of what Consequence the Knowledge of Languages is, every one is easily a Judge: How shinning at Court? How Important in A Fleet, or Army? How advantagious in Trade? How commodious for Travellers? How great an Idea of the British Nation would it implant on the Minds of Foreigners, were we able, not only to send, but also receive Ministers from all Courts of Europe, and treat with them in their own Respective Languages.
> And by making other Languages easy to us, render ours easy to others: and thereby make the British Tongue, as extensive as our Trade.

Finally, Alvarado joins Minsheu, Stepney, and Percyvall when he professes to have worked selflessly and for the public good: "[M]y only View being to be Serviceable to the Publick; especially at this Time when our Trade to Spain is recovered, and the South-Sea so fare extended, and secured; that this Fine Language [English] is become much more useful, and necessary than formerly." This remark shows the importance of trade in the development of bilingual lexicography; clearly, Alvarado had merchants in mind when preparing the book. The English preface leaves no doubt that Alvarado was writing for the learners of Spanish and English but this aim is only made explicit on the 1719 title page whereas the emphasis in 1718 was on Spanish.

Dialogue fourteen contains the nomenclator, preceded by a title page in each language and a bilingual "Advertisement to the Reader". The title page presents the dialogue as "An Easy Method Of Learning the Spanish Tongue", with the emphasis on Spanish balancing the stress placed on teaching English in the preface. As for the "Advertisement to the Reader", Ayala Castro (1992b, 147) says that Alvarado copied it from Sobrino (1705). Whatever the case may be, the fact is that for the first time a Spanish-English topical word list is given relevance by the addition of specific prefatory texts. This "Advertisement" is short but valuable in two respects. First, the nomenclator was conceived as a supplement to the other thirteen dialogues to help beginners learn "the most common Terms and Expressions". For this purpose and public, Alvarado considers the thematic arrangement superior to the alphabetic for teaching languages, as he explains in the "Advertisement":

> I thought it convenient, in order to remove these Difficulties, to join to the Dialogues a short Collection, or Summary of the principal Terms of both Languages, disposed according to the order of Things; whereas in a Dictionary they are placed according to the order of the Letters; so that they [the learners] minding, and observing them in their natural Order, may the better Understand them, and remember the Terms, which explain them.

Here Alvarado succinctly explains the differences between the alphabetical and the topical arrangements: the thematic organization is the vehicle of a particular view of reality; it

assumes that learners are familiar with this view and that what they need is to find the words to express it in the foreign language. The alphabetical order, on the other hand, breaks up the semantic fields by bringing together in sequence words that are unrelated morphologically or semantically.[43] In other words, the topical order is for Alvarado what etymology is for Minsheu: an aid to memory.

The second aspect has to do with the scope and comprehensiveness of the nomenclator, which includes everyday words and technical terms, thereby making it useful for scholars and profanes: "I hope, the Reader will own, after the has read it, that it is not only useful to Shcolars, but also to all sorts of Understanding Persons; because one may find in it almost all the Terms, both in English, and Spanish, of all Subjects whatsoever."

7.2.5 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues* shares a number of features with Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*. Both were conceived as language textbooks, the first for Spanish and English, the second specifically for Spanish. Their respective titles pages outline their contents (dialogues, proverbs, language rules, etc.) with reference to the thematic component part. Apart from this mention, Stepney does not make any further remarks about the vocabulary; his prefatory texts are devoted to the genesis of the book, the target public and the relation of the language (in this case, Spanish) to the political situation at that time. Alvarado, too, talks about his target audience and the status of Spanish and English in the preface. The difference between the two is the place accorded the thematic word list in the organization of the book: in the dialogues by Alvarado, the word list has an additional title page plus a preface, in which the compiler explains, albeit briefly, the role of the thematic arrangement as a mirror of a structured world vision, the pedagogical value of this macrostructure, and the inclusion of technical terms in the

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[43] On the differences between the alphabetical and the topical arrangements, see Hüllen (1999, 11-5).

microstruture. These features give this topical word list a prominence that previous vocabularies did not have.

7.3) Captain John Stevens' *New Spanish Grammar [...] To Which Is Added, a Vocabulary of the Most Necessary Words* (1725, 1739)

7.3.1 Introduction

In 1725 Captain John Stevens published a new and enlarged edition of his Spanish grammar of 1706. This is relevant to our study of his lexicographical work because it contains a Spanish-English topical vocabulary that has hitherto gone unnoticed. A second edition of this grammar was prepared after Stevens' death by the Spaniard Sebastian Puchol in 1739. This edition has been discussed by Alonso (1951e, 295-7) and Martín-Gamero (1961, 132-3), but to our knowledge the topical vocabulary has not been investigated so far, other than for a passing mention about its thematic arrangement and a few headings in Martín-Gamero (1961, 132) and in Sánchez's sketch (1992, 168) of Stevens (1725) and Puchol (1739). The vocabulary is not mentioned in the surveys of such thematic works by Ayala Castro (1992b) and Alvar Ezquerra (1993, 277-87). Alvar Ezquerra, in particular, deals neither with Alvarado's nor with Stevens' topical vocabularies; however, he is well aware of the lack of research devoted to such vocabularies. He explains in his survey:

> Dentro del grupo de los repertorios que ordenan sus materiales de acuerdo con el contenido – o con la cosa designada –, no con la forma, existe una importante colección de obras a las que no se les ha prestado la atención que merecen: las clasificaciones temáticas o nomenclaturas. Digo que es importante porque están presentes desde la Edad media hasta nuestros días, han sabido ir adaptándose a los tiempos para no perder actualidad, y sus autores lo son, en más de una ocasión, de diccionarios señeros en la lexicografía (Alvar Ezquerra 1993, 277).

Such is the case of the vocabulary included by Stevens in the separate edition of his grammar (1725). While the grammar and dialogues included in the first edition of the dictionary were about seventy pages long, the 1725 edition of the grammar is three hundred and thirty-six. As far as we know, no study of the sources has been carried out.

7.3.2 Sources

As mentioned in the discussion of Alvarado's dialogues, there is agreement about his debt to Sobrino. What is not known, however, is that Stevens is indebted for the topical vocabulary in his *New Spanish Grammar* of 1725 to the nomenclator in Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues*. Indeed, except for five entries under the heading "Parts of a Kingdom" in Stevens' vocabulary, it is possible to establish a correspondence or parallelism between the microstructure of each word list. The structure of Alvarado's fourteenth dialogue has already been presented; follow here the part, chapter, and heading from which Stevens borrowed the entries for his headings:

Alvarado (1719): *Spanish and English Dialogues*	Stevens (1725, 1739): *New Spanish Grammar*
Second Part, First Chapter, Of the **Humane Body**.	The Parts of **Human Body**.
Second Part, First Chapter, **The Interiour Parts of the Humane Body**, The Principal Parts, which have their determinate Place.	**The interior Parts of Human Body**.
Second Part, First Chapter, **The Five Senses** of the Body.	**The five Senses**.
Second Part, First Chapter, **Qualities of Humane Body**.	Good **Qualities in Human Bodies**.
Second Part, Second Chapter, Of the **Defects of Humane Body**.	**Defects in Human Bodies**.
Second Part, Third Chapter, **Of Cloaths**, Stuff for Apparel, Of Cloaths, Ornaments belonging to Cloaths, Of Cloaths, Mens Cloaths,	**Of** all that appertaining to **Cloathing**.
Second Part, Third Chapter, Of Cloaths, **Womens Cloaths**, Womens Toys, Childrens Cloaths.	Of all that appertaining to **Cloathing for Women**.
Second Part, Fourth Chapter, Meat, Bread	Of what concerns Eating and **Drinking**.

Flesh, Pottage, Milk Meats, Eggs, Ingredients for Sauces, Confections, **Drink**.	
First part, Fourth Chapter, Domestick Animals, Wild Creatures, Savage **Beasts**.	The Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Roots, &c. that are eatable, will be found under those Heads. **Beasts**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Serpents**.	**Creatures that drag on the Earth**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Amphibious Animals**.	**Amphibious Creatures**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Insects**.	**Insects**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Birds** of Falconry, Birds of Prey, Singing Birds, Night Birds, Water Fowls, Voracious Birds, Fowls good to Eat, Birds of a different sort from the foregoing.	**Birds**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, The **Parts of a Bird**.	**Parts of a Bird**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Fishes**.	**Fishes**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Parts of a Fish**.	**Parts of a Fish**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, Fruit **Trees**, Trees, which don't produce Fruit.	**Trees**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Shrubs**.	**Shrubs**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Fruit** Trees.	**Fruit**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, Shrubs, Parts of a **Tree**.	Things belonging to Fruit and **Trees**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Corn, Parts of an Ear of Corn**.	**Corn and its Parts**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Pulses**.	**Pulses**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, Garden Herbs, Medicinal Herbs, Wild **Herbs**.	Roots, Plants, and **Herbs**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Flowers**.	**Flowers**.
First part, Fourth Chapter, **Colours**.	**Colours**.
Second Part, Fifth Chapter, Of the Soul, Sixth Chapter, Bad Actions, which produce **Vices**, and Irregular Passions.	Virtues and **Vices**, good and bad Qualities of Men.
Third Part, **Of a City, and its Parts**.	**Parts of a City**.
Third Part, First Chapter, **Of the Inhabitants of a City**.	**Of the Inhabitants of Cities**.
Third Part, Second Chapter, **Of a House, and its Parts**.	**A House, and all that belongs to it**.
Third Part, Second Chapter, The Servants of a **Country** House	Of **Country** Affairs
Third Part, Third Chapter, **Of a Church, and its Parts**.	The **Church, and Things pertaining to Religion**.

Third Part, Sixth Chapter, **Of an Arzenal**.	**Things relating to War**.
Third Part, Seventh Chapter, **Chronology, Its Parts**.	**The Year, and its Parts**.
Third Part, Seventh Chapter, Of **the Month**.	**The Months**.
Third Part, Seventh Chapter, Of **the Week**.	The Days of **the Week**.
Third Part, Seventh Chapter, The Art of **Navigation**.	**Navigation**.

Our analysis shows that the vocabulary by Stevens is an abridged version of that by Alvarado, with a simplified macrostructure and a reduced scope that turned the nomenclator into a vocabulary. Even the layout is similar, but while Alvarado's nomenclator has one double column of entries per page (Spanish-English), Stevens' vocabulary is arranged into two double-columns on a page. However, and just as in the case of Alvarado's nomenclator, each column in Stevens' vocabulary has the Spanish headword in roman type on the left followed by the English equivalents in italics on the right. The previous parallelism will have given an idea of how Stevens simplified Alvarado's detailed thematic organization. It is evident that Stevens' aims were much more modest than Alvarado's. Both men had the didactics of Spanish in mind, but the former intended only to provide the most frequent and necessary words while the latter aimed at comprehensiveness and intended to provide "[a]n Easy Method of learning the Spanish Tongue; By placing of Words according to the Construction of the Universe with the Principal Terms of the Arts, and Sciences", as Alvarado entitled his nomenclator.

7.3.3 Megastructure

7.3.3.1 Outside matter

The full title of the book, with indications as to its contents, is *A New Spanish Grammar, More Perfect Than Any Hitherto Publish'd. All the Errors of the Former Being Corrected, and the Rules for Learning That Language Much Improv'd. To Which Is Added, a Vocabulary of the Most Necessary Words: Also a Collection of Phrases and Dialogues*

Adapted to Familiar Dicourse. By Capt. John Stevens, Author of the Large Spanish Dictionary.[44] The contents of the 1725 edition are distributed as follows:[45]

1. Title page

2. "The Preface" (2 pp.)

3. Text of the *New Spanish Grammar* (pp. 1-176)

4. The "Second Part of the Spanish Grammar, containing Some short Remarks upon Syntax" (pp. 177-92)

5. Pages 193-200 are missing from the 1725 grammar, but the catchwords at the bottom of page 192 indicate that the *Vocabulary* begins on page 193 and runs up to page 231.

6. "Spanish Sentences and Proverbs" (pp. 232-46)

7. "Verbs relating to the Persons of Men and Women" (p. 247)

8. "Familiar Phrases" (pp. 248-56)

9. Six "Spanish and English Colloquies" (pp. 256-336), different from those included in the dictionary and grammar of 1706-05.

7.3.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

Since pages are missing from the 1725 edition, the total number can be counted only from the 1739 edition, being the only complete extant version. The topical vocabulary contains a total of 2065 entries. Three entries in the 1725 edition are absent from the 1739 edition, namely *Hómbre del puéblo, a man of the meaner rank*; *Médio hermáno, an half*

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[44] One of the earliest bibliographies of Spanish grammars and dictionaries, that of Knapp (1884, 5), does not record the edition of 1725, but refers to "An independent edition came out at London, 1739." See the title pages and descriptions of the 1725 and 1739 editions in Niederehe (2005, 61 and 98).
[45] Electronic tables of contents of the 1725 and 1739 grammars can be seen in the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* but they are not complete. It should also be mentioned that there are pages missing from the extant edition of the 1725 grammar, as recorded in the bibliographical description of the work in the microfilm edition (*The Eighteenth Century*, reel 9262: 12).

brother (under the heading "Of the Inhabitants of Cities"); and *Panadéro, a baker*, (under the heading "A House, and all that belongs to it"). A comparison of the content of the two editions of Stevens' vocabulary shows that they probably have an almost identical number of entries.

The full title of the vocabulary, too, has to be derived from the second edition of 1739: "A Vocabulary, Containing Such Words as most frequently occur in common Use, and are therefore most necessary to be first known by Learners; as, The Parts of the Body, Household-Furniture; Names of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; the Service at Table; Fruit, Trees, Cloathing, and many other Sorts, all under their respective Heads". The macrostructure comprises the following thirty-seven headings:

1. The Parts of Human Body (74 entries)

2. The interior Parts of Human Body (43 entries)

3. The five Senses (5 entries)

4. Good Qualities in Human Bodies (4 entries)

5. Defects in Human Bodies (25 entries)

6. Of all that appertaining to Cloathing (99 entries)

7. Of all that appertaining to Cloathing for Women (40 entries)

8. Of what concerns Eating and Drinking (154 entries)

9. The Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Roots, &c. that are eatable, will be found under those Heads. Beasts (113 entries)

10. Creatures that drag on the Earth (10 entries)

11. Amphibious Creatures (3 entries)

12. Insects (31 entries)

13. Birds (88 entries)

14. Parts of a Bird (12 entries)

15. Fishes (42 entries)

16. Parts of a Fish (8 entries)

17. Trees (45 entries)

18. Shrubs (20 entries)

19. Fruit (40 entries)

20. Things belonging to Fruit and Trees (38 entries)

21. Corn and its Parts (17 entries)

22. Pulses (10 entries)

23. Roots, Plants, and Herbs (136 entries)

24. Flowers (18 entries)

25. Colours (25 entries)

26. Virtues and Vices, good and bad Qualities of Men (95 entries)

27. Parts of a Kingdom (5 entries)

28. Parts of a City (21 entries)

29. Of the Inhabitants of Cities (129 entries)

30. A House, and all that belongs to it (222 entries)

31. Of Country Affairs (104 entries)

32. The Church, and Things pertaining to Religion (94 entries)

33. Things relating to War (181 entries)

34. The Year, and its Parts (10 entries)

35. The Months (12 entries)

36. The Days of the Week (7 entries)

37. Navigation (85 entries)

In the 1725 edition, the first seven headings and about half the entries of heading eight are missing. A quick comparison of the contents of Stepney's English-Spanish vocabulary of 1591, contained in the *Spanish Schoole-master*, and Stevens' *New Spanish Grammar* reveals a variety of texts traditionally found in comprehensive manuals for teaching Spanish. Nevertheless, there are some differences in terms of the topical vocabulary: Stevens' vocabulary has about 12 per cent more entries than Stepney's vocabulary of 1591, the language direction has been reversed, the headings are not the same even though both works have similar contents and some headings in common (e.g. the parts of the human body, beasts, fruits, birds, parts of a city). The order of the headings was also reversed: Stevens' macrostructure indicates a more secular approach, so to speak, starting with the parts of the body, then listing, as the title says, the words most necessary to a learner and presenting almost at the end words related to religion. On the other hand, Stepney's ordering of topics started with the heavenly things and other religious topics and ended with the parts of the human body. Stevens' Spanish-English vocabulary continued the bilingual topical tradition that had started with the *Book of English and Spanish* and Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master* (1591) and reached the eighteenth century by way of Félix Antonio de Alvarado's *Spanish and English Dialogues* (1718, 1719). And it is to this last work, and not to Stepney's, that Stevens' 1725 vocabulary is related.

What is the extent of Steven's debt to Alvarado? In the following group of entries, the 1679 edition of Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis* (English, Latin and French) has been included, for lack of access to Sobrino (1705). It should be remembered that Pomey's *Indiculus* is a common source for Sobrino (1705) and Alvarado (1718-9), and ultimately Stevens (1725) too. A comparison produces some interesting results:

Pomey (1679): *Indiculus Universalis*	Alvarado (1719): *Spanish and English Dialogues*	Stevens (1725): *New Spanish Grammar*
First part, Chap. IV., Tame Beasts	First part, Fourth Chapter, Domestick Animals	*The Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Roots, &c. that are eatable, will be*

		found under those Heads. Beasts.
[...]	[...]	[...]
A skittish starring Horse. Equus meticulosus & restirans. *Cheval ombrageux.*	Cavállo medróso, *A starting Horse,*	Cavállo medróso, *a starting horse.*
A stumbling Horse. Equus cespicator. *Cheval qui bronche.*	Cavállo tropeçadór, *A stumbling Horse,*	Cávallo tropeçadóra, *a stumbling horse.*
Ø	**Cavállo, que sacúde,** *A jolting Horse,*	**Cavállo que sacúde,** *a jolting horse.*
A Horse that lies down under his Rider. Equus cubitor. *Cheval qui se couche.*	Cavállo, que se écha facilménte, *A Horse which lies down,*	Ø
A broken-winded Horse. Equus anhelator. *Cheval poussif.*	Cavállo asmático, *A broken winded Horse,*	Cavállo asmático, *a broken winded horse.*
A lean Horse. Strigosus equus. *Cheval amaigry.*	Ø	Ø
A prancing and bounding horse. Equus ferociter exultans. *Cheval bondissant.*	Cavállo saltadór, *A leaping or capering Horse,*	Ø
An unbroken horse. Equus intractatus and novus. *Cheval indompté.*	Cavállo indómito, *A Horse that has not been broke,*	Cavállo indómito, *a horse that has not been broke, or will not be broke.*
An ambling Horse. Equus tolutarius. *Haquenée.*	Ø	Ø
A trotting Horse. Equus succussor. *Cheval qui secoüe.*	Ø	Ø
A bay Horse. Equus badius. *Cheval bay, de couleur rouge obscur.*	**Cavállo báyo,** *A Bay Horse,*	**Cavállo báyo,** *a bay horse.*
A chestnut bay Horse. Equus ex badio fuscus. *Cheval bay chatin.*	Cavállo báyo castáño, *A Chestnut Bay,*	Báyo castáno, *a chestnut bay.*
A **bay brown** Horse. Equus ex badio nigricans. *Cheval bay brun.*	Cavállo báyo escúro, *A Brown Bay,*	Báyo escúro, *a brown bay.*
A **bright bay** Horse. Equus spadiceus inauratus. *Cheval*	Cavállo báyo dorádo, *A Yellow Dun,*	Báyo dorádo, *a bright bay.*

bay doré.

A pye-bald Horse, white and black, or white with any other colour. Equus pica, equus ex albo discolor. *Cheval pie, blanc & noir, ou blanc & de quelqu' autre couleur.*	Cavállo picázo, *A Py'd Horse,*	Picázo, *a py'd horse.*
A dapple grey Horse. Equus leucophæus, scutulatus. *Cheval gris pomelé.*	Cavállo rúcio rodádo, *A Dapple Grey,*	Rúzio rodádo, *dapple grey.*
A **yellow** dun Horse. Equus gilvus. *Cheval Isabelle.*	Cavállo de colór de gamúça, *A Yellow Colour'd Horse,*	De colór de gamúza, *a cream colour.*
A Sorrel-horse. Equus fulvus. *Cheval saure, saur, alezan ou roux.*	Cavállo alazàn, *A Sorrel Horse,*	Alazán, *a sorrel.*
A **red bay** Horse. Equus puniceus. *Cheval roux alezan, de couleur de feu.*	Cavállo de colór merádo, *A Flame-colour Horse,*	Ø
A **burnt** Sorrel-horse. Equus in fuscum rutilans. *Cheval alezan brûlé, alezan obscure.*	Cavállo alazàn tostádo, *A Burnt Sorrel,*	Alazán tostádo, *a dark sorrel.*
Ø	Cavállo **hovéra,** *A Horse that has a white Spot on the hind Foot* on the right side,	Hovéro, *that has a white spot on the off hind foot.*
A flea-bitten grey, or a **black-spotted** dapple Horse. Equus ex albo fuscus, nigris distinctus maculis. *Cheval au bere, de couleur grisâtre, ayant des taches noires.*	Cavállo rubicán, *A Flea bitten Grey Horse, having great Black Spots,*	Rubicán, *flea-biten.*
A true mixt **roan Horse.** Equus ex albo fulvus. *Cheval rubican, d'un poil mêlé de blanc & de rouge pâle.*	Cavállo de colór pagízo, *A Roan Horse of a Hair mix'd with White and Pale Red,*	Ø

The introduction of English in the 1679 edition of Pomey makes it possible to see the connections between the three works: for example, s.vv. *a stumbling horse, a broken-winded horse, a bay horse, a chestnut bay horse,* and *a dapple grey horse,* whereas s.vv. *a*

cream colour and *a dark sorrel* Stevens simply changes the adjective. There are cases where the entry in Stevens is simply shortened (s.vv. *a sorrel* and *flea-biten*). Note also the cases in which an entry appears in all three vocabularies, and the English headword is different in Pomey from the corresponding English equivalents in Alvarado and Stevens. Such is the case of the entries *a starting horse, a horse that has not been broke, a brown bay, a py'd horse* in Stevens and Alvarado. In other words, where Alvarado and Stevens have an identical English equivalent, that in Pomey is somewhat different. Therefore, Stevens followed Alvarado and probably did not consult Pomey's *Indiculus* of 1679. A couple of entries in Stevens (*cavallo que sacúde* and *hovéro*) reinforce this conclusion, since they appear in Alvarado but not in Pomey. Furthermore, when an entry from Pomey is omitted by Alvarado, it does not appear in Stevens either (for example, *a lean horse, an ambling horse*, and *a trotting horse*). Finally, there remain four entries in Alvarado (*a horse which lies down, a leaping or capering horse, a flame-colour horse* and *a roan horse of a hair mix'd with white and pale red*) that appear only in Pomey but not in Stevens, thus showing the relationship between the first two authors. The following entries further exemplifly Stevens' dependence on Alvarado and the minor changes he introduces when abridging Alvarado's work, such as the right brace to encompass synoynyms:

Alvarado (1719): *Spanish and English Dialogues*	Stevens (1725): *New Spanish Grammar*
Lóbo, *A Were-Wolf,*	Lóbo, *a wolf.*
Lóba, *A she Wolf,*	Ø
Farásca, *A Lynx,*	Ø
Lóbo cervál, *An Ounce,*	Lóbo cerval, *an ounce.*
Ósso, *A Bear,*	Ósso, *a bear.*
Óssa, *A she Bear,*	Ø
Ossíllo, *A Bear's Cub,*	Ossíllo, *a bear's cub.*
Pantéra, *A Panther,*	Pantéra, *a panther.*
Abáda, *A Rhinoceros,*	**Abáda, or Rhinocerónte,** }*a rhinoceros.*
Tígre, *A Tyger,*	Tígre, *a tiger.*
Javalì ô **Puérco montès,** *A Wild Boar,*	**Puérco montés,** *a wild boar.*
Navájas, ô Colmíllos de Javalí, *The Tusks of the Wild Boar,*	Navájas, *or* colmíllos de javalí, *the tusks of a wild boar.*
Espolónes de Javalì, *The rooting Place of a*	Ø

Tápa de Javalì, *Wild Boar*,	
Estrágo de Javalì,	
Lavajál de Javalì, *the Soil of a Wild Boar*,	Lavajál de javáli, *the soil of a wild boar*.
El Javalí pone los piés de atrás en las pisádas de los de delánte; lo qué no háze el Puérco. *The Wild Boar puts his hind Feet in the Tracks of those before which the Hog does not.*	Ø
[...]	[...]
Third Part, Seventh Chapter, The Art of Navigation	Navigation.
Navío, ô Náve, *A Ship*,	**Navío,** *or* ⎫ *a ship.* **Náve,** *or* ⎬ **Náo,** ⎭
Navío de Guérra, *A Man of War*,	Navío de guérra, *a man of war*.
Navío Mercantíl, *A Merchant's Ship*,	Navío mercantil, *a mechant ship*.
Navío muy **ligéro**, *A Light Ship or Cruizer*,	**Navío ligéro,** *a light vessel for sailing*.
Náve, qué se lléva á rémo, *A Ship which Rowes*,	Ø
Galéra, *A Galley*,	Galéra, *a galey*.
Capitána de las Galéras, *The Admiral Galley*,	Ø
Galeáça, *A Galeasse*,	Galeáça, *a galeass*.

The previous examples also show the changes Stevens makes to some of the Spanish headwords and English equivalents, limiting capitalization to the first letter of the Spanish headword. As a rule, however, Stevens follows Alvarado closely.

In the sixteen headings of the *Book of English and Spanish* most one-word entries were nouns, but verbs and phrases were also present. Capital letters were used for most of the English headwords and for the Spanish equivalents, but no accent marks were used. In both languages the use of articles was rare. In Stepney's vocabulary of 1591, its twenty-three headings were characterized by an inconsistent use of articles, by the fact that the English headword took a variety of forms (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs presented separately or combined; also phrases) and by the presence of synonyms in both languages. Stepney, nevertheless, did not use accents to show Spanish pronunciation in 1591; these

only appeared in the 1619 edition. Alvarado's nomenclator of 1718 and 1719 largely surpassed Stepney's in scope and was far more complicated in organization, with over three hundred headings. It shows a more consistent use of capitalization and articles in both languages, headwords are usually nouns, and accents are consistently used in Spanish. In the case of Stevens' vocabulary of 1725, an abridged version of Alvarado's, the number of headings was reduced to thirty-seven. The use of articles was consistent although limited to the English equivalent. Nouns and compound nouns figured prominently as Spanish headwords, which also included adjectives, and occasionally verbs and phrases. Synonyms were also present in both Spanish and English, as can be seen in the examples above. Like Stepney, Stevens sometimes used a brace to enclose them. These structural characteristics indicate that over a period of almost two centuries Spanish and English topical wordbooks changed little in comparison to alphabetical dictionaries, although in both cases copying from predecessors was the rule:

> L'analyse des critères de classement adoptés dans les *Nomenclatures* doit porter essentiellement sur le nombre et la nature des thèmes choisis, d'une part, le regroupement du vocabulaire sous l'un ou l'autre de ces thèmes, d'autre part. A cet égard, disons que les auteurs n'ont pas toujours fait preuve de la plus grande conscience. En effet, les plagiats sont très fréquents, plus encore peut-être que dans les dictionnaires alphabétiques dans la mesure où l'absence de tout développement lexicographique les rend moins apparents. Avant l'utilisation généralisée de l'ordre alphabétique, il était ainsi courant, en changeant la place des mots dans les chapitres et l'ordre des chapitres, de faire du neuf avec du vieux (Quemada 1967, 363-4).

7.3.4 The second edition of 1739

7.3.4.1 Megastructure

7.3.4.1.1 Outside matter

The structure of the 1739 edition is practically identical to the first edition of 1725, except for the inclusion of one more preliminary text: a three-page dedication "Al Mùi ilustre y noble Señór Don Guillelmo [*sic*] Stanhope". The dedicatee of the second edition is

William Stanhope (1683?-1756), first earl of Harrington, British politician, diplomat and secretary of state. This text, in Spanish, is inserted between the title page and a new "Preface". There are two differences between the two title pages: the 1739 title page mentions that this is "[t]he Second Edition. The whole Improved, Corrected, and Amended, by Sebastian Puchol, D. D." The colophon is also different: the 1725 edition was "Printed for T. Meighan in Drury-Lane, J. Batley in Pater-noster-row, and T. Cox at the Lamb under the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill" while the 1739 edition was "Printed for T. Meighan [...] T. Cox [...] and J. Wood in Pater-noster-row."[46]

7.3.4.1.2 Macro- and microstructures

As already stated, the contents of the second edition are virtually identical to those of the 1725 edition. The topical vocabulary is now to be found between pages 265 to 303. The subject headings are the same. When Sebastian Puchol publishes the second edition of Stevens' *New Spanish Grammar* in 1739, he writes in the preface that he has amended, among other things, the vocabulary, modernizing the Spanish spelling:

> The ç (called cedilla) which was so much in use before, is now left off, and the Reasons for it the Reader will find in my Observations on that Letter, and the z is substituted in its place. The y, which commonly passed as a Vowel, is now a Consonant in Composition. Some of the Spanish Words are softened, and others altered, as more conformable to the Latin; as instead of *Coraçon* we say *Corazón* : for *vezes, dezír, hacer*; *véces, decír, hacér* : instead of *estoy, doy, Reyno*; *estói, dói, Réino* : for *dava, iva, devo, escrivo*; *íba, débo, escríbo* : for *Cavállo, Govierno*; *Cabállo, Gobiérno*: for *abuelo* or *aguelo*; *avuélo* : *hái* for *ay* or *hay* : *Ahí* for *ai* or *haí*, &c.

The vocabulary reflects these changes in spelling; apart from that, changes in the Spanish headword were limited to the addition of a mere handful of spelling variants. Consider these entries, taken from different headings:

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[46] J. Batley and T. Cox, booksellers in London, see Plomer, Aldis et al (1968, 27 and 85). T. Meighan, bookseller and publisher, see Plomer, Bushnell et al. (1968, 167).

Stevens (1725): *A Vocabulary of the Most Necessary Words*	Stevens-Puchol (1739): *A Vocabulary of the Most Necessary Words*

Of what concerns Eating and Drinking,
    Nuéz de especia, *nutmeg*.
    [...]
	Of what concerns Eating and Drinking,
	    Nuéz **muscada**, *or* de especia, *nutmeg*.
	    [...]

The Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Roots, &c. that are eatable, [...]
    De colór de gamúza, *a cream colour.*
 	
    [...]
	The Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Roots, &c. that are eatable, [...]
	    De colór de gamúza, *or* **gamuéza**, *a cream colour.*
	    [...]

Creatures that drag on the Earth.
    Bívora, *a viper.*
    Bivorésno, *a young viper.*
    [...]
	Creatures that drag on the Earth.
	    Bívora, *or* **víbora**, *a viper.*
	    Bivorésno, *or* **viborésno**, *a young viper.*
	    [...]

Insects.
    Abíspa, *a wasp.*
    [...]
	Insects.
	    Abíspa, *or* **avispa**, *a wasp.*
	    [...]

Birds.
    Torçuélo, *a male falcon.*
    [...]
    Gárça, *an heron.*
    Garçota, *a small heron.*
    [...]
    Feníz, *a phenix.*
    [...]
	Birds.
	    Torzuélo, *a male facon.*
	    [...]
	    Gárza, *an heron.*
	    Gárzota, *a small heron.*
	    [...]
	    Feníz, *or* **phénix**, *a phenix.*
	    [...]

Shrubs.
    Zarçamóro, *the blackberry-bush.*
    [...]
    Regalíz, *the licorice tree.*
    [...]
	Shrubs.
	    Zarzamóro, *the blackberry-bush.*
	    [...]
	    Regalíz, *or* **regalícia**, *the liquorice tree.*
	    [...]

Things belonging to Fruit and Trees.
    Engerír, *to engraft.*
    [...]
	Things belonging to Fruit and Trees.
	    Engerír, *or* **ingerír**, *to engraft.*
	    [...]

Of the Inhabitants of Cities.
    El poblácho, *the mob.*
    [...]
	Of the Inhabitants of Cities.
	    El poblácho, *or* **la plébe**, *the mob.*
	    [...]

7.3.5 Analysis of the front matter

The 1725 grammar by Stevens contains a short preface after the title page. The title page recalls those by Thorius and Percyvall, introducing a grammar which comprises a

dictionary. In this case, too, a wordbook is added to the grammar, but it is of a different nature, namely "A Vocabulary, Of the most necessary Words; [...] By Capt. John Stevens, Author of the large Spanish Dictionary."

Stevens, for whom a grammar book equals "Rules and Instructions", says in the short preface that "[t]he Learner will here find all that is requisite to lead him into the Knowledge of the Spanish Tongue, without overcharging his Memory with an infinite Number of Superfluities, which rather confound than inform." What are those essentials? They are pronunciation, the conjugation of verbs, the vocabulary, a collection of familiar phrases, and the dialogues that "furnish Variety of Discourse, by which the ingenious may form themselves to talk upon any Subject, being calculated for that Intention, and therefore contriv'd in a Medium free from Meanness, and at the same time not too lofty."

What led Stevens to include a vocabulary in his *New Spanish Grammar* of 1725? His answer is laconic: it was a practical reason that led him to substitute the vocabulary for the dictionary, as he explains in the preface: "The *Vocabulary* will be of very good Use, in regard that large Dictionaries are not always so ready at hand, [...]" As mentioned above, a number of sections at the beginning of the vocabulary are missing in the 1725 edition, and so it is necessary to turn to the 1739 edition by Puchol to find a description of its contents. A paragraph explains that the vocabulary contains "Such Words as most frequently occur in common Use, and are therefore most necessary to be first known by Learners; as, The Parts of the Body, Household-Furniture; Names of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; the Service at Table; Fruit, Trees, Cloathing, and many other Sorts, all under their respective Heads." If a subtle but progressive increase in hierarchy and organization in the macrostructure is noticeable in previous vocabularies, so that they reflect a logic of the world, the vocabulary by Stevens does not establish any relationship among its headings. When abridging Alvarado, Stevens simply follows the criterion of frequency and retains what he considers "the most necessary Words", as he says on the title page. Perhaps he felt it unnecessary to retain the technical terms because they were already part of his alphabetical dictionary. Concerning the macrostructure, Stevens does away with the detailed table of contents in

Alvarado, its divisions and subdivisions into parts and chapters, and over half the entries. Only the comparative table already presented, which demonstrated his debt to Alvarado, makes it evident that Stevens' macrostructure begins with headings from Alvarado's second part, continues with the first part and ends with the third. Stevens only retains the headings as such, without any discernible logic organizing them.

Sebastian Puchol wrote a new preface to the 1739 edition, where he briefly explains the content of the book. He claims to have worked for the public good, modernizing orthography and etymology:

> Upon careful Examination of this Grammar, (altho' the best that is extant,) I found the Rules laid down so very deficient and incorrect, that I thought I could not do the Publick a greater Service, than by presenting them with one more perfect. This induced me to undertake the Correction of it; to lay down a new, modern, and approved Orthography and Etymology; [...]

Puchol was familiar with the prefatory texts of Stevens' dictionaries because he touches on ideas discussed by Stevens, namely, that the standard dialect is the Spanish variety spoken in Castile and the court, "which has been preserved in those Province, in a greater Purity and Perfection, than in any other of the more distant ones from the Court [...]." He also mentions the ambiguity in the pronunciation of *B* and *V*. However, Puchol expresses more clearly than his predecessors the need to keep up with language changes:

> It was high Time (nay there was an absolute necessity) to make a new Edition of the Spanish Grammar: For all Languages alter by Time and Custom; and the Castilian has received so many Alterations, that no-body can pretend to teach it, or learn it in Perfection, as it is spoken at Court, and used by modern Authors, without some new Instructions.

Puchol makes no remarks about the vocabulary, except that, together with the phrases and dialogues, it was "carefully amended". The importance of the 1739 edition lies in the fact that Puchol recognized the authority of the Spanish Academy concerning spelling. As mentioned above, Puchol modernized the Spanish spelling, claiming at the end of the preface that he followed "in the Correction of this Grammar, the Dictionary lately

published by the Royal Academy of Madrid, which is the only Standard for all those who aim at Speaking and Writing correctly and elegantly the Spanish Language." Thus, the codification of Spanish spelling by the Academy was recognized first in the topical tradition, then in the alphabetical.

7.3.6 Concluding remarks

In the Spanish and English lexicographical tradition of the period being analyzed, Stevens is the first to have produced both alphabetical and thematic compilations. A professional translator, Stevens followed different approaches for the translation of historical and literary works. Similarly, as a lexicographer he followed different methods. The dictionary is not only a compilation of general words, technical terms and proverbs, but a true encyclopaedic dictionary with personal and geographical names. For the vocabulary, Stevens reduced the scope and limited himself to the most frequent words. Implicitly, the approach in the vocabulary is pedagogical: Stevens wants to provide the learner with the most necessary words in use, whereas the dictionary was collected from "both ancient and modern" authors. From the point of view of the component parts, Stevens was the first to prepare a Spanish and English dictionary independent of a grammar and dialogues. He also gave the English-Spanish part more autonomy by eliminating its indexical character. In the first edition of the Stevens dictionary (1706-05), the reversal of the grammar and the dictionary was complete, as the former becomes an appendix to the latter. The second edition (1726) takes this process one step further and separates the dictionary from the grammar. Finally, the new editions of the Spanish grammar (1725 and 1739) provides a new model, in which the topical vocabulary takes the subordinate place the dictionary had had back in second half of the sixteenth century. Actually, the contents of the 1725 volume by Stevens is strikingly similar to that of 1599 by Minsheu: a grammar, a number of phrases, maxims, proverbs and dialogues, but a vocabulary instead of a dictionary.

The model of a grammar with a Spanish-English vocabulary (instead of a dictionary) was continued during the second half of the eighteenth century by Hippolyto San Joseph Giral Delpino, author of a Spanish and English dictionary (1763) based on the one compiled by Stevens' successor, Pedro Pineda. Giral's *New Spanish Grammar* with a vocabulary went through five editions (1766, 1777, 1787, 1792 and 1800). Although a detailed study of the grammars by Stevens and Giral remains to be done, the vocabulary by Giral is based on Stevens'.

7.4) Pedro Pineda's *New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish* (1740)

7.4.1 Introduction

Up to the first half of the eighteenth century, most Spanish grammars and all dictionaries involving Spanish and English were written by non-Spaniards: Thorius, Stepney, Percyvall, Owen, Minsheu, and Stevens. Not until then did Spaniards émigrés to England begin to produce works in this field. The first was Félix de Alvarado and his *Spanish and English Dialogues* (1718, 1719), followed by Sebastian Puchol and his revised edition of Stevens' *Spanish Grammar* (1739), and this in turn by Pedro Pineda. Such émigrés as Alvarado and Pineda worked as teachers of Spanish and eventually began writing for teaching English too. It will not be until the second half of the eighteenth century that there will be an interest in learning English among Spaniards:[47]

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[47] The eighteenth century was also productive in Spanish and French lexicography. In his paper on Spanish grammars of this century, Niederehe (1997, 42) explains how in the transition from the Golden Age to the Enlightenment Spain lost its political power and cultural hegemony to France: "Desde ahora, la lexicografía francesa sigue estimulando la lexicografía española [...] Constatamos, pues, que desde principios del siglo XVIII, la lingüística española sostiene un diálogo continuo con la lingüística francesa, por lo menos en lo que se refiere a la lexicografía." Let us remember the influence that the French Academy had on the Spanish Academy and its dictionary. For an overview of Spanish and French dictionaries up to 1800, see Niederehe (1987b).

Les Espagnols ne découvrent la culture anglaise que dans la deuxième moitié du siècle, sous le règne de Charles III (1759-1788), quand l'Espagne s'ouvre à l'Europe. Les traductions de l'anglais se multiplient alors, l'enseignement de la langue anglaise se répand et les premiers manuels pour l'apprentissage de l'anglais font leur apparition (Caravolas 2000, 201).

Pedro Pineda arrived in England in the early eighteenth century, where he worked as a teacher of Spanish, wrote grammars, compiled a dictionary, and edited some Spanish classics. Perhaps the earliest sketch of Pineda and his work is by Menéndez Pelayo (1880, 3: 103-4):

Fuera de España, peregrinaban algunos judaizantes que escribieron en castellano o por otros títulos se hicieron memorables. De ellos fué Pedro Pineda, *maestro de lengua castellana*, que publicó en Lóndres un *Diccionario*, rico de diatribas contra el de la Academia Española, y logró alguna mayor notoriedad, dirigiendo, en su parte material, la soberbia edicion del *Quijote*, costeada por lord Carneret para obsequiar á la reina Carolina, ilustrada por Mayans con la primera vida de Cervantes, y estampada en Lóndres en 1738 por los hermanos Tonson. El buen éxito de esta empresa movió á Pineda á reimprimir por su cuenta otros libros clásicos castellanos, y así empezó por sacar á luz las *Novelas Ejemplares*, de Cervantes (La Haya, por J. Nearlme, 1739, dos tomos en 8.°), dedicadas a su discípula D.ª María Fane, condesa de Westmorland, que en solos cuatro meses habia aprendido la lengua castellana. Imprimió despúes la *Diana Enamorada*, de Gil Polo, por Tomás Woodward, 1739, con una galante dedicatoria á otra discípula suya, D.ª Isabel Sútton.

As is the case with previous grammarians and lexicographers, the few things known about Pineda's life have to be pieced together from the preliminary texts to his works. López Martínez and Hernández Sánchez (1992, 9-15) have included a biographical overview in their edition of Pineda's grammar *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender à hablar, leer y escribir la lengua española*. To the information provided by Menéndez Pelayo, it should be added that Pineda left Spain for religious reasons, arrived in London around 1717 and remained there until his death, after 1762. His first published work was the above-mentioned grammar *Corta y compendiosa arte para aprender à hablar, leer y*

escribir la lengua española in 1726, reprinted in 1751 and 1762.[48] Whereas Alvarado had shown concern for teaching both Spanish and English, the second edition of Pineda's grammar in 1751 is the first English grammar for Spaniards written by a Spaniard:

> Un autre émigré [after Felix Antonio de Alvarado] [...], Pedro de Pineda, publie en 1726 une *Corta y compendiosa Arte para aprender à hablar, leer y escribir la Lengua Española [...]* où, sous l'influence de la *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de temps la langue espagnole* (1660) de Lancelot, il accorde une attention particulière aux aspects sémantiques des deux langues. La deuxième édition parue en 1751 sous le titre *A short and compendious method for the learning to speak, read, and write the English and Spanish languages, [...]*, contient des dialogues et la première grammaire de l'anglais pour Espagnols composée par un Espagnol (Caravolas 2000, 37).

Pineda was also the first Spaniard to compile a Spanish and English bilingual dictionary (1740), followed in 1750 by another grammar, *A Short and Easy Introduction to the Rudiments of the Spanish Tongue [...] Fàcil y còrto methodo, ô introducion para apprehender los rudimentos de la lèngua castellàna*. Besides the two grammars, the dictionary, and the printing of Spanish classics, he published an historical account in 1754: *A Synopsis of the Genealogy of the Most Antient and Most Noble Family of the Brigantes or Douglas.*

There are violent and bitter remarks against the Royal Spanish Academy and especially the Catholic Church in some of his works, which led to their being banned. López Martínez and Hernández Sánchez (1992, 10) explain: "El 18 de marzo de 1756 se publica el Edicto de Mallorca en el que se prohibe la lectura del nuevo Diccionario español e inglés y de *El fácil y corto método ...,* [...]"

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[48] Transcriptions of the title pages of each edition are found in Niederehe (2005, 63, 123 and 161 respectively); some bibliographical data can also be found in Alston (1987, 38). It should be mentioned that Knapp's annotated bibliography (1884, 5) erroneously gives the 1751 edition as the third. The *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* contains only the 1762 edition in pdf format with an electronic table of contents. A list of Pineda's works, with short descriptions and transcription of title pages, can be seen in Aguilar Piñal (1991, 6: 401-2); however, this list does not mention the second edition of the *Corta y compendiosa arte [...]* of 1751 nor Pineda's grammar of 1750.

7.4.2 Sources

Aspects of Spanish phonetics presented in Pineda's grammar (1726-62) were studied by Spaulding (1948, 57) and more fully by Alonso (1951e, 289-93 and 1967, 336-7), who writes:

> por desgracia Pineda no era capaz de describir los sonidos ni siquiera de entender las descripciones de sus predecesores; hasta estaba convencido de que era imposible describir los sonidos. A ciegas toma sus noticias [...] especialmente de Claude Lancelot, quien a su vez había tomado sus noticias, a ojos abiertos pero a oídos tapados, de Oudin 1619, Doujat 1644 y Juan de Miranda 1565 (Alonso 1951e, 289).

An overview of Pineda's grammar can also be found in Sánchez Pérez (1992, 168-71), but the most comprehensive study is that by López Martínez and Hernández Sánchez (1992). The reader will have noticed that the grammars were published separately from the dictionary.

On the title page, Pineda claims he has added six thousand words to the Spanish-English part and twelve thousand to the English-Spanish part, without mentioning the sources. Some scholars claim that Pineda (1740) was just a copy of Stevens. Knapp (1884, 8), in his annotated bibliography, says that Pineda's dictionary is "A mere reproduction of Stevens with some additions, [...]". Likewise, Martín-Gamero (1961, 139) writes that Pineda copied his dictionary almost verbatim from Stevens, adding only insulting definitions on religious subjects in the English-Spanish part. Santoyo (1974, 101), although aware of Pineda's claims concerning the number of new entries, repeats Knapp's assertion. However, as has already been seen, the two editions of Stevens dictionary are not, strictly speaking, identical in terms of the number of entries. Calculations indicate that Pineda certainly added a considerable number of entries to either of Stevens' editions, but it remains to be verified which edition Pineda actually used. According to Steiner, the main source of new entries for Pineda in the English-Spanish part was Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, but a comprehensive study of the sources of the 1740 Pineda dictionary remains to be done.

Now let us turn to Pineda the lexicographer.

7.4.3 Megastructure

7.4.3.1 Outside matter

There is a problem describing the parts of Pineda's dictionary not encountered before. In Record Id ESTCT134064 of the *English Short Title Catalogue*, which corresponds to the Pineda dictionary of 1740, a note is found at the end of the record indicating that in the three copies in the British Library the preliminary texts and the dictionary word lists are bound in a different order. In one of the copies, for example, the English-Spanish section is bound before the Spanish-English. That is the order in the microfilm edition consulted from *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 2640: 02 (the microfilmed copy has shelfmark 828.1.17. in the British Library) and the pdf version from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. The copy examined by Steiner (1970, 68, footnote 2) in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Madrid is also bound with the English-Spanish part first. Steiner noted the colophon at the end of the Spanish-English part, which reads "Fin de la priméra Parte del Dicionário Español ò Ingles, [...] por *Pedro Pineda*" (Pineda, 1740) and remarks how Martín-Gamero (1961, 138, footnote 23) consulted a copy with the order reversed and did not notice the colophon. Unfortunately, neither Martin-Gamero nor Steiner explains the order of the preliminary texts in the copies they consulted. The copy described by Viñaza (1978, 763) is bound with the Spanish-English part first, as are the copies in McLennan Library, McGill University, and in the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*. However, the order in which the front matter texts appear in these copies is not the same. Let us consider the different copies of the dictionary, beginning with the copy described by Viñaza, then the microfilm and pdf versions, and finally the copies in McLennan Library and in the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*.

1. The copy described by Viñaza (1978) is organized as follows:

    1.1 Title page in Spanish

1.2 Title page in English

1.3 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Duquessa de Rich Richmond"

1.4 "The Preface"

1.5 "El Autor al Lector"

1.6 Title page of the Spanish-English part

1.7 Spanish-English word list

1.8 Title page of the English-Spanish part

1.9 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Condessa de Sunderland"

1.10 English-Spanish word list.

2. The microfilm and pdf versions are organized thus: [49]

2.1 Title page in Spanish

2.2 Title page in English

2.3 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Duquessa de Rich Richmond"

2.4 "El Autor al Lector"

2.5 "The Preface"

2.6 Title page of the English-Spanish part

2.7 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Condessa de Sunderland"

2.8 English-Spanish word list

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[49] It should be mentioned that the electronic table of contents available from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* does not list the complete front matter texts.

2.9 Title page of the Spanish-English part

2.10 Spanish-English word list.

3. The copy in McLennan Library at McGill University lacks the title page of the English-Spanish part and is organized as follows:

3.1 Title page in Spanish

3.2 Title page in English

3.3 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Duquessa de Rich Richmond"

3.4 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Condessa de Sunderland"

3.5 "The Preface"

3.6 "El Autor al Lector"

3.7 Title page of the Spanish-English part

3.8 Spanish-English word list

3.9 English-Spanish word list.

4. Finally, the copy in the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec* lacks the general title page in English and is organized thus:

4.1 Title page in Spanish

4.2 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Duquessa de Rich Richmond"

4.3 "El Autor al Lector"

4.4 Title page of the Spanish-English part

4.5 Spanish-English word list

4.6 Title page of the English-Spanish part

4.7 Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Condessa de Sunderland"

4.8 "The Preface"

4.9 English-Spanish word list.

The copy described by Viñaza and the copies in McLennan Library and the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec* are correctly bound with the Spanish-English part first, but the last two copies are incomplete. Moreover, whereas in the copy at McLennan Library the two dedications come one after the other, it is logical to assume that Pineda dedicated each part of the dictionary to a different person. Thus the order described by Viñaza is more accurate than that of the copy at McLennan Library. This is the case of the copy in the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*, in which there is one dedication for each part. However, in Viñaza's copy the Spanish preface "El autor al lector" comes after the "Preface" in English. The catchword "The" printed in the lower right-hand corner of the second page of "El autor al lector" indicates that the English "Preface" should come *after* this text and not before as in Viñaza's copy. But were the two prefaces placed before the Spanish-English part or was there one for each part, as with the dedications? The signature at the bottom of the title page of the English-Spanish part is "6Q" and the one at the bottom of the English "Preface" is "6R", which means that the preface in English came after the separate title page of the English-Spanish part.[50] Taking all these factors into consideration, the megastructure of the dictionary can be reconstructed as follows:

1. Title page in Spanish[51]

2. Title page in English

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[50] We would like to thank Mr. Michel Brisebois, from the *Centre de conservation* of the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec* who kindly answered all our questions and helped us elucidate the binding order of Pineda's dictionary.

[51] Descriptions of the dictionary and transcriptions of the full Spanish title page can be found in Sbarbi (1891, 149), Viñaza (1978 [1893], 762-3), Steiner (1970, 68), Alston (1987, 44 and plate CXIII), San Vicente (1995, 124), and Niederehe (2005, 99).

3. Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Duquessa de Rich Richmond",[52] dated 1739 (2 pp.)

4. "El Autor al Lector" (2 pp.)

5. Separate title page of the Spanish-English part

6. "A New Dictionary, Spanish and English" (unpaginated)[53]

7. Separate title page of the English-Spanish part

8. Dedication: "Epistola Dedicatoria A la Exma. Señora Condessa de Sunderland",[54] dated 1739 (2 pp.)

9. "The Preface" (2 pp.)

10. "A New Dictionary, English and Spanish" (unpaginated).

As can be seen, the dictionary contains two general title pages, one in Spanish on the verso facing another in English on the recto, plus separate title pages in English for each part. This indicates that the English-speaking public was being kept in mind, as Steiner (1970, 68) observes, but also that the dictionary could serve the Spanish-speaking public for learning English, as the presence of the full title page in Spanish indicates. The title page of Stevens' dictionary of 1726 was in both English and Spanish, unlike earlier works prepared for teaching Spanish and consequently directed at the English reader. In the topical tradition, Alvarado's dialogues had title pages in Spanish and English and the second edition was intended for learning both Spanish and English. Similarly, in the case of Pineda's dictionary, there is one full title page in each language, which may be interpreted as another step towards a broader target audience.

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[52] The reference is to Sarah (1706-51), eldest daughter of William Cadogan and wife of Charles Lennox, second duke of Richmond; see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (11: 922).

[53] Steiner (1970, 69) calculates 517 pp. for the Spanish-English part and 240 pp. for the English-Spanish part; our collation is based on the complete pdf version from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and gives 513 pp. and 240 pp. respectively.

[54] The reference is to Judith Tichborne, third wife of Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland; see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (18: 757).

Pineda's *Nuevo dicionario, español e ingles e ingles y español* was printed for six London publishers in 1740.[55] In his paper on the life and work of Pineda, Dowling (1985, 3 and 8) speaks of a second edition in 1750, but to our knowledge Pineda's dictionary was never reprinted.[56]

7.4.3.2 Macro- and microstructures

As mentioned before, on the title page, Pineda claims he has added six thousand words to the Spanish-English part and twelve thousand to the English-Spanish part. Steiner (1970, 70) calculated sixty thousand entries in Stevens 1706-05 (40,000 in the first part and 20,000 in the second part) to which he added the 18,000 entries by Pineda, which would mean a total of 78,000 entries in the dictionary. Similar figures are offered by Rizo Rodríguez and Valera Hernández (2001, 347), who estimate at 45,000 the number of entries in the first part, and at 35,000 those in the second part, for a total of 80,000. Our own calculations for the Spanish-English part give approximately 51,000 entries for this section, and for the English-Spanish part approximately 40,000 entries. Based on a comparison of samples from Stevens 1705 and Pineda 1740, Steiner (1970, 69-70) has verified the increase in Pineda's English-Spanish part and thereby the lexicographer's claim; our own calculations confirm Pineda's additions to the macrostructure.

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[55] T. Cox was involved in the printing of the 1725 and 1739 grammars by Stevens. Concerning F. Gyles, T. Woodward, J. Clarke, A Millar and P. Vaillant, booksellers and publishers in London, see Plomer, Bushnell et al. (1968, 102, 271, 52, 171 and 250 respectively).

[56] The *English Short Title Catalogue* records an edition dated 1739 (Record ID: ESTCN53319) and another 1750 (Record ID: ESTCN65133); the *WorldCat* database also records a 1750 edition. However, these editions dated "1750" are due to errors in listing the dictionary in library catalogs and some erroneous records in the *WorldCat* catalogue were corrected at our request. The *English Short Title Catalogue* records a 1750 copy in John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, whom we contacted to have the record corrected. As for Dowling's paper, it should be read with caution because it contains a number of inaccuracies. For instance, he is uncertain as to the relation between Corro and Thorius and attributes *The Spanish Grammer* to Corro (Dowling, 1985, 4-5); latter on he says Percyvall's dictionary was "a bidirectional lexicon" and his transcription of Stevens' dictionary title (1706) is not accurate (Dowling 1985, 5). He is also unsure about Stevens' life, claiming that "we do not know how he [Stevens] acquired his interest in Spanish" (Dowling, 1985, 9). Finally, Dowling (1985, 13) says that Pineda's dictionary was followed in 1766 by the Spanish and English dictionary of Baretti, which he dates "1766". In fact, however, the Pineda dictionary (1740) was followed by Giral Delpino's (1763) and this, in turn, by Baretti's (1778, 1786, 1794, 1800, 1807 and 1809).

The following set of entries is from the Spanish-English part of the Stevens dictionary (1706 and 1726) and from Pineda (1740). Entries contained in Stevens (1726) that were in the 1706 edition have been included to show that Pineda in fact primarily followed Stevens (1726). Steiner (1970, 69 ff.) bases his comparisons on Stevens (1706-05) and Pineda (1740) and consequently does not see that Pineda primarily followed Stevens (1726). This can be seen in the case of *Abarrótes, De Diós abáxo, Abechúcho, Fastuóso, Larilléro* [*sic*], *Lápa, Lápiz,* and *Talégo*. Only occasionally did Pineda turn to Stevens (1706) for information, such as proverbs (s.v. *Abito,* or *Hábito*). This entry appears in the three dictionaries, but note that the proverb in Pineda (1740) – absent from Stevens (1726) – is taken verbatim from Stevens (1706):

Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*	Stevens (1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English*
Ø	*Abarrótes,* by **English sailors call'd Dennage, being small parcels of goods to fill up the cavities in slowing of a ship.**	*Abarrótes,* by *English* **Sailors called Dennage, being small Parcels of Goods to fill up the Cavities in slowing of a ship.**
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*De Diós abáxo,* **under God.**	*De Diós abáxo,* **under God.**
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*Abechúcho,* **a bird of prey, the Tassel of a Sparrow-hawk.**	*Abechúcho,* s. m. **a Bird of Prey, the Tassel of a Sparrow-Hawk.**
[...]	[...]	[...]
Abito, or *Hábito,* a Habit or Custom, also a Habit such as religious Men wear, and the distinctive Badge of all Orders of Knighthood. Lat *Habitus.*	*Abito,* or *Hábito,* a habit or custom; also a habit, such as religious men wear, and the distinguishing badge of all orders of knighthood. Lat *habitus.*	*Abito,* or *Hábito,* a Habit or Custom; also a Habit such as religious Men wear, and the distinguishing Badge of all Orders of Knighthood. Lat *Habitus.*
Prov. *El ábito no háce al mónge:* **'Tis not the Habit that makes the Monk. That is, it is not wearing the Garment, or having the**		**Prov.** *El ábito no háce al mónge:* **'Tis not the Habit that makes the Monk. That is, it is not wearing the Garment, or having the**

outward Appearances that make a Man a Religious, a Christian, a Soldier, or any other Profession, but the Practice of what he professes. […] Ø		outward Appearances that make a Man religious, a Christian, a Soldier, or any other Profession, but the Practice of what he professes. […]
	[...] *Fanático,* fanatick, transported with zeal.	*Fanático, ca,* s. m. f. Fanatick.
[...] Ø	[...] *Fastuóso,* stately.	[...] *Fastuóso, a,* adj. stately.
[...] Ø	[...] *Fatíble,* practicable.	[...] *Fatíble,* adj. one term. practicable.
[...] Ø	[...] *Ladrilléro,* a brick-maker.	[...] *Larilléro,* [*sic*] s. m. a Brick-maker.
[...]	[...] *Lápa,* is also any foul sore, blotch, or scabby distemper; but particularly pocky sores, or buboes in the groin.	[...] *Lápa,* s. f. the Scum of any thing.
[...] Ø	[...] *Lapiz,* black lead.	[...] *Lapìz,* s. f. a black Stone used for Drawing.
[...] Ø	[...] *Talégo,* a bag, or sack.	[...] *Talego,* s. m. a Bag, or Sack.

Pineda explains both in the Spanish preface "El Autor al Lector" and in the English "Preface" that, like Minsheu before him, he has used asterisks to indicate additions to the Spanish-English part only, marking entries not found in earlier dictionaries. In fact, however, the previous examples show Pineda's use of asterisks not only for new entries but also whenever he modified the microstructure of an entry taken from Stevens (1726) (for example, s.vv. *Fanático, Fastuóso, Fatíble, Lápa, Lápiz,* and *Talégo*). Notice that in some cases Pineda only adds grammatical information. On the subject of Pineda's additions to the word list in the first part, Steiner (1970, 72-3) gives examples showing that when

Pineda made an original contribution to the material he found in Stevens' dictionary the microstructure is usually "short, succinct, and to the point" in comparison to Stevens' encyclopaedism. Steiner also mentions Pineda's tendency to shorten the microstructure, contrary to the practice of his predecessors. Our samples indicate that Pineda tends to follow Stevens closely, but also that in some cases he does shorten the microstructure:

Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*	Stevens (1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English*
Ábaco, The *Abacus*, is a quadrangular piece, commonly accompanied with a *Cymatium*, and serving instead of a *Corona*, or Drip to the Capital, whereof it is the Superior or highest part; that is, it supports the lower face of the Architrave. [...] [...]	*Ábaco*, the *abacus*, is a quadrangular piece, commonly accompanied with a *cymatium*, and serving instead of a *corona*, or drip to the capital, whereof it is the superior or highest part; that is, it supports the lower face of the architrave. [...] [...]	*Abáco*, s. m. **A Term of Architecture, a quadrangular Piece commonly accompanied with a *Cymatium*** [...]
Abád, An Abbot, chief of a Monastery of Monks of the Orders of St. *Benedict*, St *Bernard*, St. *Basil*, and some others. In *Spain* some Houses of Canons Regulars have Abbots. [...] [...]	*Abád*, an Abbat, chief of a monastery of Monks of the orders of St. *Benedict*, St *Bernard*, St. *Basil*, and some others. In *Spain* some houses of Canons Regulars have Abbats. [...] [...]	*Abád*, s. M., **an Abbot.** [...]
Abáda, a Beast in the *EastIndies* of a great bulk, cover'd with a sort of Shells or Scales, like Armour, and proof against any Weapon, and having one Horn in the Forehead; commonly call'd a Rhinoceros. [...]	*Abáda*, a beast in the *East-Indies* of a great bulk, cover'd with a sort of shells or scales like armour, and proof against any weapon, and having one horn in the forehead; commonly call'd a Rhinoceros. [...]	*Abáda*, s. f. **a Rhinoceros, a Beast of great Bulk in the *East-Indies* cover'd with a Sort of Scales Proof against any Weapon.** [...]
Abárca, a sort of shaoes us'd by Country-people that live on Mountains or Rocky Places. There are two sorts	*Abárca*, a sort of shoes used by country people that live on mountains or rocky places. There are two sorts	*Abárca*, s. f. **a Sort of Shoes worn by Country People that live on Mountains or Rocky Places, made of raw**

of them; the one made all of Wood, such as the *French* call *Sabots*, call'd in *Spanish Abarcas*, because they are made like a Boat, which they call *Barca*. The other sort is of raw Hides, bound about their Feet with Cords, which secures them against the Snow.	of them; the one made all of wood, such as the French call *Sabots*, call'd in Spanish *Abarcas*, because they are made like a boat, which they call *Barca*; the other sort is of raw hides, bound about their feet with cords, which secures them against the snow.	**Skine of wild Boars, Horses, Cows, &c. and ty'd with Strings.**

Pineda continues to shorten the microstructure and to add brief entries:

Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*	Stevens (1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English*
Ø	Ø	* *Farfantòn*, s. m. a Prater, or Talker.
Ø	Ø	* *Farfantonádo*, s. f. a Prating.
Ø	Ø	* *Farfáca*, s. f. an Herb very lile Ivy.
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	Ø	* *Farfúlla*, s. m. one who flutters, or slammers.
Ø	Ø	* *Farfulladòr*, s. m., the Man who slammers, by endeavouring to express himself hastily, when he os in a Passion.
Farfullár, to prate, to bable, to talk hastily, to chatter. From the *Latin Fari*, to talk. [...] Ø	Farfullár, to prate, to babble, to talk hastily, to chatter. From the Latin *fari*, to talk. [...] Farmacía, pharmacy, the art of curing with medicines.	* *Farfullàr*, v. n. to prate, to babble, to talk hastily, to chatter. [...] * *Farmacía*, s. Pharmacy.

As mentioned before, our sample also shows that Pineda (1740) sometimes followed the first edition of Stevens (1706):

Stevens (1706): *A Spanish and English Dictionary*	Stevens (1726): *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English*
Ø	*Abísca*, a province in the kingdom of *Peru*, in *South America*.	Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Abissínia*, the kingdom of that name in *Africk*.	[...] Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Fáço*, in cant an handkerchief.	[...] Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Dar lamedór*, among gamesters is a cant word to let a man win as first to draw him in to play deep, and win all he has. [...]	[...] Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Langór*, languishing.	[...] Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Tabáco en pólvo*, snuff.	[...] Ø
Ø	*Tabáco de húmo*, smoking tobacco.	Ø
Ø	*Un polvillo, o una présa de tabáco*, a pinch of snuff.	Ø
[...] Ø	[...] *Tábla de pan*, or *tábla de hórno*, the eight of diamonds at cards, [...]	[...] Ø
Ø	*Tábla del tocíno*, a cant word among gamesters, for a table where there is much noise, and little or very low play.	Ø
Ø	*Táble de la ovéja*, a cant word for a table where they play, [...]	Ø
[...] *Tablílla*, **idem. Also a Child's Hornbook; a Tablet to write on, and the Sign hung out to show a**	[...] Tablílla, *idem*; also a child's hornbook, a tablet to write on, and the sign hung out to show a house lets lodgings;	[...] *Tablílla*, s. f. **idem. Also a Child's Horn-book, a Tablet to write on, and the Sign hung out to shew a**

House lets Lodgings.	a splinter applied by surgeons to broken bones.	House lets Lodgings.
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*Táça penáda*, a cup that is uneasy to drink out of	Ø
Ø	*Taça lláña*, a flat cup.	Ø

Before moving on to a comparison of the English-Spanish part of the three dictionaries, it should be pointed out that Pineda was not consistent when adding entries to his dictionary. Thus, in our sample from letters *A*, *F*, *L*, and *T*, 115 entries are marked with asterisks out of 427 under *A*; 161 out 443 under *F*; 105 out of 427 under *L*; but only 38 out of 404 under *T*. There seems to be a tendency in Pineda to reduce the number of entries towards the end of the Spanish-English part. Whereas in Stevens (1706) there are twenty-five entries between *taça* and *tacúnga*, and in the 1726 edition four more were added for a total of 29, in Pineda (1740) there are only four entries for that same interval.

Our samples from the English-Spanish parts of the two dictionaries by Stevens (1705 and 1726) and Pineda (1740) confirm that the latter followed the second edition of Stevens' work. Even in cases where a headword appears in all three dictionaries – such as *Laced as Linen, or Garments*, *A Lace-Maker of such as are us'd for Women's stays*, and *A Lace-Maker of such as are use'd for Ornament* – the similaries are between Pineda (1740) and Stevens (1726):

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, English and Spanish*
Ø	*Abdication*, Abdicación, renunciación.	*Abdication*, f. abdicaciòn, ò renunciaciòn.
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*Abstinent*, Abstinénte.	*Abstinent*, adj. sobrio, a, moderàdo, a. abstinènte.
[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*Acclivity*, Aclividàl, la subída de un mónte, o cósa semejánte.	*Acclivity*, f. subida, elevaciòn.

[...] Ø	[...] *Fatigue*, Fatíga, consáncio.	[...] *Fatigue*, f. *or Toil*, cansàncio, fatiga.
[...] Ø	[...] *To feign*, Fingìr. [...]	[...] *To feign, or pretend*, fingir, simular, disismulàr.
Ø	*Feigned*, Fingído.	*Feigned*, p.p. fingido, similido, dissimulàdo.
[...] Ø	[...] *Fenders in a ship*, Defénças.	[...] *Fenders in a Ship*, defenças.
[...] Ø	[...] *To ferment*, Fermentàr, levadàr el pan, remostar el víno, o ótras cósas semejántes.	[...] *To ferment*, v. n. fermentàr, levadar el pàn.
[...] *Laced*, Atacádo.	[...] *Laced as women's stays*, Atacádo.	[...] Ø
Lac'd, Guarnecído con púntas.	*Laced as linen, or garments*, Guarnecído con púntas.	*Laced as Linnen, or Garments*, guàrnecvdo con puntas.
[...] Ø	[...] *Lammas day*, El primèr día de agósto, quándo se pagávan los diésmos de cordéros.	[...] *Lammas*, f. *or Lammas Day*, el primer dia de Agosto, que era el dia que pagàbvn los diesmos de corderos.
[...] *A Lace-maker*, Cordonéro.	[...] *A lace-maker of such as us'd for women's stays*, Cordonéro.	[...] *A Lace-Maker of such as are used for Womens Stays*, cordonèro.
A Lace-maker, Randéro, randéra.	*A lace-maker of such as are use'd for ornament*, Randéro, randéra.	*A Lace-Maker of such as are used for Ornament*, randéro, randera.

Pineda left out material from Stevens in this part of the dictionary too, such as *Laced as women's stays*.

Another feature confirms the dependence of Pineda (1740) upon the second edition of Stevens (1726) in the English-Spanish part. There were differences between the word lists in Stevens (1726) and in the previous edition of 1705. Thus, a set of entries that in

Stevens 1705 was placed after *Launched into the deep* was relocated in Stevens (1726) after *A lamprey*. Pineda follows the same location and orthography (*Launce* vs. *Lance*) as Stevens (1726):

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, English and Spanish*
Launched into the deep, Engolfádo, Hechádo a lo lárgo.	*A lamprey*, Lampréa.	*Lamprey*, s. a *Fish*, lamprèa.
Ø		
a Launcet, Lancétta.	Ø	*Lampril*, vide *Lampern*.
*a **Launce** or spear*, Lánça.	[s.v. *A lancet*]	[s.v. *Lancet*]
Ø	*A lance*, Lánça.	*Lance*, s. lànza.
	To lance, Lanceteàr.	*To lance*, alançeàr, ô lançeàr.
*the staff of a **Launce** or spear, Ásta.*	*The staff of a **lance** or spear*, Asta.	*The Staff of a **Lance** or Spear*, asta.
to hurt or wound with a Launce, Alanceár.	***To wound with a lance***, Alanceàr.	***To wound with a Lance***, alanceàr.
*a small **Launce**, Lançuéla.*	*A small **lance**, Lançuéla.*	*A small **Lance**, lanzuèla.*
hurt or wounded with a launce, Alanceádo.	***Wounded with a lance***, Alanceádo.	***Wounded with a Lance***, alanceàdo.
a Launce man, or launcier, Lança.	***One that fights with a lance***, Lánça.	***One that fights with a lance***, el que pelea con la lànza
*the rest of a **Launce**, Ristre.*	*The rest of a **lance**, Ristre.*	*The Rest of a **Lance**, ristre.*
to couch a Launce to the rest, Enristrár.	***To couch a lance***, Enristràr	***To conuh** [sic] a **Lance***, enrillàr.
Ø	Ø	*Lanced*, p. p. alançeàdo.
Ø	Ø	*Lancer*, s. lanzèro.
Ø	Ø	*Lancepesado*, s. an *Officer under a Corporal, who assists him in his Duty*, el mas viéjo soldàdo que asiste al cabo desguàdra en su oficio.
[s.v. *a Launcet*]	*A lancet*, **Lancéta**.	*Lancet*, s. **lancèta**.

These examples indicate that when an entry is found in all three dictionaries, Pineda (1740) tends to follow Stevens (1726), as in *To wound with a Lance* et seq. An identical case of relocation is the set of entries between *to Lay as one lays a foundation* and *a Lay man,*

placed between *Lag* and *a Lake* in Stevens 1705 and moved after *Laxative* in Stevens 1726. As in the above examples, Pineda (1740) follows the same order of Stevens (1726). Such relocation of entries or even of complete sets of entries is not rare in Stevens' augmented edition of 1726.

Consider the entries *To lay a Foundation*, *Legate*, *Talent*, *Talk*, and *A Tapster* and note the similarities in headword and/or equivalents between Pineda (1740) and Stevens (1726):

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, English and Spanish*
to Lay as one lays a foundation, Echár cimiénto, *or* Fundár.	**To lay a foundation**, Echàr cimiénto, fundàr.	**To lay a Foundation**, echar cimiènto, fundàr.
[...]	[...]	[...]
a Legate, or ambassador, Embaxadór, Legádo.	*A legate*, **Legádo**.	*Legate*, s. **legàdo**.
[...]	[...]	[...]
a Talent, Talénto.	*Talent*, Talénto, **capacidàd, habilidàd**.	*Talent*, s. talento, **capacidad, habilidàd**.
[...]	*Talk*, Hábla, **conversaciòn, discúrso**.	*Talk*, s. habla, **conversacion, discurso**.
Talk, Colóquio, Hábla.		
[...]	[...]	[...]
a Tapster, Bodeguéro.	*A tapster*, Bodeguéro, **el que tiéne la cervéza a su cárgo**.	*A Tapster*, s. bodeguero, **el que tiene la cerveza a cargo**.

Below is another case where Pineda followed the word list from Stevens (1726). The entries have been transcribed in the order in which they appear in each dictionary, with numbers in brackets highlighting the differences between Stevens (1705) and Pineda (1740):

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, English and Spanish*
[2] *to do with Tassels,*	*Tassels, or knaps*, Cordónes	**[1]** *Tassels, or Knaps,*

Emborlár.	de bellota, borlas, borlónes.	cordones de bellota, borlas, borlone.
[3] *done with Tassels*, Emborládo.	*To do with tassels*, Emborlàr.	[2] *To do with Tassels*, emborlar.
[1] *Tassels, or Knaps*, Cordónes de bellota, Borlas, Borlónes.	*Done with tassels*, Emborládo.	[3] *Done with Tassels*, emborlado.
[4] *a Maker of Tassels*, Emborládor.	*A maker of tassels*, Emborládor.	[4] *A Maker of Tassels*, emborlador.
Ø	*A tassel, or male hawk*, Torçuélo.	*A Tassel*, s. *or male Hawk*, torçuelo.
[...]	[...]	[...]
to make Tents, Hazér ramádas, *or* barrácas, *or* chóças, *or* Tiéndas.	*A tent or shop*, Tiénda.	[5] *A Tent, or Shop*, s. tienda.
[7] *a Tent of Boughes*, Ramáda.	*A tent or pavilion*, Pavellòn, tabernàculo, tòldo, tiénda.	[6] *Tent*, s. *or Pavillion*, pavellòn, tòldo, tiènda.
[6] *a Tent or Pavillion*, Pavellón, Tabernaculo, Tóldo, Tiénda.	*A tent of boughs*, Ramáda.	[7] *Tent of Bought*, ramada.
[5] *A Tent or Shop*, Tiénda.	*To make tents*, Hazér ramádas, *or* barrácas, *or* chóças, *or* tiéndas.	*A Tent-maker*, él que haze las tiendas.
[8] *a Tent for a Wound*, Mécha.	*A tent for a wound*, Mécha.	[8] *A Tent, for a Wound*, hilas por las llagas.

However, occasionally Pineda would go to Stevens 1705 for an entry, as he did in the Spanish-English part, and continue to make modifications:

Stevens (1705): *A Dictionary English and Spanish*	Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, English and Spanish*
a **Feaver, Calentúra**.	Ø	*Feaver*, s. **calentùra**.
[...]	[...]	[...]
a Fever, Fiébre, Calentúra.	*A fever*, Fiébre, calentúra.	*Fever*, **vide** *Feaver*.
[...]	[...]	[...]
Latin, Latín.	Ø	*Latin*, latino, na.
[...]	[...]	[...]
a **Leam for dogs, or leash**, **Traýlla**.	Ø	*A Leam for Dogs, or Leash*, **traylla**.

[...]	[...]	[...]
Ø	*Tansy*, Athanásia.	*Tansy*, **f.** athanasia.
Ø	*A tansy*, Tortílla de huévos, athanásia, &.	*A Tansy*, tortilla de huevos, athanasia.
Ø	*To tantalize*, Tantalizàr, hazèr desseàr, sin núnca alcánçar.	*To tantalize*, **tantalizar, hazer dessear.**

The additions Pineda made to the macrostructure of the English-Spanish part were much more numerous than to those to the Spanish-English part. Thus, there are 435 entries under the guide letters *LA* in Pineda (1740) while there are only 197 in Stevens (1726) and 190 in Stevens (1705) for the same interval. Steiner (1970, 70) is correct, then, when he says that "Pineda's dictionary is not a mere copy of Stevens". According to Steiner, the main source of new entries for Pineda in the English-Spanish part was Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*.[57] The first edition of this work appeared in 1721 and continued to be published till the early nineteenth century with an increasing number of entries. Starnes and Noyes (1991, 106) explain:

> Its thirty editions burst forth continually with erratic overlappings and irregular numbering up to the year 1802; and the growth of the vocabulary, while not phenomenal as successive title-pages would lead the credulous to expect, was steady. The 1728 edtion, for example, had about 42,500 words, the 1770 edition about 44,000, and the 1783 edition reached 50,000; later editions did not attempt further expansion.

Steiner (1970, 70-1) says that "Pineda went through Nathan Bailey's monolingual dictionary of 60,000 English words and glossed as many as he was able to with Spanish translations." To show this dependence, Steiner (1970, 71) compares the Pineda dictionary to Bailey (1728), adding in footnote 3 that "in deciding which edition or editions Pineda used, the *terminus a quo* is probably 1728 (4th ed.) because the material in the confrontation given here is not present in the edition printed in 1727. He could have used the 7th ed.,

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[57] For a discussion, see Starnes and Noyes (1991, chaps. 14 and 15).

1735, or the edition of 1739." In relation to this last edition, neither the *English Short Title Catalogue* nor the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* nor the *Worldcat* list an edition published in 1739, only one in 1740. The *English Short Title Catalogue* lists editions up to 1740 as follows: 1721, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1733, 1735, 1737 and 1740. Therefore, it is unlikely Pineda used the ninth edition of Bailey's dictionary, which was actually published in 1740 and not in 1739.[58] It remains to be determined which of the editions between 1728 and 1737 Pineda used. In any case, the fact that Pineda turned to a monolingual English dictionary as a source should be noted, for it enabled him to develop the second part and produce a more balanced wordbook, even if the Spanish-English part still contains a larger number of entries than the English-Spanish part, as Steiner (1970, 71-2) observes:

> Pineda is the first lexicographer in the history of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography to collect English words from a monolingual English dictionary for use as vocabulary entries in the English-Spanish part. Minsheu, the first compiler of an English-Spanish part, had collected words from an English-Latin bilingual dictionary [...] for a few of his entries and had used reversals from the Spanish-English part for most of the entries. Stevens, the next in line, had copied Minsheu [...] although available in his time were monolingual English hard-word dictionaries. Pineda, the third compiler of an English-Spanish part, not only makes a substantial contribution to the size of this part but is also able to furnish glosses for the English-Spanish part with the greatest facility because he was the first of these lexicographers whose native tongue was Spanish. One might say that the English-Spanish part of Pineda's dictionary is the first one to be not merely an appendage to the Spanish-English part, which had occupied the greatest attention of Minsheu and Stevens.

Steiner (1970, 70, 74) remarks that one of the distinguishing features of the Pineda dictionary is the inclusion in the English-Spanish part of common, everyday words and idiomatic expressions derived from the Bailey dictionary. Starnes and Noyes (1991, 98) explain that Bailey based his work on the dictionaries produced by John Kersey during the early eighteenth century, which were characterized by breaking with the hard word tradition and introducing common vocabulary, everyday words for reading and writing:

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[58] In Steiner's bibliography (1970, 120) the edition of 1739 is the ninth.

> Kersey was [...] a notable pioneer, rejecting outmoded material and methods, working toward modern concepts, and in general playing his role of lexicographer with responsibility and intelligence. He must be credited with the first universal dictionary; with the first abridged dictionary; with the largest, most useful, and most competently executed dictionaries produced up to his time. On this secure foundation Bailey built with enterprise and resourcefulness a whole structure of fine new dictionaries.

Turning to Bailey to update the contents of the English-Spanish part, Pineda also became the first lexicographer to use an English monolingual dictionary as a source for his own compilation.

The examples provided above from both parts of Pineda's dictionary show how he italicized headwords, while the microstructure is in normal type. Pineda capitalized headwords in both parts; if the headword was a phrase, he capitalized the first word and also the lemma to set it off. Pineda continued to show Spanish pronunciation by using accents on the Spanish headword in the first part and on the Spanish equivalents in the second part. More importantly, he consistently provided functional labels in both parts of the dictionary for headwords, indicating not only gender (as Minsheu had done) but also part of speech. The English indefinite and definite articles are used with headwords in the second part, but inconsistently and no discernible rule seems to apply. Thus, in the first part Pineda kept the diachronic, explanatory, and syntagmatic information he found in the Stevens' dictionaries but expanded the synchronic information with the indication of gender and part of speech. In the second part, he also expanded the synchronic data from Stevens with the inclusion, for the first time, of abbreviations for gender and parts of speech. At the macrostructural level, Pineda's contribution was to enlarge the dictionary with everyday vocabulary, and at the microstructural level, to propose the principle of concision and brevity of lexicographical data.

In the preceding section it was mentioned that Pineda's dictionary was prohibited by the Inquisition due to the abusive definitions he wrote. Pineda also severely criticized the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, better know as *Diccionario de autoridades*, which the

Spanish Academy published in six volumes between 1726-39. Steiner (2003, 89) points out that this use of the dictionary "as a political and homiletical platform injured Pineda's standing as a lexicographer." This leads us to a more general question: what subjects did Pineda discuss in the front matter of the dictionary?

7.4.4 Analysis of the front matter

Structurally, Pineda's dictionary is more symmetrical than any other before it: there are two general title pages, one in Spanish and one in English, and each part has a separate title page, a dedication, and a preface. It can be argued that the two general title pages are an expansion of the title page in Stevens (1726), in which the first half was in English and the second in Spanish. Stevens certainly had, if not explicitly, the Spanish-speaking public in mind when he added a Spanish version to the title page. Pineda followed in his footsteps and prepared the first general title page fully in Spanish for a work in the alphabetical tradition, just as Alvarado had in the topical tradition in 1718. The growing space accorded Spanish on the title pages indicates a correlative interest in English by the Spanish-speaking public. In fact, the teaching of English in Spain started a few years after the publication of the Pineda dictionary, in 1759 under King Charles III (San Vicente 1996, 641).

Pineda's general title pages are close in content to that of Stevens (1726); the opening section of the former is an abridgement of the latter:

Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish*
A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, And English and Spanish, Much more Copious than any other hitherto Extant. **Laying Down The true Etymology of Words**, with their **various Significations; Terms of Arts and Sciences**, Proper **Names of Men** and Women, Surnames of **Families**, Titles of Honour, the **Geography of Spain and the West Indies**, and **principal Plants** growing in those Parts.	A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish. **Containing the Etymology**, the **Proper and Metaphorical Signification of Words, Terms of Arts and Sciences**; Names of Men, **Families, Places**, and of the **Principal Plants in Spain and the West-Indies**.

Similarly, the paragraph that follows merely makes explicit some of the content (etymology and source of proverbs) of the Stevens dictionary:

Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish*
To all which are added, Vast Numbers of **Proverbs, Phrases, and Difficult Expressions**, all literally explained, with their Equivalents.	Together with the Arabick and Moorish Words Now commonly Received in the Spanish Tongue, and An Explanation of the **difficult Words, Proverbs and Phrases**, in *Don Quixote*, and Others the most celebrated Writers in that Language.

Like Minsheu and Stevens before him, Pineda highlights the increase in the macrostructure but provides more details than they had: "Correcting the Errors, and supplying the Defects in other Dictionaries, by the Addition of above Six Thousand Spanish, and Twelve Thousand English Words, more than in any Work of this Kind hitherto extant." Before Pineda, only Percyvall had been specific about the number of words added to the macrostructure; as for the figures, Pineda's remark clearly shows the priority given to the English-Spanish part. He is also the first lexicographer to claim to have corrected previous dictionaries.

Stevens made no specific remarks about the public, but the 1726 edition contained an English and Spanish title page and a preface in parallel columns in those languages; the dictionary was, thus, implicitly meant to be used by people who knew Spanish. Pineda goes one step further and expands the functions and public of the dictionary, adding his professional qualifications: this 1740 dictionary is "[v]ery Useful and Necessary for the easy Reading and Understanding the Spanish and English Languages. By Peter Pineda, Author of the Spanish Grammar, and Teacher of the Spanish Language [...]" It worth noting that Pineda, contrary to what had been the practice since the late sixteenth century, does not mention the use of accents to indicate Spanish pronunciation, although they are present in the body of the dictionary.

The separate title pages for each part follow the model of the general title page in English. The dedications are laudatory and do not contain any information relevant to our study. The "Preface" of the second part is an English version of the Spanish "El Autor al Lector", but the English version is shorter: Pineda omitted two paragraphs at the beginning and two at the very end in the English version.

What is the origin of Pineda's diatribe against the *Real Academia Española*? The standardization of Spanish by the Academy in the eighteenth century began with the codification of the lexicon (*Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 1726-39), followed by the codification of spelling (*Orthographia española*, 1741) and then of morphology and syntax (*Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 1771). The Academy's dictionary is traditionally known as the *Diccionario de autoridades*,[59] so called because the Academy, following its ideal of setting standards for the purity and elegance of Spanish, based its work on the best literary authors.[60] In the "Prologo" of the dictionary, the Academy (1964, ii) writes: "Como basa y fundamento de este Diccionario, se han puesto los Autóres que ha parecido à la Académia han tratado la Léngua Española con la mayor propriedád y elegáncia : conociendose por ellos su buen juício, claridad y proporción, con cuyas autoridades están afianzadas las voces [...]." One of the main concerns of the Academy was orthography and the dictionary included in the front matter a "Discurso proemial de la orthographia de la Lengua Castellana", in which the Academy deals with a subject discussed by bilingual lexicographers since Minsheu (1599), that is, the confusion caused by the spelling of words. In particular, the Academy (1964, lxxii) was aware of the problem caused by the alternance of *z* and *ç*:

[A]un mayor diversidád se ha considerado entre la *ç*, y la *Z*, sobre cuyo uso ha havido, y hai notable variedád y dispúta: porque unos son de dictámen de

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[59] See the title page, description of the dictionary and excerpts from the prefatory texts in Viñaza (1978 [1893], 749 ff.); a transcription of the title page and bibliographical data can also be found in Niederehe (2005, 61).

[60] See Gili Gaya (1963) on the underlying principles of the Academy's dictionary. A more detailed historical study of the Academy and the dictionary is that of Lázaro Carreter (1972). The overview by San Vicente (1996, 594-8) is also informative.

que la *ç*, como letra própia y especiál de la Léngua Castellana, debe ser en todo preferida, y por el contrário otros la pretenden excluír, pro ser letra defectuosa, y ocasionada à ridiculas y raras equivocaciones, por no ser letra enteramente formada, y finalmente no incluída en el número de las de la Cartilla ò Alphabéto común, como lo está la *z*.

The Academy considered that the solution to the problem was to exclude the *c* with cedilla to avoid confusion:

[N]o obstante el medio mas conveniente y oportúno es retener la *z*, y no usar de la *ç*: lo uno, porque la *z* es letra generál para princípio, medio, y fin de qualesquiera vocablos, lo que no compete ni es capáz de adaptarse à la *ç* [...] porque haviéndose inventado la *ç* unicamente para suplir el defecto de la combinación del *Ce, Ci* en las tres vocáles *a, o, u*, à fin de pronunciar *ça, ço, çu* en lugar de *Ca, Co, Cu*: lográndose esto mismo, y con la misma igualdád y blandúra el dia de oy con la *z*, realmente se puede reputar por supérflua la *ç* [...].

Thus, the Academy was innovative whereas Pineda was conservative, as Dowling (1985, 12) remarks, and this is the reason for the criticism found at the very beginning of Pineda's preface:

There have been many Dictionaries of the Spanish Language published before this, but all of them defective; even that of the Royal Academy of Madrid, which ought to have been the most correct, is exceeding faulty as to the Ortography of it, which ought not to be followed, and which I have utterly rejected as new, and contrary to the Nature of the Spanish Tongue, and to the Authority of all good Writers in that Language, who have constantly used the *ç* con cedilla; the chief of whom I have enumerated in the Spanish Preface.

Basically, both the Academy and Pineda wanted to follow the authority of classical writers, but the Academy wanted to move forward and eliminate the *ç*, which had become superfluous and was a source of confusion in orthography. At the end of the previous quotation, Pineda refers to the two paragraphs in the Spanish preface, omitted in the English version, in which he cites the names of such classic authors as Covarrubias, Garcilaso de la Vega, Cervantes, etc., and then attacks the Academy:

Todos los sobredichos autores, y otros infinitos que no nombro, se sirvieron de la ç con cedilla, y los entendidos Academicos la han desterrada, como tengo dicho, las razónes que hán tenido para ello, son de mi ignorádas, y de otros muchos; y pues la ç con cedilla no es contra la naturaleza de la lengua Castellàna, y su pronunciaciòn, ni ha cometido crimen de lesa magestàd, soy de parecèr que persevère en su oficio, y empleo, como necessária, y mueran los Academicos, aquella por su antiguedad, y èstos por su novedad.

Moreover, Pineda makes clear his approach, according to which rules are a description of language and not meant to change it. This applies specifically to pronunciation:

De que el lenguaje ô idioma aya sido primero que las reglas, nadie puede negarlo, sino los Academicos de Madrid, y assi es muy justo y razonable, de conformàrse no la lengua con las reglas, si las reglas con el lenguaje, pues es mas natural, conveniente, y justo; y pues todas las naciones an formado las reglas segun la pronunciaciòn, de sus idiomas, porque no la lengua Española?

That Pineda was even more conservative than the Academy can be seen in another section of the preface:

It is to be observed, That the Spaniards confound the *b* with the *v*; the *ç* con cedilla with the *z*; the *c* with the *q*; the *j* or jota with the *x*: As, for the Example, *sàvio* or *sàbio, coraçòn* or *corazòn, cuarèsma* or *quarèsma, jabòn* or *xabòn*; which is not only contrary to the right Orthography, but even to the Pronunciation of the Spanish Tongue; and ought to be avoided, according to the Rules I have given in my Spanish Grammar, to which I refer.

Obviously, Pineda was aware of the confusing spelling of Spanish, but he felt he could devise rules from examples from classic writers and that this was enough to solve the problem. A paragraph from the preface of his 1726 grammar, the *Short and Compendious Method for Learning to Speak, Read, and Write, the English and Spanish Languages*, makes this clear: "Por lo tocànte a los exemplos, que en esta hallares, te asseguro, que los saquè de los siguièntes autòres, para formàr muchas reglas, los quales han tenido mucha

cabida entre los de la republica literaria, y son los siguièntes: el docto Cobarubias, el profundo Gracian, el agùdo Cervantes [...]."

Pineda continues the preface with four remarks. The first has already been mentioned and refers to the use of asterisks as Minsheu had used them in 1599, namely, to mark the additions: "What I have further to observe, with regard to this Work, is, First, That all the Words marked with Asterisms are not to be found in any Dictionary hitherto published; I speak of the Spanish and English; for as to the English and Spanish, every one who peruses it will easily observe the Augmentation of the Part." Second, he repeats he has revised and corrected previous dictionaries. The third and fourth remarks are more interesting from a lexicographcial point of view. The third, to which Steiner (1970, 72) refers, is that for commercial reasons Pineda decided to keep the microstructure brief: "Thirdly, that I have explained the Words briefly, yet sufficiently well to be understood; and this I did in order not to swell the Work to too great a Bulk and Price, and to make it the more saleable." Pineda copied almost all he found in the Stevens dictionary, but he followed this principle of brevity in the entries he added to both parts. The fourth remark is important, since for the first time one of our lexicographers explains in detail the abbreviations used for functional labels:

Fourthly, that I have set down the Conjugations of the Verbs irregular; which I thought necessary and useful: And as to any thing further that may need Explanation, I have here set the same down, as follows, viz.

v.a.	Verb active.		s. f.	Substantive feminine.
v.n.	Verb neuter.			
v.r.	Verb reciprocal.		s. m. f.	Substantive mascul. and femin.
v. im.	Verb impersonal.			
adj. 1.	Adjective of one Termination.	*signifies*	pre.	Preposition.
			adv.	Adverb.
adj. 2	Adjective of two Terminations.		inter.	Interjection.
			p. p.	Participle passive.
s. m.	Substantive masculine.		p. act.	Participle active.

(signifies) applies as bracket to both left and right columns.

In the Spanish version, the two-column text above is reworded into paragraphs:

La quarta que quando se hallàren estas letras, v. a. quieren significàr que el verbo es activo; quàndo v. n. verbo neutro, quàndo, v. r. verbo reciproco, quando, v. im. verbo impersonàl, los verbos irregulàres vàn conjugàdos, hasta donde llegan sus irregularidàdes, parecièndome ser muy util, y necessàrio, la quinta, que adj. 1. ter. significa nombre adjetivo de ùna terminaciòn; quando adj. 2 ter. adjetivo de dos terminaciònes; quando, s. m. nombre substantivo masculino; quando, s. f. substantivo feminino, y si, s. m. f. significa susbtantivo, m. y feminino.

La sexta, es, que si hallaren per. adv. inter. significan, la primera, preposiciòn, la segunda, adverbio, y la tercèra, interjección, y si p. p. participio passivo, y si p. act. participio activo.

There are two additional remarks in the Spanish version, not in the English, after the explanation of the functional labels. Pineda copied the first from the preface by Stevens (1726):

Stevens (1726): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish*	Pineda (1740): *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*
Acerca de lo qual **se ha de reparar, que en la lengua Española se han admitido mas novedades,** desde el tiempo que se instituyeron academias en aquella nacion, y **que ha sido tan grande y tan familiar el comercio con Francia, por razon de aver admitido un Rey Frances, que en dozientos años antes** de aquellos dias, de manera **que al presente se halla una multitud de palabras nuevamente forjadas, de que no avia noticia algùna** antes deste siglo en que estamos.	**Se ha de reparar, que en la lengua Española se han admitido mas novedades, despues que se instituyeron Academias** en la España, **que en ducientos años antes, y haviendo sido tan grande y tan familiar, el comercio con los Franceses,** e Italianos, **por razón de haver admitido un Rey Frances,** y una Reyna Italiana, que es una maravilla, de tal manèra, **que al presente se hàlla ùna multitud de palabras nuevamente forjadas, que no havia noticia ninguna dellas, antes.**

It is clear that Pineda took his information almost verbatim from Stevens; the similarities between these two paragraphs, together with those between the title pages of the respective dictionaries and in the word list, demonstrate without a doubt that Pineda borrowed first and foremost from the 1726 Stevens dictionary.

At the end, Pineda returns to the Arabic and Moorish borrowings to which Minsheu devoted his early etymological attempts: "He puesto todas las palabras Arabigas y Moriscas

de las quales la lengua Española se sirve, no porque necessite dellas, para explicarse, sino para hermosearla, y hazerla mas copiosa, pues un lenguàge es mas elegànte, quando tiene mùchas, que una sola palàbra, para dezir lo que quisiere, [...]"

Thus, both the content and the structure of Pineda's dictionary indicate that he devoted most of his efforts to the English-Spanish part. Stevens made additions to the second part of his dictionary in 1726; Pineda, in turn, greatly enlarged this part, by turning for the first time to an English dictionary, that of Nathan Bailey. This increase in the English-Spanish word list is reflected in the organization of the dictionary: this part was given not only a separate title page but also a dedication and a preface. Certainly, this part is still shorter than the Spanish-English part, but the symmetrical structure of the dictionary shows that Pineda considered both parts equally important. This is corroborated by the function the dictionary was given, namely to be an aid for reading and understanding Spanish as well as for English.

7.4.5 Concluding remarks

Pineda shares with his predecessors a concern for the spelling variants of Spanish and inherits from Stevens a conservative point of view, clearly expressed in the preface, where he opposes the Spanish Academy. Pineda's attitude towards the explanatory information was to rely on classic writers, considered as authorities, and to derive rules from their texts reflecting usage, not to formulate rules to change accepted usage, as he felt the Academy had done.

Gone from the front matter are topics such as etymology or language history; instead, Pineda substitutes for them such lexicographical matters as the brevity of the microstructure and the explanation of functional labels. This 1740 dictionary also marks a pivotal moment in the sense that its genesis is not to be explained in terms of the political and social conditions at the time. In 1726 Stevens wrote that he prepared a second edition of his dictionary for commercial reasons, and these also seem to be at the bottom of

Pineda's enterprise, to the point where they influence the content and compilation of the dictionary.

Pineda's dictionary constitutes a transition: first, the author is conservative in usage but not yet normative; second, he copies enclyclopaedic information but his additions are microstructurally brief. Furthermore, Pineda's main source is the bilingual work of his predecessor, but he turns to a monolingual dictionary to increase the English-Spanish part and produce a more balanced dictionary. This dictionary marks the end of a period: the subsequent dictionary by Giral Delpino is still indebted to Pineda's, and yet Delpino introduces a prescriptive approach, by recognizing in the "Prologo" that he followed both the Academy's dictionary and orthography in the Spanish-English part, and by turning to another standard dictionary, the *Dictionary of the English Language* by Samuel Johnson (1755) in the English-Spanish part.

Conclusion

During the Middle Ages in Europe, Latin was the prestige language alongside other vernacular dialects, some of which (like Spanish, Italian and French) were derived from Vulgar Latin. Vernaculars were the colloquial varieties, used for everyday needs. With the arrival of the Renaissance the position of Latin, the language of learning during the Middle Ages, changed, as vernaculars spread in Europe and rose to the level of standard languages. Latin continued to be included in bilingual and polyglot dictionaries, but by the sixteenth century the first wordbooks linking two vernaculars began to appear, the first one being John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (1530). Dictionaries and vocabularies in Spanish and English began to appear during the second half of the sixteenth century. Pioneering contributions to modern lexicography in the fifteenth century were the dictionaries by Antonio de Nebrija, whose Spanish grammar was also one of the first of any vernacular. The bilingual dictionary was the result of the development of medieval glossography; although the alphabetic tradition became predominant in the seventeenth century, the topical tradition was older and very popular until the sixteenth century. Both types of lexicographical products document the development of vernaculars into standard languages. Bilingual lexicography developed under the influence of a variety of factors that continue to have an influence on it even today. The rise of the vernaculars in Europe was related to the needs of travellers and businessmen, for while Latin continued to be the language of learning and instruction, it is unlikely, for example, that merchants used it for business, which required instead the use of vernaculars. Besides commerce and travel, other factors such as politics stimulated the production of language manuals, dictionaries, and other wordbooks.

Among the vernaculars in Europe, Spanish became widely studied as a foreign language during the sixteenth century, when the Spanish empire was expanding in Europe as well as overseas. Language manuals and polyglot dictionaries began to be published in the Low Countries, and Spanish was often included in them, as Sánchez Pérez (1987, 42-3) notes:

> It seems that Spanish becomes "de facto" the most widely spread official language throughout Europe. Teachers of Spanish appear soon, particularly

in the Low Countries, the center of business at the moment and a kind of crossroads of the different countries under Spanish rule. Printers, also flourishing in Antwerp, Brussels or Louvain, reflected immediately such an atmosphere by publishing books for teaching/learning the language of the emerging Empire.

The influence of Spanish in England began in the sixteenth century. During most of the century, however, the language and literature of Spain remained virtually unknown since French and Italian were preferred to Spanish in England. Indeed, the English language had to struggle not only with the influence of Latin – like the rest of the vernaculars – but also with that of French, the first grammar of English, William Bullokar's *Pamphlet for Grammar*, appearing only in 1586, almost one century after the publication of the Spanish grammar by Nebrija. With regard to lexicographical products, the English-French compilation by Palsgrave (1530) was part of a grammar for teaching French to the English; on the other hand, the earliest English and Spanish wordbooks, the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* and the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, appeared twenty-four years later. However, there were long standing commercial relations between Spain and England, and as the Spanish empire expanded the need for Spanish grew stronger as the mercantile class realized the importance of Spanish for their trade.

The publication of grammars and Spanish and English wordbooks is also a reflection of the vicissitudes of political relations between Spain and England. At the end of the sixteenth century the political situation between Spain and England became more and more complicated, and the influence of the Spanish language and literature became generalized in Elizabethan England due to the threat of the Spanish expansion. Simultaneously the two countries confronted and drew closer to each other. This involved a variety of factors, such as religious, commercial, political, and cultural. In particular, the cultural influence of Spain on England found expression in the increasing number of manuals, grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies for teaching Spanish, as well as in the translation of Spanish books into English. The late sixteenth century was a period of intense lexicographical production in Elizabethan England, and the field of Spanish and English

lexicography was particularly productive. Whereas commerce and cultural relations brought the two countries closer, religious and political conflicts alienated them, and this situation influenced the publication of grammars, vocabularies, and dictionaries:

> The long-continued intercourse with the peninsula then bore its fruit. The defeat of the invincible Armada, the ravaging of the Spanish and Portuguese seaboards by the soldiers and sailors of Essex and Drake, the campaigns of the Duke of Parma in northern France, and the threatened descent of the second armada, – events which succeeded each other in rapid sequence within the limits of a decade, – had riveted the minds of the people upon the Spanish nation. The course of history was paralleled in a modest way by the movement of literature. The full tide of translation set in, the sign of which was the sudden appearance of Castilian grammars and dictionaries in England (Underhill 1971, 337).

Indeed, just as the events mentioned by Underhill took place within a short period of time, five grammars and wordbooks were licensed for publication – and four of them were actually published – in quick succession: the works of Thorius (1590), Percyvall (1591), Stepney (1591), and Minsheu (1599). From the compilations of Thorius and Stepney to the works of Percyvall and Minsheu, the size of the Spanish and English wordbooks grew in only ten years from some one thousand entries to about forty-five thousand entries, and from mono-directional lists of just headwords and equivalents to a bidirectional compilation with a more elaborate microstructure that included some grammatical information. The work of these compilers was therefore of extraordinary lexicographic importance.

The publication of two anonymous works in 1554 was probably due to the increase in activity between England and Spain resulting from the marriage of Queen Mary and King Philip of Spain that year. That Spanish attained unprecedented popularity in Tudor England can be seen in the names of the dedicatees of the works by Thorius, Percyvall, Stepney and Minsheu: John Whitgift (Archbishop of Canterbury), Robert Deveroux (Earl of Essex and Ewe), Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Scott, Sir Henry Bromley, Sir Edward Grevel, and William Fortescue (Esquire), the students of Gray's Inn, and Sir Edward

Hobby. Merchants, statesmen, members of the clergy, and scholars devoted themselves to the study of Spanish and the dedicatees indicate how widespread the interest in the Spanish language and literature had become. As Ungerer (1965, 190) explains,

> Thus there can be no doubt that, in the last decade of the sixteenth century, many members of the wealthy middle class, the clergy, the aristocracy, the universities, and the Inns of Court had taken up Spanish. For most Elizabethans who were, or hoped to be, in affairs of state at home or abroad, a knowledge of Spanish had become a necessary accomplishment.

The works of Thorius, Percyvall, Stepney, and Minsheu were produced to meet this demand. These compilers were translators (Thorius, Percyvall) or teachers (Stepney, Minsheu) whose works contained dialogues, a grammar, a dictionary and/or a vocabulary. Interest in the Spanish language continued until the 1620s, with the works of Owen (1605) and Minsheu (1617, 1625 et seq.), but lexicographical activity in Spanish and English decreased during most of the seventeenth century. However, by the time the Renaissance had drawn to a close, bilingual Spanish and English lexicography was firmly established.

After the second edition of Minsheu's *Guide*, polyglot works involving Spanish and English continued to be published during the seventeenth century, such as Adrianus Junius' *Nomenclator* (1633), Ambrogio Calepino's *Dictionarium* (1634 et seq.), and James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1660). Howell's work in English, French, Italian and Spanish has been studied by Gallina (1959, 305-19) and Hüllen (1999, 202-43). Scholars such as Wiener (1899, 9) and Alvar Ezquerra (1991, 12; 1992, 14 and 1995, 184) note that apart from polyglot compilations there was no new work in the field of Spanish and English lexicography. In the words of Steiner (2003, 88), "The fact that the 1623 [Minsheu] is almost an exact copy of the original 1599 is an indication that no original Spanish bilingual lexicography was going on in the entire seventeenth century." According to Alvar Ezquerra (1995, 184), this is not surprising "si sabemos las circunstancias que presidieron la formación del inglés y que justifican, hasta cierto punto, la falta de interés de los extranjeros: en la corte se utilizaba el francés, el latín era la lengua culta, y el inglés la del pueblo." It can be said that the reprints of Minsheu's bilingual and polyglot dictionaries

marked the end of a very productive era in Spanish and English lexicography. In addition to the reasons cited by Alvar Ezquerra, another may be the ascending role of the French language in Europe as well as the increasing interest in all things French in England after the restoration of the House of Stuart. The restoration in England meant a change in the panorama, explained by Blake (1996, 237) thus:

> The restoration of Charles II meant that the period of antipathy towards foreign ideas and attitudes came to an end. Whereas the Puritans had been anti-Latin and had encouraged a plainer style and ordinary English, the restoration saw the influx of French ideas and social ideals. The centralisation of power and language which had taken place in France naturally exercised a fascination for many English people. The Academie Française was regarded by some in England as the model which should be followed. The antipathy towards anything foreign, particularly if it had a papist tinge, shown by the Puritans was replaced by the wish to emulate all that was sophisticated and modern in France in particular. Latin loanwords became less frequent as French loans proliferated.

This is a period that Lambley (1920, 361) describes as the "Gallomania after the Restoration", brought about by the "universal popularity of the French language and French fashions." The number of borrowed words is proof of England's interest in French. Lass (1992, 368) explains:

> In Early Modern English they [loan words] mirror England's cultural and political contacts with France, as well as the influence of French emigrants, who settled in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fifteenth and sixteenth-century loans no doubt in part continue to reflect the role of French as a language of administration and law, but much of the seventeenth-century variation can only be explained in terms of anglo-French relations, which were revived during the Restoration, after the various tensions that had existed between the two countries since the 1620s were relaxed.

Such Gallomania also found expression in the fact that, whereas no new Spanish and English dictionary was published after the 1620s, no fewer than five French and English dictionaries were published or reissued after that date, namely Howell's editions of Cotgrave's dictionary (1650, 1660, 1673-72), followed by the dictionaries of Guy Miège

(1677, 1679, 1688), and Abel Boyer (1699). These works were all published during the second half of the seventeenth century in addition to a number of French grammars.

On the other hand, it was necessary to wait until the early eighteenth century for the rebirth of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography, both alphabetic and topical. This was a very prolific period, during which a total of twelve dictionary editions and reprints were published in London: the works of John Stevens (1706-05, 1725, 1726, 1739), Félix de Alvarado (1718, 1719), Pedro Pineda (1740), Hipólito San Joseph Giral Delpino (1763), Giuseppe Baretti (1778, 1786, 1794, et seq.), and Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins (1797-1798). From a lexicographical perspective, Minsheu (1617) and Stevens (1706) relied mainly on bilingual compilations, but both consulted the monolingual Spanish dictionary of Sebastian de Covarrubias. Later on, Pineda (1740) borrowed from Nathan Bailey's English dictionary. However, the publication of the Spanish Academy's dictionary (1726-39) and Samuel Johnson's English dictionary (1755) meant that after 1740 monolingual dictionaries became the primary sources for compilers of bilingual dictionaries. The culmination of this process was the monumental four-volume dictionary of Connelly and Higgins, in which the authors did not borrow from previous bilingual works but used the dictionaries of the Academy and Johnson as their main sources. Moreover, the authority of the Spanish Academy in matters of spelling and lexicon codification was recognized for the first time by Giral Delpino (1763) and continued to be accepted afterwards. The authority of the Spanish Academy in matters of spelling reform was first recognized in the topical tradition, namely in the second edition of Stevens' grammar and vocabulary prepared by Sebastian Puchol (1739). Previously, the 1725 edition of this grammar had introduced a new model of Spanish grammar, in which the topical vocabulary took the subordinate place the dictionary had had back in the second half of the sixteenth century. This model was followed by Giral Delpino in the five editions of his Spanish grammar (1766, 1777, 1787, 1792 and 1800).

Generally speaking, therefore, there were two clear periods of activity in the field after the publication of the anonymous wordbooks of 1554: the first from 1590 to 1627 and

the second from 1705 to 1740. The distinguishing feature of early Spanish and English lexicography was the *rapid succession* in which the wordbooks were released during the first period, exceeding that of any other pair of vernaculars. During the first period a total of twelve wordbooks were published or reprinted in less than forty years, with the result that both the outside matter and the topics discussed by lexicographers developed very rapidly.

1) Evolution of the outside matter

The term *outside matter* has been extended here to cover the overall organization of books comprising a variety of texts (dialogues, proverbs, grammar, vocabulary, dictionary, etc.), in which, from our perspective, an alphabetical or topical word list is the most important. Based on the typology of 16th-century pedagogical texts by Kaltz (1995), Hüllen (1999, 105, footnote 339) introduced the term *integrated book* to refer to books that contain several or all the text types. In the following pages, the term introduced by Hüllen has been used as a generic and a classification has been established based first on the arrangement of the word list at the core and second on the text types that always appear with it. The core structure may be accompanied by peripheral texts. Afterwards, the evolution of the two types of outside matter has been examined. In our corpus, no two volumes contain the same type of texts (except for the title page and the preface), with the result that in the case of both types of arrangement the outside matter is first and foremost *heterogeneous* even if it has not evolved in the same way in the two traditions of compiling examined.

The topical tradition comprises the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?), three editions of Stepney (1591, 1619, 1620), two editions of Alvarado (1718, 1719) and two of Stevens (1725, 1739). The *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) is sui generis in the sense that it does not contain outside matter. The other books fall into a category that can be called integrated books of the type *topical wordbooks with dialogues and grammar*. These works contain a vocabulary, dialogues and grammar at the core, accompanied by peripheral texts such as lists of proverbs, maxims, numbers, months and days of the week, religious texts, etc., which may or may not be included in the volume.

Variation can exist in the core structure of the outside matter: the topical word list is either a short vocabulary or a nomenclator, the number of dialogues varies from six to thirteen, while the grammar can be elementary (remarks on pronunciation, orthography, verb conjugation) or more elaborate (with syntax). In spite of this variation, these three component parts – topical word list, dialogues, grammar – are always present in this type.

The alphabetic tradition comprises the anonymous *Very Profitable Book* (1554), and the works of Thorius (1590), Percyvall (1591), Minsheu (1599, 1623) Owen (1605), Stevens (1706-05, 1726), and Pineda (1740). Like the *Book of English and Spanish*, the *Very Profitable Book* is sui generis because in this case the word list does not really follow an alphabetical order, even though the preface claims that it does. It can be said, then, that the alphabetic tradition actually begins, strictly speaking, in 1590. The *Very Profitable Book* does contain, however, peripheral texts found in the other works of this tradition. What these works have in common is that they are integrated books of the type *alphabetic wordbooks with grammar*. These works contain a short or large dictionary, mono- or bidirectional, and a grammar at the core; peripheral texts in this case are often dialogues, although other texts such as lists of phrases, proverbs, and model letters may appear. In this regard, the front matter of dictionaries contains a larger variety of texts than that of vocabularies: beside the title page, dedication, and preface (or epistle to the reader), dictionaries may contain poems, commendations, directions, advertisements, explanation of marks and abbreviations, and even a list of sources. It should be noted, however, that towards the end of the period under consideration there is a tendency towards *simplification* and *homogeneity* in the outside matter: the relative positions of the grammar and dictionary is first reversed, then the grammar becomes an appendage to the dictionary, and finally the Stevens volume of 1726 contains no grammar, only a bidirectional dictionary, a model followed by Pineda in 1740 and by subsequent lexicographers. This remark leads us to the diachronic axis.

In the topical tradition, the anonymous *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) is a short topical word list of sixteen headings with no outside matter. Subsequent word lists

had a varying number of headings and entries, but the overall outside matter changed little. Topical wordbooks were integrated in a core containing dialogues and grammatical sections. The relative position of the component parts followed no clear pattern over time; thus, for example, in Stepney, the vocabulary follows the remarks on grammar and dialogues; in Alvarado, the dialogues are followed by the nomenclator and this by the remarks on grammar; finally, in Stevens, the grammar is first, followed by the vocabulary and the dialogues.

On the other hand, the evolution of the second type of integrated book leads to the emergence of the autonomous bidirectional Spanish and English dictionary. In the context of teaching Spanish in England that began in Tudor times, the relative position of the grammar and dictionary changed quickly:

1. Thorius (1590) translates into English the Spanish grammar by Corro (1586), to which he adds a short dictionary;

2. Percyvall (1591) prepares a two-part volume: a Spanish grammar followed by monodirectional Spanish-English dictionary, over ten times larger than Thorius 1590;

3. Minsheu (1599) reverses the order of the grammar and dictionary, placing the dictionary first and adding an English-Spanish index; he also begins to include grammatical information in the microstructure of the Spanish-English part;

4. Stevens (1706-05) adopts Minsheu's model but gives the English-Spanish part more autonomy by eliminating its indexical character. More importantly, Stevens adds considerable encyclopaedic information and makes the grammar an appendix of the dictionary;

5. Stevens (1726) prepares the first bidirectional Spanish and English dictionary published without a grammar or dialogues, separating the dictionary and the grammar, thereby simplifying the core structure;

6. Pineda (1740) follows the model of Stevens (1726), but adds to the microstructure data that originally was dealt with in grammars. This homogeneous structure will continue to be used during the second half of the eighteenth century.

As can be seen from this outline, at first grammars were followed by dictionaries, then their position was reversed and later, in 1726, dictionaries became independent works. Prefatory texts contain remarks that can help in understanding this change. During the first period of Spanish and English lexicography, the early *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish* contained no grammatical section as such, the system of the language being introduced by the dialogues and model letters, all of which were followed by the word list. The anonymous author makes it clear that the lexical units are to be connected syntactically in the manner illustrated in the texts in the first part. In the grammar by Thorius (1590) the dictionary is merely an appendage to the grammar. Percyvall (1591) was also a grammar with a dictionary added, but in this case the dictionary was much larger than in Thorius (1590), with a separate title page and preface. Both authors start from the assumption that, when teaching languages, form should precede content (i.e., the grammar should come *before* the lexicon) and organize their books accordingly. Percyvall in particular is explicit about this. In Minsheu (1599), the dictionary, now bidirectional, comes first, followed by the grammar and the dialogues, since for this lexicographer the lexicon was paramount. This idea is confirmed in his polyglot dictionary of 1617, in which etymology (traditionally one of the four parts of grammar, along with orthography, syntax and orthoepy) is applied to the lexicon and used as a tool for teaching languages *without the aid of grammar*. Minsheu's primary concern with the lexicon also finds expression in the fact that he begins to include grammatical information in the 1599 dictionary (morphology, gender, etymology, etc.), adding for the first time an English-Spanish part of modest

proportions, basically an index referring to the Spanish-English part for details. The following compilation, that of Owen (1605), does not constitute a significant advancement in the development of this tradition and is actually closer in content to the topical tradition. The second period starts in the early eighteenth century when, in 1706, Stevens adds a separate title page to the English-Spanish part and makes changes in it so that it is no longer an index. The dialogues no longer have a separate title page and close the short grammar, which then becomes an appendage to the dictionary. The result of this structural evolution of the outside matter in alphabetic integrated books, during which the places of the grammar and the dictionary were reversed until the former disappears, is the emergence of the independent bidirectional dictionary in 1726. Stevens clearly states in the 1726 preface that he gives the full conjugation of irregular verbs, but that other grammatical rules *do not belong with the dictionary*. Our last lexicographer, Pineda (1740), considerably enlarges the English-Spanish part and, more importantly, consistently includes more detailed grammatical information for the headword than did his predecessors. In this way, by the first half of the eighteenth century, dictionaries included information that traditionally belonged in grammars, such as etymology, orthoepy, parts of speech, gender, and even proverbs and phrases. One last interesting fact should be mentioned, which somewhat links the two traditions: the grammar by Stevens (1725), with a vocabulary and dialogues, set of a new model of Spanish grammar where the topical vocabulary took the secondary or subordinate place the dictionary had had back in the 1590s.

2) Topics in the front matter

In chapter three above, Hausmann's idea of a *métalexicographie préfacière* was introduced to refer to the topics discussed in prefatory texts of mono- and bilingual dictionaries. Such texts may contain information about the purpose, intended users, sources, principles of dictionary compilation, organization of the word list, etc. The topics discussed by Spanish and English lexicographers during the period covered in this study can be placed into three categories: (1) metalexicographical topics or those dealing with

lexicography and the dictionary itself: the overall organization of the wordbook, its function and intended users, the organization of the macrostructure, microstructural features, types of sources and dictionary criticism; (2) metalinguistic topics: phonetics, morphology, loans, the etymology and history of a particular language; and (3) extralinguistic topics: facts about the lexicographer's life, the genesis and printing of the book, and socio-political circumstances.

In the previous section two types of integrated books have been defined and it has been seen that, in contrast to alphabetic wordbooks and grammars, the structure of topical wordbooks with dialogues and grammar changes little. Topical wordbooks are generally part of a textbook for teaching Spanish and/or English that contains dialogues, grammatical sections and other peripheral texts. In such wordbooks, the three types of topics are reduced to brief remarks. As a rule, compilers of these wordbooks mention their purpose and describe their intended users. Originally conceived for teaching Spanish to Englishmen, their scope was broadened to include teaching both Spanish and English to beginners, the general public and scholars, either English or foreign. As a result, the metalanguage used in the outside matter of these wordbooks evolves: in the late sixteenth century, the metalanguage used is English, but in the eighteenth century title pages and prefaces in both English *and* Spanish. Moreover, remarks on the word list, which at the beginning was made up of common words and later included specialized terms, are included. Nevertheless, there is no mention of sources or previous compilers nor are there comments about the compilation of the word list. Features of the microstructure are not explained, such as the use of articles to distinguish between countable and uncountable nouns in English and gender in Spanish, or the marking of English verbs in the infinitive by the preposition *to*. This may account for the inconsistency that generally characterizes these features. Yet, in these wordbooks there is a limited amount of information about other metalexicographical issues; in fact, only John Grange, who prepared the 1619 and 1620 editions of Stepney's work, mentions the synchronic information added in the microstructure (accents to show stress in Spanish), and Alvarado briefly explains the advantages of the thematic

arrangement. One metalexicographical topic is conspicuous by its absence: criticism of previous works. Equally short is the treatment of the meta- and extralinguistic issues: Stepney briefly talks about the growing importance of Spanish in the late sixteenth century and the genesis of his book. Later, Alvarado wrote a paragraph summarizing certain features of the Spanish tongue and mentioned some facts about his life. Finally, Puchol (1739) briefly discussed the idea of a prestige variety of Spanish and recognized the authority of the Spanish Academy in his revised edition of Stevens' grammar. As already mentioned, the space devoted to these issues is limited, but taken together they provide a picture of a lexicographer guided by a clear idea of the purpose of the compilation, the intended users, and the type of word list being compiled. Metalexicographical issues therefore predominate, occasionally supplemented by meta- and extralinguistic remarks. The compilation of topical wordbooks rested on metalexicographical presuppositions: the purpose of the book, the intended public and the type of word list (from general to specialized vocabulary) were clearly defined, even if in a general way.

Let us now turn our attention to the dictionaries. We have seen that there is a wider variety of texts in their front matter, and that the principles guiding their overall organization, and in particular the relative position of the grammar and the dictionary, are mentioned. As in the case of the topical tradition, one metalexicographical topic is completely absent, namely the criticism of previous lexicographer. We mentioned in section 7.1.5 above that no direct criticism of previous compilers is made by any lexicographer in either tradition (alphabetic and topical) in the time frame under consideration in this study. Only Pineda claims to have corrected the errors of previous dictionaries and is acerbic in his comments regarding the Spanish Academy. Giral Delpino (1763) was the first lexicographer in this tradition to criticize the works of his predecessors. Another lexicographical topic is the purpose or function of the dictionary and the intended users, about which dictionary compilers are, as a rule, explicit. The anonymous author of the *Very Profitable Book* makes it clear that his purpose is to teach users how to read, write and speak English and Spanish. In the 1590s, as the tension between Spain and England

grew, dictionaries were prepared for Englishmen who wanted to learn Spanish: Thorius, Percyvall, Minsheu and Owen state this aim clearly on their title pages. In the early eighteenth century Stevens had the same purpose in mind, as he explains in the dedication. The last lexicographer in this study, Pineda (1740), was more specific about the purpose of the dictionary and tried to reach a wider audience: the dictionary was prepared to help in reading *and* understanding both Spanish *and* English. Thus, not only the order of the grammars and dictionaries changed between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century; so did the intended readers for whom dictionaries were being compiled. Spanish and English bilingual lexicography is part of the history of the teaching of Spanish in Tudor England, and dictionaries of the sixteenth century were originally compiled for the British nobility who wanted to read books in Spanish. The metalanguage was, therefore, English. Merchants and foreigners are mentioned in the front matter of the early seventeenth century dictionaries and the development of the English-Spanish part is a result of the desire to reach a larger audience. Spanish is used as metalanguage for the first time in 1726: the second part of the title page of Stevens' dictionary is written in Spanish and the book contains a preface in parallel columns in English *and* Spanish; thus, it could be used by learners of either language. The Pineda dictionary of 1740 has not one but *two* main title pages: the first in Spanish and the second in English. This was in accordance with the purpose of the dictionary, which was introduced as "[v]ery Useful and Necessary for the easy Reading and Understanding the Spanish and English Languages."

A third metalexicographical topic has to do with the sources. Thorius, Percyvall and Minsheu mention only the *main works* they have consulted, never providing details about the sources of their additions to the macrostructure. Stevens stands out because of the detailed catalogue of authors he includes for the Spanish-English part, but he remains silent concerning the augmentation of the English-Spanish part. Pineda, on the other hand, merely refers to the "most celebrated" Spanish authors. Finally, neither the anonymous work of 1554 nor Owen contains any mention of sources. The question of sources is closely related to the methodology of data compilation for the dictionary. Thorius says he has derived his

word list from the examples in Corro's grammar. Percyvall is chiefly indebted to the dictionaries by Nebrija and Las Casas. Minsheu continues to rely on lexicographical sources – mentioning Nebrija, Las Casas, and Percyvall, but he is also the first lexicographer to turn to literary sources for hard and archaic words, phrases and speeches, as he explains on the title page. Literary sources become a main source of lexicographical data in the early eighteenth century, when Stevens turns to the "best Spanish authors" for his encyclopaedic additions. But Stevens goes a step further than Minsheu, because the catalogue of authors he consults for the Spanish-English part also includes books on a variety of subjects, such as history, geography and politics. When borrowing from Stevens, Pineda implicitly follows the same principle of data compilation even though on the title page he only emphasizes the "most celebrated Writers in that language" (i.e., Spanish). It is possible, therefore, to observe an evolution from purely lexicographical sources to literary and scholarly sources from the late sixteenth century until the first half of the eighteenth century. The sources lexicographers used clearly had an impact on the macro- and microstructures, which quickly evolved from the "most necessary words" (Thorius) to include arabisms, hard words and archaisms (Minsheu) and then the terms of "Arts and Sciences" together with proper names, cant, figurative meanings, and proverbs (Stevens and Pineda). The corollary of this process is the emphasis on *comprehensiveness* found in the eighteenth-century dictionaries. Starting with Minsheu (1599), lexicographers emphasize the augmentation of the word list, especially of the Spanish-English part, even if they never mention *all* of the sources for the additions to both parts of the dictionary.

We have presented the most frequent and constant topics discussed by dictionary writers. They followed clear principles concerning the function of the work, its intended users, and the sources and type of data to be included. Other metalexicographical topics are not discussed by every lexicographer. Thus, for example, Percyvall presents the alphabet he has followed and the way he has organized the macrostructure based on his two main sources (Nebrija and Las Casas): he has first followed an alphabetic arrangement and then altered it with the etymological arrangement. As for the formal properties of the headword,

he only uses accents in the case of irregular verbs and nouns. In comparison, the prefatory texts by Minsheu contain a detailed explanation of his method and choices: careful alphabetization, consistent use of accents to show pronunciation and meaning discrimination, fuller treatment of irregular verbs, indication of gender, and capitalization to explain word formation. He also explains how he has dealt with the irregularities of Spanish spelling and instructs the reader as to how to find a word. He is also the only lexicographer to explain how he has obtained a second word list by reversing an existing one and giving the resulting product different names, such as *alphabet* or *table*, to differentiate it from the dictionary proper. In the early eighteenth century, Stevens followed Minsheu's concerns about the irregularities of Spanish spelling and its consequences for the ordering of the macrostructure. But, most importantly, he formulated in the "Advertisement" two lexicographical principles; first, that the usage of rare, uncommon words should be attested with quotations from recognized authors, and second, that when proverbs are included they should be placed under the noun or the verb in them, whichever comes first. Additional principles were introduced by Pineda at the end of his preface in Spanish, namely that the microstructure should be brief and that a series of functional labels should be used to provide synchronic information (gender, parts of speech, etc.) for the headword. Surprisingly enough, only in the *Very Profitable Book* of 1554 do we find a brief remark concerning the superiority of the alphabetic arrangement in lexicography.

Are there any topics in the front matter of the dictionaries under consideration that could be classified as metalinguistic? There are some, but they are not as numerous as the metalexicographical questions. As we already know, grammars of Spanish accompany the volumes by Thorius, Percyvall, Minsheu (1599), and Stevens (1706). Owen (1605) briefly discusses Spanish phonetics in the preface. In 1617 Minsheu further develops his own ideas on etymology from 1599. Stevens' preface of 1706 contains a history of Spanish, a discussion of the words Spanish has borrowed from other languages, and commentaries on the various dialects of Spanish. In the 1726 preface, Stevens introduces the sociolinguistic idea of a prestige variety of Spanish, that spoken at the court of Spain, which he equals with

that used by the best authors. Moreover, he highlights the influence of French upon Spanish at that time and the number of words entering the latter as a result of the popularity of the former. Finally, Pineda is well known for his long diatribe against the Spanish Academy. Needless to say, these topics illustrate the particulars interests of each lexicographer and influence the compilation of their respective dictionaries.

On the other hand, extralinguistic information is scant in comparison to the space given to metalexicographical and metalinguistic topics. Percyvall provides data about the genesis of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*; and the dedication, preface to the grammar and poems contain references to the troubled relations between Spain and England in the late sixteenth century. Most of the information available about Minsheu's life comes from the prefatory texts to his dictionaries; the polyglot *Guide* in particular contains valuable data to reconstruct the story of its printing. Owen also gives some details about the genesis of the book, as does Stevens in both editions of his dictionary. This information, although limited and sometimes fragmentary, is important, and serves to place each dictionary into perspective and in the cultural setting in which it originated.

It is worth noting that as the relative position of the grammar and the dictionary changes, more lexicographical topics are discussed by dictionary compilers. A handful of topics are discussed by lexicographers from both traditions: the purpose of the work, its intended users, and the type of word list. Metalexicographial topics are the most frequent in both traditions. Above everything else these questions guided their practice.
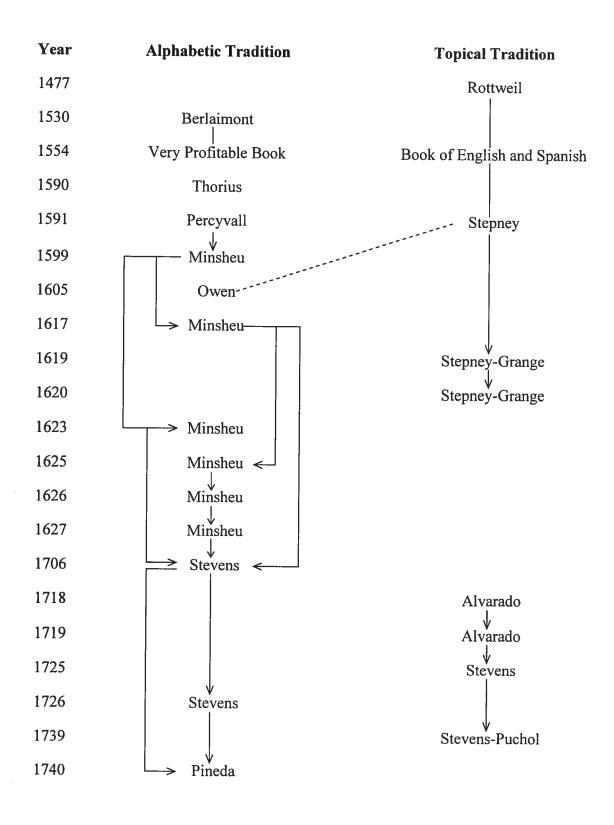
3) Panorama of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography

To conclude, we would like to present a new panorama of Spanish and English lexicography as it results from our analysis. From the beginning the two arrangements of the word list were present: first, the thematic arrangement, found, for example, in the *Book of English and Spanish* and the vocabulary in Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*; and second, the alphabetical order, found in Thorius' and Percyvall's dictionaries. The

distinction between *vocabulary* and *dictionary* in terms of the size of the word list was not clear at that time, for we have seen that Thorius and Owen called their short word lists *dictionaries*. Rather, the distinction is made in terms of the arrangement, with the dictionaries of the period following the traditional alphabetical order and the vocabularies (or nomenclators) following the thematic order. Steiner (1970) establishes the following lineage of derivative relationships based on first editions of dictionaries: Percyvall (1591) - Minsheu (1599) - Stevens (1706) - Pineda (1740). His discussions of Thorius, Stepney (1591) and Minsheu's Spanish-English-Latin dictionary of 1617 are brief, and he says nothing about Owen (1605), Stepney-Grange (1619, 1620), Minsheu (1625 et seq.), Alvarado (1718, 1719), Stevens (1725) or Stevens-Puchol (1739). Furthermore, at the time his book was published, the two anonymous wordbooks of 1554 had not been recorded. The following chart presents a comprehensive, fuller view of the field, starting with the works of Rottweil and Berlaimont. In the chart, arrows indicate a direct derivative relationship between two wordbooks (for example, between Percyvall 1591 and Minsheu 1599), lines without arrows indicate that the wordbooks belong to the same family without a direct derivative relationship (for example, between the *Book of English and Spanish* and Stepney 1591), and the dotted line indicates the probable relationship between Owen (1605) and Stepney (1591).

The right side of the chart shows the two stages in the topical tradition. First, the anonymous *Book of English of Spanish* (1554?) and Stepney's vocabulary (1591) ultimately derive from Rotweil's *Introito e porta*. A second edition of Stepney's work, with some changes in the vocabulary, was prepared by John Grange in 1619 and reprinted in 1620. The second stage begins in the early eighteenth century when Alvarado added Francisco Sobrino's nomenclator (1705) to his *Spanish and English Dialogues* of 1718 and 1719. Stevens' vocabulary is an abridged derivative of Alvarado's larger topical word list; the second edition by Sebastian Puchol is virtually identical, with a modernized spelling and some additions to the microstructure. Alphabetical wordbooks are shown in the left column, starting with the *Very Profitable Book to Learn English and Spanish*, a derivative

of Berlaimont's *Vocabulaire*. The works of Thorius and Owen remain isolated in the tradition because it is difficult to establish a derivative relationship between Thorius' short dictionary (1590) and Percyvall's (1591), and Owen's short dictionary is probably derived from Stepney's vocabulary. Changes have been made to Steiner's first recension to reflect our results. Minsheu's polyglot dictionaries (1617) are expansions of his bilingual work (1599). These two groups of dictionaries influenced the work of Stevens, who actually followed the 1623 edition of Minsheu and not that of 1599. Finally, it is shown how Pineda (1740) actually borrowed not only from the first edition of Stevens (1706-05) but also from the second edition of 1726 that was, in fact, his main source.

Year	Alphabetic Tradition	Topical Tradition
1477		Rottweil
1530	Berlaimont	
1554	Very Profitable Book	Book of English and Spanish
1590	Thorius	
1591	Percyvall	Stepney
1599	Minsheu	
1605	Owen	
1617	Minsheu	
1619		Stepney-Grange
1620		Stepney-Grange
1623	Minsheu	
1625	Minsheu	
1626	Minsheu	
1627	Minsheu	
1706	Stevens	
1718		Alvarado
1719		Alvarado
1725		Stevens
1726	Stevens	
1739		Stevens-Puchol
1740	Pineda	

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the structure of the early alphabetical and topical Spanish and English wordbooks and their outside matter texts to see what they tell us about the principles of compilation lexicographers followed, as well as about the purpose of their works. The metalexicography of early Spanish and English prefatory texts, studied in depth here for the first time, shows that lexicographers in both the topical and alphabetic traditions made remarks about the overall organization of their books, and this fact has led to a general classification of books into topical wordbooks with dialogues and grammar, and alphabetic wordbooks with grammar. Together with grammars, lexicographical products serve a pedagogical function, but not every author follows the same pedagogical approach. It has been shown how the relative position of grammars and dictionaries in the period under consideration reveals the growing importance the latter gradually acquired with respect to the former. In the beginning, the rules of the language system given by the grammar were paramount in language teaching (Spanish in this case), followed by a knowledge of lexical units. Independent dictionaries did not exist, but were appended to grammars. Later, Spanish and English bilingual dictionaries of the eighteenth-century were published independently of any other type of text and contained a fair amount of grammatical and syntactical information. The alphabetical tradition is predominant during the time frame covered: topical compilations are less numerous and their structure changed little in comparison to alphabetical ones. Topical vocabularies are never separated from a grammar although they change in content and structure. The study of topics shows, moreover, that lexicographers had a clear idea about the purpose of their works, the intended user, the type of word list they were compiling, and the principles concerning the microstruture. Topics discussed are metalexicographic, metalinguistic or extralinguistic. Of these three types, the first one is the most common in both types of lexicographical products. Finally, an updated panorama of early Spanish and English bilingual lexicography has been presented, one that includes for the first time both alphabetical and thematic compilations and their interrelationships.

A study of front matter texts of dictionaries and vocabularies published during the second half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century remains to be done. Available bibliographies cover up to the eighteenth century, so a complete inventory of dictionary and vocabulary editions in the nineteenth century is needed. Literature about the topical and alphabetical traditions during the nineteenth century is scant, and the typologies of books and topics presented here can be applied to gain a better understanding of how the organization of wordbooks evolved as well as which topics were discussed on the way to a modern bilingual lexicography of Spanish and English.

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[1] We follow the reference list style from the sixth edition of Kate Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (1996), but add the total number of pages for books. In the transcription of dictionary title pages, different font sizes, and other ornaments or symbols have been ignored. For electronic sources, we follow the model of the Laval University Library, based on Xia Li and Nancy B. Crane's *Electronic Style: A Guide to Citing Electronic Information* (1993), and the fifth edition of Turabian's *Manual* (1987). Web sites and online databases were consulted many times over the years, which is why we do not give the date when they were accessed. At the time this dissertation was finished, all of them were available at the URL provided.

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