LEARNING SPANISH IN ENGLAND IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

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The Spanish tongue became essential in cultural interchanges between England and Spain, especially after the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII. Different circumstances and elements contributed to the development of these interchanges and to the interest of the English for our language. Different Vocabularies, Dictionaries and Grammars for the learning of Spanish were published in England. I shall concentrate in this paper on an approach to the last of these.

Before the end of the 16th century three Spanish Grammars were published in London. A translation of Antonio de Corro's Reglas Gramaticales by John Thorius was published in 1590 under the title,

The Spanish/ Grammer;/ With certaine Rules teaching both the/ Spanish and French Tongues/ [...]/ Made in Spanish, by M. An-/ thonie de Corro./ With a Dictionarie adioyned unto it, of all the Spanish/ Wordes cited in this Booke; /[...] / By Iohn Thorius, Graduate in Oxenford./ Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe. 1590.

In 1591 Richard Percivall publishes his

Bibliotheca/ Hispanica/ Containing a Grammar/ with a Dictionarie in Spanish,/ English, and Latine, gathered out/ of diuers good Authors/ [...]/ by Richard Percyvall, Gent./ [...] Imprinted at London, by/ John lackson, for Ri-/ chard Watkins/ 1591.

It was a great success and in 1599 John Minsheu published a new edition of it, corrected and augmented, included in his *Dictionarie in Spanish*

and English. He says that the Spanish Grammar was a reelaboration of that of Percyvall but in fact a lot of it was copied from the Anónimo de Lovaina (1559), de Meurier, Stepney, Miranda and de Corro.¹

Also in 1591, William Stepney published a vocabulary containing some rules for the pronunciation of Spanish:

The Spanish/ Schoole-master./ Containing seven/ Dialogues, according to euery day in the weeke/ [...] wherein is also most plainly shewed the true and/ perfect pronunciation of the Spanish Tongue./ [...]. Newly collected and set forth by W. Stepney, professor of/ the said tongue in the famous Citie of London./ Spes Anchora tuta./ Imprinted at London by R. Field/ for Iohn Harrison./ 1591.

It was reedited in 1619 and 1620.

When in the first half of the 17th century new matrimonial alliances with Spain seemed possible, the publication of Spanish books in general, and of Grammars in particular, received a new impulse (56). In 1605 Lewis Owen, who had lived in Valladolid, gave to the print a grammar under the title of *The Key Into the Spanish Tongue*, which was influenced by different grammarians, especially Stepney.

In 1611 Reverend John Sandford publishes his *Propúlaion*. An Entrance to the Spanish Tongue. He was chaplain to Sir John Digby in one of his embassies in Madrid (1611-1614). This grammar was used by the ambassador's court. Sanford had also written Latin, French and Italian Grammars.

Amado Alonso takes from this grammar the commentary on the differentiation between Spanish b-v, a problem not considered by other grammarians:

The Spaniards [...] so confound the sound of B with V, that it is hard to determine when and in what words it should retaine its owne power of a labiall letter. Whence it is that they doe not oney promiscously write the one for the other, saith Iohn Miranda, Fol. 353, as *Trabajo* or *travajo*, labour, *travaille*, *Abeja* or *Aveja* a Bee, *Boto* or *Voto I vow*. Which

gave iust cause of laughter at that Spaniard, who being in conversation with a French Lady, & minding to commmend her children for fair, sayed unto her, using his Spanish liberty in pronouncing the French: "Madame vous avez des veaux enfans", telling her that she had' calves to her children. Neyther can I well iustifie him who wrote Veneficio for Beneficio. The generall rule then which is usually delivered, is that it always hath its proper sound in the beginning of words, as Bovo, a foole.²

Some years later, when the Spanish Match was under discussion, James Wadsworth, who taught the Infanta English, translated the third edition (1606) of César Oudin's *Grammaire Espagnolle* into English and published it in 1622:

A/ Grammar/ Spanish and/ English:/ or/ a briefe and/ compendious Method, teaching to/ reade, write, speake, and pronounce/ the Spanish Tongue./ Composed in French/ by Cesar Oudin, and by him third time/ corrected and augmented./ Englished, and of many wants/ supplied, by I. W./ who hath also translated out of Spanish the/ fiue Dialogues of Ivan de Luna, Cast. which/ are annexed to the Grammar./ London I Printed by Iohn Haviland for Edward Blount, and are/ to be sold at the signe of the black Beare in/ Pauls Church Yard. 1662.

The last Spanish Grammar of the 17th century coincides with the marriage of Charles II and the Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza, to whom it was dedicated. Two years after the publication of his *Lexicon Tetraglotton* [...], James Howell sends to the print a book with the complex title of,

A NEW/ ENGLISH/ Gammar,/ Prescribing as certain Rules as/ the Language will bear, for for-/ reners to learn English:/ Ther is also another Grammar of the/ Spanish or Castilian Toung,/ With som special remarks upon the/ Portugues Dialect, & c./ Whereunto is annexed/ A Discours or Dialog

containing a/ Perambulation of Spain and Portugall/ which may serve for a direction how to/ travell through both Countreys, & c./ For the service of Her MAJESTY,/ whom God preserve./ LONDON,/ Printed for T. Williams, H. Browme, and H. Marsh./ 1662.³

dedicated to the "Ecelsa, y Serenissima Magestad, de Doña Catarina de Braganza."

In the Spanish Grammar Howell gives an account to the "Ingenious Student" of the different authors he had consulted before writing his own:

To which purpose we have consulted the best Artists upon this Subject as Miranda, and Salazar; together with Franciosini the Florentin, and Oudin the Frenchman, with others who have laudably taken pains herin, and are more extensive in the conjugating of some Verbs: For as soon as the idea of this work entred into the imagination, the first thing we designd was brevity, yet without making it subject to Lamenesse or Obscurity.⁴

It is by far the shortest one, "a survey of the language" (Ibid., p. 94) as he says, if we compare it with Juan de Miranda's Osservationi della Lingua Castigliana; Ambrosio de Salazar's Espexo General de la Gramática en Dialogos, para Saber la Natural y Perfecta Pronunciación de la Lengua Castellana; César Oudin's Grammaire Espagnolle Expliquée en François, and Lorenzo Franciosini's Gramatica Spagnuola, ed Italiana.

If we compare these Grammars we can draw two conclusions. Firstly, there seems to be a model common to all of them, with very similar contents and a general list of examples from which each author has taken what he thought best, most of them being reproduced or transformed. All of them approach Grammar from Phonetics and Morphology, although Howell devotes one of the last pages in his *Gramática Inglesa* to some short notes on English Syntax, Prosody and Metrics. The main source seems to be Nebrija's *Grammar* and the *Vulgar*. Secondly, that all the authors seem to have referred to each others work. Oudin refers twice to Miranda, Franciosini to Oudin. In 1626 the former reprinted and translated into Italian the latter's VIII *Dialogue*; and

Howell copies, sometimes impudently, from the three. I exclude Ambrosio de Salazar's *Espexo General*, because its structure is different, and I do not think it has any influence on Howell's *Grammar*.

After this introduction we can begin a study of the Spanish Alphabet, of the "letras", as Howell says in his definition of Grammar, of which he says it is;

el Arte de Letras, como la palabra Griega gramma (de la quall ella se deriva) denòta; de letras se hazen sylabas, de sylabas palabras, y de la coagmentacion de letras, sylabas y palabras nace el Hablar ò Sermocinacion, lo qual es una de las mas eminentes prerogativas que tiene el Genero Humano sobre las demas Criaturas sublunares.

(A New English Grammar, p. 3).

The Spanish Alphabet has, according to Howell, twenty-three letters, the same number as the English one, "K only excepted, which is supplied by C, and sometimes by Q, as Kalendar Calendario, Kintall Quintal" (Ibid., p. 98). He forgets W, which does not exist in Spanish.

The letters are written "en grandes y menudos caracteres" (Ibid., p. 5), and their pronunciation is as important for any language as the four elements are for the "Generation" of all corporeal creatures. He divides them into vowels and consonants, the latter called so "porque no tienen algun sonido sin aver un vocal ò adelante ò atras". (Ibid., p. 5). He agrees on this with the Anónimo de Lovaina.

Howell does not study the Spanish vowels in his *Spanish Grammar*. There are references to them in the *English Grammar*. The vowels, he says, are five: a e i o u, and there is a word in Spanish which no other language has, that embraces all the five, which is "o v e j a, a sheep." They deserve to be studied first because no consonant can be pronounced without one of them before or after.

A. The vowel a is the first letter in all languages. In English it has two different sounds ("dos prolationes differentes"), one open and full, as Alabastre alabastro, the other closed and pressing, as Ale cerveza, Awake despierto, "Mas in Español (y otros lenguajes) tiene siempre la primera prolacion, como Da dios alas a la hormiga, para que se pierda mas ayna God

gives wings to the Ant that she may destroy herself the sooner." (Ibid., pp. 21, 23).

- E. The vowel e is pronounced in English as in Spanish and other languages, and he adds "Quando concluye una palabra ella se pronuncia floxamente, ò con descuydo, como en There allà, Fire fuego, Bare nudo: El Español haze lo mesmo, como Alcayde a Warden, combate a fight, combite a feast, escabeche pickle, azauache jett, padre father, madre mother" (Ibid., p. 9), while in the Anónimo de Lovaina's Grammar we read that "en la lengua Vulgar siempre se le da el viento de lleno, expidiendo la boz, puesta la parte delantera de la lengua entre los dientes" (Gramática de la Lengua Vulgar, p. 11). He says that there is some friendship between e and i, which are sometimes used indistinctively in words such as "Enterchange or Interchange, endure or indure." The same happens in Spanish with "mismo or mesmo, pedir or pidir".
- I. The vowel i has a very peculiar sound in some English words "diferente de los demas lenguajes, porque el Español (y otros) siempre pronuncia i, como el Inglès suele pronunciar ee, como Mi tio mee teeo, pimienta pepper, peemeeenta; cinco ceenco" (A New English Grammar, p. 11).
- O. There is no reference to the Spanish pronunciation of this letter in either of the two Grammars.
- V. The vowel u as i has the privilege of very often being a consonant, which makes some people call them the "mongrel letters (letras mestizas)". In Spanish it is pronounced like "oo, as uno one, oono; usanza use, oosanza, & c." (Ibid., p. 15).
 - Y. The vowel y, Howell says,

"se pronuncia como i, toda via ella queda mas constante a si mesma como teniendo en disden de degeneràr de su primero ser, y de vocal haçerse consonante; por tanto ella puede bien merecer el titulo de la letra de Filosofia, o la letra de Pythagora [...]. En Español ella frecuentemente haze una sylaba de por si como en yxar, yzar, & c. (Ibid., p. 17).

For the consonants, Howells studies in the *Spanish Grammar* those whose pronounciation causes difficulties: b, c, g, j, ll, \tilde{n} , u, x, z, gn, gue gui, que qui, an order we are going to follow for their analysis.

B. In the Gramática Inglesa he says that "es el primer consonante y la segunda letra del Abecedario; ella es la primera que junta los labios despues de nacidos, por tanto se llama letra labial." He says that in Spanish it is confused with u in many words, as "Bisoño o Visoño (a young Soldier), bimbrera o vimbrera (an Ozier)," and he concludes by saying "Màs la mayor alabança de B es, que ella es letra de Innocencia, por ser el tono de la oveja, que es emblema de la inocencia." (Ibid., p. 19).

In the *Gramática Española* he mentions the confusion between b-v and gives a Spanish proverb as an example, "Barba remojada medio rapada," where, according to Howell, "b is pronounc'd like v, as if it were written barva; bandera or vandera a banner, bobo or bovo a fool." And he finishes saying that B keeps the sound b before the "liquids" l, m, n, r, as in "lumbre light, hablar to speak." All these rules coincide with those given by Oudin. (Oudin, César, p. 2).

C. It is by far one of the most complicated and difficult consonants in our language. Let us compare what Howell says with the opinion of the other grammarians. In his *Gramática Inglesa* Howell says:

Algunos criticos autores ay qui no quedan aficionado a la letra C, llamandola letra mestiza, siendo ni varon ni hembra, mas un monstruo δ espiritu, que por sus imposturas ella toma los sonidos de s k q, que ella es superflua a causa del mesmo sonido que tiene con ellas [...]. En Castellano (y Francès) quando se pronuncia como s, ella anda suportada con un semicirculo abaxo ς , y entonces ella se llama C cedilla, como ς caratan the Kanker, ς apato a shooe, ς ar ς a bramble, etc., que van pronunciados como si fuessen escritas s aratan, s apato, s arsa. (Howell, J., pp. 19, 21).

In the Gramática Española he insists on the pronunciation of ç as s:

The second is call'd C cedilla, which comes not but before a, o, u, and then 'tis pronounc'd like s, as çampoña a Shepherds pipe, quiça it may be, çopo lame, çurrador a tanner, & c. and this C cedilla is seldom or never a great C. (Ibid., pp. 98-9).

Juan de Miranda says:

Primo della ç, ogno volta che in lingua Castigliana si ritrouerà, così scritta, con quel ponto sotto, che si chiama ceriglia, con queste tre uocali a, o, u, uale tanto, come z in Toscano. Si come in questo nome piazza, e forza: se si uolessero scriuere in Spagnuolo, si scriuera così, plaça, e fuerça, e marzo: in spagnuolo si scriue março e la regione di questa differenza è, perche la z, in spagnuolo ha la forza, che due zz, in Toscano. (Miranda, Juan de, pp. 2-3).

César Oudin gives the following approach in his Grammaire Espagnolle:

La seconde est le ς , appellé en Espagnol "C con cedilla, ou cerilla", qui ne se met que deuant a, o, & u, & uaut autant que le c ordinaire mi deuant e & i, ou que l's, ce qui est facile a cognoistre en nostre langue en ce mot, François, où le c vaut s: & se trompent ceux qui en escriuant Espagnol mettent le dit ς deuant e ou i, où à tout le moins il est superflue. (Oudin, p. 2).

And L. Franciosoni says:

Truovasi spesse volte queste lettera c, caudata; cioè con una virgoletta sotto, così ç (che dagli Spagnuoli è chiamata zediglia) e serve come in Italiano la lettera zeta; ed in buona ortografia, e maniera di scrivere, non si dee, nèsi può mettere, senon con alcuna di queste tre vocali, a, o, u, così: ca, co, cu che suona come in Toscano, ca, co, cu, pronunziato con l'asprezza che ce, ci. (Franciosini, p. 2).

What we have is a confusion between c - z - s. Let us see what they said about the second before arriving at a conclusion:

J. Howell: "Z is pronounc'd somtimes as the English pronounce it, as azul blu, azemila a great mule; but somtimes she turns to C, and then he is pronounc'd more rudely, as hazer hacer, & c." (Howell, p. 101).

César Oudin: "La derniere est z, qui quelquesfois se prononce plus rudement que le c, ou l's quasi comme nostre z François, mais le plus souuant elle a le mesme son que le dit c, & i'ay veu bien souvent escrit hacer par hazer, lienço par lienzo, baço par vazo." (Oudin, p. 5).

L. Franciosoni: "Trovandosi la zeta con alcuna di queste due vocali, e, i, così ze, zi, si prommzierà formalmente, come se fosse con la lettera c, e si diceso ce, ci [...] Stando la zeta con alcuna di queste tre vocali, a, o, u: così za, zo, zu, non sarà in lettura, nè in pronunzia, differente de ça, ço, çu."

(Franciosini, p. 2).

We can conclude that Howell, who looks at Oudin and Minsheu, does not pay enough attention to Miranda and Franciosoni's Grammars in spite of the fact that he was familiar with them, and they distinguished between two different sounds, voiced and voiceless. Howell misunderstands c- s- z. Amado Alonso studies this problem in his "La Igualación C-Z en Español". For C, the Spanish hispanist notes that Howell stayed in Barcelona and Alicante, two seseantes towns, between 1617 and 1618, and almost two years in Madrid, between 1622 and 1624. Alonso thinks that the equivalence C = S is not taken by Howell from the Spanish spoken in Catalonia because he would have had heard the correct pronunciation while in Madrid. He says that;

La igualación C = S le viene de algunos manuales viejos, especialmente los de Oudin (1597), y del trapisondista y malplagiario John Minsheu (1599), uno de los autores que Howell sigue, y que, acumulando descripciones de manuales diferentes sin advertir su contradicción, dió para la c el valor de la c francesa junto con el de la c italiana y c en inglés. c

For Z, of which Howell says that sometimes it is pronounced as in English and others as C, Amado Alonso says:

La pronunciación de nuestra Z sonora como la inglesa (y la francesa), aunque diferente en el punto de articulación, había sido real hacia 1580, pero recordemos que su sonoridad se perdió ya en la primera generación de aquella España [...] La doctrina de Howell, de espaldas a la realidad de 1662, resulta de la conjunción de dos manualistas: la del inglés John Minsheu, que iguala nuestra Z con la inglesa, 11 y la del francés César Oudin, sobre todo en las primeras ediciones de su *Grammaire Espagnolle*, 1597. En este segundo pasaje, de la Z, no parece advertir Howell que antes había igualado la C con la S. (Alonso, A., "Cronología", p. 21).

We can say from the study of the opposition C - Z in Howell Grammars that his explanation is confusing because he mixes, perhaps without noticing it, contradictory and already obsolete methods.

D. He says of it in the English Grammar that in Spanish, when it is placed between two vowels, "ò antes qualquier otro medio ò en la fin de una palabra, ella se va derritiendo en th, como el Ingles las pronuncia en that ò the, como Dadivas entran sin taladro, las cuales palabras van pronunciadas como si fuessen escritas, Dathivas entran sin talathro?" He compares our pronunciation with the one given in British or Welsh; "ellos pronuncian dd en la mesma manera, como Heb ddew he ddim, Nada sin Dios." (Howell, J. p. 21).

But when he studies the H, "letra de aliento ò aspiracion", he says that when it is put with T, giving th it has;

dos sonidos en Inglés el uno fuerte como la Griega O theta, como thunder trueno, Thursday Jueves, thousand mil, thirsty sediento, theef ladron, thought pensamiento, & c. mas th en otras palabras se pronuncian mansamente, como d en

Castellano, como this esto, that aquello, thine tuyo, thither là, thence de là, then entonces, thou tu & c. (Ibid., p. 25).

In the Spanish Grammar he insists,

The letter d hath a differing pronunciation in Spanish from other Toungs, for most commonly 'tis pronounc'd meltingly, as th in that or the, as Hombre narigudo pocas veces cornudo, A long-nos'd man is seldom a Cuckold: which must be pronounc'd, Hombre narigutho pocas veces cornutho. (Ibid., p. 101)

As we can see, Howell gives the Spanish D the equivalent English voiced th, but he does not give the Spanish equivalent to Greek theta or English voiceless th, that was already c, z. His starting point for our D must have been, according to Amado Alonso, William Salesbury's Grammar (1567), but he adds "luego lo desarrolla y ejemplifica con gran abundancia y con evidente conocimiento de experiencia." 12

G. In the Spanish Grammar he says that this letter often "degenerats to Ishota", and he gives the examples "lenguage lenguaje" and "page paje o apagen", pronounced "superficially from the Throat" (Howell, J., p. 99), or like aspirated h, as if they were written "lenguahe, pahe". He adds that this guttural pronounciation is only produced before e, i, because when it comes before a, o, u it is pronounced as in English.

In this case, Howell's source is César Oudin, who says:

Le troisiesme est g deuant e & i, le quel se prononce plus rudement qu'en nostre langue, & se forme au palais de la bouche, repliant le bout de la langue en haut, & la poussant vers le gozier, & a quelque affinité auec nostre ch François. Mais deuant a, o, u, il a la mesme prononciation qu'es autres langues. (Oudin, p. 2).

He finishes by saying that G can also be transformed into an X: "tigeras tixeras, a pair of sheers".

- J. The "ishota" of "jamas never, jerigonça, gibberish, joya a jewell, hijo a son, Jueves Thursday" is pronounced like G "in the thoat". (Howell, p. 99). And he adds that "i" usually has to be pronounced in Spanish as in English. As we can see, Howell mixes up the letters G, J, X, I and H, without giving a clear explanation of any of them.
- LL. Howell says in the English Grammar that the English pronounced L as the Spaniards, but he adds that "adonde se hallan LL en Castellano, sea en el principio o en el medio de una palabra, la postrera L torna en i como en lloro, calle, callar, lleno que se pronuncian como si fuesen escritas lioro, calie, caliar, lienon. (Ibid., p. 27).

He insists on this pronunciation when he deals with it in the Spanish Grammar where he says that;

is pronounc'd as in French like *ll* in fille, the second I turning into "i", as *En casa llena presto se guisa la cena*, In a full house supper is soon dress'd; where *llena is* pronounc'd as if it were *liena: so* in *llorar* to weep, *liorar; llevar* to carry, *lievar; lluvia* rain, *liuvia*. But great care must be taken that the I and i with the next vowel be pronounc'd one syllable, making a kind of Dipthong, as *Quien no ha visto Sevilla no hà visto maravilla*, Who hath not seen Sevill he hath not seen wonders; wher the last I being turned an i, as *Sevilia, maravilia*, the *lia* must be pronounc'd as one syllable *lîa:* and so in *Mundo Mundillo nacido en Bilbao muerto en Bustillo* Such is the world, born in Lancaster dead in London. (Ibid., pp. 99-100).

For the rules of the pronounciation of LL he follows Minsheu, who gives it as "li", and Oudin who says that it must be pronounced in one syllable.

 \tilde{N} . It is pronounced, like LL, as if it were followed by I. He gives two Spanish Proverbs as examples, one in each Grammar:

Fue la Negra al baño, y tuuo que contar todo el año, The Negre went to the Bath, and she had news enough for the whole Twelmonth (Ibid., p. 29),

where baño and año must be pronounced as banio and anio, and

Viña, niña, peral y havar malas cosas de guardar, A vine, a Child, a Pear-tree, and a Bean-field are hard to be kept (Ibid., p. 100),

where viña and niña must be pronounced as vinia and ninia.

U. Howell insists again on its possible use as a consonant. For its pronunciation as a vowel he says that;

being still a Vowell u is pronounc'd as oo, as Pan reziente, y uvas, a las moças ponen mudas, y a las viejas quitan las arrugas, New bread and grapes paints young womens faces, and takes away wrinkles from the old; where uvas and mudas are pronounc'd as if they were written oovas, moodas. (Ibid., p. 100).

X. This is another point of confusion in Howell's Grammars as he uses the same grapheme for two different pronounciations. In the English Grammar he gives in English the composition C K S "que ninguna otra letra tiene" while he does not give the Spanish phonetic equivalent, saying only that "se usa mucho en el principio, medio y fin de vocablos, que vino de los Moros, los quales tuvieron la mayor parte de España 700 años, como Xarcias, Xapin, Xarava, & c." (Ibid., p. 33).

In the Spanish Grammar he does not give the CKS pronounciation but the guttural one, and says that "is pronounc'd in the throat like g and Ishota". And he continues saying: "he that will pronounce well these three letters in Spanish, must pronounce them as in Greek, which the Old Britains in Englsnd do pronounce more naturally than any other European Nation." (Ibid., p. 100).

GN. Howell misinterprets Oudin's text when he abbreviates it. The latter says that you should not pronounce it as in French so as not to mix it up

with \tilde{N} , and so it must be done separately, although "mesmes les Espagnols laissent souuant le G, mettans dino pour digno, sinificar, au lieu de significar" (Oudin, p. 6). The former simplifies the text and what for the French writer was an exception is for him a rule, and copies his examples: "G coming before N is not pronounc'd in Spanish, as digno worthy, significar to signifie, are pronounc'd dino, sinificar; signar to signe, sinar, & c." (Howell, J., p. 101).

GUE and GUI. Howell follows Oudin when he says that they "are pronounc'd in Spanish as large as the letters will bear", and he takes from him two of the examples given as exceptions: "aguelo (agüelo)" and "garguero (gargüero)n, once again wrong applying Oudin's rules. Both admit that GUE, GUI and QUE, QUI have in Italian their equivalents in Italian in GHE, GHI and CHE, CHI. Oudin admits exceptions for the former, among whom we have the examples given above, but not for the latter. Howell, on the other hand, gives obsolete examples as "quento" and "cinquenta", and admits exceptions "as quinientos five hundred, quasi almost, which are pronounc'd kinjentos, casi." (Ibid., p. 101).

We can conclude this paper by saying that Howell, although he seems to know what he is talking about, makes a lot of mistakes or his text becomes confusing because he abbreviates or misuses the Grammars he uses. Sometimes the pronounciations they give were already obsolete by 1662. However, it is to his credit that he was the last important British hispanist in the 17th century to write a Spanish Grammar for the British to learn our language.

NOTES

- 1.- Vid. Alonso, Amado (1969): De la Pronunciación Medieval a la Moderna en Español. Madrid: Gredos.
 - 2.- Sandord, John (1611): An Entrance to the Spanish Tongue ... London.
- 3.- This volume has two paginations. One for the Grammars and another one for La Perambulación. I shall refer to each part when necessary. The volume is bilingual except for the Spanish Grammar, which is only in English.
 - 4.- La Perambulación, p. 95.
- 5.- Miranda, Juan de (1566): Osservationi de la Lingua Castigliana. Vinegia. This volume also contains Il Paragone della Lingua Toscana e Castigliana, by M. Gio. Mario Alessandro d'Vrbino. Prima Editione, Napoli, 1560.

- 6.- Salazar, Ambrosio de (1614): Expexo General de la Gramatica en Dialogos, para Saber la Naturaly Perfecta Pronunciación de la Lengua Castellana. Rouen. Of the same author I have also looked at:
- Secretos de la Gramatica Española, con un Tratado de Algunos Quentos Honestos y Graciosos. Without place, 1632. Principios para Aprender la Lengua Espanola, Declarados por la Lengua Francesa, en Forma de Abreuiacion de la Gramatica. Paris, 1642.
- 7.- Oudin, César (1619): Grammaire Espagnolle Expliquée en François. Reueue, corrigée & augmentée par l'Autheur. Troisiesme Edition. Bruxelles.
- 8.- Franciosini, Lorenzo (1742): Gramatica Spagnuola, ed Italiana. Nuova Impresione. Venezia.
- 9.- Gramática de la Lengua Vulgar de España. Lovaina, 1559. Edición facsimilar y estudio de Rafael Balbín y Antonio Roldán. Madrid: CSIC, 1966.
- 10.- Alonso, Amado: "Cronología de la Igualación C-Z en español". Hispanic Review April, 1951. p. 148.
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