

Historiographia
Linguistica

HL

Volume X, no. 1/2 (1983)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HISTORIOGRAPHIA LINGUISTICA X:1/2 (1983)

ARTICLES / AUFSÄTZE

Eugenio Coseriu (Tübingen): Adam Smith and the Beginnings of Language Typology, transl. from the German by Elisabeth Haggblade (Fresno, Calif.) . . .	1
Elisabeth Haggblade (Fresno, Calif.): Contributors to the Beginnings of Language Typology	13
Thomas Frank (Naples): The First Italian Grammars of the English Language .	25
Barbara Kaltz (Waterloo, Ont.): Alfred Tonnellé als Übersetzer und Interpret Wilhelm von Humboldts: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der frühen Humboldt-Rezeption in Frankreich	63
Claudio Marazzini (Torino): Carlo Denina Linguiste: Aux sources du comparatisme	77

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS / BESPRECHUNGEN

T.A. Amirova et al., <i>Abriss der Geschichte der Linguistik</i> (Leipzig, 1980), reviewed by Pierre Swiggers	97
M.H. Bakalla, <i>Ibn Jinni, an Early Arab Muslim Phonetician</i> (London & Taipei, 1982), reviewed by Michael G. Carter (Sydney)	103
Johann Biedermann, <i>Grammatiktheorie und grammatische Deskription in Russland</i> (Frankfurt/M. & Bern, 1981), reviewed by Tom M. S. Priestly (Edmonton)	111
Michael G. Carter, ed., <i>Arab Linguistics: An introductory classical text</i> (Amsterdam, 1981), reviewed by William Cowan (Ottawa)	120
Dorothy Harley Eber, <i>Genius at Work: Images of Alexander Graham Bell</i> (Toronto, 1982), reviewed by Michael K.C. MacMahon (Glasgow)	124
Mary Ritchie Key, <i>Catherine the Great's Linguistic Contribution</i> (Carbondale & Edmonton, 1980), reviewed by Victor E. Hanzeli (Seattle)	126
Norman Kretzmann et al., eds., <i>The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy</i> (Cambridge, 1982), reviewed by Michael A. Covington (Los Angeles)	130
Gabriel Nuchelmans, <i>Late Scholastic and Humanist Theories of the Proposition</i> (Amsterdam, 1980), reviewed by A. Charlene McDermott (Albuquerque, N.M.)	132
Helen Swick Perry, <i>Psychiatrist in America: The life of Harry Stack Sullivan</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), reviewed by Stanley Newman (Albuquerque, N.M.)	135
Roger Shattuck, <i>The Forbidden Experiment: The story of the wild boy of Aveyron</i> (London, 1981), reviewed by Rüdiger Schreyer (Aachen)	138

MISCELLANEA:

NOTES / NOTIZEN – DISCUSSIONS / DISKUSSIONEN	143
--	-----

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED / OUVRAGES REÇUS / EINGEGANGENE SCHRIFTEN	165
--	-----

en traduction anglaise. L'auteur y passe en revue les oeuvres de A.W. Schlegel, Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Smith et Gabriel Girard, pour essayer de mettre en perspective les débuts de la typologie des langues. Malgré plusieurs parallèles évidents dans les systèmes de classification de ces quatre auteurs, il existe bien quelques différences, en particulier en ce qui concerne le rôle joué par l'évolution des langues. Smith et A.W. Schlegel, par exemple, à la différence de F. Schlegel, tenaient compte de l'influence de l'évolution. Ils avaient aussi tous deux conscience des effets de l'environnement linguistique sur la langue; ils saisissaient bien également, tout en différant dans leurs raisonnements, que la langue change même dans l'isolement linguistique. En comparant les systèmes de Smith et de Girard, on constate une divergence diamétrale en ce qui concerne les critères de leurs systèmes de classification: au contraire de Smith, Girard considérait que les langues sans flexion (*analogues* — avec ordre des mots fixe) sont plus logiques que les langues à flexion (*transpositives* — avec ordre des mots libre). Pour Smith, par ailleurs, ce sont les langues flexionnelles (*uncompounded*) — avec ordre des mots libre — qui se sont d'abord développées: indiquer une modification par changement de structure du mot lui-même exige moins de raisonnement abstrait que de faire une périphrase avec ordre des mots fixe.

THE FIRST ITALIAN GRAMMARS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

THOMAS FRANK
University of Naples

1.0 The first English grammar to appear in Italy was published at Lghorn in Tuscany in 1701, the *Nuova, e Perfetta Grammatica Inglese* by Arrigo Pleunus. Alston's exhaustive bibliography does not record any previous textbook of English, and I believe it may be safely assumed that Pleunus's book was the first Grammar of the English language to be published for the use of Italian speakers. Possibly 'new' is to be interpreted in relation to a number of previous works, such as William Thomas's *Principal rules of the Italian grammar* published in 1550, or *Florio his firste Fruites*, which appeared in 1578, works which were intended for English learners of the Italian tongue. However that may be, according to Alston (1965) five grammars of English for the use of Italian learners were published during the 18th century (Pleunus 1701, Altieri 1728, Baretti 1762, Barker 1766, and Dalmazzoni 1788): all of these went into several editions, a fact which surely proves that such books continued to find a ready market in Italy. For example, the last edition of Altieri's grammar, which first appeared in London in 1728, is dated 1813, that is to say almost a century after the original publication; in spite of the fact that by this date it was long surpassed in method and accuracy by the grammars of such authors as Barker (1766, 1802), and above all by the work of the celebrated Italian man of letters Giuseppe Baretti, Altieri's grammar seems to have continued to enjoy the favour of the public. In this article I intend to examine the five grammars of English that appeared in Italy — or at any rate for the use of Italian speakers — during the course of the 18th century.

1.1 Before we actually look at these works, a few preliminary remarks are perhaps in order. The history of the cultural relations between England and Italy falls into two distinct phases: during the earlier period, that is to say the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and much of the 17th century the 'traffic'

was mainly from Italy to England. It is hardly necessary in the present context to trace the profound influence Italy, her language, culture and manners exercised upon England during those centuries: the work of poets like Chaucer, Spenser and Milton, to mention only the most illustrious, show profound traces of this influence. It was only towards the end of the 17th century, and above all during the 18th century, that the 'traffic' began to move the other way. By this time, Italian culture had lost much of its original momentum, and was no longer a source of inspiration — and at times, of horror and detestation — for the rest of Western Europe. Italy began to look above all to France, but also to England, for her models and examples. This of course does not mean that during the 18th century Englishmen had lost their interest in Italy: on the contrary, hordes of young English aristocrats flocked to Italy throughout the century, returning with their baggage full of Italian art treasures, old and new, to be placed in their newly-built Palladian residences, their heads buzzing with memories of the Venetian or Roman Carnival and other pleasant amusements. Even as late as 1776, Samuel Johnson remarked: "A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what is expected a man should see" (Boswell 1791 III,36).

1.2 But by now Italy was also at the receiving end of this two-way traffic. What attracted Englishmen to Italy, apart from the brilliance of her carnivals and her mild climate, was mainly the glory of her past, whereas what Italians admired about England was not the past, but the present: not only her progress in the fields of politics, science and commerce, and in general the extraordinary wealth enjoyed by the upper classes in England, but also writers like Addison and Pope, and later in the century Gray, Young, and Sterne. Italian men of letters began to take an interest in English literature and to transmit this interest to their fellow countrymen: we need only think of men like Magalotti, the translator of Philips and Waller and of parts of *Paradise Lost*, of Cesarotti, of Rolli (another translator of Milton), and of Algarotti.¹ Above all we remember Giuseppe Baretto — or Joseph Baretto, as he signed himself in the books he published in England — who spent almost half of his life in London, became a friend of Samuel Johnson's and, if not actually a member of the Literary Club, was intimate with many of those who were members or looked to Johnson for guidance. It is therefore only fitting that one of the grammars to be taken into consideration in this article should be by Baretto, who, it will be remembered, was also the author of a widely used and frequently reprinted *Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages*. It is clear that there

was a growing market for books designed to teach the English language to Italians, young men of letters or aristocratic ladies desirous to keep themselves abreast of the cultural fashions of the day.

1.3 But a knowledge of English was a fashionable accomplishment not only among the well-to-do and the would-be *littérateurs* of 18th-century Italy. Indeed, the very first grammars seem to stem from much more utilitarian motives. It is surely not without significance that the first Italian grammar of English should have been published in Leghorn, where there was a flourishing colony of English merchants,² as well as merchants from other countries, since Leghorn had been a free port since 1593 and was the chief commercial centre not only of the Dukedom of Tuscany, but perhaps of the whole peninsula. The author of this grammar, Arrigo Pleunus, who dedicated his book to Grand Duke Cosimo III (Pleunus 1710), mentions on the English title-page of the second edition of his work a group of "worthy English Gentlemen, Merchants at Legorne" to whom he gives us to understand he was in some way obliged, although he does mention why. As he says (*L'Autore a chi legge*), there is much demand "for English Grammar explained through Italian, since it is so necessary for trade",³ and one of the conversational phrases included in the grammar reads "Every one speaks English at Legorne", though to what extent this reflects an actual situation, rather than a pious hope, it is difficult to say. Also Altieri (1728: To the Reader) affirms that "the *English* tongue is now so much recommended and desired abroad, especially in the Sea-port towns in Italy". The Italian edition of Baretto's grammar (Baretto 1778) was published at Leghorn and is dedicated to "Giovanni Udny, Console di S.M. Britannica in Toscana", whose task it was to protect British trade. Indeed, Baretto talks of facilitating and increasing trade between England and Italy, and therefore includes some examples of commercial letters at the end of his volume. These purely utilitarian motives for learning English were of course not the only ones adduced by our authors, for some of them (Altieri, Baretto, Barker) also mention English achievements in the arts and the sciences, but all of them insist on the usefulness of a knowledge of English in international trade, already to a large extent dominated by Britain. There can be no doubt that the major foreign influence on Italian culture during the 18th century was French, but there clearly was a growing desire to be acquainted with England and her ways, and the five grammars to be taken into consideration here are a humble but tangible testimony of this demand.

2.0 Let us now take a closer look at these grammars. Unfortunately, with the exception of Baretto, nothing is known about their authors, except what they tell us about themselves on the title-pages of their books. Arrigo Pleunus, which would appear to be a latinized form of an otherwise unidentifiable Italian name, calls himself “Maestro di Lingue” (in the second edition he adds “Master of the Latin, French an [*sic*] English Tongue”), apparently at Leghorn, but I have been unable to unearth any further information about him, nor is there any record of his having published anything else. Possibly further research among the State Archives of Tuscany might yield some scraps of information about him, as well as about Barker, but it seemed hardly pertinent to a study of this kind to comb through these, or through the State Papers Tuscany in the Public Record Office in London, since the *Calendars* for this period have not yet been published, for I am not here concerned with a history of the commercial and/or diplomatic relations between Britain and Tuscany at this period.

2.1 Ferdinando Altieri defines himself on the title-page of his *A New Grammar* (first ed., London 1728, subsequently Venice 1736) “Professor of the Italian Tongue in London”, as well as author of an Italian-English, English-Italian Dictionary based on the *Dizionario della Crusca*, published in 1726. His grammar is dedicated to a Mrs. Berkley, evidently his patroness in London. Judging from certain comments in the text, it seems that he had learned his English in London, but nothing is known about how long he had lived there before undertaking his work. There was a fairly large Italian colony in London during the early 18th century, owing, among other things, to the popularity of Italian opera, and it would appear that Altieri, like Baretto a generation or so later, earned his living teaching Italian in London and writing textbooks for his students. He also published an edition of Guarini’s *Pastor Fido* in London in 1728, a copy of which is to be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. Altieri is mentioned by Mazzuchelli (1753:I,553), who however merely says that he is the author of the above-mentioned books. The title-page of the second (London) edition of the *Dictionary* (Altieri 1750)⁴ states that it was revised by “Evangelist Palermo, Teacher of the Italian Tongue”, so that it may perhaps be assumed that by 1750 Altieri was already dead, but we cannot be sure of this, since the *Dictionary* does not contain any prefatory matter. If this assumption is correct, Altieri was no longer active by the time Baretto arrived in London.

2.2 There is no point in dwelling on the position of Giuseppe Baretto

(Turin, 1719 - London, 1789) in the Italian colony in London: his biography is well-known and extremely well documented. Baretto had arrived in London in 1751 without money or friends, but before long made a name for himself as a teacher of Italian, and soon became friendly with Samuel Johnson and his circle. Baretto’s grammar, published in 1762, consists of an Italian grammar for the use of his English pupils and *An English Grammar for the Use of Italians*; this latter part was republished separately in Venice in 1778, by which time the author had long since established himself permanently in London. All Baretto’s English friends testify to his perfect command of the English language.⁵

2.3 Next to nothing is known of the other two authors to be taken into consideration. According to the title-page of his *Nuova e facile Grammatica Inglese*, Edward Barker was a Carmelite monk of the Province of Tuscany. The Preface written by some of his pupils states that he was born in London, but I have been unable to ascertain either when he was born or in what year he arrived in Italy. Even less is known of Guglielmo Dalmazzoni, whose *Nuova Grammatica della Lingua Inglese* — a very rare book — was published in Rome in 1788, but this fact does not authorize us to assume that he was a Roman by birth. He says nothing about how he acquired his knowledge of English, although he insists that it was greatly superior to that of all of his predecessors, whose work he criticizes harshly as defective in various ways, but this judgment seems hardly justified. His name does not appear in any of the bibliographies of the time and I have been unable to trace any other works by the same author.

We are therefore forced to conclude that, with the exception of Baretto, the authors of these grammars were obscure teachers of the language, whose humble efforts helped to contribute to a wider knowledge not only of the English language, but also of English culture in Italy: authors of textbooks long since forgotten, but at one time widely used and as such witness to the growing interest in all things concerning England in Italy.

3.0 At this point we may legitimately ask ourselves: what interest can a study of these five grammars have for us today? They are clearly works devoid of originality, since they are based on the most widely known grammars current in England at the time,⁶ and in no way claim either to give a new and independent description of the facts of the English language, or to provide any new insights into the workings of language as such. They are simple teaching

grammars, not unlike the countless volumes that are published every year in our own days, with one slight difference: they are not 'school books' in the modern sense, since English was not of course part of the regular curriculum of Italian schools during the 18th century, whatever local differences there may have been between the educational systems of the various Italian states.

As has already been said, these works are designed to satisfy the demand for a wider knowledge of the language and culture of England. Their interest lies rather in the way in which an 18th-century Italian author, or in the case of Barker, an English author writing for an Italian public, approaches the facts of the English language and describes them in a form considered suitable for his readers. In other words, these books constitute the first attempts at a contrastive description of English and Italian, even if, as we shall see, the grammatical models on which they are based are those of Latin, the grammar of which was for many centuries to come to provide the essential framework of the countless grammars, prescriptive or otherwise, that sought to describe the structure of English as well as Italian. Even a summary examination of these grammars reveals at once that their model of English is that of the 'best authors', whose language is held up as the only type of English worthy of imitation, and such an attitude is certainly not surprising: it would indeed be strange if it were otherwise. Even in our own day, in spite of the enormous progress made by sociolinguistics and the new insights this branch of linguistics has provided into the kind of language people actually use, most teachers, not to mention the general public, would reject with a sense of outrage any attempt to use a 'low' variety of English as a basic model for the teaching of English as a foreign language. Equally unsurprising is the fact that, in teaching the correct pronunciation of English — and the phonetic parts of these grammars are, in my view, the most interesting — the authors tacitly assume the absolute primacy of the written over the spoken language. Such attitudes form part of the current approach to language and its 'correct' use throughout the 18th century. To return to the 'best authors': Pleunus recommends them in his grammar and Altieri, who in his preface outlines briefly the history of the English language, mentions Shakespeare, Jonson and Milton among the older authors, and Prior, Steele, Addison, and Pope as more recent writers who have enriched the language, since (Altieri 1736:IX; all subsequent quotations are from this edition)

it [i.e. the English language] has not that scrupulous and servile restraint as other languages, which banish every foreign term and form of speech, in the vainglorious and haughty conviction of their native wealth

so that what elsewhere is considered a defect, is in England held to be a virtue. Also Baretti frequently refers to the 'best authors', but the author of the *Frusta Letteraria*, in which he frequently castigates those who defile the Italian language, is much less inclined to accept foreign loanwords and violently attacks translations from the French, both into English and into Italian, for their corrupting influence on the native purity of the two languages. It would be idle to dwell any further on concepts which form the stock-in-trade of the time throughout Europe, according to which the only form of language worth taking into consideration was that enshrined in literature, and in particular in the writings of the 'best authors', everything else being corruption and unworthy of the attention of men of learning.

3.1 In this connection it should be remembered that the 18th century, and particularly the second half of the century, was characterized by the growing influence of prescriptive grammars, the most widely acclaimed of which was that of Robert Lowth, who clearly stated his aims in the following words (Lowth 1762:X-XI):

The principal design of a Grammar of any Language is to teach us to express ourselves with propriety in that Language, and to be able to judge of every phrase and form of construction, whether it be right or wrong. The plain way of doing this, is to lay down rules, and to illustrate them by examples. But besides showing what is right, the matter may be further explained by pointing out what is wrong ... the latter method here called in, as subservient to the former, may perhaps be found in this case to be of the two the more useful and effectual manner of instruction.

The Italian grammars of English should be seen in this context, since they echo the frequent norms of their English sources. The numerous grammars of English published during the 18th century seem to be largely concerned with eradicating errors, which, as we have just seen, Lowth considered as perhaps the most important aspect of his work: their aim is to impose a uniform standard of correctness, rather than describe actual usage.⁷ Side by side with this, however, there continued to flourish in England a speculative interest in language, in a 'universal' or 'rational' grammar, the major example of which consisted of the work of James Harris (1751). It is also worth remembering that the first English translation of the so-called Grammar of Port-Royal was published two years after Harris's treatise.⁸ Authors like Lowth, far from rejecting universalism, make use of it for purely didactic purposes, applying it to the solution of problems of correct usage on the basis of what are assumed to be the 'general principles of language', which thus become the touchstone of

which forms are to be considered grammatical or otherwise.

The grammars of our five authors must therefore be seen against this general background, and their originality, if any, judged on the basis of the insights they provide as 'outside' observers of the facts of English. It will be our task to verify to what extent this status as 'outside' observers confers on their descriptions greater objectivity than that of their English sources.

3.2 These grammars can, however, also be studied from another viewpoint. We may ask ourselves if they can contribute in any way, however marginal, to the study of the English language during the 18th century. The language of the period of Pope and Johnson gives the impression of being much more 'modern' than that of Shakespeare or Milton, as being almost the same form of English as we use today. But a more accurate examination of the situation shows this to be an illusion. This is certainly not the place to go into the many complexities of the changes in the vocabulary and the semantic valency of the lexical items that have remained intact in English since the 18th century. Only a superficial reading of any 18th-century text could fail to bring out these differences. The changes in the grammatical structure of the language are perhaps more subtle and apparently of slight significance, but they exist and no serious study of the state of the language during the 18th century can afford to ignore them. Similar considerations apply in the field of phonology: the words 'look' the same, but did they sound the same? There exist certain internal indicators that should put us on our guard: can a poet like Pope, universally praised for his craftsmanship and for the harmony of his language, really be guilty of so many 'false rhymes'?⁹ That *joined* was pronounced [dʒaɪnd] and hence rhymed with *mankind* (cf. *An Essay on Criticism* ll. 187-88) is probably well known to scholars of the 18th century, even if they are not particularly interested in linguistic matters. The same can perhaps also be said for the 'short' value of *a* in words like *pass* [pæs] (cf. for example *passlax* in *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* ll. 79-80), but what of *air* and *star* (*The Rape of the Lock*, Canto I, ll. 107-108)?¹⁰ Can our Italian grammars, in which the English pronunciation is "accomodata all'italiana il più ch'è stato possibile [adapted as far as possible to that of Italian]" as Pleunus (L'autore a chi legge: unnumbered page) claims for his, throw any useful light on similar questions? In the following pages I shall attempt to verify to what extent they provide, if nothing else, corroborative evidence for the history of the pronunciation of English during the 18th century.

4.0 In considering the phonetic parts of these grammars — and all of them devote ample space to the pronunciation of English — we have to bear in mind three distinct problems.

4.1 In the first place we have to ask ourselves to what extent the authors perceive correctly and describe accurately the sounds of the English language. Unfortunately we know far too little about the authors of these grammars to be able to evaluate their degree of linguistic competence. The last of them, Dalmazzoni (1788), is severely critical of his predecessors, who are mentioned by name on the title-page of his book. He gives a long list of mistaken descriptions both of general phenomena and of the pronunciation of particular words and concludes that none of the previous grammars of English are either complete or correct. He is particularly critical of Barker, and goes so far as to question the latter's affirmation, contained in the Preface to his *Grammatica*, that he was born and bred in London. The possibility of erroneous description is of course one of the chief factors to be borne in mind in evaluating any teaching grammar, and it would be unwarrantably sanguine to suppose that such considerations did not apply in the 18th century just as much as they apply today. Mistakes may arise from wrongful descriptions of the pronunciation of particular words, or more interestingly, from our point of view, from the author's incapacity either to give an adequate account of the sounds of English (e.g., to describe sounds like /æ/ or /ɜ:/ in such a way as to help the foreign student to produce them correctly), or to identify the distinctive sounds of the language, in other words, to give a correct account of the phoneme structure of English. As regards the first problem, we may note that all the five authors make more or less successful attempts to describe the pronunciation of the sounds considered characteristic of, if not unique to the English language. Some of them, and in particular Baretti,¹¹ recommend the student to listen carefully to his teacher as the only valid method for acquiring a correct pronunciation, or even to spend some time in England. For example, Altieri (1728:23), in dealing with the sound of English *th*, says that it should be learned from "the mouth of those who speak English", adding that it is similar to the Greek theta and cause of great difficulty for the foreign learner.

I propose to examine in some detail the phonological structure of English as represented by our authors, but it can be said right away that their perception of the phonetic and phonological reality of English is throughout strongly conditioned by spelling conventions. Their chief effort seems to be directed at assigning phonetic values to certain letters or clusters of letters, rather than establishing, as we would prefer to do today, the phoneme inventory of the Eng-

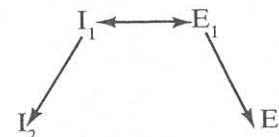
lish language and on the basis of this to determine, what, if any, the regular correspondences between phoneme and grapheme might be.

4.2 The second problem is to establish in the first place the distribution of the phonemes of 18th-century English and in the second place their exact phonetic realization. As I have already pointed out, these were by no means always the same as in present-day English, so that, while we have on the one hand to evaluate the correctness of the descriptions given, we must, on the other hand, consider to what extent these descriptions reflect the exact phonetic realization current at the time, and not the pronunciation of some form of contemporary English, quite apart from any changes taking place during the hundred years or so covered by our five grammars. If we are interested in using these textbooks as evidence for the pronunciation of English during the 18th century (but in that case, *which* pronunciation? for it seems highly unlikely that the situation during the 18th century was much more homogeneous than it is in present-day English), we must bear in mind the possibility of errors in transcription. If, on the contrary, we are concerned with determining to what extent our authors perceive and subsequently analyse correctly what they hear, then it is obvious that their description and analysis must be referred to the phonetic/phonological reality of the time, not to some more or less idealized variety of present-day English, such as the widely used (or at least, widely taught) Received Pronunciation (RP) of British English, as defined by phoneticians like A. C. Gimson. These considerations may seem obvious, but they are worth making. What is more, we must not forget the strong tendency of one author to build on the work of another, or, to put it more crudely, the tendency of authors of textbooks to copy one another, however 'new' or 'improved' they may claim their work to be in other respects. No one would be so naive as to expect this phenomenon to be peculiar to the 18th century.

4.3 The third variable derives from the first, or model language of our authors. That within the context of 18th-century Italian culture this meant Tuscan, even for those who were not themselves Tuscans (e.g., Baretto was a Piedmontese, who made great efforts to use 'pure' Tuscan in all his writings) seems pretty obvious. This consideration may be of some relevance in judging the way these authors treat the English vowel system, which obviously presents far greater problems than the consonant system as a whole, since they predictably take the Italian system as a point of departure. It would clearly be inappropriate in this article to deal with questions of Italian diachronic dialectology, but one observation is perhaps not out of order: the seven-term vowel

system of Italian is somewhat unstable, since in certain southern dialects the / ϵ / - / e / and / \circ / - / o / opposition is neutralized, whereas in the others there is considerable variation in the distribution of these phonemes as between individual lexical items, so that, for example, Tuscan (standard Italian) / $d\zeta\text{ɔ}rn\text{o}$ / (= giorno) becomes / $d\zeta\text{ɔ}rn\text{ə}$ / and vice versa / $n\text{o}d\text{o}$ / (= nodo) / $n\text{o}d\text{o}$ / in Campania. In any case, the / ϵ / - / e / and / \circ / - / o / opposition has a very low functional load in modern Italian, so that Italian speakers probably feel the distinction between half-open and half-close vowels to be more indicative of the regional varieties of Italian than of phonemically pertinent oppositions.¹² The other Italian vowels, it is generally admitted, are much more stable, although there may be considerable divergencies in the phonetic values they assume in the different regional varieties and dialects.

At this point we must surely ask ourselves: does contemporary Italian, with its multiplicity of regional varieties, constitute a valid term of comparison? Has the pronunciation of Italian, like that of English, undergone significant changes since the 18th century, so that we would have to take into consideration two possibly divergent variables? namely, the difference between modern English and the English described in the grammars, as well as the difference between the Italian of the same period and that of our own day. The situation might be represented graphically — discounting sociolinguistic variations — something like this:



where I_2 and E_2 represent contemporary Italian and English respectively and I_1 and E_1 the 18th-century forms of the two languages.

Fortunately the situation seems somewhat less complicated, and in spite of the great sociolinguistic variety of contemporary Italian, or possibly because of it, the pronunciation of standard (basically Tuscan) Italian does not seem to have changed significantly over the last 200-250 years; in fact, most histories of the Italian language deal only in the most summary fashion with the development of the sound system of modern Italian.¹³ It therefore seems legitimate to assume that the phonology of Italian used by our authors as their point of departure is substantially that of contemporary 'standard' Italian and that we may consequently use that form of the language as a valid term of comparison.

4.4 I have already briefly referred to the general approach to the teaching of pronunciation of our five authors, an approach which remained basically unaltered until perhaps 20-25 years ago, and which consists of taking the written form of the language as a point of departure and consequently attempting to assign, more or less consistently, phonetic values to the letters or to groups of letters of written English, in an attempt to discover what regularities or rules obtain for the phonetic realization of these graphic symbols. Such a procedure has much to be said for it, but perhaps less in the case of English than in that of many other languages, and it of course reflects the view current at the time, as we have already mentioned, of the absolute primacy of the written language over its spoken form. The distortions that such a method leads to are surely obvious and all too well known to practical language teachers: not only does the author tend to equate the letter with the sound, that is to equate it with the sound the letter represents in his native system, in our case Italian, but perhaps more significantly it makes it difficult for him to perceive certain distinctive oppositions which the notoriously asystematic spelling of English tends to obscure. As regards the first point, it should however be observed that our authors frequently attempt to describe as accurately as possible the sounds of English as they perceive them and to distinguish, for example, between different types of *a* and *e*, i.e., between the different phonemes represented in different contexts by these letters. Nevertheless, not infrequently there is still some confusion between the letter and its 'power' (a term frequently used by many earlier grammarians), that is to say, the phonetic values of the letters of the Latin alphabet as realized in Latin, or at least, as they were held to have been realized in classical Latin. Indeed, it would have been surprising if it had been otherwise, for the English language was studied through the two distorting filters of her irrational and asystematic spelling and the grammatical and phonological tradition going back to antiquity, a highly elaborate but somewhat imperfect instrument for an adequate analysis of the complexities of modern English.

5.0 Let us now examine some of the more significant points in the treatment of the English sound system of these grammars and the solution offered to them by our authors.

5.1 The only short vowels of Middle English to be modified in Modern English were [a] and [u]. It is generally agreed that by the 18th century [a] had become [æ] (Prins 1972:144-45; Ekwall 1965:23; Dobson 1957:548), the exact phonetic value of which the authors of our grammars attempt more or less suc-

cessfully to define. Pleunus (1701:2) simply states that this sounds "is more or less A", whereas Altieri (1728:2) calls it an "Italian A, but not too open". Baretto (1762:4), like his predecessors, talks of three different types of English *a*, which he calls 1) 'tenuous or close' (tenue o chiuso), 2) 'open' and 3) 'broad' (largo). /æ/ corresponds to type 2), which according to the author, 'resembles ours'. Are we therefore to assume that this phoneme had a somewhat more open pronunciation than its present-day version?¹⁴ The most satisfactory description, from the point of view of the phonetic value of this phoneme in contemporary British English, is given by Barker (1766:2), who says that this sound "partakes equally of the pronunciation of Italian *e* and *a* and cannot be acquired without the assistance of a teacher". Also Dalmazzoni (1788:2) gives a similar definition ("it resembles in equal measure *e* and *a*"), although he transcribes both /æ/ and /e/ as *e*, so that words like *mad* and *made* would both be represented by 'med'. Jones (1701:2) gives this phoneme as 'short a', whereas Johnstone (1764:23) says that there is no sound either in French or in Scottish (by which he evidently means the Scottish pronunciation of English) like English *a*, adding that it is a more open sound than 'long a' or 'broad a', terms which he uses to describe Modern English /e/ and /ɔ:/. Nevertheless, also on the basis of 17th-century evidence, it seems improbable that during the sixty years or so that separate the grammar of Pleunus from that of Barker, the phoneme in question moved from a more open position [a] to a slightly closer position [æ], and it therefore seems more likely that the definition of this phoneme in terms of [a] is to be attributed either to the influence of the spelling or to a faulty perception on the part of the authors, or perhaps to both factors, all the more so as 'long a', as in *name*, is by all of them correctly given as a kind of *e*, whose presence in the system probably induced them to classify a half-way sound between [a] and [e], as a 'kind of a' rather than as a 'kind of e'. The absence of an open front vowel [a] in the English system would no doubt reinforce this impression.

If the descriptions given by Pleunus and Baretto denote, as would seem likely, a faulty perception, the attribution of the same pronunciation to certain words that undoubtedly have /a:/ would seem to indicate a different phoneme distribution. Pleunus groups words like *rat* and *sad* together with *art*, and the same is true of Altieri, who also gives *cart* as an example, whereas for Baretto *glass* and *father* have the same sound as *fancy*. Barker states that *a+lm*; *a+rd*, *a+rm* and *-ance* have the same sound, and there is no doubt that he means a long form of [æ]. Dalmazzoni (p.3) not only clearly distinguishes between [æ] and [a:], i.e., between words like *cat* and *cart*, but also adds that

whereas *w+a* and *a+r* (e.g., *water*, *watch* and *art*) have [ɑ:], *w+a+r* and *a+l* (irrespective of whether preceded by *w* or not) are rounded to [ɔ:] ("are generally sounded almost like long o"), the examples given being *war*, *warm*, *fall*, etc. The perception of this sound, called by Johnston and Walker respectively 'broad a' and 'broad German a', as a form of [ɔ] is undoubtedly correct. The fact that the earlier authors classify *cat* and *cart* together under the same vowel seems to suggest a certain instability in the [æ]/[ɑ:] area during the early part of the century — in other words a 'sound change' taking place — and a subsequent stabilization towards the end of the century, with [ɑ:] in the cluster *a+r*,¹⁵ while *a+s* and *a+th* (e.g., *pass* and *path*) preserve [æ] until the end of the 18th century, and of course do so still in many parts of the English-speaking world.¹⁶ We may therefore conclude that our grammarians reflect fairly accurately the development of this sound: [ɑ:] is given by all except Dalmazoni in words that today have /ɔ:/, i.e., words with *au* and *aw*, Dalmazzoni (1788) being the only author to give a 'more advanced' pronunciation "like a long and open Italian o" (p.12). This [ɑ:] is described by Pleunus (p.3) simply as 'long a'; Altieri transcribes it as 'ah', but perhaps the most interesting description is that of Baretto (p.5), who speaks of a "long or Germanic a, which we could also called drawled (*strascinato*)". He adds that this sound is never found in the Tuscan pronunciation of Italian, but that he has frequently heard it in the speech of Neapolitans and also of Romans, an observation which evidently represents an attempt to indicate a more retracted form of the vowel (and therefore closer to English /ɑ:/) than is common in standard Italian.

The other short vowel which changed in passing from Middle English to Modern English was [u], which in its modern form is /ʌ/. Let us now see how this sound is described by our authors. All of them have some difficulty in defining the exact value of this vowel, though almost all of them realize that /ʌ/ is represented by both *u* and *o* in the spelling of modern English, or, in other words, that the vowels in *cup* and *love* belong to the same phoneme. All of our authors define this sound in some way or another as a 'kind of a'. Pleunus simply calls it 'o' (his examples are *cup* and *love*), whereas Altieri (p.13) says it is "like a close Italian o", his examples being, among others, *tub*, *cup*, and *shun*. Also Barker (p.22), who correctly attributes the sound in words spelled with both *u* and *o* to the same phoneme, defines it as 'short close o', and the same is true of Dalmazzoni (p.10), who speaks of 'o' or 'almost close o', with examples like *son*, *come*, *uncle*, and *supper*. The identification of ME [u] as some kind of *o* was common during the 17th century, as is shown by Dobson (1957:585-88). Only Baretto (p.14) does not define /ʌ/ in terms of some kind

of *o*, for he identifies it with a *u* type of sound ("a very short and extremely close sound almost like *u* ... almost like the *u* of the Lombards"), a definition that suggests [y], which, as far as English is concerned, is certainly out of the question. All of our authors, if we are to accept their descriptions as exact, therefore indicate a closer pronunciation of this phoneme than its present-day variety.¹⁷ We cannot of course exclude the possibility that the various formulations all go back to a common source and that the mistakes of one are copied by all the others, but the description given by Baretto, which suggests an ever closer variety than the other four, would seem to indicate a sound between [o] and [u], perhaps an unrounded variety like [ø], during the 18th-century. This interpretation is borne out also by other contemporary sources like Johnstone and Walker, who both define it in terms of *u*,¹⁸ so that Prins's contention (1972:151) that the pronunciation of [ʌ] was reached by the end of the 17th century seems somewhat questionable. Once again, recourse to the different realizations of this phoneme in present-day British dialects may be illuminating: [v] or [ø] is the regular pronunciation in the Midlands and in the North (cf. Orton et al. 1962 *passim*, and Hughes & Trudgill 1979:27-28). The more open and centralized version [ʌ] of RP is thus probably a recent development, which has its origin in the low varieties of the speech of the London region, whereas the more northern accents preserve a pronunciation closer to that of the 18th century, or at any rate a pronunciation considered 'polite' during that period.

It is generally agreed that in the 18th century Middle English [o] frequently became [a], or perhaps [ɑ], a pronunciation which is preserved in large parts of the United States, for example in words like *hot*.¹⁹ In fact three of our grammarians (Pleunus, Altieri, and Barker) describe it as a type of *a*. According to Barker (p.17) it is "like an Italian *a*", but it was surely less advanced than the sound in Italian words like *sala*. There was probably a good deal of variation in the pronunciation of this vowel in the 18th century, as is shown by the various ways it is described by our authors, who evidently had some difficulty in distinguishing its exact timbre. Baretto mentions two types of *o*, one long and the other short, without attempting a more exact description of the latter, whereas Dalmazzoni (p.8) says it "is pronounced as in Italian", without specifying whether he means /ɔ/ as in *cosa* or /o/ as in *nome*. According to Walker, the vowel in *not* is the short equivalent of *naught*, which suggests a rather closer version than the *a* mentioned by Pleunus, Altieri, and Barker. It might be argued that [ɑ] > [ɔ] in the course of the century, but Jones (1701) also gives it as *o*. Probably both forms coexisted during the 18th cen-

ture, but I should be reluctant to say which was more prestigious, and the uncertainty of our grammarians simply reflects this instability.

5.2 As for the 'long' vowels, i.e., those like /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, which are diphthongized in present-day English (or at any rate in RP), all our authors note the most obvious fact, namely, that final *e* in English (spelling) is silent, but produces lengthening of the preceding vowel. It is less easy to establish exactly what timbre they attribute to these phonemes. It is generally agreed that diphthongization is comparatively recent, i.e., did not take place before the early 19th century.²⁰ But even if there had been a certain tendency in the 18th century to pronounce words like *name* and *stone* with a slight off glide, it seems rather unlikely that our authors would have either perceived or thought it worth commenting on this fact. Pleunus (p.3) merely says that the vowel in *name* 'is E'; Altieri (p.2) speaks of vowel 'like open Italian E', with tallies well with Walker's description quoted in Note 20. Barker (p.3) and Dalmazzoni (p.2) simply call it 'like Italian e', without any further specification. Once again it is Baretto, who in spite of certain rather wild statements, has the most suggestive description. In fact he claims (p.4) that "the French pronounce it exactly as the English do in the word *pais*", and if this means, as I believe, French *pays* it indicates that diphthongization has already taken — or was already taking — place, and what is more with a rather closer vowel as its first element.

The vowel in words like *stone* has a similar history, diphthongization being recent. Altieri and Barker have some difficulty in defining the exact value of the vowel represented by the letter *o*. Almost all our authors insist on its length: Altieri says it is 'very long', and Barker and Dalmazzoni add that the *o* is long and open. Also Walker mentions a 'long and open sound', whereas most modern scholars maintain that as early as the 17th century this phoneme was realized as [o:]. Baretto (p.12) too insists on the length of this vowel and adds that *oa*, as in *groan*, is "dark and drawled (*oscuro e strascinato*)", but it is not clear whether this is intended to refer to an early form of diphthongization or whether he is unduly influenced by the spelling. Baretto defines the vowel in *bone* simply as 'long o', but whether he identifies this with the 'dark and drawled' sound referred to above — in other words, whether he is aware that they both belong to the same phoneme — is not made clear.

The exact timbre of this sound in the 18th century is, however, of little interest as compared with the distribution of the phonemes that in contemporary English are transcribed as /əʊ/ and /ɔ:/. The latter is the result of various

sounds falling together, e.g. *o+r* (with loss of [r] in RP), as in *fort*, *a+l*, as in *ball*, *au* and *aw*, as in *cause* and *saw*, *ough* and *augh*, as in *ought* and *caught*, and *w+a*, as in *water*. The situation in the 18th century is still somewhat uncertain: the distinction between pairs like *bold* and *bald*, clearly indicated in the Dictionaries both of Johnston (1764) and Walker (1791), was apparently one of aperture ([o:] - [ɔ:]) as compared with present-day British RP [əʊ] - [ɔ:], but also words that are homophones today, were during the 18th century kept apart, so that *fought* and *fort* differed not only on account of the absence/presence of [r], which has since disappeared in southern British English, but also because of the different degree of aperture of their respective vowels.²¹

To return to our Italian grammarians: Pleunus puts *ghost* and *rost* (i.e., *roast*) in the same list as *port* and *sport*, but gives a 'long a' for both *au* and *aw* (because, *saw*) as well as for *oug* (i.e., *ough*), as in *bought*. An identical description is found in Altieri, but he may be simply copying Pleunus. Baretto (p.5) calls the sound represented by *au* and *aw* "broad or Germanic or Teutonic, as the English say, or drawled or Neapolitan, or Roman as I would say" (also Walker talks of a 'broad German a'), but affirms that in *court* "the o is mellowed down (*s'ammollisce*)", which is not easy to interpret, but may mean a rather closer vowel. In Barker too we find words like *bold* and *born* in the same list; he says (p.10) "they are pronounced like a long open o", a definition valid also for *ou* (*course*) and *ow* (*low*), as well as for *oa* (*load*, but also *hoarse*), whereas *au* and *aw* are said to be pronounced like "a long and open Italian a, somewhat drawled (*con un po' di stascico*)", which would suggest lengthening, or perhaps the presence of a glide. Dalmazzoni (p.8) gives a list of words with 'o as in Italian' — but there is no mention of whether he means the open or close variety — a list which comprises *hot*, *stone*, and *more*: so much for the grammarian who claims that his description is by far more accurate than that of his predecessors! He is clearly strongly conditioned by spelling conventions, for he says (p.18) that *oa* always indicates a 'long open o', and adds a list which comprises not only *road* and *cloak*, but also *board* and *hoarse*. Where he differs from his predecessors is in assigning words in *au* and *aw* to the same phoneme, not to some phantom *a*, which is how not only most of the Italians, but the English phoneticians too describe it. What is somewhat perplexing in all our authors — but this too is true of the English writers on the subject — is the persistent definition of the sound in *stone* as an 'open o', since the whole history of this phoneme is one of gradual closure and diphthongization. All modern scholars assign a value of [o:] to this phoneme during the 18th century. A possible explanation might be the following: there

were during this period two distinct phonemes which we could indicate as /o:/ and /ɔ:/ (but words like *fort* would be assigned to the former, not the latter), the phonetic realization of which was however rather more open than these symbols suggest, i.e., more like [ɔ:] and [ɔ:], and these sounds could of course also be transcribed, following IPA conventions, as [o:] and [ɑ:], which would explain the recurrent description in terms of *a*. If this hypothesis is correct, the subsequent closure of the former and diphthongization from [o:] → [ov] > [əv] might well be due to the very closeness of the two vowels in question, in order to preserve an opposition which has very heavy functional load in modern English.

The history of diphthong /ai/ < M.E. /i:/ does not present any particular problems. There is some difference of opinion about the exact phonetic value of this diphthong than is common today,²² possibly [æi] in the case of Johnston, whereas Walker's description suggests [aɪ] or [ai]. Our authors, who all correctly identify this phoneme with a spelling of *i+cons. +e*, give different descriptions of this sound. Pleunus gives a transcription of 'ai', so that *pride* is transcribed as 'praide'. Altieri is uncertain about the most appropriate transcription, for he gives 'ai or ei', but inclines towards the latter, for he transcribes *time* as 'teime'. Baretto (p.9) has no doubts: he states that "i [i.e., 'long i'] sounds like ei in our words sei, rei", which is certainly highly dubious, unless we are to postulate a pronunciation not unlike that of certain affected present-day accents, a kind of 18th-century 'Oxford accent', but there is no independent evidence for such a hypothesis. Barker and Dalmazzoni both have 'ai'. Possibly the transcription in terms of 'ei' given by Altieri and Baretto indicates a less open first vowel element during the 18th century than is current today — and such an interpretation does not seem at all unlikely — but in any case 'ei like Italian sei' is certainly out of the question.

5.3 The status of present-day English /ɜ:/, as in *hurt* or *bird*, during the 18th century is far from clear, and not unnaturally our authors have some difficulty in describing it. The development of this phoneme is strictly dependent on the presence of a post-vocalic *r*, a problem I intend to deal with a little further on. But apart from the question whether this *r* was still audible or not, it had undoubtedly already modified the preceding [i] and [u], and in many, but not all cases also [e]. Both Johnstone and Walker treat *-ir* and *-ur* in terms of *u*, the sound of *hut*, which has already been discussed above. From what they say, it would appear that they consider the vowels in *hut* and *hurt* to belong to the same phoneme and that what makes them a minimal pair is the pre-

sence/absence of [r]. Walker in particular seems to want at all costs to establish a difference between *-ir* and *-er*, on the one hand, and *-ur*, on the other, but I suspect he is heavily conditioned by spelling conventions. He observes, for example, that "*fir*, a tree, is perfectly similar to the first syllable of *ferment*, though often corruptly pronounced like *fur*, a skin" (Walker 1791:15), which I take to mean that *-ir*, *-er*, and *-ur* had by his time all fallen together, presumably with a phonetic value of [ɜ:], but that he disapproved of this pronunciation. No doubt one of the reasons why this phoneme seems to cause both English and foreign grammarians and phoneticians difficulties is because it is a 'strange' sound, not found in the European languages they knew, and therefore seems somewhat anomalous to them.

How do the Italian grammarians deal with this problem? None of them recognize /ɜ:/ as an independent phoneme. The clusters *-ir* and *-ur* occur sporadically in the word lists given by our authors. Pleunus (p.10) transcribes *-ir* as 'er', but is uncertain as to the exact pronunciation of this, for he gives four 'exceptions' with a pronunciation of 'or': *shirt* (= "sciort", by which he may mean something like [ʃɔrt]), *bird*, *first*, and *third*, whereas *Thursday* is transcribed as "tharsde". Altieri (p.13) gives *burn* as "born" in a word list that illustrates *u*, i.e., present-day /ʌ/. The only other example he gives is *word*, which appears to have been pronounced [wɔrd], a pronunciation not unlikely for that period. For Barker too (p.17 and p.22) *-ir* and *-ur* correspond to a "short close o" (i.e., /ʌ/), so that *cup* and *burn* appear in the same word list. His only exception is *girl*, which he gives as 'gearl', which suggests a pronunciation similar to our /ɜ:/, but it is not clear why he singles out this particular example as being different from similar cases. An absolutely literal interpretation of 'gearl' in terms of Italian spelling conventions would give either [dʒearl] or [dʒearl], but he clearly does not intend this. Dalmazzoni's only example of *-ur* (p.10) is *burn* ('almost close o'), which appears in a word list together with *dust*, *supper*, etc., whereas *-ir* (*firm*, *Sir*) is given as 'er' (p.7). A manuscript annotation in the Pesaro copy used by me says 'almost like *oe* in French', which is certainly nearer the mark. The only author to realize that a description in terms of the 'traditional' vowels is inadequate is Baretto (1762), who in a characteristic passage affirms (p.10):

[*-ir*, as in *flirt*, *first*, *shirt*] has a rather ugly indefinable sound (un certo mal suono poco sensibile) quite different from our *i*. I can give no idea of this sound in words; I shall only say that it is a very unmusical sound (non sensibile punto di musica), and if the voice of a singer were to dwell on it even for a moment, it would make every Italian, and perhaps even the English themselves laugh.

If we are to interpret this in a literal sense, it is patently untrue: [ɜ:] is a vowel in the full sense of the word and thus normally completely voiced and consequently capable of conveying musical pitch, but clearly this is not what Baretti means. He was in no sense a phonetician, though he evidently had a good ear, as certain of his formulations indicate; what he is trying to convey is that this vowel is very different from anything in Italian or perhaps French — to what extent French [œ] is ‘auditorily similar’ to English [ɜ:] is a largely subjective judgment — and cannot therefore be described to Italian readers in terms of their own vowel system, so that the only valid advice he feels he can give his students (apart from the value judgment that it is ugly and unmusical, as ‘foreign’ sounds are frequently considered to be) is to listen to a native speaker and to imitate him as far as possible. After over two hundred years of practical language teaching and nearly a hundred years of scientific phonetics, this advice surely still holds good, only things are made easier for us today, since the native speaker’s voice is readily available on tapes and cassettes even in the most outlying, godforsaken corner of the globe. Baretti’s merit is not that he has described in any way accurately the sound of English /ɜ:/, but that he was able to recognize it as something strange and outlandish, in other words as a sound that does not correspond to anything in the Italian phonological system, even if he does not go much beyond telling the readers of his grammar that this is so.

5.4 A few words only about the other diphthongs: we have already seen how Pope rhymes *joined* with *mankind*, that is, pronounced *oi* as [ai]. The change to [ɔi], in accordance with the spelling, was a characteristic development of the 18th century. Johnston in 1764 gives the latter pronunciation and so does Walker in 1791, adding that a pronunciation in [ai], which makes *boil* a homophone of *bile*, is vulgar: in this case, therefore, a ‘traditional’ pronunciation sinks in the social scale and becomes substandard, whereas we have already seen in other cases the opposite tendency, that is, of a vulgarism rising in the prestige accorded to it so as to become a standard form. We can trace this development in our five grammars: Pleunus and Barker²³ give [ai], but almost at the same date Baretto seems to accept [ɔi], and the same is true of Dalmazzoni. As for the centring diphthongs, /ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/, /ɔə/ > /ɜ:/, their development is strictly related to that of post-vocalic *r* and thus similar to that of /ɜ:/, which I have already dealt with. Their status as independent phonemes at this period — at any rate during the early part of the century — is somewhat doubtful.

5.5 Before passing on to the consonants, something should be said about the vowels in unaccented syllables. Johnston deals briefly and Walker at much greater length with this problem, which is of course fundamental in any systematic account of the phonology of modern English. The question was therefore not ignored by contemporary English phoneticians. At first sight it would appear as if our Italian grammarians were unaware that the unaccented syllables in English present a problem. Pleunus (1701:6), for example, says *ey* in *galley* and *hackney* correspond to “E like in the Italian word *bene*, that is close e (*e serrata*)”, but to ‘i’ in *honey* and *monkey*. From the way he puts it, it would seem that he is referring to the first vowel in *bene*, which is certainly somewhat curious: the only explanation I can offer for this distinction between a value of [e] and [i] for an unstressed final syllable *ey* is that he is unsure about their exact pronunciation; in other words, he fails to identify them as the same phoneme. Neither Altieri nor Dalmazzoni, in spite of the fact that latter claims to be far more accurate in his descriptions than any of his predecessors, think the matter worth attention. Only Baretto and Barker deal with the problem. The former, though he puts words like *about*, *across*, and *adjourn* in a list containing ‘open a’, i.e., [æ], shows elsewhere an awareness of the peculiar quality of [ə], for he says (Baretto 1762:7) that *e* (= [ə]) has “another obscure and almost imperceptible sound at the end of certain words ... and it is impossible to give an Italian an idea of it, except by actually hearing it”. His examples are *shapen*, *metre*, *theatre*, but also *thistle* were “obscure sound” evidently refers to the ‘dark’ or velarized [ɪ]. He is also aware of the fact that words like *favour* and *honour* must be treated in a similar way. Barker (1766:7) treats the unstressed vowels in terms of rapidity of pronunciation and elision. He remarks that “given the rapidity of the speech of the English, in words of more than one syllable ending in *ar*, *ard*, *age*, the true pronunciation of the vowel is changed”, so that *altar* becomes ‘alter’, *carriage* ‘cearrige’, and *vizard* ‘vizerd’. [ə] or [ɪ] in *kennel* and *parcel* are given as ‘close Italian i’ (surely no nearer to [ə] than ‘e’), but without a vowel in words like *evil* and *devil*. In words like *heaven* and *bitten* too the vowel is given as elided, so that we read ‘hev’n’, ‘bitt’n’, etc., and such spellings were fairly common in the late 17th and early 18th century. Elsewhere, in words ending in *-le*, ‘dark l’ is described thus (p. 12): the *e* before *l* is pronounced like close *i*, but is scarcely heard”. In words with final *-re* (*centre*, *mitre*), [ə] is described (p. 11) as ‘close Italian o’, which represents an attempt to capture the particular quality of the schwa sound. In other words, Barker seems to be aware of the fact that these vowels are qualitatively different from the ‘normal’ vowels in accented syllables and

therefore require special treatment, though he has too naive an approach to the problems of pronunciation to be able to give an adequate account of them.

6.0 The treatment of the English consonants poses far fewer problems. All our authors confine themselves to listing the consonants of English and to remarking on one or two peculiarities in spelling, such as *wr* for [r] (Pleunus and Dalmazzoni), *kn* for [ŋ] (all five), silent *l* in words like *chalk* and *half*, or silent *b*, in the cluster *mb* (e.g., *lamb*). All of them are concerned with the correct pronunciation of *c*, especially in the cluster *ch*, given correctly as [tʃ], except for words of Greek origin, where it is [k]. Also the correct pronunciation of *s* ([s] or [z] is discussed. There is some uncertainty about the exact status of *w*. Pleunus considers it a vowel, and his transcription of words like *war* as 'uar' clearly shows the influence of Italian spelling conventions in a word like *uomo*. Altieri uses a curious transcription 'gu', e.g., 'gual' for *wall*. Baretta (p.29), after a long discussion as to whether *w* is a vowel or a consonant, says "we have no sound resembling it in Italian", which is patently wrong and no doubt due to spelling conventions.

6.1 Not unnaturally *th* causes some problems for our authors. Pleunus (p.24) affirms that it is

impossible to give a sure rule for the pronunciation of these letters, which only use can teach ... at times it is pronounced like an aspirated D ... sometimes it is more or less S ... In pronouncing Th as D or S you have to hiss with your tongue against the teeth.

Baretta gives a similar description and Altieri too insists that only practice can teach the exact pronunciation of these sounds. Barker, unlike the others, does not distinguish the fortis from the lenis consonant, but in articulatory terms gives the most satisfactory description (p.51) "it is pronounced with a slight aspiration, touching at the same time the upper teeth with the tongue", all of his examples being of [θ], whereas Dalmazzoni only gives examples of the lenis fricative.

6.2 The only one of our five grammarians to realize that *-ng* does not represent [ŋg] in modern English, but simply [ŋ] is Baretta, who is however concerned only with the *-ing* ending in the gerund/present participle forms of the verb. Of these he says that the *g* is silent, which taken literally would mean that a word like *leading* was pronounced [li:dm], but though such pronunciations may have existed, as spellings like *leadin'* indicate — but these more probably stand for [li:dŋ] — he is more likely to mean the sound used today, i.e.,

[li:dŋ]. None of the others consider the question worth mentioning, and though I should guess that they all used the pronunciation current today, they were probably not aware that the spellings represented only imperfectly what they were saying.

6.3 But the most significant development in the English consonant system during the 18th century was certainly the loss of post-vocalic *r* in many, especially British, varieties of present-day English. There is evidence going back to the early 17th century of two types of realizations of /r/: a 'strong', i.e., rolled form in word initial position, and a more 'liquid' pronunciation in medial or final position.²⁴ It was this weak or liquid form that was gradually lost during the 18th century,²⁵ leading to the distribution current in present-day RP and southern British English in general. There is general agreement among scholars that the loss of *r* occurred towards the end of the 18th century.²⁶ The first English writer to comment on this fact was Walker 1791, who says, in the general part of the Dictionary, that in England, especially London (but not in Ireland), *r* in words like *lard*, *bard*, *card*, etc. is pronounced "so much in the throat" as to resemble a prolonged middle or Italian *a* (*laad*, *baad*, *caad*, etc.). Walker clearly does not approve of this pronunciation and generally transcribes such words with *r*. About half a century before Walker, two French grammars of English published in 1740 and 1752 and cited by Horn & Lehnert (1954:915), suggest a very weak consonant, but such forms were evidently considered 'vulgar', and hence not suitable for teaching to foreign learners.

None of our five authors seems to be aware of the changes taking place, and all, undoubtedly influenced by what they saw rather than by what they heard, insist that *r* is pronounced 'as in Italian'. Baretta (p.25), in a phrase typical of his style of writing, says that "R has the same surly (*cagnesco*) sound as in Italian", which suggests a strongly rolled [r], certainly not the frictionless continuant in use today, and evidently in Walker's day too, as we have just seen. One would have thought that the general tendency to elide post-vocalic *r* was sufficiently pronounced during the mid-18th century to warrant some kind of comment — some of our authors animadvert on rather lesser matters — but, unless we are to revise our dating of the loss of [r], bringing it forward by some 40-50 years, we can only say that this 'collective deafness' must be due to the heavy conditioning exercised by the spelling, to a feeling that 'since it is written, it must be there', which informs so much writing on language at this date.

7.0 The strictly grammatical parts of these books are certainly far less interesting than their treatment of English pronunciation. There are two reasons for this: in the first place, they still follow very closely the grammatical models of Latin, and the same is true of many of the English grammars of the period, on which they are largely based. In the second place, their treatment of the grammatical structure of the language, unlike that of phonetics, only rarely throws any light on contemporary usage, also because with the enormous amount of material at our disposal, it would be highly ingenuous to expect such a thing. The grammatical parts of these works are almost entirely devoid of originality or insights into the nature of language and the way it functions, and we can therefore deal with them rapidly without going into great detail. It would be even less reasonable to expect them to constitute in any way a contribution to a theory or methodology of the teaching of modern languages, and far be it from me to make any such claims for them. I therefore propose to examine briefly one or two aspects of their treatment of the grammatical structure of English.

7.1 All our authors tacitly assume a knowledge of Latin on the part of their readers. Their brief definitions of grammatical terminology are of the kind that can be found in any grammar, whether of Latin or one of the modern languages, from the 16th century onwards,²⁷ definitions which have their origin in the classical tradition and are heavily biased in favour of a semantic, rather than a functional approach to the grammatical categories. There is no point in pursuing in the present context matters well known to all historians of the European grammatical tradition. In following this tradition, our authors mainly concentrate on the morphology of the language — hardly very productive as far as English is concerned — with long lists of exceptions, often merely concerned with spelling conventions, whereas syntactic relations are given scant attention.

7.2 The traditional nature of the grammatical description of our five authors is well illustrated by their treatment of the noun and the article. Baretto (1762:35) does observe that

the relations of the noun with the words that precede or follow them are not expressed by cases or changes in their endings, as in Latin, but by articles, or prepositions, as in Italian.

Similar observations are to be found in the other grammars too, but in spite of this, they give the full panoply of six cases. A more careful reading of Wallis (1653) — and some of our authors mention him as a source — might have sown

some doubt in their minds about the universal nature of these categories, for if the cases are replaced by prepositions, why just six and not a number equal to the prepositions in the language? The articles are given together with the nouns, for example, genitive *of the*, dative *to the*, etc. There is some attempt to describe the use of the article in English, the best of which is found in Baretto, but the problems of deixis in general are not touched upon.

7.3 There is little of interest in their treatment of either the adjective (mainly concerned with the form of the comparative/superlative in *-er/-est* or *more/most*), or in that of the personal pronouns, where *thou* still turns up as the regular form of the second person singular. A similar recourse to forms that were definitely archaic by the 18th century is found in their treatment of the relative pronouns: Pleunus, Altieri, and Barker all give *that* and *which* with both inanimate and animate antecedents, but there can be no doubt that *which* in these contexts was by this time antiquated,²⁸ for Addison's animadversions must have been well known.²⁹ Altieri (1728:150), in dealing with ellipsis, mentions a zero form, giving as an example "This is the man I killed", but says nothing about the permissible contexts of this form. As he himself admits, he is following Greenwood (1711) in this, and Barker too goes back to the same source, or perhaps even copies Altieri. *That* is given as a relative pronoun by all our authors except Dalmazzoni.

The treatment of the conjunctions and prepositions consists basically of a word list and I therefore propose to conclude my remarks by briefly examining our authors' approach to the verb system in English.

7.4 The uncertain and hybrid nature of these grammars comes out most clearly in their treatment of the verb: they set out to teach the grammar of English to those who do not know it, and hence they have to give a comparative account of the two verb systems, e.g., *I love = amo*, etc., with long lists of exceptions, especially as regards the spelling. But they also have to explain certain verb forms for which there are no obvious correspondences in Italian, and which therefore tend to create difficulties for the student. While attempting to satisfy both these needs, they frequently show themselves to be somewhat uncertain about the structures peculiar to English — the purely surface structures — precisely because they are so heavily conditioned by the Latin tradition. Thus we find pages of 'paradigms' in the various tenses, which are a direct adaptation to English of the Latin-bound tradition, but they are much less illuminating about certain obligatory rules (as they certainly were by the mid-18th century in most contexts) concerning the use of *do* in interrogative and

negative sentences. Their explanations concerning the progressive form of the verb too are frequently unsatisfactory, full of phrases like 'the English often say' — but how was the hapless reader to know whether 'often' meant an optional rule, or an obligatory context-bound rule? Such questions are largely left unanswered. In this respect, the detailed rules given about how to relate certain English spellings to the pronunciation, however wrong-headed they might appear at times, are certainly more productive for the learner.

Let us now look at some of the verb forms as expounded in these grammars. Pleunus (1701) talks of a simple and of a compound present, the latter being represented by *do*+inf. and indicating emphasis. As regards the past, he has an Imperfect or First Perfect (*I loved*), and a Second Perfect, and remarks (p.67) that "The English do not have the delicacy of the Italian in their tenses, using both the first and the second indifferently", which is certainly not true: possibly he means, but does not express clearly, that the three forms of Italian *amavo*, *amai*, and *ho amato* correspond to two forms in English (*I loved*, *I have loved*) and therefore have a different distribution, or to use a Saussurean term, a different *value*. He does note that English has a series of forms composed of *be*+gerund, which somehow indicate duration, or as he says (p.88) "duration of the instant", but his explanation is far from clear. He has a section (pp.86-88) devoted to the "way to use a verb in all its modes, affirmative, interrogative and negative", in which the *do* transformation is recorded, but this consists of a list of examples rather than a systematic treatment of the rules governing this transformation. He also deals with the interrogative in his section on pronouns, where he insists on the necessary inversion of subject and verb, and also talks of a 'sign' (*segno*), i.e., auxiliary, which precedes the noun in these cases, giving an order 'aux.+noun/pronoun+verb'. A similar formulation is also found in Altieri, again in the section on pronouns.

Altieri's (1728) classification of the tense system is in line with the classical tradition, since he talks of three tenses (the Italian term *tempo* covers both 'tense' and 'time'), namely present, future, and past, the latter being subdivided into 'imperfect', 'perfect', and 'pluperfect', in spite of the fact that in his preface (p.V) he specifically mentions his debt to Wallis and Greenwood, both of whom only recognize two tenses, i.e., the morphologically distinct forms, in their system. The form *I did love* is called 'imperfect', whereas *I loved* is classified as 'perfect' or 'definite preterite', and *I have loved* as 'first pluperfect preterite' or 'indefinite preterite'. Altieri is clearly aware that there is an incongruity between the English and Italian tense systems, but it may be

doubted whether his classification (for example, p.112: "Alexander did take or took great pleasure in drinking") is either of great help to the foreign student of English, or illuminating in other ways. The future is given by Altieri, as well as by the other grammarians, in its 'canonical' *shall/will* form. He does, however, observe that future time in English is expressed also by means of the present tense, but the examples he gives are of simple present tense forms, rather than the progressive forms that would be more common in present-day usage.

Baretti (1762), in spite of his excellent knowledge of the English language, gives a rather unsatisfactory account of the English verb: he dedicates a great deal of space to the irregular verb forms, but then observes (p.93) that only practice will enable the learner to master "these bizarre (stravaganti) variations of the preterite". He also mentions active verbs that are transformed into neutral verbs, but his examples are rather odd, to say the least: *I love/I am in love* and *I strike/I am now striking*, which suggest that he means something like 'progressive aspect' by the term 'neutral'; but apart from giving these examples, he does not pursue the question. His treatment of the use of *do* is equally vague and hasty, for he merely observes (p.88) "*do* is frequently joined to the negative participle" and "much use is made of this verb [i.e., *do*] in interrogative sentences" — observations which, though undoubtedly correct, cannot have been of much help to the users of his grammar. He candidly admits that he finds it extremely difficult, even after eight years of determined study of the language, to define the exact difference between *shall* and *will* and to give an infallible rule for their use. This is of some interest, for it is obviously based on personal observation rather than study of the grammars available to him, as in fact he claims, for the 'canonical' distinction between first person *shall* and second and third person *will* had by this time become fully established in the most widely used grammars of the English language, as well as being given in the grammars of his Italian predecessors Pleunus and Altieri.³⁰

Barker's (1766) treatment of the verb is rather more complete than that of his predecessors, as well as being *didactically* more useful to the prospective learners of the language. His inadequacy lies in his inability to match up the three modes of expressing past actions in Italian (*amavo/amai/ho amato*) with the two English forms (*I loved/I have loved*) — a well-known crux in the contrastive treatment of English and Italian, since the English forms have a different valency from their Italian counterparts, so that, instead of a scheme something like this³¹ —

	Italian	English	
(<i>amai</i>)	A	X	(<i>I loved</i>)
(<i>amavo</i>)	B	X	
(<i>ho amato</i>)	C	Y	(<i>I have loved</i>)

we have:

(<i>amai</i>)	A	X	(<i>I loved</i>)
(<i>amavo</i>)	B	X	
(<i>ho amato</i>)	C	Y	(<i>I have loved</i>)
(<i>amo</i>)	D	Z	(<i>I love</i>)

Barker's rules are concise and avoid the vagueness of his predecessors; we no longer get phrases like 'the English often say', or 'the English prefer', but obligatory rules, such as those given for the use of *do* in interrogative and negative sentences, or for the progressive forms. The treatment of these forms is insufficient in Dalmazzoni (1788), who however recognized that English has a dual system: a two-term tense system and a system with what he calls 'signs' (auxiliaries), i.e., *be* (for the passive), *have* and the modal auxiliaries. Unfortunately he does not employ this insight in order to give a satisfactory formulation of the forms in which *be* is followed by the *-ing* form of the verb. Dalmazzoni at the end of the century clearly had access to more adequate descriptions of English than some of his predecessors, but the way his material is set out for his Italian learners shows a certain amount of originality, or at least pin-points certain peculiarities of English grammar that his Italian students might find difficulty with. Two examples are perhaps sufficient to demonstrate this. In talking of the 'second rule of the genitive' (pp.51-52) he mentions that if one thing is made of another or serves for a particular purpose, this is expressed by a "simple transposition of the word" (N+N), his examples being *gold watch*, *silk stockings* and *snuff box*, *table cloth*, and *wine glasses*. A few pages further on (p.57) he explains that the English verb frequently changes its grammatical valency without a change of form ('functional shift'), giving a number of examples (*to love*, *to fight*, *to hope*) in which the form of the verb coincides with that of the noun: whether the examples given do in fact represent a true functional shift, rather than the casual falling together of noun and verb forms in the course of the history of English phonology, is another matter.

These observations clearly do not pretend to give an exhaustive account of how our five 18th-century authors present the facts of English grammar to their Italian readers: it is to be doubted whether such an account would be of

much interest today. What has been said should be sufficient to illustrate the way they attempt to solve both the problems of accounting for, and the teaching of the grammar of English. Nothing need be said about the 'familiar phrases' and other examples of practical English which accompany all these grammars.

8. Let us now see what conclusions can be drawn from our examination of these five grammars. As teaching grammars we have seen that their phonetic parts attempt to provide the Italian student with detailed (if not always reliable) guidance to the admittedly difficult problems connected with the pronunciation of English, whereas their grammatical treatment is frequently vague and casual. From a linguistic point of view too, some interest attaches to their treatment of the sound system of English, if nothing else because it provides corroborative evidence of the state of English phonology at the time and of the sound changes taking place, whereas the purely grammatical parts of these works are of slight interest today. From a wider standpoint, these honest, if somewhat pedestrian attempts to teach the English language to an Italian public, are evidence of a growing interest in 18th-century Italy not only in the English language as such, but also in England herself and the culture she represented.

Author's address:

Thomas Frank
Istituto di Filologia Moderna
Univertità di Napoli
Via Porta di Massa 1
I-80133 NAPOLI, Italy

NOTES

1) For the history of Anglo-Italian relations during this period, and especially for the growing interest in England by Italian men of letters, cf. Graf (1911:221-30).

2) The Tuscan ambassador Rinucci sent to London on the occasion of the coronation of George I in order to plead for British support for 'Tuscan liberty', i.e., for a policy of non-intervention in Tuscan affairs by the major European powers, mentions the "enormous trade carried on by the English in the port of Legorn" (Inghirami 1843:X,528.)

3) All quotations from the five grammars taken into consideration are translations from the original Italian, unless otherwise stated. Page references are given only where the actual words of the authors are quoted.

4) There would appear to be two 'second editions' of this work: Altieri 1750 and Altieri 1751. *The National Union Catalog* calls the latter a "reissue". Although I have not carried out a systematic collation of the two editions, they seem to me to be identical, except for the title-page. For example, the device on the unnumbered page ("Spiegazione delle Breviature") facing p.1 is clearly printed from the same plate in both editions, and the pagination too is identical. I am inclined to think that the same printing was used, with different title-pages for the London and for the Venice edition. The curious wording "with authority", not usually found in books printed in England in the 18th century, and the fact that p.538 of Vol.2 of the London edition is followed by a list of books published by "Jo. Baptista Pasquali Bibliopola Venetus, ad Annum MDCCLII" leads me to believe that the book was printed in Italy, but what conclusions can be drawn from this it is difficult to say.

5) For example, Mrs. Thrale (Thrale 1776-1809:47) writes of him: "his accent was wonderfully proper; his Language always copious ... always nervous, always full of various allusions, flowing too with Rapidity worthy of Admiration far beyond the Power of nineteen in twenty Natives."

6) For example, Altieri (1728:V) affirms that he took inspiration (*lumi e notizie*) from the work of Wallis (1653) and Greenwood (1711), the former in particular a milestone in the history of the study of the English language.

7) The whole problem of 'correctness' is treated by Leonard (1929).

8) Harris's *Hermes* appeared in 1751; the first English translation of the Grammar of Port-Royal in 1753.

9) False or 'eye' rhymes were undoubtedly common during the Romantic period: it cannot be seriously supposed that frequent rhymes such as *mankind* and *behind* with *wind* (the noun) really reflect a pronunciation of *wind* as [waɪnd] in 1819, i.e., the date when Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* was written. In the same poem *hearth* is made to rhyme with *earth* and *wear* with *fear* and *hear*.

10) The answer is almost certainly that *star* was pronounced [ster]; for the treatment of *a+r*, see below.

11) "It should be pointed out that these sounds are described only roughly and not with musical exactness, which it would not be possible to do in writing" (Baretti 1762:8).

12) For a brief account of the Italian vowel system and its principal regional varieties, cf. Canepari (1979:193-230).

13) Cf. Migliorini (1958:537-38), who is mainly concerned with the shift from /uə/ to /ɔ/ in modern Italian. The evidence he cites regarding 18th-century Tuscan indicates the presence of a phonemic opposition between /e/ and /ɛ/ and between /o/ and /ɔ/, similar to that of the contemporary form of the language.

14) /æ/ tends to be realized as [a] or even [ɪ] in the North, whereas it tends to be closer, [ɛ] or even [e] in London as well as in certain affected forms of RP; cf. Gimson (1962:101) and Horn & Lehnert (1954:142-43).

15) Cf. Prins (1972:145) and Horn & Lehnert (1954:673). Johnston (1764), for example, gives *car* and *cast* with the same vowel as *cat*, but *card* and *carve* with a long vowel, which presumably means for him *ar* = [æɪ], but *ar*+cons. = [ɑ:r].

16) *Pass* ([pa:s]/[pæs]) is one of the chief isoglosses that divide southern from northern British English; cf. Hughes & Trudgill (1979:28-30). The pronunciation in [æ], discounting lengthening and possible other factors, is of course the most common in the United States.

17) Cf. also Horn & Lehnert (1954:168-75) for frequent identifications of this phoneme in terms of [o].

18) E.g., Walker (1791:22) calls it "simple short u" and adds that *done* and *son* might well be written *dun* and *sun*, but he does not mention a more open quality, nearer to [ɪ] of this sound.

19) Cf. Prins 1972:131 and Horn & Lehnert (1954:151-61). Gimson (1962) transcribes this vowel as *ʌʊ*, indicating thus its almost completely open nature, which therefore differs from the corresponding American phoneme, which is a lip-spread vowel, whereas the British version has some degree of rounding.

20) Cf. Prins (1972:137,143) and Horn & Lehnert (1954:325-36), who both give [e] for this period. Walker (1791:10) says that "It [i.e., the vowel in words like *trade*] exactly corresponds to the sound of the French *e* in the beginning of words like *être* and *tête*", which not only excludes the possibility of diphthongization, but also suggests [ɛ] rather than [e]. Cf. Altieri's formulation discussed below. Gimson (1962:124), perhaps basing himself on the evidence of Walker (1791), gives [ɛ] for the 18th century.

21) Cf. Ekwall (1965:53) and the words in question in Walker (1791), who defines the vowel in *fort* as 'close' and that in *fought* as 'open'; cf. also Strang (1970:110).

22) Cf. Horn & Lehnert (1954:212-19) and Ekwall (1965:49-50). Both give a pronunciation something like [əɪ] for the 17th century. Cf. also Gimson (1962:124-25), who gives contemporary variants like [æɪ], [ɪɪ] or even [ʌɪ].

23) Possibly Barker, writing in Italy in 1766, gives the pronunciation current in his youth (but unfortunately we know nothing about his date of birth), but by this time antiquated and substandard in England.

24) Jonson (1640:491). [r] is traditionally called a 'liquid', but Jonson is probably here referring to a pronunciation similar to the frictionless continuant [ɹ] of contemporary British English, in contrast with a 'traditional' rolled *r* [r].

25) Wyld (1914:213-14) quotes 15th and 16th century spellings showing the loss of post-vocalic *r*, especially before [s], [ʃ] and [tʃ], but while this is interesting, as it shows a tendency, it does not necessarily mean that such pronunciations had become generalized at such an early date. Cf. also Dobson (1957:992), who is however sceptical about the evidence alleged to show early loss of post-vocalic *r*.

26) Cf. Horn & Lehnert (1954:915), Ekwall (1965:80), Wyld (1914:213-14). Strang (1970:102) affirms that "An old man at this date [i.e., 1768] might have had a trace of post-vocalic /r/", which suggests a generalized loss of the consonant around 1750, but she does not say whether she is thinking of a Londoner, Northerner, Westcountryman, etc., nor does she specify his social standing; the former consideration certainly had (as it still has) some bearing on the subject, and the latter probably so.

27) The most original grammarian was undoubtedly Wallis (1653); also Cooper (1685) is not devoid of interest, since he cheerfully mingles the Latin tradition with concepts derived from the inventors of universal language systems; cf. Frank (1976:447-50).

28) Barker (1766:159) gives the following example: "Is that the Man which you would talk to?", which sounds most unconvincing as an 18th century form. The fact that the OED gives a number of examples from the early 18th century of *which* with an animate antecedent (the last example comes from *Pickwick Papers* in 1836) does not prove anything about its frequency.

29) Addison (*Spectator*, 30 May 1711): "The humble Petition of WHO and WHICH", in which he is particularly concerned with 'correcting' the 'erroneous' grammar of "Our Father which art in Heaven" of the authorized version of the Bible of 1611.

30) For the whole question of the *shall/will* rules, see Fries (1925) and (1940:150-67), Hulbert (1947) and the recent reinterpretation of the evidence and consequent revision of Fries's formulation in Moody (1977).

31) The scheme is obviously somewhat simplified, particularly as it does not take into account the category of aspect in English ('progressive' vs. 'non-progressive').

REFERENCES

- Addison, Joseph. 1711. *The Spectator*. Critical ed. by Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Alston, Robin Carfrae. 1965. *A Bibliography of the English Language*. Leeds: E. J. Arnold & Sons.
- Altieri, Ferdinando. 1726. *Dizionario italiano ed inglese. A Dictionary Italian and English, containing all the words of the Vocabulary della Crusca, and several hundred more taken from the most approved authors: with proverbs and familiar phrases. To which is prefixed a table of authors quoted in this work*. 2 vols. London: W. J. Innys.
- 1728. *A New Grammar Italian-English and English-Italian*. London: William Innys. (The English grammar occupies pp. 293-405 of the volume. Copy consulted in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Shelfmark Vet. A.4.c.2030.)
- 1736. *Grammatica inglese, che contiene un'esatto [sic] e facil metodo per apprendere questa Lingua*. Venezia: Gio. Battista Pasquali. (Copy consulted in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Shelfmark Branc. 62.A.38.)
- 1750. *Dizionario italiano ed inglese ... The Second Edition, Corrected and Improved by Evangelist Palermo, Teacher of the Italian Tongue ... With authority*. London: William Innys.
- 1751. *Dizionario italiano ed inglese ... The Second Edition, Corrected and Improved ... With authority*. Venice [sic]: John Baptist Pasquali.
- Arnauld, Antoine and Claude Lancelot. 1660. *Grammaire Generale [sic] et Raisonnée contenant les fondements de l'art de parler ...* Paris: Chez Pierre Le Petit. (Repr., Menston: Scolar Press, 1967.)
- Arnauld, Antoine and Claude Lancelot. 1753. *General and Rational Grammar, containing the Fundamental Principles of the Art of Speaking ... Translated from the French of Messieurs de Port-Royal*. London: J. Nourse.
- Baretti, Giuseppe. 1760. *A Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages*. London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes.
- 1762. *A Grammar of the Italian Language ... to which is added an English Grammar for the Use of the Italians*. London: C. Hitch L. Hawes. (Copy consulted in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Shelfmark Branc. 78.H.42.)
- 1763-65. *La Frusta Letteraria di Aristarco Scannabue*. Critical ed. by Luigi Piccioni, 2 vols. Bari: G. Laterza, 1932.
- 1778. *Grammatica della lingua inglese ... Rivista, e corretta ed arricchita di Dialoghi, e di Lettere Mercantili*. Livorno: Gio. Tommaso Masi e Comp.
- Barker, Edward (Eduardo). 1766. *Nuova e Facile Grammatica della Lingua Inglese per gl'Italiani ... Pubblicata da' suoi Scolari*. Siena: Luigi e Benedetto Bindi. (Copy consulted in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Shelfmark XXXVIII C.11.)
- 1802. *Grammatica della lingua inglese per uso degli italiani ... prima edizione napolitana con diligenza corretta, ed accresciuta di un breve saggio sulla Pronunzia della Lingua Inglese*. Napoli: Domenico Sangiacomo.
- Boswell, James. 1791. *Life of Johnson*. London: H. Baldwin & Son, for Charles Dilly. (Critical ed. by George Birkbeck Hill, revised by L. F. Powell, 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).
- Brightland, John. 1711. *A Grammar of the English Tongue*. London: For John Brightland. (Repr., Menston: Scolar Press, 1967.)
- Canepari, Luciano. 1979. *Introduzione alla fonetica*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Cooper, Christopher. 1685. *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*. London: J. Richardson. (Repr., Menston: Scolar Press, 1967.)
- Dalmazzoni, Guglielmo. 1788. *Nuova Grammatica della Lingua Inglese per uso degl'Italiani*. Roma: Paolo Giunchi. (Copy consulted in the Biblioteca Oliveriana at Pesaro, with contemporary MS annotations. There is also a copy, not recorded by Alston 1965, in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Naples, Shelfmark D.39.33.)
- Dobson, Eric John. 1957. *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. (2nd ed., 1968.)
- Ekwall, Eilert. 1965. *Historische neuenglische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

- Florio, John. 1578. *Florio his firste Fruites*. London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke.
- . 1591. *Florios Second Fruites*. London: T. Woodcock.
- Frank, Thomas. 1976. "I primi grammatici inglesi 1586-1688". *Studi Inglesi* 3-4.411-57.
- Fries, Charles Carpenter. 1925. "The Periphrastic Future with shall and will in Modern English". *PMLA* 40.963-1024.
- . 1940. *An American English Grammar*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Gimson, A. C. 1962. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Graf, Arturo. 1911. *L'Anglomania e l'influsso inglese nel secolo XVIII*. Torino: E. Loescher.
- Greenwood, James. 1711. *An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar*. London: R. Tookey. (Repr., Menston: Scholar Press, 1969.)
- Harris, James. 1751. *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar*. London: H. Woodfall. (Repr., Menston: Scholar Press Facsimile, 1969.)
- Horn, Wilhelm, and Martin Lehnert. 1954. *Laut und Leben*. 2 vols. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- Hughes, Arthur, and Peter Trudgill. 1979. *English Accents and Dialects*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hulbert, James Root. 1947. "On the Origin of the Grammarians' Rules for the Use of *Shall* and *Will*". *PMLA* 62.1178-82.
- Inghirami, Francesco. 1843. *Storia della Toscana*. 16 vols. Fiesole: Poligrafia Fiesolana dai torchi dell'autore.
- Johnston, William. 1764. *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*. London: printed for W. Johnston. (Repr., Menston: Scholar Press, 1968.)
- Jones, John. 1701. *Practical phonography*. London: R. Smith. (Repr., Menston: Scholar Press, 1969.)
- Jonson, Ben. 1640. *The English Grammar*. London. (Contained in the 1640 Folio ed. of Jonson's *Workes*.) (Repr. in *Works*, ed. by C. H. Herford and P. E. Simpson, Vol. VIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.)
- Leonard, Andrus Sterling. 1929. *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage 1700-1800*. New York: Russell & Russell. (Repr., 1962.)
- Lowth, Robert. 1762. *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*. London: J. Hughs for A. Milar and R. and J. Dodsley. (Repr., Menston: Scholar Press, 1967.)

- Mazzuchelli, Giammaria. 1753. *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*. 6 vols. Brescia: Giambattista Bossini.
- Migliorini, Bruno. 1958. *Storia della Lingua Italiana*. Firenze: Sansoni. (2nd. rev. ed., 1960.)
- Moody, Patricia A. 1977. "*Shall* and *Will* in English Grammars". *HL* 4.281-301.
- Orton, Harold, et al. 1962. *Survey of English Dialects*. Leeds: E. J. Arnold.
- Pleunus, Arrigo. 1701. *Nuova, e Perfetta Grammatica Inglese che contiene cōn metodo tutta le Teoria, e Pratica di questa Lingua*. Livorno: Jacopo Valsisi. (Copy consulted in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Shelfmark XXXVII B.59.)
- . n.d. [1710?]. *Nuova e Perfetta Grammatica Inglese ...* Livorno: Ferdinando Dolfinetti. (Copy consulted in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Shelfmark Vet.F.4.f.18.)
- Pope, Alexander. 1711. *An Essay on Criticism*.
- . 1714. *The Rape of the Lock*.
- . 1735. *An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot*. (All quotations taken from *The Poems of Alexander Pope* ed. by John Butt. London: Methuen, 1963.)
- Prins, A. A. 1972. *The History of English Phonemes*. Leiden: Leiden Univ. Press.
- Strang, Barbara. 1970. *A History of English*. London: Methuen.
- Thomas, William. 1550. *Principal Rules of Italian Grammar, with a Dictionarie*. London: T. Berthelet.
- Thrale, Hester Lynch. 1776-1809. *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale*. First ed. by Katharine C. Balderston, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.
- Walker, John. 1791. *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson. (Repr. Menston: Scholar Press, 1968.)
- Wallis, John. 1653. *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*. Oxford: Leon Lichfield. (New ed. and translation by J. Alan Kemp, *John Wallis's Grammar of the English Language*, London: Longman, 1972.)
- Wyld, Henry Cecil. 1914. *A Short History of English*. London: John Murray. (Repr., 1968.)

SUMMARY

Five grammars of the English language for the use of Italian learners (Pleunus 1701, Altieri 1728, Baretti 1762, Barker 1766, and Dalmazzoni 1788) were published during the 18th century. These grammars show that there was a growing interest in the English language and in English culture in general in 18th-century Italy. Part of this interest can be attributed to the presence of a large colony of English merchants in Leghorn (Livorno) and to the consequent development of trade between the two countries. These textbooks are largely based on the descriptions of English available at the time; in spite of being heavily conditioned by English spelling conventions, the Italian authors attempt, with varying success, to describe the phonology of English in a form suitable for their readers, namely, in terms of the Italian sound system. Their descriptions seek to define sounds considered 'difficult' for the foreign learner, e.g., /æ/ and /ʌ/ (described prevalently in terms of [a] and [ɔ] respectively), or such consonant sounds as /θ/ and /ð/. They also provide at times corroborative evidence, which is compared with the testimony of certain contemporary English authors, e.g., Johnston (1764) and Walker (1791), of the state of the English language at the time. Their description of the English vowel system, in particular, throws some light on the pronunciation of English during the 18th century, but none of them, for example, records the gradual loss of post-vocalic *r*, which we know from other sources had already begun at this period. The treatment of the grammatical structure of English found in these grammars is largely traditional, and although some attempts are made to describe the peculiarities of English grammar, the rules given are frequently vague and uncertain.

RÉSUMÉ

Au cours du XVIIIe siècle furent publiées cinq grammaires anglaises à l'usage des apprenants italiens (Pleunus 1701, Altieri 1728, Baretti 1762, Barker 1766, et Dalmazzoni 1788). Ces grammaires témoignent d'un intérêt grandissant, dans l'Italie du XVIIIe siècle, pour la langue anglaise et pour la culture anglaise en général. On peut attribuer une partie de cet intérêt à la présence d'une importante colonie de marchands anglais à Livourne et au développement du commerce qui en résulta entre les deux pays. Ces manuels se fondent en grande partie sur les descriptions de l'anglais qui existaient à

l'époque; bien que fortement conditionnés par les conventions orthographiques de l'anglais, les auteurs italiens tentent, avec un succès inégal, de décrire la phonétique de l'anglais sous une forme adaptée à leurs lecteurs, c'est-à-dire d'après le système phonétique de l'italien. Leurs descriptions cherchent à définir des sons considérés comme 'difficiles' pour l'apprenant étranger, par exemple /æ/ et /ʌ/ (décrits en général respectivement à partir de [a] et [ɔ]), ou des consonnes comme /θ/ et /ð/. Parfois aussi, ils apportent une confirmation — que nous comparerons avec les témoignages de certains auteurs anglais de la même période, par exemple Johnston (1764) et Walker (1791) de l'état de la langue anglaise à cette époque. Leur description du système vocalique de l'anglais en particulier jette une certaine lumière sur la prononciation de l'anglais au XVIIIe siècle, mais aucun d'entre eux, par exemple, ne mentionne l'amuïssement progressif du *r* post-vocalique, qui avait déjà commencé à cette époque, nous le savons par d'autres sources. La présentation de la structure grammaticale de l'anglais que l'on trouve dans ces grammaires reste très traditionnelle et, malgré certaines tentatives pour décrire les particularités de la grammaire anglaise, les règles proposées restent souvent vagues et incertaines.

