



(E)TH AND (E)S
IN THOMAS NASHE 'S
THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER AND THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

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I

ABSTRACT

Although in the sixteenth century the English language was already well advanced in its process of standardization, it was not however completely free from the polymorphism that had characterized the language in medieval times. The English texts produced in the last decade of the sixteenth century exhibit a noticeable competition between alternative grammatical forms and spellings that define those years as a phase of transition between traditional and modern options.

One such area of variation may be seen in the expression of the third person singular present tense verbal ending, where the traditional (E)TH desinence is increasingly replaced by the originally northern innovation in (E)S which has become the only morpheme used in that grammatical function today.

The substitution of (E)TH by (E)S around 1600 is mentioned in many histories of the English language, and most of them mention some factors that condition the preferential use of one or the other alternative.

In this work I explore the relevance of some of the proposals put forward by different authors regarding the use of (E)TH and (E)S at the end of the sixteenth century. My analysis will be based on two prose texts published in 1594 by the Elizabethan pamphleteer Thomas Nashe. Those sources are the picaresque story *The Unfortunate Traveller* and the moral discourse on *The Terrors of the Night*. The forms in (E)TH and (E)S used in both texts are here statistically studied from the point of view of the number of syllables and the final sound of the verbal root in order to ascertain whether those factors may be considered relevant as explanatory conditions in the use of those alternative morphemes.

The results obtained from our analysis show that (E)TH and (E)S exhibit a significantly marked distribution depending on the number of syllables in the verb and on whether the verbal root ends in a sibilant consonant. In addition, the comparison between both prose texts reveals a significant difference in the distributional pattern of both options, which must be attributed to the different stylistic properties of the sources used.



II INTRODUCTION

All natural languages are subject to change and evolution at all levels of their formal configuration: spelling, pronunciation grammar and lexis. The English language is no exception in this respect and scholars distinguish different stages in its historical development: Old, Middle and Modern English. Within this latter period, the “Age of Shakespeare” presents some interesting cases of variation in the use of certain grammatical features which call the attention of any modern reader because of their absence in Present Day English. One such area of variation is offered by the desinences which express the third person singular present indicative. In this particular morphological value one may find different writers, and even the same author, using either –(E)S or –(E)TH, not only in the singular (3rd person) but also, occasionally, in the plural of the present indicative.

To the present day, although it has been the main focus of study for several researchers, there are no clear rules found to account for the factors that led people to choose between one ending or the other. This matter has proven very confusing when different writers show different preferences among themselves, and to the present day there is no conclusive explanation for the differential use of those alternative desinences.

In the golden age of English literature there existed many authors that earned their living from what they wrote, and, as obvious as it sounds, they had to do so both by attending to the quantity and quality of their work. The linguistic uses of those authors, excepting Shakespeare, have not however received as much scholarly attention as older or more modern writers. Many of Shakespeare’s contemporary writers have not been properly studied from a linguistic point of view, and there are still a good number of works in need of an analysis as the one I am going to present in this piece of research.

The main objective of my research has been is to provide an analysis of two different works by Thomas Nashe with the aim of throwing light on the factors that may explain the use of the alternative singular verbal desinences in –(E)TH and –(E)S. Are

there any discernible patterns of preferential use in the two texts under analysis? Nashe's writings have not been previously studied from that perspective and the results obtained will therefore complement the data offered by other researchers for other works, providing therefore a better picture of the competition between those morphemes in Shakespeare's time.

However, before attempting to analyze the works of Thomas Nashe, we must pay a preliminary look at the evolution of both desinences in medieval English. This will provide the necessary historical context for a better understanding of the variation of -(E)TH and -(E)S at the end of the sixteenth century.

III

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF *-(E)TH* AND *-(E)S*

In Present Day Standard English the 3rd person singular present indicative is marked by the morpheme *-(E)S*, which is realized in three different ways (allomorphs) depending on the last sound of the verbal root: /-s/, /-z/ and /-ɪz/. In the West Saxon literary variety of Old English, however, the desinence in that same verbal function was *-(e)þ*, or its variants *-aþ* / *-t*. The modern desinence *-(E)S*, on the other hand, appears in the tenth century glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels. The morpheme we use today therefore seems to have been originally a northern innovation. Gómez Soliño (1976), partially following E. Holmqvist (1922) has listed six hypotheses that have been put forward by different authors to account for the origin of the *-(E)S* ending which are going to be summed up here.

The earliest hypothesis, put forward by philologists like Henry Sweet, claims that the apparition of the s-forms is due to an internal organic change of the sound /θ/, represented by the letter thorn into a final /s/. But this proposal has been dismissed by, among others, Holmqvist (1922) who dismisses it on the grounds that “in all the history of English it cannot be spoken only of a single case of similar phonetic change”.

The second hypothesis was put forward by Kluge, who suggests the analogical influence of *-s* in the second-person singular (the Northumbrian second-person singular, which was frequently reduced from *-st* to just *-s*). Holmqvist states that “it is improbable that the second-person singular forms (less used than the third-person singular ones) influenced the third-person”. In the North, in fact, the plural *(E)S* forms were more numerous than their singular counterparts.

The third hypothesis is the proposal supported by Holmqvist and points to the analogical extension of *(E)S* from the second-person singular to the second-person plural, which was later extended from the second-person plural to the third-person plural, and last of all, from the third-person plural to the third-person singular. This hypothesis has been rejected on statistical counts.

A fourth hypothesis was defended by Jespersen (1942), who points to phonetic efficiency as the most likely cause of the adoption of (E)S, since voiced /ð/ and voiceless /θ/ are hard to pronounce after sounds, being /s/ and /z/ easier to pronounce in cases like /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/, /z/ and /r/, which are easily used as morphemes in other languages.

Hypothesis five is supported by philologists like W. Keller and Rodeffer (among others), who support the idea of a tenth century Nordic influence in the adoption of (E)S. In Old Norse, $-(e)\text{þ}$ would have been substituted by a final $-(e)r$, and even the plural forms would take this form. The main objection here is that final $-r$ did not exist in Old Norse as a final suffix for plural verbal forms, whereas in the Northumbrian dialect (E)S was already more frequent in the present plural than in the 3rd person singular.

The final hypothesis in this chronological series is the one published by L. Blakeley in 1949. After a detailed and rigorous statistical analysis of the (E)S ending in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, this author came to the conclusion that “s-forms are the result of a dissimilatory process whose origin relies in the second-person plural of verbs with stems ended in [d], [t], or [ð]”. Analogical extension occurred from the second-person plural to other verbs which did not share that characteristic, though not with the same results in the case of the verb 'don' (to do) and verbs whose final stem sound was [s] or [m]. There is also an additional factor that added its own effect to the analogical transference: the s-form of the second-person singular that influences first the other conjugated persons in the plural and eventually the third-person singular. This process was facilitated by the tenth century process of vowel uniformization in unaccented syllables of the Northern dialects, in which the third-person singular $-e\text{þ}$ distinction from the plural $-a\text{þ}$ forms was no longer functional. Blakeley's theory is so far the most convincing one since it is based on a critical analysis of previous proposals coupled with a complete statistical analysis of the relevant variants in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

From the analysis of the six explanatory hypotheses we may conclude that the majority view is that the Northumbrian innovation we are considering here was an endogenous development, rather than the result of foreign influence on the Anglian

variety of the North. An additional observation is that most authors point to the phonetic environment as the factor that triggered the conversion of $-(e)\theta$ into $-(e)s$. This line of thought provides us with an idea that will be explored in the analysis of Thomas Nashe's use of $-(E)TH$ and $-(E)S$.

During the centuries following the Anglo-Saxon period, the northern $-(E)S$ forms were gradually expanding south, after in the end they reached London and gains some acceptance during the fifteenth century. It is well known that Geoffery Chaucer, a Londoner himself, poked fun at the use of the $-(E)S$ desinence which in his works appear only in the language of the northern students at Cambridge in *The Miller's Tale*. However, at the end of the fifteenth century there is evidence that the northern form was frequently heard among the London merchant class as can be seen in the different writers of the Cely Letters.

But the idea that the adoption of the $-(E)S$ ending by mainstream London English speakers was the result of the linguistic influence from the large numbers of northern migrants to London is not the only explanation put forward to account for the gradual increase in the use of that morpheme in the developing Standard variety. We must mention in this respect Henry C. Wyld (1925) proposal that the new morpheme is rather the result of an analogical formation on the model of the third-person singular 'is' (verb 'to be'). This last alternative is not favoured nowadays.

That $-(E)S$ was increasing used in the oral informal language of London from the fifteenth century onwards is shown in private letters and other less formal types of writing. What is new in Shakespeare's time is the adoption of the originally northern desinence in the more formal written production of Standard English. This was not however a radical change that took place overnight. What we find in the literary production of the last quarter of the sixteenth century is the completion between $-(E)TH$ and $-(E)S$, with the gradual imposition of the latter over the former. That's why the analysis of this particular morphological variation may throw light on the factors that favoured or inhibited the adoption of the modern $-(E)S$ form. And this is what we are going to do taking two of Thomas Nashe's works as our research ground.

IV

AIM, METHOD, SOURCES

The object of this study is to determine Thomas Nashe's preferences and motives in the use of the different desinences to express the third person singular present indicative. At the end of the sixteenth century this grammatical function was characterized by the competition between the traditional -(E)TH forms and the innovative -(E)S variants, that would in the end become the standard morpheme in Modern English. It is important to remark that our concern will be the singular forms only, not the plural versions where the competition between those alternatives may also be occasionally seen in the writings of Shakespeare's time. We must also bear in mind that we will focus our study on the indicative forms, not on the subjunctive counterparts that are also used at this time, and which are marked by the so-called "zero desinence", or, in other words, by the absence of any desinence.

In order to develop our analysis I have first scanned the sources in order to register all the examples of -(E)TH and -(E)S forms in the sources. A complete list of all those forms individually and in context is provided in Annexes I to IV at the end of this work. The list of all the relevant verbs and their variant forms constitutes the corpus of our study. The -(E)TH and -(E)S variants in that corpus will then be the input for a statistical analysis from the point of view of certain factors which are considered influential in determining Thomas Nashe's preferences. We will thus concentrate our attention on the final sound and the number of syllables in the verbal root.

The differential use of -(E)TH and -(E)S has also been studied from a stylistic and rhetorical point of view, on the basis that the former desinence is considered more formal, and thus more apt to be used when the "grand style" is adopted, whereas the latter, owing to its informal or colloquial tone, would be expected in the "plain style", according with the renaissance rhetorical practice (Gómez Soliño, 1981, 1-25). This perspective has only partially been adopted in the present study. The reason lies on the fact that the works I have analyzed do not show enough internal stylistic variation to facilitate the analysis of the use of those desinences for rhetorical effect. A study of that kind, on the other hand, would take time and space which would exceed the required

limits of a work like the present one. However, since the two works we are going to analyze, are different in their stylistic register, the possible differences in the global distribution of –(E)TH and –(E)S in both works will be duly taken into account.

As sources for the compilation of the corpus of our work, I have chosen two prose texts by one of Shakespeare’s contemporaries, the novelist Thomas Nashe: *The Unfortunate Traveller*, and *Terrors of the Night*, both published in 1594. The first work is a story framed in the picaresque style and therefore informal in its language and with little rhetorical elaboration, whereas the second one is more reflective in character and therefore more formal, although not rhetorically ornate. This stylistic difference may show a different distribution of forms. In this work we are going to study those sources first individually and later comparatively. We will thus see if the practice of Thomas Nashe coincides or diverges on the basis of the topic and register adopted in the writing of those prose texts.

For the analysis of the forms under study, I have used the Penguin English Library 1972 edition by J.B. Steane with the title Thomas Nashe: *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*. This edition modernizes the spelling and punctuation, but respects the grammatical forms and syntactic arrangement of words of the original version and can therefore be reliably used for the purposes of the present study.

In the preparation of this work, I have looked up some historical works for information on the topic of my research. However, some histories of the English language that I have consulted give the impression that at the end of the sixteenth century ETH and (E)S were in free variation. Thus, Gramley (2012, 137) writes that “there was a great deal of variation from one writer to another or even between works by the same author”. And Baugh and Cable (2003, 246) inform that “one was free to use either” desinence. Strang (1970, 146) also stresses that “there is no reason in function or history why *blesseth* and *gives* should differ in ending”. However, these authors, and other writers on the history of English (Nevalainen 2012, 227-239; Blake 1996, 219-20; Görlach 1990, 88-89; Fernández 1982, 390-91; Samuels 1972, 174; to name but a few) provide at least coincidental information on some aspects of ETH and (E)S usage, with special reference to the following points:

- The (E)S ending was more frequently used by northerners, while (E)TH lasts longer in the usage of southerners.
- The monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic character of the verbal root influences the choice of desinence. (E)S is more commonly used in monosyllables.
- (E)TH is the markedly preferred form with verbal roots ending in a sibilant consonant (/z/, /s/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/).
- The use of these forms must be related to the register of the texts involved. ETH characterized the formal language, whereas (E)S is typical of the colloquial register.
- ETH provided a full syllable whereas (E)S usually did not. For that reason, the use of one or the other alternative is frequently required to regularize the metrical configuration of poetic lines.

Although there are some very good treatments of the history and competition between ETH and (E)S (Nevalainen 2012, 227-239, is a particularly informative one), the best summary I have found on the question is the one by Samuels (1972, 174) to the effect that

“In the last decade of the century, *-(e)s* was suddenly accepted in prose. It occurs on the whole more commonly in monosyllables except where the root ends with /s, z, tʃ, dʒ, ʃ/ (many texts differentiate between, e.g. *runs, lives* and *riseth, preacheth*) whereas in disyllabic verbs *-eth* is still preferred (*intendeth, employeth, attaineth*). There is little uniformity in this transitional period, and the choice of each writer depends on a complex combination of phonetic, rhythmical, semantic, and stylistic factors.”

In this work I am going to study two works not previously analyzed (as far as I have been able to ascertain) with regard to the distribution and conditioning factors. But owing to the limitations of time and space for this type of final degree paper we are going to focus our attention on the syllabic and phonetic aspects, in order to analyze the extent to which the remarks summed up above are relevant in the case of Thomas Nashe's practice. The register context of that distribution will also be taken into account, since the two primary sources selected for this work are stylistically different.

A final remark is in order regarding the treatment of the statistical figures in the chapters that follow. In general when offering percentages we will round the figures and avoid using decimal fractions. This will facilitate the arrangement of the information in charts, while the effect on the final analysis is negligible. The absence of decimals will not alter the value or relevance of the results obtained.

A BIO-LITERARY PROFILE OF THOMAS NASHE

As Melanie Ord (2009) states, Thomas Nashe was born and baptized in Lowestoft, Suffolk, in 1567. He supposedly died during 1601 in Yarmouth, Norfolk (Encyclopædia Britannica). His parents were Margaret and William Nashe, and his father, being a clergyman with access to higher knowledge due to his status, educated him at their home until he was accepted at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1582. Four years later he obtained his bachelor's degree and moved to London short after, where he started working as a professional writer that included him in the circle of "University Wits", a group of sixteenth century writers who was mainly formed by Elizabethan playwrights and pamphleteers usually educated at Oxford and Cambridge that were popular in their appeal and secularists in their literary tastes. In the Wikipedia we find this brief characterization of Thomas Nashe:

He was "not as popular as his contemporaries, that would be considered 'major' Elizabethans, but being journalist, playwright, pamphleteer, poet, story-teller, moralist, social critic, scholar, preacher, jester, and more, he gained his place among them as a notorious controversialist and polemicist".

The author of the edition used for this study, J.B. Steane (1972), points out in his introduction that Nashe was a rare combination of the popular and the learned writer. Thus, he mentions that "So much of the material for his writing comes from observant day-to-day living: the look of the people, the individual tones of their voices, the proverbs which were common wisdom to them all." Yet, on the other hand, his texts abound with

"... allusions to Ovid, Virgil, Horace and other standard classical writers. Theologians from Augustine and Athanasius to Tyndale and Erasmus; European writers such as La Primaudaye and Castiglione; Spenser, Marlowe, Greene, Lyly, Sidney, Thomas Watson, William Warner and Sir John Davies among his near contemporaries: these were no doubt the standard authors of the educated Elizabethan, but Nashe has them in his system, not just in his notebooks, for the allusions come (in his own phrase) 'thick and three-fold' and are clearly a part of the mind."

Thomas Nashe's surviving works are the following ones:

The Anatomy of Absurdity (1589)
Preface to Greene's Menaphon (1590)
An Almond for a Parrot (1590)
Pierce Penniless (1592)
Summer's Last Will (performed in 1592, but published in 1600)
Strange News (1592)
Christ's Tears over Jerusalem (1593)
Terrors of the Night (1594)
The Unfortunate Traveller (1594)
Have with You to Saffron Walden (1596)
Lenten Stuff (1599)

As already mentioned the two primary sources for our study are the two titles published in 1594 in Nashe's mid-career as a writer. The first one, *The Unfortunate Traveller or The Life of Jack Wilton*, is one of last major works of Nashe. According to Allyna Ward (2010) this book was dedicated to Lord Henry Wriothesley, Shakespeare's patron, but this approach failed as suggests the lack of dedication in the second edition of the publication in the same year. There has been some debate about the literary character of this work. Barbour suggests in his electronic article that, although this title is considered by some the first picaresque novel in English, some other scholars do not classify it as entirely picaresque, as it seems more like a work written without a rigid style or within the margins of a single genre. The text leaves behind the styles Nashe is used to, in an attempt to make something new with the narration of Jack Wilton in a brutally depicted merciless Europe.

The Terrors of the Night is, according to Ossa-Richardson (2014) one of the most important works of Nashe, with a curious story of a double entrance at the Stationer's Register under the different patronages of R. Cotton and the Carey family, being the second version a more extended one than the first. In this fifty-nine page pamphlet the author adopts a dreamy mood by means of which he projects a more vivid and terrifying vision of the paranormal beings that existed in the folklore and the fearful minds of men. However, his serious interest in nightmares, demonology and witchcraft did not surpass completely his cynical and skeptical perspective on the matter. His mortifying visions on sins, guilt and other topics were always accompanied with explanations that were half researched, half invented, in order to minimize the impact that they should have on the readers.

VI

(E)TH AND (E)S IN *THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER*

In this chapter we are going to analyze the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S in *The Unfortunate Traveller* from the perspective of the number of syllables and the final sound of the verbal root. We have seen that most of the theories that have been put forward to account for the origin and expansion of the -(E)S forms point to the formal configuration of the verb as an influential factor in that respect. We are going therefore to focus our attention in this chapter on those formal aspects to ascertain the extent to which they are relevant in Thomas Nashe's usage. The list of verbs that appear in *The Unfortunate Traveller* with forms expressing the third person singular present indicative susceptible of receiving (E)TH or (E)S is offered at the end of this work in Annexe I.

As shown in Annexe I, the number of verbs showing any of the desinences in competition is 143. Of these, 100 verbs show only the (E)S ending, 29 end exclusively in (E)TH, and a further 14 verbs fluctuate between (E)TH and (E)S. So this first count shows that the modern desinence is the lexically preferred one in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, which seems to be in keeping with the informal/colloquial stylistic character of this work. Although the number of cases in which those endings are used is small, it is of interest to list the verbs characterized by ETH forms or by variation between (E)TH and (E)S. The larger list of verbs used only with (E)S can be consulted in Annexe I.

The verbs in which we find variation between ETH and ES are the following: *begin, bring, carry, die, flow, follow, have, live, love, make, require, rest, say, and serve*. Two notes are in order here. First, with the exception of *require* and *serve*, all the verbs are Germanic in origin and therefore predominantly monosyllabic and of long standing in the language. Second, the verb *have* shows an almost exclusive preference for the TH form, since, out of 73 cases, 72 show *hath*, with only one exceptional *has* (cf. Annexe I).

The verbs with (E)TH endings only are the following: *appear, ascend, blast, cause, compare, consist, disperse, displease, do, fade, fetch, hatch, jet, lose, outstrip, please, proceed, rage, remain, run, sin, sleep, smile, spur, steal, touch, trail, use, and win*. Here again there some aspects that need comment: The first is that the final sound

in some of these verbs is a sibilant as shown by the verbs *cause*, *disperse*, *displease*, *fetch*, *hatch*, *lose*, *please*, *rage*, *touch* and *use*. This preference for ETH after a sibilant is in marked contrast with the (E)S counterparts, in which I have only registered one form with (E)S after a sibilant consonant: *wretches*. Also the number of the lexical units with more than one syllable associated with ETH is larger than in the case of the verbs that fluctuate between (E)TH and (E)S.

However, in our analysis of the uses of (E)TH and (E)S we must take into consideration not just the lexical distribution, but also the total number of the verbal forms used. And since the number of syllables of the verbal root might be relevant, our analysis must be carried out taking into consideration all the instances of the desinences under study. This is shown in the following chart:

VERBAL ROOT	(E)TH		(E)S	
	One syllable	117	52%	110
Two syllables	13	22%	45	78%
Three syllables	–	–	4	100%
TOTAL	130	45%	159	55%

This chart shows an interesting aspect of the evolution of (E)TH and (E)S. On the whole, the (E)S forms represent 51% of all the forms used in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, but this distribution varies once we pay attention to the syllabic configuration of the verbal root. In monosyllabic verbs (E)TH and (E)S show an almost balanced distribution, but with polysyllabic verbs the (E)S is the only alternative used. The examples of the latter use are *engenders* (1x), *substitutes* (1x) and *understands* (2x). These percentages seem to show that in the transition from (E)TH to (E)S the process is more advanced in verbs with more than one syllable; or, in other words, the traditional morpheme (E)TH is still preserved with monosyllabic roots to a larger extent than in non-monosyllabic verbs. The conclusion is that ETH seems to be avoided in those cases in which it would increase the number of syllables in the verbal form. This tendency must also be connected with the stylistic character of the text. The plain informal style of *The Unfortunate Traveller* would be more in keeping with shorter words.

Regarding the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S with monosyllabic verbal roots, it is worth pointing out that with the verbs HAVE, DO and SAY the forms in TH are clearly preferred in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, as shown by the following chart:

	- T H			- S		
HAVE	hath	72	99%	has	1	1%
DO	doth	8	100%	does	–	–
SAY	saith	6	67%	says	3	33%

So, if we remove the forms of the verbs HAVE and DO, we can conclude that on the whole, with the rest of the verbs (E)S is clearly the more frequent form (72%) with monosyllabic verbal roots.

We must now proceed to the analysis of (E)TH and (E)S according to the final sound of the verbal root. The consonantal distribution is shown in the following chart:

FINAL SOUND	(E)TH			(E)S			TOTALS			
	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	(E)TH		(E)S	
p	1	1	–	4	–	–	2	33%	4	67%
v	4	–	–	13	3	–	4	20%	16	80%
f	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	100%
d	1	2	–	11	6	2	3	14%	19	86%
t	3	1	–	21	9	1	4	11%	31	89%
z	5	1	–	–	–	–	6	100%	--	--
s	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	100%	--	--
l	3	–	–	12	3	–	3	17%	15	83%
r	1	3	–	1	7	1	4	31%	9	69%
m	–	–	–	3	3	–	--	--	6	100%
n	3	3	–	1	6	–	6	46%	7	54%
ŋ	1	–	–	5	1	–	1	14%	6	86%
k	2	–	–	20	2	–	2	8%	22	92%
tʃ	3	–	–	1	–	–	3	75%	1	25%
dʒ	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	100%	--	--

The analysis of this chart shows at least one clearly marked preference already noticed before: the use of ETH after a sibilant consonant (/z/, /s/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/), in 11 cases (92%), with only one exception in (E)S (8%). As for (E)S, our data show a marked preference for this ending after /d/, /t/, /l/, /r/, /m/ /ŋ/ and /k/. In the case of the nasals, however, while (E)S is preferred after /m/ and /ŋ/, that preference is not so marked in the case of /n/. The distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, on the other hand, does not seem to offer any significant conclusions.

The distribution of (E)TH and (E)S after final vowel sounds in the verbal root is shown in the following chart.

FINAL SOUND	(E)TH			(E)S			TOTALS			
	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	(E)TH		(E)S	
i	1	–	–	–	2	–	1	33%	2	67%
i:	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	100%
o	8	–	–	4	–	–	8	67%	4	33%
a	72	–	–	1	–	–	72	99%	1	1%
eɪ	6	–	–	3	1	–	6	60%	4	40%
aɪ	1	–	–	3	1	–	1	20 %	4	80%
ow	1	1	–	4	1	–	2	29%	5	71%
aw	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	100%

In this chart, the specification of the final vowel sound in the verbal root must be considered approximate or even tentative, owing to the fact that the pronunciation of vowels was undergoing a complex evolution at the end of the sixteenth century. Not only the regional origins of the speakers, but also the fact that in the process known as the Great Vowel Shift some speakers were more conservative and others more advanced in their pronunciation (Barber, 1976, 289-305) renders the phonetic characterization of the vowels concerned difficult.

The figures in this chart above are in any case distorted by the marked preference for monosyllabic contracted forms like *hath* (99%), *doth* (100%) and *sayth* (67%) as we have seen above. But if we except those verbs, the figures show that (E)S

is more frequent than (E)TH after vowel sounds, both simple and diphthongal. However, the number of instances is too low so as to draw any convincing inferences.

If we know compare the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S after consonants and vowels, we obtain the following results:

	-(E)TH		-(E)S	
CONSONANTS	40	23%	137	77%
VOWELS	90	80%	22	20%
Total	130	45%	159	55%

This chart shows that (E)TH and (E)S behave differently depending on whether the verbal root ends in a consonant or a vowel. But this apparent contradiction must be qualified because it is distorted by the massive use of the TH ending with the verb HAVE. If we remove the 72 instances of *hath* (and only one of *has*), we find a balanced distribution of (E)TH and (E)S after verbal roots ending in a vowel.

As a conclusion, we may say that the analysis of the forms used in *The Unfortunate Traveller* that we have studied in this chapter shows that the transition from (E)TH to (E)S seems to have been partially guided by the number of syllables in the verbal root (avoidance of long forms), as well as by some phonetic processes, such as the avoidance of (E)S after a sibilant. The informal or plain style of the work also seems to have a bearing on the general preference for (E)S.

VII

(E)TH AND (E)S IN *THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT*

As in the previous chapter, we will begin our analysis of (E)TH and (E)S in *The Terrors of the Night* from the perspective of the number of syllables of the verbs used, whose complete list is included at the end of this work. As may be seen in Annexe II, the number of verbs showing verbal forms in (E)TH and/or (E)S is 119. Of these, 59 verbs show only the (E)S desinence, 49 are marked exclusively by (E)TH, and 11 show both types of forms. So, although there are more verbs associated with (E)S, in this particular work (E)TH has a strong presence, and this may be related to the fact that *The Terrors of the Night* deals with a serious topic and therefore it is written in a more formal prose.

The verbs in which we find variation between (E)TH and (E)S are the following: *break, come, do, dream, flie, keep, make, say, send, sink, and take*. All of them are monosyllabic and Germanic in origin. The other verbs with forms exclusively in (E)TH or in (E)S show groups which are too long to be listed here. They can be consulted in Annexe II. But some aspects of those verbs must be paid attention to. The first is that the verb HAVE shows an exclusive preference for the form *hath* (41 instances). The second has to do with verbs whose verbal root ends in a sibilant. In *The Terrors of the Night* those verbs are *dance, disperse, displace, embrace, excuse, lose, pass, source, suffice, suppose, syllogize, trudge, use, vanish* and *wax*. With all those verbs ETH is exclusively used.

But, as in the former text, the number of instances of (E)TH and (E)S, in *The Terrors of the Night* is larger than the lexical units with which they are associated. So in what follows we are going to examine them from the double perspective of the number of syllables and the final sound in the verbal root. The chart that follows shows that the 119 verbs used by Thomas Nashe in this work offer 214 relevant verbal forms, 114 in (E)TH and 100 in (E)S. Their distribution according to the number of syllables of the verbal root is as follows:

VERBAL ROOT	(E)TH		(E)S	
One syllable	85	55%	70	45%
Two syllables	26	52%	24	48%
Three syllables	3	33%	6	67%
TOTAL	114	53%	100	47%

This chart shows that the (E)TH forms predominate in *The Terrors of the Night* both with monosyllabic and disyllabic verbal roots; but with polysyllabic roots (E)S is more frequent. The polysyllabic verbs that appear in this work are *embowel*, *engender*, *inherit*, *overspread*, *surrender*, *sylogize* and *undertake*. Some of them, especially *sylogize*, point to the learned and formal character of the text, and therefore reveal the relevance of the stylistic factor in the uses of (E)TH and (E)S at this time.

As in the other text, and regarding the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S with monosyllabic roots, we have again to take into account that the verbs HAVE, DO and SAY show a marked preference for contracted forms ending in TH in *The Terrors of the Night*, as shown by the following chart:

	- T H			- S		
HAVE	hath	41	100%	–	–	–
DO	doth	5	71%	does	2	29%
SAY	saith	3	75%	says	1	25%

Again, if at least the forms of HAVE were removed from the counts, we would have to conclude that on the whole, with the rest of the verbs (E)S is clearly the more frequent form in the case of monosyllabic verbal roots.

We are going now to analyze the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S according to the final sound of the verbal root. In the chart that follows we will pay attention to the distribution after a consonantal sound. The analysis of that chart shows the exclusive use of ETH after a sibilant consonant (in this case /z/, /s/, /ʃ/, and /dʒ/), in all 19 instances of that type of verbs. It must also be noted that (E)TH is slightly more frequent after /l/ and /n/. As for (E)S, our data show a slight preference for this ending

after /p/ /v/ /d/, /t/, /r/, /m/, /ŋ/ and /k/. The distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, on the other hand, does not seem to be relevant, nor is relevant the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S after categories of consonants other than the sibilants.

FINAL SOUND	(E)TH			(E)S			TOTALS			
	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	(E)TH		(E)S	
p	1	–	–	6	1	–	1	12%	7	88%
v	–	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	7	100%
ð	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	100%	–	–
d	3	3	–	7	–	1	6	43%	8	57%
t	6	4	–	8	6	1	10	40%	15	60%
z	2	1	1	–	–	–	4	100%	–	–
s	5	6	–	–	–	–	11	100%	–	–
l	2	3	1	3	2	–	6	56%	5	44%
r	1	1	1	–	8	2	3	23%	10	77%
m	4	–	–	11	–	–	4	27%	11	73%
n	–	2	–	–	1	–	2	67%	1	33%
ŋ	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	3	100%
k	9	1	–	14	3	1	10	36%	18	64%
dʒ	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	100%	–	–
ʃ	–	2	–	–	–	–	2	100%	–	–

The distribution of (E)TH and (E)S in *The Terrors of the Night* after final vowel sounds in the verbal root is shown in the chart that follows in the next page. As already commented earlier on, it is difficult to interpret the distribution of these desinences after vowels because of the low number on instances in most cases and also because we cannot be sure about the realization of some of those vowels, owing to the progress of the Great Vowel Shift and the existence of conservative and advanced pronunciations at the time (Barber, 1976, 289-305). For these reasons, although it seems for example that (E)S is the exclusive preference after high vowels, the evidence is rather inconclusive.

FINAL SOUND	(E)TH			(E)S			TOTALS			
	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	1 syll.	2 syll.	3 syll.	(E)TH		(E)S	
I	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	100%
i:	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	2	100%
o	5	–	–	5	–	–	5	50%	5	50%
a	41	–	–	–	–	–	41	100%	–	–
ju	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	100%
eɪ	4	–	–	2	–	–	4	67%	2	33%
aɪ	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	33%	2	67%
oɪ	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	100%	–	–
ow	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	2	100%

If we now compare the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S after consonants and vowels, we obtain the following results:

	-(E)TH		-(E)S	
CONSONANTS	62	42%	85	58%
VOWELS	52	78%	15	22%
Total	114	53%	100	47%

The difference in the preference for one or the other alternative in the chart above is only apparently contradictory, for, although it seems that (E)S is a minority form after vowels, if the 41 HATH forms are excluded, the preference for the (E)S ending after both consonants and vowels is clear.

The Terrors of the Night offers on the whole a different picture than the previous work as far as the distribution of (E)TH to (E)S is concerned. The number of syllables in the verbal root does not seem to be as decisive a criterion, and the only contextual factors that show a decisive influence are the use of ETH after sibilants. However, the fact that (E)TH and (E)S present a more balanced distribution, or put in other words, the fact that (E)TH shows in this work a higher percentage of usage, must probably be attributed to the formal elaborate character of its style. From that respect we may assume that stylistic formality or elaborateness favours a higher use of the traditional forms in ETH.

VIII

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Having analyzed the results obtained in each of the two works by Thomas Nashe which form our corpus, we are now going to compare the data in search of coincidences that will allow us to reach a better picture of the usage of (E)TH and (E)S by that author.

We have seen that in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (*UT* for short) and *The Terrors of the Night* (abbreviated *TN*) certain verbs show forms both in (E)TH and (E)S. If we compare the verbs with the double forms, we find that only *make* and *say* coincide in showing forms in (E)TH and (E)S in both works. The rest of the verbs in those lists are either not used in the other work (10 verbs) or they show one or the other form, but not both. Thus of the verbs that in *The Unfortunate Traveller* vary between (E)TH and (E)S, 7 are not used in *The Terrors of the Night*, 3 show the (E)S morpheme only, and 2 only the (E)TH alternative. Similarly, of all the verbs that in *The Terrors of the Night* fluctuate between both alternatives, 4 do not appear in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, one shows the TH ending only, and 5 verbs are marked only by the (E)S desinence.

If we now consider the verbs that appear in both *UT* y *TN* with only one of the endings, there is a coincidence in the form preferred in the following verbs:

- Verbs with (E)TH in both works: *ascend, consist, disperse, lose, proceed, and use.*
- Verbs with (E)S in both works: *belong, delight, fall, give, go, hang, know, leave, lie, look, methink, present, see, sit, and sweep.*

But we also find a change of preferences in the following way:

- Verbs with (E)TH in the *UT* and (E)S in *TN*: *compare.*
- Verbs with (E)S in the *UT* and (E)TH in *TN*: *cast, engender and seek.*

As for all the other verbs, the vast majority, they appear in one or the other work, and with either (E)TH or (E)S, but not (in) both.

The conclusion to draw from this comparison is that the lexical character of the verbal form does not seem to influence per se the choice of (E)TH or (E)S forms. Apart from the fact that the great majority of verbs are exclusively used in one work or with only one of the desinences (what renders them useless for the present analysis), we find

that in the case of the verbs that are comparable, the preference for one or the other alternative may be assigned to other factors.

Thus, for example, of the verbs that are used with (E)TH in both works, 2 show a verbal root ending in a sibilant (*lose, use*) and the rest are disyllabic verbs of Latin/French origin, typical of a more formal style. Similarly, of all the verbs with the (E)S in both works, none shows a sibilant as the final consonant of the verbal root, the great majority is monosyllabic and most of them are of Germanic origin.

So, although we would need more research to find out whether the variation between (E)TH and (E)S mainly depends on the lexical units concerned, in the sense that certain verbs are always per se associated with only one of the desinences, the evidence from *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Terrors of the Night* doesn't seem to warrant that conclusion.

In our analysis of the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S according to the number of syllables in the verbal root we have found the following results:

VERBAL ROOT	<i>UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER</i>				<i>TERRORS OF THE NIGHT</i>			
	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%
One syllable	117	52%	110	48%	85	55%	70	45%
Two syllables	13	22%	45	78%	26	52%	24	48%
Three syllables	–	–	4	100%	3	33%	6	67%
Total	130	45%	159	55%	114	53%	100	47%

The comparative analysis of this chart shows that (E)TH and (E)S are almost evenly used in both works. But there is a slight preference for (E)S in *UT*, whereas in *TN* the (E)TH ending is slightly more frequent. This contradictory tendency is also seen in the disyllabic verbal roots. With monosyllabic roots, and especially with polysyllabic roots, (E)S is however more frequent, although the percentage of (E)TH is lower in *Terrors of the Night*. This noticeable difference between both works must be associated to the different stylistic character of the sources we have studied.

The comparison of the uses of (E)TH and (E)S according to the final sound of the verbal root is also worth noticing, as shown by the following chart:

FINAL SOUND	<i>UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER</i>				<i>TERRORS OF THE NIGHT</i>			
	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%
CONSONANTS	40	23%	137	77%	62	42%	85	58%
VOWELS	90	80%	22	20%	52	78%	15	22%
Total	130	45%	159	55%	114	53%	100	47%

The chart shows that whereas the distribution is similar in both works after vowels, the difference lies in the consonants. It is here that *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Terrors of the Night* show divergent patterns that can be related to their different stylistic register. Nevertheless, as far as the vowels are concerned, we must remember the numerous and practically exclusive use of the forms HATH and DOTH, which together with SAITH form the great majority of forms in TH in both works. Apart from these, the other verbs ending in a vowel are residual.

If we now consider the verbal roots ending in a consonant, the most important coincidence between both works in the preference for a particular form is the practically exclusive use of ETH after a sibilant (/z/, /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/) as shown by the following chart:

FINAL SOUND	<i>UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER</i>				<i>TERRORS OF THE NIGHT</i>			
	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%
SIBILANTS	11	92%	1	8%	19	100%	–	–
OTHER CONS.	29	18%	136	82%	43	34%	85	66%

The chart above shows that, with the exception of the sibilant consonants, the forms in (E)S are more frequent in both works and that the fact that the modern morpheme is more frequent in *The Unfortunate Traveller* must probably be associated with the less formal stylistic register of that work.

Finally, in the verbal roots ending in consonants other than sibilants, the distribution of (E)TH and (E)S doesn't seem to show significant coincidences. It is true that (E)S is clearly preferred after velar consonants (/ŋ, k/) in both works, but in the case of the nasals, although /m/ tends to favour (E)S, /n/ shows contradictory patterns. The liquids exhibit a similar behavior, i. e. coincidence in the preference for /r/, but contradiction in the case of /l/. The dentals favour (E)S, and so do /p/ and /v/, while the sounds /f/ and /ð/ appear in single instances, and are therefore inconclusive in this respect. No convincing reason can be adduced to explain that erratic distributional pattern, and in any case, we will need more analyses of other works by Nashe and other contemporary writers to see if there are other phonetic conditioning factors to account for the use of the desinences concerned.

SOUND	<i>UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER</i>				<i>TERRORS OF THE NIGHT</i>			
	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%	(E)TH	%	(E)S	%
p	2	33%	4	67%	1	12%	7	88%
v	4	20%	16	80%	–	–	7	100%
f	–	–	1	100%	–	–	–	–
ð	–	–	–	–	1	100%	–	–
d	3	14%	19	86%	6	43%	8	57%
t	4	11%	31	89%	10	40%	15	60%
l	3	17%	15	83%	6	56%	5	44%
r	4	31%	9	69%	3	23%	10	77%
m	–	–	6	100%	4	27%	11	73%
n	6	46%	7	54%	2	67%	1	33%
ŋ	1	14%	6	86%	–	–	3	100%
k	2	8%	22	92%	10	36%	18	64%

IX

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to analyze the distribution of the third person singular verbal desinences in (E)TH and (E)S and to investigate if there was any factor in the diction of Thomas Nashe that determined his preferences in the use of those endings in the two 1594 works selected as sources for this study: *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Terrors of the Night*.

The first conclusion to offer from this study is the statistical supported fact that shows that the older forms in (E)TH are still very present in monosyllabic verbs, but the number of cases seems to decrease in general as verbs have disyllabic stems, and especially in the polysyllabic verbal roots, except for certain areas of variation in which there seem to be no instances to contrast the cases, and which have not been found in enough numbers to really appreciate the effects of the change. In this concern, it could be said that the change of inflectional ending has not affected so far enough the language to make the larger group of verbs, the monosyllabic ones, to radically change the older form for the newer s-form.

The second conclusion to offer from this study is that the presence of sibilant consonants at the end of the verbal root markedly influences the choice of the (E)TH desinence, regardless of the number of syllables in the verb.

The third conclusion refers to the forms of the verbs HAVE, DO and SAY, which appear always in their contracted variants and show an almost exclusive preference for the TH ending, especially in the case of the form HATH.

There is a fourth conclusion clearly shown by our sources. The contrastive analysis of *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Terrors of the Night* shows a clear discrepancy in the preference for one or the other desinence between both works. The former work is marked by a higher percentage of the (E)S desinence, whereas in the latter the ETH ending is generally more frequent than its alternative. This difference in the distributional percentages of the desinences under study must be related to the difference in style between both works. *The Unfortunate Traveller* is considered by

many a picaresque story, whereas *The Terrors of the Night* is a reflective text on a serious topic. This difference in register conditions the style: plain and informal in the former case, elaborate and formal in the latter. The evidence shown by our analysis of Thomas Nashe's works seems to show that (E)TH lasts longer in the texts that are stylistically more complex, whereas the (E)S ending is preferred in the prose that is closer to the colloquial end of the stylistic cline.

The relevance of the stylistic dimension for the use of (E)TH and (E)S is further supported by the phonetic factor. An analysis of the forms with the (E)S shows that these forms do not usually add an extra syllable to the verbal root, whereas the (E)TH ending does. So the fuller forms with ETH are more typical of an elaborate style than the reduced (E)S alternatives. And this conditioning influence of the stylistic factor is also shown by the fact that when there is no competition between a longer and a reduced form (as in HATH, DOTH, SAYTH) the traditional form is the option that prevails, regardless of the stylistic character of the work. Similarly, when the verbal root ends in a sibilant there is no possibility of having a longer and a shorter version, since after a sibilant both ETH and ES add an extra syllable. In those cases the ETH variant is the almost exclusive form used.

The stylistic perspective throws light on the general process of substitution of (E)TH by (E)S. In the last decade of the sixteenth century there is a perceptible change in literary practice. The romantic, elevated, "euphuistic" approach of previous decades was giving way in the 1590's to a more varied range of topics, including realistic fiction, and a stylistic attention to the everyday speech of ordinary people. The fact that the (E)S ending is increasingly used at this time in *written* stories is a consequence of that change in literary conventions. In the *oral* language, the modern (E)S forms were common practice, especially in informal contexts. What is new is the acceptance of (E)S in prose at the turn of the century, but without yet totally displacing the traditional (E)TH, which had still a function in poetry (for rhythmical reasons) and in the more formal or elaborate prose styles.

X

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lingorado.com/ipa/es/

www.wordcalc.com/

ANNEXES

ANNEXE I

List of forms in *The Unfortunate Traveller*

In the list below, the information for each form is arranged in the following order:

- First space: Morpheme used with the registered verb: **-eth, -th, -es, -s**.
- Second space: Number of syllables of the verbal root: one, two or three syllables.
- Third space: Phonetic symbol of the final sound in the verbal root.

The last figure after the colon registers the number of times that form is used in the sources.

Squares contain the variant forms of the same verb with different morphemes.

• *admits* (-s/2/t): 1

• *appeareth* (-eth/2/r): 1

• *ascendeth* (-eth/2/d): 1

• *attends* (-s/2/d): 1

• *beats* (-s/1/t): 2

• *begenneth* (-eth/2/n): 1

• *beginneth* (-eth/2/n): 1

• *begins* (-s/2/n): 3

• *behoves* (-es/2/v): 2

• *belongs* (-s/2/ŋ): 1

• *bends* (-s/1/d): 1

• *bereaves* (-es/2/v): 1

• *bewrays* (-s/2/eɪ): 1

• *bites* (-es/1/aɪ): 1

• *blasteth* (-eth/1/t): 1

• *breaks* (-s/1/k): 1

• *bringeth* (-eth/1/ŋ): 1

• *brings* (-s/1/ŋ): 2

• *bursts* (-s/1/t): 1

• *carries* (-es/2/i): 2

• *carrieth* (-eth/2/i): 1

• *casts* (-s/1/t): 1

• *causeth* (-eth/1/z): 1

• *comes* (-es/1/m): 3

• *commends* (-s/2/d): 1

• *compareth* (-eth/1/r): 1

• *confounds* (-s/2/d): 1

• *consisteth* (-eth/2/t): 1

• *cracks* (-s/1/k): 1

• *cries* (-es/1/aɪ): 1

• *deals* (-s/1/l): 1

• *defames* (-es/2/m): 1

• *delights* (-s/2/t): 2

• *denies* (-es/2/aɪ): 1

• *depends* (-s/1/d): 1

• *dies* (-es/1/aɪ): 1

• dieth (-eth/1/ai): 1

• disperseth (-eth/2/s): 1

• displeaseth (-eth/2/z): 1

• doth (-th/1/o): 8

• doubles (-es/2/l): 1

• draws (-s/1/aw): 1

• drinks (-s/1/k): 1

• drives (-es/1/v): 1

• ends (-s/1/d): 1

• engenders (-s/3/r): 1

• exceeds (-s/1/d): 1

• exclaims (-s/2/m): 1

• fadeth (-eth/1/d): 1

• fails (-s/1/l): 1

• falls (-s/1/l): 4

• fares (-es/1/r): 1

• feeds (-s/1/d): 1

• feels (-s/1/l): 1

• fetcheth (-eth/1/tʃ): 1

• floweth (-eth/1/ow): 1

• flows (-s/1/ow): 1

• followeth (-eth/1/ow): 2

• follows (-s/1/ow): 1

• funnels (-s/2/l): 1

• gathers (-s/2/r): 1

• gets (-s/1/t): 2

• gives (-es/1/v): 1

• goes

• grieves (-es/1/v): 1

• hangs (-s/1/ŋ): 2

• hardens (-s/2/n): 1

• has (-s/1/a): 1

• hath (-th/1/a): 72

• hatcheth (-eth/1/tʃ): 1

• hides (-es/1/d): 2

• hopes (-es/1/p): 1

• hurts (-s/1/t): 1

• intends (-s/2/d): 1

• jetteth (-eth/1/t): 1

• kneels (-s/1/l): 1

• knows (-s/1/ow): 3

• laughs (-s/1/f): 1

• leaves (-es/1/v): 1

• lends (-s/1/d): 1

• lets (-s/1/t): 3

• lies (-es/1/ai): 1

• lives (-es/1/v): 4

• liveth (-eth/1/v): 1

• looks (-s/1/k): 3

• loseth (-eth/1/z): 2

• loves (-es/1/v): 3

• loveth (-eth/1/v): 1

• makes (-es/1/k): 8

• maketh (-eth/1/k): 2

• methinks (-s/2/k): 1

• mistakes (-es/2/k): 1

- *moulds* (-s/1/d): 1
- *needs* (-s/1/d): 1
- *opens* (-s/2/n): 1
- *outstrippeth* (-eth/2/p): 1
- *paints* (-s/1/t): 1
- *parts* (-s/1/t): 1
- *permits* (-s/2/t): 1
- *pleaseth* (-eth/1/z): 1
- *plucks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *prepares* (-es/2/r): 1
- *presents* (-s/2/t): 1
- *proceedeth* (-eth/2/d): 1
- *proclaims* (-s/2/m): 1
- *rageth* (-eth/1/dʒ): 1
- *remaineth* (-eth/2/n): 1
- *repeats* (-s/2/t): 2

- *requires* (-es/2/r): 1
- *requireth* (-eth/2/r): 1
- *resorts* (s/2/t): 1

- *resteth* (-eth/1/t): 1
- *rests* (-s/1/t): 1
- *restores* (-es/2/r): 1
- *rules* (-es/1/l): 1
- *runneth* (-eth/1/n): 1

- *saieth* (-th/1/eɪ): 6
- *says* (-s/1/eɪ): 3
- *salutes* (-es/2/t): 1
- *scorns* (-s/1/n): 1

- *seeks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *sees* (-es/1/i): 1
- *serves* (-es/1/v): 1
- *serveth* (-eth/1/v): 2
- *shuts* (-es/1/t): 1
- *sings* (-s/1/ŋ): 1
- *sinks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *sinneth* (-eth/1/n): 1
- *sits* (-s/1/t): 2
- *sleepeth* (-eth/1/p): 1
- *smileth* (-eth/1/l): 1
- *sounds* (-s/1/d): 1
- *speeds* (-s/1/d): 1
- *sprinkles* (-es/2/l): 1
- *spurreth* (-eth/1/r): 1
- *stealeth* (-eth/1/l): 1
- *stinks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *strides* (-es/1/d): 1
- *suborns* (-s/2/n): 1
- *substitutes* (-es/3/t): 1
- *suffers* (-es/2/r): 3
- *supports* (-s/2/t): 1
- *sweeps* (-s/1/p): 1
- *swells* (-s/1/l): 2
- *takes* (-es/1/k): 1
- *talks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *thirls* (-s/1/l): 1
- *throws* (-s/1/ow): 1

- *thrusts* (-s/1/t): 1
- *toucheth* (-eth/1/tʃ): 1
- *traileth* (-eth/1/l): 1
- *understands* (-s/3/d): 2
- *useth* (-eth/1/z): 1
- *waits* (-s/1/t): 1
- *wants* (-s/1/t): 2
- *weeps* (-s/1/p): 2
- *winneth* (-eth/1/n): 1
- *wretches* (-es/1/tʃ): 1

ANNEXE II

List of forms in *Terrors of the Night*

The following list is arranged using the same conventions as for Annexe I.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>agrees</i> (-es/2/i): 1 • <i>alters</i> (-s/2/r): 2 • <i>annoyeth</i> (-eth/2/ɔɪ): 1 • <i>ascendeth</i> (-eth/2/d): 1 • <i>asketh</i> (-eth/1/k): 1 • <i>beareth</i> (-eth/1/r): 1 • <i>befalls</i> (-s/2/l): 1 • <i>begetteth</i> (-eth/2/t): 1 • <i>beginneth</i> (-eth/2/n): 1 • <i>belongs</i> (-s/2/ŋ): 1 • <i>bemasketh</i> (-eth/2/k): 1 • <i>borrow</i>s (-s/2/ow): 1 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>compares</i> (-es/2/r): 1 • <i>consisteth</i> (-eth/2/t): 1 • <i>continues</i> (-es/3/ju): 1 • <i>corrupteth</i> (-eth/2/t): 1 • <i>counseleth</i> (-eth/2/l): 1 • <i>counts</i> (-s/1/t): 1 • <i>danceth</i> (-eth/1/s): 1 • <i>delights</i> (-s/2/t): 2 • <i>desires</i> (-es/2/r): 1 • <i>despires</i> (-es/2/r): 1 • <i>disperseth</i> (-eth/2/s): 1 • <i>displaceth</i> (-eth/2/s): 1 |
|---|--|

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>breaketh</i></u> (-eth/1/k): 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>does</i></u> (-es/1/o): 2
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>breaks</i></u> (-s/1/k): 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>doth</i></u> (-th/1/o): 5
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>breedeth</i> (-eth/1/d): 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>dreameth</i></u> (-eth/1/m): 1
---	--

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>brings</i> (-s/1/ŋ): 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>dreams</i></u> (-s/1/m): 1
---	--

- *calls* (-s/1/l): 1

- *dwelleth* (-eth/1/l): 1

- *carries* (-es/2/i): 1

- *embowelleth* (-eth/3/l): 1

- *casteth* (-eth/1/t): 1

- *embraceth* (-eth/2/s): 1

- *chaffers* (-s/2/r): 1

- *endures* (-es/2/r): 1

- *claps* (-s/1/p): 1

- *engendereth* (-eth/3/r): 1

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>comes</i></u> (-es/1/m): 10 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>enlargeth</i> (-eth/2/z): 1
---	--

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>cometh</i></u> (-eth/1/m): 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>erects</i> (-s/2/t): 1
--	---

- *comments* (-s/2/t): 1

- *excuseth* (-eth/2/s): 1

- *expects* (-s/2/t): 1
- *falls* (-s/1/l): 2

- *flies* (-es/1/a₁): 1
- *flieth* (-eth/1/a₁): 1

- *gives* (-es/1/v): 3
- *goes* (-es/1/o): 3
- *hangs* (-s/1/ŋ): 1
- *hateth* (-eth/1/t): 1
- *hath* (-th/1/a): 41
- *hindreth* (-eth/2/r): 1
- *inherits* (-s/3/t): 1
- *inspires* (-es/2/r): 1

- *keepeth* (-eth/1/p): 1
- *keeps* (-s/1/p): 2

- *knows* (-s/1/ow): 1
- *lasteth* (-eth/1/t): 1
- *layeth* (-eth/1/e₁): 1
- *leaps* (-s/1/p): 1
- *leaves* (-es/1/v): 1
- *lies* (-es/1/a₁): 1
- *lists* (-s/1/t): 2
- *lives* (-es/1/v): 2
- *looks* (-s/1/k/re): 1
- *loseth* (-eth/1/z): 1

- *makes* (-es/1/k): 4
- *maketh* (-eth/1/k): 1

- *meets* (-s/1/t): 1

- *methinks* (-s/2/k): 3
- *mounteth* (-eth/1/t): 2
- *overspreads* (-s/3/d): 1
- *passeth* (-eth/1/s): 2
- *pecks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *plays* (-s/1/e₁): 1
- *poisons* (-s/1/s): 1
- *presents* (-s/2/t): 1
- *proceedeth* (-eth/2/d): 1
- *proves* (-es/1/v): 1
- *puts* (-s/1/t): 1
- *quaketh* (-eth/1/k): 1
- *raleth* (-eth/1/l): 1
- *recordeth* (-eth/2/d): 1
- *reporteth* (-eth/2/t): 1
- *returneth* (-eth/2/n): 1
- *revealeth* (-eth/2/l): 2
- *rides* (-es/1/d): 1

- *saith* (-th/1/e₁): 3
- *says* (-s/1/e₁): 1

- *seeketh* (-eth/1/k): 1
- *sees* (-es/1/i): 1

- *sendeth* (-eth/1/d): 1
- *sends* (-s/1/d): 1

- *sets* (-s/1/t/ir): 1
- *shapes* (-es/1/p): 1

- *sinketh* (-eth/1/k): 1

- *sits* (-s/1/t): 1
- *sourceth* (-eth/1/s): 1
- *speaks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *spreadeth* (-eth/1/d): 1
- *stands* (-s/1/d): 3
- *strikes* (-es/1/k): 1
- *sufficeth* (-eth/2/s): 2
- *supposeth* (-eth/2/z): 1
- *surrenders* (-s/3/r): 2
- *sweeps* (-s/1/p): 1
- *swimmeth* (-eth/1/m): 1
- *syllogizeth* (-eth/3/z): 1
- *thinks* (-s/1/k): 1
- *tithes* (-es/1/ð): 1
- *trembleth* (-eth/2/l): 1
- *trudgeth* (-eth/1/dʒ): 1
- *undertakes* (-es/3/k): 1
- *unrips* (-s/1/p): 1
- *useth* (-eth/1/z): 1
- *vanisheth* (-eth/2/ʃ): 2
- *waketh* (-eth/1/k): 1
- *waxeth* (-eth/1/s): 1
- *works* (-s/1/k): 1
- *writes* (-es/1/t): 1
- *yields* (-s/1/d): 2

- *takes* (-es/1/k): 2
- *taketh* (-eth/1/k): 1

ANNEXE III

Forms in context in *The Unfortunate Traveller*

The following quotes are direct excerpts illustrating all the uses of the morphemes (E)TH and (E)S in *The Unfortunate Traveller* with reference to the page and line of the edition used for my analysis. Brackets in quotes with dots means that there was more text before or after the excerpt that completed a sentence.

- “Whosoever is acquainted with the state of a camp understands that in it be many quarters [...]” (255:10-11)
- “But poverty in the end parts friends.” (255:21-22)
- “Well, *Tendit ad sydera virtus*: there's great virtue belongs, I can tell you [...]” (256:1-2)
- “[...] of the spigot, most amply bewrays your lowly mind.” (257:13-14)
- “Any man that comes under the name of a soldier [...]” (257:16)
- “These considerations, I say, which the world suffers to slip by in the channel of forgetfulness, [...]” (257:20-21)
- “[...] forward I went as followeth.” (257:34)
- “By this drink, it grieves me so I am not able to repeat it...” (258:7-8)
- “[...]; and over my neck her throws himself very lubberly, [...]” (258:10-11)
- “The wheel under our city bridge carries not so much water over the city as my brain hath welled forth gushing streams of sorrow.” (258:31-33)
- “That which malice hath said is the mere overthrow and murder of your days.” (259:2-3)
- “[...], the King says flatly you are a miser and a snudge, [...]” (260:16-17)
- “[...], ‘questionless some planet that loves not cider hath conspired against me.’” (260:18-19)
- “[...], which is worse, the King hath vowed to give Turwin one hot breakfast [...]” (260:20-21)
- “The hunter pursuing the beaver for his stones, he bites them off and leaves them behind for him to gather up, whereby he lives quiet.” (260:29-31)
- “[...]there is too, for when all fails, well fare a good memory, [...]” (262:8)

- “Any man is a fine fellow as long as he hath any money in his purse.’ That money is like the marigold, which opens and shuts with the sun: if fortune smileth or one be in favour, it floweth; if the evening of age comes on, or he falls into disgrace, it fadeth and is not to be found.” (263:4-7)
- “My state, you are not ignorant, depends on a trencher service.” (263:27-28)
- “In the delays of siege, desert hardly gets a day of hearing: [...]” (263:29-30)
- “Resteth no way for you to climb suddenly,[...]” (263:32)
- “Marry, it requireth not so much resolution as discretion [...] (264:4-5)
- “[...](as you may, ere the King hath determined which way to go about it) [...]” (264:9-10)
- “[...]; how, as the eagle in his flying casts dust in the eyes of crows and other fowls [...]” (264:33-34)
- “[...]; drink, carouse and lecher with him out of whom he hopes to wring any matter; [...] (264:37&265:1-2)
- “[...]; yet usually those whom she denies her ordinary gifts in one thing, she doubles them in another. That which the ass wants in wit, he hath in honesty: who ever [...]” (265:28-30)
- “Though he live an hundred years you shall never hear that he breaks pasture. Amongst men, he that hath not a good with lightly hath a good iron memory, and he that hath neither of both hath some bones to carry [...] (265:32-34)
- “[...]; what need the snail care for eyes when he feels the way with his two horns [...]” (266:5-6)
- “There is a fish that having no wings supports herself in the air with her fins.” (266:7-9)
- “[...]; for what serpent is there but hides his sting?” (266:12-13)
- “[...]serpent with his winding tail fetcheth in those who come hear him, so with a ravishing tale it gathers all men’s hearts unto him; which if he have not, let him never look [...]” (266:15-18)
- “All these were good humours, but the tragedy followeth. The French King [...]” (267:35-36)
- “The sparrow for his lechery liveth but a year; he for his treachery [...]” (269:32-33)
- “[...] like a porridge pot on the fire when it first begins to seethe.” (270:13-14)
- “[...] foiled more water with washing than the camel doth, that never drinks till the whole stream be troubled.” (271:4-5)
- “[...] like a a thornblack or an elephant’s ear, that hangs on his shoulders like a country huswife’s banskin which she thirls her spindle on; [...]” (272:17-19)
- “That scripture then was not thought so necessary, which says ‘Earn thy living with the sweat of thy brows, [...]” (273:24-25)
- “Even as the salamander with his very sight blasteth apples on the trees, so a pursuivant [...]” (275:26-27)

- “[...], like a crow that still follows aloof where there is carrion, [...]” (277:12-13)
- “Peace, peace there in the belfry: service begins. Upon their knees before they join falls John Leiden and his fraternity very devoutly.” (279:20-22)
- “Wherein let me dilate a little more gravely than the nature of this story requires or will be expected [...]” (279:25-27)
- “But I pray you let me answer you: doth not Christ say that before the Latter Day [...]” (280:16-17)
- “[...], since the heat of a great number hath outraged so excessively.” (280:28-29)
- “That holy Jesus again repeats this holy sentence: ‘Remember [...]’ (280:18&281:1)
- “[...] soul shall lose it’: whosoever seeks by headlong means to enter into heaven [...]” (281:7-8)
- “[...] a-coining money in his cell. So fares it up and down with our cynical reformed foreign Churches.” (282:37&283:1)
- “[...] that is ruined, God never suffers unrevenged. I’ll say of it [...]” (283:19)
- “But he that serves God aright, whose upright conscience hath for his mot *Amor est mihi causa sequendi* (‘I serve because I love’), he says *Ego te potius, Domine, quam tua dona sequar*[...]” (284:11-14)
- “[...] *facile credunt*: ‘That which wretches would have they easily believe’) [...]” (285:9-10)
- “[...], like a father that weeps when he beats his child, yet still weeps and still beats, not without much ruth and sorrow [...]” (285:27-28)
- “[...] overthrew as many men every minute of the battle as there falls ears of corn before the scythe at [...]” (286:1-2)
- “Destiny never defames herself but when she lets an excellent poet to die.” (287:6-7)
- “[...] in the breasts of mortal men, certainly God hath bestowed that His perfectest image [...]” (287:8-9)
- “*Vatis avarus non temere est animus, saith* Horace, *versus amat, hoc studet unum*: ‘Seldom have you seen any poet possessed with avarice, only verses he loves, nothing else he delights in.’” (287:11-14)
- “He that knows himself and all things else knows the means to be happy; happy, thrice happy, are they whom God hath doubled His spirit upon[.]” (287:21-23)
- “[...]worshipped of any leaden brains, one that proclaims himself sole king and emperor of piercing eyes, and chief sovereign of soft hearts. He it is that, exercising his empire in my eyes, hath exorcised and clean conjured me from[.]” (288:8-11)
- “She it is that has come out of Italy to bewitch all the wise men of England. Upon Queen Catherine Dowager she waits, that hath a dowry of beauty sufficient to make her wooed [...]” (288:13-16)

- “[...], for absence, as they say, causeth forgetfulness.” (289:19-20)
- “[...]; fain would I have thee known where fame sits in her chiefest theatre. Farewell, forget me not.” (289:34-35)
- “*Hinc illae lachrimae*: here hence proceedeth the whole cause of my peregrination.” (290:5-6)
- “[...] in any ostentation of wit (which God knows, they had not) but to show [...]” (291:25-26)
- “[...] of a bird’s nest plucked in pieces, which consisteth of straw, hair and dirt mixed together.” (293:1-2)
- “[...] but with a plain empty can. He hath learning that hath learned to drink to his first man.” (293:34&294:1-3)
- “[...], and persuade thyself that even as garlic hath three properties - to make a [...]” (294:20-21)
- “A fifth spread his arms like an usher that goes before to make room, and thripped with his [...]” (296:11-12)
- “[...] that they count him excellent eloquent who stealeth, not whole phrases, but whole pages out of Tully. If of a number of shreds of his sentences he can shape an oration, from all the world he carries it away, although in truth [...]” (296:24-28)
- “[...] and that stag in his belly hath a kid, and that kid is stuffed full of birds.” (298:24-25)
- “Let them toss thee to world where all toil rests, Where all bliss is subject to no fear’s defeatings: Her praise I tune whose tongue doth tune the spheres, And gets new muses in her hearer’s ears.” (299:26-29)
- “Her bright brow drives the sun to clouds beneath. Her hairs’ reflex with red streaks paints the skies, Sweet morn and evening dew flows from her breath: Phoebe rules tides, she my tears’ tides forth draws, In her sick-bed love sits and maketh laws.” (299:31-35)
- “He that is a knight errant, exercised in the affairs of ladies and gentlewomen, hath more places to send money than the devil hath to send his spirits to.” (303:14-17)
- “I’ll stand to is, there is not a pander but hath vowed paganism. The devil himself is not such a devil as he, so be he perform his function aright.” (304:26-28)
- “[...] and have scripture continually in his mouth, he speeds the better.” (304:32-33)
- “Oh, it is the art of arts, and then ten thousand times goes beyond the intelligencer.” (305:3-4)
- “[...] he is not old who; he wants the best point in his tables.” (305:6-7)
- “[...] back of a swan; it doth me good when I remember her.” (306:6)
- “This age and this country of ours admits of some miraculous exceptions [...]” (306:23-24)

- “[...] motions in everything: iron only needs many strokes, only iron wits are not won without a long siege of entreaty. Gold easily bends; the most ingenious minds are easiest moved; *Ingenium nobis molle Thalai dedit saith* Psapho to Phao. Who hath no merciful mild mistress, I will maintain, hath no witty but a clownish, dull, phlegmatic puppy to his mistress.” (306:26-32)
- “[...] could no man remove him. Who loveth resolutely will include everything under the name of his love.” (307:29-31)
- “Means there was made after a month’s or two durance [...]” (308:32)
- “[...] had ten muses, as he saith himself, when he but tasted a cup of wine [...]” (310:1-2)
- “Singularly hath he commented of the humanity of Christ. Besides, as Moses set forth his Genesis, so hath he set forth his Genesis also, including the contents of the whole Bible. A notable treatise hath he compiled, called *I sette Psalmi poenentiarum*. All the Thomasos have cause to love him, because he hath dilated so magnificently of the life of Saint Thomas. There is a good thing thing that he hath set forth, *La vita della virgine Maria*, though it somewhat smell of superstition, with a number more [...]” (311:5-14)
- “[...] or ever was there, who hath not had a little spice of wantonness in his days?” (311:18-19)
- “Aretine, as long as the world lives, shalt thou live.” (311:20-21)
- “[...] and yet methinks so indefinite a spirit [...]” (311:24)
- “A toad swells with thick troubled poison; you swell with poisonous perturbations. Your malice hath not clear dram of any inspired disposition.” (311:27-30)
- “My principal subject plucks me by the elbow” (312:1)
- “[...] this my sweet mistress Diamante hath made me master of, which I knew not how[...](313:28-29)
- “A nobleman’s glory appeareth in nothing so much as in the pomp [...]” (314:12-13)
- “[...] be the ape of my birthright - as what nobleman hath not his ape and his fool?” (314:28-29)
- “His wings, which he never useth but running, being spread full sail, [...]” (317:15-16)
- “On either of his wings, as the estrich hath a sharp goad or prick wherewith he spurreth himself forward in his sail-assisted race [...]” (317:23-25)
- “[...] insomuch as the female of them hatcheth not her eggs by covering them but by the affectual rays of her eyes, as he, I say, outstrippeth the nimblest trippers of his feathered condition [...]” (318:5-8)
- “No other man takes pity upon us.” (321:17-18)
- “The rich prey makes the thief.” (322:1-2)
- “[...] *Et addit et addimit*: ‘Your beauty both bereaves and restores my sight.’ Another, a siren smiling when the sea rageth and ships are overwhelmed, including a cruel woman that laughs, sings and scorns at her lover’s tears and the tempests [...]” (322:11-15)

- “[...] whose name (as my memory serveth me) was Paschal de’ Medicis, [...]” (324:1-2)
- “[...] dead do stink out of measure; Saint Austin compareth heretics unto them. The chiefest thing [...]” (325:7-8)
- “[...]name of the place I remember not, but it is as one goes to Saint Paul’s Church not far from the Jews’ Piazza. [...]” (325:17-18)
- “[...] frivolous to specify, since he thath hath but once drunk with a traveller talks of them.” (326:3-4)
- “[...] shrill-breasted birds as the summer hath allowed for singing men in her sylvan chapels.” (328:13-14)
- “[...] if any demand how the wind was breathed, forsooth the tail of the silver pipe[...]
- “As the elephant understands his country speech, so every beast understood what man spoke.” (329:29-30)
- “[...] for there was no winter, but a perpetual spring, as Ovid saith. No frosts to make the green [...]” (329:31-32)
- “Whether superstition or no makes them unprofitable servants, that let pulpits decide; [...]” (330:13-14)
- “[...] I was a sojourner there, there entered such a hotspurred plague as hath not been heard of. Why, it was but a word [...]” (330:26-27)
- “Even as, before a gun is shot off, a stinking smoke funnels out and prepares the way for him, so before any gave up the ghost, [...]” (331:16-18)
- “[...], dissolute homicide, death’s usurper! Here lies my husband stone cold on the dewy floor.” (333:8-9)
- “In the time of security, every man sinneth, but when death substitutes one friend his special bailie to arrest another by infection, and disperseth his quiver into ten thousand hands at once, who is it but looks about him. A man that hath an inevitable huge stone hanging only by a hair over his head, which he looks, every Pater-Nosterwhile, [...]” (333:28-32)
- “God’s hand like a huge stone hangs inevitably over thy head.” (334:2-3)
- “[...] there be a general or captain new com home from the wars and hath some four or five hundred crowns overplus of the King’s in his hand, and his soldiers all paid, he makes proclamation that whatsoever two resolute men will go to [...]” (335:10-13)
- “[...], which a hundred times and more hath paid me custom of crowns, when the poor fellows have gone [...]” (335:19-20)
- “[...] like a traitor that is drawn to execution on a hurdle, he traileth her up and down the chamber [...]” (336:8-10)
- “[...], is born to have an end. Thus ends my tale: his whorish lust was glugged, [...]” (336:27-28)

- “[...] sharp conceit of compassion. A woman that hath viewed all her children sacrificed before her eyes, [...]” (336:33-34)
- “[...] that am predestinate to this horrible cause? The hog dieth presently if he loseth an eye; with the hog have I [...]” (337:34-36)
- “[...] hand of unchastity. What remaineth but I die? Die I will, though life will be unwilling.” (338:1-2)
- “My distressed heart, as the hart whenas he loseth his horns is astonied and sorrowfully runneth to hide himself, so be thou afflicted and distressed.” (338:31-32&339:1)
- “Here beginneth my purgatory. For he, good man, coming [...]” (339:24)
- “[...], scaped dancing in hempen circle. He that hath gone through many peril and returned safe from them makes but a merriment to dilate them.” (340:2-4)
- “[...] (whom this gentleman hath named). There did he justify all those rapes in manner and form as the prisoner here hath confessed. But lo, an accident [...]” (340:31-32)
- “He is nobody, that hath not travelled: we had rather live as slaves in another land [...]” (341:26-27)
- “[...] look, nor do anything but what pleaseth them, than live as freemen and lords in our country.” (341:30-31)
- “I have heard of a box on the ear that hath been revenged thirty year after. The Neapolitan carrieth the bloodiest mind, and is the most secret fleering [...]” (342:15-18)
- “The only precept that a traveller hath most use of and shall find most ease in [...]” (342:22-23)
- “*Multi fallere docuerunt* (as Seneca saith) *dum timent falli*: ‘‘Many by showing their [...]” (342:26-27)
- “Be his feature what it will, if he be fair spoken he winneth friends. *Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses* [...]” (343:7-9)
- “From Spain what bringeth our traveller? A skull-crowned hat of the fashion of an old deep porringer, [...]” (344:18-19)
- “[...] with Turkey grogeran ravelled; if short, it hath a cape like a calf’s tongue and is not so deep in his whole length nor hath so much cloth in it, I will justify, as only the standing cape of a Dutchman’s cloak. I have not yet touched all, for he hath in either shoe as much taffatie for his tyings as would serve for an ancient; which serveth him (if you will have the mystery of it) of the own accord for a shoe-rag. A soldier and a braggart he is (that’s concluded). He jetteth strouting, dancing on his toes with his hands under his sides. If you talk with him, he makes a dishcloth of his own country in comparison of Spain, but if you urge him more particularly wherein it exceeds, he can give no instance but ‘in Spain they [...]’ (344:28-33 & 345:1-7)

- “Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure’s heaven, how doth it form our young master? It makes him to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a straveling, and play at heypass, repass come aloft, when he salutes a man. From hence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodomitry. The only probable good thing they have to keep us from utterly condemning it is that it maketh a man an excellent courtier [...]” (345:13-21)
- “[...] or brand on a notorious villain, to say he hath been in Italy.” (345:24-25)
- “[...] in the midst of dinner. He hurts himself only that goes thither; he cannot lightly be damned, [...]” (345:29-30)
- “Believe me, no air, no bread, no fire, no water doth a man any good out of his own country. let no man for any transitory pleasure sell away the inheritance he hath of breathing in the place where he was born.” (346:28-33)
- “[...] I fell into it, as a man falls in a ship from the orlop into the hold, [...]” (347:25-26)
- “It is not concealed from me,’ saith he, ‘that the time of your accustomed yearly anatomy is at hand, which he behooves you under forfeiture of the foundation [...]” (348:12-15)
- “Miserable is that mouse that lives in the physician’s house. Tantalus lives not so hunger-starved in hell as she doth there. Not the very crumbs that fall from his table, but Zacharie sweeps together and of them moulds up a manna. Of the ashy [...]” (349:30-34)
- “His snot and spittle a hundred times he hath put over to his apothecary for snow-water.” (350:2-4)
- “For Doctor Zacharie,’ quoth she, ‘your ten-times ungrateful physician, since notwithstanding his treacherous intent, he hath much art and many sovereign simples, oils, gargarisms [...]” (351:10-13)
- “Good drink makes good blood, so that piss is nothing but blood under age.” (352:2-3)
- “[...] brute beast a cook or a butcher deals upon dies bleeding. To die with a prick , [...]” (352:5-6)
- “[...] into my chamber? What hath he done? Or where had you him? [...]” (352:19-20)
- “‘But why should not I conjecture the worst?’ quoth she. ‘I tell you troth, I am in a jealousy he is some fantastic youngster who hath hired you to dishonour me.” (352:32-35)
- “[...] farther chamber at the end of the gallery that looks into the garden. You, my trim panders, [...]” (353:4-5)
- “[...] such are all women, each of them hath a cloak for the rain and can bear her husband’s eyes as she list.” (353:9-11)
- “There is a toad-fish, which taken out of the water swells more than one would think his skin could hold, and bursts in his face that toucheth him.” (354:8-11)
- “As long as they either have oil or wine, this plague feeds but pitingly upon them.” (355:10-11)

- “[...], the Marquis of Mantua’s wife, and no other, that hath plotted our confusion. Ask not how, [...]” (355:14-15)
- “‘I have, I am for you,’ quoth Zadoch. ‘Diamante, come forth. Here’s a wench,’ said he, ‘of as clean a skin as Susanna. She hath not a wem on her flesh from the sole of the foot [...]’” (355:34-36)
- “[...] dowry to thy marriage. I know thy master loves thee dearly, though he will not let thee perceive so much. He intends after he is dead to make thee his heir, for he hath no children.” (356:9-12)
- “[...] the Countess of Mantua, his concubine, and hath put his trust in me, his physician, to have her quietly [...]” (356:14-15)
- “I will not say whether the Pope hath heard of thee, and thou mayest come to be his leman [...]” (356:20-22)
- “[...], and sold to this Jew for a bond-woman, ‘who,’ quoth she, ‘hath used me so jewishly and tyrannously that for ever I must celebrate the memory of this day wherein I am delivered from his jurisdiction. Alas’ (quoth she, deep sighing), ‘why did I enter into any mention of my own misusage?’” (357:15-20)
- “[...], when the Ambassador of Spain comes and presents a milk-white jennet to the Pope, that kneels down upon his own accord in token of obeisance and humility before him, and lets him stride on his back as easy as one strides over a block.” (360:13-17)
- “No music that hath the gift of utterance, but sounds all the while.” (360:18-19)
- “[...] footcloth belonging to any Cardinal but attends on the tail of triumph.” (360:22-23)
- “[...] to the Ambassador’s house to dinner, and thither resorts all the assembly; [...]” (360:25-26)
- “[...] half so well with words, as he doth his guests with junkets.” (360:28-29)
- “A thief, they say, mistakes any bush for a true man; the wind rattled not in [...]” (362:27-28)
- “Water poured forth sinks down quietly into the earth, but blood spilt on the ground sprinkles up to the firmament.” (363:14-15)
- “[...] blood of the slaughtered innocent, but the soul, ascendeth to His throne, and there cries out and exclaims for justice and recompense.” (363:17-19)
- “He it is that when your patience sleepeth will be most exceeding mindful of you.” (363:24-25)
- “Thus Cutwolfe begins his insulting oration:” (363:26-27)
- “For thy brother’s death, the despair of mind that hath ever since haunted me, the guilty [...]” (365:13-14)
- “Thy overhanging sword hides heaven from my sight.” (365:23-24)

- “[...] meanest to kill me. Nothing confounds me like to sudden terror; it thrusts every sense out of office. Poison wrapped up in sugared pills is but half a poison; the fear of death’s looks are more terrible than this stroke.” (365:28-31)
- “Fear never engenders hope: how can I hope that heaven’s Father will save me from the hell everlasting, when He gives me over the hell of thy fury?” (365:33-35)
- “In revenge of thee, God hardens this man’s heart against me. Yet I did not slaughter thee, though hundreds else my hand hath brought to the shambles.” (365:36-37 & 366:1-3)
- “This murder is a house divided within itself. It suborns a man’s own soul to inform against him. His soul, being his accuser, brings forth his two eyes as witnesses against him, [...]” (366:9-11)
- “[...]; it is another world’s tranquility which makes me so timorous - everlasting damnation, [...]” (366:26-28)
- “[...] grinding them together for anger when any hath named thee. My tongue with vain threats [...]” (367:11-12)
- “Be it Pope, Emperor or Turk that displeaseth thee, he shall not breath on the earth.” (367:29-30)
- “[...] in contempt of Christianity. Heaven hath thundered when half less contumelies against it have been uttered.” (368:21-23)
- “This is the fault that hath called me hither; no true Italian but will honour me for it.” (369:3-4)
- “[...] it is properly ascribed; His sceptre He lends unto man when He lets one man scourge another.” (369:8-9)
- “He would crack necks as fast as a cook cracks eggs; a fiddler cannot turn his [...]” (369:21-22)
- “Unsearchable is the book of our destinies. One murder begenneth another; was never yet bloodshed barren from [...]” (369:37&370:1)

ANNEXE IV

Forms in context in *The Terrors of the Night*

The following quotes illustrating all the forms in (E)TH and (E)S from *Terrors of the Night* are listed here in the same format as those in Annexe III

- “The night of the devil's Black Book, wherein he recordeth all our transgressions” (208:8-9)
- “Even as, when a condemned man is put into a dark dungeon, secluded from all comfort of light and company, he doth nothing but despairfully call to mind his graceless former life [...]” (208:9-12)
- “[...] so when night in her rusty dungeon hath imprisoned our eye-sight, and that we are shut separately in our chambers from resort, the devil keepeth his audit in our guilty consciences, no sense but surrenders to our memory a true bill of parcels of his detestable impieties.” (208:15-19)
- “The rest we take in our beds is such another kind of rest as the weary traveller taketh in the cool soft grass in summer, who thinking there to lie at ease and refresh his tired limbs, layeth his fainting head unawares on a loathsome nest of snakes.” (208:22-26)
- “The only peace of mind that the devil hath is despair, wherefore we that live on his nightly kingdom of darkness must needs taste some disquiet.” (209:9-11)
- “The day is our good angel, the dove, that returneth to our eyes with an olive branch of peace in his mouth [...]” (209:15-17)
- “[...] the night is that ill angel the raven, which never cometh back to bring any good tidings of tranquility: a continual messenger he is of dole and misfortune.” (209:18-21)
- “This cursed raven, the night, pecks out men's eyes in the valley of death.” (209:22-23)
- “It hindreth them from looking to heaven for soccour, where their Redeemer dwelleth.” (209:24-26)
- “This being proved, that the devil is a special predominant planet of the night, and that our creator for our punishment hath allotted it him as his peculiar signory and kingdom, from his inveterate envy I will amplify the ugly terrors of the night.” (209:27-31)
- “Sufficeth us to have this heedful knowledge of him, that he is an ancient malcontent, and seeketh to make any one desperate like himself.” (209:34-36)
- “Like a cunning fowler, to this end he spreadeth his nets of temptation in the dark, that men might not see to avoid them. As the poet saith: [...]” (209:36&210:1-2)
- “Therefore in another place(which it cannot be but the devil hath read) he counseleth thus: [...]” (210:5-6)

- “When hath the devil commonly first appeared unto any man but in the night?” (210:9-10)
- “In the day he may smoothly is some mild shape insinuate, but in the night he takes upon himself like a tyrant.” (210:28-30)
- “A general principle it is, he that doth ill hateth the light.” (210:31-32)
- “This Machiavellian trick hath he in him worth the noting, that those whom he dare not united or together encounter, disjoined and divided he will one by one assail in their sleep.” (210:33&211:1-3)
- “In the quiet silence of the night he will be sure to surprise us, when he unfallibly knows we shall be unarmed to resist, and there will be full auditory granted him to undermine or persuade when he lists.” (211:8-11)
- “Children, fools, sick-men or madmen, he is most familiar with, for he still delights to work upon the advantage, and to them he boldly revealeth the whole astonishing treasury of his wonders.” (211:19-22)
- “It will be demanded why in the likeness of one's father or mother, or kiskfolks, he oftentimes presents himself unto us.” (211:23-25)
- “No other reason can be given of it but this, that in those shapes which he supposeth most familiar unto us, and that we are inclined to with a natural kind of love, we will sooner harken to him than otherwise.” (211:26-29)
- “A rich man delights in nothing so much as to be uncessantly raking in his treasury, to be turning over his rusty gold every hour.” (212:3-4)
- “The bones of the dead, the devil counts his chief treasury, and therefore is he continually raking amongst them; [...]” (212:4-6)
- “[...] and the rather he doth it, that the living which hear it should be more unwilling to die, insomuch as after death their bones should take no rest.” (212:6-8)
- “Chrisostom saith the air and the earth are alluded when he said nature made no voidness in the whole universal; [...]” (212:16-17)
- “Don Lucifer himself, their grand Capitano, asketh no better throne than a blear eye to set up his state in.” (212:23-24)
- “[...] what makes a dog run mad but a worm in his tongue?” (213:10-11)
- “Hence it comes that mares, as Columella reporteth, looking their forms in the water run mad.” (213:22-24)
- “A fela is but a little beast, yet if she were not possessed with a spirit, she could never leap and skip as she doth.” (213:24-26)
- “Froisard saith the Earl of Foix had a familiar that predated itself unto him in the likeness of two rushes fighting one with another.” (213:26-28)
- “Not so much as Tewkesbury mustard but hath a spirit in it or else it would never bite so.” (213:28-30)

- “What their names are and under whom they are governed *The Discovery of Witchcraft* hath amplified at large, wherefore I am exempted from that labour.” (214:13-15)
- “A humor of monarchizing and nothing else it is, which makes them affect rare qualified studies.” (215:2-5)
- “Water, you all know, breedeth a medley kind of liquor called beer; [...]” (215:9-10)
- “A quagmire consisting of mud and sand sendeth forth the like puddly mixture.” (215:12-13)
- “Thus much observe by the way, that the grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humour, which in the spleen congealed whose office is to disperse it, with his thick steaming fenny vapours casteth a mist over the spirit and clean bemasketh the fantasy.” (217:1-6)
- “[...], still still thickening as it stands still, [...]” (217:9-10)
- “[...], engendereth many misshapen objects in our imaginations.” (217:10-11)
- “So from the fuming melancholy of our spleen mounteth that hot matter into the higher region of the brain, [...]” (217:15-17)
- “Our reason even like drunken fumes it displaceth and intoxicates, and yields up our intellective apprehension to be mocked [...]” (217:18-20)
- “[...] every false object or counterfeit noise that comes near it.” (217:21)
- “Herein specially consisteth our senses’ deflect and abuse, [...]” (217:22)
- “Lightly this extremity of melancholy never cometh, but before some notable sickness; [...]” (217:32)
- “A dream is nothing else but a bubbling scum or froth of the fancy, which the day hath left undigested; [...]” (218:8-9)
- “[...], since it scarce hath been heard there were ever two that dreamed alike.” (218:12-13)
- “[...] with such force that it flieth far beyond the mark [...]” (218:16-17)
- “Let it but affirm it hath seen a spirit, [...]” (218:18-19)
- “There is no man put to any torment, but quaketh and trembleth a great while after the executioner hath withdrawn his hand from him [...]” (218:21-23)
- “[...] dazzling of a man’s eyes when he comes newly out of the bright sun [...]” (218:29-31)
- “[...] while sleep our surgeon hath us in cure.” (218:38-39)
- “He that dreams merrily is like a boy [...]” (219:1)
- “[...], who leaps and danceth for joy his pain is passed.” (219:1-2)
- “But long that joy stays not with him, for presently [...]” (219:2-3)
- “[...], seeing him so jocund and pleasant, comes and does as much for him again, [...]” (219:4-5)

- “[...] where every one strikes his next fellow.” (219:10)
- “[...] whereon we build in the day, comes some superfluous humour of us, [...]” (219:18-19)
- “[...] in the night, and erects a puppet stage or some such [...]” (219:20-21)
- “But otherwhile it falls out that one echo borrowes of another; [...]” (219:25-26)
- “[...]then we suppose the night mare rides us.” (220:1-2)
- “Any meat that in the daytime we eat against our stomachs, begetteth a dismal dream [...]” (220:7-8)
- “Discontent also in dreams hath no little predominance; [...]” (220:8-9)
- “[...], the mud dispersingly ascendeth from the bottom to the top, [...]” (220:10-11)
- “Let it but affirm it hath seen a spirit, though it be [...]” (220:18-19)
- “[...] one day, digested by our liver, swimmeth like oil above water [...]” (220:21-22)
- “[...] rightly termed women’s melancholy, which lasteth but for an hour [...]” (220:23-24)
- “[...] the other sinketh down to the bottom like the lees [...]” (220:25)
- “[...], and that corrupteth all the blood and is the causer [...]” (220:26)
- “Ah, woe be to the solitary man that hath his sins continually about him, that hath no withdrawing place from the devil and his temptations.” (220:34-36)
- “Methinks they should imagine that hell embraceth them around, when she overspreads them with her black pitchy mantle.” (221:2-4)
- “[...] as to those whose accusing private guilt expects mischief every hour for their merit.” (221:5-6)
- “Wonderful superstitious are such persons in observing every accident that befalls them; [...]” (221:7-8)
- “[...] one quiet day, that once hath given himself over to be her slave.” (221:10-11)
- “[...] or his eyes smart, but his destiny stands upon her trial, and still [...]” (221:12-13)
- “If he chance to kill a spider, he hath supressed an enemy; [...]” (221:16-17)
- “[...] of the prodigies this country sends forth, if it were not [...]” (223:6-7)
- “[...], over which no fowl flies but is frozen to death, nor any man passeth but he is senselessly benumbed [...]” (223:11-13)
- “[...] hideous roaring of his waters when the winter breaketh up, and the ice in his dissolving gives a terrible crack [...]” (223:15-16)

- “[...] stinking smoke issues, that wellnigh poisons the whole country.” (223:18-19)
- “[...] a fish to the hook that carries any silver in the mouth.” (224:6)
- “[...] in the morning till we have seen on which hand the crow sits.” (225:2-3)
- “[...] how they foretold long before by dreams and beasts’ and birds’ entrails the loss of such a battle, [...]” (225:30-31)
- “[...] not a barrelled herring or a piece of poor-john that looks ill on it, but they will bring [...]” (228:2-3)
- “[...] good tavern or ordinary; where it is no sooner alive, but it is greedlily anstched up by some dappert Mansieur Diego, who lives by telling of news, and false dice, and may it be hath a pretty insight into the cards also, [...]” (228:8-12)
- “This needy gallant, with the qualities aforesaid, straight trudgeth to some nobleman’s to dinner, and there enlargeth the rumour of this new physician, comments upon every glass and vial that he hath, raleth on our Galenists, and calls them dull gardeners and hay-makers in a man’s belly, compares them to dogs, who when they are sick eat grass, and says there are no better than pack or malt-horses, [...]” (228:15-21)
- “With this strange tale the noblemen inflamed desires to be acquainted with him; what does me he, but goes immediately and breaks with this mountebank, telling him if he will divide his gains with him, he will bring him in custom [...]” (228:26-30)
- “The hungry druggier, ambitious after preferment, agrees to anything, and to Court he goes; where, being come to interview, he speaks nothing but broken English like a French doctor, pretending to have forgotten his natural tongue by travel when he hath never been farther than either the Low Countries or Ireland [...]” (228:32 & 229:1-5)
- “Sufficeth he set a good face on it, and will swear he can extract a better balsamum [...]” (229:7-8)
- “[...] yea, all receipts and authors you can name he sylogizeth of, and makes a pish at, in comparison of them he hath seen and read; whose names if you ask, he claps you in the mouth with a half-a-dozen spruce title, never till he invented them heard of by any Christian. But this is most certain: if he be of any sect, he is a metal-brewing Paracelsian, having not passed one or two probatums for all diseases. Put case he be called to practice, he excuseth it by great cures he hath in hand; and will not [...]” (229:9-17)
- “[...] his unrecoverable extremity, he comes gravely marching like a judge, and gives peremptory sentence of death; whereby [...]” (229:21-22)
- “But how he comes to be the Devil’s secretary, all this long tale unrips not.” (229:24-25)
- “This is the *Tittle est amen* of it: that when he waxeth stale, and all his pisspots are cracked and will no longer hold water, he sets up a conjuring school and undertakes to play the bawd to Lady Fortune.” (229:30-33)
- “Not a thief or a cut-purse, but a man that he keeps doth associate with, and is of their fraternoty; only that his master when anything is stolen may tell who it is that hath it.” (230:1-3)

- “Contrary factions enbosom unto him their inwardest complots, whilst he like a crafty jack-a-both-sides, as if he had a spirit at his elbow, reciprocally embowelleth to the one what the other goes about, receiving no intelligence [...]” (230:9-13)
- “[...] ceremonies; he sees all princes have left off their states, and he leaves off this state too and will not be invocated with such solemnity as he was wont.” (230:22-24)
- “Private and disguised, he passeth to and fro, and is in a thousand places in an hour.” (230:25-26)
- “[...] of sale, and so he chaffers with wizards and witches every hour.” (230:29-30)
- “Now the world is almost at end, he hath left form and is all for matter; and like an embroiderer or a tailor, he maketh haste of work against a good time, which is the Day of Judgment. Therefore, you goodmen exorcisers, his old acquaintance, must pardon him, though (as heretofore) he stay not to dwell upon compliments.” (230:31-34 & 231:1-2)
- “Such a dream is not altogether ridiculous or impertinent, for it keeps flesh and blood from despair. All other are but as dust we raise by our steps, which awhile mounteth aloft and annoyeth our eye-sight, but presently disperseth and vanisheth.” (231:20-24)
- “[...] and now that he is thoroughly steeled in his scutchery, he plays above-board boldly, and sweeps more stakes than ever he did before.” (231:28-30)
- “[...] that one may as well by the smoke that comes out of a kitchen guess what meat is there a-broach [...]” (232:3-5)
- “He that is spiced with the gout or the dropsy frequently dreameth of fetters and manacles [...]” (232:12-13)
- “[...]; and even as fire maketh iron like itself, so the fiery [...]” (233:9)
- “And when a man is ready to drown, he takes hold of anything that is next to him, [...]” (233:14-15)
- “[...] with any overboiling humour which sourceth highest in our stomachs.” (233:17-18)
- “[...] arts of physiognomy and palmistry, wherein who beareth most palm and praise is the palpablest fool and crepundio.” (233:23-25)
- “Lives there any such slow, ice-brained, [...]” (233:25)
- “[...] his hand is writhen and plaited, and every day alters as he alters his employments or pastimes; [...]” (233:34-35)
- “[...] we collect that he which hath a hand so brawned interlined useth such-and-such toils or recreations; [...]” (233:36 & 234:1)
- “[...] of dreams reckon me one that hath happened just, and I’ll set down [...]” (234:32-33)
- “[...] whose best bottom quintessence proves in the end but sandy gravel and cockle.” (236:11-12)
- “Molestations and cares enough the ordinary course of our life tithes of his own accord unto us, [...]” (236:13-14)
- “Dreams in my mind if they have any premonstrances in them, [...]” (236:23-24)

- “[...], whereas sickness is like a Chancery suit, which hangs two or three year ere it can come to a judgment.” (236:28-30)
- “[...], ready to be whipped, to whom his master stands preaching a long time all law [...]” (236:34-35)
- “[...], whereas he that is in a consumption continues languishing many years ere death have mercy on him.” (237:7-8)
- “[...] who still in expectation of a good voyage endures more miseries than Job. He that writes this can tell, for he hath never had good voyage in his life [...]” (237:14-17)
- “[...] in the last re-polished edition of his *Britannia* hath most elaborate and exactly described the sovereign plenteous situation of that isle, as also the inestimable happiness it inherits, it being patronized and [...]” (237:32-35)
- “[...] in my most forsaken extremities, right graciously he hath deigned to revive and refresh me, may rashly, [...]” (238:4-6)
- “[...] or least respite to call my wits together, principal and immediate proceedeth from him.” (238:22-23)
- “[...] and yet fear hath no limits, for to hell and beyond hell it sinks down and penetrates.” (239:13-14)
- “[...] who to that secret smarting pain he hath already do add a further sting [...]” (239:30-31)
- “[...] man who is mocked of his fortune, he that hath consumed his brains to compass prosperity and meets with no countervailment in her likeness, but hedge wine and lean mutton and peradventure some half-eyed good-looks that can hardly be discerned from winking; this poor piteous perplexed miscreant either finally despairs, or like a lank frostbitten plant loseth his vigour or spirit by little and little; [...]” (240:1-7)
- “His soul hath left his body; for why it is flying [...]” (240:9)
- “[...] which when they vanish to nothing, it likewise vanisheth with them.” (240:11-12)
- “Excessive joy no less hath his defective and joyless operations, the spleen into water it molteth; so that expect it be some momentary bubbles of mirth, nothing it yields but a cloying surfeit of repentance.” (240:13-16)
- “[...] content and over-ravished delight hath brought untimely to their graves.” (240:18-19)
- “[...] whom the very extremity of laughter hath bereft of their lives; [...]” (240:20-21)
- “[...] who in the midst of his pain falls delighted asleep, and in that suavity of slumber surrenders the ghost, whereas he whom grief undertakes to bring to his end, hath his heart gnawen in sunder [...]” (240:26-30)
- “[...] *Unusquisque fingit fortunam sibi*: everyone shapes his own fortune as he lists. More aptly may it be said: everyone shapes his own fears and fancies as he list. (240:35-36 & 241:1-2)
- “[...] and knew as well as the best what belongs to haling of bolings yate and falling on the starboard buttock.” (242:10-12)

- “[...] and yet methinks it comes off too gouty and lumbering.” (245:25-26)
- “[...] as mould butter, and the dew lies like frothy barm on the ground.” (246:9-10)
- “Out upon it, I am weary of it, for it hath caused such a thick fulsome serena to descend on my brain that now my pen makes blots as broad as a furred stomacher, and my muse inspires me to put out my candle and go to bed; and yet I will not neither, till, after all these nights’ revels I have solemnly bid you [...]” (247:24-29)
- “[...] and disfigure the ill English face, that God hath given you with Tuscan glicks [...]” (248:30-31)
- “[...] the night likewise hath an infernal to act before ye.” (249:1-2)
- “[...] adjudging him the best right that brings the richest present unto them.” (249:17-18)
- “[...] to add the more probability and credence unto it, he dismally beginneth to tell how it was dark night [...]” (249:30-31)
- “[...] for never is the devil so busy as then, and then he thinks he may as well undiscovered walk abroad, [...]” (249:35-37)
- “[...] heathen fables, methinks those doleful quiristers of the night, [...]” (250:1-2)
- “The second puts us in mind of the end and punishment of lust and ravishment.” (250:7-8)
- “[...] that he who in the day doth not a good works enough to answer [...]” (250:17-18)

