Historical Linguistic Studies of Spoken English

edited by

Antonio Bertacca

Papers read at the 11th Italian Conference on the History of the English Language (Pisa, 5-7 June 2003)



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IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

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111

Elisabetta Lonati

SPELLING VS. PRONUNCIATION DEBATE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION Antonio Bertacca	p	~1
SECTION I PLENARY LECTURES		•
PHONOTACTICS OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH Katarzyma Dziubalska-Kołaczyk	*	15
THE DYING DIALECTS OF ENGLAND? David Britain	*	35
SECTION II PHONOLOGY AND PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE		
SURFING OLD ENGLISH VOWELS Paola Tornaghi	*	49
WHEN WAS MARY MAGDALENE SET 'AFEYR'? THE REPRESENTATION OF ME I THROUGH THE <ey>-PHONETICAL SPELLING IN SOME NORFOLK WORKS OF THE LATE 15th CENTURY Stefania M. Maci</ey>	*	ස
THOMAS TOMKIS'S <i>DE ANALOGIA ANGLICANI SERMONIS LIBER GRAMMATICUS</i> (1612): EARLY RECORDS OF CONNECTED SPEECH FEATURES Giuliana Russo	* 7	79
"SIMILITUDES ARE THE COMMON FIELD WHEREIN ERROR IS SOWN AND DOES MOST THRIVE" PRONUNCIATION CHANGES AND HOMOPHONES IN SOME 17 ^{TI} -CENTURY ENGLISH GRAMMARS Alessandra Vicentini	*	87
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY "PROPER" AND "CORRECT" ENGLISH: ANNE FISHER'S AND WILLIAM PERRY'S DESCRIPTIONS OF "TRUE PRONUNCIATION" Massimo Sturiale	*	97

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE DISCOURSE MARKER <i>OKAY</i> Virginia Pulcini - Adriana Teresa Damascelli	THE DEVELOPMENT OF I SEE/YOU SEE AS DISCOURSE MARKERS: GRAMMATICALIZATION AS COMPLEXIFICATION? Patrizia Pesola - Marcella Bertuccelli Papi	SOME FEATURES OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE THAT HAVE SURFACED AND MARKED THE PHYSIOGNOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY OF ENGLISH Rolando Bacchielli	ADAM SMITH'S LECTURES ON JURISPRUDENCE: EVALUATIVE ASPECTS Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti	"SIR, I AM NOT AN ORDINARY PRISONER": TERMS OF ADDRESS AND SELF-PRESENTATION IN THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I Nicholas Brownlees	"AVAUNT, CAITIFF! DOST THOU 'THOU' ME?": DIALOGUE AS MIRROR OF FACE-TO-FACE INTERACTION IN EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA Roberta Mullini	" A ROGHLYCH RURD ROWNED IN HIS ERE": PROSODIC TRAITS IN <i>PATIENCE</i> (MS COTTON NERO A X) Maria Luisa Maggioni	A TREATISE ON THE ASTROLABE: BREDE AND MILKE FOR CHILDEREN AN ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES OF FACE-TO-FACE INTERACTION Elena Armida Olivari	SECTION III LEXICO-SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF SPOKEN ENGLISH	COCKNEY: A REAPPRAISAL Susan Kermas	PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONS OF ITALIAN, FRENCH, DUTCH AND GERMAN BORROWINGS IN ENGLISH: A SEMANTIC CONCERN Laura Pinnavaia
¥	*	*	*	*	¥	*	¥		*	*
231	207	197	185	175	163	153	145		129	119

SPELLING VS. PRONUNCIATION DEBATE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

ELISABETTA LONATI

The aim of this paper is to discuss one of the most controversial aspects of eighteenth-century English linguistic debate, that is the divergence between orthography and pronunciation, as well as the attempts to solve their disagreement. The analysis is based on some linguistic entries from Chambers' Cyclopaedia (Cy.1728) and the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Br. 1768-1771) to outline the way the compilers deal with the contentious relationship between writing and speaking, signs and sounds. The choice to ground the research on these two works depends on the very nature of this new textual genre. The encyclopaedic text – which appears and develops throughout the century – represents the ideal site to popularize eighteenth-century scientific principles and fosters the circulation of new opinions. These encyclopaedias offer the occasional but educated reader the possibility to know diverse and manifold points of view about a given topic: they record the scientific progress and mirror the state of the art in almost every branch of knowledge. For this reason, they have – or may have – practical outcomes, urging to find solutions to the questions they treat.

Such premises done, two are the main concerns of the debate:

- the topic general discussion, that is to say to what extent and how the two encyclopaedias handle the matter;
- 2. the metalanguage used to describe the two linguistic levels, orthographic and phonological.

My starting point is the entry Orthography, one of the four branches of Grammar¹: in the Cy Orthography is said to be "the art of writing, or spelling justly, and with all the necessary letters. See Writing and Spelling", while the Br declares that "Orthography [...] teaches the nature and affections of letters, and the just method of spelling or writing words with all the proper and necessary letters, making one of the four branches of grammar. See Grammar".

Both encyclopaedias express the idea of 'propriety', the exact meaning of which is however not clear. The Br refers to some "just method" and "necessary letters" without any other specifications: but given the fact that a method has been mentioned, it may be supposed to exist and to be considered the 'correct' or, rather, the 'appropriate' system to refer to. However, it is not clearly expressed: neither rules are mentioned, nor definite information is given the reader to single it out.

The "letters" referred to should be those established by the above-said "method". Yet, the concept is not definitely stated, and a certain ambiguity transpires: it is not clear whether the

¹Cy 1728: "Grammar is divided by some Authors, into four Parts, Orthography, Prosody, Elymology, and Syntax."; Br 1768-71: "...] grammarians have usually divided this subject into four distinct heads, vt. ORTHOGRAPHY, or the art of combining letters into syllables, and syllables into words; ETYMOLOGY, or the art of deducting one word from another, and the various modifications by which the sense of any one word can be diversified; SYNTAX, or what relates to the construction or due disposition of the words of a language into sentences or phrases; and PROSODY, or that which treats of the quantities and accents of syllables; and the art of making verses".

"just method" takes – or does not take – into account the phonological evolution while speaking of "necessary letters".

In the Cy the entry Orthography foreshadows that of the Br but it is much longer: the concept of 'rightness-propriety' – expressed in this case as well by "justly" (Br "just") – does not refer to any method, more or less specified, but it is clear that "spelling justly" involves the use of "necessary letters". Here, as elsewhere, the ambiguity of "necessary" remains.

The debate gets to the heart of the matter when it is stated that modern languages are difficult to learn because of the disagreement between spelling and pronunciation: in fact, "That Diversity found in most of the modern Languages [...] between the Pronunciation and Orthography, makes one of the principal Difficulties in acquiring 'em; yet does it arise from the same Source as the Languages themselves" (Cy Orthography).

Hence, the divergence between sign and sound – or signs and sounds – is not bound to a particular historical language but to the nature of language as such and to the changes it undergoes.

This is the reason why such natural inconsistency needs a quick and certain answer: some grammarians believe that the "antient Orthography" should be maintained so that "the Origin and Etymology of Words borrow'd from the Greek and Latin" can be distinguishable because

it does not matter what Characters are used to express Sounds in writing, provided one know the relation between those Characters and the Sounds they represent [...]. [However,] Attempts have been since made to reduce the Writing to the Pronunciation, or to make us write as we speak. Which has occasion'd great Disputes [...]. What is alledged for the new Orthography, is, its being more commodious, natural, easy, short, &c. (Cy ORTHOGRAPHY).

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But such a diatribe would raise – as the compiler states – "great Disputes". Possibly, the best solution is a compromise between the two parties, "a middle Course between the two Extremes; retrenching the Letters² where they are absolutely useless" (Cy Orthography).

The entry ends with some considerations about the utter confusion between spelling and pronunciation in English, stating that

In the English the Orthography is more vague, and unascertain'd, than in any other Language we know of. Every Author, nay almost every Printer, has his particular system. Nay, 'tis scarce so well with us as that: We not only differ from one another: but there is scarce any that consists with himself (Cy Orthography).

Hence, if language necessarily changes and, for this reason, the disagreement between spelling and pronunciation is almost certain, authors and printers should not be allowed to choose their orthographic conventions according to their own needs, or rather their fancy.

The concepts expressed so far are better understood in the light of the entry Pronunciarion. The opening definitions are practically the same in the two works: in the Cy "Pronun-CIATION, in grammar, [is] the Manner of articulating or sounding the Words of a Language

² It is not clearly said that if "letters" are "useless", probably the corresponding phonemes have already been lost. Here, once more, the use of the term "letters" is not suitable, it would be better 'graphemes'.

represented to the Eye by Writing and Orthography", while the Br simply states that "Pro-NUNCIATION, in grammar, [is] the manner of articulating or sounding the words of a language".

In the case of the Br – which is always extremely concise and essential – the definition and the entry overlap perfectly; on the contrary, Chambers continues to stress what he had already discussed under Orthography, that is the divergence between writing and speaking. However, if in the entry Orthography the compiler's attitude seems to balance – "take a middle Course between the two Extremes" – between the "antient Orthography" and a "new Orthography", under Pronunciation the idea is clearer:

From the Definition it would seem; that the *Pronunciation* were only the Image of the Orthography. But as we pronounce before we write, and only write to express what we pronounce; 'tis more just to lay down the *Pronunciation* as the Rule, and Model of Orthography. See Orthography (Cy Pronunciation).

Hence, the elusive statement "spelling justly, and with the necessary Letters" (see Cy OR-THOGRAPHY) seems to be grounded on pronunciation or, at least, on both linguistic realities: speaking and writing. However, Chambers denounces the fact that there is neither rule, nor proper terms to explain and assist speakers to make a 'suitable' choice, but it is almost certain that writing cannot act as the only model for pronunciation because: "Pronunciation makes much the most difficult Article of a written Grammar: In Effect, a Book only expressing itself to the Eyes, in a Matter that concerns the Ears; the Case seems next a-kin to that of teaching the blind to distinguish colours" (Cy Pronunciation).

In Gulliver's Travels, while visiting "the Grand Academy of Lagado" Gulliver meets "a Man born blind, who had several Apprentices in his own Condition: Their Employment was to mix Colours for Painters, which their Master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling". Chambers may have known, remembered and used such an episode to describe English phonological system; in fact

there is no Part so defective in the Grammars, as the *Pronunciation*, for the Writer has frequently no Term, whereby to give the Reader an Idea of the Sound he would express; for Want of a proper Term, therefore, he frequently substitutes a vitious and precarious one. To give a just and precise Idea of the *Pronunciation* of a Language, it seems necessary to fix, as nearly as possible, all the several sounds employ'd in the *Pronunciation* of that Language (Cy Pronunciation).

The aim should be the creation of a system of signs, generally accepted because agreed on, to represent the different and manifold sounds in any language, avoiding the fault of the French to represent the different and manifold sounds in any language, avoiding the fault of the French the grammarians who "ordinarily tell us, that the Vowels a, e, i, &c. are pronounced in French the same as in Latin; never considering that there is not any known and determinate Pronunciation of the Latin" (Cy Pronunciation). Actually, every nation pronounces the Latin "characters" exactly as those of its own language: "Hence, it appears that the Relation between Sounds and

³ The Cy expresses such a concept under ARTICULATION, where it is stated that: "ARTICULATION, ARTICULATIO, in Grammar, [is] a distinct Pronunciation of Words and Syllables. See PRONUNCIATION, &c. Articulation, is that part of Grammar which treats first of Sounds, and Letters; then of their Combination, for the composing of Syllables and Words. Hence he who pronounces his Words clearly, and distinctly, is said to pronounce them articulately. See LETTER, SYLLABLE, WORD, &c."

TER, SYLLABLE, WORD, &c."
*Swift 1726: ch. v, 152-154.

Characters, as well as between Things and Words, is purely arbitrary and national" (Cy Pro

ers/writers of that particular language. Moreover, under ALPHABET Chambers says that according to plain criteria known and accepted – and, as a consequence, also used – by the speak the same linguistic community provided that the spelling/pronunciation relationship is established So, the written signs cannot represent the same sounds everywhere, but they can in one and

as there is a much greater Number of different Sounds in our Language; 'tis not without ters: as also, that the double Letters, x and y, and the superfluous ones, k and g, should be Reason that some Grammarians maintain, that there ought to be a greater Number of Let-

the Order, Number, Power, Figure, &c. - As to the Order, it appears inartificial, precarious Bishop Wilkins charges the Alphabets extant with great Irregularities, with respect both of

and doubling the following Consonants, for the shortening of a Vowet [...] are all imating Vowels, viz. by adding e quiescent to the End of a Word, for prolonging a Syllable not sufficiently provided for [...]. The ways used in English for lengthening and abbreviused [...]. Add that the Difference among Vowels [sounds] in respect of long and short, is eral Letters to the same Power, and Sound [...]. Deficient in divers respects, especially in proper; in that the Sign ought ever to be where the Sound is. regard of Vowels [signs or sounds], of which there are seven or eight kinds commonly

els, [signs] for instance, are generally aknowledg'd to have each of 'em several Sounds [...] (Су Алрнавет)

not followed by a correspondent adaptation of orthography, even though "the Sign ought ever to be where the Sound is" represent different sounds). The divergence belongs to the phonological evolution of sounds 'Redundancy' (different signs to represent the same sound) and 'Deficiency' (the same sign to The general problem of the inconsistency between spelling and pronunciation is due both to

are generally aknowledg'd to have each of 'em several Sounds". All of that, in addition to the shift from the phonological level to the orthographic or spelling level in the expressions "the is not sufficiently provided for"; and, finally, it means written signs in "The Vowels, for instance, used"; it refers to sounds in "Add that the Difference among Vowels in respect of long and short, respects, especially in regard of Vowels, of which there are seven or eight kinds commonly scriptive and explanatory ambiguities. One of the examples is given by the previous entry for the concerned, it reveals how the lack of clear and established terminology brings about some determ Vowel (see Cy Alphaber): it can refer to sounds or written signs in "Deficient in divers As far as the metalanguage used by grammarians - and, as a consequence, by compilers - is

As to their Powers, again, those are not always fixed to the same Signification: The Vowand confused; in that the Vowels and Consonants are not reduced into Classes [...] As to Number, they are both redundant, and deficient: Redundant, either by allotting sev-The first of the contract of the first of the contract of the

ening of a Vowel" instead of 'for representing in writing long and short vowels'. End of a Word, for prolonging a Syllable; and doubling the following Consonants, for the shortways used in English for lengthening and abbreviating Vowels, viz. by adding e quiescent to the Difference among Vowels in respect of long and short, is not sufficiently provided for [...]. The

complete sound of itself, or a letter [= sound] so simple as only to need a bare opening of the affords a complete Sound of it self; or a Letter [= sound] so simple as only to need a bare openmouth to make it heard, and so form a distinct voice". Chambers' definition exactly, a "YOWEL, in grammar, [is] a letter [= sign] which affords a ing of the Mouth to make it heard, and to form a distinct Voice. See Letter"; the Br replicates VOWEL, for instance, the Cy says that a "VOWEL, in Grammar, [is] a Letter [= sign] which The ambiguity in the use of terms is far more explicit in their individual entries: under

used to describe vowel, that is letter. The Cy states that consequently leaves room for misinterpretation, even though this ambivalent use is not arbitrary at all. The evidence of that is documented by the definition of the cross-referenced term Then, the term vowel actually refers to two different levels of linguistic description and

Voice, that cannot be subdivided into any more simple [see VOWEL], and generally each other in Speech: Or a Letter may be defined, A simple uncompounded Sound of the agreed to express the several Sounds [see VOWEL], used in conveying their Thoughts to marked with a particular Character (Cy LETTER). LETTER, [is] a Sign or Character either in Print or in Writing, by which any People have

Chambers, that is: On the contrary, the Br gives only one of the two meanings - and uses - proposed by

pounded, become the visible signs or characters of all the modulations and mixtures of different simple sounds are expressed by different letters, these, by being differently comsounds used to express our ideas in a regular language (Br LETTER). LETTER, [is] a character used to express one of the simple sounds of the voice; and as the

besides the other distinct ways of expressing the same Vowel when used short: Again, the Power of the Vowel o is written five ways; o, as in to, who, move; - oe, in doe. - oo, in shoo, moon, noon; - ou, in could, would; - wo, in two; Vowel a; as in all, aul, aw, fault, caught, brought: which are only various ways of writing the same long Vowel; pressed in writing no less than six several ways, viz. by e; as in he, me, she, ye: - by ee, in thee, free, we; - by ie, in ⁵ Cy Alphaber: "As to their *Powers*, again, those are not always fixed to the same Signification: The Vowels, for instance, are generally aknowledg'd to have each of 'em several Sounds [...]. Thus the Power of the Vowel e is exfield, yield, shield, chief; - by ea, in near, dear, hear; - by eo, in people; - by i, in privilege. So is the Power of the

and probably it does; instead in the latter, vowel clearly refers to a written sign of Interestingly enough, the 'opaque' meaning and use of terms emerges in the entry DIP(H)THONG as well, in particular in the Cy. In this case it is said that: "DIPTHONG, in Grammar, [is] a double Fowel, or the Union, or Mixture of two vowels levels, due to linguistic ambiguity in the use of the term yowel, is still present. In the first case yowel could refer to sound same Syllable, which only afford two Sounds in the Pronunciation" (Cy DIFTHONG). The overlapping of the two linguistic [= sounds/signs], meeting in the same Syllable, or whose Sounds are severally heard; or of three Vowels [= signs] in the and, as a consequence, the usual 'sound-sign merger': 'Dipthongs with regard to the Ear, are either form'd of two Vowels not written signs, or not only written signs — even though the couple Ear-Eye establishes a correlation not actually existing and Ear". So, the discussion has come back to the phonological level making clear that "true dipthongs" are sounds – and 'its with some Impropriety, that we call them Dipthongs. The first only are real Dipthongs, as being such both to the Bye, Such linguistic incoherence is partially admitted by the compiler himself when he says that "In the two latter Occasions define them as "form'd of two Vowels meeting in the same Syllable", unless we interpret rowels as vowel graphemes Dipthones" (Cy DITTHONG). "Dipthones with regard to the Eye" are nothing else than digraphs, hence it is not possible to different from either of them result from both. In the two latter Occasions, 'tis with some Impropriety, that we call them Dipthong with regard to the Eye, is form'd of two Vowels meeting in the same Syllable, whether the particular Sound of each of them be heard in the Pronunciation, whether the Sound of one of them be drawn'd; or lastly, whether a new Sound ing, once more, the two linguistic levels: "Dipthongs with regard to the Eyes, from Dipthongs with regard to the Ears, A in the two works but the Cy offers additional information by distinguishing between two kinds of diphthongs and matchthe mixture of two vowels pronounced together, so as to make one syllable" (Br DIPHTHONG). The definitions are identical pronuonced together, so as only to make one Syllable" (C), DIPTHONG); "DIPHTHONG, in grammar, [is] a double vowel,

So, if letter may be used for sign and sound — at least in the Cy—, a vowel — according to its definitions — may be identified with a letter; what is odd is the fact that the Br singles out only one meaning of letter (signifying that a certain classification and order in metalanguage might be done between the publications of the two works) but, under Vowel, Br uses the term as Chambers does, that is as an equivalent for both sign and sound.

In the Cy, the discussion shifts repeatedly from one level of linguistic description to the other: the identity Letter-Sign-Character fades when, further on under LETTER, it is affirmed that "Letters make the first part or Elements of Grammar; [and] an assemblage of these make Syllables". Two possible interpretations may be suggested: (1) if letter matches with sound(s), the proposition is satisfactory (because syllables are clusters of sounds); (2) if, on the contrary, letter is referred to sign/character the statement merges two different levels of language, moving from spelling to sound(s). In any case, further on, the term letter returns to be identified with graphemes when the general problem of spelling vs. pronunciation incoherence is put forward again:

The Alphabet of every Language consists of a certain Number of these *Letters*, which ought each to have a different Sound, Figure, and Signification [...] one *Letter* was originally intended to signify only one Sound, and not, as at present, to express sometimes one sound, and sometimes another; which Practice has brought a great deal of Confusion into the Languages, and render'd the Learning of the modern Tongues infinitely more difficult than it would otherwise have been (*Cy* LETTER).

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Here, letter coincides with Figure (i.e. grapheme) which expresses Signification because it represents a Sound (i.e. phoneme).

As a consequence, the problem is not only grounded on the inconsistency between spelling and pronunciation, but confusion increases because of a similar inconsistency between a single term and the various linguistic realities it represents.

In conclusion, it may be argued that both encyclopaedias deal with the matter of orthography and pronunciation, but they pursue their different aims in a very different way.

The Cy aims at being exhaustive and at giving a vivid picture of the debate and its implications. Chambers discusses the general problem of writing/speaking incoherence in the individual entries suggesting that there should be a greater interest in those branches of Grammar. The divergence between orthography and pronunciation is not bound to a particular language, but it is a natural issue due to spontaneous linguistic change. What is not acceptable is the lack of a fixed and clear-cut relation between sounds and signs in a given community of speakers/writers. For this reason, grammarians should establish definite rules to describe and connect the two levels of language; such a description entails the creation of a suitable terminology to avoid the overlapping of meanings expressed by the same lexical items and, hence, to avoid that ambiguity attested in such entries as ALPHABET, VOWEL and LETTER, analysed above.

On the contrary, the Br is characterised by very short entries only giving the definition of the terms. In addition, more often than not such essential information overlaps perfectly with Chambers' opening definitions. The Br is not interested in a detailed discussion of the topic and it is not involved in the debate concerning (a) the disagreement between spelling and pronunciation, (b) the necessity to establish rules for both these linguistic levels and (c) the need to single out a clear terminology to label them unambiguously.

Forty years intervene between the publication of the two works. The Cy deeply feels the need of definite and fixed rules to organize a huge and confused matter: whatever the choice, the aim should be to fix clear and unambiguous rules. Such an attitude is met again, twenty years later, in Johnson's "Plan of a Dictionary" (1747) where it is stated that

The great orthographical contest has long subsisted between etymology and pronunciation. It has been demanded, on one hand, that men should write as they speak; but as it has been shown that this conformity never was attained in any language, and that it is not more easy to persuade men to agree exactly in speaking than in writing, it may be asked with equal propriety, why men do not rather speak as they write [...]. When a question of orthography is dubious, that practice has, in my opinion, a claim to preference, which preserves the greatest number of radical letters [...]. But the chief rule which I propose to follow, is to make no innovation, without a reason sufficient to balance the inconvenience of change; and such reasons I do not expect often to find. All change is of itself an evil [...]. CLOSELY connected with orthography is PRONUNCIATION, the stability of which is of great importance to the duration of a language [...]. A NEW pronunciation will make almost a new speech, and therefore [...] one great end of this undertaking is to fix the English language [...] (Johnson Plan 1747: 9-11).

However, the wish to govern English spelling and pronunciation completely weakens in the "Preface to the Dictionary" (1755). Here, Johnson, facing the practical problems of a lexicographer, states that it is impossible to get rid of all the irregularities in language no matter how arbitrary some spellings established by use and custom are, they have – in some measure – to be accepted:

In adjusting the ORTHOGRAPHY, which has been to this time unsettled and fortuitous, I found it necessary to distinguish those irregularities that are inherent in our tongue, and perhaps coeval with it, from others which the ignorance or negligence of later writers has produced. Every language has its anomalies, which, though inconvenient, and in themselves once unnecessary, must be tolerated among the imperfections of human things, and which require only to be registred; that they may not be increased, and ascertained, that they may not be confounded: but every language has likewise its improprieties and absurdities, which it is the duty of the lexicographer to correct or proscribe (Johnson, Prescribe 1755; paragraph 6).

Perhaps, this is the "middle Course between the two Extremes" mentioned by Chambers under Orthography.

If this is true, the spelling vs. pronunciation debate fades throughout the century and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* confirms this. Not only it does not discuss the topic in the individual entries but, even in the treatise Grammar, the focus is on syntax notwithstanding the fact that ORTHOGRAPHY is said to be one of the four branches of Grammar.

The incoherence between sounds and signs is an open question, it is the evidence – in Johnson's words – of the "imperfections of human things [...] which require only to be registered" and, to a certain degree, accepted.

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