



THE OXFORD HISTORY OF

English  
Lexicography



VOLUMES I AND II

GENERAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARIES

EDITED BY

A. P. COWIE

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLISH  
LEXICOGRAPHY

VOLUME I  
GENERAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARIES

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LEXICOGRAPHY

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Volume I  
General-Purpose Dictionaries

Edited by  
A. P. Cowie

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## P R E F A C E

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It is not uncommon for a book of the scale and complexity of *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* to undergo at the planning stage a number of major transformations. This was the case as the present project got under way, and certain major decisions can be recalled here whose implementation shaped the eventual content and structure of the *History*. The expert advice of readers played an essential part in this process and I express my appreciation to them all. I especially welcomed the involvement of Werner Hüllen. He gave freely of his expert advice and contributed a chapter which drew on his unequalled knowledge of thesauri. By the saddest of ironies, he did not live to see the book to which he had contributed so much.

Werner recommended that we should adopt a chronological approach throughout the work—then consisting of three volumes, of which the third was not historically oriented—otherwise we would fail to meet the expectations raised by the title ‘The History of . . .’. Adopting this suggestion led to the breaking up of Volume III, with much of its content being incorporated in the other volumes.

This redistribution of material sometimes brought multiple benefits. In Volume II the emphasis was from the beginning topical. But it is sometimes forgotten that, in the *History*, there is constant interaction between the topical and the historical. The chief focus of interest throughout the second volume might be topic or use, but the dictionaries were often listed, analysed, and discussed in a historical dimension. Such interaction existed in the case of learners’ dictionaries. They had a shared function in that all were concerned with the linguistic needs of foreign students, but they also represented a historical progression—Hornby coming to prominence in the mid-1930s, Sinclair in the early 1980s. But it so happened that each of the EFL dictionaries published in the intervening years was associated with a development in grammatical and/or lexical research and the application of each to dictionary design. Thus the various strands of historical progression, specialization according to users and uses, and involvement in relevant research and development were seen to interact—and in the design of the *History* could be brought to bear illuminatingly on each other.

At an early stage, I had considered the possibility of introducing English-speaking readers to some of the achievements of other national traditions in lexicography. However, experience of drawing up the detailed plan, and the views of referees, brought home the difficulty of doing full justice to a tradition



such as the French in fewer than two additional volumes. Those ambitious but unrealizable aims were therefore abandoned. Yet the comparative perspective has not been neglected altogether. A quarter of the list of contributors consists of German, Italian, Russian, Belgian and French-Canadian scholars who, quite apart from having expertise in particular areas of English lexicography, are well able to view their chosen fields from within a broader European perspective.

Earlier, I expressed my indebtedness to the specialist readers for their help in arriving at a suitable framework for the *History*. But I have benefited also from advice and support given by contributors to the book itself. For his invaluable guidance on many matters and especially for his comments on an earlier draft of the Introduction I express my warmest thanks to Noel Osselton. Thierry Fontenelle has brought his expertise to bear on various technical problems and for this too I am very grateful. Sidney Landau, also, has given invaluable support to this project. Not only has he provided helpful advice but he also, at very short notice, agreed to provide a chapter on the American collegiate dictionary, to which his experience as lexicographer and editor lends unrivalled authority.

John Davey, Consultant Editor at Oxford University Press, has from the beginning been closely involved with the *History*. It was he who came to me with the idea of a book devoted to the history of English lexicography and kindly invited me to edit it. I have since then been the beneficiary of expert technical advice, a clear sense of direction, and unfailing encouragement, and I owe John a profound debt of gratitude. I am also indebted to his colleagues at Oxford University Press, especially Karen Morgan and Chloe Plummer, who have supported him in his central role.

Finally, no thanks would be complete without some reference to the practical and moral support provided by my wife, Cabu, throughout the progress of the *History*. A full measure of thanks goes to her.

A. P. Cowie  
*Leeds, December 2007*

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#### XIV NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

*Dictionary: A Facsimile Edition with Commentary and Analysis* (Cambridge 2005). The author of articles on subjects including eighteenth-century lexicography and Samuel Johnson, he is currently compiling a descriptive bibliography of books distributed by the eighteenth-century figure Thomas Hollis and writing an analysis of Hollis's exhaustive attempts to influence public opinion.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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adv phr	adverb phrase
Angu	Anguilla
Antg	Antigua
arch	archaic
attrib	attributive
Baha	Bahamas
BCET	The Birmingham Collection of English Text
Bdos	Barbados
Belz	Belize
Bhoj	Bhojpuri (a dialect of Hindi)
<i>BM</i>	<i>Basic Material</i> volumes of the SED
CarA	Caribbean Area
CayI	Cayman Islands
CD-ROM	compact disc read-only memory
CE	Caribbean English
CERN	Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire
Clar	Parish of Clarendon
COBUILD	Collins Birmingham University International Language Database
COPAC	see <a href="http://www.copac.ac.uk">http://www.copac.ac.uk</a>
DTD	document type definition
EDS	English Dialect Society
EEBO	Early English Books Online
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
<i>ÉpErf</i>	<i>The Épinal-Erfurt Glossary</i>
foll	following
FrCa	French Caribbean
Gen. Sc.	General Scots

Gren	Grenada
Guad	Guadeloupe
Guyn	Guyana
Hait	Haiti
Hin	Hindi
HTML	Hypertext Mark-up Language
IC	integrated circuit
id phr	idiomatic phrase
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet; International Phonetic Association
IrE	Irish English
Jmca	Jamaica
LCD	liquid crystal display
LEME	Lexicons of Early Modern English
LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland
Mart	Martinique
ME	Middle English
MRD	Machine-Readable Dictionary
n (pl)	plural noun
NARP	North American Reading Programme
Nevs	Nevis
NEWS	New English Words Series
NLP	Natural Language Processing
OCR	optical character recognition
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OEDIPUS	OED Integration, Publishing, and Updating System
PC	personal computer
PDA	personal digital assistant
phr(s)	phrase(s)
POS	part of speech
PtRi	Puerto Rico
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAWD	Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects
Sc.	Scots

XVIII ABBREVIATIONS

SDC	Scottish Dialects Committee
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SEU	Survey of English Usage
SGML	Standard Generalized Mark-up Language
SNDA	Scottish National Dictionary Association
SQL	Structured Query Language
StDo	Santo Domingo
StE	Parish of St Elizabeth
StKt	St Kitts
StLu	St Lucia
StVn	St Vincent
Tre	Parish of Trelawny
Trin	Trinidad
USVI	US Virgin Islands
XML	Extensible Mark-up Language

# INTRODUCTION

*A. P. Cowie*

*THE Oxford History of English Lexicography* provides a broad-ranging and detailed survey of English-language lexicography, with contributions from leading authorities in Britain, Europe, and North America. General-purpose and specialized dictionaries are treated in two parallel volumes, within a common historical perspective. The present volume deals with English monolingual dictionaries and with bilingual works one of whose component languages is English. A second volume, with its own introduction and combined bibliography, explores in depth the extraordinarily rich diversity of specialized dictionaries. The term ‘English lexicography’ is interpreted broadly to embrace dictionaries of Scots, of American English, and of the varieties of English spoken in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa. It is also taken to apply to dictionaries of the English-based Creoles of the Caribbean. The *History* provides detailed, fully documented, treatments of the various scholarly projects which have been central to the development of lexicography over the past 150 years, and takes full account of the impact, on English dictionaries of all kinds, of recent developments in corpus and computational linguistics.

The elaborate, large-scale dictionaries of today evolved by stages from simple beginnings. In the seventh and eighth centuries, as **Hans Sauer** explains, the practice arose of inserting in Latin manuscripts explanations (or ‘glosses’) of difficult words, in Latin or in Old English (sometimes in both). Later, the glosses were gathered together into ‘glossaries’. Three types of glossaries are usually recognized. If glosses in texts are later collected, but without orderly arrangement, they are ‘glossae collectae’. If they are then arranged alphabetically, they become ‘alphabetical glossaries’. If, however, the glosses are arranged according to semantic fields (e.g. parts of the body, farm tools), they are ‘class glossaries’.

Glosses and glossaries came to fulfil a vital function in teaching and the transmission of knowledge. Also to be noted are the important connections between glossing and the terms used to describe it, and the structure of modern dictionary entries. The gloss is a word or short phrase used to explain a difficult Latin word—the ‘lemma’—a relationship which foreshadows the pattern of the modern dictionary explanation, with its ‘definition’ and ‘headword’. But there is a further link with modern dictionaries. Latin words could be used to explain more difficult Latin ones, thus foreshadowing the monolingual dictionary, or the hard ones could be explained in Old English, in which case they pointed forward to bilingual (Latin–English) dictionaries.

It is a matter of convention that the early collections are called glossaries and the later ones dictionaries. Moreover, terminology in the Middle Ages was unstable. One picturesque name or another could be used in any given case. For instance, the first English–Latin dictionaries (fifteenth century) were called *Promptorium parvulorum* (‘storeroom, or repository, for children’) and *Catholicum Anglicum* (‘the comprehensive English collection’).

Later, in accounts of how bilingual dictionaries of the Renaissance were produced, we are given insights into the way compilers built up their alphabetical lists of headwords. Richard Huloet and John Baret, as Janet Bately shows, transformed the English equivalents given in their Latin–English sources into headwords in order to build up their own word-lists. So, for instance, *master* as the translation equivalent of *magister* would become a headword and, if not already independently treated, would be slotted into an English alphabetical word-list. There is a curious, but altogether predictable, result of such transfers. As many of the Latin headwords are translated not by one-word English equivalents but by a paraphrase, this reorganization has resulted in the introduction of multi-word entries. This then raises the further problem of which of the components of a multi-word unit should be regarded as determining order in the English word-list.

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, a number of bilingual dictionaries appeared featuring English and a modern European language. These were explanatory dictionaries for English learners of the language in question—Italian in the case of John Florio’s *A worlde of wordes* (1598), French in the case of Randle Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611). But people wishing to compose texts in these languages would not have been greatly helped by these dictionaries. Potential users had to wait for separate English–Italian and English–French volumes for their particular needs to be met.

By the end of the seventeenth century, with monolingual English dictionaries by that time well established, bilingual works which combined English and a

modern foreign language profited from the general decline of Latin and played a major part in the promotion of the various national tongues. Bilingual lexicography, as **Monique Cormier** goes on to show, also benefited from the presence in England of two exceptional dictionary-makers, the Swiss Guy Miège and, a decade later, the Frenchman Abel Boyer. Miège's great achievement was to be the first to compile, as a single author engaged on a single project, a bi-directional French–English, English–French dictionary—the *Great French Dictionary* of 1688. The publication of a major rival, Boyer's *Royal Dictionary* of 1699, was soured by accusations of plagiarism—fully justified in the event, as Boyer had made extensive use of definitions and examples taken from Miège.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, monolingual dictionaries of English had so grown in scope and authority that several bilingual lexicographers, from various European countries, could contemplate using their word-lists as the basis of new dictionaries. The Spaniard Peter Pineda, for example, drew on Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* to establish the word-list for the English–Spanish section of his *Nuevo diccionario*, published in London. The dictionary of Father Thomas Connelly and Father Thomas Higgens, also Spanish–English, and the first of the type to be published in Spain, greatly surpassed Pineda in originality. It drew on Johnson's *Dictionary* for its English headwords and definitions and on the dictionary of the Real Academia for its Spanish translation equivalents. It was thus a forerunner of the 'bilingualized' learners' dictionary of today, which in one of its forms has English headwords, definitions, and examples and also foreign-language translations of all three categories of information.

A hundred years on from those developments, English had gained much ground as the international language of commerce. But the language profited, too, as **Carla Marell** goes on to explain, from mass migration to the New World from all over Europe. At the simplest level there was a demand among English-speaking immigrants for everyday American vocabulary items; accordingly, American words and phrases were covered more extensively in dictionaries.

Generally speaking, and understandably, the linguistic needs of the time were often severely practical, so that bilingual dictionaries appearing in the nineteenth century, and featuring English, had increasingly to fulfil a demand for the *standard* language, but also satisfy a need for colloquial usage. By the end of the nineteenth century there was also—as far as English and French were concerned—a much greater emphasis on the explanatory needs of learners of English (i.e. 'decoding') with much less stress being laid on their productive needs (i.e. 'encoding').

Throughout the nineteenth century, German–English dictionaries were for the most part published in Germany. This tendency was fostered by the reputation that Germans had acquired in philological studies, including morphology and etymology.

This degree of understanding enabled lexicographers to make progress in the analysis of German and English, including the description of word-families.

An outstanding specialist in these studies, Elizabeth Weir, enjoyed the further distinction of being one of the few women to lead a dictionary team in the nineteenth century. She recognized that English–German dictionaries did not always help English students to select accurately from a dozen or so words the one corresponding to the meaning they wished to express. To help such students, Weir ensured that every meaning of a group of related German words was either preceded by an English synonym or followed by an explanatory word or phrase.

Despite early signs, in the reign of Ivan the Terrible, of Russians establishing trading contacts with England, it took a full century, taking 1600 as a starting point, to develop relations on a scale that would encourage serious language learning. Reports written at the time, as *Donna Farina* and *George Durman* indicate, suggest that Russians learning English did so through (limited) personal contact in the home country.

Learners of English had to wait till 1772 for the first English–Russian dictionary (and that an appendix to an English grammar) to appear. This was thematic in character, reflecting its function in language learning and teaching. And a further significant step forward was Zhdanov's *New Dictionary, English and Russian* (1784), in which the entries were listed alphabetically, parts of speech identified, and information about the register of words and meanings helpfully provided.

There were complaints in some quarters of 'the Want of ... any kind of Lexicon where the Russian words stand first'. But eventually, in 1840, the first Russian–English dictionary appeared, the work of James Banks. This was not for English users wishing to understand Russian, of course, but chiefly for Russians wishing to write in English—a target audience made more explicit in the case of Aleksandrov's *Russian–English Dictionary* (1883–85), which was prescribed for non-classical secondary schools.

Any account of Russian lexicography in the twentieth century must take account of the restrictions of the Soviet censorship. These fostered, for instance, a conservative approach to the inclusion of neologisms. However, official Soviet policy towards leading foreign languages carried certain benefits for lexicography. It led to the production of a wide range of dictionaries, bilingual as well as monolingual, aimed at learners of Russian and various other major languages, including of course English.

Change in lexicography may be seen not only in the introduction of new headwords but in the appearance and further development of new kinds of dictionaries. Such a progression can be traced from the appearance of the first

monolingual dictionary—Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* in 1604—to the stage where, a century and a half later, a recognizably modern work has emerged.

Noel Osselson suggests that the appearance of the first 'hard-word' dictionary can be seen as a development from the practice of appending short glossaries to various types of technical books. These helped the less proficient reader with the new words that were now needed, but included general learned vocabulary as well. Treating those learned words in a separate dictionary had the added attraction that users could find the items in one book instead of being obliged to search for them in several.

There were specific innovations within the development of the hard-word genre. Henry Cockeram, a successor to Cawdrey, took the unusual step of dividing his work—*The English Dictionarie*—into parts so as to meet both the 'decoding' (or 'explanatory') and the 'encoding' (or 'productive') needs of less proficient users. It was the second part which served as an encoding dictionary 'for writers aspiring to a loftier style'. The method by which this element was created was to take an English–Latin dictionary, copy the English headwords and then 'English' the Latin translation equivalents—a further instance of the imaginative use to which existing dictionaries could be put.

The second half of the seventeenth century saw the publication of a new type of monolingual dictionary, one which in scale and content was designed to appeal to an educated, leisured class of reader. Edward Phillips's *The New World of English Words* (1658) was the first of these folio dictionaries to appear. It was remarkable for presenting a broad range of encyclopedic information—from proper names and geographical descriptions on the one hand to an extensive listing of the arts and sciences on the other.

An altogether different feature introduced by Phillips was a dagger symbol, inserted in entries to warn readers that particular words were not acceptable in English. The introduction of this device marks the start of a prescriptive tradition in English dictionary-making, to be followed by other lexicographers in the next hundred years.

Johnson's *Dictionary* combined the best aspects of existing practice with features that were truly innovative, as Allen Reddick shows. As the essential basis of the work thousands of literary and other quotations were gathered, but Johnson also drew for ideas and material on the best dictionaries of his day. Nathan Bailey's folio *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) was exceptional in its treatment of etymology, and it was this dictionary, and especially the second edition of 1736, that served as a basis for Johnson and doubtless influenced his methods. Johnson



also benefited from the publication of Ephraim Chamber's *Cyclopaedia* (1728), which provided entries for technical and scientific terms not previously covered. Of particular importance was Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1749), as this suggested a systematic plan for organizing multiple meanings in complex dictionary entries. Johnson started out by attempting to apply the *a priori* system of defining. He appears to have believed that any meaning would fit into his carefully constructed scheme. However, Martin's plan collapsed when put into practice, leaving Johnson to conclude that he must now turn to a method of establishing meanings by reference to their uses in texts.

This major change of direction is reflected in the *Dictionary* of 1755 and in the sombre realism of the 'Preface'. Instead of being merely the illustrations of the definitions, the examples became the groundwork of the semantic organization. One pioneering feature of the *Dictionary* for which Johnson is now justly applauded is his treatment of phrasal verbs, which in Bailey's dictionaries are almost entirely ignored. There were a number of possible sources. Major bilingual dictionaries would list them in the English ('encoding') part as entries, the assumption being that the writer would need ordinary words and phrases—such as phrasal verbs—as much as difficult, learned words. Johnson could also turn to the foreign language (say, French–English) part where phrasal verbs would be located as translation equivalents. But they would be scattered, and need reordering. However, Johnson would often have gathered as many examples from printed sources as he would have found in the dictionaries.

Charles Richardson, whose *New Dictionary of the English Language* appeared in 1837, is chiefly remembered for an approach to definition which laid great stress on etymology and for his criticism of the approach favoured by Johnson when compiling the latter part of his *Dictionary*. According to Richardson, Johnson mistakenly believed that a word had multiple meanings by virtue of its uses in context, when in fact it retained the one original and true meaning. Furthermore, Richardson quite accurately observed that Johnson had departed from his original procedure—the one which, as we saw earlier, he followed when first compiling the *Dictionary*—of determining meanings systematically.

The truth, according to one commentator, was that Richardson's determination to discover the 'literal roots' was founded upon superficial resemblances rather than a systematic examination of given words across different languages, or groups of languages. Richardson's etymologies were often absurd, but his dictionary nonetheless interested lexicographers because of the collection of quotations on which it was based and which foreshadowed the large-scale gathering of excerpts later seen as essential for the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

The first major dictionary compiled by an American chiefly for use in the United States was Noah Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828). In his earlier and much smaller work, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806), as **Sidney Landau** explains, he had revealed his intention to produce a much larger, more comprehensive dictionary, specifically to compete with and surpass Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*. Johnson's *Dictionary*, especially its revision by Todd in 1818, was for many years the leading large-size dictionary in America, and a major source for Webster's great dictionary of 1828 as well as for Joseph Worcester's dictionaries.

The publication of Webster's *American Dictionary* is justly regarded as a landmark in American lexicography. According to Webster, the English language had developed a distinctive character in America and deserved its own dictionary. Webster's great rival in lexicography was Joseph Worcester. The two men engaged in a celebrated 'dictionary war', both producing larger dictionaries in quick response to each other's latest dictionary, until the matter was settled in 1864 by the publication of the first dictionary commonly referred to as 'the unabridged'. This was known as the Webster–Mahn and edited by Noah Porter after Webster's death in 1843. Worcester's dictionaries played an important part in raising the standards of American lexicography and his open acknowledgement of debt to his predecessors stands in marked contrast to that of most early dictionary-makers.

Then followed a period of development which brought great prestige to the unabridged dictionary. Publishers sought to persuade the educated public that their dictionary was the repository of all of the facts of the English language. It was entirely fitting that the *Century Dictionary*, a beautifully illustrated, printed, and bound work, edited by William Dwight Whitney, should have been published at this time (1889–91).

The two unabridged Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries of 1893–94 and 1913, and the first of the unabridged *New International Merriam-Webster* dictionaries, of 1909, set off a new dictionary war that was as fiercely competitive as the one between Noah Webster and Joseph Worcester half a century earlier, except that this was waged by corporations rather than individuals. The great strength of the Funk & Wagnalls position lay in its ability to recognize what kinds of information the user wanted, and to convey it as simply and accessibly as possible. Etymology was of little interest to the average user, whereas meaning, spelling and pronunciation were reckoned of great importance.

Despite such achievements, the end of the massive unabridged work could not be long delayed. Eventually, Webster's *New International* of 1934 settled the issue. It was widely recognized as being without equal for its coverage of the English language in America. Although Merriam-Webster produced a new edition in

1961, the *Third New International*, the era of the unabridged dictionary was already in a state of decline from which it would not recover.

The founding of the London Philological Society, in 1842, with its aims of extending ‘study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages’, helped to create, for the 1850s, an intellectual climate in sympathy with a dictionary project along historical lines.

Initially, and as Lynda Mugglestone shows, the Society aimed at drawing up a supplementary list of words—not compiling a completely new dictionary—and a special committee was set up in 1857 with the task of gathering words and idioms. Already it was recognized that a wider public should be involved in the collecting, and titles of books to be read were listed in journals. A member of the special committee, Richard Chenevix Trench, spoke ‘On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries’, a seminal document in the history of the *OED*. He declared that they were to aim at a new dictionary, not a ‘patch upon old garments’. The ‘founding ideals’ included objectivity, inclusivity, a respect for the historical record, and a commitment to original research.

Although much was done from that point to produce scholarly editions of early texts, the general activity of collection slackened by the early 1870s. It was at this stage that Henry Sweet pointed out in a letter to Oxford University Press the twin value of their taking on the dictionary project. He stressed the significance of lexicography in a national and international context, and argued that major dictionaries were now inconceivable without a basis in data and historical method. The Delegates, for their part, were only prepared to fund the project if James Murray would agree to take on the editorship. So it was that, early in 1879, Murray was appointed editor of the *New English Dictionary*, later to become the *OED*.

Murray straightaway recognized the need to reactivate the collecting programme, which he did by launching an *Appeal to the English-Speaking and English-Reading Public* (May 1879). By December 1880, two and a half million citations had been gathered, though only some were in alphabetical order and ‘scarcely at all into chronological order under each word’.

In 1860, Trench had advocated the removal of scientific and technical terms from the Main Dictionary. However, in 1880, Murray asked readers to examine scientific works. Whatever the field of interest, however, not all items or senses could be included. Personal taste might be involved, and Murray was reminded that there is often a tension within the individual lexicographer between the objective appraisal of usage, and subjective evaluation.

The first *OED Supplement* was published in 1933, along with a re-issue of the parent dictionary; the second, consisting of four volumes, appeared between 1972 and 1986. What made the first *Supplement* so fascinating, as Charlotte Brewer indicates, was the reflection in its pages of a turbulent period of social and cultural history, and the increasing acceptability of informal language and slang in printed sources. It was the stated intention of the co-editors, Craigie and Onions, to devote space to colloquial idiom and slang, and to provide some indication of scientific and technical developments. And those were the very details that reviewers and commentators picked out for favourable comment.

In the 1930s and beyond, the publishers from time to time asked whether they should publish another *Supplement* or instead undertake a full reworking of the parent dictionary. It was important, among other priorities, to update the *OED* 'in order to breathe new life into the lesser dictionaries' (profitable off-shoots such as the *Concise Oxford*). As for the future of the *OED* itself, the production of further supplementary volumes would save OUP the enormous costs of complete revision and was the course eventually embarked on. Robert Burchfield, a distinguished medievalist, was appointed editor in 1957.

As Burchfield later remarked, it was impossible at the time to obtain expert guidance on the compilation of dictionaries. (In the 1950s, there were none of the conferences, journals and manuals which, fifty years on, are taken for granted.) He focused on three areas of vocabulary specified for treatment by his publisher—literary language, World English, scientific and technical terms—and to these he added 'coarse' expressions.

Assumptions concerning the superior status of literary language were at first unchallenged, but the absurdity was eventually recognized of guaranteeing inclusion of the name of a plant or shrub if it was used in a work of literature. The criterion was eventually dropped. Then, too, the growing importance that came to be attached to the treatment of scientific and technical terms led to the appointment of science consultants, and an extension of specialized coverage that was widely welcomed.

The study of English lexicography has a national and regional as well as a historical dimension: it encompasses the distinctive words and meanings used in the United States and in the independent countries of the Commonwealth, and the dictionaries in which they are recorded.

By the 1850s in America, lexicography had moved away from its earlier concern with lexical origins. As Richard Bailey puts it, 'American dictionaries were comprehensive, inclusive of Americanisms, and indifferent to opinions of Britain'. Such a

general shift of attitude encouraged those wishing to compile large-scale dictionaries of Americanisms in a spirit of scholarly detachment.

The *Dictionary of American English* (*DAE*) was the first of these to be produced. In defining the scope of the work, William Craigie, its co-editor, narrowed the scope to material that would distinguish American English from usages employed in ‘the rest of the English-speaking world.’ But, even with this restriction, Craigie’s scope was broad.

One of Craigie’s assistant editors, Mitford M. Mathews, went on to edit *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (*DA*) (1951). Of crucial importance was his limitation of ‘Americanism’ to ‘a word or expression that originated in the United States.’ The term embraced outright coinages (such as *appendicitis*, *hydrant*), and such words as *campus*, *gorilla*, which first became English in the US.

Dictionaries of national usages have appeared in several other countries, including India. But they are most comprehensive and scholarly in countries where there are long-established native-English-speaking populations, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. In all those territories, with minor differences, a particular pattern of dictionary development has come about. First, typically, a single scholar or individual enthusiast will appear and start noting down the vocabulary peculiar to the territory—often complaining as a result that the *OED* is deficient in covering those usages. A small scholarly dictionary might be the next step, as in South Africa at Rhodes University, where a modest ‘dictionary unit’ was established, resulting in the production of a *Dictionary of South African English* (1978).

Eventually, in response to the public and academic interest that had been stimulated, funding would be provided—often by the host university acting jointly with a leading publisher. This in turn would lead to the compilation of a full-scale dictionary aimed at satisfying the by now widespread desire to make an authoritative record of the words and senses that had arisen locally. The words ‘on Historical Principles’, appearing as part of the title of the major work, evoked the priorities of Murray and were a reminder of practical links to the parent *OED*, with which the South African dictionary had a uniform plan.

Scots was, by the late fifteenth century, ‘the principal literary and record language of the Scottish nation’, as Margaret Dareau and Iseabail Macleod indicate, but, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it became increasingly anglicized so that by 1707 English was the language of formal writing and the speech of the upper classes. What had been a formal, literary language in the past came to

survive only as a dialect, though one with its individual history, its own internal dialect variation, its continuing use in a remarkable literature.

In the *OED* material there were many unused Scots slips and these were assigned to the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (*DOST*). The corpus eventually covered every available written source, and most manuscript sources, as well as a new, electronic source of data in the Older Scots Text Archive, from which listings of words could be made available to editors. The individual interests of editors—in syntax, pronunciation, etymology, and so on—were allowed to appear and, under the editorship of Jack Aitken, *DOST* became, according to one scholar, ‘more fully than ever an encyclopedia of Older Scottish culture and a first-class reference book for Scottish historiography’.

The second major work to be produced by Scottish lexicographers was the *Scottish National Dictionary* (*SND*), which, despite its title, came about through a group of dialectologists forming a Scottish Dialects Committee (convenor William Grant) with a view to starting up ‘a programme of investigation into the present condition of the Scottish dialects’.

Much of the collecting and preliminary editing was carried out by volunteers. To gather spoken evidence, the country was divided into dialect areas according to pronunciation. Written quotations, also excerpted by volunteers, came from a considerable number and variety of works. Regional dictionaries and glossaries were valuable, but many of these source books were descriptions of local dialects. Yet, alongside the highly specific words and senses, often from technical fields—*astragal* ‘a glazing bar’, *pirn* ‘a spool’—that came to light, there were also formal terms from the language of the church and the law. Perhaps surprisingly, the proportion of words not restricted to one or a few regions—i.e. common-core items—were quite numerous.

William Craigie’s annual lecture to the Philological Society in 1919 pointed to the need for a number of new dictionaries to supplement aspects of the coverage already provided by the *OED*, then nearing completion. One of the dictionaries envisaged would deal with the ‘Older Scottish’ element, mentioned above; the others would be devoted to periods of the English language—Early Modern English (EME), Middle English (ME) and Old English (OE).

Craigie would later go further, as Michael Adams explains, arguing that the ‘period’ dictionaries would, by collecting more material, ‘carry back the date of words from one period into that preceding it’ and serve to confirm ‘the regional affiliations of certain words or forms of words’ (1937). Craigie’s call for more data was later strengthened by the German scholar Jürgen Schäfer, who challenged and questioned the accuracy and inclusiveness of the dating of words provided by the *OED*.

The EME project was the first to be launched, in 1927, and Craigie invited Charles C. Fries to take on the editorship. There were two million slips from Oxford at the outset, a number that was greatly increased by a reading programme. However, its abundance was not matched by the quality of Fries's leadership. The EME project was a failure, as was a later attempt to revive it, but it did succeed in establishing a culture of historical lexicography in America, extending into the twenty-first century.

The *Middle English Dictionary* project, which was set up at Michigan in 1930, made uneven progress. For some time, it was dogged by a succession of editors who, in one way or another, were unequal to the task. Hans Kurath, who succeeded to the editorship in 1945, and turned the tide for the *MED*, had an analytical approach much closer to that of a modern lexicographer, though he had no experience of dictionary-making, and was not a medieval scholar. Kurath introduced small but important innovations. His clear-mindedness is evident in the instructions he gave to editors, directing them to 'begin a paragraph with a quotation of earliest date', then to 'supply quotations at roughly twenty-five-year intervals'. But in doing so they were to make the quotations do double duty by exhibiting all attested spellings.

*The Dictionary of Old English (DOE)*, the last of the period dictionaries to be launched (in 1968), was conceived and compiled at the University of Toronto's Centre for Medieval Studies. It was thoroughly planned and its editors benefited from close knowledge of the related historical projects and of their key editorial staff. They also profited from a series of conferences specially organized to chart the future of the project and gather international support and advice.

The *DOE* project was remarkable for the extent to which it exploited advances in computer technology. In fact it was recognized at an early stage 'that the *DOE*'s innovative approach to automating lexical resources might guide us to new forms of dictionary and strategies of dictionary use'.

Four pioneering works—the first two focused on particular territories, the third and fourth encompassing the entire region—make of the Caribbean a major centre of English lexicography in the twentieth century.

The first serious undertaking, as Jeannette Allsopp explains, was *A Dictionary of Jamaican English* on historical principles (1967), by Frederic Cassidy and Robert Le Page. This was designed to be a complete inventory of Jamaican Creole as well as a record of more educated Jamaican speech. The bulk of its data was made up of recorded responses to a questionnaire, devised by Cassidy, which focused on the working lives of farmers, fishermen, and so on. The material was afterwards classified according to the language status and geographical distribution of the

speakers. The next major title was *The Dictionary of Bahamian English* by J. Holm and A. W. Shilling (1982). It was intended to form 'a link between the Caribbean Creoles such as Jamaican English and the English spoken today by many black people in the United States'. Analysis was restricted to the language of the most accessible islands of the chain.

Richard Allsopp, eventually to assume the chief editorship of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (1996), became aware while a student in Europe of differences between his own usage and British Standard English. This led to a personal collection based on his own Guyanese speech, to which he eventually cross-referenced his Caribbean items. These modest beginnings led on eventually to Allsopp's Caribbean Lexicography Project, housed at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, and with himself as Director. Allsopp realized early on that he could not compile a dictionary on historical principles because of the scale of such an undertaking. But his synchronic project went forward, with data provided by informants in twenty-two territories.

Entries in the *DCEU* often have an exceptionally rich structure, indicating the written and spoken forms of headwords, including pitch-contour, which may play a crucial role in distinguishing between the senses of common words and phrases. There is also a remarkable cross-reference system, linking up the range of synonyms found for a given headword in different territories of the region. *The Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary* (2003), the work of Jeannette Allsopp, is a further major project introducing a fresh dimension into Caribbean lexicography—one that involves a thematic approach to description under such headings as flora, fauna, and foods.

In the early 1980s, as Edmund Weiner recalls, the publishers of the *OED* began to express concern about the future of the *Dictionary*. The fifty-year copyright of the 1933 first edition would soon come to an end. The best safeguard would be to integrate the contents of the *Supplement*—now nearing completion—with those of the 1933 *OED*, since an integrated dictionary would protect the copyright and keep the skilled staff at Oxford fully engaged. That was agreed to. However, the move that would have the most profound effects was to decide that, as computer technology was now making such rapid advances, the two texts should be computerized and then combined and edited.

Early on, it was realized that the entire process, from converting the texts into electronic form, merging them, revising and correcting, and then passing the text on for typesetting, was too much to manage in one stage. It was therefore decided to publish an integrated edition—first on paper and later in an electronic



form—as a second edition. Revision and updating of the whole dictionary could be left to a later stage.

Important decisions had also to be made about converting the text to electronic form. Was it practicable, for instance, to convert the text by ‘optical character recognition’ (OCR)? The printed text of the first edition was of poor quality, necessitating much correction. But the company responsible for text conversion could keyboard and proof-read so as to make the output virtually error-free. Also, and most important, their skilled copy-editors could manage ‘structural’ mark-up (i.e. markers in the text that identified such aspects of entry structure as the headword, the part of speech, and so on). Keyboarding was therefore adopted.

In the period leading up to the publication of the second edition, the chief task was to integrate in their correct places in the main *OED* text *partial* entries from the *Supplement*—the *complete* entries being fitted in alphabetically. A component of the system was built that could, using the mark-up, match the corresponding pieces of text, first by headword, then by part of speech, then by other features of the entry structure, and could insert both definition text and quotations in the right place. Editors were partly helped by the fact that instructions were already present in the printed text of the *Supplement*. These might take the form ‘Add to def.:’, followed by supplementary definition text.

Moving on into the 1990s, the team began to prepare for the revision of the *OED*. Initially, it was thought that revision might be based on existing resources, such as the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, and so on, and on the extremely large quotation files gathered since 1957 (i.e. since the beginning of the *Supplement* project). However, experiments had shown that these resources would not go far enough. Editors welcomed from Michigan, then, in 1997, the bodies of material gathered for the dictionary of Early Modern English, which had never been completed. These acquisitions, however, are overshadowed by the text collections published on the Internet which, with appropriate software, can be searched by lexicographers, whether at Oxford or elsewhere. Accessing such sites as the British National Corpus or JSTOR is now an everyday aspect of dictionary compilation.

Then, running in parallel with the expansion of text corpora, and of exceptional importance for the further development of the *OED*, have been the changes made possible by online editing and publication. One significant aspect has been the editorial revision of the dictionary, now ongoing, which has resulted in the online publication of large amounts of new and revised dictionary text.

P A R T I

EARLY GLOSSARIES;  
BILINGUAL AND  
MULTILINGUAL  
DICTIONARIES

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# GLOSSES, GLOSSARIES, AND DICTIONARIES IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

*Hans Sauer*

## 2.1 THE PERIODS OF ENGLISH AND THEIR BACKGROUND

**M**EDIEVAL English is traditionally taken to comprise Old English and Middle English. Old English (OE, formerly also called Anglo-Saxon), the earliest form of English, spans the period from c.450 to c.1100; Middle English (ME) spans the period from c.1100 to c.1500. English has been attested in writing from c.700 onwards, that is, we are dealing with a period of roughly 800 years. Middle English was then followed by Modern English (c.1500 to the present, or spanning about 500 years so far). The period from c.1500 to c.1700 is often called Early Modern English. The periods are defined by their historical and cultural background as well as by changes in the structure of the language itself.

Historically, Old English corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon period, which according to Bede began in 449 with the conquest of Britain by Germanic tribes; it ended in 1066 with the Battle of Hastings and the Norman Conquest. The most far-reaching historical event during that period was probably the introduction of Christianity from the later sixth century onwards (597 was the date of arrival of the missionaries from Rome), which had a deep impact not only on religion but also on culture in general. Since language does not change radically from one year to another, the end of Old English and the beginning of Middle English is not

clear-cut. It is often dated around 1100. Some Old English texts were copied until shortly after 1200; then the transmission of Old English came to an end.

Middle English historically comprises the reign of the Norman Kings and their successors till the early Tudors. The end of the Middle English period—unlike that of the Old English period—is not marked by one single historical event. There were a number of new departures around 1500 which signalled the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern period, for example, the introduction of printing into England by William Caxton in 1476.

Anglo-Saxon society originally was an oral society. Literacy, that is, the ability to read and write, was introduced by the Christian missionaries from the late sixth century onwards, but probably reached only a fraction of the population, at first mainly the clergy. Even at the end of the Middle Ages, many people still could not read and write. Of course, teaching was also largely carried on orally, and pupils probably often took notes and wrote down what the teacher said. We have traces of the teaching of Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian at Canterbury in the later seventh century in the form of biblical commentaries and also glossaries.

The main form of written transmission throughout the Middle Ages was the manuscript. Each text and each copy of a text had to be handwritten. The earliest written documents of English have been preserved from around 700, and by far the longest of the earliest documents is the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*. Originally texts were copied and manuscripts were produced mainly in the *scriptoria* of the monasteries and cathedrals. These remained important throughout the Middle Ages; later other centres such as the royal chancery also played a role. Right at the end of the Middle Ages, printing was introduced into England (1476).

The language of the Church and of learning was Latin, originally also introduced by the missionaries. Before the Norman Conquest, a large number of texts were also written in or translated into Old English. After the Norman Conquest, French (or rather ‘Anglo-Norman’, a variety of French) played an important role too, so that England was basically triglossic from 1066 to the fourteenth century: broadly speaking, French was the language of the ruling classes, English was spoken by the common people, and Latin was spoken and written by the clerics and the learned. Of course, some people were bilingual or even trilingual—for example, priests who celebrated the mass in Latin but preached in English.

Whereas Old English still had a relatively pure Germanic vocabulary, Middle English absorbed thousands of French loan-words. Thus English developed into a language with a mixed Germanic-Romance vocabulary. In glosses and glossaries, especially of the thirteenth century, we cannot always tell whether a French word was still regarded as a foreign word or whether it had been adopted as a loan-word into English. T. Hunt therefore does not distinguish between English and French

words at all, but subsumes both under ‘Vernacular Names’, and he opposes Vernacular to Latin.<sup>1</sup> French died out as a native language in England in the course of the fourteenth century, and it had to be learned as a foreign language.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 THE FUNCTION OF GLOSSES AND GLOSSARIES

Glossing is still practised today as a study aid: schoolchildren and university students, for example, often write interlinear or marginal translations and explanations into their books, although they do not necessarily know that this activity is called glossing, and although teachers and professors often regard it as damaging school or public property. Glossing was not regarded so negatively in the Middle Ages; on the contrary, it was seen as a useful exercise, and it was essential for teaching, especially Latin. Although there seem to be few contemporary comments on this practice, the sheer number of glosses and the nature of the glossed texts show that glossing was important for an understanding of the Latin texts. It has even been said that ‘glossing and the use of glosses was at the heart of the intellectual life’ in the (early) Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

The main purpose of the glosses, as well as of the glossaries, thus must have been a didactic one: interlinear glosses facilitate the understanding and possibly also the learning of the glossed Latin text. Glossaries help with the acquisition of the Latin vocabulary (and probably also of the English vocabulary). Thus many of the glosses and glossaries must have been used for teaching purposes in schools, especially in monastic and cathedral schools. This seems particularly clear in cases such as Ælfric’s *Glossary* as well as his Latin *Colloquy* and the Old English glosses added to it.

The didactic function of glosses and glossaries ranged from teaching and learning Latin at an elementary level to study at more advanced stages: whereas Ælfric’s *Colloquy* was probably intended for beginners, some of the early glosses and glossaries explained the difficult (hermeneutic) Latin vocabulary which some early medieval authors such as Aldhelm (c. 640–709/710) or Abbo of Saint-Germain (later ninth century) employed in their poetry and prose. Specific glossaries (class glossaries) such as the plant name glossaries were perhaps intended for the use of physicians and healers, to help them to identify the plants

<sup>1</sup> In the indexes to his collections of plant names (Hunt 1989) and of teaching materials for Latin (Hunt 1991).

<sup>2</sup> For useful suggestions concerning my contribution, my thanks are due to Hedwig Gwosdek, Julia Hartmann, Ursula Lenker, Wolfgang Mager, Angelika Schröcker, and, of course, Anthony Cowie.

<sup>3</sup> Hüllen (1999: 56).

in Latin and English (and later also in Anglo-Norman) and to prepare the proper medicines.

It is also clear from the glossaries that learning and scholarship were international even in the early Middle Ages. In the Old English period, continental Latin–Latin glossaries were copied and augmented in England. Conversely, some of the early Latin–Latin and Latin–OE glossaries from England were also copied on the Continent, for example, the Erfurt manuscript of the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* in Cologne, or the *Leiden Glossary* in St Gall; see Ker (1957, esp. Appendix). How far the continental scribes and scholars understood the OE words is difficult to judge.<sup>4</sup> In the Middle English period, the great Latin dictionaries by, for example, Hugutio of Pisa, Johannes Balbus, and Papias were also used in England, whereas English scholars in their turn worked on the Continent.

Sometimes, especially in Old English, the glosses are possibly or probably loan-formations based on their Latin models, for example, *fræ-fætt* ‘very fat’ for L *prae-pinguis* ‘very fat’, or *frea-bodian* ‘proclaim, announce’ for L *pro-nuntiare* ‘to make publicly known, announce, proclaim’. In such cases it is not always clear whether the glossators actually wanted to enrich the English vocabulary by providing new words or phrases, or whether they simply wanted to show the morphological structure or the meaning of the Latin words by imitating them with Old English material. Thus *fræ-*, *frea-* often had intensifying function (which it probably has in *fræ-fætt*), but in *frea-bodian* it seems just to mirror the *pro-* of *pronuntiare* and does not add to the meaning of *bodian*. The OE examples just given (*fræ-fætt*, *frea-bodian*) are *hapax legomena* (nonce formations); they were probably coined by the glossator(s), but never gained any currency and were not adopted by the speech community.

Sometimes, however, glossaries also record words that must have been of native origin and common in oral use, but are attested rarely or not at all in the literary texts of the period. This is, for example, the case with the plough and its parts, which obviously must have been very important to farmers.<sup>5</sup> The plough was, however, not part of the vocabulary of heroic poetry or of homilies, where farming does not play a role. Thus the word *share-beam* (OE *scarbeam*) for a part of the plough is only recorded in glossaries.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Thus the continental scribe of the *Leiden Glossary* remarks at the end ‘Sicut inueni scripsi ne reputes scriptori’ (Ker 1957, Appendix no. 18), ‘I wrote it as I found it [sc. in my exemplar]; don’t blame it [i.e. any mistakes] on the scribe’.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Roberts and Kay (2000, vol. I, no. 04.02.04.06.07).

<sup>6</sup> This also leads to the often difficult distinction between common (general) vocabulary and special purposes vocabulary (Fachwortschatz), that is, the vocabulary used by members of certain professions and occupations only. Thus OE *rap* (> ModE rope, for L *funiculus*) must have been a common word, whereas *wingeardeas screadu-isen* ‘vintner’s knife’ (lit. ‘vineyard’s pruning-knife’) for L *surculus* must have been a fairly special term. On this question see, for example, Sauer (1999).

## 2.3 TERMINOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY

### 2.3.1 Terminology: glosses, glossaries, dictionaries, etc.

‘Glosses’ are words that explain other, normally more difficult, words. ‘Interlinear’ glosses are written between the lines of a text, usually above the words they explain; ‘marginal’ glosses are added in the margin. They can be synonyms or short paraphrases in the same language (e.g. Latin words explaining other Latin words), or translation equivalents in another language (e.g. OE words explaining Latin words). ‘Glossators’ are the people who provide glosses.<sup>7</sup> The word that is explained by a gloss is called its ‘lemma’. The word which glosses a lemma is also called its ‘interpretamentum’. A gloss (or *interpretamentum*) usually consists of a single word or a very short phrase, providing a synonym or a translation. Thus we have a lemma (or headword), which is explained by a gloss (or *interpretamentum*). A somewhat longer explanation is called a ‘scholion’; the border between gloss and scholion is not always easy to draw.<sup>8</sup>

‘Glossaries’ are collections of glosses, that is, lists of words (*lemmata*), each with a brief explanation (gloss, *interpretamentum*). The explanation can be a synonym in the same language (e.g. in Latin–Latin glossaries) or a translation equivalent in another language (e.g. in Latin–Old English glossaries). The alphabetical OE glossaries in particular usually add partly Latin and partly OE glosses to their Latin *lemmata* and therefore are often mixtures of Latin–Latin and Latin–OE glossaries, less so the ‘class’ (synonym) glossaries, which are more consistently Latin–OE. The sequence and distribution of the Latin–Latin and the Latin–OE pairs seems often unpredictable. The Latin–OE glossaries can be regarded as the forerunners of bilingual dictionaries, and the Latin–Latin glossaries as the forerunners of monolingual dictionaries—but, as just stated, there was no strict division between those two forms in the Old English period. Some scholars employ the terms ‘vocabulary’ or ‘wordbook’ instead of or in addition to glossary. For types of glosses and glossaries, see 2.3.2. A collection of scholia (extended explanations) is a ‘commentary’.

‘Dictionaries’ are systematic collections (with explanations) of the words of a language or a text. Dictionaries usually provide more information than glossaries do. Whereas glossaries normally just give the headword (*lemma*) and its meaning in the form of a synonym or a translation equivalent (gloss, *interpretamentum*), modern dictionaries—in addition to explaining the meaning—often also indicate

<sup>7</sup> Glosses and glossators also played a role in the medieval reception of Roman law and in Canon law, but we are not concerned with this here; see, for example, *LexMA*, ed. Auty, s.v. ‘Apparatus glossarum’, ‘Glossa ordinaria’, ‘Glossatoren’, ‘Glossen’, etc.

<sup>8</sup> On ‘scholia’ see, for example, *LexMA*, ed. Auty, s.v. ‘Scholien’, with further references.



the pronunciation, give grammatical information (e.g. word-class, inflexional patterns, possible constructions and collocations), and provide examples, either made-up or drawn from literature. They sometimes also supply information on the etymology (origin) and the development of the words they contain. But the difference between a glossary and a dictionary is one of degree and it is more by convention that the early collections are usually called glossaries and the later collections are usually called dictionaries.

Moreover, terminology was never fully fixed. The first author who named his (Latin) compilation *Dictionarius* was apparently John of Garland (c.1195–c.1272), but this title was slow to catch on. The large and popular Latin dictionaries from the Middle Ages have titles such as *Elementarium* (i.e. for beginners), *Derivationes* (i.e. assembling word-families), *Catholicon* (i.e. a comprehensive collection), *Medulla* (i.e. the quintessence), etc. The first English–Latin dictionaries, which appeared in the fifteenth century, were called *Promptorium Parvulorum* (i.e. a store-room [sc. of words] for young [sc. scholars]) and *Catholicon Anglicum* (i.e. the comprehensive English collection). The earliest monolingual English dictionaries had names such as *A Table Alphabeticall . . . of hard vsuall English wordes* (Cawdrey 1604), *An English Expositor* (Bullokar 1616), etc.

The term ‘dictionary’ came to be used more frequently in the course of the seventeenth century, and today it is the most usual English term for an alphabetical collection; for a collection that is arranged according to semantic groups (synonyms, topoi), the title ‘thesaurus’ is now preferred. ‘Lexicon’ is still used as a synonym for ‘dictionary’, especially for a dictionary of ancient languages, and the art of dictionary-making is called ‘lexicography’. An ‘encyclopedia’ (encyclopaedia) usually gives more information than a dictionary; it explains not only the words but also the things and concepts referred to by the words.

The terminology just outlined (gloss, glossary, vocabulary, dictionary, thesaurus, lexicon, encyclopedia, etc.) is largely modern and originated mainly in the sixteenth century;<sup>9</sup> our knowledge about the OE and ME terminology (as far as this existed) seems rather limited.

### 2.3.2 *Types of glossaries and kinds of glosses*

Typologically, three kinds of glossaries are usually distinguished.<sup>10</sup> The starting point is (interlinear or marginal) glosses in texts. If these are subsequently collected,

<sup>9</sup> Most of these words go back to Greek or Latin, but they were taken over into English in the sixteenth century or later. The noun *gloze* was used in English from the thirteenth century onwards, but was re-latinized into *gloss* in the sixteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g. Hüllen (1999: 56ff.).

but left in the same order as they appeared in the texts, they yield (1) 'glossae collectae'. These help to understand the vocabulary of specific texts. If they are then arranged alphabetically, (2) 'alphabetical glossaries' are the result; these can be regarded as the ancestors of alphabetical dictionaries. The process of alphabetization was a slow and gradual one, however. At first, glosses were arranged according to the first letter of the alphabet only, that is, in a-order. The next step was to arrange glosses according to the first two letters of the alphabet, that is, in ab-order, and so on. If, on the other hand, the glosses were arranged according to semantic fields, such as plants, animals, people, parts of the body, clothes, kinds of buildings, kinds of ships, etc., (3) 'class glossaries' (with various subtypes) were the result; the entries within the sections of the class glossaries could, of course, then be arranged alphabetically. Such collections were also called 'synonyma', for example, the plant name glossaries, because they provided synonyms, that is, words with the same or a similar meaning—or to put it differently—different names for the same thing (e.g. the same plant). The class glossaries can be regarded as forerunners of 'thesauri' or synonym dictionaries, such as *Roget's Thesaurus*. They are also called topical glossaries or onomasiological glossaries—on them, HÜLLEN, Vol. II.

A fourth kind of arrangement apparently became only prominent in the later Middle Ages, namely according to 'derivationes' (derivations); that is, words derived from the same base (or stem or root) were grouped together, yielding word-families. This is sometimes still done in modern alphabetical dictionaries (where it is called 'nesting'), e.g. when *swiftly* and *swiftness* are listed under *swift*, or *swindler* under *swindle*.

The chronology of the extant early collections does not necessarily coincide with the typology just mentioned. Glossaries of different types co-existed, and probably a number of manuscripts and compilations have been lost, too. Thus the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* is the earliest extant English glossary; typologically, however, it is an alphabetical glossary, a mixture of a Latin–Latin and a Latin–Old English glossary, that is, it reflects a later stage in the development than interlinear glosses and *glossae collectae*, although both of the latter categories are only transmitted in later copies than *ÉpErf*.

As far as languages are concerned, throughout the Middle Ages there were Latin–Latin glosses, glossaries, and dictionaries, as well as Latin–English ones (Latin–Old English, Latin–Middle English), and also mixtures of both. In the Middle English period there were also some trilingual glossaries (Latin–French–Middle English) as well as French–English glossaries. The first English–Latin dictionaries appeared in the fifteenth century (*Promptorium Parvulorum*; *Catholicon Anglicum*).

The density of glossing varies. Sometimes there were just a few occasional glosses in a Latin text; sometimes texts were glossed systematically and more or

less continuously. Sometimes there are even multiple glosses to one lemma, for instance, one or several Latin glosses plus an Old English gloss (e.g. in the *Lambeth Psalter*). As far as the glossaries are concerned, none of the Latin–OE glossaries presents the entire vocabulary; they are selective.

In the majority of cases the glosses were added in a smaller script some time after—occasionally even centuries after—the original text had been written (as in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*); but sometimes the addition of the gloss was planned from the beginning and the gloss was entered by the same scribe as the original text.

Usually, glosses were, like the body of the text, written in ink; occasionally, however, ‘scratched or dry-point glosses’ were entered with a stylus. These are often very hard to detect or to distinguish from meaningless scratches.<sup>11</sup>

The majority of glosses are ‘lexical glosses’ (i.e. words glossing other words and explaining their meaning) and here we are mainly concerned with those, but, at least during the Old English period, a system of ‘syntactic glosses’ also existed, letters or other marks that indicated which elements of a sentence belong together.<sup>12</sup> These were obviously intended as a help to construct (parse) the Latin sentences correctly.

Glosses were sometimes also used in abbreviated form (as ‘merographs’). If the beginning of the word is retained and its ending omitted, then the semantic information is usually preserved (e.g. *dælni* for *dælnimung* ‘participation’); if the beginning of the word is omitted and only its ending is preserved, then the gloss approaches the status of a syntactic gloss, indicating, for example, the case of the lemma (e.g. *cere* perhaps for *werlicere–virili* ‘manly’).<sup>13</sup>

Sources: few if any of the glossaries, continuous interlinear glosses and dictionaries are independent; many are based on or incorporate earlier material. Since the glossators or the compilers of glossaries and dictionaries—in accordance with general medieval practice—mostly do not indicate their sources, much scholarly energy has been spent on investigating the sources of glosses and glossaries and the interrelation between them. There are, however, exceptions: thus the compiler of the *Leiden Glossary* has indicated his sources; the compiler or scribe of the *Cleopatra Glossaries* has also marked his sources (in the margins), albeit in abbreviated form.

<sup>11</sup> On scratched glosses see, for example, Page (1973 and 1979).

<sup>12</sup> On syntactic glosses in manuscripts from the Old English period, see, for example, Korhammer (1980).

<sup>13</sup> See BEASE, ed. Lapidge, s.v. ‘glosses’ (by M. Gretschn). A special case is the *Expositio Hymnorum*: in two manuscripts, Latin verse hymns were rearranged into prose and then provided with Old English interlinear glosses (ed. Gneuss 1968).

### 2.3.3 *The textual status of glossaries and interlinear glosses and the treatment of their evidence*

Should glosses and glossaries be regarded as texts? A positive answer to this question is implied in Henry Sweet's collection *The Oldest English Texts* (1885), which consists largely of editions of the earliest English glossaries and glossed texts. On the other hand, glosses and glossaries are excluded and thus not seen as texts (or at least not as literature) in the bibliography by Greenfield and Robinson (1980). Hüllen (1999: 22–27), however, argues that at least the onomasiological dictionaries (the descendants of the class glossaries) 'are texts in the full semiotic sense of this term' (1999: 22).

It is not always clear, either, where the borderline between variants of the same text and different texts lies. Thus the Épinal and Erfurt manuscripts are usually (and rightly) regarded as copies of the same text, the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, but Cameron (1973: D 7 and D 36) lists them (less convincingly) as different glossaries.

Interlinear (and marginal) glosses to texts were intended as explanations of the words in the texts they gloss and not as independent texts in their own right. Nevertheless, continuous glosses, such as the OE glosses in a manuscript of Ælfric's Latin *Colloquy*, were occasionally printed without the Latin text by former editors. This, however, was probably not intended by the original glossators, and it distorts the evidence.<sup>14</sup>

As stated above, Old English alphabetical glossaries often contain a mixture of Latin–Latin and Latin–OE entries. Some editions intended for scholars of English print the Latin–OE pairs only and ignore the Latin–Latin entries, so, for example, Sweet (1885) or Pheifer (1974). From the point of view of scholars mainly interested in (Old) English this may be understandable, but nevertheless it is also a distortion of the evidence, as it plays down the importance of Latin.

Dictionaries and vocabularies from the later Middle English period often indicate the gender and declension of the Latin nouns (e.g. *hoc os, -ris, -i*) and the conjugation of verbs; in some editions this information is omitted.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.3.4 *Authorship*

Most of the Old and Middle English glosses, glossaries and dictionaries are anonymous, but there are exceptions. For example, in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* the original scribe as well as the later glossator are mentioned (see 2.6.1 below).

<sup>14</sup> Particular caution should for example be taken to regard continuous glosses as evidence of Old or Middle English syntax—generally they rather mirror the Latin syntax of the glossed text.

<sup>15</sup> See Ross and Brooks (1984: vii).

Ælfric (abbot of Eynsham; c.950–c.1010) is the most important Old English prose author and grammarian; his identity was, however, only established in the nineteenth century. Ælfric's teacher, Æthelwold (c.904/909–984; at first abbot of Abingdon and later bishop of Winchester), has only recently been identified as the probable author of the OE gloss in the *Royal Psalter* and of (some of) the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*.<sup>16</sup> The first known author of a Late Middle English (or Early Modern English) vocabulary is John Stanbridge (1463–c.1510). All of them, and probably also many of the anonymous glossators and compilers, were clerics who also acted as teachers.

### 2.3.5 *Relation of lemma and gloss*

Basically the gloss takes the form of a synonym or a translation equivalent or, more rarely, a short paraphrase of its lemma. In the case of English glosses to Latin words, the translation equivalent can be an existing English word or a loan-word or a newly created word, sometimes in the form of a loan-formation.

Usually lemma and gloss match, but occasionally the gloss does not quite fit its lemma, at least as far as we can judge. Such discrepancies can be due to many different reasons. Often they are just mistakes, but in some instances they were introduced on purpose. A few examples of possible causes for discrepancies are given in the following paragraph.<sup>17</sup>

The glossator (or a later scribe) may have made a simple spelling mistake; his eyes may have skipped from one word to another and thus he glossed a different word from the one he intended to; he may not really have known the Latin word or its referent and had to guess its meaning; the Latin word may not have had an Old English equivalent and the glossator may have used a more general term (e.g. *þæt seleste win* 'the best wine' for L *Falernum*); he may have glossed an explanation of the lemma and not really the lemma itself (the gloss thus approaching a scholion, an exegetical remark); he may have glossed a very rare meaning of the lemma and not its common meaning, and so on. Thus there is a cline from an accurate rendering, that is a fairly close correspondence of gloss and lemma (the normal case), over a loose correspondence, to what is (or at least seems to us to be) a mistake or something we cannot make any sense of.

A case of a rare Latin lemma (actually a *hapax legomenon*) is *bradigabo* (*badrigabo*) in *Épinal-Erfurt* 131, the meaning of which is unknown; it was glossed as *felduuop* (*Ép*) / *felduus* (*Erf*), the meaning of which is also unknown (the first

<sup>16</sup> See Gretsch (1999); *BEASE*, ed. Lapidge, s.v. 'Æthelwold' (by M. Lapidge).

<sup>17</sup> For more examples of difficult glosses and real or apparent discrepancies between lemma and interpretamentum (gloss) see, for example, Meritt (1954 and 1968); Sauer (1999).

element is ‘field’, but the second presents difficulties)—it may refer to an animal (‘fieldhopper’) or to a plant (‘foxglove’), but this is speculation. Latin *digitalium munusculorum* (the latter probably a mistake for *musculorum*), *Erf* 346, seems to mean ‘finger-muscles’, but the Old English gloss *finger-doccuna* seems to refer to a plant, so the glossator either translated an otherwise unattested meaning of the Latin word or simply made a mistake. L *mulio* is a ‘mule-keeper’, but its OE gloss *hors-thegn* in *Ép* 658 changes the animal and imprecisely refers to a ‘horse-servant’.

Some of the Latin lemmata in the Old English glossaries refer to the world of classical antiquity (its gods and goddesses, people, animals, plants, laws, etc.) and the glosses show us how the Anglo-Saxon monks and scholars interpreted and adapted this world. Specifically Roman terms were sometimes rendered by loan-formations, e.g. *centurio* by *hundredes ealdor* ‘leader of a hundred [sc. men]’ in *Ælfric’s Glossary*; in other instances more general OE equivalents were used, as in *Épinal-Erfurt*, where for example *censores* ‘Roman magistrates responsible for the citizens’ morals’ as well as *commentariensis* ‘registrar of public documents’ were rendered by OE *giroefa* (*gerefa* > ModE *reeve*) ‘high official’ (*ÉpErf* 197, 223). Occasionally there are cases of cultural substitution, as when *piraticum* ‘pertaining to pirates’ is glossed as *uuicingsceadan* ‘damage done by Vikings’ (or ‘destructive Vikings’) in *ÉpErf* 736, perhaps because the kind of pirates whom the Anglo-Saxons knew were the Vikings.<sup>18</sup> In rare cases a glossator even turned the meaning of the Latin word into its opposite, rendering the Latin lemma by its OE antonym, sometimes by mistake, but probably intentionally in the case of *res publica* ‘republic’, which is glossed by *cynidom* ‘kingdom’ in *ÉpErf* 859—the idea of a republic was probably unfamiliar to the Anglo-Saxons, whereas the idea of a kingdom was quite familiar, so here we have another case of cultural substitution.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF GLOSSES AND GLOSSARIES AND THE STATE OF SCHOLARSHIP

Glosses and glossaries are important records of Medieval English and its varieties: for example, the mid-tenth-century glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are the most comprehensive witness to the Northumbrian dialect of Old English, and the

<sup>18</sup> One of the problems with this entry in *Épinal-Erfurt* (c.700) is, however, that it predates the beginning of the Viking attacks on England (sack of Lindisfarne 793) by roughly a hundred years, so that it is questionable whether the Anglo-Saxons knew the Vikings as attackers and plunderers at that time.

<sup>19</sup> Cf., for example, Law (1997: 208–10).

mid-ninth-century glosses to the *Vespasian Psalter* are an important document of the Mercian dialect; the latter also represent the first extant partial English translation of the Bible. Glosses also show the interaction of English and Latin (and later French); they allow us glimpses of the culture of medieval England and record some aspects which are rare in or even absent from literary texts (poetry and prose). They indicate how Latin texts were read and interpreted and how Latin words were understood and rendered.

There are many editions and detailed studies of specific Medieval English glosses and glossaries, but few surveys covering the lexicography of the English Middle Ages. The only book-length overview from the beginnings to 1600 is Stein (1985). Brief sketches are included in recent encyclopedias such as the *LexMA* (ed. Auty *et al.*) and the *BEASE* (ed. Lapidge *et al.*).<sup>20</sup> On the whole, more research has been done on the Old English material than on the Middle English. Whereas most of the OE glosses and glossaries have been edited (although the editions vary in quality and accessibility), a number of the ME glosses and glossaries remain unpublished.

The OE material has also been catalogued. The standard description of all the manuscripts containing Old English (Anglo-Saxon) is Ker (1957), while Gneuss (2001) lists all the manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England, including the purely Latin ones, until c.1100.<sup>21</sup> Cameron (1973) in his section C enumerates ninety-eight different Latin texts with continuous or occasional OE interlinear glosses. This number is an understatement, however, because many glossed texts exist in several manuscripts. Furthermore, there are fifty-nine Latin–OE glossaries listed in Cameron’s section D.

The editions of the OE glosses and glossaries up to that time are also listed by Cameron (1973).<sup>22</sup> The two large collections of Latin glossaries (including some OE material) go back to the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries: the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (*CGL*) by G. Goetz (1888–1923), and the *Glossaria Latina* (*GL*) by W. M. Lindsay (1926–32). So does the big collection of Old High German glosses and glossaries by Steinmeyer and Sievers (1879–1922), which also contains some OE material, cf. Ker (1957: Appendix). The largest collection of Old and Middle English glossaries is still Wright and Wülcker (*WW*; 1884). Later collections of OE glosses include those by Napier 1900 and Meritt 1945.

<sup>20</sup> A survey covering OE and ME is given in *LexMA*, ed. Auty, s.v. ‘Glossen, Glossare’ esp. section IV (by H. Gneuss); a survey concentrating on OE is provided in *BEASE*, ed. Lapidge, s.v. ‘Glossaries’ (by P. Lendinara) and ‘Glosses’ (by M. Gretschn).

<sup>21</sup> Old English manuscripts written in the twelfth and early thirteenth century are thus covered by Ker (1957), but not by Gneuss (2001).

<sup>22</sup> For some of the more recent editions, see the references at the end of this volume.

Apart from providing editions, one of the main research activities has been the investigation of the sources and their interrelations; see, for example, Lindsay (1921) and Pfeifer (1974); another has been to explain difficult glosses (*interpretamenta*) and to contribute to the study of the OE (and ME) vocabulary; see, for example, Meritt (1954, 1968). Of course, the glosses and glossaries have also been used in linguistic studies; for some recent work see, for example, Kittlick (1998); Sauer (2007). A relatively recent interest is to find out more about the intellectual background of the glossators and their audience; furthermore, whether they tried to imitate the stylistic level of the texts they glossed; see Gretsche (1999). There have been conferences devoted to medieval glossography—see Derolez (1992); Bergmann (2003)—as well as volumes of collected articles by leading scholars in the field; see Lindsay (1996); Lendinara (1999).

An overview of the Middle English material is now provided by Reiser (1998: esp. section 10, nos. 507–68). ME glosses and glossaries are also listed in the volumes of *The Index of Middle English Prose* (IMEP, ed. Edwards), which has been in progress since 1984. Many of the better-known editions of ME glossaries and dictionaries go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, for example, Herrtage (1881; *Catholicon Anglicum*) or Mayhew (1908; *Promptorium Parvulorum*); a more recent edition is Ross and Brooks (1984). A number of glosses and dictionaries connected with teaching and learning Latin in thirteenth-century England have been discussed and partly also edited by Hunt (1991).

## 2.5 THE LATIN BACKGROUND

The Western tradition of explaining words and of compiling glossaries goes back to Classical Greece, and was then taken over by the Romans.<sup>23</sup> The first Latin lexicon was compiled by Verrius Flaccus in the first century BC, the *Libri de significatione verborum*; it only lives on in the abridged version (epitome) produced by Sextus Pompeius Festus in the second century AD. A further abridged version of Festus's epitome was then produced by Paulus Diaconus in the eighth century. An important source of Latin vocabulary were the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville (c.570–636), one of the most popular encyclopedias throughout the Middle Ages. Among the glossaries and dictionaries that influenced the Old English glossators were also

<sup>23</sup> The first extended example of the discussion of words (in particular their etymology) is Plato's (427–348/347 BC) *Kratylos*. On the Latin tradition, see, for example, *LexMA*, ed. Auty, s.v. 'Glossen, Glossare I.' (by M. Lapidge).



the *Hermeneumata*, the *Abstrusa*, and the *Abolita* glossaries. The *Hermeneumata* (*pseudo-Dositheana*) had originally, i.e. in the second century AD, been compiled for Greeks wanting to learn Latin (as a Graeco-Latin class glossary); in the Middle Ages and especially in England they were used as a source of the Latin vocabulary. In England they were introduced early and used as one of the sources of *ÉpErf*. The *Abolita* and *Abstrusa* glossaries were probably compiled in the seventh century, perhaps in Spain; they were soon combined, and served as a source of numerous later glossaries, for example, also of *ÉpErf* and of the *Liber Glossarum*, the most important Carolingian glossary.

From around 1000 onwards, large Latin–Latin dictionaries became popular for learning Latin; some of them were imported to England from the continent, some were compiled by Englishmen. Among them are the dictionaries by (in rough chronological order): Papias (perhaps around 1000), an Italian about whom practically nothing is known; Hugutio (Uguccio, Huguccio, etc.) of Pisa (c.1140–1210); Osbern of Gloucester (first half of the twelfth century); Johannes Balbus de Janua (died 1298), who lived in Genua, and William Brito (the Breton, c.1159/69–c.1226).

Papias's alphabetical dictionary, which was probably written before 1045, is known under various titles; the original title seems to have been *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*. Among its sources is the *Liber Glossarum*. It was very popular throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance. It was used as a source by Hugutio of Pisa and Johannes Balbus, and even by Johannes Reuchlin in his *Lexicon Breviloquus* or *Vocabularius Breviloquus* (printed 1475/6).<sup>24</sup> Papias has been called the first modern lexicographer. He arranged his entries in abc-order. In addition to explaining the meaning he often gives quotations from literature (frequently, however, at second hand). For many lemmata he also provides 'derivations' (or derivatives, that is, words derived from the same stem or root), thus establishing a number of word-families.

Osbern's dictionary is known under at least two titles, *Derivationes* and *Panormia*. Each letter is subdivided into two sections: in the first section, as is implied in the title, Osbern provides many derivations; in the second, he repeats the words in the form of a glossary. Hugutio's *Liber derivationum* was also influenced by Osbern's *Derivationes*.

One of Johannes Balbus's most important works is the *Catholicon seu summa prosodiae* (also called *Summa quae vocatur Catholicon*, completed in 1286). It consists of five parts (the first four dealing with orthography, accent, etymology, syntax); the last is the lexicographical part. Apparently Balbus was the first lexicographer to achieve complete alphabetization (from the first to the last letter

<sup>24</sup> Reuchlin's dictionary thus shows that there was a certain amount of lexicographical continuity from late Antiquity until the Renaissance (Festus > *Abolita* > *Liber glossarum* > Papias > Reuchlin).

of each word). His *Catholicon* was among the first printed books (Mainz, 1460). William Brito in his *Summa* or *Expositiones difficiliorum verborum* used Isidore, Papias, and Hugutio of Pisa as some of his sources.

## 2.6 THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

### 2.6.1 *Old English interlinear glosses*

In the Old English period, religious texts mainly were provided with more or less continuous interlinear glosses, especially texts used for the liturgy or the monastic office, such as the Psalter (a collection of the Psalms), the Canticles of the Psalter, the Hymns, occasionally the Gospels, some prayers (such as the *Arundel Prayers*), and also texts of basic importance for the monks such as the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia*; furthermore, texts by authors read in school such as the prose version of Aldhelm's *De virginitate* (= *De laudibus virginitatis* 'In praise of virginity') or Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. Among the less strictly religious texts which were glossed are also parts of Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* and the third book of the *Bella Parisiaca Urbis* by Abbo of St Germain (second half of the ninth century), which was studied in English schools due to its unusual vocabulary. Abbo's work and the glosses to it then also served as the basis for *glossae collectae*; the same is true of the glosses to Aldhelm.<sup>25</sup>

Glossing (mainly in Latin) started in the later seventh century in Canterbury under archbishop Theodore of Tarsus (602–90) and his companion Hadrian (c.635–709/710), who arrived there in 669 and soon after founded a school. Some of their commentaries to passages of the Bible and to other texts have been preserved in the form of notes taken by their pupils, and mainly in continental manuscripts (ed. Bischoff and Lapidge 1994); some also survive in the form of later glossaries such as the *Leiden Glossary*. Hardly any OE glosses have been preserved from the eighth century. The main interlinear gloss from the ninth century is the gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter*. The bulk of the OE interlinear glosses dates from the second half of the tenth and from the eleventh century, and many of them are connected with the Benedictine Reform (Monastic Revival).

From Anglo-Saxon England about forty Latin psalters (including fragments) survive; about thirteen of them contain OE continuous interlinear glosses.<sup>26</sup> The

<sup>25</sup> See *BEASE*, ed. Lapidge, s.v. 'Glossaries' (by P. Lendinara).

<sup>26</sup> On the OE Psalter glosses see, for example, Schabram (1965: 21–34); Cameron (1973, section C no. 7.1–13); Pulsiano (2001).

earliest Latin Psalter with a continuous OE gloss is the *Vespasian Psalter*. Its Latin text was probably written at Canterbury around 720–30, its OE interlinear gloss was added there in the mid-ninth century. Psalters with interlinear OE glosses continued to be copied until the mid-twelfth century. The latest is Eadwine's *Canterbury Psalter*, written around 1150. The relations between the various Psalter glosses are quite complex. The *Vespasian Psalter* gloss and some later glosses are usually taken to represent the (Anglian) A-type, whereas the *Royal Psalter* gloss (written c.950 and perhaps composed by Æthelwold) and others are taken to represent the (West-Saxon) D-type (ultimately originating at Winchester). Relatively independent of the other types is the gloss of the *Lambeth Psalter*, which is regarded as the most scholarly of the psalter glosses and often contains multiple glosses to one lemma.

Whereas most glosses and glossaries are anonymous, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are associated with names in the manuscript: they were probably written and illustrated at Lindisfarne around 700 by Eadfrith (bishop of Lindisfarne 698–721); the interlinear OE gloss was added around 970, that is, 270 years later, at Chester-le-Street by Aldred.

Another gospelbook with OE interlinear glosses from the later tenth century is the so-called *Rushworth Gospels* (Latin text: Macregol Gospels). These were glossed by two clerics, partly by Farmon in the Mercian dialect, and partly by Owun in the Northumbrian dialect, who may have copied his part from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.<sup>27</sup>

A non-biblical and non-liturgical text that was glossed particularly often, and probably as part of the efforts of the Benedictine Reform, is Aldhelm's prose version of his *De virginitate*, a popular but difficult text.<sup>28</sup> At least fourteen manuscripts with OE glosses survive. Best known are the more than 5,000 *Brussels Aldhelm Glosses* from the first half of the eleventh century. Many of the Latin words have multiple glosses, in Latin and partly also in Old English. The different layers of glossing and their relation to glosses in other manuscripts are difficult to disentangle, but it was probably Æthelwold who originally composed many of those glosses.

One manuscript of Ælfric's *Colloquy* has a continuous interlinear gloss, but because the *Colloquy* was part of Ælfric's programme for teaching Latin and is thus connected to his *Grammar* and his *Glossary*, it is dealt with in the following section.

<sup>27</sup> These Northumbrian and Mercian glosses are probably not connected with the Benedictine Reform.

<sup>28</sup> Aldhelm composed his *De virginitate* in a poetic version as well as in a prose version.

### 2.6.2 Old English glossaries

The oldest English text of any length is the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (*ÉpErf*). It exists in two manuscripts, which go back to a common exemplar. The archetype has been connected to Theodore's school at Canterbury (that is, to the period c.670–90) or to Aldhelm's school at Malmesbury (roughly at the same time). *ÉpErf* is an alphabetical glossary largely in a-order, with entries in ab-order added at the end of most alphabetical sections. It contains more than 3,280 Latin lemmata, most of which are glossed in Latin, but about 1,100, roughly a third, are glossed in English, so that *ÉpErf* is a mixture of a Latin–Latin and a Latin–Old English glossary. The Latin nouns, adjectives, and verbs are often given in inflected forms; this probably reflects the fact that the lemmata had originally been taken from texts and were arranged alphabetically later, but left in their inflected forms. This choice of forms was often imitated in the OE glosses, as far as this is possible in the OE inflectional system. Apparently the practice of giving the lemmata in a citation form (e.g. in the nominative singular with nouns) took some time to develop.

Many of the later OE glossaries are related to *ÉpErf*, that is, they incorporate material from this glossary, but also add new material, for example:<sup>29</sup>

- (1) The *Corpus Glossary* was compiled around 800. The second of its two alphabetical glossaries includes most of the *ÉpErf* entries, thus providing virtually a third text of *ÉpErf*, but the compiler also added much new material.
- (2) The *Cleopatra Glossaries* date from the middle of the tenth century. The manuscript consists of three OE glossaries: the first is an alphabetical glossary from A to P; the second basically a Latin–OE class glossary arranged by subjects; the third a Latin–OE glossary to Aldhelm, *De virginitate* (prose and poetry). The first two contain material from *ÉpErf*.
- (3) The *Harley Glossary* dates from around 1000. It is preserved only as a fragment (letters A to F, arranged in abc-order). Nevertheless Pfeifer (1974: xxxvi) calls it 'the fullest and most elaborate of the Old English glossaries, and the only one that treats its material at all intelligently'.
- (4) Whereas the glossaries mentioned so far are mostly alphabetical glossaries (Latin–OE), the *Brussels Glossary* is a Latin–OE class glossary which was added in the margins of a collection of Latin glossaries that includes the *Hermeneumata*.

A representative of *glossae collectae* is the *Leiden Glossary*, which was copied at St Gall around 800, but goes back to an older exemplar ultimately connected with

<sup>29</sup> Extracts from *ÉpErf* are even found in some Continental glossaries.

the school of Theodore and Hadrian in Canterbury in the later seventh century. It consists of forty-eight sections containing glosses from sources which are usually indicated, for instance, the Bible, Cassian, Gildas, Gregory the Great, Isidore, Jerome, Orosius, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus. The glosses are mainly in Latin, but they comprise also around 260 Old English (occasionally Old High German) *interpretamenta*.

The dominant author around 1000 was Ælfric. He was a dedicated preacher who wrote many OE homilies and saints' lives, but he was also a dedicated teacher. For teaching Latin to his pupils he wrote three related works: a *Grammar*, mainly for the morphology; a *Glossary*, usually appended to his *Grammar*, for the vocabulary; a Latin *Colloquy*, to practise oral skills.<sup>30</sup> The grammar is unique in that it is bilingual, that is, a grammar of Latin largely written in Old English. Judging from the number of extant manuscripts, it must have been quite popular in the eleventh century, and it was copied until the early thirteenth century. Incidentally, there is at least one manuscript which has Anglo-Norman glosses.<sup>31</sup>

Ælfric's *Glossary* is a Latin–OE class glossary, arranged onomasiologically according to word-fields (semantic fields), which include 'names of members [sc. of body parts], of birds, of fish, of animals, of plants, of trees, of houses'. Some of the groups contain more, however, than the headings imply.<sup>32</sup> The first and last groups, for example, include not only words for parts of the body and for buildings, but also a substantial number of words for people in various roles. Ælfric proceeds very systematically; for example, among the names of relationship, he starts with 'father' and continues as far as 'great-great-great-grandfather'; for terms referring to men he often adds the corresponding terms referring to women (e.g. 'male fiddler'–'female fiddler'), and he generally adopts a hierarchical sequence within the various groups, starting with the higher and proceeding to the lower, thus: 'God'–'angel'–'man'; or 'lord'–'servant, slave'. It has been said that Ælfric has 'a tendency to cover the whole world with words'.<sup>33</sup> A glossary which overlaps with Ælfric's is the *Antwerp and London Glossary*.

Ælfric's *Colloquy* is a kind of role-play designed to enable pupils to speak Latin: they pretend to be farmers, hunters, fishermen, bakers, and so on, and explain what their tasks and daily routines are. In one of the manuscripts, Ælfric's *Colloquy* was provided with a continuous interlinear gloss. This work stands in

<sup>30</sup> On Ælfric as a teacher and grammarian, see, for example, Law (1997: 200–23); especially on his *Glossary*, see Hüllen (1999: 62 ff.)

<sup>31</sup> See Hunt (1991: I: 99–118). It is an isolated forerunner of the English grammars which started to appear in the late sixteenth century. John Bullokar's *Pamphlet for Grammar* of 1586 is usually regarded as the first grammar of English.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the list in Hüllen (1999: 64), and see Sauer (2007) for the words for people.

<sup>33</sup> Hüllen (1999: 65).

the tradition of the monastic colloquies; the tradition was continued by Ælfric's pupil, Ælfric Bata, who wrote a large number of Latin colloquies.<sup>34</sup>

From the twelfth century, that is, the post-Conquest era, date two alphabetical Latin–OE glossaries devoted specifically to plant names and perhaps intended for physicians: the *Laud Herbal Glossary* and the *Durham Plant Name Glossary*; the latter was written at Durham shortly after 1100.

## 2.7 THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

### 2.7.1 *Middle English interlinear glosses*

In the Middle English period, that is, after about 1100 (with the twelfth century forming an overlap between late OE texts and early ME texts), glossing in English became rarer, whereas glossing in Latin continued, and there were now also glosses in French.

Of the 189 or so major Old English manuscripts, about forty-four, or almost a quarter, have, however, glosses that were entered in the Middle English period.<sup>35</sup> Most striking in this connection is the so-called ‘Tremulous Hand of Worcester’.<sup>36</sup> In the first half of the thirteenth century, a monk at Worcester with shaky handwriting entered about 50,000 glosses in about twenty OE manuscripts, partly in early Middle English, but mainly in Latin. Apparently, even in the early thirteenth century, English had changed so much that Old English could no longer be readily understood and had to be explained. Why the Tremulous Hand took such pains to do this, is, however, not quite clear. Earlier scholars assumed that his hand was shaky because he was an old man who still remembered the language of his youth and wanted to pass it on to his younger brethren, but a more recent opinion (Franzen 1991) is that he could have been a younger man whose trembling was due to an illness and who also had to make an effort to learn Old English. Although he entered many glosses, they are usually not continuous and thus explain only fractions of the OE texts. Moreover, it is doubtful whether his fellow monks really wanted to learn Old English. ‘There are always some people of an antiquarian turn of mind’ (Ker 1957: xlix), and perhaps he was one of those.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Stevenson (1929); Gwara and Porter (1997), who also provide information about the colloquy tradition.

<sup>35</sup> See Sauer (1997), with references to earlier literature.

<sup>36</sup> On the Tremulous Hand of Worcester see, among others, Franzen (1991); Sauer (1997); Reiser (1998, no. 546.)

Glossing continued to be important in texts intended for teaching Latin. There are glosses to some of the works by John of Garland (an Englishman, c.1195–c.1272), for example, to his *Dictionarius* and his *Distigium* (hexametrical distichs with particularly difficult words; Reiser 1998, no. 550), to *De nominibus utensilium* by Alexander Neckam (1157–1217, also an Englishman; Reiser 1998, no. 549), and to similar later works.<sup>37</sup>

One of the first documents which indicate that at least some members of the upper class had given up French (or rather Anglo-Norman) as their mother tongue and had started speaking English—and consequently had to learn French as a foreign language—is the *Traité* (or *Tretiz*) by Walter of Bibbesworth, written around 1250 (Reiser 1998, no. 507). This is a verse manual (in about 1,134 lines) of Anglo-Norman, presenting mainly its vocabulary (i.e. belonging to the class of the *nominalia*). It was originally written for a specific family, the children of Dionysia de Muchensy, but circulated widely subsequently.<sup>38</sup>

### 2.7.2 Middle English glossaries and dictionaries

In the Middle English period the tradition of producing Latin–English glossaries (vocabularies) was continued, but new types of dictionaries were also created. Examples of the older-type vocabularies are, for instance, *WW* no. XV, and the *Vocabula* (1496) and *Vulgaria* (1508) by John Stanbridge (1463–c.1510), written for teaching Latin to boys. The latter two are in the topical tradition of the class (or ‘topical’) glossaries and largely arranged according to semantic groups.<sup>39</sup>

It is said that four large dictionaries from the fifteenth century represent the culmination of Medieval English dictionary-making: two of them are Latin–English, the *Medulla Grammaticae* and the *Ortus Vocabulorum* (*ortus* for *hortus*); and two are English–Latin, the *Promptorium Parvulorum* and the *Catholicon Anglicum*. Whereas the former continue the tradition of the Latin–English glossaries, the latter are an innovation—both types of dictionaries complement each other.<sup>40</sup>

The *Medulla Grammaticae* has about 17,000 Latin entries. According to Reiser it was compiled in the later fifteenth century, but, according to others, before 1400 (Stonyhurst MS). Its main source was perhaps the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See Hunt (1991: vol. I: especially chs. IV–V and VII; vol. II). Latin metrical vocabularies with partly Latin and partly English interlinear glosses are printed by *WW* nos. XVI–XVII.

<sup>38</sup> Some of its manuscripts also have English glosses, see Reiser (1998: nos. 507 and 509–11).

<sup>39</sup> On Stanbridge, see Starnes (1954: ch. V).

<sup>40</sup> On these four dictionaries (*Medulla Grammaticae*, *Ortus Vocabulorum*, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, *Catholicon Anglicum*), see, for example, Starnes (1954: Part I); Stein (1985); Reiser (1998: nos. 555–8).

<sup>41</sup> Apparently there is no easily accessible modern edition of the *Medulla Grammaticae*.

The Latin lemmata are partly explained in Latin and partly in English. The *Ortus Vocabulorum* has about 27,000 entries. The date of its compilation is also unclear: around 1500 according to Reiser (1998: no. 558), but around 1430 (Bristol fragment) according to others.

The *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ed. Mayhew 1908) lists about 12,000 English words, first nouns and other parts of speech, and afterwards verbs. It was compiled around 1440 by a Dominican friar in Lynn, Norfolk. The *Catholicon Anglicum* (ed. Herrtage 1881) presents about 8,000 English words in alphabetical order; it is partly based on John of Garland's *Synonyma*. It was compiled in the later fifteenth century (1483).

Both the *Promptorium Parvulorum* and the *Catholicon Anglicum* often give just one 'synonym' for the English lemma; however, sometimes they provide several Latin 'synonyms': for *foule* the *Catholicon* lists twenty-two Latin equivalents, for example, 'aceratus, deformis in corpore, turpis in anima, enormis, fedus, fedosus, fetidus, inmundus, inornatus', and so on. The *Promptorium* gives the Latin verbs in the first person singular and also provides information about their inflexion (e.g. 'ffowlyn, or defowlyn: Turpo, -as, -aui, -are'), whereas the *Catholicon* gives them in the infinitive. Thus the main purpose of those dictionaries seems to have been to help with Latin, and specifically with writing in, and translating into, Latin.

Building on the tradition of Alexander Neckam, John Garland, and others, wordbooks for teaching and learning purposes were developed. Often they concentrated on one word-class: those dealing with nouns (and adjectives) were apparently in the majority. They were called 'nominalia'; those dealing with verbs were called 'verbalia'. Some *nominalia* from the fifteenth century are printed by WW as nos. XVIII–XX, among them the so-called *Mayer Nominale* from the fifteenth century (no. XIX),<sup>42</sup> and a pictorial *nominale* with (rather crude) illustrations, a forerunner of illustrated dictionaries (no. XX). Many of them are arranged according to semantic fields; some cover several, others concentrate on one. Among them are also trilingual vocabularies, i.e. Latin–French–English; cf. Reiser (1998, no. 553). To indicate the gender, the nouns are usually preceded by *hic*, *hec*, or *hoc*. Collections of English sentences (often following or followed by the corresponding Latin sentences) for the purpose of learning Latin were called 'vulgaria'; see Reiser (1998: nos. 533–45).

A combination of a *nominale* with a *verbale* seems to be the vocabulary (glossary) in London, BL, Addit. 37075 from the late fifteenth century (c.1475; ed. Ross and Brooks 1984), where the nouns are largely arranged according to semantic groups.

<sup>42</sup> It is discussed, for example, in Hüllen (1999: 68–77).



There are a few French–English (or Latin–French–English) glossaries from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; like Walter of Bibbesworth’s *Treatise*, they were intended as a help for teaching French to those who no longer used it as their mother tongue but spoke English. Some are arranged alphabetically, some according to word-classes, and some according to semantic fields; see Reiser (1998: no. 553). Even greater popularity was enjoyed by dialogues in French and English, where the vocabulary was embedded in a context. Caxton printed such a collection of dialogues in about 1483 (ed. Bradley 1900).<sup>43</sup>

A more specific type of glossary is represented by the numerous trilingual plant name glossaries which belong to the broader category of ‘synonyma’. One of them, the *Trilingual Harley Glossary* from the thirteenth century, is printed in WW no. XVI, but not many apparently have been published so far; cf. Reiser (1998: no. 247).<sup>44</sup> In the *Trilingual Harley Glossary*, the sequence in an entry usually is Latin word–French word–English word, so: *abrotanum i. aueroine i. supewurt*. The French word is often the etymological descendant of the Latin word, for instance, *saniculum i. sanicle (wudemerch)*. Some of the French words were later borrowed into English as loan-words, but at the time of the *Trilingual Harley Glossary* they probably were still French words (see 2.1, above, for Hunt’s treatment of this question). These glossaries were perhaps intended for the use of medical practitioners.

Other specific vocabularies include a Latin–English glossary based on the names of the parts of the human body, which was apparently used as a school text. There was, furthermore, the so-called *Expositiones vocabulorum*, which exists in more than forty manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and explains Anglo-Saxon law terms.<sup>45</sup>

## 2.8 THE TRANSITION TO THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

Period boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the end of all old traditions and the beginning of new ones. Whereas I have drawn the borderline between Middle English and Early Modern English around 1500, Stein (1985) finishes her

<sup>43</sup> See Hüllen (1999: ch. 4).

<sup>44</sup> On ME plant name glossaries (synonyma), see also Hunt (1989: xix–xxxvi).

<sup>45</sup> On the names of the parts of the human body see Reiser (1998: no. 553 e); on the *Expositiones vocabulorum* see Reiser (1998: no. 552 and cf. no. 553 k).

survey of early dictionaries just before 1600. Her main reason is that in 1604 Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* was published. This was the first monolingual English dictionary, and thus began a new tradition of dictionary-making.

The late medieval bilingual dictionaries span both periods; moreover, they show the transition from manuscript to print. The English–Latin *Promptorium Parvulorum* exists in several manuscripts; it was first printed in 1499 (by Richard Pynson) and then frequently reprinted until 1528. No manuscript exists of the Latin–English *Ortus Vocabulorum*; it was first printed in 1500 (by Wynkyn de Worde) and then also frequently reprinted until 1532.<sup>46</sup> The manuscript tradition of the *Catholicon Anglicum* is comparatively weak and no early prints seem to exist. The *Medulla Grammaticae* is still preserved in more than twenty manuscripts, but apparently also not in early printed editions. Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* were reprinted until 1529,<sup>47</sup> but then their transmission also seems to have stopped.<sup>48</sup>

The first large Latin–English dictionary of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elyot* of 1538, which apparently supplanted the *Ortus Vocabulorum*.<sup>49</sup> The first bilingual dictionaries of French, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and so on were published in the sixteenth century; the first English–French dictionary was John Palsgrave's *Esclarcissement de la langue francoyse* of 1530. A new development was furthermore represented by polyglot dictionaries listing several languages.<sup>50</sup>

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- Abbo of Saint-Germain: *Glossae collectae*: London, BL, Cotton Domitian I, fol. 37v–38v; London, BL, Royal 7.D.II; see Ker (1957, nos. 146, 258).<sup>52</sup>  
 Ælfric's *Colloquy*: London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A.III, fols. 60v–64v; see Ker (1957, no. 186).

<sup>46</sup> Of the *Ortus Vocabulorum* also no easily accessible modern edition seems to exist, but there is a facsimile of the first printed edition of 1500.

<sup>47</sup> See Stein (1985: 87, 101–2, 121); Starnes (1954: 41).

<sup>48</sup> An exception was apparently Stanbridge's *Vocabula*: between 1496 and 1631, seventeen editions were published.

<sup>49</sup> On Sir Thomas Elyot's dictionary, see Stein (1985).

<sup>50</sup> On continuations and new departures in the sixteenth century, see also Starnes and Noyes (1946: ch. 1).

<sup>51</sup> Mainly OE glosses and glossaries are listed here.

<sup>52</sup> See *BEASE*, ed. Lapidge, s.v. 'Glossaries', p. 207 (by P. Lendinara).

- Aldhelm: (a) *Brussels Aldhelm Glosses*: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650; see Ker (1957, no.8); (b) *Glossae collectae to Aldhelm*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.2.14, fol. 11r–19r; see Ker (1957, no. 295).
- Antwerp and London Glossary (Junius Glossary)*: Antwerp, Plantin Moretus Museum 47 + London, BL, Add. 32246; see Ker (1957, no. 2).
- Arundel Prayers*: London, BL, Arundel 155; see Ker (1957, no. 135).
- Brussels Aldhelm Glosses*: see Aldhelm.
- Brussels Glossary*: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1828–30; see Ker (1957, no. 9).
- Cleopatra Glossaries*: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A.III; see Ker (1957, no. 143).
- Corpus Glossary*: CCCC 144; see Ker (1957, no. 36).
- Durham Plant Name Glossary*: Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100; see Ker (1957, no. 110).
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- Harley Glossary*: London, BL, Harley 3376; see Ker (1957, no. 240).
- Hermeneumatha (pseudo-Dositheana)*: see *Brussels Glossary*.
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- Lambeth Psalter*: London, Lambeth Palace 427; see Ker (1957, no. 280).
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- Royal Psalter*: London, BL, Royal 2.B.V; see Ker (1957, no. 249).
- Rushworth Gospels*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.19; see Ker (1957, no. 292).
- Trilingual Harley Glossary*: London, BL, Harley 978, fol. 24v; ed. WW no. XIV.
- Vespasian Psalter*: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.I; see Ker (1957, no. 203).

# BILINGUAL AND MULTILINGUAL DICTIONARIES OF THE RENAISSANCE AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

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## 3.1 LATIN–ENGLISH AND ENGLISH–LATIN DICTIONARIES

### *3.1.1 Latin–English dictionaries, from Elyot to Wase*

THE end of the fifteenth century saw the publication in print of two of the bilingual vocabularies and dictionaries that had previously been circulating in manuscript—the English–Latin *Promptorium Parvulorum* and Latin–English *Ortus vocabulorum*. Both were to be frequently reissued over the next thirty-two years. Yet there is little evidence of their influence on subsequent lexicography, a circumstance which in the words of DeWitt Starnes (1954: 37) ‘might be explained by the desire of the Humanists to start afresh and to avoid the use of medieval sources’.

Instead, it was to the Continent that English lexicographers of the sixteenth century turned for models and materials.<sup>2</sup> So, when, in 1538, Thomas Elyot, scholar

<sup>1</sup> Length restrictions permit only short titles to be given here and in the References, with editions other than the first not normally listed. For fuller details, see Alston (1965–), COPAC and EEBO.

<sup>2</sup> For an invaluable exploration of sources in this section, see Starnes (1954).

and diplomat, produced his unidirectional Latin–English *Dictionary*,<sup>3</sup> the authorities he cited included French, Dutch, and Italian contemporaries, who, like him, were seeking to provide the linguistic tools demanded by the ‘New Learning’. It was the monolingual Latin *Dictionarium* of ‘Calepinus’—Augustinian friar Ambrogio Calepino of Bergamo—, first published in 1502, that was his chief source. And when Elyot’s dictionary was reissued in 1542 as the *Bibliotheca Eliotae. Eliotis librerie*, it was from the *Dictionarium Latino–Gallicum* (1538) of French printer Robert Estienne (or ‘Stephanus’) that much of its new material was derived. Elyot died in 1546, but publication of his dictionary continued, with revisions by Thomas Cooper appearing in 1548, 1552, and 1559. Cooper, who was to become successively headmaster of Magdalen College School, dean of Christ Church, vice-chancellor of Oxford University, and bishop, first of Lincoln, then of Winchester, also drew directly on Robert Estienne. And when he abandoned his work as reviser to produce a Latin–English dictionary of his own, he continued to turn to the Continent for his materials, the sources of his *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565) including not only the revised *Bibliotheca Eliotae* but also Johannes Frisius’s *Dictionarium Latino–Germanicum* (1556) and an edition of Estienne’s *Dictionarium Latino–Gallicum*.

A revised edition of another dictionary by Estienne/Stephanus—the Latin–French *Dictionariolum puerorum* (first edition 1542)—had already been published in London in 1552, with its French element removed, and with the addition of an English translation of its definitions by French émigré John Veron, rector of St Alphage within Cripplegate. Renamed *Dictionary in Latine and English*, ‘for the vtilitie and profit of all young students’, this publication was subsequently twice revised: firstly by Rudolph Waddington, *Ludimagister* at Christ’s Hospital School (1575), and secondly by the clergyman, poet, and translator, Abraham Fleming (1584). Added material included English definitions from Elyot–Cooper 1548 and both definitions and illustrative phrases from Cooper’s *Thesaurus*.

The *Thesaurus* remained in print until 1587, the year of publication of Thomas Thomas’s *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*. Thomas, first printer to Cambridge University, died in the following year. However, his dictionary continued to appear in up to fourteen editions over the next half-century. One of Thomas’s sources was Cooper’s *Thesaurus*. Another was the *Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Anglicisque coniunctorum commentarij* (1583), in which someone, arguably Abraham Fleming<sup>4</sup>—himself drawing heavily on Cooper’s *Thesaurus*—

<sup>3</sup> The earliest instance of the word ‘dictionary’ recorded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates from 1526.

<sup>4</sup> I accept with some hesitation LEME’s attribution to Fleming rather than that of Starnes (1954: 112) to publisher Richard Hutton.

had substituted English for the original French of the *Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Gallicisque conjunctorum commentarij* (1558) of French Humanist Morelius (Guillaume Morel). The revised editions of Thomas drew still further on Cooper and Morelius—?Fleming, adding illustrative quotations from Latin texts from the former and (in some editions) Greek equivalents from the latter, as well as a dictionary of proper names, based on the *Dictionarium historicum, geographicum, poeticum* (1553), attributed to Carolus Stephanus (Charles Estienne),<sup>5</sup> and Cooper's *Thesaurus*. Other sources include recent editions of dictionaries by Calepinus and Robert Estienne, and Dutchman Hadrianus (or Adrianus) Junius's *Nomenclator omnium rerum propria nomina* (probably in John Higgins's translation, 1585). A major development is the addition (edition of 1615) of a *Supplementum*, or *Paralipomena* by schoolmaster-physician Philemon Holland and a *Vocabularium Anglo-Latino ex Dictionario*. This edition contains numerous new quotations from, and references to, classical authors, and some entries ascribed to a 'Medull.Gram.', probably the English-Latin *Promptorium parvulorum*.<sup>6</sup>

The final edition of Thomas's dictionary was published in 1644. However, already in 1606 there had appeared the first fully bi-directional (though co-authored) English-Latin—Latin-English dictionary, under the title *Rider's Dictionarie*, created by the 'transform[ation] into a Dictionarie Etymologicall'<sup>7</sup> of a Latin-English Index in John Rider's English-Latin *Bibliotheca scholastica*,<sup>8</sup> and providing for the first time under a single cover material for both the English reader of Latin and the would-be writer in it. The new Latin-English component, which included also a dictionary of 'Barbarous words', and a brief Index of proper names, the work of clergyman Francis Holyoke, drew heavily on Thomas's *Dictionarium*. *Rider's Dictionarie* subsequently appeared in eight revised editions between 1612 and 1659 (one by Nicholas Gray, headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, 1626), with an edition of Thomas's dictionary once again a major source,<sup>9</sup> but incorporating also material from the publications of continental authors, including Johannes Fungerus (1605), Christianus Becmanus (1619), and Calepinus. And 124 years after the publication of Elyot's dictionary, with wheels turning full circle, we have 'an Abridgement [by Schrevelius] of the last Calepine, augmented by Passeratius',<sup>10</sup> entitled *Compendium Calepini*, and part of

<sup>5</sup> *Recte Robert?* See Starnes (1963).

<sup>6</sup> Starnes (1954: 136–7). Less convincing are Starnes's arguments for use of the *Catholicon Anglicum*, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Riders Dictionarie*: Title page.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> For contemporary accusations of plagiarism see Starnes (1954: 240 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> Wase 1662: Title page of Latin-English dictionary (dated 1661) and *Advertisements*.

another bidirectional compilation, the single-authored *Dictionarium minus* (1662) by Christopher Wase, then headmaster of the Free School, Tonbridge.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.1.1 (i) *The Latin headwords*

The continental dictionaries in their various editions provided not only materials for the Latin–English lexicographers but also a choice of models. Arrangement of headwords is roughly alphabetical, but in some cases disrupted by the practice of grouping ‘derivatives’ after their ‘primitives’ (i.e. root-words). Latin authorities are often named and illustrative quotations provided, some of considerable length, but proper names and encyclopedic detail, at first incorporated, are in later publications removed to a separate section or omitted altogether. The cover of pronunciation and grammar also varies.

Similar variation is found in the Latin–English dictionaries. Elyot, for instance, following a monolingual edition of Calepinus, frequently groups derivatives with their primitives in his otherwise alphabetically ordered word-list,<sup>12</sup> which is also occasionally disrupted by the inclusion of quotations. Subsequent editions are progressively more completely alphabetical, with straight alphabetical order becoming the norm in Elyot–Cooper and Morelius–?Fleming. Cooper, *Thesaurus*, however, regularly places ‘Deriuatiues’ after their ‘Primitiues’—an arrangement already found in Estienne–Veron and its subsequent revisions and later (under the influence of a contemporary revision of Calepinus) followed by Wase.

The criteria adopted for the selection of headwords also vary. Elyot, for instance, enters personal names and place-name in the body of the work. However, Cooper, after making an initial incomplete attempt at reorganization in Elyot–Cooper 1559, follows the Estienne brothers in removing them to a separate *Dictionarium historicum & poeticum* in his *Thesaurus*. A similar two-part arrangement is found in Thomas 1589 and in Rider–Holyoke 1606. Other dictionaries, including the first edition of Thomas’s dictionary, omit proper names altogether.

At the same time, from Elyot–Cooper 1548 onwards, we find an increasing reaction to the inclusion of Latin words not used by ‘probatis autoribus’.<sup>13</sup> So, for instance, Holyoke initially ‘ranged’ a collection of ‘barbarous words’ into ‘a Dictionarie by themselues’ (*Rider’s Dictionary* 1606: title page), and later ‘expunged’ them ‘to the helpe of young Scholars’ (*idem*, edition of 1640, title page). Wase’s dictionary, also intended for young scholars, contains only ‘the Classical words of the *Latine Tongue*’ (title page, Latin–English section). In contrast,

<sup>11</sup> See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB): Wase.

<sup>12</sup> I/J and U/V are treated as single letters.

<sup>13</sup> Rider–Holyoke 1606: *Ad Lectorem*.

specialist terms relating to a range of disciplines abound. So Elyot includes words belonging to 'lawe and phisike' and the names of 'herbes' and fishes, as well as quoting many proverbs. Cooper prides himself on having collected a number of technical terms relating to trades and crafts; Holyoke makes special mention of civil and canon law and glossaries.

One-word headwords are the norm. However, prefixes are occasionally given individual cover, as in:

- (1) AD, by hym selfe, or ioyned to an other word, signifieth to, or at, as Vado ad oppidum, I go to the towne (Elyot 1538).
- (2) Syn, Præpositio Græca, quæ in compositione significat Simul: quemadmodum apud nos CON (Cooper, *Thesaurus*),

while homographs are sometimes entered in a single entry, sometimes separately. And in some dictionaries headword entries<sup>14</sup> include combinations of words or phrases (syntagmas) as, for instance, Estienne–Veron's *Cantheriàta vinea*, Cooper's *Ephemera febris*, and Thomas Thomas's *Enula campana*. And in Elyot, Cooper's *Thesaurus*, Morelius–?Fleming, and revisions of Thomas from 1592, numerous phrases and illustrative sentences are provided from named Latin authors, usually as sub-entries, as in Elyot 1538, under headword *Species*:

- (3) a Per speciem legationis in Asiam ablegatus est, **Under the coloure of ambassade, he was banyshed into Asia.** [margin] Plin. de uiris illustr.  
 b In Speciem esse, **to be to the honour.** [margin] Plautus

Usage in other dictionaries varies considerably, with, for instance, unattributed quotations in Cooper's revisions of Elyot, attributions without supporting quotations in Thomas 1587 and in Holyoke, and quotations, but only a few references to authors, in Wase.

Comment on register usually takes the form of descriptions, in Latin or in English, such as 'a barbarous word', 'in holie Scripture', 'as Poets say', 'anciently', and 'old writers vsed for ...' beside 'veteres dixerunt', 'olim pro', and 'antiqu in script'. A usage is sometimes explained as 'metaphor' or as 'metonymie', while in Wase's dictionary 'the Tropical or Figurative Sense is set after the Proper and Natural' [1662, title page]. And references to technical-field membership serve to distinguish between homographs in Wase, as in the case of the following:

- (4) Abdico, are. (*An augural word*) *To forbid, or forbode.* (*A Law word*) *To cast one, or overthrow ...* \*Addico'.

<sup>14</sup> For this term see Stein's comment in her important study (1985: 185–6).



Word-origins are occasionally commented on, as here:

- (5) Symptoma, a greke woorde vsed among phisicians, for lacke of a latine woorde fyt forthe thyng which it signifieth, it is a certaine effecte folowyng sicknesse, like as cause doeth procede, or is before sicknesse, it is a sensible griefe ioyned with sicknesse (Elyot–Cooper 1548).

In the provision of details of pronunciation and grammar there is considerable variation, with consistency apparently never a prime consideration. Pronunciation is covered by either verbal comment, or the use of diacritics, or both. Verbal comment mainly takes the form of a range of tags indicating stress and quantity, often in abbreviated form. So, as in Calepinus and Robert Estienne, we find ‘*priore producta*’, ‘*penultima correpta*’, ‘*pen.prod.*’ etc. in Cooper’s *Thesaurus*, and—occasionally—Waddington’s revision of Veron. Fleming[?]'s version of Morelius, and Thomas Thomas 1587, in contrast, make specific references to vowel length in the form *prima longa*, *prima breui*, *p.l.*, *p.b.* etc., though in Thomas’s case there are a handful of exceptions, as, for instance:

- (6) a Ador, oris, penult. gen. modò productit, modò corripit Scalig. *A kinde of pure wheat, called also Far, in olde time vsed in sacrifice.*  
 b Alius, a, ud. genit. aliūs, dat. alij, p.b. penult. prod. quamuis in carmine sit indifferens. *Another, diuerse, contrarie . . . & gemin. signif. One, another . . .*

And from time to time we find comment in English, as in Elyot 1542’s entry *Plāga*:

- (7) Plāga, the fyrste syllable beyng longe, sygnifieth a wounde, the fyrste syllable beinge short, it sygnifieth the armyng corde of a nette, also a great space of heauen and earthe callyd also Clima.

Use of diacritics is similarly varied, with acute and grave accents and the circumflex over vowels found in increasing numbers from Elyot 1538 through to Morelius–?Fleming. In Thomas Thomas’s dictionaries and Holyoke, they are replaced by macron and breve (diacritics previously used only very sporadically, as in Elyot–Cooper 1559, *Angŭlātīm*); Wase has very occasional instances of both kinds.

Cover of grammar in the Latin–English dictionaries is both highly variable and internally inconsistent, with inflections frequently provided only ‘as far as it is needful’<sup>15</sup> to indicate conjugation and declension. Explicit reference to gender is at first normally confined to exceptional circumstances, as for instance where it serves to distinguish between homographs, as in the following pairs:

<sup>15</sup> Rider 1589: Directions for the Reader. Readers are presumably assumed to have access to a Latin grammar.

(8) a Calx, hic, calcis, **the heele. it sometye signifieth the ende of a matter. sommetyme a stroke with the heele.**

b Calx, hæc, lyme made of burned stones,<sup>16</sup>

replaced in the *Additions* to the dictionary by:

c Calx, calcis, **masculyne gender, the hele.**

d Calx, **the feminyne gender, lyme made of stones burned, it is taken somtyme for the ende of a thyng** (Elyot 1538).

And although subsequently gender-marking is found in most dictionaries, with a variety of abbreviations, its distribution is uneven. Wase indeed expects his young readers to ‘find out the Gender’ for themselves, ‘from the Nominative and Genitive accented given’ (1662: *Advertisements*).

Greatest variation is found with respect to the verb. Here the Latin–English dictionaries all follow Calepinus and Robert Estienne in normally giving the first person singular present indicative as the headword, while using the infinitive in the English equivalents. However, the number of the principal parts cited varies from one to five, both between and within dictionaries, and, as the following entries show, there is disagreement even over basic patterns:

(9) a Conflare; Flo, aui, are (Elyot 1538)

b Conflo, aui, are; Flo, aui, are (Elyot–Cooper 1548)

c Conflo, conflas, conflàui, conflátum, conflàre; Flo, flas, flauì, flàtum, flàre (Estienne–Veron, similarly<sup>17</sup> Morelius–?Fleming)

d Conflo, conflas, conflare; Flo, flas, flare (Cooper *Thesaurus*)

e Conflo, as; Flo, flas, flàui, flàtum, flàre (Thomas Thomas; similarly Rider–Holyoke)

f Conflo, are; Flo, are (Wase)

Variation is also to be found in the handling of the formal identification of grammatical categories (metalanguage Latin). Even those dictionaries which name parts of speech with any frequency do not routinely tag nouns and verbs, for, as Cooper explains (*Thesaurus: Annotationes*): ‘Nownes<sup>18</sup> and Uerbes may be knowen by their declining’. However, we find references to the case governed by some prepositions and verbs from Elyot onwards.

Finally, a wide range of typesizes and faces, including black letter (here represented by bold type), special punctuation marks, and symbols, such as the asterisk and obelisk, is employed for a variety of ‘linguistic’ purposes, culminating in Wase’s occasional and innovative use of ‘—’ to indicate omission of what would otherwise be a repeated lemma, as in the following:

<sup>16</sup> Following entry *Calathus*. <sup>17</sup> With different diacritics.

<sup>18</sup> Subdivided into ‘Nouns Adiectiue’ and ‘Nouns Substantiue’.

(10) Ago, ere. *To do. Agere mulas, to drive.*— vitam, *to pass.*—caussas, *to plead* . . .

### 3.1.1 (ii) The English equivalents

In the Latin–English dictionaries, as in their continental counterparts, the norm is for headword and equivalent or equivalents to be juxtaposed. However, linking words are also found, as ‘(It) is a . . .’, ‘(It) signifyeth’, or comments such as Cooper’s ‘Of some is taken for Brionia’ (*Thesaurus: Ampelomelæna*), while sometimes we find an explanatory phrase, with no functional correspondence, as in:

- (11) a *Aequilibrium, æquilibrium, n.g. when the balaunce doeth hange neyther on the one syde nor on the other, when the weyghtes be ryght: Quand la balance ne pend d’ung costé ne d’autre, & ne trebuche point* (Estienne—Veron 1552).  
 b *Aequidialis, le, adj. & æquidiale, lis, n. of equus & dies, when dayes and nights are both of a length, Fest.* (Holyoke in *Rider’s Dictionary* 1606).

And sometimes no translation equivalent is provided at all.

Although for their English materials the lexicographers of this period are frequently heavily dependent on Latin or French sources, the language they use is generally idiomatic. Cooper indeed tells his readers that he is aiming at providing renderings that are ‘*iuxta mentem & sententiam authoris, quem citavi[t]*’ (*Thesaurus: Annotationes*). A notable feature is the striving after ‘copie’, the copiousness so much admired at the time,<sup>19</sup> with long strings of equivalents, ‘quasi uno aceruo congesta’ (Elyot–Cooper 1548, *Candido Lectori*), only occasionally broken up by what Stein (1985: 147) calls ‘verbal discriminators’, such as ‘also’, ‘sometime(s)’, ‘properly’. Language varies from formal to informal, as in this entry:

- (12) *Homo aridus, a veraie nygarde, a myser, a chinche, a pinche peny, a pelter, one that will scantly bestowe a peny vpon hym selfe* (Elyot–Cooper 1548: *Aridus*).

However, ‘hard’ or ‘inkhorn’ English terms are conspicuously absent. Paraphrase and explanatory detail are often provided, and sometimes personal opinions are expressed. So, for instance:

- (13) a *Acõnītum, i, n.g.p.b. Plin. A venimous hearb, whereof there be 2. kindes, as Turner saith: the one may be called Libarbdine, the other wolfebaine. In Dutch it is called woolfewoorte* (Thomas Thomas 1587),

<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., Starnes (1954: 66 and 134).

b Lagopus, an herbe, whyche I suppose to be Auyns (Elyot 1538: *Additions*).

Attention is drawn to old or new terminology by comments such as ‘was ...’ or ‘now called’, while equivalents are occasionally identified as dialectal, as, for instance, the ‘northern’ words *banwort*, *myrke*, and *slanke* in entries for *Bellis*, *Scotos* (in Greke, darknes: It is more aptly callyd in the northerne tunge, myrke’), and *Bryon thalassion* (Elyot), and the ‘Cambridgeshire’ words *modder* and *whine* in entries for *Puella* (Elyot), and *Onōnis* (Thomas Thomas).<sup>20</sup> And although English pronunciation is not normally covered, Cooper, in discussing the supposed etymology of headword *Albion*, compares northern and southern pronunciation of words such as ‘bone’ and ‘stone’ (Elyot–Cooper 1548).

3.1.2 *English–Latin dictionaries, from Huloet to Wase*

Elyot’s Latin–English dictionary was first published only six years after the final edition of the *Ortus vocabulorum* (1532). In contrast, almost a quarter of a century elapsed between the last appearance of the *Promptorium parvulorum* (1528) and the publication of another English–Latin dictionary (with a scattering of French equivalents), Richard Huloet’s *Abcedarium Anglico–Latinum, pro tyrunculis*, 1552. There is some slight evidence that one of Huloet’s sources—direct or indirect—may have been that medieval text.<sup>21</sup> However, his greatest debt was to Elyot, with much material taken from Elyot–Cooper 1548, though he borrowed also from Calepinus and other continental authors.

Huloet’s dictionary was followed by two small specialist English–Latin compilations, a topical dictionary by schoolmaster(?) John Withals (1553), and a rhyming dictionary by Yorkshire physician, Peter Levens (1570). Levens (or Levins) is the only English–Latin lexicographer who can convincingly be claimed occasionally to have used the *Promptorium*.

The 1570s also produced two trilingual dictionaries: a revision of Huloet by poet and compiler John Higgins (1572), with French equivalents added throughout, and John Baret’s *Aluearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (1574), with Tables containing numbered lists of the Latin and French equivalents used in the body of the work. For his revision of Huloet, Higgins turned once more to the Continent, drawing primarily on revised editions of Robert Estienne’s *Dictionarium Latino–Gallicum* and *Dictionnaire francois–latin*, but also using among other works a recent version of Calepinus, and Junius’s *Nomenclator* (first published 1555), a work which he was later to translate. He

<sup>20</sup> For French dialect see Stein (1985: 175).

<sup>21</sup> Starnes (1954: 154).

also returned to Elyot–Cooper for additional material, while classical sources included Latin poets, Pliny, Vegetius, and Vitruvius.

Baret, Cambridge graduate and ‘doctor in physick’, admits to having begun work by requiring his students to ‘write the English [of ‘Elyots Librarie’] before y<sup>e</sup> Latin’ [*Address to the Reader*]. However, his main source was Cooper’s *Thesaurus*, and he also drew on a number of other dictionaries, including Levens, Withals, Estienne–Veron, Huloet–Higgins, an edition of Calepinus, and Robert Estienne’s *Dictionarium Latino–Gallicum* and *Dictionaire francois–latin*. Baret’s trilingual dictionary was retitled *An Alvearie or quadruple dictionarie* in 1580, in acknowledgement of the expansion of its previously insignificant Greek component, in a new edition, with added material by Abraham Fleming. Fleming, reviser in 1584 of Withals and of Veron, borrowed further from Huloet–Higgins. 1580 also saw the publication of an English–Latin version of Simon Pelegromius’s Flemish–Latin *Synonymorum sylva*, by one H.F.<sup>22</sup> This was followed in 1589 by the first edition of John Rider’s *Bibliotheca scholastica*, a publication containing not merely a comprehensive English–Latin dictionary but also topical lists and a Latin index with numbering for cross-reference. Rider, subsequently dean of St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, and then bishop of Killaloe, ‘Master of Artes, and preacher of Gods word’, described his work as ‘Uerie profitable and necessarie for Scholers, Courtiers, Lawyers and their Clarkes, Apprentices of London, Travelers, Factors for Marchants, and briefly for all Discontinuers within her Majesties Realmes of England and Ireland’,<sup>23</sup> a claim which was to be echoed in the bilingual dictionaries of the seventeenth century. And it was Rider’s dictionary which was taken over by Francis Holyoke in that century and transformed, as we have seen, into the first bidirectional English–Latin, Latin–English dictionary. Rider’s major source was Thomas Thomas’s Latin–English *Dictionarium*, supplemented by material from Pelegromius, Gualtherus’s Latin edition of Julius Pollux’s *Onomasticon*, Huloet–Higgins, Baret, and Junius. Despite Holyoke’s claims, the revisions of Rider’s dictionary (from 1606) seem to have involved very little alteration to the English–Latin section. Finally, in 1662, we have a short English–Latin dictionary, aimed at young scholars and forming the first part of Wase’s bidirectional *Dictionarium minus*.<sup>24</sup> Although much material goes back ultimately to Rider, and he may have used James Howell’s *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1660)<sup>25</sup>, a work in which Howell in his turn had drawn heavily on his own revision of Randle Cotgrave’s French–English dictionary (1650), all the evidence

<sup>22</sup> See further Starnes (1954: 355–6) and Stein (1985: 296–311).

<sup>23</sup> Title page.

<sup>24</sup> See also above, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> See Bately (2001: 28).

points to Wase's primary source as the English–Italian dictionary inserted in Torriano's revised edition of Florio's *Worlde of Words* 1659.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.1.2 (i) The English headwords

The English–Latin dictionaries of this period all reflect directly or indirectly the practices and concerns of the Latin–English dictionaries that preceded them, with, for instance, their basic word-lists arranged in roughly alphabetical order, but with some etymological grouping,<sup>27</sup> and a variety of fonts, font sizes, and symbols. However, there are major differences of presentation between the English and the equivalent Latin lists. One is the result of the lexicographers' practice of transforming the English equivalents of their Latin–English sources into headwords in order to build up their word-lists. Since many of the Latin lemmas are rendered not by one-word English equivalents but by a paraphrase or explanation, this relemmatization has resulted in the introduction of multi-word headword entries and sub-entries, of varying degrees of helpfulness to a would-be writer of Latin. So, for instance, an entry in Elyot—'Venustas, tatis, **beautie, proprely of women, sometime a delectable pronunciation or**<sup>28</sup> **speche**'—is the source of four entries in Huloet, all with the Latin equivalent *Venustas, tis*:

- (14) a **Beautye properlye in women** (running head *B ante E*)
- b **Delectable pronunciation of speache** (running head *D ante E*)
- c **Pronunciation of speache pleasauntly made** (running head *P ante R*)
- d **Speache aimablye, aptlye, delectablye, pleasauntly or properly pronounced** (running head *S ante P*)

Baret's long headword entry '¶**To Serue: to giue all ones endeuour and diligence to a thing: to labour or doo the best he can to helpe**', is taken almost word for word from Cooper's *Thesaurus* entry *Seruio*. In its turn, Rider's entry, under running head *CH*, '**To make Chamfering chanel, or rebates, in stones or tombes. 1. Strio**', is derived via Baret ultimately from Elyot. Note, though, that these texts, like Rider's immediate source, Thomas Thomas, read 'timber' not 'tombs'.

Where relemmatization results in the creation of strings of English entries with the same or an etymologically related lemma, Huloet presents them as individual entries. However, Baret, followed by Rider, arranges them in a single list, under a selected, distinctively marked, headword, while Wase has compound entries, such as:

<sup>26</sup> See Bately (2001: 24–8).

<sup>27</sup> With 'to' before verbs and, where appropriate, an article before nouns, except in Huloet's dictionary.

<sup>28</sup> Subsequent editions 'of'.

- (15) *To abide (or dwell,)* Commoror ari (*or tarry,)* Praestolor ari ... (*or suffer,)*  
Tolero are, perpetior i.

And a large number of the phrases and sentences used as headword entries begin with some word other than the lemma that determines their position in the word-list. So Baret, in reversing entries from Cooper, leaves groups of English synonyms unrearranged, as, for instance, ‘\*A littell sacke, bagge or purse. Sacculus, li, pen.corr.m.g. Cic. *Sachet, pochette, bourse*’, as part of a sequence which begins ‘¶ a Bagge of leather, purse, or pouche’, and with ‘Bagge’ set in larger type to indicate a new headword entry. Huloet, in contrast, achieves regular alphabetical order for his entries by employing inversion where necessary to bring the lemma to head position, as, for instance, in ‘Gyltye to be of felonye. *Teneri furti*?<sup>29</sup> However, he sometimes incorporates an etymologically related syntagma in a single-lemma main entry, thus avoiding the need to change the order of his Latin–English source, as here:

- (16) **Garden**, *Custos, Tutor, ris, Et Tutorius, a, u[m]*, *ang: perteyninge to a gardaine.*

Since in the Latin–English dictionaries ‘hard’ Latin words are regularly given ‘ordinary’ English equivalents or explanations, it is ‘easy’ words that form the bulk of the relemmatized English word-lists. Not until 1662, and apparently mainly under the influence of Florio–Torriano, do we find Wase entering ‘hard’ English words in any numbers—and these are frequently rendered in the equivalents by the Latin word from which they immediately or ultimately derive. With the Latin–English entry ‘Celsitudo, inis. *Highness*’ we may compare his English–Latin ‘*Celsitude, Celsitudo inis*’, and Florio–Torriano ‘*Celsitude, celsitudine, altezza*’. Proper names are not normally included, except in Huloet and (in particular) Huloet–Higgins, where they are often accompanied by some encyclopedic detail.

Register is normally formal, though idiomatic expressions, such as Baret’s ‘to buy a pigge in the poke. Emere aleam’ (under ‘¶ a Poke and poket’), are occasionally found, and some instances of ‘vulgar’, that is, ‘colloquial’, usage are labelled as such. So, for instance, Huloet’s split entry:

- (17) **Borowe of Peter to paye Paule, whyche is a vulgare speach, properly wher as  
a man doth  
Borow of one to paye an other.**

<sup>29</sup> In section *G ante I*. Based ultimately on Elyot 1538 *Teneri furti*, to be giltie of felonye.

Huloet's own usage is in its turn sometimes modified by his reviser, Higgins.<sup>30</sup> So the (by now mainly dialectal) verb *warye* is dropped from the entry '**Bande** [Huloet–Higgins *recte* 'ban'], **curse, or warye**', while new entries have 'normal' word-order.

Single-lemma entries are frequently provided with a plentiful supply of English synonyms—again an offshoot of the lexicographers' dependence for headwords on English equivalents in Latin–English dictionaries. So, for instance, as a sub-entry to the (enlarged) headword '¶to Bribe', Baret's '**\*Uncleanly: filthy: sluttishly: dishonestly: couetously: with taking bribes in dishonest matters. Sordidè, pen.cor. Aduerb. vt Proconsulatum, sed sordidè gesserat. Plin.'** is a very close inversion of Cooper, *Thesaurus's* entry *Sórdide*.

The inclusion of illustrative examples—in English, but rendering quotations from named Latin authors (and sometimes an abridgement of the accompanying Latin)—is mainly restricted to Baret, again mirroring Cooper's *Thesaurus*, though Higgins introduces a number of his own verse translations of Latin poets into his revision of Huloet (1572). Rider deliberately excludes such examples. A feature of the revised Baret 1580 is the inclusion of some 260 proverbs.

The layout of sub-entries varies, the most striking being that of Rider's 'very thoroughly planned and structured dictionary' (Stein 1985: 336–42), with a range of fonts, antonyms as well as synonyms, and arrangement according to word-class, with verbs followed by participles, then 'Nownes substantiues, and adiectiues, and lastly the Adverbs'—an arrangement which has some rather strange results, with, for instance, '*A haft, hilt, or handle* 1 Manubrium n. capulus, m.' and '*A little haft* 1 Manubriolum' appearing as sub-entries under 'To Haft, *vi. dodge*'. Wase, as we have seen, follows the English–contemporary-foreign-language dictionary tradition.<sup>31</sup>

Discussion of English spelling and pronunciation is only very exceptionally found, and parts of speech are not labelled. Some comment on etymology is provided by Baret, as '¶**Abbay is a french woorde, & signifieth barking against somme thing . . .**', while in the entry '¶**an Acorne**' he muses '(or rather Oke corne as it were the maste or corne of an Oke)'.

Finally, the metalanguage is sometimes Latin, sometimes English, with, for instance, both *vide* and *look in* used by Huloet.

### 3.1.2 (ii) The Latin equivalents

Latin equivalents range from mainly one- or two-word entries (as in Wase) to strings of synonyms up to nearly thirty items long (as in Huloet). A very large proportion of these equivalents have been assembled from the Latin word-lists of

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Knappe (2004: 255–62).

<sup>31</sup> Bately (2001) and section 3.1.1.



the Latin–English dictionaries. So, for instance, Baret’s ‘To stayer or stoppe the flixe or laske, to binde’ (one of numerous sub-entries under ‘¶to Binde’) includes not only English synonyms from Cooper’s *Thesaurus* but also all eleven Latin alternatives from its entry *Aluum astringere* (main headword *Aluus*). These strings are frequently presented without any connecting material or attempt at differentiation between them. Huloet indeed expressly states that he intends such differentiation to be the task of the users of his dictionary. However, Baret occasionally identifies alternatives among the Latin terms (introduced by ‘is also taken for’), as well as instances of proper, occasional, and metaphoric usage, and Rider distinguishes (by number) three levels, ‘proper’, ‘figurative or translate’, and ‘obsolete, or words out of vse’. Obsolete words, he explains, are included and identified so that the reader may understand them but know not to use them. However, Baret tells us he has omitted ‘olde obsolet words, which no good writer now a dayes will vze’, and the revised *Alvearie* (1580) also eliminates uncommon words and usages, and ‘vulgar’ forms. Comment on the etymology and derivation of Latin words is a feature of Rider’s dictionary.

Variant Latin forms are occasionally cited, while Huloet and Baret include comment on individual letters of the alphabet. However, apart from Baret’s adoption of abbreviations such as *penult. prod. pen. corr.*, in selected entries, pronunciation of Latin is not normally indicated. Very occasionally we find a diacritic, such as the circumflex or accent grave. In Rider’s *Bibliotheca* macron, breve, and circumflex are used in the Latin Index to show quantity.

The amount of grammatical detail provided varies both within and between dictionaries and generally reflects the variety and lack of consistency of the Latin–English dictionaries.

## 3.2 BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES COUPLING ENGLISH WITH A CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN LANGUAGE<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2.1 *Foreign-language–English dictionaries from William Thomas to Hexham*

The first foreign-language–English dictionary to appear in print was *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547) by humanist scholar William Salesbury, a Welshman. Alphabetically ordered Welsh headwords, consisting mainly of single lemmas or

<sup>32</sup> See Alston (1965–, vols. XII and XIII); Stein (1985).

short phrases, with some proper names, and accompanied by occasional synonyms and spelling variants, are entered with their English equivalents, while introductory material in Welsh gives advice on the pronunciation of English.

Salesbury's dictionary was thus aimed at native speakers of the headword language, Welsh, with English the 'foreign' language. It is not until 1550 that we find the first foreign-language-into-English dictionary directed at an English audience: a brief Italian–English dictionary by William Thomas, attached to his *Principal rules of the Italian grammar*. Thomas—a Protestant and at one time Clerk of the Council to Edward VI—was later hanged, drawn, and quartered for alleged complicity in Wyatt's rebellion against Catholic Queen Mary. His compilation was followed by two French–English dictionaries: *A dictionarie French and English* (1571), with English equivalents provided by 'L.H.' (London bookseller, Lucas Harrison), and *The treasure of the French tong* (1580) by 'Claudius Hollyband' (or Holyband), the English equivalent of the surname of Claude deSainliens, who also used its Latin translation, *a Sancto Vinculo*. DeSainliens, a Huguenot émigré and teacher of French and Italian in London, was author of several books on these languages. A second edition of his *Treasure*, renamed *A Dictionarie French and English*, appeared in 1593.<sup>33</sup>

The beginning of the 1590s also saw the publication of two Spanish–English works: *The Spanish Dictionarie* by John Thorie, 'graduate in Oxenford', accompanying his *Spanish Grammer* [sic] (1590), a translation of Antonio de Corro's *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua Española y Francesa* (1586), and Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), containing a Spanish–English–Latin dictionary and offering readers 'the toonge with which by reason of the troublesome times [they are] like to haue most acquaintance'. Percyvall, who was helped in his work by prisoners from the Spanish Armada, was at that time teaching at Merchant Taylors' School, but later entered Robert Cecil's secretariat and became MP for Richmond, Yorkshire. A significantly enlarged revised edition by John Minsheu (1599) omitted the Latin component, but added an English–Spanish index. The final decade of the century also saw the publication of *A worlde of wordes, or most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English*, by John Florio (1598). Minsheu, a London schoolmaster called rogue by Ben Jonson, was 'educated by extensive travels rather than in a university'.<sup>34</sup> Florio, author, translator, and like Minsheu teacher of languages, born in London to an Italian refugee father and an English mother, was a highly distinguished humanist scholar. He issued a second 'much augmented' edition of his dictionary, retitled *Queen Anna's new world of words*, in 1611. Further editions appeared

<sup>33</sup> Cormier and Francoeur (2004: 160–75).

<sup>34</sup> Vivian Salmon, ODNB.

after his death, the first ‘most diligently revised, corrected, and compared with La Crusca and other approved dictionaries’ by Italian Giovanni Torriano, who also added an English–Italian dictionary.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, the first half of the seventeenth century saw the publication of a *Dictionary of the French and English tongues* (1611) by Randle Cotgrave, secretary to William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and *Het groot woorden boeck: gestelt in't Nederduytsch, ende in't Engelsch* by Henry Hexham. Hexham was a soldier turned scholar and translator, an Englishman resident for most of his adult life in the Low Countries. His *Groot Woorden-boeck* was first published in Rotterdam in 1648 as companion volume to his *Copious English and Netherduytsch dictionarie* (1647), and has the distinction of being part of the first-ever-published single-authored fully bi-directional dictionary with English as one of its components. A second edition of Cotgrave's dictionary, 1632, with an English–French dictionary by Robert Sherwood<sup>36</sup> attached, was subsequently augmented by James Howell, a prolific writer on political, literary, and linguistic subjects, who ended his life as historiographer royal.

These dictionary-makers, like their Latin–English counterparts, were heavily dependent on continental models and sources. William Thomas tells us that material in his Italian–English *Dictionarie* ‘for the better vnderstanding of *Boccace*, *Petrarcha*, and *Dante*’, is taken from Alberto Accarigi's *Vocabolario, grammatica, et orthographia de la lingua volgare* (1542), and Francesco Alunno's *Ricchezze della lingua volgare* (1543). L.H.'s French–English dictionary had as its primary source an edition of Estienne's *Les mots francois selon lordre des lettres tourne en latin pour les enfans* (1544), while Hol(l)yband in his publications, though taking as their basis L.H.'s *Dictionarie*, also drew on a number of other sources, including revised editions of Estienne's *Dictionaire francois–latin*.<sup>37</sup> Cotgrave's French word-list in its turn was derived from Nicot's *Thresor de la Langue Françoise* (1606)—itself based on a revision of Estienne—but he also used numerous other sources, both French and English. A large proportion of his English equivalents are taken directly or ultimately from the Latin–English dictionaries. Other material is from Palsgrave and Hol(l)yband.<sup>38</sup>

Thorie's 1100-word dictionary claims to be composed ‘of all the Spanish wordes cited in [Corro's Spanish Grammar] and other more wordes most necessarie for all such as desire the knowledge of the same tongue’, while Percyvall names his own main sources as the *Diccionario Latino–espanol* of Elio Antonio de Nebrija (first published 1495) and Cristobal de las Casas, *Vocabulario de las*

<sup>35</sup> See section 3.2.2.

<sup>36</sup> Below, p. 61.

<sup>37</sup> Recent discussions of these dictionaries include Stein (1985: 245–72) and Cormier and Francoeur (2004).

<sup>38</sup> Smalley (1948: 245–72) and Cormier and Francoeur (2004).

*linguas toscana y castellana* (1570). Percyvall's reviser, Minsheu, in his turn was to use Thomas Thomas's Latin–English *Dictionarium*, Florio, and possibly also Junius.<sup>39</sup> Florio himself drew not only (as he claims) on his own wider reading but also on earlier dictionaries, in particular that of Thomas Thomas (edition of 1592),<sup>40</sup> turning many of Thomas's Latin entries into their Italian equivalents and borrowing many of his English definitions. Finally Hexham's Dutch–English dictionary is based almost totally on the Dutch word-list in *Le Grand dictionaire françois—flamen* (first published 1618), with French definitions converted into English. This text was in its turn heavily dependent on dictionaries in the Latin lexicographical tradition.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.2.1 (i) The foreign headwords

Like their Latin–English counterparts, these dictionaries exhibit considerable variation in layout and presentation. Headwords are arranged in a roughly alphabetical order, though Percyvall (but not Minsheu) follows contemporary Spanish practice, locating initial CL after CA, ÇA after CV, etc., and the practice of grouping of 'derivatives' with their 'primitives' is not infrequently observed. Furthermore, some dictionaries include entries with headword embedded in a phrase or sentence, as, for instance, Hexham's sub-entry '*Gaerne by den back zijn, To Have his nose alwayes in the pot, or, to make good cheere*' (located under headword *Back*, with Dutch syntagma from *Le Grand dictionaire*)<sup>42</sup> and L.H and Hol(l)yband's '*Femme qui accouche de son premier, shee that lyeth in of hir first childe*' (based on Estienne, and under running head *A ante C*), while Cotgrave too has sub-entries with embedding, as, for instance, some of the many thesaurus-type syntagmas accompanying headword *Chien*.

In all the dictionaries, the basis of the word-lists is a selection of the more common words of the foreign language. Some have a scattering of proper names, while William Thomas, Hol(l)yband, Florio, and Cotgrave include also a number of dialect terms. Cotgrave and Florio's dictionaries stand out for the extent of their coverage of specialized vocabulary.<sup>43</sup>

Homographs are sometimes dealt with in a single entry, sometimes separately, as in the following:

- (18) a *Se, beying a pronoune betokeneth him selfe. And beeyinge a verbe, signifieth, art thou.*  
 b *Secondo, seconda, secondi, seconde, adiectiuelie, somtimes dooe signifie, the seconde in number, and somtimes, happie or prosperouse.*

<sup>39</sup> Steiner (1970: 360).

<sup>40</sup> Starnes (1965: 407–22).

<sup>41</sup> Osselton (1969: 355–62).

<sup>42</sup> Cited Osselton (1973: 47).

<sup>43</sup> See further Smalley (1948); Stein (1985: 401).

*Secondo*, beyng a preposicion signifieth accordyng (William Thomas 1550).

Synonyms and variant forms in the headword language, located alongside the headword, are a common feature of the French–English dictionaries and Percyvall–Minsheu, with the occasional antonym in Hol(l)yband, Percyvall–Minsheu, Florio, and Cotgrave. Cross-reference is of general occurrence, introduced variously by words such as ‘looke (under/in)’, ‘seeke’, ‘idem’, ‘id est’, ‘vide’.

Regular indication of derivation and etymology is a feature of Percyvall–Minsheu, with an internal capital to indicate an underlying primitive, as in ‘\*aCiégas, *blindfold*’, and with ‘sundrie Arabian and Moorish words vsuall in the Spanish tongue’ marked by an obelisk and also listed in a Table. Occasional instances in other texts, located along with the ‘English equivalents’, include Thomas’s ‘*Meschite, a Turckishe woorde that signifieth with them as muche, as Churche with us*’; Hol(l)yband 1580, ‘*Traimontaine, an Italian word, the Northern winde*’; and Cotgrave: ‘*Empacqué: m. ée: f. Il s’est empacqué . . . from the sheepe Pacos (whereon th’Indians, in stead, or for want, of horses, carrie their marchandise) . . .*’. ‘Old’ words are noted by Florio, Minsheu, and Cotgrave, and words ‘rarely used’, by William Thomas and by L.H., whose description (following Estienne) of ‘*Accoinctement*’ as ‘*mot peu vsité an attonement*’ is adapted by Hol(l)yband as ‘*mot peu vsité, a word little in vse*’. The status of a word or usage is frequently noted in the French and Italian dictionaries, as in these cases:

- (19) a *Abbarbagleare, to darken or bleamishe the sight, vsed most in verse* (William Thomas 1550).  
 b *Loo, or lof, a terme that is vsed among Mariners . . .* (Hol(l)yband 1580).  
 c *Calcimia, a word vsed of alchymists for calcination . . .* (Florio 1598).

Identificatory, explanatory, or illustrative phrases and quotations, in the headword language, are found mainly in the French dictionaries, either as sub-entries or incorporated within a main entry by words such as ‘whence’. Proverbs are a feature of Hol(l)yband, Minsheu, Florio, and Cotgrave. Authorities are occasionally named in the dictionaries of William Thomas, Florio, and Cotgrave; encyclopedic comment is fairly common.

Unlike Salesbury’s Welsh–English dictionary, all these dictionaries were designed for the native speaker wishing to learn the foreign language of the headwords—for ‘comprehension and not composition’.<sup>44</sup> However, in some cases, these headwords were drawn from dictionaries whose word-lists (unlike those of the Latin–English dictionaries) were themselves in the language of the intended user. (One notable instance is L.H.’s French–English dictionary, which

<sup>44</sup> Cormier and Francoeur (2004: 84).

contains a headword list most of whose members had previously performed the same role in a French–Latin dictionary, whose own headword list was in its turn a relemmatization of the French equivalents in a Latin–French dictionary.) In these sources, geared to the needs of native speakers of the headword language, it was of course not necessary to provide information about the pronunciation or grammar of that language. Moreover, there are separate sections on the pronunciation and grammar of the headword language in the dictionaries of Thorie, Percyvall, Hexham, Florio (edition of 1611) and Cotgrave–Sherwood, while Hol(1)yband’s publications included books on this subject. So it is unsurprising that in the foreign-language–English dictionaries the use of diacritics, occasional in Percyvall and Florio 1598, is regular only in Minsheu and later editions of Florio, while William Thomas’s comment on the length of the *i* that distinguishes homographs in entry *Balio* and Hol(1)yband’s ‘three syllables’ for *Mercier* are exceptional. Explicit and regular gender-marking occurs only in Hol(1)yband 1593 and Cotgrave, and in Minsheu’s revision of Percyvall, though L.H. and Hol(1)yband sometimes prefix their nouns with an appropriate form of the article, and we occasionally find comments, such as these in William Thomas: ‘*Citella, or Zitella . . . as in Apuglia, they call a maide zitella or zitello, masculine and feminine . . .*’ and L.H./Hol(1)yband: ‘*LA, this article La, is signe of the feminine gender. La femme, the woman.*’ (Except in L.H./Hol(1)yband, where usage is mixed, metalanguage is generally English.) Verbs are normally given in the infinitive form. Citation of irregular verb forms (and sometimes other parts of speech) is a feature of the dictionaries of William Thomas, Hollyband, Percyvall, Percyvall–Minsheu, and Florio. Occasional explicit naming of parts of speech is provided by William Thomas, Florio, Minsheu and Cotgrave.

### 3.2.1 (ii) The English equivalents and other materials

Florio describes his dictionary as ‘copious’, and copiousness in respect of the number of English equivalents provided is a feature of several of the dictionaries. So, for instance, in Cotgrave, we find:

- (20) a Babouinnerie: f. *Apishnesse, fopperie, foolerie, childish trifling, baboonizing; also, an unhappie trick, waggish part, knauish, wilie, or busie pranke; also, a deceit, cosenage, gullerie.*  
 b Barbieri: f. *A Barbers wife, a barbaresse; a woman, or she, Barber.*

And, most strikingly, in Florio himself, and revisions of Florio, as in:

- (21) a *Nocchio, a knot, a knob, or ruggednes of any wood. Also as Nocciolo.–Nocciolo, Nocciuolo, the stone of any fruite, as peach or oliue. Also a hazell*

*nut tree. Also a kinde of play that children vse, or else the nut to throw at Castelletto.* (Florio 1598).

- b Nócchio, *any bosse, bladder, puffe, bunch, knob, knur, wen, nodositie, node, snag, knap, measill, snar, or ruggednesse in any tree or wood. Also the stone of any fruite, as Peach, or Oliue, or Date. Also the knuckle of ones fingers. Also the nocke of a bow. Also a notch in any thing.* [Florio 1611; 1659 Nócchio, Nócço, adds: *also a bunch, a knob, or swelling of any stripe, blow, or thump.*] *Also an hazell nut-tree. Also the play [that children use 1659] called kob-nut. Also a gull, a ninnie, a foole, a sot.* [1659 reads here ‘cob nut, or castle-nut, by Met. used for a dull-pate, a shallow-brain, a ninnie-hammer’].<sup>45</sup>

In these strings of equivalents, the items are separated by punctuation alone, or linked by words such as ‘sometimes’, ‘also’, ‘as’, ‘in some places it standeth for . . .’, ‘sometimes it signifieth . . .’, ‘is taken for’. On occasion, however, we find the verbal discriminators ‘properly’, ‘more/most properly’, ‘but properly’, ‘or rather’, or ‘by metaphor’, as in:

- (22) a Azogado, **one that is ouercome with the aire of quicke siluer, by metaphor a fearefull wretche, a poore quaking wretch.** *Timidus, pauidus* (Percyvall 1591).  
 b †Azogádo, **one that is ouercome by the sauor of quickesiluer: by metaphor it signifieth a fearfull silly wretch** (Percyvall–Minsheu 1599).

Where a headword is informal, then the English equivalents usually include colloquial and even slang expressions. So:

- (23) a Babillard, *a bablar, a prattler, a clatterer, a tittle tattle* (L.H and Ho(l)lyband 1580; [Hol(l)yband 1593 adds gender-marker ‘m.’].  
 b Babillard: m. *A babler, tatler, prater, pratler, chatterer, iangler, word-monger; talkatiue companion; one whose tongue neuer lyes (and yet he often lyes.)* (Cotgrave 1611).
- (24) Nigauld, *as c’est le plus grand nigauld que je vi jamais, he is the greatest loubie, lumpish, or doltish, that euer I saw* (Hol(l)yband 1580).
- (25) Truhan, **a parasite, a belly feast** (Corro-Thorie).

A common practice is to illustrate the meaning of a word by means of comparison—as in William Thomas’s entry: ‘*Accostiare, to sitte as the taylours dooe, with the legges a crosse*’; Florio’s ‘*Acquattare, to hide or squat as a hare doth*’; and Cotgrave’s ‘*Accroué: m. ée: f. Drooping, as a bird that sits with hir feathers loose, or*

<sup>45</sup> For Florio’s tendency to progress from formal to colloquial and slang, see Rosier (1963: 417–18).

*staring, about hir*. Another practice is to produce what Stein has called a ‘cultural equivalent’, sometimes with encyclopedic detail, with introductions such as, ‘we call it’, ‘as we say’, or, as in Florio, ‘*Monina, a womans geere or conie, a quaint as Chaucer calles it*’. Hol(l)yband also provides the occasional Latin, Italian, or Spanish equivalent.

Grammatical imbalance between headword and its equivalent is found in several dictionaries, as well as straight run-ons from headword to explanation. So, for instance, ‘*Beuer la briglia, when a horse drawes vp the bit with his toong*’, and ‘*Affalcarare, is properly taken when a horse doth stop and stay vpon his hinder partes*’ (Florio 1598); ‘*Bizzarro, is such a person, as we commonlie call an harebraine*’ (William Thomas 1550). Imbalance of a different kind is found in Cotgrave’s entry, ‘*Davier de barbier. The Pinser wherewith he drawes, or puls out, teeth*’.

### 3.2.2 *English and foreign-language dictionaries, from Hexham to Torriano*

Already in 1530, schoolmaster John Palsgrave, one-time tutor to Henry VIII’s sister, Mary Tudor, had published his *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse*, a three-part work containing a ‘frenche vocabulist’ as a complement to studies of French pronunciation and grammar. In this section, or ‘Book’, ordinary English words, followed by their French equivalents and a number of illustrative examples, are arranged in ‘Tables’ according to word-class.<sup>46</sup> However, in the sixteenth century, the only dictionaries to have an alphabetically arranged English word-list with equivalents from a contemporary foreign language were revisions of Huloet and Baret (1572 and 1580 respectively), with French joining Latin in the equivalents, and Percyvall–Minsheu with its English–Spanish index. It was not until 1647 that *A Copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie* was published as the first part of Henry Hexham’s pioneering bidirectional work,<sup>47</sup> while in 1632 and 1659 Robert Sherwood and Giovanni Torriano added English–French and English–Italian dictionaries for English speakers to the monodirectional publications of Cotgrave and Florio. The main source of Hexham’s English word-list has been identified as Rider’s English–Latin dictionary, in a Holyoke revision.<sup>48</sup> Sherwood, master of a school in St. Sepulchre’s churchyard in the City of London, had Cotgrave as a major source for his numerous sub-entries in his *Dictionarie English and French*, but for his English word-list the arrangement of items seems to have used a combination of an edition of Rider–Holyoke’s English–Latin dictionary (1627) and the English–Spanish components of John Minsheu’s *Ductor in Linguas* (edition of 1625).<sup>49</sup> Sherwood

<sup>46</sup> See the definitive study by Stein (1997).

<sup>47</sup> For the second part see above, section 3.2.1.

<sup>48</sup> Osselton (1973: 44–5).

<sup>49</sup> Starnes (1937: 1018); O’Connor (1977: 95); and Bately (2001: 15–24).



also acknowledges words from a range of foreign lexicographers, including Calepinus, Robert Estienne, Nicot, Passerat, while for his *Dictionary English and Italian*, Torriano, Professor of Italian in London, has Sherwood as his main source.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.2.2 (i) The English headwords.

Rather surprisingly there seems to have been little or no attempt by Sherwood or Torriano to copy the layout and manner of presentation of the foreign-language–English dictionaries that they are supplementing. (Similarly, Hexham’s Dutch–English dictionary differs in its appearance from his English–Dutch compilation.) The normal pattern is for a single alphabetically ordered headword, with an occasional synonym, or string of synonyms, followed by a sequence of entries containing that word or an etymologically related form. The use of an article with nouns and ‘to’ with verbs, and the inclusion of many syntagmas among the sub-entries, means that these lemmas are frequently not in initial position. Homographs from more than one word-class are sometimes separately entered, as *Gastly*, identified as adjective and adverb respectively in Sherwood and Torriano, and sometimes placed under a single headword.

Dependence on Cotgrave has resulted in both Sherwood and Torriano including some ‘old words’ (as for instance ‘High(t)’, Cotgrave ‘Nommé’) and occasionally also English dialect words, as ‘northern’ *Weebit*. (Proper names are confined to the occasional personal name in Torriano.) Colloquial or slang expressions shared by the two dictionaries include ‘To flie off the hinges. (or be impatient, &c.)’ and ‘a smell-feast’.

Many of the English syntagmas are relexicalizations with a venerable ancestry. So, for instance, Torriano, ‘*A dog with wide nostrills, cane colle nari larghe*’ (in a list headed *The nostrills*), is based on Sherwood ‘*A dog with wide nosethrills, or narrells. Chien de haut nez*’ (under *The nose-thrills*), which in its turn is a relexicalization of Cotgrave’s sub-entry (under *Nez: m.*), ‘*Haut nez. Chien de haut nez. A dog of a deepe nose, or good sent; also, a dog that hath wide narrells*’, which itself goes back to a French dictionary source, such as Nicot. Similarly, Torriano’s entry (headword *A Rogue*): ‘*A nastie place where rogues haunt and lowse*’, goes back through Sherwood to Cotgrave, ‘*Caignart: m. ... a nastie, and filthie place, or corner, wherein beggars lye in the Sunne, or lowse themselues ...*’. Both parts of Hexham’s entry under ‘*Heaven*’, ‘*halfe the compasse of the visible Heavens, De halve circkel van de sienelicke hemelen*’ clearly go back to a dictionary gloss on Latin *Hemispherium*, such as is found in Elyot 1538.

English grammar and punctuation are not normally covered within the dictionaries, exceptions being Sherwood, ‘*Fled. Fui, enfui. Participe du verbe to Flee, to Flie*’

<sup>50</sup> O’Connor (1977: 95); Bately (2001: 24–6).

and Torriano (under *The even, or evening, or eventide*): ‘Good even (*corruptly pronounced good een*)’. However, Hexham has an English grammar for Dutch speakers, and Sherwood includes a section on pronunciation and inflections for non-English speakers. Sherwood’s metalanguage is sometimes English, sometimes French, Torriano’s English and Hexham’s Dutch.

### 3.2.2 (ii) Foreign-language equivalents

Strings of up to half-a-dozen one-word equivalents are common in Sherwood and Torriano. In Sherwood’s dictionary these strings (which include French dialect terms) are normally linked only by punctuation. However, he comments that he has ‘for the most part, obserued to set downe first the Proper; then, the Translated and Metaphoricall’. Torriano uses the occasional connective, as ‘also’, ‘or’; Hexham in contrast often paraphrases. French authorities are acknowledged by Sherwood. However, he omits much of Cotgrave’s encyclopedic detail, while occasionally inserting details relevant to England, as in the following entry:

- (26) a A *kitchin-stuffe* wench. *Marmitonne, celle (à Londres) qui vend du suif & de la graisse aux chandeliers, pour en faire chandelles* (Sherwood 1632), beside  
 b *Marmitonne*: f. *A Kitchin-stuffe wench, or Kitchin wench; a filthie, greasie queane* (Cotgrave 1611).

Italian and Dutch syntagmas are frequently straight translations of English ones—which in their turn are usually the result of relemmatization.

Grammatical detail is rare in all three dictionaries. As Sherwood observes, ‘It could not be expected in so small a volume, as I was inforced to contract my selfe into, that (in this English Dictionarie) I should shew the Genders of all French Nounes, and the coniugation of all French Verbes, which are most sufficiently . . . alreadie done by M.COTGRAVE’ [To the English Reader]. However, Sherwood does identify some irregular English verb forms.

## 3.3 POLYGLOT DICTIONARIES

The first Latin–English dictionary to include equivalents from a contemporary foreign language on a regular basis was Stephanus (Estienne)–Veron’s trilingual Latin–English–French *Dictionariolum* (1552). Other Latin–English dictionaries also included some Greek equivalents, while Holyoke 1633 introduces Hebrew

words. However, during this period a large number of dictionaries whose purpose was from the first to give brief cover to five or more languages were in circulation. These originated on the Continent, with Latin as their headword language and at first did not contain English. However, this was remedied in the 1530s and 1540s, when three dictionaries covering six, seven, and eight languages respectively were published. The first polyglot dictionary with English headwords, John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas: the Guide into Tongues*, appeared in 1617, covering eleven languages and including cognates, citations, and etymological explanations. The English headwords are frequently accompanied by synonyms and brief explanations. This was followed by the first Anglo-Saxon–Latin–English dictionary to appear in print—antiquary William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxo-nico–Latino–Anglicum* (1659), with Old English words set in special Anglo-Saxon type<sup>51</sup>—and by James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1660),<sup>52</sup> providing English headwords with lists of French, Italian, and Spanish equivalents.

<sup>51</sup> See further Gneuss (1996: 41).

<sup>52</sup> See most recently Hüllen (1999: 202–43).

# BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES OF THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

*Monique C. Cormier*

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

UNTIL the middle of the seventeenth century, relations between European countries were facilitated by the common use of Latin in many areas of human endeavour. Latin remained the customary language not only of scholars and theologians but also of philosophers and scientists. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, this situation changed drastically: national languages gained influence everywhere, almost entirely replacing Latin in all areas of intellectual activity. Although Latin continued to maintain a strong bulwark in education—the demand for dictionaries for Latin translation and writing remained high—it no longer met society’s needs outside the classroom. Bilingual dictionaries responded to the trend and numerous bilingual dictionaries were published for modern European languages, with a plethora of reprints and augmented editions.

Bilingual dictionaries thus played a major role in the promulgation of the various national languages. Owing to the increasing influence of France under

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank David Vancil, Head of Special Collections, and Dennis Vetrovec, Library Associate, of the Cunningham Memorial Library at Indiana State University for their invaluable assistance, as well as Anthony Cowie, Franz Josef Hausmann, Noel E. Osselton, and Paul St-Pierre for their perceptive comments.

Louis XIV, French held a privileged position among European languages in England until the middle of the eighteenth century. However, the play of alliances, life at the royal courts, and English trade in the ports of Europe resulted in a substantial increase in contacts between speakers of English and of other languages, such as Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch. These contacts brought about change and created a legacy that has persisted to the present day: that of the ideas and power of England and the English language. Throughout Europe, the prestige attached to bilingual dictionaries soared and their numbers multiplied. These dictionaries were often the work of language teachers: as frequent dictionary users, they were well aware of the shortcomings of existing references and endeavoured to improve upon them, while borrowing—sometimes extensively—from the works of their predecessors.

## 4.2 ENGLISH AND LATIN

### 4.2.1 *Elisha Coles*

Elisha Coles, born in Northamptonshire around 1640, was the son of John Coles, a schoolmaster at Wolverhampton Grammar School. He attended Magdalen College, Oxford, for a few years, but left without obtaining a degree. He then became a schoolmaster in London, where he taught Latin to English pupils and English to foreigners. In 1674, he published *The Compleat English Schoolmaster* and, in 1675, two Latin textbooks (Life 2004). In August 1677, he became second undermaster at Merchant Taylors' School, but resigned in December 1678 to become master of the free school of Galway, Ireland. He died in Galway on 20 December 1680 (Life 2004).

In 1677, Coles published *A Dictionary, English–Latin, and Latin–English* in London. The second edition mentioned that on 27 February 1677 Coles obtained a Royal licence and the privilege to print and publish the dictionary for fourteen years. According to the address 'To the Reader', the first part of the dictionary contained all the words used in Latin, followed by their English equivalents, and the second part provided all sorts of words, terms of art, and phrases used in English, with their Latin equivalents. In both cases, entries were listed in alphabetical order. In the Latin–English section, insofar as possible, words were rendered by other (single) words, rather than by long and tiresome periphrasis. Care was also taken to avoid providing too many synonyms in the target language; explanations, directions, and references, usually provided in Latin, were instead given in simple, intelligible

English. Etymologies were also omitted, since for the most part they were hypothetical and of little use, and of no use at all to children. As sources, Coles mentioned using Calepine, Ferrarius, and others. He followed Calepine's method of putting common and proper nouns in one alphabetical list but did not follow that author in placing derivatives under their primitives (or roots), since that would make consultation of the dictionary difficult. As for the English–Latin section, Coles claimed he had added thousands of words, particles, idioms, phrases, and proverbs, in addition to proper nouns.

As Starnes notes (1954: 301), this address to the reader clarified certain aspects of the dictionary's title page. Coles's predecessors, with the exception of Christopher Wase (1662), who did not include proper nouns in his dictionary, generally separated common from proper nouns. The same is true of the list of birds, animals, and so on, which was placed at the end of the Rider–Holyoke dictionaries. As for the explanations in English, Coles was referring to the practice of Francis Holyoke who often included explanations in Latin. Finally, the reference to long periphrasis and obscure etymologies specifically concerned the dictionaries by Rider–Holyoke and Francis Gouldman (1664), which provided explanations in Latin and etymological information. For the compilation of his dictionary, Coles's main source was the second edition (1675) of the *Dictionarium minus* by Christopher Wase; he also made use of the third edition (1674) of Gouldman's dictionary (Starnes 1954: 302–5). Coles's dictionary went through eighteen editions, not counting new reprints (Alston 2002), and was published regularly until 1772 without substantial enlargement.

#### 4.2.2 *Adam Littleton*

Adam Littleton was born on 2 November 1627, in Halesowen, near Birmingham. He attended Westminster School and was later admitted to Christ Church, Oxford. He then became an usher at Westminster School, where he was appointed second master in 1658. During the 1660s, Littleton obtained the position of chaplain in ordinary to King Charles II. In addition to his preaching, Littleton continued his philological activities throughout his lifetime. He died in Chelsea on 30 June 1694, and was buried at St Luke's (Key 2004).

In 1678, in London, Adam Littleton published *A Latine Dictionary, In Four Parts*. In his address to the reader, Littleton described the four parts of the work in detail and stated what could be expected from them. His principal aim was to 'carry the purity of the Latine Tongue throughout'. In the English–Latin part of the dictionary, Littleton declared that he wished to present English 'as now spoken'; he therefore added several thousand words that had not appeared in

previous publications. To make room for the additions, he rejected ‘old-fashioned’ words, as well as uncouth expressions and insignificant circumlocutions. In the ‘Latine–Classick’ section, not only were the etymology, meaning, and use of each word indicated but also parts of speech, primitives—written in capital letters—and obsolete words. Scientific terms were labelled with an obelisk; synonyms and antonyms were also labelled. The third part of the dictionary—‘Latine–Proper’—included proper names from history, poetic fiction, and geography. As for the fourth part, the glossary of ‘Latine–Barbarous’, Littleton hoped that the ‘right-bred Latinist’ would not be offended by the inclusion of such words, since he believed it necessary for the young to be able to distinguish between these and classical words.

In compiling his dictionary, Littleton followed his predecessors, reproducing even their errors (Starnes 1954: 312). For both the English–Latin and Latin–English sections, Littleton made extensive use of the third edition (1674) of Francis Gouldman’s dictionary, which had been augmented by William Robertson, and, on occasion, of the first edition (1677) of Elisha Coles’s dictionary. For the section containing proper nouns, Littleton also had recourse to Gouldman, as well as to Thomas Cooper’s dictionary. As for the ‘Latine–Barbarous’ part, likely sources were the dictionaries by Rider–Holyoke, Gouldman, and Thomas Thomas (Starnes 1954: 313–16).

A second edition of Littleton’s dictionary appeared in 1684 and apparently was identical to the first. An anonymous edition, reproducing most of Littleton’s dictionary but with a different title and title page, was published in 1693 in Cambridge (Starnes 1954: 317). Although not printed as an edition of Littleton, it was later considered the third edition of Littleton’s dictionary and known as the ‘Cambridge Dictionary’. It is a revised and augmented edition of the 1678 and 1684 versions. Also in 1693, two other reprints of the work appeared, one in London and one in Cambridge. In all, there were six editions of Littleton’s dictionary, the last appearing in London in 1735, one year before the publication of Robert Ainsworth’s dictionary.

#### 4.2.3 *Robert Ainsworth*

Robert Ainsworth was born in September 1660, probably in Wordsall, in Eccles Parish, Lancashire (Smith 2004). It was in or around 1714 that he was asked to compile a new English–Latin dictionary. According to Samuel Patrick (1746: xxvi), the task was so arduous that it went slowly and was even suspended for some years. Given Ainsworth’s advanced age and a disorder affecting his eyesight,

Samuel Patrick helped him complete the dictionary. Although obviously finished in 1728, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae compendiarius* was only published in 1736.

In the preface, which is nearly thirty pages long, Ainsworth gave a brief history of English–Latin dictionaries published between 1499 and 1678, then explained why he had undertaken such a tedious task, going on to outline his dictionary’s content. The principal reason invoked was ‘an earnest desire of contributing all that lay in my power to the preservation of the purity of the *Latin* tongue in our grammar schools’ (Ainsworth 1736: iv). His dictionary was thus compiled for English students.

The dictionary is in three parts. According to Ainsworth, the English–Latin section contained all the words and forms of speech commonly used in English, followed by their Latin equivalents ‘as may fairly be supported by the authority of the *Roman* writers, commonly called *classics*’ (Ainsworth 1736: v). It also comprised, still according to the lexicographer, many terms from the arts and sciences—included for the first time in an English–Latin dictionary. Ainsworth pointed out (1736: xiii) that his primary aim was to ensure that only classical words, when they existed, were used as equivalents in this part. He added that the Latin–English section of the dictionary contained not only all the words found in good editions of Latin classics, with appropriate labels and notes when such was not the case, but also their etymologies, when these could be determined with sufficient certainty, and an accurate, clear interpretation of their different meanings, numbered and arranged in a natural order, all supported by pertinent examples from the best Roman authors, with references given for the quotations. As for the historical and poetical part, the third section, this contained the Latin names of the more noteworthy people and places mentioned by classical authors, as well as their modern names.

As Starnes remarks (1954: 328), Ainsworth modelled his dictionary, in terms of both structure and content, on that by Littleton. Like the latter, Ainsworth emphasized the classical nature of the Latin in his dictionary. A difference, however, was that Ainsworth closely followed a well-defined plan, which was thoroughly explained in the preface. For the English–Latin part, Ainsworth based his work especially on Coles, both for the numerous definitions and for the methodology, whereas for the Latin–English part, Ainsworth used Littleton for the word-list and the definitions. As for the illustrative phrases and specific references to their classical sources, these were taken from one of the editions of Robert Stephanus’s *Thesaurus*. For the proper nouns, once again Littleton was the main source.

In truth, Ainsworth’s objective was not to collect new words and new definitions but rather, from what he had already amassed, to ‘systematize, correct, verify, and supply for the Latin words grammatical information’ (Starnes 1954:



331). As far as these aims were concerned, his dictionary was a success, but there was nothing totally new or original in it. Building on the experience of his predecessors, he was however the first to create a classical dictionary in which the different meanings of words were ordered, numbered, and illustrated by examples from classical authors, with references systematically identified.

### 4.3 ENGLISH AND FRENCH

#### 4.3.1 *Guy Miège*

Guy Miège, a Calvinist, was born in 1644 in Lausanne, Switzerland, where his education focused on philosophy. At the age of sixteen, keen to travel, he left Lausanne for England by way of France, arriving in London in March 1661, a few weeks before the coronation of King Charles II. Shortly afterwards, he joined the household of the Earl of Elgin, the grandfather of the Earl of Aylesbury.

In 1668, he decided to settle permanently in England and seems to have lived there until 1718, his presumed year of death. During this fifty-year period, Miège devoted himself to teaching, translating, and writing works on a variety of topics. He first taught French and geography, and then English, to the ever-increasing number of Huguenot refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

As a language teacher, Miège must certainly have made use of such teaching aids as dictionaries and grammars. At the time he began teaching—around 1669—there were no monolingual dictionaries covering everyday vocabulary in either French or English. He was thus obliged to base his teaching solely on bilingual works. For anyone teaching in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the most recently published bilingual French–English dictionary would have dated from 1611—the *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, by Randle Cotgrave, which appeared, relatively unchanged, in a new reprint in 1673. Cotgrave favoured the language of sixteenth-century France. As a result, his dictionary presented an antiquated view of the French language at the time Miège was producing his first dictionary, *A New Dictionary*, published in 1677 in London. Miège's preface clearly set out his purpose, which was in marked contrast to that of Cotgrave: to describe a French that was current, rich, and had been 'purified' by the Académie française. Miège's aim was to describe the language of the French court, and he thus deliberately excluded obsolete words. For the presentation of the entries, he adopted a derivational system of classification, grouping in the same article words belonging to the same family.

Miège claimed to have based the French–English part of his dictionary on the most recent edition of the French–Latin *Dictionnaire Royal des langues françoise et latine* by Father François Pomey. The 1671 edition of Father Pomey’s dictionary—the second edition—included a number of words that had not appeared in any previous dictionary. Miège said nothing about his sources for the English–French part.

In *A New Dictionary*, Miège adopted a synchronic perspective, focusing on current usage and more in keeping with the literary tastes of the day (Hausmann 1991: 2957). Following the example of his predecessors, Miège targeted an English-speaking public who wished to gain access to French in order to extend their ‘passive’ reading knowledge of French. However, the dictionary did not meet the expectations of this readership, which was attached to French literature of the sixteenth century and wedded to the tradition of hard-word dictionaries. *A New Dictionary* thus received a lukewarm reception from the English (Hausmann 1991: 2957).

In response to this unexpectedly disappointing reception, Miège felt obliged to publish a second bilingual work in 1679. Entitled *A Dictionary of Barbarous French*, it was devoted to obsolete and provincial words, taken for the most part from Cotgrave’s dictionary. That same year, the *New Dictionary* was reprinted in a single volume with the *Dictionary of Barbarous French*.

Despite the lack of interest shown in his first dictionary, Miège undertook two new works based on it. First, an abridged version, *A Short Dictionary English and French, with another French and English*, which he published in 1684 and which went through six editions (Alston 1985). This time derivatives were presented strictly in alphabetical order, as main entries, not grouped in word families. The intended readership for the dictionary consisted of French speakers who wished to read English works of literature. In the preface, Miège clearly pointed out that the English, too accustomed to hearing and speaking French, would not be satisfied with an abridged dictionary, and that he was in the process of compiling his great dictionary from which nothing would be missing. In 1688, *The Great French Dictionary* was duly published. This time, Miège included ordinary words as well as obsolete words and ‘the most remarkable’ barbarous words, which he declared he disliked. Miège made no mention of his sources in his preface. For the French–English part, however, it seems likely that, in addition to his own dictionaries, he used the first dictionary of classical French, the *Dictionnaire françois* by César-Pierre Richelet, published in 1680 (Cormier 2006). As for the English–French section, numerous possible sources exist (Batley 1983: 5–6).

Although Miège would be overshadowed by Abel Boyer a decade later, he is remembered as a single author engaged in a single project, as the first lexicographer

to compile a bidirectional French–English/English–French dictionary, a work which was to become the dominant model by the end of the seventeenth century. His predecessors, from John Palsgrave—who added an English–French dictionary to his French grammar—to Claudius Holyband and Randle Cotgrave, had produced monodirectional dictionaries. Although the first two-part dictionary (French–English and English–French) was published in 1632 (Cotgrave 1632), it was not originally intended to be bidirectional: it was actually a reprint of Cotgrave’s French–English dictionary published twenty years earlier, with an English–French part compiled and added by Robert Sherwood. Miège was also the first person to produce an abridged dictionary, and the first to inventory the French of seventeenth-century France in a bilingual French–English dictionary, combining both ordinary and hard words in one volume (Cormier and Francœur 2004: 90).

#### 4.3.2 *Abel Boyer*

Abel Boyer was born on 13 June 1667 in Castres, in the Haut Languedoc, a well-known centre of French Protestantism. He was baptized on 24 June of the same year. His parents were Huguenots: his father, Pierre Boyer, was a magistrate and his mother, Catherine de Campdomerc, was the daughter of Éléazar de Campdomerc, a well-known doctor in Puylaurens and later in Castres.

Abel Boyer received his early education from his uncle, Pierre de Campdomerc, before attending the Protestant Academy in Puylaurens. His studies were interrupted by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, in 1685, he left France for Amsterdam. In 1689, he reached England, where he remained until his death on 16 November 1729.

With the encouragement of Princess Anne of Denmark, Boyer undertook, in 1694, to compile his *Royal Dictionary*. He consulted Thomas Henshaw, who, in 1671, had edited the philological works of Stephen Skinner and sent him a sample of his dictionary for his comments. In compiling the English section, Boyer was not able to consult dictionaries with complete descriptions of the contemporary language; he decided, therefore, to work in collaboration with John Savage, who, in 1696, sent him a list of words that, Savage said, completed the words already inventoried. In fact, Savage added more than one thousand English words to Boyer’s dictionary (Boyer 1699: Preface). By 29 April 1699, Abel Boyer had finished his dictionary and had sent it to the printers. *The Royal Dictionary* was published in May 1699. With its numerous editions, it remained in print throughout the eighteenth century.

In the preface to his dictionary, Abel Boyer listed the French and English sources used in the compilation of his dictionary. For the French–English part, in addition

to material from Vaugelas, Ménage, and Bouhours, and the dictionaries of Richelet (1680) and Furetière (1690), there were the dictionaries of Father Tachard (1689) and of the French Academy (1694). Although traces of the influence of Richelet and Furetière on Boyer's dictionary are evident, his indebtedness to the Academy is most obvious (Cormier 2006).

For the English–French part, Boyer stated that he had consulted the best dictionaries and taken a number of words from the best authors, such as Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Sprat, Sir Roger L'Estrange, John Dryden, and Sir William Temple. Yet the front matter of the *Royal Dictionary* does not mention that one of his sources was the *Great French Dictionary* by his predecessor and rival Guy Miège. When Boyer alluded to that dictionary in his preface, it was only to note its faults. Although he certainly had recourse to Littleton (1684) and, to a lesser extent, Gouldman (1678) and Holyoke (1677) for certain definitions and subentries, Boyer made extensive use of the definitions and examples of the *Great French Dictionary* (Cormier and Fernandez 2005).

In May 1700, Boyer published his *Royal Dictionary Abridged*, which was also very successful, with more than forty editions. In his preface, Boyer insisted on the originality of his work; for instance, accents were indicated on all the English headwords with a view to facilitating pronunciation of the language by foreigners. *Decémber*, *Décency*, *Decénnial* and *Décent* are examples.

Abel Boyer's contribution to the English–French lexicography of his time was very important, particularly because of the methodological innovations he introduced. First, Boyer systematically indicated the gender of words and their part of speech. Second, he was the first to recognize the necessity of clearly and systematically separating the different meanings of words, using for this purpose the ☞ symbol—which Miège had already occasionally used—to distinguish between them and inform readers that what followed was a new sense of the word. Boyer was also the first to provide and incorporate into his dictionary a series of precise usage labels to guide readers as to how words were used. For example, the English entry *Palpation* was preceded by the label D†, which meant that it was doubtful, its usage was not well established, and authors did not agree on its currency. Finally, Abel Boyer went further than previous lexicographers in indicating pronunciation in the body of the dictionary. The *Royal Dictionary Abridged* contained primary stress marks on English words, a practice which would become generalized only somewhat later in monolingual English dictionaries and only in the second half of the eighteenth century for bilingual English–Italian, English–Dutch, and English–Spanish dictionaries (Hausmann and Cop 1985: 185–6).

## 4.4 ENGLISH AND ITALIAN

### 4.4.1 *Ferdinando Altieri*

Little is known about Ferdinando Altieri, other than that he was a ‘Professor of the Italian tongue’ in London, where in 1726–27 he published his *Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese*. The dictionary, Italian–English and English–Italian, was produced for members of the nobility and gentry, as Italian was spoken in most of the courts of Europe and English was used widely outside England. Merchants were also targeted as potential users of the dictionary, since there was extensive trade by English merchants through Italian seaports. Altieri’s dictionary broke with the tradition established by John Florio and Giovanni Torriano of simply compiling lists of words and including the largest number possible (O’Connor 1990: 63). For the Italian section, Altieri reproduced the entire *Vocabolario* of the Accademia della Crusca (1691), to which he added several hundred words from the texts of well-known authors. His method consisted in transcribing the entry and definition provided by the Crusca dictionary, enclosed in brackets, and adding an English gloss. As for the English part of the dictionary, Altieri based it for the most part on the *Royal Dictionary* of Abel Boyer (1699), while also making use of the dictionaries of Giovanni Torriano (1659) and Nathan Bailey (1721). From Boyer’s dictionary he borrowed part of the word-list and most of the illustrative, idiomatic, and proverbial phrases (O’Connor 1990: 74).

Several characteristics of Altieri’s dictionary, summarily presented in the preface, are worth noting, and some are innovations: for Italian words, the accentuated syllables were marked; the grammatical category of words other than verbs was indicated, as well as the gender, where appropriate, for both headwords and equivalents; the meanings of words were carefully differentiated and listed in the order of proper (i.e. literal) meanings, metaphorical meanings, and figurative meanings. In addition, numerous set phrases and proverbs were provided.

A second edition of Altieri’s dictionary, corrected and improved by Evangelist Palermo, who also taught Italian in London, appeared there in 1749 and again in 1750, and in Venice in 1751. No additions were made to Altieri’s dictionary; as Palermo stated in the preface to the 1749 edition, only the numerous ‘inaccuracies of press’ had been corrected. No further editions of this dictionary, identified as being by Altieri, were published.

### 4.4.2 *Giuseppi Baretti*

Giuseppe (Joseph) Baretti was born in Turin, Italy, on 24 April 1719. From his mother’s death in 1735 to his father’s death in 1744, he is known to have lived in

Guastalla, Venice, Milan, and of course Turin. He arrived in England in 1751 and remained there until 1760. It was probably through Charlotte Lennox that he met Samuel Johnson, who would become his friend. In 1757, a group of eight booksellers engaged him to correct and augment Ferdinando Altieri's dictionary.

*A Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages* was published in London early in 1760, with a dedication by Samuel Johnson. The work was immediately successful and remained in print until the beginning of the twentieth century. While admitting in the preface to the dictionary that Altieri had gone further than his predecessors Florio and Torriano, Baretti noted that many of his definitions 'awakened my risibility'. He criticized the obscene words and phrases included by Altieri, as well as the coarse language and absurd proverbs used to refer to women. Baretti claimed to have added about ten thousand new words or senses. He also retranslated numerous phrases, corrected the accents on the Italian words, and indicated stress for English words. The various changes Baretti introduced, and which he maintained were important, in his opinion justified putting his name on the title page of the dictionary. In actual fact, however, the additions and modifications were relatively minor (O'Connor 1990: 84). The additions came from two sources. As O'Connor explains (1990: 84–5), in the Italian–English section the lexicographer added a limited number of words from the fourth edition of the *Vocabolario* of the Accademia della Crusca (1729–38). These were either derivatives or variants of words already in Altieri's dictionary. In the English–Italian section, he added some words from Dr Samuel Johnson's dictionary, such as *Came'lopard* and *To Dap*. As for omissions, those affected in the Italian–English part of the dictionary were taboo words and words relating to the natural sciences. Few words were dropped from the English–Italian section.

The dictionary was reprinted in 1771 and, in 1778, a new edition was brought out, though without any obvious changes. In 1787, an edition was published in Venice. According to O'Connor (1990: 88), Baretti spent the last years of his life revising his dictionary. It is not clear, however, whether he played a role in the edition—corrected and improved by Pietro Ricci Rota—which appeared in 1790, one year after his death.

## 4.5 ENGLISH AND SPANISH

### 4.5.1 *Captain John Stevens*

Captain John Stevens (c.1662–1726) was born in London. His mother was probably Spanish and his father was in service to the Earl of Clarendon in Madrid,

then to Catherine de Braganza, a Portuguese princess who later married King Charles II of England. After a military career lasting into his thirties, Stevens became a productive and distinguished scholar and translator. In 1705–06, he published *A New Spanish and English Dictionary*, the first bilingual dictionary for this combination of languages to appear in almost a century. A Spanish grammar and dialogues completed the dictionary, the first section of which, Spanish–English, is dated 1706, whereas the English–Spanish section, *Part II*, has a separate title page and is dated 1705. A second edition of the dictionary appeared in 1726, without the grammar and the dialogues.

The front matter preceding *Part I* contains a ‘Preface’, an ‘Advertisement’, and a ‘Catalogue of Authors from whom this Dictionary is collected’. There is no separate introductory material to *Part II*, and the front matter refers only to the Spanish–English section of the dictionary. The sources mentioned in the ‘Catalogue’ refer only to this part and include six dictionaries, as well as a large number of works in Spanish on a variety of subjects, including literature, history, and politics. Of the former, only John Minsheu’s dictionary of 1599 contained an English word-list. There is no indication of what sources were used for the English–Spanish section of the dictionary.

Steiner (1970: 58–67, 105) has demonstrated that much of the material included in the Spanish–English section was taken from two sources: Minsheu’s dictionary (1599) and César Oudin’s *Tesoro de las dos Lenguas Francesa y Española*, published in 1607. Cormier and Fernandez (2004) have also shown that for the English–Spanish part, Stevens made extensive use of Minsheu’s dictionary (1623), as well as Torriano’s dictionary (1659), and the *Royal Dictionary* by Abel Boyer (1699). Among the additions were a number of proverbs, the etymology of certain entries in the Spanish–English section of the dictionary, and information of an encyclopedic nature (Steiner 1991: 2950).

As Steiner explains, Stevens’s dictionary did not contribute significantly to bilingual Spanish–English lexicography and even represented a backward step, because of ‘the elimination of all gender labels so faithfully provided by Minsheu, because of the less-than-rigorous application of alphabetical ordering of entries, and because of the technique of glossing which includes the use of the leisurely exposition of learned and obscure meanings, the redundant explanation, and the discursive definition’ (Steiner 1970: 105).

#### 4.5.2 *Peter Pineda*

Peter Pineda left his native Andalusia for religious reasons, later earning his living in London as a teacher of Spanish (Steiner 2003: 89). He was the first Spaniard to

develop a Spanish–English dictionary. This was the *Nuevo Diccionario, Español e Inglés e Inglés y Español*, published in 1740 in London.

The title page of the dictionary stated that Pineda's work contained six thousand Spanish words and twelve thousand English words more than previous dictionaries. In his preface, Pineda noted that, in the Spanish–English part, he had marked with an asterisk the words not found in any other dictionary, adding that readers would easily see that words had also been added to the English–Spanish section.

Steiner (1970: 68–75) has shown that Pineda's dictionary was not merely a copy of Stevens's dictionary and that Pineda did indeed make additions, even though, in the Spanish–English part, a number of these were merely derivatives of roots already present in Stevens's dictionary. Others were illustrative expressions, and a large number were idiomatic expressions. Furthermore, Pineda was the first lexicographer in the history of bilingual Spanish–English lexicography to use a monolingual English dictionary—the fourth edition of Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1728)—to establish the word-list for the English–Spanish section, making it much richer than the work of his predecessors.

For Steiner (1970: 74), Pineda's contribution to lexicography consisted principally in 'the introduction of much living speech into the dictionary proper; the sound doctrine of short, concise glossing; the designation in a systematic manner of all the parts of speech of vocabulary entries; the indication of the pronunciation of Spanish letters'. One aspect of Pineda's work, however, served to discredit him: in some of his definitions, he insulted the Spanish Academy and the Pope.

#### 4.5.3 *Joseph Giral Delpino*

Like Pineda, Joseph Giral Delpino also taught Spanish in London. In 1763, he published *A Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*, which, according to the lexicographer, contained several thousand words more than any other dictionary, with accents on the Spanish words and spelling based on the observations of the Real Academia Española.

Giral Delpino was not particularly kind to Pineda. In his preface he called him ignorant and selfish, and 'an obstinate writer'. Furthermore, he reproached Pineda for having filled his dictionary with 'silly tales and stories', and having included unjustified 'pedantical declamations against the Pope, the King of Spain and the Spanish nation'.

Steiner has shown that the entries added by Giral Delpino were taken from the works of his predecessors, as well as from two additional sources: Samuel Johnson's dictionary (1755) and, especially, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726–39) of the



Spanish Academy. Although Giral Delpino omitted the objectionable elements in Pineda's work, as well as the proper nouns, his dictionary was, for the most part, simply a reproduction of Pineda's, retaining even its 'inconsistencies and lexicographical idiosyncrasies' (Steiner 1970: 76–84).

While not an innovator, Giral Delpino nevertheless had the merit of acknowledging the authority of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid. He was also the first Spanish–English lexicographer to introduce a symbol—the dagger—to indicate the level of speech of an entry, thereby recognizing the importance of such information for the reader. Finally, in the English–Spanish section of the dictionary, and at the beginning of certain letters, Giral Delpino provided information regarding the pronunciation of English words.

In 1778, a second edition of Giral Delpino's dictionary, the *Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*, was published in London. It had been corrected and improved by Giuseppe (Joseph) Baretto, who himself—as we have seen—had published an English–Italian dictionary in 1760. The 'Advertisement' claimed that many corrections and additions (nearly ten thousand words) had been made, mostly based on Johnson's dictionary for the English part, and gleaned from Spanish scholars for the Spanish part.

According to Steiner (1970: 85–91), the samples studied reveal that Baretto added less than half of what he had claimed. He deleted almost twice as many words as he added. He did extensive editing, and this was undoubtedly his main contribution to English–Spanish bilingual lexicography, as his dictionary did not comprise any innovations. Editions of this dictionary were published in 1786, 1794, and in the nineteenth century.

#### 4.5.4 *Thomas Connelly and Thomas Higgins*

In 1797 and 1798, the four-volume *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages* was published. It was the work of Father Thomas Connelly, a Dominican who was the 'family confessor to his Catholick Majesty', and his collaborator Father Thomas Higgins, a Carmelite and 'family confessor at the Royal Seat of St. Ildephonsus'. This dictionary, which was the first bilingual Spanish–English dictionary published in Spain, broke with the well-established tradition of compiling dictionaries that were based on those of predecessors.

The preface to the Spanish–English part noted that Connelly had devoted his spare time for fourteen years to compiling this dictionary. Because of the scale of the task, he asked Father Thomas Higgins, his 'companion and relation' to come from Naples. According to Connelly, this dictionary included more words than the three best English dictionaries published in England and eight thousand more

than that of the Real Academia Española. The preface also stated that the authors had added numerous ‘technical terms of arts and sciences, trades and offices’.

The originality of Connelly’s and Higgins’s dictionary lies in the fact that the authors mainly relied on two monolingual dictionaries in compiling their own. Steiner (1970: 92–102) has demonstrated that they used the dictionaries by Samuel Johnson and the Real Academia to produce a work that provided not only target-language equivalents but also definitions following the source-language headwords. The result can therefore be considered three dictionaries in one: a monolingual English dictionary, a monolingual Spanish dictionary, and a bilingual English–Spanish dictionary.

## 4.6 ENGLISH AND GERMAN

### 4.6.1 *Christian Ludwig*

Christian Ludwig was born in 1660 in Eilenburg, Saxony. A master of philosophy, he was, as a young man, a ship’s doctor in New England, where he lived for some time. He arrived in England in 1696 and remained there several years before moving to Leipzig, where he taught English until his death on 21 May 1728.

*A Dictionary English, German and French*, by Christian Ludwig, was published by Thomas Fritsch in Leipzig in 1706, five years after the British Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, thus creating a dynastic link between England and Germany (Hausmann and Cop 1985: 183). The Act provided for the transfer of succession to the House of Hanover after the death of Queen Anne, making Sophie of Hanover a potential heir to the English throne. At the time, no bilingual English–German or German–English dictionary had yet been published. Although three languages were included in the dictionary, it is considered in practice to be the first English–German bilingual dictionary, since it was possible to use the dictionary without reference to the French equivalents provided (Stein 1985: 148).

Ludwig’s dictionary of 786 pages was dedicated to the Electress Sophie, Dowager Duchess of Hanover. On the title page Ludwig declared that his dictionary contained not only English words in alphabetical order but also their several significations (i.e. senses), their proper accent, phrases, figurative expressions, idioms and proverbs, and that it was compiled from the best newly published dictionaries. Hausmann and Cop (1985: 185–7) have shown that Ludwig based his dictionary on Abel Boyer’s already famous *Royal Dictionary* (1699) and on the abridged version of the same dictionary. The fact that Ludwig indicated the accentuation of English

headwords—a practice Boyer used in the abridged version but not in the complete edition—proves that he consulted the modified version of the dictionary. However, in the abridged version, Boyer essentially reproduced the word-list of the 1699 edition, limiting his omissions to a few rare entries (Cormier and Francoeur 2006). It is therefore also certain that Ludwig borrowed from the articles of the complete edition of 1699, as is clearly demonstrated by scrutiny of the articles for *mouth* and *to get*, for example. Ludwig's actual contribution to the dictionary was rather limited, consisting in the insertion of equivalents and definitions in German between the English and French. Despite this, his importance for the English–German lexicography of the time should not be underestimated. Ludwig introduced the accentuation of English words with a view to facilitating their pronunciation by non-English speakers; he was one of the first lexicographers to do so and the first among English–German dictionary-makers. He also used grammatical labels to distinguish between homographic headwords, and semicolons to mark the different meanings of words. In addition, a system of usage symbols was used to guide the reader. A second edition of the dictionary was published in 1736, a third in 1763, and a fourth in 1791.

In 1716, the *Teutsch–Englisches Lexicon*, a German–English dictionary of 2,672 pages dedicated to King George I, was published in Leipzig by Thomas Fritsch. The dictionary contained only two languages—French was not included—and was designed for Germans who wished to express themselves in English. No author's name appeared on the cover page. Stein (1985) believes the author was clearly Ludwig, whereas Alston (1999) merely attributes the dictionary to him. For Hausmann and Cop (1985), authorship is even less certain, and they note that a passage in the publisher's preface would seem to indicate that Ludwig was not in fact the author. Because of the large amount of material it contains and because it presents the German words in alphabetical order, the dictionary is considered to be one of the most important with German as the source language. New editions were published in 1745, in 1765, and in 1789.

#### 4.6.2 Theodore Arnold

In 1736, *Mr. Nathan Bailey's English Dictionary*, translated into German and improved by Theodore Arnold, was published in Leipzig. This volume was the translation of the second part—the orthographical dictionary—of what is known as the second volume of *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, published in London by T. Cox, in 1727.<sup>2</sup> Bailey compiled his orthographical dictionary for

<sup>2</sup> The first volume appeared in 1721 under the title *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*.

both English and foreign readers. This dictionary provided accentuation for English words as an aid to pronunciation; asterisks distinguished those words of approved authority from those that were not approved; and the different meanings were given in English, French, and Latin to help foreigners who were interested in learning English. Idioms, set phrases, and proverbial sentences are also included. Arnold's dictionary is substantially the same as Bailey's, with the difference that Arnold provided German translations for the existing meanings in English, French, and Latin. Arnold's dictionary was also a collection of common and familiar words intended to help users with spelling and pronunciation. The resulting publication was therefore an English–French–German dictionary. To this first volume, Arnold added *A New German–English Dictionary* (*Neues Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch*) in 1739 (Hausmann and Cop 1985: 188).

In 1783, the German lexicographer Johann Christoph Adelung published the first volume of his *Neues grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache für die Deutschen* in Leipzig. This was a translation of the fourth edition of Samuel Johnson's famous dictionary, and contained entries for the letters A to J. The second volume of this English–German dictionary, for the letters K to Z, appeared in 1796. The German–English part of the dictionary was compiled by Johann Ebers and published in three volumes between 1796 and 1799 (Hausmann and Cop 1985: 188).

## 4.7 ENGLISH AND DUTCH

### 4.7.1 *Willem Sewel*

Willem Sewel was born in Amsterdam on 19 April 1653 and died on 13 March 1720, most probably in Amsterdam (Hall 2004). Known as 'the first Quaker historian of Quakerism' (Hull 1933), some thirty translations are also attributed to him, including those of important authors such as Gilbert Burnet, William Congreve, and Sir William Temple.

In 1691, Sewel published in Amsterdam his *New Dictionary English and Dutch*, in two parts, English–Dutch and Dutch–English, and included a short treatise on Dutch pronunciation as well as a guide to the Dutch particles *de*, *die*, *deeze* and *het*, *dat*, *dit*. In his preface, Sewel declared his certainty that readers would find his dictionary more satisfactory than Hexham's, from which he claimed to have borrowed nothing. Indeed, he asserted that while producing his own dictionary he had neither consulted Hexham's nor even had it in his house. Sewel addressed

his dictionary to translators and readers of foreign works, rather than to language learners (Osselton 1991: 3036).

In his study of the first English–Dutch dictionaries, Osselton (1973: 58–75) demonstrates that for the English–Dutch section of his dictionary Sewel made particular use of the second edition of Elisha Coles’s English–Latin dictionary, translating the Latin definitions into Dutch. Sewel reproduced approximately two-thirds of this dictionary, omitting the proper nouns and the more technical or specialized words. To a lesser extent, he also used William Robertson’s Latin–English dictionary, *Phraseologia Generalis* (1681). Although Sewel’s dictionary owed a great deal to English–Latin dictionaries, Osselton (1973: 67) considers it ‘more varied, informative and up-to-date than that of Hexham’. It is also clear that Sewel’s translations provided material for his dictionary: several English terms, specifically legal and ecclesiastical terms for which no equivalent Dutch terms existed at the time, such as *canon law* and *simony*, were included in his English word-list. The definitions in Sewel’s dictionary are more precise than those in Hexham’s, and meanings are more clearly differentiated.

As for the Dutch–English section of the dictionary, Osselton (1973: 72–5) has shown that Sewel based it on the third edition of Casparus van den Ende’s Dutch–French dictionary, published in 1681, and on a nautical dictionary, *Wigardus à Winschootens Seeman*, which also appeared in 1681. This second part of the dictionary was not as rich as the first and was extensively reworked for the second edition.

The second edition was published in Amsterdam in 1708. According to Osselton (1973: 77), Sewel’s revisions in this edition were significant and included a large number of minor modifications and improvements. In the English–Dutch section of the dictionary, more than twenty per cent of the English word-list was replaced; for every two new entries an existing one was deleted. Sewel made use of the sixth edition of Edward Phillips’s dictionary, *The New World of Words* (1706), which had been revised by John Kersey. His debt to this work is substantial; about one entry in twenty clearly comes from this source, most notably political, ecclesiastical, literary, and technical vocabulary. In the Dutch–English section the number of entries is almost double what it was in the first edition. More than half of the new entries are common and familiar words taken—along with many of the accompanying definitions—from the Dutch–French dictionary of Pieter Marin, published in 1701.

No other edition of the dictionary appeared during Sewel’s lifetime. The third edition was published in 1727 and reprinted in 1735. There were few changes from the previous edition. The English–Dutch part contained more quotations from the Bible and a number of terms related to publishing. In the Dutch–English section, certain geographical names were added (Osselton 1973: 87).

The fourth edition was published in 1749, also with minimal alteration; the English–Dutch part contained some new entries gleaned from the second edition of Nathan Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1736) (Osselton 1973: 88). These were mainly technical terms, hard words, and bookish Latinisms. A fifth edition appeared in 1754, again essentially unchanged from the previous edition.

The sixth edition, revised by Egbert Buys, ‘counsellor of their Polish and Prussian Majesties’, as noted on the title page, was published in Amsterdam in 1766. Buys stated in the preface that he included a certain number of words not found in Sewel’s dictionary along with others from his reading in English and a certain number from dictionaries by Littleton, Boyer, Marin, and Halma. As Osselton has noted (1973: 90), the 1764 edition of Abel Boyer’s *Dictionnaire royal* was the principal source for the additions. The Dutch–English section of the dictionary was also considerably enriched. With all of this new material, the sixth edition of Sewel’s dictionary presents a relatively faithful image of the vocabulary of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### 4.7.2 *Samuel Hull Wilcocke*

In 1798, in London, Samuel Hull Wilcocke published *A New and Complete Dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages* based on Willem Sewel’s dictionary. The book targeted travellers, sailors, merchants, and colonists, with a convenient format and at a reasonable price. In fact, it was the first English–Dutch dictionary in small format. The lexicographer stated he had retained all the primary words in Sewel’s dictionary, except for a few, and had enriched it with a number of words not found in the work of his predecessor. At the same time he had avoided the phrases and explanations that made the former dictionary voluminous and expensive. Working on the principle that dictionaries were usually used for translation from rather than into a foreign language, only equivalents for each word or each meaning had been provided.

An examination of the English–Dutch section of Wilcocke’s dictionary shows that it contains far fewer entries than did Sewel’s original 1691 edition (Osselton 1973: 96). It does, however, include some new entries, which the lexicographer said he had taken from the dictionaries by Johnson (1755)<sup>3</sup> and Sheridan (1797), as well as from Barclay (1792) and the pocket dictionary by Entick (1796). As for the Dutch–English part of the dictionary, Wilcocke stated he used the eighth edition (1773) of Marin’s Dutch–French dictionary, Johannis De Wilde’s Dutch–Latin

<sup>3</sup> According to Osselton (1973: 96, note 12), Wilcocke could have used any edition published before 1796.

dictionary (Binnart 1744), and a glossary of technical terms and obsolete words by Lodewyk Meijer (1745). There are more additions in this section, mostly Latinisms (Osselton 1973: 96–7).

### 4.7.3 *John Holtrop*

Most likely foreign born, John Holtrop moved to Dordrecht shortly before his first marriage and obtained Dutch citizenship after he remarried in 1759. He died in 1792 (Scheurweghs 1960: 141–2).

In 1789, the *New English and Dutch Dictionary* by John Holtrop was published in Dordrecht. It was an English–Dutch dictionary for settlers and merchants. The Dutch–English part of the dictionary was published only in 1801, but Holtrop was able to begin work on it before his death. According to Scheurweghs (1960: 142), Holtrop most likely produced his dictionary at the request of his son, the printer William Holtrop.

Approximately eight out of every ten entries in the English–Dutch section of the dictionary are included in the 1766 edition of Sewel’s dictionary. As for the new entries, approximately two-thirds were taken from Johnson’s dictionary (1786) and others possibly come from Bailey’s dictionaries (1736) (Osselton 1973: 102–4). Holtrop reworked the internal organization of the articles, indicating parts of speech, rewriting definitions and providing accentuation for the pronunciation of vowels in English (Osselton 1973: 101). As for the Dutch–English section, the 1766 edition of Sewel’s dictionary also formed the basis for the Dutch word-list. One seventh of the entries were omitted, mostly variant spellings or self-explanatory derivatives but also certain less common—regional, obsolescent, or foreign—words. Most of the additions were taken from Pieter Marin’s Dutch–French dictionary (1787). On the whole, the Dutch vocabulary was treated more fully than in previous dictionaries and, as in the English–Dutch part, meanings were more clearly distinguished and the articles better structured (Osselton 1973: 106).

## 4.8 CONCLUSION

The end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth saw the compilation of the first large-scale fully bilingual dictionaries in which English was one of the languages. Bilingual dictionaries were aimed at a wide and diverse readership, and compilation often took place within an intensively competitive

climate. Fresh challenges, including the treatment of current usage, led to the development of new and more effective lexicographic methods. By trial and error—with attention mercilessly drawn to error by competitors and successors—lexicographers during this period succeeded in producing bilingual dictionaries whose form and presentation of entries correspond to a large extent to those of today. Ainsworth, Boyer, and Sewel—to mention only three leading figures—greatly contributed to improving a model that would prove its worth in the centuries to come. Whereas the readership for English–Latin dictionaries would henceforth be limited mainly to students of Latin, bilingual dictionaries in which English was combined with another national language would see their markets expand indefinitely, a growth which, in its turn, would promote further innovation and creativity.



# BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

*Carla Marella*

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION: ENGLISH BECOMES A WORLD LANGUAGE

**B**Y the end of the nineteenth century English had gained considerable ground as the international language of commerce and travel, and the number of general- and special-purpose bilingual dictionaries compiled for non-English speakers had correspondingly increased. The language began gradually to take on the role of *the* language in which to write in order to reach an international audience of scholars and businessmen. French still played a similar role as the international language of culture and diplomacy and, as a matter of fact, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries bilingual dictionaries of English and French published in Great Britain (and meant to serve an English-speaking audience) exceeded by far those pairing English with other European languages also spoken outside Europe, such as Spanish and Portuguese.

A complex of well-known factors determined in the twentieth century the worldwide expansion of English: bilingual dictionaries with English mirror such a development, and American production of bilingual dictionaries featuring European languages also increased. Already noticeable in the nineteenth century was the larger coverage of American English words in such dictionaries, meeting

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Anthony Cowie for his comments.

the needs both of new American citizens migrating from Europe, and of the French- and Spanish-speaking communities inside the borders of the USA or in neighbouring countries.

The 1960 Bloomington (Indiana) Conference on Lexicography (Householder and Saporta 1962) and European metalexicographical debate originating with Ščerba (1940) and Quemada (1967) brought about changes in European bilingual dictionary design and production. We are still experiencing the benefits of these influences, also of their long-term effects on experimental research into dictionary use and users, and we are as a result provided with effective analytical tools for evaluating bilingual dictionaries (Steiner 1984; Hausmann and Werner 1991; Béjoint and Thoiron 1996; Atkins 2002).

## 5.2 ENGLISH AND LATIN

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin had lost a great part of its function as a language of culture in favour of national languages. In the first half of the nineteenth century, we still find scientific reports written in Latin, above all in the fields of the natural sciences, anatomy, and medicine, with the aim of reaching an international audience. Gradually, however, the study of Latin lost this communicative use, without altogether losing its cultural function. Dictionaries combining Latin and a national modern language testified to the improvements that had taken place in historical and comparative linguistics and remained the keys to accessing classical literature.

Ethan Allen Andrews (1787–1858) published in 1852 a Latin–English dictionary which was a condensed version of the *Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache* compiled by the German philologist Wilhelm Freund. Andrews's dictionary met with great success in the USA, and in British colleges, often in abridged editions. *A Latin Dictionary* (1879) by Charlton Thomas Lewis (1834–1904) and Charles Lancaster Short (1821–86), of 2,019 pages, was based on Andrews's dictionary 'revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten' by Lewis and Short, as stated in the Advertisement.<sup>2</sup> *An Elementary Latin Dictionary* (also called *Elementary Lewis*) was an abridged version, published in 1891, for the use of students.

*The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, planned in 1931, appeared in its first fascicle in 1968 and its eighth and final one in 1982, when it was also made available in a single bound volume. It is based on a reading of the Latin sources (it boasts over

<sup>2</sup> The dictionary's full text is available online from the Perseus Project. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

1,000,000 quotations), whereas Lewis and Short had brought together material from older dictionaries. *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* covers classical Latin with entries for approximately 40,000 words. It does not include pagan and Christian writers after AD 200, these being covered by Lewis and Short. There was a corrected reprint in 1996, edited by P. G. W. Glare.

J. F. Niermeyer's *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, completed in 1976 by C. van de Kieft after Niermeyer's death, has become a standard reference work for medieval usage. In recent editions on CD-ROM (2004), all headwords are defined in English, French, and German. Beside these works for scholars, we should mention the *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1994), designed for students, with Latin words added from the writings of Plautus and Terence, and from the study of writings belonging to the so-called Silver Latin period. This work was edited by James Morwood, as was the *Oxford Latin Minidictionary* (1995). The *Follett World-Wide Latin Dictionary, Latin–English/English–Latin* (1967) was an attempt to coin Latin words for modern objects. Similar attempts are also periodically made by other bodies which foster a return to Latin as an international auxiliary language. Recent English–Latin dictionaries of modern terms can be found on the Internet.

### 5.3 ENGLISH AND GREEK

German philological work played an important role, also, in ensuring a surviving market for Greek–English dictionaries. Henry George Liddell (1811–98) and Robert Scott (1811–87) based their great *Greek–English lexicon*, first published in 1843, on the fourth edition (1831) of Franz Passow's *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. As Collison (1982: 132) remarks of the former, 'words beginning with the same element were usually grouped together, an arrangement that impeded or delayed reference from time to time.' A *Supplement* edited by E. A. Barber was published in 1968 and a revised edition appeared in 1996. Liddell and Scott included Latin and Semitic words in Greek form but did not cover Byzantine and Patristic literature. G. W. H. Lampe began compiling in 1961 a *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (completed in 1968), including all words of Greek Christian writers to AD 800 not treated or poorly treated in Liddell and Scott's ninth edition (1925–40). W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich prepared an adaptation of W. Bauer's *Greek–German Dictionary* (1949–52, 1958), which was published in Cambridge and Chicago with the title *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (1957; 1979). J. P. Louw and

E. A. Nida edited for the United Bible Societies a *Greek–English Lexicon Based on Semantic Domains* (1988).

For beginners there is the *Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary* (2002) edited by James Morwood and John Taylor. It has 20,000 Greek words and phrases, and of course narrower coverage (4,000 words) in the English–Greek part; for intermediate students there is the *Intermediate Greek Lexicon Founded upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott’s Greek–English Lexicon* (1963).

## 5.4 ENGLISH AND FRENCH

The number of new bilingual dictionaries appearing in the early nineteenth century and featuring English—and of updated editions of eighteenth-century dictionaries—certainly bore witness to an enlarged market and an increased demand for treatment of the up-to-date *standard* language and for colloquial usage, since dictionaries are used in everyday situations and not only for reading literature or philosophical works.

For instance, in the Preface (signed ‘the editors’) of L. Ph. R. Fenwick De Porquet’s dictionary (1832—by 1856 it had reached its tenth edition), we read: ‘We have unsparingly omitted the provincialism both in French and English; . . . we have simply given the UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE, – a term by which liberal and generous minds throughout Europe have been pleased to do honour to our nation; and upon this we have imprinted the genius and true nature, the taste and spirit, of the French language of the Nineteenth Century’ which ‘has benefited by the invigorating impulse of political convulsions and national agitation.’

Though most bilingual dictionaries have two parts, we find Gasc’s dictionary (1873; printed in London and reprinted in Great Britain till the end of the century) composed of just the French–English part, and the author declares that he ‘does not bind himself to issue an English–French Dictionary’. It is a clear sign that in Great Britain at that point there was a larger market for reading French texts than for writing in, or translating into, that language (1873: 595).

### 5.4.1 ‘A just and agreeable pronunciation of the English tongue: a Herculean labour’ (Smith 1814).

Correct pronunciation of English and French was a problem for teachers of both as foreign languages. Boyer’s *Royal Dictionary Abridged* (1700) broke new ground in

that it included primary stress marks on English words, a practice which would become generalized later in monolingual English dictionaries and in bilingual dictionaries combining English with Italian, Dutch, and Spanish. The most influential pronouncing norms and systems of respelling in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bilingual dictionaries were those of Walker (1791) for English and those of the French Academy and Abbé D'Olivet for French.

Chambaud (1805) followed Walker and gave for **fence** the pronunciation (fĕn'ce); Tarver (1847), modelling himself on Tardy (1811), and Spiers (1846) also imitated the Walker system. It is worth noting that in Tardy the pronunciation transcriptions for headwords such as **alonger**, **éloigner** are as for the pronominal **s'alonger**, **s'éloigner**. An interesting case of usage pronunciation winning out against the artificial reduction of the *se* in the headword.

Smith (1814) grouped French words, flanked by an English equivalent, according to their initial and final sounds and number of syllables. We find **bonbance**, **constance**, **contenance**; **auvent**, **content**, **onguent**; **couche**, **bouche**, **mouche**, **souche**, **rouche**; **doute**, **route**. Of course, he also provided an alphabetical index so that users could retrieve words from where they were located. Spiers (1846) has at the bottom of each page a reminder of the use of diacritic systems for representing vowel qualities: a device shared also by other dictionaries of all dimensions and of different language pairs.<sup>3</sup> We find printed in quite a small font size:

1 2 3 4 1 2 3 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5  
 Fate, fat, far, fall. Me, met, her. Fine, fin, sir, vanity. No, not, nor, oil, cloud. Tube, tub, bum, rule, bull.

English pronunciation is so difficult for non-English speakers that even modest pocket dictionaries need to provide some indications. But it is not easy either to teach French nasal sounds to English speakers. J. Ch. Tarver, 'French Master at Eaton [sic] and French Master of Prince George of Cambridge', as we read in the frontispiece of his dictionary (1858), mentions 'the thousand obstacles the teacher has to face to fight the consonant sounds produced by English students of French' (1858: xi).

In the second half of the century, numbers above vowels were abandoned in favour of other systems, slightly less complex to print, using non-numerical diacritics and more easily readable. Weller (1863), Professor of English at the

<sup>3</sup> Boyer's edition published in Boston (1822, 1825, and with the addition of Abbé Tardy's transcriptions, Spiers and Surenne's *The Standard Pronouncing Dictionary of the French and English Languages* (New York 1873), have the pronunciation keys strung at the top of the page. Fleming and Tibbins (edition of 1844), Triebel (1923), and William (1929) present pronunciation keys running at the bottom of the page; William (1929) adopts the Stormonth system.

Athenaeum and Episcopal College of Bruges, offers an ‘English Pronouncing Dictionary’ in the front matter of his dictionary, where he uses a representation somewhat simpler than Walker’s. Consider some of the respellings clearly directed at French-speaking people:

- (1) **Aborigenes** éb’-o-ridj-i-n’z **Acclaime** ak-kléme’
- (2) **Thank** tshan’gk **That** tzhate **Tradition** tra-dich’-eune

It is not by chance that a group of English and French language teachers developed, in 1888, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), a standardized method of phonetic transcription (→ COLLINS and MEES, Vol. II). Surveys of phonetic indications in English dictionaries are devoted to monolingual dictionaries (Wells 1985, Bronstein 1986). The first multi-purpose monolingual dictionary to adopt IPA, the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (1942), was aimed at learners of English as a foreign language. Bilingual lexicographers outside Great Britain, pressed by teaching necessity, adopted the IPA earlier, as the 1938 German and English dictionary, revised by K. Wildhagen, shows.

By the beginning of the 1960s, almost every bilingual dictionary featuring English had English headwords flanked by IPA phonetic transcriptions. The few not having it were children’s bilingual dictionaries and those produced in the USA and Great Britain, which not only adopted respelling for English and American headwords but also for headwords in foreign languages. CD-ROM versions of bilingual dictionaries—containing recorded pronunciation which you can easily activate by clicking on the loudspeaker symbol—caused IPA transcriptions to disappear from paper dictionaries. Since their CD-ROM editions speak, bilingual paper dictionaries remain dumb.

When a phonetic transcription is present (in the IPA or some other system) it is generally positioned after the headword. If it is not present, the headword may carry primary stress and some other features (division into syllables, vowel length) which do not prevent the user from reading the spelling of the headword.

Phonetic indications in an encoding dictionary are more conveniently placed after the translation equivalent, but when the microstructure gives many equivalents it becomes impossible to give the phonetic transcriptions of each equivalent. Therefore, they are given in the L<sub>2</sub>–L<sub>1</sub> part of the dictionary, where the equivalent is in headword position.

#### 5.4.2 *Recent French and English dictionaries*

Truly bilingual dictionaries are Ledésert’s *Harrap’s New Standard* (1972) and *Robert Collins* (1978), edited by B. T. S. Atkins, A. Duval, and R. C. Milne. The latter

was remarkably successful in balancing readability and in-depth description of equivalents. American idioms and spelling on one side, and French-Canadian idioms and ‘the notoriously slippery area of French slang’ on the other, have been given special attention. The user has to follow style labels to find out whether a word is formal, informal, literary, vulgar, dated, or euphemistic. The editorial decision to omit uncommon words and specialized terms and meanings in favour of ‘more colloquial usage than any other French–English dictionary’ has enabled the publishers to claim coverage of ‘222,000 references and 460,000 translations’ in the edition of 1987 and ‘820,000 entries and translations’ in the last updated edition of 2006, known as the *HarperCollins Robert*. A seventy-six-page ‘Language in Use’ section, which deals with ways of expressing ideas in both languages, recalls the goals and methods of the sixteenth-century ‘conversation books’ by Noël de Berlaimont and Claude de Sainliens (Quemada 1967). The *Hachette-Oxford*, edited by Corréard and Grundy, is also a large dictionary, first published in 1994 and revised in 2001. It includes collocates in both parts (for discussion of exemplification of these, see 5.5).

## 5.5 ENGLISH AND ITALIAN

Baretti’s celebrated *Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages* was published in London in 1760 (→ CORMIER). There were numerous updating and reprints up until 1928. The dictionary had received a major revision in 1854 by J. Davenport and G. Comelati, Davenport having previously collaborated with S. E. Petronj to compile a new dictionary. In that work (Petronj and Davenport 1824), both Italian and English headwords and translation equivalents were marked with a primary accent. French equivalents were rather casually added, though with no pronunciation indicated, nor change of gender signalled.

(3) **fiúme**, s.m. a riv’er: fleuve, rivière.

A succession of works then appeared, such as Meadows (1834), Millhouse (1849, 1853), and James and Grassi (1854), all stigmatized by O’Connor (1991) as popular, comprehensive but relying too much on Baretti’s limited and dated English list of words and on D’Alberti’s (1797, 1805) for the Italian side. Melzi (1892) used for the Italian word-list his Italian–French dictionary, and for the English list a bilingual dictionary with French, possibly that of Spiers (1846). His work is marred by many false friends and near translations: ‘inaccurate translation into the target language was to become one of the most noticeable shortcomings of the lexicographers who followed immediately after him’ (O’Connor 1991: 2972).

Edgren (1902) added the etymology of Italian headwords and included Americanisms. Lysle (1913, 1915) and Spinelli (1929, 1930) were designed for Italians, therefore their meaning discriminations were in Italian on both sides. Hoare (1915) was intended for the English speaker, and therefore his Italian–English side is much bigger than the English–Italian.

After the Second World War the Italian lexicographical scene was overflowing with bilingual dictionaries featuring English. Hazon (1961, updated 2006) was the best seller among medium-sized dictionaries till Ragazzini (1967, constantly updated) appeared and gradually established itself. Barbara Reynolds's *Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (1962) is, on the contrary, mainly intended for English readers of Italian literature; its English–Italian part was compiled much later, in 1981.<sup>4</sup>

While other dictionaries group phraseology according to meaning and in a section which follows immediately after the suggested translation equivalent, Sansoni–Harrap (1970) and Sani (1974) do not. They give all the equivalents divided and numbered corresponding to their different meanings (possibly explained through meaning discriminators) at the top of the microstructure. Then, examples and idioms are arranged below according to some formal arrangement, such as, for instance, alphabetical order of the head of the characterizing phrase in the example or idiom or of the most semantically significant word when it is not the head of the phrase (see Marellò 1989: 77–98 and 5.7.2, 5.7, in this chapter).

Skey (1978) has the English–Italian part based on the second edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (1963) with adaptations to suit the Italian learner. For example, it deals prominently with phrasal verbs, listing them as separate subentries.

The publishing house of Paravia first launched the Passerini Tosi dictionary in 1989. This later became the *Oxford-Paravia* (2001; second edition 2006). The English–Italian section was based on the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* (third edition), and the examples given 'come from OUP's vast electronic corpus'. The word-list and examples in the Italian–English part come from the research involved in preparing the innovative Italian monolingual dictionary by T. De Mauro (2000). The *Oxford Paravia* introduces collocates, 'words that frequently appear together with the headword, thereby forming typical combinations that a native speaker would consider "natural"'. We can then see how the Italian team at Paravia mirrors the microstructure design of the *Oxford Hachette English-French Dictionary* and renders the interplay between meaning discriminators (within

<sup>4</sup> And, in 1985, the publishing house of Signorelli prepared an edition updated and revised for Italian users.



parentheses) and collocates (within square brackets). See the microstructure of the Italian adj. *forte* and, on the English side, the entry for *hard*.

- (4) **forte** agg. 1. (*potente*) [*persona, paese, cannocchiale*] powerful; [*economia*] strong; [*moneta*] strong, hard; ... 3. (*moralmente*) [*persona, carattere, personalità*] forceful, strong, rugged; ... 4. (*accanito*) [*mangiatore*] hearty ... *essere un~ bevitore* to be a hard o heavy drinker ... 6. (*intenso*) [*rumore, musica, urlo, suono*] loud; [*colore*] deep, bright; ...
- (5) **hard** adj ... 2. (*difficult, complex*) [*problem, question, puzzle, bargaining, negotiations*] difficile, complesso ... 3. (*harsh, unpleasant*) [*life, childhood, year*] difficile; [*blow, knock*] FIG. duro, brutto; [*climate, winter*] rigido ... *this is a~ world* viviamo in un mondo difficile.

Examples may or may not include the equivalent suggested; therefore there is interplay also with examples. In the *Oxford-Paravia*, grammatical, semantic, and usage notes appear at the beginning of the entries on a grey background. Cultural notes such as those devoted to *Academy Awards*, *Independence Day*, *Quango*, are located at the appropriate alphabetical positions in the word-list and are in Italian in the English–Italian section, in English in the Italian–English section. (See also *CartaSi*, *Palio di Siena*, *Stellone*.)

Picchi (1999) is innovative in his treatment of syntactic information; it will be noted how first the verb patterns are inserted—in the Italian–English section—according to the traditional Italian scheme transitive (A), intransitive (B), reflexive (C). But then the B pattern is subdivided according to whether the verb is followed by a prepositional phrase (v(+su)+IN) or some other construction.

- (6) **pesare** A vt v + D(+IN) 1 (= *misurare il peso di*) to weigh, ... 2 (= *valutare/soppesare, fig*) to judge ... B *aus avere o essere vi* 1 v(+IN) to weigh; ... 2 v + IN (+INF) (= *essere gravoso, fig*) to \*be heavy (... ) 3 v(+su) + IN (= *ripercuotersi/essere importante*) to weigh, to impinge ... 4 v+su + IN (= *incombere*) to \*hang (over), to loom, ... C *pesarsi vr* v+RIF(+IN) to weigh oneself.  
(After Picchi 1999.)

## 5.6 ENGLISH AND SPANISH

### 5.6.1 Nineteenth-century dictionaries

In 1802, Henry Neumann's *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages* was published in London. In his preface Neumann admitted having 'particular

recourse' to Connelly and Higgins (→ CORMIER). The 1817 edition kept the two sections more in balance than the previous one, which had about 40,000 Spanish headwords compared with 25,000 English headwords. In 1823, the same 1817 edition was issued by a different firm of publishers, who added the name of Baretto to the title page.<sup>5</sup> A true revision was later made by Mateo Seoane y Sobral—a physician from Salamanca and political refugee in England (1831)—and printed by Longman, Rees, and Co.

Seoane, Neumann, and Baretto's work was revised by Mariano Velázquez de la Cadena, a professor of the Spanish language at Columbia University, who published it in 1852. Velázquez's *Pronouncing Dictionary*, incidentally, was reprinted till 1900 with the collaboration of Juan S. Iribas and E. Gray.

A compilation by Lopes and Bensley was published in 1878 by Garnier Frères in Paris. The dictionary ought to have been completed by F. Corona Bustamante, who had produced for Garnier, in the same year, a *Diccionario abreviado*. Corona Bustamante, however, did not get beyond page 240 and so Lopes edited the English–Spanish part, while Bensley produced the Spanish–English. The Spanish Preface expresses warm approval of what today's applied linguists call 'inter-comprehension', a mainly receptive knowledge of foreign languages, whereby everyone can 'write in his/her own mother tongue and understand the answer in another language'.

### 5.6.2 *Twentieth-century dictionaries*

#### 5.6.2 (i) Arturo Cuyás

In 1903, a new Spanish–English and English–Spanish dictionary appeared from the New York publishers Appleton. Edited by Arturo Cuyás, it contained 'more than four thousand modern words and twenty thousand senses (*acepciones*), idioms, and technical terms not in the latest edition of any similar work'. Cuyás adopted as a ground-work the Funk and Wagnalls *Standard Dictionary* (1893–1985) for English and the thirteenth edition (1899) of the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, but he included also words used in the Philippine Islands and, above all, in the Latin-American countries. Consider, for example:

(7) **Tiquin** [te-keen'], m. (Philip.) bamboo pole used in place of oars.

(8) **tortilla** f. dim. omelet; (Mex.) pan-cake.

And, as a further indication of the interest in Spanish after the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain, the author declares: 'The ties that now bind

<sup>5</sup> The so-called Neumann and Baretto was reprinted by a Boston firm and sold till the middle of the century.

to the United States several million people whose vernacular is the Spanish language have been kept steadily in view during the preparation of the work, which is intended to be as helpful to the American or English student of Spanish as to the great number of Spaniards who are now studying English.<sup>7</sup>

As illustrative examples of the exhaustiveness of Cuyás's work, the reader is referred to such words as the following—many being 'core' vocabulary items: *á, de, con, por, que, le, se, nos, ese, uno; dar, hacer, coger, estar, correr, echar, ser, salir, seguir, poner, tirar, ver, venir, llave, medio, fuerza, ropa, tiro, título, viga, vida*. On the English side the reader is referred to the entries for the combining forms *electr-* (30), *hydr-, micro-* (24), *photo-*.

Steiner (1991: 2952) mentions other American and South-American bilingual dictionaries with Spanish but none deserves the attention which has to be paid to the dictionaries of Edwin B. Williams.

### 5.6.2 (ii) Edwin B. Williams

One of the outstanding features of the English–Spanish dictionary edited by Edwin B. Williams (1955) is the close attention given to 'meaning discriminators'. The Explanatory Notes (p. vi) clearly state which meaning discriminator has to be chosen to particularize a given part of speech: 'The particularizing word or phrase may be (a) a noun (to particularize the meaning of an adjective), (b) a noun in apposition (to particularize the meaning of another noun), (c) a direct object (to particularize the meaning of a verb), (d) a subject (to particularize the meaning of a verb), (e) an adjectival expression (to particularize the meaning of a noun), or (f) an adverbial expression (to particularize the meaning of a verb)'. Meaning discriminators were also used in the nineteenth century—Spiers in his *Préface* (p. x) dealt with such 'moyens de distinction', or 'means of discrimination'—but Williams focuses attention on their grammatical nature and on the language in which they should be indicated: he placed them before the target word and in the source language, i.e. the language of the headword, to serve both communities while encoding in L2 (see also 5.5 and 5.7.2). Meaning discriminators have generally been adopted in bilingual dictionaries since the second part of the twentieth century, but when they are not in a substitutive relation (such as synonyms or hyperonyms) with the headword and 'particularize' the headword via a combinatorial relation, as in 5.5 *forte* (*moralmente*), lit. **strong** (*morally*), they are not always easily distinguishable from collocates, especially in the case of headwords which are verbs or adjectives.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Bilingual discriminators, on the contrary, did not spread. Iannucci (1962) gives two examples of microstructures using French and English. In the first, bilingual discriminators precede the target word: 'nice adj. (delightful – *charmant*) joli; (delicate – *délicat*) délicat, fin; (exact – *correct*) exact, juste'. In the second, they are in front in the source language and they follow the target word in the target language: 'ouverture (d'un objectif) (*n.f.*), aperture (of a lens); (d'une caverne) (*n.f.*), mouth (of a cave)'.

The pronunciation of all English words listed in the dictionary is shown by means of a simplified adaptation of the IPA. All English compound words are listed as separated entries. Multiword Spanish expressions (i.e. idioms and the like) are listed as subentries. E. B. Williams took account of ‘considerations of frequency and range’ when deciding the words to be listed. He expanded the dictionary in 1962–63, but in 1968 he prepared a shorter, completely new dictionary, the *Bantam New College Spanish & English Dictionary*, considered one of the best bilingual dictionaries, with regard to the handling of sense discriminations, that had ever appeared till that date.

### 5.6.3 *Recent large dictionaries*

During the last quarter of the twentieth century a number of very large dictionaries have appeared, including those of Gámez *et al.* (1973) for Simon and Schuster and of Colin Smith (1971) for Collins. There is also the *Oxford Spanish Dictionary*, which in its third edition has acquired collocates. The Colin Smith dictionary (first edition 1971), appeared in an eighth edition in 2005. It featured long, completely translated examples and cultural notes. It was the first large bilingual dictionary on which Collins publishers embarked and it set high standards which were maintained and indeed surpassed by the later French and English dictionary edited by Atkins *et al.* (1978). Then, in 2003, there was Chambers Harrap, which boasted ‘over 400,000 translations’, and had a section devoted to false friends, but also signalled false friends in the main text after the article(s) concerned.

## 5.7 ENGLISH AND GERMAN

German and English bilingual dictionaries continued, in the nineteenth century, to be published mainly by German publishers. Fick (1802), Hilpert (1828–45), Burckhardt (1839), Grieb (1842–47), James (1846), and Wessely (1883) were all published in Germany. Nineteenth-century German philological studies made great strides in etymology, comparative grammar and morphology, and German lexicographers often used such studies as a springboard to discuss the grouping of English and German word families, or to decide at which point to start an incomplete subentry, i.e. whether to replace by a tilde mechanically the part of the subentry that was common to the entry or to identify a root. They did the same with words prefixed by *after-*, *all-*, *demi-*, *non-*, *out-*, *self-*, *semi-*, *under-*, etc.

For German headwords, equivalents, and translations of examples, or any other German part of the microstructure, including abbreviations in both sections of the dictionary, German–English dictionaries of all sizes maintained Gothic fonts till midway through the twentieth century and even beyond. It is a feature that, added to other indications, e.g. plurals of nouns, cases in verb constructions, has made German and English dictionaries difficult to read for non-German users. German and English dictionaries printed in the US were Kunst (1840), Elwell (1850), Grab (1897), and Adler (1848, 1857, 1902). Adler’s dictionary, which first appeared in 1848, was based on Flügel, and also made ‘free use’ of the most recent works of its day, including those of Hilpert, Grieb, and others. In their revised edition, Foster and Althaus expunged obsolete words, introduced new words and new meanings brought to lexicographers by ‘the wonderful progress of the arts and sciences’, and dropped the *to* in English verb headwords and the second *s* in German words ending in *-nis(s)*.

In Adler (1902), the explanatory section of entries for nouns, adjectives, and verbs contained a separate part introduced by the abbreviation *Syn.*(onyms). *Schärfen*, for instance, had a *Syn.* part in which one might read: ‘We *schärfen* that which is still blunt and not able to cut; we *wetzen* that which already cuts, but which we wish to cut better; and that which we *schleifen* not only is *schärfer*, but it becomes also smoother and more polished, or acquires the particular form we wish to give it.’ In the English–German section of Adler’s dictionary the *Syn.* part is not present and this indicates that Adler’s dictionary was meant for American users.

Grab’s 164-page pocket dictionary of 1897 boasts of its ‘Thoroughness and Accuracy, by using the best results obtained from the lifelong works of the greatest philologists in German–English, the Grimm Brothers and Noah Webster’. But behind its impressive frontispiece there is a one word–one equivalent dictionary. It contains a few tables with sketches of Buildings, Animals, a Telegraph machine and a Telephone, and so on. Its Chicago publishers, Laird & Lee, claim that their ‘long experience in preparing reference books for the masses has taught [them] the best methods to follow in the construction of standard works for everyday use’. Illustrated dictionaries are popular in German lexicographic production, which has always, in addition, cherished an encyclopedic approach to compiling language dictionaries. Muret and Sanders (1891–1901) is the best-known encyclopedic English and German dictionary, similar in its design to a classical language–modern language dictionary.

Baedeker’s *Conversation Dictionaries* contain bilingual or multilingual lists of words. The German tradition for *Reiseführer* and *Reisewörterbuch* (‘travelling companion book’, ‘globetrotter dictionary’), in bilingual and multilingual editions

with English, is renowned: in 1889, a four-language edition, English, French, German, Italian, was published. Also other publishers offered similar works, but the Baedeker trademark was so famous that in some languages it became a common name for ‘travelling companion book’.

### 5.7.1 *J. G. Flügel* A Complete Dictionary of the English and German Languages (1830)

The most impressive English–German dictionary of the first half of the nineteenth century was that of J. G. Flügel (1830, 1847–56). His prefaces to the first, second, and third editions, plus introduction, are written both in English and in German and displayed in two columns: these are true essays, each of more than fifty pages.

Flügel starts with a criticism of previous dictionaries. In a note (p. vi), he makes a comparison between the number of entries, at letter A, in his dictionary and in other large dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual, such as Hilpert, and shows that his own section contains 5,097 entries, or at least 1,000 more than the others. In total, the dictionary contains 30,000 words more than the (monolingual) Johnson-Todd, including the compounds. He has inserted obsolete terms as far back as Chaucer, and American words and phrases, because ‘the works of the ingenious authors of the new world in our days are read with so much delight but are new and foreign to the German translators’ (p. vii). Flügel, a United States consul, had had close contact over ‘twenty years with English, Scotch and Irish of all classes, a residence of ten years in America’. He had studied the English classics and he made use of nearly one hundred dictionaries.

In the second edition (p. xii), Flügel remarks that he has increased the size of the dictionary by about 5,000 words and 7,000 compound words. A great part of the Preface is devoted to defending his pronunciation guide from the criticism received. We gather from his defence that he was concerned to recommend the ‘right’ model of English pronunciation and about the best way of presenting it. In the preface to the third edition much space is devoted to denouncing the plagiarism of C. A. Feiling and A. Heimann (1841) in ‘adapt[ing for] the English Student’ Flügel’s second edition. Together with his son Felix, Flügel also prepared a shorter *Praktisches Wörterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache* (1839) and in 1891 Felix prepared the completely revised fourth edition, which was to remain in print till 1912.

### 5.7.2 *Elizabeth Weir* (1889) pioneer in meaning discriminations

Elizabeth Weir is one of the few women to lead a lexicographic team in the nineteenth century. She worked in Stuttgart and prepared her ‘handy volume’ for

the publisher Cassell, aiming specifically at English students. She was aware that 'English-German dictionaries, being for the most part compiled by Germans, had not provided for the difficulty which the English student feels when called on to select from some dozen German words the special one which answers to the sense in which the English word is to be used' (p. v). In her remarkably clear *Explanation of method*, she explained that words etymologically related, and having an initial syllable or syllables in common, are grouped under this initial syllable or syllables. In the English-German section of the work 'every new sense in which a word is taken is either preceded by an English synonym bracketed in italics, as *to doom (sentence) verurtheilen, (destine) bestimmen*. Or it is followed by some explanatory word or phrase which, when a completion of the idea of the preceding word, is bracketed in roman type, as *to do, erweisen (kindness)*; when not a completion, in italics, as *to drivel, geifern (as infants)*; in place of a synonym, a word is occasionally preceded by an explanatory clause in italics, as *to drink (of beasts) saufen*' (p.viii). Meaning discrimination through substitution relation, as in *doom/sentence*, or through explanation, e.g. *as infants [do]*, or collocates as in *erweisen-kindness* ('to show kindness') are there and given in English, the mother tongue of the students who are expected to use the dictionary to translate into German.

### 5.7.3 Modern German and English dictionaries

In the second half of the twentieth century, the production of large bilingual dictionaries for English and German consisted of an updated reprinting of Weir's dictionary, completely revised by H. T. Betteridge (1978) in England for Cassell, and of the already mentioned Muret and Sanders (1962-75) by Langenscheidt in Germany. There are also new dictionaries, such as the *Pons-Globalwörterbuch* (1983), the Collins German and English dictionary (1980), Langenscheidt's *Großwörterbuch* (1985), and the Duden-Oxford *Großwörterbuch* (1990).

Publishing houses also offer shorter, concise, and pocket editions. Note, for example, the Bantam *New College German and English Dictionary* (1981), Harrap's *Concise German and English Dictionary* (1982), and the East-German VEB dictionary (1986). As a whole, modern English-German bilingual lexicography has capitalized well on German metalexicographic research, the most developed in the world, but as Pätzold (1991: 2967) has observed: 'Lexicographers . . . will have to make a more thorough analysis of structural differences between German and English.' This requirement still applies in the early twenty-first century.

## 5.8 ENGLISH AND DUTCH

Bilingual dictionaries combining English and Dutch have been, and still are, mainly compiled in the Netherlands for Dutch speakers. In the early nineteenth century, a prominent name was Bomhoff, whose bilingual dictionary (1822) went through five editions. Bomhoff also inaugurated the tradition of Dutch publishers having a series of four dictionaries in their catalogue: a monolingual Dutch title and three bilingual dictionaries for the languages of the neighbouring countries with the greatest number of speakers—English, French, and German. As Claes's bibliography (1980) clearly shows, in the eighteenth century, bilingual dictionaries combining French and Dutch were two times more than those with Dutch and English. In the twentieth century, English–Dutch bilingual dictionaries equal in number those combining French and Dutch.

A number of pocket English–Dutch dictionaries appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century. The well-known dictionary publisher Tauchnitz of Leipzig had printed in 1857 a new pocket dictionary which by the end of the century (1893) was also being sold in London by Hirschfeld Brothers. Of a similar format were Hill's *Vest-Pocket Dictionaries*, and in that series appeared *Hill's Miniature English–Dutch and Dutch–English Dictionary* (1908–09). The *Patriot woordeboek Patriot Dictionary* (1902–04) was the first bilingual dictionary with Afrikaans and English as language pair. Although published anonymously, we know that the editor was S. J. du Toit; it contained only 16,500 headwords but it was significant in its role of promoting 'co-operation between the leading races, English and Dutch, in South Africa', as stated in its preface. In 1908, Elffers and Viljoen had prepared a bilingual dictionary in Capetown, which in 1912 appeared as the anonymous *South African Pocket Dictionary, Dutch–English English–Dutch*, 'in simplified spelling and containing many Cape Dutch words'.<sup>7</sup> Kritzinger's *Woordeboek Afrikaans–Engels Engels–Afrikaans Dictionary*, first published in 1926, reached its fourteenth edition in 1997 with the title of *Groot Woordeboek Major Dictionary* and Bosman *et al.*'s *Bilingual Dictionary English–Afrikaans* (1931) and *Afrikaans–Engels* (1936) had its eighth edition in 1984. As a successor to Bosnam's dictionary, the publishing house Pharos published the new *Pharos Woordeboek Afrikaans–Engels English–Afrikaans* in 2005 (see Gouws 2007).

In the early twentieth century, A. Swaen edited for Harrap a large bilingual work (printed in Holland in 1933). F. Renier prepared in 1949 a compact dictionary for

<sup>7</sup> As Gouws (2007: 316–20) points out, such dictionaries are also an authoritative source of information about Afrikaans.



Routledge, reprinted till 1989. On the back cover it was claimed that the dictionary gave clear indications of the stylistic level of Dutch words and phrases. In the Preface the author emphasized the claim that, 'where possible, formal words and expressions in the one language have been translated by words and expressions used formally in the other. Idioms and colloquialisms have, wherever possible, been translated by idioms and colloquialisms'. Then, in 1952, F. P. H. Prick van Wely edited for Cassell an English–Dutch Dutch–English dictionary of almost 1,400 pages. A compact edition was printed in 1955.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the publisher Van Dale undertook the publication of a number of large monolingual and bilingual dictionaries with an innovative microstructure. The *Van Dale Groot woordenboek Engels–Nederlands*, a volume of almost 1,600 pages edited by W. Martin and G. A. J. Tops, appeared in 1984 and was a 'decoding' (i.e. explanatory) work for Dutch users. The Dutch–English, which appeared later, was an 'encoding' dictionary, also for Dutch users.

The microstructure is so arranged that the translations are at the top of the article, while phraseology comes after a diamond sign, and is then ordered by part of speech. Parts of speech are always assigned the same number: 1 is noun, 2 adjective, 3 verb, 4 pronoun, and so on. Therefore 1.1 is the code which signals a combination of the headword, taken in the first meaning, with a noun (interposed preposition *of* can be ignored); 3.3 means combination of the headword, taken in the third meaning, with a verb; 6.1 is a combination of the headword, taken in the first meaning, with a preposition. Since combinations with a noun are the most frequent for a headword of any part of speech, they come first. Since most headwords are nouns, combination with adjective is the second most frequent, and so on. The symbol ¶ is used in the first position when the relation of the headword is not with a particular part of speech; it is in the second position when the meaning of a combination cannot clearly be attributed to the first, second, etc., meaning. This new organization of the examples and phraseology was considered favourably by metalexigraphers, because it offered a balanced mixture between formal and semantic criteria. In the electronic version linguists can appraise even more the advantages offered by the Van Dale microstructure. This, however, is confined to Van Dale dictionaries of this size: the mainstream of bilingual lexicography favours ordering by meaning and tries to convey possible combinations of the headword by means of a section of collocates kept separate from examples.

Van Dale itself publishes smaller dictionaries with usual microstructures such as M. Hannay's *Van Dale Handwoordenboek Engels–Nederlands*, a work of 988 pages which reached its third edition in 1996. In 2001, Van Dale published also the fourth edition of the *Ster Woordenboek* by N. Osselton and R. Hempelman, a

bilingual dictionary with a traditional meaning-oriented microstructure. Two years later Routledge published it with the title *The New Routledge Dutch Dictionary*.

## 5.9 BILINGUALIZED LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES

Bilingualized learners' dictionaries are learners' dictionaries with English headwords followed by a definition in English (possibly using a restricted defining vocabulary), followed by translation equivalents in another language, usually the mother tongue of the user.<sup>8</sup>

In the tradition of West and Hornby (see Marengo (1998) for a survey of bilingualized versions of Hornby's monolingual dictionaries) users are assumed to understand a definition in English, because it is written in a restricted defining (or at least simplified) vocabulary; therefore they should use the translation provided by bilingualized learners' dictionaries as a confirmation that the definition has been understood. Actually, observational user studies have produced evidence that beginners and intermediate students often do not understand definitions in English and jump straight away to the translation equivalent in order to understand the headword and the definition. This is all the more true when the users' mother tongue does not use the Latin alphabet.

Cowie (1999: 192–7) sums up very clearly the discussion concerning the notion of a progression within a given language-teaching programme from standard bilingual to bilingualized learners' dictionaries to fully-fledged monolingual works. Zöfgen (1991) explains the difference between a bilingualized learners' dictionary and a truly bilingual learners' dictionary and finds in the Russian tradition and in Dubois-Charlier (1980) the best instances of the second type.

The fact that bilingual dictionaries with English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sporadically—or systematically, as Connelly and Higgins did in their four-volume *A New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*

<sup>8</sup> Kernerman (2006) who, as a publisher, has in his catalogue a series of bilingualized learners' dictionaries, calls them semi-bilingual dictionaries because he is comparing the *Oxford Student's Dictionary for Hebrew Speakers* (1986), which provides a separate Hebrew translation of the English headword for each meaning of every entry, sub-entry, derivative, and idiom to the Korean bilingualization (1981) of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, in which all those categories and also examples were translated into Korean. Quemada (1967: 52) was the first to use the term semi-bilingual dictionary, but he referred to vernacular–Latin dictionaries of the sixteenth century in which the headwords in the vernacular–Latin part were not true entries but phrases that interpret Latin words in specific contexts.

(1797–98) (→ CORMIER)—provided definitions in the language of the headwords does not make them bilingualized dictionaries; they provided translations of part of the relevant monolingual dictionaries. Detractors asserted that definitions were provided because their authors could not find the appropriate translation equivalents; admirers praised the fact that the word was explained, giving users the chance to find themselves a good contextual translation in case the suggested equivalents were not suitable. The users who had a poor knowledge of a foreign language could not take advantage of those definitions, since it was not until the twentieth century that restricted defining vocabularies were available.

## 5.10 CONCLUSION

Bilingual dictionaries compiled by English lexicographers in the nineteenth century were not of exceptional quality. Dictionaries combining English and a foreign language were often commissioned by foreign publishers specializing in lexicography, notably Teubner, Brockhaus, and Langenscheidt in Berlin, and Garnier in Paris. More often still, British publishers bought dictionaries produced abroad by local publishers for their respective French, German, or Italian markets—products which were afterwards sold by those same English publishers in their hard covers, though they were not originally intended for English-speaking users.

The situation for dictionaries of the major European languages was rather stagnant in the first part of the twentieth century. The radical shift for bilingual lexicography featuring English with a European language came about as a result of the great success of monolingual learners' dictionaries and, with it, the possibility of access to electronic versions of those dictionaries (→ NESI, Vol. II). Their databases became the starting point of a new generation of bilingual dictionaries. In the beginning, British publishing houses sold the rights to process the lists of headwords and entries of their learners' dictionaries, but then they decided to exploit the expertise accumulated when preparing large bilingual dictionaries—and began to work in co-edition with French, Spanish, and German publishers.

Bilingual dictionaries in the electronic era serve both as a starting point and as a by-product of bi- and multilingual electronic databases, as well as products which with multimedia (audio and video) aspects of an entry will reach larger and younger audiences.

# BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

*Donna M. T. Cr. Farina and George Durman*

## 6.1 EARLY ENGLISH–RUSSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

ENGLISH–Russian lexicography developed over more than four centuries, in conjunction with the gradual increase of commercial and cultural contacts, first between Russia and England, and much later between Russia and the United States. England’s first direct contact was the landing of Richard Chancellor’s ship, the *Bona Fortuna*, on the northern coast of Russia in 1553; Chancellor was immediately invited to appear at the court of Ivan the Terrible (Simmons 1964: 6). The first English translations from Russian began to appear in the sixteenth century. By contrast, the first Russian translation from English, a geometry textbook, did not appear until 1625 (Alekseev 1944: 86).

During the reign of Boris Godunov in the early seventeenth century, young Russians were sent abroad to France, Germany, and England (Ispolatov 1971: 131), but most of them never returned to Russia. Most Russians who learned English or other languages did so through limited contacts with native speakers (often merchants) living in Russia. There still exist so-called *azbukovniki* in manuscript form, compendia written by Russians studying languages, dating from mid-century.

Alekseev (1968: 4) discusses one *azbukovnik* that provides ‘the content of conversations with foreigners, the nature of their interests, and preserves the originality of actual conversation’. In England, similar works are preserved in manuscript form, usually created by English people studying Russian or other languages. They include Mark Ridley’s *A Dictionarie of the vulgar Russe tongue* (1996), considered ‘a valuable source for the spoken language of the sixteenth century’ (Cleminson 1995: 1), and Richard James’s *Dictionariolum Russico–Anglicum* [Russian–English lexicon]<sup>1</sup> of 1618–19 (Larin 1959).

Contacts with England increased during the reign of Peter the Great (1682–1725). Peter visited England in 1698 and returned with around sixty Englishmen from various fields of specialization (Simmons 1964: 57). Words of English origin began to appear in Russian books (Alekseev 1944: 86). Around the same time, the first grammar of Russian for foreigners was published in England. Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf’s *Grammatica Russica* (1696) contains a thematically organized Russian glossary as well as conversational phrases and dialogues, with Latin translations (Alekseev 1982: 45; Cleminson 1995: 2).

Russian–English contacts broadened further in the eighteenth century and the need for reference works grew. Catherine the Great and others wrote of their interest in English culture. In the 1760s, Russian students were sent to study in foreign universities, and they later became ‘professors and scholars, translators, lexicographers and authors of textbooks for the study of English’ (Alekseev 1944: 87–8).

The first English grammar to appear in Russian (1766) was published seventy years after the first Russian grammar was printed in England (Ispolatov 1971: 132 and ff.). The first dictionary in Russia to include English words (1763) was multilingual: *Slovar’ na shesti iazykakh: Rossiiskom, Grecheskom, Latinskome, Frantsuzskom, Nemetskom i Angliskom* [A dictionary in six languages: Russian, Greek, Latin, French, German, and English]. While the title page does not name an author, some attribute it to Grigorii Poletika (Ispolatov 1971: 133). This dictionary was preceded by a variety of works that treated Latin, German, and French with Russian. Its preface identifies the 1696 trilingual dictionary of ‘the famous Mr. Rei’ as its predecessor; this is most likely an English–Latin–Greek dictionary by the distinguished English naturalist John Ray (1627–1705).<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, square brackets are used for: English translations of foreign-language titles, translations of quotations, and parenthetical remarks. In addition, we use square brackets within examples provided from dictionaries to add clarifying information. Most frequently, this additional information is a more precise rendering of a dictionary’s translational equivalents.

<sup>2</sup> Ray’s dictionary, originally *Dictionariolum trilingue: secundum locos communes, nominibus usitatioribus Anglicis, Latinis, Graecis...*, was re-issued under the name *Nomenclator Classicus* in 1696 due to the existence of competing pirate editions from 1692 and 1694 (Cram 1991).

dictionary contains four thousand words and thirty-two themes (Ispolatov 1971: 133–4). Six columns make up a two-page spread, each column containing a different language. Within a single theme, it is not clear how (or whether) the words are organized: while Russian is the first language appearing on each two-page spread, words are not in alphabetical order in Russian or in any of the other languages.

## 6.2 ZHDANOV'S ENGLISH–RUSSIAN DICTIONARIES OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Nine years after the publication of the multilingual dictionary, the first bilingual English–Russian dictionary appeared (1772) as the appendix to an English grammar translated into Russian by Prokhor Zhdanov. This *Anglikaia grammatika* [English grammar] was republished in 1801. In his preface, Zhdanov notes that he has had ‘the honour of having taught English for thirty years to the noble pupils of the Naval Military Academy’ (1801: vi); this institution had fostered the study of English speech in Russia for more than one hundred years (Alekseev 1944: 91). As in the earlier multilingual dictionary, this bilingual work is thematic in structure. Ispolatov (1971: 135) estimates three thousand words and seventy-nine themes, including: ‘Of the World in general/*O svete voobshche*’ (p. 189), ‘Of time/*O vremeni*’ (p. 191), ‘Things made use of for Clothing/*Veshchi upotrebliaemye na plat’e*’ (p. 208), ‘Of Eating/*O pishche*’ (p. 209), ‘Of Drinking/*O pit’e*’ (p. 213). Each page of the dictionary section has two columns, with the English words on the left and Russian equivalents on the right. Usually only one equivalent is provided in each language.

In 1784, Zhdanov published a new bilingual work of 30,000 words, entitled: *A New Dictionary English and Russian/Novoi slovar’ anglikskoi i rossiiskoi*, without numbered pages. In his preface, Zhdanov urges Russians to make an effort to learn English through his dictionary, so that they can translate ‘all the best writing’, which England has in greater abundance than other countries. This dictionary improves upon its predecessors in numerous respects. It is organized in alphabetical order rather than by themes. In addition, it includes grammatical information about English words, such as information about the parts of speech. Nouns are designated as ‘s’ for substantive or *substantivum*, as in ‘s. Affinity (likeness). *skhodstvo, podobie*’. Verbs as well as idioms or expressions containing a verb are labeled ‘v’: ‘v. to quack (as a duck) *Krichat’ po utinomu, kriakat’* [to cry

as a duck, to clack]. The abbreviation ‘p’ is used for prepositions, adverbs, and phrases. This information would not be necessary for a Russian reading English texts, because the form of the Russian equivalent(s) usually makes the part of speech clear.

Zhdanov’s dictionary of 1784 does more than simply list equivalents. For instance, it gives information about register: ‘Gerund (in grammar) *Gerundiia* (*v gram.*), ‘Affirm (in law). *Podtverdit’*’. Each sense of a polysemous word is treated in a separate entry, and English synonyms or other types of explanation in parentheses help to differentiate between senses:

- (1) s. chance (accid.) *Sluchai*.
  - s. chance (fortune) *Shchastie, shchast’e* [happiness].
  - s. chance (event) *Sluchai*.
  - s. chance (hazard) *Shchast’e, udacha* [happiness, luck].

Despite the indication in his preface, Zhdanov’s dictionary goes beyond the decoding function and would help Russian learners to produce English sentences.

### 6.3 ENGLISH–RUSSIAN DICTIONARIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, English/Russian contact grew significantly. Some was indirect: during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762–96), knowledge of English culture was transmitted through French and German translations of English books (Simmons 1964: 82). For example, Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* was first translated into Russian from French in 1762–64 (Simmons 1964: 140; Terras 1991: 119). The number of English teachers, governesses, and nannies in Russia increased; this is recorded in memoirs and travelogues published in Russia and in England, as well as in Russian literature. English merchants in Russia were numerous as well. Nikolai Karamzin (1792) tells how in London he encountered a group of English merchants who had gathered to speak Russian in the coffee house of the stock market; it turned out that they had lived and done business in Saint Petersburg (Alekseev 1982: 182).

Cross (1993: 27; 1997: 394) mentions *A Commercial Dictionary, in the English and Russian Languages with a Full Explanation of the Russia Trade* (1800) as the first publication in England of an English–Russian dictionary. The author, Adam Kroll, a naturalist and a British subject, was originally from Riga,

Latvia. Cross notes (1997: 394) ‘The work promised more than it delivered, offering merely a sixty-page list of English words with their Russian equivalents in would-be phonetic transcriptions.’ Alekseev (1944: 127) says that, until the mid-nineteenth century, there were no dictionaries, grammars, or other reference works published in England for the study of Russian; Americans and the English had to use French and German books instead.

### 6.3.1 *Grammatin and Parenogo’s dictionary*

The publication of the first multi-volume English–Russian dictionary (1808–17) was a significant development in lexicography in Russia. The title page of Volume I is in both Russian and English; the English reads: ‘*A New Dictionary English and Russian, Composed upon the Great Dictionary English and French of M. Robinet, by Nicholas of Grammatin, Candidate of Belles-Lettres at the Imperial University of Moscow.*’ Volumes II–IV add the dictionaries of Johnson and Ebers to that of Robinet as sources for the work. As author, Volumes II–IV credit ‘Michel Parenogo, Counsellor of the Court’. In the preface to Volume I, Grammatin notes:

Precise and complete dictionaries provide one of the first and most essential ways to ease the study of foreign languages . . . . [U]ntil now there has been no other available English dictionary except Zhdanov’s, which in addition to being almost sold out in the stores, is too short and incomplete, and is useful . . . only for those . . . beginning language study.

Grammatin and Parenogo’s dictionary of about 1,400 pages contains around 45,000 entries—by Ispolatov’s count (1971: 138). A comparison with the preceding dictionaries shows that it is a vast improvement. While for the most part Zhdanov gives simple equivalence, in Grammatin–Parenogo many entries contain explanations of

**Table 6.3.1 (i) Nouns from Zhdanov and Grammatin–Parenogo**

<b>Zhdanov (1784)</b>	<b>Grammatin (1807, Vol. I)</b>
s. Abhorrer. <i>Nenavistnik</i> [hater].	Abhorrer, s. <i>kto chuvstvuet uzhas, otrashchenie k komu nibut</i> [someone who feels horror, repulsion towards someone else].
<b>Zhdanov (1784)</b>	<b>Parenogo (1811, Vol. II)</b>
s. Puritan. <i>Sviatosha, strogo nabozhnyi chelovek</i> [sanctimonious person, strictly religious person].	Puritan, s. <i>v Anglinskoi tserkve tak nazyvaetsia sekta, kotoraiia khvalitsia chisteishim zakonom, chistozakonniki, puritane; v in. sm. litsemer, sviatosha, pustosviat, tartiuf</i> [A so-called sect in the English church, which prides itself on its pure rule, people who follow strictly the letter of the law, puritans; in other words, a hypocrite, a sanctimonious person, a vacantly pious person, a Tartuffe].



Table 6.3.1 (ii) Verbs from Zhdanov and Grammatin—Parenogo

Zhdanov (1784)	Grammatin (1807, Vol. I)
v. Abet (to encourage) ing, ed. <i>Pobuzhdat'</i> , <i>obodriat'</i> [to induce (to), to encourage].	Abet, v. a. <i>pooshchrit'</i> , <i>vozbudit'</i> [to encourage, to excite].
v. abet (to back or assist) ing, ed. <i>Pomogat'</i> [to help]	Abet, v. a. (v <i>lurisprud.</i> ) <i>pomogat'</i> , <i>podkrepiat'</i> , <i>vziat' ch'iu-nibud' storonu</i> [(in Jurisprudence) to help, to back, to take someone's side].
v. to Consider, ing, ed. <i>Rassuzhdat'</i> , <i>imet' pochtenie</i> [to reason, to have respect].	Consider, v. a. <i>rassmatrivat'</i> , <i>issledovat'</i> , <i>razmyshliat'</i> , <i>uvazhat'</i> , <i>pochitat'</i> , <i>voznagradit'</i> , <i>udovol'stvovat'</i> [to examine, to investigate, to reflect on, to respect, to honour, to reward, to satisfy].
v. to consider (requite) ing, ed. <i>Nagradit'</i> [to reward].	Consider of, v. n. <i>dumat'</i> , <i>sovetovat'sia</i> , <i>rassuzhdat'</i> [to think, to ask advice of, to reason].

meaning, either alone or in addition to an equivalent (for example, *abhorrer* and *puritan* in Table 6.3.1. (i)). Moreover, Grammatin—Parenogo regularly include multi-word units as part of the entry for one of the words within the unit.

For *abhorrer*, Zhdanov's single-word Russian equivalent does not promote full understanding of the English word: someone who hates is not the same as someone who abhors. The Grammatin—Parenogo entry for *puritan* contains many elements of interest. The explanation of meaning indicates full familiarity with English culture. The use of the abbreviation *v. in. sm.* 'in other words' shows that Grammatin—Parenogo recognized the transferred meaning of *puritan*. Volume II of the dictionary appeared in 1811. The first dictionary citation of Russian *tartiuf* 'Tartuffe' appeared in 1806;<sup>3</sup> so Parenogo uses it in a bilingual dictionary definition only five years later.

While Grammatin—Parenogo's dictionary made improvements in the definition of nouns, both Zhdanov and Grammatin—Parenogo achieve mixed results with English verbs. Zhdanov's system of allocating senses to separate entries seems to be applied less systematically with verbs. For example, as shown in Table 6.3.1 (ii), he assigns two meanings of *abet*—'encourage, induce' and 'assist, help'—to two entries. In the case of *consider*, he includes two distinct meanings—'reason' and 'respect'—under one entry. Then he separates the meaning 'reward'—which is closer to 'respect'—into its own entry.

Grammatin—Parenogo tended to avoid multiple entries for nouns, so that polysemy is not usually distinguished from homography. In the case of verbs, this principle does not seem to apply consistently; for example, *abet* has two

<sup>3</sup> See *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka* [dictionary of modern standard Russian], Vol. XV, 1963, s.v. *tartiuf*.

separate entries in Grammatin. Like Zhdanov, Grammatin separates the meaning ‘encourage’ from ‘help’, but Grammatin restricts the sphere of usage for ‘help’ to jurisprudence. The first Grammatin entry for *consider* is more in line with that dictionary’s treatment of nouns: a full series of equivalents are provided, each separated from the preceding by a comma. While the different meanings within the series are not distinguished, the ordering and progression of equivalents conveys the polysemy; the four main meanings—‘examine’, ‘reflect’, ‘respect’, and ‘reward’—are among the meanings distinguished in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933). Grammatin’s second entry for *consider* distinguishes the intransitive (label: *v.n.*) from the transitive meaning (label: *v.a.*).

### 6.3.2 Banks’s dictionary

The next English–Russian dictionary to appear was the two-volume work of the Englishman James Banks: *A Dictionary of the English and Russian Languages/ Angliisko–russkii slovar’* (1838). Banks was well known as an active member of Moscow’s English community.<sup>4</sup> Banks claims that he ‘received but little assistance from preceding English and Russian dictionaries’, but acknowledges acquaintance with the dictionaries of Zhdanov (‘wholly useless to me’) and Grammatin–Parenogo (‘did not contain all the information required’) (p. ii). More useful to Banks were two French and Russian dictionaries.<sup>5</sup> Press reviews of Banks’s work were extremely favourable; they rated it as far superior to its predecessors and called for swift publication of the Russian–English dictionary which Banks was then preparing (Ispolatov 1971: 139; Alekseev 1944: 117–18).

Three main improvements stand out in Banks. First is the inclusion within the entry of numerous phrases containing the entryword (indicated by a dash) with their translations; for example (Vol. I):

- (2) Giddy, a. *vertlianyi*, *vertoprashnyi* [fidgety, unstable];– brained,– headed, *legkomyslennyi* [frivolous];– head, *verchenaia golova* [flighty head];– paced, *vertkii*, *shatkii* [restless, unreliable];– fellow,– girl, *vertushka* [capricious boy/girl]; she is –, *u neia golova kruzhitsia* [her head is spinning] . . . .

<sup>4</sup> *Chronik der Evangelischen Gemeinden in Moskau* (1876, Bd. II: 136–7, 526), Moscow, as cited by Ispolatov (1971: 139, f. 33) and Alekseev (1944: 117, f. 2).

<sup>5</sup> While Banks does not give full information about the dictionaries he used, he most likely has in mind C. P. Reiff (1835–36). Banks probably used an earlier edition of Oldecop (1841) published in the late 1820s or early 1830s.

Another improvement is the inclusion of as many inflected forms and derivatives as possible; and finally, the very occasional indication of pronunciation; both features are exemplified in the entry for *gill* (Vol. I):

(3) Gill, (*gil'*) (in fish) *zhabra*; pl. *zhabry*, (brook) *ruchei*; a. *zhabernyi*.

Banks provides *zhabr-y*, the plural of the feminine *zhabr-a* '(fish) gill'. The adjective at the end of the entry only refers to the first equivalent, *zhabra*, and not to the second, *ruchei*. The pronunciation immediately following the entry-word was included to distinguish this word from that of the following entry with the same spelling (i.e. homograph) (Vol. I):

(4) Gill (*dzhil'*) (1/4 pint) .078 *shtofa vina* [.078 of a *shtof* or glass of wine], .095 *shtofa piva* [.095 of a *shtof* of beer]; (ground ivy) *budra*; (Juliana) *Iuliana*.

Banks divides the meanings of (3) and (4) solely according to the difference in pronunciation: two meanings ('organ of a fish' and 'brook') appear under the first entry, and three ('unit of measurement', 'ivy', and 'woman's name') under the second. All five meanings are apparently unrelated (*OED*); there is no polysemy. Banks's use of English phrases in parentheses to distinguish meanings recalls the technique used earlier by Zhdanov. Neither Banks nor Zhdanov structured their entries to bring out semantic relationships between equivalents: while Zhdanov divided meanings into separate entries and Banks put everything together, both authors put form (both written and oral) before meaning as an organizing principle.

By including information on inflection and pronunciation, Banks goes beyond what would be necessary for reading English texts, and provides the Russian learner with encoding information for the more active use of English. This tendency in English–Russian lexicography (practised in Russia) began with Zhdanov, as indicated above.

### 6.3.3 *The Aleksandrov Collective's dictionary*

Drawing on the experience of its predecessors, the *Polnyi anglo-russkii slovar'* / *Complete English–Russian Dictionary* was published in 1879, in two parts, under the name of A. Aleksandrov, a pseudonym for a group of Russian and English compilers ('*Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* 1890: Vol. I, 384). According to the authors, an important development in their work was the treatment of pronunciation, influenced by Webster's dictionary (Aleksandrov 1879: v); the 1864 Webster's is probably meant.<sup>6</sup> Pronunciation is conveyed through phonetic

<sup>6</sup> In his preface to *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1930), W. T. Harris mentions (p. v) that the 1847 edition had Chauncey A. Goodrich as editor. In the 1864 revision, Noah Porter was editor-in-chief. The Aleksandrov preface states (p. vi): '... we took as a model ... the most recent edition, revised by three famous philologists, Chonse, Gudrich, and Porter'.

Table 6.3.3 Derivatives of *abandon* in Grammatin, Banks, and Aleksandrov

Grammatin (1811, Vol. I)	Banks (1838, Vol. I)	Aleksandrov (1879, Part I)
Abandoned [not in the dictionary]	Abandoned, a, <i>ostavlennyi</i> , <i>pokinutyi</i> , <i>predannyi</i> [left, forsaken, betrayed]; (dissolute) <i>rasputnyi</i> [depraved].	<b>Abandoned</b> (ä-bän'-don-d), adj. <i>ostavlennyi</i> , <i>pokinutyi</i> [left, forsaken]; – to sottish credulity, <i>rab nelepogo sueverii</i> [a slave to absurd superstition]; – to the wrath of the gods, <i>predmet gneva bogov</i> [an object of the gods' anger]; – wretch <i>ot' iavlennyi negodiai</i> [a complete scoundrel].
Abandoner, s. <i>tot</i> , <i>kotoryi ostavliaet</i> [the person who leaves (someone)].	Abandoner, s. <i>ostavliaiushchii</i> , <i>pokidaiushchii</i> [a person who leaves, forsakes].	<b>Abandoner</b> (ä-bän'-don-er), s. <i>ostavliaiushchii</i> , <i>pokidaiushchii</i> [a person who leaves, forsakes]; – of trust, <i>narushitel' doveriia</i> [a violator of trust].
Abandoning, Abandonment, s. <i>ostavlenie</i> [leaving].	Abandoning, Abandonment, <i>ostavlenie</i> , <i>pokidanie</i> , <i>predannost'</i> , <i>rasputstvo</i> [leaving, forsaking, surrendering, depravity].	<b>Abandoning</b> (ä-bän'-don-ing), s. <i>ostavlenie</i> , <i>zapushchenie</i> [leaving, neglecting]. <b>Abandonment</b> (ä-bän'-don-ment), s. <i>ostavlenie</i> , <i>ustupka</i> [leaving, concession]; <i>odinochestvo</i> [solitude].

transliterations (in the Cyrillic alphabet) of English headwords. In the introduction (p. iv), the authors explain their organization of senses:

To make possible a more complete explanation of meaning of each English word, we tried to establish first the main and most frequently encountered meaning. Next, we moved gradually toward the more remote senses of the word; we indicated those phrases which demonstrate this movement [i.e. from the core meaning to the extended ones]. Likewise, we indicated the shades of meaning which a word gradually acquires. When necessary for increased clarity we brought in examples ... which demonstrate appropriately these various shades of meaning within a single word.

A comparison of related entries in Grammatin, Banks, and Aleksandrov (Table 6.3.3) demonstrates how the Aleksandrov dictionary indicates a word's 'shades of meaning.'

Aleksandrov's entries for *abandoned* and *abandoner* provide more information than Banks's or Grammatin's. Aleksandrov's Russian translations of *abandoned to the wrath of the gods* and *abandoner of trust* are fixed phrases that do capture the meanings of the English expressions; their translation of *abandoned to sottish credulity*, another fixed phrase, comes fairly close to the meaning of the English. The Aleksandrov translation of *abandoned wretch* is accurate but limited, because it displays only one of two possible meanings. In English, *abandoned wretch* can

mean an immoral or dissolute person, as is captured by Aleksandrov's equivalent *ot'iavlennyi negodiai* [complete scoundrel]. But it could also mean a forsaken and miserable person; the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933, s.v. abandoned) has *abandoned woman* as part of phrases under its senses 'forsaken' and 'immoral'. By providing a Russian equivalent with the meaning 'complete scoundrel', the Aleksandrov dictionary illustrates the extended meaning 'immoral' and not the core 'forsaken'. However, this extended meaning is not among the senses listed, so a reader might be left confused.

A unique English–Russian dictionary for its time, the work of V. Butuzov deserves brief mention. Published in 1867, this had the (translated) title: *A dictionary of special words, phrases and locutions in colloquial English and the most frequently used Americanisms, not included in regular dictionaries. A manual for those studying English, for translators and readers of English literary works*. Alekseev (1944: 123) notes both the uniqueness and the timeliness of this work: good English slang dictionaries appeared in England after Butuzov and scholarly work on slang and cant began only in the 1870s and 1880s; after the American Civil War (1861–65), American literature had begun to interest the Russian reading public, and Butuzov's lexicon of Americanisms was available.

## 6.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN–ENGLISH DICTIONARIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Except for the seventeenth-century *azbukovniki* and manuscripts such as that of Richard James from the same era, all of the bilingual works discussed so far have been English–Russian dictionaries. In 1751, a British chaplain, Daniel Dumaresq, complained of a 'Want of . . . any kind of Lexicon where the Russian words stand first' (Cross 1997: 393). The first Russian–English dictionary appeared in Russia in the early nineteenth century. Alekseev (1944: 93, f. 4) cites the two-volume work of Ivan Shishukov, a teacher at the Naval Military Academy (Zhdanov was also a teacher at this academy). This work, published in Saint-Petersburg between 1808 and 1811 under the title *Slovar' rossiisko–angliiski* [Russian–English dictionary], was only completed up to the letter 'R'.

### 6.4.1 Banks's Russian–English dictionary

James Banks's two-volume *Russko–angliiskii slovar'* [Russian–English dictionary], published in 1840, was the companion to his English–Russian dictionary

(1838) discussed above. Banks mentions Shishukov in the preface to his English–Russian work: as with other dictionaries available to him, he notes that it was of ‘little assistance’. It was ‘of less use than it might have been, from the circumstance that only two of the three volumes have ever been published’ (p. ii).

Banks begins his Russian–English dictionary with information on letter sounds, spelling changes in Russian words in various contexts, tables providing information about grammar (singulars and plurals of nouns, adjective endings, declensions, etc.); below, we will see how the tables are used in the entries of the dictionary.

A comparison of entries in Banks’s English–Russian work with those in his Russian–English dictionary reveals some similarities in style of presentation and treatment. In many cases, the treatment of a given word goes no farther than a one-word equivalent. However, this is much more likely to be the case in the Russian–English dictionary than in the better developed English–Russian. It is unusual for more than one English equivalent to be given for a Russian noun entryword, though note: ‘*Izbá, f.* hut, cottage, peasant’s house’ (Vol. I). Verbs in the Russian–English dictionary usually show slightly more development than nouns; for example, *Idítí* ‘to go’ (Vol. I) is treated in an entry that covers almost a full column of a two-column page. More typical verb entries are given below (Vol. I):

- (5) a *Adressovát’, 58, v.* to address, to direct; —*sia*, to address one’s self, to make application, to apply; *p.v.* [passive verb] to be addressed (p. 3).  
 b *Izbavliát’, 60, izbávit’, 65, v.* to deliver, free, set free, exempt; rescue, save; —*sia, r.* to free one’s self, to escape; *p.v.* to be delivered, etc.  
*s. Izbávlennyi* (p. 389).

The numbers appearing in the entries above refer to columns in a table in the front matter; thus each verb is cross-referenced to its full conjugation. One aspect of the treatments shown above can be seen in the ‘reflexive’ forms in —*sia*, such as *adressovát’sia* and *izbavliát’sia* or *izbávit’sia*.

#### 6.4.2 Aleksandrov’s Russian–English dictionary

As already noted, a group of lexicographers published an English–Russian dictionary under the pseudonym A. Aleksandrov in 1879. Under the same pseudonym, *Polnyi russko–angliiskii slovar’/Complete Russian–English Dictionary* was published in two parts (1883 and 1885), with a revised and expanded one-volume edition appearing in 1897. The title page of 1897 states that it ‘is recommended by the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Public Education as a textbook for non-classical secondary schools [i.e. schools that do not teach classical languages, unlike

gymnasiums] and for those educational institutions in which English is taught . . . ? Clearly the authors envisaged a Russian-speaking/English-learning audience.

While Banks capitalized his (Cyrillic alphabet) headwords and used italics for grammatical labels, other labels, and Latin phrases, the Aleksandrov dictionary exploits more fully the possibilities of print to make a variety of lexicographic distinctions. First, headwords appear in bold face and are capitalized, following the same format as Aleksandrov's English–Russian dictionary. As in Banks, grammatical labels are italicized; in addition, Aleksandrov italicizes and puts in parentheses a variety of English-language phrases designed to specify the contexts of a word's use; for example: Russian *poliàrnost'* is defined as 'polarity (*of the magnet*)'; *pomìgivat'*, *pomigàt'* is defined as 'to wink (*the eyes*) a little' (Part II). Finally, Aleksandrov puts illustrative examples in italics, with the headword indicated by a dash. For example, in the entry for Russian *pol* 'sex', the English equivalent 'the fair sex' is given for *prekrasnyi* —.

Just as Banks's English–Russian dictionary had, generally speaking, better developed entries than his Russian–English, so the Aleksandrov Russian–English work is less fully developed than their English–Russian counterpart. Aleksandrov's Russian–English dictionary shows fuller development of entries than Banks's Russian–English, as is seen in Table 6.4.2.

Banks's entry for *izbá* provides equivalents that could be useful to a Russian speaker who is writing in English (encoding). While Russian students are the targeted audience of Aleksandrov's dictionary, it nevertheless contains information for English speakers, such as the diminutive form of *izbá* (*izbùshka*) and the proverb. An English speaker would find Banks's equivalents useful for understanding a Russian text (decoding), but would not be able to perceive the cultural importance of *izbá*. The English saying, in Aleksandrov, *a fine cage does not fill a bird's belly*, is not satisfactory as a translation for the Russian proverb, as it misses entirely the emphasis on hospitality in the Russian original.

For the Russian verb *izbavliat'*/*izbavit'* and the reflexive verb *izbavliat'sia*/*izbavit'sia*, both Banks and Aleksandrov contain similar information and have several equivalents in common. However, each dictionary makes different decisions about sense discrimination. In Banks, 'deliver/free/set free' is distinguished from 'rescue/save' but this distinction is not noted in Aleksandrov; meanwhile, the information provided in Banks does not support his division of meaning. In Aleksandrov, there is a sense 'rid of/disencumber' which is missing in Banks; in addition, Aleksandrov distinguishes a third sense 'to set clear'; these senses likewise are not supported by the contexts provided.

A look at several Russian monolingual dictionaries seems to indicate that neither Banks's nor Aleksandrov's sense distinctions are sound; this is not surprising given

Table 6.4.2 Noun and verb entries from Banks and Aleksandrov<sup>7</sup>

Banks (1840)	Aleksandrov (1883–85)
<i>Izbá</i> , <i>f.</i> hut, cottage, peasant's house.	<i>Izbà</i> , <i>s.f. dim. izbùshka</i> , peasant's house, cottage, cot, hut;    <i>prov. Ne krasna – uglami, a krasna pirogami</i> [literally, a cottage is not beautiful in its corners but in its pies; i.e. the hospitality of its inhabitants, and not a house's appearance, makes it attractive], a fine cage does not fill a bird's belly;    <i>servant's lodging.</i>    – <i>bianò</i> , <i>adj.</i> (1883, Part I).
<i>Izbavliát'</i> , 60, <i>izbàvit'</i> , 65, <i>v.</i> to deliver, free, set free, exempt; rescue, save; – <i>sia</i> , <i>r.</i> to free one's self, to escape; <i>p.v.</i> to be delivered, etc. <i>s. Izbàvlennyi.</i>	<i>Izbavliát'</i> , <i>izbàvit'</i> , <i>v.a.</i> to deliver, release, free, set free from; to rid of, disencumber; to set clear; – <i>vi nas ot lukavogo</i> , deliver us from evil; <i>on –vil menia ot bol'shogo bezpokoistva</i> , he has relieved me from great uneasiness; – <i>v'te ego ot etoi pechali</i> , spare him that grief; – <i>vi Bozhe</i> , God forbid;    – <i>sia</i> , <i>v.r. (ot chego)</i> [(from something)] to free one's self, deliver one's self, from, of; to get rid of; to escape from;    <i>part. p. izbàvlennyi; nikto ne –vlen ot smerti</i> , nobody is exempted from death (1883, Part I).

the probably limited information that these lexicographers had available to them. Ozhegov (1960) and Ozhegov–Shvedova (1993) have a single (paraphrased) sense: 'save, allow to escape from,' and Ushakov (1935, Vol. I) is close to this: 'save, bring about freeing from.' The *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka* [dictionary of modern standard Russian] (1956, Vol. 5) divides the meaning into two senses, similar to Banks: 'help to escape from; save'; however, this distinction is not supported by the numerous contexts, which show the more metaphorical meaning of 'save' rather than a physical escape. Ushakov and the seventeen-volume *Slovar' sovremennogo ...* have an additional meaning that they label as colloquial: 'free; leave alone.' This colloquial meaning appears to be similar to Aleksandrov's 'rid of, disencumber.' No evidence in any of the dictionaries consulted could be found for Aleksandrov's 'to set clear.' In distinguishing (or not distinguishing) the different meanings of the verb *izbavliat'/izbavit'*, Aleksandrov's treatment is superior to Banks, but neither dictionary demonstrates a high level of sophistication.

### 6.4.3 Riola's lexicon

Most of the dictionaries examined so far originated in Russia. While nineteenth-century England saw the publication of a few textbooks or other reference books for learners of Russian (this activity increased in the 1890s), there were no

<sup>7</sup> In Russian, word stress is usually not indicated graphically. Banks and Aleksandrov use grave or acute marks (*izbà/izbá*) to indicate stress for non-native speakers.



dictionaries to speak of. Noteworthy among the reference books were those by Henry Riola, a teacher of Russian in England who was educated in a gymnasium in Taganrog, Russia (Aleksseev and Levin 1994: 66). Riola's 1878 *How to Learn Russian: A Manual for Students of Russian*, and its companion volume *Key to the Exercises of the Manual for Students of Russian* (1878) received favourable critical notice.<sup>8</sup> Riola's *Manual* and *Key* did not contain a lexicon, but there is one in his *Graduated Russian Reader, with a Vocabulary of all the Russian Words Contained in It* (1880). In this 113-page, two-column Russian–English lexicon, several single-word equivalents are listed for each entryword. A few interesting verb entries are worth examination:

- (6) a *Motat'*, *va.* to wind, reel, shake, squander, spend.  
 b *Podtibrivat'*, *-tibrít'*, *va. fam.* to swindle, juggle away.  
 c *Podkhodít'*, *podoiti*, *vn.* to come, approach, resemble.

In his Preface (p. iv), Riola emphasizes that his lexicon only includes word meanings that are relevant to the *Reader's* texts; it is not meant to be a complete dictionary. Riola does not distinguish between different meanings represented by his equivalents, so that the basic meaning of the verb *motat'* 'to wind, reel' is not separated from the extended meaning 'squander, spend'. The same is true of the two meanings of *podkhodít'*: 'to come, approach' and 'resemble'. To facilitate an understanding of the *Reader's* texts, Riola includes very few colloquial words with the label *fam.* 'familiar', such as *podtibrivat'*. It could be that Riola consulted the earlier, 1879 edition of Aleksandrov for *podtibrivat'*; Aleksandrov (1897) has 'to cheat, dupe, rob; to swindle, juggle away'.

## 6.5 DICTIONARIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY—A BRIEF SURVEY

### 6.5.1 *The dictionaries of Müller and Miller*

The twentieth century saw the publication of numerous important general English–Russian and Russian–English dictionaries in the then Soviet Union, England, and the United States. In addition, many specialized dictionaries were published,

<sup>8</sup> The journal *Vestnik Evropy* [European herald] (1878: 398–9) quotes William Ralston (from the preface to the *Manual*) on the growing interest in the Russian language in England. Ralston (1828–89) was a librarian at the British Museum who became a well-known promoter of Russian literature and language in England (Aleksseev and Levin 1994: 8).

covering fields such as engineering and computer science. Another well-represented type of specialized dictionary is the phraseological dictionary, some of which are intended as learners' dictionaries (see Kunin 1967). Russian–English dictionaries became increasingly necessary as relations between Russia and English-speaking countries developed, while at the same time greater sophistication in lexicographic theory moved dictionaries towards comprehensive descriptive records of the Russian and English linguistic systems. While twentieth-century dictionaries are too numerous to discuss in the present context, some important general works will be mentioned, including some that have theoretical significance.<sup>9</sup>

In the early twentieth century, political alliances and hostilities provided the impetus for the further development of English–Russian lexicography. The years of the First World War (1914–18) saw an increase in the number of Russian reference books published in England, although British and American collective knowledge of the Russian language remained far behind if compared—in the number of books alone—to Russian knowledge of, and interest in, English (Alekseev 1944: 135–7). As might be expected, many of the English–Russian bilingual dictionaries of the twentieth century became 'standards' that, with changed titles and/or authors, spanned many editions. As we turn first to discuss English–Russian dictionaries, we must mention the name of V. K. Müller, whose dictionary was attributed initially to Müller and Boyanus (1928). Another well-known name is that of A. D. Miller. While his dictionary was originally attributed to Miller and Mirskii (1936), for political reasons it later became Miller and Ozerskaia (1937).<sup>10</sup> Miller–Mirskii provide interesting information about Müller–Boyanus in their preface. They declare that, although their own work was based on the earlier publication, they observe strict alphabetical order and avoid many of the errors of the preceding dictionary, errors which were often due to an over-reliance on a single source, the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*. In addition, Miller–Mirskii (1936) claim fuller coverage of the American–English lexicon, something that was clearly becoming a desirable feature.

In his turn, Müller credits Miller in the preface of his second edition (1946: 4) with having reviewed the entire manuscript prior to publication. This edition of Müller includes many items not in the first (1943)—terminology that appeared

<sup>9</sup> There are numerous twentieth-century dictionaries that are not included in our discussion. Among these are: Apresian *et al.* (1979), Kunin (1967), and Wilson (1982). Many of these depart from the usual expectations of bilingual dictionaries; their insights most likely have informed the more standard works.

<sup>10</sup> Dmitrii Petrovich Sviatopolk-Mirskii (1890–1939) was a famous Russian literary scholar. In 1920, he emigrated to London but repatriated to the USSR in 1932. He was arrested in 1937 and died a prisoner in the Far East. His name was deleted as joint editor of the dictionary after the edition of 1936 (Smith, 1989: 13, 29); the 1937 edition lists as authors Miller and Ozerskaia.

during the Second World War, and American expressions that ‘are more and more solidly rooted in the English language’. By the seventh edition (1960), although Müller’s name remained on the title page, the dictionary’s preface tells us that it was revised by an editorial board of three; we are also informed of the switch from a historical ordering of senses to one that lists general meanings before more specialized ones (1960: 5). The seventh edition includes many new entries (an increase from approximately 60,000 to 70,000 words) as well as ‘revisions of old ones, by means of greater differentiation in the meaning of individual words, along with an increase in illustrative material and phraseology’. In Table 6.5.1, some examples of Americanisms will enable us to make a comparison of the 1946 and 1960 editions of Müller.

By the seventh edition, the dictionary has certainly developed a more uniform structure. In the entry for *date*, the label *razg.* (*razgovornyi* ‘colloquial’) is used once at the beginning of meaning 3 and is meant to apply to the entire meaning; the same label appears twice in the earlier work. In the later work, the micro-structure leads us to understand that the expression *to make a date* has two labels, ‘colloquial’ and ‘American’. The expression *blind date*, labelled ‘American slang’ in both dictionaries, is moved in the later edition to the headword *blind*, where it retains the same label. For the entry *rattle*, the seventh edition changes the label

Table 6.5.1 American items from two editions of Müller

Müller (1946, 2nd ed.)	Müller (1960, 7th ed.)
<p><i>date</i> ... I <u>n</u> ... 3. <i>amer. razg.</i> [American colloquial] <i>svídanie</i>; blind d. <i>amer. sl.</i> [American slang] <i>svídanie s neznakómym chelovékom</i> [a meeting with an unfamiliar person]; to have (got), to make a d. <i>amer. razg. poluchít' priglashénie</i> [to receive an invitation]</p> <p><i>rattle</i> ... I <u>v</u> ... 4. <i>amer. razg. smushchát'</i> [to embarrass], <i>volnovát'</i> [to agitate], <i>pugát'</i> [to scare]</p> <p><i>windshield</i> ... <i>amer.</i> = windscreen</p>	<p><i>blind</i> ... 1. ... ~ <i>date amer. sl. svídanie s neznakómym chelovékom</i> [a meeting with an unfamiliar person]</p> <p><i>date</i> I ... 1. <u>n</u> ... 3). <i>razg.</i> [colloquial] <i>svídanie</i>; I have got a ~ <i>u meniá svídanie</i>; to make a ~ <i>amer. naznáchít' svídanie</i> [to set up a meeting]</p> <p><i>rattle</i> ... 2. <u>v</u> ... 6) <i>razg. smushchát'</i> [to embarrass], <i>volnovát'</i> [to agitate], <i>pugát'</i> [to scare]; to get ~ d <i>teriát' spokóistvie</i> [to lose composure], <i>nérvnichat'</i> [to be nervous]</p> <p><i>windshield</i> ... <i>amer.</i> 1) = windscreen 1); 2) <i>attr.:</i> ~ <i>wiper avt.</i> [auto] <i>stekloochistítel' vetróvogo steklá</i> [glass cleaner of the front glass], «<i>dvórník</i>» [‘street sweeper’]</p>

from ‘American colloquial’ to just ‘colloquial’. Müller’s later entry for *windshield* is more fully developed than in the earlier work; especially welcome is the inclusion of the Russian colloquial term *dvórník* [literally, caretaker or street sweeper] in the meaning ‘windshield wiper’. The principles governing the seventh edition of Müller were used in subsequent editions into at least the late 1970s. The seventeenth edition (1978) has some interesting remarks about its decisions to delete or add material. Since Gal’perin’s two-volume English–Russian dictionary had appeared in 1972 (see below) and included special terminology, archaic words, and archaic senses of words, these could now be omitted from Müller in favour of new socio-political words, new words from everyday life, and new words from English, American, Australian, and Canadian literature of the previous fifteen years (Müller 1978: 5). ‘New’ editions of Müller continue to appear to the present day.<sup>11</sup>

### 6.5.2 *The dictionaries of Gal’perin and Apresian–Mednikova*

Another landmark in English–Russian lexicography is the dictionary of I. R. Gal’perin, which first appeared in 1972. The publisher’s note underscores the claim that ‘This is the first time . . . a two-volume English–Russian dictionary has been published in the USSR’ (1977: 7); however, Banks and Aleksandrov had published two-volume dictionaries in Russia. Gal’perin’s long introduction is less significant for any of the specific decisions about what (or what not) to include in the dictionary, and very significant for the character of the discussion overall. In a tone completely different from that of Müller, Gal’perin discusses the dictionary as a *linguistic* work. Words are classified using style or usage labels (such as archaic, nonce, neologism, etc.) and decisions about how to treat them were made on that basis. For example, concerning neologisms he writes: ‘A bilingual dictionary should be more up-to-date than a defining [i.e. monolingual] dictionary since it is destined to serve in direct communication and hence cannot aspire to set down standards [norms] accepted in the language’ (pp. 11, 21). In his use of the term *linguistic*, Gal’perin is most likely indicating efforts to address the lexicon in a more scientific manner than was done in previous dictionaries. Certainly, his entries are more tightly structured and dense in information. In his comments about the inclusion of more neologisms, Gal’perin is addressing, and to some extent departing from, the lexicographic traditions of his country.

<sup>11</sup> The title of Müller’s dictionary remained the same through at least the twentieth edition (1990). Then, the word *modern* [*novyi* ‘new’] was added (e.g. Müller 1994). The twenty-first century has seen another name change, to *complete* [*bol’shoi* ‘large’] (e.g. Müller 2004).

Soviet monolingual lexicography adopted a conservative approach to the inclusion of neologisms. Until a new word or new sense of an existing word was considered to have become part of the standard language, it was unlikely to be included in monolingual dictionaries. Gal'perin is justifying including more neologisms by saying that communication in the foreign language would be hindered if they were left out. Gal'perin's dictionary is noteworthy for the copiousness of its equivalents, whether translational or explanatory.<sup>12</sup> It certainly provided translators with a tool that was superior to any previously available in an English—Russian dictionary. Gal'perin states:

In a number of cases several possible variants have been given . . . . As a result, some of the entries have been considerably lengthened, but we firmly believe that variants will be very useful . . . . Translation variants sometimes disclose the potentialities of a word more profoundly than a mere listing of customary combinations might (pp. 19, 28).

The entries below from Gal'perin (1977) give some understanding of the richness of his work, as well as affording a comparison with Müller (above):

- (7) **blind II** . . . , ~ date *amer.* a) *svidánie s neznakómym chelovékom* [a meeting with an unfamiliar person] b) *neznakómyi chelovék, s kotórym predstaít vstrécha* [an unfamiliar person with whom a meeting is set]
- (8) **date**<sup>2</sup> I . . . *n amer. razg.* [American colloquial] 1) *svidánie, vstrécha* [appointment, meeting]; to make a ~ with smb. *naznáchit' svidánie s kem-l.* [to set a meeting with someone]; I have (got) a ~ with him *u meniá s nim svidánie*; 2) *chelovék, s kotórym naznácheno svidánie* [a person with whom a meeting is arranged]
- (9) **rattle II** . . . 4. *razg. vzvolnovát'* [to disturb], *smutít'* [to embarrass]; *vývesti iz sebiá* [to drive out of one's mind]; *ispugát'* [to scare], *pripugnút'* [to intimidate]; *oshelomít'* [to stun]; to get ~ d *perepugát'sia* [to become frightened]; *smutít'sia* [to get embarrassed]; *výiti iz sebiá* [to lose one's temper], *poteríat' samoobladánie* [to lose self-control]; don't get ~ d! *spokóinee!* [be calm!]; *ne volnúites'!* [don't worry!]; the interruptions rather ~ d the speaker *vózglasy s mest nés-kol'ko smutíli orátora* [the cries from the audience slightly disturbed the speaker]; the team were ~ d by their opponents' tactics *kománda bylá sbíta s tólku táktikoi svoikh protivnikov* [the team was confused by the tactics of their opponents]

*Blind date* is given two meanings in Gal'perin (the meeting itself, or the person whom one meets) compared to one in Müller. The entry for *rattle* provides

<sup>12</sup> For discussions of translational equivalents versus explanations of meaning, cf. Zgusta (1987) and Farina (1996).

numerous translation equivalents as well as equivalents for expressions such as *don't get rattled*.

Apresian and Mednikova (1993) is the revision and expansion into three volumes of the two-volume Gal'perin dictionary. In the introductory article (1993: 8)—and in words that echo James Murray's—Apresian defines what he means by the central lexicon (the standard language) and the peripheral lexicon (e.g. technical vocabulary, neologisms, archaic words, slang, etc.) of a language. He considers a dictionary as a momentary snapshot of a constantly changing language; to obtain a true likeness of the language in the static snapshot, the lexicographer must focus on the core of the language and the interrelationships of the core and the various layers of the periphery. Apresian mentions (p. 12) that, by some estimates, *Webster's Third* (Gove 1961) contains up to forty per cent technical terminology (peripheral language); among bilingual dictionaries, he considers Harrap's as having the same flaw, with more illustrative examples given for peripheral vocabulary than for core meanings. In contrast, Apresian places his dictionary in the indigenous Russian tradition of 'explanatory' (*tolkovaia*) lexicography; the goal is to present 'a more balanced picture of the interrelations between the central and peripheral lexicon'.

Apresian and Mednikova (1993) deserves an article (or book) of its own. In the present context, one example (compared with corresponding entries from Gal'perin and Müller) will suffice to give a taste of how Apresian's principles are reflected within an entry.

It is clear that each dictionary builds on the work of its predecessor. All three works distinguish the two main meanings of *putrid* that were also documented in Grammatin–Parenogo and Banks in the nineteenth century: 'rotten' and 'smelly'. In addition, they cover the metaphorical meaning 'depraved' that was not treated

**Table 6.5.2** *Putrid* in three dictionaries

Müller (1960, 7th ed.)	Gal'perin (1977)	Apresian–Mednikova (1993)
<p>putrid... 1) <i>gnilói</i> [rotten]; 2) <i>voníúchii</i> [stinking]; 3) <i>ispórchennyi</i> [depraved]; 4) <i>sl.</i> [slang] <i>otvratítel'nyi</i> [disgusting]; , ~ fever <i>ust.</i> [archaic] <i>sypnói tif</i> [typhus]</p>	<p>putrid... 1. 1) <i>gnílostnyi</i>; 2) <i>gníloi</i> [rotten]; 2. <i>voníúchii</i> [stinking]; 3. <i>ispórchennyi</i>, <i>izvrashchěnnii</i> [depraved, perverted]; 4. <i>razg.</i> [colloquial] <i>otvratítel'nyi</i> [disgusting]; ~ weather <i>otvratítel'naia pogóda</i> [terrible weather]; , ~ fever <i>sypnói tif</i> [typhus]</p>	<p>putrid... 1. 1) <i>gnílostnyi</i> 2) <i>gníloi</i> [rotten] 2. <i>voníúchii</i> [stinking] 3. 1) <i>ispórchennyi</i>, <i>izvrashchěnnii</i> [depraved, perverted] 2) <i>naskvóz' prodázhnyi</i> [completely mercenary] 4. <i>razg.</i> [colloquial] <i>otvratítel'nyi</i> [disgusting]; ~ weather <i>otvratítel'naia pogóda</i> 5. <i>med.</i> [medical] <i>putridnyi</i>, <i>gnílostnyi</i>; <i>gníúshchii</i> [rotting]; <i>raspadáúshchiisia</i> [decomposing]</p>

in the eighteenth-century Zhdanov or in Grammatin–Parenogo. In Banks, it is not clear whether he meant to include the meaning ‘depraved’ or a fourth meaning, ‘disgusting, unpleasant’. But in the three twentieth-century dictionaries, all four meanings are included and clearly distinguished. Gal’perin’s work introduces more equivalents and phrases that could be helpful to the professional translator of English texts. And Apresian–Mednikova do capture the interplay between the core and the periphery in the organization of their entry, with the expressions requiring labels such as *medical* (the peripheral lexicon) appearing at the end of the entry. Apresian–Mednikova’s inclusion of the equivalents from medical terminology are particularly interesting: the equivalent *putridnyi* shows how the Russian language has used borrowing to develop its terminological vocabulary. As was previously mentioned, borrowing from the English language began in the late 1600s when specialists from England arrived in Russia.

### 6.5.3 Falla’s dictionary

Falla (1984), published in Britain, is an English–Russian dictionary based on the work of Russian native speakers as well as on Gal’perin’s dictionary and *Supplement* (Gal’perin 1980). The introduction (1984: vii) states that the dictionary ‘is intended to reflect the general and colloquial vocabulary of present-day English (including the better-known Americanisms)’. While ‘copious examples’ are included, some scientific and technical terminology has been excluded. The size of Falla’s one-volume dictionary (90,000 words) means that it is of necessity very different in character from Gal’perin (150,000 words) or Apresian–Mednikova (250,000 words). Apart from differences in entry size, there are differences in the type of information included, since Falla is intended for use mostly by English native speakers. Below are some examples from Falla:

- (10) **blind** ... *adj.* ... 2. ... a ~ date (*Am. coll.*) *svidanie s neznakómym/neznakómoi* [a social meeting with an unfamiliar (male/female) person].
- (11) **date**<sup>2</sup> *n.* ... 3. (*coll., appointment*) *svidanie* ... *v.t.* ... 3. (*coll., make appointment with*) *nazn|achát’, -áhit’ svidanie + d. or s + i.*
- (12) **putrid** *adj.* (*decomposed*) *gnilói;* (*coll., unpleasant*) *otvratitel’nyi.*
- (13) **rattle** ... *v.t.* ... 2. (*coll., agitate*): he is not easily ~ *d egó nelegkó vývesti iz ravnovésia.*

The entries for *blind* (containing *blind date*) and *date* have information that would be unnecessary for a Russian speaker but is extremely useful for an English speaker. The inclusion of the equivalent *svidanie s neznakómym/neznakómoi*

[social meeting with an unfamiliar male/female] for *blind date* assists the learner of Russian in using the instrumental case correctly—in both masculine and feminine. Likewise, the equivalent of the transitive verb *date* indicates that it can be used with no preposition and a dative object following, or else with the Russian preposition *s* followed by an instrumental object. The most useful feature of the dictionary is the inclusion of English synonyms for each possible meaning of the entryword, synonyms which provide the key to the exact meaning of a given Russian equivalent. So, while an English speaker might know that English *putrid* can mean ‘rotten, smelly, depraved’, or ‘disgusting’, he or she may not know which of the four meanings is closest to *gnilói*. The inclusion of the synonym *decomposed* provides the necessary key.<sup>13</sup>

#### 6.5.4 Katzner’s dictionary

In the same year that Falla’s dictionary was published, the first American effort, a combined Russian–English and English–Russian dictionary, appeared in one volume (Katzner 1984). Piotrowski (1988: 127) gives a rough estimate of 65,000 words for both halves together, putting Katzner’s work closer in size to Müller or Falla than to Gal’perin or Apresian–Mednikova. In his preface, Katzner discussed what was most important to him: the fact that the ‘two halves of the dictionary mirror each other exactly’ (p. v). All of the Russian words used as equivalents in the English–Russian part of the dictionary have their own entry on the Russian–English side, and vice versa. Katzner looked at his work as a unified whole (L. 2003) and compared it with later editions of Oxford Russian dictionaries (e.g. 1995) that combined the English–Russian component of Falla with a Russian–English component that had appeared earlier as a separate edition (Wheeler and Unbegaun 1972; see below). The entries below, if compared to those above from other dictionaries, demonstrate the originality of Katzner’s work:

- (14) **blind** [no information on *blind date*]
- (15) **date** *n.* ... 4. (social engagement) *svidánie*: go out on dates. *khodít’ na svidániia*. ... —*v.t.* ... 2. (see socially) *vstrechát’siia s*.
- (16) **putrid** *adj.* 1. (rotten) *gnilói*. 2. (stinking) *voníúchii*.
- (17) **rattle** ... —*v.t.* ... 2. *colloq.* (fluster) *sbivát’ s tólku* [to knock (one’s) sense away]. *Get rattled*, (*ras*)*teriát’sia* [to get lost; lose one’s head].

<sup>13</sup> See Piotrowski (1988: 136–7).



Since Katzner is describing American English, he can do without the ‘American’ label; he also finds it unnecessary to include *blind date*. His entry for *putrid* includes only the two core meanings of the word; notably absent is the meaning ‘disgusting’ (*otvratitel’nyi*), which is more British than American. The most unique treatment is under *rattle*; the expressions Katzner chose are apt and missing from the copious material of Gal’perin.

Our discussion of Katzner’s combined English–Russian and Russian–English dictionary provides a bridge to a broader discussion of the twentieth-century beginnings of Russian–English lexicography. As could be guessed from the pattern of English–Russian dictionaries, the activity begins within Russia/the Soviet Union and only moves to Britain and the United States later in the twentieth century. Müller–Boyanus, whose English–Russian dictionary appeared in 1928, published a Russian–English dictionary in 1930. While, according to the authors (1935), the dictionary was primarily intended for a Russian audience, nevertheless they believed it could serve an English-speaking public as well, because of its inclusion of Soviet expressions. The authors discuss their use of descriptions (i.e. explanatory equivalents or explanations of meaning) in place of or in addition to (English) translational equivalents, in cases where a good equivalent for a Russian word does not exist. This, they say, is particularly problematic in the case of political words such as:

- (18) *edinonachálie* one-man management, management on unitary responsibility (in the USSR). (c. 344)
- (19) *militsonér* militiaman; ‘~ *tsia* militia (civil force in the USSR responsible for maintaining public order). (c. 616)

Inclusion in the entries above of explanations can be understood as a solely linguistic concern by Müller–Boyanus to translate ‘culture-bound words’ (Zgusta 1971: 324). It is nevertheless true that Soviet lexicographers had other, non-linguistic concerns about transmitting the reality of Soviet life to the West through dictionaries. It is fair to say that lexicographers of the Soviet period were painfully aware of the consequences of erring politically in dictionaries. While perhaps Russian monolingual lexicography suffered the most from this Soviet sword of Damocles (cf. Farina 1992, 2001a, 2001b), it is evident in bilingual lexicography as well. Our discussion of the dictionaries below will make this clear.

### 6.5.5 *The dictionaries of Smirnitskii–Akhmanova and Wheeler–Unbegaun*

First appearing in 1948 and going through numerous editions, the dictionary of Smirnitskii and Akhmanova is significant because of the authors’ adherence to the lexicographic theories of L. V. Shcherba, ‘who so strongly advocated the principle of

the absolute predominance of the translational equivalent ... that he was originally disinclined to admit any explanation whatsoever in his dictionaries' (Zgusta 1987: 13). Two examples from Smirnitskii–Akhmanova (1975) demonstrate this principle at work; all of the explanatory information that was contained in Müller–Boyanus (see above) has been removed, despite the fact that translational equivalents alone do not permit an understanding of the meanings of the headwords:

(20) *edinonachálie* óne-mán manage|ment.

(21) *militisionér* militia|man\*.

In 1972, the first edition of the Russian–English dictionary of Wheeler and Unbegaun was published in England. In physical size, it is comparable to Smirnitskii–Akhmanova, whose 1958 (third) edition is among the dictionaries acknowledged as its sources. The preface to Wheeler–Unbegaun indicates that, while its purpose is to present 'translations, not definitions', it admits to the need for explanation, particularly in cases 'of words denoting specifically Russian or Soviet concepts' (p. x). The Russian–English half of Katzner (1984), while smaller in size than the other two dictionaries, can stand in comparison with them due to its innovative character. Below, the treatment of 'culture-bound' words is compared in Smirnitskii–Akhmanova, Wheeler–Unbegaun, and Katzner:

**Table 6.5.5** Treatment of 'culture-bound' words in three dictionaries

Smirnitskii–Akhmanova (1975)	Wheeler–Unbegaun (1972)	Katzner (1984)
<i>bespartiin</i>  yi 1. <i>pril.</i> nón-Pártý ( <i>attr.</i> ); ~ <i>bol'shevik</i> nón-Pártý Bólshhevik; 2. <i>Kak sushch.</i> <i>m.</i> nón-Pártý man*; <i>zh.</i> nón-Pártý wóman* ...; <i>mn.</i> nón-Pártý people....	<i>bespartiin</i>  yi, <i>adj.</i> non-party; <i>as noun b.</i> , ~ <i>ogo</i> , <i>m.</i> , and ~ <i>aia</i> , ~ <i>oi</i> , <i>f.</i> non-party man, woman.	<i>bespartiinyi</i> , <i>adj.</i> non-party. – <i>n.</i> person not a member of the party.
<i>dách</i>  a    <i>zh.</i> 1. ( <i>zagorodnyi dom</i> [house outside the city]) còttage (in the còuntry) ... , còuntry-còttage ...; ( <i>letniaia tzh.</i> [summer also]) sùmmer còttage; <i>snimát'</i> ~ <i>y</i> rent a sùmmer còttage; <i>zhit' na</i> ~ <i>e</i> [live in a <i>dacha</i> ] live in the còuntry ...; <i>ékhat' na</i> ~ <i>y</i> [go to one's <i>dacha</i> ] go to the còuntry.	<i>dách</i>  a <sup>2</sup> , <i>i</i> , <i>f.</i> 1. <i>dacha</i> ( <i>holiday cottage in the còuntry in environs of city or large town</i> ). 2. <i>byt' na</i> ~ <i>e</i> [to be at one's <i>dacha</i> ] to be in the còuntry; <i>poékhat' na</i> ~ <i>y</i> [to go to one's <i>dacha</i> ] to go to the còuntry.	<i>dácha</i> <i>n.</i> 1. còuntry house; summer còttage; <i>dacha</i> 2. the còuntry: <i>zhit' na dáche</i> , to live in the còuntry....
<i>stukách</i> [not in the dictionary]	<i>stukách</i> , <i>á</i> , <i>m.</i> ( <i>sl.</i> ) knocker (= informer).	<i>stukách</i> [ <i>gen.</i> – <i>kachá</i> ] <i>n. colloq.</i> informer; stool pigeon.

The adjective and noun *bespartiinyi* [literally, without party] describes a reality of the Soviet era that was foreign to the West. Someone who was *bespartiinyi* had not joined the only available political party, the Communist Party. This could either be by choice or because the person anticipated rejection or had been rejected. Wheeler–Unbegaun do not capture this with their equivalents. Smirnitskii–Akhmanova do better in a subtle manner. Their strict reliance on the translational principle allows them to avoid explaining what the word means, while their use of capitalization gives a hint that the Party being spoken of is not just any party. Katzner’s explanation is somewhat more useful than the strict equivalence in the other dictionaries; however, his inclusion of the definite article *the* (‘not a member of *the* party’) seems an unnecessarily vague approach to the politics of this culture-bound word.

In the case of Russian *dacha*, Smirnitskii–Akhmanova and Wheeler–Unbegaun include explanations in addition to equivalents, and both manage more or less to capture the meaning: a *dacha* is located on the outskirts of cities, and people usually visit it in the summer to escape city life. Wheeler–Unbegaun omit the summer association; in addition, their inclusion of the word *holiday* (with its connotation of infrequent, special occasions) in the explanation seems overly restrictive. Katzner’s treatment is the most succinct and the most satisfying of the three: he manages in fewer words to say almost everything that the other two dictionaries do. He does, however, miss specifying the location of the *dacha* near a city.

Our final word, *stukach*, is one that could not have appeared in a Russian-made dictionary of the Soviet era, such as Smirnitskii–Akhmanova. A post-Soviet edition of the one-volume monolingual Ozhegov dictionary (Ozhegov and Shvedova 1993) gives the following definition: ‘(prost prezr.) *To zhe, chto donoschik* [(popular speech, contemptuous) the same thing as an informer]. Wheeler–Unbegaun give the literal meaning, ‘knocker’, which is not useful at all as an insertable translational equivalent. Katzner gives the standard-language meaning ‘informer’ (Ozhegov–Shvedova’s *donoschik*) and then hits on an insertable expression, ‘stool pigeon’, which is at a similar stylistic level to *stukach*.

Taken as a whole, Russian–English lexicography of the twentieth century produced dictionaries based on well developed linguistic and lexicographic theories, with more uniform organization and presentation, and with more information for the user. It is not clear what to expect for this new century. The changes in world politics mean a decreased importance for the Russian language, just at the moment when Russian lexicographers are able to practise their craft with a lessening of the censorship that interferes with lexicographic technique. It is to be hoped that real revision (rather than stereotyped republications) of Russian–English dictionaries will continue in both the Russian- and the English-speaking world.

PART II

THE HISTORY OF  
ENGLISH  
MONOLINGUAL  
DICTIONARIES

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THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE ENGLISH  
MONOLINGUAL  
DICTIONARY  
(SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

*N. E. Osselton*

7.1 INTRODUCTION

FROM the first beginnings in 1604 it took one and a half centuries for the monolingual dictionary of English to evolve as a new, distinctive type of reference work, stable in contents, more or less settled in methodology, and such that the modern reader might have felt quite at home in using it.

Three stages in this development may be discerned: in the *hard-word dictionaries* of the first half of the seventeenth century the focus was almost entirely on the learned vocabulary of English; the *encyclopedic dictionaries* of the later seventeenth century were agreeably readable reference books with names treated equally alongside words; finally, the so-called *universal dictionary* in the early years of the eighteenth century was more narrowly linguistic, generally cutting out extraneous matter and with the aim of including all the words of the language, even the simplest ones.

## 7.2 THE HARD-WORD DICTIONARY

Alphabetical (or partially alphabetical) lists of English words had been drawn up for various purposes before Cawdrey compiled the first monolingual dictionary of difficult words in general use. As early as the fifteenth century, manuscripts of the *Promptorium parvulorum* had circulated with some 12,000 English words and their Latin equivalents (Stein 1985: 91–106). Learners of French in the sixteenth century could find extensive ‘tables’ of English words and their meanings in Palsgrave’s *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse*—tables which the author rather grandly claimed would contain ‘all the wordes in our tong’ (Stein 1997: 125). Schoolboy English–Latin dictionaries were popular from the mid-sixteenth century, and Huloet’s *Abcedarium anglico-latinum pro tyrunculis* (1552) was the first to range the words for each letter in one continuous alphabetical list, rather than in separate clusters for nouns, adjectives, etc. (Starnes 1954: 147–66). For the schoolroom there were also alphabetical lists of English words intended solely for the purpose of helping with the spelling—later always to be one of the commonest look-up purposes of the monolingual dictionary; Richard Mulcaster in his *Elementarie* (1582) has for instance a fine 56-page four-column list of undefined English words from *abaie* to *zealousnesse* ‘for the right writing of our English tung’.

The emergence of the first English dictionary proper—a separate book solely for English words with English explanations—is however perhaps most usefully to be seen as a logical development from yet another type of alphabetical listing. With the more widespread habit of printing scholarly works in the vernacular (rather than in Latin) a need had arisen to add a short glossary to your book to help less able readers with the new (or newish) words that were now needed. For the sixteenth century alone Schäfer (1989) has listed more than seventy such glossaries from English books on architecture, heraldry, mathematics, medicine, theology, etc. Alongside purely technical terms (*chirurgion, quarantine, tabernacle*, etc.) they include many words such as *augment, compatible, hypothesis, participate* and *transition* which belong rather to the general vocabulary of scholarly discourse.

These were the ‘hard usual words’, and the invention of the hard-word dictionary with a unified alphabetical list between one set of covers was to do away with the need for further reduplication of such glossaries of English words appended to the texts in which they were used: better one book on your shelf with explanations of the learned vocabulary of the day than twenty books each with its specialized (but often overlapping) glossary.

### 7.2.1 *Robert Cawdrey: A Table Alphabeticall, 1604*

The monolingual English dictionary had a very modest though surprisingly successful start in Robert Cawdrey's slim little volume of 1604. With large lettering and a print area of only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches on each page, it gives the reader the meanings of little more than 2,500 English words. Even so, Cawdrey may be seen to have set the pattern of selection (difficult words, but ones in general use) for his immediate successors, and to have tried out (at times successfully) various well-known devices of the lexicographer's trade.

#### 7.2.1 (i) Users

Robert Cawdrey was a schoolmaster and his dictionary is aimed primarily at learners. The very choice of title—*Table Alphabeticall*—suggests a concern for those who are not (or not yet) literate, and the compiler even patiently repeats (from his source-book Coote) an instruction on how to set about finding a word in a fully alphabetized list: 'if thy word . . . beginne with (ca) looke in the beginning of the letter (c) but if with (cu) then looke toward the end of that letter' (*To the Reader*, sig. A4v). For use outside the schoolroom, he advertises his book as being also of benefit to Ladies and Gentlewomen (it is dedicated to five noblewomen), and to 'strangers'—that is, foreigners: a target user-group frequently invoked in the early monolingual works.

#### 7.2.1 (ii) Character of the word-list

The general run of entries in Cawdrey may be said to answer to his stated intention of helping the less literate readers with the more learned words: *descend* 'goe downe', *evident* 'easie to be seene, plaine', *lassitude* 'wearines', *responses* 'answers'—these were all perfectly well-established English words in 1604, but the untutored reader will have felt less at home with them (whether in spelling or in meaning) than with the native equivalents the dictionary provides. Purely technical terms ('Terms of Art') such as *axiome*, *calciate* ('to make salt'), *catharre*, *hemisphere*, *simonie*, or *transome* are relatively rare, and there are a few words (only a few) such as *frigifie* 'coole, make cold,' and *illiquinated* 'unmelted' which appear never to have had any real currency in English. Everyday homely words (e.g. *boate*, *gnible* 'bite', *shackle*) crop up only very occasionally.

#### 7.2.1 (iii) Sources

Cawdrey justly deserves his fame as the originator of the English dictionary: none had been produced before 1604—though at least one abortive attempt



appears to have been made (Osselton 1995: 104–16)—and his collection of words may be regarded as the foundation list of English monolingual lexicography. It was, however, based primarily on an alphabetical list of 1,368 English words printed eight years earlier in Edmund Coote's *English Schoole-maister* (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 13–19). In this little educational manual Coote was in turn indebted to a list of words given in Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582) to illustrate the 'right writing' of the English tongue. But whereas Mulcaster's collection was intended merely as a spelling-list, Coote gave his pupils brief explanations of the words, thus providing Cawdrey with a convenient body of ready-made entries:

(1) <b>Coote 1596</b>	<b>Cawdrey 1604</b>
<i>Lapidarie skillful in stones.</i>	lapidarie, <b>one skilfull in pretious stones or jewells</b>
<i>largesse or largis liberalitie.</i>	§ largesse, <b>or largis: liberalitie</b>
<i>Lascivious wanton.</i>	lascivious, <b>wanton, lecherous</b>

Such items from Coote make up roughly two-thirds of Cawdrey's entire word-list.

Another important source (for Cawdrey as also for his successors) was the Latin–English dictionaries of the day. Typically, the Latin headword will be Englished, and the English definition retained so as to construct a monolingual entry, as in the following examples from the *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587) of Thomas Thomas:

(2) <b>Thomas 1587</b>	<b>Cawdrey 1604</b>
<i>Fraudulentus, a. um. Deceitfull, craftie, full of guile.</i>	fraudulent, <b>deceitfull, craftie, or ful of guile.</b>
<i>Glossa, ae, f.g. Plaut. A tongue: also a glose or exposition of a darke speach,</i>	<i>glosse, a tongue, or exposition of a darke speech.</i>
<i>Quint.</i>	

The orderly and comprehensive sequence of Latin words in the Thomas dictionary has served as a highly convenient compiler's prompt for items such as *fraudulent*, which had been borrowed into English, while others such as *fraudatio* ('\*fraudation'), which had not been adopted, are passed over silently. It was a compiling technique well suited to an age which had seen an enormous expansion of the vernacular, and it was to be widely adopted by later dictionary makers bent on embellishing their collections of English (or near-English) words.

### 7.2.1 (iv) Definitions

Entries in Cawdrey are mainly one-liners, often with only a single-word definition (*predominante*, ‘ruling’), or else an undifferentiated string of synonyms (*proroge*, ‘put off, prolong, deferre’); the longest entries in the book (*cypher*, *hipocrite*) run to no more than twenty-five words. Homographs tend to get short shrift in a single entry, sometimes with ‘or’ (§ *legacie*, ‘a gift by will, or an ambassage’), and sometimes with ‘also’ (*divine*, ‘Heavenly [,] godly, also to gesse, conjecture, or prophesie’). Though some words are given refreshingly clear and informative explanations (*laborinth* ‘a place so full of windings and turnings, that a man cannot finde a way out of it’) in general it may be said that the definitions in the *Table Alphabeticall* remain scrappy and imprecise.

### 7.2.1 (v) Lemma structure

Cawdrey does little to give his users additional information about the words he defines. One lexicographical refinement is the use of the symbol § to mark recent and unassimilated borrowings from the French, as seen above in the entries for *largesse* and *legacie*. Another convention in Cawdrey is the insertion of (g) for words ‘drawne from the Greek’ such as *catholicke*, *decalogue*, *gnomen* and *poligamie*—hardly to be called the beginning of etymology in English dictionaries, but it would doubtless have had its value for beginners with little Latin and no Greek. Finally, he adopts (probably from Coote) the use of (k) for ‘kind of’—a useful abbreviation for a very small dictionary in entries such as *barnacle* ‘(k) bird’ and *cowslip* ‘(k) hearb’, though it was never to be favoured by later compilers.

### 7.2.1 (vi) ‘This simple worke’

The *Table Alphabeticall* is not a well-balanced piece of work. Like most of the other English dictionaries of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it is badly skewed towards the beginning of the alphabet, and there is little consistency in the defining of words: for instance, we are told that *tragedie* is ‘a solemne play, describing cruell murders and sorrowes’ (a fair enough description for 1604, the year when *Othello* was first performed), but *comédie* comes out merely as ‘(k) stage play’. Even so, there can be no doubt of its practical value in giving simple explanations to a limited range of recently introduced or otherwise troublesome words; and the number of entries is nearly doubled in the three subsequent editions down to the year 1617.

### 7.2.2 *John Bullokar: An English Expositor, 1616*

The second dictionary of English, John Bullokar's *English Expositor*, has nearly twice the number of entries contained in the original volume of Cawdrey, while sharing the same general aim of helping the linguistically insecure with learned terms—'the great store of strange words, our speech doth borrow' (*To the Courteous Reader*, sig. A3v). Bullokar was a physician in the city of Chichester, and tells us that his collection of English words had originally been put together for private use—for nearly seven years before publication, he says, he had not even had 'any leasure as much as to looke on it'. This suggests a measure of detached scholarly interest, and his dictionary will certainly have had a wider appeal than the narrowly informative little book of the schoolmaster Cawdrey, with its bare succession of jerky definitions.

#### 7.2.2 (i) Word-list and sources

Bullokar takes over about one third of the entries he found in Cawdrey. Some of these he left quite unchanged ('*Obstacle*. A hinderance or lette', '*Reduction*. A bringing backe'), thus establishing from the start what was to be a long-lasting tradition in the early English dictionary of near-plagiaristic copying from predecessors. In many other Cawdrey items the wording of the definition has been improved and new senses are added.

The matter derived from Cawdrey is supplemented by a much larger number of entries adapted from the Latin–English dictionary of Thomas Thomas (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 21–3). The resulting assemblage of Latinate 'hard words' in Bullokar may seem daunting today, but in his favour it must be said that very few of them were mere 'dictionary' items which had never been recorded elsewhere, and there is a high percentage of recent borrowings: under *ex-*, for instance, *exhortatorie*, *exiccate* 'to dry', *exprobrate* 'to upbraid, to cast in ones teeth' and *extrinsecall* had all entered the language during the sixteenth century. It is with items such as these (even though some of them were not to survive) that we see the hard-word dictionary at its most effective in serving the needs of its own time.

#### 7.2.2 (ii) Innovations

Cawdrey had confined his attention almost entirely to the simple explanation of hard words. Bullokar is far more venturesome, diversifying the rather minimalist text of his predecessor to give the user much more than bare meanings.

In the hard words entered in his dictionary there is a clear shift towards more purely technical terms. In entries for words such as *chattell* 'A Law tearme, wherof

there be two kinds . . .’, *predicament* ‘A terme of Logicke’, and *sable* ‘In armorie it signifieth blacke . . .’, we may see the beginnings of our modern lexicographical field-labels. The compiler still felt the need to apologize to members of the learned professions for revealing the secrets of their vocabulary to the ignorant, but the comprehensive coverage of such labelled ‘Terms of Art’ was soon to become an important selling point on the title pages of English dictionaries.

Then, in what is visually the most striking innovation in Bullokar, he uses an asterisk to mark words ‘onely used of some ancient writers, and now growne out of use’. These are characteristically Chaucerian words such as *\*bale*, *\*eld*, *\*galiard*, *\*hent*, and *\*iwympled*, nearly all of them drawn from Thomas Speght’s 1602 Chaucer glossary (Kerling 1979: Chapter 5 and Appendix 5) together with a few Spenserian items. The modern lexicographical practice of including a sprinkling of literary archaisms thus set in very early.

The compiler also occasionally supplements his definition by means of model sentences (at *habit*, for instance), and with an entry for *pseudo* shows at one point a recognition of the dictionary user’s need for guidance on word-elements, as well as on words. Under *pseudo* he says ‘Note, that words which beginne with Pseudo, signifie counterfet or false, as Pseudo-martyr, a false Martyr . . .’.

The otherwise largely businesslike text in Bullokar is broken up by a scattering of disproportionately long entries. Thus we are told that a *basiliske* (‘Otherwise called a Cockatrice’) is the most venomous serpent that exists, and the compiler goes on to describe its size, the colour of its skin and its eyes, where it breeds, how dangerous it is (‘If a man touch it but with a sticke, it will kill him’) and rounds off the entry with eight lines of verse translated from Lucan. Other somewhat unpredictable items running to a whole column or more include *aspect*, *beaver*, *crocodile*, *divination* (five columns), *eclipse*, *oracle*, and *parallels*. Such readable entries provide the user with resting points in an otherwise rather bleak alphabetical list of words, much after the fashion of the inset panels that have become a distinctive typographical feature of dictionaries in our own day.

### 7.2.2 (iii) ‘This little vocabulary Treatise’

In his *English Expositor* Bullokar thus tries out many things, though without any great regard for consistency. He has a lighter touch than his predecessor Cawdrey, and shows himself to be far more awake to the varieties of meaning, frequency, and current usage: *epigramme* he notes, ‘properly signifieth a superscription or writing set upon any thing’, but now ‘it is commonly taken for a short wittie poeme’, and elsewhere, with a near-Johnsonian acceptance of his own ignorance, he says simply of *hide of land* that ‘Some affirme it to be a hundred acres’. All this—together with his occasional showpiece entries such as *basiliske*—makes for

a more engaging work, and may in part account for the remarkable success of the *English Expositor*. Bullokar died in 1641, but his book went on being published for over 150 years until 1765.

### 7.2.3 *Henry Cockeram: The English Dictionarie, 1623*

The first three monolingual dictionaries came out within a period of only twenty years and they had a great deal in common, in size, scope, and intention. Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionarie: or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words* is in some ways the most interesting of them. He was the first of the English compilers to call his book a dictionary, and divided his book into three parts so as to accommodate both the decoding and the encoding needs of less literate readers. His choice of title—*English Dictionary*—was however to prove more durable than this structural innovation.

#### 7.2.3 (i) Part I: Hard words explained

The first part, taking up roughly half of the whole volume, is a hard-word book much in the spirit of Cawdrey and Bullokar and is greatly indebted to them. It contains what the author calls the *choicest* words, presented as an aid to the understanding of 'the more difficult Authors', and the intended readership is much the same as that addressed by his predecessors—'Ladies and Gentlewomen, young Schollers, Clarkes, Merchants, as also Strangers of any Nation'.

Cockeram rightly boasts that his collection contains 'some thousands of words, never published by any heretofore' and it is clear that he turned to the Latin–English dictionaries to supplement what he had found in Cawdrey and Bullokar (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 31–3). The formidable list resulting includes many ghost items such as *famigerate* 'to report abroad', and *flocififie* 'to set nought by', but also a great number of newly current words (*fabulositie, facinorous*) and others such as *foliacion* 'budding of the leaves' which seemingly came into use only after his day. The creative potentialities for introducing words from the Latin was overwhelming in the early seventeenth century, and the lexicographer simply lacked the means of knowing for sure which 'hard' words were genuine and which were not. Throwing in everything you could think of was probably not a bad tactic, and there can be no doubt of the general utility of Cockeram's collection.

#### 7.2.3 (ii) Part II: Plain words adorned

The second part of Cockeram's dictionary looks like a reversal (though not a simple reversal) of the first: thus 'Fewnes. *Paucity*' in Part II corresponds to

'*Paucitie*. Fewnesse' in Part I; 'Worldly. *Mundane, Secular*' in Part II takes up the entries for the words *mundane* and *secular* in Part I. Thus whereas Part I appears primarily as a decoding dictionary for readers, Part II may best be seen as an encoding dictionary for writers aspiring to a loftier style, and perhaps also for those who like Sir Andrew Aguecheek felt the urge to lard their speech with affected terms.

For this part of his dictionary Cockeram can be shown to have turned to one of the English–Latin dictionaries of his day, probably John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (1589), or one of its later revisions by Francis Holyoke:

## (3) Rider 1589

To *Shadowe*. 1. *Vmbro*,  
*adumbro*, *inumbro*,  
*perumbro* . . .  
*Sweetnesse*. 1. *Dulcedo*,  
*dulcitulo*, *dulcitas*, *suavitas*,  
*suavitudo*, f. *dulcor*, m.

## Cockeram 1623

to *Shadow*. *Obumbrate*, *Adumbrate*.  
*Sweetnesse*. *Dulcitie*, *Suavity*, *Dulcitude*.

Here the sequence of Latin translations provided by Rider has evidently served to put the compiler in mind of equivalent learned terms which existed (or could perhaps exist) in English.

It is a curiously oblique way of devising a list of ordinary English words, and in some cases it is hard to see what function an entry in Part II can have had: *Rarifaction* 'A making thinne of what was thicke' makes good enough sense in Part I, but who is ever going to find the corresponding entry ('a Making of that thinne which is thicke. *Rarifaction*') under the letter M (for *making*) in Part II?

Cockeram was evidently himself aware of the problems of selection which he had created for himself, and in the *Premonition from the Author to the Reader* notes that in Part II he has also included *mocke-words*, 'ridiculously used in our Language', and even *fustian termes* 'used by too many who study rather to be heard speake, than to understand themselves'. This is perhaps the first shot in a campaign that later compilers (Phillips, Kersey, etc.) were to wage against 'inkhorn' words, the excessive Latinity of their age. More cautious than his successors, Cockeram never tells us which ones they are: but with items such as 'to Taste againe. *Regust*' and 'to Walke backe, *Redambulate*', the reader does not have to look far.

This, the most original section of Cockeram's book, thus appears to be in several ways ill thought out in function. As against that, there are many impressively full entries: for the word *strong* he has 'Energeticall, Herculean, Strenuous, Sampsonian, Firme, Atlanticke, Vigorous, Robustious, Doughtie' and *sweet* is 'Mellifluous, Odoriferous, Ambrosiack, Redolent, Aromaticall, Dulcid'. English

synonym dictionaries proper were not to appear until the works of John Trusler and Mrs Piozzi in the latter half of the eighteenth century; but the very profusion of equivalents here shows that Cockeram's dictionary will at times have served similar purposes in its day.

### 7.2.3 (iii) Part III: Names of everything

The third and smallest part of Cockeram's book is 'a recital of several persons, Gods and Goddesses, Giants and Devils, Monsters and Serpents, Birds and Beasts, Rivers, Fishes, Hearbs, Stones, Trees, and the like'. These are arranged, not for quick reference in a single alphabetical list, but in the traditional semantically classified form of the *Nomenclator*, as commonly found in the Latin dictionaries of the day.

Under *Hills & Mountaines* four names are given (Etna, Alps, Ararat, and Chaphareus) and there are six *Men that were Musitians*, including Orpheus; some other categories such as *Women of sundrie qualities* must have been of doubtful utility—this includes Zanthippe, but also Alcippe 'a Woman that brought forth an Elephant' (→ HOARE, Vol. II).

Cockeram thus had his own solution to the compiler's perennial problem of what to do about names in a dictionary: he kept all the linguistically peripheral matter for what amounted to a substantial and perhaps instructive appendix. He was the first to do this, and lexicographers have been shifting the boundaries of lexical and encyclopedic matter ever since.

### 7.2.4 Thomas Blount: *Glossographia*, 1656

Blount's *Glossographia* has always been rightly regarded as the classic dictionary of hard words: there are more of them, in greater variety, from a fuller range of (sometimes identified) sources, and they are presented in an altogether more disciplined way. The substantial octavo volume in which they occur was to do much to set a pattern for the physical shape and structured contents of later English dictionaries, and many of Blount's neologisms (e.g. *buxiferous*, *diventilate*, *fatiferous*, *memorivagant*, *venustate*) went on to live a life of their own in the works of his successors.

#### 7.2.4 (i) Readership

Thomas Blount was a barrister with literary and antiquarian interests. Coming from a landed Recusant family, he was unable to pursue a career at the Bar, and produced his *Glossographia* during a 'vacancy of above Twenty years' in the

Commonwealth period, with its rigorous anti-Catholic legislation. No wonder, then, that his dictionary stands out above the schoolmasterly products of Cawdrey and Cockeram: no instructions here on how to use the alphabet, and though his book was famously intended for ‘the more-knowing Women, and the less-knowing Men’, the *Address to the Reader* with its elegant Latin quotations is couched in terms of what every ‘Gentleman of Estate’ should know.

#### 7.2.4 (ii) Typography and page layout

The complexity of the text also indicates a more sophisticated readership. Each of his three predecessors Cawdrey, Bullokar, and Cockeram had used only two typefaces—respectively, roman plus black letter, italic plus roman, roman plus italic (Luna 2000: 10–14). This was a visual minimum needed to distinguish words from meanings in their simple word lists. But in Blount we find an effective use of all three of these typefaces: with black letter to make the entry words stand out in the column and roman for the basic explanations, italic is available for etymologies, names, and other secondary matter. This display of type is diversified elsewhere by an occasional Greek word in Cyrillic; Hebrew script where it is needed for an etymology (at *Talmud*, for example); and even a Saxon font in the account of better-known words (such as *Gospel*) from Old English.

Blount also introduces illustrations into his text—a couple of woodcuts in entries for the heraldic terms *Canton* and *Gyron*—and the *Glossographia* is the first of the monolingual English dictionaries with headers to help the user to find his word in flicking through the book: following the model of Latin dictionaries of his day, he puts catch-letters at the top of each ruled column on the page (e.g. FR above the column of words running from *fortuitous* to *fraction*).

#### 7.2.4 (iii) Sources

Blount is also the first English compiler to provide etymologies for all (or nearly all) the words entered. In scholarly fashion he acknowledges his sources of information: ‘I have extracted the quintessence of Scapula, Minsheu, Cotgrave, Rider, Florio, Thomasius, Dasipodius, and Hexams Dutch, Dr. Davies Welsh Dictionary, Cowels Interpreter, &c.’ (*To the Reader*, sig. A5r-v), adding ‘I profess to have done little with my own Pencil’. This is a far cry from the casually gleaned offerings of his predecessors, though it has been calculated (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 40–2) that some two-thirds of all his entries derive from the Latin dictionary of Thomas Thomas and the 1639 edition of Francis Holyoke’s *Dictionarium Etymologicum*.



In about one fifth of all entries in the dictionary Blount identified a contemporary or near-contemporary writer in whose work a word was to be found, including authors such as Bacon, Ben Jonson, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Jeremy Taylor (Osselton 1996: 218). There was precedent in classical dictionaries (for instance, in Scapula) for validating words by attaching the names of authors to them, but Blount was the first English compiler to do this, thus initiating a practice which Johnson was to extend to the whole vocabulary a century later.

#### 7.2.4 (iv) Blount's concern for usage

The *Glossographia* exhibits the vices of the hard-word dictionary (non-existent English words, culled uncritically from Latin dictionaries), but at the same time it celebrates the exuberant vocabulary of the day—Sir Thomas Browne is one of the most commonly cited authors. In his address *To the Reader*, Blount makes it clear that the inclusion of so many learned words did not necessarily mean that he was commending them. But many had now become familiar (even to the vulgar) through use by contemporary authors, and ‘to understand them, can be no unnecessary burden to the Intellect’; thus he had added the authors’ names ‘that I might not be thought to be the innovator of them’. It is for its age a remarkably detached statement of the dictionary-maker’s concern for usage and of his duties to the public.

Blount’s dictionary was reprinted and considerably enlarged through five editions down to 1681. As the work of Phillips and other successors was to show, ‘hard words’ had by then become the object of more critical attention and even ridicule.

### 7.3 THE ENCYCLOPEDIC DICTIONARY

The second half of the seventeenth century saw the production of the first monolingual dictionaries of English in folio: no longer to be seen as learners’ aids but rather as handsome books for a gentleman’s library. There was thus every reason to make the dictionary readable, putting in more of the generally informative entries of the kind which had been scattered incidentally through Bullokar, and incorporating fully the extensive lists of names which Cockeram had relegated to the back of his book. This represented a clear (but by no means permanent) shift in the view of what an English dictionary should contain.

### 7.3.1 *Edward Phillips: The New World of English Words: Or, a General Dictionary, 1658*

Phillips's dictionary, with its grand title modelled on John Florio's Italian–English *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), was the first of the folio dictionaries of English. In five editions down to 1696, followed by the versions revised by John Kersey (1706, 1720) it dominated the big-dictionary market for over seventy years. The handsome volume of 1658 has a rather flamboyant dedication to the illustrious universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a fine title page with engraved portraits of Chaucer, Spenser, and the antiquaries Lambard, Camden, Selden, and Spelman—all indicating certain pretensions to scholarship which are, however, hardly borne out by the contents.

#### 7.3.1 (i) Encyclopedic matter

Phillips's dictionary was published hard on the heels of Blount's smaller work, and was deeply indebted to it, so much so that his 'wholesale thefts' (as well as many errors of fact) were exposed by Blount in a scathing accusation of plagiarism; it has been calculated that two-thirds of all Phillips's word-entries were simply lifted from Blount (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 49–54).

The whole balance of the dictionary is, however, changed by a striking extension of the names and other encyclopedic matter (Roe 1977: 16–17). Even in the earlier, smaller dictionaries of Bullokar and Blount, we have seen that names had been creeping in, but now Phillips makes no bones about admitting into his dictionary 'Proper Names, Mythology, and Poetical Fictions, Historical Relations, Geographical Descriptions of most Countries and Cities of the World . . .' and boasts on his title page of the 'Arts and Sciences' that he has covered: '*Theologie, Philosophy, Logick, Rhetorick, Grammer, Ethicks, Law, Natural History, Magick, Physick . . .*'—thirty-one of them in all, including Chiromancy, Curiosities, Merchandize, Horsemanship, and Fishing.

Elaborate title pages doubtless served in the seventeenth century as blurbs, a chief means of promoting sales of your book. But any glance between the covers of Phillips's dictionary shows that the scale of non-verbal and technical matter is indeed impressive. Of the forty entries from *albeito* to *alexipharmac*, twenty-three are names, and, though there is a tailing off through the alphabet, in the dictionary as a whole at least one in every four or five entries may be said to deal with encyclopedic matter of one kind or another. Many such items are lengthy: *Knights of the Garter, Paris* ('son of Priamus . . .'), and *A Vein* ('defined by *Anatomists* to be . . .') all rank half a column.

### 7.3.1 (ii) The critical dictionary

Phillips thus shifted the balance of interest in the English dictionary, but his work represented little substantial advance in detailed matters of lexicographical technique: he drops etymology (substituting *lat.*, *Fr.*, *Germ.*, etc., for the etymons given in Blount), and entries for polysemous words remain poorly punctuated. He was, however, the first to introduce into his front matter what amounted to a history of the English language—a practice which was followed by Bailey, Johnson, and many later dictionary-makers.

The most striking innovation in Phillips lay in the treatment of hard words. He took over many, though not all of the ones he found in Blount: for instance, in the sequence of fifteen Latinisms from *obtestation* to *obvolute* he leaves out *obtorted*, *obvention*, and *obviate*, while adding *obvallation* and *obvarication*. But two of the items †*obticence* ‘a being silent’ and †*obundation* ‘a flowing against’ are prefixed by a dagger symbol as a warning to the dictionary user that these are not acceptable (or not entirely acceptable) words in English. Altogether ninety-five words are thus marked in the dictionary as ‘Pedantismes’. More were added in later editions, and in 1678 there is also an appendix of fifty-three affected words ‘to be used warily, and upon occasion only, or totally to be rejected as Barbarous’; *circumbilivagination* (‘a going round’), *cynarctomachy* (‘a Bear-baiting’) and *honorificabilitudinitas* are fair examples of these.

The introduction by Phillips of this device may be seen to mark the beginning of a clearly prescriptive tradition in the English monolingual dictionary, and during the next hundred years his example was to be followed by Kersey (1706), Bailey (‘Vol. II’, 1727), and Martin (1749). In these later works the use of the dagger also covered old words (previously marked with an asterisk) and was expanded as a general mark of disapprobation for all kinds of popular forms or spellings (*flower-de-luce*, *prentice*, *shagreen*), dialect items (*brock*, *kirk*, *rill*), slang (*bamboozle*, *cit*, *mutton-monger* ‘mulierarius’), and what Johnson was later to call ‘low’ words (*crack* ‘a whore’, *to swop*, *woundy*). Johnson himself is known to have entertained the idea of using such ‘marks of distinction’ or ‘notes of infamy’ in his Dictionary, but in the end preferred to put in verbal comments on individual words (Osselton 1958; 2006: 99–105).

### 7.3.2 *Elisha Coles: An English Dictionary, 1676*

In the middle of the Phillips era Elisha Coles, ‘School-Master and Teacher of the Tongue to Foreigners’, produced a lively and highly original little octavo dictionary, printed in very small type with three columns to the page. It is a book packed

with highly concise information on some 25,000 words and names, and aimed no doubt at those whose pockets were too lean to purchase the folio of Phillips.

### 7.3.2 (i) Character of the word-list

Coles is very heavily indebted to Phillips both for words and for names. On a sample page running from *Misnia* to *modulation* we find a total of eighty-four entries; comparison with the corresponding part of Phillips (third edition, 1671, *misogamy* to *modulation*) shows that only the word *mixture* is omitted, and that forty-five new items have been added, including *misnomer*, *misogynist*, *Miss* ('for *Mistress*'), *miswoman* ('a whore'), *mockel*, *muckle* ('Mickle'), and *mockadoes* ('a kind of stuff'). Definitions are cut down radically, and, though nearly all the names in Phillips are retained, the information given on them is very spare indeed.

### 7.3.2 (ii) Canting terms

Coles is the first English compiler to take notice of the language of low life: canting terms such as *flog* 'to whip', *fogus* 'Tabacco', *glimmer* 'fire', *grinders* 'Teeth', *nizie* 'a fool', *shoplift* 'one that ... steals wares', *witcher* 'silver', are included with the wry apology that they 'may chance to save your throat from being cut, or (at least) your Pocket from being pickt'. Numerous separate glossaries of words from the language of thieves, rogues, and cony-catchers had appeared in the hundred years before Coles. His 217 low-life items (labelled with a 'c') were drawn from *The Canting Academy*, a collection published by Richard Head in 1673 (Coleman 2004: 176–7), and many of them were to pass into the lower end of the accepted nomenclature in general English dictionaries (Johnson marks down *nizy* as a 'low word', and says *grinders* is used only 'in irony or contempt').

### 7.3.2 (iii) Dialect

The practice of entering a limited number of dialect words in general English dictionaries is also to be dated from this volume by Coles, who derived them from *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used* by John Ray, published in 1674 (Bregelman 1981: 6–7). *Daft* (Norfolk), *geazon* 'scarce, hard to come by' (Essex), *riddle-cakes* (Lancashire), *stunt* 'stubborn, angry' (Lincolnshire) are typical examples. They take up over three per cent of all the dictionary entries in Coles, who set a pattern for Bailey and many later compilers, both in the general character of the words and in the practice of designating them by county name (Osselton 1995: 34–45).

## 7.3.2 (iv) Lexicographical innovations

For so small a work, Coles's dictionary contains a surprising number of derivatives in groups such as *flammability*, *flammation*, *flammeous*, *flammivomous*, *flammiferous*. Derivatives have always been, and remain, problematic for dictionary compilers (whether to grant them all full entry status, set them in smaller type, or simply list the semantically less complicated ones). Coles adopts for some of them an ingenious space-saving pattern of concatenated entries:

- (4) *Tristifical*, *l.* which doth  
*Tristitiate*, or make  
*Tristful*, sad, sorrowfull.

This pleasingly jaunty arrangement was however to find no imitators among later compilers.

A more lasting innovation was Coles's list of abbreviations in the front matter. He needed this especially for a compact treatment of dialect items, with abbreviations for county names (*K.* for Kentish, *Sf.* for Suffolk, etc.). But the list also includes abbreviations for Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, as used in some of the more exotic entries, as well as *C.* for *Canting* and *O.* for *Old Word*.

The urge to pack in as much information as the page would bear has led Coles into adopting a jumble of different styles for his entries, from the pithy 'Alexander, Conquered the world, and was poisoned' or the simple exemplification of 'A buck *Groyneth*, makes that noise' to the three-word whittled down 'Cluni in Burgundy'. These are typical of what was found in spelling-books of the day. A more successful feature was his introduction of square brackets for the purpose of collapsing two meanings of a word into a single statement, as in *extuberate* '[to cause] to swell or bunch up', and *Lethe* '[a supposed River of Hell causing] forgetfulness'.

## 7.3.2 (v) 'Here is very much in very little room'

With little substantial change, the *English Dictionary* of Coles went through eleven editions down to 1732. Full of potted encyclopedic information but at times over-ingeniously compact, it can hardly have been in competition with the more expansive Phillips. Coles addressed the needs of less demanding readers who did not mind small print, and would be content with being told simply that *Ajax* was 'A Stout *Grecian*' or that *Hinton* was the name of several small towns.

## 7.3.3 John Kersey: Revision of Phillips, 1706

For all its somewhat antiquated and eclectic assembly of items, Phillips's dictionary of 1658 saw augmented editions at frequent intervals down to the end of

the century (1662, 1671, 1678, 1696) with a growth in the number of entries from 11,000 to around 17,000.

The sixth edition, published in 1706 and reissued in 1720, underwent major revision by John Kersey ‘with the Addition of near Twenty Thousand Words’. This is simply a larger book, and represents no great change in lexicographical technique; indeed, with the reintroduction of black letter type for the entry words, the heavily inked pages must have borne the stamp of an earlier age.

In the contents, however, the reviser shows himself to be a modernizer, removing what he calls the ‘Poetical Fictions’ so dear to Phillips (such as the story of Orpheus, or the legend of Alcyone) and filling up his work with items of more topical interest. By far the greatest expansion has been in the coverage of technical terms: for the word *angle*, for instance, he has forty-nine separate entries, where Phillips had only one. Significantly, there are incidental references in Kersey’s text to John Locke (at the word *reflection*: ‘according to Mr. *Lock*’s Definition . . .’) and to Robert Boyle (at *animated mercury*: ‘so Mr. *Boyle* calls Quicksilver . . .’). Here, the English dictionary is to be seen quickly catching up on the new science of the post-Restoration world, and in presenting it Kersey can be shown to have made very good use of the recently published *Lexicon Technicum* (1704) by John Harris FRS (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 85–6). To his credit, the compiler also records linguistic extensions in the use of many scientific words: he has a lengthy technical explanation of *eclipse*, ending ‘The Word is also us’d in a figurative Sense, as *During the unhappy Eclipse of the Monarchy*’, and the entry for *point-blank* (originally a term in gunnery) ends ‘Whence it is commonly taken for directly, positively, or absolutely; as *He told me point-blank, he would take it*’.

### 7.3.4 Glossographia Anglicana Nova, 1707 (GAN)

The acceptance of the new scientific vocabulary in Kersey’s revision of Phillips is taken a step further in the otherwise unimportant *Glossographia Anglicana Nova* (1707, 1720). This derivative little work is something of a throwback to Thomas Blount’s *Glossographia* of 1656, and like Blount the compiler takes it upon himself to validate certain words (especially unusual ones) by attaching an author’s name to them. But whereas Blount tended to pick on the more eccentric words from Sir Thomas Browne’s *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, the anonymous compiler of the GAN—evidently a scientist himself—typically validates words from recent scientific publications by Boyle, Evelyn, Hooke, Newton, Henry Power, and other leading members of the Royal Society, alongside terms used by contemporary theologians and preachers such as Burnet, Hoadly, and Stillingfleet.

### 7.3.5 *John Kersey: Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum, 1708*

Two years after his revision of Phillips, Kersey went on to produce from it the first abridged dictionary of English. It passed through two further editions in 1715 and 1721. Here, as so often in later centuries (and doubtless for similar commercial reasons), an established dictionary was boiled down to provide a quick look-up reference work for a somewhat different group of users; Kersey defines the readership of his new volume as ‘Private Gentlemen, Young Students, Tradesmen, Shop-keepers, Artificers, [and] Strangers’.

Of the two classic ways of producing an abridgement (reducing the number of words or cutting down definitions) Kersey opts firmly for the latter: nearly all the original entries in the 1706 Phillips are retained (there are even some new items), while explanations of them are drastically pruned and sometimes remodelled. The handy octavo volume of the *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* was, surprisingly, for so innovative a publishing venture, the last of the English monolingual dictionaries to use black letter for entry words, and, with two later editions in 1715 and 1721, it must have had a somewhat antiquated appearance in the age of Addison and Pope.

## 7.4 THE UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY

In the hundred years from Cawdrey the expected (or acceptable) content of the English dictionary had thus expanded way beyond the original target of ‘hard words’ (often of dubious currency) to include almost every kind of encyclopedic information imaginable: names of English market towns, of Gods and Goddesses, poetic fictions, historical references, dialect, slang, and later even a state-of-the-art scientific terminology. But no set effort had ever been made to provide systematic coverage of the everyday words of the language. Some were inevitably to be found, though often they had been put in only to record a specialized sense. As early as 1616, Bullokar had made the point tellingly: for a word with different meanings, he says, ‘one easie, the other more difficult’ he would deal only with the harder one, and he then instances *girle*, which duly appears in his dictionary with the single meaning ‘A Roe Bucke of two yeares’.

The notion that a monolingual dictionary should record all the generally known words of a language thus became established for English only in the early eighteenth century. Precedent for the inclusion of common words was

perhaps to be found earlier in the *Alphabetical Dictionary* incorporated in John Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* in 1668, a work well known to later compilers (Dolezal 1985; → HÜLLEN, Vol. II). But the alphabetical list printed there was intended primarily as an index to Wilkins's structured analysis of the language; many entries do not offer definitions at all (e.g. 'Buttock. PG.IV.8', 'Unripeness. NP.VI.4.D.'). and, though the list of words in it and the information encoded there will yield a wealth of semantic and idiomatic information to the patient user, it can hardly ever have functioned as a dictionary in the conventional sense.

#### 7.4.1 J. K.: A New English Dictionary, 1702

It was the *New English Dictionary* published in 1702 by J. K. (commonly taken to be John Kersey) that established once and for all the practice of including the everyday vocabulary of English alongside 'harder' words: his letter D begins with *a dab, a dab-chick, a dab-fish, to dabble, a dace, and a daffodell*, and at the word *girl* he starts with the common meaning ('A Girl, or *wench*'). This handy little book (like Coles) is in very small print, with three columns to the page, and it runs to some 28,000 entries.

To obtain a suitable alphabetical list of common words as a basis for his work, Kersey turned to bilingual dictionaries with English as 'source' language which (for obvious reasons) had always needed to include them; it can be shown that he leant heavily on the English–French dictionaries of Miège (1688) and Boyer (1699), and on Adam Littleton (1678) or some other English–Latin dictionary of his time (Osselton 1995: 25–33; → CORMIER).

One clear by-product of his reliance upon bilingual dictionaries is a far fuller coverage of English compound words and derivatives than had been seen in Phillips, Coles, and the others. After the entry for *wine*, for instance, ten second-element compounds are listed in alphabetical order (*Canary-wine, Claret-wine, etc.*), followed by eight first-element compounds (*A Wine-bibber, A Wine-Cellar, etc.*), with explanations given only when needed (*A Wine conner, or wine-taster*). Similarly, derivatives such as *An Adopter, An Adoption, Adoptive* are simply listed after the base word without definitions.

Such lists of compounds and derivatives in Kersey stand as headwords, neither indented nor typographically distinct, and this may leave us with the unfavourable impression of a negligent compiler putting in large numbers of words without definitions. On the other hand, Kersey may be given credit for introducing a highly systematic treatment for a category of words which has bothered lexicographers ever since. Undefined entries were in any case characteristic of



eighteenth-century spelling-books, and the compiler may also have had in mind the convenience of learners who would use the dictionary simply to check spellings—on the title page he addresses those ‘who would learn to spell truly’.

For learners he silently indicates word-class by putting articles before nouns and the particle *to* before verbs (as in *to adopt*, etc., above). The modern practice of using conventional abbreviations to show the parts of speech of all words entered was to be established only later (1735) in the *New General English Dictionary* of Thomas Dyche and William Pardon, who were also the first compilers to prefix an English grammar to their dictionary.

#### 7.4.2 An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 1721 (*UEED*)

Nathan Bailey equalled John Kersey in output, and his works dominated the English dictionary scene in the first half of the eighteenth century. The octavo *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* appeared in 1721, a handy volume with nearly a thousand pages and 40,000 entries. To this was added in 1727 a so-called ‘Vol. II’ of similar size, but a hybrid product with two alphabetical lists, the second of which appears as some kind of a bilingualized learners’ dictionary with French and Latin equivalents added to the English. Finally, in 1730, his great folio volume *Dictionarium Britannicum* appeared, the second edition of which (1736) is known to have been used as some kind of a base text by Samuel Johnson.

Bailey was not the first to adopt the word ‘universal’ in a dictionary title (Kersey had slipped it into his revision of Phillips) but in the *UEED* he uses it advisedly as he here seeks to cover the whole basic vocabulary of English. His word-list is based on Kersey’s *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708), but considerably updated: on the two pages from *linseed* to *livery*, for instance, he adds entries for a whole range of common words which would be entered as a matter of course by lexicographers today: *lip*, *to lisp*, *to listen*, *littel* (‘small’), *to live*, and *lively*. The coverage of everyday words is, however, still patchy, with entries for the verbs *have* and *be*, but not for *can* and *do*.

There is also a generous selection of marginal terms of the kind that had cropped up in the various works of his predecessors: cant, technical terms, dialect, ‘old’ words, legal terms, place-name, ‘hard’ words—for all these the presentation, labelling, and explanation are methodical, matter-of-fact, and admirably concise. Above all, Bailey makes his dictionary usable, accessible: for instance, he devotes much attention to etymology, but he recognizes that this might put off readers with no knowledge of languages, and explains that the etymological information on each word has been put within square brackets ‘that they may pass it over without any manner of Trouble or Inconvenience’.

Perhaps the most striking visual innovation in the UEED is the use of capital letters for all entry words. This was to become standard practice in most eighteenth-century English dictionaries; the words stood out well on the page and italic remained freely available for other purposes. In editions from 1731, and earlier in his 'Vol. II' (1727), the accentuation of English words is shown by a stress-mark after the accented syllable, as in CO'FFEE, COGITA'TION, COG-NA'TE. His introduction of this system (from a schoolbook by Thomas Dyche) represents the beginnings of recording pronunciation in English dictionaries (Bronstein 1986: 23–4). A further successful innovation was the introduction of a few traditional proverbs ('The Belly has no Ears', 'Proffered Service Stinks'), appropriately highlighted in old-fashioned black letter print. Many more were to be included later in his folio work.

Bailey's weakness lay in the matter of definitions, to which he contributed little (*out* is merely 'Without'; *long* is 'of great Extent'; the meaning of the verb *to come* is given simply as 'to draw nigh, to approach'). But in the UEED he created a well-arranged and eminently usable dictionary; it provides an effective list of the general vocabulary of English, while being pleasantly diversified by less well-known items and out-of-the-way information. No wonder William Pitt the Elder found it worth reading through, nor that it survived well into the Johnson era, to go through twenty-eight editions down to the year 1800.

#### 7.4.3 *Dictionarium Britannicum, 1730 (DB)*

With over 700 pages of fine print and some 48,000 entries (almost 60,000 in the second edition) Nathan Bailey's folio *Dictionarium Britannicum* was easily the most comprehensive English dictionary of its day. The whole vocabulary of his earlier dictionary is included, apart from native English names (relegated to an appendix) but it is all greatly enlarged, in range as in treatment.

Making use of the recently published *Cyclopaedia* of Ephraim Chambers (1728), Bailey achieved an impressive enlargement of technical terms (music, printing, cookery, stage plays, painting, hieroglyphs, etc.), and there is almost everywhere a dramatic expansion of the information provided. *Column*, for instance, as an architectural term, had had only a brief, five-line entry in the UEED, but in the DB there are well over fifty separate entries for it, including *Tuscan column*, *Fluted column*, *Rostral column*, etc.; for the word *rhyme* he keeps to a single entry in the bigger dictionary, but the original three-word definition 'Meeter or Verse' is replaced by a whole article on the history of rhyme and blank verse in English, with the opinions of Skinner, Dryden, and Lord Roscommon, and the practice of Shakespeare and Milton.

There is also great expansion in the use of illustrations. The 500 woodcuts of which he boasts occur most often for heraldic items, but also in the explanation of mathematical concepts (nineteen representations at the word *angle*), for chemical symbols (*borax*, *sulphur*), in agriculture (*hurdles*), in military and naval terms (*bombs*, *chain-shot*), and in astronomy (a handsome whole page engraving for *orrery*).

Though it is thus astonishingly rich in contents, the *Dictionarium Britannicum* contains nothing that is new in lexicographical method. The surprisingly numerous self-explanatory derivatives now introduced (including improbable ones such as *eternalness* and *undistinguishableness*) are given full headword status. Where in the bigger dictionary there is a greater complexity of meaning or a wider range of meanings (as for the word *column*) no attempt has been made to structure the information given. In the mammoth sequence of entries to be found for many words in the *Dictionarium Britannicum* the English dictionary may be said to have reached the limits of what mere alphabetic listing could do.

#### 7.4.4 *Benjamin Martin: Lingua Britannica Reformata, 1749*

The *Lingua Britannica Reformata* of Benjamin Martin, schoolmaster, mathematician, and instrument-maker, is as remarkable for the 111 pages of its front matter as for the contents of the dictionary proper. The compiler chose to include there his long and erudite *Institutions of Language; Containing, A Physico-Grammatical Essay on the Propriety and Rationale of the English Tongue*, published the previous year and now reprinted with the much-simplified running title ‘Introduction to the English Tongue’.

In this he discusses the nature of spoken and written language, the growth of alphabetic symbols from Hebrew onwards, general grammatical principles as exemplified in major European languages, and the evolving structures of English from Anglo-Saxon; the essay ends with a reflective paragraph on the transitoriness of all writings: ‘Addison, Pope, and Foster, may appear to our posterity in the same light as Chaucer, Spencer, and Shakespear do to us; whose language is now grown old and obsolete; read by very few, and understood by antiquarians only.’

As the tone here may suggest, it seems likely that Martin was acquainted with Dr Johnson’s *Plan of an English Dictionary*, published two years before. This appears even more clearly from the Preface, where he specifies ‘the proper Requisites of a Genuine English Dictionary’, insisting in particular upon the total exclusion of encyclopedic matter, and the need to distinguish multiple meanings of words: first the original or etymological meaning, then popular uses, followed by figurative or metaphorical senses, humorous, poetical or

burlesque use, and finally, the scientific or technical meanings—‘no Method but this can give adequate and just Ideas of Words’.

The introduction of numbers for separate meanings marks out Martin’s page as something entirely new in English lexicography (the practice was common enough in bilingual dictionaries, and he acknowledges a debt to Ainsworth and Boyer). He is, however, far from consistent or successful in applying the semantic principles he sets out: why should *foot* ‘a member of a human body’ be number 1, but *foot* ‘the paw of a beast’ come in only at number 6 after the items for ‘twelve inches’ and ‘infantry’? There are also very many words where numbering would have been welcome (e.g. *consternation*, for both ‘terror’ and ‘astonishment’), and others (such as *construction*) where numbered meanings are given in one entry and additional meanings tagged on in separate entries.

Another useful new lexicographical device is that of putting unassimilated foreign words such as *legerdemain* and *pronto* into italics. This practice (also proposed by Johnson) had become easily workable in the eighteenth century with the introduction of capital letters for entry words.

Martin’s dictionary was overshadowed by Johnson and there was only one subsequent edition (in 1754), with the *Physico-Grammatical Essay* left out. He was a major innovator in English lexicography, but promised rather more than he performed.

## 7.5 CONCLUSION

The emergence of a balanced and usable dictionary of English during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a haphazard process, seemingly determined as much by what was marketable as by any reflection upon the true nature of a monolingual dictionary, how it should be structured, and what its function should be.

The original hard-word list clearly served a useful purpose in the first decades of the seventeenth century, when learned books in the vernacular still tended to have English glossaries attached. Demand for the hard-word dictionary (presumably from the least literate) lasted long, with Bullokar’s *English Expósito* (1616) lingering on until 1775.

Diversification of the vocabulary was an obvious need if the dictionary was to achieve a wider readership. This was, however, a period of rapid development in dictionaries of specialized terms (Osselton 1999: 2458–65), and in filling out their

monolingual dictionaries the English compilers had the convenience of being able to turn to a whole range of useful contemporary works on specialized vocabularies, e.g. for cant, dialect, divinity, heraldry, husbandry, law, and navigation. It is always easier to pillage another man's list than to find the words yourself.

Etymology found a firm place early in the English dictionary (never to lose it), whereas the practice of including everyday words came very late, with meagre entries evidently put in to complete the record or to indicate spelling. Use of a prescriptive obelisk or dagger to mark unacceptable words, always somewhat half-hearted, was a dying episode by the time of Martin. Only two compilers (Blount, and the anonymous compiler of GAN) attempted a methodical validation of words by author's name; where it is a matter of occasional words from Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare, these were mostly drawn from glossaries, not from original texts.

Throughout the seventeenth century, names and all kinds of historical and legendary matter had become a staple feature of the dictionary page in the vernacular dictionary (as they had been in classical dictionaries). In the works of later compilers (Bailey, Martin) there is a shift towards technological information, and they adopt a more narrowly linguistic stance, though the problem of what to do about names in dictionaries would not go away.

In one way or another, the works of the early lexicographers thus came to incorporate much of what we should expect to find in monolingual English dictionaries today. But pronunciation (beyond mere word-stress), the meaning of compound nouns, set collocations, phrasal verbs, particles, abbreviations, idiomatic expressions (other than proverbs), irregular plurals, all kinds of grammatical information—anything like a systematic coverage of these was to be for future generations of dictionary-makers.

# JOHNSON AND RICHARDSON

*Allen Reddick*

## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

SAMUEL Johnson's folio *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) represents a towering achievement in lexicography and letters, one which immediately captured attention throughout Europe; it remains a source of considerable scholarly interest to the present day, especially for specialists in lexicography, language, literature, history, and culture. In the remarkable *New Dictionary of the English Language*, published several generations later, Charles Richardson made a formidable attempt to reject and supplant Johnson. *A New Dictionary*, of interest and importance in its own right, provocatively illuminates aspects of Johnson's work.

## 8.2 JOHNSON'S *DICTIONARY*

For over one hundred years before Johnson's *Dictionary* was published, authors and concerned experts had expressed the need to attend to the state of the English language, seen as suffering from luxuriance, indifference, and decay. Many argued for the creation of an English Academy, including the Earl of Roscommon, John Dryden, John Evelyn, William Sprat, Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, Jonathan Swift, and Alexander Pope; its function would be to preserve the language and to compile an authoritative dictionary. The Royal Society (1664) set up a committee to monitor and reform the English Language, while Jonathan Swift's *Proposal for*

*Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) advocated the selection of a group who would establish standards of correctness and enforce them, thus guarding the purity of the language. Johnson's 'Plan of an English Dictionary' (1747) reflected similar concerns. In all cases, the approach was to stress the need for a prescriptive and normative authority, one based on, and rivalling, especially, that of the Académie française (Wells 1973: 31–40).

### 8.2.1 *Influences of and relation to other dictionaries*

But Johnson's *Dictionary* was certainly not the first monolingual English dictionary: there were important predecessors from which Johnson borrowed or by which he was influenced. Yet Johnson's *Dictionary* surpassed the aims and achievements of other dictionaries of his day, combining the best features of current lexicography in what may be considered the first modern dictionary of English. It was also in certain respects innovative. Johnson's *Dictionary* differed from its predecessors, for example, in the unusual circumstances of its composition and publication, including the two-volume folio format; the unprecedented lengthy 'Preface' to the *Dictionary*, as well as the 'Grammar' and 'History' of the language. There was also the incorporation of thousands of literary and other written quotations, and Johnson's increasing reliance upon empirical written evidence of usage in constructing the word-list and 'explanations'; the relation between the quotations and the definitions in the construction of the entry and attention to historical usage and development; the unprecedented extensive treatment of polysemy and phrasal verbs; and the relation of Johnson's lexicography to the world of letters (Johnson being the only English lexicographer who was a writer of the first rank).

#### 8.2.1 (i) Monolingual and bilingual models

The most popular of all eighteenth-century monolingual dictionaries was not in fact Johnson's but rather, in its various forms, Nathan Bailey's octavo *An Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1721).<sup>1</sup> And it was Bailey's folio *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) that significantly raised English lexicographical standards, particularly in the recording and use of etymology. This dictionary (specifically the second edition of 1736) probably originally served as the basis for Johnson's own, and doubtless influenced his practice in a variety of ways (McDermott 2005:

<sup>1</sup> There were at least twenty-eight editions of this dictionary published by 1800. The folio *New Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, published by Joseph Nicol Scott in 1755, is an expansion of Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum*, rather than the earlier *Universal Etymological Dictionary*.

1–11). Bailey's and Johnson's folios benefited from the appearance in 1728 of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia; Or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, which provided entries for technical and scientific terms not previously covered. Johnson incorporated many entries direct from Chambers; furthermore, one of his amanuenses had worked for Chambers and presumably shared his expertise with Johnson's team. Johnson took special notice of Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1748), particularly his plan for defining entries. Martin's dictionary was pioneering in its stated aims of providing definitions of the multiple meanings of words, or their polysemy (perhaps influenced by Johnson's own 'Plan' for his dictionary, published in 1747), yet his ambitious plan collapsed in the performance itself (Reddick 1996: 62, 51–3). The bilingual dictionaries of Abel Boyer—the French–English *Dictionnaire Royal*, first published in 1699—and Robert Ainsworth—the *Latin Dictionary* of 1728 and *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of 1736, rev. 1746—were also useful to Johnson, especially in his treatment of the word-list, polysemy, and, most importantly, phrasal verbs. Furthermore, continental dictionaries, such as the *Vocabolario* of the Accademia della Crusca (1612) and the French dictionaries of Richelet (1680) and Furetière (1690), were probably influential on Johnson's method, specifically by providing models for the display of multiple illustrative quotations for word usage.

Johnson composed his dictionary by combining several different characteristics that were beginning to be seen as essential for an authoritative dictionary. He provided lengthy introductory material, including the 'Preface', with a statement of method and a guide to the use of the work, the 'History of the Language', and 'Grammar'. The number of lemmas in his word-list was extensive, though fewer at 43,000 than Bailey's 60,000. However, Bailey had taken no note of the multiple meanings of words or of phrasal verbs (listed by Johnson under the initial verb element); if these are taken into account and considered as separate headings, then Johnson's number of usages in total compares favourably with Bailey's. The length and scope of the definitions, the listing of multiple senses, each with a definition, and the inclusion of written authorities, all extend Johnson's work in comprehensiveness far beyond Bailey's, whose entries are generally brief. As he states in his 'Preface', Johnson omits proper names, many compound words, verbal nouns ending in *-ing*, participles, obsolete terms, 'words now no longer understood' which were current before Sidney, and 'many terms of art and manufacture'. He provided etymologies (usually brief) and some guide to accentuation and orthography. His delineation of multiple meanings of words under each entry follows a stated methodology (often tempered by the contingencies of what he actually found in the printed record), and he included quotations from notable English writers to lend additional authority



to word usage and illustration. Of these attributes, the attention to polysemy was unusual in English lexicography, if not literally original with Johnson. Only the adding of multiple illustrative quotations (what he called ‘authorities’) was a true innovation in England, though it had been practised by the Italian and Spanish academies (1612 and 1729–39, respectively), the French (Richelet, 1680, and Furetière, 1690), and the Germans (J. L. Frisch, 1741).

What has not been sufficiently understood, however, is that Johnson’s *Dictionary* was the first English dictionary to attempt, to a considerable degree, to determine its meanings according to word use as it was realized in the works of English authors. This basically empirical practice—privileging use over predetermined categories and models—emerged only after Johnson experienced the futility of fixing or ordering the language according to a settled *a priori* system of defining (or ‘explaining’, to use Johnson’s word). As often as not, the criterion of use trumps prescriptive criteria, such as etymology, semantic rules, or analogy.

### 8.2.1 (ii) Public linguistic authority

This first full modern dictionary of English was not the work of linguistic academies, as had been the case with the major dictionaries of most other European languages, but rather of one not-yet distinguished author, relying upon assistants and previous models, and sponsored by a consortium of London booksellers. Johnson makes of his necessity a virtue when he claims (in his ‘Preface’) that the lack of a national linguistic academy is a sign of the free spirit of the English, as against continental (especially French) despotism (nevertheless, Johnson wanted his work to be compared with the activities of the continental academies and exchanged copies of his volumes with the French and Italian academies (Reddick 1996: 15–16)). Its creation instantly became part of English heroic myth. The work was contracted for in 1746, and, in the following year, Johnson published his ‘Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language’, dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield, a prominent authority on language. The *Dictionary* was not published until 1755, however, by which point Johnson had renounced Chesterfield’s unfulfilled patronage. The title page bears his own name followed by the letters ‘A.B.’—a record of his just granted honorary Oxford degree—as well as a list of the publishers, pronouncing a new kind of authority. Unlike his comparable predecessors, Johnson includes no dedication to a patron. The rejection of Chesterfield’s patronage has traditionally been considered as signalling the death of aristocratic patronage in England. Because the English dictionary was conceived, and would be perceived by many, as a booksellers’ project, its lack of explicit institutional authority necessarily tempers the prescriptive aspects of the book.

## 8.2.2 *Process of construction of the Dictionary*

### 8.2.2 (i) Projected semantic structures

Relying upon the examples of several previous dictionaries—notably the *Dictionary Britannicum* of Nathaniel Bailey (1730), the *Dictionnaire Royal, François-Anglois et Anglois-François* of Abel Boyer (first published 1699), and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of Robert Ainsworth (1736)—Johnson established very early the outline structure and method for construction of his own text. In particular, he studied the treatment of polysemy in these works, as he constructed his own system for defining, published in the ‘Plan’, under which all multiple definitions would be sorted and defined. Multiple meanings (‘explanations’) of particular headwords would be arranged under the following categories: (1) The primitive or natural sense (i.e. that closest to the etymon); (2) the consequential or accidental; (3) the metaphorical; (4) the poetical (‘where it differs from that which is in common use’); (5) the familiar; (6) the burlesque; and (7) the peculiar sense as used by a great author. These categories begin with that closest to the etymological root and extend from there. His strategy, based upon previous examples and, most likely, John Locke’s discussion (in Book III, ‘Of Words’, of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*) of the use and discrimination of meaning of individual units of language, provided Johnson with a systematic, coherent, and impressive structure on the basis of which he could order and prescribe proper English usage. The incorporation of examples of usage from English writers would provide him with evidence and authority for a coherent structure. Johnson appears to have believed that virtually any example of English usage would fit within his carefully constructed scheme for multiple definitions, and that illustration would be found for most, if not all definitions (Reddick 1996: 25–54).

### 8.2.2 (ii) Modified procedures

Johnson’s prescriptive and normative tendencies, particularly as expressed in the ‘Plan’ of 1747, were considerably modified in the *Dictionary* of 1755 and in the remarkable ‘Preface’ to that edition. There, Johnson outlines the history of his project, a profound meditation upon language, lexicography, and (often vain) human endeavour. The elegiac, resigned, and somewhat defensive tone of the ‘Preface’ replaces the confidence and youthful assurance of the ‘Plan’ (‘these were the dreams of a poet doomed at last to wake a lexicographer’ [C<sup>v</sup>]). In the course of constructing the work, facing ‘the boundless chaos of a living speech’, Johnson shifted from a prescriptive, normative, and *a priori* procedure to one based chiefly upon written usage. Because parts of Johnson’s working papers for the

composition and later revision of the *Dictionary* are preserved, it has been possible to trace his procedures and the development of the project. As he attempted to construct the work according to his organizational methods outlined in the ‘Plan’, he marked tens of thousands of passages in books, having them copied out onto slips and assembled alphabetically under individual lemmas; yet it appears that a crisis, both procedural and philosophical, ensued. The imposition of pre-existing semantic structures onto the wealth of quotations was practically inflexible, theoretically inadequate, and increasingly inconsistent with his philosophy of language use, mirrored in the practical problems of assembling the material.

In late 1749 or early 1750, he abandoned his partially constructed manuscript, altering his procedure to a more empirical approach to the written authorities he had collected and allowing the quotations essentially to determine the word-list and definitions. In a sense, Johnson was overwhelmed by the multiplicity and sheer number of his ‘authorities’, as well as the unmethodical, often contingent variations in usage. Rather than being simply illustrations of the definitions, they become the groundwork upon which the remainder of the dictionary is constructed. The referential and rhetorical link between quotations, explanations, and notes on usage is considerably strengthened; in extreme cases, the entry functions as a gloss or commentary on the textual example(s) quoted (e.g. ‘SIRUPED. *Adj.* [from *sirup.*] Sweet, like sirup; bedewed with sweets. “Yet when there haps a honey fall,/We’ll lick the *syrupt* leaves:/And tell the bees that their’s is gall.” *Drayton’s Q. of Cynthia.*’) (Reddick 1996: 25–58).

### 8.2.3 Quotations and ‘authorities’

#### 8.2.3 (i) Authors

Most of the quotations Johnson marked and gathered were taken from what he referred to in his ‘Preface’ as ‘the wells of English undefiled’—that is, those authors writing from the time of Sir Philip Sidney in the latter half of the sixteenth century to the Restoration of 1660 (and, in practice, somewhat later). This was the period in the development of the English language, he asserted, before it was considerably influenced by French (‘gradually departing from its original *Teutonick* character, and deviating towards a *Gallick* structure and phraseology, from which it ought to be our endeavour to recall it, by making our ancient volumes the ground-work of stile’) and yet written after ‘a time of rudeness antecedent to perfection’, the written language before Sidney. He did stray from this chronological boundary often, however—passages from Dryden

and Pope are among the most heavily quoted, Chaucer, Swift, Arbuthnot, William Law, Edward Young, and James Thomson, among many others, are also frequent. Johnson quoted works of poetry and prose, theology and philosophy, history and politics, philology and art history, not to mention technical works and special subjects—on everything from coins to agriculture, to trees, to paints. The specialized sources (often encyclopedias themselves) introduced an often overtly encyclopedic quality to parts of the work. He tended to use encyclopedic sources for words dealing with complicated artefacts (e.g. Chambers under AIRPUMP), with natural objects and phenomena (Arbuthnot on GOUT), and those dealing with human institutions, professions, and fields of learning (John Cowell under ANNUITY), in some cases allowing the borrowed passages to serve as definitions (Lynch 2005: 137; Stone 2005). He also relied extensively upon poetical sources with a specialized vocabulary, such as Thomas Tusser's *Husbandry* or Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.

### 8.2.3 (ii) Function of quotations

Despite the claim on the title page of the *Dictionary*, Johnson did not necessarily seek examples from 'the best writers': some of the illustrations are 'extracted from writers who were never mentioned as masters of elegance or models of stile; but words must be sought where they are used'. For example, 'in what pages, eminent for purity, can terms of manufacture or agriculture be found? Many quotations serve no other purpose, than that of proving the bare existence of words' [B2<sup>v</sup>].

This pragmatic strain is evident as well in Johnson's basing of his lexicon on written rather than oral usage. 'No mention is found in books', he writes, of many popular and useful terms, but it would be 'hopeless labour' to attempt to collect them from speech (by 'courting living information'). He expresses some regret for the absence of the spoken and colloquial. His exclusion of dialect words may to some extent reflect his practical reliance upon written sources.

### 8.2.3 (iii) Rhetorical function of quotations

The function and purpose of the quotations Johnson gathered was primarily to indicate that a particular word was used, whatever his original preferences. Some critics early on accused Johnson of including political writers according to his own stamp, as well as peculiar writers who thought and wrote like him; more recently, it has been claimed Johnson had an 'educational plan' and presented positions and beliefs through the quotations (De Maria 1986). Such an assertion does not take into consideration, however, the nature of the construction of each entry, the rhetoric of the individual entries and their relation to other entries, the manner in

which users consult the work, or Johnson's own comments. The decontextualizing of a quotation, partially recontextualized under an entry-heading, acquiring some relation to the other quotations and to Johnson's own authorizing voice, renders it too equivocal to function as either a representative of the author's, or of Johnson's, particular beliefs. How does it function *syntactically* (or *discursively*), we might ask? Furthermore, the user approaches the *Dictionary* very rarely as a codex, to be read from beginning to end, or for long stretches; instead, the user consults it an entry at a time, often to answer a specific question.

There are some occasions, however, especially in the large revision of 1771–73 for the fourth edition, where it appears that Johnson systematically altered his use of certain authorities he had drawn upon before (especially Milton and James Thomson), and added new ones, for the purpose of influencing readers' political and theological views, particularly in relation to current debates (concerning the authority of oaths in Church and state) in Parliament and in the press. Johnson added many quotations from a group of conservative Anglican writers, mainly from the seventeenth century, who had defended the church in its past battles with state authority. Johnson's efforts appear to have been aimed at bringing before his readers names and voices—many of them forgotten—from previous times of strife for use in current disputes (Reddick 1996: 121–69; 1997: 983–1005).

### 8.2.3 (iv) Dehistoricization

This is an aspect of what should be considered as the *Dictionary's* characteristic 'dehistoricizing' tendency: in this case, the earlier and now forgotten writers are resurrected to speak as contemporaries. In general, Johnson makes no attempt to distinguish the earliest use of a word, despite arranging the quotations in chronological order under each definition, and only occasionally provides explicit reference to diachronic development of word meaning (he gives no dates, for example); and while he often assembles multiple quotations under individual senses, he makes no attempt to be exhaustive or representative. Instead, Johnson's attention is focused more upon specific synchronic occurrences of words in particular (though possibly typical) contexts. (This places its purposes directly contrary to the historical concerns of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.)

The decision to fill his work with citations from authorities of previous generations, indeed previous centuries, setting the *terminus ante quem* at least a generation earlier than the period of compilation, considerably affects the type of dictionary Johnson produces. It was seen by most as a monument to English letters; yet it is *past* written language that is cited. This characteristic of 'pre-iteritiness' or 'pastness' is, on the one hand, characteristic of any dictionary, always

attempting to capture the moment in the present which is, however, ‘always passing over’, as Johnson memorably puts it in the ‘Preface’. In Johnson’s case, it is overtly contradictory to base *present* usage on *past* examples. In the ‘Preface’, Johnson thematizes the elusiveness of the present and its tragic overtones of regret, failure, and death. His choices from some prose writers of the seventeenth century, in particular, were derided, and critics satirically aligned Johnson’s ‘deformities’ of style (and person) with his taste for these writers.

#### 8.2.4 *Semantics and ‘explanations’*

Johnson’s definitions usually went far beyond those of his monolingual English predecessors, whose definitions often consisted of synonyms, with only a bare reference to genus (or superordinate). (It must be mentioned here that Bailey, especially in the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, not infrequently provided such fuller definitions, and that Johnson, as can be seen in the illustrated examples—see below—often uses synonyms as definitions as well.) He frequently defines by genus and both descriptive and functional differentiae, as in the case of DESK, ‘An inclining table for the use of writers or readers, made commonly with a box or repository under it’ (Stone 2005: 155). Johnson provided over 1,500 definitions verbatim for the *OED*, and James Murray lauded Johnson as having ‘contributed to the evolution of the modern dictionary’ by ‘the illustration of the use of each word by a selection of literary quotations, and the more delicate appreciation and discrimination of senses which this involved and rendered possible’ (Murray 1993: 116; Silva 2000: 79–80). Because the ‘definition’ serves to ‘explain’ the use of the word in the quotation, rather than the quoted use simply exemplifying the definition, the elements of the entry may take on a dialogic quality, chiefly between lexicographer and quoted author.

##### 8.2.4 (i) *Etymology and meaning*

The canonization of etymology as the key to correct assessment of lexical meaning, as we have seen, is much more evident in the ‘Plan of the Dictionary’ than it is in either the ‘Preface’ or the *Dictionary* itself. Nothing demonstrates more convincingly Johnson’s demotion of the powers of etymology for establishing the true meaning of words than his entries for ETYMOLOGY and ETYMOLOGIST themselves. Their definitions retain little of Bailey’s sense of the power of that science. But more revealing are three of the four illustrations under the first sense of ‘etymology’. ‘When words are restrained, by common usage, to a particular sense, to run up to *etymology*, and construe them by

dictionary, is wretchedly ridiculous. *Collier's View of the Stage*. 'Pelvis is used by comic writers for a looking-glass, by which means the *etymology* of the word is visible, and pelvidera will signify a lady who looks in her glass. *Addison's Spectator*'. 'If the meaning of a word could be learned by its derivation or *etymology*, yet the original derivation of words is oftentimes very dark. *Watts's Logick*'. Two pages earlier in his copy of *Watts's Logick*, Johnson also marked the following illustration of the word: 'But this tracing of a Word to its Original, (which is called Etymology) is sometimes a very precarious and uncertain thing'. These examples display an unmistakable scepticism towards the powers of etymology to determine meaning or usage.

#### 8.2.4 (ii) 'Explanations' and 'examples'

Indeed, Johnson considered semantics to be the most troublesome and controversial aspect of his work: 'That part of my work on which I expect malignity most frequently to fasten, is the EXPLANATION ... since I have not always been able to satisfy myself. To interpret a language by itself is very difficult'. He cites his special concern for phrasal verbs, his distrust of synonyms, and the importance of syntactic context:

The rigour of interpretative lexicography requires that the explanation, and the word explained, should be always reciprocal; this I have always endeavoured, but could not always attain. Words are seldom exactly synonymous; a new term was not introduced, but because the former was thought inadequate: names, therefore, have often many ideas, but few ideas have many names. It was then necessary to use the *proximate* word, for the deficiency of single terms can very seldom be supplied by circumlocution; nor is the inconvenience great of such mutilated interpretations, because the sense may easily be collected entire from the examples [B2<sup>r</sup> emphasis mine].

The word 'proximate' means, in one sense, 'approximate'; but its most applicable meaning is 'near or next' (Johnson defines the word as 'next in the series of ratiocination'). Johnson's use of the term illuminates the elusiveness of semantic precision and the deferral of equivalence between word and definition. Most interesting is his comment that 'the sense may be collected *entire* from the examples', an obvious circularity which perhaps reflects the circularity of defining itself.

Johnson's lingering preoccupation with the relation between the quotations and the explanations and the logical development of the senses of the headword may be clearly illustrated by the changes marked in the working papers for Johnson's revision of the *Dictionary* (fourth edition, 1773). For example, the entries for BLAST. *n.s.* and To BLAST. *v.a.* in the first edition (Fig. 8.1) are altered by Johnson as indicated in Fig. 8.2.

Johnson's manuscript alterations attempt to make the entries more coherent in the fourth edition, by accounting logically for multiple meanings and a precise relation between definition and quotation. He adds the phrase 'the power of the wind' to the definition '1. A gust, or puff of wind', which removes the random or occasional aspect of the definition, supplying instead the idea of a constant and destructive force, necessary for a coherent reading of the two Shakespearian quotations which follow. Johnson inserts a new definition, '2. A particular wind', before the quotation from Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid*, glossing it in terms not of chance gusts but of a determinate and identifiable wind, predictable in its force. He inserts a new illustration from Dryden, 'If envious eyes their hurtful rays have cast,/More powerful verse shall free thee from their blast', to illustrate the existing definition, 'The stroke of a malignant planet; the infection of any thing pestilential', effecting a witty, if hyperbolic, reading of Dryden's couplet. To def. 2 under the entry To BLAST, Johnson adds, 'to wither before the time', more accurately reflecting the usage in, and binding together, the subsequent quotations from *Genesis* and Dryden. He then reverses the order of senses 3 and 4 in order to maintain the continuum of definitions from the literal and graphic to the more metaphorical. In particular, the first three definitions pertain to a force that blights or plagues, especially plants or living and maturing things (especially def. 2 and the reordered 3). For the new def. 4 and the existing def. 5, the effect is more general and impersonal (Reddick 2005: xx, [3E2]<sup>v</sup>).

### 8.2.5 Grammatical concerns

For the most part, Johnson includes grammatico-semantic derivatives in his word-list, yet indicates their derivation from the root lexeme (e.g. To EMULATE, EMULATION, EMULATIVE, EMULATOR) through the use of cap-and-small-cap, in comparison with the full-size capitals he uses for main root entries. Johnson also uses typography to highlight the relation (of 'conversion') between identical lexemes used as different parts of speech (e.g. 'GENERAL. *adj.*', followed by 'GENERAL. *n.s.*'). He often (but not as a rule) lists compounds as separate lexemes, such as GIDDY. *adj.*, followed in the word-list by GIDDYBRAINED, GIDDYHEADED, GIDDYPACED, typographically distinguished from the root.

A particularly interesting example of Johnson's treatment of grammar is his attention to phrasal verbs, 'too frequent in the English Language', and especially problematic for foreign learners. Johnson used bilingual lexicons, especially Latin-English, as prototypes for the treatment of phrasal verbs. (English monolingual predecessors hardly mentioned them at all, though Robert Cawdrey, in *The Table Alphabeticall*, 1604, uses them from time to time as characteristic of simple



BLAST. *n. f.* [from blæƿt, Saxon; *blasen*, Germ. to blow.]

1. A gust, or puff of wind.

They that stand high, have many *blasts* to shake them;  
And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

*Shakesp. Richard III.*

Welcome, then,

Thou unsubstantial air, that I embrace;

The wretch that thou hast blown unto the worst,

Owes nothing to thy *blasts*. *Shakesp. King Lear.*

Perhaps thy fortune doth controul the winds,

Doth loose or bind their *blasts* in secret cave. *Fairfax, b. i.*

Three ships were hurry'd by the southern *blast*,

And on the secret shelves with fury cast. *Dryden's Æneid.*

2. The sound made by blowing any instrument of wind music.

In peace there's nothing so becomes a man,

As modest stillness and humility;

But when the *blast* of war blows in our ears,

Then imitate the action of the tyger. *Shakesp. Henry V.*

He blew his trumpet—the angelick *blast*

Fill'd all the regions. *Milt. Par. Lost, b. xi. l. 76.*

The Veline fountains, and sulphureous Nar,

Shake at the baleful *blast*, the signal of the war. *Dryden's Æn.*

Whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, or one goddess founding two different trumpets, it is certain, villainy has as good a title to a blast from the proper trumpet, as virtue has from the former. *Swift.*

3. The stroke of a malignant planet; the infection of any thing pestilential.

By the *blast* of God they perish.

*Job, iv. 9.*

To BLAST. *v. a.* [from the noun.]

1. To strike with some sudden plague or calamity.

You nimble lightnings, dart your blinding flames

Into her scornful eyes! infect her beauty,

You fenfuck'd fogs, drawn by the powerful sun,

To fall and *blast* her pride. *Shakesp. King Lear.*

Oh! Portius, is there not some chosen curse,

Some hidden thunder in the store of heaven,

Red with uncommon wrath, to *blast* the man,

Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin. *Addison. Cato.*

2. To make to wither.

Upon this *blasted* heath you stop our way. *Macbeth.*

And behold seven thin ears, and *blasted* with the eastwind  
sprung up after them. *Gen. xli. 6.*

She that like lightning shin'd, while her face lasted,

The oak now resembles, which lightning had *blasted*.

*Waller.*

To his green years your censures you would suit,

Not *blast* that blossom, but expect the fruit. *Dryden.*

Agony unmix'd, incessant gall

Corroding every thought, and *blasting* all

Love's paradise. *Thomson's Spring, l. 1075.*

3. To injure; to invalidate.

He shews himself either very weak, if he will take my word,  
when he thinks I deserve no credit; or very malicious, if he  
knows I deserve credit, and yet goes about to *blast* it.

*Stillingsfleet's Defence of Discourses on Romish Idolatry.*

4. To cut off; to hinder from coming to maturity.

This commerce, Jeshophat king of Juda endeavoured to re-  
new; but his enterprize was *blasted* by the destruction of vessels  
in the harbour. *Arbutnot on Coins.*

5. To confound; to strike with terrour.

Trumpeters,

With brazen din, *blast* you the city's ears;

Make mingle with your ratt'ling tabourines.

*Shakesp. Antony and Cleopatra.*

FIG. 8.1. Detail from the page containing BLAST from Samuel Johnson's Dictionary,

B L A

man, should venture to own such a villainous, impudent, and blasphemous assertion in the face of the world, as this! South. LA SPHEMOSLY, adv. [from blaspheme.] Impudently; with wicked irreverence.

Where is the right use of his reason, while he would blasphemyly set up to contend the commands of the Almighty? Swift. BLASPHEM v. n. f. [from blaspheme.]

Blasphemy, tritely and properly, is an offering of some indignity, or injury, unto God himself, either by words or writing. Ashly's Parergon.

But that my heart's on future mischief set, I would speak blasphemy, ere bid you fly; But fly you must. Shaksfp. Henry VI. p. ii. Intitlick goodness consists in accordance, and fin in contrary, to the secret will of God, or else God could not be defind good, so far as his thoughts and secrets, but only superficially good, as far as he is pleased to reveal himself, which is perfect blasphemy to imagine. Hammond's Fundamentals.

BLAST. n. f. [from blast, Saxon; blast, Germ. to blow.] 1. A gust, or puff of wind. The Generall of the Army. They that stand high, have many blasts to shake them; And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces. Shaksfp. Richard III.

Welcome, then, Thou unsubstantial air, that I embrace; The wrath that thou hast blown unto the worst, Owes nothing to thy blasts. Shaksfp. King Lear. Perhaps thy fortune doth controul the winds, Doth loose or bind their blasts in secret cave. Fairfax, b. i.

Three ships were hurry'd by the northern blast, And on the secret shelves with fury call. Dryden's Aeneid. The found made by blowing any instrument of wind musick.

In peace there's nothing so becomes a man, As modesty and humility; But when the blast of war blows in our ears, Then imitate the action of the tyger. Shaksfp. Henry V. He blow his trumpet—the anglick blast Fill'd all the regions. Milts. Par. Left, b. xi. l. 76. The Veline fountains, and sulphureous Nar, Shake at the baleful blast, the signal of the war. Dryden's Æn. Whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, or one goddess founding two different trumpets, it is certain, villainy has as good a tide to a blast from the proper trumpet, as virtue has from the former. Swift. The stroke of a malignant planet; the infection of any thing venereal.

By the blast of God they perish: To BLAST. v. a. [from the noun.]

1. To strike with some sudden plague or calamity. You nimble lightning, dart your blinding flames Into her scornful eyes! infect her beauty, You fenuck'd fogs, drawn by the powerful fun, To fall and blast her pride. Shaksfp. King Lear. Oh! Portius, is there not some chosen curse, Some hidden thunder in the fure of heaven, Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man, Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin. Addison's Cato.

2. To make to wither. Upon this blasted heath you lose your way. Macbeth. And behold seven thin cars, and blasted with the eastwind sprung up after them. Gen. xli. 6. She that like lightning shin'd, while her face lasted, The oak now relembers, which lightning had blasted.

To his green years your censures you would suit, Not blast that blossom, but expect the fruit. Dryden. Agony unmix'd, incessant gall Corroding every thought, and blasting all Leg's paradise. Thomson's Spring, l. 1075.

3. To injure; to invalidate. He shews himself either very weak, if he will take my word, when he thinks I deserve no credit; or very malicious, if he knows I deserve credit, and yet goes about to blast it. Stillingfleet's Defence of Discourses on Romish Idolatry.

4. To cut off; to hinder from coming to maturity. This commerce, Jeshophat king of Juda endeavoured to renew; but his enterprize was blasted by the destruction of vessels in the harbour. Arbuthnot on Coins.

5. To confound; to strike with terror. With brazen dirt, blast you the city's ears; Make mingle with your rattling tabourines. Shaksfp. Antony and Cleopatra.

BLA'NTMENT. n. f. [from blast.] Blant; sudden stroke of infection. In the morn, and liquid dew of youth, Contagious blastments are most imminent. Shaksfp. Hamlet. You know'd this language from the bliant heath. Dryden.

TO BLA'NTER. v. n. [from blater, Lat.] To roar; to make a fenckle noise. It is a word not now used. She rode at peace, through his only pains and excellent en-

B L A

durance, however envy lift to blater against him. Spens. lrv. BLATTERATION. n. f. [blateratio, Lat.] Noise; fenckles roar. BLAY. n. f. A small whitener fish; called also a bleak, which

BLAZE. n. f. [blaze, a torch, Saxon.] 1. A flame; the light of the flame: blaze implies more the light than the heat.

They are in ~~arm~~ warlike preparation, and hope to come upon them in the heat of their division.—The main blaze of it is past; but a small thing would make it flame again.

Thy throne is darkness in th' abyss of light, A blaze of glory that forbids the fight. Dryden's Hind and P. What groans of men shall fill the martial field! How fierce a blaze his flaming pile shall yield! What funeral pyres shall flaming Tibes incase. Dryden's Æn.

2. Publication; wide diffusion of report. For what is glory but the blaze of fame; The people's praise, it always praise unmixt? Milton's Paradise Lost, b. iii. l. 47.

3. Blaze is a white mark upon a horse, descending from the forehead almost to the nose. Parrier's Dict. To BLAZE. v. n. [from the noun.]

1. To flame; to flew the light of the flame. Thus you may long live an happy instrument for your king and country; you shall not be a meteor, or a blazing star, but stella fixa; happy here, and more happy hereafter.

The third first morn now blaze'd upon the main, Then gloriof smooth lay all the liquid plain. Pope's Odyssey. To BLAZE. v. a. [from the noun.]

1. To publish; to make known; to spread far and wide. The noise of this fight, and issue thereof, being blaz'd by the country people to some nobleman therabouts, they came thither. Sidney, b. ii. My words, in hopes to blaze a steadfast mind, This marble chose, as of like temper known.

2. To blaze your marriage, reconcile your friends, Beg pardon of thy prince, and call thee back.

When beggars die, there are no comers fees; The heav'n's themselves blaze forth the death of princes; But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter.

Such musick worthiest were to blaze The peerless height of her immortal praise, Whose future leads us.

Far beyond The sons of Anak, famous now and blaze'd, Fearless of danger, like a petty god I walk'd about.

3. To blaze about, to all care known, And are a secret to himself alone. But, mortals, know, 'tis fill our greatest pride To blaze those virtues, which the good would hide. Pope.

2. To blazon; to give an account of enigms armoial in proper terms. This is not now used. This, in ancient times, was called a fierce; and you should then have blaz'd it thus: he bears a fierce, fable, between two fierce, or.

3. To inflame; to fire. This is not a proper use. Becomes affing'd, and doth beg the alms Of palfid eld.

BLAZER. n. f. [from blaze.] One that spreads reports. Utterers of secrets he from thence debar'd, Babblers of folly, and blazers of crime; His larum-bell might loud and wide be heard, When cause requir'd, but never out of time; Early and late it rung, at evening and at prime. Fairy Queen.

TO BLAZON. v. a. [blazoner, Fr.] 1. To explain, in proper terms, the figures on enigms armoial. King Edward gave to them the coat of arms, which I am not herald enough to blazon into English. Addison's Guardian.

2. To deck; to embellish; to adorn. Thee blazons in dread smiles her hideous form; So lightning gilds the unrelenting storm. Garth's Dispensat. 3. To display; to fet to show.

O thou goddess, Thou divine nature! how thyself thou blazon'st In thee: two princely boys! they are as gentle As zephyrs blowing below the violet.

4. To celebrate; to honour of high praise. One that exalts the quirk of blazening pens, And, in terrestrial vulture of creation, Does bear all excellency.

5. To blaze about; to make publick. She rode at peace, through his only pains and excellent en-

Fig. 8.2. First edition marked by Johnson for revised (fourth) edition, 1773

idiomatic English; foreign language lexicons like Boyer's, on the other hand, paid particular attention to them. In the Latin–English part of a bilingual dictionary, the phrasal verbs, which are translation equivalents, would be scattered and need orderly rearrangement (Osselton 1995: 93–103.) He borrowed synonyms or definitions in many cases. Yet Johnson gathered many more textual examples from printed books than he would have found covered in these dictionaries. He has 'noted with great care' these cases in which 'we modify the signification of many verbs by a particle subjoined'. His *Dictionary* is replete with unprecedented examples, such as those dealt with under the intransitive verb FALL. Johnson provides thirty-six separate definitions of the verb, followed by twenty-eight instances of phrasal combinations: fall *away* (5), fall *back* (2), fall *down* (3), fall *from* (1), fall *in* (2), fall *off* (3), fall *on* (2), fall *over* (1), fall *out* (2), fall *to* (2), fall *under* (2), fall *upon* (3). Each of these, with one exception, is supported by at least one and usually multiple quotations. In a truly astonishing case, Johnson (1773) lists 117 meanings for the transitive verb TAKE, fifty-three of which are phrasal verbs. Under '88. *To TAKE off*. To invalidate; to destroy; to remove', he includes a whopping seventeen quotations from a range of sources: Shakespeare (2), Bacon (3), Bishop Sanderson (1), Henry Hammond (1), Sir Thomas Browne (1), Edward Stillingfleet (1), Locke (2), Addison (3), Swift (1), Martha Blount, letter to Pope (1), and Isaac Watts (1). For senses 104, '*To TAKE up*. To engross; to engage', and 114, '*To TAKE up*. To adopt; to assume', each is illustrated by ten quotations from a similar range of authorities (Bailey, by comparison, lists none). It should be noted that Johnson also includes in the same alphabetical sequence idiomatic combinations with verbs (e.g. take *part*, take *care*, take *oath*, take *place*), not only phrasal verbs in the usual sense.

### 8.2.6 *Prescriptivism: 'Fixing' vs. recording*

Johnson acknowledges his earlier hopes that he 'should fix our language, and put a stop to those alterations which time and chance have hitherto been suffered to make in it without opposition'; yet he observes that faced with 'the boundless chaos of a living speech', any attempt to freeze the language is doomed and quixotic: 'to enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength' [C2<sup>r</sup>]. Johnson's adaptation of Juvenal's satire on Xerxes marks those who would presume to attempt to control language change. Yet his awareness does not deter him from making prescriptive comments throughout the work.

Johnson's pronouncement in the 'Preface' that the lexicographer is one 'who do[es] not form, but register[s] the language; who do[es] not teach men how they should think, but relate[s] how they have hitherto expressed their thoughts',

represents a crucial moment in English lexicography: he announces the necessity of a descriptive, documentary policy rather than a prescriptive and normative one. Predictably, Johnson's *Dictionary* was criticized by some contemporaries and successors as insufficiently prescriptive, and his broad descriptive method both too generous and idiosyncratic.

### 8.2.6 (i) Rules vs. usage

If we examine the extent and kinds of prescriptivism in Johnson's *Dictionary*, we find something of a mixed picture. Johnson's cases of proscription or opinionated commentary on usage are celebrated, yet it is remarkable in practice how often he relies not on rules and prescription based upon etymology or analogy but on the complex evidence of word usage provided by his authorities. There are many exceptions, of course: under ROUNDABOUT. *adj.* Johnson writes, 'This word is used as an adjective, though it is only an adverb united to a substantive by a colloquial license of language, which ought not to have been admitted into books.' His usage notes may comprise the neutral, for example, 'obsolete', 'not in use', or 'a word proper, but little used', as well as the stigmatizing: 'a low word', 'a cant word', or 'a bad word'. In nearly all such cases, the commentary refers directly to the example in an authority he has quoted—the note, as well as the definition, being prompted by the quotation (to prove 'the bare existence of words'). His commentary on an author's peculiar use of a word both records its existence and assists the reader of a difficult, usually older, author (e.g. SUIT *n.s.*, 'In Spenser it seems to signify pursuit; prosecution. "High amongst all knights hast hung thy shield,/ Thenceforth the *suit* of earthly conquest shoone,/And wash thy hands from guilt of bloody field: *Spenser*"'). Unlike his predecessors Edward Phillips (1658), John Kersey (1706), Bailey (1727), Benjamin Martin, and Abel Boyer, Johnson does not use daggers or other graphic marks to indicate disapprobation or alien words.

### 8.2.6 (ii) Censuring authorial usage

It is noteworthy how frequently Johnson quotes an author—even one as prominent as Shakespeare or Milton—and then censures the way the author uses a particular expression. The fifth sense of 'To MAKE, *v.n.*', the idiomatic phrasal verb 'To Make away with', Johnson defines as 'To destroy; to kill; to make away' (i.e. 'to do away with'), provides an illustration from Addison, then cautions, 'The phrase is improper'. Glossing the adverb NOWADAYS, defined as 'In the present age', Johnson writes, 'This word, though common and used by the best writers, is perhaps barbarous,' and follows it with quotations from Spenser, Shakespeare, Robert South, Tillotson, and Johnson's friend, David Garrick. Because PREJUDICE, to

mean ‘2. Mischief; detriment; hurt; injury’, is ‘only accidental or consequential... not derived from the original or etymology of the word [then] it were therefore better to use it less . . . . In some of the following examples its impropriety will be discovered’. He then lists two examples from Shakespeare and one each from Bacon, Locke, and Addison. While this practice is clearly at variance with the role of accepting, as proper language, use as it is found, it also reiterates Johnson’s unwillingness to consider the ‘best authors’ sacrosanct authorities. In cases such as this, he is drawn in opposite directions, retaining two models for judgement: recording usage, yet commenting upon its (lack of) propriety.

Some users were critical that Johnson was not more prescriptive and outspoken. Adam Smith, for example, in an early review in the *Edinburgh Review*, wrote: ‘We cannot help wishing, that the author had trusted less to the judgment of those who may consult him, and had oftener passed his own censure upon those words which are not of approved use, tho’ sometimes to be met with in authors of no mean fame’ (Boulton 1971: 115). Other contemporary critics of the *Dictionary* complained that it was not clear what the ‘authorities’ were *authorizing*, or the illustrations *illustrating*, specifically concerning proper usage among the passages quoted. For example, Andrew Kippis, the divine and biographer, complained in the 1760s that ‘Johnson’s Dictionary is rather a history than a standard of our language. He hath shewn by whom words have been used, and in what sense; but hath left the readers to determine what authority they have.’ John Pinkerton wrote in 1785: ‘The joke is, that with [Johnson] every body is an authority’ (Reddick 1998: 70).

Johnson exercises a kind of prescription in limiting the chronological range of written works from which examples would be taken (‘the wells of English undefiled’); yet, as we have seen, he does not limit himself to ‘the best writers’ within this period, as Charles Richardson would, for example. And, in practice, Johnson very often spills beyond the chronological limits he set for himself. The fact that quotations are taken from written rather than oral sources is itself a form of selectivity, yet, whatever the elitist implications, Johnson’s reasons for this appear to be largely practical rather than judgemental.

### 8.2.7 *Johnson’s Dictionary and the public*

#### 8.2.7 (i) The common reader

In his general tendency towards non-elitism, Johnson was much more attuned to ‘common diction’ and the ‘common reader’ than has previously been assumed (the ‘common reader’ would be specifically addressed in the Preface to the

abridged dictionary of 1756). Several aspects of the *Dictionary* support this conclusion, especially in regard to accessibility: numbered listing of polysemous entries and phrasal verbs, thereby providing explicit and clear references for the reader; pronunciation and orthography determined, for the most part, by analogy with other entries based upon etymological patterns; and non-lemmatization, i.e. providing separate entries for the derivatives of a lemma, distinguished typographically from the root lexeme, rather than grouping these forms under a single headword or leaving them unaddressed (McDermott 2005a: 124). Johnson's providing of 'authorities', as he called them—not 'examples' or 'illustrations'—testified to the basis upon which he made his decisions. His readiness to criticize his authorities is also evidence of appeals to other forms of authority.

### 8.2.7 (ii) Critiques of language and literature

Johnson's project, with its reconsiderations of the great writings of the past, parallels his *Lives of the Poets*, written twenty-five years later, both philosophically and chronologically (Johnson revised his *Dictionary*, more or less constantly, until his death in 1784). The *Dictionary* constitutes, among other things, the repeated specific unmediated response of this critic to instances of literary discourse through the ages. Nothing else on such a scale exists in the language. His literary-critical writing (including the *Edition of Shakespeare*, 1765, selected *Rambler* and *Idler* essays from the 1750s, and the *Lives of the Poets*, 1779 and 1781) has an identifiable affinity with his lexicographical thinking, and vice versa. While constructing his *Dictionary*, Johnson awakes, in a sense, the critic of literature and—just as Charles Richardson would accuse him of having done—occupies himself increasingly with the contextual existence of words.

### 8.2.7 (iii) Publication history

Johnson's folio *Dictionary* appeared in six editions in Johnson's lifetime, including the heavily-revised fourth edition of 1773. This revision involved nearly two years of work and constituted certain alterations in procedure, especially concerning the use of quotations. None of the editions of Johnson's folio succeeded in banishing competitors from the market; neither did the many editions of the octavo abridgement, first published in 1756. Nathan Bailey's dictionaries, especially the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, and the *New Universal Dictionary* revised by Joseph Nicol Scott in 1755 to compete with Johnson's folio, continued to sell well, often better than the Johnsonian editions against which they competed head-to-head (Gove 1940: 305–22). In the nineteenth century, Johnson's *Dictionary* was revised and somewhat enlarged by H. J. Todd in four volumes (1818),

a version that, in its various editions, continued to prove popular; it was eventually enlarged further by Robert Gordon Latham as late as 1866–70. Only the dictionaries of Charles Richardson and Noah Webster (who both explicitly defined themselves against Johnson) competed effectively during this period with Johnson–Todd (→ LANDAU). Johnson’s octavo abridgement was much more affordable and appealed directly to ‘the common reader’, omitting all quotations, shortening definitions, and leaving out many word-headings. Though outsold by Bailey’s octavo, Johnson’s abridgement ran through many editions, selling far more copies than the expensive folio.

### 8.3 CHARLES RICHARDSON’S *NEW DICTIONARY*

Charles Richardson styled his dictionary *A New Dictionary of the English Language*, departing explicitly from Johnson (as would the *OED* from Johnson and Richardson): ‘No man can possibly succeed in compiling a truly valuable Dictionary of the English Language,’ he wrote in the preface, ‘unless he entirely desert the steps of Johnson.’ His dictionary was begun as a part of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* (1818–45), the brainchild of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, as an explanatory index for the vocabulary of philosophical keywords in the encyclopedia, intended to be published last. But, instead, the first section of the ‘English lexicon’ was published as a piece of the first part of the serial publication of the *Encyclopaedia* (Dolezal 2000: 114–15). The complete dictionary was first published in 1836–37.

#### 8.3.1 *Criticism of Johnson*

Richardson’s chief criticism of Johnson’s *Dictionary* was based on the remarks by John Horne Tooke, Richardson’s mentor and the philosophical father of his work. In particular, it concerned the use of ‘authorities’—quotations from earlier writers in English. The central criticism involved Johnson’s alleged error of arranging quotations under separate definitions for one headword. He was misled into believing that there were multiple meanings of a word by its different uses in context, while in fact it retained the same original and true meaning. Richardson writes:

There is one general error pervading the explanations [in Johnson’s entries] . . . imputable to interpreters in general, who, ‘are seeking with it the meaning of some other word or words in

the sentence.' This is to interpret the import of the context, and not to explain the individual meaning of the words. And Johnson, by pursuing this method systematically, was led into the accidental but additional absurdity of opposing his authority to his explanation (37).

Furthermore, Richardson accurately observes that Johnson departed from his original procedure of determining multiple meanings systematically:

That Dr. Johnson was impressed with a sense of the paramount importance of this portion of his duty [to explain the meaning of words], is manifest from the earnestness with which he enlarges upon it, in his '*Plan of an English Dictionary*' . . . . If however his professions of performance are compared with the actual state of the work itself, it will be evident, that he must, at an early period of his labours, have abandoned his original design' (37).

'The whole is a failure,' Richardson concludes. 'Had the Dictionary of the English Language been the production of any writer of less name, a period of eighty years would not have been permitted to elapse without the appearance of a rival. And so far the name of Johnson has been an obstacle to the advancement of Lexicography in this country: it has commanded admirers and supporters: and it has deterred competition' (37).

Johnson's procedure, according to Richardson, is based upon the fallacy of 'the signification of the *context* ascribed to the *word*: the number of distinct explanations continued without restriction, to suit the quotations, where any seeming diversity of application may be fancied' (45). Johnson had justified his aims and procedure as follows: 'It is not sufficient that a word is found, unless it be so combined as that its meaning is apparently determined by the tract and tenour of the sentence; such passages I have therefore chosen' (C1<sup>r</sup>). Richardson claimed, however, that 'each one word has one meaning, and one only; that from it all usages must spring and be derived; and that in the Etymology of each word must be found this single intrinsic meaning, and the cause of the application in those usages . . . one radical meaning' (41). As is only too evident, the lexicographical approaches of Johnson and Richardson concerning the relation of meaning to context are fundamentally divergent.

### 8.3.2 *Etymology and meaning*

Horne Tooke claimed that the etymology revealed the 'primordial meaning . . . compris[ing] . . . all the senses of the word and those of all its derivations' (Zgusta 1991: 599; 2006: 47); his lexicographic disciple Richardson further insisted, 'when the intrinsic meaning is fixed, every lexicographical object is firmly secured' ('Introductory letter', *Illustrations* p. 6). Richardson's determination to discover the 'literal roots' was founded upon a close (largely erroneous) comparison, based on superficial



resemblances rather than systematic comparative analogy and change, across Classical and Germanic (and to some extent Romance) languages (Dolezal 2000: 126). Following Horne Tooke, Richardson also believed that the etymologist's or lexicographer's task is to locate similar words, usually in the same language, from which the full meaning of the word could be derived; these 'etymological extensions', which are to comprise all derivative forms of the root, are thus listed and sometimes explained in Richardson's dictionary. These extensions of similarity (and Richardson's etymologies in general) are often fanciful and impressionistic, frequently ingenious, many originating in Horne Tooke's examples in his *Diversions of Purley*. Murray would later refer to them as 'a fabric of conjectures' (Murray 1993: 118).

### 8.3.2 (i) Etymology: Johnson and Richardson

Richardson's attention to etymology was not unlike Johnson's original attempt to begin with the meaning of the word closest to the etymon and list metaphorical extensions of the meaning under different senses as he went. Richardson (and Johnson) followed Locke in the belief that words have concrete meanings, only later developing abstract ones; he further insisted that the meaning logically develops new applications through time. Etymology offered an organic theory of language. Johnson, on the other hand, responded more experientially to the authorities he gathered than Richardson, and his etymologies were certainly simpler and less thorough (as well as less fanciful). Johnson's etymologies, as Richardson complains, often consist merely of a Greek or Latin root word, or a root from modern languages, without definition or explanation of how the form(s) developed, often even without telling what the word signifies in the root language, or how it relates to subsequent definitions (e.g. 'ROACH.n.s. [from *rutilus*, Lat. redhaired.] A *roach* is a fish of no great reputation for his dainty taste... *Walton's Angler*'). Johnson also limits his etymologies to those obviously orthographically or orthoepically related, following the tradition of Junius and Skinner. He generally implies a connection between the given root word and the original English usage, yet his definition is rarely arrived at solely by recourse to the etymological root.

### 8.3.2 (ii) Layout of Richardson's entries

One can best discern the difference in the approach by observing the dictionary page itself. Richardson's own procedure was to make use of a two-column page, like Johnson and other predecessors, but with a visible emphasis on economy and compactness through clustering forms in the one entry of the headword, rather than employing separate main entries. (Richardson relied on Horne Tooke's ideas of grammar and etymology to concentrate or 'abbreviate' entry-headings (the

clustering of derivatives and etymological information beneath the principal head-word) and definitions.) His *Dictionary* of 1817 was also the first to add white space between entries, reinforcing their boundaries (Luna 2005: 178, 195). The entry-heading consists of a ‘root’ word, printed in full caps, followed in a vertical list by other forms, in cap-and-small-cap, of the word compounded or derived from this ‘root’ (including verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc.). He follows with an etymology, including classical as well as modern languages, in an attempt to identify a ‘literal meaning’, one from which all others derive. The definition is worded in a general way to cover the entire derivational group, sometimes followed by a string of approximate synonyms. After commentary on usage, Richardson lists quotations, chronologically arranged, without commentary and, as expected, without separation under individual definitions.

### 8.3.3 *Richardson’s quotations*

These quotations are selected from the history of English literature, beginning around the year 1300, and ending in the early nineteenth century. Richardson extends the canon very late: Byron starts to be quoted in the *Dictionary* immediately after his death in 1824, from the letter F onwards (Fowler 2004: 57). Yet his primary goal is not to illustrate current usage, rather to demonstrate original meanings of existing words (Osselton 2000: 60). He takes his examples from only ‘the best Authorities’, criticizing Johnson for not doing likewise. The meaning of the word, Richardson insists, remains the same throughout history, while the different usages, as reflected in the quotations, are merely predictable and recoverable extensions of it. Richardson’s quotations are often lengthy and represent a considerable collection of usage over time.

#### 8.3.3 (i) **Chronological continuity and development**

Richardson’s entire procedure emphasizes continuity and similarity between meanings, rather than disparateness, and his quoting of numerous authorities over a wide historical expanse gives the impression of logically developing linguistic practice; it supplied a much wider corpus of usage than Johnson, especially earlier usage. Richardson’s failure to date his quotations, however, leads one to question claims regarding chronological development.

#### 8.3.3 (ii) **Relation of quotations to entry**

It has been insisted that Richardson’s quotations and definitions are based upon an empirical examination of existing authorities (Dolezal 2000: 127). It is difficult

to accept this position if we consider that the 'root' of the word is already established, and the examples are, to a certain extent, circular confirmations of it. The quoted examples do necessarily determine, however, what notes will accompany the etymology. Richardson claims that the quotations are 'produced for the purpose of exemplifying, confirming, and illustrating the explanations which precede them' (51), although sometimes there is no relevant explanation whatsoever.

### 8.3.3 (iii) Dialogism

Richardson allows the quotations, for the most part, to speak for themselves, without authorial commentary. Johnson, as we have seen, reserves the right to comment on the quotations, or to respond to and gloss them. Richardson's list of quotations without commentary indeed provides an often glorious collection of usage, a highly readable anthology; however, the extent to which the quotations appear to comment upon, respond to, or stand in some other discursive relationship to one another, perhaps a juxtaposition which may take on ironic rhetorical possibilities, is very slight. Johnson's practice divides the quotations into separate units under individual definitions, retaining the overseeing authority to comment on and arrange; the dialogic possibilities between quoted authorities, whether deliberate or not, as well as between lexicographer and incorporated 'author', are considerably enhanced.

### 8.3.3 (iv) Readers' accessibility

The practice of listing quotations serially, illustrating the 'root' and its various derivatives, organized only according to chronology, assumed a highly literate readership; indeed, Richardson's quotations leave almost every interpretation to the reader. His practice presupposes that readers will study all the material in an entry to determine specific usage and meaning; yet, by rarely providing commentary on specific quoted examples, and without a division under different definitions, his procedure leads more often to confusion or bewilderment.

However, claims have been made for Richardson's egalitarian tendencies: readers 'are invited to partake of the process' of assessing the documentary evidence presented by the lexicographer (Dolezal 2000: 139). Indeed, the unbroken sections of literary and other quoted texts might encourage a reader to attend to the string of quotations. The recording of multiple examples of usage over time may give the appearance of a descriptive, rather than prescriptive approach, and seem to be offering the reader the opportunity to assess the evidence. However, Richardson's use of quotations is more convincingly described as authoritarian: his insistence on

'the best Authorities' pushes him clearly out of the descriptive camp; and, by insisting upon a linear chronological linguistic development, Richardson forces the reader or user to give tacit assent to the lexicographer's own process and choice. Whatever else Johnson's multiple definitions and comments accomplish, they provide explicit direct commentary, with a more synchronic emphasis, with immediate reference to the attendant quotation(s), and they emphasize the contingent, experiential nature of language use, description, and development. In Johnson's entries, the reader or user can see more transparently the basis and evidence for choices and authority in relation to authorial commentary.

We may also conclude that Richardson's dictionary would be virtually useless for a non-English-speaking person, who requires precision in definitions and discrimination between forms (consider the entry encompassing ABIDE/ABODE; Fig. 8.3). Richardson's rigorous form of lemmatization—in which inflectional and variant forms of a word (e.g. *Divert*, *v.* and *Divers* or *Diverse*, *v.*) are grouped under one headword—requires a level of linguistic competence beyond that of many users. Most users of explanatory dictionaries normally access entries to solve some specific problem of understanding. Grouping derivatives and variants under a given headword makes such access difficult.

### 8.3.4 *Comparative treatments of entries*

By departing radically from the established lexicographical tradition of accounting for the individual senses of polysemous words, Richardson is unable to account for various sorts of variation in language use. In particular, his procedure could not explain or display language use that did not reflect a necessary historical development, based on a predetermined diachronic and systematic figurative extension of meaning. For example, there is no mechanism for recording that a word in some authors and in particular geographical regions or professional contexts retains a meaning closer to the 'literal' meaning, despite occurring later than those used in a metaphorical sense. Richardson simply lists all quotations in chronological order. In these cases, chronological 'progression' usurps the logic of actual usage. (Richardson does occasionally allow for this problem with a comment acknowledging a later usage that contradicts his principle.) Johnson's procedure of dividing up explanations into numbered senses allows for parallel, yet possibly divergent, development of meanings or usage according to different senses over time (each numbered sense has a chronological sequence of its own). Johnson's system of accounting for polysemy frees the user or reader to return to a radical use of a word; indeed, considering the conservative, past-oriented nature of Johnson's work (especially the use of

ABI

ABIDE. } A. S. *Abidan, Bidan*; D. *By-*  
*Abida*, to hide.  
 ABIDING. } To stay, or remain; to delay, to  
*Abidē*. } tarry, to dwell, to continue, to wait,  
 ABIDANCE. } to expect. To stay undisturbed, or support,  
 to bear up against, or endure.—with fortitude, good temper, kindness, hope, or the reverse.  
 He lies to the yoke of Tenet, he no dorste abide no ner. *R. Gloucester*, p. 122.  
 The ether wore of hem y war, and garked him in here syde,  
 And leste arme here cast wel, batall forth *abide*. *Id.* p. 153.  
 And the other day he entride into Cesarie, and Cornelle  
 aboid hem with his coyns and necessarie treads that  
 weren clepid togidre.—*Wiclif. The Deeds of Apostles*, c. 10.  
 Lyne sechell and iusti and pitousli in this world,  
 abidinge the blestli hope and the cunysge of the great  
 God, and of our Sayour Iste Crist.—*Id. Ayle*, c. 2.  
 For men schulen were etre for drede, and abidinge that  
 schulen come to all the world.—*Id. Luk*, c. 1.  
 Do grete diligens (saith Salomon) in keeping of thy  
 frendes, and of thy good name, for it shal longer abide with  
 thee, than any tresor, be it never so precious.  
*Chaucer. The Tute of Mirabeles.*  
 He [Giovanni Pietro Pugniano] said, "Soldiers were the noblest  
 estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers."  
 He said, "they were the masters of war, and ornaments of  
 peace, speedy goers, and strong abiders."  
*Sibary. Defense of Poesy*, p. 1.  
 The patient *abiding* of the righteous shall be turned to  
 gladnesse, but the hope of this voposity shall perish.  
*Bible. Lond. 1539. Prov.* c. 10.  
 There he made his *abode* fortye dayes, and as many  
 nightes, still continuing in prayer. *Udal. St. Marce*, c. 1.  
 And I cannot tell, good Sir, for which of his vertues it  
 was, but hee was certainly whipt out of the court.  
*Clo. His view* you would say; there's no vertue whipt out  
 of the court: they cherish it to make it stay there; and  
 yet it will no more be *abide*.  
*Shakespeare. Winter's Tale*, Act iv. sc. 2.  
 Lor. Sweete friends: your patience for my long *abode*—  
 Not I, but my affaires haue made me stay.—  
*Id. Merchant of Venice*, Act ii. sc. 6.  
 When all the earth shall melt into nothing, and the seas  
 send their fiery labours, so long is his *abidance* [in  
 purgatory].—*The Puritan*, Act ii. sc. 1.  
 Abiding all the useful consequences of *abiding* in sin,  
 abstracting from the desperate hazards it exposeth us to  
 in regard to the future life, it is most necessary to abandon it.  
*Berrou. Ser.* vol. III. s. 17.  
 When he, whom e'en our joys provoke,  
 The fond of nature, join'd his yoke,  
 And rush'd in wrath to make our side his prey,  
 Thy form, from out thy sweet eyes,  
 O'ertook him on his blasted rod,  
 And stopp'd his wheels, and looke'd his rage away.  
*Collins. Ode to Mercy.*  
 ABIDE, is very variously written. By Chaucer,  
*Aboge, Abye, Abie*, which Tywhit says is Saxon,  
 and means "to suffer for." In Piers Plouhman,  
*Aboge*. In Gower, *Abete, Abodey, Abidyle*. In  
 Chaucer, are found the particples *Abuyou, Abien,*  
*Abought*. And in Gower, also, *Abouult*. Skinner  
 adds the verb, *To buy* (in preference to the  
 A. S. *Abidan*, to abide), as the more simple etymology.  
 In Shakespeare (*Anty*), *Abide*, thus, should  
 be *Abv*.  
 In all the examples following, "buy or pay for,  
 dearly, cruelly, sorely," appears to be the meaning.  
 Turne we thiderward, and deluyour our prisons,  
 And so it may be lido, the salls dene *abie*.  
 My [meane] that this lido, my men in prison lie.  
*R. Arme*, p. 150.  
 As for the leynage that thou Lucifer, lowe lit Ere  
 Thou shalt *abogge* here quoth God, and bond lynn with  
 cheynes.—*Piers Plouhman*, p. 363.  
 Ther dorste no night bond upon him legge,  
 That he no swore he should anon *abogge*.  
*Chaucer. The Reves Tale*, v. 2036.  
 Ye fathers, and ye mothers eke also,  
 Though ye haun children, be in or no,  
 Your soun shall alle his soun reason.  
 While that they ben under your governance.  
 Both war, that by ensample of your living,  
 Or by your negligens, shal be changing.  
 That they ne perissh: for I darw weyl say,  
 If that they don, ye shal it dene *abogge*.  
*Id. The Doctor's Tale*, v. 12634.

ABJ

Queen of the regne of Pluto, derke and lowe,  
 Goddess of maydens, that with herie hast knowe  
 Full many a yere, and wate what she desire,  
 As kepe me fro thy vengeance and thin ire,  
 That Atton *aboughe* cruelly.  
*Chaucer. The Knightes Tale*, v. 3205.  
 So guth he furthe, and toke his leas,  
 And thought anon, as it was euil,  
 He wolde donne his sacralite,  
 That many a man shuld it *abodge*.—*Gower. Con. A. b. v.*  
 Full ofte er this it hath be seene  
 The omen people is unseely.  
 And hath the kynge synne *abought*,  
 Although the people agite nought.—*Id. b. vii.*  
 Which when his brother saw, fraught with great griefe  
 And wrath, he to him leaped furiously.  
 And Gouty said, by Mahoure cursed chiefes,  
 That direfull stroke thou doerly shalt *abog*.  
*Spenser. Faerie Queene*, b. ii. c. viii.  
*Bar.* Fool-hardy knight, full soon thou shalt *abog*.  
*Deans & Fletcher. Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Act iii. sc. 1.  
 Dn. Disparage not the faith, thou dost not know,  
 Lest to thy perill thou *abide* it dene.  
*Shakespeare. Mid. Night's Dream*, Act iii. sc. 2.  
 ABJECT, p. } Fr. *Abject*; It. *Abjetto*; Lat. *Ab-*  
*Abiectus*, *adj.* } *Abjectum*, past part. of *ab-*  
 } *Abjicere*, (*Ab-jicere*), to cast, or  
 ABJECTNESS. } throw away from; to cast  
 } down.  
 ABJECTION. } *Abjct*. V. To cast away, to  
 } *Abjctus*. } cast off or out, to cast down.  
 The nouns, adjective, and adverbs, have a con-  
 sequent application to that which is—  
 contemptible, filthy, servile, worthless, despicable, mean,  
 contemtable.  
 The duches desiring to knowe whilke way lady Fortune  
 turned her whele, herynce hyn to be repudiate *abject*  
 out of the Freuche court, was in a greate agony, and much  
 amased, and more appalled.—*Hall. Hen. VII.* an. 1.  
 For that offence only [Elizabeth's] Almighty God accepted  
 Saul, that he shulde no more reigne our Israel.  
*Sir T. Elyot. The Governour*, c. 1.  
 John the apostle, was now of late in a certaine yle of Iztia  
 called Pathmos, called for the gospel preaching, and made  
 a yle *abject* for testifying the name and word of Jesus Christ  
 the only Saviour of the world.  
*Bede. Image of both Churches.*  
 The audacious and bolde speche of Daniel signifieth  
 the *abjection* of the kynge and his realme.  
*Joye. The Exposition of Daniel*, c. 5.  
 Jesus calleth this home fro this affection, to an ex-  
 temporal of his lowe state of *abjection* in this world.  
*Id. Luke* c. 9. fol. 296.  
 Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most  
 poore man, *abjecting* and casting off all worldly rule and  
 honour.—*State Triall*. 2 *Rich. II.* 1383. *Abj. York.*  
 The damsell straight went, as she was directed  
 Into the rock; and there, upon the soyle  
 Having herselfe in wretched vyle *abjected*,  
 Gan weep and wail, as if great griefe had been affected.  
*Spenser. Faerie Queene*, b. v. c. 9. st. 6.  
 Oh noble Lord, bethinke thee of thy birth;  
 Call home thy ancient thoughts from banishment;  
 And haunce hence these *abject* lowlie dreames:  
 Looke how thy seruants do attend on thee,  
 Each in his office readie at thy becke.  
*Shakespeare. Taming of Sh.* Act i. sc. 3.  
 We are the queene's *abjects*, and must obey. *Id. Rich. III.* Act i. sc. 5.  
 Or in this *abject* posture have ye sworn  
 'T'adore the conqueror! who now beholds  
 Cherish and seraph rolling in the flood  
 With sceler'd arms and onions.  
*Milton. Paradise Lost*, b. i.  
 But it is creditable, that the very acknowledgement of our  
 owne unworthinesse to obtain, and in that respect our  
 professed feardinesse to aske any thing, otherwise than only  
 for his sake to whom God can deny nothing; that this should  
 be termed *base*, *abjection* of mind, or servilitie—is it  
 creditable?—*Hosker. Ec. Top.* b. v. § 47.  
 It is *abject* his [Volsey's] spirit to that degree, that he's  
 dangerously sick; such an influence the troubles and sorrows  
 of his mind had upon his body.  
*Shrype. Memorials*, b. i. c. 15.  
 'Tis wate what ends, and by what *abject* ways,  
 Are vortals wrung'd, through secret plots of praise!  
*Joye. Essay on Criticism.*  
 Nor did he sooner see the boy approaching the vessel than  
 he ran down again into the cabin, and, his rage being per-  
 fectly subdued, he smil'd on his knees, and a little too  
*abjectly* implor'd for mercy.  
*Fielding. Voyage to Lisbon.*

ABL

ABURE, v. } Fr. *Abjurer*; It. *Abjurare*;  
 ABJURATION. } Sp. *Abjurar*; Lat. *Abjurar*,  
 (*Ab jurare*), to swear from, to forswear. See the  
 quotation from Hobbs.  
 To swear.—(Se.)  
 To go away from, or leave; to disown, to dis-  
 claim, to renounce (upon oath).  
 But now was he so obstinate, that he would not *abjure* of  
 his time. And dyvers dares wer his judges fayn of their  
 ligur, to see hym with sufferance of some his best frendes  
 and who he most trusted, resort vnto him. And yet  
 scarcely could at this meise him admitte himselfe to make  
 hys *abjuration*.—*Sir T. More. Works*, p. 214.  
 In this season were banished out of Southwarke XII  
 Scottes, whiche had dwelt there a long season, and wer  
 convicted for perjurie to patrike by the constable, like men  
 yd *abjured* the realme, and on their vntermest garnment  
 a white crosse before and another behynd them.  
*Hall. Chron. Hen. VIII.* an. 14.  
 — For euen now  
 I put my selfe to thy direction, and  
 Vispeake mine owne detraction. Heere *abjurd*  
 The stains and blemes I restore vpon my selfe  
 For strangers to my nature.  
*Shakespeare. Mac. Act iv. sc. 3.*  
 Did not one of them rather leave his innocent cut behind  
 him, than not be quit of this? But not another of them  
 denyd thee, *ye abjure* thee! And yet thou sayest, Go tell  
 my brethren!—*Id. Ham. Conscience. The Intercession.*  
 Ph. And what is *abjuration*?  
 Len. When a clerke, heretofore was convicted of felony, by  
 departing the realm within a certain time appointed, and  
 taking an oath never to returne.  
*Hobbs. A Dialogue of the Common Lawes.*  
 And thereupon [he] took the oath in that case provided,  
 viz. that he *abjured* the realm, and would depart from thence  
 forthwith, at the port that should be assigned him, and  
 would never returne without leave from the king.  
*Blackstone. Com. b. iv. c. 26.*  
 A Jacobite, who is persuaded of the pretender's right to  
 the crown, cannot take the oath of *abjuration*: or, if he could,  
 the oath of *abjuration* follows, which contains an express  
 renunciation of all opinions in favour of the claim of the  
 exiled family.—*Butts. Moral Philosophy*, b. iii. c. 15.  
 ABLACTATION. Lat. (of the lower age,) *Ab-*  
*lactatus*, (*Ab-lac-*, *de-lactus*), driven from the  
 milk; applied (formerly) met. to a mode of  
 grafting. See the quotation.  
 Grafting by approach or *ablactation* is to be performed  
 when the stock you would graft on, and the tree from which  
 you would take your graft, stand next together, that they  
 may be joined.—*Milner. Gardener's Dict.* s. v. *Grafting*.  
 ABLAQUEATION. Lat. *Ab-laqueatus*: from  
*Ab-laqueo*, to dig about and lay bare the roots of  
 trees. Evelyn affectual such Latinisms.  
 Now is the time for *ablactation*, and laying bare the  
 roots of old, unthriving, and ever-lasting blooming trees;  
 stirring up new-planted grounds, as directed in March.  
*Beelms. The Gardener's Ann. October.*  
*Ab-laqueation* now profitable, and to visit the roots of old  
 trees, purge the sickly, and apply fresh mould.  
*Id. November.*  
 ABLATION. } Fr. *Ablatum*; Lat. *Ablatio*;  
 } *Ab-lativus*. } taken from.—  
 A taking away, or depriving.  
*Ab-lativus*, that can or may take away.  
 Prohibition extends to all injustice, whether done by  
 force, or fraud; whether by *ablation*, or prevention,  
 or detaining of rights; any thing, in which injury is done  
 directly or obliquely to our neighbour's fortunes.  
*Sp. Taylor. Great Exemplar*, p. 2, § 37.  
 But where the heart is forestalled with misapprehension, *ab-*  
 olution directions are first needfull to untouch error, as  
 can learn thro.  
*Id. Sermon. The Decree of Appearance.*  
 ABLE, v. } Goth. *Abil*, strength;  
 } *Abil*, *adj.* } hence the Lat. terminations in  
 } ABILITY. } *abilis*, and our own in *ble*. See  
 } ABILITY. } *Ab-lic*.  
 } To give force, power, strength;  
 } to strengthen, to empower; and,  
 } as we now say, to *enable*.  
 The verb, *to able*, appears to have been in use  
 common usage in ancient writers, as *to enable* is  
 in modern, and with similar applications.  
*Roble and Liability* are in the old writers as  
 commonly found as *able* and *ability*.  
 That if God willinge to schewe his wrath, and to make  
 his power knowne, hath suffit in the last sentence vessels of

Fig. 8.3. The page containing ABIDE from Richardson's A New Dictionary of the English Language, 1836

past quotations), the 'primitive' meaning closest to the etymon may be implicitly preferred. Richardson, on the other hand, is strictly positivist, believing in progressive refinement.

An example of the problems caused by Richardson's system can be found in the following entry:

(1) ASH, *n.*

ASH, *v.*,

ASHY, *adj.* } D. *Asche*; Ger. *Asche*; Sw. *Asca*; Goth. *Azgo*; A.S. *Asca*, *pulvis*;  
*Asce*, *cinis*. Dust, ashes. Applied to—

Dust produced by burning any substance—to any similar dust.

Compare Chaucer and Gray.

Philip left his engines withouten keypyng a nyght,

That perceyued the Sarazines, with fire brent tham down right.

For he com on the morowe, assaut he wild haf gyuen,

His engyns fond he lorne, brent & tille *askes* dryuen. *R. Brunne*, p. 176.

If in Tyre and Sydon the virtues hadden be don which han be don in you, sum tyme thei wolden han sete in hayre and *aischis*, & haue doon penaunce.—

*Wiclif. Luk*, c.10.

For whan we may not don, than wol we speken,

Yet in our *ashen* cold is fire yreken. *Chaucer. The Reves Prologue*, v. 3880.

Ev'n in our *ashes* live their wonted fires.—

*Gray. Elegy*.

Tho came this woful Theban Palamon

With flotery berd, and ruggy *asshy* heres,

In clothes blake, ydropped all with teares.

*Chaucer. The Knightes Tale*, v. 2885.

Ye Troyan *ashes*, and last flames of mine,

I cal in witnesse, that at your last fall,

I fled no stroke of any Grekish swerd.

*Surrey. Virgile. Aeneid*, b. iv.

[followed by five quotations from James Howell, Milton, Dryden, Phineas Fletcher, and Cowper.]

Richardson's note ('Compare Chaucer and Gray') seems to recognize the fact that Chaucer's use of the word in the first example is only metaphorically linked to actual ashes, meaning 'dust produced by burning', even though the use precedes chronologically several others invoking the literal meaning of the word. He accurately links the two quotations by inserting Gray's out of chronological order and by calling attention to the juxtaposition; but there is nothing in the etymological material or the definition to account for the fact that the lines are referring not to actual ashes but to human remains, not necessarily cremated. The quotations pun on the relation between fire and ashes, which is necessary for the conceit, yet the transferred meaning of the word (the remains of the human body) is unaccounted for in Richardson's entry.

Johnson's entry reads as follows:

(2) A'SHES. n.s. wants the singular. [asca, Sax. asche, Dutch.]

1. The remains of any thing burnt.

Some relicks would be left of it, as when *ashes* remain of burned bodies.

*Digby on Bodies.*

This late dissension, grown betwixt the peers,

Burns under feigned *ashes* of forg'd love,

And will at last break out into a flame.

*Shakesp. Henry VI.*

*Ashes* contain a very fertile salt, and are the best manure for cold lands, if kept dry, that the rain doth not wash away their salt.

*Mortimer's Husbandry.*

2. The remains of the body; often used in poetry for the carcase, from the ancient practice of burning the dead.

Poor key-cold figure of a holy king!

Pale *ashes* of the house of Lancaster!

Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!

*Shak. R. III.*

To great Laërtes I bequeath

A task of grief, his ornaments of death;

Lest, when the fates his royal *ashes* claim,

The Grecian matrons taint my spotless name.

*Pope.*

While Richardson's explanation of 'ash' as a kind of dust produced by burning is more precise than Johnson's concrete first definition, Johnson's second sense (adopted almost verbatim by the *OED*) clearly sets out the metaphorical usage common in English, especially poetry and theology. With two different numbered meanings, he can also demonstrate the slight overlapping of the metaphorical with the literal (since Shakespeare's *Richard III* precedes Mortimer's *Husbandry* (1707) chronologically). This clarity is impossible in Richardson, unless one sorts through and analyses the quotations oneself.

## 8.4 CONCLUSION

Johnson's *Dictionary* influenced the development of the *New English Dictionary* chiefly through its incorporation of multiple definitions, its method of defining, the relation between definitions and authorities, and its extensive treatment of phrasal verbs. Richardson's dictionary was noteworthy for the clarity with which it displayed related words and word families, and was influential on modern lexicography through its attempts to ascertain etymologies. The diachronic listing of quotations marked a major step towards the study of historical semantics. We have seen the ways in which Johnson especially, and Richardson to a

lesser extent, moved lexicography towards a more empirical and descriptive orientation. Murray and his colleagues would undertake an increasingly scientific investigation of etymology, and of each word's forms and uses in excerpted quotations, through time (Murray 1993: 120–1; Silva 2000: 78).



# MAJOR AMERICAN DICTIONARIES

*Sidney I. Landau*

## 9.1 WEBSTER'S FIRST DICTIONARY

ON 4 June 1800, newspapers in New Haven, Connecticut, included a statement from Noah Webster declaring that he intended to publish several new dictionaries: a dictionary of the American language and dictionaries for schools, the counting house, and a 'large one' for men of science. Webster was already widely known as the author of the 'blue-backed speller', *The American Spelling Book*. A small book designed for schools, the *Spelling Book* was first published in 1783, reprinted many times, and proved to be one of the most popular spelling books ever produced in the English language; it was also an important source of income for Webster as a lexicographer. Webster's fascination with simplified spelling was to leave a lasting mark on American English, chiefly through his dictionaries; indeed, the orthography used in his dictionaries was to be one of their most controversial aspects, subjecting them at times to scornful criticism. Webster's statement of 1800 was a little premature. In the event, his dictionary of the American language would not appear until 1828, but in 1806 he published his first dictionary, of small size and extent (about 400 pages), called *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*.

### *9.1.1 Biographical background*

Noah Webster is the most important lexicographer in the history of American lexicography, and his influence on its subsequent course is arguably greater than that of Johnson's on English lexicography. For this reason, a brief discursus to

provide some essential biographical facts about Webster may be justified, especially because they help to explain some of his lexicographic policies. Webster was born in West Hartford, Connecticut in 1758 and died in 1843 at the age of eighty-four. Thus his life spanned the war of independence from Britain and the formative years of the new republic. He was an active patriot for independence and while still in his teens briefly served in the Revolutionary army, though he did not see any military action. He graduated from Yale, trained as a lawyer, and engaged in many different pursuits as a young man, among them journalist, schoolmaster, and political writer. He was never shy about introducing himself to people in power, and corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and many others of high station (even briefly with George Washington). For years he campaigned vigorously for federal copyright protection, chiefly to protect his spelling book, at a time when only a few states gave such protection and there were no federal laws to protect copyright. Webster came to lexicography relatively late in life. He published his first dictionary at the age of forty-eight when the average lifespan was about half that of today, and he was seventy years old when his second great work, the *American Dictionary of the English Language*, was published in 1828.

Although the *Compendious* was not the first American dictionary, it was the first of any significance.<sup>1</sup> It was derived, Webster acknowledges, from John Entick's *Spelling Dictionary* of 1764, to which has been added about 5,000 words for a total of about 40,000. There are two columns to a page and definitions are very short so as to fit within a one-column line. No etymologies or pronunciations are given. Stress is indicated by an accent mark in the entry word. As a strange harbinger of the future of American lexicography, even in this first small Webster dictionary, some fifty pages at the end of the book are devoted to appendixes of encyclopedic material including, among others, those listing measures, US post offices, US population, world historical events, and 'remarkable Events' about America, 'intended as the outline of American History'.

The chief importance of the *Compendious* lies in the Preface, twenty-four pages printed in minute type, in which Webster reveals that the present dictionary is just a modest first step in his plan to compile a much larger dictionary, 'a dictionary which shall exhibit a far more correct state of the language than any work of this kind' (Webster 1806: xxiii). Webster uses the Preface as a vehicle to attack Johnson's *Dictionary* as rife with mistakes when that dictionary was still

<sup>1</sup> The first dictionary published in America was *A School Dictionary* (1798) by Samuel Johnson, Jr. (no relation to the Samuel Johnson, who died in 1784), a small, derivative work for children. A number of other similar, equally unoriginal dictionaries based on earlier English works were produced through 1804. See Burkett 1979: 3–42, for a detailed description.

the most popular dictionary of the English language. Webster remarks on the omissions of newly formed words, especially in the sciences, such as *telegraph*, and deplores the many inaccuracies in Johnson's etymologies, promising to reveal the true etymology of each word in his own dictionary. He also criticizes Johnson for including many 'inkhorn' terms (difficult words formed from Latin) that are never used, such as *adversable*, *injudicable*, and *balbucinate* (cited by Friend 1967: 19) and for including vulgar words, which he promises to omit. Webster's intention is nothing less than to replace Johnson as the pre-eminent lexicographer of the English language. For a man who had none of Johnson's elevated status as a celebrated author, essayist, and poet, Webster's ambition was audacious, yet he was ultimately to achieve it.

The main innovation in the *Compendious* was in its recommended spellings. Webster wanted to simplify spelling by dropping out some silent letters and believed that English spelling should reflect its Anglo-Saxon roots (Micklethwait 2000: 143). Thus he dropped the *u* in words like *honour* and *favour*, the *k* at the end of *musick* and *publick*, the *a* in *leather*, and the *e* at the end of words like *determine*, *discipline*, *doctrine*, *examine*, etc. He uses *s* instead of *c* in *defence* and *offence* but does not alter the double consonant in words like *traveller*. A review of 1809 was devastatingly negative, criticizing Webster in particular for 'spreading hurtful innovations in orthography' (quoted in Burckett 1979: 131). Webster's innovations in orthography would be dogged by similar criticisms to the end of his life, yet many of his innovations are now standard in American English. His views on orthography evolved over the years as reflected in his later dictionaries.

## 9.2 AN AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By 1800 Webster had begun preliminary work on his magnum opus, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. He made copious notes in the 1799 quarto edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*, and the character of his notes suggests that he was even then looking beyond the *Compendious* of 1806 to the larger work (Landau 2005: 217–18). The dictionary was published in 1828 in a three-column format in two handsome, large, quarto volumes. It contained about 70,000 entries, and the first printing was 2,500 copies. An edition for the English market was published in 1830–32.

### 9.2.1 *Webster's debt to Johnson*

A comparison of all the definitions in the letter L of the *American Dictionary* with all those in the 1799 edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* shows a remarkable degree of correspondence, according to one study (Reed 1962). During the actual preparation of the *American Dictionary*, Webster relied chiefly on the revision of Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1818 by Henry Todd, known as the Todd–Johnson. Sledd and Kolb found a close correspondence between the two dictionaries' treatment of entry words, definitions, authorities, and etymologies in part of the letter C (Sledd and Kolb 1955: 198). Of course, Webster was hardly the only lexicographer making use of Johnson's *Dictionary*. As Joseph Worcester (1784–1865) wrote in the preface to his dictionary of 1846, Johnson's *Dictionary* 'from the time of its first publication, has been, far more than any other, regarded as a standard for the language. It has formed substantially the basis of many smaller works, and, as Walker remarks, it "has been deemed lawful plunder by every subsequent lexicographer"' (Worcester 1846: lxiv).

### 9.2.2 *The Preface and Introduction*

Webster had defiantly named his great dictionary *An American Dictionary* to declare that the English language had developed its own distinctive character in America and was deserving of its own dictionary. Webster was certainly justified in saying that the language had changed since Johnson's day and that many words, particularly in the sciences, were not to be found in Johnson's *Dictionary*. He also drew attention to the different habits, different political entities, and physical differences of the environment between England and the United States, all of which would leave their marks on language. He brashly predicted that 'our language [that is, American English], within two centuries, will be spoken by more people in this country, than any other on earth, except the Chinese, in Asia, and even that may not be an exception'. He estimated the future population of the United States at 'three hundred millions.' One may imagine the amusement such wild speculations must have aroused in many of his compatriots, not to mention British observers. But his prediction proved to be accurate.

Webster concludes his Preface in a style that cannot fail to bring to mind Johnson's Preface, and was doubtless intended to provide a contrast with that of Johnson. Yet in his very eagerness to show his superiority to Johnson, he succeeds only in displaying an unwonted deference. Webster writes:

I present it to my fellow citizens, not with frigid indifference, but with ardent wishes for their improvement and happiness; and for the continued increase of the wealth, the learning, the moral and religious elevation of character, and the glory of my country.

In the Introduction, Webster expands on the chief faults in Johnson's *Dictionary*. 'Well authorized words' are omitted; the manner of marking how words are accented is unclear; there are inconsistencies in spelling, omissions of participles, a 'want of discrimination' in defining nearly synonymous words, misspellings of words, and numerous mistakes in etymology. The order of definitions ought to show the basic meaning first; and finally, there are a needlessly large number of quotations exemplifying definitions. He asserts that in most cases a single example would suffice, and that some definitions need no exemplification but may be inserted on the authority of the lexicographer. 'Numerous citations serve to swell the size of a Dictionary, without any adequate advantage.' Here Webster anticipates modern practice so far as synchronic commercial dictionaries are concerned.

### 9.2.3 *Etymology in the American Dictionary*

As Webster writes in the Preface, he decided, 'after writing through two letters of the alphabet', to postpone further work until he had mastered the science of etymology. He found Johnson's etymologies very inadequate, and resolved to undertake an ambitious comparison of 'about twenty languages' in order to be able to determine more accurately than anyone had ever done before the true origins of the words in his dictionary. For ten years he devoted himself to the study of these languages, and particularly to what he called the consonantal radix (or root) by which affinities could be discovered between languages. He ignored vowels, regarding them as unimportant. Webster was ignorant of the work of Rasmus Rask, Jacob Grimm, and other German philologists who since 1818 had begun to develop the principles of sound change linked to systematic changes of consonants and vowels that would revolutionize the study of etymology. George Philip Krapp concluded that 'Webster's work in etymology illustrates the extreme isolation and provincialism of American scholarship in the early years of the nineteenth century' (Krapp 1966: 365).

Allen Walker Read points out that, because Webster was already a mature man of forty-two when he announced his intention to write dictionaries, his linguistic outlook was that of the eighteenth century, and that French culture, not German, was influential until after 1800 in New England. Read argues that 'Webster made notable advances beyond his eighteenth-century origins, and it was his bad luck that the new German learning followed so soon upon him...' (Read 1966: 163, 166). It was not until his dictionary was virtually complete, in 1827, that he was made aware of the new learning through his assistant, James Gates Percival, a young scholar who knew German and had come to appreciate the importance of

the German linguists. Percival urged him strongly to revise the etymologies, advice that Webster regarded as impertinent coming from one so young and untried. Read, taking a more sympathetic view of Webster than many other critics, concludes, 'He has been censured too severely for not adopting the German learning, for at his advanced age he could not be expected to overturn his life's work' (Read 1966: 181). One might add that there were very strong financial reasons for not countenancing any protracted delay in publication. During the years he worked on the dictionary he was frequently hard up for cash and finally had to sell the rights to his spelling book to raise money. Among his personal letters are many appealing for funds to support the dictionary. A delay of a year or more at this point would have jeopardized the entire dictionary and threatened him and his family with financial ruin.

However much one may understand Webster's reluctance to completely redo his etymologies when he was on the verge of completing his dictionary, the fact remains that many of the etymologies are inadequate or wrong, and others erroneously link unrelated words and languages. In 1808, Webster underwent a religious conversion to a fundamentalist Christian view which was to have a powerful effect on his etymological principles and even on some of his definitions. He took the Bible as the literal truth in all particulars. In the Introduction to his dictionary he recounts the story of Adam and Eve, concluding that 'language was bestowed on Adam' and that it was probable that language as well as the faculty of speech were gifts of God. He thought that all the world's languages could be divided into Hamitic and Japhitic, from Noah's sons Ham and Japheth. Furthermore, Webster believed in the existence of a 'single, primitive language', Chaldee, from which all other languages were ultimately derived (Krapp 1966: 363). A good deal of his enthusiasm that carried him through ten years of painstaking work was the result of his belief that he was in a sense doing God's work in tracing the roots of words to their biblical origin before the tower of Babel led to the dispersion of many tongues.

In compiling his etymologies, Webster's working method was to arrange a large number of dictionaries and grammars of different languages on a circular table about two feet wide and walk from one book to the next, taking notes on the graphemic form of a particular word as it appeared, according to his understanding of the likeness of its consonants and the relationship of its presumed primary meaning from one language to another (Warfel 1936: 349; Micklethwait 2000: 161). He was apparently guided by no fixed principle of correspondence between the consonants, but sought to find some pattern of similarity between words sharing some fundamental meaning element. In his assumption that words had a primary meaning and his belief in the importance of consonantal radices, he was

influenced by the theories of John Horne Tooke as expressed in the *Diversions of Purley* (Bivens 1982: 5–6). Webster's etymologies would remain in his dictionaries until they were completely revised by the German scholar, C. A. F. Mahn, for the 1864 edition more than twenty years after Webster's death.

Webster's etymological investigations were originally intended to comprise the third volume of his dictionary, but they were never published. They were eventually compiled as the *Synopsis of Words in Twenty Languages* and left to the New York Public Library, where they remain; they exist in the form of handwritten notes.

#### 9.2.4 *Orthography in the American Dictionary*

Webster's involvement with spelling reform goes far beyond his treatment of spelling in his dictionaries (Krapp 1966: 329–47). Webster had long corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and was influenced by his ideas, but Franklin's proposals, involving a new alphabet, were far more radical than any plan of Webster's. Webster moderated some of the innovations in spelling that he had adopted in the *Compendious*, restoring the *k* in some words ending in *-ic* (such as *frollick* and *traffick*), but omitting it in others, such as *music* and *public*. He continued to omit the *u* in words like *honor* and *humor* and to change the spelling of words ending in *-re* to *-er*, such as *center*, *theater* (although *theatre* is included as a variant), and similar words. He restored the final, silent *e* in words like *determine*, which he had dropped in the *Compendious*, and, though he gave words like *leather* and *feather* preferred status, he retained the simplified forms (such as *lether* and *fether*) as variants in some cases. He also introduced a few new spelling changes on the basis of etymology which strike us today (and which struck many of his contemporaries then) as bizarre, for example, his preference for *bridegoom* over *bridegroom*, *bild* over *build*, and *ieland* over *island* (cited in Krapp 1966: 345). Webster argued that the Anglo-Saxon forms had been corrupted and wanted to restore them, but in so doing he was ignoring centuries of use. Subsequent editions of Webster's dictionaries, beginning with the revision of 1841, ultimately retreated from all of these odd prescriptions.

#### 9.2.5 *Definitions and illustrative quotations in the American Dictionary*

A careful historian of American lexicography, and one not given to overpraising Webster, concludes that Webster's definitions in the *American Dictionary* were 'more accurate, more comprehensive, and not less carefully divided and ordered than any previously done in English lexicography' (Friend 1967: 36). James A. H. Murray, the chief editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, famously called Webster 'a born definer of words' in The Romanes Lecture of 1900 (Murray 1993: 118), and

any careful comparison of Webster's definitions and use of illustrative quotations with Johnson's or those in any of the earlier dictionaries will confirm that Webster's were a distinct improvement. Although he occasionally lapsed into unnecessarily encyclopedic definitions, in the main his definitions were concise but accurate. Moreover, in keeping with his criticisms of Johnson's too profligate use of quotations, Webster often omitted them entirely, depending on the definition only. Often he cited only the name of an author, such as *Pope* or *Locke*, and when he did include a quotation (which was very often taken directly from Johnson's *Dictionary*), he kept it short. Unlike Johnson, he was not interested in including enough of a quotation to give a flavour of the style or even to convey the sense of the quotation; he gave only enough to illustrate the sense to which the quotation was appended. He also included invented phrases to show the typical context in which some words were used. In so doing, Webster set the pattern for the treatment of definition in commercial lexicography that was to become all but universal and even today seems thoroughly modern.

### 9.2.6 *Pronunciation in the American Dictionary*

To indicate pronunciation Webster used a few barred letters and a set of diacritical marks over or under the letters of the entry words (or headwords), which were all in capital letters. Syllabic breaks are not indicated apart from the use of a stress mark after an accented syllable. The system was a modest advance over that of the *Compendious*, as well as over Johnson, neither of which indicated vowel quality, but it was far from showing an accurate pronunciation of every word included. It was no match for Walker's popular *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*, originally published in 1791 but with many later editions (→ BEAL, Vol. II). When Chalmers's abridgement of Todd–Johnson was combined with Walker's pronunciations in the edition of 1827 edited by Joseph Worcester, it immediately achieved high popularity with the American public and was Webster's chief competition. Webster's two-volume *American Dictionary* was, however, much more expensive, selling for \$20 (a high price at that time), and it was not until cheaper abridgements became available that any effective inroads could be made into the dominance of the market by Worcester's 1827 edition.

### 9.2.7 *Critical reception of the American Dictionary*

One contemporary reviewer (of 1835) harshly criticized Webster's dictionary, calling it 'a decided failure' and going on to claim: 'There is everywhere a great parade of erudition, and a great lack of real knowledge . . .' (quoted by Steger 1913:



53–4 and Burkett 1979: 161). He was particularly critical of the derivation of words and the statement of primary meaning. Some later reviews were considerably more favourable, and in general the dictionary was regarded as an impressive work. In England the reception of Webster's dictionary was on the whole favourable, and the first edition of the dictionary was to sell better there than in Webster's homeland. Most of the criticism of the *American Dictionary* related to Webster's preferred spellings, and this fuelled the conflict between Webster and his publishers and Joseph Worcester and his defenders, discussed below.

### 9.3 EARLY ABRIDGEMENTS AND REVISIONS OF THE *AMERICAN DICTIONARY*

Webster's publisher, Sherman Converse, quickly realized that if he was to compete effectively with the Todd–Johnson abridgement and other smaller dictionaries, he would have to have a cheaper, one-volume abridgement of the *American Dictionary* to sell, chiefly to schools. Almost every fact involving this abridgement, called *Primary School Dictionary*, which was edited by Joseph Worcester and published in 1829, would eventually be contested in the bitter, long-lasting dispute between Webster and Worcester. But the record supports Worcester's account that he was asked by Webster's publisher to edit the abridgement and at first refused, as he was planning his own dictionary, but when pressed again acceded and agreed to edit the work. Webster was not closely involved in establishing the policies that would govern the abridgement and did not review the manuscript. His son-in-law, Chauncey A. Goodrich, took control of the project and managed it independently of Webster. Webster would later object vigorously to some of the changes made without his permission, such as the addition of new words and revised spellings. But, at the time, he took little interest in the work (Micklethwait 2000: 200–203).

The second edition of the *American Dictionary* was published in two volumes in octavo in 1841. Several thousand words were added, and many scientific terms, edited by Professor William Tully of the New Haven Medical College, were corrected and updated. William G. Webster, Noah's son, also contributed to this revision. Entry words were now shown with complete syllabication rather than showing a simple indication of the accented syllable as in the original 1828 edition, and a 36-page supplement of new words was included at the end of the second volume. This would be the last dictionary that Webster edited, as he died

in 1843. The earliest citation in the *OED* of 'Webster's unabridged' is that of 1860, which could apply to this edition but more likely to the one-volume edition of 1847, the first Webster dictionary to be edited and published by the subsequent owners of Webster's dictionaries, the G. & C. Merriam Company.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that Worcester's own accomplishments as a lexicographer have been overshadowed by his conflict with Webster, relegating Worcester in the minds of many to the status of a minor and forgettable competitor. This is a serious distortion of Worcester's true contribution to American lexicography. He was a major American lexicographer in his own right, producing two major dictionaries of considerable merit and a number of smaller dictionaries. These so worried Webster and his publishers that they took extraordinary steps to disparage his work and malign his character. The so-called dictionary wars consisted of a series of newspaper and magazine articles and pamphlets issued by the principles in this dispute and their supporters, and appearing intermittently over some thirty years, from 1830 to the early 1860s. The publication of Webster's 1864 dictionary, called 'the unabridged', finally ended the dispute. In order to introduce Worcester in his own terms rather than as a foil to Webster, Worcester's major dictionaries will be considered before the discussion of the dictionary wars.

#### 9.4 WORCESTER'S DICTIONARIES

It was natural for Webster's publisher in 1828 to regard Worcester as the best possible editor of the abridgement, for, as noted above, Worcester had just finished editing a revision of the abridgement of Johnson's dictionary. The quick succession in which the Webster abridgement and Worcester's own dictionary, *A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (1830), appeared ignited the passionate conviction in Webster that Worcester had based his 1830 dictionary on the Webster abridgement with which he was obviously familiar.

<sup>2</sup> Leavitt reports in the G. & C. Merriam's company history that 'soon it [the 1841 edition] became almost universally known by the popular name of *Webster's Unabridged*' (Leavitt 1947: 36). The 1847 edition was also styled 'unabridged', like the 1841 edition, but in respect of having all the words in the earlier editions of Webster's dictionary. The modern sense of 'unabridged' as applied to a dictionary suggests a collection of substantially the whole of the common lexicon of the English language. The first dictionary that fits this description is probably the 1864 edition, known as 'the unabridged'.

#### 9.4.1 Worcester's *A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language* (1846)

Worcester's first major dictionary was *A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language*, published in a one-volume quarto of 1,032 pages, including seventy-six pages of front matter and 120 pages of appendices. Worcester's introductory essays in this, as in his subsequent larger dictionary of 1860, are informed with a sound appreciation of historical scholarship but devoid of pretentiousness or any arrogant sense of superiority such as one sometimes finds in Webster. He discusses in turn the principles of pronunciation, orthography, grammar, etymology, Americanisms, and includes, most originally, a history of English lexicography which includes a catalogue of English orthoepists, English dictionaries, specialized dictionaries, and encyclopedias. About Webster's dictionary of 1828 he says, 'It is a work of great learning and research, comprising a much more full vocabulary of the language than Johnson's Dictionary...; but the taste and judgment of the author are not generally esteemed equal to his industry and erudition' (p. lxxv).

In the dictionary proper, headwords appear in capital letters, as was the norm for this period, and are syllabicated with major stress indicated and with diacritical marks above and below indicating vowel quality. A pronunciation key runs along the bottom of every two-page spread, a feature Worcester had introduced in his smaller dictionary of 1830, *A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary*. It is clear that Worcester gave a great deal of attention to pronunciation, responding to a lively public interest and believing that a treatment of pronunciation clearly superior to that of Webster would serve his dictionary well in a competitive marketplace. Worcester acknowledges in the Preface that his pronunciations are largely based on Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*. Whereas Worcester's treatment of pronunciation in his introduction consists of a practical description of how English sounds are represented in his dictionary, Webster's was an extended exegesis on alleged inconsistencies in the treatment of pronunciation by the leading orthoepists of his day. In this respect Worcester's treatment foreshadows modern use, whereas Webster's reflects the argumentative tradition of eighteenth-century grammarians.

In orthography, Worcester is a conservative, reluctant to adopt innovations. He writes, 'In adjusting the orthography of this Dictionary, . . . attention has been paid to etymology, analogy, and usage; and in cases in which good usage is divided, etymology and analogy have been consulted in deciding disputable points. But no innovation has been made with respect to invariable and settled usage' (p. xxvi). Worcester notes the divided usage over the final *k* in words like *musick* and *publick*, but decides that general usage now favours its omission;

hence the *k* is omitted in the representation of these words in his dictionary. With regard to the *-our* ending in words like *colour* and *flavour*, Worcester discusses Johnson's inconsistent treatment (also noted by Webster) and comes down on the side of omitting *u* in all such words because it is the prevailing usage in the United States and because 'it is difficult to fix the limit for a partial omission' (p. xxvii). He prefers the ending *-re* in words like *centre* and *metre*, unlike Webster. In orthography as in every other way, Worcester treads a middle course, sensitive to current usage in America but giving greater weight to traditional usage in England than Webster was ever willing to acknowledge. Worcester completely lacks Webster's lively sense of competitiveness, not to mention hostility, towards Johnson and the British tradition in lexicography.

The headword list and definitions of *A Universal and Critical Dictionary* are largely based, by Worcester's own acknowledgement, on Johnson's Dictionary as revised by Todd, but Worcester has added 'nearly 27,000' new words, such as 'middle-man' and 'serial', and for all but a few the source is given. The definitions are generally short but clear, and authorities, either taken from Todd-Johnson or added, are given for most words. There are, however, few or no actual quotations included, or even invented illustrative phrases. Senses are not numbered and set off in separate paragraphs as in Webster's *American Dictionary* but are run together in a single paragraph separated by semicolons. On the other hand, Worcester has included a number of lengthy usage notes of considerable interest. For example, under *rather* he includes an extended discussion of *rather* and *sooner*, and discusses alternative pronunciations of the former in a most sensitive way, linking a given pronunciation or stress pattern with a particular meaning in a particular social situation. Again, he observes that in Southern states, to *raise* is to *bring up*, as 'The place in which he was raised', citing Jefferson. Thus Worcester demonstrates a high degree of sophistication in discussing regionally restricted usages as well as usages dependent on social contexts at a time when such information was hardly provided in American dictionaries.

In spite of such advances over Webster, Worcester's dictionary cannot match Webster's *American Dictionary* in its vocabulary coverage and in its illustrative quotations. It did satisfy a need for many readers, however, by providing a more traditional approach to spelling than Webster, and by Worcester's reliance on Walker, whose pronunciation system was widely popular. The industrious Worcester, capitalizing on the public interest in pronunciation, expanded on his 1830 dictionary to produce *A Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary of the English Language* in 1855, a dictionary of 565 pages, and then set to work to produce his magnum opus in 1860, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, which, he felt, would be fully competitive with the best that Webster had to offer.

#### 9.4.2 Worcester's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1860)

In the Preface to *A Dictionary of the English Language*, a large quarto of 1,854 pages, including sixty-eight pages of front matter, Worcester says that 19,000 words have been added to the entries in his *Universal and Critical Dictionary* to reach a total of 104,000. Authorities are given for almost all definitions, and illustrative quotations for many. The A–Z text appears in a three-column format, with definitions numbered in separate paragraphs, just as in Webster's dictionaries. Notably, too, the text includes pictorial illustrations, an initiative that Webster's publishers took action to subvert by adding illustrations to their own dictionary and rushing it into print a year earlier, in 1859. (More about this so-called Pictorial Edition below.) In orthography, Worcester, continuing his conservative approach, says that 'the principal American authors differ little from established English usage' (p. iii), and cites the American preference for omitting the *u* in words like *favor* as one of the points of divergence. He also gives considerable attention to pronunciation and claims to have consulted all the major orthoepists in providing the recommended pronunciation for each word. Worcester disputes Horne Tooke's argument that each word has but one meaning and cites a number of common verbs such as *get* and *turn* to show the impracticality of such an argument. 'The original or etymological meaning of many words has become obsolete, and they have assumed a new or more modern meaning; many which retain their etymological meaning have other meanings annexed to them; many have both a literal and a metaphorical meaning, and many both a common and a technical meaning, – all which need explanation' (pp. iv–v). Such an analysis of how meanings change could hardly be improved upon today.

The text of the dictionary is in a readable size, notably larger than that of contemporaneous Webster dictionaries; and Worcester's dictionary uses running heads on each page corresponding to the complete first and last entry, as modern dictionaries do, rather than simply listing the first three letters of each word, as had been the custom prior to this time. (For example, the Webster edition of 1859 has running heads of 'PRO' on each of fourteen consecutive pages—not much help for the user seeking a particular word.) Worcester's dictionary retains a pronunciation key running in a single line along the bottom of each double-page spread. Entry words still appear in capital letters, syllabicated and showing stress and diacritical marks, without respelling. One notices immediately the large number of illustrative quotations as well as the occasional use of invented contextual phrases, as in the entry for the verb *concern*, definition 3: 'To make anxious or uneasy; as, "To be *concerned* for the welfare of friends.'" Yet the remarkable fact must be acknowledged that a century after Johnson's dictionary was published, both Worcester's and Webster's dictionaries continued to use

many of Johnson's definitions verbatim, and to employ without change, by abbreviating, or by simply citing as an authority, many of Johnson's quotational examples.<sup>3</sup> It is also true that both American lexicographers added many new terms, definitions, and illustrative quotations.

Worcester's dictionary includes about 5,000 synonym discriminations, a feature introduced in the *Universal and Critical Dictionary*. Although the 1859 'Pictorial' edition of Webster's dictionary, revised by Chauncey Goodrich, included a 68-page *Table of Synonyms* by Goodrich, Worcester's synonym discriminations in his 1860 dictionary nonetheless represent a genuine advancement in lexicography and many of them (allowing for some shifts in meaning and register) would not be out of place in a twenty-first century dictionary. Unlike Goodrich's, Worcester's synonym discriminations are scattered throughout the A–Z text under one of the words discussed, as they are in modern dictionaries, and his discussions appear to cover nuances of connotation, application, register, and style, whereas Goodrich's are briefer and deal with plain distinctions of meaning. Worcester also includes numerous notes on questions of usage, as on pronunciation, including differences between American and British pronunciation (as in the entry for *nephew*) and alleged mispronunciations; etymology; and historical uses of particular terms, especially when American use differs from the British (as in the entry for *revolution*).

Worcester's definitions in the 1860 dictionary are on the whole phrased in simpler and more accessible language than those of Webster's contemporaneous dictionaries of 1856 and 1859 edited by Goodrich. In coverage of the words and senses included, both dictionaries are very similar. In etymology, Worcester's dictionary is not distinguished, but neither does it fall into the trap of including false relationships, as Webster does, based on his studies of the world's languages. Clearly, for Worcester, etymology was not a top priority.

## 9.5 WEBSTER'S ATTACK ON WORCESTER AND THE DICTIONARY WARS OF 1830–1864

On 26 November 1834, Webster publicly charged Worcester with 'a gross plagiarism' in copying material from the Webster dictionaries for use in Worcester's *Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary* of 1830. As noted above,

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the entry for *tooth* and idioms formed with it, in which both Worcester and Webster cite Dryden, L'Estrange, Shakespeare, Young, Shakespeare (again), and Hooker—all cited by Johnson.

Worcester had just before, in a dictionary published in 1829, abridged Webster's 1828 dictionary. Webster felt doubly aggrieved, as he was already under attack by Lyman Cobb for inconsistencies in the spellings used in his dictionaries and for the particular choices he recommended both in his dictionaries and in his spelling book (Micklethwait 2000: 222–5; Friend 1967: 83). While Webster's suspicions were understandable, they were unfounded, but Webster and his publishers, motivated at first by competition for the lucrative market for school dictionaries, and later by the growing market for ever larger, adult dictionaries, persevered in their effort to malign Worcester over the next thirty years.<sup>4</sup> In this they were not, on the whole, successful, but the effort to defend himself nevertheless cost Worcester dearly.

After the death of Webster in 1843, the character of the dispute changed. As Friend remarks, 'What had begun as a personal quarrel in print between rival lexicographers and their partisans was now clearly a fight for the market between publishing firms as well as a linguistic dispute involving regional, class, and academic antagonisms' (Friend 1967: 85). Both publishers exaggerated the differences between the dictionaries and the supposedly different audiences to whom they appealed—Worcester to the anglophiles, Webster to the ordinary American. As might be expected, some of Worcester's defenders went on the attack and disparaged Webster's treatment of spelling. Many of the Merriam accusations were anonymous, and pamphlets and newspaper articles on both sides frequently appeared under pseudonyms. Webster's publishers used various stratagems in an effort to discourage bookshops from stocking Worcester's dictionaries and his geographies (which Worcester had also edited) (Burkett 1979: 222 ff., especially 226).

In 1853, a British edition of Worcester's *Universal and Critical Dictionary* appeared under a title that included 'Compiled from the Materials of Noah Webster, LL.D.' yet with Worcester listed as the editor. Years before, Worcester's publishers had authorized their agent to explore the sale of the British rights to Worcester's dictionary. Subsequently they sent a set of plates to the agent, and these apparently were later used without their authorization by Henry G. Bohn, a British publisher, who changed the title to introduce Webster's name and omitted Worcester's remark in his preface that he had not used 'a single word, or the definition of a word' from Webster's dictionary. All of this was unknown to Worcester, who was at the time virtually blind owing to cataracts in both eyes. His publishers, who realized they could be considered complicit or at least negligent in the deception, even though they had not profited from it, concealed the

<sup>4</sup> The most detailed descriptions of the charges and countercharges made by Webster and Worcester and their supporters over the years may be found in Burkett 1979: 221–57 and Micklethwait 2000: 225–33, 279–85. Friend 1967: 82–8 gives an excellent summary and overview.

existence of the contraband edition from Worcester for two years, until the time when his sight was sufficiently restored and he read a letter in a Boston newspaper from the G. & C. Merriam Company calling attention to it, with the implicit suggestion that Worcester or his publishers were somehow involved in the deception. In his defense, Worcester published a pamphlet in 1854 entitled, *A Gross Literary Fraud Exposed; relating to the publication of Worcester's Dictionary in London*. Who exactly was responsible for this fraud remains somewhat murky. It is not unprecedented in the history of lexicography, nor in modern business practice, for publishers to make exaggerated, unsubstantiated, and even false claims about their dictionaries. It seems likely that Bohn's ethical standards were severely compromised, and that Worcester's publishers were quite uncommonly inept, even for dictionary publishers.<sup>5</sup> As noted earlier, the battle between the two publishers continued sporadically until 1864, when the Merriams published a newly revised edition by Chauncey Goodrich and Noah Porter that featured new etymologies by the German scholar, C. A. F. Mahn. Called the 'Webster-Mahn', or 'the unabridged', the new edition succeeded in capturing most of the market for a large dictionary and relegated Worcester's 1860 dictionary to a secondary status. Worcester never produced another dictionary and died in 1865. Like Webster, he was extraordinarily productive, not only editing the dictionaries described here but compiling many other valuable reference works in geography and biography, most of them for students. He is a major figure in American lexicography and in any just appraisal of lexicographical quality must be reckoned Webster's equal. The only arena in which he proved deficient was in commercial success.

## 9.6 WEBSTER DICTIONARIES FROM 1847 TO 1890

Following Webster's death in 1843, his heirs sold the rights to his dictionary to George and Charles Merriam. They also acquired unbound sheets to revisions of the 1841 edition and, beginning in 1845, bound them in two volumes with their own imprint on the title page and offered them for sale. They resolved to publish a revised edition of Webster's dictionary in one volume by reducing the size of type, and offering it for sale at a low price that would make it broadly

<sup>5</sup> Micklethwait makes some fascinating speculations about Bohn, who he says must have been the Merriams' licensee in London for a Webster dictionary in 1848, though in pamphlet exchanges the Merriams 'never admitted to having any dealings with him at all...'. He does not accuse the Merriams of having instigated the fraud, but he does say, 'Somewhere in there, one smells a rat' (Micklethwait 2000: 283–4).



affordable to compete with Worcester's *Universal and Critical Dictionary* published in 1846.

### 9.6.1 *The American Dictionary of 1847*

Retaining Chauncey Goodrich as chief editor, and enlisting the aid of Noah Porter, William G. Webster, and Professor William Tully (for scientific entries), the Merriam brothers managed to publish Webster's dictionary, containing 85,000 entries, in one volume in 1847, priced at six dollars. It was an immediate success.

The preface emphasizes the importance of keeping abreast of the latest scientific nomenclature, and cites the inclusion of many specialized terms in botany, medicine, etc., as well as in the arts, religion, philosophy, and law. Many consultants are listed. The preface includes this adjuration regarding neologisms: 'There is, at the present day, especially in England, a boldness of innovation of this subject [new words], which amounts to absolute licentiousness. A hasty introduction into our dictionaries, of new terms, under such circumstances, is greatly to be deprecated.' By contrast, every modern dictionary trumpets its inclusion of the very latest new words as a major attraction.

The title page says that this edition of *An American Dictionary of the English Language* contains the whole vocabulary of the first edition along with the corrections and improvements of the second edition (of 1841 and its revisions). These revisions are not extensive and the text is substantially the same as that of 1841. Indeed, a note by the publishers in the first of the *International* dictionaries (of 1890), states that the first revision of 1847 'was little more than the original work of 1828 brought from two volumes into one, pruned of some excrescences, and with moderate additions'.

### 9.6.2 *The American Dictionary of 1859, 'the Pictorial Edition'*

When the Merriam brothers became aware that Worcester's new enlarged dictionary of 1860 would include pictorial illustrations, they managed to insert at the last minute a section of 1,500 pictorial illustrations before the A–Z text in an edition of the 1847 *American Dictionary* and publish it in 1859 just before Worcester's dictionary. This edition is accordingly known as 'the Pictorial Edition'. An introductory note explains that many of the illustrations in the 81-page section were taken from an English dictionary, John Ogilvie's *The Imperial Dictionary*, which, the note says, was 'a reprint (almost verbatim) from an earlier edition of the *American Dictionary*', that is, from an edition previous to the 1847 revision. Having made such free use of the Webster dictionary, owing to the lack of any international copyright restrictions at

the time, Ogilvie could scarcely complain of the subsequent use of many of *his* illustrations for the Webster dictionary of 1859 (Micklethwait 2000: 272–8, 298). The illustrations are mainly wood engravings, though in some cases line drawings are used. Generally of good quality, they are categorized by subject, for example, architecture, geology, heraldry, mythology, insects, quadrupeds, reptiles, and races (of man).

Altogether it may be said that the 1859 edition is significant chiefly as a pre-emptive marketing response to the big Worcester dictionary of 1860. Its new features were reactive rather than innovative. It is an example of the keen competitive instincts of the Merriam-Webster enterprise throughout its history.

### 9.6.3 *The American Dictionary of 1864, the ‘Webster–Mahn’*

Chauncey Goodrich and the Merriam brothers had long been aware of the deficiencies of Noah Webster’s etymologies, and in 1854 the publishers contracted with a prominent Prussian linguistic scholar, C. A. F. Mahn, to revise the etymologies thoroughly. He reviewed every etymology and made numerous changes and improvements. The early Webster was not always wrong, but even when not wrong his terminology was frequently archaic or eccentric. Mahn consistently gave a more modern aspect to the etymologies by using more acceptable terminology, discarding the citations of Saxon, Armenian, and Gothic, for example, and instead tracing the origin of words to Old French, Old English, and Latin, etc., as modern dictionaries do. Many etymologies are obviously improved, and, accordingly, this edition is widely known as ‘the Webster–Mahn’.

The 1864 edition of *An American Dictionary of the English Language* was published in one large, quarto volume under the editorship of Chauncey Goodrich and Noah Porter. Goodrich had begun the new edition but died in 1860, and Noah Porter, a professor at Yale College and later to become president of the college, took over and completed it. The pictorial illustrations which in the 1859 edition have been gathered in a separate section are now distributed individually throughout the text, each next to its appropriate dictionary entry, and in number they have increased to three thousand. In addition, at the back of the book, the illustrations are collected together by category, with references to their position in the text. Goodrich’s table of synonyms has now been split up into separate paragraphs within the main dictionary text and linked to the particular words discussed. Following Worcester’s innovation of 1860, the running heads now consist of full entry words rather than just the first three letters.

The dictionary is substantially larger than previous editions, containing about 114,000 entries in some 1,840 pages, and was the first dictionary commonly

referred to as ‘the unabridged’. There is evidence of significant changes in the definitions and illustrative quotations as compared with previous editions. Pronunciations have also been improved, with entry words syllabicated, separate respellings after each word, and a pronunciation key running along the base of each two-page spread.

The publication of the Webster–Mahn of 1864 effectively marks the end of the ‘dictionary wars’ begun by Webster in 1830 and carried on intermittently by his publishers thereafter. The 1864 Webster was a major step forward in the trend towards larger and larger dictionaries, with greater attention given to pronunciation and to the scientific and technical vocabulary. Reader interest was solicited by the inclusion of extra features: pictorial illustrations and synonym discussions, and various appendices relating to biblical names, Latin expressions, the pronunciation of place-name, etc. The idea implicit in all of these supplementary items was to make ‘the dictionary’ the most useful all-round book any family could own. The idea was to instil in the minds of more and more Americans that, apart from the Bible, a big dictionary was the one book they must have. In this strategy the Webster publishers were immensely successful, but they were aided by the broader intellectual and social climate of the latter part of the nineteenth century that encouraged massive compilations of knowledge and of language. It was an era of the democratization of learning, and the drive to acquire a complete record of the world’s knowledge and of the English language by way of multivolume encyclopedias and ever grander dictionaries was about to begin.

#### 9.6.4 Webster’s International Dictionary of the English Language (1890)

Although there were new editions of Webster’s *American Dictionary* in 1879 and 1884, it was not until 1890 that G. & C. Merriam & Company (as it was now called) published the first of its distinguished line of *International* dictionaries, finally changing the name of its standard-bearer and dropping *American* from the title. The new dictionary was much larger than any of the previous Webster editions, with 175,000 entries, and was called *Webster’s International Dictionary of the English Language*. The title page was the first to bear the familiar Merriam-Webster colophon, of an elaborate ‘W’ encircled by a wreath, which would appear in every subsequent Webster dictionary. It was this dictionary that inaugurated the great age of the unabridged dictionary in America.

The chief editor of the 1890 edition was Noah Porter, who had completed the job of editing the 1864 edition after the death of Goodrich. The Preface traces the history of earlier editions of the *American Dictionary* and mentions Professor

William Dwight Whitney, later to become the editor of *The Century Dictionary*, as among those who had revised the definitions for the 1864 edition. The 1890 edition, the Preface says, gives particular attention to scientific, technological, and zoological terms. ‘While we sympathize with their regret [i.e. of critics] that so much space is given to explanations and illustrations that are purely technical rather than literary, we find ourselves compelled to yield to the necessity which in these days requires that the dictionary . . . should carefully define the terms that record the discoveries of Science, the triumphs of Invention, and the revelations of Life.’ Such a statement could well find a place, even more fittingly, in more recent dictionaries of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, but none is given, as the pre-eminent status of science and technology is now so well established that devoting a huge amount of space to specialized terms is deemed unworthy of apology. The trend to devote a greater and greater proportion of dictionary space to science and technology began in the mid-nineteenth century and continues to this day (Landau 1974). Illustrations are included throughout the text and are also gathered in an 84-page section at the end of the book classified by category, with cross-references to the page in the A–Z section where they appear. The etymologies have been recast by Professor Edward S. Sheldon of Harvard. Various specialists are listed for scientific, technological, and other subject fields. The front matter includes for the first time phonetic diagrams of articulation of the vocal organs, with explanations for the production of each sound used in speech. Also included are a memoir of Noah Webster by his son-in-law Chauncey Goodrich and the prefaces to the 1828, 1847, and 1864 editions. Clearly, the publishers saw this dictionary as a great moment in the history of the Websterian tradition or they would not have devoted so much space to the predecessors from which it developed.

The bulk and size of the book—the A–Z section is 1,681 pages set in a three-column format—immediately calls to mind the appearance of later unabridged dictionaries that would remain the gold standard of American lexicography into the 1960s. The dictionary is about five inches thick, and the ends of the pages have indented cuts for thumb indexing, one of the earliest (if not the first) to have this feature. The size of type, the arrangement of entries on the page, and the pronunciation key running along the base of the pages are all very similar to the style of presentation that would become familiar to generations of Americans in the years ahead. Entry words remain capitalized (the one retrograde feature of this edition), but are syllabicated, with primary stress shown, and occasionally secondary stress (probably an innovation, but inconsistently applied) and are immediately followed by respellings for their pronunciation, using the familiar diacritics that would remain more or less constant in American lexicography for

the next half-century. Following the pronunciation comes the part-of-speech label and the etymology. Definitions are identified by boldface numbers and each number is set off in a new paragraph, as in later unabridged dictionaries. Most definitions are followed by a cited authority or by a quotation. A list of synonyms or a synonym discrimination completes the entry paragraph. There appear to be no run-on derivatives; all entries, even rare ones (e.g. *abortively*, *abortiveness*) are given main-entry status. The emphasis on science and technology is reflected in the frequency of field labels, such as *Astron.*, *Opt.*, and *Physiol.*, though others such as *Law* are also common. Here is a typical entry:

- (1) **Cog'nize** *v.t.* To know or perceive; to recognize. 'The reasoning faculty can deal with no facts until they are *cognized* by it.' *H. Spencer*

In spite of the unusual length and attention to detail in the Preface to this edition, there is no explanation given in it for the change in title from *An American Dictionary of the English Language* to *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language*—surely a considered decision. One has to notice, at the very end of the dictionary, a 'Statement by the Publishers of Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language', signed 'G. & C. Merriam & Co.' It bears no page numbers and appears at the end of all the supplements and appendixes, suggesting that it may have been tipped in (inserted separately) rather than printed and gathered with the rest of the text. This extraordinary statement has already been alluded to in connection with its honest depiction of the 1847 edition as only modestly changed from the 1828 edition. Here, finally, the change in title is addressed. 'The present substitution of "International" for "American"', the statement says, 'marks an accomplished change in the relations of the English speaking peoples. It is not their separation, but their community, which is now emphasized by the best thought and feeling in every department of life and literature.' They now wish to call the dictionary 'International' because English is used around the globe and because the common vocabulary and unity of structure renders local variations too trifling. How different language scholars feel about the uses of English today! It may be doubted that the vocabulary and structure of English as used throughout the world were ever as unified as here represented, but such, then, was the common assumption. The dictionary, the publishers concluded, must be serviceable to Britain, the United States, Canada, and Australia, and to the English-speaking population of India and South Africa. One can only speculate as to why such a signally important change from the historic title given by Webster himself to his dictionary in 1828 is explained not in the Preface, as one would expect, rather than as a kind of afterthought by the publishers buried at the end of the book. One thing is

clear. The use of *American* was seen as parochial and limiting, and had to be jettisoned. The change in title was a considered marketing decision intended to expand the acceptance of Webster's dictionaries throughout the world.

Though in many ways a forerunner of the modern unabridged dictionary of the twentieth century, in its sense divisions and choice of illustrative quotations *Webster's International* was still modelled on an earlier tradition going back to Johnson. Indeed, some of the illustrative quotations can be traced originally to Johnson, are adapted by Webster, and retained nearly a century and a half later in *Webster's International*.<sup>6</sup> In some respects, therefore, the *New International*, in spite of its modern appearance, is old-fashioned, oriented towards the historical treatment of meaning and giving priority in its illustrative quotations to the classical literary sources drawn upon by Johnson. The first dictionaries to depart significantly from this model were the Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries, which are discussed below.

## 9.7 THE CENTURY DICTIONARY (1889–91)

In the history of American lexicography, *The Century Dictionary* is a dictionary *sui generis*.<sup>7</sup> There had been nothing like it before and there has been nothing like it since. *The Century Dictionary* was not a historical dictionary like the *New English Dictionary* (later to be called the *Oxford English Dictionary*) then under way in Britain, but it was a multivolume dictionary of comparable scale, and was seen to be competitive by James A. H. Murray, who attacked it with remarkable acerbity in a letter to a journal in 1890 soon after its initial volume appeared.<sup>8</sup> He evidently feared that the *Century* was making use of the early fascicles of the *New English Dictionary*, and, indeed, the editor of the *Century* acknowledges consulting *A* and *B*, the only two letters available before the *Century* was completed. In the long run it is likely that the editors of the *New English Dictionary* made more use of the *Century* than its editors did of the *NED*.

<sup>6</sup> For example, definition 3 of the verb *regard* cites Shakespeare: 'If much you note him, You offend him; ... feed, and regard him not.' The *Century* also quoted this, but more fully, and with exact reference (from *Macbeth*); it appeared originally without the ellipsis in Johnson.

<sup>7</sup> I have been greatly assisted in the writing of this section by the special issue of *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* in 1996 commemorating the centennial of the *Century Dictionary*, organized by Richard W. Bailey. Specific acknowledgement is given of particular articles.

<sup>8</sup> The putative reason for Murray's letter was to challenge the etymology for *cockney*, but the tone and substance of his letter were clearly intended to disparage Professor Whitney and the standing of the *Century Dictionary* as a work of scholarship (Lieberman 1996: 40–8; Murray 1977: 266–7). Lieberman discusses in detail the history of various explanations for the origin of *cockney*.

The *Century* was issued in parts beginning in 1889 and was completed and bound in six volumes at the end of 1891. The price was \$120, a cost that put it beyond the means of most individuals. The dictionary contained 215,000 entry words, about 500,000 definitions with many thousands of illustrative quotations, and 8,000 pictorial illustrations.

### 9.7.1 *Origins of The Century Dictionary*

The driving force behind *The Century Dictionary* was Roswell Smith, who, with Josiah Gilbert Holland, had launched a new magazine of the arts and letters, *Scribner's Monthly*, in the early 1870s. In 1881, the two men founded The Century Company and began publication of *The Century Magazine*, which was intended to showcase the highest standards of design, illustration, and printing (Bailey 1996; Metcalf 1996). It was printed by the De Vinne Press of New York, which had become famous for the exceptional quality of its work. Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary* (1850) has already been mentioned as the primary source for the illustrations in Webster's Pictorial Edition of 1859. Ogilvie's dictionary had in turn been largely based on the 1841 revision of Webster's *American Dictionary*. When Charles Annandale substantially revised the *Imperial Dictionary* and brought it out in four volumes in 1883, Smith acquired the American publication rights, but it was still a British dictionary, and Smith had determined a year earlier to produce an American one based on it. Accordingly, he sought out William Dwight Whitney, a professor of philology and a Sanskrit scholar at Yale who had already worked as a lexicographer for Noah Porter on the Webster–Mahn edition of 1864. He had also written a highly regarded descriptive English grammar in 1877. Richard Bailey has called him 'the greatest American philologist of the 19th century' (Bailey 1996: 6). For managing editor Whitney signed up Benjamin Eli Smith (a relative), who became editor-in-chief upon Whitney's death in 1894. B. E. Smith was responsible for the *Cyclopedia of Names*, added in 1894 and later combined with an atlas of maps to make up the last two volumes in the ten-volume set published in 1896. At this time the title was changed to *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*.

### 9.7.2 *Outstanding Features of the Century*

What truly distinguishes the *Century* from other dictionaries before or since are the extraordinary care taken to produce a well-crafted, handsome set of books, with clear, legible, and attractive type printed on good paper and, related to that, the large number of very fine wood engravings and other pictorial illustrations, many composed by the best nature artists, such as Ernest Thompson Seton. Also

impressive were the lavish attention and space given over to etymologies, which were the responsibility of Charles P. G. Scott; and lastly, the coverage given to encyclopedic material, particularly in the sciences and technology, but extended also to cover names of all kinds (biographical, geographical, literary and mythological characters, etc.) in the *Cyclopedia of Names*.

Including encyclopedic material in dictionaries was nothing new, but in Webster's early dictionaries (as in earlier British dictionaries) the choice of encyclopedic material was unpredictable and even eccentric; by contrast, the scope and systematic nature of the *Century's* coverage of science, technology, and other encyclopedic terms was unprecedented in American lexicography. It did not just define *cog-wheel*, for example; it included an illustration of it, and its definition explained how it transmits motion and directed the reader to several particular types of cogwheels, all included in separate entries within the dictionary. The noun *count* was not only defined as a title of nobility; in smaller type a short essay described the history of the uses of the term, beginning in the Roman republic and continuing into feudal times.

Given the space and attention devoted to pictorial illustrations in the *Century*, it is remarkable how little Whitney says about them in his Preface. He says that, though they have been selected to be subordinate to the text, they have considerable independent merit and artistic value. W. Lewis Fraser, manager of the Art Department of the Century Company, which produced the *Century Magazine* (and from which some of the illustrations were taken) was the person responsible for them. A very large number of them are of animals and insects, and they are exquisitely drawn, mostly reproduced from wood engravings. Some of the illustrations are line drawings and a few, according to Michael Hancher, are half-tones, a relatively innovative process in 1889, but one that would become a mainstay in published books for the next century (Hancher 1996: 88).

The *Century* was printed in three columns with running heads at the top and with no pronunciation key at the base. The type, designed by Theodore Low De Vinne, was unusually readable for its size, and from it a number of modern typefaces have been derived (Metcalf 1996). Entry words appear solid, without syllabication, and (unlike *Webster's International* of 1890) are not capitalized unless they are names, a practice now standard in lexicography. The pronunciation, following the entry word, is based on a respelling system employing few diacritics. The pronunciation system is not very sophisticated or innovative, but is serviceable. Following the part-of-speech label is the etymology, enclosed within square brackets. Some of the etymologies in the *Century* are immensely long. For example, the etymology for *man* is fifty-eight column lines long. After the proximate etyma (comparatively recent forms from which the current word was derived) are given, the note speculates about the ultimate origin of the word as relating to the meaning of



‘thinker’, but then dismisses the idea of primitive men as thinkers as ‘quite incredible’. It then goes on to consider other theories. Even relatively uncommon words receive detailed and lengthy etymologies. The etymology for *akimbo* runs to thirty-three column lines, whereas the rest of the entry devotes about half as much space (seventeen lines) to its definitions and illustrative quotations.

The coverage of science is notable in many areas, such as electricity, then of intense and growing interest in the modern world. The entry for *electricity* consumes over a full column of small type. The word *electric* takes up, with its derivative phrases and three illustrations of electrical apparatuses, more than a page. The combining form *electro-* introduces well over one hundred compounds, from *electroballistic* to *electrovital*.

### 9.7.3 *Lack of a legacy*

The critical reception given the *Century* was overwhelmingly positive, and it was even compared favorably with the Oxford dictionary then in progress. Yet the high cost of the *Century* kept it from being accessible to a wider public. In 1927, an abridgement, the *New Century Dictionary*, was published, initially in three volumes, then in two, in which form it remained in print for many years. Eventually the *New Century* would form the basis of the *American College Dictionary* (1947) and the *World Book Dictionary* (1963) (Barnhart 1996). Yet the *Century Dictionary* failed to sustain a continuing programme of research and revision, although editions appeared as late as 1911 and 1914, and it could not compete effectively against the new series of unabridged dictionaries of Funk & Wagnalls and G. & C. Merriam that appeared from 1893 to 1913 and were much cheaper in price. As the years passed and the *Century* began to show its age by not keeping abreast of the latest popular and scientific words, the *Century* fell into the role of a relic—beautiful, to be sure, like an old Bible printed on parchment paper—but regarded more as an object of veneration than as a commonly used dictionary. So it remains. Yet its comparative neglect is regrettable, as it is a superb dictionary in many respects and still has much to offer to those interested in the vocabulary of its period. It was from the beginning a quixotic venture (as many new dictionaries are), and it occupies a singular place in American lexicography for its attempt to marry the highest form of the printer’s art with dictionary-making. In this it succeeded. But as a dictionary that would endure to make a lasting mark on American intellectual life, it cannot be said to have succeeded. The unforgiving demands of the commercial marketplace led dictionary publishers in another direction: towards the creation of ever-larger, single-volume or two-volume unabridged dictionaries that could be sold at an affordable price.

## 9.8 FUNK & WAGNALLS' UNABRIDGED DICTIONARIES (1893–1913): THE STANDARD AND THE NEW STANDARD

Following the publication in 1890 of *Webster's International Dictionary*, the next major dictionary to be published was the first of Funk & Wagnalls' unabridged dictionaries, the *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, in two volumes; the first volume was published in 1893, the second volume the following year, and the two-volume set in 1895. The *Standard Dictionary* reportedly covered 304,000 terms, a vocabulary almost fifty per cent larger than the *Century's* and nearly seventy-five per cent larger than that of *Webster's International Dictionary*. Although the *Standard Dictionary* was very different from the *Century*, it too vaunted its coverage of science and technology.

In 1913, a new edition, the massive *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, containing 450,000 terms, was published in a single volume. The *Funk & Wagnalls Standard* and the *New Standard* thus continued the relentless growth of dictionaries to ever-larger and more comprehensive size, a pattern originally established by *Webster's American Dictionary* of 1847, which might be summarized as, 'Give them more for less', i.e. increase the coverage of vocabulary and package the book so that it can be sold cheaply. (The *Century* is the notable exception to this trend.) The A–Z text of the *Standard* runs to 2,100 pages, and of the *New Standard* to 2,757 pages. The prestige of owning an immense, unabridged dictionary, representing in its solid, blocklike weight the stability and power of the whole of the English language, as the Bible represented faith in God, was a powerful argument for purchase.

Krapp observes that the *Century*, the *Standard*, and the *New International* (referring to the edition of 1909) 'illustrate the disappearance of the individual in the making of modern dictionaries, and the emergence of what may be called the syndicate or composite dictionary' (Krapp 1966: 375). It is true that this period marks a shift away from the idea of the dictionary as a book having an author worthy of identification to one of the dictionary as the product of a company. Yet not until *Webster's Third* of 1961 would any other unabridged dictionary be so completely controlled by one man as was the *Standard* of 1893 by Isaac Funk.

Isaac Kauffman Funk was a minister of the Lutheran church who later became a newspaperman. He founded and edited various publications designed to assist preachers prepare sermons, and in 1877 joined Adam Willis Wagnalls in a partnership to form the publishing company (incorporated in 1890) as Funk & Wagnalls. Wagnalls was involved purely as the principal investor and never played

an editorial role. In 1890, Funk planned and launched *The Literary Digest*, which would prove to be a very successful magazine in its day. Producing the *Standard Dictionary* was an enormous enterprise, yet it was completed in less than four years. A very large staff would have been employed; Frank Vizetelly, managing editor of the *New Standard*, wrote that that dictionary employed a staff of 250 and engaged more than 530 readers for quotations<sup>9</sup> (Vizetelly 1923: 22).

Whereas Whitney had been a professor at Yale, Funk, as we have seen, had been a newspaperman and preacher. He was no academic, and he emphasized practicality rather than scholarship in his dictionaries. Convenience, he said, was more important than tradition. He wanted his dictionaries to be easy to use, and accordingly he introduced a number of innovations. Taken together, these were profoundly influential in moving American lexicography away from the English tradition begun by Johnson and continued with various modifications by Webster and Worcester. First, Funk decreed that the commonest meaning, not the earliest in historical terms, should come first in the sequence of definitions. He did not believe that the typical dictionary user was most interested in the earliest use of a word when this use might be rare or obsolete at the present time. Indeed, he argued that it would be confusing. Next, and at the opposite pole from Whitney, Funk deemed etymology of lesser importance and placed it after the definition at the end of the dictionary entry rather than before the definition. In his view, people looked up words for meaning, spelling, and pronunciation, but seldom for etymology. The etymology for *man*, which occupied fifty-eight lines in the *Century*, consists of ‘< AS. *man*’ in the *Standard*. Most of the etymologies are very brief, going back immediately, or, sometimes, with an intermediate step or two, to the earliest known form and giving no cognates in other languages. Another innovation of the *Standard* was to introduce what Funk called ‘run-in words’, but which are now more commonly called ‘run-on derivatives’, i.e. derivatives (usually undefined) that are tacked on at the end of the basic entry with which they are associated. For example, *attributively* and *attributiveness* appear, fully syllabicated but without definitions, at the end of the entry for *attributive*. This practice saves space and allows the publisher to claim the inclusion of more entries than would otherwise be possible. It was soon adopted by almost every dictionary.

Definitions in the *Standard* are considerably stronger than its etymologies and are comparable to those of *Webster’s International*. The definitions in the *Stand-*

<sup>9</sup> The context in Vizetelly’s book, which is really a promotional publication for the *New Standard*, is ambiguous as to whether these numbers refer to the *Standard* or the *New Standard*. Photographs accompanying the text show a large editorial staff for the *New Standard*, and it is likely the staff numbers he used referred to that dictionary.

*ard* and *New Standard* are more usually illustrated by invented phrases than by quotations. Phrases take up less space and they do the job of showing a typical collocation or pattern of use. The *Standard* and *New Standard* contain far fewer illustrative quotations than *Webster's International* or the *Century*, and those they do include are largely cited from books of the last few prior decades. Gone are the quotations from Milton, Dryden, and Shakespeare that abound in the Webster and Worcester dictionaries and that were still common in *Webster's International*. Funk was never part of the Johnsonian tradition. Although Webster had talked a great deal about being American, it was Funk who really departed from the English tradition in lexicography in America.

Funk's introduction immediately declares that the aims of a dictionary are to be comprehensive, accurate, and simple. Comprehensiveness and accuracy are surely unsurprising goals, but simplicity is new, and the innovations in the Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries were designed to simplify the process of looking up a word, finding the appropriate definition, and understanding it once it was found. Funk, like many of the linguistic authorities of his day, was interested in spelling reform; the goal was to make spelling more rational and simplify it. It is important to recognize that the programme to simplify spelling then was most emphatically not the crackpot enterprise of a few impractical visionaries. Among those in favour of simplified spelling were Francis A. March, who was a consultant to Funk and who had earlier helped Murray secure American readers for the *New English Dictionary*; William Dwight Whitney, editor of the *Century Dictionary*; the distinguished philologist Max Müller; James A. H. Murray himself; the eminent English phonetician Henry Sweet; Melvil Dewey, who was a founding member of the American Library Association and the originator of the Dewey decimal system; and Charles P. G. Scott, the etymologist of the *Century* and a leader in the spelling reform movement. The major professional philological association in America endorsed simplified spellings for 3,500 words, and these were duly included in the *Standard*, though not as main entries but as alternate spellings, with cross-references to their traditional spelling.

Despite the fact that Funk was a minister, he was not, like Webster, at all in favour of spreading the word of Christianity by means of his dictionaries. Near the beginning of his introduction he says that the function of a dictionary is to record usage, not create it, and later cautions his definers against colouring their definitions with their own theories, opinions, or beliefs. 'The work of a dictionary is to define, not to advocate'. If etymology was comparatively neglected, spelling and pronunciation were accorded a great deal of attention. The *New Standard* employed two pronunciation keys, which are displayed, in another of Funk's innovations, at the top of every page rather than

at the base. Every word is given two numbered pronunciations. One is keyed to a system called the Revised Scientific Alphabet (a forerunner of the International Phonetic Alphabet), while the other refers to the system of phonemic respelling found traditionally in American dictionaries. It is hard to reconcile the use of dual pronunciations with the overriding object to be simple, but such is the case.

Entry words in the *Standard* and in the *New Standard* appear in lower case and in boldface, as was customary, and are syllabicated with primary and, if called for, secondary stress, as in **o''cean-og'ra-phy**. Although *Webster's International* had sometimes indicated secondary stress, it was inconsistent in its application and rarely employed it; the *Standard* appears to be more rigorous. There are numerous pictorial illustrations of relatively good quality and tipped-in colour plates of birds, medals ('decorations of honor'), flags, gemstones, and so forth, as well as full-page black-and-white plates. There are also numerous synonym discriminations and lists of antonyms. Though not elegant or as legible as the *Century*, the *Standard's* and *New Standard's* design is clear and straightforward, and easy to negotiate, as the headwords are set off and made prominent. The volumes are handsomely bound and are thumb-indexed.

An enlarged edition of the *Standard* appeared in 1903, and a separately bound *Supplement* in 1904, containing an addenda section of 13,000 new words as well as new colour and black-and-white plates. The *New Standard* remained in print for many years, well past mid-century, and although it was updated in minor ways—enough to receive new copyrights—it was never thoroughly revised and remained essentially a 1913 dictionary.

Although the Funk & Wagnalls *New Standard* had become *passé* by the 1940s, for nearly fifty years prior to that the unabridged Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries had competed head-to-head with G. & C. Merriam's Webster dictionaries, from the *International* of 1890, the first *New International* of 1909 to the great Second Edition of 1934. During all this period, the Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries were widely considered on a par with the Webster dictionaries, and the competition between the two companies was just as fierce as the rivalry of an earlier time had been between Noah Webster and Joseph Worcester and their supporters, although it was not so public and was fought by the companies' respective marketing staffs rather than by their editors. Gradually, after the publication of the Webster Second Edition in 1934, when there was no response from Funk & Wagnalls in the form of a new edition of its unabridged, the Webster dictionary began to have the field to itself, and, in spite of the publication of a number of new smaller dictionaries in the 1950s and 1960s, the Funk & Wagnalls Company never recovered and indeed struggled to survive as a dictionary publisher.

## 9.9 WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (1909)

Following the Funk & Wagnalls publication of its *Standard Dictionary* in 1893–95, the Merriam company was put on notice that it had a new, serious competitor to its position of pre-eminence in American lexicography. The *Standard* challenged the 1890 *Webster's International*, though its two-volume format may have put it at a slight disadvantage. Word would surely have got out that Funk & Wagnalls was working on a new and even larger edition, and the Merriams knew they had to respond. *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, based on the 1890 dictionary and amalgamating the extensive supplementary section of the 1900 edition, was their answer. Published in a single volume in 1909, the *New International* broke new ground in several areas, though at the same time it is recognizably in the tradition of the older Webster dictionaries.

Most importantly, the *New International* claimed to include 400,000 entries, substantially more than the *Standard* and more than twice as many as the *International* of 1890. It initiated the practice of dividing the page horizontally in order to encompass more entries; to quote the preface, the upper section contains the main words of the language, and the lower section, 'in a somewhat smaller type and narrow columns', contains 'various minor words, foreign words and phrases, abbreviations, etc'. This feature, an innovation in 1909, would become much beloved by some users of the Second Edition of 1934, which perpetuated the practice, but it is difficult to justify the inclusion, even in very small type, of many of the items below the dividing line, and it is difficult to understand on what basis some words were considered minor and others major. Nonetheless, the practice enabled the publishers to fit 400,000 entries into an alphabetic section of 2,373 pages and to keep the dictionary in one volume.

Another innovation of the *New International* is its vastly expanded coverage of encyclopedic material, including a section of about 140 pages called *A Reference History of the World*, a chronological history from 6000 BC to the present time, a feature the *Funk & Wagnalls New Standard* of 1913 would later imitate. In the *New International*, this section is replete with full-page plates of illustrations, many in colour. (This section, brought up to date and enlarged to 360 pages, would be included in some editions of the Second Edition of 1934, but did not appear in the Third Edition in 1961.<sup>10</sup>) Within the A–Z text, too, encyclopedic material is

<sup>10</sup> By email communication from Joanne Despres of Merriam-Webster in response to my inquiry. I am indebted to her and to Steve Perrault and Ward Gilman, also of Merriam-Webster, for their kind assistance.

afforded expanded treatment. For example, under *machine* there is an extended description of types of machines operated by motors. *Spinal* includes a veritable anatomical essay on the spinal nerves, taking up more than two-thirds of a column of very small type, and complete with an illustration of the cross section of the spinal cord. Another aspect of encyclopedic content is the expanded use of pictorial illustrations, which have been increased in number to 6,000, nearly half of which are new to this edition. Most of the illustrations within the alphabetic section are small and not of any outstanding quality, but they are numerous and they do succeed in breaking up the type page and making it more readable. There are also a number of glossy plates embedded in the alphabetic section. Another notable quality of the *New International*, allied to its greater attention to encyclopedic material, is its more common use of qualifying field labels in definitions. Many specialists are listed as consultants in fields ranging from agriculture to zoology, and the text is larded with entries labelled *Org. Chem.* (for organic chemistry), *Micrometal.* (for micrometallurgy), *Min.* (for mineralogy), *Naut.* (for nautical), etc.

The use of illustrative quotations in the *New International* represents a particularly intriguing departure from earlier tradition. The editors make no mention of illustrative quotations except with reference to their use in newly fashioned synonym discriminations. Goodrich's earlier synonymies, numbering about 600, were nearly all rewritten, and the total has been increased to more than 1,400, with 6,000 illustrative quotations. The new synonym discriminations were written by Professor John L. Lewis under the direction of Professor George Lyman Kittredge of Harvard, and they are indeed much superior to Goodrich's, and well illustrated with quotations, mainly from literature. However, to make room for the expanded synonymies, the great addition of new entries, and the enlarged encyclopedic material, the use of illustrative quotations in the main dictionary text has been cut back. There are markedly fewer than in the *International* of 1890. The editors claim to have reviewed and revised the definitions and rearranged them more rigorously according to the historical principle, and there is ample evidence that many such changes were indeed made.

In other respects, the *New International* perpetuates the established policies of earlier Webster dictionaries. Its pronunciations employ the same 'textbook' system of respellings as in the *International*. The *New International* does, however, include an extensive guide to pronunciation with a section on phonetic principles, a description of the organs of speech, and an analysis of the articulation of the sounds used in English speech, which, for its time, seems extraordinarily up to date. It was evidently prepared by its pronunciation editor, Paul W. Carhart.

The etymologies are said to have been revised, but are not a feature to which much attention is given. In spelling, the *New International* adopts a conservative approach, listing first, as a matter of course, the more established American spellings: *center*, *traveled*, *skillful*, for example. But the corresponding British spellings—*centre*, *travelled*, *skilful*—are nevertheless also given, and without any indication that they are especially British. The editors reject many of the recommendations of the Simplified Spelling Board and other professional organizations, though, when usage is divided, they opt for the simpler form, for example, *program* over *programme*.

On balance, it seems clear that the emphasis in the *New International* on encyclopedic and pictorial material is in large part a response to the *Funk & Wagnalls Standard*, which trumpeted its practicality and its attention to the latest scientific and technical advances. Like the *Standard*, it de-emphasized etymology. In 1913, the massive *Funk & Wagnalls New Standard*, with 50,000 more entries than *Webster's New International*, appeared in a single volume. The battle was joined. The Merriam company knew it had to take some decisive action to set its next unabridged dictionary apart and establish its supremacy.

### 9.10 WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, SECOND EDITION (1934)

*Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition*, much beloved of a whole generation of Americans and revered to this day, is a massive book, nearly five inches in bulk and so heavy that it is best set out on a sturdy dictionary stand and consulted *in situ*. The main vocabulary section alone is only slightly less than 3,000 pages, and, with front and back matter, the total comes to nearly 3,300 pages. It was the largest, single-volume dictionary yet produced, with a vocabulary section containing more than 550,000 words. The Second Edition covers all words in the modern period beginning with the year 1500, and, exceptionally, also covers Chaucer's language before that. If the gazetteer and biographical section entries are included, the total exceeds 600,000. Many reviewers, especially from the academic world, regarded it as not only the biggest one-volume dictionary ever produced but the best. They judged it the most comprehensive, the most up-to-date, and the most authoritative. It was commended for explaining the common usage, according to one scholar, who quotes from a number of laudatory contemporary reviews (Laugh-



lin 1967).<sup>11</sup> The Merriam Company cranked up its publicity apparatus to spread the word through print advertisements and by the efforts of its large and aggressive sales force. As Funk & Wagnalls faded from the scene, the Webster line of dictionaries gained an unparalleled dominance, and at the top of the line was the famous Second Edition. It soon became the most prestigious dictionary in America, an achievement of linguistic excellence on a grand scale, and it would maintain that position for over twenty-five years until the *Third New International* appeared in 1961. Some influential critics publicly disparaged the *Third* and asserted that they would continue using the Second Edition, thus elevating it to the status of a cultural icon. More than forty years after the publication of the *Third*, near the end of the year 2005, the New York Public Library's huge main reading room displayed three times as many copies of the Second Edition on its lecterns than of the *Third* (nine of the former to three of the latter).

Was the Second Edition ever as good as its admirers believed? The *Oxford English Dictionary* was the only other dictionary of comparable extent, but it was a historical dictionary intended for the literary and linguistic scholar. It was devoted almost exclusively to British English, contained no encyclopedic material at all and no pictorial illustrations, and provided little vocabulary coverage of scientific and technical terms. Appearing in many volumes, it was also expensive. Judged in its own terms, the Second Edition was in a class by itself, although one of the main reasons the Second Edition *was* so good is that it had the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a source. Since the *OED* was completed in 1927—the Supplement appeared in 1933—it was fully available to the editors of the Second Edition. They do acknowledge their debt to the *OED*, probably not sufficiently, but at least it is there in print.

The Second Edition is justly regarded as a great achievement, but the policies that informed it were essentially the same as those governing earlier editions. The Second Edition made use of 1.6 million citations and examined about two million others in other dictionaries. 'In conformity with the traditional principle of Merriam-Webster Dictionaries,' the Introduction states, 'that definitions, to be adequate, must be written only after an analysis of citations, the definitions in this new edition are based on citations . . . . It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the reason for the fundamental and thorough soundness of the Merriam-Webster Dictionary is that it is a "Citation Dictionary".' In other words, all definitions are based on the record of actual usage as documented by citations. Nowhere in the Second Edition is any mention made of prescribing correct usage or expunging

<sup>11</sup> It is a curious reflection of changing public tastes that a quarter of a century later the Third Edition was especially criticized for giving too much attention to common usage.

slang or jargon from the covered vocabulary. Indeed, the Second Edition was praised for its coverage of new uses and slang. There is no section either in the Introduction or in the Explanatory Notes dealing with usage questions. Whatever attention is given to usage is covered within the synonymies, some of which distinguish between words that are ‘improperly confused’. With respect to the synonymies, the editors say, following a tradition that goes back to Johnson, ‘The citations have been drawn from writers . . . whose works exemplify the best modern usage, . . . [especially] those authors who combine idiomatic freedom of style with correctness.’ No such statement is made with respect to citations used to illustrate definitions in the vocabulary proper, and it must be assumed that no such standard was applied, as the object of citations within definitions is not to illustrate good usage but to exemplify meaning or collocation.

The editor-in-chief of the Second Edition was William Allan Neilson, who was president of Smith College; Thomas A. Knott, a former professor at the University of Iowa, was general editor; and Paul W. Carhart, who had been the pronunciation editor of the 1909 *New International*, was managing editor and pronunciation editor. How much work on the actual pronunciations Carhart did is a matter of speculation, as John S. Kenyon, the distinguished phoneticist, was the consulting editor and is said in the Introduction to have been ‘a constant adviser on all matters of policy and on their application in detail’. Kenyon also entirely rewrote the nearly 60-page guide to pronunciation, by far the most complete, authoritative, and up-to-date description of the principles of phonetics to be found in any dictionary. The etymologist was Harold H. Bender, professor at Princeton, who revised the work of Sheldon and Wiener of the previous edition. The etymologies, though based on Mahn and Sheldon, were completely overhauled. The synonymies of John Livingston Lowes were retained with few changes. The dictionary is illustrated throughout with many pictures, and contains eight plates of illustrations.

The order of definitions is historical, as in past editions, and here again the *OED* had been invaluable in determining the sequence of definitions. In the Second Edition, the definitions of some very long entries, such as *body*, *block*, and *set*, are subdivided with roman numerals into different sections. Following the initiative of Funk & Wagnalls, the Second Edition also introduces lists of undefined words having the same prefix or combining form, such as words beginning with *color-* or with *anti-*. The famous lower section of the page—that part of the page below the line—still exists, but is much reduced and extenuated, occupying only a small fraction of the page and on some pages absolutely disappearing. One senses an unwillingness in the editors to expunge the feature completely, but something less than a whole commitment to its utility.

A feature certainly novel in Webster dictionaries up to this time is a page entitled *The Editorial Staff*, with a complete listing not only of the top editors but of the assistant editors, proofreaders, and editorial assistants, followed by a number of paragraphs providing details about which subjects particular editors were chiefly responsible for. In the *New International* of 1909, the only acknowledgement of the editorial staff—and this only of the top people—was tacked on at the end of the preface after the special-subject editors (the outside consultants) were recognized. Historically, dictionary staffs were generally not acknowledged at all, or, if acknowledged, allotted begrudgingly small type in a place as obscure as could be found. The Second Edition breaks new ground among commercial dictionaries in giving proper credit to its staff, and not just to its senior staff. It may have been influenced in this by the *OED*, which scrupulously listed its contributors, sub-editors, assistants, and proofreaders.

Perhaps the most far-reaching innovation of the Second Edition was that it was one of the first dictionaries to address the needs of dictionary users by explaining the features of the dictionary. In most previous dictionaries, there were no explanatory guides addressed to readers, or, if there were, they were brief, inadequate, and put into type so tiny they could scarcely be read. In his decision to devote five full pages in relatively large, legible type, with generous spacing between the lines, to all the various features of the dictionary entry, Neilson took a giant step forward in educating the ordinary dictionary user. The guide even had—again for the first time—an explanatory two-colour chart showing an actual column from the vocabulary section of the dictionary, with various individual features encircled in red and with leaders extending to the margins where each feature is identified; a reference is given to the numbered paragraph in the pages following where a full description of that feature is provided. Such an explanatory chart, often utilizing a second colour, would become a standard feature of college dictionaries for the next fifty years.

Neilson says that the dictionary cost \$1.3 million—an enormous sum in the 1930s—and employed a staff of 250 editors and editorial workers. This huge investment in both money and labour marked the culmination of the age of the unabridged dictionary in America, and the succeeding decades would witness the gradual but irreversible decline of this genre, so by the time *Webster's Third* was published in 1961, even before the final insult of computer storage of vast files made very large print dictionaries obsolescent, the unabridged dictionary was already in a most vulnerable condition from which it would probably not have recovered in any case. The collapse of the stock market in 1929 and the onset of the great depression meant (for those who could raise the capital) that labour was plentiful and cheap. But after the great depression ended in the latter part of the

1930s, the cost of living increased, and the war years of 1941–45 and its aftermath saw rapid growth in wages and prices even in the face of rises in productivity. The cost of assembling a large staff of trained editors in the 1950s, along with the much higher costs of typesetting, paper, printing, and binding, would make any new project of the scope of the Second Edition prodigiously expensive and, given the hard facts of commercial success in publishing, difficult to justify from a business point of view. That explains why Funk & Wagnalls never revised its *New Standard* of 1913. Only a company with such a long and distinguished history in dictionary publishing as G. & C. Merriam—it later changed its corporate name to Merriam-Webster—could muster the will and the means to produce a new unabridged dictionary during this period. To some extent Merriam was insulated from high costs because it operated in the small city of Springfield, Massachusetts, where it owned the building housing its editorial offices and where staff and other expenses could be readily controlled. Even so, the commitment to produce a completely revised Third Edition of its unabridged dictionary represented a huge investment for Merriam-Webster.

### 9.11 WEBSTER'S THIRD NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY (1961)

The *Webster* unabridged dictionaries published by G. & C. Merriam had typically had as editor-in-chief a distinguished academic person such as William Allan Neilson, president of Smith College, of the Second Edition. According to Herbert C. Morton, the publishers originally sought to make a similar appointment for the Third Edition, but, although they received valuable help in planning for the new dictionary from prominent academic people, none was willing to assume the editorship, and in the end the publishers turned to an in-house editor, Philip Babcock Gove. To be sure, Gove had done postgraduate work on Johnson's dictionary and had earned a doctorate on a literary subject from Columbia University, but he was not in the firmament of academic superstars.<sup>12</sup> Neilson and his predecessors had been far more than mere figureheads, having had a

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to Herbert C. Morton's *The Story of Webster's Third: Philip Gove's Controversial Dictionary and Its Critics* for information about Gove and much else concerning the Merriam Company's publicity campaign and Gove's response to the criticism levelled against his dictionary. An in-depth discussion of the controversy over this dictionary, recounted with admirable balance and discernment, is contained in pp. 153–264.

hand in many major decisions involving policy, but they did not systematically edit or review the editing of the dictionary text as a whole. That was the role of the general editor. Gove was appointed general editor in 1951; no one was appointed editor-in-chief until ten years later, the year of publication, when Gove was officially given that title. *Webster's Third* is very much Gove's dictionary in the sense that all the important policies were essentially his, and their implementation was closely monitored by him. His was the major voice in determining what entries to include and to omit; the style of definitions; the attention paid to pronunciation; the use of illustrative quotations, usage labels, and subject labels; and many other decisions which would provoke strong criticism in the years following publication. It is remarkable that, though *Webster's Third* has by all accounts sold very well over the years, especially internationally, it has never been as widely accepted among professors and teachers in the humanities as has the Second Edition, owing in large measure to the enormous controversy that greeted the *Third's* publication in the years following its publication. It is therefore necessary to examine what the features of the *Third* were that elicited so much contention.

### 9.11.1 *Controversial features of Webster's Third*

Although the Merriam company had always emphasized its traditional pedigree, leading back in a straight line of descent of distinguished dictionaries to Noah Webster's first great dictionary of 1828, Gove's preface emphasizes in the opening sentence that the *Third Edition* is 'completely new', and for good measure repeats it in the next sentence, which reads: 'Every line of it is new.' The rest of the paragraph deals summarily with the original Webster dictionary of 1828 and the first Merriam dictionary of 1847. All the other great unabridged dictionaries—of 1864, 1890, 1909, and 1934—are relegated to a footnote. So much for tradition!

The *Third Edition* does indeed differ more from the Second Edition in many important particulars than the Second did from First. In order to keep the dictionary within manageable size and limit it to one volume, especially in view of the necessity of adding thousands of new terms and definitions, many of the 600,000 entries of the Second Edition would have to be cut. Words obsolete before 1755 were omitted, and almost all of the rare words found below the line in the pages of the Second Edition. The *Third Edition* abandoned the divided page. More significantly, all encyclopedic entries, and the historical reference material which had been featured in the back sections of the two earlier *New International* dictionaries, were cut. *Webster's Third's* omission of all biographical and geographical entries was especially challenged by critics. It is

difficult to avoid the conclusion that Gove regarded the omission of encyclopedic material as a convenient exigency: it would at once rid his dictionary of extraneous matter and enable him and his colleagues to create a purer model of what a dictionary should be. Gove was hardly a radical, but he was bold and confident enough to respond to linguistic trends that broke significantly with the *Webster* tradition, and to introduce innovations that could be justified on theoretical grounds but that would exasperate many conservative critics and even some sympathetic observers who generally praised the dictionary. He clearly hated to make exceptions, even when the failure to do so created the occasional absurdity, ambiguity, or obfuscation.

As Morton shrewdly observes, *Webster's Third* unfortunately appeared just at the time when linguists and humanists in universities were most at odds (Morton 1994: 2). At the time, the new study of structural linguistics had trouble finding a home for its scholars. They were often lodged within English Departments, but the marriage between the younger, statistically minded linguists, who regarded themselves as scientists, and the cadre of professors who taught Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, and the flowering of the modern novel was not a happy one. Each side mistrusted the other, but the traditional faculty certainly had the upper hand. The linguists were seen as arrogant and self-deceived upstarts, ignorant of and often indifferent to the cardinal creations in English literature.

It was in this environment that Gove described the central tenets of structural linguistics in a Merriam publication called *Word Study*, shortly after *Webster's Third* was published. Quoting from a 1952 statement published by the National Council of Teachers of English, Gove listed the principles as follows: (1) Language changes constantly; (2) Change is normal; (3) Spoken language is the language; (4) Correctness rests on usage; (5) All usage is relative (Morton 1994: 206). Though Gove was clear in saying that recent developments in linguistics had had little or no influence on *Webster's Third*, with the exception of its treatment of pronunciation, some critics—notably Dwight Macdonald in *The New Yorker*—interpreted Gove's admiration for structural linguistics as an admission that he advocated the abandonment of traditional lexicographical restraints in describing modern usage.<sup>13</sup> Although Macdonald reads far too much into Gove's educational article, it seems fair to presume that Gove's attitudes towards language were shaped by his understanding and acceptance of the principles he

<sup>13</sup> Macdonald's article, entitled 'The String Untuned', appeared in *The New Yorker* of 10 March 1962. It was reprinted, along with favourable reviews and other critical ones, including the often-quoted review of Wilson Follett's in *The Atlantic* of January, 1962, entitled, 'Sabotage in Springfield', in Sledd and Ebbitt (1962), an invaluable resource for the *Webster Third* controversy.

elucidated in this publication. As such they could have influenced some policies adopted in his dictionary, and, indeed, in some respects, this influence can be detected. For example, *Webster's Third* most remarkably capitalizes no entries except *God*. Up until the first *New International* of 1909, all entries were capitalized in *Webster* dictionaries. *Webster's Third* professed to contain no encyclopedic entries, and so theoretically would have no need to capitalize anything, but in fact it contains many entries derived from names (such as *new yorker*), and many names of materials (*african teak*), flora and fauna (*japanese cedar*, *russian wolfhound*), and other entries having geographical or biographical elements (*swedish massage*, *einstein equation*). All of these entries include some italicized usage label signifying that the entry is usually or always capitalized, but it remains a puzzle why the editors did not simply capitalize them. The answer may be in Gove's acceptance of the primacy of the spoken language, which may also account for the extraordinary attention and space devoted to exacting transcriptions of pronunciations, which will be considered below. The failure to capitalize has been criticized almost universally, even by those with generally positive views of the dictionary (Chapman 1967).

The *colloquial* or *informal* label was dropped completely, and *slang* is used very sparingly. In America, an informal style of language had become all but universal by the 1950s, as Bergen and Cornelia Evans observed in their guide to usage (Evans and Evans 1957: vii). There was also the question of the class of people to whom a particular usage was informal. Earlier unabridged dictionaries were addressed to a somewhat restricted, educated class, but, by 1961, with the huge increase in college and university attendance following the Second World War, and with the vast expansion of mass communications by radio and television, the prospective market had grown immensely and changed demographically. One sympathetic critic argued, only slightly tongue-in-cheek, that the old *Informal* label actually had come to mean 'informal for those of a higher social class, especially older, well-educated authors and professors in the humanities' (Landa 2001: 258). Some within the group thus disempowered were outraged; they attacked the dictionary for abandoning all standards simply because it had abandoned theirs. There is less justification for the sharp reduction in the use of the *slang* label. The Explanatory Notes contain this confusing comment: 'No word is invariably slang, and many standard words can be given slang connotations or used so inappropriately as to become slang.' Although meant as a justification for seldom using *slang*, it is irrelevant. In deciding what to label, as in everything else, the lexicographer is guided by the preponderance of the evidence. The possibility of limitless variation is no warrant for the failure to label words as slang.

Apart from all of these changes, the new defining style of the *Third* set it apart most dramatically from the Second and from all earlier *Webster* dictionaries. The style avoids commas except to separate items in a series, proscribes semicolons entirely, and relies on a single unbroken description with embedded phrases and clauses following directly upon each part of the definition they modify (very like the second half of this sentence). In most definitions, particularly verbs, the stylistic change is hardly noticeable, as is also the case with many common words, which are defined simply and clearly with brief definitions. The style is most conspicuous when applied to scientific terms. Here is the definition for *iridium*: 'a silver-white hard brittle very heavy chiefly trivalent and tetravalent metallic element of the platinum group that occurs usu. as a native alloy with platinum or with osmium in iridosmine, is resistant to chemical attack at ordinary temperatures, and is used esp. in hardening platinum for alloys suitable for surgical instruments, electrical and other scientific apparatus, jewelry, and the points of gold pens.' This is not exactly standard English, but it is a superbly crafted definition for getting across an amazing number of facts economically, that is, if the reader can stay with it till the end without losing focus. It contains all of the most important facts given in the much longer definition of the Second Edition, and in much less space. By and large, the new defining style works well, but it takes some getting used to, and sometimes it sacrifices clarity for economy of expression. It is not necessarily more logical than more traditional methods of defining, but Gove evidently admired its straightforward linear drive, like a car in smooth acceleration.

As the *iridium* definition quoted above suggests, one of the few areas in which *Webster's Third* did follow the tradition of the Second was in giving extraordinary attention to scientific and technical entries, although it did not label them. Indeed, it can be argued that this edition lacked discrimination in its coverage of scientific and technical terms, devoting an excessive amount of space to them.

Another area for which the *Third* was widely attacked, even ridiculed, was its choice of selection of illustrative quotations. Given the vast changes in the lexicon and in new senses since the Second Edition, the editors of the *Third* expanded their collection of citations to six million, adding about 4.5 million to those they had inherited, and a large percentage of the new citations was from recent literature, newspapers, and magazines. Many of the illustrative quotations used were from contemporary sources, for which the *Third* was attacked by those who defended an older tradition of citing, wherever possible, exemplary users of the language to illustrate good usage. Such had been Johnson's plan in 1755, but even Webster's first great dictionary of 1828 abandoned that model, and subsequent unabridged dictionaries published by the Merriams and by Funk & Wagnalls



from the 1890s on rejected the idea that only the usage of esteemed writers of literature was worthy of being quoted; any contemporary source that clarified the sense of a word was worthy of being cited. Furthermore, it simply is not true that great literary figures of the past were ignored; they are quoted extensively throughout the dictionary. Nonetheless, *Webster's Third* was ridiculed for quoting radio show talk hosts and musical comedy actresses, among others, to illustrate current usages. Such criticism seems particularly ill-informed and transparently snobbish. With respect to the charge that *Webster's Third* had abandoned its sacred role of representing the correct use of English, some of the responsibility must be attributed to the past advertising of Merriam's unabridged dictionaries as 'the ultimate authority', which encouraged the conviction that *Webster* dictionaries were guardians of the English language. The unfortunate emphasis on newness both by Gove and the publicists hired by Merriam to manage the initial marketing of *Webster's Third* also contributed to the idea that this dictionary was a radical departure from the sensible, traditional policies of the past (Morton 1994: 168–70).

### 9.11.2 *Pronunciation in Webster's Third*

The treatment of pronunciation, under the guidance of Edward Artin, also came in for some criticism, on the grounds of its complexity and overelaboration (Chapman 1967). To save space, Gove dropped the pronunciation key that traditionally ran along the base of the pages, so that readers had to refer to the explanations for the symbols in the front matter. Many reviewers objected to dropping the key. Nevertheless, compared to other aspects of the dictionary, pronunciation escaped heavy criticism, mainly through neglect. It deserved better.

The pronunciations in *Webster's Third* represent a considerable advance over any earlier English dictionary, including the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The system employed, while retaining many of the familiar phonemically based alphabetic symbols and diacritics, introduces a few characters of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Though the schwa ([ə]) had been introduced in dictionaries by the *American College Dictionary* in 1947, the system used in *Webster's Third* employs it in a variety of novel ways, in both stressed and unstressed environments, and defines it with rigorous specificity in many different contexts in an explanation that runs to nearly four pages in the Guide to Pronunciation. Whereas John Kenyon's guide in the Second Edition included a phonetic description of the sounds of English, Artin's in the *Third* confines itself to describing the symbols used in its dictionary pronunciations. Within these limits it is quite expansive; for example, the syllabic consonant used by many speakers in words

like *kitten* is analysed at length, beginning with Webster's 1828 dictionary and including every major *Webster* dictionary since. Adopting the IPA's method of indicating primary and secondary stress, the *Third* uses a short, boldface, vertical line preceding the stressed syllable, raised if the stress is primary, and dropped to the base of the line if the stress is secondary. Both marks appear before a syllable that can be either primary or secondary, usually in compounds. Thus in *home-made*, the pronunciation is given as 'hō:mād, indicating that the word may be pronounced with primary stress on the first syllable or with equal stress in both syllables.

The system used is no more complicated than it needs to be to render the variety of sounds to be represented. Very few of the criticisms of the pronunciations alleged any inaccuracy or incompleteness of treatment. The criticisms mainly address the difficulty of understanding the pronunciations when, to avoid repeating the same pronunciation in a string of words, various symbols such as the equals sign are used to represent part of a preceding pronunciation. Allied to this criticism is the charge that too many variations are given, so that, combined with the shortcuts used, comprehending all the varieties is a formidable challenge. There is some justice in each criticism, but both, especially the latter, are exaggerated.

### 9.11.3 *Etymology in Webster's Third*

The etymologies, under the supervision of Charles R. Sleeth, are among the few features of *Webster's Third* that were not attacked and, if mentioned at all, were generally praised. Innocent of any relevance to the issues of correctness in usage that so exercised the critics, the etymologies seemed to be the one reliably old-fashioned aspect of the dictionary. In some ways this was true, as the purpose of tracing the origin of words as far back in English as possible, or showing in what form they came into English and from what source, was the same as in previous editions. A comparison with the Second Edition confirms that the earlier work's etymologies were thoroughly re-examined and improved.

The one major innovation in the treatment of etymology is the introduction of an abbreviation, ISV, for International Scientific Vocabulary. ISV is used in etymologies for those technical words or parts of technical words which are used in languages other than English and which may have been coined in one of those languages rather than English. Because of the international character of scientific vocabulary and the rapidity with which any new item is adopted in different languages, often in slightly altered form, it is often impossible to establish the language of origin. In the past, many dictionaries had designated most such terms as New Latin if the words were formed from Latin roots, as they

usually were. But etymologists had long been dissatisfied with this designation, because New Latin is a completely artificial construct invented to describe scientific terms whose actual origin is unknown. ISV was created because it was deemed more honest, and reviewers generally endorsed the innovation as a sensible way to deal with the problem.

#### 9.11.4 *Assessment of Webster's Third*

Although Gove asserts near the beginning of his preface that the dictionary is not just for the scholar or professional but for the general user without any advanced preparation, the style frequently employed in the dictionary does not support such a claim. Users did not understand why even entries including names are not capitalized. The pronunciations, though of high quality, are far from simple. Readers were apt to be puzzled and occasionally misled by the reluctance to use subject labels for technical definitions, such as *Astronomy* or *Engineering*, labels used liberally in the Second Edition but extremely sparingly in the *Third*. Gove's sole justification for this major change is delivered in the preface by the simple announcement that '... this edition uses very few subject labels. It depends upon the definition for incorporating necessary subject orientation'. Sometimes this is true and sometimes not. In any case it places the responsibility on the user to divine, often from an illustrative quotation rather than the definition, the specialized nature of a definition. To do so often requires specialized knowledge which the user may not have. In many respects *Webster's Third* is a great dictionary, but it is not user-friendly.

Gove placed too much reliance on definitions to provide context of subject, and too much reliance on illustrative quotations to provide guidance for level of usage. The virtual absence of subject labels and the begrudgingly rare use of *slang* are defects, as is the absurd absence of capital letters in words that are invariably capitalized. Thus some of the criticisms arguing that *Webster's Third* had abandoned its responsibility to guide the reader have a modicum of merit, but the expectations of the critics were sweeping and unrealistic. It is unfortunate that some of Merriam's own advertising contributed to such misapprehensions, but it was mainly Gove's lack of empathy with the user—perhaps also his lack of sympathy with the user—that made him so inflexible in applying his sets of criteria governing the presentation of his dictionary. The policies Gove promulgated and saw through seemed designed to improve the art of lexicography rather than to produce a fine commercial dictionary. That they did both, in spite of some of the lapses of *Webster's Third*, is a testament to the quality of the Merriam staff and to Gove's integrity and assiduity as a lexicographer.

### 9.11.5 *The end of the era of the unabridged dictionary in America*

Although no one knew it at the time, *Webster's Third* marked the end of the era of the unabridged dictionary in America, a period of nearly a century beginning with the Webster's dictionary of 1864 and reaching its highest level from the 1890s to the 1930s, when readers had a choice of three major works: the *Century Dictionary*, Funk & Wagnalls' dictionaries, and Webster's.

Before the advent of computer technology, the editorial costs of producing a dictionary, though high, were relatively small compared to the cost of typesetting and the continuing high cost of printing and binding. In order to market each new edition successfully, the publisher had to have the dictionary thoroughly revised. This required a large editorial staff. But with the development of computer technology, publishers feel they can market new electronic editions on the basis of continuous updating limited to adding new words and new senses. They incur no great costs in the distribution of electronic dictionaries, so they see no justification for the expense of a considerable editorial staff. They thus save a great deal of money, but the dictionary text is essentially unrevised. Definitions from past editions whose meanings have changed in subtle ways, or which are used in different contexts or in different collocations, or which have changed register to become more or less formal or changed frequency to become more common or rarer, are seldom recorded. Likewise, scientific entries which have become general in usage are not accurately represented, nor are slang words and expressions which have gained currency among the general population and are no longer slang. It is also noteworthy that the audio feature used for pronunciations (in CDs packaged with printed dictionaries or heard as a feature of online dictionaries) rarely includes variants. Only a thorough re-examination by a competent staff of every definition and its illustrative quotations and of every pronunciation and etymology within each entry can produce a new edition, but publishers of electronic dictionaries have no financial motivation to pay for such a re-examination, at least not on the scale required to prepare an unabridged dictionary.

## 9.12 OTHER LARGE DICTIONARIES AFTER *WEBSTER'S THIRD*

This account will conclude with descriptions of other large dictionaries published after *Webster's Third*—in the latter part of the twentieth century and in the

first few years of the twenty-first. Though all are considerably larger in extent than the American college dictionaries, and though at least one calls itself unabridged, none are truly comparable to the great unabridged dictionaries of the 1880s to 1961. Each has its distinct merits, but none provides the scope and depth of coverage of the earlier unabridged dictionaries.

### 9.12.1 World Book Dictionary (1963)

Clarence Barnhart had long been a major figure in American lexicography, and was one of the few dictionary publishers to have his own large citation file. Barnhart was best known for the series of children's dictionaries published under the Thorndike–Barnhart rubric. These were the successors to earlier children's dictionaries based primarily on the *New Century Dictionary*. In 1958, Barnhart was invited to prepare a very large new dictionary that would be sold with the *World Book Encyclopedia*, one of the best-selling encyclopedias in the United States (Barnhart 1996: 124). The new dictionary, like the encyclopedia, was designed for students at the upper-grade school and high-school levels. It would be published in two volumes in 1963 as the *World Book Dictionary*, and was sold both with the encyclopedia set and separately by the encyclopedia publishers.

Edited by Clarence L. Barnhart and his son, Robert K. Barnhart, the *World Book Dictionary* originally contained about 170,000 entries, in later editions at least 225,000. Because it was meant to be compatible with the *World Book Encyclopedia*, it did not include biographical or geographical entries, nor did it include any detailed encyclopedic material. In light of its intended readership, the definitions are written simply whenever possible. Although the dictionary omits excessively technical terms along with most obsolete and rare words, it does cover a wide range of scientific and technical vocabulary. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the *World Book Dictionary* is its use of illustrative quotations to exemplify its definitions. Drawing upon the Barnharts' own extensive citation file, the editors have liberally included quotations, generally in complete sentences, with the author identified. Few, if any, other dictionaries designed for students include authentic quotations.

The presentation and typography employed in the *World Book Dictionary* also set it apart from most other dictionaries. A sans serif type is used in the three-column dictionary page, and a ragged right (unjustified) style is used for end-of-line breaks. The editors explain that this style is believed to be easier for younger users than the more traditional page layout. The pronunciation guide is based on a phonemic approach commonly used in American dictionaries. Etymologies are

also included, in appropriately simplified form. Some 3,000 pictorial illustrations supplement the text.

### 9.12.2 The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1966, 1987)

The distinguished American publishing firm of Random House entered the dictionary business in 1947 by publishing the trade edition (for the general public) of Clarence Barnhart's *American College Dictionary*. (Harper & Bros. published the text edition for students.) A succession of Random House college dictionaries followed, and, in 1966, no doubt in order to capitalize on the heavy criticism given *Webster's Third*, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* appeared. The dictionary certainly looked like an unabridged in size and bulk, but it was a different animal in many ways from *Webster's Third*. In conception and design it explicitly rejected almost all of the policies implemented in *Webster's Third*. It embraced encyclopedic terms, including biographical and geographical ones—even including the titles of literary works and given names—in its main alphabetic section. It included nearly four hundred pages of supplementary material, including concise dictionaries of French, Spanish, Italian, and German, and a 32-page full-colour atlas of the world, all of which was retained in the Second Edition of 1987 but later unceremoniously dropped. The First Edition's preface explicitly rejected 'novelty in the guise of innovation' and had no scruples to prevent it from capitalizing all words usually capitalized. It employed the standard roster of usage labels, not just *slang*—which it used much more liberally than *Webster's Third*—but *informal* and many others. More to the point, the preface, written by Jess Stein, the editor-in-chief, eagerly endorsed the position—almost in paraphrase of some of the critics of *Webster's Third*—that the responsibilities of lexicographers did not end with merely recording usage; they needed to report also the social attitudes reflected in many words and expressions. Usage labels were included 'to guide the reader to effective and appropriate use of words'.

Based upon the latest Random House college dictionary, the first edition of the unabridged dictionary added thousands of entries of various kinds, many scientific and technical, many encyclopedic, and long lists of undefined words beginning with a particular prefix, such as *un-*. Any close comparison of the treatment of a sequence of entries in any edition of the *Random House Dictionary* and *Webster's Third* clearly shows that *Webster's Third* displays finer sense discrimination, often with additional subsenses, and more authentic illustrative quotations. Two areas in which Random House dictionaries have always excelled are in

their coverage of new words, especially slang, and of scientific and technical terms, and the *Random House Dictionary* carries on that tradition. No other features of the *Random House Dictionary* stand out as exceptional, though a secure level of competence can be assumed. Its pronunciations and etymologies are less complex than those of *Webster's Third*, similar to those found in a college dictionary.

Because of the efforts of Laurence Urdang, the managing editor, the *Random House Dictionary* was one of the first dictionaries to make use of data processing systems, the forerunner of modern computer technology, in some phases of its editorial preparation and in its production. Such technology was used to sort dictionary entries to facilitate their distribution to subject specialists and consultants, and innovative methods for the time were used to produce typeset text including the required mark-up for styling (italic, boldface, etc.) before it was turned over to the compositors for typesetting.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, the 1966 *Random House Dictionary* was offered to the public as a distinct alternative to *Webster's Third*. Although calling itself *Unabridged Edition*, the original *Random House Dictionary*, with about 260,000 entries, was not nearly as comprehensive as the *Webster* and *Funk & Wagnalls'* unabridged dictionaries. Twenty-one years later, in 1987, the Second Edition of the *Random House Dictionary* appeared, with a vocabulary enlarged by nearly twenty per cent for a new total of 315,000 entries. The editor-in-chief was Stuart Berg Flexner, and the managing editor, Leonore Crary Hauck. The strengths and comparative deficiencies of the First Edition remain evident in the Second Edition. As the tribulations of *Webster's Third* had by then receded from the public consciousness, the new preface places less emphasis on the lexicographer's responsibility to report prevailing social attitudes and more on its coverage of new terms and international usages previously neglected.

In 1993, an updated edition renamed *Random House Unabridged Dictionary* still retained the hundreds of pages of supplementary material, but in 1997 almost all the supplementary material was dropped. The new edition, timed to coincide with the publication of the second edition of the *Random House Webster's College Dictionary*, was renamed once more. *Webster's* was added to the title, and it was reborn as *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*.

### 9.12.3 *Intermediate-sized dictionaries*

In the last decades of the twentieth century, the two largest American dictionaries were *Webster's Third*, updated with supplements of new words, and the two

<sup>14</sup> Personal communication from Laurence Urdang, 19 January 2006.

editions of the *Random House* dictionary, but near the end of the century a new type of dictionary appeared, of intermediate size, smaller than the *Random House* but perhaps fifty per cent larger than college dictionaries. These dictionaries are in large format and contain about 2,000 pages. Two of them have been produced in closely coordinated stages by freelance teams of British and American lexicographers to create regional editions. These are the *New Oxford American Dictionary* (Second Edition 2005), allied originally to the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), and *Encarta Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (Second Edition 2004), an offshoot of the *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999), which was represented as covering all national varieties of English. The new *Encarta* dictionary has abandoned that idea and gives primary attention to American English. A third dictionary of this class is *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (Fourth Edition 2000), which was produced only in American English.

The freelance lexicographers who edited *Oxford* and *Encarta* dictionaries were widely dispersed but had access to secure websites containing the dictionary text. Indeed, many other dictionaries, especially large foreign-learner dictionaries, are produced in this way. The degree of access varies according to the editors' responsibilities, but, so long as they have the appropriate equipment and software, they can work in their homes on their own schedules. Even those publishers which still have in-house staffs rely on freelancers for many aspects of the dictionary's preparation. Through regular email correspondence the managers of the dictionary stay in touch with the freelancers and supervise their work. This modus operandi seems to herald a permanent change in the way large dictionary projects are handled. Even with this cost-saving manner of editorial preparation, the future of large dictionaries as a genre remains uncertain. Whether they provide enough additional information compared with college dictionaries to justify their higher prices is open to question. Whether they will endure as a dictionary genre or disappear, it is too early to say, but in general the outlook for large dictionaries in print is anything but secure.



# THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

*Lynda Mugglestone*

It is with no disparagement of the lexicographical labours of the many scholars who, since the appearance of the tiny 8vo. of Henry Cockeram in 1623, have built each on the structure of his predecessors, and laboured to perfect the fabric of English lexicography (including as they do such eminent names as Blount, Bailey, Johnson, Richardson, Todd, Webster, and Worcester) that this work seeks to do for English words something different from what their cumulative labours have effected (MP/18/10/83).

## 10.1 A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY

JAMES Murray's words stand as eloquent testimony to the distinctiveness of the work which he was to edit for the next twenty-one years. Defined by its refusal simply to appropriate the evidence of existing English dictionaries, the *New English Dictionary* (later the *Oxford English Dictionary*)<sup>1</sup> was, as Murray indicates, characterized by a spirit of genuine critical enquiry—and an emphatic desire to return to first principles in the collection and examination of data. The 'newness' extolled by its original title (which remained in use until 1933) was, in this sense, by no means rhetorical; in its scale and detail, as well as in its principles of inclusiveness and descriptive rigour, the *OED* would regularly transcend

<sup>1</sup> The history of the dictionary's title is by no means straightforward. *A New English Dictionary* appeared on the title pages of the various parts and sections throughout the first edition 1884–1928 though its designation as the *Oxford English Dictionary* was also established from 1895 on the covers and wrappers of the individually published parts. The 1933 corrected re-issue, with *supplement* by Craigie and Onions, maintained the *OED* title.

previous lexicographical achievement in English. Distinctive too was its historical vision and, by extension, the theoretical model on which it was founded. While Johnson (1755: B2<sup>v</sup>) had seen barrenness in philology (which needed to be enlivened by ‘verdure and flowers’), for the *OED* this was fertile terrain, enabling new and critical understanding of lexical and semantic developments in the English vocabulary on fully formed ‘historical principles’. It was therefore to ‘pre-scientific’ philology (and an era when ‘real analogies were overlooked, and superficial resemblances too easily seized’) that Murray consigned Johnson (MP/4/10/83: 4). The *OED*, in contrast, was to emblemize the philological advances of a new epoch in lexicography: ‘It is because of the novelty of its aims, the originality of its method, the fresh start it makes from materials never before collected, that it claims in a distinctive sense to be A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY’ (MP/8/10/83).

### 10.1.1 *The Dictionary and the Philological Society*

The first edition of the *OED* has a long history. Public disquiet about the lexical record supplied by existing dictionaries was evident within a few years of Johnson’s death. Samuel White in 1788 had already proposed writing *An Universal Dictionary of the English Language* which, unlike Johnson’s *Dictionary*, would take in ‘the whole scope’ of English. However, as *The Times* observed with some prescience in reporting White’s scheme, ‘Of course this *dictionary* will be vastly greater, and more useful than that of JOHNSON – but will require many *years* to render it perfect.’<sup>2</sup> White’s projected work remained unpublished and letters to contemporary newspapers and journals continued to exhibit marked frustration with the limitations of English lexicography. Readers sought information on unrecorded words such as *distord* and *sinage* (H. W. 1851: 6). Similar was F. B. Relton’s quest for *stickle* as used in William Browne’s *Pastoral* (‘Patient anglers, standing all the day// Near to some shallow stickle, or deep bay’). While Relton (1851: 209) deduced that *stickle* signified a pool of some kind, he desired more detail on its history and use: ‘Is it ever so used now, or has that meaning become obsolete? I do not find it in Richardson’s *Dictionary*’, he asked his fellow readers of *Notes and Queries*.

The publication in 1852 of the first part of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* exacerbated these perceived deficiencies. Edited by Jacob Grimm, it already demonstrated the advantages of the philological method. Scientific research on etymology, on historical development, and on sense-relationship placed the German dictionary

<sup>2</sup> ‘A New Dictionary’, *The Times* 22 March 1788: 3.

far above its counterparts in English. Grimm had been elected as the first Honorary Member of the London Philological Society in 1843, and his work encapsulated the new linguistic ideals of the age. His early support for the endeavours of the Society (formally founded in the previous year)<sup>3</sup> was justly recorded with pride (see Wilson 1843: 13). The stated aims of the Philological Society ('to investigate and promote the study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages') deliberately removed it from the subjective appraisals of language (and the prescriptive metalanguage) which continued to characterize much popular language comment in Britain at this time. The papers delivered at its early meetings (on Anglo-Saxon, on Sanskrit, on Greek, or on the structure of the Russian verb) signalled an appropriate breadth of linguistic inquiry, and a commitment to the new discourses of science and empiricism. F. H. Trithen (1843: 101), for example, concluded a paper on Russian by stressing the importance of contemporary research into cognate languages 'which will no doubt enable us to carry still further those laws and analogies, the discovery of which has already given to Philology the character of a science'. In etymology, Hensleigh Wedgwood (1844: 2) likewise emphasized that only facts with undeniable 'scientific value' should merit consideration in dictionaries (a principle which, for him, exposed the weakness of Johnson in deriving, say, *curmudgeon* from *cœur méchant*, or *helter-skelter* from *hilariter celeriter*).

By the 1840s the Society was already seen—as by Wedgwood—as an appropriate body for a wider collective project in the history of words. 'We might perhaps be the means of preserving much valuable knowledge, and might gradually accumulate materials for an etymology of the English language, for which, at the present day, we have little to show beyond the uncertain guesses of Junius and Skinner', he argued (1844: 2). Other members concurred and the politician and philologist George Cornewall Lewis drew the attention of the Society's Council to 'a subject of great importance, namely, the compilation of a dictionary devoted to the archaic and provincial terms of the English language'.<sup>4</sup> In spite of some initial caution,<sup>5</sup> the appeal of the grand collective endeavour remained. Another lengthy debate took place at a meeting on 20 February 1852. As this made plain, 'an organization of labour . . . promised advantages that could

<sup>3</sup> The Society had existed in an earlier form at University College, London from c.1830.

<sup>4</sup> The letter was reported at the opening of the meeting of the Philological Society held on 26 January 1844. See Wilson (1844: 169).

<sup>5</sup> See Wilson (1844: 169) when (as President) Wilson acknowledged that the Society 'possessed within itself facilities for carrying such an object into effect, which were probably not at the command of any single individual' yet also concluded that 'the Council would not commit themselves to the recommendation of any specific plan without the most mature deliberation'.

not be expected from the isolated efforts of individuals'. As the notes of the meeting further record, the impression now 'seemed very general, that a more systematic investigation of our language might lead to a much more satisfactory knowledge of its peculiarities'.<sup>6</sup> It was this 'organization of labour' which took specific shape some five years later with the introduction of the project that would ultimately become the *OED*.

### 10.1.2 Early Plans

Discussions in early 1857 focused on a scheme by which the Philological Society might produce a supplemental list of words to remedy omissions in the lexical and semantic record provided by existing dictionaries. Stressing 'the deficiencies of the two standard Dictionaries of Johnson and Richardson, both as vocabularies of the language and as philological guides' ('Proposal' 1857: 81), a *Proposal for a Complete Dictionary of the English Language* was sent as a circular to newspapers, journals, and other interested parties in July. As its title indicates, completeness of coverage was already seen as an important issue, affirmed also in the ideal of the '*Lexicon totius Angliticatis*' which was here set out for the first time. At this point, however, even if the *Lexicon totius* was regarded as a legitimate aspiration, it was also seen in terms of the specific gathering of evidence on hitherto unrecorded words and meanings. It did not, as yet, suggest the need to rewrite the dictionary in entirety.

Within the Philological Society, energies were initially directed to the work of a Special Committee consisting of Frederick Furnivall, Herbert Coleridge, and Richard Chenevix Trench. Established 'for the purposes of collecting words and idioms hitherto unregistered', its specific remit over the summer of 1857 was to gather as much evidence as possible before a formal report was made to the Society in the autumn. The collection of data was moreover to involve not only the members of the Committee and the Philological Society but also (here following precedents established for the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*) to depend on interested sections of the populace as a whole. Made explicit in the later *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society* ('We do but follow the example of the Grimms, when we call upon Englishmen to come forward and write their own Dictionary for themselves' ([Phil.Soc.] 1859: 8), this principle was being actively tested by August 1857. An extensive list of books to be read for the purposes of gathering citations (and thereby empirical evidence on English usage and development) was reproduced in journals such as the *Athenaeum* and *Notes and*

<sup>6</sup> Meeting of the Philological Society held on 20 February 1852, *Proc.Phil.Soc.* (1852, V: 142).

*Queries*.<sup>7</sup> Readers were thereby encouraged to play their own part within this national philological endeavour by contributing quotations which illustrated the many words and senses still unrepresented in existing dictionaries. *Notes and Queries*, in particular, emerged as a forum in which early results could be debated and discussed. R. W. Dixon (1857: 208–9) argued, for example, that *fore-elders* in the sense ‘fore-fathers’ was clearly one of the absences which the proposed new dictionary could remedy, given the silence of both Johnson and Richardson in this respect.

### 10.1.3 *Richard Chenevix Trench*

The promised report was delivered to the Philological Society by the scholar and theologian Richard Chenevix Trench in the form of two lectures, the first given on 5 November and the second two weeks later.<sup>8</sup> Trench’s *On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries* was to become one of the seminal documents in the history of the *OED*. Here he described not only the weaknesses of existing lexicographical texts but he also outlined the components—and the theoretical approach—of an entirely new dictionary. Trench’s earlier work on language had established his interest in the flux of language through time, and the historical significance of words. As he had contended (1855: 3), ‘If we would understand this language as it now is, we must know something of it as it has been; we must be able to measure . . . the forces which have been at work upon it, moulding and shaping it into the forms which it now wears.’

While his earlier publications had often placed the history of words in a popular format (and, at times, with a conspicuously theological slant),<sup>9</sup> Trench’s 1857 lectures to the Philological Society provided a rigorous critique of the historical and linguistic fallibilities of English lexicography as it then existed. A series of maxims isolated core areas of weakness (‘Obsolete words are incompletely registered; some inserted, some not’, ‘Families or groups of words are often imperfect, some members of a family inserted, while others are omitted’; ‘Much earlier examples of the employment of words oftentimes exist than any which are cited’; ‘Important meanings and uses of words are passed over; sometimes the later alone given, while the earlier, without which the history of

<sup>7</sup> See ‘Notes on Books, etc.’, *Notes and Queries* (Second series.) IV (1857: 139–40).

<sup>8</sup> Appointed as Dean of Westminster in 1856, Trench’s work for the Philological Society was structured around the range of commitments which this imposed.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, his conviction that ‘words often contain a witness for great moral truth – God having impressed such a seal of truth upon language, that men are continually uttering deeper things than they know’ (Trench 1851: 8).

words will often be maimed, are unnoticed' (Trench 1860: 3)). Trench likewise drew attention to the fact that 'Our Dictionaries pay comparatively little attention to the distinction of synonymous words', as well as pointing out the ways in which a full corpus of illustrative citations—as the activities of the summer had already proved—might be systematically employed to document a word's usage and sense-differentiation. Nevertheless, as Trench noted at the outset (1860: 2), 'the fact that the vocabulary of our Dictionaries is seriously deficient can only be shown by an accumulation of evidence, each several part of which is small and comparatively insignificant in itself; only deriving weight and importance from the circumstance that it is one of a multitude of like proofs'. As a result, while Trench's lectures examined lexicographical practice *per se*, his iterated emphasis on 'proof' also meant that the assembled evidence was to provide an unassailable case for a new dictionary entirely.

The unsystematic and haphazard way in which English and its lexical history had hitherto been recorded is the shared theme which unites, say, Trench's condemnation of the inconsistent recording of *snag* and related forms in existing dictionaries, his equally negative comments on the wholesale omission of various categories of words, and his outright censure of Johnson's precept that 'Obsolete words are admitted when they are found in authors not obsolete, or when they have any force or beauty that may deserve revival' (Trench 1860: 10). As Trench argued, the perceived merits (or otherwise) of unrecorded words such as *mirificent* or *septemfluous*, both used by Henry More, were entirely irrelevant. Trench himself, he noted, could make a convincing case for *mulierosity* (another word unnoticed by lexicographers and also used by More). Signifying 'excessive fondness for women' as the *OED* would record, it expressed 'what no other word in the language would do' (1860: 7). Yet, as Trench insisted, for the historian of language it was the verifiable facts of a word's existence—its birth, life, and (where relevant) its death—which were pre-eminent, irrespective of any language attitudes to which lexicographers might find themselves disposed. In Trench's vision of a reformed lexicography, the maker of dictionaries would therefore no longer act as a critic of words. He would instead be a historian, responsive to the facts of language alone. Just as the philologist Franz Passow in Germany had earlier stressed the need for a word to 'tell its own story',<sup>10</sup> so, for Trench, a new emphasis on evidence-based lexicography was depicted as the means by which the dictionary might present the life-history of each word, tracing its changing forms and meanings through time with impeccable objectivity.

<sup>10</sup> See Passow's 1819 revision of J. G. Schneider's *Kritisches griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. This was translated into English by Liddell and Scott in their *Greek-English Lexicon* of 1843.

Supplementation of existing dictionaries was now rejected; a few months' work had revealed the scale of error and omission which characterized earlier works. What was needed was 'a new garment entirely, no patch upon old garments'. In particular, the dictionary so constructed should be 'an inventory of the language' (Trench 1860: 4). Explicitly rejecting the principles of selection which had characterized Johnson's earlier work (by which 'modes of expression' were to be 'rejected or received'), the image of the inventory (and the impartial and thorough listing of the contents of the English language which this implied), was, Trench wrote, the only model of lexicography which 'seemed capable of being logically maintained'. Significant too was the denial of subjectivity which the 'inventory' also suggested. 'It is no task of the maker of [the dictionary] to select the good words of the language', Trench stressed (1860: 4). The very activity of 'picking and choosing' was antithetical to the wider lexicographical remit which was now kept firmly in view. As he stressed in a further maxim for modern lexicography and the future *OED* (1860: 5), it was imperative for the lexicographer to bear in mind that 'the business which he has undertaken is to collect and arrange all the words, whether good or bad, whether they do or do not commend themselves to his judgment'.

#### 10.1.4 *First Steps*

Trench's lectures articulated a number of the founding ideals of a work which would, as James Murray later affirmed, indeed be 'a NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY'; objectivity, inclusivity, a respect for the historical record, and a commitment to original research were all constituted as newly canonical precepts. The formal *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society*, together with the *Canones Lexicographici; or Rules to be Observed in Editing the New English Dictionary* (drawn up over five meetings between December 1859 and May 1860) provided a detailed outline of the 'lexicographical creed' of the project ([Phil.Soc.] 1859: 2) in ways which confirmed the influence of Trench's lectures ('the first requirement of every lexicon is, that it should contain *every word occurring in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate*', 'We entirely repudiate the theory, which converts the lexicographer into an arbiter of style'). The next stage of the enterprise—the gathering of the illustrative material (and vital evidence) from 1250 onwards—was also clarified. Three historical periods (c.1250–1526, 1526–1674, and 1674 onwards) were established, each provided with a 'Basis of Comparison' which documented the word forms already known to exist (the first was founded on Coleridge's own *Glossarial Index to the Printed Works of the Thirteenth Century* which, as Coleridge (1859: iii) noted, 'may be

considered as the foundation-stone of the Literary and Historical portion of the Philological Society's proposed English Dictionary'. The second was defined by the words listed in the Concordances to the Bible and Shakespeare, and the third was based on a projected index to the language of Burke. Using these in parallel with their own reading, volunteers were therefore directed to submit quotations for all words and meanings for which the Bases possessed no record. By this means, information on forms recognized as obsolete or 'remarkable', or which seemed in other ways new or worthy of note, could be collected as work on the dictionary began in earnest.

The resulting reading programme (and creation of the underlying corpus for the dictionary) again relied for its success not only on the members of the Philological Society but also on the recruitment of a wider volunteer base. As the *Proposal* noted ([Phil.Soc.] 1859: 6), this already extended to America. An accompanying list of books also confirmed a ready participation in the project; many texts were asterisked, signifying that reading was already in progress. Coleridge undertook a range of works (particularly within the earlier period), as did Furnivall. Trench read Henry More's *Mystery of Iniquity* and Roger's *Naaman the Syrian. A Treatise on Infant Baptism* was being read 'By a Lady', as was Butler's *Hudibras* (and Glanville's *Evidence Concerning Witches*). Correspondence columns in contemporary journals and newspapers likewise confirmed an enthusiastic engagement with what this new dictionary promised to provide. 'J. M. N.' (1859: 144) described his reading of Samuel Harsnet's works, 'gone through *paginatim* for the Philological Society'.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, an article on Bishop Wetenhall commented on the latter's use of *diverb* in the sense 'a proverb, byword, a proverbial expression' ('Eirionnach' 1859: 273). The accompanying quotation ('...What do we mean by the usual *diverb*, the Italian Religion?') later appeared in the *OED* entry for this word.

A spirit of marked confidence was therefore well in evidence in the initial years of the dictionary project. Advertisements for its forthcoming publication (envisaged as a work in four volumes) were placed by mid-1859. Coleridge, who had assumed the role of editor, worked assiduously at collating the material which had been sent in, and even began to draft some of the early entries. A single specimen page (*Affect–Affection*) was printed. Confidence too pervaded attitudes to the vital collection of quotations; a letter sent to Trench by Coleridge in May 1860 records the participation of 167 volunteers and, though just fifty of these

<sup>11</sup> J. M. Norman joined the Philological Society in 1858 and is specified as the reader of three of Harsnet's works in the *List of Books Already Read, or Now (July 12, 1861) Being Read for the Philological Society's New English Dictionary* circulated by Frederick Furnivall.



were really 'first-rate', this was, Coleridge pointed out, considerably better than the experience of the Grimms (whose collective exercise for the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* had so far depended on just six 'satisfactory' readers). 'I believe that the scheme is now firmly established, and is so regarded by the public, [that] I confidently expect, unless any unforeseen accident should occur to paralyse our efforts, that in about two years we shall be able to give our first number to the world', he concluded (1860: 78).

## 10.2 INTERREGNUM

Within two years, however, unforeseen circumstances had indeed materialized. Coleridge's own death, from consumption in the spring of 1861, was not the least of these. It was Frederick Furnivall who instead assumed the role of editor, guiding the dictionary through the 1860s and through much of the following decade. One of the 'scholar adventurers' of the nineteenth century (see Benzie 1983), Furnivall has often been characterized by his consummate energy and industry. Certainly both were in evidence in the early years of his editorship. As well as organizing the dictionary, corresponding with readers and sub-editors (and acting as sub-editor of *A*), he also served as Honorary Secretary of the Philological Society from 1862. Recognizing moreover that accurate citations for the dictionary (and, in turn, the accuracy of the historical record the dictionary sought to establish) depended on the provision of equally accurate source texts, Furnivall founded the Early English Text Society (EETS) in 1864. A flow of authoritative and scholarly editions (over 250 within Furnivall's lifetime) began to appear. With a similar remit, if for different writers and periods, Furnivall initiated the Chaucer Society, the Ballad Society (in 1868), and the New Shakspeare Society five years later. As the phonetician Alexander Ellis later noted in his role as President of the Philological Society (Ellis 1873: 245), this too was part of 'a new era in philology'.

### 10.2.1 *The Dictionary in the 1860s*

From the beginning, Furnivall was, however, less sanguine than Coleridge had been about the speedy appearance of the dictionary. Self-evident gaps in the assembled material, he argued in September 1861, meant that at least two further years would be necessary to provide thorough (and newly revised) Bases of Comparison. A *Vocabulary of Words beginning with the Letter B* was published

in 1863 (by William Gee, the volunteer sub-editor of this portion of the alphabet); another for N appeared two years later. Though the Bases were later condemned by Murray (1879b: 571) as being fundamentally misguided in both approach and execution ('In my own opinion, [they] . . . were a mistake, and detrimental to the work which they were designed to serve'),<sup>12</sup> it was nevertheless largely to this end that the energies of the Dictionary's readers were directed over the course of the 1860s.

After Coleridge's death, publication was, however, also formally deflected from what was now often referred to as the 'Big Dict<sup>y</sup>' or the 'Full Dictionary'. Instead plans were made for what seemed a more realistic and immediate aim—the publication of a *Concise Dictionary* which would 'serve as a new and revised Basis of Comparison' for all three periods previously specified by the *Proposal*. Approved by the Philological Society early in 1862, this condensed version of the original dictionary project was, Furnivall stated (1862: 328), intended to work as 'an abstract of what the larger Dictionary should be'. Meanwhile the contract for 'the big Dictionary' remained in place on the assumption that this would be published some three years after its shorter counterpart.

Progress was initially encouraging. The volunteer principle remained active and some 230 readers had produced material for the dictionary by February 1862, reading a total of 756 books. Between 25 October 1862 and 15 October 1864, 619 packets of words were received—'more than a packet a day, excluding Sundays', Furnivall noted (1864: 4). Books to be read were despatched to contributors on a regular basis though, given Furnivall's anxieties about accuracy, contributors were advised to clip out the desired citations wherever possible rather than run the risk of introducing inadvertent error through mistranscription. Copies of John Maplet's *A Greene Forest* (1567), Sandys' *Survey of Religion* (1599), and Pagitt's *Christianographie* (1630) were all offered under this head in 1864, along with a range of other texts. It is therefore not unusual to find, on the extant proof sheets of the first edition of the *OED*, appended slips bearing excised sections from these original texts, as in the two-line section from Latham's 1615 *Falconry. The Terms of Art Explained* which appears on a slip pasted onto the first revise of *Gorge*.

By the latter half of the decade, however, it is clear that the dictionary had begun to lose the momentum of the earlier years. A letter in *Notes and Queries* publicly

<sup>12</sup> As Murray also pointed out (1879b: 571–2), 'Their most obvious result, to one who examines the material, is, that while rare, curious, and odd words, are well represented, ordinary words are often most meagrely present; and the editor or his assistants have to search for precious hours for examples of common words, which readers passed by because they happened to find them put down in their "Basis" as occurring in the Bible or in Burke'.

indicated dissatisfaction with a work for which a collective—and indeed national—response had been asked, and for which evidence had duly been contributed, though as yet without any sign of publication. ‘I am very anxious to gather some fruit from these labours’, as L.L.L. asserted (1867: 169); ‘Will someone who has authority in this undertaking report progress?’). It was the Cambridge medievalist Walter Skeat (a member of the Philological Society since 1863) who replied, offering reassurance that the dictionary was in fact ‘being pushed on *now* as vigorously as ever’; the collection and arrangement of material, he added, was ‘practically, in not a very incomplete state’. Likewise, in terms of the critical ‘digestion and compilation from the material’, Skeat stressed that ‘parts of most of the letters are nearly ready for press’ (Skeat 1867: 256). A close reading of Skeat’s words (especially given the proliferation of negatives and qualifiers) serves nevertheless to confirm that progress on the dictionary was by no means as advanced as it should be. The *Concise Dictionary* had been promised to the publishers for early 1866 and, while Furnivall’s *Circular* (1865: 3) had noted some inevitable delay, almost two years later it remained unpublished. Moreover, given that publication of the ‘Full Dictionary’ depended upon the prior appearance of the *Concise*, this made the eventual realization of the *OED* itself still more doubtful.

L.L.L. was in fact to prove remarkably prescient in the anxieties he expressed. As plans for publication lapsed, the volunteers on whom the work depended lost enthusiasm for a project which seemed to have no end in sight. Activities for the dictionary had so diminished by 1872 that no annual report was deemed necessary. As the phonetician Alexander Ellis stated two years later in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society, the dictionary ‘remains, and may for some time remain, merely one of the things we have tried to do’. As he added (1874: 354), ‘Several things, indeed, make me inclined to think that a Society is less fitted to compile a dictionary than to get the materials collected’.

### 10.3 REVIVAL AND RESURGENCE

Over the next few years, the dictionary project was, however, to receive new impetus and direction, derived in part from the presence of a new editor and in part from a new and firm commitment to publication. The editorship of the dictionary had been seen as problematic for some time; Furnivall’s energies were increasingly dissipated among the range of activities to which he had committed himself. A single editor, prepared to work single-mindedly at the dictionary, was

preferable. Moreover, as James Murray later commented (MP/19/6/82), the real problem of Furnivall's editorship lay in the fact that he 'never "edited" one word—he merely superintended the Reading'.<sup>13</sup>

By 1876, it was Murray who had emerged as a promising candidate. A school-master at Mill Hill School in London, Murray had joined the Philological Society in 1868, swiftly establishing himself at the forefront of scholarly activity. His editions of the poems of Sir David Lyndesey, of *The Complaynt of Scotland* and of *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldowne*, all published for Furnivall's EETS, were impeccably researched and textually precise; his work on *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873), was, as Henry Bradley noted, a landmark in linguistic scholarship which 'may be said to have laid the foundations of the scientific study of the local varieties of English speech' (Bradley 1917: 546). Its 'insistence on the true spirit of philological inquiry' further consolidated Murray's academic reputation, as did his evident facility in languages.

Though reluctant to commit himself to becoming editor when initially approached by Skeat (and by Furnivall) in early 1877, it was Murray rather than Furnivall who played the prominent role in discussions of the dictionary project with Oxford University Press. OUP had been contemplated as a possible publisher by Skeat in 1876 though, until a replacement for Furnivall had been found, it was, to his mind, advisable to wait. It was therefore not until April 1877 that a formal approach was made by the phonetician Henry Sweet (then President of the Society). With persuasive confidence, Sweet's letter detailed a proposal of mutual advantage for Press and Society alike. Emphasizing the philological value of the 'mass of materials' which had been collected (the product of nineteen years of industry), he depicted a project well on the way to realization with over half the alphabet having been sub-edited and the remainder consisting of 'sorted slips'. He stressed too the significance of lexicography in both national and international contexts. Just as Johnson had vaunted the fact that, by his dictionary, Britain would 'no longer yield the palm of philology' to France, so too did Sweet emphasize the potential—and the need—for similar achievement in the nineteenth century. The 'conditions of a good dictionary' had been completely changed by 'the great advance of Philology', Sweet pointed out; 'What is now required is fullness of citations and historical method' as well as the treatment of pronunciation and etymology 'according to the latest results of linguistic science' (MP/20/4/77).<sup>14</sup> All this the proposed dictionary could deliver.

<sup>13</sup> Murray's criticism also extended to 'the sufficiency of [Furnivall's] scholarship' (MP/19/6/82). Furnivall's maverick and at times volatile personality was, as by Skeat, also seen as an impediment to the dictionary's success.

<sup>14</sup> Reprinted in Murray (1977: 342–6).

Friedrich Max Müller, one of the foremost philologists of the later nineteenth century as well as one of the Delegates of the Press,<sup>15</sup> endorsed both the dictionary and the sense of linguistic patriotism advanced by Sweet: ‘In an undertaking of such magnitude, in which one might almost say the national honour of England is engaged, no effort should be spared to make the work as perfect as possible’ (Müller 1878). He was confident too of its commercial success. Given Müller’s encouraging response, negotiations continued. Detailed specimen entries were drafted (again with Murray in charge); as indicated in Sweet’s letter, the expectation was, however, that Murray would edit not merely the specimens but the dictionary as a whole. This was, moreover, made salient to the Delegates’ acceptance of the project. With Murray as editor, the terms could be agreed; without him, they could not. As Murray later wrote of the ultimatum which, in effect, he came to face on behalf of the Philological Society, ‘it was a question whether the Dictionary should be done or not, and having with much trouble got it to the point, that the Delegates would accept it with me as Editor – but would hold all that had been done as cancelled, if I declined, I could only agree to it. I hope I did wisely; I think I acted loyally, but I do not see my way through it pecuniously’ (MP/JAHM/[?5]/81).

#### 10.4 REASSESSMENT

The formal contract with Oxford University Press was signed on 1 March 1879, specifying the completion of the *Dictionary* within ten years and in four volumes. Murray had made his own promise to Bartholomew Price, the Secretary of the Delegates, some months earlier: ‘The time estimated for the preparation of the Dictionary (with due assistance) is 10 years, & I agree to complete the work within that time, as far as it shall be found to be possible’ (MP/25/11/78). What was possible was, however, to be subject to a number of reappraisals (as, in fact, were some of Trench’s founding ideals). While Murray had endeavoured, in the specimens, to edit a fraction of the assembled materials, he had no idea at that point of their real extent. Skeat had written extolling their worth (‘it has taken 10 to 15 years to get the results together: & they only want arranging in some places. There are *gaps*, I firmly believe; I believe that perhaps even a whole letter may be

<sup>15</sup> The Delegates are appointed from the senior academic staff of the university and are actively involved in the publication processes of the Press; their approval is necessary before any book is accepted for publication.

missing: but *what there is is of the highest value* (MP/6/4/76)); Furnivall had likewise maintained his habitual confidence in what had been achieved. The one and three quarter tons of material delivered to Murray after the formal signing of the contract certainly confirmed early estimations of the scale of the material. Together with two assistants (and alongside his work as a schoolmaster), Murray began the laborious task of taking stock.

‘There are some cruel jokes in your reports G “done”, “nearly done”, “will be done in 1872”’, Murray berated Furnivall (MP/10/5/79); the statement that *Pa* was ‘part done’ seemed equally unfounded. ‘We can find no clue’, Murray wrote;<sup>16</sup> Q presented similar problems. Though some sections—such as F and K—were admittedly in ‘excellent order’, most were not. Rather than editing a corpus which, according to Skeat, was ‘*simply invaluable*’ (MP/6/4/76), Murray instead found himself facing ‘an incubus of rubbish & error’ (OED/MISC/13/24). Though Furnivall was able to inform Murray that he had just found the words in X in his Dictionary cupboard (and thought that *H* might be in Rome with the American scholar George Perkins Marsh), it was nonetheless evident that Murray was in an essentially untenable position within two months of signing the contract with OUP. The first part of the dictionary was due for submission in 1882 but *A*, sub-edited by Furnivall, was as weak as the rest. The ‘original materials’ are ‘rarely to be trusted’, Murray concluded (OED/MISC/13/24); fewer than one sixth would make their way into the published text. Launching a new appeal for citations, the collection of material for the dictionary was, in effect, to begin anew.

#### 10.4.1 *The creation of a new corpus*

Murray’s *Appeal to the English-Speaking and English-Reading Public* was published in May 1879 with further versions following in June and in January 1880, each with accompanying desiderata in terms of words to be traced and books to be read.<sup>17</sup> It was to be vital to the success, and the scholarship, of the dictionary as eventually published. Circulated widely in journals and newspapers, it received a prominence—and response—which dwarfed that of the Philological Society’s circulars of twenty years earlier. Some stalwart readers of course remained from these early days; Henry Hucks Gibbs, for example, had contributed to the dictionary as a sub-editor and reader in the early stages of the project under

<sup>16</sup> *Pa* remained elusive. A note sent over a year later by Furnivall (MP/3/11/80) recorded that he had just found ‘the address of the *Pa* man’s brother’. *Pa* was eventually traced to Ireland where all but a small section had been used for lighting fires.

<sup>17</sup> Other lists of desiderata continued to be issued at regular intervals. See, for example, ‘Word Lists’. *Notes and Queries* (Sixth series.) (1882: 86, 107, 146, 167).

Furnivall and Coleridge, and continued as a valued critical reader under Murray's editorship. But the wider aim, as Murray stressed (1879b: 570), was to gain the attention of a 'new generation' who 'had arisen since 1857 [and] had never heard of the Dictionary'; the 290,000 citations delivered to Murray's scriptorium (and the 691 books read with a further 881 in progress) by March 1880 confirmed the significance of this new *Appeal*. By May, as Murray informed the Philological Society, 754 readers had contributed 361,670 citations. Over 1,000 quotations a day would be delivered in 1882; within three years over 1,300 readers had contributed a million additional quotations derived from the careful scrutiny of over five thousand writers.

The *Appeal* (and its results) gave practical reality to Murray's axiom that 'the perfection of the dictionary is in its *data*' (Murray 1880: 129). This represented a genuine advance in the kind of evidence-based lexicography advocated by Trench. In other respects, however, it exacerbated the problems which Murray faced. In December 1880, for example, though Murray now possessed some 2,500,000 citations, these were, he admitted (MP/n.d./12/80) 'only partially brought into alphabetical order, & scarcely at all into chronological order under each word'. With each new consignment, such problems increased, necessitating renewed and sometimes strikingly different arrangements of sense-development and meaning for the slips which had already provisionally been sorted. By 1882, Murray was explicit that the 'very shortest period' needed to complete the dictionary was seventeen years—and even this relied on the optimistic premise that thirty-three words could be completed each day (MP/12/2/82). Yet even drafting the single word *approve* had taken almost a whole day; the entry for *do* would take over six months. Over twenty years later, Murray would comment that, for certain words such as *penguin* and *pelican*, he 'could have written two books with less labour' (MP/24/12/04).

#### 10.4.2 *Gains and losses*

This revised timescale, leading to a putative completion date of 1896, also failed to include provision for the correction of the proofs and revises—an activity which took some six hours a day. The proofs were in fact to be salient to Murray's working methods and the habits of wide-scale revision which he (and later his co-editors) implemented at this stage. The entry for *art*, for example, had been laboriously constructed over several weeks in 1884 yet, as Murray (1884: 509–10) noted, once he saw the proofs, 'the renewed consideration of it in print, with the greater facility of reading and comparison which this afforded, led to the entire pulling to pieces and reconstruction of the edifice, extending over several columns of type'. The still





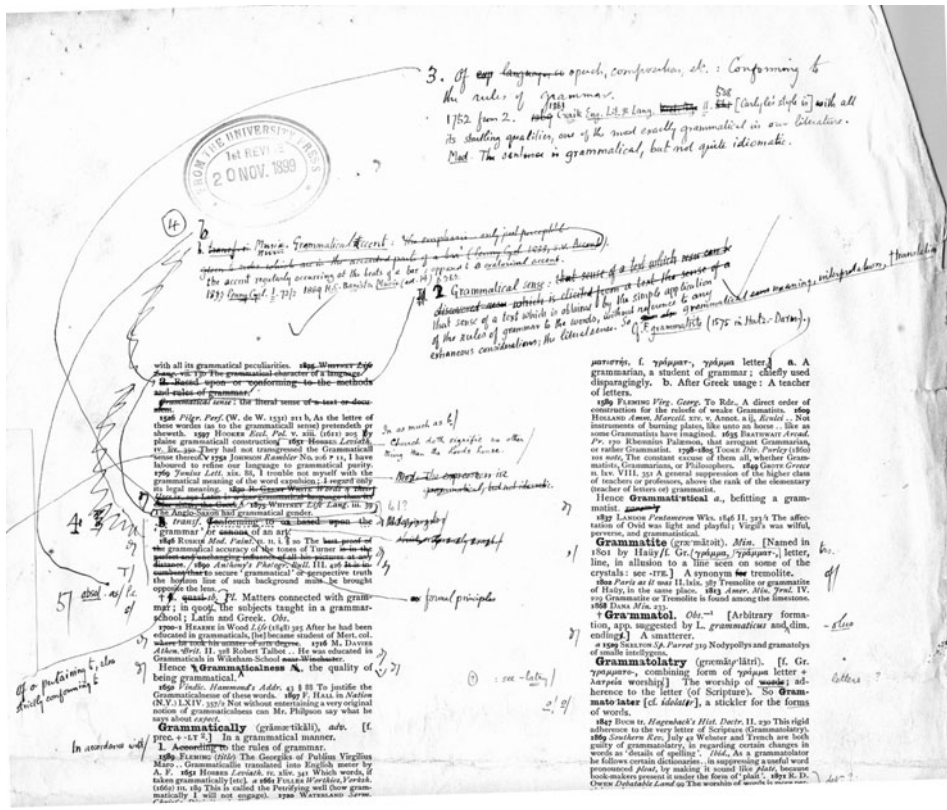


FIG. 10.1. Extant proofs of *The Oxford English Dictionary*, dated November/December 1899

of time as well as money. As a result, while the first fascicle of the dictionary, *A–Ant*, was published to wide acclaim in 1884, followed by *Ant–Batten* in 1885, it was not in fact until April 1928, thirteen years after Murray’s own death in 1915, that the final fascicle would pass through the press. By that time, the dictionary consisted of twelve volumes rather than the four agreed in the original contract; it also encompassed 15,488 pages (rather than the 6–7,000 stated in 1879), 178 miles of type, 50,000,000 words, and provided some 500,000 definitions. Had he been alive to see its completion, Müller would undoubtedly have agreed that the *OED* was, precisely as he had desired (Müller 1878), ‘no unworthy rival’ to the work of Grimm and Émile Littré—specially since the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* still remained incomplete.<sup>18</sup> His early confidence in it, by its financial success, on the other hand, would prove entirely

<sup>18</sup> Publication of Émile Littré’s *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* began in 1863 and was completed ten years later. The *Wörterbuch* would not be completed until 1960.

misplaced. Even by 1914, the dictionary involved ‘a dead loss of some £100,000’ (MP/10/7/14). By 1928, this had risen to £300,000.

### 10.5 ‘A NEW GARMENT THROUGHOUT’

The decades expended upon the first edition of the *OED* saw the painstaking evolution of one of the great works of modern scholarship. Trench’s early insistence that the dictionary should be a ‘new garment throughout’ remained at the heart of its originality. Where earlier lexicographers had been content to accept the authority of their predecessors in including, say, entries for words such as *abacot* (‘a Cap of State, made like a double Crown, worn anciently by the Kings of England’, as Nathaniel Bailey had stated in his *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* of 1721), the ‘patient induction’ of facts which Murray advocated (MP/JAHM/83) led to some striking reassessments. *Abacot*, a word given in the desiderata accompanying Murray’s first *Appeal*, proved to be a mistranscription of *bycoket*, a different word entirely (even if one which did legitimately signify ‘a cap or headdress’). *Adventine*—a misprint for *adventive* (‘an immigrant, a sojourner’)—had appeared as an independent entry in Johnson and a range of other dictionaries. This produced another necessary corrective in the *OED*, as did the entry for *compasture*. Defined by Bailey as ‘large Tracts of Pastures or Pasture Grounds, lying together’, the word was, however, properly *composture*. It signified ‘compost, manure’, as in its use in Shakespeare’s *Timon of Athens* (‘The Earth’s a Theefe, That feeds and breeds by a composture stolne From gen’rall excrement’) from where the original mistranscription—and misassignment of sense—had arisen.

The identification of ‘ghost-words’ of this kind (a term coined by Skeat (1886: 350–74)) manifested the value of the ‘original work’ for the dictionary (MP/24/6/86). Nevertheless, the research which underpinned discoveries of this kind was, as Murray acknowledged, both time-consuming and unpredictable. Murray’s extant letters record countless quests for hitherto unknown information—in August 1881 he wrote to try and verify the history of *anaconda*, in October 1884 he was preoccupied by *augmentation*, in February 1889 by *chorograph*; *collocate* and *collocation* (in the legal sense) were the subject of a number of letters in 1890. This represents a tiny fraction of the correspondence despatched on a daily basis in order to elicit the information on which the dictionary was based. ‘It pleases me, at any practicable amount of work, to get at the facts, and force them to yield their secret’, Murray confessed (MP/24/12/04). Letters were sent to ‘astronomers, mathematicians,

geologists, zoologists, botanists, chemists, lawyers, historians, theologians, [and] philosophers' (MP/JAHM/1912); Murray's early search for specific details about *anaconda*, for example, originally written to James Britten, was passed on to the British Museum Zoological department from where Stuart Ridley later replied (MP/31/8/81). A perplexed letter from the historian Edith Thompson (a volunteer for the dictionary from 1884 until its completion) notes her own uncertainties on *castor* in response to another request from Murray in 1888: 'Neither my father nor I know *castor* in the sense wanted. In fact, we cannot remember that we ever called those wart-like things on a horse's legs by any name. As they are of no practical use, & (as far as I know) are not subject to disease, one may live one's life without having occasion to think of or mention them' (MP/23/3/88).

For the dictionary, however, such items had to be named and in turn equipped with a full sense-history, etymology, and pronunciation. Endeavours of this kind, with their painstaking concern for detail and accuracy, characterized the *OED*. Entries such as those for *penny* and *parson* were, Murray stated, 'masterpieces of patient industry and constructive genius', involving the slow piecing together of disparate facts and historical evidence (MP/JAHM/96). For Oxford University Press, however, it was conversely all too clear that they also slowed down progress in terms of publication, and actively increased the costs of production. 'The work is *wanted* by students *now*', Murray was informed in 1887; 'The Delegates are as fully impressed as it is possible to be with the necessity of keeping up to the highest standard of *quality* and accuracy; still; they beg you to consider... that it would be in vain if the pursuit of an unattainable standard in particular minutiae were to end in the non-completion of the dictionary' (MP/31/1/87).

### 10.5.1 *Pioneers*

The pressures to complete the dictionary led to the appointment of a second editor, Henry Bradley, in 1888, and a third editor, William Craigie, who was appointed in 1901 after having worked for four years as a member of Bradley's staff; a fourth editor, Charles Onions, was appointed in 1914 (after almost twenty years of working on the dictionary). Each editor was responsible for separate fascicles, aided by his own teams of assistants, and by a set of volunteer sub-editors, readers, and critical readers who made their own comments on the proofs. In early 1910, for example, Murray worked at completing P, Bradley continued to make his way through S, and Craigie was at work on the final section of R. The dictionary ultimately attained a regularity of appearance with which the Delegates had to be satisfied.

The question of what precisely was to be 'attainable' (in time, scale, as well as finances) in a dictionary such as the *OED* nevertheless remained problematic,

leading to a number of conflicts between dictionary and Delegates on the limits of inclusion. The image of the 'ideal dictionary' had inspired both Murray and Trench, together with the desire to translate this into practice in terms of modern linguistic scholarship and scientific principles. Murray rightly saw himself as a pioneer. 'I am absolutely a pioneer; nobody exc[ept] my predecessors in specimens of the Dict<sup>y</sup>. has yet tried to trace out historically the sense-development of English words', he had written to Sweet in 1882: '... I shall have to do the best I can at defining probably 80,000 words that I never knew or used or saw before' (MP/29/3/82). This pioneering status is, for instance, succinctly confirmed by the terminology which Murray needed to create as he began his work as editor. 'One of the commonest phenomena in the history of English words is the dropping of an initial toneless vowel', he noted, adding that this process currently lacked any designation in English. 'We want a name for this phonetic phenomenon, and especially a descriptive adjective for these shortened forms' (MP/30/2/81: 39). He was forced to settle on his own coinages of *aphesis* and *aphetic* (the terms still used for these phenomena). Likewise no precedents existed for terms such as *back-formation* and *nonce word*. 'An *appropriate* English name is greatly wanted for the latter', Murray added, pointing out that French possessed *mot d'occasion*, which signified exactly the sense required.

Etymology too was part of the 'untrodden forest' in which he saw himself working. 'One does not look in Johnson for Etymology, any more than in 18th c. writers for biology or electricity. Etymology began about 1850 in England', Murray declared (MP/20/12/06). The science of philology, as Wedgwood had early indicated, brought incalculable advantages to the historical record, resolving traditional uncertainties about the origin of words such as *hurricane* and *Huguenot*, or *caterpillar* and *betwixt*. Even if etymologies in Johnson possessed a certain charm, they could also be inconclusive or even, as Wedgwood had pointed out on Johnson's entry for *curmudgeon* (see 10.1.1.), downright wrong. Johnson's *Dictionary* merely makes a tentative guess at the etymology of *bustle* (v.): 'perhaps from *busy*'. Murray's entry in the *OED* provided seven variant forms and probed its origin in Middle English, its links to *buskle* (in the sense 'To agitate, shake, toss'), and its debt to possible cognate forms in Old Icelandic. Letters between Bradley and Murray on words such as *battels* and *bullion* record the slow search for resolution of etymological cruces. European scholars such as Eduard Seivers also added their own detailed annotations to the proofs in this context, as did Walter Skeat (whose *Etymological Dictionary* was published in 1882). The 'combined action' advocated by Trench (1860: 70) remained fully in evidence.

The representation of pronunciation likewise gained an entirely new format; the complex numerical diacritics and respellings devised by John Walker and

Thomas Sheridan in their pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth century (replicated in various ways over the nineteenth) were jettisoned. A new—and descriptive—system was devised, intended to represent ‘the actual variety of existing English usage’ rather than encode a normative ideal. The question of an appropriate mode of transcription remained a major concern in the early 1880s, as Murray reported to the Philological Society (1881: 268). Again he appealed to the sense of collective endeavour: ‘I should be very glad . . . to be helped to a solution of the best mode of marking the pronunciation; the prospect of doing this by any mode of practically reformed spelling seems to recede before me’.

While personal predilections could at times still intervene, the overarching tenor of the dictionary was one of intended neutrality. As Ellis had indicated to Murray in 1883, while he—and no doubt Murray himself—disliked new words such as *reliable*, ‘there is no doubt it is used’ (MP/5/1/83). As such, it had to be included. This encapsulated the guiding premise of the *OED*, precisely in line with Trench’s separation of the roles of historian and critic for the lexicographer, and the status of the dictionary as impartial inventory. As a result, if the critic occasionally makes his presence felt in entries for words such as *enthuse* (condemned by Bradley as ‘an ignorant back-formation from *enthusiasm*’) and *enormity* (where Bradley resisted change in progress in the form of the newer meaning ‘Excess in magnitude; hugeness, vastness’),<sup>19</sup> it is the historian who dominates in the scrupulous—and objective—editing of countless other words, carefully defusing the language attitudes which informed more popular works on language. While Alford in *A Plea for the Queen’s English* (1864: 109) hence condemned the nineteenth-century coinage of *talented* as a ‘newspaper word’ which was ‘about as bad as possible’, the *OED* impartially engaged with historical development and the realities of usage, locating its first use in 1827 (in Bulwer Lytton’s *Falkland*). Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s prescriptive sensibilities on this matter (‘I regret to see that vile and barbarous vocable *talented*, stealing out of the newspapers into the leading reviews and most respectable publications of the day’) were moreover deftly inserted as empirical evidence for the usage and incontestable status of the word.

## 10.6 PROOF AND PROCESS

This meticulous attention to citational evidence (and its rightful interpretation) was another factor which underpinned the slow evolution of the dictionary. The

<sup>19</sup> See further Mugglestone (2002a: 189–206) and Mugglestone (2005: 143–78).

quotations for entries such as *silly* spanned twelve centuries; the entry for *set* occupied over eighteen pages, anatomizing 154 sense-divisions and 83 phrasal combinations such as *to set off*. The citations for *wit*, edited by Craigie in 1928, began with *Beowulf* and ended with the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, writing in the *Morning Post* in 1926 ('Men . . . who . . . had formed his Majesty's Government . . . and who had the wit to understand what the challenge meant'). While the Delegates made repeated attempts to tether the dictionary to a scale based on Webster's 1864 *Dictionary* (initially on a basis of 1 page of Webster to 6 of the *OED*, though this was later relaxed to a ratio of c.1 : 8), in practice the dictionary would regularly exceed all formal limits placed on it. A ratio of 1 : 11 was, for example, in evidence in October 1900; Craigie temporarily moved to a scale of 1 : 19 in 1902. Trench's 'inventory', while not being realized in entirety, remained an active principle. Indeed, in some respects, the dictionary deliberately moved beyond what Trench had contemplated. The diction of science and technology, was, for instance, proscribed by Trench ('purely technical words . . . are not for the most part, except by an abuse of language, words at all, but signs') (1860: 57–8) and formally excluded from the 'Main Dictionary' in the 1859 *Proposal*. By 1880, Murray was instead asking readers to 'devote themselves to the examination of scientific and technical books, and special treatises of any description' (1880: 9). His self-professed status as a scientist of language—and his insistence on the 'scientific spirit' of the nineteenth century which, to his mind, had 'rendered [the *OED*] possible' (1900: 51)—served to make these early restrictions untenable. The discourses of Darwinism and evolution, of engineering and chemistry, and of the wide-ranging discovery processes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are all represented in the published text (even if the inclusion of vocabulary of this kind was perhaps ultimately less extensive than that once drafted in the extant proofs).<sup>20</sup>

The crafting of the dictionary took place slowly, in a pre-computer age. Words were carefully anatomized into their senses which were, in turn, ordered in terms of their historical development; at each stage, dated citations provided empirical evidence of usage through time (see Fig. 10.1). While volunteer sub-editors provided provisional arrangements (and tentative definitions) for each entry, the whole could be cast aside and redone once the material arrived with the editor of the fascicle in question. Drafted in longhand, the dictionary was, as we have seen, often set into type only to see the process of revision begin again. The extant proofs and revises of the first edition therefore perhaps reveal with greatest clarity the real

<sup>20</sup> Mugglestone (2005: 110–42) presents a detailed examination of the challenges faced by the *OED* in attempting to record the language of science and technology.

challenges involved in making the *OED*, readily illustrating the conditions of temporality which, much to the Delegates' frustration, characterized the ongoing process of composition and critical reassessment. The unpredictability of the material sent in to the dictionary was an important part of this; entries which appeared to have attained their final form could suddenly be disrupted by the arrival of a new citation confirming an earlier use (and hence, as in Trench's original model, an earlier date for the 'birth' of a given word or meaning). This can be seen with *grotesquerie* which, given as a late nineteenth-century coinage in the first proof, unexpectedly gained a 1654 quotation from Roger Orrery's *Parthenissa* which appears as a hand-written addition in proof (duly being incorporated in subsequent versions of the text). *Linnet-hole* (a specialized term in glass-making) was another late revision of this kind, a newly arrived citation being sent to the printers on a separate memorandum by Bradley on 4 June 1902. Its importance, however, meant that it had to be included, not least because it supplied a corrected reading which proved the first element of the word to be a variant of *lunette* (in the earlier proofs, it had been provisionally defined as 'a hole connecting the glass-making furnace with the arch'). Still more critically, this new information provided an antedating of over two hundred years, locating first usage in 1662 (rather than 1875).

Historical lexicography (and the *OED*'s own history, not least in terms of the contributions of volunteer readers) therefore frequently imposed its own imperatives upon the writing—and rewriting—of the text. Evidence on unrecorded items of lexis could appear at the last minute, necessitating inclusion (and occasionally a complex process of symbiosis as other elements were excised in order to accommodate them). Words such as *glossomachiall* ('given to wordy strife') and *goosified* ('affected with "goose-flesh"'), a nonce-word used by J. H. Newman, first appear as hand-written annotations in the margins of the proofs; both represent this last-minute gathering of hitherto entirely unknown words. Yet, in terms of the published inventory, gain could not always exist without loss. Even for a work such as the *OED*, space was finite, as Murray and his co-editors were often reminded; for pragmatic reasons alone, the dictionary could not in reality encompass all words or all possible citations. As Murray made explicit in the 'General Explanations' of the *OED* (1888: p. v), even if 'Nature' had failed to draw a neat dividing line around the language, one had to be imposed by the lexicographer. As a result, it was comprehensiveness—albeit on a hitherto inconceivable scale—rather than Trench's *Lexicon totius Anglicatitatis*, which best characterized the *OED*. Words such as *lunching*, *limeade*, *glou-glou* ('the sound made by a liquid when being poured out of a bottle', used in *Good Words* in 1883), *lericompoop* (a verb with the meaning 'to hoax' or 'delude' used by the poet and dramatist, Thomas D'Urfey (1653–1723)), *landlord* (used as a verb), *landscaping*,

as well as *lexicographing* ('the art of making dictionaries') were, for a variety of reasons, all excised, together with many others, during the process of making the dictionary.<sup>21</sup> If the rhetoric of completeness could remain ('[the dictionary] seeks . . . to record every word that has been used in the language for the last 800 years', as Murray affirmed in his Romanes lecture (1900: 47)), behind-the-scenes compression and adjustment came at times to offer an alternative—if necessary—reality. 'One must contrive to end near the bottom of the second p[age] of a leaf, and that requires usually much measuring, adjusting, contracting & expanding', as Murray explained to Henry Hucks Gibbs, one of the most stalwart volunteers on the dictionary (OED/EP/ALD/1/2.i.). The drafted entries for countless words, as well as many thousands of citations (particularly from popular sources of evidence) as originally given in the proofs, were all casualties in this inevitable process of contraction. Other words—particularly those denoting aspects of human sexuality, anatomy, and contraception—were deemed unacceptable in a wider cultural sense. Here the inventory was deliberately kept in check, as in the exclusion of *cunt*. Where senses which challenged decorum were included, they were often proscribed via morally weighted definitions such as 'the action or practice of self-abuse' (for *masturbation*) or 'A woman who practices unnatural vice with other women' (*tribade*). 'Of women: The offering of the body to indiscriminate lewdness for hire' states the definition of *prostitution* in *OED*<sub>1</sub> (see Mugglestone 2007).

### 10.6.1 *The gentle art of lexicography*

The extant proofs can therefore often act as a compelling witness to this 'redrawing' of the lexicographic line—for words, senses, and citations—in a variety of ways. They also illustrate with particular clarity other important aspects of the writing of the dictionary. The art of definition regularly imposed its own challenges throughout the making of the *OED*. The apparently watertight clarities of the published text were, as the various drafts of the fascicles confirm, often achieved only by means of a cumulative process of revision. It was, for instance, at proof stage that the initially verbose definition of *length* ('The quality of having considerable longitudinal extent') was subject to renewed scrutiny, being rewritten by Bradley to provide the more succinct 'The quality [or] fact of being short; opposed to shortness'. The ambiguities of *locative* ('pertaining to the location of the position of land by means of some object') were likewise resolved only in the second revise when a new form of words ('Serving to locate or fix the position of something') appeared as an annotation in the adjacent margin. Similar was

<sup>21</sup> See Mugglestone (2005: 70–109) for a detailed discussion of this process.



*German*, for which critical rephrasing continued until the very final stages of production. The undeniably cryptic ‘Of a cousin: That has a parent who is own brother or sister to the parent of another person’ (originally given for sense 2 of this word) was displaced by a definition which came much closer to the required sense.<sup>22</sup> As here, rephrasing and the art of definition was an active process which could continue almost until the moment of publication.

Other aspects of the proofs illustrate the unremitting attention to detail which also featured in the making of the *OED*. Tracing the historical record was far from easy. The definition of *gimbal*, for example, initially appeared with a critical confusion of *horizontal* and *vertical*. ‘A contrivance by means of which articles for use at sea (esp. the compass and the chronometer) are suspended so as to keep a vertical position’, the original definition proclaimed. ‘A compass is in a horizontal position’, Walker Skeat emended in the margin, obviating a similar error being perpetuated in the published text. Similar was *gliriform*. Its first sense (‘Resembling a dormouse in shape’) was apparently unexceptionable as well as fully supported by the accompanying, and eminently scientific, quotation (‘The masseter in this gliriform Marsupial is single’). The definition given in proof to its second sense (‘Resembling the teeth of a dormouse’) was, however, seriously awry. Henry Hucks Gibbs in his role as critical reader corrected the self-evident confusion of both sense and interpretation. ‘The marsupian does not “resemble the teeth of a dormouse”’, he stressed in the adjacent margin (even if ‘the masseter resembles a certain muscle of the beast’). The sense duly disappeared, leaving no trace in the entry as finally published.<sup>23</sup> As here, the comments of critical readers punctuate the drafted text, aiding in the process of critical composition and eliminating infelicities by which *ground-floor* was (at least at first) erroneously defined as ‘The lowest set of rooms in a building, having their floors more or less level with the ground outside’ (a sense countered by Gibbs in the marginal comment that ‘The basement rooms are lower’). A revised definition as ‘The floor in a building which is more or less on a level with the ground outside’ appeared in the published text. Similarly problematic was Bradley’s original definition of *greasy-pole* (as ‘A pole rubbed with grease to make it harder to climb or cling onto’) which, as Murray pointed out, inadvertently managed to suggest that ‘people were so keen on climbing poles that they had to be kept at a

<sup>22</sup> ‘Closely akin’ . . . ‘That is the child of a ‘german’ brother or sister of either of (one’s) parents; = ‘first’ or ‘own’ (cousin). *Obs. exc. in COUSIN-GERMAN*’.

<sup>23</sup> For examples of similar revisions, see Mugglestone (2005: 57–64). Interestingly, a further note on the proofs (in Bradley’s hand) states that the erroneous sense of *gliriform* had been taken from the *Century* dictionary. As always, it was the ‘original work’ vaunted by Murray which proved the best course.

distance by the use of grease'. Again, the published text was to gain in both explicitness and precision: 'a pole rubbed with grease to make it harder to climb or walk upon (commonly used as an object of diversion at fairs or village sports).

Words such as *garrot* and *garrub* (for which definition was entirely absent in the early proofs) further illustrate the difficulties of undertaking a work for which no precedents existed in English. '? Definition & origin', Skeat prompted for both in the margin of the relevant proofs. Definitions were derived by a process of inductive methodology, yet the accompanying quotations for these entries ('For the garrott: plucke away the flesh that is dead with a sharpe instrument'; 'There is Silk Romals, there is Romals Garrub and Cotton Romals... The Garrub is the most deceitful of any, for they for the generality wear like Dirt')<sup>24</sup> reveal just how problematic induction of this kind could be. Skeat likewise contested the opacity of the only definition which (at proof stage) Bradley had been able to devise for *Germantown* (as 'Some kind of vehicle'). 'Can we not learn what?', Skeat demanded in the margin. Again induction could only go so far (though newly imitated quests for information in this instance led to the much-improved 'A one-horse covered vehicle used in country districts: more fully *Germantown wagon*' by the time the text was published). Unwarranted bias (and an uneasy slippage between the roles of historian and critic) could also be cause for comment. Skeat rightly queried the drafted definition for *gitano* as 'A gypsy fellow'. 'Why *fellow*?', Skeat demanded; 'why not "a nobleman of the gypsy persuasion?"' The definition was revised to read 'a male (Spanish) gypsy'.<sup>25</sup>

When it came to definition, however, even common words could present problems. *Handsome*, for instance, perplexed Murray for weeks. It 'is a desperately difficult word to grasp', he wrote to another valued critical reader; 'I find it impossible to formulate the differences between current & many obsolete senses'. Having consulted his assistants, Murray moreover found that 'we none of us quite agree in our notion of the actual sense of "handsome"'. 'If you can send us a definition it will be lovingly considered', he added (OED/MISC/13/17). As here, semantic resolution relied not merely on the presence or absence of the relevant linguistic facts but on the potentially fraught issues of interpretation.

Historicism suggests the seamless translation of the historical record to the printed page (as in Passow's ideal that each word should 'tell its own story'). Nevertheless, the role of the lexicographer as the critical interface between the raw information at the dictionary's disposal and the means by which it was to be

<sup>24</sup> These derive respectively from Richard Surfleet's *Maison Rustique, or the Countrie Farme* (as augmented in G. Markham in 1616) and J. F.'s *The Merchant's Ware-House Laid Open* (1696). *Garrub* remained without definition in the published dictionary.

<sup>25</sup> For other examples of bias and ideology in *OED*<sub>1</sub>, see Mugglestone (2005: 163–8).

presented necessarily intervenes in a variety of ways. Labelling is a case in point. Bradley, for example, had noted that *glister* ('to sparkle; to glitter') was obsolete; Gibbs, surveying Bradley's evidence in proof, countered that he 'would certainly have used it without conscious reminiscence'. In a parallel manner, Bradley labelled *gripe* ('a ditch') as 'dialectal' only to have it firmly deleted when Gibbs read the proofs. 'In common use everywhere', Gibbs added in justification.<sup>26</sup> Editors were equally free to reassess their own earlier decisions so that Bradley, for example, assigned in proof the designation of *nonce-word* to Thackeray's use of *giftling* ('a little gift')—a sense previously left unmarked. A similar process can be detected for *grudgekin* ('a little grudge') which, again used by Thackeray, was reassigned as a *nonce-word* rather than merely *rare* (the status it had previously had in the proofs).<sup>27</sup> Even in their role as part of the historical record, the facts could, in each case, prompt different—and conflicting—interpretations at different points of the text's evolution.

Perhaps the clearest illustrations of the difficulty involved in crafting the historical record of English are revealed by those instances in which one of the editors inadvertently used a given word in drafting a definition which, according to the dictionary's own authority, had formally been declared obsolete. Bradley, for example, defined *grievousness* as 'the quality or condition of being grievous'. Yet the earlier entry for *griefsome* had located the obsolescence of the word in the mid-seventeenth century. Its apparent resurrection two centuries later by an editor of the dictionary clearly had to be rectified (not least given Trench's canonical strictures on the need to ascertain as accurately as possible the date of a word's death). Here the definition of *grievousness* was cut and the temporal—and linguistic—anomalies eliminated. Similar was *fray* which, for Murray, was the ordinary word for the action of scaring away birds. As he noted, he had therefore naturally used it to define *huff* (as 'to fray') in a sense which now appears as 'to frighten or scare away'. In an earlier fascicle, however, *fray* had already been labelled *obsolete* by Bradley, a statement markedly at odds with Murray's newly drafted definition of *huff*. While the relevant sense of *huff* was swiftly rewritten, the underlying conflicts of evidence and explication remain. In the later nineteenth century, was *fray* obsolete (as Bradley thought) or current, as in Murray's own usage in a now cancelled section of the dictionary?<sup>28</sup>

'How can there be a true History, when we see no Man living is able to write truly the History of the last Week?', Sir William Belford demanded in Thomas Shadwell's play *The Squire of Alsatia* (a quotation tellingly included

<sup>26</sup> Bradley, as editor, had the last word. *Gripe* retained its regional designation in the published text and Gibbs's emendations were disregarded.

<sup>27</sup> For the flux of labels and (re)interpretation at this stage, see also Mugglestone (2000: 27–36).

<sup>28</sup> See Mugglestone (2002a: 200).

under the *OED*'s own entry for *history*). In the flux of labels, pronunciation, or meanings, the proofs act as a compelling witness to the difficulty—and at times near-impossibility—of determining the ‘true history’ of words and their development. Judgement, after all, is an inevitable part of the lexicographic process. As a result, while the descriptivism of the *OED* functioned as a salient part of its *raison d'être*, judgements, and conflicting judgements—still manifest on the extant proofs—record the process of a complex set of decisions about labelling, pronunciation, definition, and etymology, or the number of senses any word should rightly possess. *Greatness*, for example, entered with the first revise with eight senses, and ended with six; deletions and revisions in Bradley's hand litter the surviving draft. Acts of interpretation, and reinterpretation, framed the day-to-day editing of the dictionary in the search to establish the facts of the historical record (and the individual editor's sense of their rightful presentation). The insights afforded by the proofs into the reality of these working processes therefore remain of critical importance for understanding the complex challenges of each and every entry in the first edition of the dictionary.

## 10.7 DEFICIENCIES ONCE MORE

‘This year, whatever else it may be, is the Year of the Dictionary,’ wrote C. T. Onions in *The Times* (1928: 10) in an article celebrating the completion of the *OED*. The publication of the final part of the *OED* on 19 April 1928 was an event of ‘outstanding importance to all who speak or use or understand the English language and to philologists the world over’, *The Times* had extolled; it was the end of a ‘story... of unremitting labour and unflagging concentration, consuming the best energies not of one man but of many during the best years of their lives’ (‘The Oxford English Dictionary’ 1928: 11). This litany of praise was widely endorsed: it was ‘a great national dictionary’, the *Guardian* wrote in early March. It will ‘rank in the world of philology as a unique monument to British learning and enterprise’, King George V affirmed on being presented with the dictionary's final part, ‘beautifully and specially bound for the king's acceptance’ (‘The King's Congratulations’ 1928: 73). Yet, as the *Guardian* perceptively added some months later, ‘Truly our dictionary-makers are toilers at a Sisyphean task—just as soon as they have got “Z” neatly caged an enlarged and adipose “A” has broken loose at the other end of the menagerie’ (OED/MISC/60/1/2). Even in the early days of the dictionary, correspondents had written to Murray commenting on, say, the inadvertent omission of *bondmaid* or

the decision not to include *bounder*.<sup>29</sup> Other letters had commented on the absence of *anaerobic*, *ansire*, and *nitrury* (among many other perceived gaps). As Murray acknowledged, the material for the dictionary could, in practice, have filled a hundred volumes; only the need to filter and reduce had kept it within publishable limits. Nevertheless, while the main dictionary slowly came into being, material for a *Supplement* was being filed away, stored for another and future publication. ‘The collection and arrangement of material for the Supplement . . . steadily flows on’, Murray stated at the Philological Society’s Annual Dictionary Evening in 1908. Seven years later, he commented on the ‘shelves of material’ which had already accumulated. After Murray’s death in 1915, this pattern of research continued—the crafting of new and hitherto unpublished sections of the alphabet took place alongside the gathering of material on words and senses which, for whatever reason, had been omitted, or which had themselves become part of the shifts of history. The dictionary’s own lengthy gestation provided appropriate illustration of the import of the historical principles on which it had been founded; definitions given for words such as *aeronaut* (‘one . . . who makes balloon ascents’) or *aerodynamic* (‘pertaining to the forces of gases in motion’) which appeared in the first fascicle of 1884 were strikingly out of date by the time the dictionary was completed. *Aviation* (and related words) were entirely absent. ‘The whole terminology of aeroplanes and aeronautics is wanting’, Murray had noted (MP/JAHM/1912). The entries in C had, by virtue of history itself, revealed nothing of the *cinema* or *cinematograph*. Entries such as *projectile* further revealed the divide which time had wrought; the *OED*’s statement that these were fired from cannons no longer matched the realities of usage introduced in the First World War. ‘New knowledge accumulates, and new Editors enter on the task of the old, with advantages due not to themselves, but to time’, Murray had written in the early days of the first edition (MP/JAHM/1883). By 1928, another new era for the dictionary had begun.

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<sup>29</sup> Murray regarded this as ‘undergraduate slang’, deciding that it should not be included in the first edition of the *OED*. See Mugglestone (2002b: 10 n).

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# THE *OED* SUPPLEMENTS

*Charlotte Brewer*

## 11.1 FIRST SUPPLEMENT: PUBLICATION, RECEPTION AND EVALUATION

THE necessity for eventual supplementation of the *Oxford English Dictionary* had been recognized in the terms under which the Philological Society handed over the dictionary to Oxford University Press in 1879, and had been kept in view since the publication of the first instalment in 1884. By the 1920s, the lexicographers had amassed ‘a collection of closely-packed slips occupying some 75 linear feet of shelving,’<sup>1</sup> containing the accretions of fifty years for the letters *A–B*, compared with only five years or so for *X, Y, and Z*. On the basis of this material, the first *Supplement* was produced relatively swiftly in 1933, along with a re-issue of the parent dictionary (Murray *et al.* 1933). Edited by the two surviving senior members of the previous team, Craigie and Onions, its publication was a chief item on the BBC news and was treated as a major literary event of the day.

The post-Victorian era, together with the enormous social changes wrought by the First World War, the beginnings of social democracy, and many other cultural factors—modernism, increasing exposure to American culture, the development of new sciences and industries—had thrown up vast numbers of new terms. The peculiar fascination of the 1933 *Supplement* seems to have been the reflection in its pages of this crowded and turbulent period of social, political, cultural, and intellectual history. In their Preface, Craigie and Onions made it clear that such social and historical relevance was what they had aimed for, seeking in particular to record the burgeoning volume of technical language relating to both arts and sciences (e.g. ‘biochemistry, wireless telegraphy and telephony, mechanical transport, aerial

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Supplement* in Murray (1933:v).

locomotion, psycho-analysis, the cinema'), and also 'the varied development of colloquial idiom and slang, to which the United States of America have made a large contribution, but in which the British dominions and dependencies have also a conspicuous share'. This topicality was seized on with delight by reviewers, who greeted the *Supplement* with almost universal approval. 'We found this volume of absorbing interest', reported *Notes and Queries* (1934: 51), explaining 'There is a sense in which it may claim to be the most massive, comprehensive, enduring monument in existence of the last eventful thirty years, encompassing the very life of them, which we see, as it were, captured and pinned down in its pages'.

Scientific and technical language on the one hand, and slang and colloquialisms on the other, were the two features picked up by the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, G. S. Gordon, in his address to the guests assembled for *OED*'s celebratory lunch of 21 November 1933. The *Supplement's* pages contained, he said, 'the whole riotous, "riproarious", linguistic wealth of the industrial, scientific, artistic, literary, and social and colloquial life, not only of England, but of all the English-speaking countries, during the last half-century'.<sup>2</sup> Although the later volumes of the original dictionary had had their fair share of contemporary words, these were buried among many other much older ones, so when readers browsed a typical page of the first edition they would see a preponderance of historical material. The *Supplement* was a different matter altogether. It included a smattering of mid-nineteenth-century and earlier vocabulary, but its pages teemed with more topical and everyday usages, often colourfully colloquial, that had escaped entry to the parent volumes.

It was clear to contemporaries that recent years had seen a 'rapid and luxuriant growth of popular idiom and phraseology', a principal motive being 'impatience with propriety of speech, and the desire to find intentionally undignified substitutes for it' (*Periodical* 1934: 20). Presumably all ages feel the same; what may have made the first thirty-odd years of the twentieth century different from earlier periods was the increasing acceptability of informal language, colloquialism, and slang in printed sources, which had previously censored such usage. This meant that many more spontaneous, up-to-the minute coinages and bouncy informalities were widely published and therefore available for record in the *Supplement*, and they lent its pages an enchanting immediacy and social relevance. It may also be that the appetite for colloquialism had recently increased in classes previously resistant to it. 'Even among persons of riper years', Henry Bradley (who died in 1923) had 'demurely' said, 'there are many to whom ceremonious speech is

<sup>2</sup> *Periodical* 1934: 18; the *Supplement* had antedated *OED*'s entry for *riproarious* to 1840 (subsequently further antedated, to 1830, in the second *Supplement*).



unwelcome'. 'All ages and classes are in this conspiracy', Gordon believed, and he pointed the finger at American culture, faithfully investigated and recorded for the *Supplement* by Craigie—who had held a chair at Chicago since 1926 and was simultaneously compiling the *Dictionary of American English*—as particularly influential in this respect (→ BAILEY). *The Times* agreed, quoting 'Mr Dooley'—the fictional author of a nationally syndicated newspaper column in the USA—as saying 'When we Americans are done with the English language, it will look as if it had been run over by a musical comedy' (*Periodical* 1934: 20).

It takes only a glance through the pages of the *Supplement* to see Mr Dooley's point. Yet, as Gordon also noted, 'when you examine the culprits, how almost irresistible at any rate the best of them are! They are so frank, so fresh, so Topsy-like, so impudently expressive and near the truth, that it is hard to deny them a place in any honest lexicon of English', even though 'Dr Johnson would doubtless have rejected them all as low, as "not yet refined from the grossness of domestic use"'. Gordon lists some of his favourite Americanisms, many of which have proved long-lived—*graft*, *O.K.*, *the once-over*, *dope* (v.), *fool proof*, and *step on the gas*.

Other notable *Supplement* inclusions, scooped by Gordon out of what he described as a 'prodigious lexicographical lucky-bag', were *apache*, *automobile*, *cubism*, *futurism*, *robot*, *pacifist*, *radium*, *movies*, *screen*, *talkies*, *sabotage*, *tank*, *hooligan*, *broadcasting*, *loud-speaker*, *League of Nations*, *lip-stick*, *relativity*, *slimming*, and *psycho-analysis*. An 'odd jumble', he called them, amounting to 'a rude and crude epitome of the very strange generation we belong to or from which we are emerging'. Nevertheless, 'with their definitions and attendant quotations, their approximate birth-dates and genealogies', they were 'perhaps the most fascinating type of history there is'. Many reviewers copied both Gordon and *The Periodical* (1934: 12–14) in simply listing a selection of terms with attached dates (e.g. 1885 *silk*, *artificial*; 1886 *appendicitis*, *crook*, *damfool*, *gadget*, *zoom*, etc.).

But how were either editors or reviewers to judge whether such items were comprehensively or appropriately included? Craigie and Onions were well aware of the problem. On the vexed question of inclusion or omission of 'the more esoteric scientific terms' and of foreign words, they admitted that 'it cannot be hoped or pretended that this problem has been solved in every instance with infallible discretion'. They appeared more confident in their treatment of 'temporary or casual uses', which were recognized 'only in so far as they marked stages in the recent history of scientific discovery, invention, or fashion, or illustrated the progress of thought, usage, or custom during the half-century under review'. Criteria for identifying such 'stages' were not revealed.

Papers preserved in the OUP archives witness much discussion, sometimes acrimonious, over what to embrace and what to rule out. Through a combination

of variable circumstances, some worthy candidates did not make the grade, for example *putsch*, or *lesbian* (discussed below), while the editors may simply have missed perhaps hundreds of others subsequently entered in the second *Supplement* with evidence dating back well before 1933 (as *snide*, *snoop* (noun), *soap-box* (fig.), *social work(er)*, etc.). Conversely, many less eligible candidates were recorded: linguistic ephemera (as *sosh*, US slang for ‘a person having social polish and little else’; *sourceful*, ‘acting as a source’; *spadassin*, ‘a swordsman’; *spalt*, ‘a section of log’) that no doubt seemed promising to contemporaries but proved in the longer run less durable. The first *Supplement*’s fiercest critic in this respect was the editor of the second, R. W. Burchfield (see 11.3 below); but such judgements are always more easily made with hindsight.

## 11.2 BETWEEN SUPPLEMENTS

After what was recognized, with some relief, as a *tour de force*, the publishers hoped to close the *OED* enterprise down. ‘It is not thought practicable to provide further supplements’, the Secretary to the Press, R. W. Chapman, wrote in May 1933, ‘so that we are saying *finis coronat opus* ... the New English Dictionary on Historical Principles does necessarily come to an end, and it may be doubted if such a comprehensive work, attempting to cover the whole vocabulary from the beginnings, can ever again be attempted.’<sup>3</sup> The dictionary staff and operations were broken up and dispersed; unused slips, later counted as 140,000 in all, were packed into storage; and, in 1935, Chapman’s Deputy, the New Zealander Kenneth Sisam, wrote to an inquiring correspondent (William Empson, seeking elucidation on how *OED*<sub>1</sub> had differentiated the senses of complex words, and asking to look through the original slips) to say that ‘the reserve material for the *OED* is not now available for consultation, as the work has been closed. Part of it is warehoused in cases and is not easy to get at; some of it was lent to America for use in the new “period” dictionaries that are being undertaken there’ (→ ADAMS).<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, many scholars and others continued to send in information about new words and senses and about omissions or errors in the printed dictionary. This material was filed away and occasionally reviewed: as the archives reveal, up to the mid-1950s the publishers revisited again and again the question whether they should produce a further supplement, or instead undertake a full re-working of the original dictionary and incorporate new words and senses as they did so.

<sup>3</sup> OED/B/3/2/22, 31 May 1933.

<sup>4</sup> OED/B/3/2/24, 3 July 1935.

Both Craigie and Onions continued to work on lexicographical projects related to *OED*. Craigie returned from Chicago to Oxfordshire in 1936, on the completion of the *Dictionary of American English*, to pursue his Icelandic dictionary and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, while Onions toiled away for OUP on successive editions of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* and on his long-gestated etymological dictionary (completed posthumously in 1966). Albeit desultorily, Craigie in particular continued to amass material for the main dictionary, reporting in 1945 to Sisam, now Secretary to the Press, that he had ‘taken stock of the supplementary material to *OED* which I now have in hand’, for which he estimated there were altogether 13,000 slips by him and 4,000 by St Vincent Troubridge (many relating to theatre).<sup>5</sup> A third significant contributor, H. E. G. Rope of Shrewsbury—who had joined the *OED* in summer 1903—was also steadily at work, while R. W. Chapman was also recording quotations for use in a future revision or supplement to the original dictionary, despite his earlier view (Burchfield 1961: 37 n.8).

What was the Press to do with this? An important consideration was the relationship between the *OED*, which had stood still since 1933, and the subsidiary Oxford dictionaries. By the early 1950s, these dependent offshoots—the *Shorter*, *Concise*, and *Pocket*—had all prospered and been re-edited, mostly out-of-house. While these dictionaries did their best to register what Chapman (1946) called ‘an Elizabethan riot of verbal invention’, inspired once more by war and by enormous changes in culture and society, it was extraordinarily difficult for them to keep up with (in Chapman’s words again, using terms notorious from reviews of the 1933 *Supplement*) the ‘riproarious macédoine’ of new vocabulary pouring into the language, given the absence of properly funded and directed lexical research conducted by trained lexicographers in Oxford.

This factor—the need to update the *OED* in order to breathe new life into the lesser dictionaries, thus staving off competition from rival publishing houses such as Merriam-Webster in the US, whose dictionary departments (→ LANDAN) were better resourced—was brought into sharp focus by the second main reason the publishers had to rethink the question of revision. Stocks of the 1933 reprinting of the *OED* were running dangerously low, and, by 1954, had dropped under 3,000. It would soon become necessary to undertake the massive and expensive job of reprinting. By then—1962, perhaps—the first edition of the dictionary would look unequivocally out of date. Should the publishers undertake a wholesale revision? Or supplement the 1933 *Supplement*? In favour of the first plan was the knowledge, increasingly borne in on them as time went on, that the first *OED* had

<sup>5</sup> OUP/BoxOP1713/PB/ED/012869, 17 January 1945.

many defects, or, as Onions put it to them, ‘hosts of wrong definitions, wrong datings, and wrong crossreferences.’<sup>6</sup> But in favour of the second plan was the cost of a complete revision, which, if adequate, would require the Press to invest phenomenal quantities of time, labour, and money.

The advice of Sisam was crucial. Writing to the Press from retirement in the Scilly Isles, he was clear that wholesale revision would be institutional suicide.<sup>7</sup> He strongly urged supplementation, conducted under rigorous management by the Press, and, from 1955 onwards, the publishers undertook the search for an editor of a second *Supplement*. Several candidates were identified but only one stayed the course: Robert W. Burchfield, who was, in his own words, a member of ‘the New Zealand mafia’, a lecturer in English language at Christ Church College who had originally come to Onions’ college, Magdalen, on a Rhodes Scholarship in 1949. Onions and other sponsors—chiefly the medievalist Norman Davis, another New Zealander who had earlier turned down the job—recommended him to the Press, and he took up his appointment in 1957 (Brewer 2007: ch. 5).

### 11.3 SECOND SUPPLEMENT: INITIAL STAGES

‘My recollection of the time’, Burchfield wrote later (in terms perhaps recalling Murray’s description of himself and his assistants as colonizing ‘pioneers, pushing . . . experimentally through an untrodden forest, where no white man’s axe has been before us’), ‘is that I felt like a pioneer arriving in a new colony and finding a log cabin to house me but no other resource except a rather superior Man Friday [the temporary editor R. C. Goffin] to assist me’ (Burchfield 1984: 16; Murray 1882–84: 509). On his first day, he ‘reported to the Oxford University Press’, expecting to be told ‘how to go about compiling a large-scale dictionary on historical principles. It quickly dawned on me that I would simply need to organize the whole project myself from scratch. There were no courses, no conferences, no seminars, no handbooks or manuals of lexicography’. So Burchfield started instead by reading through his copy of *The Times*, and systematically comparing its entire contents, from first to last page, against the parent dictionary and its *Supplement*. ‘The results’, he found, ‘were a revelation’:

<sup>6</sup> SOED/1951/14/3, 14 March 1951.

<sup>7</sup> OUP/BoxOP1713/PB/ED/012869, memorandum entitled ‘September 1952’.

The *OED* was shown at once to be a product of the Victorian and Edwardian period, and not up-to-date at all. The reigns of George V and George VI had witnessed wars, scientific discoveries, and social changes of immense importance, but these were very poorly reflected in the *OED* and its 1933 *Supplement: body-line bowling, Bolshevism, questionnaire*, and such unmissable terms apart . . . the language that had come into being in the period since 1879 (when J. A. H. Murray undertook the *OED*) had been collected and dealt with only in the manner of a Sunday painter. Subject for subject, word class for word class, the first *OED* Supplement of 1933 was a ruffraff assemblage of casual items, in no way worthy of the magnificent monument to which it formed an extension (1989: 190–1).

To understand the force of this damning criticism, one needs to bear in mind *OED*'s own definition of *riff-raff* (*s.v.* *riff-raff* '3b): 'Of things: Worthless, trashy'. Burchfield was the scholar best placed to judge the work of his predecessors, but how would he ensure that the second *Supplement* would provide a better record of contemporary usage than the first?

In some respects, Burchfield exaggerated the absence of any form of lexicographical or institutional guidance. Sisam had corresponded regularly with the publishers over plans for the new dictionary, and many papers were stored in the OUP files detailing his recommendations on timescale, choice of vocabulary, use of volunteers and assistants, and office systems (in particular, the importance of restraining assistants from 'endless research' in Bodley). To make sure Burchfield fully absorbed this advice, Davin packed him off to the Scilly Isles for four days in August 1957 to receive instruction from Sisam in person. Burchfield himself later described Sisam's counsels (1984: 116–17). He was to set himself a time limit of seven years, stick to one volume of about 1,275 pages, base his dictionary on 'the English of educated people in England' (no colonialists), and exclude the terminology of science and technology except for those words which 'could be explained to an intelligent layman'.

One way or another, Burchfield defied all these directives. Inevitably, it proved impossible to keep to either the scale or the timetable proposed. He eventually produced four volumes, totalling 5,732 pages, and completed his work in 1986, nearly thirty years after his visit to Sisam. Part of the delay was due, no doubt, to the difficulties inherent in setting up the new project from scratch, instituting reading and editorial procedures, and devising appropriate criteria for inclusion and exclusion (though in many respects the main lines of procedure were already well established by the parent dictionary). A further cause was the Press's updating its flotilla of smaller dictionaries and centralizing their production in Oxford, in accordance with Sisam's prescription that the 'lesser dictionaries' should suck dry the new material prepared for the *Supplement* 'before it appeared in print as a quarry for competitors' (note 7 above). Although this provided 'funds for the survival of

OUP and its scholarly publishing programme, it siphoned off Burchfield's time and energies and was 'a distraction and encumbrance of indescribable proportions' (Burchfield 1984: 118). The most important delaying factor, however, seems to have been Burchfield's determination to avoid the judgement he himself was to mete out to Craigie and Onions. In this respect, the publication of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* in 1961 was a highly significant event. As he himself described, 'the sheer quantity of words included in it made it apparent at once that I had seriously underestimated the task of collecting modern English vocabulary wherever it occurred. The whole editorial process had to be delayed—in the event by several years—until my editorial assistants and outside readers had assembled evidence on this majestic scale' (1984: 117).

#### 11.4 ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Analysing and evaluating Burchfield's contribution to the *OED* is not a straightforward task. He absorbed most, but not all, of Craigie and Onion's material into his own four volumes, and these were subsequently merged with the first edition of the *OED* to create the second edition (*OED*<sub>2</sub>).<sup>8</sup> The resulting amalgamation of Burchfield's *Supplement* with *OED*<sub>1</sub> is electronically searchable both on CD-ROM and online, but its separate components cannot now be systematically distinguished from each other. Electronic investigation of specific categories of vocabulary added or enhanced by Burchfield, or editorial comment, or quotations, attributable to him rather than his predecessors, must therefore be carefully handled if it is to yield reliable information about Burchfield's portion of the *OED* rather than that of his predecessors (or vice versa). As we have seen, Burchfield's job was strictly to update rather than revise the dictionary, and this meant leaving the bulk of existing entries untouched.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Burchfield (1958: 229); criteria and statistics for exclusion of material from the 1933 *Supplement* are nowhere stated.

<sup>9</sup> In an apparently small number of instances, discoverable only through manual comparison of *OED*<sub>1</sub> with the 1972–86 *Supplement*, Burchfield did incorporate entries covering earlier material (e.g. a quotation dated 1639 for *novel*, 1770 for *tollent*, 1779 for *valedictory*). It is not clear why these slipped in given the enormous number of equally or more deserving candidates and the general policy stated in Vol. 1 (xv): 'It was also decided to exclude, in the main, pre-1820 antedatings of *O.E.D.* words or senses from general English sources, since the systematic collection of such antedatings could not be undertaken at the present time'.

What were Burchfield's editorial policies and what sort of dictionary did they produce? Burchfield himself discussed and reviewed his procedures and practice both in the Prefaces to his four *Supplement* volumes and in numerous articles published elsewhere. Reading these in sequence, along with the archival documents, exposes a number of inconsistencies, no doubt inevitable over the thirty years which he spent on the work. Further equally inevitable inconsistencies appear in the *Supplement* itself, some of which I discuss below. All should be seen in proportion to Burchfield's achievement as a whole. As one of the reviewers of *OED*<sub>1</sub> observed, 'It must be highly doubtful if any dictionary has received a tithe of the compliments paid to [this dictionary] in the way of errata and addenda', given that the *OED* itself supplies critics 'with their standards and many of their materials' (Brodrigg 1928: 277), and the same is also true of the second *Supplement*.

In the Introduction to the first volume of the *Supplement*, under the heading 'Editorial Policy', Burchfield declared, 'Our aim has been first and foremost to ensure that all "common words" (and senses) in British written English of the period 1884 to the present day (of those not already treated in the Dictionary) are included'. He went on to specify the three areas of vocabulary earlier identified by Sisam, namely, literary language, World English, and scientific and technical English, along with a fourth, 'colloquial and coarse expressions referring to sexual and excretory functions'. Whereas it is possible to examine, in some reasonably systematic way, samples of these subsidiary categories of vocabulary (and I shall do so in 11.5–11.8 below), it is scarcely feasible to evaluate Burchfield's success in treating 'all "common words" (and senses)'; the quotation marks round 'common' point to the difficulty of definition and consequently of assessment.

Entry after entry of the vast bulk of the dictionary prepared under Burchfield's hand evidences painstaking research through a massive range of sources, with banks of quotations skilfully analysed to yield lucid, polished, and apt definitions, and meticulous updatings of *OED*<sub>1</sub> material where appropriate. Unsurprisingly, given the magnitude of his task, it is also comparatively easy to find items which should have been brought up to date and were not. A striking example is the failure in the *A–G* volume, published in 1972, to update *OED*<sub>1</sub>'s reference to the Conservative Party as 'one of the two great English political parties' (s.v. *conservative*, 2a), the other, evidently, being the Liberal Party (cf. s.v. *liberal*, 5). *Labour Party* fared little better in 1976 (Vol. 2): having been omitted from *OED*<sub>1</sub>—understandably given that the *l-leisurely* fascicle appeared in 1902—the term was treated by Craigie and Onions in the 1933 *Supplement*, who placed it in the ragbag category of attributive uses of *labour* and provided six quotations dated between 1886 and 1922. Burchfield reproduced their definition, added four more quotations, and kept the term in the same minor position

(sandwiched between *labour-pains* and *labour-relations*).<sup>10</sup> Such aberrations appear minor beside the wealth of updated material but are notable nevertheless.<sup>11</sup>

### 11.5 ‘A LITERARY INSTRUMENT’?

The treatment of literary vocabulary in a contemporary dictionary of English may seem a relatively minor matter. In the case of the *OED*, the significance of literary words in relation to the lexicon as a whole takes on an entirely different aspect. The first edition had been unproblematically conceived as a repository of great writers, in accordance with the then conventional views expressed by one of its early contributors, G. P. Marsh (1860: 17–18): ‘The importance of a permanent literature, of authoritative standards of expression, and, especially, of those great, lasting works of the imagination, which, in all highly-cultivated nations constitute the “*volumes paramount*” of their literature, has been too generally appreciated to require . . . argument or illustration’. In this intellectual and cultural climate, the statement on the first page of Volume 1 of *OED (A–B)* in 1888, that ‘all the great English writers of all ages’ were the first port of call for quotations, seemed perfectly natural, and source studies of *OED*<sub>1</sub> plainly indicate the literary preferences of the first lexicographers (Schäfer 1980; Brewer 2005–).

Very much in the spirit of his predecessors, Burchfield began with a strong sense of the centrality of literature both to language and to the *OED*. Reporting to the Delegates in 1962, five years into editing the *Supplement* and ten years before the first volume appeared, he put ‘The main literary works of the period 1930–1960’ at the head of his list of sources tackled by readers for the new dictionary. Scientific sources came next, followed by newspapers, ‘the main Commonwealth sources’, and finally ‘as many literary works of the period 1884–1930 as could be managed in the time available’—this last item in order to remedy, so far as might then be possible, the failings of the first *Supplement*.<sup>12</sup> In Burchfield’s view, the earlier volume had ‘suffered from the defect, in a literary instrument, of not being based on a proper reading of the literary works of the period 1884–1930 . . . Kipling, Conrad, Henry James, Shaw, Arnold Bennett, and other writers who flourished after 1890 are hardly represented at all . . . and the poets are ignored’. Burchfield preserved to the last this

<sup>10</sup> Burchfield (1987: 18) identified attributive uses of common words as one of the main areas of vocabulary expanded in the *Supplement*; countless entries with long tails of compound examples attest to his success.

<sup>11</sup> For further ‘blackheads on the brow of Nefertiti’, see Barnes (1982), Strang (1974, 1977), Baker (1988).

<sup>12</sup> OUP/BoxOP1713/PB/ED/012869, ‘OED Supplement: New Edition’.



determination to quote from 'great writers', on occasion expressing a strong sense of embattlement against the destructive practices of 'scholars with shovels intent on burying the linguistic past and most of the literary past and present'. To ignore 'our greatest living writers' left one, he felt, 'looking at a language with one's eyes partly blindfolded' (Vol. 4: x).

Burchfield emphasized many times (e.g. Vol. 1: xiv) his fondness for inclusion of the *hapax legomena* and eccentric usages of major literary writers (Beckett's *athambia*, Joyce's *peccaminous*, Woolf's *scrolloping*, Edith Sitwell's *Martha-coloured*, etc.). Quite how and why these usages (especially *hapax legomena*) contributed to the language is never made clear, though the analysis would be a valuable one. As countless scholars have investigated, literary writers often choose to express themselves by deviating from 'ordinary language' rather than merely exemplifying it; Burchfield's contention that the presence of such usages in his volumes were 'mere golden specks in the whole work' (1989: 12) suggests he saw them as peripheral to general usage rather than influencing it in any substantial way.<sup>13</sup> In the event, several critics complained that the coverage and treatment of literary language was insufficient: Geoffrey Hill, for example, resented the inclusion of words like *tofu* at the expense of adequate treatment of Hopkins's language, in particular the exclusion of *unchancellor*, asking 'is the name of an easily analysable substance which has appeared on a million menus more real than a word, peculiarly resistant to analysis, which has lodged itself in a few thousands of minds?' (Hill 1989: 414). Such a question indicates the impossible burden of expectation that the *OED* has to bear. It would be out of the question to provide a comprehensive record of the usage of all literary writers (or even the most distinguished); to attempt to do so at the cost of documenting the general lexicon would be regarded by many, perhaps most, users as unacceptable.

Burchfield also wrote that 'the entire works of writers like Eliot, Auden, Joyce, Lawrence, and many others, needed to be indexed in the manner that the readers of sources drawn on for the *OED* had indexed the works of Chaucer, Malory, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Johnson, and all the other famous writers of the past', and recounted his battle to retain the quotation from T. S. Eliot's 'East Coker' under *loam* ('Lifting heavy feet in clumsy shoes Earth feet, loam feet, lifted in country mirth') when he submitted sample pages for review to the Press and academic readers in 1962 (1989: 8, 11–12). But there is no indication that indexing of this sort occurred; indeed, in the Introduction to Volume 1, Burchfield apologized for his policy of 'liberally representing the vocabulary of such writers

<sup>13</sup> Although a small proportion of these terms, used by famous writers such as Tolkien (e.g. *hobbit*), have become widely recognized.

as Kipling, James Joyce, and Dylan Thomas', as against the *OED*'s 'policy of total literary inclusiveness for the earlier centuries [of] all the vocabulary, including *hapax legomena*, of such authors as Chaucer, Gower and Shakespeare'. This last remark is baffling. Any regular user of the parent dictionary can attest that the *OED* did not remotely achieve 'total literary inclusiveness', and nor did it in practice aim for such a thing (except in the case of Shakespeare's lexicon).

Inconsistency was unavoidable in a policy such as this, and Burchfield freely acknowledged that he changed his mind as he went along, for example deciding in 1973—after the publication in 1972 of his first volume, treating the letters *A–H*—to include all rather than just some Jabberwocky words, with the consequence that, of this group of words, only *borogove*, *callay*, *callooh*, *frumious*, and *gimble* are omitted from the *Supplement* (1974: 13). The question of how to identify the best writers was one Burchfield never addressed, though he did point out that 'the pattern of admission was governed as much by the choice made by the readers as by any abstract principles adopted by the editors. If a reader made a slip for such an item it was likely to be included, with small regard for consistency in comparable words, or in words drawn from other writers, in other parts of the Dictionary. Conversely a word that was not copied by a reader had little chance of inclusion since the editorial staff would almost certainly be unaware of its existence' (1989: 89; cf. similar remarks 1989: 13, 84).

The results can be seen in any *Supplement* author whose works are checked in detail against the dictionary itself. A typical case is that of Auden, named several times by Burchfield as a well-mined source, with around 750 quotations altogether. Some of his poems were not cited at all, despite the fact that they appeared in volumes listed in the *Supplement* bibliography, and contained many words and usages just as unusual and notable as ones which the *Supplement* did record. In any one poem, some of the unusual words got into the dictionary and some did not (*semble*, but not *rundle*, was recorded; they occur six lines apart in 'Thanksgiving for a Habitat' (1965); *ubity* and *videnda*, but not *flosculent* and *maltalent* (n.), were recorded; they occur a few pages apart in the same work).<sup>14</sup> When such words were cited by the *Supplement*, they were variously, and apparently inconsistently, labelled as *poetic*, *archaic*, *isolated later example*, *rare*, with no indication how these labels were assigned or what the distinction between them is.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *maltalent* has recently been treated in *OED3*, with this example from Auden printed as an illustrative quotation.

<sup>15</sup> Examples from Brewer (1993); for more on labels see Stein (1983), Brewer (2004).

Electronic searching of *OED2* discloses interesting data on the respective numbers of quotations from literary authors. In the event, where male-authored sources were concerned, Burchfield favoured a more or less traditional canon, most frequently citing Shaw, Kipling, Joyce, Wodehouse, Lawrence, Twain, Aldous Huxley, and Auden (in that order, from around 2000 down to 750 quotations). But he chose differently from female-authored sources, quoting, in far fewer numbers, the New Zealand crime writer Ngaio Marsh, together with Dorothy Sayers and Agatha Christie, at around 450 quotations each, followed at some distance by more literary writers such as Elizabeth Bowen and Woolf (around 340 and 230 respectively).<sup>16</sup>

These figures and ratios reflect the reading preferences of Burchfield, his staff, and his volunteers (who included the indefatigable contributor Marghanita Laski, an enthusiastic reader of crime novels). They do not tell us about the relative contribution such writers made to the English language, however tempting it may be to hope that electronic searches of the *OED* will yield such information.

## 11.6 WORLD ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LOAN-WORDS

In 1961, Burchfield recorded that ‘No systematic treatment of Commonwealth sources is being attempted [in the *Supplement*] but Australian, New Zealand, and South African words already in *OED* will be joined by a relatively small number of additional words and senses which now seem to deserve a place ... pending the preparation of regional dictionaries of various kinds of English ... A few words from other Commonwealth countries [than those mentioned] will also be included, as *bhoodan* and *gramdan* from India, *calypso* from the West Indies, and so on’ (1961: 48). By the time the first volume appeared, in 1972, this policy too had changed, and the editor was making ‘bold forays into the written English of regions outside the British Isles, particularly into that of North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and Pakistan’ (Vol. 1: xiv–xv). In 1975, he explained why: ‘it is now [as opposed to in Murray’s time] a legitimate function of a historical dictionary, even one prepared in Britain, to record and treat overseas words that are virtually unknown in this country’ (1975: 352, instancing Austr. *to lob in*, ‘to arrive in’, NZ *marae*, ‘a space in a Maori settlement set aside for social functions’, SA *lappie*, ‘a dish cloth, a small rag’); in 1984, Burchfield declared, ‘English is English wherever it is spoken and written as a first language, and the natural repository for all of it, subject

<sup>16</sup> Figures from Brewer (2005–); on *OED* and gender see Baigent *et al.* (2005).

only to the physical difficulty of collecting it, was the *Supplement to the OED* (1984: 117).<sup>17</sup> The result of this change in policy was that words and usages from ‘countries such as the West Indies and even Scotland ... have better coverage in the range H–P [Vol. 2] than ... in A–G [Vol. 1]’ (1975: 355).

It seems right that Burchfield jettisoned the ‘unblushingly “Britocentric”’ views of Murray, and later Sisam, understandable though both had been at their time (Weiner 1990: 500). Equally it seems surprising that no policy was ever stated, or perhaps formulated, for systematically discriminating the items suitable for inclusion, given that total coverage of World Englishes would have been both impossible and (in view of the proliferation of dictionaries of regional English from Oxford and elsewhere) unnecessary. It is not easy to use electronic searches to identify uneven coverage of the sort Burchfield does identify—i.e. over alphabet-range; for example, the provenance of words is sometimes indicated in etymology text, sometimes in definitions text, while it is not possible to distinguish between searches for *Sc.* = ‘Scottish’, and *sc.* = ‘*scilicet*’. One imbalance is notable, however: the threefold increase in words of Chinese origin added to the *Supplement* after Burchfield’s own visit to China in 1979 (e.g. *pipa*, *pyotonghua*, *Little Red Book*, *running dog*, *scorched earth*).<sup>18</sup>

Burchfield’s treatment of the many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of foreign terms is additionally difficult to investigate since it is not possible to search electronically for the vertical parallel lines, or ‘tram lines’, that are used to indicate ‘alien’ or not yet naturalized words, with which Burchfield often—but not always—marked these terms. Of his examples quoted above, the two Hindi words *bhoodan* and *gramdan* are thus marked, but *calypso* is not; other Hindi words, however, are unmarked, for example *dhoon*, *dhoona*, *dhrupad*, *dhyana*. On the same page, *diable*, and *diable au corps* are ‘tram-lined’, but *diabolo* is not; a theory that words that seem to require (for native English speakers) difficult pronunciation is scotched when one sees that *déjeuner* and *déjà vu* have no tram lines either. There is no clearly discernible policy here, and nor do the quotations offer any further help, as there seems to be no consciousness of foreignness in the quotations themselves (rendering a word in italics, for example) that correlates with the presence of tram lines.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In fact, standards of spoken and written English, in countries such as India, that approximate most closely to British norms are achieved by people for whom English is a second language; see, for example, Quirk (1982), contemporary with Burchfield’s comment quoted here.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. 4: viii. Searching *OED2* ‘Entries’ for ‘1928–’ in quotation date and ‘Chinese’ in etymologies produces twenty results for A–G (Vol. 1), thirty-two results for H–N (Vol. 2), thirty-two results for O–Scz (Vol. 3) and a hundred results for Sea–Z (Vol. 4).

<sup>19</sup> Tram lines were not used in the 1933 *Supplement*, as first observed by Ogilvie (2004).

## 11.7 SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL VOCABULARY

In 1884, the Delegates had urged upon Murray the principle that 'slang terms and scientific words should both be limited to such as were found in literature' (Murray 1977: 221). Burchfield seems to have begun with much the same aim. So, in 1972, justifying his inclusion of unusual vocabulary in the *Supplement* (scientific terms, poetic *hapax legomena* such as Edith Sitwell's *Martha-coloured*, technical vocabulary and trade names), he explained that 'Many rose- and pear-names—*Gloire de Dijon*, *Maréchale Niel*, *Marie Louise*, and the rest—will owe their presence in the dictionary as much to their appearance in the works of Charlotte Yonge or Oscar Wilde or John Galsworthy as to their place in the hierarchy of trees and fruits' (1975: 351).<sup>20</sup> The implication is that it is use in literature that guarantees a place in the dictionary.<sup>21</sup> However, by 1977, as Burchfield reported in a discussion at a lexicography conference, he had categorically dropped the 'literature criterion': 'we have decided . . . that it is unworthy to treat scientific and technical vocabulary only in respect of those words which make their way into the common language and into fiction . . . . We are attempting to treat with consistency the central vocabulary of psychology, sociology, physics, chemistry, and so forth' (1980: 316). One of his interlocutors pointed out, 'I must say there is some difficulty in deciding what is meant by the central vocabulary', and it is also difficult for anyone who is not an expert in a particular field to determine exactly how well Burchfield fulfilled this formidable aim. It is readily apparent from a rough scan of his four volumes that scientific and technological terms form a sizeable proportion of new items (there is no systematic way of searching for them), and Burchfield broke new ground by employing science consultants on the *OED* staff, which, as he describes, was 'a radical departure from the policy adopted by the editors of the main Dictionary', influenced by his visit to North American dictionary departments in 1968.<sup>22</sup> As noted by approving reviewers, the abundance of new senses recorded on his pages indicated the quality of scientific advice his staff supplied. He was criticized, however, for more patchy treatment of technical vocabulary relating to non-scientific subjects—horse-riding, cookery, pottery, sports (with the exception of cricket, whose terminology was fully covered; see Strang 1974, 1977; Baker 1988).

<sup>20</sup> *Maréchale Niel* was not in the event included, though the term occurs in a quotation from Galsworthy s.v. *Gloire de Dijon*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Burchfield (1974: 16): 'literary currency . . . is the governing factor in the admission of proprietary terms to the *OED*'.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. 1: xiv; Burchfield (1989: 7). *OED1* had of course regularly consulted scientists for help, as detailed in the prefaces to the original fascicles of the work.

## 11.8 SEXUAL AND ‘COARSE’ WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS; RACIST AND OTHER OFFENSIVE TERMS; SLANG, COLLOQUIALISMS, CONTENTIOUS USAGES

In these areas, Burchfield confidently and boldly changed *OED*<sub>1</sub> policy. In a review of the first *Supplement*, the linguist A. S. C. Ross (1934: 129) had criticized that dictionary’s ‘definite policy of omission’ of obscene words, principally *cunt* and *fuck*, along with some items of modern slang, commenting ‘It seems regrettable that the perpetuation of a Victorian prudishness (inacceptable [sic] in philology beyond other subjects) should have been allowed to lead to the omission of some of the commonest words in the English language’. Alluding to this criticism, in a leading article in the *TLS* entitled ‘Four-letter words and the *OED*’, published to coincide with the appearance of the *Supplement*’s first volume in 1972, Burchfield explained that, in common with other English language dictionaries, the *OED* was now opening its doors to vocabulary previously shunned on grounds of taste or obscenity. The words *come* (verb), *condom*, *cunnilingus*, *fellatio*, *French letter*, *frig*, *frigging*, among ‘numerous others’, were now included, fully supported by etymologies and quotations (which in many instances had long been on file in the *OED* offices; see Murray 1977: 195).

Burchfield’s treatment of these terms varies: *come* is said to be ‘slang’, *bugger* ‘coarse slang’, whereas *frig* and *frigging* are unmarked; as we shall see, consistency and transparency of labelling in the *Supplement* seems to have raised insuperable problems. More significantly, the handling of one of the newly included words, *lesbian*, together with that of its older predecessor, *Sapphism*, belies in at least one respect Burchfield’s implied rejection of ‘Victorian prudishness’. *Sapphism* had been included in *OED*<sub>1</sub> (defined as ‘unnatural sexual relations between women’), with a reference to a medical dictionary of 1890 and a single illustrative quotation from the *Lancet* (1901): ‘As yet in this country the novelist . . . has not arrived at the treatment in romance of excessive morphiomania, or Sapphism, or vaginismus, all of which diseases will be found in French novels’. Burchfield left this untouched—it was one of the tiny number of existing items to be changed in *OED*<sub>2</sub>, which substituted ‘homosexual’ for ‘unnatural’ in the definition—but was able to consult existing files on *lesbian*, which *OED*<sub>1</sub> had defined simply as ‘Of or pertaining to the island of Lesbos’; the term had been discussed, and on Craigie’s insistence rejected, in 1930. Burchfield’s definitions for both adjective and noun are unproblematic, but his choice of quotations is another matter, particularly for the noun; they include Aldous Huxley: ‘After a third-rate provincial town,

colonized by English sodomites and middle-aged Lesbians, which is, after all, what Florence is, a genuine metropolis will be lively'; and C. Day Lewis: 'I shall never write real poetry. Women never do, unless they're invalids or Lesbians or something'. Were such examples the only ones available to him? Or do they illustrate a personal, or perhaps more general, societal, view? Here it is instructive to compare the quotations for *homosexual*, another term new to the *Supplement*, which are almost all neutral (e.g. Stella Gibbons: 'There were many homosexuals to be seen in Hyde Park', or the *Daily Telegraph*: 'Homosexuals and lesbians make up a sizeable minority of the population').<sup>23</sup>

Where racist terms were concerned, Burchfield took justifiable pride in establishing the claims of descriptive lexicography. Not only did he insist on including all offensive terms, suitably labelled, if they were to be found in common use, but he also determined, 'in order to avoid misunderstanding and consequent hostility, that the historical record of words like *Jesuit*, *Jew*, *Negro*, *nigger* and others already entered in the *OED*, should be brought up to date [in Volumes II and III of the *Supplement*]' (Vol. 2: vii; Burchfield 1989: 109–15). As ever, this admirable policy was difficult to sustain with consistency. By the time Burchfield had reached this view, his first volume (A–G) had already appeared, which meant that words such as *bogtrotter*, *bohunk*, *blackie*, *darkie*, and no doubt others, unidentified as racist or derogatory in *OED*<sub>1</sub>, continued similarly unidentified in the *Supplement*. In addition, a number of other racist definitions, labels, and usages in *OED*<sub>1</sub> from *H* onwards, unexceptionable at the time they were written, somehow escaped the process of updating (e.g. the reference to 'wild or savage races' s.v. *hubbub*, or the definition of *white man* as 'a man of honourable character such as one associates with a European (as distinguished from a negro)'), while Burchfield actually introduced a racist formulation under *interlocutor*, viz. 'the compère in a group of nigger minstrels'.<sup>24</sup>

Owing to the difficulties of producing so substantial a piece of work over so long a period of time, Burchfield seems never to have settled on a standard procedure for treating both these and other contentious items.<sup>25</sup> Sometimes he uses definition alone (*nig-nog* is unlabelled but defined as 'A coarsely abusive term for a Negro'); sometimes label alone (*coon* is labelled '*slang*. (Derog.)' but defined simply as 'a Negro'). In rather more cases, he labels the word simply 'slang', but indicates its offensiveness in the definition (as with *kike*, defined as 'A vulgarly offensive name for a Jew'; *wog*, defined as 'A vulgarly offensive name for a foreigner, esp. one of Arab extraction'). Sometimes the warning or comment

<sup>23</sup> Both terms were further edited in *OED*<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>24</sup> *OED*<sub>2</sub> rewrote the definition for *white man* but retained those for *hubbub* and *interlocutor*.

<sup>25</sup> See further Brewer (2005), from which some of the following material is taken.

appears as a note separate from both label and definition (as, for *honky*, ‘Disparaging in all applications’; *wop* ‘Now considered *offensive*’).

Burchfield had from the beginning retained *OED*’s use of the paragraph mark to indicate ‘catachrestic and erroneous’ usages (e.g. of *data* with a singular verb), but his addition of usage notes was a newly enunciated policy, again introduced part-way through the *Supplement* (possibly influenced by his recent undertaking to re-edit Fowler’s *Modern English Usage*, one of the bibles of linguistic prescriptivism, (→ ALLEN, Vol. II). So in Vol. 3 (v–vi) he noted the recent prescriptivist backlash to the ‘markedly [sic] linguistic descriptivism of the post-war years’, and commented, ‘One small legacy of these great debates is that here and there in the present volume I have found myself adding my own opinions about the acceptability of certain words or meanings in educated use. Users of the dictionary may or may not find these editorial comments diverting: they have been added (adapting a statement by John Ray in 1691) “as oil to preserve the mucilage from inspissation”’.

Such a departure from the stated principles of the parent dictionary comes as a surprise, but in fact Burchfield had already entered comments of various kinds in the earlier volumes—for example that use of the plural form *agenda* with a singular verb was ‘now increasingly found but avoided by careful writers’, or that *nite* was ‘A widespread vulgarism’. Assertions of personal taste, like the latter, were often curiously out of step with the quotation evidence Burchfield also printed, seeming to indicate that the editor was turning his back on the duty, identified by Trench, to be historian rather than critic (→ MUGGLESTONE, 10.1.3; 10.5.1). Comments of this type were, however, few. In the transition to *OED*<sub>2</sub> some were removed, or marked with the distinguishing label ‘RWB’, while in *OED*<sub>3</sub> they are being altogether excised.

## 11.9 CONCLUSION

The *Supplement* volumes represent a substantial and significant achievement by their editor. Burchfield’s definitions are precise and lucid, and he treats an extraordinarily wide range of words with admirable thoroughness. Constrained by the aims of its publishers, the second *Supplement* was far less ambitious than its predecessor, and the typographically seamless combination of the two into the so-called second edition of the *OED* produced an unhappily uneven result (Stanley 1990, Brewer 1993). Inevitably, Burchfield’s re-thinking of aspects of



the project as he went along gave rise to inconsistencies and imperfections. Nevertheless, his contribution to *OED* valuably extended the range of this great dictionary, establishing a solid basis for his successors.

I am grateful to Beverley Hunt for help with the *OED* records and to Peter Gilliver for his valuable comments on this piece; all responsibility for views expressed remains my own. The material introduced here was later freely developed into a full-scale history of the *OED* Supplements (Brewer 2007).

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# NATIONAL AND REGIONAL DICTIONARIES OF ENGLISH

*Richard W. Bailey*

Languages declare their independence by creating dictionaries.

## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

WITH a dictionary, a language (or language variety) is no longer a dependent or derivative, no longer insufficient and inadequate. In the sixteenth century, a sense of the inferiority of English prevailed among learned people: English was a poor language, and they bemoaned its shortcomings. It was not sufficiently copious—other languages had more words and hence could express more concepts. It was corrupt and impure in that it was a mingle-mangle or gallimaufry (to use two terms from the era) of borrowings from other languages. It was unattractively formed, clotted with consonants, marred by monosyllables. It had no dictionary.

In the last quarter of that century, opinions shifted. The great schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster, defended English against the carpers: ‘I do not think that anie language, be it whatsoever, is better able to vtter all argumēt, either with more pith, or greater planesse, then our *English* tong is’. In the margin of this argument, Mulcaster wrote: ‘A perfit English dictionarie wished for’ (quoted by Starnes and Noyes 1991: 10).

English monolingual dictionaries began to appear in the seventeenth century but they were not at first designed to remedy any of the problems bequeathed by the prior century. They were merely to help those unskilled in literacy. Yet as diction-

aries grew and grew, they incorporated more and more words—not just the hard ones—and English came to be seen as a rich language rather than an impoverished one. These new dictionaries were not the cause of changing opinion but a symptom of the new ideology: that English was not a language inferior to Latin; that it was not less valuable as an instrument for thought than French.

A pattern in the evolution of dictionaries began to establish itself. First, dictionaries contained words that were ‘hard’ (like Cawdrey) or ‘bad’ (like the cant glossaries) or ‘dialectal’ (like Ray’s ‘collection of words not generally used’). Then these words were absorbed into larger dictionaries. Finally distinct regional varieties of English would begin to be discerned—first as departures from a norm, and then as usage worthy of respect. Dictionaries became comprehensive, with the small wordbooks being swallowed by the larger ones. Eventually they tend to be comprehensive (for instance, the whole of Australian English) and eventually global (as in the emerging third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*). The movement of the lexical culture is ever from the despised to the celebrated, the part to the whole.

Two centuries would pass before a variety within English would begin to assert its independence. That revolution began in Scotland with John Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808) (→ DAREAU AND MACLEOD). An ardent patriot, Jamieson felt a sense of loss at the gradual disappearance of Scots as a national language. (This was a view shared by the novelist Walter Scott, among many others.) Of course Jamieson’s work would serve the needs of antiquarians, but he had something more ambitious in mind: ‘Without entering at present into the origin of the [Scottish language], I am bold to affirm, that it has as just a claim to the designation of a peculiar language as most of the other languages of Europe’ (vii). For Jamieson, its apparent similarity to the English of south-east England was merely accidental: ‘There is no good reason for supposing that it was ever imported from the southern part of our island’ (viii).

National and regional dictionaries of English began to appear at the same time as revivalist movements stirring in Scotland were asserting the independence of Norwegian, Czech, modern Greek, and other European languages where the connection of language and nationhood, so strongly endorsed by Jamieson, began to be felt. New ‘standards’ were created for these languages, and grammars and dictionaries were produced to support their independence.

In organizing this chapter, I present the emergent regional and national varieties in the order in which dictionaries were published to assert their independence.

## 12.2 AMERICAN ENGLISH

Outside Britain, the first stirrings of linguistic autonomy were discerned in the United States. Of course words from America had appeared in English dictionaries: *cannibal* (in 1616), *tobacco* (1623), *canoe* (1658), but words like these were imported into English and not seen as harbingers of revolution.

In 1789, swept up in his enthusiasm for the newly ratified constitution, Noah Webster predicted that ‘several circumstances render a future separation of the American tongue from the English, necessary and unavoidable’ (quoted in Bailey 1991: 104). He had even conceived a ‘Federal Language’ and composed an elaborate crest for it with flanking allegorical figures (Read 1934). Yet his ardour was premature. Few travellers—whether Britons in America or Americans in Britain—could detect differences in accent. The few distinctions were barely noticeable, though John Witherspoon, a Scot who had been named president of Princeton University, coined the term *Americanism*, in 1781, to describe them.

Remarks like Webster’s were preparatory for a dictionary, even though those making them were not at first aware of their tendency. In 1800, John Pickering, son of Washington’s Secretary of State, wrote to his father from London: ‘I find we use several words in America which are not in use here & for which *there is no authority*’ (quoted by Read 2002: 16). For words to have *authority*, in Pickering’s view, there must be found some respectable precedent in British usage. Purely American innovations were lacking in authority, he believed, and he gave three examples of unworthy American innovations, one an adjective (*lengthy*) and two verbs (*advocate* and *progress*).

At the same time that Pickering wrote this letter, Noah Webster was making a far more radical proposal in letters to American newspapers in which he announced the composition of two dictionaries, a small one for schools and the ‘counting house’ and a larger one for ‘men of science’. The need for such works seemed to him urgent:

It is found that a work of this kind is absolutely necessary, on account of considerable differences between the American and English language. New circumstances, new modes of life, new laws, new ideas of various kinds give rise to new words, and have already made many material differences between the language of England and America (Webster 1800: 3).

When he published his *Compendious Dictionary* in 1806, however, Webster did not devote much attention to these ‘differences’. Reformed spellings and the inclusion of local words in this volume provoked savage attacks. One reviewer took solace in the fact that ‘a single writer’ could not damage English, but he saw

Webster as a subversive: ‘insinuating suspicions of the definitions of Johnson, justifying ridiculous violations of grammar and spreading hurtful innovations in orthography’ (quoted by Burkett 1979: 131). The case for a distinctive American language was postponed.

On his return to America, John Pickering presented a paper to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1810, and in 1816 he produced a substantial book: *A Vocabulary; or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States*. Nearly all of them were usages that had been derided by British critics, and Pickering set out to show that many of them had good pedigrees in British English though perhaps not used so frequently there as formerly. Others, lacking such authority, should be used cautiously by American writers.

Pickering was a learned philologist, having acquired a deep knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as the modern languages of Europe. He was especially interested in the languages of America, proposing a ‘uniform orthography for the Indian Languages’ in 1820, preparing a grammar of Cherokee, and organizing the materials for Abenaki produced by a Jesuit missionary a century earlier. The auction of his books following his death in 1846 revealed what must have been the richest private collection of philological books in the United States (Pickering 1846.) Unfortunately, he is remembered mainly as the target of Noah Webster’s wrath.

Reading Pickering’s *Vocabulary*, Webster published a letter attacking his insufficiently ardent patriotism and sneering at his willingness to toady to British opinion. ‘There is nothing which, in my opinion, so debases the genius and character of my countrymen, as the implicit confidence they place in English authors, and their unhesitating submission to their *opinions*, their *derision*, and their *frowns*’ (Webster 1817: 59). Socially and intellectually of more consequence than Webster, Pickering ignored this attack. Most of his correspondents and the published reviewers of his book supported his efforts to identify Americanisms so authors might be prepared for an adverse reaction by British critics (Burkett 1979: 86–91).

As Webster laboured in preparing his great dictionary of 1828, he became less persuaded of the depth of the schism between American and British English. When he completed his manuscript, he was living in Britain and had been taken up socially by the dons at Cambridge. He even sought an English publisher for it, but was obliged by British indifference to seek one in New York. *Advocate*, *lengthy*, and *progress* were all entered with no commentary about the dispute that Pickering had identified. Even the entry for *Americanism* stepped back from Webster’s earlier advocacy of his country:

- (1) AMERICANISM n. The love which American citizens have to their own country, or the preference of its interests. *Analogically*, an American idiom.

All of the distinction between ‘the American and English language’ had vanished. In his entry for *English* (sense 2), Webster wrote: ‘The language of England or of the English nation, and of their descendents in India, America, and other countries.’ England is the parent; the Americans are children. Pickering must have smiled when he saw that Webster’s opinion had shifted so close to his own.

In the *American Dictionary*, Webster explained American institutions (like *Congress*) but never defends an American usage. In defining *creek*, for instance, he declares: ‘In some of the *American States*, a small river. This sense is not justified by etymology . . .’. Since English people limited *creek* to an inlet from the sea, American writers who extended the meaning to freshwater rivulets were ‘not justified’ even though their usage was documented in American writers of the seventeenth century.

Far less dependent upon British opinion, John Russell Bartlett published his *Dictionary of Americanisms* in 1849. His purpose was, primarily, to record ‘the class of words which are purely American in their origin and use’ (1989: v), and he cast a wide net, drawing in expressions from the flowering of American dialect humour so popular in the second quarter of the century. He was eager to admit them, seeing corruption in English as particularly vexatious among the educated, especially the clergy to whom he attributed such innovative verbs as *fellowship*, *difficult*, *eventuate*, *doxologize*, *happify*, and *donate* (1989: xviii–xix). His citation of *fellowship* comes from 1813: ‘We considered him heretical, essentially unsound in the faith; and on this ground refused to *fellowship* with him’ (s.v. *fellowship*). He has nothing critical to say about *sockdolager* ‘a patent fish-hook’. (Subsequent lexicographers have traced this usage to 1830; the gloss ‘a decisive blow’ shows the source of the fish-hook, spring-loaded to open violently in the mouth of the fish.) For Bartlett, *fellowship* (v.) was a ‘barbarism’; *sockdolager* is an exuberant Americanism.

Bartlett was not reluctant to provide usage advice. *All-fired* ‘very’ was, for him, ‘a low American word’. *Big-bugs* (like *big-wigs*) ‘people of consequence’ was merely an expression of American dislike of rank and hierarchy. *Grit*, ‘courage, spirit’, was Bartlett’s idea of a welcome Americanism. (Successor dictionary-makers found the first use of *grit* in this sense in an American writer of 1825.)

Bartlett’s *Dictionary of Americanisms* was not a complete dictionary of American usage, of course, but a specialized collection of distinctive national usages. What happened in the decade in which it was published was to shift lexicography away from questions of taste and propriety, to diminish the importance of usage by elites, and to depart from a concern for lexical origins. All of these aspects of lexicography remained important, of course, but new forces drove the composition and sales of dictionaries.

By the 1850s, American dictionaries were comprehensive, inclusive of Americanisms, and indifferent to opinions of Britain. Webster's linguistic patriotism, which had aroused such ire sixty years earlier, was now fulfilled in the encyclopedic dictionaries published in Webster's name—he had died in 1843—and by Joseph Emerson Worcester (→ LANDAU).

The compilation of big dictionaries, however, did little to discourage enthusiasts for Americanisms, and several collectors compiled and published dictionaries dealing with its exotica. Among the most interesting was *Americanisms, Old and New* (1889), by John S. Farmer, an English scholar scraping by with all sorts of literary projects, including *Slang and Its Analogues* (1890–1904). Farmer never left England and gathered his materials only through reading. Yet, however reluctantly, mainstream English lexicographers began to encompass American usage. This trend was rapidly accelerated with the publication of William Dwight Whitney's *Century Dictionary* (1889–91), a work unashamedly plundered by Murray and his co-editors for the *OED*.

### 12.2.1 *Scholarly dictionaries of Americanisms*

In 1900, James A. H. Murray wrote to a librarian in Greenock discussing the cry that he include yet more words in his dictionary:

It is a cheap pleasure evidently which we have given our 'philological time fellows', and one that they need never be without, since every newspaper contains South African Dutch, Malay, Patagonian, Alaskan, Samoan, or Chinese words 'new to Murray' who confesses ignorance of all these far-off languages, and is merely a Little Englander in lexicography. The bolder notion of an Imperial Dictionary or Pan-Lexicon, to include all the languages with which Englishmen have & have had dealings, belongs to 'the new Imperialism' no doubt. It will be a big order; we find the language of Little England enough for us (MS 3219.f158. National Library of Scotland.)

In these claims, Murray was somewhat disingenuous since it is hard to find words used in English that are not included, however distant their sources. From Azerbaijani, the *OED* supplies three words, hardly of great currency in 'Little England': *kazak*, *kuba*, and *soumak*. Murray treated them in detail.

Political disputes between 'Imperialists' and 'Little Englanders' were especially common in discourse about the Boer War. (The imperialists wanted to put down what they saw as a rebellion in South Africa; the little Englanders wanted military force kept close to home.) In lexicography, Murray claimed to be an isolationist, only interested in the world of English in England, but in his practice he scoured English writings for expressions from faraway places. For all his disclaimer in that letter, he was very much a lexical imperialist.

In his 1919 address to the Philological Society, William Craigie outlined the period and regional dictionaries needed to supplement the coverage provided by the *OED*. With the parent and daughter dictionaries taken together, the great 'pan-lexicon' foreseen by Murray in 1900 would be realized.

The *Dictionary of American English* (*DAE*) was the first of these to be completed; it was published in parts by the University of Chicago Press (1938–42). In defining the scope of the work, Craigie, its co-editor, first imagined a dictionary that would include 'every word which has been current in the spoken or written language' (Craigie and Hulbert 1938–42: v). Such a dictionary would have no explicit connection to English used in other countries; it would record, on historical principles, the whole of American English.

In the interests of practicality, Craigie narrowed the scope to material that would distinguish American English from usages employed in 'the rest of the English-speaking world'. Even with this limitation, Craigie's scope was broad.

[The dictionary includes] not only words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin, or have greater currency here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people (Craigie and Hulbert 1938–42: v).

Thus *boat* is included, not because it did not exist in English before the arrival of the first settlers in North America: it did. But in order to understand the American coinage *boat-yard* one must begin with the meaning of *boat*. Such a policy of inclusion expands the size of the *Dictionary of American English* far beyond the scope set by Bartlett and his successors.

One of the assistant editors from *DAE*, Mitford M. Mathews, went on to edit a successor to it: *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (*DA*) (1951). Craigie had set a terminal date for *DAE* at 1900 for first usages, and Mathews was eager to bring twentieth-century evidence forward. More important, however, was his limitation of entries to 'a word or expression that originated in the United States' (1951: v). All the words in *DAE* with merely a 'connection' to the history of the country were excluded unless there was some American innovation about them. Exemplifying the laxity of prior scholarship, Mathews pointed out that *drummer* 'commercial traveller' was listed as 'U.S.' in the *OED* even though the first citations were from Walter Scott. All such false attributions needed to be cleared away and evidence minutely sifted. Thus *blizzard* 'a violent snow storm' was likely to be of English rather than American origin, though Mathews gives both citations of usage and sources of scholarly dispute treating the question.

Mathews's *DA* was the last of the substantial dictionaries to focus on Americanisms alone. Two other dictionaries, mentioned in Volume II, constitute supplements



to *DAE* and *DA*, however. The *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*) does not encompass all the vocabulary defined in the earlier works, but, where entries appear for words listed in the *DAE*, the dictionary supplies antedatings or significant new citations. Likewise the *Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (*HDAS*) adds more information when it is available. For the word *hobo* ‘migrant worker’, *DAE* declares it to be an Americanism and gives a first citation to 1891. *DA* gives more citations, the first to 1889. *DARE* has no entry for *hobo* since it is not regional in the specialized sense of *regional* used in that work. *HDAS* has the most abundant citation of etymological speculation and offers as a first use one from 1885. *HDAS* acknowledges that *hobo* is now used in respectable English but treats it because it was formerly slang. In short, for the definitive account of *hobo* in American English, one must consult all of these dictionaries.

In addition, subdivisions of American English have acquired dictionaries ‘on historical principles’ that celebrate the independence of the varieties. In his *Dictionary of Alaskan English*, Russell Tabbert gave citational evidence for words ‘distinctively characteristic’ of that state. Typical of borrowings from the first languages of Alaska is *oosik*: ‘The penis bone from the walrus is polished, decorated, and sold as an Alaskan souvenir’ (Tabbert 1991: 260). Less exotic expressions with special Alaskan meanings are also treated: *ice bridge*, *ling cod*. In the *Dictionary of Smokey Mountain English*, Michael Montgomery and Joseph Hall show the connection of the English of this region (a part of the Appalachian chain of mountains in Tennessee and North Carolina) in defining such phrases as *redd up* ‘clean up, tidy’ (as in ‘redd up a room’). In addition to citations collected locally, Montgomery and Hall draw connections from the American usage to its source in Scots and the northern dialects of English. Exact references to the *OED*, the *Scottish National Dictionary*, and the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* deepen understanding of the linguistic history of *redd up*.

### 12.3 SOUTH ASIAN ENGLISH

In the heyday of the British Empire, conditions were far from auspicious for the development of an autonomous variety of English in India. Macaulay’s policy paper in 1835 had raised English above the classical languages of the region—Sanskrit and Persian—and set as a goal the creation of a new class. ‘We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions who we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but

English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect' (quoted by McArthur 1992: 505). In the course of the nineteenth century, this policy was largely successful among Indian elites, and not until the twentieth did Gandhi (among others) point to English used by Indians as a sign of cultural subordination.

The first dictionary of *Anglo-Indian* appeared in 1885 as the result of a decade of work by an official in India, George Clifford Whitworth. He saw it as a 'supplement to the English dictionary': 'An Anglo-Indian Dictionary should contain all those words which English people in their relations with India have found it necessary or convenient to add to their own vernacular, and should give also any special significations which pure English words have acquired in India' (Whitworth 1885: vii). Though not a citation dictionary (like its more famous successor, *Hobson-Jobson*), it is an excellent work mostly devoted to loan-words from Indian languages like *sari* or *stupa*. Distinctive English usages are also treated (e.g. *serpent race*, *settlement*, *state railway* [vs. *guaranteed railway*]). It was cited sixteen times in the *OED* and provided the first evidence for three loan-words subsequently documented in the language (for instance, *desi* 'native, indigenous' later used by Kipling and by twenty-first century Indian journalists).

Newly discerned linguistic prejudices were exported from Britain with each wave of teachers and administrators to arrive in South Asia. Further, ridicule of emergent speechways placed an obstacle to the development of a *desi* standard. Specimens of faults and eccentricities were a staple source of humour in India and in Great Britain, most notably in the book-length treatment by Arnold Wright, *Baboo English as 'tis Writ* (1891).

Into this cultural mix came a remarkable volume celebrating Indian English: *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (1886) by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell. Here was a work of profound scholarship with precisely identified quotations from a copious bibliography showing the evolution of expressions in the subcontinent. James Murray was an enthusiast of the work and cites it nearly five hundred times in the *OED*—for instance in the etymology of so English a word as *elephant*. The compilers were broadly interested in words that had entered English from the region and more particularly concerned with 'the common Anglo-Indian stock' in commercial and administrative use. Many of these were well established in British English: *curry*, *toddy*, *veranda*, *cheroot*. Others were more specialized and had retained connotations of their origin: *pukka*, *mahout*, *nautch*. The compilers were further interested in new senses of English words acquired in the region: *bearer*, *cot*, *belly-band*, *college pheasant*, *chopper*, *summer-hand*, *eagle wood*, *jackass-copal*, *bobbery* (xxi).

Ambivalence about the role of English after independence did not lead to consequential lexicography of distinctive uses of English in the region. Collectors

still publish lists of borrowings (like *loofa* for the product of the vegetable sponge vine) and innovative senses (like *denting* for smoothing of dents in automobile bodies). (For an example of a dictionary of this type, see Hankin 2003.)

As the example of Pickering reveals in the American context, recognition of distinctive English may begin with a treatment of differences between the superordinate and the subordinate variety. A rich example of this practice in India was provided in the usage dictionary by Nihalani and his collaborators. Most entries are designed to alert users to differences (for instance, *jotter* ‘ball-point pen’). But some innovations, the compilers believe, deserve respect in their own right and beyond south Asia:

The pages which follow will demonstrate how users of English in India have shown considerable ingenuity, not only in the way in which they have used the linguistic resources of English to represent Indian reality, but also in the creation of new English forms, some of which deserve to be of wider application (Nihalani *et al.* 2004: 6–7).

Expressions of this sort include *batch-mate* ‘fellow-student’, *soft corner* ‘soft spot’ (‘I’ve always had a soft corner for her.’), *foot* ‘walk’ (‘The bus is gone—we’ll have to foot it.’).

Though the earlier edition of this work was also descriptive, it was far more tentative. In the preface, an eminent professor regarded the work much as Pickering had viewed his collection: ‘Indian users of this book will do well to note the peculiarities in their English and avoid those which may damage communication with other speakers of the language’ (Nihalani *et al.* 1979: viii).

Conditions for the production of dictionaries on historical principles have not been auspicious in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Malaysia has adopted Bahasa Malayu as the ‘national language’ and marginalized the use of English for some purposes, so conditions for such work are hardly any better there. In Singapore, government action has discouraged the recognition of a distinctive Singaporean English. Nonetheless, an edition of the *Chambers Dictionary* designed for Malaysia and Singapore contains an appendix of borrowed words in common use (for instance, *ang moh*, *Mat Salleh*, *orang putih*, all three expressions used to designate a Caucasian person). Within the main alphabet there is a category for Singapore-Malaysian English ‘informal English’, as shown in this entry:

(2) **lamp post**

2. (*SME informal*) You might be called a **lamp post** if you are in the company of two people who would rather be alone together. *Wei Ming, I don’t want a lamp post around when Mei Ling comes afterwards, all right* (Seaton 2002, *s.v.* *lamp post*).

These varieties—known as *Manglish* and *Singlish*—are as revealing of their history as any of the other national kinds of English. Thus *gostan* ‘move backwards, go slow’ is derived from *go astern* and *zap* ‘to photocopy’ from international English. Only very recently has the power of the Internet allowed word enthusiasts, despite official indifference, to create ambitious citation dictionaries designed on historical principles. (See <http://www.singlishdictionary.com/>Tsen-Ta Lee 2004.)

## 12.4 SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

A rage for words swept through Anglo-American culture in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Ambitious dictionaries like the *OED* in Britain and the *Century* in the United States required huge investments in money and in time. Dictionary-making had become a growth industry in both Britain and the United States, and individuals elsewhere clamoured to see words from their part of the world included.

In the early days of exploration, visitors to distant lands made lists of the plants and animals found in them. Now, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, visitors made lists of words. On the day of his arrival in Cape Town in 1876, Charles Pettman began to jot down unfamiliar words in a notebook. As his collection increased, Pettman studied the work of other scholars, and was surprised to find that ‘by some strange oversight’ Murray’s slowly emerging dictionary was deficient in representing the usages of Southern Africa (Pettman 1968: v). Works by W. W. Skeat and Yule and Burnell’s *Hobson–Jobson* provided models for his local work. For the most part, he limited his entries to *Africanderisms*: ‘Dutch words and idioms and use in South African English are thus designated.’

Though most of Pettman’s entries come from Afrikaans, he recognizes that English words have acquired African meanings: *good-for* meaning ‘IOU’, for instance. To say that a river is *down* is to indicate that it is in flood and likely to overflow its banks. *Tailings*—the residue of earth from which gold had been extracted—though he did not know it—had come to South Africa from the gold fields of California by way of Australian miners. For the most part, however, he was interested in borrowings:

The following list contains a very small proportion only of the words which have been thus annexed by the English colonist from his Dutch neighbour. They are many of them quite unknown to the great Oxford Dictionary, but the English colonist would find

himself sadly hampered every day had he to do without them: *baas, banket, biltong, brak, erf, hamel, hok, kloof, kranz, lager, inspan* and *outspan, moregen, muid, nek, poort, schans, schlelm, schimmel, schut, slut, spruit, trek, tripper, veld, vlei*, etc. (Pettman 1968: 15).

Pettman was a careful scholar. The current edition of the *OED* has not been able to improve on his first citation for *trek* 'a journey by wagon'.

As a minority language community, English-speaking South Africans were not confident of their linguistic tastes, and the view held by Pickering—that one would wish to know usages departing from those of south-east England—was frequently articulated. Attempting to provide for South Africa a usage guide to rival those of Fowler (in England) and Follett (in America), Douglas R. Beeton and Helen Dorner created a journal, in preparation for their dictionary of 1975, to solicit opinions—a procedure almost guaranteeing that someone would object to any usage nominated for acceptance. They gathered from their contributors both 'local vocabulary and idiom' (like *biltong* 'strips of raw, salted, dried venison or beef') and 'mistakes and problems' (1975: iv) found in English worldwide and, especially, in South Africa (like *busy* in 'They were busy to eat'). Some of these provide insight into the culture of the nation in the apartheid era. The borrowing from Afrikaans, *taal* 'the Afrikaans language', might appear 'derogatorily': 'He thinks that just because he speaks *the taal* he is better than we are' (s.v. *taal*).

The terrifying history of South Africa played out in the second half of the twentieth century was mirrored in its English. The zest for new words characteristic of Pettman and the desire for gentility expressed by Beeton and Dorner stimulated the creation of far better dictionaries. Jean Branford compiled the first modern compilation of 'South Africanisms'. Her hope was 'to smooth the hackles or allay the alarms of the purists' (Branford, J. 1987: xvi).

In the successive prefaces to her *Dictionary*, Branford expressed dismay at the changing image of English in South Africa. The old pioneer words like *trek* and *biltong* were being supplemented by more sinister vocabulary:

Since this was written [in 1980] conflict of a different and closer kind impinges on the daily life of most black and many white citizens of this country. Military vehicles no longer patrol only our borders but are a common sight in townships and cities. Internal civil struggle between group and group, citizen and citizen, has brought with it an explosive vocabulary of another kind—*necklace, impimpi, Viva, Casspir, mellow-yellow, witdoek, father, helicopter, kitscop, a sneeze-machine, green flies, toyi toyi* . . . (Branford, J. 1987: xvi).

One of these innovations can represent the rest:

- (3) **necklace** *n.*, *n. modifier* and *vb.* A method of killing, usu. but not always politically-motivated, practiced upon those thought to be informers or *sellouts*

(q.v.) in which a motor tyre filled with petrol is placed round the neck and shoulders of the victim and ignited.

Though there was little reason for optimism when she wrote, Jean Branford and her husband William in 1969 had established a 'dictionary unit' at Rhodes University in Grahamstown but there were few staff and little money. Nonetheless, they persevered and their first effort brought authoritative information to a wide public: *A Dictionary of South African English* (1978). In 1985, the national government provided funding, partly because the Delegates of the Oxford University Press had expressed interest. Finally, in 1991, a contract was signed for an entirely new dictionary, and Penny Silva became editor. Editing—for which the Internet proved invaluable—was undertaken at an energetic pace, and the remarkable speed with which the dictionary was completed must be attributed to the excellent collecting and preliminary editing undertaken over the previous two decades.

In 1996, the finished work appeared: *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (*DSAE*). Collaboration with the editors of the second edition of the *OED*, John Simpson and Edmund Weiner, ensured a uniform plan with the parent dictionary, then in the process of revision. The purpose of the *DSAE* was 'to map and illustrate that variety of English which is particular to South Africans—words borrowed from the many languages of South Africa, English words which have acquired particular senses here, and words coined for local phenomena' (1996: vi). As was Craigie's practice in the *DAE*, words are included that are not of South African origin but which have a 'particular significance' for the country. Despite some residual belief in South Africa that only the prestige English of south-eastern English is 'the standard', the dictionary takes the view that 'the future of English within South Africa is not so much a question of what variety of English will emerge, but rather of whether an appropriate learning context can be constructed which enables English to be a language of access and empowerment' (xix).

From a commercial perspective, the value of *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* lies in the authority derived from it in the production of shorter and more popular works. William Branford's *The South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary* drew upon Jean Branford's 1978 dictionary for 1,500 main entries and 570 compounds that were deemed necessary for South African users (Branford, W. 1986: xiii). Following the publication of *DSAE*, as it had done elsewhere in the world, Oxford University Press published a variety of affiliated dictionaries—concise, school, pocket, mini—that gain authority from the parent dictionary and, incidentally, to lend prestige to South African English.

From a linguistic perspective, this dictionary on historical principles arrived at just the right time. Under the previous régime, English was one of two official

languages of the country. Under the constitution adopted in 1996, eleven languages were declared 'official' and eight more 'non-official' but deserving of public support in some domains. External norms will continue to diminish in importance, and more speakers of languages other than English will become stakeholders in the future of the language. The *DSAE* will thus provide a baseline against which to measure future developments.

## 12.5 AUSTRAL ENGLISH

For Australia and New Zealand, the foundational volume was *Austral English: A Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and Usages*, published by Edward E. Morris in 1898. Morris had been approached by Murray to gather material for the *OED*, and, addressing a learned society in Melbourne in 1892, he had declared: 'It might even be possible, with sufficient cooperation, to produce an Australian dictionary on the same lines as the *New English Dictionary* by way of a supplement to it' (x). But 'sufficient cooperation' was not forthcoming, though Morris himself continued to gather materials. Failure to influence dictionaries published abroad to include entries for Australia and New Zealand persuaded him 'of the necessity for a special book on Australasian English' (xi).

Morris took as his territory Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and he rejected the idea that distinctive usages of English found there were mainly 'slang'. Many of the words were borrowings from Aboriginal languages and Maori, and these were frequent in the names for plants and animals—*puriri* 'a tree of New Zealand' (< Maori), *kookaburra* 'a bird of Australia' (< Wiradhuri). In addition to supplying quotations for both words, Morris illustrated the way in which early Australians drew upon metaphor. From the sound of the bird's cry, the kookaburra was early called the *laughing jackass* or simply *jackass*. In a lengthy note, he raised the idea, proposed by others, that the name *jackass* comes from a French word *jacasse* (allegedly from French *jacquot* 'a name for parrots or magpies'). After reviewing the etymology, Morris dashes its claims in favour of the simpler explanation that *jackass* is merely English. In expansiveness, the entry rivals those of *Hobson–Jobson*, a work much admired by Morris. Though he presented many borrowings, he saw the most common source of Australasian English words as 'the turning and twisting of an already existing English name' (xii–xiii).

Morris's excellent dictionary did not immediately establish successor books devoted to the English of the region. In 1945, Sidney J. Baker published *The*

*Australian Language*, a conscious imitation by a journalist of H. L. Mencken's *American Language*. Though not a scholar, Baker popularized interest in Australian English, particularly in the slangy part of the lexicon. One of the major figures in Australian lexicography, W. S. Ramson, found the book 'tendentious, often idiosyncratic, frequently exasperating' (quoted by McArthur 1992: 95). Nonetheless, *The Australian Language* was popular and influential, even though it repeated the French etymology for *jackass* discredited by Morris half a century earlier.

The great milestone for English lexicography in Australia was *The Macquarie Dictionary* (Delbridge 1982). A substantial volume, the book had embossed on the cover 'An Australian Achievement' and the publisher thought it necessary to introduce into the front matter a series of testimonials to its excellence by Australian journalists. Some flavour of the patriotic vaunt can be grasped from the conclusion of the foreword: 'What the Oxford is to the British and what Webster's is to the Americans, the Macquarie is to all Australians—the first book to make us independent of any outside culture when it comes to the interpretation, understanding and use of our own language' (10). Presuming a need for justification, the editor, Arthur Delbridge, provided a prefatory essay on 'The Need for an Australian Dictionary'. Using a British dictionary (Hanks and Simon, 1971, based on Barnhart's *American College Dictionary* published in 1947), the editors weeded entries with connections to British and American social practices and, based on a reading programme, collected citations so that they might 'Australianize' the base dictionary to produce something completely new: 'a reflection on linguistic terms of modern Australian society' (Delbridge 1981b: 1; see Burchfield 1991: 147–65.). Regional labels for dialects within Australian English were provided; *peanut paste* 'peanut butter' is found in Queensland and South Australia. Varieties of English used outside Australia have carefully nuanced labels. *Traffic circle* is U.S. for 'roundabout'; *traffic warden* is Brit. for 'parking policeman'.

Wishing for the *Macquarie* to reach the widest audience, the editors departed from the lexical to the encyclopedic in providing, among other things, a full-page illustration of 'Australian Standard Meat Cuts' (2045). Encyclopedic information was also provided for distinctively Australian words—for instance, a typology of *kangaroos*. Under *kookaburra* was arrayed both the expected zoological description and a thesaurus of names by which the bird is known: *giant kingfisher*, *ha-ha duck*, *laughing jackass*, *settler's clock*.

The *Macquarie* was immediately successful and smaller works were hived off from it, one dealing with colloquialisms (*Aussie Talk* 1984) and another listing words of Aboriginal origin (Thieberger and McGregor 1994). More consequentially, however, it showed the potential for the even more distinctive Australian



dictionary which the editors of the *Macquarie*, among others, were ready to undertake.

In 1978, scholars began collecting in earnest for a dictionary on historical principles, and the success of the *Macquarie* helped spur popular (and financial) support for the endeavour. A bibliography of source texts (and paid readers to select from them) and a file of 250,000 citations were compiled. W. S. Ramson, the editor, was thoroughly acquainted with the international history of regional lexicography, and he drew on the successful practices of Craigie and Hulbert, Mathews, and others to create *The Australian National Dictionary (AND)* (1988). Following their practices he echoed their language:

For the purpose of this dictionary an Australianism is one of those words and meanings of words which have originated in Australia, which have a greater currency here than elsewhere, or which have a special significance in Australia because of their connection with an aspect of the history of the country (1988: vi).

Remarkably, the editing occupied only three years, abetted by the use of the Internet to exchange information, consult specialists in science, and gain from the guidance of the *OED* lexicographers in Britain. Some 9,000 entries were prepared, and the entries show filiations with innovative uses in other varieties of English around the world—for instance, pointing out that *cradle* ‘gold-mine apparatus’ appeared in a Sydney newspaper in 1851, likely derived from an American usage traced in the *DA* to 1824. The liveliness associated with Australian English was put fully on display: candour about usages that are (or were) elsewhere thought taboo (*shag* and *shag wagon* have no restrictive usage labels); cultural practices (see *mateship*); and a fondness for shortening (see *sambo*, *sambie* < sandwich). An anthropologist would find sufficient matter for a monograph in the entry for *wowser* (‘an obnoxious person’; a prude) and its related forms *wowserdom*, *wowserish*, *wowserism*, *wowseristic*, *wowserly*, *wowsery*, and *wowsey*.

In 1988, consequent on the publication of the *AND*, the Australian National Dictionary Centre was established in Canberra to conduct research and to produce dictionaries and other wordbooks (e.g. Jauncey 2004). The most important of these is a dictionary of 100,000 words: *The Australian Oxford Dictionary* (Moore 2004). Responding to what was seen as a demand in the marketplace, the editors have added usage notes (for instance, explaining uses of *shall* about which there is alleged to be ‘considerable confusion’) and status labels (so the expressions *shag* and *shag wagon* are described as ‘coarse colloq’). As in the *Macquarie*, Australian usage was taken to be normative and phrases like *traffic circle* and *traffic warden* are labelled as *U.S.* and *Brit.* respectively. (See Australian National Dictionary Centre in the online references.)

If Oxford and Webster are important names in lexicography elsewhere, the great name in New Zealand dictionary-making is H. W. Orsman. He began with a Ph.D. dissertation, 'The English Language in New Zealand', in 1951 and continued with *hard yacker* for the rest of his life (*yacker* 'strenuous work' <Australian Aboriginal *yaga* entering English there as *yakka* in 1888 before arriving in New Zealand in 1905). Inspired by the treatment of New Zealand in Sidney Baker's account of 1945, Orsman soon 'settled down to a long stretch of scanning methodologically everything which looked promising in my bibliography or, as opportunity offered, on library shelves' (Orsman 1997: vii). An editor of two short dictionaries with New Zealand content (see Orsman 1979 and Orsman and Orsman 1994), he prepared for the reception of a more ambitious dictionary.

Thirty years into collecting, Orsman was encouraged by the example of W. S. Ransom and his work towards the *Australian National Dictionary*. They corresponded and thus discovered the relation of innovations in English in their respective countries—*yacker*, for instance. Support from Victoria University and from the New Zealand lottery board provided funds for staff, and Ransom agreed to scrutinize the draft. The result was *The Dictionary of New Zealand English (DNZE)*, a work on historical principles containing 6,000 main entries and 9,300 sub-entries. Naturally enough there was a substantial representation of borrowings from Maori. Like the other dictionaries of its kind, it treated 'the history of words and particular senses of words which are in some way distinctively or predominantly, though not always exclusively, "New Zealand" in meaning or use' (Orsman 1997: vii).

*The Dictionary of New Zealand English* is, like its Australian counterpart, a work of remarkable scholarship. Long-standing English words acquired new senses in New Zealand: *lagoon* 'shallow freshwater lake'. Morris had already noticed that *laughing jackass* in New Zealand was not a kingfisher (as in Australia) but an owl (referred to by its Maori name as *whekau*), and Orsman provided citations to document these facts. New Zealand terms for sheep mustering are common: *dagger*, *fadge*, *to kilt*, and *run-off* (as in *to take a run-off* of 'a group of sheep drafted from the main mob'). Recent innovations are also covered (for instance, *dairy porn* [1993] < *dairy* 'a small, mixed grocery store'). Culturally important terms of all kinds are treated. *Pakeha Maori* (1832) is a European-descended person who behaves like a Maori; *Maori Pakeha* (1867) is the reverse.

Following the publication of the *DNZE*, the New Zealand Dictionary Centre was established at Victoria University in 1997. Orsman's citations were entered into machine-readable form and continuous collecting brought expressions new to dictionaries to the attention of lexicographers. The result was *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* (Deveson and Kennedy 2005) and abridgements parallel to those in South Africa and Australia: little, school, mini, and others.

While closely resembling its Australian counterpart, the *New Zealand Oxford* gives special prominence to local coverage. For *laughing jackass*, the *Australian Oxford* offers merely the kookaburra; the *New Zealand Oxford* distinguishes the Australian and New Zealand usage. The *shag wagon*, a vehicle perhaps unknown in New Zealand, is not entered.

## 12.6 CANADIAN ENGLISH

Lexicography in Canada arrived late, in part because Canadians felt caught between Yankee schoolmasters and British remittance men.

- (4) **Remittance man** *Derog.* a person living in Canada on money remitted from his family in the Old Country, usually to insure that he did not return home to become a source of embarrassment (first cited in 1896; Avis *et al.* 1967).

While other nations suffering from the colonial cringe have viewed their distinctive usages as *slang* or *nonstandard*, Canadians have been discouraged by the view that their English is merely an amalgam of American and British expressions and, hence, a mongrel dialect.

The first substantial collection of Canadian expressions, upon which this idea of inferiority was founded, was gathered by A. C. Geikie in the mid-nineteenth century to illustrate the horrors of innovation. Concluding his list, Geikie warned of 'a corrupt dialect growing up amongst our population, and gradually finding access to our periodical literature, until it threatens to produce a language as unlike our noble mother tongue as the negro patua, or the Chinese pidgeon English' (Geikie 1857: 353). Not until well into the twentieth century was there an expression of a contrary view along the lines of those found in Pettman, Morris, Baker, or Mencken.

Only as the centenary of confederation of the provinces approached was an effort made to show the evolution of Canadianisms, and the anniversary was marked by the publication of *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (Avis 1967). Given the climate of opinion on the very subject of Canadian English, it is no wonder that its relation to American and British English was the subject of the first sentence of the introduction:

That part of Canadian English which is neither British nor American is best illustrated by the vocabulary, for there are hundreds of words which are native to Canada or which have meanings peculiar to Canada (Avis 1967: xii).

Collecting by a group of scholars scattered across the country led to a slow accretion of evidence, but the belated interest of a Toronto publisher in issuing a centennial volume required rapid completion, and it appeared just in time for the centenary in 1967. Handsomely produced, the dictionary had abundant pictorial illustrations—a relatively uncommon feature of dictionaries of this sort. For instance, the line drawing under *motor toboggan* (1948) is the locus for a set of synonyms for the vehicle: *autoboggan*, *motorized sled*, *motorized toboggan*, *power toboggan*, *skidoo*, *ski-scooter*, *ski-sled*, *snow-bug*, *snow-buggy*, *Snow Cruiser*, *snowmobile*, *snow scooter*, and *toboggan*. Given the predisposition of the editors, terms from early Canada were abundantly represented, particularly ones associated with members of the First Nations: *midewewin* < Algonquian, Ojibwa ‘an affiliation into lodges, *Grand Medicine*’. Terms associated with early settlement were also treated in detail: *Red River cart* ‘a two-wheeled cart drawn by an ox’ in a *brigade* ‘train’ of westering migrants.

Marketing for subsequent general-purpose dictionaries revealed a gradually strengthening confidence in Canadian English. *The Penguin Canadian Dictionary*, for instance, has a seal on the front cover saying ‘100% Canadian Content’, while on the back large letters proclaim ‘The only dictionary based on a fully Canadian database’ (Paikeday 1990). Unfortunately, *Red River cart* does not find its way into the dictionary; *snowmobile* carries the *Can.* label though the first citation of it appears in an American account of an expedition to the South Pole (see Hince 2000).

Consequent on a bequest to Queen’s University in Kingston was the production of a *Guide to Canadian English Usage* (Fee and McLain 1997). Though not a dictionary of Canadianisms, the *Guide* gives dated citations supporting interpretations of Canadian practices. Thus *program* is ‘the usual Canadian spelling’ as is *programmed* and *programming*. ‘Canadian and British writers prefer *ketchup*’ (rather than *catsup*). Trends in pronunciation are also explained: ‘Sociolinguistic studies indicate that the *ski* pronunciations [for *schedule*] are by far preferred by Canadian speakers of all ages and backgrounds, and that *SHEH jole* is on the decline.’

Another general-purpose dictionary appeared in 1998: *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 2001). Its dust jacket carried several patriotic appeals: ‘The foremost authority on current Canadian English’; ‘Defining Canadian English’; ‘The Official Dictionary of The Canadian Press’. Behind these words was a schematic red maple leaf, the national symbol. In the dictionary, *Red River cart* was designated as *Can hist.* and appropriately defined. *Snowmobile* was (correctly) listed without being identified as Canadian. A list of pronunciation variants was provided for *schedule* without any notice of their distribution.

Two regions in Canada have been provided with dictionaries on historical principles. *The Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE)* treated one of the most independent varieties of English in the Western Hemisphere (Story, Kirwin, and Widdowson 1980). Not a province of Canada until 1949, Newfoundland (incorporating Labrador in 1964) was the site of the earliest North American settlement of Europeans and among the first places to receive English settlers. Connections with Ireland and the West Country of England (through the Grand Banks fishery) have given it a distinctive set of cultural practices and a variety of English showing transatlantic influences. Larger than the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, the dictionary had a wealth of quotations and many cross-references to other historical dictionaries. Like other regional lexicographers, its editors were reluctant to rule anything out that has a local connection:

Rather than attempting to define a 'Newfoundlandism' our guiding principles in collecting have been to look for words which appear to have entered the language in Newfoundland or to have been recorded first, or solely, in books about Newfoundland; words which are characteristically Newfoundland by having continued in use here after they died out or declined elsewhere, or by having acquired a different form or developed a different meaning, or by having a distinctly higher or more general degree of use (1980: xii).

Users of the *DNE* will especially value the references to other dictionaries. For instance, *baccalao* 'salt cod' is among the first words connecting exploration and North America. In addition to information found here, readers were invited to see how the word has been treated in the *OED*, the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, and the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*.

The second of these regional dictionaries concerns the smallest of Canadian provinces, an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence: the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* (Pratt 1988). Documentary evidence was supplemented by a questionnaire sent to island residents and by an archive of recorded interviews. Entries were chosen in part for their affiliation with other language groups, so, for instance, *groik* 'an awkward or clumsy person' is ultimately from Scottish Gaelic and is cross-referenced to the *Scottish National Dictionary*. There are 873 main entries.

In 2006, an advisory committee was formed to assist in the preparation of a second and much enlarged edition of the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*. A publication date has been set for the book to appear in 2012. Its offices will be at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver.

All of these efforts are designed to foster national pride and cultural independence. As a recent writer on the subject has declared: 'We have created unique Canadian words and sayings that belong strictly to us. Both help make us

Canucks, not Yanks' (Casselman 2006: xxvi). Nor Brits either, he might have written.

## 12.7 ENGLISH IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Because English has been seen as the language of oppressors in the Republic of Ireland, there have been few dictionaries devoted to its distinctive local flavour, especially in comparison to the number of dictionaries compiled for Northern Ireland (but see Ó Muirthe 2002, 2004). Beginnings for study are found in works devoted to the Irish flavour of the country's great literary figures—particularly the study of James Joyce's English and the usages of other Irish writers (see Wall 1987, 1995). Words deriving from Irish Gaelic are given special attention but so are works from sources abroad—for instance, *quare* 'strange, odd, peculiar, memorable, queer' from eighteenth-century English. Many readers will have encountered the word in the title of Brendan Behan's 1956 play, *The Quare Fellow*. Since there is little explicit connection between Wall's *Dictionary and Glossary for the Irish Literary Revival* and other dictionaries, the reader does not discover from him that the first recorded instances of *quare* (also spelled *queer*) in this sense appear in sixteenth-century Scots poets or in so American a work as Edward Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871). This information is abundantly displayed in the *OED*.

A work not so tied to literary sources is Terence Patrick Dolan's *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* (1998). Dolan sought to 'make accessible the common word stock of Hiberno English in both its present and past forms, oral and literary' (xix). The focus of the entry for *queer* (also *quare*) narrows the definition to 'great', omitting the idea that 'memorable' or 'peculiar' are part of the meaning. Quotations from imaginative literature (with undated but particular references) show a range of uses including one that shows that *quare* can be an intensifier: 'He's trainin' queer hard.'

Productive word-formation suffixes are given special attention in Dolan's work—for instance, the diminutive *-een* in *girleen*, *maneen*, *priesteen*, *stooleen* which derives from Gaelic *-ín*. The entry words include cultural practices in wide use outside Ireland—for example, *curate* 'a priest assisting a parish priest', *curse* 'swear word', *strand* 'beach'. Usages associated with particular counties in the Republic are noted—for instance, *fear* 'a man' (< Irish *fear tí* 'man') used in Kerry. One may hope that this work will inspire more comprehensive successors.

## 12.8 ENGLISH IN ENGLAND

Intellectuals in south-eastern England have long assumed that there is no such thing as a *Briticism*, though citations in the *OED* show usages of the term beginning in 1868.

- (5) **Briticism.** A phrase or idiom characteristic of Great Britain, but not used in the English of the United States or other countries. (*OED*<sub>2</sub>)

Advocacy for such an idea came, as the *OED* notes, from the United States. In 1881, an American visitor astonished his audience by claiming that he spoke the English of Chaucer and Shakespeare and that ‘innovations’ tending to ‘corrupt “the well of English undefiled” originated’ in England. Amplifying this audacious claim, he lambasted the English for abandoning the speech of ‘our’ Saxon and Norman ancestors (see Bailey 1991: 154–6).

Briticisms exist, though the first edition of the *OED* did not acknowledge them. The current *OED* (in progress) has begun to show the *Brit.* label in definitions: for instance, **Accident and Emergency** (or **A and E**) ‘emergency room in a hospital’ is described as chiefly *Brit.* and *N. Z.*; **mucker** ‘close companion or friend’ is simply *Brit.* One example of Briticisms that remain unlabelled is the verb *maffick* ‘to celebrate uproariously, rejoice extravagantly’ (1900). Coined in newspapers to describe the celebrations following the lifting of the siege of Mafikeng (as it is now spelled) in the Anglo-Boer War, *maffick* appeared just in time for Henry Bradley to include it in the fascicle of the *OED* published on 1 April 1906. Journalists were delighted by the new word: ‘It was terrific as they passed about two thousand maffickers, mafficking as hard as they could maffick’ (*OED*, 1900). The verb, an undoubted Briticism, is sustained only by the fact of its appearance in the *OED* and in the reference works influenced by it.

In 1938, an American Rhodes Scholar who had studied with C. T. Onions in Oxford—Onions was the most junior of the four editors of the original *OED*—proposed a dictionary of Briticisms (Read 1938, 1987). A former assistant editor on Craigie’s *Dictionary of American English*, Allen Walker Read was well prepared by training and aptitude to undertake this work, and he amassed substantial numbers of citation slips. With the outbreak of the Second World War, Read found his attention diverted to war work in New York, and, though he prepared copy, he never brought the dictionary to completion. In old age, he told a reporter: ‘I was looking forward to a bit more perfection than I could ever hope to achieve’ (Read 2002, xx).

## 12.9 CONCLUSION

In 1900, James Murray contemplated a ‘pan-lexicon’ of all varieties of English, and he was right in thinking that editing such a work would be ‘a big order’. How astonished he would be could he examine the dictionaries described in this chapter, nearly all of them built on his idea of ‘historical principles’—the most enduring of his many lexicographical ideas. In the twenty-first century, we have the technical capacity to make this pan-lexicon all one work, and the whole could be stored on a tiny silicon chip.

Work remains to be done. Important English-speaking communities in Africa have hardly been studied at all (but see Asomugha 1981), and there are many other places in the world with a history of assimilating English and developing local standards.

In 1999, the Australian National Dictionary Centre mounted a conference with a provocative title: ‘Who’s Centric Now?’ (Moore 2001). John Simpson, Murray’s successor as editor of the *OED*, answered the question cleverly: ‘If everything is a variety, is there really a centre?’ (282). He followed his rhetorical question with a joke: ‘Does the Queen of England really just speak Australian English with a funny accent?’

The dictionaries imply something far more democratic than the ‘Queen’s English’. The Queen speaks one variety of English, not one better or worse than any of the other ones. As the dictionaries surveyed in this chapter show, there are now many centres for English and likely to be more.

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# DICTIONARIES OF SCOTS

*Margaret Dareau and Iseabail Macleod*

## 13.1 INTRODUCTION

SCOTTISH lexicography forms a distinctive and very important strand in the lexicography of national and regional varieties of English. Scots is descended from Old Northumbrian and the Anglo-Danish which developed in the north of England, before and after the Norman Conquest. It had become, by the late fifteenth century, ‘the principal literary and record language of the Scottish nation’ (A. J. Aitken in *CSD*: x). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the language came increasingly to be influenced by Standard (southern) English, as part of a process usually referred to as Anglicization. This gathered pace after the Scottish Reformation in 1560 through the use of an English Bible, and was enhanced by the Union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603 and the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707. By that date, English had become the language of formal writing in Scotland, and of the speech of the upper classes. ‘This was now the language of social pretension, of intellectual discussion and of formal speech . . . forms of speech which mostly favoured traditional Scots usages were identified with conservatives, eccentrics and, especially, with the common people’ (A. J. Aitken in *CSD*: xi).

Gavin Douglas, in his early sixteenth-century translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, made two important assertions about the Scots language: firstly, he claimed it as his own and affirmed that he would use it as the medium of his translation, despite any shortcomings it might have—he might indeed have to borrow from other languages where it was lacking—and, secondly, he was one of the first to call the language *Scottis* rather than *Inglis* (i.e. English). This awareness of the distinctness of Scots which arose in the sixteenth century was gaining expression

just as it was beginning to suffer these assaults, and from the eighteenth century the awareness transformed into concern, among some for the continued existence of the language, among others for the suppression of what was seen as a hindrance to advancement.

These concerns are inseparable from a sense of Scots as a national language. ‘The unique characteristics of Scots ... its individual history, its own dialect variation, its varied use in a remarkable literature, the ancient loyalty of the Scottish people to the notion of the Scots language, as well as the fact that since the sixteenth century Scots has adopted the nation’s name—all of these are attributes of a language rather than a dialect. Manifestly Scots is to be seen as much more than simply another dialect of English’ (A. J. Aitken in *CSD*: xiii). Consequently, lexicography itself became of particular interest in Scotland, and Scottish influence on the lexicography of English is much wider than is suggested by the Scottish dictionaries alone. Mention need only be made of Sir James Murray, a Border Scot from Hawick, one of the most eminent of all lexicographers of English (→ MUGGLESTONE). The Glasgow publisher Blackie’s *Imperial Dictionary* (1850, 1882), compiled and revised by two Scots, was a major contribution to nineteenth-century lexicography, and the publishers Chambers in Edinburgh and Collins in Glasgow have played a leading part in the production of popular dictionaries up to the present day.

## 13.2 SIXTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES

### 13.2.1 *Glossaries to individual works*

Two small works from the 1590s are the earliest known examples of Scottish lexicography: *The Appendix Etymologiae ad copiam exemplorum, una cum indice interprete* (1595), by Alexander Duncan, rector of the grammar school of Dundee, contains an index to his Latin grammar with the Latin glossed in Scots. Consider, for example: **expiro** to blawe out; to gif up the ghaist. This work was closely followed (1597, 1599) by John Skene’s *De Verborum Significatione. The Exposition of the Termes and Difficill Wordes, contened in the Foure Buikes of Regiam Majestatem, ...* (a body of laws used in Scottish medieval legal practice). Its terminology is explained, for example, *Serplath ... contenis foure score stanes*, (and reference made to the Latin version of the work).

By the eighteenth century, glossaries were being produced of terms in Older Scots texts and later literature, especially as part of a movement which became

known as the Vernacular Revival, a reaction against the Anglicizing influences following the Union of 1707. One of the earliest and most distinguished of these was Thomas Ruddiman's glossary to his 1710 edition of Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid*, mentioned earlier. It is described as 'A Large Glossary, Explaining the Difficult Words: Which may serve for a Dictionary to the Old Scottish Language'. Ruddiman not only explains words, with references to the text, and provides etymological information, but from time to time also adds notes on the Scots usage of his day, including references to his own North-East dialect, for example:

- (1) Fillock, *a young mare*, equula, Scotis Bor. *filly*, and in a derisory way for *a young woman or girl*: ...

The poet Allan Ramsay added glossaries to his own poetry, and these are regarded as having influenced the somewhat Anglicized Scots spellings widely used to this day (Ramsay Vol 1.: 247–63; Vol. 2.: 291–306). Robert Burns appended a glossary to the Kilmarnock edition of his poems in 1787.

### 13.2.2 Glossaries of Scotticisms

Awareness of the impropriety of 'Scotticisms' was an important aspect of attitudes to Scots in the eighteenth century. It is first noted in the late seventeenth century in *Ravillac Redivivus*: 'that you would ... faithfully admonish me of all the Scotticisms or all the words and phrases that are not current English ...' (Hickes 1678: 77).

Post-Union Anglicization was encouraged as English became the language of formal writing, administration, and polite society. Efforts of the upwardly mobile to rid their speech and writing of Scottish features included the production of glossaries of Scots words to help in their avoidance. The earliest of these was appended by David Hume to his *Political Discourses* (1752). Probably the best known was by the North-East poet and philosopher James Beattie (1735–1803): *A List of Two Hundred Scotticisms* (1779) and *Scotticisms, arranged in alphabetical order, designed to correct improprieties of speech and writing* (1787). An interesting aspect of these lists is that quite a few of the usages then condemned as provincialisms to be avoided are now ordinary English. For example, the Scotticism 'To play cards' was to be rejected in favour of 'To play at cards'.

Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, editor of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–98), published, in 1782, *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*. 'It was the full persuasion that a Collection of Scotticisms could be of use to my countrymen, not the vanity of being thought an Author, which gave rise to the following Publication' (Sinclair

1782: iii). Another list, *Scotticisms, Vulgar Anglicisms and Grammatical Improprieties corrected, with reasons for the corrections . . .* was published in Glasgow in 1799 by Hugh Mitchell, ‘Master of the English and French Academy’ there.

### 13.2.3 Jamieson’s Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language

Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, first published in 1808, was in its various editions the key lexicographic text of the Scots language in the nineteenth century. It has been described by A. J. Aitken as ‘. . . the first completed British dictionary to substantiate its definitions with accurately referenced quotations, usually in chronological order, and therefore the first dictionary on historical principles of any variety of English. In its original form or in re-editions or abridgements . . . Jamieson’s *Dictionary* was consulted as the authority on Scots vocabulary long after it had been superseded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1928’ (Aitken 1992: 902).

John Jamieson (1759–1838) was a minister of the Secession Church, first in Forfar, then in Edinburgh. In Forfar in 1787, he met Grímur Thorkelin (1752–1829), professor of antiquities in Copenhagen. Thorkelin convinced Jamieson of his view that the Scots language, in which he found many echoes of his native Icelandic, was derived not from Old English but from Old Norse, which he called Gothic. As a result, in his etymologies Jamieson tends to favour Norse etymons. Following this encounter, Jamieson abandoned his previously held opinion ‘that the language, spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland, is merely a corrupt dialect of the English . . .’ (Jamieson 1808: i). He realized also that the disappearance of the language was hindering understanding of Scotland’s past. ‘It is surprising, that no one has ever attempted to rescue the language of the country from oblivion, by compiling a Dictionary of it’ (Jamieson 1808: ii). He began to collect words from printed sources and from the spoken language of his day, from many parts of Scotland, ‘often as a relaxation from professional labours, or studies of greater importance . . .’ (Jamieson 1808: vii). The first edition was published in 1808, by subscription, in two quarto volumes. The following is part of a typical entry:

- (2) To RED, REDD, REDE, RID, *v. a.* 1. To clear to make way, to put in order, S.  
 . . . Thare he begowth to *red* a grownd,  
 Quhare that he thowcht a kyrk to found.  
*Wyntown*, v. 12. 1180.

To *red*, or *red up a house*, to put it in order, ...

‘Your father’s house, –I knew it full well, a but, and a ben, and that but ill *red up*.’ Statist.

Acc. xxi. 141. N.

To *red up*, also signifies, to put one’s person in order, to dress.

Right well *red up* and jimp she was, ...

*Ramsay’s Poem’s*, i. 273

2. By a slight obliquity, to separate, to part combatants ...

‘Gif it sall happen ony person ... to

be hurt ... in *redding*, and putting sindrie, *parties* meetand in armes ...’ Acts Ja. VI. 1593.

c. 184. Murray ...

The *v.*, as here used, may be immediately allied to

A.S. *ge-raed-ian*, Su.G. *red-a*, Isl. *reid-a*, Belg.

*reed-en*, Germ. *be-reit-an*, to prepare; Isl. *rad-a*,

... As E. *rid*, however,

also signifies, to clear, it is questionable whether

our *red*, in this sense, should not, rather, be traced

to A.S. *hredd-an*. ...

Entries are systematically organized and listed alphabetically, often with information on dialect, e.g. DINMONT, ... This is pronounced *dummond*, Tweedd., *dummott*, Berw.

Some speculative commentary is inserted into the entries, but the definitions are substantiated by the fully referenced quotations, and thus most of the apparatus of a modern historical dictionary is present.

The dictionary met with great acclaim and Jamieson was encouraged to continue the work both by its warm reception and by help and contributions from many, including Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg. In 1825, a ‘Supplement’ was published, not a modest body of addenda but equal in length to the 1808 edition, so that it is often mistakenly referred to as the second edition. Apart from his own abridgement in 1818, these were the only versions of the dictionary published in Jamieson’s lifetime, but it went into many more long after his death. The longest, begun by John Longmuir and completed by David Donaldson, was published between 1879 and 1882 in four volumes, with a supplement (this time of slighter bulk) in 1887; a considerable amount of new material was added—marked by square brackets—and earlier errors were corrected. Reprints of a shortened version were produced right into the twentieth century.

Like Sir Walter Scott, Jamieson is a major figure of the latter part of the Scottish Enlightenment, giving, with the *Dictionary*, crucial support to the Scottish tradition as well as to the beleaguered language. As well as contributing to many later dictionaries, it provided, in the early twentieth century, a major linguistic source for the poets of the Scottish Renaissance—in particular Hugh MacDiarmid—in their work to extend the use of the Scots language. His achievement is inestimable.

### 13.2.4 *Other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dictionaries*

Other Scots dictionaries of the nineteenth and early twentieth century are slight in comparison with Jamieson. Ebenezer Picken's *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language* is a brief glossary published anonymously in 1818. Captain Thomas Brown's *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1845) does include quotations and claims to include 'all the words in common use in the writings of Scott, Burns, Wilson, Ramsay, and other popular Scottish authors'. Another little glossary, *A Handbook of the Scottish Language*, published in 1858 under the pseudonym of 'Cleishbotham the Younger', was drawn straight from Jamieson. A more discursive treatment is found in Charles Mackay's *A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch* (1888), with etymological notes, anecdotes and quotations (not fully referenced), as well as a long introduction and an appendix of Scottish proverbs. Alexander Warrack's one-volume *Scots Dialect Dictionary*, later retitled *Chambers Scots Dictionary*, was published in 1911 and reprinted without alteration until the 1990s. Warrack had been a contributor to Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, which included large amounts of Scottish material (→ PENHALLURICK, Vol. II).

## 13.3 *DICTIONARY OF THE OLDER SCOTTISH TONGUE* (*DOST*) (1931–2002)

### 13.3.1 *Beginnings*

From at least as early as 1916, William Craigie<sup>1</sup> had begun planning a dictionary of Older Scots, to be edited on historical principles, with quotations used to support the definitions, in the style of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). In 1919, as the *OED* was drawing towards completion, he proposed to the Philological Society a

<sup>1</sup> Sir William A. Craigie (1867–1957), graduate of St Andrews and Oxford Universities, worked on the *OED* from 1897, becoming co-editor with James Murray and Henry Bradley in 1901.

number of supplementary dictionary projects (Craigie 1926: 9). He considered such a series of dictionaries necessary to allow comparisons to be made relating to the changing character of English over the centuries. Specifically mentioned were dictionaries of Old English (OE), Middle English (ME), Early Modern English (EME), and ‘the older Scottish’. Craigie described the different character of the Scots element in the *OED* thus: ‘While the older Scottish tongue has thus received very generous treatment in the Dictionary (*OED*), the appearances it makes there are necessarily scattered and to a great extent subject to accident. At the best, it is submerged in a great mass of earlier, contemporary, and later English with which it has little in common. Considered by itself it is a very definite thing, beginning with the fourteenth century, flourishing as a literary medium from about 1375 to 1600, and maintaining a precarious existence in writing till towards the close of the seventeenth century, when a new period definitely sets in and continues unbroken down to the present day’ (Craigie 1926: 9).

That he chose to edit the dictionary of Scots himself indicates Craigie’s deep attachment to his Scottish roots, but *DOST* was part of his programme for the history of English, as were the dictionaries mentioned above and proposed in his original talk,<sup>2</sup> and those added in the published version, the *Dictionary of American English (DAE)* and the *Scottish National Dictionary (SND)*. Craigie was a proponent of a separate dictionary for the modern era (1700–), but expressed the hope that the editing would facilitate comparisons between the earlier and later periods.

### 13.3.2 Coverage

Craigie’s plan for the coverage of *DOST* was to take in the whole wordstock to 1600 and ‘to continue the history of the language down to 1700, so far as it does not coincide with the ordinary English usage of that century. Words not found before 1600 are also included when they are not current, or are not used in the same sense, in English of the period, or when they have some special bearing on Scottish history or life. The closing of the record with 1700 rests on the practical ground that after that date few traces of the older literary language remain, and Scottish survives only as a dialect, differing so much both in form and vocabulary from the earlier standard that the two periods can be fully and consistently treated only in separate dictionaries. The full vocabulary of the language throughout this older period is included, because any attempt to limit it to words or senses entirely or specially Scottish would (in the lack of complete

<sup>2</sup> Holograph copy in *DOST* Archives, Edinburgh University.

dictionaries of Middle and Early Modern English) constantly render selection difficult or arbitrary, and would also fail to exhibit fully the relationship between the languages of Scotland and England during the period when they were most distinct from each other' (*DOST* Vol. I: vii). Craigie's view was influenced by his time—the heyday of the British Empire—into which Scotland had been successfully incorporated; and by the suppression of its language on a formal level. Later editors took the view that, although Scots fell into disuse for formal functions, it was used informally by many sections of society and never became merely a collection of dialects.<sup>3</sup> Because the two-dictionary solution was chosen, the vast number of continuities between the two periods are less evident than they might have been if the focus of the two dictionaries had been the same.

The cut-off date of 1600 was less rigorously applied by Craigie's assistant and eventual successor, A. J. Aitken.<sup>4</sup> If a word was included as an entry at all its whole history up to 1700 was covered, and all words originating prior to 1600 were included. Thus only words appearing after 1600 and in every way coinciding with English usage would be considered for exclusion. This too was James Stevenson's policy.<sup>5</sup> Margaret G. Dareau<sup>6</sup> and Harry Watson<sup>7</sup> included all words evidenced in the dictionary's citation slips, regarding the fact that a word had been borrowed into Scots during the seventeenth century as in itself of interest. However, excerpting of seventeenth century sources was less rigorous than for earlier centuries and few texts were excerpted after the 1970s, so attestations of shared vocabulary beginning in the seventeenth century were largely unavailable, with the result that from Aitken on there is little variation in coverage.<sup>8</sup>

### 13.3.3 *Collection of citations*

Craigie had had *OED*'s used and unused Scottish slips assigned to *DOST*. A further collection was added by him in the 1920s and another by Aitken in the 1950s and 1960s. The collections made or acquired by Craigie covered the most readily available sources (*DOST* Vol. I: iii–xi and List of Additional Titles, *DOST* Vol. II),

<sup>3</sup> See also 13.4.1 p. 316 and 13.4.4, p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> Adam J. Aitken (1921–98), graduate of Edinburgh University, combined work on *DOST* with teaching Scots language at Edinburgh University.

<sup>5</sup> James A. C. Stevenson (1917–92), graduate of Edinburgh University, came to *DOST* from teaching in 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret G. Dareau (1944–), graduate of Edinburgh University, *DOST* Senior Editor (1988–97), Editorial Director (1997–2001).

<sup>7</sup> Harry Watson (1946–), graduate of Edinburgh University, Editor-in-Chief (1985–88), Senior Editor and Director (1988–2001).

<sup>8</sup> Recent research suggests that much more Scots continued to be used in seventeenth-century private materials (letters etc.) than had been realized or was available to *DOST*.



to which Aitken added material from less accessible printed sources and manuscripts that more than doubled the number of volumes listed (*DOST* Vol. III: xiii–xxxii). Excerption depended on volunteer readers and the editors themselves. The corpus eventually covered every available printed source and most manuscript sources: cartularies, rentals, and tax-rolls of religious institutions; parliamentary, treasury, burgh, trade, and church records; collections of laws and legal writings; testaments, family papers, account books, inventories; literary prose, history, polemic, and poetry; as well as a miscellany of other material from heraldic tracts to grammars and traditional lore—in total around two million citation slips. Aitken was also responsible in the early 1960s for the electronic Older Scottish Textual Archive,<sup>9</sup> from which listings of words were made available to the dictionary's editors; in this he was a pioneer in the use of computers in lexicography (Aitken 1971, Aitken and Bratley 1967, Hamilton-Smith 1971).

#### 13.3.4 *Scale*

Problems of scale dogged Craigie's editorship. While still at the University of Chicago, he had negotiated the publication of *DOST* with the University Press. The agreement of 1929 stated that the dictionary would be completed in twenty-five parts of 120 pages each (3,000 pages in all; *DOST* in fact runs to 8,000 pages). Craigie found it impossible to keep within these limits, but Chicago found funding the publication increasingly difficult. Abandonment of the project was a real possibility. By 1950, the situation had reached the point where Professor Angus McIntosh<sup>10</sup> suggested that the project be managed within the environs of the Scottish universities. Aitken, who had become Craigie's assistant in 1948, was based in Edinburgh. The *SND* was also in financial difficulties, so a Joint Council for the Scottish Dictionaries was set up in 1952 to support both dictionaries, with funding from the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St Andrews (later joined by the new universities of Stirling and Dundee) as well as from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. When, in 1955, Aitken took over editorship, this development of the infrastructure for funding and academic support led to an expansion of the project as a whole. The size of the staff increased, though never to more than seven or eight and mostly far fewer. Aitken was joined in 1973 by Stevenson, who succeeded him as main editor in 1983. Through the 1960s and 1970s, under their leadership, the pressure to produce

<sup>9</sup> With Paul Bratley and Neil Hamilton-Smith of the Edinburgh University Computing Service. A copy of this archive is held by the Oxford Text Archive as 'Older Scottish texts: the Edinburgh *DOST* corpus'.

<sup>10</sup> Professor of English Language and General Linguistics in the University of Edinburgh.

copy that Craigie had suffered under abated and the project became much more a matter simply of scholarship. Aitken was central to the upsurge of interest in Scots from the 1960s and his influence in Scots-language studies continues worldwide, a decade after his death.

Whereas Craigie limited the scale of entries where Scots seemed to differ little from English and was apparently already fully covered by the *OED*, Aitken, aiming to create a full record of Older Scots, widened the scope of the editing. For instance, **Ga v.** and **Go v.** 'to go' cover barely four columns in *DOST*, in comparison to thirty-five columns of **Go v.** in the *OED* (*DOST* having two columns to the page where the *OED* has three), whereas **Lay v.** and **Ly v.**, under Aitken, cover fourteen and nine and a half columns respectively, to *OED*'s twenty-four and thirteen and a half. Further, Aitken refined sense analysis and developed the illustration of usage, both of which increased the number of citations, and, wherever possible, he added notes of an encyclopedic nature. He and Stevenson regarded the cultural information available in the dictionary entries as one of its great glories. **Lord n.**, for example, runs to thirty-two columns (**Lord n.** in the *OED* occupies just short of eight columns), with thirty-four main senses illustrating Scottish usage of the word in immense detail:

(3) **Lord, n.** ...

7. *plur.* The nobles or lay magnates of a kingdom  
(commonly, the Scottish kingdom) ...

Also **b.** applied to specific sections or factions of the nobles,  
*Lordis of (the) Congregatioun, ...*

8. *spec.* A 'lord of Parliament'

**a.** A member of the class of great landowners, as dukes, earls ...

**b.** Further *spec.* An important baron below the rank of earl ...

Such 'lords' thus constituted a new rank of the titled nobility of Scotland, ... above the lesser barons or 'lairds' ...

**II.** ... Applied ... to members of

Parliament or General Council or of the sovereign's Council ...

In these senses frequently embracing persons who were not 'lords' ... such as commissioners for the burghs in Parliament, or ... members of the Privy Council who were not noblemen.

### 13.3.5 Structure of entries

One characteristic of *DOST* is the appearance of several entries depending on minor differences in spellings and sources, e.g.:

- (4)a **Firlot**, *n.* ... [Var. of FERLOT. See also FORLOT and FURLOT.]  
 1. The fourth part of a boll ...
- b **Ferlot**, *n.* ... [Reduced from *ferthelot*, 'fourth part'. Cf. FIRLOT and FURLOT.]  
 1. The fourth part of a boll.
- c **Furlot(t, Furlet(t, n. ... [Var. of FIRLOT. Cf. FORLOT, FOURLOT.]  
 1. A firlot or bushel.**
- d **Fourlet, -lit, n. ... [Var. of FIRLOT, FORLOT.]  
 A firlot.**
- e **Forlot**, *n.* ... [Var. of FIRLOT. See also FOURLET, FURLOT.] A firlot.

This is typical of Craigie's style. Aitken and Stevenson continued with the method, though in a less extreme way, restricting such multiple entries to cases of genuine phonological distinction, e.g. 'Scottish variants', such as **Mar(e adj**, as against **Mor(e adj**, 'more'. Dareau and Watson reversed the policy, producing single entries for such groups of variant spellings: 'The rationale behind our new method is ... based on the premise that semantic rather than phonological variation should have priority in the organisation of our material' (*DOST* Vol. VII: vi).<sup>11</sup> For example:

- (5) **Thesaurar(e, -er(e, Tresaurar, Thresaurar, n.** Also: **thessaureur, ... theassurer; tresorare, ... thres(o)urer, ...** [ME and e.m.E. *tresurer* (c1290), *thresorer* (1292), ... OF *tresor(i)er*, late L. *thesaurarius*.]

The Craigie entries, as can be seen from the examples above, are not highly detailed, though sufficiently so, considering the scale on which he was expected to work. Sometimes, further information is added:

- (6) **Boll, Bow, n. ... [Only Sc. and (late) northern English, perhaps repr. OE. *bolla* or ON. *bolle, bolli* bowl.] A measure of capacity for grain, malt, salt, etc., or of weight, varying for different commodities and in different localities. *Bolla* occurs freq. in Latin documents and acts from 1240 onwards.**

From Aitken onwards such Latinized examples are illustrated by quotations.

<sup>11</sup> See also 'A re-editing of GIF' in Macafee and Macleod (1987: 25-57).

Under Aitken and Stevenson, in spite of the inclusion of much encyclopedic material, the structure of entries is still intrinsically linguistic. Aitken was especially interested in phonological relationships, for example:

- (7) **Lippie, Lepy, Leipie, n.** ... [Origin doubtful.  
 Appar. confined to the northern and eastern half of  
 the country, from Caithness to the Forth. Also in the  
 mod. dial. of the same region, in the form *lippie* (occas.  
*leppie*) only. ...

Perh. a dimin. of ME. *lepe*, *leep*, (north.) *leippe* (1495–6),  
 e.m.E. *leap*, OE. *léap*, a (large) basket, ... There appears however to be no certain  
 trace of the simple *lepe* ... in Scots, ... the form  
*lepy*, *leipie* would [appear to] be the orig. one and the surviving *lippie*  
 would represent a variant of this with late vowel-shortening.]

Stevenson was especially interested in syntactic and semantic analysis. The definitions remained similar in level of information to those of his predecessors but he divided the text into numerous paragraphs illustrating syntactic or semantic features, for example:

- (8) **Pint, Pynt(e, n.** Also: **pinte**, ... ; POINT, PUNCT; PUNT. [ME.  
 and e.m.E. *pynte* (1432), ...  
 F *pinte* a liquid measure (13th c.) Cf. MDu. *pinte*  
 (1338) a liquid, or granular, measure. Of doubtful  
 ulterior origin.] A pint, in the usual senses and  
 collocations.

a. The measure of capacity for, chiefly, liquids; this  
 amount (*of*) the liquid, or other substance, specified.  
 Varying in amount according to time and locality.  
 Also, once, *pl.* without inflection.

Also, in *fig.* context.

(1) Et j pynt vini; ... Foure pynts tar ... For 17 pynts acavite ...

(2) ... For a pynt now mon [we] pay ... Ande ilk pynt ...

For ij s. the pynt ...

(3) That euerie salmond barrel ... sall contene twelf gallounis  
 of the Striuling pynt; ... The pynt of Stirling ...

The Scottish pinte ...

b. A vessel or measure containing a pint ...

c. *attrib.* and *comb* ...

Dareau considered encyclopedic information a key element, as here:

(9) **Stan(e** *n.* ...

III. 26 A unit of weight for goods in bulk, considered as comprising a set number of pounds (latterly 16), the multiplier depending to some extent on the period and the type of produce weighed, which also determined the appropriate pound unit.

First defined in the Assize attributed to David I as 15 pounds, where the pound is 15 Cologne ounces, ...

The stone of the 1426 Assize is of 16 merchant or 'Scots' pounds of 16 Cologne ounces ... and of 16

French or Flemish 16-ounce trois pounds from 1563. ...

Contact with the rest of the community of scholars interested in Scottish studies in its widest application—literary scholars, historians, and antiquarians, dependent on *DOST* for aspects of their research—led through the 1980s and 1990s to a two-way exchange of information that caused Dareau and Watson to alter the layout in accordance with content. Much earlier H. H. Meier (1962: 445) said: 'Under Aitken, *DOST* has become more fully than ever an encyclopaedia of older Scottish culture and a first class reference book for Scottish historiography'.

13.3.6 *Etymology*

Craigie's etymologies, depending on the date of the first Scots example, supply comparative examples from ME or from EME, and occasionally from both, then from any anterior source or cross-reference as appropriate:

(10)a **Futeball** ... [Late ME. *fotebal* (1486).] a. The game of football. ...

... that na man play at the fut ball vnder the payne of iiij<sup>d</sup>; 1424 *Acts* II. 5/2.

b **Fraction** ... [e.m.E. and F. *fraction*, *L.*

*fractio*. The sense appears to be peculiar to Scottish.]

a. A proportional payment ...

Aitken systematized the presentation of material, supplying comparative examples from both ME and EME, where they were available, and organized information intricately according to its closeness in location and dating to the Scots:

(11) **Mister**, *n.* ... [North. and

midl. ME. *mister(e)* (Cursor M.), *myster*, *-re*, *mester* (14th c.), *-ire*, *maistur* (c. 1400), need, necessity, but after the

15th c. appar. only Sc., ME. and e.m.E. *mister*, *mystere*, *mestier*, early ME. *mester* (Anchr. R.), craft, employment, art, OF. *mestier*, *mester* (F. *métier*), (1) service, office, occupation, (2) instrument, made-up article, (3) need, necessity.] . . .

The density of detail, given the complexity of the etymology, is typical.

The policy of Dareau and Watson was ‘to regard the etymological section as simply a record of all the material available to us in related languages which *may* be of relevance to the source or development of the word . . . this material will normally be ordered in the standard fashion ME, e.m.E, OE, ON, MD<sub>u</sub>, MLG, or F, L., or other anterior source; unless there is clear-cut evidence that the Scots word has come direct from one of the continental languages’ (*DOST* Vol. VII: vi). A level of information appropriate to the etymon was still supplied; for example:

- (12) **Tartan**(e, . . . *n*. . . [OF *tiretaine* (1247) a sort of cloth half wool, half some other yarn (Godefroy Comp.), stuff of which the weft is wool and the warp linen or cotton (Wartburg), *tridaine* (?14th c., toile de fil et de coton bleu et rouge), *tyretenne*, *tirtaine* (1449–1501), . . . Cf. also ME *tartaryn* (1343), *tartryn* (1339), *tartyn* (1454, E.E. Wills 133/2 ‘the testour & canape ther-to palid tartyn white and rede’: MED suggests ?read *tartaryn*), . . . Cf. TARTAR *n*.]

### 13.3.7 *Headword*

Craigie gave the ‘more etymological’ of two or more forms as the first headword, thus **Abade** not **Abaid** (*DOST* Vol. I: viii). This approach continued throughout, thus **Stur**(e, **Stuir**, but in the final volumes this rule was applied less rigorously, with other criteria being taken into account, with, for example, the more typically Scottish form coming first, thus **Thirl**(l, **Thrill**, **Thral**(l, or, the commonest, thus **Tym**(e, **Tim**(e. Other common and/or phonologically distinct forms are given as secondary headwords. Thereafter all attested forms are listed. Sometimes unattested forms are used, for instance (**Pultryman**), to help readers to locate related entries together in the strictly alphabetical listing. Brackets are used freely to indicate multiple spellings as economically as possible, for example, **Prof**(f)it (t)**abil**(l; the final set of brackets is not closed. To the same end, part-words are allowed, and even in some volumes used as the first headword, e.g. **Proced-**, **Proceiding**, . . . **proseding**, -yngc.

### 13.3.8 Conclusion

Funding crises occurred in 1950 (see 13.3.4), in 1981, and in 1993, when the six Scottish universities supporting the project, and the Carnegie Trust, agreed that their support would terminate in 2000. The editors Dareau, Watson, and Lorna Pike,<sup>12</sup> agreed to completion according to this timescale, with the proviso that the volumes of *DOST* published thereafter would maintain the quality of those already published. Time was to be saved on production by employing electronic means and the whole editorial process was rethought with the aim of completion in mind. The final three volumes of *DOST*, begun in 1994, were completed in 2001 and brought to publication in 2002.

## 13.4 SCOTTISH NATIONAL DICTIONARY (SND) (1931–76)

### 13.4.1 Beginnings

As well as being editor of *DOST*, William Craigie also played an important role in the creation of the dictionary for the modern period. In December 1907, he gave a lecture in his native Dundee to the Scottish Branch of the English Association on ‘what steps should be taken to secure co-operation of members in collecting Scots words, ballads, legends, and traditions still current’. In response, William Grant,<sup>13</sup> a lecturer in Aberdeen, took steps to set up the Scottish Dialects Committee (SDC), with himself as convener. By 1909 the SDC had determined on a programme of ‘investigation into the present condition of the Scottish dialects’, and agreed that ‘the record of the language should be as full as possible’.<sup>14</sup> Although the dictionary was thus begun by a group with a particular interest in dialectology, and therefore with a particular focus, the material collected covered written sources—literary, formal, and informal—as well as spoken dialect material (see 13.4.2). While Scots had lost its formal status, in informal use it still had a substantial level of uniformity, pinpointed as Sc. or Gen.Sc. (for General Scots) in the Dictionary, indicating use countrywide. (See also 13.1 and 13.3.2.)

<sup>12</sup> Lorna Pike (1956–), graduate of Edinburgh University, is Project Manager of *Faclair na Gàidhlig*, the historical dictionary of Scottish Gaelic.

<sup>13</sup> William Grant (1863–1946) teacher in Aberdeen of English, classics and modern languages, and phonetics.

<sup>14</sup> Reported in the minutes of the Scottish Branch of the English Association, 29 March 1909.

In 1924, Craigie lectured in Edinburgh on ‘The Study of the Scottish Tongue’, aiming ‘to enlist volunteers for the preparation of a new Scottish Dictionary . . . based upon the historical principles of speech sound and the careful examination of quotations illustrating the first and last appearance, and every notable point in the life-history of every word’ (reported in the *Scotsman* 1924: 1 Oct.).

The Scottish National Dictionary Association Ltd (SNDA) was incorporated in 1929 to undertake the production and publication of a modern Scottish dictionary. Grant was appointed as Literary Director and Editor, with the assistance of a Representative Executive Council and of a Dialect Advisory Committee. A title, ‘the Scottish National Dictionary’ was determined upon, though some controversy attaches to this decision; Craigie in particular disliked the use of the word ‘National’ as he considered that it would be appropriate only for *DOST* and *SND* together. However, the Dictionary was aimed at a general as well as an academic readership, claiming to present ‘a kaleidoscope of dissolving views of Scottish life and character, and thus makes a direct appeal to all Scots or folk of Scottish descent who take a pride in the language and history of their country’ (*SND* Vol. I: i). It was seen to be a truly national enterprise, confirming the unspoken attitude of Scottish people that, despite efforts to erase it, Scots was still, as it always had been, their language: their feelings were deep and heartfelt, and ‘National’ resonated with those feelings. Publication began in 1931 with the first part and Volume I appeared in 1933, Volume II in 1941. David Murison<sup>15</sup> became Editor in 1946 and Volume III, the first under his regime, was published in 1952. In 1954, the SNDA joined *DOST* in offices in the University of Edinburgh, alongside the recently founded School of Scottish Studies and the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. To secure its future, the SNDA, like *DOST*, came under the supervisory control of the Joint Council for the Scottish Dictionaries, with support from the member universities and the Carnegie Trust. Each volume gives evidence, however, of further fund-raising efforts, with lists of patrons and other large donors.

#### 13.4.2 *Collection*

Scotland was divided into dialect areas according to pronunciation: these are demarcated on the map in Volume I of *SND*. The areas are further divided by pre-1975 county boundaries, listing roughly north to south, from Shetland to Galloway, and including Ulster. Correspondents, provided with lists of words

<sup>15</sup> David Donald Murison (1913–97), graduate of Aberdeen and Cambridge Universities. He taught Scots language in the Universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and later Glasgow. At this time too he published *The Guid Scots Tongue* (1977), a lively and readable as well as authoritative short history of the language.



from written sources and printed slips for new words or meanings, collected material in the different dialect areas. The *Transactions of the Scottish Dialects Committee* appeared thereafter in four booklets between 1913 and 1921 and formed the beginnings of a dictionary. The spoken language represented in the collections of *SND*, in effect largely that of the middle of the twentieth century, is represented by quotations and supported by numerous references, pinpointing the time and place where a word or meaning was recorded in current use. For instance, a county abbreviation, such as Abd., Per., Kcb., indicated that the word or usage was known in that county, and a broad-area label (such as m.Sc. for central Scots), that it was known in all the counties within that wider area. From Volume III onwards (under Murison), questionnaires listing items from written sources were sent out to contributors, who marked them with local information, sometimes noting the local word for a concept if the word given was unknown.

### 13.4.3 *Corpus*

The written quotations excerpted by volunteer readers came from a large number and variety of works, including many of the same types of source used for *DOST*, except for official records, which were written mainly in English after the Union of 1707. Murison greatly increased the number and range of written sources, reading many of them himself. The list of over 6,000 works cited in Volume X covers 'books, periodicals, newspapers and other printed sources, as well as MSS' (*SND* Vol. X: 537). These and the definitions they support provide not only a record of the language of their time but also a vivid picture of Scottish life over the past three centuries.

Other reference works were used, not least Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*. Regional dictionaries and glossaries were also a valuable source. John MacTaggart's *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia* (1824) covered the south-west, while Jakob Jakobsen's *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* (first published in Danish in 1908, and only in 1928 in English), and Hugh Marwick's *The Orkney Norn* (1929), treated the far north. Rev. Walter Gregor's *The Dialect of Banffshire with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary* (1866) dealt with the north-east and George Watson's<sup>16</sup> *Roxburghshire Word Book* (1923), the

<sup>16</sup> George Watson (1876–1950) worked on the *OED*, then on the *DAE*, and on the early editing of *DOST*. He also made a considerable contribution to the planning of the new modern Scots dictionary, corresponding with Grant on detailed points of style and content, as well as on more general policy. In fact, in 1916 Craigie had suggested Watson as a possible editor of *SND*. His contributions to lexicography have not been sufficiently acknowledged; see Mathews (1985).

south-east, the last being an excellent account of his native dialect by an important contributor to Scottish lexicography.

#### 13.4.4 Coverage

Grant noted in his early plan that the dictionary was to contain: '(1) All the words used in the language from the present time as far back as our literary records go; (2) the meanings and usages of these words, defined by phrase or quotation; (3) their pronunciation; (4) their etymology'.<sup>17</sup> The content of *SND* was in fact limited in two ways: its start date is 1700, beginning where *DOST* ends; and, whereas *DOST* deals with the whole language, including what is shared with English, *SND* deals only with words, meanings, and expressions which are distinctively Scottish. It thus excludes what is shared with Southern Standard English, but includes much that is shared with other varieties of English, especially Northern English, with which Scots has a common ancestry. Ulster Scots is included as a dialect of Scots, its development being one result of large-scale Scottish emigration there, especially in the seventeenth century.

The dictionary covers urban and, especially, rural vernacular speech of less formally educated people, for instance, *gallowses* (trouser braces), *fail* (a turf), and it includes a great variety of regional words and expressions collected throughout Scotland, for example, Shetland *shalder* (oystercatcher), North-East *tyauve* (struggle, work hard). The formal language of Scots law, education and the Church of Scotland—those areas of public life excluded from incorporation into Great Britain by the Treaty of Union—give us *advocate* (a barrister), *reset* (receiving stolen property). There is also technical vocabulary: *astragal* (a glazing bar), *pirn* (a spool). Finally, there are the many words and usages which are widely used by Scots, for example, *ashet* (a large oval plate), *outwith* (outside, beyond), *dreich* (miserable). These form a substantial portion of the total. It must be added that the vocabulary known throughout Scotland is somewhat obscured in the dictionary text, such is the wealth of regional material. Nonetheless, the element of common-core vocabulary, indicated by the label Gen.Sc. or Sc., is substantial, as witness:

(13) PLOWTER *v.*, *n* . . . .

- I. *v.* I. *intr.* (1) To dabble . . . (Sc. 1808 Jam.; Bnff.  
1866 Gregor *D.Bnff.* 129, *plleuter*; Rxb. 1923  
Watson *W.-B.*, *plouter*; Ork. 1929 Marw.,

<sup>17</sup> Reported in the minutes of the Scottish Branch of the English Association, 29 March 1909.

*pulter*); ‘to walk feebly’ (Sh.1908 Jak. (1928)). Gen.Sc.

### 13.4.5 Entry structure

Entry structure in *SND* differs in a number of ways from that of *DOST* (or indeed from *OED*, which *DOST* largely followed). One of the problems common to *SND* and *DOST* is the lack of standardized spelling, leading to a large number of variant spellings. These are listed in the early letters with the main form or forms in capitals following the headword, followed in turn by the less common in small capitals, thus: BRITHAL, BRYTHAL, BRYDAL, BRIDDAL. Later, only the commonest form is given in capitals, followed by others in italic (see (14), below). Source references are not infrequently given within the list of variant forms, as here:

- (14) MERCAT, *n.* Also *mercatt, mercate, mercet, mercket, merkat, -et, -it* (Sc. 1712 J. Arbuthnot *John Bull* II. iv.; Abd. 1768 A. Ross *Helenore* (S.T.S.) 35; Rxb. 1926 *Kelso Chron.* (18 June) 4); *mairket, marcat* (Ork. 1766 P. Fea *MS. Diary* (18 June)); *markeet*. Sc. forms and usages of Eng. *market* (Sc. 1825 Jam.). Vbl.n. *mercating, marketing* (Lnk. 1710 *Minutes J.P.s* (S.H.S.) 97). [m. and s.Sc. Amɛrkət]

The same method is used to exemplify forms in subsequent word-class sections (*v.*, *pa.t.*, *pa.p.*, etc.). Sometimes these are clearly numbered, as in LAT *v.*, but other entries, such as LEAVE, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, have one long list from which the user is left to pick out the word-class labels near its end.

The pronunciation, in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), concludes the headword section, except where ‘the headword spellings clearly indicate the word’s pronunciation by normal English conventions, ...’ (*CSD* xxi), in which case no pronunciation is given. Usually the General Scots pronunciation is given first, with dialectal pronunciations following, as in, POUT ... [put; Kcd., Ags., Arg. p&xuv.ut]. Grant’s ‘Phonetic description of the Scottish language and its dialects’ (*SND* Vol. I: ix–xlv) is still one of the best surveys of spoken Scots.

The senses generally begin with a reference to how the word relates to English:

- (15)a MISERABLE, *adj.* Sc. usage: mean, stingy, miserly. Gen. Sc. Dial. in Eng.

- b TAE, *n.*<sup>1</sup> ... Sc. forms and usages of Eng.  
*toe* ...
- c THIN ...
- I. *adj.* 1. As in Eng. Phrs.: *thin o' claise*, poorly or scantily dressed. Cf. obs. Eng. *to go thin*, to be thinly clad; ...

The senses thereafter are those exclusively Scots:

- (16) THIN ...
2. Of a shot in *bowls* or *curling*: narrow, not having enough bias, (Fif., Lth. 1926 Wilson *Cent. Scot.* 270). Gen. Sc. ...
4. Piqued, ... ; unfriendly (Abd., Ayr. 1972). Hence *thinness*, *n.*, a quarrel ...

Derivatives, compounds, and phrases are generally listed in a separately numbered section with each derivative, compound, or phrase further numbered and subdivided as necessary:

- (17) THIG ...
5. Derivs. and phrs.: (1) *thigger* ... a kind of beggar ... (Sc. 1825 Jam.; ne.Sc. 1972, *hist*) ... Phr. *thigger and sorner*. See also SORN, *v.*, 1.; (2) *thigging*, †*thigeing*, *vbl.n.*, (i) the practice of begging or soliciting gifts ... ; (ii) the gift or contribution so obtained (Per. 1825 Jam.), also comb. *thigging bit*, *id.*; (iii) phr. *to go a thigging* ...

In other cases they are added to the appropriate category or sense, as in *mercatig* and *thinness* at (14) and (16) above. Some definitions include information on register, as in MANTEEL ... Obs. in Eng. Now only *liter*.

As *DOST* and *SND* contain more encyclopedic information than most historical dictionaries, the reader fills out the picture of Scottish life as reflected in the language. For example, SAINT appears in thirteen combinations, including:

- (18) ... 12. *Saint Mungo*, a name for the city of Glasgow of which St Kentigern or Mungo

is the patron saint. Phr., *St Mungo's knot*,  
 appar. a kind of knot tied on the tails of  
 cattle, to avert witchcraft;

In the later volumes, density of information was increased by providing fewer headwords and more sub-entries. In the early letters of the alphabet many derivatives and compounds, such as BIENLY and BACKSPANG, are separate entries, whereas such forms are later subsumed under a main headword. The headword BLACK is followed by over a hundred headwords for complex and compound forms, beginning with:

- (19)a BLACK-AIRN, *n.* ...  
 b BLACK-A-VICED, -VISED, -VIZED, *adj.* ...  
 c BLACK-BACK, *n.* ...

But REID (red) has eighty numbered compound forms in section *adj.* 1., beginning thus:

- d ... (1) *red-aiten*, ... ; (2) *red-arsie*, *-ersie*, ... ; (3) *red-avised*, ... ; ...

Up to the end of letter D, quotations were listed in geographical order, reverting, from E on, to chronological order. The geographical areas are listed from north to south (*SND* Vol. I: xlvii–xlviii), and the quotations follow this list, with chronological order being used where there is more than one quotation from the same area.

The formal etymology comes at the end of the entry. It traces the history of the word back to the main origins of Scots in Old English, Old Norse, Old French, and Gaelic/Old Irish. Especially in later letters, dated Older Scots forms are included, most of them extracted from *DOST* files for then unpublished volumes, as here:

- (20) THRAPPLE ... [O.Sc. *throppill*, the windpipe, 1375; ... ].

However, not infrequently, the relationship of the Scots word to English stated in the headword section, or in the first sense, as described above, is the only etymological information provided.

Typefaces are of generous size throughout, a feature which made it easy to produce a Compact Edition in 1987—supplied with a small magnifying glass, but capable of being read without aid by anyone with normal eyesight. Choice of typefaces also made possible the data capture of the text by Optical Character Recognition (OCR) which produced the electronic version in 2004; see below 13.5.2.

### 13.4.6 Conclusion

Murison, like Grant before him, was supported by varying numbers of assistant editors—more from the mid-1950s, when funding became available from the Joint Council. With a great struggle, the work was completed in 1975, with Vol. X being published in 1976. Murison had an important role in enhancing the prestige and acceptance of Scots in the latter part of the twentieth century. Along with his unceasing devotion to the *Dictionary*, he supported the study of Scots with numerous articles and talks throughout the country; its debt to him is incalculable. He was responsible for Volumes IV to X, and for the completion of Volume III. Grant's contribution in the early years of word collection, and his persistence in the face of many obstacles, should not, however, be forgotten.

## 13.5 TWENTIETH—TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

### 13.5.1 Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD)

As *SND* approached completion, the SNDA found itself at a crossroads. Some thought it should close down and donate its residual funds to *DOST*. (These were considerable, owing to a large anonymous legacy which arrived too late to support work on the final volume of *SND*.) The view that research and compilation should cease partly reflected a belief that Scots was a dying language which had been recorded just before its disappearance, and that the future would offer nothing else worth recording. This belief has of course not been borne out and Scots, in a period of greater political self-confidence, is flourishing. Others were optimistic and felt that more should be done to encourage Scots. A one-volume dictionary designed for a wider public was agreed upon, and the *Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD)* began production with a new team of editors under the direction of Mairi Robinson,<sup>18</sup> and with Aitken as editorial consultant.

*CSD* is essentially a digest of *SND* and *DOST*: its headword, for instance, is that used in *SND* or *DOST* and its content closely shadows that of *SND*, with the addition of uniquely Scottish material from *DOST* for the earlier centuries. For the letters (R–Z), where *DOST* was not yet in print, it drew on the *OED* and a

<sup>18</sup> Mairi Robinson (1945–), graduate of Edinburgh University, assisted Murison on *SND* from 1966 to 1973—from 1972 as Senior Editor.

number of glossaries. Forms and senses are dated and, as in *SND*, pronunciation and geographical distribution are included. An informative Introduction includes an excellent short History of Scots by Aitken. The volume was a best-seller when it came out in 1985 and continues to sell well.

Scottish Language Dictionaries (SLD), the organization set up in 2002 to carry on the work of SNDA and *DOST*, is preparing a new edition of *CSD*, with updating from the continuing data collection, as well as the *DOST* material unavailable for the first edition. The new edition will use modern Scots spellings for the headwords, and will give emphasis to the modern language as regards the layout of senses, but will nonetheless include the historical material that explains the language's past.

### 13.5.2 Dictionary of the Scots Language (*DSL*): [www.dsl.ac.uk](http://www.dsl.ac.uk)

In the 1980s, following the computer-typesetting of *CSD*, an electronic system was set up for the storage and retrieval of the SNDA's new data collection, based as before on both written and spoken sources.

From 2001 to 2004, an electronic version of *DOST* and *SND*, based on the version of *SND* already begun by SNDA, was produced in the University of Dundee. It was followed in 2005 by a *New Supplement* to *SND*, produced by SLD, with new material from the data collected since the 1980s. The former was created with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board (as it then was) and the latter with the help of a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund; the funding bodies ensure that these resources are available free of charge to anyone. The Internet site [www.dsl.ac.uk](http://www.dsl.ac.uk) hosts *DOST* and *SND*, their Supplements as they exist in their printed versions, and the uniquely electronic *New Supplement*. It is a long-term ambition of SLD to undertake a major revision of all of these. Until that time comes, some of the elements required in such a revision are being created in the database that will underpin the revision of *CSD*.

### 13.5.3 *Small Scots dictionaries*

Smaller dictionaries have also been produced, especially with the aim of supporting the teaching of Scots in schools: notably the *Essential Scots Dictionary* (Macleod and Cairns 1996), with Scots–English and English–Scots sections. On a similar scale were William Graham's *Scots Word Book* (1977) and the *Collins Scots Dictionary* (1995).

### 13.6 CONCLUSION

The resources available now, and in the near future, for a language whose demise has frequently been announced are impressive. The electronic dictionaries allow the would-be user access to all the most important dictionary texts while the new *CSD* will offer the linguistic structure and spelling system frequently missing from descriptions of a language of minority status. We began this survey with the words of Gavin Douglas. We are, as lexicographers and as Scots, content that his attitude is still shared by Scotland's writers and poets in the twenty-first century. The lexicographers of Scots have almost all been Scottish and for many, probably most of them, a passion for lexicography has been combined with a passion for their native language and culture. They have been inspired to create the great dictionaries that are now so easily accessed by anyone with a computer from Aberdeen to Arkansas, for although Scots seems so much a matter for the Scottish people, it is a language that is studied and whose great writings are appreciated worldwide. In the twentieth century, Aitken and Murison were central to the Scottish lexicographical story, but, if Aitken is right in his judgement that the establishment became less inimical to vernacular Scots early in the nineteenth century and that 'We may perhaps associate this change of heart with the publication of John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* in 1808 ...' (*CSD*: xii), then perhaps Jamieson deserves the accolade of most eminent Scottish lexicographer. Be that as it may, what is clear is that, along with the writers and the mass of ordinary folk who continue to speak Scots, the lexicographers have played a central role in building the prestige that the Scots language enjoys today.



# THE PERIOD DICTIONARIES

*Michael Adams*

## 14.1 INTRODUCTION

UPON its completion, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) had so far exceeded even the most ambitious expectations for historical lexicography that most could not imagine a subsequent generation of historical dictionaries. ‘It might well be supposed,’ wrote William A. Craigie, one of the *OED*’s principal editors, ‘that with the completion of such a work as this, the task of English lexicography had almost reached a final stage for the present, and that little more would have to be done for some time to come, but that is far from the case. The increased study of English which has grown up since the *Dictionary* was planned and commenced, and new and clearer views on the development of the language which the *Dictionary* itself has been instrumental in creating, call for further work in a closer and more thorough investigation of each of the various periods into which the history of our language naturally falls’ (Craigie 1929: 400).

In his lecture to the Philological Society in 1919 on ‘new dictionary schemes’ (Craigie 1931), Craigie had envisioned several period and regional dictionaries written on historical principles, that is, modelled on the *OED*. He later argued (1937: 54–5) that the ‘period dictionaries’ could usefully augment the *OED* in several ways: (1) by collecting considerably more material, which would ‘present a fuller record of the language during the period covered’ and ‘constantly carry back the date of words from one period into that preceding it’, thus antedating the *OED*; (2) by gathering both ‘usual’ words, which might otherwise be taken for granted, and words too rare to warrant treatment in the *OED*; (3) by supplying quotations that suggest contextual meanings too subtle for definitions to capture; and (4) by ascertaining the regional affiliations of certain words or forms of words.

Primary among the period dictionaries Craigie conceived were those of Middle and Early Modern English, though scholars eventually realized that Old English deserved similar treatment. The Early Modern dictionary was organized first, but it remains unfinished and is no longer in progress. The *Middle English Dictionary*, adopted by the University of Michigan in 1930, suffered two false starts before 1945, when Hans Kurath reorganized it and finally saw it into print, beginning in 1952. The dictionary text was completely published in 2001, and a revised *Plan and Bibliography* appeared in 2007. The *Dictionary of Old English*, begun much later than the other two, in 1969, is still under way.

While the Early Modern and Middle English dictionaries were intertwined projects in their early years (they were housed in the same building in the 1930s), all three projects are in fact interrelated: they all descend from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, yet, as in most families, offspring only partially resemble the parent, and siblings can look surprisingly dissimilar. The histories of the ‘period dictionaries’ are partly accounts of their shared characteristics, but also of how, by planning or accident, they became distinctive limbs of the lexicographical family tree.

## 14.2 THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH DICTIONARY PROJECT

The *Early Modern English Dictionary* (EMED) that Craigie had in mind would treat English vocabulary roughly from the beginning of printing in England in 1476 (Craigie suggested the date 1500) to John Dryden’s death in 1700. Craigie was ‘single-minded’ in his lexicography, disciplined, and the most experienced of English lexicographers at the time of his proposal (Bailey 1980: 200). In proposing the EMED, however, he may have been overly optimistic: work on it began in 1927 but was discontinued in 1939, and, though the project was renewed in the 1970s, the dictionary remains unpublished.

### 14.2.1 Rationale for an Early Modern English Dictionary

Jürgen Schäfer carefully investigated the *OED*’s treatment of Early Modern English vocabulary, especially its inclusiveness and the accuracy of its dating, and concluded that, given more balanced and thorough excerption of materials, thirty per cent of the *OED*’s first citations could be antedated by at least fifty years, and seven per cent of the main entries ‘would change their century of first citation’ (Schäfer 1980: 67). For instance, Sir Thomas Wyatt had used *revulse* 127

years before the earliest text quoted in the *OED* (ibid. 171); Thomas Nashe had used *artificiality* 171 years earlier than recorded in the *OED* (ibid. 139); and Sir Thomas Malory's use of *communal* antedates the *OED*'s earliest quotation by 341 years (ibid. 167).

Later, he examined 134 dictionaries and glossaries of Early Modern English and discovered nearly 1,000 words unregistered in the *OED*, such as *obliquilined* (Schäfer 1987: 2.175) and *semidimetient* (ibid. 2.203), and nearly five hundred unregistered senses of words that the *OED* included. On the basis of just those dictionaries, he located quotations for two hundred entries at least twenty-five years later than the most recent provided in the *OED*, and quotations that antedated the first citations provided in the *OED* for approximately 1,500 entries by at least twenty-five years, including one from Richard Sherry's *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550) that illustrates the rhetorical sense of *enumeration* 312 years before the *OED*'s earliest citation (ibid. 2.119). While *artificiality* and *communal* are not common English words, they are, in Craigie's sense, 'usual', whereas *obliquilined* and *semidimetient*, both geometrical terms, are rare, technical terms. Schäfer's sustained and systematic research confirms Craigie's predictions about the value of period dictionaries.

Schäfer wrote eloquently of the results of his work: '[N]owhere is the principle of "registering every word found in the literature", originally envisaged but later abandoned in compiling the *OED* documentation, more pressing than for this period. Early Modern English is of supreme importance not only because it harbours the greatest name in English literature, but also because its rapid lexical transmission enabled it to comprehend the totality of the age's knowledge . . . . Vast and structured documentation is necessary in order to reflect the fluid state of the English lexicon in the sixteenth century, a period afloat on uncharted seas of new words' (Schäfer 1987: 70). Hypothetically, an *EMED* would pilot the period into a lexicographical safe haven.

#### 14.2.2 *EMED: The Once and Future Dictionary*

##### 14.2.2 (i) The first attempt

In December 1927, Craigie invited C. C. Fries, a professor of English at the University of Michigan, to edit the *EMED* (Bailey 1980: 200). Between 1928 and 1930, Fries received about two million slips from Oxford (Bailey 1978: viii). He generated 700,000 new slips through an intensive reading programme of his own and, with the help of 460 readers, had amassed 4.5 million slips by 1934, greatly enriching the *OED* collection (Aitken 1987: 96). (All of the slips have since been

returned to the *OED* in order to assist in the production of the Third Edition.) Most of those who read texts and excerpted quotations were volunteers, but the project as a whole was nonetheless expensive. The University of Michigan provided much basic financial and administrative support for the *EMED*, but Fries also arranged funds from the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation, and temporary clerical staff through the Works Progress Administration. Between 1928 and 1938, outside sources provided nearly a quarter of a million dollars to the project (Bailey *et al.* 1975: ix).

On the strength of these funds, Fries assembled a small but remarkable staff, including Morris P. Tilley, Albert H. Marckwardt, and H. V. S. Ogden, all professors in the University of Michigan's English Department; Hereward T. Price, one of James Murray's assistants on the *OED* and author of a two-volume German dictionary of economic and commercial vocabulary; and Hope Emily Allen, a prominent American medievalist. Assistants on the *EMED* included Frederic G. Cassidy and Harold B. Allen; both had remarkable careers stimulated, in part, by their early lexicographical work.

The editors and assistants at the *EMED* were highly productive. Cassidy, who was also an assistant on the *Middle English Dictionary*, later co-edited the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, organized the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*), and saw its first two volumes into print. Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950) assembled and analysed material in the *EMED* files. Hope Allen edited *The Book of Margery Kempe* (1940) with Sanford B. Meech, one of the *MED*'s assistant editors. Price was interim editor of the *MED*, in the year or so between Thomas A. Knott's retirement and Kurath's arrival in Ann Arbor. Thus while the *EMED* remains in one sense a failed project, it nevertheless directly and indirectly produced significant scholarly by-products and established a culture of historical lexicography in America extending from the *OED* into the twenty-first century. One may object that the *EMED*'s success was not equal to its influence, but we might reconsider the equation and decide that its influence was, in fact, its success.

For some years, alongside the reading programme, Fries developed his plan for editing and producing the *EMED*; we rely primarily on edited specimens for evidence of what that plan was. Originally, Fries and his colleagues expected to write encyclopedic information into their entries. In a specimen for the word *sonnet* circulated for comment in 1932, the opening note runs to eighteen lines of print, and includes editorial intrusions like 'The English use of the word sonnet to indicate a 14-line poem, each line consisting of 5 accents and riming according to certain fixed patterns, begins in the 16th c. after Wyatt's imitations of Italian verse.' This may seem unexceptionable, a commonplace of literary history, but a

**Z.** One who takes two or more academic degrees at once.  
**Cp. ACCUMULATE** vb. 2.  
 1625 in King *PP* II Pref. p. xxxvi: [They took their degrees of B.D. and D.D. as] accumulators and compounders. 1691 Wood *Ath. Oxon.* I. 851: Charles Croke of the same house, an Accumulator & Compounder.

**ACCUR**, vb. [*L. accurere*.] *intr.* To run together; to meet.  
 Hence, *trans.*, to meet. Perh. in quot. 1677 with admixture of sense of **OCCUR**.  
 1555 Harpsfield *Marriage* P. 30: Both these impediments accure in this marriage. 1651 A. B. tr *Raleigh Ghost* 340: When we vehemently apply our minde to understand, and apprehend any thing, we searchely observe and note such things, as do accure our sense. 1677 tr *Amelot de la Houssaye* 5: I have not suppress'd or lessen'd the honour of their Actions where they accur'd in my Discourse.

**ACCURACY**, sb. [**ACCURATE**. See **-ACY**.] The state of being accurate; precision; correctness.  
 [1652] 1712 H. More *Ath.* II. x. 70: Which perfect artifice and accuracy might have been omitted. 1683 Cave *Eccles.* Pref. vii: He falls short of him in judgment and accuracy.

**ACCURANCE**, sb. [*L. accurare*+**-NCE**.] A taking care; solicitude.  
 1677 Hale *C.* II. 23: Can a woman, . . . forget a Child, a piece of her self, her sucking Child, . . . when her natural Love is heightened by a pitiful accurance.

**ACCURATE**, *adj.* [*L. accuratus*.] 1. Executed with care; careful.  
 [1621] 1632 Burton *AM* II. II. iv. 276: Those accurate diaries of Portugals, Hollanders. [1680] 1759 Butler *Rev.* III. 2: A Learn'd Society, . . . Agreed, . . . To search the Moon by her own light; And make an accurate Survey Of all her lands.  
 2. In careful or exact conformity to truth or to some standard; precise; correct; exact, esp., but not always, as the result of care;—of things and persons.  
 1596 Coote Sch.: *Accurate*, cunning. 1617 Collins *E.* II. x. 461: Perfecter then any Monke, *ἀκρίβητος* *ἐπί*, more accurate of his wayes, more exact in his courses. 1685 Boyle *MW* 68: The accuratest way, I know, is by comparing the differing weights.

**ACCURATELY**, *adv.* In an accurate manner; also, so as to produce an accurate result; precisely; correctly; exactly.  
 1613 Bible Pref. 7: It got eredit with the Jewes, to be called *κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν*, that is, accurately done. 1691 E. Taylor *Behmen Life* 425: He grew more and more accurately attentive to his duty to God.

**ACCURATENESS**, sb. The quality of being accurate; careful exactness; precision.  
 1617 Collins *E* Suppl. 544: He had required passing accuratenesse and strictnesse at their hands. 1695 Philo. *Trans.* 174: The Latitude thereof was observed, . . . with great accurateness.

**ACCURATION**, sb. [*L. accuratio*.] Accurateness; precision.  
 1653 Whistler *Dapt.* Pref. 2: Accuration of eloquence in variety of languages.

**ACCURSED**, *adj.* [**ME.**] Flowing or passing in time.  
 1500 *Epitaph* in *Archaeol. Cant.* XVIII: Kathryn Hurlton subterrat ix day with yu June Thowsand liii c lxxxxviii yer accurrent.

**ACCURRENT**, sb. [**AC**+**CURRENT**, or from the *adj.*] Confluence of events.  
 [1630] 1664 Mun *Trade* x. A 47: Thus by a course of traffick (which changeth according to the accurrents of time) the particular members do accommodate each other.

**ACCURSE**, vb. [**ME.** *acursen*.] To pronounce or imprecated a curse upon (a thing or person); to devote to perdition or misery; to anathematize.  
 1530 *Lyfe St. Thomas* A 7: Sevnt Thomas gat a bulle for to curse them that so dyd ayenst hym. 1582 Whetstone *Heptam.* vi. s 4: Euyll Education wyll accurse their blessing in haunyng of Chyldren. 1670 Prynne *K. John* Ep. Ded. d 1b: To . . . accurse, damn them to all eternity, for opposing or denying this their transcendent power.

**ACCURSED**, **ACCURST**, *adj.* [**ME.** *acursed*.] 1. Lying under a curse or anathema; anathematized; doomed to perdition or misery. Also *absol.*  
 1530 *Lyfe St. Thomas* A 7: Saunt Thomas, . . . the auctoryte of ye popes bull openly denounced them accursed vnto ye tyme they came to amendement. 1597 *RJ* iv. iii. 34. 1694 Hopkins *Poems* Tib. II. iv. 106: O, to all Ages, let him stand accurst, Who e're began this Trade in loving first.  
 2. Worthy of the curse; accompanied by a curse; damnable; detestable.  
 1597 Shaks. *RJ* iv. v. 43 (1 lb): Accurst, unhappy, miserable tyme. [1681] 1684 Lacy *Buf.* v. iii. 46: I'll find some other way to destroy thee, thou accursed villain.

**ACCURSEDLY**, *adv.* [**ME.** *acursedli*.] In an accursed manner; damnably.  
 1610 Hull *Broncists* 13: That Euangellium aeternum of the Friers, whose name they accursedly borrowed from Reuel. 14. 6.

FIG. 14.1. Extract from specimen pages of the *Early Modern English Dictionary*, 1936

dictionary is not a book about literary history. Those supervising the dictionary from afar, at the Oxford University Press, were not impressed with the specimen (Bailey 1980: 212). Fries and his colleagues tried a different approach.

In 1936, they submitted entries in the range A–ATR to public scrutiny. The text in Figure 14.1 suggests that the *EMED*'s plan was still underdeveloped. For instance, three entries, those for *accur*, *accurent*, and *accurrent*, misrepresent their headwords. The first, *accur*, is a variant spelling of *occur* and should probably be entered under it; the etymology, then, is also mistaken, since English *occur* is a reflex of Latin *occurere*, not *accurre*. Entries for *accurent* and *accurrent* display further editorial confusion and disorganization. *Accurent* is an *a*-prefixed form of *current* “running in time, in progress” (*OED* s.v. *current* a. 3.a-b); in fact, *accurent* is not a Middle English form, though labelled as such; dated first from 1608, it belongs in the *EMED*, though perhaps not under this headword. *Accurrent* is attested from the mid-fifteenth century (perhaps the label was misplaced under *accurent*), but it cannot be defined as ‘confluence of events’, which does not substitute for the word in context: ‘Thus by a course of traffick (which changeth according to the confluence of events of time’ does not really make sense. In 1936, then, Fries and his colleagues still struggled to conceptualize treatment of Early Modern English vocabulary.

While these missteps justify criticism, they represent the intractability of Early Modern English: it is no accident that the *EMED* is the one period dictionary left unfinished, twice attempted and twice abandoned. One can see Fries’ attempt to impose order on that lexicon: he entered the prefix *ac-* earlier in the specimen, appropriately, because Early Modern (and not Middle English) writers sometimes reanalyzed words as having taken the Latin prefix *ad-*, which becomes *ac-* when it assimilates to base words beginning with *c-* (like *current*). Thus, *accur* and *accurent* were examples of an Early Modern lexical phenomenon for which the *EMED* had to account, because it belongs particularly to the period.

Fries adhered to the plan that accompanied the 1936 specimen, in which he wrote that, ‘Not more than five quotations should amply illustrate all meanings that run through the period.’ The entries for *accurse* and *accursed*, illustrated in the figure, clearly conform to this principle, providing only three quotations for each. The amount of quotation would not seem to amplify the evidence for Early Modern English as much as Craigie had hoped, but probably responded to concerns about the eventual length and cost of a too expansive *EMED*.

When the number of quotations per sense is sharply restricted, editors may be tempted to include quotations from famous authors, excluding the mass of writers and text-types from entries. Fries resisted that temptation. ‘[I]f it is necessary,’ Fries wrote in the same document, ‘to choose between a good

quotation from an unknown writer and an equally good one from an important literary figure we should choose the former because of the light which the obscure writers throw upon the usage of the more important ones.' Early Modern English was not the special province of great writers, and the obscure writers (who far outnumbered the famous ones), were not writing simply to illuminate the illustrious. But consider the quotations that appear under *accurse* and *accursed*: both senses of the latter include quotations from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, but the works of Charles Hopkins, William Prynne, and George Whetstone are comparatively obscure. Here Fries seems to have fulfilled his declared intentions, and it is worth noting that none of the *EMED*'s quotations for *accurse* or *accursed* appears in the corresponding *OED* entries.

Bailey (1980: 207–8) identified Fries's two most interesting innovations in historical lexicographical method, though it is far from clear that either was desirable. First, Fries proposed to include a section of ambiguous quotations in some entries, in order, as he put it in one of his 'decisions' (1936), 'to explain a transition in meaning ... demonstrate the existence and range of double or unspecialized meanings ... or to oppose recorded judgments that have given either wrongly specialized or too specialized meanings'. So in the *sonnet* entry he wrote, 'in many quotations it is impossible to determine the precise meaning of the word sonnet, for the same writer sometimes uses the word in all three of its major senses'. Thus Fries follows his own rule: 'In all cases *the points at issue* should be explained in lieu of the usual definitions of meaning'. Nearly all quotations in the *sonnet* entry were ambiguous, but historical lexicographers tend to put such explanations aside in favour of definitions: ambiguity is not an excuse to avoid sense analysis and defining.

Second, Bailey observed that Fries proposed, 'experimentally for the present', as he wrote in his 1936 'decisions', to include a section of 'contemporary comments' in entries where such would 'throw particular light upon meanings, range of use, or attitude toward the word and its various uses'. That is, Fries had invented yet another category of encyclopedic material for his entries: 'These contemporary comments are to be regarded not solely as *evidence* of meaning or use but as the explicit thought of the people of the time concerning their own language'. If the specimens are good evidence, 'the people' are all illustrious, and their comments put forward as evidence for the significance of some cultural phenomenon, but not as evidence of the word in question *per se*—the comments are not about words so much as the 'things' they supposedly represent.

Fries's innovations were certainly adventurous and marked the *EMED*'s method as distinct from that of the *OED*: indeed, most historical lexicographers

prefer to include quotations that both explain phenomena underlying the word in question and illustrate use of the word among the other quotations, within the same semantic analysis. Interestingly, Fries's experiment may have influenced Cassidy, who introduced a quasi-encyclopedic technique into *DARE* entries (Adams 2002c: 375–8); he did not include the same sort of encyclopedic material as Fries, but he did depart from practices favoured by the *OED* and the *MED*. In other words, working for Fries may have loosened the constraints on Cassidy's lexicographical imagination.

After assessing the problems with editorial method revealed by the *sonnet* specimen, Fries and Thomas A. Knott, then editor of the *Middle English Dictionary*, decided in 1935 to edit portions of the letter L together, that is, to set *EMED* and *MED* editors to work as teams to prepare entries for their respective dictionaries with each other's help, so that the two dictionaries would 'fit' well together and describe between them a continuous history of English words from the Middle Ages into the Early Modern period. Some of the *MED*'s assistant editors, notably Sanford B. Meech and Harold Whitehall, believed that the approach, while promoting social contact, was a waste of time (Adams 1995: 153–8). They also lacked confidence in the specimens produced as the result of this experiment, L–LEEWARDNESS in the case of *EMED* (1936) and L–LAIK in the case of the *MED* (1937). Both Kenneth Sisam, at the Press, and Craigie sharply criticized the *EMED*'s specimen and further work on L was suspended (Bailey 1980: 216).

The editors turned to work on A thereafter, but in March 1939, the University of Michigan decided to suspend work on the *EMED* in order to concentrate its limited resources on the *MED* (see Lewis 2007: 4). Taking on both projects was, perhaps, too much for one university to fund and administer. But Fries's specimens had not met with approval at OUP, either, and some observers thought that Fries's enthusiasm had waned towards the end of the project (Bailey 1980: 213). It made sense, in any event, to treat Middle English before attempting the later, much larger, and much better attested vocabulary of Early Modern English.

#### 14.2.2 (ii) The second attempt

In 1965, R. C. Alston proposed a *Dictionary of Tudor English 1475–1640*, the announcement of which prompted a new attempt to organize the *EMED* at Michigan (Aitken 1987: 97), led by Richard W. Bailey, James W. Downer, and Jay L. Robinson. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Horace H. Rackham Foundation at the University of Michigan, they assembled and analysed the *EMED*'s 38,500 quotations illustrating twelve auxiliary verbs, producing what they called 'the primary index',



and then analysed the 57,000 other words besides those twelve auxiliaries that occurred in those 38,500 quotations, called 'the secondary index'. The results were published on microfiche and described in *Michigan Early Modern English Materials* (Bailey *et al.* 1975), which also compiled the *EMED*'s extensive bibliography of some 14,000 items (Bailey *et al.* 1975: vii), a stage at which the project received considerable support from Xerox University Microfilms.

The most important innovation associated with this stage of the *EMED* was its use of computers to generate the fiche. In this sense, along with the *Dictionary of American Regional English* and the nascent *Dictionary of Old English*, the *EMED* project was forward-looking and explored the technological basis for lexicography at the earliest possible time; while such technology has changed considerably since the 1960s, later dictionaries benefited from the *EMED*'s example. 'Unlike most lexical research,' Bailey wrote, the *EMED* project was 'committed to a corpus publically [sic] available (through computer tape and microfiche), separate presentation of data and interpretation, maximum use of contemporary technology, and, through computer networks, cooperative efforts joining scholars with common interests but differing institutional affiliation' (Bailey 1980: 220). It was a splendid and influential vision of a new historical lexicography, but funding for the revived *EMED* ran out in 1975 and was not renewed, so the project once again ground to a halt, even though Bailey continued to work on the *EMED*'s materials for several years and assembled some 4,000 additions and antedatings to the *OED*, published in 1978.

According to Bailey *et al.* (1975: xix), the *EMED* project consumed some three hundred lexicographer-years. Bailey and his colleagues made some progress towards a product called 'The Early Modern English Dictionary', but it was, as they wrote, 'only the first stage of a work of greater value', the as yet unpublished work of which 'the final shape will depend upon the interest and support of many scholars, at least as many as the two thousand who have already contributed since the first citations were collected for the *OED* more than a century ago' (Bailey *et al.* 1975: xxxii). Such 'interest and support' has not recently been forthcoming, but, after all, the *EMED* was always an optimistic project, a once and future dictionary, and we can look forward to a third attempt.

### 14.3 THE MIDDLE ENGLISH DICTIONARY

After Craigie's call for a historical dictionary of Middle English, the Modern Language Association and American Council of Learned Societies sought an

American home and an American leader for the project, as opposed, for instance, to a British leader for an American project, as when Craigie became editor of the *Dictionary of American English* at the University of Chicago in 1925. In 1927, they settled on Clark Northup, a professor at Cornell University, who inherited the materials of Ewald Flügel, a Stanford University professor who had begun a Chaucer glossary but had not been able to finish it before he died. Northup arranged for access to the *OED*'s Middle English slips, and A–G were transferred to Cornell at some point late in the 1920s (Lewis and Williams 2007: 3). For reasons not entirely clear (funding was certainly a problem), Northup did not make much progress. Charles C. Fries, already leading the Early Modern English Dictionary project at the University of Michigan, apparently convinced the university to adopt the Middle English dictionary project as well. Fries negotiated with Craigie to transfer the rest of the relevant *OED* slips to Ann Arbor, and the slips under Northup's control were shipped there too, altogether amounting to some 430,000 quotations, both those included and those rejected for publication in the *OED* (Lewis and Williams 2007: 3).

#### 14.3.1 *Two false starts*

Michigan and the Modern Language Association jointly approved Samuel Moore as editor of the *Middle English Dictionary* in 1930. (This section draws freely on Adams 1995 and 2002b, unless otherwise indicated.) Moore was a well-respected scholar of Old and Middle English, and, though he had no lexicographical experience, he grasped immediately the work that would be required before editing could begin. He hired Sanford B. Meech, Harold Whitehall, and James Rettger as assistant editors, and together they launched an ambitious reading programme to supplement the *OED* material (Jost 1985 and 1986). This additional programme involved more than a hundred volunteer readers, closely supervised by Meech. It added nearly 300,000 quotations to those borrowed from the *OED*, Northup, and Flügel, so that the total number of slips available for editing approached 900,000. Middle English had no standard dialect until well into the fourteenth century, and the rise of a standard then by no means led to diminution of the historical regional dialects. Moore realized that any durable dictionary of Middle English would have to account for dialects in some fashion, so he and his colleagues began to assess the dialectal value of the material in their possession and to articulate the positions on dialect that would inform the published dictionary (Moore, Meech, and Whitehall 1935).

Like Fries, and perhaps under his influence, Moore conceived of his *MED* as an Oxford dictionary. For the most part, it relied on printed texts without much concern for textual variation—a problematic decision, since many Middle English

texts were unedited in 1930, or edited badly. In 1932, Meech travelled to England to search libraries and collections of public records for unknown manuscripts useful in the dialect survey and editing generally; he located hundreds, but missed hundreds more, and the bibliography he compiled in 1934 was thinner than it should have been, much thinner than the *MED*'s ultimate bibliography. As a result, any *MED* that Moore and his colleagues edited would have constituted a large supplement to the *OED*, and the archival record of Moore's editorship suggests that he intended to follow the *OED*'s entry structure, right down to the typographical distinctions for which the *OED* is justly admired. The grip of the *OED* on the *MED* and *EMED* was strong, not least because the University of Michigan had entered into publishing agreements with the Oxford University Press that helped to subsidize the projects; the Press often turned to Craigie and C. T. Onions, the other surviving principal editor of the *OED*, for advice about the American dictionaries—which rarely met their expectations, partly because the period dictionary editors were Americans. In any event, the *OED*, so recently completed (the 1933 *Supplement* was still in press), exerted a centripetal lexicographical force too strong for novice editors, like Moore, to resist.

Moore died unexpectedly in 1934 and was replaced by Thomas A. Knott. Knott had been the first choice as editor in 1930, but he declined because he was then the executive editor of *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition* (1934). By the time Moore died, and with Knott's work for the Merriam-Webster Company all but complete, he accepted the renewed offer of the *MED*. In spite of his experience of leading a major dictionary project, despite the fact that, like Moore, he was a noted scholar of Old and Middle English, Knott proved ill-equipped to manage the *MED*. He never clearly conceived what an *MED* should be, especially given the constraints on length imposed by the Press: he vacillated between a dictionary with a literary bias and a general one and between treating dialect and avoiding it as too complicated. He found encyclopedic explanation irresistible and the disciplines of etymology and sense-analysis challenging. All of these problems were evident in the specimen of entries L–LAIK published by the Press in 1937 and circulated for comment among prominent medievalists. The comments were mixed, but the most prominent and experienced among the respondents were highly critical.

By the time they were editing the specimen, some members of the staff were restive: they lacked confidence in Knott, whose failings Meech exposed to the Modern Language Association Committee responsible for the dictionary. Meech had already had a disruptive argument with Hope Allen over their respective roles in editing *The Book of Margery Kempe*, and his treachery in this case was a final straw for his senior colleagues at Michigan. He and Whitehall were fired in

1938, partly because funds were tight, partly because their dissent made them expendable. Struggling against the Depression, then the onset of war, Knott regrouped and edited a portion of *A*—once again circulated, once again criticized—and he appears then to have lost his will to continue. Though the *EMED* had been suspended in 1939, in order to concentrate resources and focus attention on the *MED*, Knott made little progress—most of that in collecting and preparing crucial texts—and the project, after fourteen years of continuous operation at Michigan, was in disarray.

In 1944, Hereward T. Price, once an editor on the *EMED*, was appointed interim editor of the *MED*. He harboured ambitions of becoming the *MED*'s permanent editor, but these were dashed when Michigan offered the position to Hans Kurath. The Modern Language Association objected to the appointment because Kurath had no experience in lexicography (neither had Moore, however, and experience failed to support Knott through his difficulties) and was not a scholar of Middle English. He was, however, a proven leader of a complex scholarly project, the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, the first component of which, the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, he had published in four volumes between 1939 and 1943. Michigan, after all the primary source of the *MED*'s funding, asserted its right to hire its own personnel. The Modern Language Association felt that the university had violated their agreement about joint management of the project, so retired from its supporting position. The *MED* entered a new era.

### 14.3.2 Kurath's *MED*

Kurath had a very different idea of the *MED* from Moore and Knott: he viewed it, not as a supplement to the *OED* but as an independent dictionary loosely in the *OED*'s tradition of lexicography on historical principles. Kurath was an arch-empiricist, sceptical about knowledge of semantics and of editorial judgement: he privileged evidence over everything. Kurath's *MED*—the *MED* finally published—eschews encyclopedic information, favours glossarial definitions, and offers terse etymologies; but each entry lists all attested spelling variants, analyses senses thoroughly, and provides as many quotations as possible, given constraints of evidence and space. Like A. J. Aitken—editor, after Craigie, of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*—Kurath believed that 'definitions remain subservient to the citations themselves', because 'their function is simply to identify separate sets of citations; more specifically, they serve as finding-aids or sign-posts to particular sections of a long entry, they specify the criteria which distinguish one division of citations from one another' (1973: 259).

One can see the differences between Knott's editorial design and procedures and Kurath's easily, by comparing Knott's 1937 specimen to the treatment of the same range of entries, L-LAIK, in the published *MED*. Knott devoted eleven double-column, *OED*-style pages to the range; the *MED* treatment, in contrast, fills nearly twenty-four double-column pages, just over twice as many as Knott had produced. Remarkably, even granting the page-space efficiency of Kurath's spare entry format, which minimizes spacing and distinguishing typography, the *MED* includes 1,506 quotations in its treatment, whereas Knott managed to include only 560—Kurath's plan includes roughly three times the evidence in roughly twice the space. The difference in these ratios of evidence and space can be explained only by difference in editorial plan and technique. (Knott entered 121 lemmata, compared to the *MED*'s ninety, but several of Knott's entries were absorbed into the *MED*'s entry for *ladi(e)* 'lady'. That is, the same material is distributed differently, as compounds formed on *ladi(e)* are treated as derivative in the *MED*.)

If one compares the entries for *lai* in the general senses 'song' and 'short narrative poem', one immediately recognizes profound differences of content, method, and style that distinguish Knott's conception of the *MED* from Kurath's, much to Kurath's credit. Knott's entry is interrupted by a lengthy encyclopedic comment on the Breton *lai* as a literary form; though the note accompanying sense 2b. is only seventeen lines long, compared to twenty-seven lines of quotations, the note is set in type so large that it fills two column inches of space, whereas all the quotations for all three senses occupy but two and a half column inches. Knott shared encyclopedic tendencies with Fries, then, very likely because they worked out their method side by side. It is not difficult to gauge the difference between Knott's and Kurath's temperaments as lexicographers—there is no similar intrusion in Kurath's entry, though evidence of the phrase *lai of Breton* is noted laconically in the definition (see Fig. 14.2).

Like his predecessor Moore, as well as his colleague Fries, Knott thought of the *MED* as a sort of extended supplement to the *OED*, as the 1937 specimen entry for *lai* illustrates: the ' + ' symbol marks an etymology that supposedly improves the *OED*, the encyclopedic commentary just discussed, and the antedating represented by the quotation from the *Lai le Freine*—a1330 beats c1330. Kurath reconceived the *MED* as a dictionary on its own terms, related to the *OED* in scope and method, but edited from scratch according to principles suited specifically to the Middle English lexicon and justified without reference to the *OED*. Kurath resisted commentary and annotation as speculation: he wanted to say only what could be proved, so that the *MED* would stand the test of time and avoid misinforming users. He restricted etymologies to noting the immediate

influenced by OF. *lei commune*.  
 1429 *Rolls Parl.* IV. 360: Yan ye partie yat feleth hym greved, shal take ayenst hym an action at ye *commen laye*, of trespas and disceit.

**LAI**<sup>3</sup>, *sb.* OD: Lay, *sb.*<sup>4</sup> [OF. *lai*, +of Celtic origin; cp. Irish *laoi laoidh*, song, poem, OIr. *lōid*, Gaelic *laoidh* poem, verse.] 1. A lyric poem or song of either religious or secular character.

11250 *Brown English Lyrics XIII.* 8/167: Ich habbe i-sungen þe [the Virgin] ðesne englissce *lai*. 11400 Chaucer *E. Mch.* 1881: And in a lettre wroot he al his sorwe, In manere of a compleyne or a *lay*, Unto his faire, fresshe lady May.

2a. A short narrative poem of romantic adventure;—in some cases intended to be sung with or without musical accompaniment.

11330 *Sir Tristrem* 551: An harpoure made *alay*, Pat tristrem, aresound he. 11400 *Gawain & Green Knight* 30: If 3e wyl lysten pis *laye* bot on littel quile, I schal telle hit astit, as I in toun herde, with tonge,.. In stori stif and stronge. 11450 *Wars Alex.* 6: Sum has langing of lufe *lays* to herken, How ledis for þaire lemman has langor endured.

+ b. *Specif.* A 'Breton lay', a short narrative poem of romantic adventure with a purported Breton original. The six poems in ME. which call themselves lays and claim Breton origin are: *Sir Orfeo*, *Lai le Freine*, Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, *Erle Toulouse*, *Sir Gowther*, and *Emare*. *Sir Launfal*, which calls itself a lay but does not claim a Breton original, is generally grouped with the above six; *Degare* (11330), which neither calls itself a lay nor purports to be of Breton origin, has also been grouped with them by some scholars. These eight poems are all short, unified, and coherent. In only three, *Lai le Freine*, *Franklin's Tale*, and *Degare* is the locale of the story in Brittany. Numerous lays of purported Breton origin were written in OF. in the second half of the twelfth century, in the thirteenth century, and in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, among the most famous of which are those written by Marie de France, c1170.

+ 11330 *Lai le Freine* 14: In Breteyne bi hold time þis *layes* were wrou3t, so seip þis rime. c1330 *Sir Orfeo* 13: In Brytayn þis *layes* arne ywryte, Furst yfounde and forþe ygete—Of aventures þat fillen by dayes, Wherof Brytouns made her layes; When pey myght owher heryn Of aventures þat þer weryn, Pey toke her harpys wip game, Maden *layes* and 3af it name. 11400 Chaucer *F. Fkl.* 710: Thise olde, gentil Britons, in hir dayes, Of diverse aventures maden *layes*, Rymeyd in hir firste Briton tonge, Whiche *layes* with hir instrumentz they songe. 11400 *Launfal*, 4: A *ley* þat was ysette, þat hy3t Launual. 11440 *Erle Toulouse* 1220: Yn Rome thys gest cronyculyd ys, A *lay* of Breytayn callid ywys. 11450 *Sir Gowther* 28: A *lai* of Breyten long y so3ght And owt þerof a tale have bro3ht, þat lufly is to tell. 11450 *Emare* 1030: Thys ys on of Brytayne *layes*, That was vsed by olde dayes.

3. Song of birds.

11300 *K. Alis.* 5211: The foules syngeth her *lay*. 11400 Chaucer *B. Th.* 1959: The thrustelcok made eek hir *lay*. 11420 *Lydg. Troy Book* I. 1198: Þe larke with a blissed *lay*. c1430 *Lydg. Churl & Bird* in Hammond *Eng. Verse* 109/346: The cokkow syngen can but oo *lay* In othir tunys she hath no fantasye.

**LAI**<sup>4</sup>, *sb.* OD: Lay, *adj.* & *sb.* [OF. *lai* a secular person.]

FIG. 14.2. Extract from specimen pages of the *Middle English Dictionary*, 1937

etymon of the precise Middle English reflex: in the case of *lai*, the *MED* records 'OF', that is, Old French, as the etymology; in contrast, Knott took *lai* back to Celtic etyma. No example better demonstrates Kurath's insight: the current *OED*

**lai** n. (2) Also **lei**. [OF]

(a) A short narrative poem of love, adventure, etc., to be sung and accompanied on instruments, especially the harp; ~ of Britoun, a Breton lay; also, a tale; (b) a song, lyric; (c) the song of a bird.

(a) c1330 Orfeo 50/599: Harpours. . made her-of a lay [vr. ley] of gode likeing. . swete is þe note. c1380 Firumb.(1) 1602: What halt hit muche her-of to telle to drecchen ous of our lay [rime: play]? (c1395) Chaucer CT.Fkl. F.710, 712: Thise. . Britons in hir dayes Of diuerse auentures maden layes. . Whiche layes with hir instrumentz they songe Or elles redden hem for hir plesaunce. c1400(?al300) KALex. 2840: Tofore þe kyng com on harpoure And made a lay of gret sauoure. c1450(?al400) Wars Alex. 6: When folk ere festid & fed. . sum has langing of lufe lays to herken. (al470) Malory Wks. 618/10: I woll make a lay for hym and. . make an harpere to syng hit. al500(?c1400) EToulouse 1220: Yn Rome thys geste cronyculyd ywys; A lay of Breytayne callyd hyt ys. al500(?c1400) Gowther 28: A lai of Breyten long y sozght And owt þerof a tale have brozht. al500 Orfeo (Hrl) 2/3: The layes that ben of harpyng. . ben of wele & sum of wo. . of bourdys. . of rybaudy. . of trechery. . of happes þat fallen by whyle. (b) al250 Cristes milde moder 167: God. . unne me. . alle mine ureondmen þe bet beo nu to-dai Ðet ich habbe i-sungen þe ðesne englissce lai. c1300 SLeq.Dunstan (Hrl) 170: Harpe he louede suyþe wel. . A day. . he sat in so-laz and a lay þeron drouz. (al393) Gower CA 8.1670: Sche harpeth many a lay And lich an Angel sang withal. (c1395) Chaucer CT.Mch. E.1881: In a lettre wroot he al his sorwe In manere of a compleynt or a lay.

(c) (c1390) Chaucer CT.Th. B.1959: The thrustelcok made eek his lay [rime: nay, spray]. (al393) Gower CA 7.1046: Every brid upon his lay [rime: Maii] Among the griene le-ues singeth. c1400(?al300) KALex. 5202: Mery tyme it is in Maij! Ðe foules syngeþ her lay. c1400(al376) PPLA(1) (Trin-C) 9.57: Vndir a lynde. . lenide I me a stounde To lerne þe laies þat louely briddis maden. (al420) Lydg. TB l. 1198: Ðe larke with a blissed lay [rime: day] Gan to salue the lusty rowes rede Of Phebus char. al425 Ey a forest 27: I. . asked [read: asked]. . why sche song in her lay, 'Parce mi-chi domine'. al450-1509 Rich. (Brunner) 3760: Merye is in þe tyme off May, Whenne foules synge in here lay. al475 (?al430) Lydg. Pilgr. 14383: The Cookkooow. . vp-on o lay halt so long. al500(?al410) Lydg. CB 346: The cookkow syngen can but o lay [rime: May].

FIG. 14.3. Extract from the *Middle English Dictionary*

explicitly excludes a Celtic origin; ironically, Knott's '+', rather than marking an improvement, warns the user of potential error.

Kurath's editorial plan was syncretic: though he rejected essentially all of Knott's work, he embraced what was useful in that of his other predecessors.

As Norman Blake observes, ‘Kurath subsumed Moore’s working practices, and many of Flügel’s, within his “Editor’s Guide”, issued in 1947. Particular attention was paid to documents which could be localised and early texts were read with special care. Attention was given to personal and place names’ (2002: 57). But the plan was also boldly new. Among many small innovations, three stand out. First, quotation paragraphs were carefully balanced, to whatever extent the evidence would allow. Editors were expected to begin a paragraph with the quotation of earliest date and to supply quotations at roughly twenty-five-year intervals, simultaneously exhibiting all attested spellings. The assemblage of quotations under each sense was expected to provide evidence of subtle semantic development, syntactic patterns of use, regional variation, and also, represented by the array of text types, social variation.

*MED* entry for *lai* certainly achieves a chronological density beyond that of Knott’s earlier choice of quotations, especially revealing in the case of the *MED*’s sense (b), which corresponds to Knott’s sense 1: Knott’s evidence jumps 150 years, while Kurath’s illustrates a more continuous history of the meaning, with the largest jump in the evidence less than a hundred years—of course, one can only illustrate facts insofar as the evidence allows (see Fig. 14.3).

The *MED* evidence also suggests a more complex semantics for *lai* than possible with Knott’s selection: in 1300, according to the *MED*, a lay can be sung in ‘solas’ whereas in the quotation from Chaucer that both treatments share, the song is one of ‘sorwe’. The *MED*’s quotation from a1500 *Orfeo* indicates that, by the end of the Middle English period, *lai* meant ‘poem about sex, treachery, or things that happen’. Knott quoted the c1330 *Orfeo*, in which *lai* means ‘poem of adventure’, but the *MED* captures that sense in the quotation from Chaucer’s *The Franklin’s Tale*. Whereas Knott’s *lai* is made, wrought, sung, or heard in the town (depending on the quotation), the *MED*’s, given the quotation from the *Wars of Alexander*, is something to which those with love-longing should ‘herken’, that is, ‘listen’ or ‘take heed’, shades of meaning missing from the specimen, though available in the literature.

In its larger array of quotations, the *MED* suggests, even certifies, facts about the use of *lai* beyond the reach of Knott’s specimen entry. For instance, Knott’s entry concentrates too much on the use of *lai* in lays, where the *MED* adds several quotations from other types of works, such as the legend of Saint Dunstan and Malory’s *Works*, referring to the tradition of lays and their singing. Another way of expressing the same difference is to note that more prose works are quoted in the *MED* entry than in Knott’s specimen entry. If one wondered whether *lai* was an item of exclusively poetic diction, one would arrive at different conclusions



from the two entries—the one derived from Knott's evidence would be wrong, the one from the *MED* as right as the available evidence could support.

The *MED* better represents use of *lai*, not only in courtly romance, but in common song, historical poems like those by Lydgate, and in works as idiosyncratic and uncourtly as *Piers Plowman*. And while Knott captures a Northwest Midlands example of *lai* by quoting the romance *Gawain and the Green Knight*, the *MED*, while for some reason excluding that, supplies South-western evidence in the quotation from the romance *Sir Firumbras* and Northern evidence in that from *Piers Plowman*, given the manuscript quoted. While one can criticize the range of dialectal use represented in the *MED*, then, its treatment still improves on that in Knott's specimen, primarily because, in the course of editing, more evidence and evidence of more kinds was taken into account.

The *MED*'s second great innovation solved a bibliographic problem. Kurath and Margaret Ogden, who originally designed and compiled both the *MED*'s working bibliography (the densely informative collection of file cards used by editors and staff) and the published version based on it (Kurath, Ogden, Palmer, and McKelvey 1954), had to resolve an intractable textual problem of profound consequence to every entry, indeed, every quotation, as it had to do with assigning accurate dates to Middle English texts: a text may be represented by many manuscripts, and those manuscripts may be of various dates and dialects; but, unless the original manuscript is extant, all of the manuscripts will postdate the text's composition, on occasion by as much as a hundred years. A manuscript may reflect the speech of its underlying text's author, of the scribe of the exemplar manuscript, or the scribe of the manuscript cited in the entry. Kurath and Ogden decided to treat all manuscripts separately (contrary to the *OED*'s practice and that of all other period and regional dictionaries compiled on the *OED*'s pattern), and, for each quotation, to provide both a manuscript date and composition date, a novel system of 'double dating' (Adams 2005: 701–3 and Lewis and Williams 2007: 5).

The third innovation is simply Kurath's extreme reticence. All of the information described above went into entries without editorial commentary: if the quotations demonstrated two hundred years or so of use, from 1225 to 1425, say, in Northern religious texts, but in no other regions or text types, commentary was unnecessary—the scholar using the *MED*, for it was conceived as a scholarly dictionary, would draw his or her own conclusion from the evidence presented. As we learned more about Middle English and language generally, then users would draw better informed conclusions. The evidence, in Kurath's view, would speak for itself; editors, if given the chance, would speak too much and introduce error at the expense of evidence. All of this placed a heavy burden

on quotation paragraphs, heavier than that expected of those in the *OED*, or in Moore's or Knott's versions of the *MED*, not to mention a considerable burden on editors responsible for preparing them.

Ogden had joined the *MED* staff in 1933; Richard McKelvey, who served as director of production for over thirty years, joined late in Knott's tenure. In 1948, Kurath hired Sherman M. Kuhn, a young but prematurely distinguished scholar of Old English, as his associate editor, perhaps on Ogden's recommendation (Adams 2005: 706). With these and other editors, like Charles E. Palmer, and several assistants in place, Kurath pushed hard to vindicate the dictionary in the wake of Knott's ineffectiveness, and finally saw the first fascicle, that for the letter E, into print in 1952. Kurath and the Oxford University Press had agreed to part ways in the late 1940s, and the dictionary was published, instead, by the University of Michigan Press. In order to save costs and to make the dictionary available to interested medievalists, Kurath chose to print the dictionary by a lithographic process resulting in entries that were criticized as difficult to read, because they were tightly printed with essentially no typographical distinctions among layers of information. But the *MED* was suddenly a fact rather than a glint in Craigie's eye. The dictionary's original *Plan and Bibliography* were published in 1954; the bibliography was so clearly an important reference tool that it was issued separately in the same year, to universal acclaim (Adams 2005: 703–4). From then on, from two to four 128-page fascicles were published yearly, until the entire dictionary was in print in 2001.

### 14.3.3 *Kuhn and Lewis: Improving Kurath's Dictionary*

Kurath retired in 1961 and was succeeded by Kuhn, who remained editor-in-chief until 1983. His successor, Robert E. Lewis, began as co-editor in 1982 and saw the dictionary to completion in 2001 (Lewis and Williams 2007: 32). Though the dictionary at completion was fundamentally as designed by Kurath, Kuhn and Lewis were progressively less reticent and changed many small matters of method and presentation over time. Every page of Kuhn's copy of Kurath's 1947 Editorial Manual, now held in the *Middle English Dictionary* archives at the University of Michigan's Bentley Historical Museum, is covered with revisions, and the revisions continued under Lewis. Where Kurath had rarely labelled a form as belonging to a particular dialect, Kuhn relaxed what was nearly a prohibition on doing so. 'Our guiding principle,' Lewis wrote of his own editorial period, 'has been to try to "capture the generality", as I constantly used to tell editors, that is, to present what Kurath called "types of meanings", but at the same time to give the reader as much help as we can with the difficult quotations and with the subtleties of meaning. It is too difficult for the reader, even the knowledgeable, discriminating reader ... At

times I have wondered if some of our distinctions have not been overly precise or overly subtle or overly contextual, but I then think of our obligation to those who consult the *MED* and conclude that it is better to err in this direction (sometimes with caveats) than to be too general' (2002: 81). Widely admired, the *MED* was nevertheless regularly criticized for not handling (or mishandling) the copious evidence it presented (see Blake 2002); Kurath thought erring in the minimal direction preferable, and he enforced that presumption so effectively that, even as Kuhn and Lewis loosened that restraint, their loosening was restrained.

Kuhn oversaw editing of the *MED* from G through P. Editing with a small staff was slow going, especially as the editors began to encounter large letters, like L, M, P, R, S, and T. In 1974, Kuhn applied to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a grant to expand the editorial staff significantly; the application was successful, and from 1975 through 1996, the staff included from seven to thirteen full-time editors, including John Reidy, who served as review editor from 1983 to 1987; his successor, Mary Jane Williams, who was also the *MED*'s bibliographer from 1983, after McKelvey's retirement; Marilyn S. Miller, who joined Williams as a review editor in 1991 and was also responsible for automated aspects of the dictionary's operations; and Elizabeth Girsch, who joined the team of review editors in 1995. The expense of bringing the project to a conclusion from 1980 forward was generously supported by the Mellon Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, to which Lewis made five successful applications. But the University of Michigan and the University of Michigan Press deserve recognition as the greatest continuous sources of support, their commitment to historical lexicography surpassed only by that of the Oxford University Press.

Lewis oversaw publication of the dictionary from R through Z. He and Williams published additions to the *Plan and Bibliography* in 1984 and then, with Miller's assistance, revised and completed work on the *Plan and Bibliography, Second Edition*, published in 2007. The last is very welcome: Ogden's bibliography (1954) included 4,257 entries, but the process of reading new texts continued throughout the project's history, and the fully revised bibliography includes more than 7,100 items; additionally, Lewis has replaced Kurath's laconic 'plan' with a full history of the project, thorough explanation of the principles that underlie it, and helpful account of editorial practices. Of course, it was easier to write the details after the project was complete and open to retrospection.

Lewis gradually incorporated the findings of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh, Samuels, Benskin, *et al.* 1986) into the later alphabetical range, and the effect of that work can be gauged by an appendix on dialect in the 2007 plan (Lewis and Williams 2007: 21–4).

#### 14.3.4 *The Middle English Compendium*

In 1998, the National Endowment for the Humanities began to subsidize creation of the *Middle English Compendium*, under the general editorship of Frances McSparran, who had, at various times, been an *MED* editor, serving as administrative head of the dictionary for a period during Kuhn's editorial tenure. The *Compendium* includes an electronic version of the *MED*, a remarkably flexible 'Hyperbibliography', and many digitally reproduced Middle English texts, all of which are fully searchable and interconnected, thanks to John Price-Wilkin of the University of Michigan's Humanities Text Initiative (McSparran 2002). The electronic format allows for an ever-expanding historical lexical resource: for instance, the Hyperbibliography registers the connections between the *MED* and the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* initiated by Lewis throughout the bibliography, which can be accessed with a click on any citation through any entry. Given the potential for development inherent in the medium, the *MED*, though finished, is a continuing project under the *Compendium's* umbrella.

### 14.4 THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH* (*DOE*)

Last among the period dictionaries to begin, the *DOE* gained considerably from the examples of *EMED* and *MED*, even though, in many respects, it is not a dictionary on historical principles. Nevertheless, especially in terms of automation and the development of related but freestanding resources, the *DOE* in turn sets an example for future historical dictionaries.

#### 14.4.1 *Origins*

In 1919, Craigie suggested that *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898), compiled by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, once supplemented by Toller (1921), would adequately represent Old English vocabulary and obviate the need for a period dictionary of Old English parallel to those projected for Middle and Early Modern English. He was wrong, though it took a long time for specialists in Old English to act on their dissatisfaction with Bosworth–Toller, as the earlier dictionary is usually called. In the late 1960s, Angus Cameron, of the University of Toronto, and C. J. E. Ball, of Lincoln College, Oxford, stimulated by Cameron's work towards a B.Litt. thesis on the semantics of Old English colour words, in which the inadequacies of Bosworth–Toller were manifest (Leyerle 1985: 9), began to formulate plans for an ultimate dictionary of Old English.

By 1968, the University of Toronto's Centre for Medieval Studies had decided to sponsor a new dictionary, under the direction of Cameron and Ball. In order to promote international support and chart the project's future, the Centre hosted a series of conferences: the first took place in March 1969 and focused on automation; the second, in September 1970, considered the state of Old English texts, concordances of Old English, and the structure of the proposed dictionary and the form of its entries; in May 1977, the conference included sessions on automation and concordances, non-literary evidence of Old English, and criticism of the editors' work to that date on entries in *D*.

The *DOE* was particularly well conceived and well planned. While one should not underestimate the genius of its editors, part of that genius was a clear-sighted view of the problems inherent in large-scale historical lexicography, those amply illustrated in the histories of projects like the *OED*, *EMED*, and *MED*. It is significant that Richard W. Bailey and Jay L. Robinson, leaders of the renewed *EMED*, and John Reidy, at various periods an *MED* editor, participated in the 1969 conference (Cameron, Frank, and Leyerle 1970: ix–x). They were joined at the 1970 conference by Frederic G. Cassidy, an assistant on both of those projects in the 1930s and chief editor of *DARE* (Cameron and Frank 1973: 2). Sherman M. Kuhn, then editor-in-chief of the *MED*, attended the third conference, in 1977 (Cameron and Amos 1978: 292). Thus both within the conference structure and in casual conversation, the *DOE* editors were encouraged to think of their project in historical terms; the resulting dictionary suggests that they learned a great deal about dictionary-making from their colleagues, past and present.

One test of the preliminary work was the degree of stability it has provided for the project given some unfortunate personnel changes. Ball withdrew from the project in 1976 (Aitken 1987: 103); Cameron died in 1983 (and was succeeded by Ashley Crandall Amos, the assistant editor, who died shortly thereafter, in 1989 (Amos 1984: 12; Holland 1989: 18)); then Antonette diPaolo Healey, who had been with the project since 1978 (Amos 1979: 15) and had been co-editor with Amos since 1985 (Holland 1986: 21), took the helm. Cameron was able to direct editing of the first published fascicle, but did not see it to completion. Nevertheless, parts of the dictionary have appeared regularly since, more or less within the lines drawn in Cameron and Ball's original plan.

#### 14.4.2 *Character*

In 1977, the editors could describe the *DOE* as including roughly 35,000 entries treating the English lexicon within the period 600–1150 CE. They had an advantage over editors of the other period dictionaries: they could examine every bit of

extant evidence, though the dictionary would not comprehend all of that evidence, especially in the case of grammatical words (articles and prepositions, for instance), too numerous in the record to analyse effectively in dictionary form, even in a dictionary designed for a scholarly audience.

After the first two conferences and considerable deliberation, Cameron and Roberta Frank published *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (1973), a work in the tradition of the *MED's Plan and Bibliography* (1954) and *Michigan Early Modern English Materials* (1975). Like them, it includes a bibliography, 'A List of Old English Texts', prepared by Cameron, which, unlike them, organizes the texts broadly according to type (verse, prose, inscriptions, glosses), notes all of the extant manuscripts, facsimiles, and editions of each text, and cross-refers them to standard bibliographical works, especially Neil R. Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957). Each text is identified by a number, conventionally known today as its 'Cameron number'. Altogether, the *DOE* bibliography includes 3,037 items (Healey 2002: 157). Some Old English texts had not been edited reliably, and Helmut Gneuss developed a procedure for editing such texts to maximize their value to the *DOE*, articulated in a chapter of the *Plan*. In attempting to provide a textual foundation for the dictionary, he followed in the footsteps of F. J. Furnivall, who established the Early English Text Society to enhance the quality of early texts used in the *OED* (Benzie 1983: 117), but developments at the dictionary soon made new critical editions of Old English texts unnecessary for lexicographical purposes.

Ball and Cameron contributed a chapter to the *Plan* with sample entries. These established the *DOE* entry structure as it appears in published fascicles to this date. Each entry begins with a headword (usually a late West Saxon form); lists all attested spellings; provides grammatical information (the word's function, gender, stem-class, etc.); states the number of occurrences, distributed over the text types identified in Cameron's 'A List of Old English Texts'. Senses are analysed and citations provided to illustrate them; Latin equivalents are identified, when appropriate, as are related Old English words (synonyms and antonyms, for instance) and Middle and Modern English reflexes. There are no etymologies, and, in contrast to the *MED*, place-names and personal names are not cited as evidence.

Cameron and Amos claimed that 'while technical innovation has not been one of the purposes of the project, the dictionary has made as much use as possible of modern technology' (1978: 290). Later, though, Cameron realized that the *DOE's* innovative approach to automating lexical resources might guide us to new forms of dictionary and strategies of dictionary use (1983: 18–20). Advances made in the course of developing many historical dictionaries confirmed Cameron's insight; in quite different ways, this set of technologically advanced dictionaries eventually

# dryhten

→ ðriht-, ðryht-, drehten, drehtnen, dreyhten, drhiten, drhten, drhtne, drichten, drihtin, dricren, drih, drihten, drihne, drihny, drihtæn, drihtan, drihten, drihtin, drihtn, drihton, drihtten, drihtyn, driten, drith-, dritnes, driyhten, driyten, dryctin, dryghtne, dryh, dryhnes, dryhtæn, dryhtin, dryhtn-, dryhtnæs, dryhtyn, dryten, dryhtten, ryht'

Noun, m., cl. 1

Att. sp.: dryhten (2000x), drihten (8000x), drehten (HomU 35.2, PsGIE), driyhten (PsGIE), drhten (PsGIK); drhiten (PsGIK); drichten (BenRW, PsGIE), dricren (PsGIE), drihten (PsGIE), drihtten (PsGIK); drihten (PsGIE), dryhtten (PsGIE), drihten (PsGIE); dryten (PsGIA, HomS 2), driten (Solil); ðryhten (PsGIAB), ðrihten (PsGIE, Bede, LS 16) | dryhtæn (Mart 5), drihtæn (PsCaE, PsGIE) | dryhtin (ChronE), drihtin, dryctin (CædN) | dryhtyn (WSGosp MS Cp), drihtyn (PsCaC, PsGIC, WSGosp MS Cp) | drihtan (HomS 5) | drihton (BenRW) | drihter (Li); ðrihter (Li).

dryhtnes, drihtnes (1500x), drehtnes (HomU 35.2); drihtnes (PsGIE); dryhnes (Mart 4), drihnes; drihtnes (xii); dritnes (PsGIG); ðrihtnes (PsCaE) | drihtnæs (PsGIE) | drihtnys, drihnys (PsGIC) || dryhtenes, drihtenes; drihttenes (PsGIK); drihtennes | drihtines, drihtines (xii, xiii) | drihtones (LS 14) || ðryhtne (Bede). dryhtne, drihtne (1500x), drhtne (PsGIF); dryghtne (PsGIE), drihne (PsGIC, BenRGI); drihtne (PsCaE); ðryhtne (PsGIB, Bede), ðrihtne (Bede) | drihtny (PsGIC), drihny (PsGIC) | drihtno (Li, DurRit) || drihtnen (Li), drehtnen (HomU 35.2) | drihtnum (BenR) || dryhtene, drihtene, drhtene (PsGIK); drihtenne | drihtine || drihtenum (ProspGI).

dryhtnas, drihtnas.

dryhtna, drihtna | drihtena, drihtenna.

Also in an inscription now lost: dryhtnæs (RuneBewcastle).

Abbrev. forms in glosses: d', dr', dreyht', drht', drih', driht', dry', dryh', dryht', dryt', ryht', ðrih', ðriht', ðryht'; inflected: drih'es, driht'es, drih'e, drih'ne, drihtn', dryhtn'.

Forms without mark of abbrev.: dryht | driht | drihte (nom.sg) || drihtes || drihte (see sense 4).

Late: drihtin (xiii); driyten (xiii)

ca. 15,500 occ.

1. in poetry and laws: lord, ruler, chief (mainly with genitive complement, e.g. *Creca, Geata, Wedera, eorla, gumena*; cf. *dryhtna*)

*dryhten* sense 2.a.i)

1.a. in poetry 22x (in Beo 15x in sense 1, 14x in sense 2)

**GenA 2227:** **drihten** min, do swa ic þe bidde (Sarah addressing Abraham about taking Hagar as his wife).

**Sea 39:** forþon nis þæs modwlonc mon ofer eorþan, ne his gifena þæs god, ne in geoguþe to þæs hwæt, ne in his dædum to þæs deor, ne him his **dryhten** to þæs hold, þæt he a his sæfore sorge næbbe, to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille.

**Beo 1999:** Biowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgðioes: þæt is undyrne, **dryhten** <Higelac>.

**Beo 2752:** ða ic snude gefrægn sunu Wihstanes æfter wordcwydum wundum **dryhtne** [Beowulf] hyran heaðosiocum.

**Beo 2788:** he ða mid þam maðmum mærne þioden, **dryhten** sinne [Beowulf], driorigne fand ealdres æt ende.

**Met 26.13:** for wiges heard Creca **drihten** [Agamemnon] campsted secan.

**Met 26.19:** diore gecepte **drihten** Creca [Agamemnon] Troia burg tilum gesiðum.

**Beo 2482:** Hæðcynne wearð, Geata **dryhtne**, guð onsæge.

**Beo 1484:** mæg þonne on þæm golde ongitan Geata **dryhten** [Higelac], geseon sunu Hrædles ... þæt ic gumcystum godne funde beaga bryttan.

**Beo 2575:** hond up abræd Geata **dryhten** [Beowulf], gryrefahne sloh incgelafe.

**Beo 2900:** nu is wilgeofa Wedra leoda, **dryhten** Geata [Beowulf], deaðbedde fæst.

**Beo 2183:** hean wæs lange, swa hyne Geata bearn godne ne tealdon, ne hyne on medobence micles wyrðne <**drihten** Wedera> gedon wolde (*drihten* supplied from B, MS wereda).

**Jud 19:** hie þæt fæge þegon, rofe rondwiggende, þeah ðæs se rica ne wende, egesful eorla **dryhten** [Holofernes].

**Beo 2337:** heht him þa gewyrcean wigendra hleo eallirenne, eorla **dryhten** [Beowulf], wigbord wrætlic.

**Brun 1:** her Æþelstan cyning, eorla **dryhten**, beorna beahgifa, and his broþor eac, Eadmund æþeling, ealdorlangne tir geslogon æt sæcce.

**Dan 612:** ða for ðam gylpe gumena **drihten** [Nabuchodonosor] forfangen wearð and on fleam gewat.

**Beo 1822:** gif ic þonne on eorþan owihte mæg þinre modlufan maran tilian, gumena **dryhten** [Hrothgar] ... ic beo gearo sona.

FIG. 14.4. Extract from the *Dictionary of Old English*



included the *OED* and *MED*, but *DARE* and *DOE*, and to a lesser extent *EMED*, were well in front.

*DOE* demonstrates the value of computer-enhanced entries, for instance, as Aitken explains, when providing ‘statistics of word-frequency, such as the surprising and previously wholly unnoticed, indeed all but unknowable, fact that of 15,500 occurrences of *dryhten* [=“lord, the Lord”] almost all refer to the Christian Lord and only 28, mostly in verse, to secular lords, of which 15 are in *Beowulf* (1987: 111). Astonishing indeed, and well worth knowing. Yet Aitken’s focus on what automation provides the reader overlooks how it improves the editorial process. The *DOE*’s value has been determined partly (and unexpectedly) by its commitment to automation, on the one hand, as a component of the editorial and production apparatus, and, on the other, as an entry into a corpus of lexical data and instrument of data manipulation.

The architect of the *DOE*’s computerized system was Richard L. Venezky, of the University of Wisconsin when the project began, later of the University of Delaware. Venezky constructed an archive that can ‘serve as a distributable data base for linguistic and literary research’ (Cameron and Frank 1973: 311), a tool not unlike the *MED*’s working bibliography in its data and purpose, but fully searchable, so that editors would not need to shuffle through drawers of file cards to look for a text’s date of composition or dialect, etc. In cooperation with the editors, Venezky designed a code with which to mark up texts, so that they were analysed uniformly and were searchable; the marked-up texts were transferred, in the first instance, to magnetic tape by optical scanning. By this means, Venezky built a database of all known Old English text: the editors could generate concordances from the database; they could generate slips for editorial use directly from the concordances, saving the editors (and their assistants) considerable labour.

#### 14.4.3 Results

Materials required to edit the *DOE* came in various forms and far exceeded the dictionary itself.

##### 14.4.3 (i) Materials for the Study of Old English

As with Bailey and Robinson, Cameron and his colleagues believed that the raw materials and by-products of their dictionary should be published, in one form or another, so that scholars would have access to them while the dictionary was in progress. The proceedings of the first conference were published as *Computers and*

*Old English Concordances* (Cameron, Frank, and Leyerle 1970); the *Plan* (Cameron and Frank 1973), including its indispensable list of Old English texts, appeared soon after. Having searched for every article about an Old English word or words, they compiled *Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index* (Cameron, Kingsmill, and Amos 1983), with articles listed under their authors in the printed book but under the words they treat on five accompanying microfiches.

Most important among these publications, however, are the results of automation. Venezky collaborated with Healey on a lemmatized concordance of Old English (1980) excluding function words; he then collaborated with Sharon Butler on a concordance of 197 'high-frequency words' (1985). In conception, these were editorial tools, but the editors quickly realized that they were useful in their own rights, and that scholars would gratefully accept access to them. Similarly, the fully searchable corpus was published in several iterations, on magnetic tape (Cameron, Amos, Butler, and Healey 1981), diskette (Healey *et al.* 1993), and finally the World Wide Web (Healey *et al.* 1995) under the aegis of the Humanities Text Initiative at the University of Michigan, where John Price-Wilkin designed the Web interface (Healey 2002: 158). The corpus is published by the University of Michigan Press, in the series Sources of Early English and Norse Electronic Texts, with the most recent revision dated 2000.

#### 14.4.3 (ii) *The Dictionary of Old English*

While a print version of the dictionary is expected to appear eventually, fascicles are currently published on microfiche, which (as with *Michigan Early Modern English Materials*) can be computer-generated as well as accessible on the World Wide Web. The first fascicle, with entries under D, was published in 1986; entries under C followed in 1988; B appeared in 1991 and Æ in 1992; A was published in 1994 and E in 1996; F was issued in 1999 with the other six, on CD-ROM; and G was published in 2007, on the Web, CD-ROM, and microfiche. In all, then, eight of twenty-two fascicles have been published to date.

## 14.5 CONCLUSION

Every vocabulary requires individual treatment: the characteristics of Old, Middle, and Early Modern English diverge in both obvious and subtle ways, and the techniques appropriate to treating one will differ from those best suited to another. The *EMED*, *MED*, and *DOE* are independent dictionaries distinguished

by editorial procedures and methods of presentation developed to deal with the idiosyncrasies of their respective lexicons and to achieve visions of what historical lexicography can and should be. But they were not developed in isolation and their histories are partly shared, as the histories of historical dictionaries meant to address deficiencies in the *OED* are likely to be.

## REFERENCES

Besides the published resources listed at the end of the book, there are significant archives of material relating to the *Middle English Dictionary* and the Early Modern English Dictionary project in the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan and the Oxford University Press Archives (see especially dropped file 4665). Richard W. Bailey owns an apparently unique copy of the 1936 specimen of the *EMED*, from which figure 14.1 is reproduced with his permission. Materials underlying the present chapter are cited and fully described in Adams 1995 and 2002, Bailey 1980, and Bailey, Downer, and Robinson 1975.

# DICTIONARIES OF CARIBBEAN ENGLISH

*Jeannette Allsopp*

## 15.1 INTRODUCTION

IT is a natural sociolinguistic development that where a recognized language exists there should be a dictionary to ensure that the variety selected by the speech community concerned is codified, and that this dictionary should be generally recognized as the authority in matters of usage. This is no less true of Caribbean English than of any other variety of the English language as we know it today. Caribbean English is historically the oldest variety of English after its progenitor, British English, having first been brought to the region in the sixteenth century by such seafaring knights as Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh, seeking to gain a foothold in the region so as to establish settlements for the British Crown. The English-based Creoles that then developed through the 'triangular trade' that flourished between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and involved an influx of several million West African slaves, paved the way, first via creolization and later via decreolization, for the rise of the variety that is known today as Caribbean English.

Efforts to chronicle it have been quite regionally polarized in that, unlike Canadian or New Zealand English, which are spoken on one land mass and are therefore largely homogeneous varieties, Caribbean English is a series of sub-varieties of English, distributed over many different territories that are separated from each other by the Caribbean Sea. Two of those, Guyana and Belize, are in geographically distant parts of the South and Central American mainland, but their history is similarly one of British colonization and settlement and so

qualifies their varieties of English to be included in any representative study of Caribbean English lexicography.

## 15.2 EARLY WORKS IN CARIBBEAN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

Caribbean English lexicography began as early as 1905, in Guyana, with a small book by J. A. Van Sertima called *The Creole Tongue*, followed by J. G. Cruikshank's *Black Talk—Notes on Negro Dialect in British Guiana*. More seminal in the development of Caribbean English lexicography, however, is Frank Collymore's *Barbadian Dialect*, which appeared in 1955 and is somewhat more comprehensive than either of the two works mentioned above. Indeed, the full title given to Collymore's work is *Notes for a Glossary of Words and Phrases of Barbadian Dialect* because, as the author explains, he was extremely conscious that accuracy of definition and etymology were two formidable challenges, and that meeting them would have required more time and in-depth knowledge of the historical background of the island than he possessed. Furthermore, having had recourse to dictionaries of Standard British English, Collymore realized that there were definitely semantic shifts that had taken place between the standard British variety and the Barbadian variety, and that these, too, needed to be taken into account.

Other early Caribbean English lexicographic work includes *Popular Phrases in Grenada Dialect* by C. W. Francis in 1971; *Creole Talk of Trinidad and Tobago* by C. R. Ottley in 1965 and 1971; *Virgin Islands Dictionary* (St Croix) by G. A. Seaman in 1967; and *Dictionary of Guyanese Folklore* by A. J. Seymour, in 1975. There are also *Random Remarks on Creolese* by C. A. Yansen in 1975, which is a commentary on Guyanese Creole; *What a Pistarckle* (St John and the US Virgin Islands) by L. Valls, in 1981; and *Cote ce Cote la* (Trinidad and Tobago) by John Mendes, in 1985. There is also a small work called *The Belizean Lingo* by George McKesey, published in 1974. These works illustrate the many attempts made to grapple with the varieties of English found at the local level within the much wider regional entity that is Caribbean English. They are useful in that they are pioneering efforts, unsophisticated in terms of the professional standards that would later develop in Caribbean English lexicography, but making definite attempts to chronicle the idiosyncrasies of the individual varieties with which they deal.

### 15.3 CARIBBEAN TERRITORIAL ENGLISH DICTIONARIES

#### 15.3.1 *The Dictionary of Jamaican English (DJE)*

The first major territorial scholarly dictionary that appeared in the Anglophone Caribbean was the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, compiled by Frederic Cassidy and Robert Le Page and published in 1967 by Cambridge University Press. A second edition appeared in 1980. Designed on historical principles, the *DJE* was intended to be a complete inventory of Jamaican Creole as well as a record of more educated Jamaican English. The *DJE* is based on transcribed tape-recordings of a variety of informants from all over the island. The recordings were responses to a questionnaire patterned after that of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, but adapted to Jamaican conditions by Cassidy. They thus described the activities of small farmers, hog-hunters, boat-builders, cane-planters, cattlemen, fishermen, domestics, schoolteachers, and social workers. They also documented tales, songs, and biographies. The material was classified according to the language status and geographical distribution of the speakers and it formed the basic content of the *Dictionary*. It was combined with a list of dialect words and phrases collected from a competition held by the *Daily Gleaner* of Kingston in 1943. This brought in several hundred entries from all parts of Jamaica. They ranged from a few words on a single sheet of paper to a hundred or more items on several sheets. This collection was passed on to Le Page, who made a file of them and donated the originals to the *Dictionary*. The items cited are entered in the *DJE* as '1943 GL' followed by the name of the parish from which the entry came, when known; they appear in the *Dictionary* as in the following example:

- (1) **COCOOCHAWYER** sb and adj dial; prob a form of COCO-TAYA. A mean or insignificant person.  
1943 GL StAnn, Cocochawyer, mean, low, not countable.

There was also the collection of Mr H. P. Jacobs, who had gathered lexical items in Jamaica for many years. Mr Jacobs donated to the Survey the transcribed version of his collection, which covered about half the letters of the alphabet and was gathered between 1935 and 1948, and also gave freely of his advice. This material was incorporated into the *Dictionary* and, where his citations are used, they carry the date of the observation followed by HPJ and the parish from which they originated. Wherever Mr Astley Clark, who assisted in transcribing the

items, added his own notes, they are cited as 'A. Clark in HPJ', as the following example illustrates:

- (2) **BARQUADIER** sb arch; 1774 1823  
 1838 barquadier, 1970 barguadier, 1808 barquedia,  
 1940 barkadere; <Sp *embarcadero*, a wharf;  
 the form is that of a French word, but no record  
 of such has been found; this word, like some  
 others, was probably Gallicized by Englishmen.  
 Cf *OED embarcadero*.<sup>1</sup>
1. An export wharf. BL . . .
  2. Attrib: *barquedier road*, a road from a pro-  
 perty to the barquadier; *barquedier cattle*, cattle  
 employed in drawing produce to the barquadier;  
*barquadier (wagon)*, a waggon used to transport  
 produce to the barquadier, etc.

1863 Waddell 134 (year 1838), The 'barquadier road',  
 led from Frankfort wharf [Ocho Rios] up the sides of the  
 mountains. 1935 HPJ Tre, Barquadier road, waggon,  
 cattle. 1940 Astley Clark [in HPJ] 'Now "barkadere".'

Another body of material was that collected by the Institute of Education of the then University College of the West Indies, now the University of the West Indies (UWI), in Jamaica. It consisted of the transcribed recordings, made by researchers like Astley Clark, of the spontaneous conversation of children in school playgrounds or in their homes, using any spelling that seemed to reflect the pronunciation. The material was then collated and analysed for the Institute and made available to Le Page, who took citations for the *Dictionary* from it. Those citations are recorded in the *DJE* as '1957 JN', followed by the relevant parish when that is known, as the following example shows:

- (3) **DOWN** /doun, dong/ prep dial; for *down at*.  
 (Also in London vulgar speech. LeP.) At,  
 down at. *G*
- 1957 JN Clar, Mrs Rickman, down Trout Hall, mam;  
 StE, Tree a wee de here wid we father but one down  
 Mountainside live wid Missa Rogers. [*Three of us are here*  
 with our father but one at Mountainside lives with Mr R.]

<sup>1</sup> The citations of the first and second senses of the word have both been left out because only Mr Clark's input is being recognized here.

Other material came from Mrs Jean Brown, secretary to the English Department of the University College, who contributed a number of citations which are usually recorded in the *DJE* as JB preceded by the date. Several other sources were tapped, such as students and staff at the University College and at University College Hospital, individual members of the public, the Botany Department of the UCWI and the West Indian Medical Journal.

Cassidy and Le Page also faced some descriptive challenges, as was to be expected, because of the nature of the material with which they were dealing. The first was the fact that, because of the limited standard of education of many of the informants, the spelling of items could only approximate to what was heard; wherever possible, however, the spelling of the original material has been retained. Such a problem led to the difficulty experienced in relation to the phonetic representation of the items in the *DJE* to represent as accurately as possible the pronunciation of the folk dialect. The *DJE* covers a range of dialects from the Creole to a more educated form of Jamaican English, and uses Received Pronunciation (RP) as a point of reference against which the quality of the sounds of Jamaican English can be measured.

In order to formulate his phonemic notation, Cassidy used the descriptions of educated southern English usage by several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English pronunciation experts, such as Gil (1619), Cooper (1687), and Douglas (c.1740). Also contributing to the notation were the descriptions of those West African languages, Twi by Chistaller (1875) and Ewe by Westermann (1907), seen to have the greatest influence on the formation of Jamaican English. Cassidy felt that since, until comparatively recently, RP was the model for educated speakers of Jamaican English, it was reasonable to show that the vowel and consonant phonemes of Jamaican Creole were reflexes of the appropriate RP phonemes. This has been done in great detail in the section on Historical Phonology in the front matter of the *DJE*. In that section, Cassidy has merged the reflex vowel and consonant phonemes of Jamaican Creole from British RP with the relevant sounds of Twi and Ewe, showing that, whereas tone is an important factor in sound production and meaning in a language like Twi, for example, it cannot be used in the same way to represent syllabic stress in English. In addition, the consonants of Twi and Ewe, as presented by Christaller and Westermann, have been compared with the consonants of English and it has been found that many usages in Jamaican English which seem to be Africanisms also occur in one or more British English dialects. There is extensive treatment of consonant clusters, assimilation, metathesis, aphesis, intrusives, and parasitics.

For example, we may look at the unstressed vowel /i/ in Jamaican as in the word *peeny* /piini/, where the unstressed /i/ is equivalent to the British English



sound [ɪ] rather than [i:]. With regard to consonants, initial /k/ and /g/ tend to be palatalized before low-front [a] and [a:], for example, /gyaadn/ for *garden* but not before low-back vowels like [ɔ:], for example, /gaadn/ for *Gordon*. Consequently, the phonemic rendering of *garden egg* is /gyaadn ég/.

Another feature of Jamaican Creole is that the diphthong /uo/ is the regular reflex of RP /oɪ/, conservative RP /]χ/ wherever that phoneme derives from a seventeenth-century /uω/, /oɪ/ or /]ω/ before [r] as in *pork* /puok/, *four* /fuo/, *more* /muo/. Some other phonological features are the following. Vowels in final unstressed positions in Jamaican Creole can occur without diphthongization or any loss of quality, unlike RP, where this only occurs with /ɪ/ and then only in some cases. Examples are /neba/ *never*, /sense/ *senseh-fowl* (a fowl with no neck feathers). Initial and final consonant clusters are lost, such as /st/ and we find /tan/ for *stand*, /san/ for *sand*. There are also assimilations, /aaredi/ for *already*, and /sk/ metathesis, /aks/ for *ask*, as well as /r/ and /l/ metathesis, /prakapain/ for *porcupine* and /flim/ for *film*. The normal British English tendency to apheresis in speech, such as 'cos for *because*, is also common in Jamaican Creole in words like /gens/ for *against*. There is also the occurrence of intrusive consonants such as /b/ which gives /tambran/ for *tamarind*.

As the entries cited above illustrate, etymologies are given wherever possible, but they are not enclosed within or identified by *the* use of square brackets, and in some entries there are brief notes on the usage of the item which come at the end of the citation. Glossing is concise but also fully informative. The use of fully dated citations throughout the text, which reflects the historical nature of the work, is one of its greatest strengths. As has been pointed out in the introduction to the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage (DCEU)*, the *DJE* is a fully documented basic Jamaican Creole lexicon, together with upper-level Jamaican originals in international English (R. Allsopp 1996: xx). It is the first scholarly work in Caribbean English lexicography, but, unfortunately, its design makes it unable to meet the general everyday needs of its intended users whose usage of language it includes. Consequently, it is perhaps naturally seen as only pertaining to Jamaica, although its high level of linguistic scholarship makes it regional in scope and importance. Furthermore, it is not generally used by Caribbean educators at either secondary or tertiary level in their respective territories.

### 15.3.2 The Dictionary of Bahamian English (*DBE*)

*The Dictionary of Bahamian English*, by John Holm and Alison Watt Shilling, appeared in 1982, 'the result of four years of fieldwork and research' (1982: iii) and is the second regional scholarly dictionary to be published. It is the first compre-

hensive study of colloquial Bahamian English, and forms ‘a link between the Caribbean Creoles, such as Jamaican English, and the English spoken today by many black people in the United States’. Since the *DBE* is meant to reflect the English spoken in the Bahama Islands, of which there are seven hundred, only thirty being inhabited, the authors had to restrict themselves to the more accessible islands of the chain, while at the same time selecting so judiciously among them that the dictionary manages to remain representative of the whole (Robertson 1982: 109). This was one of the major challenges that the compilers faced.

The introduction to the *DBE* includes the historical aspects considered by Holm and Shilling to be important, but their description of the process of creolization is flawed in that it leans heavily on the theory of simplification. They account for European-based Creoles brought to the Caribbean as simplified languages with the lexicon of the particular European language and a basically African structure which evolved into the Caribbean Creoles. However, further on in the same essay, very pertinent aspects of West African origin are listed without explanation, contradicting the earlier claims of simplification which is, in any case, a rather troublesome and largely unsubstantiated explanation of creolization.<sup>2</sup> There is no denying the European contribution to creolization, but the West African input, in terms of structure, is also crucial.

A claim is also made for a Bahamian–Gullah connection through the citing of a list of nine items by Parsons (1923), including such items as *day clean* for *daybreak*, *meet for find*, and *man* as a form of address. However, such items and some of the others listed among the nine are in wide and current use in the southern Caribbean, where there is little historical support for a link with Gullah.

Like its predecessor and counterpart, the *DJE*, the *DBE* is designed on historical principles. Another useful aspect of the *DBE* is that it identifies the entries according to the islands on which they are used. That geographical identification is what helps to weld the dictionary together as being representative of Bahamian English in general, as is seen in the following entry where the territory is identified by name—Andros:

- (4) **fowl-crow** [also Gul. ADD] *n.* the crowing of roosters, marking different periods of the pre-dawn hours: 1977 *before daylight next morning, just about second ‘fowl-crow’* (Albury 17) <Andros, Long>

<sup>2</sup> Compare the retention of the base verb in Bahamian dialect, with tense and aspect being indicated by preverbal markers, with the verbal system of the Yoruba languages spoken in Nigeria and also with a similar structure in Elizabethan English, such as ‘The country cocks do crow, the clocks do toll’ where the *do* would not have emphatic use as in standard English today. This indicates the use of such markers could have either an English or a West African source, or both.

Far from emphasizing separation, the names of the different islands in different entries show that each entry is a part of the wider entity of Bahamian English, as the reality is that the Bahamas are a collection of separate islands administered by one government as one entity.

As illustrated by the entry below, etymologies—which are given in most cases—occur immediately after the headword and before the pronunciation. This closely follows Cassidy's phonemic notation as used in the *DJE*, except in cases where the pronunciation needs to be indicated immediately because there are variant spellings, as in the following example:

- (5) **gillelmo** /gílelbow/ <Berry>; **gelabo** /gélabow/ (Nassau) [W Car.; cf. MCC *gilamba* Prov. *Gálembo* (Washbaugh 1974: 161). Belize *gilanbòr* (Dayley), all (blue) parrot fish] *n.* a fish, the mature slippery dick (*Irido bivittatus*). Cf. BLUE RAINBOW, BLUE WIMBO, PORG

Although glossing is largely both detailed and informative, it must also be noted that there are some items which appear to have been just slipped in and which are very cursorily treated, such as:

- (6) **gumma bush** [etym?] *n.* a shrub (sp?) up to three feet in height with broad green leaves. <Andros, San Sal.>

Many plants can be so described and there is no attempt to include a scientific name for this item. There are other such entries which may be considered incomplete and which, despite the detailed treatment of the majority of entries, mar the professionalism of the work, which is otherwise of a scholarly standard.

It is also regrettable that, like its predecessor the *DJE*, the *DBE*, despite its regional reach and its importance as a landmark in the production of dictionaries of Caribbean English, and the development of Caribbean English lexicography, is not in regular use by educators at either secondary or tertiary level in the Caribbean territories.

### 15.3.3 *Other Caribbean dictionaries as precursors to the DCEU*

So far in this account, the trend established in the Anglophone Caribbean is for territorial dictionaries to be compiled, and a sample follows of the less ambitious attempts to follow this trend. I am referring specifically to three small territorial dictionaries which are of some significance when dealing with the development of Caribbean English lexicography. Chronologically, the first is *The Belizean Lingo* (1974), by George McKesey, which seeks to record Belizean Creole and also adds

radio commentary, some Anancy stories and some Belizean proverbs and expressions. The second is *What a Pistarckle* (1981) by Lou Valls, which attempts to inventory the English of the Virgin Islands for popular consumption, and the third is *Cote ce Cote la* (1985), by John Mendes, which does the same for the English of Trinidad and Tobago. This last work includes a special list of items representing Carnival characters, costumes, and a list of popular sayings.

*The Belizean Lingo* is a basic list of Creole words and expressions which are morphosyntactically classified. The definitions are in many cases one-word equivalents, although there are some that may aim to define the meaning of the particular item in slightly more detail. There is no phonological representation of pronunciation. For example, note the item *kyato*, which is defined as follows:

- (7) **kyato** (n.): ('kya' is one syllable)  
 Catfish

Compare the item **jook**:

- (8) **jook** (n., v.): a puncture; to stick or puncture,  
 especially the skin. (Rhymes with 'book')

After the first listing of single items, there is a second listing of compounds or short phrases which are not related to any other words, such as:

- (9) **yu coco roas**: you are in good circumstances  
**Warry-sahma**: Machete – a long straight edged tool used for cutting grass, bush, wood, etc.

Occasionally, there is mention of a parallel in American dialect or something from the West Indian islands, Guyana or Nigeria. No explanation of exactly what is meant by American dialect is given, but one can see the very early beginnings of cross-referencing. The rest of the book is devoted to the reproduction of some radio broadcasts on Belizean dialect and the last section is a short one on Belizean proverbs such as:

- (10) Ebry man know whitch part y own house leak. (Every man knows where his own house leaks).  
 Meaning: Every man knows his weaknesses.

Here, the proverb is given in Creole, followed by a literal English rendering and finally the meaning of the proverb in the form of the equivalent English proverb. This far predates the *Book of Afric Caribbean Proverbs*, by Richard Allsopp (2004),

which also gives the Creole proverb, then an English translation, but continues with a much more detailed treatment which includes historical details in some cases. However modest in scale, McKesey's work is an important precursor of the major work to come in the form of the *DCEU*.

The work of Lou Valls is equally worthy of mention, because although it is really a glossary of Virgin Islands English, compiled basically to inform and appeal to the general public and to tourists, it is very useful as an organized record of local speech. Although there is no attempt to provide systematic grammar labelling (e.g. vi, vt, det, adj.) or to reproduce pronunciations, there is some effort to classify certain items and to describe how they are pronounced, although this is done quite unscientifically. There is some recognition of different senses of words and, in that case, the senses are numbered consecutively. Note the following example:

- (11) FA 1. Modal. 'Me fa done.' I am finished. 'Me fah noh no.'  
 I don't know. 2. For. Pertaining to. Belong to. Employed by.  
 People and property are said to be 'fa.' 'Ivan fa Frederiksen.' Ivan,  
 who is employed by Frederiksen. 'Prosperity, fa Miss Bee Christensen.'  
 Prosperity, the plantation belonging to Miss Bee Christensen.  
 'De beel fa she.' Her car.

Similarly, when items of flora or fauna are treated, the scientific name is always included, which assists greatly in the identification of the particular item, as can be seen in the following example:

- (12) **GINGER THOMAS** Yellow cedar or yellow elder tree (*Tecoma stans*) and Flower. Leaves are used in medicinals to cure jaundice, colds, fevers, diabetes and headaches. In P.R., 'Roble Amarillo' or 'Saúco Amarillo.' In Trinidad, 'Christmas Hope.' Proclaimed the official flower of the Virgin Islands by Gov. Paul M. Pearson, 20 June 1935.

In this entry, too, there is an attempt to cross-reference the item to equivalents in both Spanish and English and some encyclopedic information is also given, as is the case in many entries. Valls's work may be regarded as having a basic lexicographical style, which was to reach its fullest level of refinement in the later *DCEU*.

In Trinidad and Tobago, there was a parallel work in the form of a glossary called *Cote ce Cote la* by John Mendes. It is also very basic in design, being a listing of words and glosses that give the meaning of the items and also include encyclopedic information. The work treats not only Trinbagonian<sup>3</sup> English words and phrases

<sup>3</sup> A typically Caribbean adjective of nationality which is a blend of Trin(idadian) and (To)bagonian and usually refers to a citizen of the twin-island state.

but also French Creole and Indic items that have become absorbed into the lexicon of Trinidadian English. There is no attempt at syntactic classification, but there is sometimes basic phonological representation in the form of spelling pronunciation. There is also very rudimentary cross-referencing in the form of 'See items'. Some items of flora, particularly trees, are usually referred to by their scientific names. On the whole, it is a very useful, informative work that can easily be used by the general public. Unlike *What a Pistarckle*, it does not include any sense numbering but it does put similar items like popular ideophones together in a section called 'Sayings'. An example of this is the item 'buck tong a-bun dong' meaning that your business is going badly, while you are enjoying yourself. *Cote ce Cote la* also includes a list of items which is specially dedicated to Carnival, the all-inclusive national festival of Trinidad and Tobago, as well as a list of well-known proverbs and popular sayings. The fact that it is an illustrated glossary also adds to its appeal. Examples of entries are the following:

(13) **GRU-GRU BOUEF**

Pronounced *Groo-groo-bef*

The fruit from a palm-type tree. Round about 3.6 mm/1.5 ins in diameter, and very difficult to chew, as its fibrous kernel is covered with a thick, gummy substance. The tree and the branches are covered with thorn or picant. See MONKEY KNOW under SAYINGS.

This single item is French Creole. The pronunciation is given according to a respelling system, and the definition follows. There is cross-referencing to 'Monkey Know', a well-known popular saying which is found in the list at the back of the book.

The next item is a saying:

(14) **ONE-ONE DOES FULL BASKET**

One by one may seem slow, but eventually it will fill the basket.  
Even though the going may seem tedious, sure success lies ahead.

The final item that will be cited is one describing Carnival-type characters:

(15) **IMPS**

Characters in Devil Band. Servants and messengers of hell. They wear Skin-fits with wings, tails and half-masks with horns. In their hands they carry axes, horns, dice and face cards. Their movement is sprightly.

*Cote ce Cote la* therefore treats a full cultural range of material in the English of Trinidad and Tobago and provides useful information for the general public.

It must be noted that, chronologically, these three works appeared quite close to each other in the 1970s and the 1980s. This fact indicates that there were people who regarded their local language varieties as important enough to be recorded and their culture quite worthy of being chronicled through those varieties. The works represent a highly significant change in consciousness and show that the cultural insecurity normally associated with post-colonial societies and referred to earlier was very slowly giving way to a more positive cultural self-image.

The combination of both scholarly territorial work in the form of the *DJE* and the *DBE* and the less scholarly editions that appeared in Belize, the Virgin Islands, and Trinidad and Tobago, for example, showed that the time was ripe for the appearance of an all-embracing master work of regional reach, combining pan-Caribbean linguistic scholarship, cultural power and authenticity, and lexicographical professionalism. All these characteristics are fused into one work, namely the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (*DCEU*), by Richard Allsopp.

## 15.4 REGIONAL CARIBBEAN ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

### 15.4.1 *The Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (*DCEU*)

#### 15.4.1 (i) Genesis

The *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* originated in the late 1940s as an idea in the mind of its eventual author, Richard Allsopp, prompted by two experiences. The first occurred when he was an undergraduate student of French attending summer school in France and was asked to translate into English the French phrase for *It had stopped raining*. He proudly rendered his translation as ‘The rain had held up’, only to be reprimanded by his tutor. Quite piqued by the clear signal from his tutor that his English was not all that he thought it was, his pride was further bruised when his English fellow students agreed wholeheartedly with his tutor. That was the first time that Allsopp realized that his ‘English’, and indeed the English used in the Caribbean as a whole, was not exactly the same as British Standard English. The second experience was when he began to teach French on his return to his native British Guiana in 1948 and found on one occasion that some of his French students translated *une pierre* as ‘a brick’, rather than ‘a stone’. Those two experiences were responsible for the genesis of the all-embracing work on Caribbean English, the *DCEU*.

From this point on, as he recognized that his students would be writing examination papers for the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations Board, Allsopp began collecting in an exercise book the words, phrases, and idioms that he knew would be unacceptable to a British Examining Board. As his collection of exercise books grew, they became filled with material taken not only from the work of his students but also from personal experiences and encounters, surreptitious recordings, and journalistic literature. He then replaced his exercise books with  $6 \times 4$  cards as, at that time, his intention was to publish a glossary of Guianese words and phrases. The collection was stored in shoeboxes. His first publication in the journal *Kyk-over-al*, in the form of an article called 'The language we speak', was also his first unconscious foray into the field of lexicography. Shortly after this, Allsopp went to University College London to read for an MA in English, and the thesis produced for the award of that degree—entitled 'Pronominal Forms in the Dialect of English Spoken in British Guiana'—was, historically, the first MA thesis in the field of Creole studies. It was followed by his Ph.D. thesis on Guianese verb forms, and he was now well on his way to producing what would eventually turn out to be the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (J. Allsopp 1998: 38).

The defining moment in Allsopp's lexicographical career came when he began, as a member of staff of the UWI in Barbados, to cross-reference his Caribbean examples to his Guianese items, as one result of a 1967 resolution passed by the Association of Caribbean Headmasters and Headmistresses,<sup>4</sup> and later in response to the Ford Foundation's funding of the Caribbean Language Research Programme,<sup>5</sup> for which he additionally proposed the compilation of a dictionary of West Indies usage. Thus there came into being Richard Allsopp's Caribbean Lexicography Project, housed at the UWI Cave Hill Campus, with him as director/coordinator.

#### 15.4.1 (ii) Data-collection: 1972–82

Allsopp's data-collection workshops, thirty-eight in all, began to operate in 1972, first in the territories of the Eastern Caribbean, and later going as far as Belize and the Bahamas, and including the smaller territories such as the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Tobago, and Nevis. These workshops were usually set up by teachers and they made the fact even clearer to him that, despite the magnitude of the

<sup>4</sup> The Association referred to passed a resolution that the relevant department in the UWI be asked to compile a list of lexical items in each territory and circulate these to schools for the guidance of teachers. Richard Allsopp took action on it.

<sup>5</sup> A UWI programme funded by the Ford Foundation which provided support for Caribbean linguists in their work on language development in the region.



task, there was an unmistakable need for such a reference work on Caribbean English as a whole.

However, despite the model provided earlier by Cassidy and Le Page in the *DJE*, Allsopp realized, quite early in his lexicographical work, that he could not compile a dictionary on historical principles, like the *DJE* or the *OED*, in view of the geographical scale of the Caribbean region. That aspect was therefore abandoned. The monumental task of data-collection nonetheless continued from Guyana to Belize, covering twenty-two territories, with an invaluable input from research assistants loaned by the University of Guyana, who zealously collected and collated workshop data over a number of years. Also invaluable was the provision by the Barbados Government of a secondary school teacher as a research assistant to the project at UWI Cave Hill Campus in Barbados for eight years, and the secondment of teachers from the Trinidad school system (funded by the Trinidad Government), who also functioned as research assistants and contributed very valuable data to the project.

During this period, Allsopp recognized the vital fact that Caribbean English does not derive from the English language only, or, more specifically, from English Creoles only, or only non-standard English dialects of the United Kingdom. The English of the islands, which at some time in the region's colonial past were under the domination of the French—such as Trinidad, Grenada, St Lucia, and Dominica, includes French Creole items.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, a wide variety of loan-words exists, taken from the indigenous languages of the Caribbean as well as from those languages which came into the Caribbean through colonization and settlement by European powers—the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese. Furthermore, a vast number of proverbs and phrases, clearly calques of the numerous Niger-Congo languages spoken by the millions of West African slaves, were brought across the Atlantic during the era of the slave trade and have their counterparts right across the language varieties of the Caribbean, including the French, Spanish, and Dutch-based Creoles. Finally, as a result of later developments, such as East Indian immigration, a large number of Indic loanwords also came to form part of Caribbean English. The painstaking research required into the etymologies of this huge number of items, since it is in the etymologies that so much of our cultural history lies, caused the compilation of the *DCEU* to take much longer than the earlier dictionaries cited (J. Allsopp 1998: 40).

<sup>6</sup> See *souse-glo*, the French Creole word for POND-FLY, which is a combination of French Creole *susé* (<Fr *sucer*) 'suck' + *glo* (<Fr *de l'eau*) 'water', i.e. 'suck-water' referring to the insect's posture when it alights on water.

15.4.1 (iii) Content of the *DCEU*

The content of the *DCEU* includes as complete an inventory as practicable of items reflecting the Caribbean environment and lifestyle, as known and spoken in each territory, but not recorded in standard British and American dictionaries. Descriptions of ostensive items include a physical description of the item, followed by encyclopedic information, which is separated from the description by a semicolon. All items are cross-referenced since Caribbean English has many different names for one item, and, conversely, one name for many different items. This was one of the challenges faced by the author. In the *DCEU*, the many names for one item have been called ALLONYMS or 'other names'. However, since a referent is defined only once in the *Dictionary*, one allonym, a 'main' or 'primary allonym', is chosen according to a frequency of occurrence principle (it is usually also the name most widely used). All other names, which are called 'secondary allonyms' and indicated by two forward slashes (//), are referred to the entry for the main allonym for the definition of the item. Territorial labelling of each item is therefore obligatory. For example, the following entries may be noted:

- (16) **dunk(s)\*** [dʌŋk(s) ~ dʌŋs] *n* (*pl*) (Bdos, Guyn, StKt, StVn) //byre (Guyn)// *coco-plum* (CayI) //coolie-plum 1. (Jmca) //dum(b)-fruit (StKt) //dumps (Antg) //dungs (Guyn) //governor-plum 2. (Belz) //Jew-plum (CayI) //juju (be) (Baha, Jmca) //koko-kouli, *ponm siwèt* (StLu) //pomme-surette (Angu, Nevs, StKt) A small apple-shaped plum, yellow shading into light-brown when ripe, with a white, brittle, sweetish-sour flesh around a single, stone-hard seed; it is borne on a medium-sized, spreading, and very prickly tree many varieties of wh stink when in blossom; *Ziziphus Mauritania* or *Z. jujuba* (*Rhamnaceae*). [Orig *dung-tree* from the distinctly dung-like smell of the young blossoms in the wind. However, the objectionable naming of the fruit *dung* by back-formation led to several euphemisms, principally **dunk**, but also **dumb**, **dump**] □ Since the word occurs mostly in the *pl* in ref to the fruit, the form **dungs** pronounc [dʌŋs ~ dʌŋz] (also spelt *dounce* by E. Mittelholzer) is used in Guyn. Other variant spellings abound: *donce*, *dngs*, *donks*, *down(e)s*, *dums*, *duncks*, etc.

Note that the item **dunk(s)** has twelve allonyms or other names. Each of the other names is entered in its correct alphabetical place in the body of the *DCEU*. The item **byre** would be treated as follows:

- (17) **byre** [baʊr] *n* (Guyn) [Indic] //DUNKS (Bdos, Guyn, Trin) [Bhoj < Hin *ber* 'plum, jujube'] □ This name is restricted to rural Indic people, the tree being of particular religious significance to Muslims.

Here, the primary allonym is indicated by both double slashes (//) and small capitals. There is no definition because the definition will be found under the primary allonym **dunk(s)**, but there is an etymology and a usage note indicated by the small square box preceding it. In other words, entries for secondary allonyms do not carry definitions but may contain other elements of a dictionary entry such as citations, etymologies, and usage notes.

It is also to be noted that the primary allonym **dunk(s)** is followed by an asterisk. This happens with all items that are to be found in the *Multilingual Supplement* to the *DCEU* compiled by this writer, and which will be dealt with as a separate development of Caribbean English lexicography.

Whenever one name can have several referents, there is sense numbering, as in the entry for **pepperpot**. This item carries two consecutively numbered senses as words with different senses are so treated in the *DCEU*. The primary allonym in the second part of the entry also carries one sub-sense indicated by a bold Roman numeral:

- (18) **pep.per-pot (pep.per-pot)** [pɛp□pɔt] /1'12/ n 1. (Bdos, Gren, Guyn) A dark-brown stew prepared by boiling together pieces of any kind of wild or regular meat (except fish) with red peppers and other seasoning, sugar and CASAREEP for several hours, usu in a large earthenware pot; it is kept on the fire-place, with meat, CASAREEP and seasoning being added from time to time, so that the same pot may actually be served from (in *Guyn*) for weeks, months, or even years. 2. (Angu, Antg, Jmca) //CALALU 2. (i) (Dmca, etc) □Note that the two senses apply to meals of very different appearance and taste.

In the same entry, **pepperpot**, the pitch-contour or tone pattern of the headword is rendered by a system of digits between slashes. In entries where the pitch-pattern is included, it comes immediately after the pronunciation. The digits from 1 to 4 represent the range of pitch from low to high, although there can be a much wider range in Caribbean English. Stress is included in the pitch-contour, and it must be noted that the main stress on a word does not always coincide with the highest pitch. Stress is conveyed by a single raised comma, which comes immediately after the tone number, whether this is 1, 2, or 3. The pitch-contour of highest frequency for disyllables in Caribbean English is /1'2/, and for trisyllables /1'12/, and usually these are not indicated.

There are cases in which pitch-contour differentiates meaning and then it is always indicated, usually by superscript numbers, and sometimes with an added usage note. Consider, for example, **one-time** /1'1/ as opposed to /1'2/ or /3'1/.

- (19) **one-time**<sup>1</sup> *adv* (CarA) [IF] [A compound with distinct senses differentiated by pitch contrasts wh must be noted]. 1. /1'1/ [with even low stress] Once in

the past. 2. /2'2/ At one and the same time; in full and at once. 2. *PHRASES* 2.1 **one time and done** *adv phr* [AF/IF] At once and have done with it; completely while you are about it; once and for all. 2.2 **one time so!** *adv phr* [AF] Fully and without hesitation. 3. /3'1/ [In story telling] Once upon a time. 4. /3'1/~'3'3/ [with notable stress] [In emotive contexts] There and then; instantly; without a moment's hesitation or a second thought. 5. /1'2/ [In non-emotive contexts] Right away, so as to avoid delay or risk. **one-time**<sup>2</sup> /1'2/ *adj* (CarA) [IF] 1. Of some time in the past. 2. Rare; exceptional.

Both these headwords, which carry superscript numbers to separate their syntactic functions, also carried citations illustrating the use of each sense. These have been omitted because the chief points to note here would be the pitch-contour and its influence on the meaning of the item, and the corresponding sense numbering to indicate the different meanings.

The other feature to be noted would be the status-labelling, represented by the italicized capitals in square brackets that occur just after the territorial label. Indications of status are an element of the entry that is, so far, unique to the *DCEU*, as compared to the other dictionaries referred to in this chapter, and it is one of its prescriptive aspects.

The lexicographer usually records or describes usage, as we have seen in the *DCEU*, but the lexicographer may also prescribe. Allsopp has similarly prescribed usage in the *DCEU*, both as a Caribbean himself, but also as a linguist reflecting the Caribbean public's perception of the level of formality of its own language, which is reflected largely in citations that reflect the usage of the items in question. This obviates the need to argue about what is 'standard', 'substandard', or 'nonstandard' in Caribbean English (Allsopp 1996: lvi). As Allsopp further explains in the Introduction to the *DCEU*, the hierarchy of formality may be structured using four descending levels—'Formal', 'Informal', 'Anti-Formal', 'Erroneous'. The Anti-Formal level will be further sub-categorized into 'Creole', 'Jocular', 'Derogatory', and 'Vulgar', represented as [AF-Cr], [AF-Joc], [AF-Derog] and [AF-Vul]. Formal [F] is what is accepted as educated, recognized as Internationally Accepted English (IAE), and is also applied to any regionalism that is not replaceable by any other designation. Informal [IF] is what is accepted as familiar, usually well-structured, casual, relaxed speech, sometimes illustrating morphosyntactic reductions of English structure, or some remainders of decreolization. Consider the phrase **come and go (along)**, used Caribbean-wide, which is a relaxed way of saying 'Let's go!' and implying that time should not be wasted on whatever may be preventing those involved from going about their business. Anti-Formal [AF] is deliberately familiar and intimate, involving a wide range of speech from close and friendly through jocular to crude and vulgar, or any creolized or Creole form or structure a bit too

loosely formulated and used to suit context or situation. Erroneous or Disapproved [X] marks an item or sense that is not permissible in IAE but considered to be so by the user. Disapproved may involve such stated grounds as spelling as in *ackee* 3. [X] = *akee*, indicating that the former cannot be used as an alternative to the latter, *akee*, since they represent totally different popular fruits.

Another of the most significant challenges was the treatment of the huge body of idiomatic phrases in CE which often incorporate single Standard English verbs, in particular, such as **have**, **give**, **make**, nouns, such as **duppy**, conjunctions such as **before**, prepositions such as **behind**, adjectives such as **long** and adverbs such as **one-time**. The resulting phrases often defy syntactic classification, and, where this is extremely problematic, the syntactic class is given as *id phr*, standing for 'idiomatic phrase'. For example, the treatment of **long** is as follows:

- (20) **long**<sup>1</sup> *adj* (CarA) [AF/IF] 1. [Of a person] Notably tall; of ungainly height and bearing. 2. [In many uses, it denotes size or intensity rather than length; so it is often uncomplimentary or Derog; note foll phrs, and separate entries below] *PHRASES* 2.1 **cry long water** *vb phr* (CarA) See CRY Phr I. . . . 2.2 **foot is long** *id phr*, (Guyn) [AF-Joc] See FOOT Phr. 2.4 2.3 **hand [is] long; hand [is] longer than your foot** *id phrs* (Gren) [AF] See HAND<sup>1</sup> Phr 4.II 2.4 **have a long head** *vb phr* (Guyn) [IF] To be far-sighted. [Cp IrE *You have a quare long head on you, son 'You've got brains, can plan for the future'*—L.Todd]

The entry, as cited, is not quite complete in that some phrases and their supporting citations have been left out, but it gives an idea of the kinds of phrases that are based on single Standard English words, and of how the West African world view is reflected in the idiomatic phrases of Caribbean English via calquing within the creolization process. The phrases make use of English words but the concepts expressed are certainly not English or European as *PHRASES* 2.1 . . . 2.2 suggest. Note that, in the entry, the phrases are given as sub-senses of the second sense. The same goes for other parts of speech that give rise to phrases in Caribbean English.

Perhaps the greatest challenge in the recording and analysis of Caribbean English is in the etymologies. In many cases the sources are African, in many others, English dialect, in some others, French, Spanish, or Portuguese, and for the Indic items, Bhojpuri or Hindi. Also, not to be discounted, is the indigenous Amerindian contribution to Guyanese English. This takes the form of hundreds of nouns from the nine languages of its identified ethnic groups which include two Arawakan—Arawak (Lokono) and Wapishana; six Cariban—Akawaio, Arikuna, Makushi, Patamuna, Carib, Wai-Wai; and one Warrau language.<sup>7</sup> In the

<sup>7</sup> Arawakan loanwords, such as *mora* and *wallaba* (two types of timber), are found in Guyanese English and sometimes in the English of Trinidad.

case of the African, Indic, and Amerindian sources, data had to be sought directly from African, Indian, and Amerindian informants and that took up much time. The African informants, for example, were academics based in universities in Nigeria—Ibadan, for example—as well as in universities in North America, who still retained control of their mother tongues. Similarly, there had to be in-depth research into written sources, such as the *English Dialect Dictionary*, the *OED*, and French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Hindi dictionaries; Arawak and Carib dictionaries; numerous glossaries; and other written sources. Etymologies are enclosed in bold square brackets, since square brackets are used for other purposes in the *DCEU*, such as enclosing status and subject labels, indicating explanatory material in glosses, and marking off words that are optional in phrases.

The final aspect of the *DCEU* that must be noted is its cultural reach as reflected in the cross-referencing of entries pertaining to flora and fauna, folklore, festivals, religion, foods, beliefs, superstitions, and folk wisdom—to name just some of the categories treated. As Allsopp says in his introduction to the *DCEU*:

Many aspects of Caribbean life—foods, festivals, ceremonies, beliefs, practices related to births, marriages, cures, burials, etc. have a massive vocabulary which is sometimes suggestively African—

**dokunu; jonkunu; queh-queh . . .**

sometimes clearly Anglophone

**Carnival; big-drum dance; tie-heads, etc.**

sometimes a mixture of both—

**bake bammey for somebody; to obeah somebody, etc. (Allsopp 1996: xxxiii)**

He goes on to point out that he has tried in a number of ways to sensitize the reader to the ‘reality, nature and dimensions of the Caribbean’s African background, and to invite investigative intelligence to dislodge the old programmed contempt for Black African culture’ (Allsopp 1996: xxxii). This declaration shows that Allsopp was continuing, in greater depth, the work begun by Cassidy and Le Page in the *DJE* and continued on a smaller scale by Holm and Shilling in the *DBE*. However, Allsopp went further in that he also included the East Indian contribution that is so much a part of the English of Guyana and Trinidad, and also led the user to an understanding of the character and culture of the Caribbean East Indian, thereby endorsing a more all-embracing form of Caribbean cultural integration. Note the following item:

(21) **dho.ti** [dhoti ~ doti] *n* (Guyn, Trin) [Indic] // *capra* 1. (Trin)

An EAST INDIAN man’s white loin cloth consisting of a single piece  
Of cloth wrapped around the waist, folded over and passed loosely  
Between the legs. [Hin *dhoti* ‘loin cloth’]

The great educational and cultural value of this work is indisputable in that it shows Caribbean people who they are and explains to them both their linguistic and cultural identity. As a guide to teachers of English and other languages, the *DCEU*, together with its *Multilingual Supplement* (J. Allsopp 1996: 669–97), is invaluable in that it informs its readers as to the nature and origins of Caribbean English, going from the formal right through to the disapproved, then extending across the major language divisions of the Caribbean region.

## 15.5 FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN CARIBBEAN LEXICOGRAPHY

### 15.5.1 *The Book of Afric Caribbean Proverbs (BACP)*

The natural successor of the *DCEU* is the *Book of Afric Caribbean Proverbs* by Richard Allsopp, which appeared in November 2004. Allsopp's intention in this dictionary is to chronicle in one work those collective sayings of the folk that reflect our West African heritage. The term 'Afric', with which he deals in the Introduction to the book, is meant to denote the ethnic descendants of the people of the continent of Africa, but 'who are native to to the continents and islands of the West Atlantic (or emigrants therefrom to Europe)' (Allsopp 2004: xiv). Consequently, in this work, Allsopp is dealing with the folk wisdom as originally culled from the stock of our African forebears, brought with them from Africa and so becoming the heritage of Afric peoples in the Caribbean. The concentration on Afric proverbs in the Caribbean is indicative of the depth of the influence of sub-Saharan Africa on the life and culture of the Caribbean, as opposed to the imprint of other groups such as the East Indians, the Chinese, and the Amerindians, there being very little recorded material for the first two communities and none for the last.

The collection of over 1,300 proverbs in the *BACP* comes almost exclusively out of Afric-Caribbean folklife as expressed in the various Creoles, and lists their numerous sub-Saharan African language correlates. It also illustrates the numerous duplications of Creole proverbs spread over the twenty-two Caribbean territories in which they were collected. It is not meant to be a complete collection but a representative sample of the total stock.

#### 15.5.1 (i) Content of the BACP

The *BACP* gives a listing of proverbs arranged alphabetically by headword, in that the headwords chosen usually convey the most significant part of the message of

the proverb. There is, however, an Index of other significant words that are not headwords, preceded by explanatory notes that will help the searcher. The content and structure of the entries are as follows in each case:

- (i) P – the original form of the proverb,
- (ii) T – its translation into Internationally Accepted English for those who would prefer to receive the message in that form,
- (iii) R – the author’s rendering in rhyming couplets, intended to be a mnemonic for young people,
- (iv) E – an explanation of any feature that needs clarification and a commentary on aspects of Caribbean Social History,
- (v) M – the meaning of the proverb expressed in simple English, and
- (vi) N – a note of comparative, historical, or other interest (often illustrating the universality of folk thinking in certain aspects of life, worldwide).

Territorial labelling similar to that of the *DCEU* is used in the *BACP*, and there is also a similar system of cross-referencing, features seen in the following example:

- (22) **broom** *Baha, Belz, Guyn, Jmca*  
 P (a) New broom sweep clean, but is de ol(d) one know all de corner  
–Belz, Guyn, Jmca  
 (b) // Ol(d) broom know where de dirt is  
–Baha  
 T *The old broom knows where the dirt is.*  
 R *The old broom’s shape gets dirt from under bases;*  
*The new broom cleans only the open places.*  
 E The old broom, shaped from long use, gets into places where the new broom does not.  
 M The older person can anticipate the tricks of others from experience, which aggressive younger person lacks.  
 N Compare (*S.Ghana*) Gã-Adangme proverb *An old broom is better than new one* – *MEWP* #1560, also BrE *A new broom sweeps clean* – *ODEP* (1564p.564)

However, the *CarA* version extends the message to warn against overlooking the value of age and experience.

This example contains all the elements of a typical entry in the *BACP*. The correlates in both a West African language and British English must be noted, as must also the extension of meaning found in the Caribbean version. Allsopp states in his Introduction to the *BACP* that proverbs are the ‘orature’ or ‘oral literature’ of the folk, everywhere, through recorded time. This oral literature is what



embodies 'mountains of human experience and wisdom from which literature itself will have gained much, but can hardly challenge in quantum, on the ground of human enlightenment' (Allsopp 2004: xvii). The example given above contains cultural, historical, and linguistic material, presented in a form which is meant to teach the reader about the life-ways of African Caribbean people, and also to enlighten non-Caribbean people about Caribbean language, life, and culture.

The *BACP* is a direct descendant of Caribbean Anglophone lexicography in general, but there is another descendant of much greater linguistic and cultural reach, which chronicles not only the English of the Caribbean but also its French, Creole, and Spanish. This is the *Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary of Flora, Fauna and Foods (CMD)* (2004), in English, French, French Creole, and Spanish, produced by this writer. It is the first volume of a large work spanning to date the major official languages of the Caribbean, already named, but with the intention of including the other official language, Dutch, which has not yet been done.

#### 15.5.2 *The Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary of Flora, Fauna and Foods (CMD)*

This work introduces a new dimension into Caribbean lexicography in that it is a thematic dictionary treating its material under such heads as flora, fauna, foods, and, in a second volume currently being prepared, folklore, festivals, music, dance, and religion. The *CMD* originates from the *Multilingual Supplement* to the *DCEU*, and is a listing of primary allonyms of flora and fauna found in the *DCEU* for which equivalents are given in the four Caribbean varieties of French and four Caribbean varieties of Spanish. Consequently, the *Supplement* supplies the equivalents for about eight times the actual entries contained in it, since the French and Spanish equivalents would apply to the secondary allonyms as well, identified by their scientific names. Those names serve as the means of determining that the secondary allonyms refer to the same item of flora or fauna. Apart from the themes mentioned above, other themes will be treated as well. The *CMD* is worthy of mention in a history of English lexicography in that it is a unidirectional dictionary going from Caribbean English into Caribbean French, French Creole, and Spanish.

The fifty pages of front matter in the *CMD* are written largely in English, but with the summaries of the content and purpose of the work in French and Spanish; and it contains three sections on Caribbean flora, fauna, and foods. The headwords are English and territorially labelled, as are the glosses, which take the same form as those in the *DCEU* and consist of description, followed by encyclopedic information. The listing is largely of ostensive items, in that they

name fruits, flowers, trees, shrubs, animals, including insects, amphibians, reptiles, birds, etc., but verbs or phrases derived from those items are also treated. There is also cross-referencing to entries in English, but handled differently from the *DCEU*, and, wherever necessary, citations in English. After this, French equivalents are supplied, usually with citations, followed by French Creole equivalents, wherever possible, and finally by Spanish equivalents, usually with citations—all cross-referenced and territorially labelled. The French, French Creole, and Spanish equivalents are taken from the four Francophone Caribbean territories and from five representative Hispanophone territories—Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and Venezuela—the latter two having a coast washed by the Caribbean Sea, thus justifying their inclusion. The ethnic composition of these territories, which is made up of indigenous, Hispanic, and African peoples and is similar to that of the Francophone and Anglophone Caribbean, is also relevant.

Unlike the *Supplement* and like the main body of the *DCEU*, the *CMD* treats French Creole items, since they are an authentic part of Caribbean English. This point needs to be made because the listing of primary allonyms which comprises the *Supplement* did not include any French Creole item as a primary allonym, but listed only the Caribbean English name of the particular item. In the case of items of flora and fauna, the scientific names are given for accuracy of identification. Etymologies, where given, are included in usage notes at the end of entries. A typical *CMD* entry, though with citations excluded, would be the following:

- (23) **gar.den-bal.sam** (*Bdos, Jmca, Trin, USVI*) [g(y)ardn-bzłzχm] *n. Justicia pectoralis (Acanthaceae). Guyn toyo; Jmca fresh-cut; Trin carpenter-grass.* A small, flowering shrub about 0.3 m high, with slender stems and small, pink, white, or pale blue flowers, often cultivated for its aromatic leaves; it is often used as a remedy for colds.  
 FrCa *carmentin m.*; Guad, Hait, Mart *herbe à charpentier(s) f.*;  
 Hait *z'herbe charpentier f.*; FrCr Guad, Hait, Mart *herbe (zèb à charpentier)*; Hait *charpentier (sepantye)*; Cuba *tila f., tilo m.*;  
 PtRi, StDo *curia f.*; StDo *carpintero m., yerba carpintera f.* \*No relative to the European balsam; it is so called because of its aromatic properties and because it is often cultivated for use.

All French and Spanish items are syntactically classified, but the French Creole items do not carry grammatical gender. The item *z'herbe charpentier* is not a French Creole item but an item of what is called 'français créolisé' or 'creolized French', a variety which may have Creole elements but in general their forms are

morphologically those of metropolitan French. The *z'* of *z'herbe charpentier* is the Creole element, but the rest of the item—*herbe* and *charpentier*—is made up of two perfectly ordinary standard French words so that the item can be given grammatical gender based on the first element of the compound which is feminine, as it is a compound word.

This natural development from Caribbean Anglophone into Caribbean multilingual lexicography is the logical offshoot of the *DCEU*, and the *CMD* brings to the reader's attention the fact that the Caribbean is multilingual and multicultural.

### 15.5.3 Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago

Another interesting development in Caribbean English lexicography is Michael Anthony's *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago*, published in 1997, which includes a variety of entries under place-name, events, and persons. Although this is not a dictionary—in that the treatment of its material is not like that of a regular dictionary but rather more like an encyclopedia—it nevertheless forms part of the collection of Caribbean English dictionaries. Based on well-researched historical content, the *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago* gives an in-depth view of the history, culture, and development of Trinidad and Tobago, and as such is worthy of mention in this chapter. An example of an event that is contained in the timeline of Trinidad and Tobago's history is seen in the following entry:

- (24) 1748 French expedition from Martinique attempts to settle Tobago in defiance of Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

## 15.6 CONCLUSION

The major Caribbean English dictionaries that have been examined in this chapter are certainly agents of standardization for spelling, pronunciation, and general usage. The *DCEU* has led the way in this regard, supplying many variant spellings for the items treated, capturing the vagaries of pronunciation through the use of standard IPA, and chronicling general usage, from the formal to the disapproved. The *DJE* and the *DBE* have also contributed to the standardization of the individual varieties they treat—Jamaican English and Bahamian English—the former particularly in relation to capturing the standard pronunciation of Jamaican English Creole words through a system of phonemic representation specially designed for the purpose. This initiative was later followed by the *DBE*,

which used a revised form of Cassidy's system. Crucially, however, the three major dictionaries of Caribbean English, the *DCEU*, the *DJE*, and the *DBE*, have sought to bolster the faltering cultural self-assurance normally witnessed in post-colonial societies—referred to earlier in this chapter—by contributing to the building of a positive Caribbean cultural self-image. Central to this has been the recognition of the huge input of sub-Saharan African languages and cultures into the languages and cultures of the Caribbean, both Anglophone and non-Anglophone.

However, with so much already achieved, what is the future for dictionaries of Caribbean English? Cassidy and Le Page of the *DJE* have both passed on, Holm and Shilling have not attempted any further work on Bahamian English; the promised *Dictionary of Trinidadian English* has not yet materialized; and there has been no attempt to encourage—or even consider the production of—a second edition of the *DCEU*. Nevertheless, there has been an attempt on the part of Richard Allsopp to produce a considerably reduced *Supplement* to the *DCEU* in the form of the *New Register of Caribbean English Usage*. This is still unfinished. But besides its completion, we still need to see the compilation of more territorial dictionaries, a revised edition of the *DCEU*, and the production of school dictionaries and specialized glossaries relating to various aspects of Caribbean life and culture.

It is expected that the Centre for Caribbean Lexicography, intended to be the umbrella body for the entire Caribbean Lexicography Programme, Anglophone and Multilingual, housed at the UWI Cave Hill Campus in Barbados, whose work is to be directed by this writer, will undertake some of the tasks mentioned, such as the revision of the *DCEU*, the completion of the *Supplement* already begun, and the production of school dictionaries and specialized glossaries and dictionaries of Caribbean English and other Caribbean languages.

The ground-breaking, pioneering work undertaken by the *DCEU* and its predecessors, which proudly affirms Caribbean linguistic and cultural identity as well as unity, should not be allowed to stand still, especially in view of the positive moves towards regional integration at all levels currently being pursued in the Anglophone Caribbean and without which the region, as a cultural and political entity, cannot survive.

# THE ELECTRONIC *OED*: THE COMPUTERIZATION OF A HISTORICAL DICTIONARY

*Edmund Weiner*

## 16.1 INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this chapter is to trace the progress from the printed, unrevised, 16-volume *OED* to its database version, published online. Around 1982, when the story began, the *OED* existed in two alphabetical sequences, the first edition of 1884–1928 and its Supplement, begun in 1957; the latter was then approaching completion. In the first decade of the century, the electronic *OED* is in the process of revision and continual updating. This presentation is organized under headings representing the main problems that had to be solved. It is broadly a sequential narrative, but the logic of the arrangement necessitates one or two disjunctures in the chronology.

## 16.2 STAGE 1—*OED2*, THE OEDIPUS SYSTEM, AND CD-ROM, 1982–1992

### 16.2.1 *Securing the future of the OED*

In the early 1980s, the editing of *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* was nearing completion, and Volume 4 (Se–Z) was on schedule for publication in 1986. The senior management of the Oxford University Press, the publishers of

the *OED*, began to be concerned about the future of the dictionary, recognized as both a national monument and an international resource, which they held in trust. The *OED* was the flagship of the OUP range of dictionaries, but how it could be further developed to the advantage of the scholars who used it and the publishers themselves was not readily apparent. In 1983, the 50-year copyright of the 1933 first edition would come to an end. The *OED* might be vulnerable to exploitation by parties other than OUP. (There was a suspected case of piracy of the *OED* at this time.) Moreover, OUP had a skilled team of historical lexicographers, equipped with an invaluable set of resources—its voluminous quotation files, its specialist library, and all the infrastructure developed during the thirty years of work on the *Supplement*. They needed to be productively employed, at the very least in order to underpin the future development of the profitable Oxford trade dictionaries. But, first and foremost, it was recognized by most parties that the *OED* needed revision.

### 16.2.2 *Integrating the First Edition and the Supplement*

An obvious solution to the immediate question of securing the copyright would be to combine the contents of the *Supplement* with those of the first edition in order to produce an integrated edition of the *OED*. The *OED* had to be kept in print, and an integrated edition would protect the copyright on the first edition while giving the reader the convenience of having the entries from the *Supplement* inserted in their proper places. In 1982, Robin Denniston, who held the senior post of Publisher at OUP, suggested, doubtless with reservations about the practicalities, the 'biggest scissors-and-paste job in history'. Editors would place the supplementary material in the correct positions in the main *OED*, making appropriate adjustments where needed, and the resultant text would be reset and printed. Richard Charkin, Head of Reference, immediately responded with a more ambitious idea. OUP had just installed its first production system for editing text electronically and was beginning negotiations to publish some of its printed materials in electronic formats. Charkin argued that this technology was likely in due course to enter the mainstream of publishing. Why not use it to transform the *OED*? First, the whole of the two texts could be computerized. Then, using the new technology, the two could be blended together and edited. Moreover, online databases were becoming familiar, accessed in those days via modem and standard telephone connections: the *OED* itself had a subscription to the Nexis/Lexis database. Why not make the *OED* available commercially as an online database? (Indeed, at this very early stage, at least one online database

company, Mead Data Central who owned Nexis/Lexis, expressed an interest in hosting the electronic *OED* if it came into existence.)

### 16.2.3 *Identifying the end product*

Once it had been decided that the *OED* should be converted into an electronic resource which would allow unlimited editing, the long-term aim of updating and revising the *OED* became more realistic. The OUP management asked the Dictionary Department to study the feasibility of such a project in greater detail. Lexicographers working on the *OED Supplement* and on the *New Shorter OED* had from their vantage point a clear picture of what was needed, and could imagine what they would do, using conventional methods, to get there (even though the scale of the task was immense). The main purpose of the *Supplement* had been to add new words and meanings, not to update the first edition, and *Supplement* staff were familiar with those aspects of the parent volume that were now very outdated, including, for example, definitions reflecting old-fashioned social, technological, and scientific situations or expressed in terms that had become obscure or ambiguous. The *New Shorter* staff, meanwhile, had been revising the histories and etymologies of thousands of words on the basis of a great body of new evidence that had been collected since the time of the first edition of the *OED*. Accordingly, in March 1982, Robert Burchfield commissioned one of the two senior editors on the *OED Supplement*, John Simpson, and the Chief Editor of the *New Shorter*, Lesley Brown, to list the activities and estimate the person-years required in order to revise and update the *OED*, assuming that some kind of computing equipment would be available. They concluded that both the conversion of the texts by manual keyboarding and their integration by experienced editors were feasible.

### 16.2.4 *Organizing a project of unprecedented size and complexity*

#### 16.2.4 (i) **Identifying external partners**

By contrast with the editorial resources available, OUP had little expertise in any of the computational processes that could be envisaged. It decided early in 1983 to issue a Request for Tender, combined with descriptions of the existing *OED*, the desired end product, and the processes required to get from one to the other. This procedure was put into the hands of the Information Systems Department, under Ewen Fletcher. The computing requirements were compiled by one of his senior staff, Richard Sabido, and the lexicographical information by another senior

member of the *OED Supplement* staff, Edmund Weiner. The document, entitled *A Future for the Oxford English Dictionary*, was sent in June to a wide range of computer companies, software houses, government agencies, and academic departments (in all about a hundred copies were sent out, with a deadline of 1 August 1983). There were several promising responses. Charkin and Weiner made a number of visits, both in the UK and in North America. Four companies submitted formal tenders.

Two things became clear. No single agency could carry out everything OUP wanted; it would have to work with a number of partners. And OUP would have to take on the central managing role. Accordingly a department was set up under an experienced OUP project director, Tim Benbow. When the project (at this stage called 'The New OED') was launched officially at the Royal Society on 15 May 1984, OUP's partners were: International Computaprint Corporation (a subsidiary of Reed International), with a straightforward business contract to convert the text to machine-readable form; IBM UK, who under the auspices of their Academic Programme donated computer equipment and staff to form the nucleus of a team of system designers based at OUP; and the University of Waterloo in Canada, who were to have full access to the machine-readable data for the purpose of research into the electronic handling of large texts, in exchange for making available to OUP the software developed in the course of this research. The UK Department of Trade and Industry gave a subvention of £288,750 to support the necessary research.

A number of personal initiatives, some arising fortuitously, had given the project its momentum. An enquiry from IBM UK Ltd on a different topic led OUP through the corporate hierarchy to its director, John Fairclough, who was able to negotiate the donation. After OUP had held inconclusive discussions with Reed, Hans Nickel, the President of its subsidiary, ICC, took the initiative and demonstrated that his company could and should carry out the data conversion. Dr Douglas Wright, President of the University of Waterloo, became aware of OUP's plans via a chain of personal acquaintances and saw at once how the project would mesh with his university's aspirations in the field of computer applications. Sir Fred Dainton, then Chancellor of Sheffield University, smoothed the way for the application to the Department of Trade and Industry. The Chief Executive of OUP, George Richardson, felt that it was vital that the Press should get its feet wet in the new environment of digital publishing, and OUP's governing body of academics, the Delegates, were impressed by the calibre of the parties supporting the project idea—including researchers in the University of Oxford and within IBM (both in the UK and in the US)—and agreed that it was a sensible solution to the copyright problem. Two advisory bodies were established: an



Advisory Council to represent the main partners to the project and handle business questions and an Editorial Board of scholars with relevant language expertise.

#### 16.2.4 (ii) Organizing the project internally

Early thinking had been that the chosen supplier would convert the two texts into electronic form, merge them, and supply the output to OUP, where editorial staff, using OUP's text editing system, would revise and correct the dictionary interactively and pass it on to be typeset and published. It was now realized that this was far too much to manage in one step. The first stage alone, merging the first edition and *Supplement*, was a substantial undertaking, but at least its parameters were easily defined. The second stage, the full revision and updating of the *OED*, could at that stage hardly be envisaged and would need careful research and planning. It was therefore decided to publish the integrated edition on paper and subsequently in electronic form as the second edition of the *OED*. The revision and updating that would create a third edition was deferred to a second phase.

The Project Director compiled an overall plan identifying all the major activities within the project, their interrelationships, the time each would take, and the resources of staff, equipment, and finance each required. The activities were: conversion of the data, initial proof-reading, computer development, automatic processing of the machine-readable text, editing of entries on the screen, composition of galley proofs, final proof-reading, and final page composition. For each of these a detailed plan was made. In July 1985, when the outline design of the computer system had been completed, it became possible to estimate the times required to build and run the system; these times were added in, and a firm 'Plan of Record' with fixed dates for the completion of each activity was established; it was at this point that publication was set for March 1989. Probably for the first time in the history of the Oxford Dictionaries, project planning software was employed to project and monitor time and cost; and the plan was adhered to.

#### 16.2.5 Handling the text by computer

In October 1984, an *Outline statement of user requirements for a computer system* was drawn up by the project team, setting out the aims of the project and the operations which the computer system should perform. In July 1985, the computing team issued an *Outline design for a computer system* and over the ensuing eighteen months built a dictionary system to carry out these functions. The

dictionary text, once it had been captured, was held (at OUP) on an IBM 4341 mainframe computer (systems based on a network of servers were still being developed) within an SQL database management system. Each new version of the data resulting from successive stages of the project was retained and nothing overwritten. The hardware and software used were of reasonably generous speed and proportions for their time, though by the standards of even a few years later they were limited and slow. The technical design had to work with very small amounts of storage space and memory. There were no windows in the editing system and, if a checking process was running on a user's workstation, he or she could do nothing else.

### 16.2.6 *Converting the text to electronic form*

Tests were undertaken very early on to see whether conversion of the text by optical character recognition (OCR) would be practicable. OCR would require each page to be scanned by an optical device and the images converted into digital text. However, the printed text of the first edition of the *OED* was of relatively poor quality, with many broken characters, so that a very large amount of correction would be required. Moreover, OCR could introduce only typographical mark-up (such as italics, bold, small capitals, different point sizes, and so on). By contrast, ICC had the scale and expertise to keyboard and proof-read the text so as to make it virtually error-free; and they had skilled copy editors who could handle structural mark-up (i.e. markers in the text which conveyed the meaning of the various typographical devices, such as bold type indicating a headword, small capitals a cross-reference, and so on). Therefore, although this might have seemed an unsophisticated approach, keyboarding was adopted. A sample tape of a hundred dictionary pages supplied by ICC in December 1984 proved that they could introduce a level of mark-up sufficient to reproduce the basic format of the dictionary text. From then on, the copy editors at ICC inserted a mixture of structural and typographical mark-up symbols (see 16.2.7, below) on enlarged dictionary pages which were passed to the data-capture personnel for keying. Data validation routines and sample proof-reading were carried out by ICC, the tapes and proofs were shipped to OUP, and the *OED* team, coordinated by an experienced former member of the *Supplement* staff, Yvonne Warburton, conducted a full proof-read. The cycle of data capture, proof-reading, and data correction occupied the eighteen months January 1985–June 1986. A vital aspect of the reading was that textual mark-up was checked as well as literal text. This was greatly assisted by the running of the

prototype parser on the data (see 16.2.8, below). The approved text was estimated to have a residual error-rate of only 1 in 235,000 characters.

### 16.2.7 *Making the text machine-readable*

The OUP project team had appreciated that mark-up which only identified typographical features would not be enough. The aim from the start, then, was to transform the text into an electronic database, in which every part of the text had its own identifying tag; these tags would form the basis both for complex text searching and for versatile text representation. The editors' very first step towards achieving this aim was literally to take a copy of a sample entry and shade each identifiable element with a differently coloured crayon. From this, a sophisticated schema of textual elements was developed. The IBM group recommended that OUP should develop an *OED* version of Generalized Mark-up Language, which had fortuitously just then come into general use and was soon to be refined as SGML. Over time, the mark-up used for the *OED* has varied in its complexity, but the trend has been constantly towards a finer-grained reflection of the structure of the dictionary. Early analysis during 1984 concentrated on discovering exactly what all the structural elements contained in the dictionary were: these were believed to be of the order of forty. ICC staff could not themselves enter a set of structure tags of this complexity, since too often they would face decisions about the status of a particular string of text that only an *OED* lexicographer could make. It was agreed that their keyboarders would enter a mixed system which incorporated about fifteen major structural tags (such as headword, pronunciation, etymology, sense section, quotation, quotation date, author, and so on) together with conventional typographic mark-up at the lower levels (such as italics marking various different kinds of label or cited form). The conversion of the latter was deferred to the parsing stage (see 16.2.8, below).

During Stage 2 of the project, incidentally, further mark-up was introduced and, in Stage 3, this was accompanied by a reconsideration of the structure of an *OED* entry (see 16.4.1). Under Pasadena, introduced at Stage 3, the mark-up would not only allow more powerful text searching but also support more efficient editing and workflow.

### 16.2.8 *Introducing mark-up into the text*

As stated above, the first stage made use of a mixed set of tags, some marking such major structural elements as entry, headword, part of speech, pronunciation, etymology, sense section, quotation paragraph, and quotation (which the ICC

**Man-handle**, *v.* [f. *MAN* *n.*<sup>1</sup> + *HANDLE* *v.*; in sense 3 cf. dial. *manangle* (Devon) to mangle, which may belong to *MANGLE* *v.* (AF. *mahangler*).]

† 1. *trans.* To handle or wield a tool. *Obs.*

1457 R. FANNANDE *Mon. Christ's Hosp. Abingdon* xiii, The Mattok was man-handed right wele a whyle.

2. *Naut.*, etc. 'To move by force of men, without levers or tackles' (Adm. Smyth).

1867 SMYTH *Sailor's Word-bk.* 1894 *Times* 27 Jan. 10/2 The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being man-handled. 1902 *Blackw. Mag.* Mar. 331/2 I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope. 1903 *Daily Chron.* 19 Feb. 3/3 Stalwart Punjabis..hand out bags of stores,..or manhandle a fractious, restive animal.

3. *slang.* To handle roughly; to pull or hustle about.

1865 *Hotten's Slang Dict.*, *Man-handle*, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him out of a room, give him a beating. 1886 *Century Mag.* Apr. 905/1 Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft. 1888 CLARK RUSSELL *Death Ship* II. 253, I..was for..manhandling him, ghost or no ghost. 1891 KIPLING *Light that failed* iii, I'll catch you and man-handle you, and you'll die. 1894 R. H. DAVIS *Eng. Cousins* 24 The cry of 'Welsher',..which sometimes on an English race-course means death from man-handling.

FIG. 16.1. OED<sub>1</sub>, formatted

+ 1000 man-ha + 11 ndle, + PS v. + ET + OB f. + SC Man + I n. + R + HM<sub>1</sub> + SC Handle + I v. + R; in sense 3 cf. dial. + I manangle + R (Devon) to mangle, which may belong to + SC Mangle + I v. + R (AF. + I mahangler + R). + EB + SS + 31 1. + IR trans. + R + 63 To handle or wield a tool. + I + 63 Obs. + QP 1457 + SC R. Fannande + I Mon. Christ's Hosp. Abingdon + R xiii, + QT The Mattok was man-handed right wele a whyle. + SS 2. + IR Naut. + R, etc. + 63 + 17 To move by force of men, without levers or tackles + 18 (Adm. Smyth). + QP 1867 + SC Smyth + I Sailor's Word-bk. + QN 1894 + I Times + R 27 Jan. 10/2 + QT The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being man-handled. + QN 1902 + I Blackw. Mag. + R Mar. 331/2 + QT I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope. + QN 1903 + I Daily Chron. + R 19 Feb. 3/3 + QT Stalwart Punjabis + 10 hand out bags of stores, + 10 or manhandle a fractious, restive animal. + SS 3. + IR slang. + R + 63 To handle roughly; to pull or hustle about. + QP 1865 + I Hotten's Slang Dict. + R, + QT + I Man-handle, + R to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him out of a room, give him a beating. + QN 1886 + I Century Mag. + R Apr. 905/1 + QT Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft. + QN 1888 + SC Clark Russell + I Death Ship + R II. 253, I + 10 was for + 10 manhandling him, ghost or no ghost. + QN 1891 + SC Kipling + I Light that failed + R iii, + QT I'll catch you and man + H handle you, and you'll die. + QN 1894 + SC R. H. Davis + I Eng. Cousins + R 24 + QT The cry of + 17 Welsher + 18, + 10 which sometimes on an English race-course means death from man-handling.

FIG. 16.2. OED<sub>1</sub>, with ICC tagging

team were trained to recognize), while others indicated only typographical features within these elements. This meant that some elements were not distinguished (because they had no special typographical marker) and others were distinguished only (for example) by italics, which indicated a range of different elements. The ICC tags were more rudimentary than SGML and XML tags are, in that they only marked a transition from one state to another: so, for example, the +I tag marked the beginning of italic text, a +R tag marked a shift back to roman, a +SC tag marked the beginning of small capitals, another +R tag a shift back to roman, and so on; SGML and XML tags, of course, enclose the whole string within a pair of opening and closing tags. (For a sample of ICC's tagged text, see Fig. 16.2.)

Meanwhile the in-house computer team drawn from IBM and OUP staff had been assembled and had begun planning the computer system. The aim was to build a suite of software consisting of a number of components that would be run sequentially, producing at the end a roughly integrated version of the *OED* text. Their most urgent priority was to identify a means of converting the ICC tags to the target schema. At this stage (1985), the research group at the University of Waterloo, led by Gaston Gonnet and Frank Tompa, stepped in with a solution. They had already been working with the first output from ICC and had produced early sketches of a potential database structure. They had come to an important conclusion about the eventual shape of the searchable database. The dictionary text, instead of being slotted into a complex relational database, should be held as a simple string of words and tags, and the intelligence required to execute search requests should reside in the search software, which they undertook to design (see further below, 16.3.2). In order to help the OUP team transform the dictionary into this form, they now came up with parsing software based on the concept of 'finite state transduction'.

This concept was based on the fact that the regularity of the dictionary text made it possible to analyse its constituents as if they were components of a language with a rule-governed syntax. A University of Waterloo master's student, Rick Kazman, developed a parsing program that could be built into the suite of project software (Kazman 1986). The 'grammar' of the text was written at Oxford by running a postulated grammar against the text to establish whether it could be transformed into the desired new structure without rejection of the input or ambiguity in the output. The grammar had to accommodate as much of the pre-existing variation in textual structure as possible so that lexicographical judgement would not be overridden and only minor re-editing would be needed to make the text pass the parser. In September 1986, when automatic processing of the dictionary data began, the first process (after validation routines) was the running of the parser in its final form. In the ensuing three months 5,711 editorial corrections were made as a result. (For a sample of *OED2* tagged text, see Fig. 16.3.)

<entry>  
 <hwsec>  
 <hwgp><hwlem>man-ha&sd.ndle</hwlem>, <pos>v.</pos></hwgp>  
 <etym>f.  
 <xra><xlem><man </xlem><pos>sb.</pos><hom>1</hom></xra>  
 +  
 <xra><xlem>handle </xlem><pos>v.</pos></xra>  
 ; in <rxra>sense <sn>3</sn><rxra> cf. dial. <cf>manangle </cf>  
 (Devon) to mangle, which may belong to  
 <xra><xlem>mangle</xlem><pos>v.</pos></xra>(AF.  
 <cf>mahangler</cf>).  
 </etym>  
 </hwsec>  
 <signif>  
 <sen para=t status=obs lit='1.'><lab>trans.</lab>&es.To handle or wield a  
 tool.&es.<lab>Obs. </lab>  
 </sen>  
 <qbank>  
 <quot>  
 <qdat>1457 </qdat><auth>R. Fannande </auth><wk>Mon. Christ's Hosp.  
 Abingdon </wk> xiii,  
 <txt>The Mattok was man-handed right wele a whyle. </txt>  
 </quot>  
 </qbank>  
 <sen para=t lit='2'><lab>Naut.,</lab>etc.&es.&oq.To move by force of men, with-  
 out levers or tackles&cq. (Adm. Smyth).  
 </sen>  
 <qbank>  
 <quot>  
 <qdat>1867 </qdat><auth>Smyth </auth><wk>Sailor's Word-bk.</wk>  
 </quot>  
 <quot>  
 <qdat>1894 </qdat><wk>Times </wk> 27 Jan. 10/2  
 <txt>The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being  
 man-handled. </txt>  
 </quot>  
 <quot>  
 <qdat>1902 </qdat><wk>Blackw. Mag. </wk> Mar. 331/2  
 <txt>I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope. </txt>  
 </quot>  
 <quot>  
 <qdat>1903 </qdat><wk>Daily Chron. </wk> 19 Feb. 3/3  
 <txt>Stalwart Punjabis&ddd.hand out bags of stores,&ddd.or manhandle a fractious,  
 restive animal. </txt>  
 </quot>  
 </qbank>  
 <sen para=t lit='3'> <la>slang.</la>&es.To handle roughly; to pull or hustle about.

(Continued)

```

</sen>
<qbank>
<quot>
<qdat>1865 </qdat><wk>Hotten's Slang Dict. </wk>,
<txt><i>Man-handle</i>, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him
out of a room, give him a beating. </txt>
</quot>
<quot>
<qdat>1886 </qdat><wk>Century Mag. </wk>Apr. 905/1
<txt>Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in
two minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft. </txt>
</quot>
<quot>
<qdat>1888 </qdat><auth>Clark Russell </auth><wk>Death Ship </wk> II. 253,
<txt>I&dd.was for&dd.manhandling him, ghost or no ghost. </txt>
</quot>
<quot>
<qdat>1891 </qdat><auth>Kipling </auth><wk>Light that failed </wk>iii,
<txt>I'll catch you and man&dubh.handle you, and you'll die. </txt>
</quot>
<quot>
<qdat>1894 </qdat><auth>R. H. Davis </auth><wk>Eng. Cousins </wk> 24
<txt>The cry of &oq.Welsher&cq.,&dd.which sometimes on an English race-
course means death from man-handling. </txt>
</quot>
</qbank>
</signif>
</entry>

```

FIG. 16.3. *OED*<sub>1</sub>, after parsing, with *OED*<sub>2</sub> tagging

It should be stressed that the *OED* tagging system used the conventions of SGML, but could not be made to conform to SGML proper. This was because it was impossible to create for the *OED*<sub>1</sub> text a full 'document type definition' (the declaration which prescribes the exact syntax by which the tags are related to each other within the text). Such a DTD would have had to be far more rigid than the looser grammar developed for the parsing program. This is an important qualification that had a bearing on later developments.

### 16.2.9 *Matching partial Supplement entries with their OED parents*

The central goal of this stage of the whole project was the integration in their correct places in the main *OED* text of *partial* entries from the *Supplement* (the *complete* entries were easily slotted into place alphabetically). A component of the

system was built that, using the mark-up, could match the corresponding pieces of text, first by headword, part of speech, and homonym number, and then by sense number, and insert both definition text and banks of quotations in the right place. Instructions already present in the printed text of the *Supplement* (identified during parsing as ‘integration instructions’) assisted in this. Typical instructions included ‘Add to def.:’, followed by supplementary definition text and ‘(Further/earlier/later examples)’, followed by a series of quotations. The program was designed to work out where in the parent *OED*<sub>1</sub> entry the additional piece of definition text and the additional quotations should be inserted. It became clear that in many cases the placing would not be exact, mainly because of the variability and complexity of the text being merged. Accordingly, after integration, editors had to examine all the resulting text and edit some of it carefully. Nonetheless, the program successfully handled about eighty per cent of the text and saved between fifty and sixty per cent of the work that would otherwise have had to be carried out interactively. Automatic integration began in March 1987, and the automatic processing of the whole text of the *Dictionary* was completed at the end of May.

#### 16.2.10 *Editing the text*

While simple word-processing was well developed by the mid-1980s, programs for managing editorial work at remote workstations on a large textual database held on a mainframe were still undeveloped. A leading IBM scientist, Dr Mike Cowlshaw, was working on a program named LEXX, which he was able to adapt. For *OED* purposes it was named the ‘OED Integration, Publishing, and Updating System’ (OEDIPUS). It allowed access to the dictionary data for editing, enabled entries to be proofed for immediate checking, and incorporated checks and controls over the integrity of the text. Because this subsystem was designed to work with structured mark-up, editing could operate on textual components such as quotations and senses as well as on running text. The screen display presented the components of the text indented and differentiated by colour, a design that has been followed by the two subsequent editorial systems.

Because of its size, the dictionary text was handled by the computer in forty separate alphabetical ranges or ‘tables’. The editors wrote corrections on proofs of the automatically integrated text for each table and these corrections were entered online by keyboard operators, while other textual changes were keyed by lexicographers at the same stage.



### 16.2.11 *Making systematic text changes: automatic and interactive*

Two large and complex problems of data change throughout the text had to be solved. One concerned the thousands of cross-references, many of which would be invalidated by integration, since the addresses of their targets (headword spellings, parts of speech, homonym numbers, and sense numbers) might be altered by the addition of adjacent text. Each cross-reference was identified by the parser, numbered, and copied. After integration, the stored copies were automatically matched with their targets, and, where integration had caused the target to change, they were adjusted; the copies were then written back into the text. Many cross-references were too imprecise to be dealt with automatically and printed reports of these were produced; those that were definitely inaccurate were changed editorially, but others that were not misleading were left as they were. It was not possible using either this system (or indeed its successor) to link cross-references to their targets so that they would be updated automatically: this refinement came with the Pasadena system (see 16.4).

It was also decided that the pronunciations, given in a transcription system devised by James Murray and peculiar to the *OED*, should be translated into a variety of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The pronunciations were identified by the parser, copied, translated into IPA according to a set of rules, and restored to the text. Here again, reports of items that were problematic were printed out on paper for the editors to correct.

What is perhaps most surprising is that even though the *OED* text was machine-readable, the editorial group had no tool for searching it. In order to identify particular features known to need changing, editors had to request the computer group to run searches and print out the results, and they then worked from these printed reports. This highlighted the fact that, in the longer term, revision of the *OED* would have to be centred on an efficient search system with a high-quality display of entries and immediate access via the editing system to each item found.

### 16.2.12 *Typesetting a text of 350,000,000 characters*

The system had no component that would handle composition. Instead, the integrated text of each table was sent to an outside typesetting company, Filmtyp Services Ltd, of Scarborough, North Yorkshire. This meant that a further set of routines had to be written to convert the structural mark-up to the typographic style of the printed book. (The typographic design itself was made by the OUP design department.) A further full round of editing was performed at the galley proof stage, using OEDIPUS, and page proofs were generated over again from the tape output of the new version. Conversion involved not only a range of fonts and type sizes but

upwards of six hundred special characters, many of which were unique, and all of which had had to be recorded and classified by the editorial team from the start of data capture. The divisions between the twenty volumes were inserted at a late stage. Film was sent to Rand McNally & Company, Taunton, Massachusetts, where the book was manufactured. The finished Second Edition was published on paper in March 1989, with 21,730 pages, 291,500 entries, and 59 million words of text.

### 16.2.13 *Publishing the OED electronically*

While the project was in its early stages, CD-ROM technology came to the fore as a more convenient medium than the online database accessed by modem. It was decided that once *OED2* had been published in print form, development of a CD version would begin. In fact, a CD-ROM of the unintegrated text of the first edition was published in 1987 by TriStar, ICC's sister company, which proved the feasibility and utility of the idea. By the early 1990s, Windows (and the similar Mac software) offered a much better platform for this application than the simple DOS environment in which the 1987 CD operated. In 1990, OUP commissioned the Dutch software company AND to develop the first CD-ROM of *OED2* (published in 1993). This offered searching both on full text and on a range of elements including headword, pronunciation, etymologies, senses, and the main elements of the quotation. A notable feature, not repeated in the CD-ROM of 2000, was that full indexes of the words contained in each of these elements could be browsed: one could browse indexes of main and subordinate headwords, of pronunciations, of variant forms, of cited forms, of authors, and of work titles. In order to make searches run properly, a great deal more regularization of the data structure was carried out. In particular, a canonical set of parts of speech permitted to occur with headwords was established and irregular occurrences were standardized. Other inconsistencies in the data were handled by the search software. For instance, the wide variety of names and abbreviations for the same language or language group, such as *Algonquin*, *Algonquian*, and *Algonkin* (a legacy of a century of etymology-writing by many different editors who had had no simple means of cross-checking their terminology) was handled by tables of equivalences built into the search engine. It was a remarkable triumph of data compression that the whole text and the searching software could be accommodated, after an early two-disk version, on a single disk.

The CD-ROM reissue in 2000 was made both to coincide with and to conform in function and appearance to the simultaneously published online version of *OED2* (see 16.3.4, below). This changed its nature but simplified the processes of production, maintenance, and user support.

#### 16.2.14 *Ancillary activities*

At the time of writing, the handling and remote searching of large text databases is a commonplace activity. In 1983, the *OED* project was a pioneering venture. The *OED* project team found themselves in the unaccustomed company of computer scientists and computational linguists, some rather eminent in their fields, exploring similar territory. A series of conferences (1985–1994), held in partnership with the Centre for the New *OED* which had been set up by the University of Waterloo, enabled much fruitful interchange to take place. Also in conjunction with Waterloo, the *OED* conducted a user survey (Benbow *et al.* 1990) early in 1985 in order to discover the likely ways in which users might wish to interrogate the electronic *OED* database once it became available. The responses mostly confirmed the guesses already made about what users would want.

In order to support the editorial aspects of the project, codification of policies and procedures was undertaken on an unprecedented scale. For each step a manual was written: there were manuals for proof-reading, for integration, for pronunciation checking, and for keyboarding, for example. This approach has continued in later stages of the project so that the manuals for general training, use of the computer system, editing specialized kinds of entry or parts of entries, and, most notably, bibliographical principles, form an intranet to themselves.

To accompany publication of *OED*<sub>2</sub>, supporting text was compiled, notably an integrated ‘Bibliography’ (or more accurately, list of major works cited), explanatory prelims, and a history of the project. In keeping with the conservative policy of *OED*<sub>2</sub>, *OED*<sub>1</sub>’s ‘General explanations’ were amplified but not radically rewritten. For the publication of *OED Online* (see 16.3.4, below), new policy outlines were written and placed on the website; unlike the magisterial statements of James Murray, they are likely to be revised and rethought as *OED*<sub>3</sub> itself changes.

### 16.3 STAGE 2—*OED*<sub>3</sub>, THE TESS SYSTEM, AND ONLINE PUBLISHING, 1992–2005

#### 16.3.1 *Making the source data fully interactive*

The *OED* was founded upon the collections of quotations excerpted by readers from texts. In preparation for the Third Edition, this original, and continuing, basis was being further broadened. A more systematic and extensive UK-based

Reading Programme had already been set up to support the work of the *New Shorter OED* and the *New Words* series (see 16.3.5). A counterpart North American Reading Programme (NARP) was established in 1989. The decision was taken to switch the collection and storage of this evidence from paper to electronic form. A format for the electronic 'slip' was designed, which enabled each quotation to be displayed on the screen much like a physical slip, but with the difference that every word in the corpus was instantly accessible via the in-house search engine (see below). A software-neutral system for keying quotations was pioneered for NARP. It used a simple template which enabled readers to key in the details of a quotation in an ASCII format that could then be parsed for incorporation into the 'Incomings' database. The latter (into which the UK Reading Programme in due course also fed) rapidly grew in size until its content was comparable to the British National Corpus (assembled from a collection of excerpts from texts in a balanced range of subjects and genres), which itself became available to *OED* lexicographers after 1993. Alongside this, a 'Historical Corpus' (a collection of texts from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century that were publicly available from various textual archives) was assembled. This was searchable via the project workstations and was a valuable resource at a time when historical texts were still scarce on the Web. The 'Incomings' database contains between one and two million quotations and about fifty million words: 200,000 quotations are added each year. Since the beginning of the revision programme, quotations have been collected from pre-twentieth century sources (see 16.3.4), and these also are now added to the electronic database. The backlog of several million paper-based quotations held on file by the *OED* remains as yet undigitized, however.

### 16.3.2 *Searching the whole text*

The collaboration with the University of Waterloo bore all the fruit that had been hoped for. The crucial role played by their parsing software in regularizing the tagging of the text has already been described. The main focus of their interests was the development of software for ordinary users to search large textual databases by computer. Using the *OED* data they developed a fast search engine known as PAT. It was based on an established approach to programming known as 'Patricia trees' (hence the name). PAT could either operate on simple ASCII strings or be tailored (during operation) to make use of the tagging structure, so that one could find items within particular textual elements. Linked to PAT was a method of displaying the data (in the *OED*'s case, the text of each entry containing a search hit) on the screen in a variety of formats, including ones similar to a

column of printed text; this was called Lector. The University of Waterloo also worked on a text editor to be linked with PAT.

PAT and Lector, which ran under UNIX, were adopted by OUP initially to assist in the editing of the *New Shorter OED*, which was the Dictionary Department's priority until 1993. (The University of Waterloo also, in 1989, built a suite of software which converted the electronic text of the OED to the abridged format of the *New Shorter*, enabling the editing of the latter to become much swifter and more efficient.) They were then made available to the OED team, whose editorial work at this time was focused on the writing of entries for new words.

### 16.3.3 *Revising the whole standing text*

#### 16.3.3 (i) Building an electronic environment for revision

In 1993, when OUP published the *New Shorter OED*, resources used for this project were released for the next phase of the *OED* project. At the same time the *OED* team completed work on the CD-ROM (see 16.2.13, above) and the first two *Additions* volumes (see 16.3.5, below) and were ready to start revising the *OED*. In 1994, a new set of system requirements was drawn up, but this time it was decided that development would be carried out by the in-house computer group. The text encoding scheme remained the same in principle: still SGML-like, but allowing variation and lacking a strict DTD (this ruled out using SGML-intelligent software at this stage); the tag set had, however, been revised, augmented, and streamlined. (For samples of *OED*<sub>2</sub> and *OED*<sub>3</sub> text in the revised tagging, see Figures 16.4 and 16.5.) The applications were Open Systems compliant, using for example X-windows, Unix, and (for a short time) Motif. By this date, of course, screen windows were available on the desktop and it was possible to have the whole dictionary available for editing, but updates of the searchable text could only be run weekly, using the time available over a weekend (after a few years, nightly updates became possible).

The new suite of editorial software was built in-house. The principles behind PAT and Lector were used to construct the search engine TESS and the display module SID. These were able to operate not only on the text of the *OED* but also on the constantly growing stock of in-house databases. The latter were created by parsing electronic texts into, or capturing them in, the *OED* mark-up (which, as mentioned above, resembled SGML but did not conform to it exactly). Eventually this collection of texts included 'Incomings' and the Historical Corpus (see 16.3.1, above), the major Oxford dictionaries, and the *OED* style manual. A new text editor, linked to TESS, and named TED, was built. For the user it resembled

<hg>  
 <hw>man-&sm.handle</hw>, <ps>v.</ps>  
 </hg>  
 <etym>f.  
 <xr><x>man</x> <ps>n.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr>  
 +  
 <xr><x>handle</x> <ps>v.</ps></xr>  
 ; in sense  
 <xr><xs>3</xs></xr>  
 cf. dial. <cf>manangle</cf> (Devon) to mangle, which may belong to  
 <xr><x>mangle</x> <ps>v.</ps></xr>  
 (AF. <cf>mahangler</cf>).  
 </etym>  
 <s4 num="1" st="obs"><gr>trans.</gr>&es.To handle or wield a  
 tool.&es.<la>Obs.</la></s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q><d>1457</d> <a>R. Fannande</a> <wk>Mon. Christ's Hosp. Abingdon</w>  
 xiii,  
 <qt>The Mattok was man-handeled right wele a whyle.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 <s4 num="2"><la>Naut.</la>, etc.&es.&oq.To move by force of men, without  
 levers or tackles&cq. (Adm. Smyth).</s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q><d>1867</d> <a>Smyth</a> <w>Sailor's Word-bk.</w></q>  
 <q><d>1894</d> <w>Times</w> 27 Jan. 10/2  
 <qt>The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being  
 man-handled.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1902</d> <w>Blackw. Mag.</w> Mar. 331/2  
 <qt>I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1903</d> <w>Daily Chron.</w> 19 Feb. 3/3  
 <qt>Stalwart Punjabis&dd.hand out bags of stores,&dd.or manhandle a fractious, restive animal.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 <s4 num="3"><la>slang.</la>&es.To handle roughly; to pull or hustle about.</s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q><d>1865</d> <w>Hotten's Slang Dict.</w>,  
 <qt><i>Man-handle</i>, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him out of a room, give him  
 a beating.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1886</d> <w>Century Mag.</w> Apr. 905/1  
 <qt>Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two minutes were so mauled  
 and manhandled that it was reported aft.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1888</d> <a>Clark Russell</a> <w>Death Ship</w> II. 253,  
 <qt>I&dd.was for&dd.manhandling him, ghost or no ghost.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1891</d> <a>Kipling</a> <w>Light that failed</w> iii,  
 <qt>I'll catch you and man&dubh.handle you, and you'll die.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1894</d> <a>R. H. Davis</a> <w>Eng. Cousins</w> 24  
 <qt>The cry of 'Welsher',&dd.which sometimes on an English race-course means  
 death from man-handling.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 </e>

**FIG. 16.4.** *OED*<sub>2</sub> (1993–), with *OED*<sub>3</sub> (pre-Pasadena) tagging  
 There is no change in content, since the Supplement added nothing new.

<hg>  
 <hw>manhandle</hw>  
 <pr>  
 <la>Brit.</la> <ph>"manhandl</ph>, <ph>%man"handl</ph>,  
 <la>U.S.</la> <ph>"m[ɪn%h{nd@l</ph>  
 </pr>, <ps>v.</ps>  
 </hg>  
 <lhg type="fmly"><lhw>man-handle</lhw><ps>v.</ps></lhg>  
 <vfl>Forms: see <xr><x>man</x> <ps>n.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr><ann>xch abc  
 200002</ann> and <xr><x>handle</x> <ps>v.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr>  
 </vfl>  
 <etym>Perh. orig. a variant of <xr><x>mangle</x>  
 <ps>v.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr><ann>xch abc 200002</ann> (cf. modern regional  
 <cf>manghangle</cf>, <cf>manangle</cf>  
 to mangle or confuse (<w>Eng. Dial. Dict.</w>)), but in all quotes. as if &from;  
 <xr><x>man</x><ps>n.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr><ann>xch abc 200002</ann>+  
 <xr><x>handle</x> <ps>v.<hm>1</hm></ps></xr>, and in senses  
 <xr><xs>2</xs><oxr><xs>1</xs></oxr></xr><ann>xch dff 9906</ann> and  
 <xr><xs>3</xs><oxr><xs>2</xs></oxr></xr><ann>xch dff 9906</ann> evidently  
 taken to be so.&es;In modern use in sense  
 <xr><xs>1</xs><oxr><xs>3</xs></oxr></xr><ann>xch dff 9909</ann> perh. a  
 development from sense <xr><xs>3</xs><oxr><xs>2</xs></oxr></xr><ann>xch  
 dff 9906</ann>.  
 <n><w>N.E.D.</w> (1905) gives only the pronunciation with primary stress on the  
 second syllable.</n>  
 </etym>  
 <s4 num="1" onum="3"><gr>trans.</gr>&es;Now somewhat  
 <la>colloq.</la>&es;  
 <s6 num="a" st="obs">To attack (an enemy).&es;<la>Obs.</la></s6>  
 <s6 num="b">More generally: to handle roughly; to assault, maul, or beat up (a  
 person; occas. <la>spec.</la> a woman).</s6>  
 </s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q d="med" fd="yes"><d>(&a;1470)</d> <a>Malory</a> <w>Morte  
 Darthur</w><bib>y</bib> (Winch. Coll.) 428  
 <qt>Hit were shame&dd.that he sholde go thus away onles that he were manne-  
 handled.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 <qp>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1851</d> <a>H. Melville</a> <w>Moby-Dick</w> liv. 280  
 <qt>The valiant captain danced up and down&dd.calling upon his officers to  
 manhandle that atrocious scoundrel.</qt><ch>99</ch></q>  
 <q><d>1864</d> <a>J. C. Hotten</a> <w>Slang Dict.</w> (new ed.),  
 <qt><i>Man-handle</i>, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him  
 out of a room, give him a beating.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1886</d> <w>Cent. Mag.</w><bib>y</bib> Apr. 905/1  
 <qt>Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two  
 minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1888</d> <a>W. C. Russell</a> <w>Death Ship</w> II. 253,  
 <qt>I&dd.was for&dd.manhandling him, ghost or no ghost.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1891</d> <a>R. Kipling</a> <w>Light that Failed</w> iii. 51  
 <qt>I'll catch you and manhandle you, and you'll die.</qt><ch>99</ch></q>  
 <q d="oed"><d>1902</d> <a>G. Ade</a> <w>Girl Proposition</w> 58  
 <qt>To worship one who could be pawed over and man-handled by anything that  
 wore a Derby hat.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1955</d> <w>Times</w> 17 Aug. 8/6

<qt>They smashed doors, threw stones through windows, and manhandled a member of the staff.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1988</d> <a>M. Chabon</a> <w>Mysteries of Pittsburgh</w> viii. 69,  
 <qt>I had&dd.been torn from the register stand, manhandled, and driven away.</qt></q>  
 <q d="inc"><d>1992</d> <w>N.Y. Times</w> 14 June <pt>i.</pt> 1/2  
 <qt>Elite young officers were mauling and manhandling female colleagues and civilian women.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 <s4 num="2" onum="1" st="obs"><gr>trans.</gr>&es;To handle or wield (a tool).&es;</la></la></s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q><d>&q;&a;1500</d> in <ba>J. H. Parker</ba> <w>Some Acct. Domest. Archit. Eng.</w><bib>y</bib> (1859) I. ii. 42  
 <qt>The Mattok was man handleed right wele a whyle.</qt><ch>y:med, man-handleed; ghj 9905</ch></q>  
 </qp>  
 <s4 num="3" onum="2"><gr>trans.</gr>&es;To move (a large object) by hand, or by manpower, without the help of machinery or mechanical power (orig. <la>Naut.</la>); to move, manoeuvre, or transport with great effort.&es;Freq. with <ps>adv.</ps></s4>  
 <qp>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1851</d>  
 <a>H. Melville</a> <w>Moby-Dick</w> xcvi. 475  
 <qt>The enormous casks are slewed round and headed over&dd.at last man-handled and stayed in their course.</qt><ch>99</ch></q>  
 <q><d>1867</d> <a>W. H. Smyth</a> <w>Sailor's Word-bk.</w><bib>y</bib> 466  
 <qt><i>Man-handle, to</i>, to move by force of men, without levers or tackles.</qt><ch>y:</ch></q>  
 <q><d>1894</d> <w>Times</w> 27 Jan. 10/2  
 <qt>The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being man-handled.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1902</d> <w>Blackwood's Mag.</w> Mar. 331/2  
 <qt>I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope.</qt></q>  
 <q><d>1903</d> <w>Daily Chron.</w> 19 Feb. 3/3  
 <qt>Stalwart Punjabis&dd.hand out bags of stores,&dd.or manhandle a fractious, restive animal.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1908</d> <w>Westm. Gaz.</w> 2 Oct. 9/4  
 <qt>The 12-pounder guns which are used in the competition are man-handled with an ease and rapidity which is truly marvellous.</qt></q>  
 <q d="oed"><d>1953</d> <w>Word for Word</w> (Whitbread & Co.) 35/2  
 <qt>Before the improvement of roads under Telford and MacAdam, he had to 'trounce', i.e., push and manhandle the dray over the innumerable potholes and hazards.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl"><d>1988</d> <w>N.Y. Times</w> 13 Apr. <pt>a</pt> 26/5  
 <qt>In the end, my wife and I&em;both 70 years old&em;had to manhandle it there ourselves. There was no elevator.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 </e>

FIG. 16.5. OED3 (2000), with OED3 (pre-Pasadena) tagging  
 The entry has been revised with new and changed content.



OEDIPUS but, with the advance in computing power, he or she was now of course able to call up and edit any entry in the dictionary. Not all the facilities which the editorial team wanted could in the end be provided; but because the system was Unix-based (operating on powerful SUN workstations) users were able to compile their own macros and scripts which could be run on copies of entries transferred into the powerful software within the Unix system. Editorial consistency was facilitated by a large number of text validation routines written by the lexicographical group, which were also run on the native Unix software rather than inside the *OED*-designed software. Thus much could be carried out automatically, but the processes were not all part of an integrated system.

### 16.3.3 (ii) Devising editorial plans for revision

In 1994, plans for the revision of the *OED* began to be formulated. No large-scale modification of the text of the dictionary had been made since its completion in 1928, and no one since then had tried to compile entries for polysemous words whose history stretched back to medieval times, drawing the documentation from the full range of available sources; indeed there was no one alive who had done it. Plans therefore had to be evolved gradually, experimentally, and cautiously. Alongside the development of editorial *policy*, which has been modified continuously ever since, in finer and finer detail, editorial *procedures* (and concomitantly, project organization) had to be developed—many of them dependent upon the computer resources available.

In the earliest stages, it was thought possible that revision might be determined purely by existing resources, such as the recently published *New Shorter OED* (together with its valuable file of earlier and later examples of word senses, new etymological information, and revised grammatical model), other scholarly dictionaries (such as the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*), and the huge quotation files that had been amassed since 1957. Experimentation soon showed that this would not go far enough and that a thoroughgoing review of every aspect of every entry would be required to give a balanced picture of the history of the English language. Moreover, a new and extensive reading programme covering Early Modern English (1500–1700) would be needed to complement the wealth of new medieval and Scots documentation coming from the scholarly dictionaries just mentioned. Furthermore, in 1997, the *OED* Project acquired from the University of Michigan the entire collection of slips that had been gathered (including those donated from *OED*<sub>1</sub> materials) for the *Early Modern English Dictionary* planned by Charles C. Fries in the 1930s but never compiled, and began to draw upon them systematically. This enhancement

of policy meant that *OED*<sub>3</sub> would move to the forefront of research in lexical history rather than merely mirroring the patchwork of research done by others.

An important role was played by a new Advisory Committee set up by the Delegates of OUP in 1993. A series of meetings were held (1993–95) between them and the senior staff of the *OED*. The then Co-editors presented a number of policies in papers to the Committee, which were generally endorsed; the Committee also made recommendations regarding questions put to them by the Co-editors. These proceedings covered the following areas. On historical coverage, it was agreed to retain the *OED*'s starting date of 1150 (rather than change it to 1485 or 1500), not to attempt an exhaustive account of Old and Middle English but rather to direct the main burden of revision to the Early Modern and subsequent periods; accordingly, the Early Modern English reading programme was endorsed. As regards bibliography, it was decided to give priority to the date of book publication when dating plays and poetry, and to use manuscript dating for works that appeared before printing. British and American pronunciations were to be included for all non-obsolete entries. A system of grammatical terminology was agreed, and details such as the marking of transitivity and the passive voice were decided. In the etymologies, the regular use of reconstructed proto-forms and references to standard etymological authorities were to be abandoned. Numerous other topics were touched on, such as inclusion policy, the upgrading of important nested compounds (e.g. *Alzheimer's disease*) to entry status, and the organization of function word entries and phrasal verbs.

The editors took the view that the *OED*, in the early part of the alphabet, reflects the problems which their predecessors had faced in beginning to compile the First Edition, and in particular the unsettled state of their policy—leading to inconsistency of treatment—and their shortage of evidence—leading to gaps in the documentation and to unhistorical entry structure. Since the present team of editors themselves would also at the beginning be grappling with policy decisions, it was decided to begin revision at M, a point in the *OED*<sub>2</sub> text where it was a reasonable assumption that the lexicography of both *OED*<sub>1</sub> and the *Supplement* had become mature and consistent and the supply of evidence had become more plentiful.

The revision programme came to cover all the following areas: selection of the current headword form; presentation of British and US pronunciation (and other regional pronunciation when the word is chiefly used in that region); citation of all historical spellings in full form (not truncated as in *OED*<sub>1</sub>) with centuries or century ranges; ascertainment of all pertinent etymological facts, covering not only etymons and cognates in other languages but also relevant related forms when cultural diffusion is significant; treatment for words origin-

ating from non-European languages as full, in principle, as had been customary for those from major European languages; explanation of morphological development and pronunciation history within English; consistent grammatical and syntactic description; chronologically based sense structure; full research and presentation of the documentation of every sense of a word; comprehensive review of definitions, with attention to currency of language and expert advice on technicalities; consistent and up-to-date usage, currency, and subject labelling; standardization of all elements of citation style; checking of quotation text in all cases of doubt; and clear presentation of phrases, compounds, derivatives, phrasal verbs, and affixes with their own supporting quotation evidence. (A fuller description is given in the online Introduction to the Third Edition.)

Supporting this programme the *OED* department identified within its staff, or appointed, specialists to deal with (among other areas): new words and senses; scientific words; North American words; general European etymologies; Latin and Greek etymologies; words of non-European origin; historical syntax; variant forms; Old English documentation; Middle English and Older Scots bibliography; general bibliography; library research; database evidence searching; online database subscriptions; reading programme management; and workflow monitoring. The interplay between these areas has varied constantly and will continue to do so as different challenges and resources come and go.

#### 16.3.4 *Publishing the revised text* (OED<sub>3</sub>)

How *OED*<sub>3</sub> would be published was a question frequently asked throughout the 1990s. The standard answer was that at the end of the revision process it would be made available both in printed and electronic form, but it was recognized that electronic publication was increasingly favoured as a means of using large reference resources. Around 1994, the World Wide Web came into being, bringing the new resource of online texts immediately available to everyone's computer. The *OED* on CD-ROM had established the indispensability of the electronic *OED*. In September 1994, the then director of NARP (see 16.3.1, above), Dr Jeffery Triggs, proposed a Web-based 'Oxford Online Electronic Text Center' (offered on a subscription basis) containing the *OED* as the 'flagship resource', along with smaller Oxford dictionaries, encyclopedic resources such as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *OED Historical Corpus*, with hypertext links between some or all of these texts and an interactive form allowing scholars to make suggestions to *OED* and submit documentation online.

Building on his experimental prototype of such a website, OUP set up a project to pursue the publication of *OED* online. It was decided both to make the

complete second edition available, and to begin the serial publication of the revised edition (mirroring the serial paper publication of the first edition). From March 2000, a section of *OED*<sub>3</sub> was published on the Web every quarter. The *OED* department was reorganized so as to facilitate online publication. The entries prepared from M to R were reviewed, with two new emphases: (i) text was to go through all stages as far as ‘passing for press’ so that regular portions could be published, and (ii) many newly available online resources were to be used as fully as possible to help update the text. Resources already in use, such as the *Middle English Dictionary* on paper, were now to be searched online, and other online textual databases were to be routinely drawn on. Over the succeeding period more of these were used as the Web expanded.

A number of adjustments to the publishing pattern have occurred since 2000, each essential to the concept: the amount revised each quarter has increased; every quarterly issue now incorporates updates to the whole published *OED*<sub>3</sub> text, in addition to the new alphabetical range; entries for new words and senses are published throughout the alphabet, not just in the revised range (see 16.3.5, below); and, instead of being presented as separate texts, *OED*<sub>3</sub> and *OED*<sub>2</sub> are dovetailed into a single resource.

### 16.3.5 *Publishing new words and meanings*

As has been described in previous chapters, the Editors of the first edition coped with new words and meanings arising or coming to their notice after a given part of the alphabet had been passed by collecting the data during the main project and publishing it all in a one-volume *Supplement* five years after its completion (1933). OUP then suspended all further data collection until 1957 when a revision and expansion of the 1933 *Supplement* came to form the four-volume series of 1972–86. At the end of this, learning from past experience, an editorial group immediately began compiling new entries for words and senses throughout the alphabet (known as the New English Words Series or NEWS). Under the editorship of John Simpson, 5,000 of these were incorporated into the Second Edition (since their position was not specially marked in the text a full list can now only be reconstructed by comparison of the second edition with its parent volumes). The work, of course, was ongoing, and after the publication of *OED*<sub>2</sub> three new volumes of ‘Additions’ were published, two in 1993 and one in 1997.

When *OED* went online the contents of the *Additions* volumes were included with *OED*<sub>2</sub>. From then on other new items falling within each quarterly revision range were routinely edited and published with their range. Finally (as mentioned above, 16.3.4) in 2001 it was decided to publish online new words and

meanings from any part of the alphabet, so as not to delay the appearance of important vocabulary items in the *OED* until alphabetical revision reached them. As a result, the goal of keeping coverage of the whole vocabulary up to date had finally come in sight.

## 16.4 STAGE 3—*OED3 AND THE PASADENA SYSTEM, AFTER 2005*

### *16.4.1 Towards a fully integrated editorial, publishing, and workflow system*

In the 1990s, the TESS/TED system was a pioneer. But by 2000, the complexity of the project and the need to maximize efficiency, together with the sheer age of the system in software terms, required the building of a new and more comprehensive system. The lexicographical team had for a long time had very clear ideas about the facilities they needed to cut down drudgery and improve efficiency. Some of these were imagined (in a slightly fanciful form) in Weiner (1994a).

A French software company, IDM, with a record of building web-based dictionary editing systems, was chosen to develop the new system, which was named Pasadena and commissioned in 2005. As regards hardware and software, it is notable for employing desktop PCs running Microsoft Windows and servers using Linux. With the growth in storage space and memory, it is quite possible now to hold many copies of the *OED* on one computer, but it can still be a problem that the *OED* contains millions of items needing to be checked, and the proprietary Oracle database software can be strained by the fact that some entries are as long as an entire minidictionary. With the proliferation of apparently instantaneous look-up through search engines on the World Wide Web, users' expectations are much higher, and this gave system designers the problem of balancing complexity (enabling much drudgery to be carried out by the computer) with speed of delivery (enabling lexicographers to move rapidly through their work).

As regards user requirements, the ideal followed this time round was as far as possible to integrate all editorial functions. In addition to the database, Search Interface, and Entry Editor, the system contains a Dictionary Browser, allowing display of entries both in-house and to authorized remote users; an External Research Manager, which channels library research and consultancy requests out of an entry and back in when completed; and a Schedule Manager, by which work is allocated to editors and progress is automatically monitored. Very importantly,

the citations of the quotations, both in the dictionary and in the database of additional examples (the 'Incomings') are held in a Bibliographical System which allows bibliographers to control and regularize citation style so that inconsistencies are ironed out. There is full compatibility between all the texts held on the system, so that quotations can be loaded into dictionary entries without recopying. Within entries, the editing software facilitates the moving of textual components by reordering and/or renumbering elements that occur as items in lists, such as senses and subordinate lemmas. Cross-references are now actual links which remain in place whenever changes are made to the target, so that their surface manifestation is automatically reset.

With the introduction of XML mark-up in place of the SGML-like tagging used previously, a proper document-type definition was adopted, so that a consistent text structure became mandatory. After many years of re-editing *OED* entries, a much more consistent picture of entry structure had emerged, and it was no longer necessary to allow for 'loose' structures, except as an interim measure while the whole dictionary was loaded into Pasadena. In order to structure the dictionary more consistently and make it susceptible of a greater number of automatic operations, the tag set employed in Pasadena has about 144 members (compared with about forty-six used for *OED*<sub>2</sub>).

Concomitant with the new system, it was decided to remodel the structure of the *OED* entry for almost the first time. The main effect has been to remove items that are not part of a chronological sequence from the main sense-numbering schema, and to place nested lexical items in distinct sections. An entry now potentially has the following components: headword section, pronunciation section, inflections section, variants section, etymology section, sense section, lemma section (which may be of a number of types: affix, phrase, phrasal verb, compound, adjectival special use, or derivative section). All these elements existed in the text before, but they were not embodied in such an equal, regular, and consistent way. The essential ideas had been advocated by the lexicographical team as early as October 1993, but it had not been possible to implement them during Stage 2. (For a sample of *OED*<sub>3</sub> text in Pasadena tagging, see Fig. 16.6.)

## 16.5 SUMMARY

The *OED* has been re-imagined: it is a register of information about the English language that can respond to new data and discoveries, thereby remaining

<Entry ch\_pre 1700="1" cn="0030117" linkID="00139889" pbldate="20000914" wotd="1">
 <hwSect>
 <hw>manhandle</hw>
 </hwSect>
 <prSect>
 <pr>
 <prBrit> <ph>"manhandl</ph><ph>%man"handl</ph></prBrit>
 <prUS> <ph>"m{n%h{nd@l</ph></prUS>
 </pr>
 </prSect>
 <vfSect ch\_variants="1">
 <header>see
 <xr refentry="113198" refid="38341619" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xhw>man</xhw><ps hm="1" type="n."></ps></xmain></xr>
 and
 <xr refentry="83880" refid="2002548" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xhw>handle</xhw><ps hm="1" type="v."></ps></xmain></xr>
 </header>
 </vfSect>
 <etymSect>
 <etym>Perh. orig. a variant of <etymon> <xr refentry="113421" refid="38409160"
 rel="S" style="S"> <xmain> <xhw>mangle</xhw><ps hm="1"
 type="v."></ps></xmain></xr></etymon>
 (cf. modern regional <cf>manghangle</cf>, <cf>mangle</cf> to mangle or
 confuse (<w>Eng. Dial. Dict.</w>)), but in all quotes. as if <from></from>
 <xr refentry="113198" refid="38341619" rel="S" style="S">
 <xmain><xhw>man</xhw><ps hm="1" type="n."></ps></xmain></xr> +
 <xr refentry="83880" refid="2002548" rel="S" style="S">
 <xmain><xhw>handle</xhw><ps hm="1" type="v."></ps></xmain></xr>
 and in senses
 <xr refentry="113449" refid="38415498" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xs>2</xs></xmain></xr>
 and
 <xr refentry="113449" refid="38415514" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xs>3</xs></xmain></xr>
 evidently taken to be so. In modern use in sense
 <xr refentry="113449" refid="38415402" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xs>1</xs></xmain></xr>
 perh. a development from sense
 <xr refentry="113449" refid="38415514" rel="S" style="S"> <xmain>
 <xs>3</xs></xmain></xr>
 .
 <etymNote>
 <w>N.E.D.</w> <dat>1905</dat>) gives only the pronunciation with primary stress
 on the second syllable.</etymNote>
 </etym>
 </etymSect>
 <senseSect>
 <s1> <ps type="v."></ps>
 <s4 num="1" onum="3"> <def> <gr>trans.</gr> Now somewhat <la>colloq.</la>
 <subDef num="1" onum="a" st="obs">To attack (an enemy).
 <la>Obs.</la></subDef>
 <subDef num="2" onum="b">More generally: to handle roughly; to assault, maul,
 or beat up (a person; occas. <la>spec.</la>a woman).</subDef></def>
 <qp>
 <q d="med" qid="2893944"> <cit citid="2532"> <d dorder="147006"
 type="a">1470</d><bibMain> <a>Malory</a><w>Morte

Darthur</w><ms>Winch. Coll.</ms><loc  
 lid="136396">428</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>Hit were shame.. that he sholde go thus away onles that he were manne-  
 handled.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 <qp>  
 <q d="sl" qid="2893945" status="u"> <cit citid="1"> <d  
 dorder="185118">1851</d></bibMain> <a>H. Melville</a><w>Moby-  
 Dick</w><loc lid="27100">liv. 280</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>The valiant captain danced up and down.. calling upon his officers to manhandle that atrocious  
 scoundrel.</qt></q>  
 <q qid="2893946"> <cit citid="903310"> <d  
 dorder="186418">1864</d></bibMain> <a>J. C. Hotten</a><w>Slang  
 Dict.</w><edn>new ed.</edn></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>  
 <i>Man-handle</i>, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him out of a  
 room, give him a beating.</qt></q>  
 <q qid="2893947" status="u"> <cit citid="319678"> <d  
 dorder="188618">1886</d></bibMain> <w>Cent. Mag.</w><di>Apr.</di><loc  
 lid="216696">905/1</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two  
 minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft.</qt></q>  
 <q qid="2893948" status="u"> <cit citid="124453"> <d dorder="188818">1888</d>  
 </bibMain> <a>W. C. Russell</a><w>Death Ship</w><vnr>II.</vnr><loc  
 lid="173028">253,</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>I. was for.. manhandling him, ghost or no ghost.</qt></q>  
 <q qid="2893949"> <cit citid="7404"> <d dorder="189118">1891</d></bibMain>  
 <a>R. Kipling</a><w>Light that Failed</w><loc lid="53739">iii.  
 51</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>I'll catch you and manhandle you, and you'll die.</qt></q>  
 <q d="oed" qid="2893950" status="u"> <cit citid="174760"> <d  
 dorder="190218">1902</d></bibMain> <a>G. Ade</a><w>Girl  
 Proposition</w><loc lid="139297">58</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>To worship one who could be pawed over and man-handled by anything that  
 wore a Derby hat.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl" qid="2893951" status="u"> <cit citid="32090"> <d  
 dorder="195518">1955</d></bibMain> <w>Times</w><di>17 Aug.</di><loc  
 lid="200581">8/6</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>They smashed doors, threw stones through windows, and manhandled a member  
 of the staff.</qt></q>  
 <q d="sl" qid="2893952" status="u"> <cit citid="62864"> <d  
 dorder="198818">1988</d></bibMain> <a>M. Chabon</a><w>Mysteries of  
 Pittsburgh</w><loc lid="245293">viii. 69,</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>I had.. been torn from the register stand, manhandled, and driven  
 away.</qt></q>  
 <q d="inc" qid="2893953" status="u"> <cit citid="35540"> <d  
 dorder="199218">1992</d></bibMain> <w>N.Y. Times</w><di>14 June</di><loc  
 lid="261078"><pt>i</pt>. 1/2</loc></bibMain></cit>  
 <qt>Elite young officers were mauling and manhandling female colleagues and  
 civilian women.</qt></q>  
 </qp>  
 </s4>  
 <s4 num="2" onum="1" st="obs"> <def> <gr>trans.</gr> To handle or wield (a  
 tool). <la>Obs.</la></def>  
 <qp>  
 <q qid="2893954" status="checked"> <cit citid="737071"> <d dorder="150012"  
 type="qa">1500</d></bibSub></bibSub></bibMain> <a>J. H.  
 Parker</a><w>Some Acct. Domest. Archit.

(Continued)



Eng.</w><dp>1859</dp><vmr>I.</vmr><loc lid="734044">ii.  
42</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>The Mattok was man handeled right wele a whyle.</qt></q>  
</qp>  
</s4>  
<s4 num="3" onum="2"> <def> <gr>trans.</gr> To move (a large object) by hand,  
or by manpower, without the help of machinery or mechanical power. (orig.  
<la>Naut.</la>); to move, manoeuvre, or transport with great effort. Freq. with <ps  
type="adv."></ps></def>  
<qp>  
<q d="sl" qid="2893955" status="u"> <cit citid="1"> <d  
dorder="185118">1851</d><bibMain> <a>H. Melville</a><w>Moby-  
Dick</w><loc lid="27100">xcviii. 475</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>The enormous casks are slewed round and headed over.. at last man-handled and  
stayed in their course.</qt></q>  
<q qid="2893956"> <cit citid="914069"> <d  
dorder="186718">1867</d><bibMain> <a>W. H. Smyth</a><w>Sailor's Word-bk.</w><loc  
lid="876457">466</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt> <i>Man-handle, to</i>, to move by force of men, without levers or  
tackles.</qt></q>  
<q qid="2893957" status="u"> <cit citid="554553"> <d  
dorder="189418">1894</d><bibMain> <w>Times</w><di>27 Jan.</di><loc  
lid="510785">10/2</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being  
man-handled.</qt></q>  
<q qid="2893958" status="u"> <cit citid="657244"> <d dorder="190218">1902</d>  
<bibMain> <w>Blackwood's Mag.</w><di>Mar.</di><loc  
lid="468742">331/2</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope.</qt></q>  
<q qid="2893959" status="u"> <cit citid="688752"> <d  
dorder="190318">1903</d><bibMain> <w>Daily Chron.</w><di>19  
Feb.</di><loc lid="111286">3/3</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>Stalwart Punjabis.. hand out bags of stores,.. or manhandle a fractious, restive  
animal.</qt></q><q d="sl" qid="2893960" status="u"> <cit citid="691208"> <d  
dorder="190818">1908</d><bibMain> <w>Westm. Gaz.</w><di>2 Oct.</di><loc  
lid="187757">9/4</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>The 12-pounder guns which are used in the competition are man-handled with an  
ease and rapidity which is truly marvellous.</qt>  
</q>  
<q d="oed" qid="2893961" status="u"> <cit citid="43828"> <d  
dorder="195318">1953</d><bibMain> <w>Word for Word</w><ob>Whitbread &  
Co.</ob><loc lid="24597">35/2</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>Before the improvement of roads under Telford and MacAdam, he had to  
'trounce', i.e., push and manhandle the dray over the innumerable potholes and  
hazards.</qt></q>  
<q d="sl" qid="2893962" status="u"> <cit citid="737072"> <d  
dorder="198818">1988</d><bibMain> <w>N.Y. Times</w><di>13 Apr.</di><loc  
lid="734045"><pt>a</pt>26/5</loc></bibMain></cit>  
<qt>In the end, my wife and I—both 70 years old—had to manhandle it there  
ourselves. There was no elevator.</qt></q>  
</qp>  
</s4>  
</s1>  
</senseSect>  
</Entry>

FIG. 16.6. OED3 (2006), with Pasadena tagging

**manhandle**, *v.* *Brit.* /'manhandl/, /'man'handl/, *U.S.* /'mæn'hændəl/

Forms: see MAN *n.*<sup>1</sup> and HANDLE *v.*<sup>1</sup>

[Perh. orig. a variant of MANGLE *v.*<sup>1</sup> (cf. modern regional *manghangle*, *manangle* to mangle or confuse (*Eng. Dial. Dict.*)), but in all quots. as if < MAN *n.*<sup>1</sup> + HANDLE *v.*<sup>1</sup>, and in senses 2 and 3 evidently taken to be so. In modern use in sense 1 perh. a development from sense 3.

*N.E.D.* (1905) gives only the pronunciation with primary stress on the second syllable.]

1. *trans.* Now somewhat *colloq.* †(a) To attack (an enemy). *Obs.* (b) More generally: to handle roughly; to assault, maul, or beat up (a person; occas. *spec.* a woman).

1470 MALORY *Morte Darthur* (Winch. Coll.) 428 Hit were shame..that he sholde go thus away onles that he were manne-handled.

1851 H. MELVILLE *Moby-Dick* liv. 280 The valiant captain danced up and down..calling upon his officers to manhandle that atrocious scoundrel. 1864 J. C. HOTTEN *Slang Dict.* (new ed.), *Man-handle*, to use a person roughly, as to take him prisoner, turn him out of a room, give him a beating. 1886 *Cent. Mag.* Apr. 905/1 Two of our roughs began to haze him: but they mistook their calling, and in two minutes were so mauled and manhandled that it was reported aft. 1888 W. C. RUSSELL *Death Ship* II. 253, I..was for..manhandling him, ghost or no ghost. 1891 R. KIPLING *Light that Failed* iii. 51 I'll catch you and manhandle you, and you'll die. 1902 G. ADE *Girl Proposition* 58 To worship one who could be pawed over and man-handled by anything that wore a Derby hat. 1955 *Times* 17 Aug. 8/6 They smashed doors, threw stones through windows, and manhandled a member of the staff. 1988 M. CHABON *Mysteries of Pittsburgh* viii. 69, I had..been torn from the register stand, manhandled, and driven away. 1992 *N.Y. Times* 14 June 1. 1/2 Elite young officers were mauling and manhandling female colleagues and civilian women.

‡2. *trans.* To handle or wield (a tool). *Obs.*

? a 1500 in J. H. PARKER *Some Acct. Domest. Archit. Eng.* (1859) I. ii. 42 The Mattok was man handleed right wele a whyle.

3. *trans.* To move (a large object) by hand, or by manpower, without the help of machinery or mechanical power (orig. *Naut.*); to move, manoeuvre, or transport with great effort. Freq. with *adv.*

1851 H. MELVILLE *Moby-Dick* xcvi. 475 The enormous casks are slewed round and headed over..at last man-handled and stayed in their course. 1867 W. H. SMYTH *Sailor's Word-bk.* 466 *Man-handle*, to, to move by force of men, without levers or tackles. 1894 *Times* 27 Jan. 10/2 The larger weapons will be worked by electricity, but are also capable of being man-handled. 1902 *Blackwood's Mag.* Mar. 331/2 I'm going to man-handle my gun down the slope. 1903 *Daily Chron.* 19 Feb. 3/3 Stalwart Punjabis..hand out bags of stores,..or manhandle a fractious, restive animal. 1908 *Westm. Gaz.* 2 Oct. 9/4 The 12-pounder guns which are used in the competition are man-handled with an ease and rapidity which is truly marvellous. 1953 *Word for Word* (Whitbread & Co.) 35/2 Before the improvement of roads under Telford and MacAdam, he had to 'trounce', i.e., push and manhandle the dray over the innumerable potholes and hazards. 1988 *N.Y. Times* 13 Apr. A 26/5 In the end, my wife and I—both 70 years old—had to manhandle it there ourselves. There was no elevator.

FIG. 16.7. *OED*<sub>3</sub> (2006), formatted

continuously up to date, and with the development of technology it can offer its users more and increasingly varied ways of accessing, collecting, and collating this information. Equipped with a more powerful editorial system, and with the experience of six years of online publishing to draw on, the project team is now (2006) considering two main areas for future development. As regards the inner working of the project, policy and procedures are being carefully reviewed in order to increase efficiency and enable publication to proceed as rapidly as is consistent with the maintenance of the scholarly standards of the dictionary. As regards the text published online, a number of possibilities are being explored: releasing the working version of the whole dictionary, in which there are thousands of corrected quotations not currently available; publishing revised entries from parts of the alphabet outside the main block of text that is being expanded entry by entry; linking the *OED* to other online dictionaries; the incorporation of a thesaurus element to enable searching by semantic fields and synonyms; the improvement of functionality and navigation; and the reorganization and expansion of the access pages so as to make it easier for unfamiliar users to learn to use and explore the *OED*.

## UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

### *OED* archives at Oxford University Press

Note: numerous other materials relating to sections 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3 of this chapter are stored in the *OED* archives but few have yet been assigned archival references. Those listed below are numbered in order of their internal dates.

1. *A Future for the Oxford English Dictionary* (request for tender, June 1983)
2. *The New Oxford English Dictionary* (project description for launch, May 1984)
3. *New Oxford English Dictionary Workbook* (a collection of working papers, 1984)
4. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. *Outline statement of user requirements for a computer system*. October 1984.
5. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. *Evaluation criteria for the computer system design*. October 1984.
6. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. *Outline design for a computer system*. July 1985.

7. New Oxford English Dictionary Project. *Computer System Standard. Change Management Procedures*. November 1985.
8. New Oxford English Dictionary Project. *Computer System Standard. Problem Management Procedures*. November 1985.
9. New Oxford English Dictionary. *Composition Requirements*. April 1986.
10. Julia Swannell. *A user's guide to LEXX* (i.e. OEDIPUS). 2 June 1986.
11. *OEDIPUS user trials: report*. 6 March 1987.
12. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary computer system series. No. 1. *New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. Development of the New OED computer system*. June 1987.  
*Contents:*  
*A Future for the Oxford English Dictionary* (=item 1)  
*Outline statement of user requirements for a computer system* (=item 4)  
*Evaluation criteria for the computer system design* (=item 5)  
*New OED Phase Reviews Nos.1* (5 August 1985) –5 (22 July 1987)
13. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary computer system series. No. 2. *System Design* (=item 6)
14. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary computer system series. No. 4. *New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. Description of the computer system of the New OED*. July 1987.
15. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary computer system series. No. 5. *New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. Description of the processed text of the New OED*. July 1987.
16. OUP. New Oxford English Dictionary computer system series. No. 6. *New Oxford English Dictionary Project Phase 1. Management of the computer system*. June 1987.

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THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLISH  
LEXICOGRAPHY

VOLUME II  
SPECIALIZED DICTIONARIES

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LEXICOGRAPHY

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Volume II  
Specialized Dictionaries

Edited by  
A. P. Cowie

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## P R E F A C E

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It is not uncommon for a book of the scale and complexity of the *Oxford History of English Lexicography* to undergo at the planning stage a number of major transformations. This was the case as the present project got under way, and certain major decisions can be recalled here whose implementation shaped the eventual content and structure of the *History*. The expert advice of readers played an essential part in this process and I express my appreciation to them all. I especially welcomed the involvement of Werner Hüllen. He gave freely of his expert advice and contributed a chapter which drew on his unequalled knowledge of thesauri. By the saddest of ironies, he did not live to see the book to which he had contributed so much. Werner recommended that we should adopt a chronological approach throughout the work—then consisting of three volumes, of which the third was not historically oriented—otherwise we would fail to meet the expectations raised by the title ‘A History of ...’. Adopting this suggestion led to the breaking up of Volume III, with much of its content being incorporated in the other volumes.

This redistribution of material sometimes brought multiple benefits. In Volume II the emphasis was from the beginning topical. But it is sometimes forgotten that, in the *History*, there is constant interaction between the topical and the historical. The chief focus of interest throughout the second volume might be topic or use, but the dictionaries were often listed, analysed, and discussed in a historical dimension. Such interaction existed in the case of learners’ dictionaries. They had a shared function in that all were concerned with the linguistic needs of foreign students, but they also represented a historical progression—Hornby coming to prominence in the mid-1930s, Sinclair in the early 1980s. But it so happened that each of the EFL dictionaries published in the intervening years was associated with a development in grammatical and/or lexical research and the application of each to dictionary design. Thus the various strands of historical progression, specialization according to users and uses, and involvement in relevant research and development, were seen to interact—and in the design of the *History* could be brought to bear illuminatingly on each other.

At an early stage, I had considered the possibility of introducing English-speaking readers to some of the achievements of other national traditions in lexicography. However, experience of drawing up the detailed plan, and the views of referees,

brought home the difficulty of doing full justice to a tradition such as the French in fewer than two additional volumes. Those ambitious but unrealizable aims were therefore abandoned. Yet the comparative perspective has not been neglected altogether. A quarter of the list of contributors consists of German, Italian, Russian, Belgian, and French-Canadian scholars who, quite apart from having expertise in particular areas of English lexicography, are well able to view their chosen fields from within a broader European perspective.

Earlier, I expressed my indebtedness to the specialist readers for their help in arriving at a suitable framework for the *History*. But I have benefited also from guidance and support given by contributors to the book itself. For his invaluable advice on many matters and especially for his comments on an earlier draft of the Introduction I express my warmest thanks to Noel Osselton. Thierry Fontenelle has brought his expertise to bear on various technical problems and for this too I am very grateful. Sidney Landau, also, has given invaluable support to this project. Not only has he provided helpful advice but he also, at very short notice, agreed to provide a chapter on the American collegiate dictionary, to which his experience as lexicographer and editor lends unrivalled authority.

John Davey, Consultant Editor at Oxford University Press, has from the beginning been closely involved with the *History*. It was he who came to me with the idea of a book devoted to the history of English lexicography and kindly invited me to edit it. I have since then been the beneficiary of expert technical advice, a clear sense of direction, and unfailing encouragement, and I owe John a profound debt of gratitude. I am also indebted to his colleagues at OUP, especially Chloe Plummer and Karen Morgan, who have supported him in his central role.

Finally, no thanks would be complete without some reference to the practical and moral support provided by my wife, Cabu, throughout the progress of the *History*. A full measure of thanks goes to her.

A. P. Cowie  
*Leeds, December 2007*

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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adv phr	adverb phrase
Angu	Anguilla
Antg	Antigua
arch	archaic
attrib	attributive
Baha	Bahamas
BCET	The Birmingham Collection of English Text
Bdos	Barbados
Belz	Belize
Bhoj	Bhojpuri (a dialect of Hindi)
<i>BM</i>	<i>Basic Material</i> volumes of the SED
CarA	Caribbean Area
CayI	Cayman Islands
CD-ROM	compact disc read-only memory
CE	Caribbean English
CERN	Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire
Clar	Parish of Clarendon
COBUILD	Collins Birmingham University International Language Database
COPAC	see <a href="http://www.copac.ac.uk">http://www.copac.ac.uk</a>
DTD	document type definition
EDS	English Dialect Society
EEBO	Early English Books Online
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
<i>ÉpErf</i>	<i>The Épinal-Erfurt Glossary</i>
foll	following
FrCa	French Caribbean
Gen. Sc.	General Scots

Gren	Grenada
Guad	Guadeloupe
Guyn	Guyana
Hait	Haiti
Hin	Hindi
HTML	Hypertext Mark-up Language
IC	integrated circuit
id phr	idiomatic phrase
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet; International Phonetic Association
IrE	Irish English
Jmca	Jamaica
LCD	liquid crystal display
LEME	Lexicons of Early Modern English
LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland
Mart	Martinique
ME	Middle English
MRD	Machine-Readable Dictionary
n(pl)	plural noun
NARP	North American Reading Programme
Nevs	Nevis
NEWS	New English Words Series
NLP	Natural Language Processing
OCR	optical character recognition
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OEDIPUS	OED Integration, Publishing, and Updating System
PC	personal computer
PDA	personal digital assistant
phr(s)	phrase(s)
POS	part of speech
PtRi	Puerto Rico
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAWD	Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects



Sc.	Scots
SDC	Scottish Dialects Committee
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SEU	Survey of English Usage
SGML	Standard Generalized Mark-up Language
SNDA	Scottish National Dictionary Association
SQL	Structured Query Language
StDo	Santo Domingo
StE	Parish of St Elizabeth
StKt	St Kitts
StLu	St Lucia
StVn	St Vincent
Tre	Parish of Trelawny
Trin	Trinidad
USVI	US Virgin Islands
XML	Extensible Mark-up Language

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# INTRODUCTION

*A. P. Cowie*

**T**HE *Oxford History of English Lexicography* provides a broad-ranging and detailed survey of English-language lexicography, with contributions from leading authorities in Britain, Continental Europe, and North America. General-purpose and specialized dictionaries are treated in two parallel volumes, within a common historical perspective. The present volume, with its own introduction and combined bibliography, explores the extraordinarily rich diversity of English specialized dictionaries. There are two sub-sections. The first is devoted chiefly to dictionaries specialized according to linguistic or thematic content (e.g. dictionaries of place-names and personal names), or of speech community (e.g. dictionaries of dialect or slang). The second sub-division is devoted to dictionaries specialized according to users or uses (for the most part, foreign learners of English worldwide and their language needs).

Werner Hüllen's survey of synonym dictionaries and thesauri plays a pivotal role in the structure of this *History*. The semantic character of both types draws them together. But they are set apart by characteristic features of their organization. By surveying treatments of synonyms that are alphabetical the chapter reminds us that the great majority of works in Volume I have that same arrangement. By focusing on thesauri, in contrast, Hüllen's contribution stands alongside works in Volume II whose organization is non-alphabetical or only alphabetical in part. A number of phraseological dictionaries, for instance, because of the difficulties of access which a strictly alphabetical ordering would present, are ranged according to the first noun—or first 'full' word—which a particular idiom contains. In one such dictionary, the idioms *by hand*, *get out of hand*, *give someone a hand (with something)* are listed together because they all have

*hand* as the first or only key element. But the arrangement within that list is straightforwardly alphabetical.

There is another highly characteristic feature of the thesaurus—and the dictionary of synonyms—and that is their didactic function. This too places both genres squarely in Volume II, part of whose range of dictionary types is concerned with the linguistic needs of native speakers and foreign learners of English.

Such practical concerns on the part of analysts are by no means recent. In classical antiquity the practice had developed of compiling lists based on topical or semantic principles. Groupings of words thought suitable were the names of plants and animals, and kinship relations. From the third century AD, lists of semantically related Greek and Latin words, with rules and dialogues, the *Hermeneumata*, were used for teaching Roman and Greek boys in the Empire.

The central importance of Roget's *Thesaurus*, as by far the most influential and successful work of its kind, calls for further brief comment and explanation. The central idea of the project was the fusion of the ideas and techniques of the traditional thesaurus with those of the dictionary of synonyms. Roget must have had some acquaintance with the great schemes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aimed at the categorization of human knowledge, including John Locke's classification of the sciences. This, and his experience as a lecturer and teacher, and as a physician, helps to explain the emphasis laid on intellectual and scientific vocabulary in the *Thesaurus*.

It was the 'Plan of Classification' which accounts as much as anything for the extraordinary success of the *Thesaurus*. This organizational framework was able to combine ease of use with the impression of scientific universality.

As regards the structure of entries, it is worth noting that, generally, Roget begins an entry with some words that are close in meaning to the headword, and then lists differentiating synonyms which may have their own accumulating sets of partners. Interestingly, and with the knowledge acquired from more recent developments in linguistics—specifically semantics—we are now able to perceive in Roget's arrangements such semantic relations as 'frames' and 'semantic fields'.

Because we may refer one or more times a day to general-purpose, 'desk' dictionaries, we may fail to recognize that scientific, technical, and other special-purpose dictionaries greatly outnumber the general works. In a survey which focuses on the particular character of scientific and technical dictionaries, **Michael Hoare** sets out to identify the various characteristics that set those dictionaries apart from general, comprehensive works. One property of the former, not paralleled in general dictionaries, is that a scientific work can be made obsolete by a fresh

discovery, or the separation of two entities that are mistakenly taken to be one. Another property of specialized dictionaries is that, unlike their general counterparts, they can often be translated from dictionaries of different languages, headword by headword. And it is often possible to reconstruct the life of a technical dictionary. It may first be translated into English, say from French, and subsequently take on a life of its own, at which point the author may be able to report in its pages important advances in his subject and leave his personal stamp on the work.

Only one—chemistry—of the extensive range of specialized dictionaries covered by Hoare within the compass of an exceptionally large chapter can be touched on here. Dictionaries of chemistry form an especially interesting branch of scientific lexicography. The late eighteenth century witnessed significant progress in theory and practice, while the discovery of new elements and compounds were common events. The later emergence of organic chemistry represented still further challenges to the lexicographer. Especially noteworthy is that these discoveries went hand in hand with radical changes in the nomenclature—a development that dictionary-makers could not ignore.

The early lexicography of chemistry in Britain was strongly French-influenced. However, Pierre-Joseph Macquer, though a leading figure, vigorously opposed the new science of Lavoisier. James Keir translated Macquer's *Dictionnaire de Chimie* (1766) but, like the Frenchman, took a critical view of chemistry as a science, regarding it as an incoherent collection of facts.

The next significant step forward was William Nicholson's *Dictionary of Chemistry* (1795). Like his immediate predecessors, Nicholson was much pre-occupied by questions of alphabetical arrangement as compared with a logical taxonomy. The former was preferred for didactic reasons. The work of A. and C. R. Aikin gave prominence to the new chemical industry, and took a more sympathetic view of the changes coming from France, including the wider acceptance of such terms as *oxygen* and *nitrogen*.

A major development in twentieth-century lexicography, as **Carole Hough** demonstrates, has been the recognition of the value of place-name research. Of considerable interest to specialist and non-specialist alike are the structural properties of the names. The majority of place-names are compounds, combining a general term (or 'generic') with a more precise term that identifies a prominent feature such as size, use, ownership, and so on ('qualifier'). Most English place-names were coined in Anglo-Saxon times and derive from Old

English or Old Norse. In such cases, the qualifier usually precedes the generic, as in *Norton* ('north farmstead').

Place-names can be used without knowledge of their meanings, and so pass easily from speakers of one language to speakers of another, often changing beyond recognition over time. The derivation of a place-name can only be traced from spellings in early documents. But this is problematic since place-names generally originate in speech and may have existed for centuries. Therefore it is necessary to collect and compare as many occurrences as possible to reconstruct the original form. This research is usually undertaken as part of a systematic survey of the place-names of an area. Surveys are the main sources for dictionary entries.

Dictionaries of place-names vary in scale and in the principles of selection adopted. Some cover a geographical area; others focus on a single type of place-name; and others deal with the elements which make up place-names.

In the surveys of English counties of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of the work was undertaken by Old English scholars. Walter Skeat was a prominent figure and his studies established the principle that sound etymologies depended on thorough analysis of early spellings.

An early insight was that comparative methods could play a crucial part in place-name study. For instance, the evidence which established the early form of a name might come from another county. It was therefore necessary to organize studies on a country-wide basis. The English Place-Name Survey (EPNS) was founded in 1923 with the aim of making 'a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the place-names of England'. The EPNS survives today, with several counties to be completed, and a few not begun, because of a growing awareness of the importance of *minor* names. This has led to the focus on settlement names being replaced by a more comprehensive approach, with much time being devoted to field-names especially.

The consequences of this for lexicography are that the sources available for compiling dictionaries are uneven. The position is partly improved by the EPNS making available to researchers the as yet unpublished collections of material compiled for preparation for future volumes.

Sometimes, main findings are made available in dictionary form before the survey itself is completed. Cornwall, for example, has published a dictionary of place-name *elements*, but has not yet followed this up by issuing volumes of place-names. Sometimes, the greater wealth of detail provided in later survey volumes makes the results less accessible to non-academic users. To counter this, EPNS inaugurated a popular series of dictionaries offering digests of completed or ongoing surveys.

With regard to major dictionaries, Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1936) was and is a leading work of scholarship which set the standard for future dictionaries. Entries ranged from river-names and place-names to settlement-names. Place-name research has made several major contributions to general lexicography in the twentieth century—preserving vocabulary unrecorded elsewhere, antedating occurrences in literary sources, throwing light on semantic range, and mapping the distribution of dialectal forms.

The juxtaposition in this volume of chapters devoted to personal names and place-names is not accidental. Both kinds of study come together as 'onomastics'—the science of the history and origin of proper names. Within that broader field, **Patrick Hanks** discusses dictionaries of personal names.

In Europe, and elsewhere, a person is identified by a name made up of two component types: one or more 'given names', given to him or her at or shortly after birth, and a 'surname', which is normally inherited from the bearer's father. This chapter discusses dictionaries of both kinds.

As Hanks explains, the oldest hereditary surnames originated in Norman French during the eleventh century. Norman barons were identified, not only by a given name—*Richard* or *Henry*, say—but also by a surname referring to a place, very often in northern France, where the family owned lands. *D'Aubigny* (whence *Daubeny*) was one such family name. However, the practice which proved to be the commonest source of new names in the Middle Ages was the addition of identifying surnames—which might relate to an occupation (say, *Thatcher* and *Wright*), or to a geographical feature (say, *Ford* or *Hill*), near to where the bearer lived.

The founding father of personal-name lexicography was the schoolmaster and historian William Camden, but the first surname dictionary worthy of the name was compiled by Charles Bardsley, who in 1875 published a study of the origins of English surnames, a work that was superseded by the dictionary itself, with 11,000 main entries. Bardsley's methodology was truly impressive. He was the first to base English surname lexicography on historical principles and sought to link modern names, as far as possible, to names mentioned in the early records. He drew on a wide range of sources—medieval and modern. And he was scrupulous, when the origin was unknown, in recording common surnames with a question mark instead of an explanation.

Remarkable too in their approach to the examination of medieval data were two Swedish scholars—Fransson and Löfvenberg—who were active from the 1930s to the 1950s. Both were students of the leading place-name and personal-name scholar Eilert Ekwall, mentioned elsewhere in this volume by Carol Hough

and Anatoly Liberman. However, the scope of their work from a dictionary viewpoint was limited. As lexicographers, both saw their task as excerpting and organizing the medieval data, rather than explaining modern surnames.

A highly innovative approach has been adopted, more recently, by Hanks and Hodges. Here, the choice of surnames was partly based on an analysis of comparative frequencies of occurrence in telephone directories. An ambitious addition was a comparative survey of European surnames. However, the British content, as Hanks candidly remarks, is sometimes swamped by many thousands of European cognates and equivalents.

Traditional given names are of considerable interest to specialist and non-specialist alike. They are often of great antiquity, and until recently the chief influence on their selection has been religious affiliation. Records for the oldest European given names go back to the Old Testament. Here we find *David*, *Samuel*, and *Sarah*, borne by Jews and Protestants alike. But there are difficulties for parents wishing to give their daughter a Christian biblical name since few women's names are actually mentioned in the New Testament.

In her survey of pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, **Joan Beal** shows a progression from the marking of accentuation ('stress') in Bailey's dictionary, and Dyche and Pardon's, to the recognition, first expressed by Buchanan (1757), of the need for a guide to the 'true pronunciation' of English which would indicate the quality and length of vowels as well. Increasing awareness of the 'snob' value of an acceptable pronunciation of English led to a marked increase in the demand for pronouncing dictionaries in the later eighteenth century, all intended to establish a standard of English pronunciation based on the 'polite' speech of London.

Spence's *Grand Repository of the English Language* (1775) was the only dictionary of this period to use a truly phonetic notation—one in which the whole alphabet was systematically transformed but which, for this very reason, did not enjoy commercial success. The types of notation used in the most successful pronouncing dictionaries of the late eighteenth century had superscript numbers marking vowels, and italics to indicate consonantal differences, and ensured least disturbance to normal spelling.

A system of superscripted numbers was first used in a dictionary by Kenrick (1773). In this scheme, it is the number placed above the vowel in normal orthography that determines the vowel sound. This represents a considerable advance because the superposed number, and its value, override what the orthography might normally suggest, and make respelling unnecessary. It was also the most



popular system, and was adopted in the most successful pronouncing dictionary of the period, John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). The success and influence that Walker enjoyed were in part due to his reputation as an elocutionist. He was more in tune with the mood of the time and its call for regulation and reform. And the prescriptive character of the pronouncing dictionaries of this period reached a peak in his dictionary, which included a preface in which were set out over five hundred 'principles' or detailed rules, cross-referenced in the dictionary entries wherever usage was varied.

As Beverley Collins and Inger Mees point out, the history of pronouncing dictionaries at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was remarkable for the number of eminent specialists involved from various countries, and the success that their cooperative activity often achieved. The International Phonetic Association, founded in France in 1886, came to be a principal focus for such cooperation. Its importance for pronunciation lexicographers was that they now had a 'relatively standardized form of phonetic transcription' for widely studied languages, including English. A French phonetic dictionary of 1897, compiled by Michaelis and Passy, reflected the methods and approach of the IPA and prepared the ground for the *Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language* (Michaelis and Daniel Jones 1913). A weakness inherited by Jones from the French dictionary was the arrangement of the entries, whereby phonetic transcription preceded orthographic form. For his own *English Pronouncing Dictionary* of 1917 (*EPD*) he would take over the ordering—with the entries in traditional orthography coming first—of a newly published German dictionary.

Jones's was 'a quantitative transcription . . . one that was relatively economical in terms of symbols, with only a few exotic character shapes . . .'. Whatever the transcription shifts he experimented with, possibly involving extra symbols, in the *EPD* the notation chosen was unchanged throughout his editorship.

The model to be aimed at was discussed in the Preface of *EPD*<sub>1</sub>. In 1917, this was referred to, somewhat misleadingly, as Public School Pronunciation (or PSP), a term that later gave way to Received Pronunciation (RP). Jones was not a prescriptivist, and soon came to the view which he held throughout his career that the phonetician's job was to observe and record accurately, and that he should not attempt to set up one form as a standard for the English-speaking world.

At a much later stage, in 1944, two distinguished Americans, Kenyon and Knott, published their *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, a major achievement which carried through Jones's recommendation for a non-prescriptive approach

to pronunciation. Their work ‘was the only example of a full-scale dedicated pronouncing dictionary completely devoted to American English’. It represented all the major educated accents, identified according to the region in which they were spoken. No such dictionary has been produced for British English.

In 1967, Daniel Jones died. A. C. Gimson, his successor as editor, indicated the direction in which the dictionary might now move. He argued that as a considerable number of users did not speak English as a mother tongue, ‘a somewhat simplified account of RP’ was called for. He also stated that as RP was ‘less and less the property of an exclusive social class . . . this had led to some dilution of the earlier form’. *EPD*, he declared, ‘fulfilled a prescriptive function’. These views were not welcomed by all phoneticians. Some felt that *EPD* had become ‘a description of a type of language moulded into a model for second language acquisition’.

Gimson opted also for a qualitative notation—one which entailed introducing some, or more, exotic character shapes—and in so doing followed a number of leading authorities, including Palmer, Kenyon and Knott, and Windsor Lewis. There was general agreement among linguists to use this type of notation to represent British English. As the twentieth century came to a close, similar types of transcriptions were being used for American English.

On Gimson’s death, John Wells was invited to edit *EPD*, but as the publisher, Dent, was not prepared to make major changes, Wells went to Longman. The *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary (LPD)* overtook *EPD* in recognizing the changes which had occurred in RP by the 1990s. For the second edition of *LPD* Wells took into account the views of nearly two thousand informants. In the light of this evidence, it was accepted that *EPD* needed radical revision in content and structure. Cambridge acquired the rights and Peter Roach became chief editor.

The new *EPD* adopted the policy of putting forward, as a model to be imitated by learners, a wider range of variation. This more ‘broadly-based and accessible’ model was to be called ‘BBC English’, defined very precisely by specifying the professional speakers who used it. This roughly coincided with the BBC’s determination to shrug off its association with RP—as witness its employment of speakers with modified regional accents.

The appearance of an *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation* in 2001 signalled a new departure for Oxford University Press. This dictionary was designed from the outset to give equal prominence to American and British forms of English. But it was also decided to use the basic transcription for British English chosen earlier for *OED*<sub>2</sub>, where there were some marked differences of notation from those widely used for RP. This was felt by some phoneticians to have broken a well-established consensus.

Thomas Herbst and Michael Klotz survey the broad range of multi-word units which exist in present-day English and which continue to prove such a formidable obstacle to success in acquiring a foreign language. Perhaps the least troublesome to such students are the combinations referred to by such traditional names as proverbs, catchphrases, and quotations. They are, however, often of interest to native speakers, and many specialist dictionaries have been devoted to them. Then there is the broad, loosely demarcated group to which the term 'idiom' is often attached. Here the dictionary-maker probably has in mind combinations that function at the level of the simple sentence or phrase. But idioms differ in the degree of 'idiomaticity' they display, and some dictionary-makers categorize idioms according to how structurally fixed and semantically opaque they are. Others use more traditional labels such as 'common similes' for part of what they wish to include in the general category. Still others work by exclusion, cutting out short, colourless adverbial items such as *in fact*, or *on top*.

Another difficulty is that, since dictionaries of a given type are produced by different publishers, drawing on different sources of data, there is typically little uniformity in the coverage provided. A comparison of dictionaries now available shows that only about twenty-five per cent of the idioms listed appear in all three dictionaries. Partly the differences are due to the use or non-use of corpora in a given case. There is next the problem of deciding how the idiom entries are to be arranged so that the dictionary user can access them without difficulty. Does one order them alphabetically according to the first 'full' word they contain? Or should the system be strictly alphabetical (leaving aside such words as *the* and *a/an*)? Some devices in idiom dictionaries—say, detailed grammatical information—are designed to support productive use (i.e. 'encoding'). However, given the infrequent appearance of idioms in corpora or collections of excerpts, one might argue that encouraging the active use of idioms is unproductive.

Phrasal verbs, of which *look up*, *look something up*, and *look somebody up* are examples, typically have two features of interest to the analyst. First, they may be highly idiomatic, as those examples show. Then, second, they conform to the same general pattern (of verb + complement) as 'valency' structures (cf. *long for recognition*, *long to receive recognition*). Phrasal verb dictionaries are close to valency dictionaries and the two types may be subsumed under the same general heading of 'syntagmatic' dictionaries.

There has been strong interest shown in collocations (e.g. *call a taxi*, *take a photo*) by linguists for some years, but we have lacked adequate dictionaries to match the interest. One of the main problems is separating free combinations (i.e. the least idiomatic type) from restricted collocations. There are two related questions: is collocation essentially a relationship between full words or can grammatical

words be involved? And second, how can the significance of a word-combination be evaluated? In other words, how do we measure the ‘strength’ of a collocation? One approach that has proved helpful in dealing with this problem is to recognize that, in contrast to free combinations, collocations are ‘semantically directed’. They have a base (e.g. *house*) and a collocate (e.g. *detached*), and the collocate depends on the base for its meaning. This approach captures a considerable number of collocations that we intuitively recognize as ‘strong’.

As well as providing a survey of quotation dictionaries spanning more than two centuries, Elizabeth Knowles tackles questions of definition in an area of vocabulary studies where a number of traditional categories co-exist and where care needs to be taken when assigning an expression to the appropriate dictionary. Consider the term ‘quotation’ itself. A quotation can be defined as a fixed combination of words spoken or written at a given time, by a given person, often in memorable language, and often in response to a particular event. It is worth recognizing too that the differences between quotations and the other types are also functional. Quotations provide answers to the key questions: ‘Who said that?’ and ‘What’s been said about this?’

A proverb, by contrast, is traditionally a maxim reflecting a judgement or evaluation of behaviour and calling on support for this judgement by others. Finally, quotations can also be defined contrastively in relation to catchphrases. The latter may, after coinage, undergo a period of intense public exposure, and become part of the popular culture. They may be closely associated with a well-known politician, entertainer, or media personality.

Knowles helpfully describes the transition which has occurred, over two centuries, from the dictionary of quotations representing a personal collection of phrases assembled by individuals for their own interest or pleasure—though some might come to realize that such collections might prove interesting to a wider readership—to a tool for use by professional writers and the general public. The dictionary is shown to be the natural resource for identifying an author or some half-remembered passage or line. The dictionary would also be seen as providing well-chosen and appropriate words on a subject—which could then be quoted in speech or in writing.

In surveying individual dictionaries and their structure and content over a period of two centuries, Knowles shows how editors at different times have solved the problem of how entries could be organized to ensure ease of access. *Bartlett’s Familiar Quotations*, one of the longest surviving dictionaries of its type, has entries organized according to author, but the authors are ordered chronologic-

ally (i.e. according to date of birth). This arrangement means that the user will find authors of the same period grouped together, but that in order to locate any one author he or she will have to refer to an alphabetically ordered index.

An alternative approach to organizing the structure of the dictionary by author (whether with alphabetical or chronological listing) was by ordering by subject. In the case of Hoyt and Ward's *Cyclopaedia of Practical Quotations*, this ordering was decided upon apparently with the aim of providing useful quotations on a given topic to students and others composing texts. Despite the inherent disadvantage, from the consulting point of view, of opting for a subject-ordered dictionary, the type remained popular until at least the 1940s. One of the attractions of such an approach was the range of subjects that lent itself to treatment. For example, in Stevenson's *Quotations* there were biographical themes within the main sequence. Some major themes were subdivided, with 'America' given eight sub-sections, including 'The Melting Pot'.

Interestingly, during discussions at Oxford University Press leading up to the production of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Kenneth Sisam wanted indexes of subjects, authors, and keywords to support an alphabetical quotations text. He was more interested in the user being able to approach entries from a number of starting points than in their sequential order. His requirements would perhaps be better suited to the flexibility of today's online searching than consultation of individual entries.

An etymological dictionary records the origins of words and their semantic and formal development through history. But as **Anatoly Liberman** makes clear, it is essential to distinguish 'dogmatic' from 'analytic' etymological dictionaries. The first will indicate what is known beyond dispute and indicate the solution that has the support of leading scholars. An analytical dictionary, by contrast, lays out the history of research and refers to the scholarly literature—in short, provides the basis for an informed view. In sharp contrast with the view taken within other national traditions, the dogmatic approach has dominated the history of English etymological dictionaries. British specialists tend to ignore continental European scholarship and to recycle existing knowledge.

In his historical survey of leading etymologists and their achievements, Liberman first considers John Minsheu. He was not an original thinker, and he was wrong in assuming that most English words could be traced back to Hebrew, but he was sensible enough not to insist that there was only one solution to a given problem.

Unlike Minsheu, Stephen Skinner sought the origins of English words in Greek but he identified more connections between words than his predecessor. Johnson acknowledged his indebtedness to Skinner, but this may simply have reflected the lack of progress in historical studies between 1671 and 1755.

Franciscus Junius was another authority of whom a balanced assessment can be made. He also looked on Greek as the source language of some English words, but his analysis was superior. He also had a good knowledge of Scandinavian languages.

Liberman assesses the value of etymological studies from Minsheu onwards, and concludes that scholars of the earlier period shared certain analytical aims with ourselves. Their purpose was, and ours is, to identify the earliest form and find out how it correlates with meaning. The approach is the same; it is simply that our methods of determining forms and meanings are more reliable. Awareness of sound changes, especially, is a vital addition to our armoury. All this is directly relevant to Junius's dictionary. His observations, especially when English is compared with Dutch, help in tracing word origins when there are no known antecedents.

For some years until the publication of Walter Skeat's dictionary, Henleigh Wedgwood was the most active etymologist. He looked for the source of human language in interjections. In English the number of words that can be traced back to the imitation of sounds is surprisingly large. But such forms are not necessarily interjections, and when a dictionary is produced in which much of the vocabulary is traceable to cries, it cannot be taken seriously.

Eduard Müller's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* marks a major shift in scholarly quality. The characteristic features of this work include coverage of the main attested forms, and cognates that could be included with confidence. Between 1865 and 1878, Indo-European and Germanic philology took a great leap forward.

Modern English etymological dictionaries begin with Skeat. Despite its outdatedness in certain respects, Skeat's dictionary remains our most authoritative source. Later works tend to rely on him and the *OED*. Indeed, the etymologies in the first published parts of the *OED* drew upon Skeat even though he was censured by James Murray for publishing prematurely. He built on the achievements of German philology, and certain major publications not available for his first edition were added later. His fourth edition was radical; the knowledge on which the earlier editions had been built was improved by the achievements of Murray and Bradley.

In 1966 came the publication of C. T. Onions's *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. This is an abridgement of the *OED* treatment of etymology and deserves much praise if accepted as a derivative work. A questionable feature was that the

dictionary included forms in addition to those that figure in the direct line of descent (e.g. Italian or Spanish forms in addition to those in Latin or French).

In a summary statement, Liberman declares that etymological lexicography reached its peak with the fourth edition of Skeat—‘and has been stagnating ever since’.

**Robert Penhallurick** defines a dialect as a language variety peculiar to a specific region or social group. Slang too is the language characteristic of a social group, but when speaking of slang we are likely to have in mind an occupational or interest group, as Julie Coleman makes clear. With dialect there need be no such narrowing of focus.

Also of importance to lexicographers of dialect is the fundamental distinction between ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ English—or with a different emphasis—Standard English and dialect. The difference has always involved prejudice. Conditions for the emergence of Standard English existed from the late fourteenth century, but it acquired the reputation it did not simply because it was geographically widespread but because of its association with people of a higher class.

Prejudice continued to exist. However, John Ray (writing in the late seventeenth century) took a neutral rather than an evaluative view. He spoke of regional words with a limited provenance and compared them with words which were in common or widespread use across the country.

Ray was the first to attempt to provide, on a national scale, a comprehensive list of dialect words. But, by the late nineteenth century, pressure had mounted for an inclusive, authoritative dictionary of dialect. A major shaping influence was the *New English Dictionary (NED)* project, leading eventually to the *OED*. But since its inaugurators declared that regional words ‘have no place in a Dictionary of the English tongue’, it became even more crucial to distinguish between the standard and the dialectal.

This was a challenge that the English Dialect Society, formed in 1873, and with the overriding aim of producing an all-inclusive dialect dictionary, was best equipped to meet. Appointed editor in 1887 of *The English Dialect Dictionary (EDD)*, Joseph Wright took charge of the material already gathered. This consisted of slips, each bearing one dialect item and details of pronunciation, meaning, counties where the word was used, and quotations. The published work was monumental and Wright could justly claim that his dictionary was a storehouse of information for the general reader and an invaluable resource for all present and future students of the language.

The twentieth-century Survey of English Dialects, established at Leeds in the 1940s, continued the traditions of the *EDD*. But it was also influenced by developments in modern linguistics and, in its latter stages, by sociolinguistics in particular. Echoing this approach, Harold Orton, director from 1956, claimed that the methods represented by the *EDD* were not the most suitable for present-day dialect study. He argued that, to be adequate, a dialect dictionary needed to provide a complete vocabulary—standard as well as non-standard—of a given locality or region. Here was a radical shift in direction. The data would be collected by means of a questionnaire gathering non-standard and standard responses to a large number of questions, but with selective coverage of semantic fields.

The Survey collected large quantities of dialect vocabulary subsequently presented and treated in various publications. However, there have been major publications dealing with the material in ways nearer to a dictionary in form. The key publication was the *Survey of English Dialects*. This, however, could not be a conventional, comprehensive dictionary, as it depended solely on the responses to the thirteen hundred questions of the questionnaire. It could not be a complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use in England.

As **Julie Coleman** points out at the very opening of her survey of slang and cant dictionaries, satisfactory definitions of the chief categories are hard to come by. ‘Slang’ is often used as an overarching label, but it is often, too, paired contrastively with ‘cant’. As for the dictionaries themselves, slang in either of these senses may appear as part of a title, while in popular works, especially, technical terms and colloquial expressions may appear with slang items as parts of the same loose collection.

Coleman identifies the key defining features of slang terms as typically ephemeral, and associated with particular occupational or interest groups, such as the military, students, and fans of all kinds. Cant can be identified as the language of marginalized groups—thus of beggars, drug-takers, and criminals of all kinds. Informality is a shared feature of both slang and cant, but is not confined to them.

The history of slang and cant dictionaries begins with the appearance in 1567 of Thomas Harman’s canting glossary. It had a practical value, as it warned the public against being taken in by the lies and deceits of travelling vagabonds. A century later, Richard Head became the first of many cant and slang lexicographers to provide a version of his glossary alphabetically arranged according to the Standard English term, thus recognizing that readers might be interested in cant ‘encoding’ as well as ‘decoding’.



Moving forward to dictionaries published in the nineteenth century, we find the interesting case of John Camden Hotten's *A Dictionary of Slang, Cant and Vulgar Words* (1859). Despite the evident weaknesses of his work—he drew many items from earlier dictionaries, and often used representations of slang in literature as evidence of use—he was influenced by modern historical approaches to lexicography, and tried to describe the development of slang words and senses over time. (It is perhaps no coincidence that 1857 had marked an important stage in the production of the *New English Dictionary*.)

Another approach to slang and cant lexicography, and one in which there is still interest today, has to do with the investigation of language in parallel with, or as an integral part of, the life of a community. An outstanding instance of the latter, with implications for lexicography, was Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, where there was detailed comment on the language of different classes of society, and which included a brief glossary of back slang.

The chapters in the second part of Volume II have all to do with language uses and users, and chiefly with the language needs of foreign speakers of English and how these are met by specially designed learners' dictionaries. But at least two other dictionary types fall within the broader category of 'use and user related', and deserve to be described here. The 'dictionary of usage', described by Robert Allen, deals with the need often felt by native speakers for precise, reliable guidance in matters of usage. The other type within this general category is the American 'collegiate' or 'college' dictionary, described here by Sidney Landau, and designed largely but not exclusively to meet the needs of native-speaking college or university students in the United States. We turn first to the usage dictionary.

As **Robert Allen** notes at the outset of his historical survey of usage dictionaries and guides, the term 'usage' is broader than 'grammar'. While the latter is concerned simply with syntax and word-formation, the former ranges more broadly, embracing spelling, pronunciation, and vocabulary choice as well. 'Usage' is also more judgemental, so that, while it may label language choices to be preferred and imitated, it may also indicate options to be avoided or deplored.

Allen goes on to identify some of the key nineteenth-century figures who played a part in shaping the content and structure of usage guides. William Ballantyne Hodgson, for instance, anticipated Fowler's practice, when demonstrating correctness, of giving examples of the opposite. Also noted is Hodgson's

dependency on the classical languages for guidance, which characterized much of the usage criticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the early twentieth century, H. W. Fowler's *Modern English Usage* (*MEU*) (1926) was a major landmark. It was, as Allen points out, 'the first work on usage to be organized as an alphabetical sequence of troublesome words and phrases'. But the book was remarkable too in separating off grammatical correctness from 'mere pedantry and intellectual one-upmanship'.

The third edition of *MEU* (1996) was edited by R. W. Burchfield, who rewrote nearly all the text. Here there was a shift towards the literary as a source of models to be guided by when deciding which particular usages to recommend. Specifically, Burchfield chose as his firm base a number of 'good writers' of the late twentieth century, though not a text corpus of the kind that was by then in common use.

Sir Ernest Gowers had first taken to task the usage of government officials in *Plain Words* (1948). Later, in *The ABC of Plain Words* (1951), he again concerned himself with the language of officialdom, including that of the armed forces. His chief concerns were achieving clarity and avoiding ambiguity and verbosity.

A *Dictionary of Modern American Usage*, of 1935, broke fresh ground in not setting itself up as a prescriptive guide but, rather, aiming to assist English people who visited the United States or who had American friends. It was close to being a handy-sized dictionary of modern American usage.

A much later venture into describing a non-British variety of English was the *A–Z Guide to Canadian English* (1997). Based on a large corpus of Canadian writing, the *Guide* seems to have had the aim of defining Canadian English—and preparing a Canadian dictionary. As Allen observes, the *Guide* provided an objective survey of usage based on language data rather than a subjective checklist of authoritative recommendations. Language corpora, of course, have come to play an increasingly important role in the design of usage guides. However, if users continue to depend on the single, authoritative voice, frequency statements based on large bodies of data are unlikely to satisfy them.

The extraordinary success of the American collegiate dictionary, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, was, as Sidney Landau explains, due to two factors in particular. The first was the steep rise, from 1898—the year of first publication of *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*—to 1989, in the number of students enrolling at institutions of higher education in the United States. The number increased eighteenfold over that period. Then again, though the readership of college dictionaries was not limited to students, the fact that so many had attended

college during that time, enjoying all the pleasurable experiences associated with student life, created a ready market for a dictionary with ‘college’ or ‘collegiate’ in its title.

The second reason for the phenomenal success of the collegiate dictionary was the Webster name, with a reputation greatly enhanced by a succession of dictionaries, including an immensely popular speller and unabridged works such as the *International Dictionary* of 1890, on which the collegiate dictionary was originally based.

From the beginning, the Webster collegiate incorporated a number of features, including pronunciation, etymology, and synonym discrimination, that would become standard not only in that dictionary but in later publications by commercial rivals. Understandably, competitors as they appeared tended to borrow from each other features thought likely to attract new purchasers. Curiously, considering the role played by verbal context in elucidating meaning, these features included few if any illustrative quotations, and short definitions.

Given the conservatism of the collegiate dictionary as a genre, at least to that point, a work such as the *American College Dictionary (ACD)*, of 1947, broke a great deal of new ground. *ACD* appeared on the market just as thousands of young Americans, freed from the armed services, were tasting the benefits of the GI Bill. Then too the *ACD* was unusual in not being based on a larger, ‘unabridged’ dictionary, and could boast of clear, simply written definitions. It was unusual also in checking its vocabulary coverage against word-counts made by Edward Thorndike and Irving Lorge (two vocabulary-control experts known to Harold Palmer and Michael West, as shown in the next sub-section). But most significant was the success achieved by the chief editor, Clarence Barnhart, in gathering round him 355 experts on a variety of subjects, from grammar to pig-breeding.

The American college dictionary is in the broadest sense pedagogical, so that it invites comparison with the British foreign learners’ dictionary. But, interestingly, from its first appearance in the late nineteenth century, it was much more diversified in content than the learners’ dictionary would be, being in nature as much terminological or encyclopedic as explanatory. Users come away from the collegiate dictionary better informed than their advanced-learner counterparts, but not necessarily with improved linguistic competence.

When the first EFL titles appeared over seventy years ago, conditions existed which strongly favoured innovation in dictionary-making for foreign learners. One factor was that the compilers of the new-style dictionaries—Harold Palmer,

Michael West, and A. S. Hornby—were based overseas, teaching in influential positions in countries where English was a second or foreign language. Another factor was that this same remarkable group of expatriates undertook research in linguistic areas most likely to support and enrich their later work as compilers of learners' dictionaries.

Of those areas of activity, **Anthony Cowie** singles out three which were to have an important influence on the design of the earliest EFL dictionaries. One was the investigation of controlled, or limited, vocabularies. This was important, both for delimiting the body of words that a dictionary was intended to describe and for setting the limits of the much smaller defining vocabulary. Michael West was active in this wider field, but he is best remembered for the pioneering use of a definition vocabulary in his *New Method English Dictionary* (1935). Harold Palmer shared West's interest in vocabulary control, but during this period he was especially remarkable for the way in which he identified and explored grammatical topics of importance to the learner, including sentence patterns. Several of these themes were prominently featured in his *Grammar of English Words* (1938).

But Palmer's work had another focus of interest during this time. As early as the 1920s he had shown a strong interest in the collection and categorization of multi-word units—an interest which was shared by A. S. Hornby. Their findings were published in an extraordinary, incisive report whose originality was not fully grasped for another fifty years. But the report left its mark on Palmer's early dictionary, and when A. S. Hornby was faced with the task of producing an advanced-level dictionary he was quick to recognize the vital importance of idioms and collocations—and of course grammatical words and patterns—in fostering the productive use of language. And yet, Hornby was dealing with advanced students, so that while accepting the importance of grammar and phraseology he needed to acknowledge the overriding importance for learners of the clarifying of meaning. It was Hornby's skill in catering for both kinds of need that marked him out as a true master.

It is no exaggeration to say that Palmer, West, and Hornby brought about a fundamental shift of direction in dictionary design. But there can be no doubt, either, that the publication in 1978 of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (*LDOCE*) was to have consequences for learner lexicography, and for linguistics generally, that were much more far-reaching.

As **Thierry Fontenelle** points out, the two features for which *LDOCE* is best known as a learners' dictionary are its verb, noun, and adjective patterns—

referred to jointly as ‘complementation’ patterns, and corresponding to a limited extent to Hornby’s verb-pattern scheme—and the controlled defining vocabulary, which in *LDOCE* is an elaboration of Michael West’s *General Service List* (1953).

Neither of these major features, then, was entirely original. What made the Longman dictionary remarkable, and attractive to many linguists working in fields outside lexicography, was the systematic arrangement of grammatical categories and their codes, and in particular the ‘double articulation’ which made it possible to represent a particular word-class (say, [T] for ‘transitive verb’) in relation to its syntactic function or environment (say, [1] ‘followed by one or more nouns or pronouns’). One of the great strengths of this approach was that it enabled the dictionary-maker to reflect different verb classes, say, while conveying the similarity of their syntactic environments. And these differences alongside similarities were conveyed by transparent codes, which contrasted starkly with the opaque codes of the *ALD* scheme of 1974.

Once the computerized *LDOCE* was transformed into a proper database, it became possible to investigate the distribution of the grammar codes and their relationship to other elements of the dictionary, including the definitions. One illuminating enquiry reported by Fontenelle concerns the class of verb which participates in the so-called causative–inchoative alternation, as in the examples *John improved the design* and *The design improved*. This relationship involves pairs which are semantically as well as syntactically linked, since the alternation involves an agent (the performer of the action, and often animate) and a patient (the entity which changes state). This is only one of a wide range of fruitful experiments made possible by the transformation of *LDOCE* into a sophisticated database.

The *Cobuild* dictionary (1987) was certainly revolutionary too, though in a different way from either of its predecessors. Whereas *LDOCE* systematized its grammatical patterns, with the aim of making them easier to use, and introduced a simplified defining vocabulary, thus making entries easier to understand, *Cobuild* went back to first principles, using corpus frequencies to determine which words or phrases were to be treated in the dictionary in the first place, and the order in which their meanings were to appear (often with the figurative meaning given first).

The *Cobuild* project, as Rosamund Moon makes clear, would constantly disturb our settled notions about individual words and multi-word units. Of some importance was the observation that there was a large set of delexicalized (semantically ‘watered down’) items which fall between grammatical words (such as *can* and *could*) and lexical or content words (such as *table* and *chair*). Consider

the verbs in *take a nap*, and *make a mistake*. Collocations such as these had been known about for some time; what was strikingly new was overwhelming evidence of their frequency of use.

Another important finding was the common occurrence of many derivatives having the negative prefix *un-*. These are words such as *unaided* and *unattractive*, and they are often underrepresented in dictionaries. What the corpus is doing here is confirming our intuitions as to the ‘institutionalized’ status of the derivatives. (Are they fully assimilated into the vocabulary, or still on the periphery?)

A further feature of *Cobuild* which has attracted much discussion is the so-called full-sentence definition. A typical example would be one with an initial *if*-clause: if you *are torn* between two or more things, you cannot decide which one to chose. Here the *if*-clause not only contains the expression being defined (*are torn* + *between*) but shows that it must be followed by nouns denoting alternatives. The remainder of the sentence contains the definition proper. This feature has been used selectively by *Cobuild*’s rivals; by contrast, all have been quick to see the value of frequency within a corpus when deciding which words and senses to include in their dictionaries.

As the three previous sections have shown with particular reference to learners’ dictionaries, few developments over the past fifty years have had a more profound effect on lexicography than the emergence and growing sophistication of the electronic dictionary. Hilary Nesi focuses on the history of the more advanced lexical reference tools, and particularly on dictionaries, monolingual or bilingual, intended for use by native or foreign learners of English.

Improvements had partly to do with storage and access, and Nesi shows how dictionary material was stored initially in quite simple ways, including handheld devices and disks, though later via CDs used with laptop or desktop computers, and the Internet.

In the earlier stages of development, there were complaints that most handheld electronic dictionaries (the reference here is to Japan) ‘did not expand much on the content of their printed sources’, despite the potential of cards to store much greater ranges of grammatical and lexical data. As technology became more sophisticated, however, and as respectable dictionary publishers produced more material that could be downloaded—and as the memory of handheld devices increased—the gap between the mobile and the ordinary conventional dictionary vanished.

Considerable improvements were brought about by the wider use of disks. Disks were cheap to produce and could be installed on different machines.

Moreover, their contents could be viewed in classrooms on large computer screens. The more extensive use of disks was also promoted, in the 1980s, by a fall in the price of hardware, offering increased scope for quality software. CD-ROM was particularly attractive because a disk could hold about 150,000 pages.

An ambitious development likely to attract advanced foreign learners was the multiple electronic dictionary—that is, one offering several products or activities at once. A notable case was the *Longman Interactive English Dictionary (LIED)*. In the case of *LIED*, the components were a *Dictionary of Language and Culture*, a dictionary of common errors, a pronouncing dictionary, and a grammar. The component volumes were cross-referenced, but this often caused problems because the component parts of a given package might use different cross-reference systems. Several new EFL titles of the 1990s and early 2000s were based on a single print-based source to avoid the dangers of being over-complex.

Other possibilities are already becoming realities—for example, the use of mobile phones for lexicographical purposes—while among the inventions foreseen by metalexicographers years before is the possibility of representing human movement visually in an electronic dictionary. This too has now become a reality.

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PART I

DICTIONARIES  
SPECIALIZED  
ACCORDING TO  
ORDERING OF  
ENTRIES, TOPICAL  
OR LINGUISTIC  
CONTENT, OR  
SPEECH  
COMMUNITY

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# DICTIONARIES OF SYNONYMS AND THESAURI

*Werner Hüllen*

## 1.1 BEGINNINGS AND THE EARLY BILINGUAL TRADITION

### 1.1.1 *Dictionaries of synonyms*

ACCORDING to Plato's dialogue *Protagoras*, Prodikos of Keos, born c.470 BC and hence a contemporary of Socrates, was the first European to define synonyms as words whose meanings are closely related to each other. Their outstanding feature is therefore semantic overlap, and the chief purpose of studying them is to identify the subtle differences. For Prodikos, according to Plato, examples of such minimal gaps are to be seen in 'a *controversy* among friends' as opposed to 'a *quarrel* among enemies', '*acknowledgement*' contrasted with '*praise*', and '*intellectual joy*' as distinct from '*sensual pleasure*'.

The sophist's interest in synonyms was practical. Subtle differentiation between word meanings was regarded as an instrument of persuasion in speeches, for example in a law court, and this the sophist provided on demand and against payment. But the topic was also part of the wider debate among the pre-Socratean philosophers about the relation between reality and language. It is widely believed that questioning the simple identification of the gods with their names, as Homer (late 8th cent. BC) and Hesiod (c.700 BC) in fact did, marks the beginnings of European philosophy and linguistics because it stimulates the general awareness of human language as an independent and mind-driven agency of cognition. The foremost examples indicating such separation were the various names of a god or hero: these denoted one and the same being who

could be addressed from varying perspectives. Hector's son, for example, was called 'Skamandros' after the river of that name and 'Astyanax', that is, 'the protector of the city', namely Troy (Liebermann 1991). The meanings of these names had therefore overlapping and differentiating aspects—just like synonyms.

The simple equation between reality and language, which is a sign of mythological thinking, became distorted and gave way to a more logical approach. In subsequent centuries, this philosophical focus of a question which had been merely rhetorical at its beginning developed into the long drawn-out discussion of the *physei–thesei*-hypothesis in which, not least because of the weight of the Aristotelean argumentation, the *thesei*-solution finally prevailed. Its arguments determined many of the philosophical and linguistic debates between Heraclitus (in the sixth and fifth centuries BC) and Saussure (in the twentieth AD), or even later. One could almost write a history of European epistemology along the lines of the discussion of this problem (Robins 1990, Coseriu 2004).

The differentiating and weighing of synonyms against each other became the prevailing method of philosophical argumentation favoured by Plato and Aristotle (384/3–322/1 BC) and also by the Roman authorities, e.g. Cicero (106–43 BC), Quintilian (c.35–c.99), Aulus Gellius (123–soon after 169), and others (see Hüllen 2005: 77–93). It was *the* philosophical method of finding the truth with the help of language. Thus an abstract quest was combined with exact linguistic analyses, the way to recognition being paved with precise semantic delimitations.

This is why, against the philosophical argument in the background, the practical task of defining synonyms with the aim of using words in well-defined and persuasive ways remained in the foreground. Isidore of Seville (c.560–636), for example, explained in 610 numbered paragraphs the *differentiae* between *aptus* and *utilis*, *amicus* and *socius*, *avarus* and *cupidus*, and many other pairs. His aim was to explain word meanings for people who spoke Latin as a foreign language (Codoñer 1985, 1986). He regarded synonyms as a source of misunderstandings, similar to words with assonance. John of Garland (c.1195–1258 [?1272]), however, came near to a linguistic understanding of synonymy by saying that *synonyma et aequivoca*, as quoted in his mnemonic verses, show preachers and schoolteachers how various meanings can be expressed by the same words and the same meaning by various words and how this helps to persuade the listener (Chevalier 1997). This shows an enlightened insight into the nature of synonyms as well as into the style of preachers and teachers. Together with the other humanist representatives of classical rhetoric, Erasmus of Rotterdam (?1469–1536) stressed the stylistic principle of variation to be achieved by 'using different words which indicate the same thing, so that as far as meaning goes it does not matter which you prefer to employ. ... [S]ome words are more respectable than

others, or more exalted, or more polished or delightful or powerful or sonorous, or more conducive to harmonious arrangement' (*De copia verborum*, 1978: 308).

Latin–English and English–Latin dictionaries, which inaugurated the production of bilingual dictionaries in England (as in other European countries), include synonyms as part of their design, because frequently they do not just juxtapose one Latin lemma with one translation but various synonymous lemmata with various synonymous word-equivalents. Already, in the second dictionary of this kind, the *Catholicon anglicum* of 1483 (Starnes 1954: 19–23; Stein 1985: 107–20; Hüllen 2005: 137–9), this led to a technique of accumulating synonyms, without, however, any suggestions as to how they might be properly used, that is, whether to regard them as semantically equivalent or contrastive. Note, for example:

- (1) An *Arrow*: pilum, hasta, hastula, hastile, cathapulta, sagitta, sagittela, missile, telum, armido, speculum, gesa, sarissa, iaculum, & dicitur omne quod iacitur vt vulneret (quoted in Hüllen 2005: 138).

This technique was intensified in Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium Anglicolatinvm* (1552) with no fewer than 26,000 words, and in Simon Pelegromius's *Synonymorum Sylva* (1572), both having English headwords and Latin translations (Starnes 1954: 47–66, 355–6; Stein 1985: 181–93, 296–311; Hüllen 2005: 139–42, 142–6). Huloet heaps synonyms one upon the other. The lemma *mock*, for example, is given thirteen entries reflecting its membership of different word classes and occurrence in phrases, and is shown to be equivalent with twenty-four Latin synonyms in some fifty occurrences. This opens a vista into the modern concept of the network character of lexis. Pelegromius's dictionary stands out by being prefaced with a ten-page text from the pen of Iohannis Serranus which is largely taken from Erasmus's *De copia* and in which a general theory of synonymy is put forward with the help of Aristotelean categories. This is, in fact, more a treatise on general semantics. But the main point of interest is still synonymy. Note the concluding sentence (translated): 'So you see, dear reader, how it works and from which sources it originates that identical things are often ascribed many names, and that, although we are used to speaking about one and the same thing in many and differing modes, we nevertheless always understand the same and no other meaning' (Stein 1985: 305). The nineteen editions of this dictionary testify to its great popularity.

### 1.1.2 *Thesauri*

In classical antiquity, and even in the older Chinese, Sanskrit, and Arabic cultures, dictionary-making began with the compilation of lists, for which

words were selected according to semantic principles. Eligible for this selection were the names of trees and animals, the hierarchy of offices in a royal court, family relationships, and so on. These groupings were frequently taken from older texts in order to enhance their (the text's) intelligibility. Aristophanes of Byzantium (c.257–c.180 BC), for example, collected words naming the ages of men and animals, kinship terminology and certain regional terms in order to facilitate the understanding of Homeric epics. Julius Pollux (Polydeukes, fl. 2nd cent. AD) compiled his famous *Onomasticon* for the same reason. Such works were written down and then rewritten, their words being borrowed and mixed till they became a register and assumed a format of their own. Their purpose was didactic. From the third century AD on, lists of semantically related Greek and Latin words, together with grammatical rules and dialogues, called *Hermeneumata*, were used for teaching the Roman and Greek boys in the *Imperium* (Dionisotti 1982, 1996). The most famous later example of a general *onomasticon* is Isidore of Seville's celebrated work *Etymologiae sive origines*—a long list of words, but, with their comments, also an exhaustive encyclopedia and source of general knowledge.

The process of excerpting words from influential sources and ordering them according to topical criteria was repeated when Latin texts were glossed with Anglo-Saxon words. This must have started in the seventh century, though the examples extant stem from around 1000 AD. The *Hermeneumata* were among the glossed sources. The order of their vocabulary (Hüllen 2006a: 64) became a model for many later compilations, notably the so-called *nominales*, i.e. ordered lists of nouns and adjectives. They prefigure the later colloquies and wordbooks for teaching and learning foreign languages—beginning in the twelfth century with Latin, but later also devoted to French—and, by doing this, had a seminal function for the later dialogue books written in many continental languages (Hüllen 2006a: 78–139).

Topical glossaries (sometimes known as 'class' glossaries) finally came into their own when, in the course of Latin–English and, later, English–Latin lexicography, bilingual dictionaries were compiled, the earliest perfect example being John Withals's (also Whithals, fl. 1553) *A shorte Dictionarie for yonge beginners* (Watson 1968: 392–4; Stein 1985: 194–204; Green 1997: 92–4; Hüllen 2006a: 198–201). Between 1553 and 1602, it became a popular, frequently revised and enlarged textbook for learning Latin, the first of its kind to start each entry with the English lemma. The order of its vocabulary can be roughly indicated as:

A the world in toto: A1 universe, A2 the elements; B nature: B1 air, B2 water, B3 earth; C man: C1 crafts, C2 housing, C3 city; D society: D1 law, D2 church, D3 family; E life and death: E1 human body, E2 war, E3 senses.

Introductions to the various editions show clearly that the author had a well-developed didactic programme. Note, for example, the ‘Preface’ to the editions of 1602 and the following years:

And though [the dictionary] leadeth not, as do the rest, by way of *Alphabet*, yet hath it *order*, and *method* both, and the fittest *order*, and the fittest *method* for yong beginners: for Example, he that would find the *Sunne*, the *Moone*, the *Starres*, or any such other such excellent creatures aboue, he may looke for the *Skie*: that is more readie here, for his capacitie, and that is their place, and there they be readie for him in *English*, and *Latin* both ... (quoted in Hüllen 2006a: 176).

The term ‘thesaurus’ was not yet in use then. Instead we find ‘glossary’, ‘vocabulary’, ‘dictionary’, or (mainly on the continent) ‘nomenclator’. *Thesaurus* ‘storehouse, treasure’ came into use only in the second half of the sixteenth century (e.g. with Thomas Cooper’s *Thesaurus Linguae Romanicae et Britannicae*, 1565). But not before the unprecedented success of Peter Mark Roget’s *Thesaurus* in and after 1852 did this title adopt the generic meaning which it has today.

The words appearing in a thesaurus are grouped in a way which corresponds to principles as they are laid down in religion, philosophy, natural history, the sciences, and (more recently) politics, and as apprehended by the author. They are also assumed to be generally valid for all thesaurus users.

Alphabetical dictionaries and topical thesauri were (and are) not just two ways of doing the same thing. There is a profound difference in lexicographical principles here. Alphabetical dictionaries add a meaning (*definiens*) to a word given but not understood (*definiendum*), whereas topical thesauri provide a word for a preverbally given meaning. The known and the unknown elements in the two genres change places. Thesauri, as defined here, presuppose a factual knowledge of reality, if only in vague terms. Whereas alphabetical dictionaries lend help to users who are confronted (when listening or reading) with a text which they do not understand, thesauri do this to users who want to produce such a text (in speaking or in writing) out of their own resources. The one process goes from the sign to the meaning and is, in lexicography, usually called ‘semasiological’; the other goes from a preconceived meaning to the sign and is usually called ‘onomasiological’ or ‘topical’.

There exists an obvious affinity between dictionaries of synonyms and thesauri. Grouping words according to domains in reality—names of planets, of the seasons and months of the year, of fruit trees, of utensils used in a kitchen, or of other things—means grouping words whose meanings have much in common. This is why some lexicographers treat thesauri and dictionaries of synonyms as belonging to one class—with this difference that while synonym dictionaries deal with few sense relations between words, thesauri deal with many. Moreover, the

aims of thesauri are not merely to accumulate words which can replace each other when used in texts; rather, they enumerate names with exactly delimited semantic differences and which are therefore not exchangeable in the majority of cases. This is why thesauri are at their best with terminological (e.g. technical) language. Those which pertain to non-terminological language use classifications less strict and logical than the others.

## 1.2 SYNONYMS AND THE MONOLINGUAL TRADITION OF DICTIONARIES

### 1.2.1 *Hard-word dictionaries*

It is the aim of dictionaries to explain the various properties of a language to those who do not know them. This makes it quite natural that, historically speaking, bilingual or multilingual dictionaries precede monolingual ones, because they include foreign languages. No need is felt to consult a dictionary of one's own language, unless there are details in it which even native speakers do not know—be it that the words are old, dialectal, special, or otherwise strange.

Towards the end of the sixteenth and in the course of the seventeenth centuries so many Latin-based new words were introduced into the English vernacular that many natives could no longer fully understand their fellow countrymen. These new words often functioned as synonyms to the existing ones, denoting in many cases almost the same meaning on an elevated stylistic level. This has marked the English language ever since as a mixture of Germanic and Romance (Latin) elements and erected a language bar (Grove 1950) which separated (and separates) one half of the nation from the other and created a demand for monolingual dictionaries. It was John Baret who used the term 'hard word' in this sense for the first time in his *Alveary* (1573).

The hard-word dictionaries (Green 1997: 147–73; Hüllen 2005: 119–60; → OSSELTON, Vol. I) have their own traits and merits. More and more foreign languages were included as donor languages and so were more and more technical terms of the arts. But they have in common that they are dictionaries of synonyms in the sense that one 'hard' English word is explained by one or more lexemes—assumed to be easier—of the same language, plus, in some cases, short explanations. Note, for example:

- (2) *Addict* To apply, or giue ones selfe much to anything – *Additamunt* Any thing added *Addition* An adding or putting to. In our common law it signifieth any



title giuen to a man beside his name which title sheweth his estate, trade, course of life, and also dwelling place *Adhere* To cleaue to – *Adherence* A cleauing to, or belonging to any thing (from Bullokar 1616, quoted in Hüllen 2005: 152).

Synonyms are used here in the simplest way possible. They are treated as semantically identical without any reflection on the differences. Earlier Latin–English and English–Latin dictionaries had also mainly depended on such simple equations. In the hard-word dictionaries, the interlingual synonyms of the bilingual (or multilingual) works were replaced by intralingual ones. The two registers of English were, thus, treated as two languages. To that extent, the monolingual hard-word dictionaries can be counted as crypto-bilingual.

### 1.2.2 *General purpose dictionaries*

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, the broad development began which can today be called mainstream lexicography. One of its aims was to establish English as a standardized and strictly ruled national linguistic system, with a historical background, able to meet all the communicative needs that could possibly arise. The role of synonyms in the many books produced in this mainstream was, by and large, very similar. They were used to establish the meanings of words by other words thought to be identical in meaning. Exchangeability in sentences was the proof. According to the principles of the time, there was (of course) no corpus collection, but one or a few quotations from acknowledged authors would do. The luminary of this development was Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). Its theoretical foundations, its achievements, and its afterlife have caused almost a library of analytical works to appear (e.g. Starnes and Noyes 1946/1991, Sledd and Kolb 1955, Reddick 1990, Schreyer 2000, Lynch and McDermott 2005, Hüllen 2005, → REDDICK, Vol. I). Samuel Johnson's technique—itself well accounted for in the 'Plan' of the dictionary and the preface (Hüllen 2005: 174–80)—can show the perfection to which his techniques of semantic explanations can be led. To them belong analytic definitions (for example by *genus* and *differentiae*) and the use of synonyms. Note a deliberately short entry:

(3) [Headword] SIMPLE

[Synonyms] 1. Plain, artless, unskilled, undesigning, sincere, harmless. 2. Uncompounded, unmingled, single, only one, plain, not complicated. 3. Silly, not wise, not cunning. [Quotations] 1. They meet upon the way, A simple husbandman in garments grey (*Hubberd's Tale*); O Ethelinda, My heart was made to sit and pair

with thine, Simple and plain, and fraught with artless tenderness (*Rowe*). 2. To make the compound pass for the rich metal simple, is an adulteration or counterfeiting (*Bacon*); Simple philosophically signifies single, but vulgarly foolish (*Watts*); 3. The simple believeth every word; but the prudent man looketh well to his doing (*Proverbs*, xv); I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil (*Rom.*, xvi, 192). (Selected and adapted from Johnson 1979.)

Noteworthy is Johnson's way of not (or only in special cases) equating one word with one synonymous one but juxtaposing one lemma with a (sometimes considerable) number. In the quoted case, fifteen words are chosen to present the meaning of *simple*. Among them are negated antonyms, e.g. 'not cunning'. The choice of several synonyms as *definiencia* is a tacit acknowledgement of the fact that words are usually polysemous and therefore have several synonymous words to go with them. Johnson's quotations incorporate the lemma of the entry, but might also use the explanatory synonyms. Note from the example: *Simple* and *plain*, (*not*) *wise* and *simple*. Occasionally, new synonyms are introduced, again often by negation, which have not been mentioned after the lemma. It is obvious that Johnson's choice of quotations is often meant not only to support but to replace definitions which would have to explain the differences of synonyms on a metalevel. Already the entries in hard-word dictionaries were sometimes given by analytical, i.e. descriptive, analysis rather than by synonyms that could replace the *definiendum* in actual use.

### 1.3 THESAURI FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES

#### 1.3.1 *Multilingual thesauri*

During the second half of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries, when Withals's dictionary flourished, various thesauri enriched the world of dictionaries. In one manifestation, they were an element of so-called 'dialogue books', designed for the learning of a foreign language; in another, they were combined with alphabetical dictionaries; and, in a third, they were adapted from continental models.

##### 1.3.1 (i) Dialogue books

Dialogue books are a book genre which extended all over the European continent. They consisted of conversations, alphabetical and topical word-lists, grammatical

rules, and various texts such as prayers, proverbs, and so on. Their only aim was the teaching and learning of foreign languages for practical purposes, that is, for needs which arose outside the usual academic or ecclesiastical domains in which a knowledge of Latin was required. Their word-lists were ordered in such a way that these practical purposes could be met. They existed on the continent as complex book families, with many derivatives, which arranged up to six—in rare cases even eight—languages side by side, and they originated in Venice from Adam of Rotweil's *Introito e porta* (1477) and in Amsterdam from Noel de Berlaimont's books usually called *Colloquia et dictionariolum* (1536) (Hüllen 2006a: 104–31, 326–46). One of the six-language editions of the former includes English, and so do some of the six(-and-more) language editions of the latter (Alston 1974, II, nos. 25–68). Only one Berlaimont edition (1639) was printed in London, all the others were published on the Continent. In England, the best-known dialogue books were Claudius Holyband's *The French Littleton* (1566) and *The French Schoolmaister* (1573). Furthermore, there was John Florio's *His firste Fruites* (1578) and *Second Fruites* (1591, for Italian).

In the following century, Guy Miège published *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre l'anglois* (1685, see Alston 1974, II, nos. 181–5). He was a Swiss from Lausanne who found work in England as a language teacher, after the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV—an event which brought many refugees to the British Isles. His book contained a grammar (119 pages), a thesaurus, called a 'nomenclator' (thirty-eight pages), six pages of proverbs, and ninety-five pages of dialogues. The nomenclator had some 2,280 words in French and English, broken down into no fewer than sixty-eight groups with their own headings (Hüllen 2006: 126–9).

### 1.3.1 (ii) Alphabetical dictionaries with topical word-lists

Alphabetical dictionaries were occasionally complemented with topical word-lists, thus serving the receptive as well as the productive needs of language learners. John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (1589), for example, consisted of an alphabetical dictionary English–Latin (560 pages), a topical English–Latin dictionary (thirty-four pages) and an indexical Latin–English dictionary (560 pages). Though the size of the topical part is grossly out of proportion, it shows what a comprehensive dictionary could look like in the future (Stein 1985: 333–52).

Randle Cotgrave's *French–English Dictionary* (1611), re-edited with an English–French part added by James Howell (1650), was a monumental alphabetical dictionary of the two languages (→ BATELY, Vol. I). At the end we find the remark: 'For the Ease of the French Student, and the further advance of his memory, the heads of some species are collected and annexed hereunto' (Hüllen 2006a: 203). There then follow thirteen topical clusters of entries in, admittedly, a very unconventional

sequence, because the headings of the clusters are themselves grouped alphabetically (arms, birds, colours, dogs, etc.).

### 1.3.1 (iii) Nomenclators

Multilingual nomenclators appeared on the Continent in greater numbers than in the British Isles and were sometimes of quite exceptional size. Among them was Hadrianus Junius's *Nomenclator* of 1567. Its first edition embraced nine languages, English only occasionally appearing among them. In 1585, John Hig [g]ins published a version with an English title and English explanations in all entries. It is an erudite and monumental work, devoted to academic encyclopaedism rather than language teaching (Hüllen 2006a: 353–60; Stein 2006).

The most elaborate combination of an alphabetical and a topical dictionary is certainly James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1660) which even adds a third part, proverbs, to these two. The book has some 1,000 (unnumbered) folio pages. The topical part is divided into fifty-two sections. Howell adapted the work from Guillaume Alexandre de Noviliers's *Nomenclatvra Italiana, Francese, E Spagnola* (1629), adding English translations which he then put on the leftmost side of the entries. In some sections he added vocabulary of his own. The topical order is less philosophical in Howell's dictionary and more geared to the lifestyle of the genteel than, for example, in Junius's erudite work. Its vocabulary surpasses by far the average needs of a foreign language learner of the time (Hüllen 2006: 202–43).

It is not without significance that James Howell used a model thesaurus based on Romance languages. Apart from various classical scholars in Germany, Italian compilers were the *avant-garde* in compiling thesauri (Marello 1990). There is only one English author in the seventeenth century who created an independent topical dictionary—and thus a thesaurus in the full sense—in English, Latin, and Greek, and this was the botanist John Ray (*Dictionariolum trilingue*, 1675). It was intended for English boys learning Latin and/or Greek (Hüllen 2006: 293–9). It has some 2,660 entries printed on ninety-one pages. Its thirty-two topical clusters cover all the conventional domains important for a language learner, but the way in which Ray explains the names of plants, reveals the eager botanist and naturalist.

### 1.3.2 *Bathe and Comenius*

The tradition of using thesauri in foreign language teaching received a strong boost from William Bathe, an Irish Jesuit living in Salamanca, who published his *Janua Linguarum* in 1611 (O Mathúna 1986). The book consisted of 1,200 sentences in Latin and Spanish and had a word-list of 5,300 lexical items. These sentences were arranged in groups of one hundred ('centuries'), devoted to various topics. They

are rather loosely connected, with criteria for divisions being determined less by natural history—as one might expect—and more by morality. Each word occurs in one sentence only. The idea was that merely by memorizing them a scholar would learn Latin. The book became famous throughout the Continent and was adapted for use in many European languages (Hüllen 2006a: 377–82). There appeared versions with English sentences edited by William Welde (1615 and later), John Barbier (1617 and later), Isaac Habrecht (1629), and Thomas Horne together with Timothy Poole (1634 and later).

In 1631 and 1633, Johann Amos Comenius published his own version using the title *Janua linguarum reserata*, at first in Czech and Latin. It surpassed even Bathe's success. It was well received all over Europe and was translated accordingly. There were twenty-five editions in English between 1631 and 1674. Comenius embedded some 8,000 words in exactly 1,000 sentences, as a rule without repetition. He turned Bathe's rather loose collection into a strict order according to the encyclopedic fashion of his time and, in doing so, presented a complete thesaurus—again with the particular feature that entries were not arranged by lemmata but by words-in-sentences (Hüllen 2006a: 377–82).

The idea of having a thesaurus arranged in sentences was recognized in Comenius's second book of its kind, his *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1658). Geared to the needs of children, that is, learners at a low level of proficiency, it gave another conspectus of the world, this time conveyed by pictures. It is the prototype of an onomasiological dictionary, because the *definiendum* to which words are added is given pictorially, that is, without (openly) using language. The success of this textbook certainly surpassed that of any other in the world. Two hundred and forty-five various editions have been traced (Pilz 1967), and there are certainly even more, for example, in Asian countries. It was adapted for use in the chief European languages, including, of course, English. Charles Hoole published *Joh. Amos Comenius's Visible World* (1672), and James Greenwood (c.1700) the so-called *London Vocabulary* which saw many editions until 1828 (Hüllen 2006a: 422–30). The thesaurus-like character of Comenius's books influenced textbook design tremendously and inaugurated a new genre, the pictorial dictionary.

### 1.3.3 John Wilkins's 'Tables'

In his *Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (1668), John Wilkins elaborated the idea of a universal language, written and spoken. Besides explaining its sounds and its written characters and the grammar needed for their concatenation, he set out an ordered inventory of such English words as could be converted into the universal writing and speaking system and would then

be intelligible to everybody. He did this in what he called ‘Tables’, that is, not just lists of lexemes but analytical texts in which he gave the words and the philosophical reasons for their overall arrangement. The ‘Tables’ are ordered according to genera, species, and differences. The genera follow the traditional categories (predicaments) of logic. The species and their further differences follow the various features that mark the domain from which the relevant words are taken. If we disregard the epistemologically inspired first three genera, we find a sequence of topics which is indeed typical and conventional of thesauri, namely: (1) God and the universe, (2) the four elements, (3) the kingdoms of nature, including man, (4) anthropological states, (5) arts, crafts, and trades, (6) family and society, (7) houses, vessels, furniture, (8) the legal domain, (9) the military domain, (10) the naval domain, and (11) the ecclesiastical domain.

Wilkins used an elaborate typographical system of fonts, italicizing, indenting, and round or square brackets to indicate the structural relationship of lexemes to each other (Hüllen 2006a: 255–6). It shows that his main procedure is the formation of a logical deduction from an abstract term, over various steps of concretization, to the meaning of a word, or more often a group of words. Each specification appears as a node which includes one but excludes another (antonymous) part of meaning which then starts its own derivation down. Words are synonymous insofar as they share the same derivation top-down, they are antonymous insofar as they do not. This means the overlapping parts of word meanings are given in the inclusions, the differing parts in the exclusions.

The importance of Wilkins’s ‘Tables’ for the development of thesauri is that they explain the lists of words in a continuous comment. Words are not just mentioned side by side and one after the other, but they are placed in a wide network so that their relative positions are determined by the whole vocabulary (Hüllen 2006a: 244–301).

The word entries of John Wilkins’s ‘Tables’ were turned into an alphabetical dictionary by William Lloyd (1668). He complemented each lemma with an indication as to where it could be found in the relevant ‘Table’. The method was later adopted by Roget, who acknowledged Wilkins as one of his models.

## 1.4 DICTIONARIES OF SYNONYMS AND THE THESAURUS

### 1.4.1 *In the wake of Abbé Girard*

The book which was to prove seminal for the further development of dictionaries of synonyms all over Europe was written in France. In 1718, the Abbé Gabriel Girard

published *La justesse de la langue françoise*. Many re-editions subsequently appeared in Paris and other European cities, among them a considerably enlarged version edited by Nicolas Beauzée. The first edition of 1718 had contained 295 articles which compared synonyms. There were, however, 421 articles from Girard's pen in Beauzée's edition, and a further five hundred words mentioned which Girard had planned to investigate. Other French scholars started working on the same topic (Gauger 1973, Haßler 1985). Among the many translations into European languages was one into English (Girard 1762; Alston 1974, III, no. 512). The ensuing production of a new type of dictionary of synonyms was indeed a pan-European phenomenon (Hausmann 1990, Hüllen 2005).

It was Girard's seminal achievement to focus his attention on the differences between synonyms and to fix these by comparative analyses of their use in society. He did not trust native speakers to find this out for themselves. His short, concentrated, almost pithy essays reanimate similar passages by the classical authors—by Isidore of Seville, John of Garland, and others. Unlike theirs, Girard's texts were addressed not to experts but to the educated general reader. Linguistic precision in conversation became a general didactic goal. 'La bonne éducation étend ses soins sur le langage comme sur les mœurs' (Girard 1718, quoted in Hüllen 2005: 201). Girard's ideas conform to what is called *propriété*, *clarté*, and *netteté* of expression and which are the French version of the classical *verbum proprium* and *perspicuitas*. The four ideals, in particular, which Girard calls *pureté*, *richesse*, *justesse*, and *pluralité* (purity, richness, semantic appropriateness, and variety) mirror the older rhetorical concepts of *latinitas* (*purus sermo*), *copia verborum*, *verbum aptum*, and *variatio*. The ideational background which had given shape to the reflection on synonyms for many centuries—truth value, logic, philosophy, rhetoric—had shifted another facet to the fore, that of elegant and appropriate speech in society. Psychology became the background discipline of the new linguistic reasoning which also marked the beginnings of modern semantics. Girard's followers in Britain (Egan 1942) were John Trusler (1766, Alston 1974, III, nos. 515–18); Hugh Blair in his lectures on rhetoric (1783, Alston 1974, VI, nos. 237–60); Hester Lynch Piozzi (1794, Alston 1974, III, nos. 524–5); and William Taylor, jun. (1813, not in Alston).

The books of the four authors are in fact very similar. Trusler follows Girard rather closely; some of his texts are nothing more than translations from French into English. Piozzi makes familiar talk one of the important criteria, Taylor adds etymological observations, and Hugh Blair, who embeds his ideas in a different genre of text, treats the differentiation of synonyms as part of the plain style tradition that was encouraged by the Royal Society (Hüllen 1989). The books of these four authors are not dictionaries but rather collections of impressionistic

essays on language use. But, of course, they prepared the way for these dictionaries. Among the synonyms they selected, the words expressing cognitive and emotional states or actions outnumber those denoting tangible objects. This was innovative as compared to older dictionaries and thesauri with their preponderance of words denoting objects and their properties. Many differentiations merely appeal to common sense, others are arranged into small semantic systems (Hüllen 2005: 219–23). In the course of time, the selection of synonyms became conventionalized, i.e. many lexemes are repeated in each new book. For example, the series *to abandon, forsake, leave, relinquish, desert, quit*, which opens Trusler's work, appears, in parts or *in toto*, in all the others and even in most of the following dictionaries of synonyms proper.

Whereas Johnson's importance for dictionary-making (see above) has always been accepted as canonical, the long shadow of Trusler, Piozzi, and Taylor has still to be recognized. Admittedly, their books are granted the label 'academic' only with reluctance. But they established once and for all the importance of semantic word relations (not of words as such) for the use of language. Note the article on *succour, help, assist, and relieve* as a typical entry:

- (4) We make use of the word, *succour*, in danger; *help*, in labour; *assist*, in want; *relieve*, in distress. The first springs from a motive of generosity; the second, from good nature; the third, from humanity; the fourth, from compassion. We give *succour*, in battle; we *help*, when we carry part of another's burden; we *assist*, the poor, and *relieve* the afflicted. (There then follow more exemplary expressions; Trusler 1766, according to Hüllen 2005: 219.)

#### 1.4.2 *The English dictionary of synonyms*

After Dr Johnson, no alphabetical and explanatory dictionary could do without synonyms. Moreover, the books following in the wake of the Abbé Girard had greatly enhanced the techniques of synonym discrimination. It was therefore almost inevitable that, towards the end of the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth, the production of synonym dictionaries proper would make progress. They became an important means of general linguistic reflection and education.

It was a normal requirement now that a 'complete' dictionary paid attention to synonymous relations and gave them to the reader as standard information (Barclay 1774). In works solely devoted to synonymy, a wealth of far-reaching ideas and techniques is to be found. Their authors are eager to reduce the rather impressionistic observations of the English followers of Girard to some lexicographic order by making them conform to the standards which Johnson had achieved in his work



(Perry 1805). To them also belong authors who combine an alphabetical arrangement with complex techniques of cross-references (Crabb 1816, Platts 1825). To this must be added the impact of historical philology which developed rapidly in the course of the nineteenth century. Some dictionary compilers linked the meanings of words with their etymologies (Perry 1805, Smith 1871). Some did this with such eagerness that the entries of their dictionaries grew into long essays in the manner of *Begriffsgeschichte* (Dawson 1797, 1806). Others understood an interest in synonymy to be an aspect of practical education (Devis 1782, Fenby 1853, Mackenzie 1854), revealing in the straightforwardness of their presentation the importance they attached to the phenomenon as such (Whateley 1851). Finally, a need for classification was felt. Types of synonymy were defined and arranged in a system (Graham 1846).

In the synonym dictionaries of the nineteenth century the vocabulary of English begins to present itself not as a list but as a texture of words, related to each other in their meanings and forming clusters (within clusters within clusters)—that is, words which provide explanations for other words, but which are themselves in need of such explanations by further ones. This prefigures movements, describable broadly as structural and cognitive, in the twentieth century.

Viewed against the long-established tradition of thesauri and dictionaries of synonyms, the nineteenth century appears rather innovative. Lexicography was no longer speculative, that is, words were not expected to ‘mirror’ reality. (This term exploits the metaphorical potential of the noun *speculum* = *mirror* as used in the term ‘speculative grammar’.) Formerly, the order of thesauri had been dictated by external reality. The last comprehensive work in this tradition was Wilkins’s ‘Tables’. Now and not least under the influence of John Locke’s rational empiricism, mental lexicography appeared. The order of thesauri began to be dictated by the ideas in the human mind. The most influential work of this new movement was *Roget’s Thesaurus*, to appear in 1852.

### 1.4.3 *The English thesaurus*

Only a few thesauri were compiled after Wilkins’s Essay. It looks as if the tradition had exhausted itself together with the speculative paradigm. The innovative potential of *Roget’s Thesaurus* was that it fused the ideas and techniques of the tradition of thesauri with those of dictionaries of synonyms. For Roget, a medical doctor and scientist, it was more of a lucky strike than a linguistic project. In the preface, he shows some acquaintance with Lockean ideas about language and contemporary dictionaries of synonyms. The great schemata and publications dealing with the classification of human knowledge at that time were certainly in

his mind when he drew up the ‘Plan of Classification’. Among them must have been John Locke’s classification of the sciences in the last chapter of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) and Jeremy Bentham’s so-called chrestomathic table (1816, Hüllen 2005: 334–6). Also playing a part were Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* (1728), the French *Encyclopédie* (1751–65), and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1842). Otherwise the design of the book was obviously developed intuitively out of the experience of a man who excelled lifelong as a lecturer and teacher. This also accounts for the emphasis laid on intellectual and scientific vocabulary in his book. It seems to be the ‘Plan of Classification’, that is, the macrostructure, which made possible the unbelievable success of *Roget’s Thesaurus*. It has been used in all subsequent editions under his name with only minimal alterations, obviously allowing the various editors to change, adapt and increase the number of words listed. Clearly, this macrostructure was able to combine the impression of scientific universality with easy usability. Contributing to this inviting plan was the juxtaposition of synonyms and antonyms which made use of a common communicative habit of people, namely the explanation of a word by negating its opposite. Major deviations from the original thesaurus are mainly to be found in the United States.

Generally, Roget starts his entry articles with some words equal in meaning to the headword, and then lists differentiating synonyms which may have their own accumulating partners. The various groups are typographically marked by very simple means—by semicolon instead of the usual comma or by paragraph with indentation. This design changed very little in the later editions. Though appearing straightforward, the microstructure of the entry articles is rather complicated. Today’s retrospective analyses find cognitive processes and strategies at work in this microstructure which only became topics of linguistics (specifically semantics) many years—even a century—later. They pertain to the semantic relations of words analysed under such terms as ‘distinguishing markers’, ‘semantic fields’, ‘frames’, and ‘scripts’ (Hüllen 2005: 337–76).

## 1.5 THE RECENT PAST

### 1.5.1 *Expansion and limitations*

#### 1.5.1 (i) The general scene

The unprecedented success of *Roget’s Thesaurus* can be taken as a clear indication that dictionary-making—of whichever genre—had, by the middle of the nineteenth

century, undergone a process of extreme expansion. The rapid growth of the United States as an independent nation with her own language variety (see below) and indeed the spread of English worldwide in the wake of the Empire increased enormously the number of people with an interest in learning—or knowing more about—the English language. At the same time, the popularity of English gained ground against that of French on the European continent. In the wider English-speaking world, and also in the British Isles themselves, school education became widespread and often compulsory, and proficiency in English was a prerequisite for those entering various professional activities. All this gave an interest in dictionaries a powerful boost. Monumental works came into being which were no longer typically known by the name of one or two authors but by those of publishers engaging large teams of collaborators—firms like Oxford University Press and Longman in Great Britain, or Merriam-Webster and Random House in the United States. But the numbers of small dictionaries with limited word coverage and specialized explanatory purposes have also mushroomed on the market. Indeed, it is a market which has developed and continues to grow.

The second half of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth saw rapid progress in historical philology, and in semantics, as linguistic disciplines in their own right. Philology sharpened people's senses to the importance of synonymy in semantic change and, therefore, philologists favoured dictionaries devoted to the etymological explanation of meanings in general and of synonyms in particular. Charles Richardson's *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1867) was the product of this development in the vein given to it by John Horne Took (1736–1812). Lemmata were explained solely by etymologies and quotations. Expanding historical knowledge led to severe criticism of these early works. The *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*—the later and present-day *Oxford English Dictionary*—which began appearing in instalments in 1884, finally employed the full range of methods for explaining lemmata—that is, synonyms as well as etymology, definitions, and quotations—in an exemplary way.

### 1.5.1 (ii) The American scene

American lexicography was new in its national, encyclopedic, and moral aspirations, but innovative only within narrow limits. An early example is Richard Soule's dictionary (1871, reprinted as late as 1959), which lists about 10,000 entries in alphabetical order, juxtaposing lemmata with their synonyms. There are no comments as to their differences, as shown in *animosity* (see below). The synonyms are frequently broken down into groups which are numbered, as shown in

*question* (see below). The leading word of each group assumes therefore the function of a sub-lemma, i.e. a device which interrupts the alphabetical flow with a nesting principle. Note:

- (5) **Animosity**, n[oun]. Malignity, virulence, bitterness, rancor, hostility, hatred, hate, enmity, grudge, rankling, spleen, ill-will, heart-burning, violent hatred, active enmity, persistent hostility.
- (6) **Question**, n[oun]. 1. Interrogation [...]. 2. Interrogatory [...]. 3. Discussion [...]. 4. Dispute [...]. 5. Proposition [...]. 6. Examination [...].

A much later example is *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms* (1942) with the subtitle 'A dictionary of discriminated synonyms with antonyms and analogous and contrasted words'. Although the difference between 'synonym' and 'analogous word' ('antonym' and 'contrasted word') is not made sufficiently clear, the dictionary can be appreciated as an attempt to classify 'differentiating' (Webster says 'discriminated') and 'accumulating' synonyms in two relevant groups. The macrostructure combines in technical perfection the characteristics of an alphabetical and a topical work. Lemmata are ordered alphabetically as in every general-purpose dictionary. But in the microstructure, each headword is complemented with several synonyms, and where feasible also with antonyms, analogous, and contrasted words. One synonym is marked with an asterisk (\*) showing that this is the headword of a separate, detailed, and exhaustive entry in which all relevant words are semantically delimited, compared to each other, commented on, and supported with quotations (see '\*trick' below). The dictionary thus has one macrostructure and two types of microstructures. Every word included in the dictionary appears twice—as the headword of a series of synonyms and as an item in which these synonyms are commented on and compared. This dictionary type had already been introduced by William Perry (1805). Note:

- (7) **Gambit** \*trick, ruse, stratagem, manoeuvre, ploy, artifice, wile, feint.
- (8) **Trick** Trick, ruse, stratagem, manoeuvre, gambit, ploy, artifice, wile feint are comparable when they mean an act or an expedient whereby one seeks to gain one's ends by indirection and ingenuity and often by cunning. Trick implies cheating or deceiving [etc.]. Ruse implies an attempt to give a false impression. ... [etc., almost two columns].
- (9) **Ruse** \*trick, stratagem, manoeuvre, gambit, ploy, artifice, wile, feint.
- (10) **Stratagem** \*trick, ruse, manoeuvre, gambit, ploy, artifice, wile, feint. [etc.]

American general-purpose dictionaries pay attention to synonyms in various ways. Common to all of them is the semantic identification of a lemma by one or several synonym(s). The six-volume *Century Dictionary* (1889), supervised by the general linguist William D. Whitney, contains 215,000 defined words with detailed definitions, drawings, quotations, and etymologies. The prospectus announces, moreover, that it is 'a complete dictionary of synonyms'. Indeed, synonyms are given as headwords with comparative comments in the vein of Girard and his followers in Great Britain. These comparisons and the quotations exceed by far the space allocated to definitions. Funk and Wagnall (1894) interrupt the alphabetic flow of entries even more drastically by inserting 7,500 lists with a total of 23,000 synonyms. These lists, whose headwords appear at their correct alphabetical places, are closely printed and can extend over several columns (or pages).

Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1909) groups synonyms either by semicolon (against the usual comma) or by numbers. Webster's more recent dictionary (1976) does very much the same, but then appends an additional thirty-four-page list of synonyms and antonyms. There are no comments on the various words, and no explanations concerning the overlaps between the ordinary dictionary and the list, and their differences. These and other particularities show the individual traits of dictionaries within the rather narrow limits of the lexicographical mainstream tradition.

### 1.5.2 *The resistance of the alphabet*

The position is somewhat different with the topical dictionaries conceived in the vein of Peter Mark Roget. In the *editio princeps*, his *Thesaurus* was built, conceptually and typographically, on an abstract 'Plan of classification' with a more concrete 'Synopsis' and on the dichotomous arrangement of words of positive and negative meanings in juxtaposed columns. Besides the many re-issues, there were six main British editions after the *editio princeps* in 1852 (1879, ed. J. L. Roget; 1925 and 1936, both ed. S. R. Roget; 1962, ed. R. A. Dutch; 1982, ed. S. M. Loyd; 1987 and 1998, both ed. B. Kirkpatrick; 2002, ed. G. Davidson). All of them retained this 'Plan of classification' with minimal changes; it was obviously felicitously designed for the absorption of new vocabulary and so enhanced the general success of the book. Unfortunately, in the 1962 edition, and those following, the typographical arrangement of the 'Table' and the 'Synopsis' was changed, and, even worse, that of the 'positive' and 'negative' (synonymous and antonymous) parallel-entry articles was altered. So the visual appearance of the dichotomous structure of the *Thesaurus* was lost (Hüllen 2006b).

However, this seems not to have done much harm to the popularity of the book. In the United States its success was just as tremendous. (It is however sometimes difficult to distinguish between true reprints, adaptations, and usurpations of the name.) Many editions have appeared, some with indications like 'new', 'revised', 'enlarged', etc. (Hüllen 2006a: 20–4). In the twentieth century, *Webster's New Dictionary and Roget's Thesaurus* were even published in one volume (1984). Towards the end of that century, at least two thesauri existed that retained the original concept of Roget but used a semantically different 'Plan of classification', obviously on the assumption that the objective changes in our world and alterations in human consciousness since 1852 demanded this. They are *The Original Roget's International Thesaurus* (1992, ed. R. L. Chapman) and *Bartlett's Roget's Thesaurus* (1996). The Chapman edition divides the vocabulary into fifteen classes with 1,073 subclasses; the Bartlett edition divides it into twenty-three classes with 848 subclasses. A comparison of these new classifications (called 'more associational and durational than logical' in a flyer referring to Chapman) with Roget's original six classes, thirty-nine sections and some further divisions (i.e. in the Davidson edition) is, of course, of some philosophical interest.

However, as early as 1902, Francis Andrew March, father and son, had published their *Thesaurus Dictionary of the English Language* (reprinted many times) wishing to improve on Whateley, Crabb, Soule, and Roget and 'combin[e] the principles of the dictionary and the traditional thesauruses' (foreword). The older author, well-versed in modern—that is German—philology and the theory of synonymy, as his 'Lectures on the English language' show, admired Roget, but thought that he had made unreasonable demands on the thesaurus user. He wished to re-instate the role of the alphabet and yet keep the book's character as a storehouse (thesaurus) of words. The 'Plan of classification' became superfluous; in its stead alphabetically arranged entries were given, consisting of a headword, a defining synonym, and so-called reference-words. These reference-words consist of pairs of related lexemes acting as synonyms and antonyms to the headword and indicating the alphabetical place where a list of them can be found. Sometimes a reference-word lacks its antonymous pair or is explained by a phrase. The lists consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and phrases—as Roget's entry articles do—and are frequently very long, the one under AMITY – HOSTILITY, for example, having not less than 149 items. These are again arranged according to the alphabet.

- (11) Headword: **animosity**, definition: *hatred*, reference words: AMITY – HOSTILITY, DESIRE – DISTASTE, FAVOURITE – ANGER, LOVE – HATE.

- (12) Headword: **desire**, definition: *a longing*, reference words: DESIRE – DISTASTE, LOVE – HATE, NEED, PURPOSE – LUCK, READINESS – RELUCTANCE, SANGUINE-NESS – HOPELESSNESS, have no desire for, SENSITIVENESS – APATHY, UNCONCERN.

This arrangement ensures that every word appears in its alphabetical place, as in any dictionary, and is also the member of one list or several which conform to the microstructure which Roget had given to his entry articles.

Roget had already supplemented the topical part of his thesaurus with an alphabetical index in order to facilitate finding single words; March fused these two separate parts. Roget had placed the words of English in an elaborate network of concepts; March ordered them alphabetically in a row of words which belong, unless they are of different word classes, to one semantic field, if occasionally a rather loose one. Ideally, *Roget's Thesaurus* presented the vocabulary of the English language as one systematized unity; March presents it as a number of lower-level units without giving them a semantic order. He does away with the abstract categories of the macrostructure on two levels (classes and sections, sometimes additional divisions) and merely retains the entry articles, even changing their pragmatic order in favour of the alphabet. The book certainly makes fewer demands on the ability of thesaurus users than Roget had done.

An interesting compromise in this matter between the original Roget and March is to be found in *Roget's 21st Century Thesaurus in Dictionary Form* (1992, ed. B. Kipfer). The book has 17,000 entries with 450,000 words. It follows the March pattern, but then appends a 'Concept Index' consisting of ten general categories with a total of 837 concepts:

- (13) Actions (6), causes (2), fields of human activity (16), life forms (5), objects (11), the planet (4), qualities (3), senses (6), states (8), weights and measures (4).

Every wordlist refers by number to one or several of these concepts. In the index all the main entries are repeated at their relevant places. This means they appear twice.

The concepts are called 'a semantic hierarchy' that connects words and ideas. '[A] wealth of new alternatives is created when we begin to think about the higher connections that can be made between words and ideas in the language' (Concept Index, 920). This is certainly Roget's own idea which he thought necessary as a prerequisite for finding the right words, whereas the editor of this thesaurus adds it afterwards as a second way leading to 'a wealth of possibilities'.

In 2002, the 150th anniversary edition of *Roget's Thesaurus* appeared (ed. G. Davidson). There was a reprint as a pocket edition in 2004. Both facts testify

to the popularity of the topical genre. However, the pull of the alphabet is still strong. In 1993, the *Longman Language Activator* appeared, roughly following the 'Thesaurus Dictionary' by March. Every word can be found at its alphabetical place, from which users are referred to the place where it appears as the synonym of some other word. These synonyms are, in principle, seen in close connection to polysemy. As almost every word has several meanings, it also has several synonyms. They are semanticized with definitions and sample sentences. This guarantees that they are understood to be differentiating. There are many ingenious typographical devices to lead the user through the maze of words.

An awareness of language users that words may differ in their meanings by only a small margin stands at the beginning of European thinking and has been in their minds all the time. It was the source of philosophical and linguistic reflections and a means of stylistic education. It also served foreign language teaching. Lexicographical works devoted to synonyms have been compiled and published ever since. They either supplied the language user with several words that could be substituted for each other in a given situation and therefore supported language variety. Or they supplied the language users with the one word that denoted the precise shade of meaning which they wished to express, again in a given situation. They were either thesauri or dictionaries of synonyms according to the alphabet.

Apart from the unique Roget, thesauri seem to have lost ground on the lexicographical market. Ever more dictionaries of synonyms are published with alphabetically arranged headwords and complementing synonyms, but without any comments. They serve the hasty user. A special type is represented by the *Compact Oxford Dictionary, Thesaurus, and Wordpower Guide* (2001). It is a general purpose dictionary on the upper and a dictionary of synonyms on the lower half of each page. Above, headwords are given, mostly as polysemous, and defined. Their senses are numbered. Below, a selection of these are listed with their synonyms, following the sense numbers of the entries above (if feasible), but otherwise without any comment:

- (14) Above: **dictionary** ... a book that lists the words of a language and gives their meaning, or their equivalent in a different language. ...  
 Below: **dictionary** ... concordance, glossary, lexicon, thesaurus, vocabulary, wordbook



# SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DICTIONARIES

*Michael Rand Hoare*

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION AND GENERALITIES

IN the present-day library, scientific, technical, and other specialized dictionaries greatly outnumber all other kinds, and present special problems for the lexicographer and historian alike. An estimated *two thousand* works bearing the title dictionary, or similarly identified, can be found on open access in the British Library Science section, and these by no means exhaust the number in print, while a similar number are in reserve, accounted obsolete and ‘of mainly historical interest’. Of this total very many are simply bilingual or multilingual word lists, others occupy a spectrum of formats from the ‘pure’ lexicon to the encyclopedia, the whole representing the result of more than four centuries of scholarship and publishing ventures.<sup>1</sup> This imposing history, little considered by the casual user, lies behind every volume that is taken down for what might be only a few seconds of reference to a particular term. The categories of user themselves form a subject of interest, ever-present in the minds of publishers, though rather beyond our present concern. Some will be students, others academics seeking to extend a professional speciality or penetrate an adjacent one, still others what might be called ‘curious laymen’. The cross-section of all of these is likely to differ considerably from that of educated users of a general work such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ratio of specialist technical dictionaries to general dictionaries of English can be estimated to be of the order of several hundred to one.

<sup>2</sup> We should make clear that, when we speak of ‘specialized dictionaries’, this shall refer to those specialized by technical subject matter, and not for example etymological dictionaries. (→ LIBERMAN; → COLEMAN.)

In planning this chapter we have needed to confront at an early stage the problem of what kinds of specialized dictionary might attract the descriptions ‘scientific’ or ‘technical’. While these categories are not mutually exclusive and remain ill-defined, certain distinctions need to be drawn if we are to stay within the prescribed limits. As a first step, it seemed worthwhile to apply a simple rule of thumb. This is to assemble those subjects that, in modern usage, can properly be collocated in the manner of ‘X-Science’, or perhaps ‘the Science of X’. Thus, taking a liberal view of the borderline regions, we would have no difficulty in including *Medical-Science*, *Engineering-Science*, *Marine-Science*, *Economic-Science*, *Textile-Science*, *Horticultural-Science*—and equally no difficulty in excluding *Heraldry*, *Accountancy*, *Philately*, *Astrology*, and the like. This notwithstanding the fact that several such topics figure prominently in the early dictionaries, and can reasonably be said to be ‘technical’ in nature. Even Astrology presents itself as a ‘science’ when in dictionary form, a usage altogether valid in the medieval and early-modern context.<sup>3</sup> At the same time we have the frequent coupling ‘... of Arts and Science’ with ‘Arts’ only latterly mutating to ‘Technology’, with an element of ‘Trades and Manufactures’ still adhering. ‘Technology’, though in Early Modern use (*OED* 1615), having progressively shed its all-embracing component of ‘*techné*’, is evidently the modern term that supplies the required complement to ‘Science’ in what we shall consider here.<sup>4</sup> Given the constraints of length and format, inevitable in a contribution of this kind, our treatment may best be described as a ‘review’ rather than a definitive catalogue, and will throughout be descriptive and synthetic rather than theoretical. Renouncing any attempt at an exhaustive listing—completely impossible except in the very earliest period—we shall take those dictionaries singled out for analysis as representative of their subject and period, paying special attention to landmarks, innovations, and changes in readership and publishing tactics. In achieving this, treatment across subjects and of dictionary content will not be uniformly detailed, for we shall give special consideration to works that reflect crucial developments in their subject’s history, and especially consequent changes of nomenclature. Given these constraints, it has been necessary, with considerable regret, to sacrifice some prominent subjects that inhabit the borderline region of our coverage. Notable are the historically extensive dictionaries of Military and Maritime terms, which form a sub-genre extensive enough to justify a chapter of

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Salomon, N. (1695), *Dictionnaire hermetique*, with the sub-title: ‘contenant l’explication des termes, fables, enigmes, emblemes & manieres de parler des vrais philosophes. Accompagné de deux traitez singuliers & utiles aux curieux de l’art. Par un amateur de la science.’

<sup>4</sup> We shall, however, waive the above constraints, at the editor’s request, to give a more cursory account of two additional subjects of great importance that are not being treated elsewhere: Music and Law.

their own, yet might be said only to impinge upon the world of science and technology.

While certain specialist lexicons appeared as early as the seventeenth century, particularly in the well-defined subjects such as Medicine and Mathematics, it was not until the eighteenth that the gradual differentiation of Natural Philosophy into what approximates the present-day branches of science and technology led dictionaries to follow suit. One may speculate that this came about through a combination of factors: publishers' acumen—the realization that there were lucrative 'niche markets' to be exploited in the professions—the growth of formal educational programmes; a developing sense among people of substance that science and nature-study were culturally important, an attitude marked by the new-found prestige of Royal Societies and National Academies. Moreover, as publishers became increasingly aware, the more professional user might also prefer a compact treatment of 'his' subject to one that saw it diluted and overwhelmed in a catch-all encyclopedic form, while at the same time students might be directed to buy a single volume as value for money. The advantage of cheapness and portability is frequently referred to in compilers' prefaces.

A certain turning point was reached in the record of the English language, which can be identified quite precisely. This was the appearance in 1705 of John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*. Although restricting himself initially to a single volume, Harris enunciated the crucial paradigm:

That which I have aimed at is to make it a Dictionary not only of bare *words* but *things*; and that the Reader may not only find here an Explication of the *Technical* Words, or the Terms of Art made use of in all the *Liberal Sciences*, and such as border nearly upon them, but also those *Arts themselves* (Preface: first para.).

This was the signal, not only for the gestation of the celebrated projects of *Chambers* and the *Britannica*, and in turn the great *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, but also for a variety of less voluminous works that customarily bore the designation 'Dictionary of Arts and Science' alongside the term 'Encyclopaedia' on their invariably prolix title pages.

The profitable practice of inserting miniature treatises on technical and scholarly matters, begun by Harris and extended and standardized by *Chambers* and the *Britannica*, complicates considerably the task of the historian of lexicography, for whom, *pace* Harris, *word* will always assume precedence over *thing*. Confronted with the essentially fluid dictionary–encyclopedia distinction, we might say that our task here is in large part that of reclaiming the lexicographic element from the flourishing field of encyclopediology, with its ramifications in the history of ideas, pedagogy, and the sociology of knowledge. Thus we shall strive

throughout to place *lexis* at the centre of attention within the wider, somewhat distracting, ambience of *topic*.<sup>5</sup>

Early dictionary–encyclopedias, taking their cue from Harris, were extraordinarily broad in coverage and their compilers showed an omnivorous attitude to subject matter. As a single, preliminary, example, it is instructive to note the range of subjects promised on the title page of the anonymous *The New Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, published by ‘A Society of Gentlemen’ in 1754. These are given as:

Agriculture, algebra, anatomy, architecture, arithmetik, astronomy, book-keeping, botany, carving, catoptriks, chemistry, chronology, commerce, conicks, cosmography, dialing, dioptriks, ethiks, farriery, fluxions, fortification, gardening, gauging, geography, geometry, grammar, gunery, handicrafts, heraldry, history, horsemanship, husbandry, hydrauliks, hydrography, hydrostatiks, law, levelling, logik, maritime and military affairs, matematiks, mechaniks, medicine, merchandize, metaphysiks, meterology, musik, navigation, optiks, oratory, painting, perspective, pharmacy, philology, philosophy, physik, pneumatics, rhetorik, sculpture, series and statiks, statuary, surgery, surveying, theology, trigonometry, &c.

Such lists would become commonplace, in fact almost de rigueur, on eighteenth-century title pages, which differ surprisingly little in layout. Though the dictionary–encyclopedia distinction may defy definition, yet in operational terms, rather than format, there would also seem to be an effective difference between the two. At the risk of stating the obvious, one usually turns to a dictionary to ‘look up a word’, but accesses an encyclopedia for instruction on a topic. At the same time, the defining characteristic of the dictionary is the *gloss*, whereas that of the encyclopedia is the extended ‘treatment’, to impose a modern term. Moreover, there is an obvious asymmetry. As the contemporary edition of the *Britannica* puts it (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th Edition, Chicago, 1993, Vol. 4, Article ‘Encyclopaedias and Dictionaries’ p.277):

Because words achieve their usefulness by reference to things, however, it is difficult to construct a dictionary without considerable attention to the objects and abstractions designated. Nonetheless, while a modern Encyclopaedia may still be called a Dictionary, no good dictionary has ever been called an Encyclopaedia.

Further to complicate the picture, we must acknowledge other title words that claim affinity with the dictionary: Handbooks, Vocabularies, Glossaries, Lexicons, Gazetteers, ‘Pocket-books of ...’, ‘An ABC of ...’, even ‘A treasury of ...’.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Yeo, in *Encyclopaedic Visions* (2001), has traced the history of the eighteenth-century encyclopedia in impressive detail. See the many references therein.

In terms of content and treatment the lexicon–encyclopedia continuum is also problematic. In both earlier and later works there will be found a mixture of entry-types, some with succinct dictionary-type glosses, others given a lengthy exposition. At one extreme we have the one-line gloss, sometimes even reduced to a single synonym; at the other, lengthy essays under a single headword that could almost be published on their own. Yet, remarkably, it will be found that many of the longest expository articles could be reduced to ‘dictionary’ format by retaining and only slightly editing the first sentence or two, had the editors chosen to do so. The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is in fact surprisingly dictionary-like, except for twenty or so long expository articles spread over the three volumes.

Finally, to complicate the picture, a distinction can reside not only in the printed format but in the manner of reference, depending on the individual—a user may indeed ‘look up’ a word in an encyclopedic volume, be satisfied with a brief gloss, and neglect the long development that follows. One may speculate that many a library may have been graced by multiple volumes, yet used mainly in a ‘look-up’ mode for ready reference, the user dispensing with the ensuing detail.<sup>6</sup>

The question of alphabetical order of entries and the arguments for alphabetical versus thematic ordering is a long-running one, as prominent in the thoughts of early compilers as it is for lexicographers today. (See, for example, McArthur, T., *Thematic Lexicography*, in Hartmann 1986). Alphabetical ordering has the merit of convenience, but at the expense, as many have alleged, of obscuring relationships and systematic structures. Yet other authors have argued that, pedagogically speaking, this is actually making a virtue of necessity, removing prejudice on the part of the compiler that might favour one system over another. This could happen, for instance, in Chemistry, Botany, or Geology, or indeed any subject in its development stage. In practice, the use of multiple sub-heads and extensive cross-referencing, as first introduced by Chambers, has been generally accepted as a reasonable compromise.

A number of further characteristics set scientific dictionaries apart from general and comprehensive works. One is that word-coinage in science has often been a matter of deliberate invention that can be attributed to a known author. This is especially the case where a particular discovery is concerned and where, by an informal tradition, the discoverer has title to invent his own name

<sup>6</sup> In characterizing particular works in what follows, we shall occasionally need to refer to a ‘pure dictionary’ or ‘lexical dictionary’ (Fr. ‘dictionnaire de langue’) (one that has succinct glosses, usually with many articles per page), an ‘extended dictionary’ (one with many such glosses, but selected articles running to pages), these contrasted with a ‘full encyclopedia’, where brevity is at lowest priority. In effect, there is a continuous spectrum of types running between these two extremes.

for the substance, phenomenon, or concept, as the case may be. In earlier times, though much less today, this would call for a certain erudition in appealing to Greek and Latin roots, often quite imaginatively, and might be the subject of debate in learned circles.<sup>7</sup> This process was not without its anomalies, though, and occasionally *hapax legomena* would appear, more a reflection of the vanity of the author than the product of necessity. In more recent times, a term might even be legislated by a professional body or Academy, with the injunction that the alternatives should be avoided in published work. A further process at work, which is hardly paralleled in general dictionaries, is that a scientific word can be rendered obsolete, not by the usual slow desuetude, but almost overnight by a fresh discovery, or the resolution of a confusion. Two chemical elements, or biological species, thought hitherto to have been distinct, might be shown to be the same; a supposed effect might be proved to be non-existent; a paradox resolved. In less clear-cut cases a word might enter an indefinite limbo before fading to a historical curiosity.<sup>8</sup> The preservation of such survivors in dictionaries will depend on editorial policy, but they remain indispensable to historians. The dismissive ‘of historical interest only’ strikes a sour note in a scholarly context.

Underlying the above issues is the question of *nomenclature* and *taxonomy*, an everyday concern in practical science, yet peculiar to specialized subjects, and somewhat against the grain of general lexicography. Several fields of science in their formative stages have been through crises of nomenclature—Botany, Chemistry, Geology, to name the principal ones—where competing words for the same item have caused disorder and sometimes factional polemic. The use of Latin, notably in Law and Medicine, was a way to bypass this difficulty, though not without creating its own problems, especially with the decline of classical education.

Another curious property of technical and scientific dictionaries is that, unlike their general counterparts, they can often be readily translated from volumes in other languages, headword by headword. This aspect of the translinguistic nature of science proved of great service to early specialized lexicographers. Apart from the obvious example of Latin–English conversions, which often followed a successful original, there are notable cases where an English technical dictionary started life as a translation from a modern European language, often French. This might then take on a life of its own, the delay in translation enabling the author to reflect important advances in the subject and to put his own stamp on the work. This interlinguistic character of science, manifested at the same time in the perfusion of loan-words, is a constant theme in the lexicography of science.

<sup>7</sup> We might think of *entropy*, *helium*, *cybernetics*, *quark*, the last a celebrated coinage due to Murray Gell-Mann in 1964, with a certain literary flavour. See *OED2*.

<sup>8</sup> Examples would include *alkahest*, *dysthenia*, *scrofula*, *protoplasm*.

An obvious question that arises is whether scientific dictionaries ever exerted a detectable influence on the progress of the sciences they represented. Excluding indirect pedagogical benefit in teaching, and matters of simple convenience for the research worker, can there be a residue of effect in promoting advance in the subject? Given the inevitable time lag in producing a dictionary it seems unlikely that much influence could be exerted beyond a certain benefit of systematizing and possibly throwing weight behind a new nomenclature. Some conservatively-minded compilers have occasionally attempted to exert negative influence, criticizing innovations and more subtly distorting content and treatment of entries.

In gauging the possible influence of technical dictionaries it is useful to study certain key words and topics that can act as indicators of attitude in the compiler as well as reflecting how up to date the volume is. We might consider, for example, the question of Newton's 'fluxions' in Mathematics, the 'phlogiston theory' in Chemistry, the 'Linnaean system' in Botany, the 'Brunonian theory' in Medicine, and the terminology of 'Neptunian' and 'Volcanist' models in early Geology, all of which may challenge the objectivity and judiciousness of a contemporary dictionary-maker. We shall return to this question under the appropriate headings.

## 2.2 ORIGINS AND 'HARD WORDS'

General monolingual dictionaries of English began to appear in the early years of the seventeenth century, associated with the well-known 'hard words' compilations of Cawdrey (1604), Bullokar (1616), and Cockeram (1623).<sup>9</sup> The relation of these to the emergence of specialized dictionaries is, however, tenuous, and by no means a subject of general agreement. On examining the works referred to it is clear that, in the cases of Cawdrey and Cockeram, there are actually very few among the 'hard words' listed that can be called 'technical' even in the broadest sense of the term.<sup>10</sup> Those that might be so called are accounted for by straightforward synonyms, such as *sulphure* = 'brimstone', *genitals* = 'one's members'. A great number of entries are 'hard', not for their technicality but because they are recent migrants from Latin or French, and still to be naturalized. Moreover, in Cockeram, most of the 'technical' terms are contained in the extraordinary Third Part:

<sup>9</sup> See especially Starnes and Noyes (1991) and → OSSELTON, Vol. I.

<sup>10</sup> An approximate count yielded less than 2% in Cawdrey and considerably less than 1% in Cockeram.

Treating of Gods and Goddesses. Men and Women, Boyes and Maids, Gyants and Devils, Birds and Beastes, Monsters and Serpens, Wells and Rivers, Herbs, Stones, Tees, Doggs, Fishes, and the like.

And share their entries with:

Fayries, Fishes, Flyes, Furies, Giants, Gods, Goddesses, the Three Graces, Short winged Hawks, ... Maids chaste and beautifull, ... Men vext in Hell, ... Nymphs of the Medowes, ... Women that were shamelesse ...

The content of Bullokar is less clear-cut than that of Cawdrey and Cockeram. As a medical man he would be expected to have introduced numerous terms of Anatomy and Physiology as well as of herbal medicines and pathological conditions. McConchie, in *Lexicography and Physicke* (1997), has examined the content of all three of the above works and expressed reservations about their role as precursors of specialized technical dictionaries. In the case of Cawdrey and Cockeram, he confirms our findings that the number of technical terms is almost vanishingly small; with Bullokar he describes the situation as less clear-cut, but concludes nevertheless that even the expected complement of medical terms fails to be present.

McConchie goes on to regret that the 'hard-word' lexicographers failed to take advantage of the excellent Latin dictionaries and extensive Herbals available at the time, even to the extent that:

... the early monolingual tradition represents a step backwards both for natural philosophy and for lexicography in England. At precisely the time when the awareness of the Latin language as facilitating scientific taxonomy and having the potential to provide what the vernaculars could not was emerging—an unambiguous description of natural phenomena—the lexicographers of English were abandoning this function (1997: 114).

We also need to recall that the first published dictionary of any kind in the English language was one of Law. (See 2.5.1 below.) That this should have occurred is not altogether surprising, however, when the difficulty of assembling a general dictionary is compared with that of a practitioner drawing on his everyday professional vocabulary. Moreover, it stands to reason that the usefulness of a law dictionary to the profession would be far more attractive to publishers and buyers than a general dictionary, however scholarly, which the user would access only when he found himself in difficulties with some randomly occurring hard word.

While it would be interesting to discuss here the seventeenth-century linguistic climate in which the earliest dictionaries germinated, the growing interest in universal languages, and the beginnings of comparative linguistics, and to explore further the influence of the scholarly Latin works on the more tentative English ones, this would take us beyond our present remit. Instead we must move



on to consider the first of the truly ambitious specialized dictionaries to appear, John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*.

### 2.3 HARRIS'S *LEXICON TECHNICUM* (1705)

As suggested earlier, the beginning of the eighteenth century saw a major bifurcation in the growth of dictionary-like compilations. While the general dictionary in English continued on its progress towards Johnson, technical and specialized dictionaries were already differentiating into the increasingly encyclopedic form that would come to dominate the publishing world for the next two centuries.

No study of the history of specialized lexicography can fail to take account of the great landmark that is the *Lexicon Technicum* (1705). Harris's monumental compilation represents a leap into a hitherto unexplored publishing world and one that would set the tone for the following decades. Though in size it did not greatly exceed some of the more bulky Latin dictionaries, the variety of its heads and the detail in which some were explored were unparalleled at the time and only to be exceeded by the encyclopedic achievements of *Chambers* and the *Britannica* which were to follow.

Harris's new paradigm, of treating 'not only the words but the things themselves', raised many questions concerning the selection of heads and the general balance of topics. As a mathematician himself he inclined towards the physical sciences and is comparatively weak on biological material and chemistry. He was also keen on subjects such as heraldry and had a particular fondness for marine and military topics, while Law gives rise to far more heads than any other subject. Like others in his day, Harris was eager to include subjects such as falconry, farriery, and horsemanship. Although the first edition of the *Lexicon Technicum* was not indexed, the second edition of 1708 gives a comprehensive thematic index of heads. From this we can reproduce here a count of heads by topic, which gives a useful idea, both quantitative and qualitative, of Harris's scope and emphasis.<sup>11</sup>

Anatomy	1072
Agriculture and Hortulane Terms	7
Architecture	195
Arithmetick and Algebra	232
Astronomy and the Doctrine of the Sphere	595
Botany, Natural History, and Meteorology, &c.	243

<sup>11</sup> This list is here rearranged alphabetically from Harris's original. The accumulation of heads will not necessarily reflect the total space given to a topic, but the list seems usefully indicative.

Chymistry	286
Chyrurgery, Pharmacy and Names of Diseases	279
Conicks	79
Dialling	72
Fortification, Gunnery, and Art Military	474
Geography and Chronology	119
Geometry	521
Grammar, Rhetorick, Poetry &c	192
Heraldry	206
History, Antient Customs &c.	385
Law, Common, Civil and Canon	1,742
Logick, Metaphysicks and Ethicks	17
Mathematical and Philosophical Instruments, and Practical Mathematiks	136
Mechanicks, Staticks, &c	257
Musick	90
Navigation and Sea-Terms	671
Natural Philosophy and Physicks	321
Optiks and Perspective	34
Painting and Sculpture	61

Harris's extensive preface gives an insight into the intellectual climate of the early decades of the Royal Society and the interests of his presumed readership. Though he protests rather too much his good intentions: 'I write not this only to disparage . . .', yet he goes on severely enough to criticize earlier works such as Chauvin's *Lexicon Rationale* (' . . . a well intended book, and the Figures are finely Graved; but 'tis too much filled with School Terms, to be usefully instructive; and is as defective in the Modern Improvements of Mathematical and Physical Learning, as it abounds with a Cant which was once mistaken for *Science*'). As for the *Grand Dictionnaire Des Arts & Sciences*, of the Académie Française, he comments: 'tis filled every where with *Simple Terms*, so that you are told what a Dog, a Cat, a Horse and a Sheep is; . . . yet how the bare Names of Animals and Vegetables, of Metals and Minerals, can be reckoned as *Terms of Art*, and consequently make the greatest part of a *dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, I confess I cannot see.' Yet he avoids the consequential: Dog and cat perhaps, but what about 'armadillo' and 'dromedary', in terms attributed to Murray. Harris adopted a formula which allowed him to expand at will the treatment of any subject that particularly interested him, while keeping enough short entries to preserve the principle of an alphabetical lexicon. Some of the long articles are almost treatises in themselves, and where the subject demands he can be very comprehensive, for example in his treatment of heraldry.

## 2.4 SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL DICTIONARIES

We begin here a review of the existing technical and scientific dictionaries by subject, giving as much detail as we can and placing each subject so far as possible in the perspective of its own development. This is not altogether an easy task. Although we have sub-sectioned according to the modern names for subjects, these will often not be the names appearing in the volume titles. We are well aware of the changes of appellation—the transitions from *physicke* to *medicine*, from *mechanicks* to *engineering*—which themselves conceal further semantic shifts and changes of fashion. The headings we have chosen seem, nevertheless, to cover the broad scope of science and technology from a position of retrospect. A few obvious subjects are missing, though in most cases this is because they disappear into the enormous corpus of twentieth-century works, from which it is almost futile to single out particular volumes, and even subjects. A curious case is that of Physics, the dominant natural science in our day, but a title that, though long known, never achieved the definition or embracing character that would recommend it to dictionary compilers until well into the twentieth century. For somewhat similar reasons we have neglected the social sciences and economics. Neither of these appear to have given rise to dictionaries until the 1950s and 1960s, though Economics was sometimes subsumed within Geography, and Psychology within Philosophy.

### 2.4.1 *Architecture and Engineering*

Before the several branches of modern engineering established themselves, the centre of the ‘mechanic arts’ lay more exclusively in the area of civil projects, the kind of expertise associated with roads, mines, bridges, harbours and the like, rather than mechanisms and engines. Thus there was a strong connection with building and Architecture, rather more developed than that between Architect and Structural-engineer in the post-industrial world. Ship-building was always a separate Art with its own traditions and would invariably figure in Naval and Maritime dictionaries.

One of the earliest ‘trade’ dictionaries is the curious *Builder’s Dictionary*, which appeared from an anonymous compiler in 1734. (For a detailed account of *The Builder’s Dictionary*, see Russell 1997: Vol. 3.) The author directs it not so much to the tradesmen themselves, but to the Architects and Gentlemen who employed the ‘Masons, Carpenters, Joiners, Bricklayers, Plaisterers, Glaziers, Smiths, Turners, Carvers, Statuaries, Plumbers &c.’ listed on the title page. The title goes on to promise not only the *Five Orders* of Architecture in the teachings of Vitruvius, Palladio,

Scamozzi, and others but also offers advice on ‘rules for the Valuation of Houses, and the Expence calculated of Erecting any Fabrick, Great or Small ...’. The author seems to be well connected, for the text is preceded by a ‘Declaration’ from three of the greatest of his day—Nicholas Hawksmoor, John James, and James Gibbs—to the effect that they have perused it with satisfaction. There is rich material for Architectural dictionaries in the vocabulary of the Classical and Renaissance traditions but the *Builder’s Dictionary* also excels in meticulous description of the more mundane, for example in the long and fascinating article on BRICKS (Russell 1997: Vol. 3).

Several revised editions of the *Builder’s Dictionary* followed, one by Richard Neve entitled *The City and Country Purchaser ... Or the Compleat Builder’s guide* (1726), responding to suggestions that ‘by proper additions it were made as fit for Gentlemen’s Use, as the former Edition was for workmen’. Later in the century came the very successful *The Builder’s Jewel; or The Youth’s instructor and workman’s Remembrancer ...* by R. and T. Langley (1741). Originally made up of some hundred exquisite architectural drawings, a dictionary of terms was added in the 1805 edition.

Turning to the more mechanical side of engineering we find great changes in the format of dictionaries as the nineteenth century progresses. Dictionaries of Engineering tend to display new inventions and machines somewhat at the cost of explaining terms. There develops a progression in two separate directions—towards quite grandiose encyclopedias on the one hand, and compact pocket-size dictionaries on the other, which one can imagine becoming dog-eared and oil-stained in use. One of the latter is William Grier’s *The Mechanic’s Pocket Dictionary* (1837), which promises to be ‘A note book of Technical Terms, Rules and Tables, in Mathematics and Mechanics, for the use of Millwrights, Engineers, Machine makers, Founders, Carpenters, Joiners, And Students of Natural Philosophy’. At a considerable remove, far more ambitious volumes were beginning to appear across the Atlantic, such as *Appleton’s Dictionary of Machines, Mechanics, Engine-Work, and Engineering* (1852), a hugely encyclopedic two volumes at over two thousand pages in quarto, and with more than four thousand engravings. But in London a similar project was a notable failure. Edward Lomax’s ambitious *Encyclopaedia of Engineering* (1853–54) started appearing in monthly parts in 1853 only to fail after twenty-five issues. The period 1869–74 saw the emergence of the multilingual *Spon’s Dictionary of Engineering, Civil, Mechanical, Military and Naval*, edited by O. Byrne. This ran to eight volumes with later supplements, and was one of the first to distinguish the several branches of engineering. Foreign-language equivalents were given in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Twenty years after Appleton came *The Practical Dictionary of Mechanics*, by E. H. Knight, published in London and Boston in 1875, covering similar ground, and with abundant new inventions to

describe. Yet none of these volumes attempted to explain *terms*, their authors almost falling over themselves to display marvellous new *things*. With the accelerating advance of technology in the period, such works would inevitably seem dated within a timespan of hardly a decade.

The need for convenient reference dictionaries remained, however, and was fulfilled by *Lockwood's Dictionary of Terms used in the Practice of Mechanical Engineering* (1892), authored by 'A Foreman Pattern-Maker' and claiming over six thousand definitions. The author proposes 'to offer to the Draughtsman, Pattern-maker, Moulder, Smith, Boiler-maker, Fitter, Turner, Erector, and Engineer's Storekeeper a ready means of obtaining or verifying the meaning of the terms in use in other departments than his own, the lack of which . . . separates one class of workmen from the rest'. In short, an admirable return to true dictionary form.

Later in the nineteenth century, dictionaries of Electricity and Electrical Engineering begin to appear, especially in America. Henry Greer's *A Dictionary of Electricity* (1883), is a tiny pocket book betraying great excitement at the new discoveries in telegraphy, electric lighting, and power generation. This was followed ten years later by Thomas Sloane's *Standard Electrical Dictionary* (1893) and others prompted by the highly specialized techniques of electrical fitting and maintenance. This was the period when the term 'electrician' changed from its original sense—anyone, usually an academic, investigating electricity—to mean a workman with a bag of tools.

Engineering dictionaries prospered in the twentieth century, with the new branches, aeronautic, electronic, and eventually software engineering, receiving due attention and commercial response.

#### 2.4.2 *Agriculture and Husbandry*

Although Botany extends naturally into Gardening and Horticulture, where Farming and Husbandry are concerned the emphasis tends to fall on what would now be called 'best practice' rather than the detailed treatment of plants, and this is reflected in the corresponding dictionaries and encyclopedias. The historiography of Agriculture emphasizes the great changes that took place in northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: land enclosure and the 'four-course system', the development of livestock breeding, irrigation and drainage, and the adoption of the first manufactured implements—all of which called for the spread of technical information among a rural population that was in part semi-literate.

By the mid-seventeenth century several farming periodicals were in circulation and agricultural societies were springing up in many English counties. Wordlists

and etymologies being of lesser interest on the land, it is not surprising that an emphasis on the practical emerged at an early stage. Particularly extensive was *The Complete Farmer: or a General Dictionary of Husbandry, in All its Branches* (1766), published in London by ‘A Society of Gentlemen’. A rather elevated introduction ‘To the Public’ begins: ‘Husbandry is, with great justice, placed at the head of human arts, as having a great advantage over all others, but with regard to antiquity and usefulness. It had its birth with the world . . .’. Towards the end of the century the *Farmer’s Magazine*, which had been running since 1776, published a collaborative work *A General Dictionary of Husbandry, Planting, Gardening and the Vegetable part of the Materia Medica* (1789). The editors managed to strike a note at once high-minded and down-to-earth:

Theory should always be founded on Practice – never should precede it. Although it is not necessary for a Farmer to understand Latin or Greek, yet we can see no reason why Latin or Greek should injure the ploughshare or mildew his crops, provided he pays attention to his business . . . . With all the graceful charms of poetry in Virgil’s Georgicks, we meet with the precepts of the husbandman; the Gentleman is mixed with the Scholar; and the Man of Science is truly polite.

A rather different rural perspective was being urged at nearly the same time. William Augustus Osbaldiston’s *The British Sportsman* (1792), locates the Farming dictionary within a less down-to-earth milieu. There is a lot of social history within its title statement:

The British Sportsman, or, Nobleman, Gentleman, and Farmer’s Dictionary, Of recreation and Amusement. Including a most improved System of modern farriery, And Anatomical dissections of a Horse; With concise rules for chusing good Horses, and the secrets of training them with Wind and Vigour for the Course, Field, and Road. Particular instructions for Riding, Racing, Hunting, Coursing, Hawking, Shooting, Setting and Fishing; . . .

But in his Preface Osbaldiston goes out of his way to declare his

. . . respect for that useful and most industrious class of men, the GENTLEMEN farmers . . . it is my wish to shape this publication as much as possible to their benefit; to put them on a footing they ought to stand amongst society; to guard them from the shafts of the insidious and designing; and from being the dupes of *needy great men*.

The most successful work of this period appears to have been that edited by John Monk, a retired military officer with land in Devon. Monk combined extracts from printed articles with specially commissioned authors in his *Agricultural Dictionary* (1794), in three compact octavo volumes. Monk’s work strikes a more practical note than those mentioned earlier and, judging from his printed list of over four hundred

subscribers, was a financial success. The latter include a bevy of earls and dukes, local agricultural societies and the ever-interested Joseph Banks. Some idea of the content may be gained from the heads: BARN FLOORS, BUCK-WHEAT, CABBAGES, CATTLE, CLOVER, COWS, DAIRY, GRAINS, GRASS LANDS . . . . Treatment is far from uniform. The head MANURE alone takes up nearly half of Volume II, almost a monograph in itself, and is the proverbial mine of information, showing how much was known half a century before the arrival of the first artificial fertilizers, and possibly still of some value to the organic farming movement today.

The *Complete Farmer* of 1766 ran through five editions to 1805, with, it seems, few competitors apart from Monk. In turn it was superseded in 1807 by Thomas Potts's *The British Farmer's Encyclopaedia; or, complete Agricultural Dictionary*. This handsome quarto volume, probably the first to use extensive colour plates, set the standard for the first half of the new century. It was challenged in 1834 when Philip Miller organized an impressive *Dictionary of Gardening*, intended to include Botany and Agriculture, and to be published in twenty-four parts. Unfortunately, only three parts, all under letter 'A', were to appear, and the project seems to have sunk under the weight of its distinguished contributors. The next large-scale works to appear were John Wilson's *The Farmer's Dictionary* (1850) and W. T. Rham's *Dictionary of the Farm* (1853). These pointed the way towards the numerous publications of the twentieth century, many from America, which led the way towards modern practice in an increasingly mechanized agriculture.

### 2.4.3 Astronomy

Early dictionaries which style themselves as astronomical are in the main disappointing to historians of the subject. The few early dictionaries prove to be little more than star catalogues, with no mathematical content and almost no account of the great turning points in cosmology attributable to Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. John Hill's *A New Astronomical Dictionary*, of 1768, is a case in point. The title page is conventionally expansive:

The Sun, Stars, Planets, and Comets are described; and their Theory explained according to the received opinions of the present time; the several systems of the Universe are delivered and the Constellations are described at large, with the Number, Magnitude, and Situation of the Stars that compose them; their origin explained according to the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and the Grecian Fable; and a very particular Enquiry is made into the History of those mentioned in the Sacred Writings, and in old Poets and Historians.

But the implied promises are scarcely delivered, for as the author explains in his Preface:

Had this work been written for astronomers, a very different method had been pursued; the form had been that of a system not that of a dictionary, and entertainment had given place to abstruser sciences, on which this is founded: but such a work would not have suited the present plan, nor is it necessary; all that can be done, in that matter, has been done already . . . .

Hill is probably referring to the encyclopaedic volumes which preceded his, and in which Astronomy is quite well served, as well as appearing in Maritime dictionaries under the heading of Navigation.

Sixty years later Linnington's *Compendium of Astronomy* (1830) 'designed for the use of both sexes', had similar shortcomings, with a great deal of biographical material interspersed. Linnington is clearly in the Bridgewater Treatises tradition, asserting: 'what other science is there, that so forcibly proves, not only the *existence* of a GREAT FIRST CAUSE but also his wisdom and power, as Astronomy . . . '.

Astronomy in dictionary format was neglected throughout the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, but received an astonishing boost in the 1950s and 1960s, when many volumes directed to both professional and amateur readers were published within a relatively short time. This may well have been stimulated by the radio and television media and the great popularity of lecturers such as the late Fred Hoyle.

#### 2.4.4 Botany and Herbalism

Although botany joins medicine in drawing on the ancient traditions of herbals and folk-sources, the Botanical dictionary proper did not come into its own until the second half of the eighteenth century. Though information on plants appeared freely in herbals and early medical dictionaries, relations between botanists and the medical profession seem to have been somewhat strained. In the first edition of the *Britannica* the author of the article Botany asserts: 'Many practitioners, some of them men of considerable abilities, affect to despise the science of Botany, alleging that it affords no assistance to their art; and that it is very useless to load their memories with a long catalogue of hard names, without being a whit the wiser with regard to the medical properties.'<sup>12</sup>

Rather as with Chemistry, the introduction of a new taxonomy and nomenclature would prove an important incentive to botanical compilers, with publishers anxious to target and enlighten both professionals and amateurs, from the casual naturalist to the keen gardener and smallholder. The particular stimulus to the volumes that emerged in the later decades of the eighteenth century was the

<sup>12</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Edinburgh, 1771. Article BOTANY.



appearance of Linnaeus's *Philosophica Botanica* in 1751, an event attended by widespread surprise that plants could be defined sexually just as animals might. The success of the Linnaeus system of classification, marked by the foundation of the Linnean Society in 1788, was duly celebrated in dictionaries, though not without some credit to competing systems, notably those of Jussieu, Tournefort and Ray.<sup>13</sup> Colin Milne in *A Botanical Dictionary* (1770) led the way with an extended format, the text interspersed with numerous tables translating the Linnaean genera into traditional English names. There was a certain lexicological problem here, since Latin forms were perceived to jar against the well-loved vernacular names of plants, indeed rather more so than did the Latinate vocabulary obtrude in other subjects like Medicine or Law.

When Thomas Martyn succeeded his father as Professor of Botany at Cambridge in 1762 and had, as he described it, 'the felicity of taking the lead in introducing the Linnaean system and language to my countrymen', he attempted to lay down rules governing which Latinate forms were offensive and which should be adopted. In the preface to *The Language of Botany* (1793), he expresses his fear that:

So long as Botany continued to be studied only among those who had received a learned education; the original terms of Linneus, derived from the Greek or Latin, served all the purposes of general intercourse. But when it became universally adopted, a Vernacular language would of course be gradually formed; and if it were to be left to chance, or to the choice of the ignorant, many absurdities and barbarisms would be introduced, debasing our sterling English.

Among the inappropriate Latin forms he singled out for criticism were: *Compainiformis* for 'Bell-shaped' and *Hypocrateriformis* for 'Salver-shaped'.

The opportunity to direct Botanical dictionaries towards gardeners and horticulturalists was recognized well before 1800. Miller's *The Gardener's Dictionary; containing the methods of cultivating . . . the kitchen, fruit and flower garden, as also the physick garden, conservatory and vineyard . . .* (1731) was followed by Mawe and Abercrombie's *Universal Gardener and Botanist, or a General dictionary of Gardening and Botany* (1778). This tendency culminated in Thomas Green's *A Universal Herbal* (1822), a hugely encyclopedic work, claiming to list all the known plants in the world, and also richly supplied with colour plates. His intention was: ' . . . to present the Botanist, Farmer, Gardener, and Country Housekeeper', clearly a valuable market, 'with a compendium of Botanical, Agricultural, and Medical knowledge' (Green 1882: Preface). Against this increasingly encyclopedic trend,

<sup>13</sup> The Linnean Society was largely the creation of James Edward Smith (1759–1828), who became its first president.

G. N. Lloyd, in *Botanical Terminology, or Dictionary explaining the terms most generally employed in Systematic Botany* (1826), reverts to a pure dictionary format in what is largely a nominal Latin–English word-list.

The danger that Botanical dictionaries would be swamped with plant names at the expense of concepts had earlier been recognized by Stroud in the *Dictionary of Terms* appended to his *Elements of Botany* (1812). Entries were simple explanations such as:

- (1) Hamosus, a, um, (*hamus*, a hook) hooked, bent *Astragalus hamosus*.
- (2) Uliginosus, a, um, boggy; moist, growing in marshy grounds—*Juncus uliginosus*.

Botany clearly has other connections with Agriculture, which we have treated in 2.4.2, and with Medicine, dealt with in 2.4.9. The popularity of semi-encycopedic Gardening dictionaries would increase throughout the twentieth century and continue to the present day, with the general content changing surprisingly little, beyond the introduction of names of new varieties of plant from time to time, and of new chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

#### 2.4.5 Chemistry

Chemistry provides one of the more interesting sub-branches of scientific lexicography for a number of reasons. The end of the eighteenth century saw enormous advances in both theory and practice, with a steady approach to something recognizably like the modern subject. This would be dramatized, in a way perhaps peculiar to Chemistry, through the month-by-month breaking news of the discovery of new elements and compounds, the emerging connection with electricity, and the beginnings of the atomic theory. Somewhat later the coming into its own of organic chemistry, with its transition from a supposed vitalistic foundation to a purely materialistic chemistry of carbon, made for further challenges to the dictionary-maker. What is special to the history of chemical lexicography is that these discoveries went along with a radical change in nomenclature, a question that dictionary writers could not ignore and might well be able to influence.

The early lexicography of Chemistry, like that of Mathematics, is heavily French-influenced, a key work in question being Pierre-Joseph Macquer's *Dictionnaire de Chimie* (1766). Macquer (1718–84), a professor of pharmacy and Academician in Paris, had made notable contributions to chemistry by the time he began his dictionary, but failed to embrace the new science of Lavoisier, and indeed opposed it vehemently in his writings. The English version of Macquer, translated by James Keir in 1771, retains most of the original, including the author's generally conservative attitude to the recent developments. Keir (1735–1820) was a considerable man of

action, an early chemical industrialist and a figure of some note in the literary world. As a member of the Lunar Society he was an intimate of Erasmus Darwin, Priestley, Watt, and Boulton, while a committed Francophile and enthusiast for the French Revolution.

Keir carries forward most of Macquer's prejudices while adding some of his own. Both take a disparaging view of Chemistry as a Science, referring to it as an incoherent collection of facts, still retaining regrettable links with alchemy—a rather unjust view, perhaps, to be expressing a whole century after Boyle's *Skeptical Chymist* had signalled a retreat from such attitudes.

Keir's next initiative is one of the curiosities of chemical lexicography. When approached for a translation of a new edition of Macquer, he embarked instead on a new dictionary of his own, *The First Part of a Dictionary of Chemistry* (1789). This, he explains in a lengthy preface, would be made up partly of additions of his own, and partly of others taken from the German translation of Macquer by Leonhardi, and the Italian translation by Scopoli, all of which had appeared in the intervening years. But Keir's best efforts never reached beyond the letter 'A', in fact scarcely beyond the extremely long entry for ACID, with its innumerable sub-fields. What remains is a spirited preface, in which all his anti-Lavoisier, pro-phlogistic prejudices come to the surface. Referring to the new Lavoisian nomenclature, he asserts:

Messieurs *Hasenfratz* and *Adet* have invented a new set of chemical characters, adapted to the antiphlogistic theory, that nothing may be wanted to the proselytes to this doctrine. . . . For notwithstanding all the attempts which have been made to introduce *real characters*, they are at best but improvements on the Egyptian hieroglyphics, Chinese symbols, or Mexican pictures; and if we are determined to improve this method as far as it is susceptible, we must imitate the philosophers of the *flying island*, who, instead of expressing their thoughts by *words*, exhibited the *things* themselves, of which each philosopher carried about with him a large assortment, that he might never be at any loss in this truly *real* conversation (Keir 1789: Preface p. xix).

Keir's legacy in translating Macquer remained for the benefit of at least a century of chemical lexicographers, but his busy life as an early industrialist clearly got the better of his plans to strike out on his own. Meanwhile, the older Macquer seems to have become somewhat disenchanted with lexicography. Referring to the original in his *Avertissement* to the second edition of 1779 he confides: 'Je conviens donc que celui-ci n'est point un vrai Dictionnaire, ou que, si l'on veut le considérer comme tel, c'en est un mauvais . . .'<sup>14</sup> The next notable advance after Keir was William Nicholson's *Dictionary of Chemistry* of 1795, a

<sup>14</sup> 'I concede then that the former is not at all a true dictionary, or, if one wishes to consider it such, then it is a bad one.'

work also destined to influence a whole series of others well into the nineteenth century. Like Macquer and Keir, Nicholson is much exercised by the problems of alphabetical format, but on the whole approves of it, considering the pedagogical advantages to outweigh logical taxonomy. Nicholson (1753–1815) was a very considerable mover and shaker around the turn of the century. Well connected with the London sympathizers of the Lunar Society, sometime secretary of the Coffee House Philosophical Society, his activities went far beyond Chemistry and he had a number of viable inventions to his name. As a lexicographer he inclined to the conservative, being, like Keir, reluctant to accept either the demise of the phlogiston theory or the new nomenclature of Lavoisier.<sup>15</sup> Nicholson's volume was followed by *A Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy*, by A. and C. R. Aikin (1807). These authors are probably the first to affect a more down-to-earth attitude to the subject, with an emphasis on the newly emergent chemical industry. Proposing to omit everything related to Geology, Medicine, Physiology and Galvanism, and the History of Science, they insist that:

The intention of the authors of this work is not (had they the means) to teach their readers how to become iron-smelters, glass-makers, soap-boilers, or dyers, but to describe, as fully as they were able with the materials before them, the general principles on which these and other important chemical arts are carried on.

Another prefatory remark points to the fluid nature of chemical vocabulary in the first years of the nineteenth century:

The nomenclature which they have used has been in general that which is now become the vernacular tongue of scientific chemistry; but they have not in the least scrupled to blend it with the chemical language of Bergman, Scheele, Black, Beaumé, and a crowd of other excellent chemists, whose terms are still retained in shops and laboratories . . . .

While this reflects the instability of the chemical lexicon, the Aikins seem to have been more sympathetic than their predecessors to the changes coming from France.

The following related entries attest to this:

- (3) a. OXYGEN GAS (18 cols.) *Dephlogisticated air* (of Dr Priestley), *Vital air*. *Empyrean air* (of Dr Scheele) *Der Saurestoffe* Germ.  
 b. PHLOGISTON All that we think it necessary to say on this merely theoretical subject will be found under the article *Oxygen*.  
 phlogisticated air. See azot.  
 c. AZOT or *Nitrogen*. *Stickgas*, Germ. This gas (the *phlogisticated air* of Priestley) forms the unrespirable part of atmospheric air . . . .

<sup>15</sup> Phlogiston attracted a ten-page article in the first edition.

The contrast between this and Nicholson's ten pages on Phlogiston could not be more marked.

Not all early chemical dictionaries were descended from Macquer, however. Notable exceptions were William Nisbet's *A General Dictionary of Chemistry* (1805) and William Ottley's *A Dictionary of Chemistry and of Mineralogy* (1826). Nisbet is of interest for his deliberate intervention in the nomenclature disputes. He includes a table of suggested replacements for the 'old' vocabulary, some of them reasonable and long-lasting (*Oxygen*, *Nitrogen*, to replace *vital air* and *phlogisticated air*). Others are in effect *hapax legomena*: *Caloricum* for *Latent heat*, *Gasogenium* for *matter of heat*. Ottley is probably the first wholeheartedly to accept the new French nomenclature, while giving prominence to the still recent discoveries of Humphrey Davy. He does, however, expand on the difficulties which the previous years of unstable nomenclature have placed in the way of the student and, unusually, lists a number of topics that the student reader is advised to follow in sequence.

Given the pace of advances in chemistry, Nicholson's volumes were distinctly out of date by the 1820s, yet their considerable bulk would seem to have discouraged lexicographers from beginning a replacement *ab initio*. In the event Andrew Ure (1778–1857) took up the task, his *Dictionary of Chemistry* (1821) being sub-titled *On the Basis of Mr. Nicholson's*. His proved a worthy successor. Further editions followed in rapid succession, the fourth, published in 1835, finally dropping the stated connection with Nicholson. Ure's treatment had moved on from Nicholson in a number of respects. There is now no mention of Phlogiston at all, while the new alkali metals sodium and potassium, recently isolated by Humphrey Davy, are given due prominence. He is also guarded on the question of *caloric*, concluding a long article with the remark that it may, after all, not exist.

One further work of the mid-century deserves special mention, though not a dictionary of Chemistry as such. This is the *Dictionary of Science, Literature and Art* (1842), by the chemist William Brande. Brande (1788–1866), a protégé of, and later successor to, Humphrey Davy as Director of the Royal Institution, was a pioneering influence in pharmaceutical and agricultural chemistry and a renowned educator. His dictionary, which naturally contains much chemistry, is notable for its somewhat immodest sub-title: 'Comprising the History, Description, And Scientific Principles of every branch of Human Knowledge with the Derivation and Definition of all the terms in general use'.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Brande may well be the last serious author to make such a claim, especially when it refers to a single-volume work.

Although this is less true of subjects like Mathematics, with Chemistry there comes a point where dictionaries have reached a state of maturity such that a modern student would not only recognize the subject as his own, but be able to learn relevant facts and theories usefully, for all the lack of truly up-to-date material. This point is probably marked by Morley and Muir's 1888 new edition of *Watts' Dictionary of Chemistry* (1863). Here are to be found not only a comprehensive treatment of the known elements, including the still recent Periodic Table of Mendeleev, but also an effectively modern account of organic chemistry, with a section laying down the numbering systems for labelling aromatic and heterocyclic ring compounds. The list of acknowledged contributors is particularly impressive: Lothar-Meyer (Tübingen), Raphael Meldola (London), Wilhelm Ostwald (Leipzig), J. J. Thomson (Cambridge), and T. E. Thorpe (London). These would have been a cross-section of the younger generation of chemists and physicists of the day, several on their way to achieving considerable fame—in the case of Ostwald and Thomson as recipients of the still to be instituted Nobel Prize.

T. E. Thorpe would go on to found his own almost perennial *Thorpe's Dictionary of Applied Chemistry* (1890), which would achieve 'biblical' status with annual editions being published well into the mid-twentieth century.

#### 2.4.6 *Geology and Mineralogy*

Although to the layman these two subjects seem to belong together, in fact they make very different demands on the lexicographer and their history in dictionaries has led to tension and controversy. In historical perspective, Geology is a young science, even though concern with the nature of the Earth's surface and interior goes back to Ptolemy and beyond. Yet only after the pioneering work of Werner, Hutton, and Lyell in the early nineteenth century was it possible to dissociate the study of the Earth from the deistic tradition and its concern with mythical cosmogony, numerology of the age of the Earth, and the presumed Noarchian Flood. This uncertain beginning made it difficult for dictionaries styled as *geological* to appear until well into the nineteenth century; the word *Geology* scarcely appeared before Johnson and made its way to acceptance only slowly in the next decades.

Mineralogy is somewhat different. Though logically a part of modern Geology, it long had a life of its own and was customarily treated along with Chemistry, where it often appeared in dictionary main or sub-titles.<sup>17</sup> (*Mineralogy* is dated

<sup>17</sup> As for example in Aikin and Aikin (1807) and Mitchell (1823).

1690 in the *OED*. The uncomfortable synonym *oryctognosy*, from German, failed to take root in the nineteenth century.) With the enormous variety of known minerals and the wide general knowledge of precious and semi-precious stones, it was easy to fill up a dictionary with names and properties, in which minerals could easily outnumber common chemical compounds, rather as plant names could overwhelm dictionaries of Botany.

The publication of Charles Lyell's *The Principles of Geology* in 1833 raised the profile of the subject almost overnight and led to immediate lexicographic interest. Lyell himself had published a short glossary to accompany the volume, and this was the starting point for George Roberts's *An Etymological and Explanatory Dictionary of the Terms and Language of Geology*, that appeared as early as 1839. Roberts questioned the status of terms in Mineralogy, asserting that 'the language of Geology has a great advantage over that of Mineralogy. The language of the latter has been a fertile subject for complaint . . .'. Roberts was at pains to emphasize the exceptionally diverse origins of geological vocabulary and in his Introduction offered a list of eleven origins, which is worth reproducing here as he presents it:

- (4) Greek; as *hybodus*
- (5) Latin, as *mammifer*
- (6) Greek and Latin; as *mammalogy* and *nummulite*
- (7) German, as *wacke*
- (8) French, as *nacre*
- (9) Italian, as *scaglia*
- (10) Ancient Saxon, as *brash*
- (11) Local terms and corruptions; as *lias*
- (12) From the names of discoverers; as *Bucklandi*, *Bêchei*, *Murchisoni* &c.
- (13) Named after localities; as *Paulite*, *Strontium*
- (14) But comparatively few fanciful; as *Uranium*, *Titanium* (Roberts 1839: viii).

To these we might add the curious term 'dy', from Swedish, or possibly Old Norse.

The contentious example of Mineralogy, mentioned in passing by Roberts, is taken up in earnest by William Humble in his *Dictionary of Geology and Mineralogy* (1840: Preface, p.vii):

It is most desirable that geologists should endeavour to avoid a very great evil which has gradually obtained in, and now sadly clogs, the pursuit of mineralogy. The redundance of terms there introduced is most painfully bewildering.

At issue is the often haphazard process of naming, at worst leading to a situation of multi-naming, as he shows in an example:<sup>18</sup>

The mineral which is called *epidote* by Haiüy, is named *pristazit* by Werner, *thallite* by Lemetherie, *acanaticone* by Dandrada, *glassy actinolite* by Kirwan, *adrendalit* by Karsten . . . .

Humble's account raises significant questions of scientific nomenclature. He appears to endorse the rather heterodox view of William Herschel, quoting him to the effect that:<sup>19</sup>

It appears doubtful, whether it is desirable for the essential purposes of science, that extreme refinement in the systematic nomenclature should be insisted on. In all subjects where comprehensive heads of classification do not prominently offer themselves, all nomenclature must be a balance of difficulties, and a good, short, *unmeaning* name, which has once obtained a footing in usage, is preferable almost to any other.

Geology, in part no doubt because of its late arrival on the scientific scene, seems to have developed closer to the idea of Herschel than by adopting systematic, though complex, Latin-based taxonomies. Later authors of geological dictionaries appear to have accepted the more haphazard naming of objects and terms, while improved communication, not least through international regulatory bodies, conferences, and journals has reduced the danger of going down the path of early Mineralogy.

Though it is only indirectly mineralogical, no account can fail to mention the extraordinary *Miner's Dictionary* (1747) by William Hooson. This notable labour of love, dedicated to 'All gentlemen undertakers in Mines' and compiled from the author's forty years' experience underground, stands alone in its time—as the title page indicates:

The Miner's Dictionary. Explaining Not only the Terms used by Miners, But also Containing The Theory and Practice Of that most useful Art of Mining, More especially of Lead-Mines. I. How a Gentleman may know whether he has Mines in his land, or not. II. How to know the cheapest and best way to come at Them. III. The Method of carrying them on, in order to make them profitable works, the Whole being of very great Use to all Miners and Gentlemen.

The miner's dictionary presents vocabulary at a far extreme from educated language, yet it has a piquancy that delights, and would repay further study.

<sup>18</sup> In this passage Humble is quoting without reference a certain Professor Cleveland.

<sup>19</sup> The source in Herschel has not been identified.



A selection of headwords will illustrate this:<sup>20</sup> (For occupational slang → COLEMAN.)

Bangerts, Bibles, Bule, Cadg, Cranch, Dawling, Faddom, Fange, Feigh, Ghurr, Hadeing, Kyles, Lask, Lobbs, Lough, Mallan, Maull, Midfeather, Nittings, Nog, Nodger, Puncheons, Ramer, Rake, Scafflings, Scrin, Smytham, Soyl, Swaugh, Throstlebreast, Virgula Divinatoria, Wargear, Wherk.

#### 2.4.7 *Geography*

While Geography as a subject generates a great number of reference works, many of these can scarcely be classed as lexicons. Dominant among them is the ‘Gazetteer’, a compilation of great amounts of information ordered by headwords that are proper names, whether of countries, towns, rivers, or mountains. The origin of the word is curious, referring first to a human news-writer, then soon applied to a list of information for the use of the same.<sup>21</sup> Just as Astronomical dictionaries have tended to turn into star-catalogues and Botanical dictionaries into plant-lists, so the concepts and methodology of Geography tend to be lost within the superabundance of place-names. Nevertheless, some authors have striven against the norm to treat terms of Geography other than proper nouns.

Although Latin works such as Giovanni Battista Riccioli’s *Geographiae et Hydrographiae reformatae* (1661) were widely known at an earlier time, the first English dictionaries were Edmund Bohun’s *A Geographical Dictionary* (1688) and Echard’s *The Gazetteer’s; or Newsman’s Interpreter: Being a Geographical Index. . .* (1695). Both Echard and Bohun are pocket-sized and Echard’s introduction is unpretentious:

As for the use of this Tract, it is made in a *Pocket Volume*, partly design’d for all such as frequent *Coffee-Houses*, and other places for *News*; and by which any *city, Town, or Castle* of Note in *Europe*, that is wanted, may be readily known where it is, who it belongs to . . . (Echard 1695: Preface).

Bohun is more academic, his title page accounting for both the scope and purpose of the work:

<sup>20</sup> Hooson has evidently been trawled by *OED*<sub>1</sub>, though only about half of the above terms are listed. The same citations seem to be passed on to *OED*<sub>2</sub>, without any additions from the supplements.

<sup>21</sup> The *OED* correctly attributes the word *gazetteer* to L. Echard in his *Gazetteer’s or Newsman’s Interpreter* (1693), where the name still retains the former meaning. Only in his second edition of 1704 is the latter use adopted, after, as he relates: ‘The title was given me by a very eminent Person, whom I forbear to name . . .’. ‘Gazette’ (1605) from the Italian, and ‘Gazetteer’ (1611) long predate ‘journalist’ (1690).

A Geographical Dictionary, Representing the Present and Ancient Names Of all The Countries, Provinces, Remarkable Cities, Universities, Ports, Towns, Mountains, Seas, Streights, Fountains, and Rivers Of the whole WORLD: their distances, Longitudes and Latitudes. With a short/Historical account of the same.

He reviews previous geographical compilations as far back as Stephanus Byzantium in the fifth century and the Latin works nearer his own time: notably the *Thesaurus Geographicus* of Abraham Ortelius (1526) and Philip Ferrarius's *Lexicon Geographicum* (1657), the latter in his opinion 'a work of great perfection, and very much esteemed by learned men'. Ferrarius and other Latin authors are nevertheless criticized for concentrating on ancient geography, an emphasis which Bohun seeks to remedy. In fact, interest in geographies of the ancient world and the Holy Land would be a constant feature of the earliest works and persist well into the nineteenth century. A notable example was Alexander Macbean's *A Dictionary of Ancient Geography, explaining the local appellations in Sacred, Grecian and Roman History* (1773), which ran through several editions. There were many such sacred geographers, and their works presumably had a guaranteed market, which was still appreciable in 1849 when John Eadie published *A Biblical Encyclopaedia or Dictionary of Eastern Antiquities, Geography, Natural History, Sacred Annals and Biography, Theology, and Biblical Literature . . .*

The increase in the publication of Gazetteers of all kinds that began in the mid-eighteenth century led to some publishers competing to embrace the entire known world, while others specialized in the treatment of smaller and smaller regions, countries, provinces, the American states—even particular towns.<sup>22</sup> Among those that persisted in offering general coverage, Richard Brookes (1721–63) was the most successful, almost monopolizing the market for the next century. His *General Gazetteer, or Compendious Geographical Dictionary* (1762) is exemplary, and edition followed edition, under various editors.

Later Gazetteers would reflect the growing British Empire and the realm of the East India Company. Most are of minimal lexicographic interest, notwithstanding the fascinating subject of *toponymy*—place-name etymology (→ HOUGH). As Gazetteers sought to outdo each other in comprehensiveness, lesser works in English were effectively trumped by the *Imperial Gazetteer* of 1856, edited by W. G. Blackie, a monster compilation in six volumes amounting to an estimated four million words. Though it promises much information, 'Physical, Political, Statistical, and Descriptive', it is still primarily ordered by place-names. Like most compilers, Blackie stresses the political and economic importance of up-to-date geographical

<sup>22</sup> The British Library registers nearly a thousand Gazetteers before 1900 and nearly two thousand in the century after.

information, particularly in understanding overseas conflicts, in his own time the Crimean War.

There is little to be gained by following Gazetteers into the twentieth century, or indeed the twenty-first, where, perhaps to the relief of compilers, most of the bald facts of latitude, longitude, altitude, climate, or population figures, economic statistics, and so on, can now be accessed almost instantaneously from online databases.

#### 2.4.8 *Mathematics*

The history of mathematics dictionaries in English is anomalous in several respects. Although there were early examples of works building upon each other during the eighteenth century, the nineteenth represents an almost complete void in the world of mathematical lexicography, with the exception of encyclopedia articles. The decline of English mathematics after Newton is well recognized, and it is tempting to implicate this in the failure to produce adequate, or indeed any, dictionaries worth mentioning over a period of decades. Yet the problem appears to be rather more complex than this, and takes us to the root of the difficulties that attend attempts to gloss mathematics usefully in any period, not least the present day. The question of a target readership is also crucial, with widespread perception of the difficulty of the subject as a disincentive to engaging with it. Title pages invariably boast of the care that has been taken to make the content intelligible, coupled with promises of pleasure and enlightenment. Some of these are worth quoting, if only to gauge the mood of the authors and their publishers. Thus William Henry Hall in 1797:

In Mathematics, truth appears eminently conspicuous, and shines in its greatest lustre. . . . From this consideration and the great utility of Mathematics, we may estimate how much they are superior to every other species of human knowledge. . . . Opposed to true reasoning, as above described, is that of falsehood and error; the causes of which are various and many. . . .

And he goes on to list a number, ranging from ‘trusting too much to the senses’ to ‘following vulgar opinions and weak authorities’ and ‘giving way to passions’ (Hall 1797: Introduction).

The earliest English mathematical dictionaries, like those of Chemistry, drew upon French volumes, and similarly combined translation with efforts to update and clarify. A crucial influence on the earliest mathematical dictionaries is the work of Jacques Ozanam, whose *Dictionnaire Mathématique* appeared in Amsterdam in 1691. Ozanam (1640–1717), a self-taught mathematician, opens his Preface with a plea for Mathematics to join the host of technical subjects that had claimed their

specialized dictionaries: Jurisprudence, Medicine, Philosophy, Theology, Architecture, and so forth, feeling rightly that, for all its greater importance and utility, Mathematics had been unjustly neglected.<sup>23</sup> He launches into a defence of its usefulness with a string of obvious applications—followed by some that are less obvious: ‘La connoissance de l’Astronomie n’est elle pas même nécessaire à un Médecin pour les prognostics, et pour donner aux malades des remèdes à propos.’<sup>24</sup>

Not all the earliest mathematical dictionaries in English were French inspired, however. Joseph Moxon’s *Mathematicks made Easie* (1669) is in pure dictionary form with succinct glosses and alphabetical ordering. Moxon (1627–91) was primarily a globe-maker, printer, and typographer. He was elected Hydrographer to Charles II on the strength of his globe-making, and to the largely Royalist Royal Society, notwithstanding his previous Puritan sympathies. But Moxon is clearly no working mathematician, and this shows in his complete avoidance of any symbols whatever. This would be a somewhat troublesome restriction for the student in search of ‘Mathematicks made easie’, and one that causes the author to make heavy weather of some entries. For example:

- (15) LOGARITHMS, (Derived from two Greek words, *Logos*, reason, and *Arithmos*, Numbers,) Are *Artificial Numbers* invented by Arithmeticians, to the end that being put in the place of Natural Numbers, they may be fit to manifest what Progressive difference there is in them: for they always keep in themselves the same Progression Arithmetical, as those in whose stead they are Constituted, do Progression Geometrical.

Moxon paved the way for the Royal Society’s interest in Ozanam’s much more extensive dictionary, and Joseph Raphson (1648–1715), a confidant of Newton, brought out a heavily abbreviated translation in 1702. (*A Mathematical dictionary*, London, 1702.) Neither of these works is in alphabetical format; like Ozanam, Raphson treats subjects such as algebra and geometry in whole sections with numerous sub-heads. But, in truth, Raphson’s ‘translation’ bears very little resemblance to the original.<sup>25, 26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ozanam is referring to French publications. The same would be less true with respect to English.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Is not a knowledge of Astronomy no less necessary to the doctor, to give prognoses and to prescribe appropriate remedies for the sick?’

<sup>25</sup> Naturally *mathematics* is still plural, and would remain so for a long time to come. The point of transition to the present-day singular is difficult to determine. The *OED* affirms: ‘In early use always construed as a plural, and usually preceded by *the*. In modern use regarded as a mass noun, except when used of calculations.’ Quirk *et al.* (1985: 299) classify *mathematics* in the sub-class of ‘singular invariable nouns’: ‘usually invariable and treated as singular, eg: *Mathematics* is the science of quantities.’

<sup>26</sup> Raphson was not the only lexicographer to have had publisher problems. He remonstrated over the misspelling of his name (as Ralphson, to the confusion of bibliographers) and advertised in the press complaining of this and of the insertion of additional unauthorized material.

In treating mathematical dictionaries in the light of the history of the subject it is useful to trace the trajectories of certain key words and concepts, as they change with new discoveries and shifts of semantic and pedagogic fashion. Two topics are of particular interest: the treatment of Newton's 'fluxions' in contrast to the 'calculus differentialis' of Continental mathematics; and the relative attention given to algebra in contrast to geometry and the calculus. The decline of English mathematics in the eighteenth century, referred to earlier, with its source in the endemic piety towards the memory of Newton, went along for many decades with a studied ignorance of the great advances being made elsewhere. As William Rouse Ball, in his *History of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge* (1886), writes:

The isolation of English mathematicians from their continental contemporaries is the distinctive feature of the history of the latter half of the eighteenth century . . . it would seem that the chief obstacle to the adoption of analytical methods and the notation of the differential calculus arose from the professorial body and the senior members of the senate, who regarded any attempt at innovation as a sin against the memory of Newton (Ball 1886: 117).

It is hardly surprising that this attitude is reflected, even in some cases amplified, in the dictionaries and encyclopedias of the period. These frequently give an extended account of the Fluxions in Newton's notation, with at most a cursory mention of the more useful Leibnitzian calculus, with its notation close to that of the present-day subject. As late as 1856, the American dictionary of Davies and Peck, one of the few to appear in the mid-century, still includes a full treatment of Fluxions, only later finally to drive a stake into the heart of the subject in concluding: 'This notation is exceedingly cumbrous, particularly in the higher orders of analysis, and for this reason, principally, the method of fluxions has gone into disuse.'

The neglect of Continental mathematicians is not restricted to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century figures; equally revealing is the passing over of the work of Descartes, whose analytic geometry, the synthesis of geometry and algebra, receives only the most cursory mention, as does number theory and the work of notables such as Fermat. As for the celebrated priority dispute between Newton and Leibnitz over the invention of the differential calculus, most English lexicographers fall over themselves to credit the former, though some admit the modern verdict of simultaneous independent discovery. John Davison in *The New Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1778) insists, however, that: 'Sir Isaac was the first inventor of it, who being too free in communicating it to Mr Leibnitz, he stole it from him; and that the suspicion might be the less, he invented different words from those in Sir Isaac's' (FLUXIONS).

Peter Barlow, in *A New Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary* (1814), is altogether fairer, granting Leibnitz independent, though not prior, invention, after a detailed account of the history of the dispute. He also strikes an independent note in fully acknowledging the Continental mathematicians, d'Alembert, Clairaut, Bernoulli, and Euler, under the head FUNCTION.<sup>27</sup>

The relative treatment of algebra and geometry is also revealing. The idea of algebra in present-day usage, that is, the use of letters to stand for abstract or general quantities, grew only slowly and entails a semantic curiosity. Early accounts speak of this as *specious algebra*, or sometimes *Logistica Apeciosa* as distinct from *Numeral algebra*, said to be 'that of the Ancients', and concerned primarily with arithmetic and Diophantine problems.<sup>28</sup>

Raphson is more even-handed than his contemporaries when it comes to Fluxions and Differentials, but he is dismissive of algebra, effectively leaving out all of Ozanam's enthusiastic treatment. The relative downplaying of algebra at the expense of geometry would be characteristic of English dictionaries for at least another century, while at the same time Geometry embraced a domain well beyond the modern, more circumscribed, use of the term. Much of Mechanics and what would now be called Applied Mathematics remained Geometry in the English world, again in the spirit of Newton, and this long after works like Lagrange's *Mechanique Analytique* had appeared in 1788—its author famously boasting that no single diagram or geometrical construction would appear throughout.

There were exceptions, however, to the English neglect of algebra in the eighteenth century. Edmund Stone in his *A New Mathematical Dictionary* (1726) took a more balanced, even enthusiastic, view:

This Art (Algebra) is deservedly reputed the very Apex of human Learning. . . . By this may Geometrical Demonstrations be wonderfully abridg'd, and Problems solv'd, which would be otherwise impossible to be effected; nay, even such a Number of Truths is often express'd in one Line by their Art, as would require a whole Volume to expound and demonstrate (Stone 1726: ALGEBRA).

Seventy years later, Hutton, in his two-volume *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary* (1796), complains forcefully of the lack of specialized mathematical

<sup>27</sup> A view perhaps reflecting his base in the Royal Military Academy rather than the Ancient Universities. Peter Barlow (1776–1862) was one of the most distinguished applied mathematicians of his time, and contributed, among many other fields, to the design of early locomotives and the correction of ships' compasses.

<sup>28</sup> The *OED* gives *specious* in the obsolete sense as equivalent to *literal*, meaning 'based on letters', as opposed to *numerical*. Occasional use of *specious* in this sense seems to have persisted until the mid-nineteenth century.

dictionaries and the inadequacy of those published earlier in the century. He is also one of the few authors to raise the question of ‘front-loading’, a problem that goes beyond mathematical works.<sup>29</sup>

The prejudice that governed English mathematics after Newton does not alone explain the shortcomings of dictionaries during the two centuries after the great man’s death. Mathematics, unlike, say, Chemistry or Botany, is beset with intractable problems in glossing abstract and esoteric terms; in many respects it is of all subjects the least amenable to lexical analysis.<sup>30</sup> (See our earlier discussion in Hoare and Salmon (2000), Chapter 9.) The void in mathematical dictionaries in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries seems only to have been filled, and this only partially, by the American dictionary of Davies and Peck (1857), published in New York. This is a workmanlike volume, in format and notation one of the first that begins to resemble works on the modern subject. The authors apologize for only being able to treat the subject at an elementary level, but they at least mention functions of a complex variable and state that the Calculus of Variations is ‘the highest branch of mathematics’. They also give what are probably the first practical tables of differential coefficients and integrals, in a form that would still be useful to the modern student.

#### 2.4.9 *Medicine*

English dictionaries of Medicine, like those of other traditional subjects, can trace back their beginnings beyond the sixteenth century, but come into their own only in the eighteenth, following the gradual professionalization of the readership, a process broadly speaking paralleled by the lexical transition from ‘physick’ to ‘medicine’.<sup>31</sup> In the earlier period there are contributions from the ancient practices of herbalism and folk-medicine, sometimes with supernatural elements; later there is a fairly clear differentiation between volumes written for the professional training of physicians, and those intended for reference in the household. Veterinary Medicine and Dentistry also appear for their particular markets, and Surgery is later given individual treatment.

<sup>29</sup> I use this term to describe the well-known effect where a compiler, working to a restricted length and proceeding alphabetically, so misjudges his earlier material that the last letters are forced into a disproportionately small space. This is notoriously present in the first edition of the *Britannica*, where half the alphabet is forced into the last of the three volumes.

<sup>30</sup> Though perhaps linguistics is a competitor in this respect.

<sup>31</sup> Though the *OED* lists both these as current from the fourteenth century until the twentieth, we refer to their use in formal works such as those under consideration here, rather than in common medical parlance.

Medicine, like Law, is remarkable in that its earliest dictionary, while not quite predating the ‘hard-words’ period, is practically contemporary with it. Lazarus Riverius’s *A Physical Dictionary, Expounding such words, as . . . are dark to the English Reader* (1655) appeared in the decade following Cockeram.<sup>32</sup> Lazarus Riverius, ‘Councilor and Physician to the King of France’, was well known on the Continent, where his Latin medical dictionary had already run through eight editions.<sup>33</sup> Soon afterwards the subject of ‘Physick’ reappears in Elisha Coles’s *An English Dictionary* (1676), but now sharing its position with the ‘hard words’ of divinity and husbandry. Closely following this, and with a claim to being the first extensive medical dictionary in English, is Steven Blanckaert’s *A Physical Dictionary*, in turn translated from the Latin *Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum* of 1684. This work extended in seven or more editions into the 1720s, with both English and Latin versions simultaneously available. Blanckaert himself died in 1702, after an enormously productive lifetime, but his Latin dictionary initiated the practice whereby an author’s name would continue to be associated with new editions long after his death. In addition to giving etymologies, he was also one of the first to pay special attention to correct pronunciation in both English and Latin, a facility that would seem to have been a status-marker among professionals in the field.

While formally edited medical dictionaries date from Lazarus Riverius, they have a great affinity with the much earlier tradition of ‘Herbals’ which, invariably treating of curative properties, as well as plant descriptions and cultivation, go back much further still—in the case of William Turner’s landmark, *A New Herbal* (1551), at least a century. This is his introduction:

A new Herbal, wherin are conteyned the names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englysh, Duch, Frenche, and in the Apothecaries and Herbaries Latin, with the properties degrees and naturall places of the same, gathered and made by Wylliam Turner, Physicion unto the Duke of Somersetes Grace.

A single entry will suffice to give an idea of the style throughout:

*Of the Beane* Beanes make wynde, and are harde of digestion, and make troublesum dreames. They are good for the coughe: they ingendre fleshe of a meane nature between hote and colde. If they be sodden in water and vinegre, and eaten wyth theyr shelles, they stop the bloody flyre, and the common flyre of the guttes. They are good to be eaten agaynste vomtyng.

<sup>32</sup> The *Physical Dictionary* proper is bound as an Appendix, where its title page makes the additional claim that ‘This Dictionary is of use in the reading of all other Books of this Nature, in the English Tongue’.

<sup>33</sup> The English version is described as being ‘chiefly a translation’ from the original ‘by Nicholas Culpepper, Physician and Astrologer, Abdiah Cole, Doctor of Physick and William Rowland, Physician’.



The role of herbals in early medicine is crucial, and with their ancestry in Hippocrates and Aristotle, many could pass as the medical textbooks of the day. Herbalism always figured in early works on Botany, as we have seen in 2.4.4.

As we also noted earlier, Harris contains a good deal that relates to medicine, though it is not his strong point, and it is likely that the *Lexicon Technicum* served more as the stimulus for the next, and altogether more modern, generation of dictionaries by now increasingly styled 'Medical'. A lasting initiative early in the century was John Quincy's *Lexicon physico-medicum* (1719), originally based on the Latin *Lexicon medicum Graecolatinum* of Castellus Bartholomaeus (1626), published in Basel. Quincy's work went through some twelve editions, the last revised by Robert Hooper as *Quincy's Lexicon-Medicum. A New Medical Dictionary* (1811), while the Castellus volume remained in print almost as long.

Quincy's approach to medicine can be counted as eccentric. He was in effect a reductionist *avant la lettre*, believing that all physiology was based upon mechanics and the physical sciences, following Newtonian principles. In excusing the amount of Newtonian mechanics introduced, he remarks:

The Reader therefore, on this View, will not wonder to find in a Work under this title, a great deal about Attraction, the Laws of Motion, Gravitation, Air, Winds, Tides, Light, Heat, Cold and the like; because he will find how they naturally lead to the Knowledge of some important Points of Practice, which without such previous Lights, must lie intirely in confusion, and upon the Hazard of Experiment and Guesswork. . . . (Quincy 1719: Preface).

He goes on to belabour his fellow physicians, and for good measure Harris too:

As for the Usefulness of Dr Harris's *Lexicon Technicum Magnum* in this respect, very little can be said; because he has done nothing else but transcribe Blanchard, good and bad, . . . and what he has added from some modern physical Writers appears to me to be in great part lame, either out of that Gentleman's Haste or Unacquaintance with the things themselves he undertook to explain.

Quincy was respected more as an apothecary than a physician, and his *Pharmacopoea officinalis or Compleat English Dispensatory* (1718) ran through twelve editions after his death in 1722. The public exposure to these works evidently pleased the publishers, for when they contracted with Robert Hooper to produce a revised version as late as 1811, it was to appear under the masthead of *Quincy's Lexicon-Medicum. A New Medical Dictionary*. By this time Hooper had made his own reputation as a writer on botany as well as medicine, and it is clear that he did not take kindly to being associated with Quincy in the 1811 revision. This is made plain in the Preface, where he speaks of ' . . . the fashionable follies of mathematical explanations' and 'the absurdities of his day'. Meanwhile, his

*Compendious Medical Dictionary* (1798) crossed the Atlantic and began a series of American editions, alongside the *New Medical Dictionary*, the later ones eventually dropping the reference to Quincy in the title.

The posthumous Quincy was to face powerful competition from Robert James, who entered the market in 1743 with his weighty *Medicinal Dictionary*, in three quarto volumes.<sup>34</sup> James's *Medicinal Dictionary* is the first of its kind with truly encyclopedic pretensions, perhaps aiming to outdo *Chambers* in the medical field. The three volumes are in 'expansive' style and are conspicuously 'front-loaded', with the letter 'A' taking up the first volume and a half. The work begins with a somewhat sententious hundred-page preface dealing with the history of physick, its introduction showing a particular fascination with the role of Providence. There are useful Greek- and Latin-English word-lists and an inventory of preparations mentioned by Hippocrates. We might single out from the main text the striking entry *ASTRONOMIA* in which James, while denying the influence of the stars on the 'Fates, the Morals, and the Fortunes of Men', nevertheless declares his belief that:

... these have a very surprising and remarkable Influence upon the several Bodies on our Earth. This opinion has been embraced by many of the Moderns, but more especially by the *Literati of England*, whose industry in clearing up this Point, deserves to be crown'd with all the encomiums that are due to profound Learning and a disinterested love of Truth; ... for these Gentlemen have, with a great deal of Judgement, maintain'd the Influence of the Stars ... with regard to the Human Body, consider'd as subject to Diseases and Disorders (James: 1743, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, *astronomia*).

So much, one is tempted to add, for the role of literary opinion in science.

A more modest octavo volume, John Barrows's *Dictionarium Medicum Universale* (1749) appeared soon afterwards. Barrow was not a medical man and styles himself a chemist. He appears to have lived by writing, and published other volumes on Geography, Navigation, and the Arts and Sciences in general. In the *Dictionarium* he emphasizes the etymology of medical words, and pays special attention to the quaint term *OFFICINAL SIMPLES*, with 'full directions given to distinguish the Genuine from the Spurious.'<sup>35</sup>

The only other substantial work to reach the market before the end of the century is George Motherby's *A New Medical Dictionary* (1775). More extensive

<sup>34</sup> James was a friend and one-time fellow student of Dr Johnson in Lichfield, and it is believed that Johnson helped him with some entries. He was also widely celebrated for his invention of 'James's Fever powders', an antimony preparation popular with the aristocracy and literati, and taken by George III during his madness.

<sup>35</sup> *OFFICINAL*: A medicine kept as a standard or stock preparation. *SIMPLES*: Medicine or medication composed of only one constituent, especially when derived from a plant or herb.

than Barrow, it reflects the author's distinguished career, for a time as physician to the Emperor of Prussia in Königsberg.

The tradition of long-lived medical dictionaries would continue into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Richard Hoblyn introduced his compact *A Dictionary of Terms used in Medicine and the Collateral Sciences* in 1835, and succeeded in publishing fourteen editions throughout the century, the last being in 1909. Hoblyn was a cleric who retired to write educational works in great variety. One of his innovations was to order sub-heads by combining forms, thus: EPI-, HYPER-, HYPO-, etc.; another is a long section on 'Prescription terms'—elucidating thereby the mysteries of *Coch parv.*, *Dieb alt.*, *Cujusl.*, and the like.<sup>36</sup>

The nineteenth century would see an upsurge in medical dictionaries of a 'practical' type, the key indicator being the word 'popular' in the title. Some were directed specifically at the household. A notable example is Alexander Macaulay's *A Dictionary of Medicine Designed for Popular Use* (1828). Macaulay expresses the view that parents can be entrusted with supervising the diet and medical well-being of their children, and indeed should be since, as he puts it in a sentence resonant with social history, 'if a practitioner were called upon to treat them all, he must be almost a daily visitant in the nursery'. He also claims to state fairly 'the advantages and disadvantages of wine, spirits, tea, coffee, tobacco, and other articles of luxury'. By the mid-century, this genre is flourishing with, for example, Spencer Thomson's *A Dictionary of Domestic Medicine* (1852).

In the mid-nineteenth century there begins a notable American input, particularly from the publishing houses of Philadelphia.<sup>37</sup> Dunglison's *Medical Lexicon. A New Dictionary of Medical Science*, (1842) and Thomas's *A Comprehensive Medical Dictionary* (1864) are cases in point, with up-to-date treatments of both surgery and general practice.<sup>38</sup> At about this time, the first dictionary of Dentistry also appears from America: Chapin Harris's *A Dictionary of Dental Science* (1849).

No account of nineteenth-century medicine can fail to mention the extraordinary *Pentaglot Dictionary* of Shirley Palmer (1845), compiled, it seems likely, in collaboration with his French-born wife Marie Breheault.

<sup>36</sup> *Coch parv.* (Cochlear parvum = small spoon.); *Dieb alt.* (Diebus alternis = Every other day.); *Cujusl.* (cujuslibet = of any.)

<sup>37</sup> There was, of course, no copyright in America in this period and various degrees of piracy were prevalent. This does not seem to have been a problem with the dictionaries mentioned here, however.

<sup>38</sup> Robley Dunglison (1798–1869) emigrated to America in 1824, after studies in Edinburgh and Paris. He had a distinguished career in Virginia and Philadelphia and was a friend of Thomas Jefferson. His *Medical Lexicon* would reach a 23rd edition as late as 1904.

A Pentaglot Dictionary of the Terms employed in Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Practical Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Medical Jurisprudence, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, Medical Zoology, Botany, and Chemistry; In two Parts: Part I With the leading term in French, followed by the synonymes in the Greek, Latin, German, and English; Explanations in English; and copious illustrations in the different languages. Part II a German-English-French Dictionary, Comprehending the Scientific German terms of the preceding part.

The work is distinguished by the range of subjects as much as its linguistic breadth. A planned extension into Italian seems not to have been published.

The tendency towards encyclopedic volumes reached a high point with George Gould's *An Illustrated Dictionary of Medicine Biology and Allied Sciences* in 1894. Gould's was probably the most bulky single-volume work up to its time, claiming to have added thousands of new terms that had arisen in recent years. At 1,633 pages in 8pt type, Gould still manages to preserve a basic dictionary format, with for the most part many heads per page. The content reflects the obsolescence of terms such as 'asthenia'/'sthénia', 'diathesis', 'scrofula', 'hysteria', these being passed over with the briefest comment, while the new science of bacteriology gets generous coverage. After 1900 Gould switched format and, up to 1930, was successful in publishing nine editions of *A Pocket Medical Dictionary*.

In 2005, the forty-first edition of *Black's Medical Dictionary*<sup>39</sup> was published, revisions having appeared at frequent intervals since the first in 1905. The achievement of 'biblical' status in this way seems to have been the result of an astute compromise, which was to forego encyclopedic ambitions in favour of portability, with frequent revisions to keep pace with medical advances. The 1905 edition, edited by John Comrie, is deceptively modest. A considerable part, the author admits, is adapted from the ninth edition of the *Britannica* and length is kept under control by avoiding many compound words, particularly those from surgery. The overall policy in the editor's words is to 'occupy a position somewhere between that of a technical dictionary of medicine and one intended merely for the domestic treatment of commoner ailments'. This was to prove a winning formula. What is remarkable, and indicative perhaps, is that whereas the 1905 edition contained 855 pages, the 2005 edition, beautifully designed with two-colour typography, runs to just 814 pages.

#### 2.4.10 Zoology

Specialist readers may be quick to point out a degree of imbalance in our treatment of the biological sciences. In the case of Zoology this is inevitable.

<sup>39</sup> Edited by Harvey Markovich.

Though the first appearance of the word is dated as 1669 in the *OED*, it underwent several shifts of usage before arriving at its present comprehensive sense. Until almost the twentieth century, zoology was understood to embrace only the *external* study and classification of animals, as distinct from their internal anatomy, in a tradition going back to Aristotle and Pliny. This distinction persisted into the nineteenth century notwithstanding the remarkable progress in animal biology, associated with Buffon and Cuvier in comparative anatomy, the growth of cell biology, embryology, and eventually the beginnings of genetics. Only with time and Darwin's challenge to received categories, would the subject take on its present-day aspect, as a collective of many sub-disciplines. This situation is naturally reflected in dictionaries of Zoology; they remain relatively sparse compared to those in Botany, and suffer to an extent from the greater difficulty of classification of animal as opposed to vegetable species.<sup>40</sup>

One characteristic is shared with Botany, however. Just as the botanical dictionary grew from medieval 'Herbals', the zoological dictionary has its antecedent in 'Bestials'. These we can only point to here, referring the reader to excellent secondary sources such as Wilma's *The Naming of the Beasts* (1991).

Eighteenth-century works are rare, but an outstanding one towards the end of the century is William Martyn's *A New Dictionary of Natural History* (1785). Martyn's two volumes are detailed and beautifully illustrated, though with the peculiarity that the prints follow the creatures on the facing page, with the result that birds, fishes, butterflies, and mammals repeatedly appear together in the same figure. The author is firmly against any kind of taxonomy, or theory, preferring 'The sublime disorder of Nature herself, too prolific to enumerate or arrange her productions'. Though he praises Linnaeus, he stresses his failure to classify the animals as effectively as the plants, and even satirizes him for the fact that his last theory, '... the most unacceptable of all, left the Lord of Creation classed with Apes, Monkies, Maucaucos, and Bats!' (Martyn 1785: Preface).

By the end of the century, however, resistance to taxonomy seems to have weakened. The anonymous *A Dictionary of Natural History, or, Complete summary of zoology* (1802), published by Scatcherd, presents itself as giving: 'A full and succinct description of all the animated beings in Nature; Namely, Quadrupeds, Birds, Amphibious Animals, Fishes, Insects and Worms. Displaying their respective Classes, Orders, Genera, Species, and Varieties, According to the Arrangements of the most celebrated Naturalists, Particularly those of Linnaeus.' But he too disparages the taxonomists who 'have invented different systems, each

<sup>40</sup> It should be observed, however, that much zoology does appear in dictionaries titled as *Natural History*, with somewhat broader scope, as we indicate above.

of which most essentially differing from the rest'; repeating, it is not clear whether with disapproval, Martyn's remark that '... the most justly esteemed system extant has ranked man with apes and monkeys'.<sup>41</sup>

As in other subjects, the term 'popular' begins to be applied. Samuel Maunder's *Treasury of Natural History* (1848), describes itself as 'a popular dictionary of animated nature' and, unusually, includes a section on practical taxidermy.

Inevitably there was expansion into encyclopedic formats. *Beeton's Dictionary of Natural History* (1871) boasts of two thousand articles and four hundred engravings, many taken from drawings in the London Zoological Gardens. The heads are almost inevitably names of creatures, with only a very few anatomical terms. Darwin is ignored, though twelve years had passed since publication of the *Origin of Species*. But, in 1863, David McNicholl had published what is a rarity, *A Dictionary of Natural History Terms*, this being for once a true lexicon. Each entry is brief, each headword, an estimated 16,000 in all, occupying a single line with pronunciation and stress, field—(Bot.), (Ornith.), (Ent.), (Anat.), etc.—and origin in Greek or Latin. A very few words of gloss follow. This work can be seen as representing a trend leading back to true dictionaries and away from the lavish encyclopedias of the period. This tendency was continued in James Stormonth's *A Manual of Scientific Terms* (1879), restricted to Botany, Natural History, Anatomy, Medicine, and Veterinary Science, and 'designed for the use of medical students and others studying one or other of these sciences'. The Reverend Stormonth does mention Darwin and has no difficulty dealing with:

- (16) **natural selection**, that process in nature by which the strongest, swiftest, etc., outlive, and take the place of the weaker, etc.; the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life; survival of the fittest.

This may be the first reference to Darwin in a dictionary, twenty years after the *Origin*. Stormonth's pure dictionary form seems to have been a success. It was reprinted after his death in 1882, and again in 1903, and when I. and W. Henderson's *A Dictionary of Scientific Terms* came out in 1920 they presented it as 'along the lines of Stormonth'.<sup>42</sup> The Hendersons' work can be seen as achieving fully modern status, terms such as chromosome, Darwinism, and genetics being fully represented.

<sup>41</sup> These are interesting foretastes of the storm that would break over Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871) many decades later. The coincidence of these remarks seems to suggest that Thomas Martyn may have been behind the anonymous publication of the Scatcherd *Natural History*.

<sup>42</sup> James Stormonth was also a prolific author of practical etymological and pronouncing dictionaries and educational works. His popular *Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (1871) went through many editions into the twentieth century.

These last two works can be seen as forerunners of ‘pure dictionary’ specialist volumes and glossaries, which have returned to favour in the present day. As difficult as it is to follow progress into the twentieth century in detail, we shall later give some entry points into the world of online specialist glossaries and printed dictionaries which, in their thousands, now make up the information base that has grown out of the above forerunners.

## 2.5 EXCEPTIONAL SUBJECTS

We have taken on here two subjects of exceptional lexicographic interest, which have not found a home elsewhere in these volumes. Law and Music, as different as they are, represent two complex subjects, each attracting a well-defined readership that embraces the amateur and the professional, each offering a component of instruction, and both, in their different ways, needing to translate from unfamiliar languages. Though we can only give cursory accounts here, these should serve to place the subjects, both in the extended sense highly ‘technical’, alongside others of more ‘scientific’ status.

### 2.5.1 Law

The lexicography of Law is one of the most fascinating and complex of all special subjects, not least because the earliest law dictionary in English predates general lexicons by over half a century (Cowley 1979). John Rastell’s *Exposiciones Terminoru(m) Legum Angloru(m)*, of 1527, also known as *Termes de la Ley* is accepted as the first monolingual published work in the English language to appear in dictionary format, nearly eighty years before Cawdrey (1604). Rastell’s book would go through some twenty-nine editions under different editors, the last appearing as late as 1819. During this time, three major law dictionaries appeared at long intervals: John Cowell’s *Interpreter* of 1607, containing many law terms, Thomas Blount’s *Noumolexicon* of 1670, then Giles Jacob’s *New Law Dictionary*, first published in 1729. (Jacob, with his prolific output and literary interests, would be immortalized by Pope in the couplet: ‘Jacob, the Scourge of Grammar, mark with awe,/no less revere him, Blunderbuss of Law.’) Lexicography in the early modern period could be a dangerous profession—an edition of Cowell’s *Interpreter* was burnt by the hangman in March 1610 after objections in Parliament to an entry on the Royal Prerogative. Jacob’s only serious competitor seems

to have been Timothy Cunningham, with his *New and complete law-dictionary* (1783). Harris in the *Lexicon Technicum* by no means neglected Law, as we saw earlier, with his 1,742 heads under ‘LAW, *Common, Civil and Canon*’ appearing in the thematic index.

Certain characteristics of law dictionaries set them apart from other specialized works. Some entries may act as formal *definitions* rather than just glosses, and they can also act as *abridgements* of statutes, preserving the authority of the original. Another curiosity of the legal dictionary was the need to include not only the obvious Latinate terms so dear to the profession but also Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French archaisms. This was not simply a matter of scholarly or antiquarian interest, for the terms could be needed in day-to-day practice for the reading of deeds and requisitions, long after the language had lapsed in normal use.

As regards dictionary publishing, Law shares with Medicine the assumption that there are two kinds of targeted readers, the professional and the domestic. Although professional law dictionaries were the first to appear, typically directed at ‘Barristers, Students, and Practitioners of the Law, Members of Parliament, and other Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Clergymen, &c.’ (Jacob 1729: title page), the nineteenth century saw the emergence of other dictionaries destined for the educated layman. These were written in relatively plain language and with translations of the inevitable Latin terminology. Some are particularly readable and could be used, with caution, even in the present day.

In the twentieth century, as law dictionaries became standardized, a certain reaction set in against obscurity and arcane terminology. W. J. Byrne, prefacing his successful *A Dictionary of English Law* (1923), insisted that ‘... down to our time law dictionaries have really been to a large extent, glossaries of barbarous Latin, Norman-French, early English and Anglo-Saxon words. ... All archaic words have therefore been omitted, except in so far as they relate to the law’. This did not prevent a very large number remaining: *Assisus, Chiminage, Utlepe, Wardwite, ...*

### 2.5.2 *Music*

Though only making a cursory appearance here, music dictionaries can be counted among the more useful of all specialized dictionaries. The musical lexicon is one of the most developed of specialized forms, and one of the most abundant. *The New Grove Dictionary* refers its readers to many hundreds of particular works across the range of European languages, beginning in antiquity, and speaks of titles appearing at a rate of hundreds per year. Of these the great proportion are biographical and bibliographic; however, if we restrict ourselves here to English and to *terminological* dictionaries, the field narrows considerably.



Once again, English language dictionaries prove to be highly derivative and occasionally plagiaristic of earlier foreign works. Terminological music dictionaries are characterized by a high proportion of entries on the notation of musical scores and the forms of musical works and, inevitably, a great number of translations and explanations of words from the Italian. Later volumes would greatly increase their bulk with extensive biographies of composers and performers, along with opus lists and performance details, though a number of compilers have persevered with purely lexical formats.

As with other subjects, there are crucial landmark volumes which are plundered extensively by later authors, not always with due acknowledgement. One key source is the *Dictionnaire de musique* of Sebastien de Brossard (1703), which not only includes musical terms in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French but also ‘un Catalogue de plus de 900 auteurs qui ont écrit sur la musique en toutes sortes de temps, Pays et de langues’. This was duly mined for its terminological content by James Grassineau in his English version, *A Musical Dictionary*, of 1740, and by numerous others after him. Grassineau acknowledged Brossard and contributed enough to avoid being taken as a mere translator, though he is often relegated to that status.

The eighteenth-century encyclopedists were to have their influence, even though music was notoriously omitted from the first two editions of the *Britannica*. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, on bad terms with the editors, reluctantly contributed an article to the *Encyclopédie*, and would later work this up into one of the most elegantly written and influential compilations of all time, his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1768). Less concerned with the terminology of musical scores, he goes into detail on such technical terms as ‘temperament’, ‘counterpoint’, ‘acoustics’, and ‘système’, while being strong on ancient Greek and other foundations. A translation into English by William Waring followed in 1779, Waring wisely leaving out Rousseau’s tediously apologetic Preface. Further derivatives from Rousseau included John Hoyle’s (pseudonym Binns) *Dictionarium [sic] musica* (1770) and Thomas Busby’s *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (1801). These in turn encouraged a plethora of pocket-sized works which prospered in the nineteenth century, light on theory, relying heavily on translations of Italian terms, and clearly profiting from the growing market of amateur pupils.

The 1880s saw the appearance of the first edition of Grove, which would soon achieve ‘biblical’ status in English with *The New Grove* of 1981 establishing itself as one of the most elegant and ‘user-friendly’ collaborative works ever compiled. George Grove himself never pretended to be more than an enthusiastic amateur, but was well connected and sought the very best contributors. But from the beginning he imposed his own concept, for the most part avoiding any attempt

to compete with the heaviest foreign works, such as Schilling's *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (1835) and Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon* in editions dating back to 1732.

With the twentieth century, musical dictionaries would be further differentiated into volumes devoted to Opera, Ballet, Folk Music, Jazz, and the whole variety of contemporary forms.

## 2.6 THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND BEYOND

As we progress into the twentieth century and beyond, it is very clear that the whole spectrum of specialized scientific and technical dictionaries takes on a fundamentally different aspect. With publishers increasingly seeking new possibilities for profit, and the willingness of multilingual scientists to collaborate in compilations, the numbers of dictionaries in print has accelerated remarkably over recent decades. A British Library search under 'Science AND Dictionary' for the twentieth century yields some nine hundred entries, with many more in specialized combinations. This is not to include the numerous borderline items occurring under 'Handbooks', 'Lexicons', 'Gazetteers', 'Vocabularies', 'ABCs of ...', etc. The 2000+ volumes on open access that we mentioned in the introduction can be more than doubled to account for others in reserve. Using the catalogue to break down the production of works by decades, and searching on a general identifier, 'Dictionary AND Scien\*', we find that from 1840 to 1940 there is a remarkable steady average of some twenty to thirty volumes per decade. But from 1940 onwards there is a steep rise, reaching some 350 in the decade to 2000 and continuing to grow.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, it is clear that the vast majority of items listed as 'Dictionaries of Science' fall into the category of bilingual- or multilingual word-lists, the latter in a few cases comprising as many as ten languages. While these are of lesser interest in this study, the situation is less clear-cut than it might seem. In the later twentieth century, publishers seem to have realized that, having compiled a specialized English dictionary, it is a relatively easy exercise, financially and in terms of space, to add a collection of foreign equivalents of the headwords, before or after the gloss. This had been done in earlier centuries, but the idea seems to have taken on a new lease of life. A second step was to consider translating the

<sup>43</sup> This search will not catch all varieties of scientific dictionary, but should give a useful guide to the degree of publishing activity as a function of time.

gloss *in situ* into a second language, a device working best where no more than a few sentences are involved. This closely parallels the arrangement in a ‘semi-bilingualized’ dictionary for foreign students: the basic text is monolingual English, and the definitions (which may be retained) are translated into the mother tongue of the learner group. Although the arrangement is still asymmetric under the English heads, the advantage to the foreign user is obvious. Examples of this arrangement exist in English–French, English–German, English–Russian, and English–Chinese. A third innovation occurs in a few recent publications that might be called ‘semi-bilingual’. In these, a few technical ‘hard words’ are inserted where necessary into the gloss to cater for otherwise competent English-speakers and writers whose vocabulary might still lack such specialized terms. A good example is Collin *et al.* *Dictionary of Medicine English–German* (2001).

Finally, there are a few recent examples of what might be called ‘twin-bilingual’ publications. An example is the pair *Dictionary of Civil Engineering/Dictionnaire de Génie Civil*, both compiled by J.-P. Kurtz for different publishers—the one in Paris (1997), the other London (2004). Each volume is monolingual except for the translated headwords in their various senses, and the glosses and artwork appear in one-to-one correspondence and identical format in the separate volumes.

Simple word-lists may perhaps reveal interesting histories of semantic shift and the mobility of terminology across languages, but their main use will always be for the linguistically impaired. Nevertheless, whereas earlier in the previous century English scientists would need to be competent in French and German, and occasionally Russian, to appreciate continental European research, and courses in these languages were often a B.Sc. degree requirement, with English now dominating the scientific and technical world, it can now safely, if reluctantly, be said that bilingual scientific dictionaries are overwhelmingly used in the *from* English mode, and far more likely to be needed in libraries abroad.

It will have been noticed that, so far, we have said nothing at all in this chapter about the *Oxford English Dictionary*. This is perhaps reasonable in what is purely a study of specialized works. Nevertheless, one point deserves emphasis at this stage. This is that, given the phenomenal range and coverage of *OED*<sub>2</sub>, including its specialized technical sub-lexicons of all sorts—Astron., Bacteriol., Biol., Bot., Chem., Geol., Math., Med., etc.—were the editors to part-publish each or all of these sections separately, the result would undoubtedly be a set of technical dictionaries uniquely relevant and without parallel in any other language (→ BREWER, Vol. I).

To appraise the current situation it is necessary to indicate the scale on which the specialized dictionary industry now operates. As an exercise we extracted a set

of titles from the catalogue of a leading publisher in the field and sampled the scientific and technical dictionaries which notionally would have come within the purview of this study, as we originally defined it. The partial list of works recovered is as follows:<sup>44</sup>

Acoustics, Aquatic Biology, Analytical Chemistry, Cybernics, Building Tools and Methods, Cell and Molecular Biology, Cement Industry, Civil Engineering, Computer Science, Dairy Technology, Electronics, Entomology, Filtration, Glaciology, Glass making, Hydraulic Machinery, Hydrogeology, Immunology, Infectious Diseases, Jewellery and Watchmaking, Lighting Engineering, Mammals, Mathematics, Nutrition and Food Processing, Ophthalmology, Physical Metallurgy, Physiotherapy, Plant Virology, Plastic Materials, Printing and Allied Industries, Psychological Theories, Siderurgy, The Spine, Textiles, TV and Video Recording, Water and Waste Management, Wood. . . .

It is amusing to compare this with the lists that were commonly displayed on the title pages of early encyclopedic dictionaries, such as the one we reproduced in 2.2. But we stress again: the above list is not of topics in some encyclopedia—it is of titles of complete dictionaries, among the many more currently in print. All the works listed above are single volumes with modest page-counts and are currently in print. At the other extreme, recent years have seen the emergence of multiple-volume works on a quite enormous scale, costing in the thousands of pounds. One particularly remarkable case is the *International Encyclopedia of Abbreviations and Acronyms in Science and Technology*, edited by Michael Peschke—a seventeen-volume work with many millions of entries. Its sister series on acronyms of organizations is almost as big. In the more technological field there are works such as the *Kirk-Othmer Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology* (seventeen volumes) and *Grzmiek's Animal Life Encyclopedia* (thirteen volumes), to mention just two in quite different subjects.

The publishing figures for the last two decades confirm that specialist dictionary-making is now very big business. Scanning individual volumes shows that there are at least two markets concealed within the overall figures. Amateurs and academic generalists are targeted with modestly priced paperbacks such as the Penguin series, and lavishly-produced volumes related to television programmes. At quite another extreme are the specialist dictionaries destined for institutional libraries, not uncommonly priced at more than £1 per page and unlikely to end up in private hands. It is difficult even for those with inside knowledge to predict how the specialist publishing world will develop in the coming century and how

<sup>44</sup> For convenience we used the current catalogue of the Elsevier Publishing Company, which is by far the leading producer of specialized technical dictionaries and journals in the English-speaking world.

it will make best use of lexicographers, but some speculations will be found in our concluding section.

## 2.7 CONCLUSION

As we earlier made clear, the specialized English dictionary is not altogether *sui generis* but rather the outgrowth of influences that in general lie outside our own language. Renaissance and Early Modern Latin lexicographers, it is generally admitted, were far more competent and rigorous than those who first ventured into the polyglot world of English; and Latin to English translations would set the style, if not entirely the content, of the first monolingual volumes in our own language.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, as the demand for specialized technical dictionaries developed around the beginning of the eighteenth century, authors in one subject after another turned first to foreign-language volumes variously *pour sucer la moelle* of their content, or in some cases even perform a headword by headword translation. As Latinity declined, it was almost invariably to French that the early compilers turned for both inspiration and material—to Macquer in Chemistry, Ozanam in Mathematics, Rousseau in Music, Desroches for Maritime, Guillet de Saint-Georges for Military and Naval matters, to name but the most prominent. Where encyclopedias were concerned, the tendency was, as we know, reversed. *Chambers* was the stimulus for the great *Encyclopédie* of the 1750s and the *Britannica* would soon compete on equal terms with Continental equivalents.

Over the period we have studied, and especially in the twentieth century, the reception of scientific and technical terms into the common language has changed markedly. One would not now assent to James Murray's statement that ' "Scientific" and "foreign" words enter the common language mainly through literature' (Murray, J. 'General Explanations' in Preface to *OED*<sub>1</sub>). Perhaps we would do better to replace 'literature' by 'the media'.

Although it is difficult to draw general conclusions from the enormous number of twentieth-century dictionaries, it is probably true to say that the lexicon has held its own with the encyclopedia and to an extent reasserted its role more recently as a tool for everyday reference. While ever more specialized, many modern technical dictionaries are relatively slim, have many heads per page and succinct glosses, eschewing the encyclopedic temptation. This may simply be publishing economics,

<sup>45</sup> For general bilingual dictionaries of this period, including English–Latin dictionaries → BATELY, Vol. I.

but it also reflects a change in the make-up of general encyclopedias. It has been noticed that present-day sets have greatly reduced the coverage of science and technical matters in favour of biography and history. The twentieth century could be said to have been the age of the textbook and the monograph, and with technical education being broken down into well-defined units, it is not altogether surprising that dictionaries followed this trend. The vast expansion of higher education in Britain in recent decades has probably tended, at one end of the market, to favour the production of cheap and portable reference works, and this may be one of a number of factors in the apparent come-back of compact dictionaries in contrast to bulky encyclopedias. One must also consider the position of the working lexicographer. An established scientist or engineer may, with some effort, find time to compile and edit a modest dictionary of his subject, while lacking the resources to mastermind a bulky encyclopedic volume.

At the time of writing (mid-2006) the digital revolution is in full spate, with online dictionaries available not only to wealthy individuals, but widely, and more conveniently, through institutional websites. Indeed, the writing of this chapter has been immensely facilitated by such online materials. While it is impossible to predict present-day trends in detail, it seems inevitable that online sources will become increasingly dominant, and that hard-copy paper publication will in time become a matter of antiquarian curiosity. The advantages of the digital dictionary are impossible to over-estimate. Accessibility, portability, ready-updating and correction, above all 'searchability', each plays its part in making the modern digital dictionary a tool such as no similar works on paper could match in convenience. Specialized paper directories are, moreover, extremely expensive, a slim volume often costing as much as £200, far beyond the pocket of most individuals. Not least, the availability of such databases will further the subject of historical lexicography in ways that were unthinkable a generation ago. In some respects, the present volumes are premature, in that the digital and online revolution has yet to assume its determinate form. Further crucial developments are undoubtedly in store. It is quite conceivable, for example, that a lexical database might be created in which the user could jump at a touch from alphabetical to thematic ordering, thereby removing at a (key-)stroke one of the commonest *Streitfragen* that have haunted compilers from the earliest times.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The following three entry-points will serve to acquaint the reader with the world of online glossaries and dictionaries, for which the term 'plethora' seems feebly inadequate:

<http://www.glossarist.com/glossaries/science;>

<http://www.specialist-online-dictionary.com/scientific-dictionary;>

[http://www.sciencemanager.com/science\\_dicts.htm.](http://www.sciencemanager.com/science_dicts.htm)

Dictionaries to be found on such sites vary considerably in quality and some impose restricted entry.

It is too soon to predict how the next century will deal with the demands of users of specialized lexicons. But it seems likely that databases and releases for public use will soon become taken for granted in an increasingly IT-dominated age. How publishers will respond to this remains to be seen, but there will undoubtedly be economic implications. The greatest benefit may well come from improvements in the always laborious business of discovering and marshalling words into dictionary form. Perhaps it is most of all in the area of machine-led searches and comparisons that the burden of lexicographers will be lightened, though never reducing their overriding powers of synthesis and discrimination, of scholarship.

# DICTIONARIES OF PLACE-NAMES

*Carole Hough*

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

ALL known settlers in the British Isles have coined place-names in their own languages, usually describing aspects of the natural or man-made landscape. Some comprise a single word, but the majority are compounds, combining a general term for a topographical feature or building (or group of buildings) with a more precise term that identifies a salient characteristic such as size, appearance, use, or ownership. These are known respectively as the ‘generic’ and ‘qualifying’ elements, so the generic element of *Oxford* (‘ford used by oxen’) is Old English (OE) *ford* ‘ford’, while the qualifier is the plural form of OE *ox* ‘ox’. The most common element in English place-names is OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’, the generic of *Newton* (‘new farmstead’), *Normanton* (‘farmstead of Norwegians’), and *Norton* (‘north farmstead’), amongst others. Once established, the name continues to function as a label irrespective of whether or not the original description is still appropriate.

Most English place-names were coined during the Anglo-Saxon period (c.450–1100 AD), and derive from Old English or Old Norse. In compounds from these Germanic languages, the qualifier usually precedes the generic. However, some names continued in use from the P-Celtic language previously spoken in southern Britain,<sup>1</sup> alongside a tiny minority of pre-Celtic (and arguably even pre-Indo-European) survivals represented primarily by river-names. Qualifier also preceded generic in early Celtic names, but a reversal of element order during the sixth

<sup>1</sup> Variouslly referred to as British, Brittonic, or Primitive Welsh.



century resulted in what are known as ‘phrasal names’. The same structure appears in a small number of names from the Germanic languages known as ‘inversion compounds’, as with *Kirkoswald* (‘St Oswald’s church’), where the saint’s name used as qualifier follows the Old Norse generic *kirkja* ‘church’.

The names of towns and cities were in the main established by the time of the Norman Conquest, although some gained additional elements or ‘affixes’ from French or Latin, either to reflect a change of ownership or to differentiate them from a neighbouring place with the same or a similar name. The names of more recent urban settlements, as well as ‘minor’ names such as those of fields and streets, continued to be coined throughout the medieval period and up to the present day, representing various stages of Middle, Early Modern, and Modern English.

Because place-names can be used without knowledge of their lexical meanings, they are easily transferred from speakers of one language to speakers of another, and hence have a high survival rate. For the same reason, however, they often change beyond recognition over the course of time. Many are affected by the phonological or morphological patterns of the host language(s), by attempts to make sense of them within the lexicon of those languages, and by the processes of phonetic reduction which result in the shortening of vowels and the loss of unstressed syllables. The derivation of a place-name can therefore only be established from spellings in early sources.

This in itself is problematic, as place-names generally originate in spoken language, and may have been in use for centuries before being written down. Individually, even early spellings may be misleading,<sup>2</sup> so it is necessary to collect and to compare as many as possible in order to reconstruct the original form. Research of this kind is normally undertaken as part of a systematic survey of place-names of a geographical area. Surveys are the main sources for dictionary entries, which present a digest of the findings characteristically comprising the modern name followed by its location, selected early spellings, the language and form of the original elements, and a summary definition. In some instances, entries are also able to draw on research published in the form of separate studies of place-names or place-name elements, treated either individually or in groups.

Place-name dictionaries vary both in the amount of information presented for each name, and in the principles of selection. Some cover a geographical area such as a county or country, while others focus on a single type of name. This has implications for the nature and age of the material, and hence for the range of expertise required for its analysis. Dictionaries of river-names tend to deal with more ancient linguistic strata than dictionaries of settlement-names, which in

<sup>2</sup> For an example, see the first extract in 3.3.1 (ii).

turn are concerned with earlier material than dictionaries of field-names or of street-names. Dictionaries organized geographically may include all of these, but are necessarily selective in coverage, and often focus mainly on settlement-names. Finally, some dictionaries are directed not towards place-names themselves but towards place-name elements, offering detailed treatment of the lexical evidence that they preserve.

The various types of place-name dictionaries will be discussed in 3.3. First, however, it will be useful to consider the surveys on which they are principally based.

## 3.2 STUDIES AND SURVEYS

### 3.2.1 *English place-name studies up to the 1920s*

Despite scholarly interest in the subject from at least the time of Bede (c.673–735),<sup>3</sup> the discipline of onomastics was not established on a secure footing until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was a period during which a good deal of pioneering work was carried out in the form of studies and surveys of individual English counties. Spellings were collected from written sources such as charters, Domesday Book, and Pipe Rolls, in order to establish the derivations of individual place-names and to assess their collective significance in terms of settlement chronology and linguistic history. Generally limited in coverage to major settlement-names, the resulting publications were organized either alphabetically or according to generic elements, some of which recur in dozens or hundreds of place-names across the country and have been studied intensively in order to identify patterns of settlement by different racial groups.

Because so many place-names derive from Old English or Old Norse, much of the labour fell to Anglo-Saxonists. A leading figure was Skeat, whose work on the place-names of Cambridgeshire (1901, 1911), Hertfordshire (1904), Bedfordshire (1906), Berkshire (1911), and Suffolk (1913) established the principle that reliable etymologies were dependent on rigorous philological analysis of early spellings. Others included Duignan, who produced volumes on Staffordshire (1902), Worcestershire (1905), and Warwickshire (1912), Gover (Middlesex 1922), Mawer (Northumberland and Durham 1920), and Sedgefield (Cumberland and Westmorland 1915). In some instances, the focus was primarily historical, as with Stenton's study of Berkshire (1911); in others, philological, as with the survey of

<sup>3</sup> Bede's writings include suggested etymologies for a number of place-names current during the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Lancashire by Wyld and Hirst (1911). A strong and continuing tradition of research by Swedish scholars is represented by volumes on Wiltshire by Ekblom (1917), and on Lancashire by Ekwall (1922).

Although now seriously outdated, some of these early studies have never been superseded, and remain primary sources for dictionary entries on the place-names of Lancashire, Northumberland, and Suffolk. The majority, however, have been overtaken by volumes of the English Place-Name Survey, to which we now turn.

### 3.2.2 *The English Place-Name Survey*

One of the insights to emerge from the early studies mentioned in 3.2.1 was the importance of comparative methodology in place-name study. As Skeat emphasized in the Preface to his pioneering study of Cambridgeshire (1901: 1): 'it is obvious that, in many an instance, one place-name is likely to throw light upon another, though the places may be in different counties'. It was therefore necessary to organize the work on a country-wide basis. To this end, the English Place-Name Society was founded in 1923 with the aim of producing a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the place-names of England. Proceeding at the rate of one volume per year, with most volumes covering a single county, seventeen of the thirty-nine historical counties of England had been surveyed by 1943. Partly for reasons of cost and partly because of the disruption caused by the Second World War, the work then slowed, with the Cumberland Survey being published in three slim volumes over 1950–52. However, the main reason why the English Place-Name Survey is still ongoing today, with several counties to be completed and a few not yet started, is a substantial change in coverage resulting in the inclusion of a much larger number of names. Whereas the early Survey volumes were informed by the same principles as the studies described in 3.2.1, and indeed compiled by some of the same scholars,<sup>4</sup> a growing awareness of the importance of minor names led to the focus on major settlement-names being replaced by a more comprehensive approach, with much time being spent on the collection and analysis of field-names in particular. The Survey for the West Riding of Yorkshire ran to eight volumes (EPNS30–37/1961–63) and that of Gloucestershire to four (EPNS38–41/1964–65); while since the late 1970s it has been the practice to issue Surveys for individual counties piecemeal. At the time of writing, six volumes of the Survey for Lincolnshire have been published, alongside four for Shropshire and three each for Dorset, Leicestershire, and Norfolk, with the

<sup>4</sup> Mawer and Stenton acted as General Editors of the series, and the first seventeen volumes were produced by themselves, Gover, P. H. Reaney, and A. H. Smith, with F. T. S. Houghton acting as collaborator on Volumes 4 and 13 and A. Bonner on Volume 11.

completed Surveys for some of these counties projected to extend to around thirty volumes.<sup>5</sup>

The outcome of all this for lexicography is that the sources available for the compilation of place-name dictionaries are uneven, with coverage of parts of England, and even parts of individual counties, much fuller and more up to date than others. The situation is partially ameliorated by the publication of additions and corrections to early Survey volumes, indexed in Hough (1995a). Moreover, the English Place-Name Society makes available to researchers its unpublished collections of material compiled in preparation for future volumes. Attempts to redress the balance are also represented by the inauguration of a separate series of Field-Name Studies, and of a Supplementary Series aimed at providing fuller coverage of minor names within counties treated at an early stage of the Survey. Three volumes of the former have appeared (Keene 1976; Standing 1984; Schneider 1997), and a single volume of the latter (Coates 1999). A Popular Series presenting digests of county volumes in dictionary format will be discussed in 3.3.1, while 3.3.3 will deal with dictionaries of place-name elements produced as part of the Survey.

Figures 3.1–3.3 reproduce sample entries from the English Place-Name Survey volumes produced first and most recently (EPNS2/1925/*Buckinghamshire*; EPNS81/2004/*Leicestershire* 3), together with one produced at the fifty-year stage (EPNS49/1973/*Berkshire*). As has become customary, historical spellings are italicized, followed by dates and (abbreviated) sources: the formula ‘c.950 (c.1240)’ under *Grazeley* indicates that the text containing the earliest form dates from c.950 but survives in a copy of c.1240. Whereas the entry for *Beaconsfield* lists only spellings of particular interest, the practice in later volumes is to include all available forms.

Section 3.3 will discuss the various ways in which place-name dictionaries draw on the material presented here and in other Survey volumes.

### 3.2.3 *Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the Isle of Man*

The political boundaries dividing England from other parts of mainland Britain were not fixed until most place-names were already in existence, and so the place-names of England effectively form a continuum with those of the border counties of Scotland and Wales. Because of the extent of seaborne immigration during the Middle Ages and before, the same applies to a lesser extent to other parts of the British Isles, as indeed to parts of the Continent, particularly Scandinavia. Place-name surveys for the rest of Britain are in general less advanced than for England, but substantial progress

<sup>5</sup> Further information on the history of the English Place-Name Society is provided by Armstrong *et al.* (1992–93) and Coates (1999).

## Beaconsfield

BEACONSFIELD 106 F 4/5 [bekənzfi:ld]  
*Bekenesfelde* 1184 P, 1204 *Fines et passim*  
*Bekenefeld* 1223 Bract, 1241, 1262 *Ass*  
*Becnefeld* 1225 Pat  
*Bekenfeld* 1247 *Ass*  
*Beckenesfeld* 1284 FA

Further forms are unnecessary but we may note

*Bekingfeld* 1373 IpmR  
*Beckonesfelde* 1529 LDD  
*Bekyngsfeld* 1537 LP

OE *bēacnes-feld*, a genitival compound denoting apparently 'open land marked by a *bēacen*.' *v.* *feld*. This is our word *beacon* but its sense here is uncertain. Beaconsfield stands high and a 'beacon' fire may have been lighted here. The vowel has been shortened in the trisyllable.

FIG. 3.1. EPNS2/1925: 214 (Beaconsfield)

## Grazeley

### GRAZELEY

(*on*) *grægsole* (*burnan andlang burnan on*) *grægsole* (*hagan*) c. 950  
 (c. 1240) BCS 888  
*Greshull*' 1198 P, 1269 FF  
*Greysull*' 1241 *Ass* (p), *Greishulle*, *Greysulle* 13th *ReadingC*,  
*Greysulle* 1294 SR, *Greysulle* 1327 *ib*, *Greysull* 1539-40  
*ReadingA*, *Greysull* 1659 *PubLib*  
*Greseley*, *Greshill*', *Greyngull*' 1284 *Ass*, *Grasley* 1662-3 *PubLib*,  
*Gresly als Greshall* 1758 ArchJ 14, *Grassley (Green)* 1761  
*Rocque*, *Grazeley (Green)* 1790 *Pride*

'Badgers' wallowing-place', *v.* *græg*<sup>2</sup>, *sol*. The second el. was confused with *hyll* and *lēah*. The village of Grazeley is in Shinfield; the civil parish (which does not include the village) owes its existence to arrangements made in the 19th cent. (VCH III, 261, 276).

FIG. 3.2. EPNS49/1973: 166 (Grazeley)

has been made in recent years. Outstanding is a seven-volume survey of the Isle of Man completed in 2005 (Broderick 1994-2005) along lines closely comparable to those of the English Place-Name Survey. The Northern Ireland Place-Name Project was established in 1987 at Queen's University Belfast, and has already published eight

**Beeby****BEEBY**

*Bebi* 1086 DB, c.1125 Ord, 1199 GildR (p), 1316 Pap (p), 1327 SR,  
*Bebia* c.1130 LeicSurv  
*Beby* 1209 × 19, 1220 RHug *et passim* to 1300 *LCDeeds* (p), 1302  
*RTemple* (p) *et freq* to 1553 Pat, 1576 LibCl  
*Bebe* 1518 Visit, 1527 LWills, 1536 ISLR, *Beybe* 1527 LWills  
*Beebie* 1603 LibCl, 1610 Speed, *Beeby* 1620 LeicW *et freq*

‘The village where bees are kept’, *v.* **bēo**, **bȳ**. The forms clearly indicate that it is the OE word *bēo* rather than its ON cognate *bý* ‘a bee’ which constitutes the first element of the place-name as it has survived. The DB valuation of Beeby is high, equivalent to that of the important manor of Queniborough. It is probable that Beeby was an English settlement taken over and partly renamed by Scandinavians. Note also *hundredum de Bebia* c.1130 LeicSurv, which suggests that shortly after DB it had become an administrative centre of some kind and was thus a vill of significance.

FIG. 3.3. EPNS81/2004: 42 (Beeby)

volumes on the townlands of individual areas. Material collected for the Scottish Place-Name Survey since its inauguration in the 1950s has not yet been published but is available for consultation in Edinburgh, while a computerized database is under development in order to make the archive more accessible and easily searchable. At the time of writing, the first part of a projected four-volume survey of Fife by Simon Taylor is at press, with funding to complete the work secured through an AHRC grant to the Department of Celtic at the University of Glasgow. In Wales, a database containing an important collection of material on Welsh place-names compiled by Melville Richards was launched in 2005 (Owen 2006); and authoritative surveys have so far been published on the counties of Pembrokeshire (Charles 1992) and East Flintshire (Owen 1994)—the former justly claiming on the dust jacket to make ‘a major contribution to both Welsh and English place-name studies’.

### 3.3 DICTIONARIES

As noted in 3.1, there are various kinds of place-name dictionaries, some covering names within a designated geographical area, and others dealing with a single

type of name, or with place-name elements. They will be treated within this section according to these three major divisions.

### 3.3.1 *Local and national dictionaries*

Local knowledge is essential in place-name studies, as derivations can often be established only when philological expertise is combined with proficient field-work. As will have become clear from 3.2, most research into the origins of individual place-names is undertaken at this level. Comparison with findings from a wider area may then throw additional light on problematic cases, and makes it possible to assess the overall significance of the material. This section will therefore begin with local dictionaries, before broadening out to those constructed on a national scale.

#### 3.3.1 (i) **Local dictionaries**

One of the great strengths of place-name studies as a discipline is its appeal to the general public. Almost everyone is interested in the names of their home area, and this means that there is a willing cohort of enthusiastic amateurs prepared to assist in the work of collecting local names, to join societies aimed at furthering the investigation of place-names, and to contribute financially towards the costs of such research. A drawback is that the sense of involvement generated by this kind of activity, combined with the deceptively simple appearance of many place-names, can lead to over-ambitious efforts resulting in poorly conceived local dictionaries. In some instances, interpretations are based on folk traditions long discredited by mainstream scholarship; in others, the authors draw on information from early studies and surveys superseded by later work.<sup>6</sup> Many are flawed by ignorance of place-name methodology, or of recent advances in the field. It is not the business of this chapter to set out the deficiencies of such dictionaries individually, or in detail. To do so would be ungenerous and take up too much space. Instead, the focus will be on publications that make a contribution to developments within the discipline.

At the forefront of research are the editors of the English Place-Name Survey, whose knowledge of the place-names of their designated county is unparalleled. During the lengthy process of preparing a county survey, material is collected which may remain unpublished for many years. In some instances, the main findings are made available in dictionary format in advance of completion of the

<sup>6</sup> The situation is not helped by the recent reprinting of ancient works such as Jackson (1916). Even when first published, this was not of the same calibre as studies by contemporaries such as Skeat and Gover; and to foist it onto an unsuspecting public some ninety years later, with no more warning than the words 'First published in 1916' in tiny typeface on the back of the title page, is little short of scandalous.

survey itself. A case in point is Cornwall, where a dictionary of place-name elements published in 1985 as part of the English Place-Name Survey (EPNS56/57/1985) has not yet been followed by volumes of place-names. In 1988, however, a dictionary of Cornish place-names was published by the county editor, based on the material already collected. A sample entry is as follows:

- (1) **Polperro x2050 (Lansallos/Talland)** *Portpira* 1303, *Porthpera* 1355, *Porthpire* 1361, *Porthpyre* 1391, *Polpera* 1522, *Polparrow* 1748. Probably 'harbour of Pyra or Pyre', *porth* + personal name, but the exact form of the latter is uncertain: the spellings are inconsistent between *e* and *i/y* in the middle syllable, and between *a* and *e* in the final one. Not *pur* 'clean', or a derivative, for lacking of spellings with *u*. Note the 16th-century change of *porth* to *Pol*; and the final *o* of the modern form is a hyper-correction, first seen in the form of 1748. (Padel 1988: 140)

Although the sources of historical spellings are not identified as in Survey volumes, a generous selection of early forms is provided, both to illustrate the inconsistent spelling of the qualifier, and to identify the date of changes affecting the first element and final syllable of the place-name. Pending publication of the Survey, Padel (1988) is the most authoritative source of information on the place-names of Cornwall, and is used as the basis for entries in the dictionaries discussed in 3.3.1 (ii) and 3.3.1 (iii).

Also based on material collected for the English Place-Name Survey is a dictionary of Hampshire place-names by Coates (1989), subsequently appointed editor of the forthcoming Survey for that county. As with most geographical dictionaries, coverage is limited to those names technically described as 'major':

A book of this size cannot possibly include the name of every minor feature: field, stream, wood, cottage. Such an enterprise will need the attention afforded by the English Place-Name Survey. ... Until such a survey appears in print, the present book is intended to provide interested readers with information on the major names of the county (towns, suburbs, villages, civil parishes, manors, some tithings and hamlets, rivers, forests).

(Coates 1989: 1)

An additional aim was to provide 'a pilot study of these major names, allowing the more problematic ones to be fully discussed in advance of any future EPNS work' (*ibid.*: 1). A sample entry, for a place-name which has indeed subsequently been re-assessed (see 3.3.1 (ii)), is reproduced below:

- (2) **Greywell**

1167 *Graiwella*; 1236 *Greiwell*; 1253 *Grewell*; 1579 *Gruell*. OE 'grey spring or stream'; or preferably the word *græg* applied in the sense 'badger', common



as *gray* from Tudor times. The modern pronunciation is seen in Saxton's map form (1579). (Coates 1989: 84)

The entry is a model of its kind, setting out the early spellings on which the derivation is based, outlining alternative interpretations, and providing a note on pronunciation. Equally useful is a book by the same author on the place-names of the Channel Islands (Coates 1991), the main part of which comprises a dictionary.

Mills, editor of the ongoing Survey for Dorset, has also produced authoritative and accessible dictionaries on the place-names of Dorset (1986), the Isle of Wight (1996), and London (2001). The latter in particular is outstanding not only for the high quality of the entries, but for a 44-page introduction outlining the methodology and value of place-name study. Copiously illustrated with examples from the dictionary entries, and divided into sections on 'The chronology and languages of London place names', 'Some different place-name types and structures', 'The wider significance of London place names, and 'Some associations, uses, and applications of London place names', this is written in a lucid style which is accessible to the interested amateur while maintaining rigorous standards of scholarship. The place-name entries are assigned to individual Boroughs of London, and etymologies are supported by early spellings as well as historical information. Here is the entry for Heathrow, with cross-references to other entries in small capitals:

- (3) **Heathrow** Hillingdon. Marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1822 as *Heath Row*, earlier *La Hetherewe* c.1410, *Hitherowe* 1547, that is 'the row of houses on or near the heath', from Middle English *heth* and *rewe*. The reference is to the tract of heathland west of the River CRANE that gave name at an earlier date to HATTON. The old settlement was swept away when **Heathrow Airport** was built, opened in 1946. (Mills 2001: 109)

The dictionary supersedes an earlier volume on London place-names (Field 1980b), and also supersedes some entries in a seminal study of London street-names (Ekwall 1954).

The Staffordshire Survey is represented by a single volume published more than twenty years ago (EPNS55/1984), and has since fallen into abeyance. This meant that the only general coverage of the county's place-names was provided by a selective treatment of major names now over a century old (Duignan 1902). The situation has been addressed by Horovitz (2005), in a substantial publication of 662 pages which offers a sound and very thorough digest of the current state of research relating to the place-names of Staffordshire.

As discussed in 3.2.2, the wealth of detail included in later volumes of the English Place-Name Survey results in delays in the completion of individual counties. At the same time, it makes the results less accessible to non-academic users whose main interest is in the settlement-names of their own area. To counter these problems, the English Place-Name Society inaugurated a Popular Series of dictionaries providing digests of completed or ongoing county surveys by the respective editors. The first was on Lincolnshire place-names (Cameron 1998), followed by County Durham (Watts 2002), and Leicestershire and Rutland (Cox 2005). These are the most reliable and authoritative dictionaries available for individual English counties. Information is presented succinctly but clearly, with summary definitions supported by carefully chosen historical spellings and brief discussions. An idea of the approach may be gained by comparing the entry for *Beeby* in Leicestershire with the corresponding Survey entry (Fig. 3.3):

- (4) **Beeby** SK 6608 (parish). *Bebi* 1086 DB, *Beby* 1220 RHug, *Beeby* 1620 LeicW. ‘The farmstead, village where bees are kept.’ OE *bēo* + OScand *bý*. (Cox 2005: 9)

Where fuller explanation is required in order to account for the modern form of the name, this is provided lucidly and in terms accessible to a non-specialist, as in the entry for *Bradbury* in County Durham:

- (5) **Bradbury** NZ 3128 (Sedgfield). *Brydbyrig* [c.1040] 112th HSC, *Bridbirig* [c.1085] 15th RBk, *Bredberi* c.1200 *Elemos*, *Bradberia* c.1220 *ibid*. ‘Manor or fort built of planks’. OE *bred* + *byrig*, dative sing. of *burh*. Identical with Bredbury, Cheshire, except that the rare element *bred* has been replaced in this name by the common adjective *brād* ‘broad’. The two earliest spellings may point to OE adjective *briden* ‘made of boards’ rather than the noun. Since the land about Bradbury was marshy and subject to inundation perhaps it is possible that *bred* in this name referred to a plank causeway leading to the *burh*. (Watts 2002: 16)<sup>7</sup>

Included in the same series is a volume on the Isle of Man (Broderick 2006).<sup>8</sup> A Regional Series covering areas other than counties has been inaugurated by a dictionary of Lake District place-names (Whaley 2006).

### 3.3.1 (ii) National dictionaries

The first serious attempts to produce national dictionaries for the place-names of mainland Britain were by Johnston, a Church of Scotland minister who issued a

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the entry is not free from typographical error, with ‘112th’ in the first line intended for ‘12th’ (century).

<sup>8</sup> Publication delays resulted in the appearance of Cox (2005) before Broderick (2006), despite their respective numbering 5 and 4 in the series. Volume 2 was a collection of essays rather than a dictionary.

dictionary of Scottish place-names in 1892 (revised 1903, 1934) followed by a companion volume for England and Wales (1915). Both were amateur compilations, outside the mainstream of contemporary scholarship discussed in 3.2.1. Descriptions of the former as ‘totally unreliable’ (Nicolaisen *et al.* 1970: 11), and ‘unfortunately canonising imperfect etymologies by its dictionary form’ (Spittal and Field 1990: 5) could equally apply to both.<sup>9</sup> Here is the entry for *Bradbury* in Durham, a salutary illustration of the dangers inherent in basing an etymology on a single spelling:

- (6) BRADBURY (Durham). *a.* 1130 *Sim. Dur.* Brydbyrig. *Broad*, O.E. *brád*, never takes the form *bryd* or *brid*, so this is prob. ‘Burgh or castle of the bride’; O.E. *brýd*, 3–4 *bryd*. See -bury. (Johnston 1915: 164)<sup>10</sup>

On the same page, two occurrences of *Bradenham* (‘broad homestead or enclosure’) are explained as ‘*Brada*’s home’, and *Brading*, Isle of Wight (‘dwellers on the hill-side’) as ‘place of the descendants of *Beorhtweard*’. The former is particularly reprehensible since Johnston is aware of, and cavalierly rejects, the interpretation ‘broad’ suggested by Skeat. It is highly disturbing that a book such as this could be reprinted in 1994 with a cover advertising it as ‘meticulously researched and detailed, . . . a book for everybody who wants to know more about the history of England and Wales’!

So far as Scotland is concerned, several shorter dictionaries have appeared in recent years, of which the best is probably Dorward (1979, 1995), a readable though not always accurate account organized by major elements. Publication of an authoritative country-wide gazetteer must await completion of a dictionary currently under preparation by Nicolaisen, former Director of the Scottish Place-Name Survey. Other parts of Britain have fared better. For Wales, a reliable though highly selective dictionary has been produced by Owen (1998); while information on some 1,300 Ulster place-names is provided by McKay (1999). In England, the existence of early county surveys (3.2.1) and of an ongoing national place-name survey (3.2.2) has made available a much wider range of material for presentation in dictionary format.

First and foremost was Ekwall’s *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, a leading work of scholarship which set the standard for future dictionaries in England and elsewhere. Despite the modest title,<sup>11</sup> this is a weighty volume

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the preparation of this chapter, Spittal and Field (1990) has been invaluable as a means of tracing older publications.

<sup>10</sup> Note that the convention of italicizing historical spellings has not yet been established.

<sup>11</sup> The Preface explains that the term ‘concise’ was intended in comparison with multi-volume surveys.

**Greenoak** YE [*Greanaic* 1199, 1202, *Greneic* 1199, 1208 FF]. 'Green oak.' Second el. OS cand EIK.

**Greenodd** La [*Green Odd* 1774 map]. 'Green promontory.' Second el. ON ODDI 'promontory'.

**Greenriggs** We [*Grenerig* 1274 Kendale]. 'Green ridge.' Second el. ON HRYGGR.

**Greenstead** Ess nr Colchester [*Greenstede* c 958 BCS 1012, *Greenstede*, *Grænstydxæ* c 995 ib. 1288 f.], *Greensted* (-in-) Ess nr Chipping Ongar [*Gernesteda* DB, *Greenstede* 1254 Val]. 'Green place.'

**Greenwich** (grinj) K [*Gronewic* 918 BCS 661, *Grenewic* 964 Fr, *Grenewic* 1013 ASC (E, D), *Grewiz* DB, *East*, *West Grenewych* 1291 Tax]. 'Green wic.'

**Greet** R Nt [(andlang) *Greetan* 958 BCS 1029, *Girt* c 1540 Leland]. 'Gravelly stream.' OE *Grēote* is derived from OE *grēot* 'gravel'.

**Greet** Gl [*Greta* 12 Winchc, 13 BM], G~ Sa [*Grete* 1183 Eyton, 1204 Cur, *Goete* 1278 Misc, 1291 Tax], G~ Wo [*Grete* 1255 FF]. Either OE *Grēote*, river-name, identical with GREET Nt, or OE *grēot* 'gravel'.

**Greatham** Li [*Gretham* DB, 1259 Ipm, *Graham*, *Graham* 12 DC, *Gretham* 1233 Ep], G~ Ru [*Gretham* DB, 1202 Ass, 1238 Ep]. OE *Grēot-hām* or *-hamm*. Cf. GRĒOT.

**Greetland** YW [*Greland* DB, *Gretland* 1277 Wakef]. 'Gravelly land.' Cf. GRĒOT.

**Greetwell** Li [*Greteuvelle* DB, *Greteuella* c 1115 LiS, *Greteuella* 1120-2 YCh 467]. 'Gravelly stream.' Cf. GRĒOT.

**Greinton** So [*Graintone* DB, 1166 RBE, *Greinton* 1201 Ass, 1202 FF]. '*Græga's* TŪN.' Cf. GRAYINGHAM.

**Grendon Underwood** Bk [*Grenedone* DB, *Grenedon* 1163, 1194 P], G~ Np [*Grendone* DB, *-don* 1186 P, 1220 Fees], G~ Wa [*Grendone* DB, *Grendon* 1236 Fees]. 'Green dūn or hill.' Cf. GRAFTON UNDERWOOD.

**Grendon Bishop & Warren** He [*Grenedene* DB, *Grendene* 1242 Fees, *Grenden* 1241 Ch, *Grendone* 1241 Ep, *Grendon* 1249 Fees, *Grendene Waryn* 1291 Tax, *Grendone Episcopi* 1316 FA]. 'Green valley.' Forms in *-don* are incorrect; they are found for both Grendons.

G~ Bishop was held by the Bishop of Hereford.—Warinus de Grendene is mentioned c 1270 Glouc. He or a namesake of his was sheriff of Hereford early t. Hy 3. *Warin* is a Fr. pers. n. of OG origin.

OE *grēne* 'green' is a common first el. in pl. ns. See GREEN-, GREN- (passim), GRANDBOROUGH, GRINDALE, GRINDLEY, GRINGLEY, GARLINGE &c. Sometimes the source is rather OS cand *grōnn*. In cases such as WOOD GREEN Green is ME *grēne* 'green spot, village green, common'.

OE *grēosn* 'gravel, pebble'. See GREASLEY, GRESLEY, GRESSENHALL, GRISTON.

OE *grēot* 'gravel'. See GREET, GREAT-, GREET- (passim), GRET-, GIRTON, GIRTFORD &c. The corresponding OS cand word (ON *gríot*, OSw *grýt*) means 'stones, stony ground'. See GRETA, GRASBY, GREBBY.

**Gresham** Nf [*Gersam*, *Gressam* DB, *Gresham* 1194 P, 1242 Fees, *Gresseham* 1254 Val]. 'Grazing-farm', OE *Gærs-hām*. The form *Gres-* may be due to Scand influence.

**Gresley** (-ēz-), Castle & Church, Db [*Gresle* c 1125 LeS, *Griseleia* 1130 P, 1166 RBE, *Castelgresle* 1252 FF]. Identical with GREASLEY.

**Gressenhall** Nf [*Gressenhala* DB, *Gresenhal* 1203 Ass, *Gressinhale* 1254 Val, *Gressingehal* 1195, *Gressinghal* 1196 P, *Grossenhale* 1289 Bodl]. 'Gravelly HALH.' First el. OE *grēosn* 'gravel'.

**Gressingham** La [*Ghersinctune* DB, *Gersingeham* 1183, 1194 P, *Guersingueham* 12 Lancaster]. 'Grazing-farm.' First el. ME *gresting* 'grazing, pasture'.

**Gresty** Chs [*Greysty* 1312 Ormerod, 1400 BM, *Graysty* 1395 BM]. Possibly '*Græga's* path' (OE STĪG). Cf. GRAYINGHAM. Or rather the first el. is as in GRAZELEY.

**Greta** (-ē-) R Cu [*Greta* 1278 CWNS xxiii], G~ R YW, La [*Gretagila* c 1215 CC, *Grythave* 1307 YInq], G~ R YN [*Gretha* 1279 f. Ass]. ON *Griótá* 'stony stream'. Cf. GRĒOT. *Griótá* is a river in Iceland.

**Gretton** Gl [*Gretona* 1175 Winchc, *Gretton* 1201 Cur, *Gretton* 1236 Fees], G~ Np [*Gretone* DB, *Gretton* 1163 P, 1220 Fees]. OE *Grēot-tūn* 'TŪN on gravelly soil'.

**Gretton** Sa [*Grotintune* DB, *-tun* c 1185 Eyton, *Grotington* 1195 Cur, *Gretinton* 1219 FF, *Greotytone* 1327 Subs]. OE *grēoten tūn* 'TŪN on gravelly soil'. First el. OE \**grēoten* 'gravelly'.

**Grewelthorpe** YW [*Torp* DB, *Gruelthorp* 1279-81 QW, *Grewelthorpe* 1290 Misc, *Grouelthorp* 1303 FA]. Originally Thorp. *Grewel-* is obscure. One would suppose it is a pers. n.

**Greysouthen** Cu [*Craykesuthen* 1185-9 Holme C, *Creiksuthen* 1230 FF]. '*Suthan's* cliff.' *Suthan* is an OIr pers. n., found also in English sources (*Sudan* DB, *Suthen* LVD). Cf. *Mælsuðan* (on OE coins) from OIr *Mælsuthain*. *Grey-* is Mīr *craicc* 'crag, rock, cliff', identical with Welsh *craig*.

**Greystoke** (-ōk) Cu [*Creistock* 1167 P, *Craystok* 1292 QW, *Creystok* 1294 Ch]. 'STOC on R Cray.' Cray, identical with CRAY K, was probably the name of the tributary of the Petteril on which Greystoke is.

**Greywell** Ha [*Graiwella* 1167 P, *Greywell* 1235 Cl, *Greywell* 1236 Ass]. Second el. OE *wella* 'a stream'. The first is very likely as in GRAZELEY.

**Gribthorpe** YE [*Gripetorp* DB, *Griphthorp* 1231 FF]. '*Grip's* thorp.' First el. ODan *Grip*, ON *Griþr*.

with over five hundred pages of double columns, densely packed with information. The Introduction sets out fairly comprehensive principles of coverage:

The dictionary embraces names of the country, of the counties, and other important divisions (as CRAVEN, KESTEVEN, LINDSEY), TOWNS (except those of late origin), parishes, villages, some names of estates and hamlets, or even farms whose names are old and etymologically interesting, rivers, lakes—also names of capes, hills, bays for which early material is available. (Ekwall 1936: vii)

A sample page is reproduced in Figure 3.4, showing entries for rivers (*Greet R*, *Greta R*) and place-name elements (*grēne*, *grēosn*) alongside those for settlement-names. For each name, the head-form is given in bold typeface, followed by the phonetic pronunciation if not predictable from the spelling (*Greenwich*, *Gresley*, *Greystoke*), the standard county abbreviation used in volumes of the English Place-Name Survey, early spellings with dates and abbreviated sources, a summary translation, and the language and form of the original elements. Names with the same etymology in different counties are treated together whether or not the modern forms are identical (*Greenstead*, *Greet*, *Greetham*, *Greta R*), but separately if etymologies differ despite a coincidence of modern spelling (*Grendon Underwood*, *Grendon Bishop*). Historical information is provided where relevant, as to explain the affix of *Grendon Bishop*. Space is saved through cross-references to other headwords, identified by small capitals. For instance, the first three entries cross-refer to place-name elements, and those for *Gresty* and *Greywell* cannot be fully understood without looking up *Grazeley*, where an OE *græg* ‘badger’ is suggested as the qualifier.

The first edition of Ekwall’s dictionary appeared in 1936, and represented the highest standards of scholarship of the day. Inevitably many etymologies have since been re-assessed, as have the meanings of some elements and the significance of various groups of names. However, few entries were open to criticism at the time,<sup>12</sup> and the impeccable presentation means that the dictionary is still valuable as a source of historical spellings for areas not yet covered by the Survey. Although subsequent editions were published in 1940, 1947, and 1960, much of the material remained unchanged, so that even the latest is to a large extent based on 1930s scholarship. Of the twenty-nine entries from the first edition shown in Figure 3.4, all except two are identical in the fourth. Of the two exceptions, revision of the entry for *Gresty* is merely typographical, and the entry for *Grewelthorpe* alone has undergone substantive revision, with a plausible suggestion for the origin of the affix:

<sup>12</sup> An exception is the entry for *Gressingham*, as a place-name recorded in Domesday Book can scarcely derive from Middle English.

- (7) **Grewelthorpe** YW [*Torp* DB, *Gruelthorp* 1279–81 QW, *Grewelthorpe* 1290 Misc, *Grouelthorp* 1303 FA]. Originally Thorp. The early forms of the first el. agree exactly with those of the word *gruel* ‘fine flour’ (from OF *gruel*), and it may be that word, possibly used as a nickname. A nickname may also have been formed from an early form of Fr *gruau* ‘a young crane’. (Ekwall 1960: 205)

Subsequent publication of the Survey for the West Riding of Yorkshire (EPNS34/1961: 206) supported the association with flour; and the element is now taken to represent a family name.

Despite being seriously outdated by later research, Ekwall (1960) remained the standard general dictionary of English place-names until at least the late twentieth century, a position which it arguably still holds. Only two subsequent publications have any claim to supersede it, one of them being much shorter and more selective, and the other badly flawed throughout by errors. The first is Mills (1991), by the author of three of the local dictionaries discussed in 3.3.1 (i). As editor of the Dorset Survey, Mills was in a position to draw on both the published and unpublished collections of the English Place-Name Society, as well as being closely familiar with the latest scholarship in the field. His dictionary was thoroughly up to date and reliable, but conceived on a smaller scale than that of Ekwall, covering about 12,000 place-names as opposed to Ekwall’s 19,000, and offering much briefer entries, often supported by a single early spelling. Here for comparison are the entries for *Grewelthorpe* and *Greywell*:

- (8) **Grewelthorpe** N. Yorks. *Torp* 1086 (DB), *Gruelthorp* 1281. OS cand. *thorp* ‘outlying farmstead’ with later manorial affix from a family called *Gruel*. (Mills 1991: 149)
- (9) **Greywell** Hants. *Graiwell* 1167. Probably ‘spring or stream frequented by badgers’. OE \**græg* + *wella*. (Mills 1991: 149)

Although the information is highly condensed, each entry is self-contained rather than relying on cross-references. Alternative interpretations are not discussed, but are intimated by the word ‘probably’ in the entry for *Greywell*, while an asterisk indicates that the first element is not independently recorded in this sense. A single historical spelling is provided here, with a second for *Grewelthorpe* to reflect the date at which the later element becomes affixed to the name. Space is also saved through a separate glossary of common elements.

A second edition of Mills’s dictionary appeared in 1998, adding new entries and updating others in the light of revised interpretations published in the scholarly literature. During the intervening years, for instance, it had been proposed that

OE \**græg* meant not ‘badger’ but ‘wolf’ (Hough 1995b), and this new information appears in the revised version of the entry for Greywell:

- (10) **Greywell** Hants. *Graiwella* 1167. Probably ‘spring or stream frequented by wolves’. OE \**græg*+ *wella*. (Mills 1998: 156)

This revised entry remains unchanged in a later edition expanded to include other parts of the British Isles (see 3.3.1 (iii)), as does the original entry for *Grewelthorpe*.

Comparison of the entries reproduced above for *Grewelthorpe* shows that its location is given as the West Riding of Yorkshire by Ekwall, but as North Yorkshire by Mills. This reflects an issue that has come increasingly to the fore since the local government re-organizations of the 1970s. The re-structuring of boundaries throughout England, Scotland, and Wales has made it more difficult for place-name studies to be organized within unambiguous geographical units. Many dictionaries continue to refer to the historical counties, partly on the grounds of continuity with previous scholarship, and partly because the new boundaries may themselves be subject to change. Others, however, adopt the post-1974 counties and unitary authorities which are now more likely to be recognized by a general readership. This lack of standardization leads to potential confusion where it may be unclear whether or not a place-name assigned to different counties in different dictionaries is in fact one and the same.

One solution is for entries to include Ordnance Survey or National Grid references, as in the most recent dictionary of English place-names (Watts 2004). Having been in preparation for almost twenty years, this is a much more extensive compilation than that of Mills, covering all English place-names in the 1983 edition of the *Ordnance Survey Road Atlas of Great Britain*. Although intended as a replacement for Ekwall (1960), the emphasis on names in contemporary use reflects a significant difference in approach, as explained in the Preface:

The scope and rationale of the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* differs from that of Eilert Ekwall’s *Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names*, its standard predecessor. ... In the case of Ekwall’s *Dictionary* preference was given to names with some claim to antiquity. ... By contrast, the present work aims to reflect the onomastic situation of present-day England and the selection of names for inclusion is made regardless of their antiquity or modernity. ... The dictionary thus attempts a synchronic presentation of English place-names, a snapshot of the names in use today for whatever purpose of human activity, administration, industry, services, commerce, travel, planning, leisure or education.

(Watts 2004: vii–viii)

The omission of many names of historical importance means that even if the Cambridge dictionary had met its stated objectives, it would have supplemented

rather than replaced Ekwall (1960). Unfortunately, however, it fell far short of its aims. Some entries were out of date, others inaccurate or misleading, and the volume as a whole was poorly presented, with a level of typographical errors unparalleled in any other publication known to the present author. The dictionary was published posthumously following Watts's death in December 2002, and many of the problems would no doubt have been rectified had he been able to steer it through the press.

Even as it stands, it is possible to see how well conceived the dictionary was in the planning stages. The provision of early spellings is exceptionally full, and many entries include extensive discussions of alternative interpretations as well as information on pronunciation. Here are the entries for *Grazeley*, *Greywell*, and *Polperro*, drawing respectively on EPNS49/1973: 166 ('Brk 166'), Coates 1989: 84 ('Ha 84'), and Padel 1988: 140 ('PNC0 140'), all reproduced above:

- (11) GRAZELEY Berks su 6966. 'Wolf or badger wallowing place'. (*on*) *grægssole* (*burnan andlang burnan on*) *grægssole* (*hagan*) 'to Grazeley Brook, along the brook to Grazeley enclosure' [946×51]13th S 578, *Greysnull*(?) *-(h)ulle* 1241–1659, *Greysnull* 1539×40, *Greseley* 1284, *Grazeley* 1790. OE **græg** + **sol**. When the name became opaque in ME the generic was variously interpreted as if from **hyll**, **hall** or **lēah** as a result of popular etymology. Brk 166, 647, PNE i.297, ii.134, L 58. (Watts 2004: 260)
- (12) GREYWELL Hants su 7151. Possibly 'wolf spring'. *Graiwell* 1167, *Grei-Greywell* from 1235, *Grewell* 1235, *Gruell* 1579. OE \***græg** + **wella**. But *græg* 'grey' is also possible. Ha 84, Gover 1958.114 which gives pr [gru:əl]. NM 96.361–5. (Watts 2004: 262)
- (13) POLPERRO Corn sx 2050. Partly uncertain. *Portpira* 1303, *Port(h)pera* 1321–1535, *Porthpire* 1361, *-pyre* 1391, *Polpera* 1522, *Poulpirrhe* c.1540, *Polparrow* 1748. Co **porth** 'a harbour' later replaced with **pol** 'a pool, a stream, a cove' pers.n. \**Pera* or \**Pyra*. PNC0 140, Gover n.d. 300. (Watts 2004: 477)

A useful feature is the inclusion of references to published literature, although unfortunately many are erroneous or incomplete. The reference to the identification of the animal as wolf rather than badger is given under *Greywell* ('NM' = *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*) but not under *Grazeley*, while neither entry cites a relevant discussion by Biggam (1998: 79–80). The entry for *Grazeley* appears to derive almost entirely from EPNS49/1973: 166, but the spellings are not set out as clearly as in the original, and this may have led to the accidental omission of the earliest form recorded in a surviving manuscript, *Greshull* 1198, 1269. The use of boldface for the un glossed terms *hyll*, *hall*, and *lēah* appears to imply that they are



discussed—or at least defined—elsewhere, but whereas OE *lēah* is included among the ‘Glossary of most frequently used elements’ (xlii–xlix), the other two are not.

There are many other internal inconsistencies. It is odd for the older interpretation ‘badger’ to be given as an alternative under *Grazeley* but not under *Greywell*, while the omission of the asterisk from the form of OE *\*græg* given under *Grazeley*, and of the length-mark over the vowel in both entries, is characteristic of the high incidence of misprints throughout the dictionary.<sup>13</sup> A potential strength is the inclusion of historical spellings from unpublished collections of the English Place-Name Society. Typescripts for Hampshire and Cornwall are cited respectively under *Greywell* and *Polperro* as ‘Gover 1958’ and ‘Gover n.d.’. However, the reliability of these sources themselves may be suspect, for Padel (1988: vi) observes: ‘I have never used a form cited by Gover without checking it in its original source, for I have found it thoroughly unsafe to do so.’ Sadly, the same must be said of the Cambridge dictionary.

### 3.3.1 (iii) Dictionaries of the British Isles

English place-names are also included within larger-scale dictionaries of Britain or the British Isles, generally drawing on Ekwall (1960) and the surveys discussed in 3.2. The first, Nicolaisen *et al.* (1970), was a collaborative venture by members of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland,<sup>14</sup> with entries on English place-names contributed by Gelling, on Scottish place-names by Nicolaisen, and on Welsh place-names by Richards. Described in the Introduction as ‘the first book ever in which a group of British place-names has been presented in dictionary form’ and ‘the first time that scholars from the three countries concerned have co-operated in the production of a book on place-names’ (1970: 7), this was an innovative and far-sighted achievement. It also broke new ground in focusing on the extra-linguistic aspects of names. Rather than dealing primarily with etymologies, entries include information on the context, implications, or historical significance of the name. The aim was to produce ‘an onomastic and not a purely etymological dictionary’ (1970: 11). This principle also informs the selection of entries, limited to the names of towns and cities in order to avoid any bias towards names of linguistic or historical interest.

The first dictionary to cover the British Isles as a whole is Field (1980a). This covers around 4,000 names, as opposed to some 1,000 in Nicolaisen *et al.* (1970), and again provides historical information as well as etymologies. Indeed, etymologies

<sup>13</sup> Also under *Grazeley*, ‘PNE i.297’ should read ‘PNE i.207’.

<sup>14</sup> Now the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland.

are given a lower priority through the placement of historical spellings at the end, rather than at the beginning, of entries (see below). Until the end of the twentieth century, it remained unrivalled except by Room (1988). This is almost twice the length of either Nicolaisen *et al.* (1970) or Field (1980a), with a gazetteer of 408 pages and coverage extending to the Channel Islands. However, its claim of 4,000+ entries is difficult to reconcile with a sample check suggesting an average of seven or eight names per page.

These three dictionaries have now been superseded by two publications which appeared almost simultaneously in 2003: Room (2003), covering over 10,000 names in England, Scotland, and Wales, and Mills (2003), with some 17,000 entries for the British Isles as a whole. Mills (2003) is a revised edition of Mills (1991, 1998) discussed above in Section 3.3.1 (ii), with the addition of entries for other parts of the British Isles by Adrian Room. This is the most reliable general dictionary currently available. Although fully accessible to a non-specialist readership, it appears to be aimed at a more scholarly audience than Room (2003). Comparison of the entries for Glasgow, for instance, shows that, whereas both include a single historical spelling, Room (2003) provides more explanatory material and relates the elements to their modern Welsh counterparts, while the entry contributed by the same author to Mills (2003) is much briefer and gives the elements in their original Brittonic form, with the early form more prominently placed:

- (14) **Glasgow** (city, Glasgow): ‘(place in the) green hollow’. The name is of Celtic origin with words corresponding to modern Welsh *glas*, ‘green’, and *cau*, ‘hollow’. The reference is to a natural feature here by the Clyde. 1136 *Glasgu*. (Room 2003: 188)
- (15) **Glasgow** Glas. *Glasgu* 1136. ‘Green hollow’. British \**glas*- + \**cau*. (Mills 2003: 206)

All the above dictionaries are necessarily selective in coverage, although the availability of the English Place-Name Survey means that entries for England tend to be both more numerous and more authoritative than those for other parts of the British Isles. Of the five place-names represented in the entries reproduced from national dictionaries in 3.3.1 (ii), none is included in Nicolaisen *et al.* (1970). Field (1980a) and Room (1988) include *Polperro* only; Room (2003) includes *Grazely*, *Grewelthorpe*, and *Polperro*; and Mills (2003) includes all except *Bradbury*. The four entries for *Polperro* are shown below in chronological order:

- (16) **Polperro** Co, ‘port by a river’ or ‘port by a river called *Pira*’ [*Portpirā* 1313: Co *porth*]. (Field 1980a: 135)

(17) Polperro (*Cornwall*)

This coastal resort southwest of LOOE has a name based on the Cornish *porth* (harbour); it was recorded in a document of 1303 as *Portpira*. The second half of the name is difficult to establish with certainty: it may represent a name such as *Pyra*, referring to the small stream that runs through the middle of the resort, dividing it into the two parishes of Lansallos and Talland. (Room 1988: 278)

(18) Polperro (resort village, Cornwall): ‘Pyra’s harbour’, Cornish *porth*, ‘cove’, ‘harbour’. 1303 *Portpira*, 1355 *Porthpera*, 1748 *Polparrow*. (Room 2003: 375)(19) Polperro Cornwall. *Portpira* 1303. Probably ‘harbour of a man called \*Pyra’. Cornish *porth* + pers. name. (Mills 2003: 372)

The first two present the same information in very different ways, with the concise format of Field’s entry contrasting with Room’s flowing prose. Both are superseded by Padel (1988), on which the later two entries are based. Room (2003) gives a somewhat curious selection of spellings, illustrating *i* and *e* in the middle syllable rather than the *y* identified as the original form of the personal name. The inclusion of the 1748 rather than 1522 spelling may give a false impression of the date at which the first element was changed to *pol*, and there is no indication that the etymology is other than certain. Mills (2003), while citing a single spelling (the earliest), shows more scholarly caution in retaining Padel’s ‘probably’, and also indicates, by means of an asterisk, that the putative personal name is not on record.

Finally in this section, some dictionaries have a wider scope, going beyond the British Isles to the English-speaking world. Room (1989) deals specifically with British place-names transferred abroad. Room (1997, 2006) and Everett-Heath (2005) are dictionaries of world place-names including major names from Britain: Room covers a total of over 5,000 names in the first edition (1997) and over 6,000 in the second (2006), while Everett-Heath has over 8,000 entries. A sample entry from the latter is as follows:

## (20) Oxford, CANADA, NEW ZEALAND, UK, USA

UK (England): formerly Oxnaforda and Oxeneford ‘Ford for Oxen’ from the Old English *oxa*, with the genitive plural *oxna*, and *ford*. The county, Oxfordshire, takes its name from the city with the additional *scīr*. OXFAM, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, was founded in the city in 1942. (Everett-Heath 2005: 399)

### 3.3.2 *Specialized dictionaries*

Some dictionaries focus not on a geographical area but on a chronological period or type of name. The main reference tool for Romano-British place-names is Rivet and Smith (1979). This is in two parts: the first discusses the sources, and the second (pp. 237–509) is an alphabetical list of names. At the other end of the timescale, Room (1983) deals with post-1500 coinages in order to redress the often cursory treatment of such names in historically oriented dictionaries. Coverage extends to all parts of the British Isles, with Scotland and Ireland being particularly well represented because of the high proportion of new settlements established during the last five hundred years.

As regards individual types of names, an early study of English river-names by Ekwall (1928) has never been surpassed or even rivalled. In alphabetical order like a dictionary, it resembles a survey in the comprehensive treatment of the material, and remains the seminal work on the subject.

As discussed in 3.2.2, one of the main changes of direction in English place-name studies during the twentieth century was an increasing realization of the evidential value of minor names, particularly field-names. The study of field-names was placed on a new footing through the work of Field, who among many other relevant publications produced a dictionary (1972) bringing together information previously dispersed under the field-name sections of Survey volumes.<sup>15</sup> By arranging the material alphabetically, he made it possible to see related groups of field-names from different parts of the country, and to identify characteristic patterns of structure and formation. A classified index represented the first attempt to identify major categories of field-names.

### 3.3.3 *Dictionaries of place-name elements*

Place-names of all kinds are a rich source of evidence for the vocabulary of the language(s) in which they were coined. They make a major contribution to lexicography through preserving vocabulary unattested elsewhere, antedating occurrences in literary sources, throwing light on semantic range, and charting the distribution of dialectal forms. This applies most obviously to the older languages for which written records are sparse, but there is also a substantial impact on our knowledge of more recent developments from Old and Middle to Present-Day English. The understanding of Old English topographical vocabu-

<sup>15</sup> A new edition which was in progress at the time of Field's death in 2000 is to be published posthumously by the English Place-Name Society.

**bærnet(t)**, OE, 'burning,' and then applied to a place cleared by burning. Barnet (Mx, Herts), Burnett (So).

**banke**, ME, a common dial. word of Scand. origin denoting a ridge or shelf of ground, the slope of a hill.

**bār**, OE, 'boar.' Borley (Ess), Boreham, Boarzell (Sx).

**bēam**, OE, 'tree' and then 'beam.' Bempton (Y), Bampton (O), Benfleet (Ess), Holbeam (D). In p.n. it generally refers to a tree but in some, as in Bamford (La), it may refer to a 'beam.'

**bēan**, OE, 'bean,' used as a first element to denote places where beans grow. Bamfurlong (La), Banstead (Sr), Binsted (Sx), Beynhurst (Berks).

**bearu**, OE, 'grove, wood.' The source of several places called *Barrow*. It is often difficult to distinguish them from those in which *barrow* is derived from **beorg**. Still in dial. use in Du and Ch to denote 'copse, thicket, dingle.' Sedgeberrow (Wo).

**bāce**, OE, 'beech.' Beech (Sr), Cowbeech (Sx).

**bedd**, OE, 'bed, place where plants grow.' Nettlebed (O).

**bēger**, OE, 'berry.' Barmoor (Nb), Byermoor (Du), Bairstow (Y).

**bekkr**, ON, 'stream, *beck*.' Common throughout the North of England (with the exception of Nb) and the Danelaw generally. As the word is in common dial. use in these districts, it is no definite proof of Scand. settlement. Thus in Du it has often taken the place of *burn*, the only form found in early documents. Gen. sg. *bekkjjar* in Beckermeth (Cu), Beckermonds (Y). *Beck-* at the beginning of names is usually from a pers. name *Becca*.

**bēo**, OE, 'bee.' Beoley (Wo), Beal (Nb), Beauworth (Ha).

**beofor**, OE, 'beaver.' Bevere, Barbourne (Wo).

**bēonet**, OE, found only in p.n. such as *beonettleah*. Late ME *bent* is used of long coarse grass or rushes, especially on moorland and near the sea, and a similar use is found in dial. That is its sense in Bentley (*passim*), Bentham (Gl, Y). The word is also used derivatively of open grassland as opposed to woodland, and of sandy hillocks covered with 'bents.' So in Chowbent (La), Totley Bents (Db).

**beorc**, OE, 'birch-tree.' Barkham (Berks), Berkeley (Gl), Barford (Beds). Whether spelt *Berk-* or *Bark-*, it is to be pronounced as [ba·k].

**beorg**, OE, 'hill,' whether natural or artificial. The former sense survives in dial. *barf*, 'low ridge or hill' (Y, L) and *barrow* used of a long low hill in Cu, La. In the South and South-west *barrow* is, and probably always has been, more generally used to denote an artificial hill, a 'barrow' in the archaeological sense of the term. In p.n. in Scand. England it is very difficult to distinguish it from ON *berg* but it should be noted that the latter term was not used

- bay**<sup>1</sup> ME, 'a wide indentation of the sea', only in later p.ns. (*b*) Robin Hood's Bay YN. [*v.* NED s.v. *bay* sb. 1.]
- bay**<sup>2</sup> ModE, 'an obstacle, barrier, an embankment to form a dam'. (*a*) Bay Bridge W and several f.ns. Baywater, etc. (in allusion to a dam in the river Og) W 303. [*v.* NED s.v. *bay* sb. 5.]
- be** OE prep. 'by', *v.* *bī*.
- (*ge*)**bēacon**, (*ge*)**bēcon** (*bēacnes* gen.sg.) OE, 'a sign, signal, a beacon', occurs commonly in the p.n. Beacon Hill and in later p.ns., usually to mark the hill-top or other place where a beacon-fire was made for signalling purposes. It is usually not evidenced before the 15th century. Older examples include (*a*) Beacon Hill W 268, Beaconsfield Bk 214, Beckney Ess. (*b*) Beacon End Nt, Beacon Hill Sx, *the Bekene* Nt 275 (1373); Firebeacon D (*fȳr*).
- beadu** (*beaduwan* dat.sg.) OE, 'battle', probably used of 'the site of a battle'. (*b*) Beddow Ess.
- bēag** OE, 'a ring, a circle', probably in a topographical sense 'the circular bend of a river' or in allusion to other things of ring-like form, is easily confused with *beg* and the OE pers.ns. *Bēaga*, *Bēage*. (*a*) Beal YW (*halh*, in the bend of a river). (*b*) Wilby Sf ('a circle of willows', *wilig*). [*~* *bjúgr*.]
- beak**, **bake** ModE, 'land reclaimed for ploughing by clearing it with a mattock and burning the rubbish', is common in W f.ns. such as Burnbake (W 450). [*Cf.* *bete*<sup>2</sup>.]
- \***beall** OE (WSax, Kt), 'a ball', *v.* *ball*.
- bēam** OE, 'a tree; the trunk of a tree squared for use, a piece of heavy timber; the rood-cross', when used as a final el. in p.ns. sometimes has the original sense of 'living tree' as in OE *beg-bēam* 'blackberry' (*v.* *beg*), *cwic-bēam* (*v.* *cwic*), an obsolete use, surviving only in a few compounds like *hornbeam*, *quickbeam*, *whitebeam*, etc. The common meaning in p.ns., however, is 'beam of timber', sometimes probably with the specific sense of 'beam of timber laid across a stream to form a foot-bridge', a use suggested by Dagenham Beam Bridge Ess 92, Beam Bridge So. (*a*) Bamford La (*ford*), Bampton Cu, O, Bampton YW (*tūn*), Benfleet Ess (*fleot*). (*b*) Bladbean K (*blōd*), Brimham YW (pers.n.), Holbeam D, K (*hol*), Snodbeam K (*snād*).
- bēamere** OE, 'a trumpeter', *v.* *bēmere*.
- bēan** OE, 'a bean' (both 'broad-bean' and 'horse-bean'), a very common first el. in p.ns. and f.ns. (e.g. Ess 587, Mx 201); beans

lary has been revolutionized by fieldwork reported in Gelling (1984) and Gelling and Cole (2000), while a pilot study for southern Scotland has been undertaken by Pratt (2005). Place-name evidence for Scots vocabulary is under investigation by Scott (2004), and Middle English words uniquely attested in place-names are listed in Hough (2002).

Many of the dictionaries discussed in 3.3.1 include a glossary, while others integrate entries for elements and place-names in a single sequence. Some dictionaries focus exclusively on this aspect of the material, presenting a list of terms ordered alphabetically, with examples of the names in which they occur, and a discussion of characteristic patterns of use.

The first volume of the English Place-Name Survey was in two parts, the first comprising a collection of essays, and the second a dictionary of *The Chief Elements Used in English Place-Names* by Mawer (EPNS1.2/1924). The latter was a slim compilation of sixty-seven pages, dealing with common elements only and giving a summary definition and illustrative examples. Figure 3.5 shows page 4, with entries for thirteen Old English place-name elements together with one each from Middle English and Old Norse. County abbreviations appear in brackets: under OE *bēo* 'bee', for instance, place-name occurrences are *Beoley* in Worcestershire, *Beal* in Northumberland, and *Beauworth* in Hampshire, while *Beeby* in Leicestershire does not appear.

As the Survey progressed, many additional elements came to light, and further occurrences of those already known facilitated a more accurate assessment of interpretation and distribution. Volumes 25 and 26 were devoted to a revised and expanded dictionary by A. H. Smith entitled *English Place-Name Elements* (EPNS25–26/1956). This totalled 772 pages, later supplemented by additions and corrections (Cameron and Jackson 1968–69). Page 21, shown in Figure 3.6, includes new entries for the homonym *bay* in Middle and Modern English, as well as for six additional Old English elements—including OE *(ge)bēacon*, the first element of *Beaconsfield* in Buckinghamshire (see Fig. 3.1)—and one more from Modern English. Existing entries have been much expanded to incorporate additional occurrences and further information, and headword forms list alternative and inflected spellings. The entry for OE *bēam* 'tree', for instance, occupies twelve lines as opposed to three in EPNS1.2/1924, with twelve place-name occurrences as opposed to five, while the new entry for OE *(ge)bēacon* includes the alternative spelling *(ge)bēcon* as well as the genitive singular form *bēacnes*. Place-name occurrences are now divided into two sections, depending on whether the element is used as a qualifier (section (a)) or a generic (section (b)). Cross-references are given in parentheses to entries for other elements within the compound names, and in square brackets to entries for cognate and related

(lang<sup>1</sup>).

~ **bēcen**, \***bēcet**, **bōc**<sup>1</sup>, \***bōcen**.

DOE *bēce*; MED *bēche*; EDD —; OED *beech*; DES *Beech*.

**bēcen** OE, *adj.* ‘of beech’, in p.ns presumably ‘growing with beech-trees’; also apparently used as a substantive. Inflected forms of **bēce** might alternatively be involved.

(a) Beechen Hill 1282 Gl:3·220 (hyll).

(b) Beachin 1258 Ch:4·86.

~ **bēce**, **bōc**<sup>1</sup>, \***bōcen**.

DOE *bēcen*; MED *bēchen*; EDD *beechen*; OED *beechen*.

\***bēcet** OE, ‘beech copse’.

(b) *Becchette* 1332 Sx:239, *Bechette* 1350 Sr:359.

~ **bēce**, **bōc**<sup>1</sup>, -et.

MED *bechet* s.v. *bēche* 2.

**bēcun** OE, *n.* ‘sign, signal’ occurs commonly in the p.n. Beacon Hill, referring to the place where a beacon-fire was made for signalling purposes. Beacon Hill L:4·114 records the interesting sequence *le Fyre bombe* 1416 (**fir-bombe**), *le firebeacon* 1556, *Firebeaconhill* 1595. This use of *bēcun* may date from the OE period (DOE *bēacen* sense 5, Forsberg 1970:65–9), though the element has not been securely identified in this sense in early-recorded p.ns (cf. **ād**). In Beckney 1086 Ess the recorded pers.n. *Becca* (Redin:85) is a likely alternative. In Beaconsfield Bk, where *bēcun* is more certainly involved, the reference is unknown, and it should be noted that the OE term had a range of meanings, including ‘cross’ and ‘memorial stone’. In Beacon Field (f.n.) 1703 L:4·111 [see also L:4·47] it appears probable that the ‘beacon’ was a round barrow which marked the meeting—place of Haverstoe Wapentake.

The head-form used here is Anglian, with smoothing (OEG:§222); West Saxon preserves earlier *-ēa-*.

(a) Beaconsfield 1184 Bk:214 (**feld**), Beacon Hill 1450 Ess:59, 1633 Brk:447, 1707 Cu:136, 1713 D:651, 1771 (*le Bekyn super altitudine montis* 1553) YW:3·90, 1773 W:362, 1781 Wa:144, 1797 Ch:3·230.

(b) Beacon 1469 D:643, Beacon End (*le Bekyn* 1414) Ess:400, Beacon Hill (*la Bekne* 1374) Sx, *the Bekene* (f.n.) 1373 Nt:275.

(c) Beacon Hill (*le firebeacon* 1556) L:4·114, Firebeacon 1400 D:78, 1571 D:545 (**fȳr**).

DOE *bēacen*, *ge-bēacen*; MED *bēken* n.; OED *beacon* sb.

FIG. 3.7. A sample page from *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (A–BOX)* by Parsons *et al.*, 1997



elements. Thus OE *bēag* ‘ring, circle’ is identified as the qualifying element of *Beal* in the West Riding of Yorkshire in combination with OE *halh* ‘nook, corner of land, water-meadow’, and as the generic element of *Wilby* in Suffolk in combination with OE \**wilig* ‘willow’. Its cognate is ON \**bjúgr* ‘river bend’.

Fifty years on, the revised dictionary itself is severely outdated, and work on its successor began in 1992 with initial funding from the Leverhulme Trust (Hough 1993–94). Publication is proceeding by fascicle, with three so far published for the letters *A–Box* (Parsons *et al.* 1997), *Brace–Cæster* (Parsons and Styles 2000), and *Ceafor–Cock-pit* (Parsons 2004). Others are at an advanced stage of preparation. Besides having a much larger number of completed surveys on which to draw, the new dictionary is broader in scope and includes additional information. Whereas its predecessor had been, as Smith (EPNS25/1956: xvii) explains, ‘restricted to a study of the final elements (and a good many first elements) which occur in major place-names so far evidenced before the late fifteenth century’, the version currently in progress covers all elements recorded before the mid-eighteenth century in minor as well as major names. Equally important is the deletion of entries for elements that have proved illusory. The only citation under OE *beadu* ‘battle’ in Figure 3.6 is the place-name *Beddow* in Essex, whose derivation is uncertain (Hough 1994: 22). As no secure instances have come to light in later volumes of the Survey, the headword has been omitted from the new dictionary.

Further innovations are the inclusion of dates for place-name occurrences and of grammatical gender for headwords. Discussions are much more extensive, so that the revised entry for OE *bēcun* ‘sign, signal’ shown in Figure 3.7 now takes up more than half a page. The head-form is from the Anglian dialect of Old English rather than the West Saxon form preferred by EPNS25–26/1956, with the italicized ‘*n.*’ indicating that the noun is grammatically neuter. Place-name occurrences are now divided into three sections: (a) qualifying elements, (b) uncompounded generics, and (c) compounded generics. The first entry in section (a) shows that *Beaconsfield* in Buckinghamshire is first recorded in 1184, contains *bēcun* as the qualifying element in combination with OE *feld* ‘open country’, and is discussed on page 214 of the Buckinghamshire Survey. Also apparent from the entry is the importance of evidence from field-names (f.n.), whether still in use or italicized to indicate that the name is no longer current.

The three recensions of the dictionary discussed above include elements from the English, Norse, French, Latin, and Celtic languages represented in English place-names, with the sole exception of Cornish. As mentioned in Section 3.3.1 (i), a separate dictionary of place-name elements was published within the English Place-Name Survey for the county of Cornwall (EPNS56/57/1985), in advance of projected county volumes. With head-forms based on Middle Cornish, the stage

of the language during which the majority of place-names were coined, this provides a very full and authoritative treatment of the linguistic material.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

Place-name research is a cumulative process, where each discovery impacts on the rest of the corpus. New or revised etymologies, such as are regularly presented in the annual volumes of the English Place-Name Survey and in separate studies, not only affect the interpretation of individual place-names but throw light on the understanding and distribution of related groups of names and elements. Compilers of dictionaries have a difficult task in staying abreast of the latest advances in the field and assessing the implications of published work in a range of different areas. It is small comfort to know that even their best efforts will almost immediately be overtaken by later scholarship—indeed, may contribute directly towards it. But this reflects a healthy and vigorous discipline which has made immense strides throughout the twentieth century and is poised to make still more during the third millennium.

### REFERENCES

#### *The English Place-Name Survey*

The Survey was published by Cambridge University Press until 1989, and thereafter by the English Place-Name Society. Volumes are listed below by number, year, and county.

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EPNS1.2/1924/*Chief Elements*.

EPNS2/1925/*Buckinghamshire*.

EPNS3/1926/*Bedfordshire & Huntingdonshire*.

EPNS4/1927/*Worcestershire*.

EPNS5/1928/*North Riding Yorkshire*.

EPNS6–7/1929–30/*Sussex*.

EPNS8–9/1931–32/*Devon*.

EPNS10/1933/*Northamptonshire*.

EPNS11/1934/*Surrey*.

EPNS12/1935/*Essex*.

- EPNS13/1936/*Warwickshire*.  
 EPNS14/1937/*East Riding Yorkshire & York*.  
 EPNS15/1938/*Hertfordshire*.  
 EPNS16/1939/*Wiltshire*.  
 EPNS17/1940/*Nottinghamshire*.  
 EPNS18/1942/*Middlesex*.  
 EPNS19/1943/*Cambridgeshire & Isle of Ely*.  
 EPNS20–22/1950–52/*Cumberland*.  
 EPNS23–24/1953–54/*Oxfordshire*.  
 EPNS25–26/1956/*Elements*.  
 EPNS27–29/1959/*Derbyshire*.  
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 EPNS75/1998/*Leicestershire*1.  
 EPNS76/2001/*Shropshire*3.  
 EPNS77/2001/*Lincolnshire*6.  
 EPNS78/2002/*Leicestershire*2.  
 EPNS79/2002/*Norfolk*3.  
 EPNS80/2004/*Shropshire*4.  
 EPNS81/2004/*Leicestershire*3.

# DICTIONARIES OF PERSONAL NAMES<sup>1</sup>

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## 4.1 INTRODUCTION: NAMING SYSTEMS

IN Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere, a person is identified by a name composed of two component types: one or more ‘given names’ (sometimes referred to as ‘first names’ or ‘forenames’) given to him or her at or shortly after birth, and a ‘surname’ or ‘family name’, which is normally inherited from the bearer’s father. This chapter discusses dictionaries of both kinds of names. Both have long and complex histories, involving normal and abnormal processes of linguistic change and often reflecting long-dead conventions of meaning, as well as elements of both ancient and medieval social structure, custom, and religious beliefs.

This ‘binomial naming pattern’ has been standard throughout Europe since the Middle Ages, though some societies were slower than others to adopt it. In Wales and Scandinavia, for example, the older ‘patronymic’ system (e.g. *Rhys ap Rhydderch* ‘Rhys son of Rhydderch’, *Sven Persson* ‘Sven son of Per’, *Anna Magnúsdóttir* ‘Anna daughter of Magnus’) continued in use until well into the nineteenth century and even beyond. The patronymic system continues to be the norm in Iceland to this day. Ashkenazic Jewish communities used a patronymic (and metronymic) system of family names until surnames were imposed by law in central and eastern Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There are variations on the binomial pattern. Many individuals have one or more middle names, which generally serve as additional or alternative given

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Tony Cowie and Oliver Padel for constructive comments on earlier drafts.

names, but which are sometimes used to preserve the surname of the mother's family or some other ancestral family connection. From the Middle Ages until the late twentieth century, it was normal for a woman to take the family name of her husband on marriage, but nowadays many women continue to use their 'maiden name' (inherited family name) after marriage. This presents the family with a choice when children are born into the marriage: most children in Britain still receive their family name from their father, but some receive the mother's family name, while others receive both names in a hyphenated form (a practice formerly largely reserved for grand alliances among rich and aristocratic families). This latter practice may work satisfactorily for one generation, but it presents an interesting dilemma for second and subsequent generations: which of the four or eight potential hyphenated surnames should the child receive?

The family name is used for official purposes, preceded by an honorific such as *Mr*, *Ms*, or *Dr*. Until recently, the family name with an honorific was also used in business contexts and in addressing colleagues, but now increasingly in the English-speaking world many business acquaintances get onto first-name terms soon after first contact, while nowadays sales representatives address people they have never met before by their first names, which to older people seems like undue familiarity. This contrasts with nineteenth-century practice, when it was unthinkable for strangers to use first names, and when even wives would address and refer to their husbands respectfully by the surname with honorific, as readers of Dickens will recall ('I will never desert Mr Micawber', said Mrs Micawber). The first name used to be something special and intimate, not for bandying about in public. It is no longer so.

The practice of addressing fellow members of a group (for example at boys' schools) by the surname alone, without an honorific, was common until the 1960s but has died out, though use of the surname alone is still common in academic references. On the other hand, nicknames continue to thrive. For a splendid collection of nicknames of well-known public figures, past and present, see Delahunty (2003).

Two striking exceptions to the binomial system are the names of peers and Muslims. The personal names of members of the aristocracy in Britain and elsewhere in Europe are governed by sets of extraordinarily complex conventions—too complex to spell out here. Accounts of the Arabic naming system are given in Schimmel (1989) and Ahmed (1999). The latter is a dictionary of Muslim given names with their religious significance. In the English-speaking world Arabic or Muslim names are often adapted to the binomial system by treating part of the name as if it were a hereditary surname, sometimes with bizarre effects, as when the Urdu feminine honorific *Begum* (approximately equivalent to English *Mrs*) is

treated as if it were a surname. A fuller discussion of personal names in different cultures will be found in Hanks (2006).

## 4.2 FAMILY NAMES

### 4.2.1 *Origins of family names in the British Isles*

The oldest hereditary surnames in England originated not in English but in Norman French during the eleventh century. When, in 1066, William ‘the Conqueror’, Duke of Normandy, took over the monarchy in England, his retainers were granted lands and honours. Domesday Book records how manorial tenants with Anglo-Saxon names such as *Ælfgar* and *Wulfgar*, *Eadgifu* and *Osgifu* were displaced by people with Continental Germanic names such as *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Roger*, and *Matilda*. These Continental Germanic names were inherited by the Normans from the French, who had themselves inherited them from the Germanic-speaking Franks—Charlemagne, his predecessors, and his successors—three hundred years earlier. Norman barons were identified not only by a given name but also by a surname that referred to a place, very often in northern France, where the family held lands—names like *Crèvecoeur* (which became *Craker* and *Croaker*), *D’Aubigny* (which became *Daubeny*), and *Sinclair* (from a place called *Saint Clair* in Calvados, France, a surname that was later transported to Scotland, where it became a clan name within the Gaelic community in Caithness and the Orkneys). Other English surnames are derived from Norman French nicknames, for example *Corbett* ‘raven’ and *Russell* ‘redhead’.

Something else that the Normans brought with them was an administrative bureaucracy within the feudal system. Records of tax collection, tenancies, and the administration of justice and probate from 1066 onwards provide evidence for later medieval naming practices without which surname lexicography in English would be impossible. Not only nobles and gentry but also malefactors and taxpayers were identified with precision—more precision than was possible under a patronymic system, with its inherent instability and ambiguity—by the addition of identifying additional names or *surnames*. Within any community, *Long* (= tall) *John* might be distinguished from *John* who lived at the *Church*, *John the Baker*, and *John the son of William* (*Williamson* or *Wilson*). At first, these additional names were ephemeral and variable. Löfvenberg (1942) mentions an individual in Worcestershire recorded in 1289 as *Ric. atte Church* who was identical with *Ric. de la Chirchard* two years later. In Somerset in 1327 *Will. ate*

*Churchill* is identical with *Will. Churchestyele* in the same place and the same year. Gradually, these additional names stabilized and came to be handed down as hereditary surnames.

There are four main sources of European hereditary surnames:

1. Patronymics from given names, e.g. *Johnson, Jones, John, McEwen*.
2. Occupational names, e.g. *Smith, Wright, Baker, Baxter*.
3. Nicknames, e.g. *Long, Short, Black, Wagstaff*.
4. Local names, either from physical features of the landscape, e.g. *Ford, Hill* (topographic names), or from towns, villages, farms, or houses, e.g. *Bradford, Blakeway, Coplestone* (habitational names).

Each type has subdivisions, and there are also hybrid types (for example occupational nicknames) and outliers—surnames that do not fit well into any of the major categories. Typologies of surnames can be found in the front matter of major modern surnames dictionaries as well as in more discursive studies.

#### 4.2.2 Gaelic Clan Names

Another source of family names of Britain was the system of clans and septs (branches of clans) that formed the organizing system of Gaelic-speaking Irish society, which was imported into western Scotland in the fifth century AD. In the course of time clan names such as *Macdonald, Maclaren, Campbell, and Lamont* came to be Anglicized and treated as hereditary family names. The great frequency of such names as surnames is in part due to the adoption by tenants, servants, and retainers of the name of the overlord.

## 4.3 DICTIONARIES OF SURNAMES AND FAMILY NAMES

First, a note on terminology. The terms ‘surname’ and ‘family name’ are nowadays used interchangeably. Formerly, a ‘surname’ denoted any name that was additional to the given name, whether hereditary or—especially with reference to medieval times—non-hereditary, while ‘family name’ emphasizes genealogical and hereditary aspects of nomenclature.

Surnames are a neglected area of research in the English-speaking world compared with other countries and with fields such as the general vocabulary, place-names, and given names. A glance at the monumental *International Handbook of*

*Onomastics* (Eichler *et al.* 1995) is suggestive of the impoverished state of English surnames studies. The surnames and given names of other countries are the subject of numerous articles and extensive bibliographies, but fewer than a hundred words are devoted to the account of English surnames as an academic discipline.

#### 4.3.1 *Camden*

The founding father of the lexicography of English personal names was the schoolmaster, historian, and genealogist William Camden (1551–1623). Two (un-numbered) chapters in Camden (1605) are devoted to personal names. The first of these is on given names and is an admirable piece of lexicographic work (though short). It will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. Here, we summarize Camden's contribution to the lexicography of surnames, which, though foundational, was less successful.

Camden tells us: 'The French and we termed them *Surnames*, not because they are the name of the Sire, or the father, but because they are super-added to Christian names', and he presents a typology of surnames, with plentiful examples. Most of Camden's remarks are in discursive prose, but pages 98–103 contain a list of about 240 English local surnames, many of them without explanation. Others are briefly glossed, e.g.:

GARTH, A yarde.

GILL, a small water.

GLIN, *Welsh*, a dale.

Camden did not attempt to compile a full-scale dictionary of surnames—even had he wished to do so, he did not have the resources necessary to undertake such a task. Altogether, he discusses no more than a thousand surnames, fewer than one twentieth of the total number in existence in his day. He is at his best on aristocratic surnames of Norman origin, as befitted a man who later became Clarenceux King of Arms. Already in Tudor times the claim to be descended in the male line 'from someone who came over with the Conqueror' was believed (at least by the claimants) to confer social distinction. Camden says:

The most antient [surnames], and of best accompt, have been locall, deduced from places in Normandy and the countries confining, being either the patronomial possessions or native places of such as served the Conquerour, or came in after out of Normandy, as *Aulbeny*, or *Mortimer*, *Warren*, *Aubigny*, *Percy*, *Gournay*, *Devreux*, *Tankervil*, *Saint-Lo*, *Argenton*, *Marmion*, *Sint Maure*, *Bracy*, *Maigny*, *Nevill*, *Ferrers*, *Harrecourt*, *Baskerville*, *Mo[n]taigne*, *Tracy*, *Buefoe*, *Valoyns*, *Cayley*, *Lucy*, *Montfort*, *Bonvile*, *Bovil*, *Auranch*, &c. . . .

(Camden 1605: 95–6)



Camden was the first of many to point out the extensive influence of folk etymology on surnames. He mentions for example:

*-vil*, which is corruptly turned by some into *Feld*, as in *Baskerfield*, *Somerfeld*, *Dangerfeld*, *Trublefeld*, ... , and in others into *Well*, as *Boswell* for *Bossevil*, ... *Freshwell* for *Freschevil* ... .  
(Camden 1605: 95–6)

#### 4.3.2 *Victorian surname dictionaries*

Between Camden and the Victorians, no names dictionaries were compiled. Such reference work as was published was carried out by genealogists investigating the pedigrees of peers, baronets, and landed gentry in works such as Debrett (1802 et seq.) and Burke (1826 et seq.). New editions of these works have been produced more or less annually ever since. Both publishers now offer a professional ancestry research service. Part of the work of twentieth-century editors of these volumes consisted in expunging the myths and flights of fancy of earlier editions, which led Oscar Wilde to dub one of them as ‘the finest thing the English have ever done in fiction’.

The first serious surname dictionaries in English were products of the late nineteenth century. The most important of these was by Charles Wareing Bardsley (1843–98), vicar of Ulverston, who devoted almost all of his spare time from the mid-1860s until his death to the study of English surnames. In 1875, he published a study of their origins, the index to which contains over 4,000 surnames; it is thus virtually a concise dictionary of surnames in its own right. It went through five editions before it was superseded by the dictionary itself, published posthumously (Bardsley, 1901). This contains 835 pages of three columns each, with over 11,000 main entries and more than eight hundred variant spellings.

Trench (1857) had noted the duty of lexicographers to act as ‘the inventory clerks’ of a language, and Bardsley’s work is the first serious attempt to provide an inventory of modern English surnames, their history, and origins. He introduced historical principles to English surname lexicography, linking modern names as far as he could to the names mentioned in old records. He cites early evidence for each name where it was available to him, collecting names from documents such as Hundred Rolls and Poll Tax Returns, as well as contemporary Post Office directories. His scholarship was on occasions defective, even by the standards of his own day, and for many names it has been superseded by subsequent research. He indulged in digressions that were not always relevant; and he overlooked some important connections—for example, he missed the Welsh origin of the

*Cecil* family and got the etymology wrong. But he got many things right, and he adopted the honest strategy of recording common surnames with a question mark in place of an explanation where the origin was unknown to him—for example, at *Womack*, a name of which we still do not know the origin—rather than pretending that such names do not exist. Bardsley's dictionary is a milestone in English surnames lexicography. Despite its imperfections, it does not deserve the ungracious dismissal of it in Löfvenberg (1942), where it is lumped together with lesser, 'more or less dilettante' works. Even now, over a century after it was published, it is still a primary source of reference, which can be consulted (with appropriate caution) in conjunction with the more recent work of Reaney (1958), Reaney and Wilson (1991), Hanks and Hodges (1988), and Hanks (2003a).

Bardsley (p. 3) noted the prevalence of folk etymology as an influence on surname forms:

One of the greatest difficulties in solving the origin of our surnames comes under the law of imitation. The parentage being forgotten, people naturally began to pronounce their names in such a way as seemed to convey a meaning. After the institution of Church Registers the clerks wrote down accordingly. Hence the pitfall into which so many stumble. Hence in co. Somerset, Greedy for Gredhay, Rainbird for Reynebaud, Trott for Troyt, Bacchus for Bakehouse, Toogood or Doogood for Thurgod, Goodyear for Goodier, Gospell for Gosbell, Physick for Fishwick, Potiphar for Pettifer, Pitchfork (co. Linc.) for Pitchforth (i.e. Pickford), Roylance for Rylands, Gudgeon for Goodson (cf. the pronunciation Hodgun for Hodgson in the North), Twentyman for Twinterman, Sisterson for Sissotson (Cecilia), Rayment for Raymond, Garment for Garmond, Forty for the old 'de la Fortheye' of co. Oxford (which still exists as Forty in the city), and a host of others.

Bardsley's entry for *Hickford* shows the style of his work:

**Hickford.**—Local, 'of Hickford', some spot in co. Salop. Sir Robert Atkyns, in his *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, says (p. 109) that 'the Higfords were of an ancient family in co. Salop, originally styled Hugford.' About the reign of James I the surname was turned into Higford: this of course has now become Hickford. . . .

The explanation, as for other entries, is supported by a brief mention of medieval evidence. Bardsley did not, of course, have the benefit of the volumes of the English Place-Name Society or of the Ordnance Survey Gazetteer, both essential tools for the modern student of English habitational surnames. If he had, he would have noted that there is a place called Higford in Stockton parish, Shropshire, and that early references to it are mostly spelled *Hug-*, pointing to derivation from an Old English personal name \**Hugga*. This confirmation by subsequent scholarship of Bardsley's endeavour to identify the origin of an obscure habitational surname, with the limited resources at his disposal, is by no means an isolated example.

Another Victorian surname dictionary is Barber (1890, 1903), a less ambitious and less discursive work than Bardsley, taking a no-nonsense approach to the etymologies (or rather, folk etymologies) that it records, which in places are so abbreviated as to be unintelligible. The bulk of the work is a dictionary of approximately 4,500 British surnames, most of the entries being no more than two or three lines long and often containing false or misleading information.

Guppy (1890) is not a dictionary of surnames as such; it is a survey of the associations between surnames and localities. Guppy's approach is a model for an important strand of surnames lexicography in an age of computational analysis of large databases. He took as a sample about 5,000 names of farmers listed in Kelly's directories, believing that farmers represented a particularly stable segment of the population, and he showed that many surnames have a statistically significant association with particular counties. Thus he found *Gulliver* with a frequency of twenty per 10,000 of population in Northamptonshire (but nowhere else), *Guppy* with seven per 10,000 in Dorset, *Hanks* with fourteen per 10,000 in Gloucestershire, and *Pascoe* with forty per 10,000 in Cornwall. He also included some historical data, for example:

PASCOE is an old and distinguished Penzance name. Erasmus Pascoe of Trevassick, Phillack, was sheriff of the county in 1720. . . . William Pascoe was mayor of Truro in 1758, and Thomas Pascoe was on the Commission of the Peace for the county in 1803. William Pascow, of this county, contributed £25 to the National Defence Fund at the time of the expected invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588. . . .

#### 4.3.3 *Early twentieth-century dictionaries of English surnames*

Harrison (1912–18) is the first twentieth-century dictionary of surnames. Although it is, in format, larger than Bardsley (1901), it is in fact less extensive, less accurate, and less informative. Its greater bulk is achieved by white space in a more spacious layout.

The lexicographer Ernest Weekley (1865–1954), Professor of Modern Languages at Nottingham University and compiler of a range of practical English dictionaries for the publisher Collins, also wrote popular books on names, including one on surnames (Weekley 1916). He projected a dictionary of surnames and is sometimes mentioned as if he had compiled one, but he did not. His short but readable survey was a popular reference source in the first half of the twentieth century, but was superseded by the work of P. H. Reaney. The University of Nottingham archives contain an edition of Bardsley (1901) annotated by Weekley, along with unpublished notes by him on surname etymologies.

Ewen (1931) is a historical guide to English surnames, rather than a dictionary. Many of the names in it are discussed reliably and informatively. Like Bardsley (1875), it contains an extensive index of the names discussed in the text. Ewen consulted a selection of medieval records (charters, court records, tax returns, and other documents) to collect evidence, though not as systematically as subsequent scholars would have wished.

#### 4.3.4 *Swedish rigour*

From the 1930s to the 1950s, several short, scholarly studies of personal names in Old and Middle English were published in Sweden, characterized by systematicity in the examination of medieval data. Two of the most important of these are Fransson (1935) and Löfvenberg (1942). Both men were students of the great Swedish scholar of Old and Middle English, Eilert Ekwall, who himself wrote studies of surnames and personal names in medieval London (1945, 1947), as well as more famous dictionaries of English river-names (1928) and place-names (1936).

The scholarship of Fransson and Löfvenberg is impeccable. However, their lexicographic scope is (quite deliberately) limited: their books each have entries for only just over seven hundred medieval surnames, and not all of the names they studied have survived into the modern period. Fransson made some attempt to link the surnames that he found in medieval records to modern lexical items where possible and in some entries commented on the geographical distribution of the surname, but Löfvenberg did not. As lexicographers, both saw their task as excerpting and organizing the medieval material, rather than explaining modern surnames.

Fransson's book contains an alphabetical index of names and the microstructure of each entry is dictionary-like. However, the macrostructure is not that of a dictionary. The entries are arranged, not in alphabetical order, but in chapters: 1. Dealers and traders; 2. Manufacturers or sellers of provisions; 3. Cloth workers; 4. Leather workers; 5. Metal workers; 6. Wood workers; 7. Masonry and roofing workers; 8. Stone, crockery, and glass workers; 9. Physicians and barbers. Fransson collected evidence from only ten English counties and ignored occupational surnames that did not fall into his nine categories, so, for example, there are no entries for terms of office such as *Reeve* and *Sheriff*. Thuresson (1950) supplemented Fransson with a study of a further 850 occupational terms. Neither Fransson nor Thuresson discuss metonymic occupational names (e.g. *Cloke* for a cloak seller), which were common in Middle English.

Löfvenberg (1942) selected 'only local surnames consisting of an English or a French preposition followed by a noun (or place-name) preceded by the definite article [in Middle English documents]'. He comments:

The value of an investigation of Middle English local surnames is manifold. Apart from giving a great deal of information about the life, conditions and customs of people in the Middle Ages, local surnames – like other surnames – are of great value for linguistic study. . . . In this thesis there are Middle English forms for such modern English surnames as Apps, Arlett, Barnett, Bay, Beer(e), Bear(e), Burchett, Bye, Denn(e), Fanne, Forty, Foss(e), Frith, Hale, Ham, Hazlitt, Heal(e). . . . (All of them misinterpreted by Bardsley in his dictionary).

#### 4.3.5 *Reaney*

During and after the Second World War, a respected English place-names scholar rose to the Swedish challenge. While fire-watching in London during the Blitz, P. H. Reaney (1890–1968), author of *The Place-Names of Essex* and *Suffolk*, systematically collected evidence for personal names from medieval records and arranged them under what he assumed were their modern forms. His dictionary (Reaney 1958; Reaney and Wilson 1991) is still the standard reference work on English surnames.

On his death, Reaney left his papers to the University of Sheffield. In 1976, and again in 1991, R. M. Wilson, Professor of English at Sheffield, published revised editions of Reaney's dictionary, including some 4,700 additional entries, mostly for surnames derived from place-names which Reaney had been forced to omit from his original edition for reasons of space. In total, the dictionary now contains over 16,000 entries. Its focus is on citations of names from Subsidy Rolls, Pipe Rolls, Feet of Fines, Assize Rolls, and other sources, references to which are given in an extremely abbreviated form. Explanations are sometimes terse to the point of being incomprehensible, and the connections between medieval forms and modern surnames are quite speculative. The entry for **Hanke**, **Hanks** shows both the strengths and the weaknesses of Reaney's approach:

*Hanke, Hanks*: Anke Hy 2 DC (L); *Hanke* 12th ib.; *Anke* de Ankinton' 1194 P (L); *Hank* carpentarius 1280 Oseney (O); Roger *Hanke* 1275 RH (Nf); Ralph *Hancks* 1642 PrGR. *Hank* is usually regarded as a Flemish pet-form of *John*. The early examples above are undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin, from ON *Anki*, a diminutive of some name in *Arn*-.

The entry contains plentiful medieval evidence. However, it cannot be read without constant reference to the list of abbreviations in the front matter. Moreover, *Hanke* and *Hanks* are almost certainly unrelated names, formed in different parts of the country from different etymons, so the final sentence, though true, merely underlines the irrelevance of *Anke* and *Hanke* to the modern surname *Hanks*. Also, as Guppy had shown half a century earlier, *Hanks* is and always has been associated with Gloucestershire, a region where there was no Scandinavian settlement. The mention of *Hank*' *carpentarius* in Oseney (near

Oxford) in 1280 is in the right general area at the right time: it could well be relevant to the surname *Hanks*. The most likely etymology of this is not Scandinavian, but from *Han*, a pet form of *Jehan* (*John*)—possibly brought to the South Midlands by Flemish weavers. The surname is formed according to a pattern found also in *Danks*, *Hinks*, *Wilks*, *Jenks*, and other South Midland surnames. Ralph Hancks, in Preston in 1642, is most plausibly explained as a possible migrant, or descendant of a migrant, from Gloucestershire.

#### 4.3.6 *Cottle*

The first edition (1967) of Basil Cottle's *Penguin Dictionary of Surnames* contained 8,000 entries, expanded in the second edition (1978) to 12,000. The entries are of commendable brevity and clarity, and are as reliable as could reasonably be expected given the resources available at the time. The coverage is, however, somewhat idiosyncratic: many common names are missing. Etymons are generally implied, rather than stated. Explanations are not supported by citations from medieval documents. Geographical distribution is often noted, with occasional references to Guppy. With few exceptions, the explanations are preceded by one of four letters indicating the typology of the provenance: F (= first name), L (= local name), (O = occupational name), or N (= nickname). Cottle had a dry sense of humour, as can be seen in the entry for *Butlin* (the surname of the founder in the 1930s of a chain of popular holiday camps):

**Butlin** N 'hustle the churl' OF *boute-vilain*, a N suggesting ability to herd the common people. Chiefly a Northants surname.

#### 4.3.7 *Hanks and Hodges*

A return to what Löfvenberg would surely have considered a dilettante approach is represented by Hanks and Hodges (1988). This is both an explanatory inventory of modern surnames (the selection of entries being partly based on analysis of comparative frequencies in 1980s telephone directories) and, more ambitiously, a comparative survey of European surnames. It contains entries for all common and many rare modern English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and Cornish surnames, including several hundred not mentioned by Reaney and Wilson. However, the British content tends to be swamped by the many thousands of European cognates and equivalents. Altogether, this dictionary explains nearly 70,000 surnames, nested etymologically under 7,000 main entries. For names of patronymic origin there are long lists of the many different surname forms (cognates, diminutives, and other

derivatives) stemming from Christian names and biblical names such as *Andreas*, *Johannes*, and *Jacobus*. Tomás de Bhaldraithe and David Gold contributed scholarly explanations of Irish and Jewish surnames respectively, and other specialists also made valuable contributions for particular topics.

With hindsight, the scope of Hanks and Hodges (1988) seems ill-focused, and the work is marred by avoidable errors. The dictionary met with a mixed reception in Great Britain, but was warmly welcomed in America, where most surnames are of non-English origin. Scholars in the British Isles complained about the absence of medieval evidence supporting the explanations and also about the lack of focus—reasonably enough as the genealogical and scholarly communities were, and still are, yearning for an improved British dictionary on the model of Reaney but with added comprehensibility. An entry from Hanks and Hodges (1988), with its lists of variants, cognates, diminutives, and patronymics, illustrates the approach:

**Raymond** English and French: from the Norman personal name *Raimund*, composed of the Gmc elements *ragin* counsel + *mund* protection.

Vars.: Eng.: **Raymont**, **Rayment**, **Raiment**. Fr.: **Raimond**, **Reymond**, **Rémond**(d), **Ramon**(d).

Cogns.: It.: **Ra(i)mondi**, **Ra(i)mondo**; **Ramundi** (S Italy); **Rimondi** (Emilia). Sp.: **Ramón**.

Cat.: **Ramon**. Port.: **Raimundo**. Ger.: **Rei(n)mund**; **Raimund**, **Raymund** (Austria).

Dims.: Fr.: **Remondeau**, **Remondon**. Prov.: **Ramondou**, **Ramon**(d)enc, **Raymonenc**(q), **Ramonic**. It.: **Raimo**; **Ramondelli**, **Ramondini**, **Ramondino**, **Rimondini**. Ger.: **Reim**.

Patrs.: Ir.: **Redmond**(s) (Gael. **Mac Réamoinn**).

Encouraged by the favourable reception of this work in America, Hanks went on to compile a much larger *Dictionary of American Family Names* (Hanks 2003a), an even more ambitious but much better-focused work, in three volumes, whose entry list is based on computational analysis of the names of over eighty-eight million American telephone subscribers. There is an entry for every name borne by more than a hundred telephone subscribers, as well as for many rarer names such as *Stuyvesant* insofar as the latter are of historical or etymological importance. There are over 70,000 entries altogether. The explanations are the work not of Hanks alone but of thirty of the world's leading surname experts. The contributor for Jewish names, for example, was Alexander Beider, author of two huge studies of Ashkenazic surnames, in the former Russian Empire and the former kingdom of Poland respectively, and a smaller one of the Jewish surnames of Prague.

Every surname (even spelling variants) is a main entry. There are genealogical notes on early American bearers for many entries, especially in cases where the

form of a European name was substantially changed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, a process discussed in Hanks (2003b). A sample entry is:

**Billington** (1345) English: habitational name from any of three places called Billington, in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Bedfordshire. The first of these is first recorded in 1196 as *Billinduna* ‘sword-shaped hill’; the second is in Domesday Book as *Belintone* ‘settlement (Old English *tūn*) of *Billa*’, the one in Bedfordshire is recorded in 1196 as *Billendon*, from an Old English personal name *Billa*+*dūn* ‘hill’. The place in Lancashire is the most likely source of the surname.

**FOREBEARS** John Billington (1580–1630), from Spalding, Lincolnshire, was a passenger on the *Mayflower* in 1620 and an early settler in Plymouth Colony. Governor Bradford called him ‘the profanest’ of the settlers; eventually he was hanged for murder. His son Francis married and had children.

#### 4.3.8 County-by-County Studies

For many years the Marc Fitch Foundation funded a programme of surnames research at the University of Leicester. Seven resultant volumes were published in the English Surnames Series. These are not dictionaries but discursive reports on medieval surname evidence. They are *Yorkshire: West Riding* (Redmonds 1973), *Norfolk and Suffolk* (McKinley 1975), *Oxfordshire* (McKinley 1977), *Lancashire* (McKinley 1981), *Sussex* (McKinley 1988), *Devon* (Postles 1995), and *Leicestershire and Rutland* (Postles 1998).

Redmonds also wrote two tiny but meticulously researched—and readable—dictionaries of surnames in particular districts of Yorkshire (Redmonds 1990, 1992). Even though these each have only sixty-four pages, they provide a model for an approach that, if replicated in every district of Britain, would greatly advance our knowledge of surnames and their history, and contribute significantly to a reliable and comprehensive dictionary.

## 4.4 DICTIONARIES OF CELTIC SURNAMES

A history of English lexicography dealing only with common lexical items might not need to concern itself greatly with dictionaries of languages other than English, but this is not the case with surnames. Surnames of Celtic etymology (Irish and Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, and Cornish) are inextricably interwoven with English and Norman French names in the populations of Britain, Canada, the



USA, Australia, New Zealand, and other English-speaking countries, alongside names originating from many other countries.

#### 4.4.1 *Scottish surnames*

Some surnames of English etymology—and even Anglo-Norman, as in the case of *Sinclair*—are distinctively Scottish. There is also quite a lot of overlap between the surnames of Scotland and the surnames of England—*Wilson* and *Walker*, for example, are characteristic of both Northern England and Scotland, while *Smith* is as common in Aberdeenshire as in Kent. In western Scotland, there is overlap between Scottish clan names and Irish clan names. *Kennedy* is one of many names that are well established on both sides of the Irish Sea. Other names of Gaelic etymology have different conventional Anglicized spellings in Scotland and Ireland, for example *Docherty* and *Doherty*. In the Highlands and Islands, there was language contact between Norse and Gaelic, with the result, inter alia, that there are Gaelic given names with Norse etymons and vice versa. An example is *Sorley* (Gaelic *Somhairle*), which is from the Old Norse personal name *Sumarlíthr* ‘summer warrior’, which in turn was altered by folk etymology in English-language contexts to *Summerlad* and *Summerland*. The clan name *McLeod* (Gaelic *Mac Leòid*) is based on a Norse byname, *Ljótr* ‘ugly’. Also, it is not widely known that a P-Celtic language similar to Welsh was spoken in parts of west central Scotland until about the fourteenth century. The compiler of a dictionary of Scottish surnames, therefore, must have competence in Gaelic, Old Norse, and Welsh, as well as in Anglo-Norman French and Middle English.

The standard work on Scottish surnames is Black (1946). This was the product of a forty-year-long survey of Scottish historical documents, from which names were assiduously collected by the author, a Scottish American in the service of the New York Public Library. This institution published Black’s dictionary when publication in Britain proved to be impossible due to the war and other difficulties. Black provides an often colourful assortment of historical citations. He tells us, for example, at the entry for *Blackbody* that there was ‘a prisoner named Blackbodie in Edinburgh Castle, 1687’ and, as is his wont, gives detailed source information. Black is particularly informative about the origin of Scottish habitational surnames from baronies and other place-names. Black’s primary aim was historical, not etymological. Etymologies are not always given, and when they are they sometimes contain errors.

Two much smaller works on Scottish surnames which should be mentioned are Dorward (1995, 2002) and the specialist study of Shetland surnames by Beattie (2004).

#### 4.4.2 *Irish surnames*

Both the phonology and the spelling of the Irish (Gaelic) language are very different from those of English, which is one of several reasons why most Irish surnames came to be greatly altered in form during more than three centuries of English rule. Moreover, the language was proscribed: teaching in it or even speaking it was made a punishable offence. In the twentieth century scholarly efforts began to disentangle the confused history of Irish personal names. A pioneering work is Woulfe (1923), of which Part I gives the Irish Gaelic form of English and Anglicized names (both Christian names and surnames), e.g. Kevin – *Caoimhghin*; Hickey – *Ó hIceadh* or *O hIcidhe*. Part II gives etymological and historical explanations (in English) of Irish Christian names and surnames.

Building on Woulfe's pioneering efforts, the historian Edmund MacLysaght (1887–1986), who among many other things served as Chief Herald for the Irish Office of Arms, published a series of books on Irish families, culminating in a succinct but authoritative dictionary of surnames whose modest dimensions belie its coverage and importance. This is MacLysaght (1957, 1985), the standard reference work on Irish surnames. With more than 4,000 entries, it has entries for all the most important Irish surnames. These are of Gaelic, Norman, and indeed English and Welsh etymology.

MacLysaght's work in Irish etymology was later supplemented by two leading Irish scholars: Tomás de Bhaldraithe in the Irish entries in Hanks and Hodges (1988) and Kay Muhr in Hanks (2003a). Even when the etymological information is basically the same as in MacLysaght, these more recent works give explanations in less specialized language.

One other Irish surnames dictionary should be mentioned here, namely Bell (1988), a very readable work, which explains the history of some Ulster families as well as the etymology of their names.

#### 4.4.3 *Welsh surnames*

A fine scholarly dictionary of Welsh surnames is Morgan and Morgan (1985). An irony arising from the fact that in 'Welsh Wales' the patronymic system survived into the twentieth century is that surnames of Welsh etymology are found mainly in the English border counties rather than in Wales itself. The Morgans explain in their preface:

The primary aim of this work is not to explain the 'meanings' of Welsh names: rather it tries to provide a historical survey of how the distinctive Welsh surnames came about. To

take one instance, the earliest version of the name *Griffith* is *Grippiud*; this version as a result of natural changes became *Gruffudd*, *Gruffydd*, and eventually ends up as *Griffiths* and on the way, especially in colloquial usage, produces a large number of variant forms such as *Griffies*, *Grephies*, etc., more markedly in the records of the English border counties. In addition there were the ‘hypocoristic’ or pet forms, *Guto* and *Gutyn* which change to *Gittoes*, *Gittings*, etc.

The arrangement is etymological: the surname *Jones* is discussed at *Ieuan*, and *Davies* under *Daffydd*. Because most Welsh surnames are of patronymic origin, there are comparatively few entries, but they are mostly very long and detailed, with large numbers of variant spellings. The entry for *Ieuan*, for example, extends over nearly nine pages of small print in double columns.

In modern Wales a handful of surnames such as *Roberts*, *Williams*, *Hughes*, and *Thomas* account for a very large percentage of the population. Rowlands and Rowlands (1996) is not only an explanatory dictionary but also shows how analysing the geographical distribution of names can shed light on family history in such circumstances.

#### 4.4.4 Cornish surnames

The standard work on Cornish surnames is Pawley White (1972, 1981). Improvements to Pawley White’s etymologies were made by Oliver Padel for the Cornish entries in Hanks and Hodges (1988).

## 4.5 GIVEN NAMES

### 4.5.1 *The origins of given names*

Whereas surnames in Britain were, by and large, formed several hundred years after place-names, traditional given names are very much older than either surnames or place-names, in many cases reaching back into the mists of Germanic or Celtic pre-Christian prehistory or to the Old Testament of the Bible. Until the rise of secularism in the twentieth century, the predominant influence on name choice throughout recorded history has been religion, or rather religious affiliation. In many countries a child could be named legally only with a name sanctioned by the established Church, and in some places this is still the case. In Britain, although the power of the Anglican Church over naming was not enforced by law, the influence of the vicar or rector over his parishioners’ choice

of names for a baby at christening was at times more or less absolute. In more recent years registrars have tended to adopt an advisory role, warning parents against bestowing a bizarre or ill-judged given name on a child.

Whereas the stock of surnames in Britain extends to tens of thousands, the number of traditional given names is only around 3,000. These are supplemented by surnames used as given names and by inventions, building on common nouns (*River, Forest, Rebel*), blends (*Jacquella, Margalinda*), and the basic sound pattern of English (*Condoleezza, Oprah, Lamazia, Feralion*). Such inventions only become the subject matter of lexicography if they become established as conventional names.

#### 4.5.2 Naming, religion, and royalty

Records for the oldest conventional European given names go back to biblical Hebrew, for example *Joshua, David, Samuel, Abigail, Rebecca, Sara(h), and Deborah*. These are names found in the Old Testament of the Bible and are borne by Jews and Protestants alike. Other biblical names such as *Moses, Aaron, Isaac, Hephzibah, and Zipporah* are found more often as Jewish names, though in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries they also found favour among Nonconformist Protestant Christian sects.

Among Christians of almost all denominations, a main source for given names is the New Testament, starting with the names of the twelve disciples—notably *Peter*, the apostle *Paul*, and the four evangelists *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John*. Cognates of these names are found in all European languages and many further afield. A problem for parents wishing to name a daughter with a biblical Christian name has always been the small number of women actually mentioned by name in the New Testament. There are several women called *Mary* (including the mother of Jesus and *Mary Magdalene*) and one called *Martha*, but few others. Therefore, people had recourse to medieval Christian legend (in which, for example, the name *Anne* was attributed to the mother of the Virgin Mary) and to minor characters mentioned in passing in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, for example *Priscilla, Chloe, and Rhoda*. Another source of female names was feminization of a male name, as in the case of *Joan, Jane, and Janet*, which are feminizations of *John*.

The stock of Christian names was greatly augmented by naming in honour of early saints and martyrs. Next to the New Testament, this became the principal source for Roman Catholic given names. A peculiarly Roman Catholic practice is naming a child according to the cult of a local saint. Thus the Italian male name *Gaetano* is specially associated with Naples and the Spanish female name *Leocadia* with Toledo. Insofar as classical Greek and Latin names such as *Anthony* and

*Martin* survived into the Christian era, it was often due to transmission via the cult of an early saint.

After the saints and martyrs of Christianity, the next most fruitful source of English given names is royalty and aristocracy. The names *William*, *Henry*, *Roger*, *Robert*, *Richard*, and *Maud*, are of continental Germanic origin. They were brought to England by Norman royal and aristocratic families, and have remained perennially popular from the eleventh century onwards. *Alfred* and *Edith*, on the other hand, are Anglo-Saxon names that went into something of a decline for several centuries and were revived in the nineteenth century.

A third common source of given names is Celtic history and legend. Many popular names today such as *Bridget* and *Kevin* are Irish saints' names, while pagan legend has contributed names such as *Deirdre* and *Naoise*. Irish and Scottish Gaelic spellings of biblical names (e.g. *Sean* for *John* or *Johannes*, *Seumas*, and *Hamish* for *James*) have also increased in popularity among people of Gaelic descent. Another fruitful Celtic source is Arthurian legend, from which names like *Enid*, *Guinevere* (*Jennifer*), and *Gavin* have been transmitted via Old French and Middle English verse romances.

In the sixteenth century, the practice arose among Puritans of naming children with words denoting desired, admirable, or feared qualities. Writing in 1605, Camden mentions 'the new names [such as] *Free-gift*, *Reformation*, *Earth*, *Dust*, *Ashes*, *Delivery*, *More fruite*, *Tribulation*, *the Lord is neare*, *More triall*, *Discipline*, *Joy againe*, *From above*: which have lately beene given by some to their children with no evill meaning, but upon some singular and precise conceit' (p. 33). The Puritan names that Camden mentions have not survived but others, for example *Hope*, *Faith*, and *Prudence*, have.

It is only at the end of the nineteenth century that we see the emergence of large numbers of conventional names without a religious motivation. The previously rather narrow religious focus of naming broadened out to include wider cultural influences such as popular fiction and films (e.g. *Jancis*, *Errol*, and *Scarlet*). At this time, girls' names also began to be based on common nouns—typically words denoting flowers and gemstones, e.g. *Marigold*, *Daisy*, *Beryl*, *Ruby*. In the 1960s and 1970s other nouns began to be adopted as names for both sexes, such as *Rain*, *Forest*, and *River*.

## 4.6 DICTIONARIES OF GIVEN NAMES

Since the nineteenth century a large number of dictionaries of given names have been published in English, most of them aimed at the 'name-your-baby' market.

As in the case of surnames, this section must start with a note on terminology. The term ‘given names’ is accurate (the names in question are ‘given’ to a person at the start of his or her life), as is ‘forename’. For some reason, however, these terms are not favoured by publishers, who, in this secular age, prefer the term ‘first name’—to which a literal-minded person might object that such names are very often also found as second or middle names. The important point is that both the terms ‘given name’ and ‘first name’ are neutral as regards religious affiliation, and many works devoted to these topics now include discussions of Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, and other naming traditions, as well as Christian names in the strict sense of the term. Although the term ‘Christian name’ had largely lost any implication of religious affiliation in the minds of most English speakers by the twentieth century, it has been superseded, as it is—for obvious reasons—unacceptable to adherents of other religions, whose names now regularly form part of the entry lists of dictionaries devoted to the naming of children.

#### 4.6.1 *Camden on Christian names*

Pages 28–88 of Camden’s *Remaines* (1605) contains two explanatory lists of Christian names (male and female separately), each of which is recognizably in the format of an onomastic dictionary. They are preceded by a general discussion of the subject, then pages 46–75 consist of a dictionary of 210 ‘Usuall Christian names’ followed by one of 120 much shorter entries for ‘Christian Names of Women’. Here are some examples:

ALAN, is thought by *Iulius Scaliger* (some of whose progenitors bare that name) to signifie an hownd in the Sclavonic tongue, and *Chaucer* useth *Aland* in the same sense: neither may it seem strange to take names from beasts. The *Romanes* had their *Caninius*, *Aper*, *Asinius*, &c., and the Christians *Leo*, *Lupus*, *Ursula*. But whereas this came into *England* with *Alan* earle of *Britaine* [*Brittany*], to whom the Conqueror gave the greateste part of *Richmondshire*, and hath bin most common since that time in the Northern parts, in the yonger children of the noble house of *Percies*, and the family of *Zouch*, descended from the Earles of *Britaine*; I would seeke it rather out of the *Brittish*, than *Sclavonian* tongue, and will beleeve with an antient *Britan*, that it is corrupted from *Ælianus*, that is, Sunne-bright, as they corrupted *Vitelianus* to *Guida*[*l*]an.

RALFE, *Germ.* Contracted from *Radulph*, which as *Rodulph* signifieth Help-councell, not differing much from the Greeke *Eubulus*.

ALICE, *Ger.* Abridged from *Adeliz*, Noble. See *Ethelbert*. But the French make it *defendresse*, turning it into *Alexia*.

BARBARA, *Gr.* Strange, of unknowne language, but the name respected in honour of S. *Barbara*, martyred for the true profession of Christian religion, under the Tyranne *Maximian*.

MAUD for MATILD, *ger: Matildis, Mathildis, and Matilda* in Latine. Noble or honourable Ladie of Maides. *Alfric* turneth *Heroina* by *Hild*. So *Hildebert* was heroically famous, *Hildegard*, heroical preserver: and *Hilda* was the name of a religious Lady in the Primitive church of England.

Camden is right that *Alan* was a Breton name (though wrong about the etymology). These entries show both his scholarly approach to name history and the weakness of etymological resources in the seventeenth century. Etymology as we know it today is a product of nineteenth-century scientific scholarship.

Camden's work was copied and elaborated (with some wild guesses about the meaning of Hebrew words) by Lyford (1655), who exhorted his readers to choose biblical names rather than 'barbarous and strange names, as Saxon, Sabin, and German names'.

#### 4.6.2 *Victorian dictionaries of Christian names*

No serious work in onomastic lexicography appeared between Camden (1605) and Nichols (1859), although mention should be made of Harrison's *Etymological Enchiridion* (1823), a brief etymological survey of English words from Romance languages, Greek, and Hebrew, with some entries for names, for example:

**Adam**, *man, earthy, red, bloody* – the first man who was created, who died, aged 930 years. **Eve**, *living, enlivening*.

Harrison died suddenly before his work was complete, so we shall never know whether he intended to tackle words (or names) of Germanic origin. We can hardly imagine that he would have been successful.

The first real dictionary of Christian names was Nichols (1859). This little book contains two sections: 'Christian-names of men' (515 entries) and 'Christian-names of women' (361 entries). The layout is admirably clear. A source language is given, generally correctly, for each name from a menu of fourteen languages (Dutch, French, Gaelic, German, Gothic, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Saxon, Slavonic, Spanish, Teutonic, and Welsh). However, etymons are not given. The 'meanings' of names represent beliefs about etymology that were current in the mid-nineteenth century, most of which have subsequently been superseded. For example, *Alfred* is glossed as 'He who is perfectly peaceable, quiet, and friendly . . .'. This guess was presumably inspired by the Anglo-Saxon words *eall* 'all' and *frith* 'peace', but we

now know that *Alfred* is from *ælf* ‘elf’ + *ræd* ‘counsel’. Nichols’s selection of entries, especially of men’s names, has a strong biblical bias. Thus there are entries for *Abimelech* and *Lamech* but not for *Aidan* or *Lavinia*. Thirty-three years later the publisher reissued the identical text under a different title (Nichols 1892).

The most influential work on given names between the 1860s and the 1940s was *A History of Christian Names* (1863, 1884) by the novelist Charlotte M. Yonge (1823–1901). This is divided into sections on naming in Hebrew, Persian, Greek, Latin, ‘Keltic’, Teutonic, and Slavonic. Despite its title, by far the largest part is devoted to pre-Christian mythology, the product of remarkably wide reading in the literature and mythology of European languages. The front matter contains a 124-page index-cum-glossary, with over 10,000 entries. The etymologies are a mixture of guesswork and inherited errors. A typical error is *Adamnan*, which Yonge correctly identifies as a Scottish male name, but fails to recognize the force of the *-nan* suffix as a pet form, glossing it instead as ‘dwarf Adam’. The attribution of this name to Hebrew rather than Gaelic may seem surprising, until we realize that Yonge is referring to the fact that the base form *Adam* (not the Gaelic entry, of course) comes from Biblical Hebrew.

#### 4.6.3 *Early twentieth-century dictionaries of Christian names*

Several name-your-baby books were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of them of cloying religiosity and few of them of any serious interest. One that deserves notice is *Settle* (1906), a cheerful little book containing about 1,400 main entries and several hundred variant spellings, with etymologies that are generally more accurate than those of Nichols or Yonge. If *Settle* was not confident about the etymology of a name, he simply listed it without explanation. But his confidence was sometimes misplaced, as when he says that *Ladislav* is Russian.

*Partridge* (1936; 3rd edition ‘revised and much enlarged’ 1951) is a recognizably modern dictionary. It has fewer entries than *Settle*, but they are much longer and more informative, with etymons and remarks on cultural associations and famous bearers. The usual crop of errors can be found, especially in the entries for Celtic names. For example, *Partridge* thought that *Kevin* is ‘an Irish elaboration of Kenneth; meaning “handsome child”’. Curiously, *Partridge* does not seem to have thought it necessary to distinguish male names from female names, either by systematic labelling or separate sections.

#### 4.6.4 *Withycombe*

It was not until after the Second World War that a dictionary of Christian names appeared taking full advantage of nineteenth-century Indo-European etymological



research and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. This was Withycombe (1945). It is not only scholarly but also a most readable work, with an excellent historical survey as introduction. The entries give not only etymological and cultural explanations but also a modest selection of early attestations of name forms from Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls, and other sources. They also comment on current frequency. Withycombe said about her selection of entries: ‘The standard adopted is roughly that a name should have survived in use after the end of the fourteenth century (or been revived later). At the other end, it has not been felt possible, or even desirable, to deal with the flood of newly invented names in use at the present time in the United States of America.’ Thus she included entries for *Ermyntrude*, *Mehetabel*, and *Methuselah*, but not for *Errol*, *Jancis*, *Marilyn*, or *Marlene*. The entry for *Oscar* illustrates the fine scholarly character of the work:

**Oscar** (m.): OE *Osgar*, compound of *os* ‘a god’ and *gar* ‘spear’. Both this and the corresponding Norse *Asgeirr* were in use before the Norman Conquest, but do not seem to have long survived it. Macpherson in his Ossianic poems gave the name *Oscar* to the s. of Ossian: the name also appears in some old Ir. poems as *Osgar*, and had doubtless been carried to Ireland by the Danes. Napoleon’s Ossianic enthusiasm caused him to bestow the name Oscar upon his godson, s. of Bernadotte, who later succeeded his father as Oscar I, king of Sweden. The great vogue of *Ossian* on the Continent has led to the general use of the name there. CMY, in mentioning this, adds that with us, however, ‘it has descended to dogs’. But in fact it has, since her time, been used a good deal in England and Ireland.

Partridge, by contrast, had said merely:

OSCAR. This is the O.E. *Osgar*, ‘divine spear’, doubtless with reference to a superlative warrior. See especially Macpherson’s *Ossian* and derivatively, Byron’s *Oscar of Alva*.

While Settle was even briefer (and wronger):

**Oscar** (*Celtic*) bounding warrior.

#### 4.6.5 *Dunkling and Gosling*

The journalist and broadcaster Leslie Dunkling wrote many books on names, starting with a dictionary of Scottish given names (Dunkling 1978), a readable and well-researched work of approximately five hundred entries, with information of particular interest to Scottish people. It does not exclude names that are used elsewhere in the English-speaking world (there are entries for *John*, *Mary*, and *Elisabeth*, for example), but there is a Scottish focus throughout. Thus there are entries for names unknown outside Scotland (*Beathag*, a girls’

name; *Parlan*, a boys' name, the latter being the etymon of the clan name *MacFarlane*). The entry for *Elisabeth* informs the reader, among other things, that 'The Gaelic is *Ealasaid*. One Scottish woman in every twenty-four bears this name.'

Dunkling followed up his work on Scottish first names with one (Dunkling and Gosling 1983) aimed more generally at the English-speaking world. This contains approximately 4,500 main entries. It is a blend of scholarly etymologies, largely reliant on Withycombe, and readable cultural-historical information.

#### 4.6.6 *Hanks and Hodges on first names*

Having completed their comparative survey of European surnames (see above), Hanks and Hodges (1990) turned to the comparative study of European first names, taking the stock of conventional English given names as a base (as well as some less conventional ones), adding several thousand European cognates, and exploring the literary, cultural, and historical associations of these names as well as their origins. A recurrent theme, in addition to etymology, is discussion of the factors that have influenced name choices. These range from Celtic legend and the cult of saints and royalty to—in more recent times—literary influences, not only of the heroes and heroines of the great works of literature but also of works of popular fiction such as *East Lynne* (by Mrs Henry Wood, 1861) and *Precious Bane* (by Mary Webb, 1924) and, more recently still, films, film stars, and rock and pop musicians.

The bibliographical history of the Hanks and Hodges first-name dictionaries is complicated, due to changing assessments within the publishing house of market needs. In 1992, *A Concise Dictionary of First Names* was published, excising the comparative European element. The second edition of the *Concise* (1997) benefited from contributions by George Redmonds, and a third edition appeared in 2001.

In 2006, a second edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of First Names* appeared, edited by Kate Hardcastle. This maintained and extended the original plan of a comparative study of names in European and other languages. In addition to the main text (285 pages) there are thirteen appendices on the most common names in languages other than English (Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Indian, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Scandinavian, Scottish, Spanish, and Welsh). There are also tables showing the most popular names in various parts of the English-speaking world in 2003 or 2004 and trends in popularity of the most frequent names over a fifty-year period in Britain and the United States. The bulk of the book still consists of an alphabetical list of entries with an account of the cultural history of all the names in ordinary use in the English-speaking world.

#### 4.6.7 *Other twentieth-century dictionaries of given names*

In the 1990s, dictionaries of given names proliferated. Most of them are indebted to a greater or lesser extent to Withycombe, Dunkling and Gosling, and/or Hanks and Hodges. It is not possible to do more than mention the main compilers here: Cresswell (1990), Room (1995), Macleod and Freedman (1995), and Pickering (1999). The latter has a very extensive entry list, and numerous well-known bearers are mentioned.

Ingraham (1997) and Norman (1996, 2003) are typical American collections of names from all over the world, as remarkable for the inaccuracy of their etymologies as for the breadth of their coverage.

#### 4.6.8 *Studies of medieval names*

Before leaving the lexicography of English given names, brief mention must be made of scholarly studies of medieval names by Searle (1897), Redin (1919), Feilitzen (1937), and Tengvik (1938). These are not works for the general reader, but together constitute a major contribution to the development of understanding names and naming practices in English.

### 4.7 DICTIONARIES OF CELTIC GIVEN NAMES

In the twentieth century, even as the Celtic languages were struggling for survival around the fringes of Britain (or being given artificial respiration), it became increasingly fashionable for parents to choose Irish, Gaelic, Welsh, and other Celtic names for their children as a symbol of cultural identity—either traditional names (in some cases revivals of traditional names) or modern coinages based on place-names and common nouns. A crop of dictionaries appeared catering to this fashion. For Irish names, Ó Corrain and Maguire (1990) is a fine example of a scholarly work that also meets popular needs. It discusses the origin and history of over nine hundred names culled from medieval Irish sources, many of which have either survived or been revived as modern Irish given names. Coghlan (1979) is a popular work on Irish names; Stephens (2000) and Lewis (2001) offer collections of distinctively Welsh names, while Bice (1970) does the same for Cornish. Dunkling (1978) and Cresswell (1999) are pre-eminent among dictionaries of Scottish personal names. Mackay (1999) is a survey of the whole range of Celtic given names.

## 4.8 CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF ONOMASTIC LEXICOGRAPHY

As this chapter has shown, there is no shortage of dictionaries of given names in English (some more scholarly than others). However, there is a need for new initiatives in the lexicography of family names. Surname scholarship can now draw on vast electronic databases, for the interpretation of which the skills are needed, not only of genealogists, etymologists, and medievalists, but also of social historians, local historians, statisticians, and demographers. The probability or otherwise of individuals mentioned in medieval records being connected with bearers of modern surnames can in principle now be evaluated in the light of statistical and geographical evidence and local patterns of name formation, but this has not yet been systematically attempted. The medievalist approach, while still of fundamental importance, is not the only element needed.

In his Introduction, Löfvenberg (1942) presents a place-names scholar's view of how surnames research should be conducted. He remarks (p. xviii):

The rest of the vast Middle English surnames material is still unworked. It is true that Middle English surname forms have to a certain extent been adduced in some previous more or less dilettante works dealing with modern English surnames, such as Bardsley's *English Surnames* (1875), Weekley's *Surnames* (1916), Bowman's *The Story of Surnames* (1931), Ewen's *A History of Surnames of the British Isles* (1931), Bardsley's *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (1901), and Harrison's *Surnames of the United Kingdom* (1912–18). These works are, however, unsatisfactory from the etymological point of view. The authors try to explain modern surnames without adducing sufficient documentary evidence for their etymologies. It is true that a great many modern surnames can be explained without early forms. But it should be remembered that many a modern surname has more than one origin. Indeed, this is not seldom the case, even with a Middle English one. An etymological dictionary of modern English surnames can be compiled only when the Middle English surname material for every county has been systematically collected and interpreted.

This was the model that inspired Reaney, among others. However, even though it makes a point of fundamental importance, it both understates and (in part) misdiagnoses the problems confronting surnames lexicography. The assumption that the methodology of place-names research is both sufficient and appropriate for surnames research fails to take account of significant differences in the subject matter, among them the following:

1. **Date of origin.** By the eleventh century, most English place-names were already in place. On the other hand, as far as surnames are concerned, the

eleventh century was when surnames were just beginning to be formed. Many surnames are of even more recent origin.

2. **Stability.** Place-names are comparatively stable. Places stay where they are; a researcher can go and survey the topography. Surnames are not so stable. Old ones die out; new ones are coined; people die; families and individuals move around; competing spellings are commonplace. Statistical study of the correlation between surnames and localities is therefore an important component of surnames research, in a way that would be meaningless in a place-names context.
3. **Durability.** It is unusual (though not unknown) for places to disappear entirely, whereas the extinction of a surname is commonplace. Sturges and Haggett (1987) calculate, making reasonable assumptions about number of generations, rate of population growth, number of marrying sons in each family, emigration and immigration, etc., that, for every one thousand surnames borne by a single male in the year 1350, over half are likely to have died out during the subsequent six centuries. This statistic is supported anecdotally by the many names no longer found which are in medieval studies by Fransson, Löfvenberg, and above all in the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*: Kurath, Kuhn, and Lewis 1952–2001). To take just a few examples, the medieval surnames *Berhacch* (from Barhatch Farm in Surrey), *Boltupryht* (nickname = ‘bolt upright’), *Dogskin* (nickname), *Galingale* (from *galingale*, a type of herb), *Slabbard* (nickname, = ‘slow-witted’), *Upholder* (seller of second-hand goods), and a great host of others are no longer with us. The hypothetical connections made or implied between medieval and modern forms in Reaney and Wilson (1991) are similarly open to question.
4. **Records.** Even though, as Löfvenberg observed, there is a vast body of unanalysed material recording the existence of medieval individuals, it is also undoubtedly the case that many other individuals lived and died without leaving any recorded trace of their existence—among them the ancestors of bearers of some modern surnames.
5. **Literacy.** Until the late nineteenth century, the majority of the population was largely illiterate. In the absence of a standardized spelling system, surnames, on the comparatively rare occasions when they needed to be written down—for example in registers of births, marriages, and deaths—could be and were spelled in a variety of different ways. The standardized spellings that emerged in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries often owed little to the etymological origin of the name. Thus the connection of the surname *Bromage* with the place-name *Bromwich* is not immediately apparent; likewise *Wooster* with *Worcester*, *Lester* with *Leicester*, and *Stopford* with *Stockport*.

6. **Polygenesis.** Place-names are borne by a comparatively small number of individual places. Even *Milton*, one of the commonest English and Scottish place-names, with at least two distinct etymologies ('middle settlement' and 'mill settlement'), is the name of only a few dozen places. Most surnames, on the other hand, are each borne by hundreds—in some cases thousands—of individuals at any one time. Even if it could be shown which bearers of the surname *Milton* can be traced to which place called Milton (itself an impossible pipe dream), the question would still remain whether all the bearers traced to, say, Milton in Cambridgeshire are members of the same family, or whether they are descended from quite different former denizens of that place.

In short, the relationship between medieval surnames and modern surnames is more complex than the easy assumptions of place-name scholarship would assume.

Scholars such as Redmonds (1997 and *passim*) and McClure (1998) have argued that, in order to identify the origins and history of a surname, it is first necessary to establish the locality with which the name is associated and then to pay close attention to the topography, place-names (especially minor place-names such as field-names and house-names), dialect (medieval and modern), industry, and social circumstances of that locality. Redmonds, with his unrivalled knowledge of the history of West Yorkshire, was able to show errors in Reaney's dictionary due to a failure to take account of such factors. For example, Reaney had glossed the surname *Gaukroger* as 'awkward or clumsy Roger', whereas Redmonds showed that it is much more likely to be from a place-name meaning 'cuckoo crag'. Effective future research ideally requires detailed local studies like those of Redmonds for every region of Britain, backed up by a broad overview.

Three organizations provide forums in which relevant research can be presented: the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland (SNSBI), the Guild of One Name Studies (GOONS), and the Federation of Family History Societies. The first of these is an academic organization, while the latter is more concerned with genealogy. GOONS bridges the gap, with members researching all aspects of a particular surname.

# PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES—I EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

*Joan C. Beal*

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

IN the course of the eighteenth century, lexicographers paid increasing attention to providing information about the pronunciation of words. Whilst no dictionary produced in the first half of the century could properly be called a pronouncing dictionary, either in the sense that its primary purpose was to provide a guide to pronunciation or that it provided a complete guide to the pronunciation of every word, there is a progression from the first appearance of accentuation in Dyche's (1723) *A Dictionary of All the Words Commonly Used in the English Tongue*, to the cluster of self-proclaimed 'pronouncing dictionaries' which appeared in the last quarter of the century. The most successful of these, John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), was to set the standard for the following century. It was reprinted over a hundred times, the last reprint appearing as late as 1904, thus achieving a dominance of the market which was not challenged until the arrival of Daniel Jones. In the following section (5.2), I shall first trace the progress towards full representation of pronunciation in early eighteenth-century dictionaries, then, in 5.3, review the first true pronouncing dictionaries, produced in the mid-eighteenth century. In 5.4, I shall discuss the cluster of pronouncing dictionaries published in the last three decades of the eighteenth century. Special attention will be

paid here to the most influential pronouncing dictionaries of the period: Sheridan (5.4.1) and Walker (5.4.2). In this last section, I shall also discuss Walker's nineteenth-century editors and imitators, with a view to explaining his success.

## 5.2 PRONUNCIATION IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DICTIONARIES

According to Emsley (1940: 1162), Thomas Dyche's *A Dictionary of All the Words Commonly Used in the English Tongue* (1723) was the first to provide any guidance to the pronunciation of words, in that it marked accentuation. Figure 5.1 shows the title page of the second edition, entitled *The spelling dictionary; or, a collection of all the common words and proper names made use of in the English tongue* (1725).

Starnes and Noyes consider the second volume of Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1727) to be the first dictionary to indicate pronunciation:

The *New General English Dictionary* [Dyche and Pardon 1735] is often credited with two innovations, both practical in nature: the indication of accent and the introduction of grammar. ... It must be conceded that Dyche quickened the interest of the period in pronunciation through his earlier writings, but accentuation had been marked in several Bailey dictionaries antedating the *New General English Dictionary*. This feature ... had first appeared in Bailey's second volume of 1727 and had thence been transferred to the *Dictionarium Britannicum* in 1730 and the *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* in the 1731 edition (1946: 129).

Starnes and Noyes do not accord this honour to Dyche's *spelling dictionary* because they do not consider it a dictionary: 'its title is a misnomer and it consists merely of lists of words without definitions' (1946: xx). They concede that 'Dyche did give the initial impetus to the study of pronunciation' and that 'the stress of the title page and the introduction of the *New General English Dictionary* on pronunciation was largely instrumental in establishing this department as a requisite of an English dictionary' (1946: 129).

Accentuation, or 'stress' marking, became a matter of concern in the early eighteenth century because lexicographers such as Dyche and Bailey realized that their readership would include those who had little knowledge of Latin, and would therefore be unsure about stress placement in polysyllabic Latinate words. The title page of the *New General English Dictionary* advertises itself as 'Peculiarly





calculated for the Use and Improvement of such as are unacquainted with the Learned Languages' (1735). It is certainly the case that most dictionaries published after Dyche and Pardon's made a point of advertising that they marked accent. Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1749) claims to direct 'the True Pronunciation of Words by single and double accents' and the anonymous *Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expositor* (1753) claims that 'every word is so accented, that there can be no Uncertainty as to the Pronunciation'.

### 5.3 THE FIRST 'PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES'

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, it appears that the one aspect of 'true pronunciation' which was of concern to lexicographers was where the accent should fall. The first dictionary to indicate the pronunciation of sounds (i.e. 'segmental phonology'), rather than just accentuation, was James Buchanan's *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio* (1757). Earlier dictionaries had promised to indicate the 'true pronunciation' (*vera pronuntiatio*), but Buchanan foregrounded the phrase further by bringing it into his title. He makes the following claim on his title page:

Every Word has not only the common Accent to denote the Emphasis of the Voice, but, in order to a just Pronunciation, every Syllable is marked with a long or short Accent to determine its Quantity; and the quiescent letters, various sounds of vowels &c. are so distinguished, that any Person, Native or Foreigner, who can but read, may speedily acquire an accurate Pronunciation of the English Language (1757: title page).

Buchanan's *Vera Pronuntiatio* is said by Emsley (1933: 1156) to be 'perhaps the first English pronouncing dictionary', and by Alston (1968) to constitute 'the first attempt to provide a "standard" of pronunciation for the vocabulary of English'. Buchanan himself claims in his preface that, before the *Vera Pronuntiatio*, there had been 'not one English dictionary, by which we could thoroughly regulate our pronunciation' (1757: vii). Buchanan goes on to discuss the importance of differentiating 'long' from 'short' sounds of the vowels, and claims that 'accent and pronunciation have hitherto been ignorantly accepted as synonymous terms; and the common accent has been deemed sufficient to direct the pronunciation' (1757: x).

Whilst Buchanan does not provide a full account of the pronunciation of every syllable in every word, he uses breves to indicate short vowels and macrons to indicate long vowels or diphthongs: thus *ăbăcŭs* but *Abā'te*. Although no further

information is given on the notation, Buchanan prefaces his dictionary with ‘Practical observations on the powers and various sounds of the vowels and consonants, both single and double’ in which the quality of ‘long’ or ‘short’ vowels is described. Thus ‘the short sound of (*a*) is expressed in *bad*, *bat*, *band* &c., which words are pronounced nearly *běd*, *bět*, *běnd*’ (1757: 8). ‘Quiescent’ letters in a word are represented in roman font, whilst the rest of the word is in italic, as in *doubt*, *psalm*, and, in cases where the spelling of a word bears little correspondence to its pronunciation, Buchanan resorts to a semi-phonetic spelling of the word in brackets to indicate the latter. Thus *beau* [*bō*], *flambeau* [*flambo*], *enough* [*enuff*], and so on. Buchanan’s *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio* thus gives far more information about the pronunciation of words than any other dictionary before it. Buchanan’s dictionary, then, was innovative in several ways:

- It was the first dictionary to use macrons and breves to indicate quantity
- It was the first to use semi-phonetic respelling
- It was the first to indicate ‘silent’ letters systematically
- Its compiler was the first to produce a dictionary specifically designed to regulate pronunciation.

The *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio* thus has a good claim to be considered the ‘first English pronouncing dictionary’, but it was not an immediate critical success. The main objections voiced by critics were that, as a Scot, he did not ‘seem a competent judge of English pronunciation’ and that he had ‘altered our manner of spelling too’ (*Monthly Review* XVII: 82, cited in Emsley 1940: 1157). Buchanan’s Scottishness was, in fact, a spur to his providing a guide to ‘proper’ pronunciation. He states in the preface to the *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio* that ‘the people of North Britain seem, in general, to be almost at as great a loss for proper accent and just pronunciation as foreigners’, but, after studying his work, he promises, ‘they may in a short time pronounce as properly and intelligibly as if they had been born and bred in London’ (1757: xv). The ‘North Britons’, as the Scots were called in the period immediately following the Act of Union (1707), were one of the prime markets for the elocutionists of the later eighteenth century, and Walker’s *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* includes a list of ‘rules to be observed by the Natives of Scotland, for attaining a just pronunciation of English’ (1791: xi). Scotticisms were stigmatized within and outside Scotland, so it is not surprising that this first attempt at a pronouncing dictionary by a Scot was met with criticism. On the second point, that Buchanan had ‘altered’ the ‘manner of spelling’ in representing pronunciation, the criticism reflects the primacy of ‘correct’ spelling over pronunciation in the age of Johnson. Although Buchanan

was not advocating reformed spelling, and used semi-phonetic spelling as a last resort, any method that seemed to interfere with conventional spelling was not well received. Nevertheless, Buchanan's method of semi-phonetic spelling was adopted by later lexicographers and, according to Emsley 'is still the mainstay of all modern dictionaries that do not use international or "scientific" alphabets' (1940: 1164).

The next dictionary which attempted to provide a guide to the pronunciation of every word was William Johnston's *Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* (1764). Johnston states in his introduction:

The principal end pursued in this work is, by the letters of the alphabet, exactly to signify the proper sounds of English words, so that one who is unacquainted with their sounds, may know them, and learn duly, to pronounce them. The standard of these sounds, which we would all along keep in view, is that pronunciation of them, in most general use, amongst people of elegance and taste of the English nation, and especially in London (1764: 1).

Johnston aligns himself with Buchanan, stating in his preface that, just before publishing, he acquired a copy of Buchanan's work, which he considered 'a laudable effort of the same nature with this of mine' (1764: vii), but, since he felt that he had himself 'hit upon many things necessary for conveying a right pronunciation by the letters, which are not mentioned in his, nor, for what I know, in any other author's' (ibid.), he decided to go ahead and publish anyway.

Johnston's work was certainly the first to give a complete account of the pronunciation of English, and had a moderate degree of commercial success and influence: Buchanan based much of his (1766) *Essay Towards Establishing a Standard for an Elegant and Uniform Pronunciation of the English Language* on Johnston, and the *Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* was reprinted in 1772 and in about 1795. Johnston sets out the 'rules' of English spelling, insofar as they give indications of pronunciation. In cases where these rules are not followed, he uses different types to distinguish the sounds indicated:

- *Italic* type when used for consonants indicates that the letter is sounded in a way which deviates from the spelling rule
- Black letter type is the 'sign of quiescence', indicating that the letter is silent, as in <psalm>.

A consonantal letter in italics could therefore have several phonetic values, depending on the spelling rule concerned. For example, Johnston cites the rule that <s> between vowels is usually pronounced /z/ in English. Since this is the norm, no further indication of pronunciation is needed in words such as

<miser>, where the orthographic <s> is left undisturbed. In cases where this rule is not followed, Johnston indicates the pronunciation by an italicized <s>. Thus in <generosity>, where an intervocalic <s> is pronounced /s/, in contravention of the first rule mentioned above, an italicized <s> is used to indicate this pronunciation. Conversely, in <baptism>, where the orthographic <s> is pronounced as /z/ in an environment other than that specified by the rule, the same italicized <s> is used by Johnston to represent the /z/ sound. Where vowels are concerned, Johnston uses italic type to represent ‘long’ vowels. In the Introduction, he provides descriptions of each vowel sound, along with examples from ‘Scotch’ and French, to convey the pronunciation. On ‘accented long a’, for instance, he says the following: ‘the accented long a, as in *nature*, *naval*, *nation*, has the sound, though rather shorter, of ai in *aid*, or of a in *made*, or of the Scotch ai in *maister*, or of the French ai in *maitre*’ (1764: 15). This suggests a pronunciation like /ɛ:/ or /e:/. Johnston uses ‘italic *a* with a long [accent] over it’ to denote the ‘broad sound’ used in e.g. *āll*, *cāll*, etc., roman *a* for the ‘short sound’ in e.g. *at*, *act*, and a roman *a* with a macron, for what he calls ‘acute *ā*’, in *fāther*, *hārt*, etc. He explains that ‘this long acute *ā* seldom occurs but before l, m, n, r, followed by some other consonant; and before soft th, u and w, and when accented in the end of words’ (1764: 26). A careful reader would thus know exactly which ‘sound of a’ was indicated by the different combinations of font and diacritic in Johnston’s dictionary:

- *a* in *nature*, *naval*, *nation* = /ɛ:/
- *ā* in *all*, *call* = /ɔ:/
- *a* in *at*, *act* = /æ/
- *ā* in *father*, *hart*, *aha* = (most likely) /æ:/

In cases where the deviation from the spelling rules is so extreme that it cannot be explained by his system, Johnston, like Buchanan, uses semi-phonetic respelling: thus *beaux* is respelt <bōs>, and *laugh*, <lāff>.

This information may be extremely useful to philologists, but cannot have been very ‘user-friendly’ for those who simply wanted a guide to ‘correct’ pronunciation, as they would need to work their way through a lengthy introduction in order to determine which sounds were represented by which combinations of letter, font, and diacritic. Although more information on the quality of sounds is provided in Johnston’s *Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* than in Buchanan’s *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronuntiatio*, it is still some way from providing the clear guidance to the pronunciation of each word that we find in later pronouncing dictionaries.

## 5.4 PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The 1770s saw an increase in the market for, and production of, pronouncing dictionaries of English. The market was created by an increased awareness of what Holmberg calls ‘the snob value of a good pronunciation’ (1964: 20). The social and geographical mobility of this period, together with the prescriptive and normative attitude to language which Leonard (1929) terms the ‘Doctrine of Correctness’ led to a demand, particularly from the upwardly mobile and especially those living in Scotland, Ireland, and parts of England remote from the capital (‘the provinces’) for clear and explicit guides to ‘proper and polite’ pronunciation. The elocution movement began in this period, and it is no coincidence that the most successful authors of eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries, Thomas Sheridan and John Walker, were teachers of elocution. Their aim was to produce a dictionary which would give as clear and complete a guide to pronunciation as possible, so a form of notation had to be devised which would mark this clearly and unambiguously.

We have seen that, up to the mid-eighteenth century, there was a progression in the amount of guidance on pronunciation provided in English dictionaries, from the marking of accent in Bailey’s *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1727)—or Dyche’s *Dictionary of All Words Used in the Common Tongue* (1723), if we consider this a dictionary—to the detailed information on quality, quantity, and accentuation provided in Johnston’s *Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* (1764). Buchanan and Johnston both used diacritics and variations of font (italic, black letter) to supplement the alphabet and to disambiguate instances in which the same letter represents several different sounds. However, this was unsatisfactory in two ways: the resulting representation required lengthy and complicated explanation, so that the reader could not immediately look up a word and see how it should be pronounced. Moreover, in some cases, such as *beaux*, *laugh*, etc., no ‘rule’ could explain the pronunciation, and so semi-phonetic spelling had to be used. The latter expedient, which had been employed in the preceding century by orthoepists such as Christopher Cooper (1685, 1687), led to Buchanan’s being accused of having ‘altered our manner of spelling’, as has already been shown.

A cluster of dictionaries appearing from 1773 onwards attempted to provide clearer and more consistent notation. Most of these made use of the simple but highly effective method of using superscripted numerals to distinguish vowel sounds. However, before discussing these, we need to consider a dictionary which



AN ACCURATE  
NEW SPELLING and PRONOUNCING  
ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

A	A B B
<p><b>A</b>, An article, placed before names of the singular number that begin with a sounded consonant.</p> <p>A'bacus, (\BIKIS) n. a counting table; the uppermost member of a pillar.</p> <p>Abáft, (\B\FT) ad. behind; to the stern.</p> <p>Abáifance, (\BAZINS) n. a bow or curtesy; respect.</p> <p>Abándon, (\B\NDIN) v. to forsake; to desert.</p> <p>Abáfe, (\BAS) v. to bring down; to humble.</p> <p>Abáfcment, (\BASMINT) n. depression; humiliation.</p> <p>Abáfh, (\B\SH) v. to put to the blush.</p> <p>Abáte, (\BAT) v. to diminish; to lessen.</p> <p>Abátament, (\BATMINT) n. an allowance made.</p> <p>Abb, (\B) n. the warp threads of cloth.</p> <p>A'bbacy, (\BISE) n. the rights, privileges, or jurisdiction of an abbot.</p> <p>A'bbefs, (\BIS) n. the governess of an abbey inhabited by women.</p> <p>Abbey, (\BE) n. a monastery, governed by an abbot or abbefs.</p> <p>A'bbot, (\BIT) n. the chief of an abbey inhabited by men.</p>	<p>Abbréviatc, (\BREVEAT) v. to abridge; to shorten.</p> <p>Abbreviátion, (\BREVEASHIN) n. shortening; a contraction.</p> <p>Abbréviaturc, (\BREVEITUR) n. a mark used for the sake of shortening.</p> <p>A'bdicate, (\BDIKAT) v. to renounce; to resign.</p> <p>Abdicátion, (\BDIKASHIN) n. resignation.</p> <p>Abdómen, (\BDOMIN) n. the lower part of the belly.</p> <p>Abdóminous, (\BDOMINUS) q. belonging to the abdomen; big-bellied.</p> <p>Abdúce, (\BDUS) v. to draw away.</p> <p>Abecedárian, (ABESEDAREIN) n. one who teaches the alphabet.</p> <p>Abecedary, (ABESEDIRE) q. belonging to the alphabet.</p> <p>Abérrance, (\BERINS) n. an error.</p> <p>Abérrant, (\BERINT) q. going wrong.</p> <p>Abérring, (\BERING) part. going astray.</p> <p>Aberrátion, (\BIRASHIN) n. wandering.</p> <p>Abét, (\BET) v. to aid, or assist.</p> <p>Abétment, (\BETMINT) n. encouragement.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">A 2</p>

Fig. 5.3. The first page of Spence's *Grand Repository of the English Language*, 1775

An examination of the layout of Spence's 'New Alphabet' reveals that, above all, it is based on the traditional alphabet and the most usual values of letters in traditional orthography. In the case of the vowels, the first symbol listed is in each case identical to the upper-case form in traditional orthography and it represents the sound which is nearest to the name of that letter: thus <A> represents the sound used by Spence in *mane*; <E> represents that used in *mete*; <I> represents that used in *site*; <O> represents the sound in *note*; and <U> represents that in *tune*. In each case, the other vowel sounds most usually represented by that letter are listed immediately after it and the symbols concerned are all formed by modifying the conventional uppercase letter. Thus the '<a> sounds' are listed together: the right-hand half of <A> being used to represent the vowel used by Spence in *man*; <A> without the crossbar to represent that in *father*; and a ligatured <A> and <U> to represent the sound in *wall*. The vowels used by Spence in *not* and *tun*, like that in *man*, are each represented by a symbol formed by cutting the conventional uppercase letter in half vertically. (Incidentally, a third <u> symbol was not needed because Spence, being a northerner, would not distinguish the vowel of *tun* from that of *bull*.)



Cutting in half vertically would not be practicable for <E> and <I>, so, in these cases, the ‘short’ values are represented by symbols in which a crossbar is added to the conventional uppercase letter. As far as possible, the order in which Spence’s symbols are listed follows that of the traditional alphabet: the four ‘<a>-sounds’ are followed by <B> and so on. After <Z>, Spence lists the symbols for sounds which are not represented by a single symbol in traditional orthography and for which he has created new symbols by ligaturing. In most cases, these ligatured symbols are formed by joining together the two letters which usually represent the sound in traditional orthography: thus /ŋ/ is represented by ligaturing <N> and <G>; /ʌ/ by ligaturing <W> and <H>; and the diphthongs /oi/ as in *oil* and /au/ as in *house* by ligaturing <O> with <I> and <U> respectively. The only exception to this is the ligaturing of <Z> and <H> to create a symbol for /ʒ/ as in *vision*, but since Spence represents /s/ as <S> and /z/ as <Z> it would seem logical to use this ligatured symbol for the voiced equivalent of /ʃ/ as in *shell*, which is represented by ligaturing <S> and <H>. Unfortunately, Spence did not use the same reasoning in devising symbols for /θ/ as in *think* and /ð/ as in *they*: instead of differentiating this voiceless/voiced pair by ligaturing <H> with <T> and <D> respectively, Spence uses two ligatures of <T> and <H>, taking the bar right across the top for /θ/ but not for /ð/. These two symbols are extremely difficult to distinguish from each other in the *Grand Repository* and Spence’s Errata page contains fourteen words in which the wrong <TH> symbol has been printed out of 104 errata altogether. The ligature of two <O> symbols for /u:/ as in *moon* might seem out of place here, representing as it does what to the phonetically trained mind is a ‘<u> sound’, but once again Spence has created a symbol by ligaturing the two letters which most usually represented that sound in traditional orthography. Spence places this symbol at the end of his alphabet probably because it accords neither with the ‘<O> sounds’ nor the ‘<U> sounds’ in his sequence.

Spence’s *Grand Repository* is anomalous in many ways. It was certainly the only English dictionary of the eighteenth century to employ a new, phonetic alphabet, and the alphabet itself is like nothing used before or since. Spence’s motivation for producing a pronouncing dictionary was likewise different from that of his contemporaries. He intended not only to provide a guide to what he terms ‘the most proper and agreeable Pronunciation’ (1775: Sig A1<sup>r</sup>), but, more importantly for him, to introduce a system of reformed spelling in order to make it easier for children and working-class adults to learn to read. Spence held radical views, believing that land and property should be held in common and that, if only what he termed ‘the laborious part of the people’ could learn to read, they would no longer tolerate the oppression which they suffered. Given the adverse reaction to

Buchanan's sporadic attempts at semi-phonetic spelling, it is not surprising that Spence's *Grand Repository* enjoyed little commercial success. Only one edition was published, and there are only two copies extant today: one in Boston, Massachusetts, and one in Newcastle upon Tyne, where it was published. In an age when the slightest deviation from conventional spelling was viewed negatively, a dictionary which used a totally new phonetic alphabet had no chance of success. Even Spence's supporters viewed his 'New Alphabet' as a distraction from his more important political work. Spence's *Grand Repository* was a dictionary out of its time, looking back to the spelling reformers of the sixteenth century and forwards to those of the nineteenth, but totally out of tune with its own age. As such, it cannot be said to have influenced later dictionaries, but cannot nonetheless be denied its place in history as the first 'phonetic' dictionary of English.

The system of notation which was used in the most successful pronouncing dictionaries of the late eighteenth century (and later) was one in which a combination of superscripted numbers marking vowel sounds, and italics to mark consonantal distinctions, was employed to provide maximum information on pronunciation with minimum disruption to conventional spelling. The first dictionary to employ such a system was William Kenrick's *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1773), but the idea seems to have been first mooted by Thomas Sheridan, whose *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780) was one of the most influential pronouncing dictionaries of this period. Holmberg cites Kenrick as being, with Sheridan, 'the first to introduce a practicable transcription system' (1964: 29). The full title of Kenrick's dictionary is:

A NEW DICTIONARY of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE: CONTAINING not only the *Explanation* of Words with their *Orthography*, *Etymology* and *Idiomatical Use* in WRITING; BUT LIKEWISE, their *Orthoepia* or Pronunciation in SPEECH, according to the present Practice of polished Speakers in the Metropolis; which is rendered obvious at Sight, in a Manner perfectly simple, and principally new. TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, A RHETORICAL GRAMMAR; IN WHICH The Elements of Speech in general, and those of the English Tongue in particular, are analyzed, and the Rudiments of Articulation, Pronunciation and Prosody, intelligibly displayed.

In his introduction, Kenrick points out that 'while our learned fellow subjects of Scotland and Ireland are making frequent attempts to ascertain, and fix a standard to, the pronunciation of the English tongue, the natives of England themselves seem to be little anxious either for the honour or improvement of their own language' (1773: i). Kenrick goes on to state that the 'attempts of the Scots and Irish' have been doomed to failure because 'men cannot teach others what they themselves do not know'. Like the reviewer in the *Monthly Review*

whose criticism of Buchanan is cited above, and like many critics after him, Kenrick is claiming that only the English are qualified to ‘ascertain and fix’ the pronunciation of English. Buchanan comes in for criticism and even ridicule in Kenrick’s introduction, not just for being a Scot but for ‘endeavouring to express the sounds of syllables, by varying their orthography, or spelling them in a different manner’ (1773: i). Kenrick goes on to respell a passage from *The Idler* in the semi-phonetic spelling adopted by Buchanan, to demonstrate its ‘absurdity’ (1773: ii). He acknowledges that ‘the celebrated Mr. Sheridan has avoided falling into this erroneous practice and very judiciously proposes to distinguish the sounds of words by certain typographical marks to be placed over particular syllables’ and that ‘if this gentleman had carried his plan into execution, he would have superseded the present work’ (1773: iii). Kenrick must have learnt of Sheridan’s scheme from his *Dissertation on the English Language* (1761). In the *Dissertation*, Sheridan points out the well-understood lack of correspondence between the orthography and pronunciation of English, and, having discussed the pros and cons of spelling reform, announces that, whilst this would be impracticable, he intends to provide a clear guide to pronunciation by publishing ‘a Dictionary, in which the true pronunciation, of all the words in our tongue, shall be pointed out by visible and accurate marks’ (1761: 30). Whilst Sheridan does not refer here to his system of superscripted numbers, he provides the table which proved to be the basis for that system, in which the different ways of pronouncing each alphabetical vowel are numbered. Kenrick’s scheme of vowels appears as Figure 5.4, below.

As can be seen, Kenrick uses numbers placed over syllables to indicate the precise quality of the vowels. For example, the number 1 placed over any syllable would indicate that the vowel was to be pronounced something like /ʌ/ whatever the orthographic vowel. Thus *cur*; *fir*; *her*; *earth* would all have the number 1 placed above, with the orthography left intact, and so <u<sup>1</sup>>; <i<sup>1</sup>>; <e<sup>1</sup>>; and <ea<sup>1</sup>> can all indicate the same sound. As well as his sixteen vowels and diphthongs, Kenrick makes use of a ‘cypher’ [o], for what he calls ‘the indistinct sound’, i.e. schwa, ‘as practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles *a* and *the*, the last syllables of words ending in *en*, *le*, and *re*, as *a garden*, *the castle* &c. also in the syllable frequently sunk in the middle of words of three syllables, as *every*, *memory*, *favourite*, &c. which are in versification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision’ (1773: v). Kenrick’s recognition of schwa as a distinct sound makes him almost unique amongst eighteenth-century authors: most other pronouncing dictionaries use the same symbol for the ‘indistinct sound’ as for the ‘short *u*’ in, for example, *cup*, *blood*. Kenrick distinguishes consonantal sounds only where this is absolutely necessary to

TABLE OF ENGLISH SOUNDS, OR VOWELS;  
Expressed in different Syllables by various Letters.

- No. 1. Example. *Cur, fir, her, monk, blood, earth, &c.*  
 2. Ex. *Town, noun, how, bough.*  
 3. Ex. *Bull, wool, wolf, push.*  
 4. Ex. *Pool, groupe, troop.*  
 5. Ex. *Call, hawel, caul, soft, oft, George, cloth.*  
 6. Ex. *New, cube, duty, beauty.*  
 7. Ex. *Not, what, gone, swan, war, was.*  
 8. Ex. *No, beau, foe, moan, blown, roan.*  
 9. Ex. *Boy, joy, toil.*  
 10. Ex. *Hard, part, carve, laugh, heart.*  
 11. Ex. *And, hat, crag, bar.*  
 12. Ex. *Bay, they, weigh, fail, tale.*  
 13. Ex. *Met, sweat, bead, bread.*  
 14. Ex. *Meet, meat, deceit.*  
 15. Ex. *Fit, yes, busy, women, English, guilt.*  
 16. Ex. *Why, nigh, I, buy, join, lyre, hire, &c. &c.*

FIG. 5.4. Kenrick's scheme of vowels in *New Dictionary of the English Language*, 1773

disambiguate the pronunciation. Thus, voiced /ð/ is spelt <dh>, and /z/ is spelt <zh> 'notwithstanding those combinations of letters seldom or never occur in writing'. He also uses italics to distinguish different pronunciations: thus <TI> for /ti/, but <TI> for /ʃ/. An extract from Kenrick's dictionary will demonstrate how his system works: *Abominable* has its main entry spelt conventionally in small capitals, with the stress marked, thus <ABO'MINABLE>, then with the superscripted numbers <AB<sup>11</sup>-OM<sup>7</sup>-I<sup>15</sup>-NA<sup>11</sup>-BLE<sup>0</sup>>. *Abomination* is respelt as <AB<sup>11</sup>-OM<sup>7</sup>-I<sup>15</sup>-NA<sup>12</sup>-TI on<sup>1</sup>>.

Kenrick's introduction is followed by a 'rhetorical grammar' which includes a description of each sound, as well as sections on syllables, prosody, and 'poetical measures'. The sections on vowels and consonants include remarks on the incorrect pronunciation of provincial speakers, and, indeed, provincial orthoepists. Speaking of his vowel 1, he remarks:

It is further observable of this sound, that the people of Ireland, Yorkshire, and many other provincials mistake its use; applying it to words which in London are pronounced with the u full as in . . . no 3 of the Dictionary: as *bull, wool, put, push*, all of which they pronounce as the inhabitants of the Metropolis do *trull, blood, rut, rush*. Thus the ingenious Mr. Ward of Beverley, has given us in his grammar the words *put, thus* and *rub* as having one quality of sound; but unless by the word *put* he meant the substantive, a Dutch game of cards so called, or the ludicrous appellation given to provincials of *country put*, it is never so

pronounced. The verb, to *put*, is pronounced properly\* like *pull*, which is only a contraction of the sound of *pool*; or like *full*, a contraction only of *fool* (1773: 36).

The asterisk refers to a footnote:

\*By being *properly* pronounced, I would be always understood to mean, pronounced agreeable to the general practice of men of letters and polite speakers in the Metropolis; which is all the standard of propriety I concern myself about, respecting the arbitrary pronunciation or quality of sound given to monosyllables.

Kenrick's *New Dictionary of the English Language* contains many of the elements of later pronouncing dictionaries: it uses a system of superscripted numbers to provide a clear guide to pronunciation with minimal disruption to the orthography; it provides extensive notes about the pronunciation of these sounds in a prefaced 'rhetorical grammar'; and it is explicitly normative, promoting the pronunciation of 'polite speakers in the Metropolis' and denigrating the pronunciation of 'provincial' speakers and authors, whether Scots such as Buchanan, or from the English 'provinces' such as 'Mr Ward of Beverley'. Kenrick's dictionary attracted some attention, especially from John Burn, whose *Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (1777, second edition, 1786) copied Kenrick's system exactly. However, the different system of notation introduced by Sheridan (1780) was to prove more influential in the long run.

Published between Kenrick's *New Dictionary* and Sheridan's *General Dictionary*, and in the same year as Spence's *Grand Repository*, was William Perry's *Royal Standard English Dictionary* (1775). Perry was a schoolmaster who owned private 'academies', first in Kelso in the Scottish Borders and later in Edinburgh. Sturiale (2006: 145–6) points out that he had attracted positive reviews for his first publication, *The Man of Business and Gentleman's Assistant* (1774), which dealt with various subjects, including arithmetic, bookkeeping, and grammar. Perry was concerned to find a way of indicating pronunciation without disturbing traditional orthography, and, in the preface to the first edition of the *Royal Standard English Dictionary*, points out the shortcomings of his rivals. He had read widely, for he is the only eighteenth-century lexicographer to mention Spence:

The plan I have fixed upon, for my intended purpose, will, I hope, be found as eligible as it is explicit, and superiour to that adopted some years ago by Mr. Buchanan, who, to effect the same design, expressed the sounds of words by varying their orthography. Another late author, Mr. Spence of Newcastle, has attempted to ascertain this wished-for criterion, by means of a new alphabet (1775: vi).

Perry links Spence with Buchanan as authors whose attempts to 'vary the orthography' would lead to problems for those learning to write. Although the

*Royal Standard English Dictionary* was published five years before Sheridan's *General English Dictionary* and sixteen years before Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), Perry had studied both these authors' plans, and found them wanting.

On the title page of the *Royal Standard English Dictionary*, Perry claims that by 'a Key to this Work, comprising the various Sounds of the Vowels and Consonants, denoted by typographical characters, and illustrated by Examples, which render it intelligible to the weakest capacity, it exhibits their true pronunciation'. The Key, reproduced as Figure 5.5 below, uses superscripted numbers, but these are not employed in the dictionary itself. The numbers are intended merely to indicate that there are, for example, six ways of pronouncing the letter <a>; the different diacritics (accents) and fonts distinguish these from each other. In the dictionary proper, Perry leaves the orthography undisturbed, using diacritics to distinguish the vowel sounds, commas and cedillas to distinguish between consonantal sounds, and italics to mark silent letters and 'indistinct vowels'. Perry also indicates 'flat and slowly accented syllables' by the use of a grave accent, and 'sharp and quickly accented syllables' with an acute accent. He adds in a note below his key that 'a, e, i, o and u without any of the above characters either alone, or before or after a consonant, have a shorter sound than a, e, i, o, and u, though of the same quality, in the same proportion as a in *wash* is to a in *hall* or o in *not* is to o in *soft*'.

Perry's dictionary was highly successful, both in Britain and America. Alston (1966: 53–5) lists ten British editions to 1804, and six American editions, the latest of which was published in 1801, followed by reprints up to 1813. Nevertheless, Perry's reputation was to be eclipsed by those of his 'principal rivals', Thomas Sheridan and John Walker.

#### 5.4.1 *Thomas Sheridan's General Dictionary of the English Language (1780)*

Although Sheridan called his work a 'general' dictionary, there is no doubt that it was a pronouncing dictionary. By the time it was published in 1780, Sheridan had gained a considerable reputation as an elocutionist. His *Dissertation on the English Language* had set out his plan for a pronouncing dictionary 'in which, the true pronunciation, of all the words in our tongue, shall be pointed out by visible and accurate marks' (1761: 30) which, as we have seen, was acknowledged by Kenrick, Spence, and Perry. His *Lectures on Elocution* were published in 1762, but had been delivered from 1758 onwards in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Bath, and Edinburgh, while his *Lectures on the Art of Reading* were likewise delivered in

K E Y

TO THE ROYAL STANDARD ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

Different SOUNDS of the VOWELS.

	<sup>1</sup> ā	<sup>2</sup> â	<sup>3</sup> ǣ	<sup>4</sup> ä	<sup>5</sup> á	<sup>6</sup> * a sounds ĩ; as in cribbage, &c.
a	hate	hat	hall wash	part	liar	
	<sup>1</sup> ĕ	<sup>2</sup> ĕ	<sup>3</sup> ĕ	<sup>4</sup> ĕ	<sup>5</sup>	* e sounds ĩ; as in yes, &c. and, 6thly, à, in clerk, ferge, &c.
e	mete	met	there	her		
	<sup>1</sup> ī	<sup>2</sup> ÿ	<sup>3</sup> î	<sup>4</sup> î		
i	pine	pin	field	shirt		
	<sup>1</sup> ō	<sup>2</sup> ō or o	<sup>3</sup> ō	<sup>4</sup> ō	<sup>5</sup> ō	
o	note	not soft	prove	wolf	done	
	<sup>1</sup> ū	<sup>2</sup> ū	<sup>3</sup> ū	* These sounds of a, e, and y occur so seldom, that I have fixed the pronunciation of words compounded of them, by varying their orthography; as, cribbage, pronounced crib'bigē.		
u	duke	duck	bush			
	<sup>1</sup> ÿ	<sup>2</sup> ÿ or y	<sup>3</sup> * y' like ū			
y	try	lovely	hyrst			

*Vowels not sounded will be printed in Italics, as,  
Lâ'bour, præch, beâr, hĕad, dĕign.*

*Indistinct sounds of vowels in Italics.  
â'ble, a-dŭlt'e-rĕs, pâr'son, fât'ter.*

*Flat and slowly accented syllables will have the grave accent.  
Bôr'dér, wâr'n'ing, cĕil'ing, cĕ'ruse, îcĕ-clĕ.*

*Sharp and quickly accented syllables will have the acute accent.  
Bôr'rôw, wâsh'ing, hĕif'ér, bê'tér, ÿd'i-ôm.*

*Note, a and e, without any of the above characters, either alone, or before or after a con-  
sonant, have a shorter sound than ā and ĕ, though of the same quality, in the same proportion  
as a in wash, is to a in hall; or, o in not, is to o in soft.*

e

Different

FIG. 55. The Key from Perry's Royal Standard English Dictionary, 1775

various locations from 1763 onwards before being published in 1775. Benzie points out that 'Scottish and other elocutionists were not slow to imitate these readings. In order to make himself known in Edinburgh, William Perry, the lexicographer, in 1777 gave public readings of prose and verse and a course of lectures on reading, all closely following the model of Sheridan' (1972: 68). The

*General Dictionary* was therefore bound to excite attention, but not all of this was positive. Whilst twentieth-century scholars such as Sheldon (1946, 1947), Alston (1968), Holmberg (1964), and Benzie (1972) have many positive things to say about Sheridan's dictionary, in the late eighteenth century, admiration for the practicality of his notation was mixed with severe criticism of the actual pronunciations. Just as Buchanan had been criticized on the grounds that, as a 'North Briton' he would not be able to master the 'true' pronunciation of the Metropolis, so Sheridan was ridiculed because he was Irish. Dr Johnson, with whom Sheridan had a prickly relationship due to their being rivals for patronage, is reported to have asked: 'What entitles Sheridan to fix the pronunciation of English? He has in the first place the disadvantage of being an Irishman' (Boswell (1934: II.161)). The same point is made by the anonymous author of *A Caution to Gentlemen Who Read Sheridan's Dictionary* (1789). On the other hand, the author of *A Vocabulary of Such Words in the English Language, as are of Dubious or Unsettled Accentuation* defends Sheridan, pointing out that he was 'the first who marked the vowels in an intelligible manner' and suggesting that 'it would have been fortunate, had the public determined to elect him dictator'. He goes on to suggest that 'his being an Irishman, no doubt, has always been one objection to his decision' but that 'from the best accounts, his brogue was perceptible, only by the ear of prejudice' (1797: 3–5). This is undoubtedly true, since Sheridan had been taught as a boy in Dublin by Jonathan Swift, to whom the 'young Sheridan read daily' and from whom he received 'constant correction in pronunciation' (Benzie 1972: 101).

As regards the number of editions printed, Sheridan's *General English Dictionary* appears to have been less successful than Perry's *Royal Standard English Dictionary*. Alston (1966: 57–9) lists six editions, published in London, Dublin, and Philadelphia, but the relatively large number of extant copies of some editions suggests that it sold well. There were also several later dictionaries which used Sheridan's name and/or material. The anonymous *A Dictionary of the English Language ... Carefully selected from Sheridan, Walker, Johnson, &c.* (1794) is, according to Alston, 'very dependent on Sheridan's dictionary' (1966: 63). Stephen Jones's *Sheridan Improved. A General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (1796), went into nine editions and was published in London, Wilmington, and Philadelphia, the latest reprint being 1825, and Nicholas Salmon produced what he called *Sheridan's Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* (1800) but which was, according to Alston, 'virtually a new dictionary, though closely modelled on Sheridan's' (1966: 66). Despite the criticism aimed at him, Sheridan appears to have provided a model for a pronouncing dictionary which was admired and imitated. Alston writes that 'Sheridan's



Dictionary was the first attempt to provide for the whole vocabulary an accurate indication of the way words should be pronounced, and as such is a landmark in English lexicography' (1966: xx). This is perhaps overstating the case: as we have seen, Kenrick, Spence, and Perry all produced 'an accurate indication of the way words should be pronounced', though Kenrick's and Spence's dictionaries were much shorter.

Sheridan's dictionary, like all pronouncing dictionaries of this period, was normative. The full title is 'A general dictionary of the English language. One main object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent standard of pronunciation.' Sheridan first set out his plan for a pronouncing dictionary in his *Dissertation*. Here, he states that 'the great difficulty of the English tongue lies in the pronunciation; an exactness in which, after all the pains they can take, is found to be unattainable, not only by foreigners, but by Provincials' (1761: 2). He goes on to define 'provincials' in a footnote as follows: 'By Provincials is here meant all British Subjects, whether inhabitants of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the several counties of England, or the city of London, who speak a corrupt dialect of the English tongue' (1761: 2). He states of his plan that 'the object of it is, to fix such a standard of pronunciation, by means of visible marks, that it may be in the power of every one, to acquire an accurate manner of uttering every word in the English tongue, by applying to that standard' (1761: 29–30). In his *Course of Lectures on Elocution*, Sheridan makes the following statement:

Almost every county in England has its peculiar dialect. [...] One must have preference, this is the court dialect, as the court is the source of fashions of all kinds. All the other dialects, are sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic or mechanical education, and therefore have some degree of disgrace annexed to them (1762: 29–30).

Sheridan's use of value-laden terms such as 'corrupt' and 'disgrace' leave us in no doubt as to his prescriptive intent. The *General Dictionary* includes specific guidance for the natives of Scotland, Wales, and especially Sheridan's fellow citizens of Ireland. He also notes the tendency of the Welsh to use voiceless consonants where the English would have voiced ones, so that 'there are no less than seven of our consonants which the Welsh never pronounce' (1780: 62). As pointed out by Beal (2004a), Sheridan is here 'reiterating a perceived stereotype of Welsh English which had been used as a marker of nationality in literature at least since the time of Shakespeare' (2004a: 6). Irrespective of whether these features were, in 1780, widespread phenomena amongst Welsh speakers of English, Sheridan is here 'marking' this stereotypical feature as a 'disgrace' to be avoided. In the appendix to the *Rhetorical Grammar*, which is attached to the *General Dictionary*, Sheridan provides a fairly extensive set of 'Rules to be

observed by the natives of Ireland, in order to attain a just pronunciation of English' (1780: 59–61). These were taken over wholesale by Walker in his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) so, although Sheridan's nationality was often cited by his critics as a reason to doubt his command of 'correct' English, his ability to spot the 'defects' of his fellow countrymen was not called into question. Sheridan includes the 'inhabitants' of 'the city of London' in his roll-call of 'provincials' cited above. This may seem strange, given that London speech is generally held up as the model for 'true pronunciation' in the eighteenth century. However, Sheridan is here referring to the speech of the lower classes in London, as opposed to that of the Court. With regard to London speech, Mugglestone points out (1995: 109) that Sheridan was the first to explicitly proscribe what was to become, according to Wells (1982: 254) 'the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England: "h-dropping"'. In the *Course of Lectures on Elocution*, Sheridan writes:

There is one defect which more generally prevails in the counties than any other, and indeed is gaining ground among the politer part of the world, I mean the omission of the aspirate in many words by some, and in most by others (1762: 34).

This, too, is taken up by Walker and, as Mugglestone demonstrates, was to become the major 'symbol of the social divide' (1995: 107) in the nineteenth century. Although, as we have seen, Kenrick does include the same kind of normative statement in his *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1773), Sheridan's proscriptions were to prove much more influential. Holmberg wrote of Sheridan that he 'by his *Dictionary* . . . undoubtedly most effectively contributed to his aim of creating an accepted standard of pronunciation' (1964: 30).

Sheridan's scheme for representing vowels was likewise taken up by later pronouncing dictionaries. Whereas Kenrick had numbered each vowel or diphthong separately in a sequence from 1 to 16, Sheridan numbers each alphabetical vowel separately, as shown in Figure 5.6. Thus there are, in Sheridan's notation, three ways of pronouncing <a>: a<sup>1</sup> as in *hat*, a<sup>2</sup> as in *hate*, and a<sup>3</sup> as in *hall*. This system seems to have been easier than Kenrick's for readers to use, probably because the idea of describing the different 'sounds' of each alphabetical vowel had been used elsewhere, for instance, in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), where, for example, under 'A' he writes:

A, has, in the English language, three different sounds. The broad sound, as, *all*, *wall*, A open, *father*, *rather*. A slender or close, is the peculiar *a* of the English language. Of this sound we have examples in *place*, *face*, *waste* (1755).

Sheridan also used semi-phonetic respelling to a certain extent. *Love* is transcribed as <lu<sup>v</sup>> with loss of final orthographic <e>; *blood* as <blu<sup>1</sup>d>, so

S C H E M E O F T H E A L P H A B E T.

*Number of simple Sounds in our Tongue 28.*

9	<i>Vowels,</i>	á	à	ã	è	ò	ó	é	í	ú
		hall	hat	hate	beer	note	nooſe	bet	fit	but

FIG. 5.6. Numbering of alphabetical vowels in Sheridan’s *General Dictionary*, 1780

<u<sup>1</sup>> is consistently used here for /ʌ/, and semi-phonetic spelling is used for consonants, though not consistently: *abscond* is transcribed as <a<sup>1</sup>bsko<sup>1</sup>nd>, with medial <k>, but *absconder* as <a<sup>1</sup>bsco<sup>1</sup>nd u<sup>1</sup>r>.

Sheridan’s scheme of notation was seen as exemplary by his followers and, as we shall see, adopted wholesale by Walker and others. However, Sheridan came in for criticism for some of the pronunciations represented in his *General Dictionary*. Alston suggests that Sheridan was ‘intent upon restoring the pronunciation current during the age of Queen Anne’ (1968: xx), and Walker often points out Sheridan’s ‘impropriety, inconsistency, and want of acquaintance with the analogies of the language’ (1791: iii). In some cases, the differences between Sheridan’s and Walker’s notation can be attributed to the conservatism of the former. Quite apart from his wish to ‘restore’ the pronunciation of the early eighteenth century (Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714), Sheridan was thirteen years older than Walker. In a note in the entry for *merchant*, for instance, Walker writes: ‘Mr Sheridan pronounces the *e* in the first syllable of this word, like the *a* in *march*; and it is certain that, about thirty years ago, this was the general pronunciation, but since that time the sound of *a* has been gradually wearing away; and the sound of *e* is so fully established, that the former is now become gross and vulgar, and is only to be heard among the lower orders of the people.’ As Sturiale points out (2006: 158), Perry criticizes Sheridan for omitting ‘the sound of *a* as heard in the words *part*, *dart*, &c.’ (1775: ix). Since the lengthened sound (probably [æ]), referred to in the eighteenth century as ‘Italian *a*’, had been attested since the seventeenth century (Beal 1999: 106), Sheridan’s use of a<sup>1</sup> for both *hat* and *hart* perhaps indicates that he did not perceive the distinction as phonemic, though Hickey (2005) suggests that this may be a feature of Irish pronunciation. The author of *A Caution to Gentlemen who use Sheridan’s Dictionary* (1789) objects to Sheridan principally on the grounds that he provides the same notation, <u<sup>1</sup>> for the unstressed vowels in *cavern*, *commoner*, *culpable*. This latter criticism is unwarranted: even Walker, who is generally held to be more prescriptive than Sheridan, recognizes the need for a notation to represent what he calls ‘a certain transient indistinct pronunciation’ (1791: 12) when vowels are not accented. As we

shall see in the next section, Walker, acknowledging that Sheridan's notation, combining as it did 'figures over the vowels' and 'spelling ... syllables as they are pronounced, seemed to complete the idea of a Pronouncing Dictionary' (1791: xx), was to take over this notation with much greater success.

#### 5.4.2 John Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary (1791) and its Imitators

John Walker was undoubtedly the most successful and influential author of a pronouncing dictionary, from the first publication of his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* in 1791 to the advent of Daniel Jones in the early twentieth century. Sheldon suggests that 'there can be no doubt that, if any one single person was to be named as the greatest influence on English pronunciation, that person would have to be Walker' (1947: 146), and Mugglestone notes that 'by the end of the nineteenth century, John Walker had ... become a household name, so that manuals of etiquette could refer to those obsessed with linguistic propriety as trying to "out-Walker Walker"' (1995: 41). Walker's success can in part be attributed to his reputation as an elocutionist, already established by his lectures, his *Elements of Elocution* (1781), and the work which was later to be known as the *Rhyming Dictionary* (1775). However, as we have seen, Sheridan's reputation was equally high, but his *General Dictionary* did not enjoy the same success as Walker's. Sheldon makes the following comparison:

Walker, because of his careful, logical systematization, was popular with succeeding dictionary writers. The constant demand for edition after edition shows that he was popular also with the general public—more popular than Sheridan. The reason for this is, I believe, that ... Walker satisfies the temper of his time better, and its demand for linguistic regulation and reform (1947: 146).

To some extent, Sheldon presents a false dichotomy here, for, as has been demonstrated in the previous section, Sheridan was just as prescriptive as Walker. However, Sheldon is right in identifying Walker's 'careful, logical systematization' along with his ability to satisfy the 'demand for linguistic regulation and reform' as the reasons for his success.

As regards presentation, Walker's only innovation was to provide a key running across the top of the pages, so that the reader would not need to refer back to the introduction in order to identify the sounds indicated by the numbers. But there are notational changes: Walker added a fourth *a* sound to designate the 'long Italian *a*' as in *far, father, papa, mamma*. He also numbered the vowels differently: where Sheridan numbered the 'short' vowel first, Walker gave priority to the

pronunciation which accords with that of the name of the equivalent letter in the alphabet, so that a<sup>1</sup> is /e:/, e<sup>1</sup> is /i:/, etc. Walker, too, had the advantage of being able to take ideas from his predecessors. In his preface, he gives detailed appraisals of authors of pronouncing dictionaries, such as Kenrick and Sheridan, and of other orthoepists, such as Nares, whose *Elements of Orthoepy* (1784) is praised for its ‘clearness of method’ and Elphinston, whose *Principles of the English Language Digested* (1765) is likewise praised for having ‘reduced the chaos to a system and laid the foundation for a just and regular pronunciation’ (1791: iii). Walker’s summary places the *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* as the acme of orthoepy:

I have endeavoured to unite the science of Mr. Elphinstone, [sic] the method of Mr. Nares, and the general utility of Mr. Sheridan, and to add to these advantages have given critical observations on such words as are subject to a diversity of pronunciation (1791: iv).

These ‘critical observations’ along with a set of more than five hundred ‘Principles of English Pronunciation’ provide the key to Walker’s success. He goes on to promise that in his ‘Principles of English Pronunciation’:

The Sounds of Letters, Syllables and Words are critically investigated, and systematically arranged; the Rules for Pronouncing are so regulated and displayed as to be applicable, on inspection, to the Words; and the Analogies of the Language are so fully shown as to lay the Foundation of a consistent and rational Pronunciation (1791: ii).

The keywords here are *clearly*, *systematically*, *consistent*, and *rational*: Walker is suggesting that the reader could be in no doubt as to the ‘correct’ pronunciation of any word. Where usage varied, Walker would provide a comment underneath the dictionary entry referring back to the relevant numbered ‘principle’. The comments usually involved Walker agreeing or, more likely, disagreeing with other authorities, especially Sheridan. An example of this is his comment on the pronunciation of *soot*, for which he recommends /u:/:

Notwithstanding I have Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Nares, Dr. Kenrick, W. Johnston, Mr. Perry, and the professors of the Black Art themselves, against me in the pronunciation of this word, I have ventured to prefer the regular pronunciation to the irregular. The adjective *sooty* has its regular sound among the correctest speakers, which has induced Mr. Sheridan to mark it so; but nothing can be more absurd than to pronounce the substantive in one manner, and the adjective derived from it in adding *y*, in another. The other Orthoepists, therefore, who pronounce both these words with the *oo* like *u*, are more consistent than Mr. Sheridan, though, upon the whole, not so right.

He refers readers back to principle 309, which reads: ‘*Soot* is vulgarly pronounced so as to rhyme with *but*, *hut*, etc., but ought to have its long regular sound,

rhyiming with *boot* as we always hear it in the compound *sooty*' (1791: 35). Mugglestone, recalling the praise heaped on Walker throughout the nineteenth century, comments that 'such praise testifies to the enthusiasm generated towards issues of linguistic control with little room for doubt' (1995: 41–2).

Like Kenrick and Sheridan before him, Walker takes it as given that the model for pronunciation is that which is 'received among the learned and polite' (1791: viii) and that 'provincial' pronunciations are to be corrected. He takes over wholesale Sheridan's 'Rules to be observed by the Natives of Ireland', and augments Sheridan's comments on Scots into a set of 'Rules to be observed by the Natives of Scotland'. After a few remarks on the Welsh pronunciation of English, Walker goes on to add 'a few observations on the peculiarities of my countrymen, the Cockneys, who, as they are the models of pronunciation to the distant Provinces, ought to be the more scrupulously correct' (1791: xii). The four 'faults of the Londoners' identified here are: 'pronouncing *s* indistinctly after *st*; pronouncing *v* for *w*, and inversely; not sounding *h* after *w*' and 'not sounding *h* where it ought to be sounded, and inversely' (1791: xii–xiii). Having pointed out these 'faults', which were to become stereotypes of Cockney speech in the nineteenth century, Walker then states that, whilst Londoners have their faults, 'those at a considerable distance from the capital do not only mispronounce many words taken separately, but they scarcely pronounce with purity a single word, syllable or letter' (1791: xiii).

Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* set the standard for the form and content of English pronouncing dictionaries throughout much of the nineteenth century. Alston (1966: 62–3) lists thirty-four editions and numerous reprints, published in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and a number of American cities including Boston, Hartford, New York, and Philadelphia. Apart from these, several other pronouncing dictionaries invoked Walker's name. Examples of these are the anonymous *A Dictionary of the English Language, both with regard to sound and meaning. . . Carefully selected from Sheridan, Walker, Johnson &c.* (1794); (also anonymous) *A Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language . . . The accentuation adjusted according to Sheridan and Walker* (1796), and Thomas Browne's *The Union Dictionary, containing all that is truly useful in the Dictionaries of Johnson, Sheridan and Walker* (1800). Perhaps the most successful of these was Benjamin Smart's *Walker Remodelled. A New Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1836). As the title suggests, this is far more than a revised edition of Walker. Smart's dictionary has a 'prospectus', which we are told in the third edition, 'was affixed to this work during its publication in Parts', and which states the following:

The undertaking for the Original Proprietors of WALKER'S DICTIONARY was simply to improve the last Edition of their Work; but, in fulfilling this task, MR SMART has really produced a new work, of which the chief features are:

- I: A more accurate analysis of the sounds of the language, with corresponding Schemes and Principles of Pronunciation.
- II: A method of indicating the pronunciation of words, which, by renouncing altogether the pretence of exhibiting no more letters than sounds, is less barbarous to the eye, and at once intelligible (1849: v).

Smart himself goes on to state 'I have indeed copied from Walker the method of referring, throughout the Dictionary, to principles of pronunciation laid down at its commencement . . . but . . . I have entirely re-cast and re-written the whole of that part of his work' and goes on to state of the dictionary itself that 'it is different in plan and execution, not only from Walker's dictionary, but from all its predecessors of like bulk and similar pretensions' (1849: v). As we have seen, Smart had been commissioned to update Walker, but as a successful teacher of elocution and author of *A Practical Grammar of English Pronunciation* (1810) he had pretensions to Walker's crown, and thus produced a completely new dictionary, which, he insisted, should bear his name. A new dictionary was necessary in order to 'reflect in full extent the spoken language of its day' (1849: iii). The original intent was to update the vocabulary, but Smart also updated some of the recommended pronunciations where 'received' usage had changed since 1791. In one case, Smart mistakenly assumes that Walker's use of /u:/ in, for example, *book*, *cook*, *look*, etc. indicates that he 'was a Yorkshireman', for which there is no evidence whatsoever (see Beal 2004b for Walker's biography), but later concedes 'if his ear was correct for the pronunciation of his day, it may be fairly questioned in many cases when applied to words as they are now heard' (1849: iv). Smart is clearly very anxious to assert his right to be acknowledged as the author of this dictionary, a right which posterity has not always accorded him, for it is usually catalogued under Walker's name. As a footnote to number eighty of his 'principles', he interjects 'at this stage in the work I have undertaken, it will be a proper question for my reader or inspector to put, and therefore a proper one for me to answer, – "what have been your opportunities to know that these are the elements of English pronunciation?"' (1849: xi). He goes on to present his credentials as having been 'born and bred at the west end of London', as the author of *A Practical Grammar of English Pronunciation* (1810), and as a teacher of elocution to 'the first families of the kingdom', including the Royal Family.

Smart was right to assert some claim to authorship, for little of Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* remains, except for the (augmented) word list and the basic design. Smart rewrote Walker's 'Principles', and sometimes disagrees with

Walker. For example, he does not take over the ‘Rules for the Natives’ of Ireland and Scotland, adopting what appears to be a more tolerant stance, declaring that ‘a Scotch or Irish accent is grating on polite ears only in excess’ (1849: xli) and providing ‘hints for softening a Hibernian brogue’ in which ‘our Western friend’ is advised ‘to avoid hurling out his words with a superfluous quantity of breath’ (1849: xli). His attitude to ‘provincials’ within England is much less tolerant, and his ‘hints for Londonizing a rustic utterance’ include advice for the ‘Yorkshireman’ on the distribution of short  $\ddot{u}$  (/ʌ/); remarks on the Northumbrian burr; and a statement that ‘Lancastrians make a compound of the simple articulation *ng* and, instead of *king*, *long* &c. say *king-g*, *long-g* &c.’ (1849: xli). This reflects the greater awareness of regional English dialects by 1849, as well as the beginning of a recognition of separate national prestige accents in Scotland and Ireland.

In the dictionary itself, Smart abandons the system of superscripted numbers used by Kenrick, Sheridan, and Walker, reverting instead to the macrons and breves, and resorting to superscripted numbers only where the accents are not sufficient to distinguish the ‘sounds’ of letters. Thus, for the four sounds of *a*, Smart has  $\bar{a}$  as in *gate*,  $\check{a}$  as in *man*,  $\bar{a}^3$  as in *papa*, *ah*, and  $\bar{a}^4$  as in *awe*. He sets out his ‘scheme of the vowels’ as long, short, and ‘incidental’, the latter being  $\bar{a}^3$ ,  $\bar{a}^4$ ,  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ , *oi*, and *ow*. Walker had listed the sound represented by <u> in *tune* as  $u^1$ , but Smart analyses it as a combination of semi-vowel and vowel. He uses the symbol <’> for ‘a slight semi-consonantal sound between *e* and *y* consonant heard in the transition from certain consonants to certain vowel sounds as in *lute* (l’  $\bar{o}\bar{o}t$ ) ...’ (1849: 2). ‘Silent’ letters, and some other distinctions are represented by the use of italics: ‘an Italic letter implies a change or corruption in the *quality*’ (1849: 2). Smart also employs semi-phonetic respelling to a certain degree, especially to represent consonantal sounds: *nature* is respelt <nā-ch’oor>, and *does* <dūz>. In combining diacritic accents and respelling with minimal use of superscript numbers, Smart was moving away from the method which had proved so popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to something closer to Perry’s more complex, less ‘user-friendly’ system. Nevertheless, his dictionary was successful: it went through eight editions.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This survey of English pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has shown a progression from the marking of accentuation



in Bailey's and Dyce and Pardon's dictionaries, to the recognition, first expressed by Buchanan (1757) of the need for a guide to the 'true pronunciation' of English which would indicate the quality and quantity of vowels as well. The demand for guides to the 'true pronunciation' of English led to a proliferation of pronouncing dictionaries in the later eighteenth century, all designed to 'fix' a standard of English pronunciation based on the 'polite' speech of London. With the exception of Spence's *Grand Repository of the English Language* (1775), the only dictionary of this period to use a truly phonetic notation, these dictionaries made use of different fonts, diacritics, and superscripted numbers in order to meet the challenge of representing the pronunciation of English with minimal disruption to conventional spelling. The system of superscripted numbers, mooted by Sheridan in 1761 but first used in a dictionary by Kenrick (1773), was to prove the most popular and practical method, and this was the system adopted in the most successful pronouncing dictionary of the period, John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). The pronouncing dictionaries of this period are typically normative, satisfying a demand for clear and unambiguous guides to 'correct' usage: this tendency reached its apotheosis in Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*, which was prefaced by over five hundred 'principles' or detailed rules, cross-referenced in the dictionary entries wherever usage was varied. Smart's remodelling of Walker's dictionary (1836) reverted from the full use of superscripted numbers to diacritics, but kept the essential style of his dictionary, with the 'elements of pronunciation' set out in the preface.

# PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES—II MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY<sup>1</sup>

*Beverley Collins and Inger M. Mees*

## 6.1 MID TO LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### 6.1.1 *Dictionaries for Welsh-speaking learners of English*

THE period between the publication of Benjamin Smart's (1836) radical revision of Walker (see previous chapter, pp. 172–4) and the end of the nineteenth century is notable mainly for the absence of any new pronunciation dictionaries. Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* was not only tremendously popular in its time—it also turned out to be a great survivor. In the 1880s, the German linguist Wilhelm Viëtor (1850–1918) tellingly remarked (1984 [1886]: 349):

We make do with a pronunciation manual such as Walker's, originally published in 1791 (!) in order to study a language like English which has developed with all the energy of its native steam-engines. [Viëtor's punctuation]

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, some of Walker's descendants were quite unrecognizable, appearing in such guises as *Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary*

<sup>1</sup> We wish here to acknowledge the help received from Rias van den Doel, Mike MacMahon, and Jack Windsor Lewis, all of whom read through and commented on our earlier drafts.

and the *Standard Pronouncing Dictionary* (1883).<sup>2</sup> The only new dedicated pronouncing dictionaries came, somewhat surprisingly, from Wales, a country which in the mid-nineteenth century was still overwhelmingly Welsh in speech. Although a large percentage of the population was unable to speak anything more than the most basic English, there was nevertheless a relatively high degree of literacy in Welsh, thanks largely to the practice of teaching the mother tongue as a part of religious education. Pronunciation was a major obstacle for Welsh people endeavouring to learn English, since they had to cope with the task of dealing with its notoriously complex spelling system after being accustomed to the largely phonemic orthography of Welsh (Awbery 1984: 274).

In 1850, a dictionary intended for Welsh-speaking learners of English was produced by William Spurrell (1813–89), a Carmarthen printer. Spurrell's *Geiriadur Cynaniaethol* ('Pronouncing Dictionary') owes much to Smart, and he was also considerably influenced by scholars such as Robert Latham (1812–88) and Alexander Ellis (see below). His representations are based on a respelling of English, derived largely from Smart, and, unlike his fellow countryman Prys (see below), Spurrell takes little account of the orthography of Welsh. Nevertheless, he displays considerable linguistic awareness in his phonetic description of English, and even more so in his perceptive contrastive analysis of the sound systems of English and Welsh.

Robert Ioan Prys (1807–89) (also known as Robert John Pryse and by his bardic name of 'Gweirydd ap Rhys') was born in Anglesey, North Wales, into conditions of appalling hardship and poverty. He learned English only in adult life and, having faced the difficulties of mastering English pronunciation, felt he had a duty to help others do the same. In 1834, he had attempted to publish a pronunciation dictionary for Welsh people wishing to acquire English.<sup>3</sup> This work would have been in fact the very first British dictionary intended for second language acquisition, but the project failed and in the process ruined him financially. It was not until 1857 that Prys was able to produce his *Geiriadur Cynaniadol Saesneg a Chymraeg*, described on its title page as 'An English and Welsh Pronouncing Dictionary in which the pronunciation is given in Welsh letters'. In his preface to this book, Prys lists a number of sources, notably Walker, Smart, and Spurrell; he also picked up ideas from Pitman and Ellis (see below). Nevertheless, there is much in his work which is completely original—most obviously that his transcription scheme for English is based on the spelling conventions of Welsh.

<sup>2</sup> On the inside cover of the *Standard Pronouncing Dictionary*, the following works are advertised by the publishing firm of Warne. In all cases, it is stated that they are based on Walker: *Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary*, *Warne's Bijou Dictionary*, *Warne's Popular Edition of Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> It has not been possible to trace any part of Prys's 1834 *Geiriadur Cynanawl Seisnig-Cymreig* ['An English-Welsh Pronunciation Dictionary'].

BACK	29	BAKE
<p>Awkward, <i>oc'-wyrđ</i>, <i>a. chwithig, trwsgl, trwstan; anfedrus, anhylaw.</i>          Awkwardness, <i>oc'-wyrđ-nes</i>, <i>s. chwithigrywđđ, anfedrusrywđđ, trysgledd.</i>  <i>Awl, ol, s. mynawyd.</i>  <i>Awn, on, s. col yd, col, cola, barf, yd gol.</i>  <i>Axe, acs, s. bwyell, cymmynai.</i>  <i>Axiom, ac'-shym, s. gwireb, arwreb, arwreidd, direb, gosodiant; egwyddor.</i>  <i>Axis, ac'-sus, s. echel, gwerthyl, paladr, pegwn, pegwrn, pegor, pegwr, goddyn.</i></p>	<p><i>Axle, ac'-sl, } s. echel, echel ol</i>  <i>Axle-tree, ac'-sl-tri, } wyn; gwerthyl</i>  <i>Ay, } ai, ad, iē, iā; do.</i>  <i>Aye, } ai, ad, iē, iā; do.</i>  <i>Aye, e, ad, yn wastadol, yn wastad, byth, bob amser, yn barhaus.</i>  <i>Azote, az-ōt', s. bïoral.</i>  <i>Azure, z'-zhwy, a. asur, glasar, llasar, goleulas; -z. asur, glasar, llasar, bal- asur, glas goleu, nefliw; -z. a. asuro, glasarau.</i></p>	

## B.

<p><i>B, bi, s. bi=enw yr ail llythren (y gyd-sain gyntaf) o'r egwyddor.</i>  <i>Babble, bab'-bl, v. baldorddi, baldorddian, clebarddu; -s. baldordd, clebar, dadwrdd, ffregod, llof, ffice.</i>  <i>Babbler, bab'-lyr, s. baldorddwr, llolyn, clepsi, clebryn, clofwr, siarar.</i>  <i>Babbling, bab'-ling, s. siaradach, llof, peprwn; -p. a. dladryddol, baldorddus, goddyar; -ad. yn goddyrdain.</i>  <i>Babe, beb, s. baban, maban, babi; plentyn, dyn bach.</i>  <i>Baboon, ba'-bwn', s. ciab=math ar epa mawr.</i>  <i>Baby, be'-bi, s.=Babe; delwau, "babi dol;" -a. babanaidd, mabanaidd; plentynnaidd; -v. a. babannu; twyllo.</i>  <i>Bacchanalian, bac-ey-ne'-li-yn, s. meddwl-yn, gloddestwr, oferddyn; -a. glodd-estol, wttresol, cyfeddwog; trystfawr.</i>  <i>Bachelor, bac'-i-lyr, s. anweddog; mebydd; gwyrff, gwerydd; mabieuange.</i>  <i>Back, bac, s. cefn; trwm; cil; gwegil; -ad. yn ol, yn ei wrthol; gwrth; trachefn; -v. cefnogi, attegi; cynnal.</i>  <i>Backbite, bac'-bit, v. a. abseu, athrodi, cablu, goganu, enllibio, hortio.</i>  <i>Backbiter, bac'-bei-tyr, s. absenwr, dyn enllibus.</i>  <i>Backbiting, bac'-bei-ting, s. absen, athrod, anair, drygair.</i>  <i>Backbone, bac'-bon, s. asgwrn cefn.</i>  <i>Background, bac'-ground, s. sylgefn, y tu cefn, tir y cefn; dinododd.</i>  <i>Backslide, bac'-sleid, v. s. gwrthgilio, encilio, ymadael, lithro, adlithro.</i>  <i>Backslider, bac'-sleid-dyr, s. gwrthgiliwr, enciliwr.</i>  <i>Backstairs, bac'-steyrz, s. pl. olrisiau, cefurisiau.</i></p>	<p><i>Backward, bac'-wyrđ, } ad. yn ol, yn</i>  <i>Backwards, bac'-wyrđz, } y gwrthol;</i>  <i>yn wysg y cefn, yn y gwrthwyneb.</i>  <i>Backward, bac'-wyrđ, a. hwyrffrydig, amharod; anewyllysgar, anoddog.</i>  <i>Backwardness, bac'-wyrđ-nes, s. hwyrffrydigrywđđ; anewyllysgarwch; musgrellni, aunybedod.</i>  <i>Bacon, be'-cn, s. bacwn, mehin; eig moch.</i>  <i>Bad, bad, a. drwg, drygionus; anfad; niweidiol; claf, sal, salw; gwachul.</i>  <i>Badge, baj, s. arwydd, nod, aulnygn, nodeb; -v. a. arwyddo, arwyddnodi.</i>  <i>Badger, baj'-yr, s. edwicwr, ydelwadwydd, ydelwadyr; daiarfocwyn, broch, pryf llwyd, pryf penfrit, gwilfrad.</i>  <i>Badness, bad'-nes, s. drygiou, drygded; drwg; bai; anhwydeh, gwaeledd.</i>  <i>Baffle, baffl, v. trechu, gorchfygu, maeddu; somi, twyllo; -s. trechaid; som, seithugiad, twyll.</i>  <i>Bag, bag, s. cwd, cod, ffetan; ysgrepan, coden; cydaid; -v. cydu, ffetanu.</i>  <i>Baggage, bag'-gej, s. llugeli; chad, llubethau, byddin-glud; cyhiron, huran.</i>  <i>Bagpipe, bag'-peip, s. codbib, meginiib =math ar offeryn cerdd.</i>  <i>Bail, bel, s. mach, mechniwr, meichian, mechnlydd; mechniaeth, mechni; -v. a. meichio, mechnio; ymwystio dros.</i>  <i>Bailiff, bel'-uff, s. ceisbwl, ceisiaid, gwysor, gwyswr, beili, rhingyl, bygan.</i>  <i>Bait, bet, s. abwyd; ebran; byrbryd; hud, llithiad, deniad; -v. abwydo; ebranu, adborthi; hudo; eirthio.</i>  <i>Bake, bec, v. pobl, crasu; armerth.</i>  <i>Bakehouse, bec'-hows, s. pobty, popty, crasdy, ffyrndy.</i></p>
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š, llo; u, dull; w, swm; w, pwn; y, yr; g, fel tsh; j, John; sh, fel s yn eisieu; z, zel.

FIG. 6.1. A page from Prys's *Geiriadur Cynaniadol Saesneg a Chymraeg* (English and Welsh Pronouncing Dictionary), 1857. This page, taken from the 1888 reprint, is identical to the first edition.

Prys appears in fact to have aimed at a true record of his own second language pronunciation of English, so as to present this as a model to learners. What is particularly praiseworthy—given the date of publication—is the sophistication of Prys's underlying analysis. It is indeed remarkable that, long before the phoneme concept as such was developed (Jones 1957: 3–5), Prys should have been thinking essentially along phonemic lines, as is evident from the explanatory section (pp. vii–viii) headed *Arweiniad i'r cynaniad Saesneg* ('Introduction to the English sounds'). See Collins and Mees (1991: 77–89) for a full discussion of the phonemic basis of Prys's transcription system and Collins and Mees (2006: 137–83) for a facsimile reproduction and translation of portions of the dictionary itself.

### 6.1.2 *The International Phonetic Association and the Oxford English Dictionary*

Aside from these two exceptional items aimed at Welsh speakers, the second half of the nineteenth century saw no significant developments in dedicated pronunciation dictionaries. In addition to the pervading influence of Walker, there was another reason for the paucity of such dictionaries in nineteenth-century England, and that was the lack of any agreed—let alone efficient—kind of phonetic transcription.

The earliest modern types of phonetic notation have their roots in the work of Alexander J. Ellis (1814–90) and Isaac Pitman (1813–97). Pitman had in 1837 produced a highly successful form of shorthand (initially called Stenography, later renamed Phonography) derived from his own analysis of the English sound system based on articulatory phonetic principles. Pitman and Ellis discovered a mutual interest in spelling reform, and to further this joined forces to produce their 1847 Phonotypic Alphabet, which can lay claim to be the first viable system of phonetic notation for English (Kelly 1981). Thereafter, they went their separate ways, with Pitman promoting his by now world-famous shorthand and also pursuing his interest in the reform of English orthography. Ellis proceeded to concentrate his efforts on dialectology, but also devised two alphabets—one intended to show details of phonetic realization which he termed ‘Palaeotype’, the other a simplified version (closer to a phonemic system) which he called ‘Glossic’. These can be regarded as the precursors of modern phonetic and phonemic transcription, respectively. To quote Abercrombie (1965: 106), ‘all modern phonetic transcription derives from the work of Pitman and Ellis’.

Ellis’s notation was taken up by the eminent British phonetician and general linguist Henry Sweet (1845–1912), who used Glossic as the basis of both his ‘Broad Romic’ and ‘Narrow Romic’ alphabets, which he introduced into his landmark publication *A Handbook of Phonetics* (1877). Sweet himself never produced a pronunciation dictionary but included lengthy texts in transcription not only in the *Handbook* but also in his many subsequent textbooks—works which were widely used in Great Britain and which were if anything even more popular in continental Europe. Well before the end of the century, a watershed in the history of phonetics came about with the establishment of the International Phonetic Association, which (initially in the guise of ‘dhi fonètik títcerz’ asóciécon’) was founded in France in 1886. It consisted originally of a small group of enthusiasts led by Paul Passy (1859–1940), Professor of Phonetics at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes of the Sorbonne in Paris. The association soon expanded, attracting well-known linguistic figures from a number of European countries to its ranks, such

as Henry Sweet, Johan Storm (1836–1920), Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), and Wilhelm Viëtor—from Britain, Norway, Denmark, and Germany, respectively.

By 1889, membership had grown considerably, and the name was altered to the *Association Phonétique des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes*, to be changed finally in 1897 to the *Association Phonétique Internationale*—or, in English, the International Phonetic Association (IPA). The importance of the IPA in the context of lexicography was that it now had produced a relatively standardized form of phonetic transcription for many languages and, most significantly, for widely studied languages such as French, German, and English. The more progressive linguistic scholars had for many years been writing in Sweet's (1877: 105) 'Broad Romic'—essentially phonemic transcription *avant la lettre*—but now there was a quasi-official body authorizing systems of this type. Crucially, the IPA, chiefly inspired by Jespersen, devised a set of symbols which could be used, in principle, to represent the pronunciation of any language in the world. It would be known as the International Phonetic Alphabet, and, based as it was on the latest contemporary phonetic knowledge, it soon attained wide reputation and prestige. The IPA also regularly published a journal, *Le Maître phonétique*, in which virtually the entire content was printed in phonetic transcription. From 1904 onwards, the IPA produced charts of its alphabet in convenient single sheet form which were from time to time updated on the basis of decisions made by the IPA Council. These charts provided a reference system which was used worldwide (even if with greater enthusiasm in Europe than in America, where rival transcription systems had been developed) and the IPA alphabet became an essential aid for dealing with pronunciation. (For further detail on the history of the International Phonetic Association, see IPA 1999: 194–7.)

Meanwhile, in Britain, what is still the largest lexicographical project ever to be undertaken was suffering some delays. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (J. A. H. Murray *et al.* 1933) had achieved much, but even by 1900 only volumes A–G were available in print. It was also clear by this stage that the representation of pronunciation would be its weakest area. Sweet had refused to take on the job, believing that there was as yet insufficient information available on standard pronunciation (K. M. E. Murray 1977: 190). The matter of phonetic notation had been the object of much deliberation, but, as editor, James Murray eventually opted for his own system, which most users were to find impossibly over-complex. Murray had also set himself an insurmountable task in endeavouring to cover within one transcription system not merely Received Pronunciation but also all varieties of educated English (see MacMahon 1985 for a thorough description and appraisal). He was clearly uncertain of himself in many areas of phonetics, and the resulting notation is not merely ill-organized and over-elaborate but

often inconsistent. It would all too soon become apparent that the one area where the great *Oxford English Dictionary* was to hold virtually no sway was in its treatment of English pronunciation.

## 6.2 EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

### 6.2.1 *The earliest twentieth-century pronunciation dictionary*

It is remarkable that when the earliest dedicated pronunciation dictionaries for English appeared in the twentieth century, they were published, not in Britain or the USA, nor indeed in any other English-speaking country, but in continental Europe. The very first emanated from Sweden, where, in 1909, J. A. Afzelius produced his *Pronouncing Dictionary of Modern English*. Although this modest work has long been forgotten, its author was for his time truly a pioneer in the field.

In his introduction, Afzelius claims that he is transcribing words ‘in the pronunciation given to them in the connected sentences of free, though refined conversation, or, in cases where they belong to the purely literary or scientific language, in that of careful speech’ (p. i). The model, in regional terms, was ‘the pronunciation of educated people in London and the South of England’, and Afzelius goes on to explain that he ‘takes into consideration only exceptionally Northern English and the dialects beyond the border’ (presumably Scotland). The word-list is derived largely from a very widely used Swedish dictionary, Lindgren’s *Engelsk–Svensk Ordbok*.<sup>4</sup> Afzelius states that his representations are ‘based partly on the *Oxford Dictionary*, collated with other large dictionaries, partly on phonetic texts and word-lists by [Henry] Sweet, [Laura] Soames, [Georg Ernst] Fuhrken, [Daniel] Jones, [Richard John] Lloyd, [Walter] Rippmann’, and in addition, he remarks that he drew on his own observations of the speech of English people. In reality, his model of English appears to be very similar indeed to what Daniel Jones (see p. 183) was to term firstly ‘Standard Southern English Pronunciation’, then ‘Public School Pronunciation’, and finally ‘Received Pronunciation’ or ‘RP’.

In a review of Afzelius’s dictionary, Jones (1910: 157) assessed it as ‘a praiseworthy attempt to carry out a work of extreme difficulty’. Jones explains that ‘the pronunciation recorded in most dictionaries is very different from that actually used by most educated people’, but that Afzelius had proved ‘an exception to the

<sup>4</sup> Afzelius gives no precise indication of which edition of this popular Swedish dictionary he used.

## B.

<b>B, b</b> , <i>bi</i> . <i>b's</i> , <i>bi:z</i> .	<b>ting</b> , <i>ˈbækbaɪtɪŋ</i> . <i>~board</i> ,
<b>baa</b> , <i>bɑɑ</i> .	<i>ˈbækbɔ:d</i> . <i>~hone</i> , <i>ˈbækboʊn</i> ,
<b>Baal</b> , <i>ˈbeɪəl</i> . <i>~priest</i> , <i>ˈbeɪl- pri:st</i> .	<i>ˈbækbɔ:n</i> . <i>~door</i> , <i>ˈbækdɔ: (ˈbækdɔ:)</i> . <i>~ed</i> , <i>bækt</i> . <i>~er</i> ,
<b>babble</b> , <i>bæbəl</i> . <i>~r</i> , <i>ˈbæblɔ:(-ər)</i> .	<i>ˈbæktɔ:(-ər)</i> . <i>~gammon</i> , <i>bæk- gæmən</i> . <i>~ground</i> , <i>ˈbæk- graʊnd</i> . <i>~hand</i> , <i>ˈbækhænd</i> .
<b>babbling</b> , <i>ˈbæblɪŋ</i> .	<i>~handed</i> , <i>ˈbækhændɪd</i> . <i>~ing</i> ,
<b>babe</b> , <i>bɛb</i> .	<i>ˈbækɪŋ</i> . <i>~piece</i> , <i>ˈbækpi:s</i> .
<b>Babel</b> , <i>ˈbeɪbəl</i> .	<i>~settler</i> , <i>ˈbæksetlɔ:(-ər)</i> .
<b>Babington</b> , <i>ˈbæbɪŋtən</i> .	<i>~side</i> , <i>ˈbæksaɪd</i> , in the
<b>Baboo</b> , <i>ˈbaabu</i> , <i>bəˈbu:</i> . <i>~ism</i> ,	sense of 'rump, posteriors'
<i>ˈbaabʊzəm</i> .	<i>ˈbæksaɪd</i> . <i>~slide</i> , <i>ˈbækslaɪd</i> ,
<b>baboon</b> , <i>bəˈbu:n</i> .	<i>bækslaɪd</i> . <i>~slider</i> , <i>ˈbækslaɪ- dɔ:(-ər)</i> , <i>bækslaɪdɔ:(-ər)</i> .
<b>baby</b> , <i>ˈbeɪbi</i> . <i>~hood</i> , <i>ˈbeɪbiˌhʊd</i> .	<i>~sliding</i> , <i>ˈbækslaɪdɪŋ</i> , <i>bæk- ˈslaɪdɪŋ</i> . <i>~stairs</i> , <i>ˈbækstəɪdɪz</i> .
<i>~ish</i> , <i>ˈbeɪbɪʃ</i> .	<i>~stroke</i> , <i>ˈbækstroʊk</i> . <i>~ward(s)</i> ,
<b>Babylon</b> , <i>ˈbæbɪlɔ:n</i> . <i>~ian</i> , <i>bæbɪ- ˈlɔ:njən</i> . <i>~ic</i> , <i>bæbɪˈlɔ:nɪk</i> .	<i>ˈbækwɔ:d(z)</i> , <i>-əd(z)</i> . <i>~water</i> ,
<i>~ish</i> , <i>bæbɪˈlɔ:nɪʃ</i> .	<i>ˈbækwɔ:tɔ:(-ər)</i> . <i>~woods</i> ,
<b>bac</b> , <i>bæk</i> .	<i>ˈbækwʊdz</i> . <i>~woodsman</i> , <i>bæk- ˈwʊdzmən</i> .
<b>Baccalaureate</b> , <i>bækəˈlɔ:ərɪət,-ɪt</i> .	<b>bacon</b> , <i>ˈbeɪkən</i> , <i>beɪk'n</i> .
<b>baccara(t)</b> , <i>bækəˈrɑɑ</i> .	<b>Bacon</b> , <i>beɪkən</i> , <i>beɪk'n</i> . <i>~ian</i> ,
<b>baccate</b> , <i>bækeɪt</i> .	<i>bəˈkoʊniən</i> .
<b>bacchanal</b> , <i>ˈbækənəl</i> . <i>~ia</i> , <i>bækə- ˈneɪliə</i> . <i>~ian</i> , <i>bækəˈneɪliən</i> ,	<b>Bacup</b> , <i>ˈbækʌp</i> .
<i>-jən</i> . <i>~ize</i> , <i>ˈbækənəlaɪz</i> .	<b>bad</b> - <i>bæd</i> . <i>~ly</i> , <i>bædli</i> . <i>~ness</i> ,
<b>bacchant</b> , <i>ˈbækənt</i> , pl. <i>~s</i> , <i>bæk- kənts</i> , or <i>~es</i> , <i>bəˈkæntɪz</i> .	<i>ˈbædnəs</i> , <i>-nɪs</i> .
<b>bacchante</b> , <i>bəˈkænti</i> , <i>ˈbækənt</i> ,	<b>Baddesley</b> , <i>ˈbædzli</i> .
<i>bəˈkaant</i> , pl. <i>~s</i> , <i>bəˈkæntɪz</i> ,	<b>bade</b> (pa. t. of <i>bid</i> ), <i>bæd</i> .
<i>ˈbækənts</i> , <i>bəˈkaants</i> .	<b>Baden</b> , <i>ˈbædən</i> .
<b>bacchantic</b> , <i>bəˈkæntɪk</i> . <b>bacchic</b> ,	<b>Badenoch</b> , <i>ˈbædɪnɔ:k</i> ,
<i>ˈbækɪk</i> .	<b>Baden-Powell</b> , <i>ˈbeɪdənˈpaʊəl</i> .
<b>Bacchus</b> , <i>ˈbækəs</i> .	<b>badge</b> , <i>bædz</i> .
<b>bachelor</b> , <i>ˈbætʃələ</i> . <i>~hood</i> ,	<b>badger</b> , <i>ˈbædzɔ:(-ər)</i> .
<i>ˈbætʃələˌhʊd</i> . <i>~ism</i> , <i>ˈbætʃəl- ərɪzəm</i> .	<b>baffle</b> , <i>bæfəl</i> .
<b>bacillus</b> , <i>bəˈsɪləs</i> , pl. <b>bacilli</b> ,	<b>bag</b> , <i>bæg</i> . <i>~ful</i> , <i>ˈbægful</i> . <i>~ged</i> ,
<i>bəˈsɪlaɪ</i> .	<i>bægd</i> . <i>~pipe</i> , <i>ˈbægpaɪp</i> .
<b>back</b> , <i>bæk</i> . <i>~bite</i> , <i>ˈbækbaɪt</i> .	<i>~wig</i> , <i>ˈbægwig</i> .
<i>~biter</i> , <i>ˈbækbaɪtɔ:(-ər)</i> . <i>~bl-</i>	<b>bagatelle</b> , <i>ˈbægətɛl</i> .

FIG. 6.2. A page from Afzelius's *Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of Modern English*, 1909 (also with Swedish title *Engelsk Uttalsordbok*).

general rule'. However, Jones was disappointed with the decision not to use the International Phonetic Association's alphabet. In fact, Afzelius had adopted what he calls 'a slightly modified form of the phonetic notation employed by Henry Sweet in his "Primer of Spoken English" [1890] and "Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch" [1885]' (p. i). The differences are indeed slight, and Afzelius opted for this alphabet, rather than that of the IPA, because he had already introduced this transcription in a number of textbooks. Afzelius's system is on the whole competent, even though some symbolizations and practices appear odd when seen from a twenty-first century viewpoint. One deficiency is his decision to represent word-final /ə/ differently when spelt <a> (as in *Sarah*)



from the same sound when spelt <er> as in *sister*, or <ia> as in *India*; Afzelius admits his uncertainty on this matter when he states apologetically in a footnote (p. viii) ‘if indeed there is a difference’.

Primary stress is shown by a dot preceding the stressed syllable; secondary stress is evident only from the vowel notation, with a special marking for compounds. Vowels in unstressed syllables are indicated by means of a superscript breve. The consonant representations are not at all unusual, with the exception of the voiceless dental fricative, for which he takes over Sweet’s use of Þ. One drawback of his system is that all phonetic representations are in an italic font. Whilst this has the advantage of setting it off clearly from conventional orthography, it nevertheless renders it somewhat more difficult to read. Afzelius claims that the ‘phonetic notation has now been tested for many years in Swedish schools, and has established its practical utility’ (p. i). He goes on to say—with clear justification—that ‘its advantages over such a system as Walker’s are obvious’.

Afzelius’s little book is unquestionably a dedicated pronouncing dictionary: no definitions are given and alternative pronunciations are regularly noted where appropriate. All in all, despite the discrepancies in the transcription system, Afzelius’s groundbreaking work certainly breathes the air of the new century. In fact, in many ways, it anticipates the lexicographical contribution of Daniel Jones himself.

### 6.2.2 *Michaelis and Jones’s Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language (1913)*

The leading British phonetician of the twentieth century was without doubt Daniel Jones (1881–1967), and some of Jones’s greatest and most influential work was in the field of phonetic lexicography (see Collins and Mees 1999 for a detailed survey of Jones’s life and career). Possibly, Afzelius provided an impetus for Jones to speed on with his own first attempt at a pronouncing dictionary, the *Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language* (Michaelis and Jones 1913), co-authored with a German school headmaster and phonetician, Hermann Michaelis (1867–?). This was produced by the same German firm (Carl Meyer) which had published the *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française* (Michaelis and Passy 1897). Not surprisingly, given its authorship, the *Dictionnaire phonétique* reflected clearly the methods and approach of the IPA, and set the stage for the Michaelis–Jones volume. For instance, Michaelis and Jones describe their pronunciation model as ‘that generally used by persons of culture in the South of England’ (p. vii), a phrasing which has a direct counterpart in ‘celle de la population cultivée du Nord de la France’ (Michaelis and Passy, p. viii). Similarly,

the statement that this accent is chosen ‘not because it is intrinsically superior to any other, but because it is that generally found most useful by those studying the English language’ (p. vii) is an echo of Michaelis–Passy’s (p. viii) ‘choisie, non pas comme préférable en elle-même, mais comme à la fois la plus accessible pour nous et la plus importante pour la plupart de ceux qui étudient le français’. As in the *Dictionnaire phonétique*, Michaelis and Jones (pp. v–vi) also emphasize the need to represent real speech and avoid spelling pronunciations (cf. Jones’s approval of Afzelius in this respect). One most unfortunate hangover from the earlier French dictionary, as compared with modern pronunciation dictionaries, or indeed as compared with the pioneering efforts of earlier times, was that entries are reversed: the phonetic transcription precedes the orthographic form, an arrangement which is most unwieldy and of little practical value. Undoubtedly, Jones realized the disadvantages of the bizarre scheme he had inherited from Passy. The preface states that ‘the fixing of a satisfactory *alphabetical order of the sounds* was a matter of no small difficulty, particularly in the case of the vowels’ (Michaelis and Jones’s emphasis, p. vii).

Many other crucial matters had been determined first of all by the Michaelis–Passy dictionary, and then by the example of Afzelius. For instance, there were no definitions, thus saving much space. Its readers were expected to be capable of dealing with broad phonetic—effectively phonemic—transcription. Up till then, dedicated pronunciation dictionaries produced in Britain (with the exception of Prys) had used English respelling systems. The *Phonetic Dictionary* also introduced significant changes in notational matters, such as the use of an asterisk to indicate potential r-liaison, and the marking of primary stress by ['] placed before the stressed syllable. Jones was going to take over the transcription system of the *Phonetic Dictionary*, almost in its entirety, for his next, and far greater, lexicographical work, the *English Pronouncing Dictionary*.

### 6.2.3 Daniel Jones’s English Pronouncing Dictionary (1917)

In 1912, just prior to the appearance of the Michaelis–Jones *Phonetic Dictionary*, Wilhelm Viëtor published his *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*. Not only was this work wide-ranging and meticulous but it had the advantage of showing the entries first in conventional orthography followed by transcription. Jones would have recognized the superiority of Viëtor’s format, and it would have given him an incentive to press on with what was to emerge in 1917 as the *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (henceforth *EPD*). Unlike his first attempt, Jones’s *EPD* was a success from the start. It had to be reprinted within two years and, in 1924, an enlarged second edition was produced; in 1926, a third revised version was brought out.

ba:k—bask

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bask—'baifə:kait

ba:k, -s (s.) barque, -s  
 ba:k (bax) Bach  
 'ba:kə Barca  
 'bɑ:kə\*, -z barker (B.), -s  
 'bɑ:kəroul [-rəl, bɑ:kə'r-], -z  
 barcarolle, -s  
 'bɑ:klei Barclay  
 'bɑ:kli 1) Berkeley; 2) Barclay  
 'bɑ:kroft Barcroft  
 bɑ:kz 1) barks (from bark);  
 2) Berks  
 'bɑ:kstən Barkston(e)  
 'bɑ:kfɪə\* Berkshire  
 ○ba:l Basle  
 'ba:li barley  
 'bɑ:likən, -z barleycorn (B.), -s  
 'bɑ:lifju:gə\* barley-sugar  
 'bɑ:lɪwɔ:tə\* barley-water  
 'ba:ləu Barlow(e)  
 ○bɑ:m, -z 1) balm, -s; 2) barm;  
 3) Balm(e)  
 'bɑ:mbi Barmby  
 'bɑ:mɛɪd, -z barmaid, -s  
 'bɑ:lmən, -mən 1) barman, -men;  
 2) bɑ:lmən, -men (military)  
 'bɑ:məθ Barmouth  
 'bɑ:mi barmy  
 'bɑ:mli, -iə\*, -iist, -ili, -inis  
 balmly, -ier, -iest, -ily, -iness  
 'bɑ:misaɪd Barmecide  
 'bɑ:m, -z barn, -s  
 ba'nɑ:dəu [bə'n-] Barnardo  
 'bɑ:nbi Barnby  
 'bɑ:n'dɔ:ə\*, -z barn-door (s.), -s  
 'bɑ:ndɔ:ə\* barn-door (adj.)  
 'bɑ:nəbəs [-bʌs] Barnabas  
 'bɑ:nəbi Barnaby  
 'bɑ:nəd Barnard  
 'bɑ:nədɪstən Barnardiston  
 'bɑ:nəkl, -z barnacle, -s  
 'bɑ:nəm 1) Barnum; 2) Barnham  
 'bɑ:nɪ Barney  
 'bɑ:nɪt Barnett(t)  
 'bɑ:nstəpl Barnstaple  
 bɑ:nz 1) Barnes; 2) barns (from  
 barn)  
 'bɑ:nzli Barnsley  
 ○'bɑ:rɪlɪf ['bæs-r] bas-relief, -s  
 'bɑ:rɪŋ barring (prep.)  
 ○bɑ:sɪ'ləʊnə Barcelona  
 bɑ:sk, -s, -ɪŋ, -t bask, -s, -ɪŋ,  
 -ed

bask = bask Basque  
 'bɑ:skɪt, -s basket, -s  
 'bɑ:skɪtfʊl, -z basketful, -s  
 'bɑ:skɪtwɔ:k basket-work  
 ○bɑ:t, -s bart (B.), -s  
 'bɑ:tə\*, -z, -rɪŋ, -d barter (B.)  
 (s. v.), -s, -ɪŋ, -ed  
 'bɑ:tɪ Bertie (surname)  
 bɑ:tɪ'miəs Bartimeus [-mæʊs]  
 'bɑ:tl Bartle  
 'bɑ:tlɪt Bartlett  
 'bɑ:tɪn Barton  
 bɑ:tz 1) barts (from bart); 2) Bart's  
 ○bɑ:θ, -ðz bɑ:θ (B.), -ths  
 'bɑ:θbrɪk, -s bath-brick, -s  
 bɑ:'θələmju: [bɑ'θ-] Bartholomew  
 'bɑ:θrʊm, -z bathroom, -s  
 'bɑ:θstəʊn bath-stone  
 'bɑ:θ'tʃeə\*, -z bath-chair, -s  
 ○bɑ:z 1) Barr's; 2) bars; 3) baas  
 ●baɪ (adv., prep.) by  
 baɪ, -z (s.) bye, -s  
 baɪ, -z, -ɪŋ, bɑɪ (v.) buy, -s, -ɪŋ,  
 bought  
 ○baɪ'æksəʊl, -ɪəl [-jəl] bɪəksəl,  
 -ɪəl  
 ○'baɪbl, -z Bible, -s  
 ○baɪd, -z, -ɪŋ, -ɪd bɪdʌ (B.), -es,  
 -ɪŋ, -ed  
 baɪdn Biden  
 ○'baɪðə'baɪ [bəðə'baɪ] by-the-  
 by(e)  
 ○'baɪəndz Byends  
 baɪ'ɛnʃəl, -ɪ biennial, -ly  
 ○'baɪə\*, -z 1) buyer, -s; 2) byre, -s  
 'baɪəgræf [-græf], -s biograph, -s  
 baɪə'græfɪk, -əl, -əli biographic,  
 -al, -ally  
 baɪə'lɒdʒɪk, -əl, -əli biologic,  
 -al, -ally  
 'baɪənd'baɪ [-əm'b-] by-and-by  
 'baɪərən Byron  
 'baɪərɪtɪm, -z bireme, -s  
 baɪə'rɒnɪk Byronic  
 'baɪərut Beirut  
 'baɪəs, -ɪz, -ɪŋ, -t 1) bias (s. v.),  
 -(s)es, -(s)ing, -(s)ed; 2) Byas(s)  
 'baɪəskəʊp, -s bioscope, -s  
 'baɪəz 1) Eyers; 2) buyers; 3) byres  
 ○baɪfə'keɪʃən, -z bifurcation, -s  
 'baɪfə'keɪt, -s, -ɪŋ, -ɪd bifurcate,  
 -es, -ɪŋ, -ed

FIG. 6.3. A page from Michaelis and Jones's *Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language*, 1913

Jones's close friend, Walter Ripman (1869–1947),<sup>5</sup> the editor of Dent's 'Modern Language Series' in which the *EPD* first appeared, had a great influence on the book. A schools inspector, editor of *Modern Language Teaching* (the organ of the Modern Language Association), and the writer of successful textbooks, Ripman was a

<sup>5</sup> Ripman, who was of German ancestry, changed the spelling of his name from Rippmann during the First World War because of anti-German sentiment.

powerful advocate of the use of phonetics in school education. It is interesting that Ripman himself had included in one of his own publications, *The Sounds of Spoken English* (Rippmann 1906), a list of approximately 1,500 words in phonetic transcription; this could be regarded as a kind of mini-pronunciation dictionary. Ripman's list precedes the pronouncing dictionaries of Afzelius (1909), Michaelis and Jones (1913), and Jones (1917), and furthermore appears to be the very first English pronunciation guide to employ an IPA alphabet. Jones acknowledges a debt to his friend in his introduction (pp. ix-x), saying that Ripman had assisted in the planning and at every stage of the writing (p. xii).

As stated above, the transcription used in the *EPD* is very much the same as that of the *Phonetic Dictionary*, the most significant difference being that [ , ] was

## B

B ( <i>the letter</i> ), -'s bit, -z	backgammon 'bæk'gæmən ['bæk.g-]
B.A., -'s 'bi:'ei [also 'bi:ei, bi:'ei under influence of sentence-stress], -z	background, -s 'bækgraund, -z
ba ( <i>note in Tonic Sol-fa</i> ), -s bei, -z	back-hair 'bæk'heə*
baa (s. v.), -s, -ing, -ed ba:, -z, -iŋ, -d	back-hand, -s, -ed, -er/s 'bæk'hænd, -z, -id, -ə*/z
Baal 'beɪəl ['beɪəl]	Backhouse 'bækhaus *
baa-lamb, -s 'bɑ:læm, -z	backing (s.), -s 'bækɪŋ, -z
Baalim 'beɪəlɪm	backsheesh [-'ʃɪʃ] 'bækʃi:ʃ
Babbage 'bæbɪdʒ	backside, -s 'bæk'saɪd ['bæksaɪd], -z
babble, -les, -ling, -led, -ler/s, -lement/s 'bæbəl], -iz, -lɪŋ ['lɪŋ], -ld, -lə*/z [-lə*/z], -lment/s	backslid[e], -es, -ing, backslid, backslider/s 'bæk'slaɪd, -z, -iŋ, 'bæk'slaɪd, 'bæk'slaɪdə*/z
Babcock 'bæbkɒk	backstairs 'bæk'steɪz ['bæks-]
babe, -s beɪb, -z	backstays 'bæksteɪz
babel (B.), -s 'beɪbəl, -z	backstitch, -es 'bækstɪtʃ, -iz [-nis
Babington 'bæbɪŋtən	backward, -s, -ly, -ness 'bækwəd, -z, -li,
baboo (B.), -s 'bɑ:bʊ: [bɑ:'b-, 'bɑ:'b-], -z	backwater, -s 'bæk,wɔ:tə*, -z
baboon, -s bə'bʊ:n [bæ'b-], -z	backwoods, -man, -men 'bækwʊdz, -man, -men
babooner/y, -ies bə'bʊ:nə(r)ɪ [bæ'b-], -iz	back-yard, -s 'bæk'jɑ:d, -z
bab'y (B.), -ies 'beɪbɪ, -iz	bacon 'beɪkən [-kɒ]
baby-farmer, -s 'beɪbɪ'fɑ:mə*, -z	Bacon 'beɪkən [-z
babyhood 'beɪbɪhʊd	Baconian, -s beɪ'kəʊniən [bə'k-, -nɪən],
babyish, -ly, -ness 'beɪbɪʃ, -li, -nis	bacteriologist/s, -y 'bæktəri'ɒlədʒɪst/-
Babylon 'bæbɪlən	ist/s ['bæktəri'ɒ:], -i
Babylonia, -n/s 'bæbɪ'lounjə [-niə], -n/z	bacteri'um, -a 'bæktəri'jəm, -ə
baccalaureate, -s 'bæklə'ɔ:riət [-riət], -s	Bactria, -n/s 'bæktəriə, -n/z
baccara(t) 'bækarə: ['bækar-]	bad; bad'ly, -ness bæd [bæd]; 'bædli,
bacchanal, -s 'bæksən] [-næl], -z	Badam, -s 'bædəm, -z [-nis
bacchanalian, -s 'bæksə'neɪlən [-liən], -z	Baddeley 'bædəli, 'bædli
bacchant, -s 'bæksənt, -s	baddish 'bædɪʃ
bacchant'e, -s bə'kænti, -z [bə'kænt, -s]	bade ( <i>from bid</i> ) bæd [beɪd]
bacchic 'bæki:k	Baden ( <i>in Germany</i> ) 'bædn
Bacchus 'bækas	Baden-Powell 'beɪdn'pəʊel [-il, -əl]
Bacchylides bæ'kilidi:z [bə'k-]	bad'gle (s. v.), -es, -ing, -ed 'bædʒ, -iz, -iŋ, -d [-z, -riŋ, -d
haccy 'bæki	badger (s. v.) (B.), -s, -ing, -ed 'bædʒə*,
Bacc ( <i>English surname</i> ) beɪtʃ, ( <i>German composer</i> ) bæ:k [bæk] (bax)	badger-baiting 'bædʒəbeɪtɪŋ
Bache beɪtʃ	badger-dog, -s 'bædʒədɒg, -z
bachelor (B.), -s; -hood, -ship 'bætʃələ* [-tʃil-], -z, -hʊd, -ʃɪp	badinage 'bædɪnə:ʒ (badinə:ʒ)
bacill'us, -i bæ'sɪl'əs, -əl	badminton (B.) 'bædmɪntən
back (B.) (s. v.), -s, -ing, -ed, -er/s 'bæk, -s, -iŋ, -t, -ə*/z	Baedeker, -s 'beɪdɪkə*, -z
backbit'e, -es, -ing, backbit, backbitten 'bæk'bit [-'bækb-], -s, -iŋ, 'bæk'bit [-'bækb-], 'bæk'bitɪn ['bæk'b-]	Baffin 'bæfɪn
backbiter, -s 'bæk'baɪtə* ['bæk'b-], -z	baffle, -les, -ling, -led, -ler/s 'bæfəl], -iz, -lɪŋ [-lɪŋ], -ld, -lə*/z [-lə*/z]
back-board, -s 'bæk'bɔ:d [-bɔ:d], -z	bag (s.), -s bæ:g [bæg], -z
back-bone, -s 'bækbəʊn, -z	bag (v.), -s, -ging, -ged bæ:g, -z, -iŋ, -d
back-door, -s 'bæk'dɔ:ə* [-dɔ:ə*], -z	bagatelle, -s; -board/s 'bægə'tel, -z; -bɔ:d/z [-bɔ:d/z]
	Bagdad 'bægdəd [-'bæg'dæd]

FIG. 6.4. A page from Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1917

introduced to indicate secondary stress. Windsor Lewis (1974: 1) points out that this type of transcription ‘had already existed in one or other of several very slightly different forms’ dating from 1888 when the IPA agreed on the principles for their international alphabet. In fact, from as early as 1906, Jones had been using much the same system. This was a quantitative transcription, that is to say, one that was relatively economical in terms of symbols, with only a few exotic character shapes, and requiring a length mark [ː] to distinguish checked (short) from free (long) vowels. Because vowel contrasts such as *i ə u* vs. *iː əː uː* involved merely adding a length mark, this meant that brackets could be employed to indicate alternative pronunciations, e.g. [i(:)ˈkɒnəmi] *economy*. However, not all possible variants are thus shown—Jones avoids it for *ɔ* vs. *ɔː*, for example—and he does not use its space-saving capacity to the full.

Use of the bracketed length mark is restricted, being confined to cases where two forms are considered to be of equal frequency. In the introduction to the *EPD* (p. xi), Jones explains that the ‘simplified (“broad”) form of [IPA] transcription usually employed for practical purposes has been adopted; it is the form which uses the minimum number of symbols consistent with avoiding ambiguity’. Yet this is untrue, since it would be perfectly possible to avoid ambiguity in the sense of showing phonemic contrasts and still use fewer symbols. For instance, *æ* and *ɑː* could have been replaced with *a* and *aː*, while *ɔ*, to represent the ‘reduced’ form of /*ou*/ in words like *molest* was not only allophonic but perhaps considered old-fashioned even in 1917. The ‘variant’ diphthongs [oi əə eə oə ui] in *going, four, they’re, Samoa, fluid* (p. xxv) were superfluous, as were the symbols *ɛ* and *ɔ*. But in fact Jones had no wish to be confined merely to showing phonemic distinctions: his use of [ç] as a variant of /*hj*/ in *here, human*, and the lengthened [æː] in *bad, bag, mad*, etc., are evidence of his wanting to include allophonic variation, and the *EPD* transcriptions were intended to allow for this. Only many years on, in *EPD10* (p. xii), did he recognize the inconsistency of his position:

Broad transcription of the chief kind of English here recorded would need only eight vowel letters, namely *i, e, a, ʌ, o, u, ɹ, and ə*. . . . It should, however, be pointed out that in transcribing a simple type of English with fewer variants than are here given (i.e. a type such as is suitable for foreign learners to acquire) the symbols *ɛ* and *ɔ* can be dispensed with; the letters *e* and *o* can be written in their place. The reduction of *eɪə* to a diphthong and *ou* to a monophthong are refinements with which the foreign learner need not concern himself, and they can in any case be implied in transcriptions of a simple and consistent form of the language. *æ* is also not essential for the purposes of this dictionary; *a* could be used in its place without giving rise to ambiguity, and I hope to make this substitution some day when circumstances permit.

The immediate and prolonged success of the *EPD* ensured that this transcription became associated with the dictionary and its editor. It was soon generally termed ‘*EPD* transcription’—even eventually by Jones himself (1956: 340–1)—although he never claimed credit for inventing it. In the early 1920s, he began to prefer a narrower qualitative transcription (*EPD10*: xii, xii n.), with extra symbols and without the need for a length mark. For the most part, this notation is a precursor of the most common system in use for English at the present day (often mistakenly thought to be totally the creation of A. C. Gimson, see below). Later on again, Jones changed his mind completely, coming down firmly on the side of broad quantitative transcription with even fewer and simpler letter shapes and using the length mark. However, none of this vacillation made its way into the *EPD*, which throughout his editorship retained its original notation. Jones was in a way the victim of his own success, since his publishers, Dent, probably felt unable to put sales at risk by switching to different transcriptions. When, after his death, changes did eventually come to the *EPD* notation, they were certainly not of the sort he would have favoured (see below).

The preface to *EPD1* includes a discussion of the pronunciation model which Jones had dubbed ‘Public School English’ or ‘Public School Pronunciation’ (PSP). It is defined, perhaps quaintly to modern ears, as the speech of ‘the families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the great public boarding-schools’. Jones allows that this type of pronunciation is also used by pupils from such schools who do not live in the South of England, and includes ‘persons of education in the South of England who have not been educated at these schools’ (p. viii). He was later to drop the label ‘Public School Pronunciation’ (see below) and in *EPD3* (1926) he revived and promulgated a forgotten phrase ‘Received Pronunciation’ and the abbreviation ‘RP’. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ‘received’ had been used very commonly to imply ‘socially acceptable’ and, in the context of speech, as Mugglestone (1997: 106–7) points out, can be traced all the way back to Walker (1774: 17; 1791: 12). However, Jones appears to have taken the term from Ellis’s *Early English Pronunciation* (1869: 23); he was not particularly happy with it, stating that he used it only ‘for want of a better’ (*EPD3*: viii). Nevertheless, even today it remains the most widely recognized label for this speech variety (although amongst some linguists ‘Standard Southern British’ is now challenging it). For further discussion, see Windsor Lewis (1985) and Collins and Mees (2001).

The second part of the introduction, ‘Explanations’, is concerned with practical matters relating to the transcription system and conventions for representing alternatives and variant stressing. Severe demands are made on the reader, with twenty IPA symbols being employed in the representation of foreign loan-words.

The descriptions of the variant values of the realizations of English vowels are described in terms of the Cardinal Vowels, a scheme based on the shape of the tongue arch in vowel articulations, which remains the basis of most non-acoustic reference systems of vowel description at the present day. *EPD1* is notable for the fact that it was here that Jones first provided (as a frontispiece) a fully labelled diagram for the Cardinal Vowels (see Collins and Mees 1995).

In the context of his time, Jones stands out for his acute observation and awareness of linguistic change in progress. Writing as early as 1917, he is the first to mention several speech phenomena which are often thought of as being of much later date (*EPD1*: xix, xxii):

1. The fronting of /ʌ/ in *STRUT* and of the first element of /ou/ in *GOAT*.<sup>6</sup>
2. The opening of /ou/ to [ɔu] with certain speakers before dark l, as in *cold*.
3. The potential reduction of the second element of /aiə/ in *desirable* and /auə/ in *cauliflower*, and the potential levelling of the contrast of these with /ɑ:/ in *PALM*.
4. The susceptibility of the alveolar consonants to assimilation and elision.
5. The tendency for /ə/ to replace KIT in internal unstressed syllables, e.g. *abillty*, *easyl*.

An aspect of language change which emerges from *EPD1* is the pronunciation of many individual words where the typical early twentieth-century form has now become either archaic or extinct. Striking vowel changes are to be found in the following (all shown here in the representation indicated in *EPD1* as first choice<sup>7</sup>): *acoustic* /ə'kaustik/, *armada* /ɑ:'meidə/, *chiropodist* /kaiə'rɒpədɪst/, *cross* /krɒ:s/, *iodine* /'aiədaɪn/, *oboe* /'oubɔɪ/, *profile* /'prɒfi:l/, *turbine* /'tə:bin/. Stress patterns have altered in words, such as *etiquette* /eti'ket/, *exquisite* /'ekskwɪzɪt/, *laboratory* /'læbərətəri/, *minuscule* /mɪ'nʌskju:l/, *pejorative* /'pi:dʒərətɪv/; and in compounds like *breakdown* /'breɪk'daʊn/, *countryside* /'kʌntri'saɪd/, *great-coat* /'greɪt'kəʊt/, *look-out* /'lʊk'ɑʊt/, *make-up* /'meɪk'ʌp/. Certain proper names also show remarkable transformations, e.g. *Boulogne* /bu'lɒʊn/, *Cadiz* /'keɪdɪz/, *Lyons* (France) /'laɪənz/, *Marseilles* /mɑ:'seɪlz/, *Mozart* /mɒ'zɑ:t/, *Prague* /preɪg/, *Romford* /'rɒmfəd/, *Walthamstow* /'wɔ:ltəmstəʊ/.

Jones is not infrequently misrepresented by sociolinguists, who claim him to be a prescriptivist attempting to foist RP on an unwilling populace (e.g. Crowley 1989: 164–74). Nothing could be further from the truth. After a brief early period

<sup>6</sup> Note that in the following sections we shall be employing the system of reference vowels devised by Wells (1982). As is normal practice, these are shown in small capitals.

<sup>7</sup> Many of the words discussed here are also shown with less common alternative forms similar to modern pronunciation.

when he flirted with elocutionary notions in his (1909) *Pronunciation of English*, he became a firm advocate of libertarian ideas with regard to speech. This is clear from his statements in *EPD1* (pp. viii–ix).

I should like here to state that I have no intention of becoming either a reformer of pronunciation or a judge who decides what pronunciations are ‘good’ and what are ‘bad’. The proper function of the phonetician is to observe and record accurately, to be, in fact, a kind of living phonograph. It may be as well to add that I am not one of those who believe in the desirability or the feasibility of setting up any one form of pronunciation as a standard for the English-speaking world.

It was a view he maintained all through his long career (see Collins and Mees 2001).

#### 6.2.4 *The lexicographical work of Harold Palmer and colleagues*

The only competition to Daniel Jones’s *EPD* in the inter-war period came from Harold Palmer (1877–1949), a talented British applied linguist who had worked briefly under Jones at University College London (UCL). Palmer by this time had settled in Japan, where, although British RP was regarded as the main teaching model, most teachers of English there actually hailed from the USA.<sup>8</sup> Palmer, together with his colleagues F. G. Blandford and the American J. Victor Martin, saw that there was a gap in teaching resources since no reliable dictionary for American pronunciation existed. Their joint efforts resulted in the publication in 1926 of the *Dictionary of English Pronunciation with American Variants (in Phonetic Transcription)*, henceforth *DEP*. It included a preface written by Palmer himself, in which (bizarrely from a modern viewpoint) he feels obliged to defend his advocacy of the use of American pronunciation in the United States. He explains that certain Americans were intent on learning and teaching British RP, and could be most offended if their choice was questioned. Palmer believes that the vast majority of Americans would oppose this position, and quotes in support the American linguists George Krapp, John S. Kenyon, and George Hempl, and ‘a host of other witnesses testifying not only to the existence of American pronunciation, but to its eligibility to be considered as American Standard Pronunciation’ (1926: vi–vii). (Note that the term ‘General American’ had not yet caught on, having only recently been coined by Krapp in his (1925) *English Language in America*.)

<sup>8</sup> In a lecture entitled ‘Standard Pronunciation’ delivered to the English Association, Liverpool, on 11 March 1927, Daniel Jones stated: ‘In Japan eighty per cent of the English teachers are Americans.’ Jones’s complete lecture is reproduced in Collins and Mees (2003), Vol. VIII.



Traditional Spelling	Received Pronunciation	American Variants <sup>1</sup>
badges	ˈbædʒɪz	
<b>badly</b>	ˈbædli	
<b>baffling</b>	ˈbæflɪŋ	
<b>bag</b>	bæg	
bags	bægz	
<b>baggage</b>	ˈbæɡɪdʒ	
<b>bait</b>	bet	
<b>bake</b>	beɪk	
bakes	beɪks	
baked	beɪkt	
baking	ˈbeɪkɪŋ	
<b>baker</b>	ˈbeɪkə(r)	ˈbeɪkə
bakers	ˈbeɪkəz	ˈbeɪkəz
<b>balance</b>	ˈbæləns	
balances	ˈbælənsɪz	
balanced	ˈbælənst	
balancing	ˈbælənsɪŋ	
<b>bald</b>	bɔːld	
<b>bale</b>	beɪl	
bales	beɪlz	
baled	beɪld	
baling	ˈbeɪlɪŋ	
<b>ball</b>	bɔːl	
balls	bɔːlz	
<b>balloon</b>	bəˈluːn	
balloons	bəˈluːnz	
<b>Baltic</b>	ˈbɔːltɪk, ˈbɔːltɪk	
<b>bamboo</b>	bæmˈbuː	
bamboos	bæmˈbuːz	
<b>banana</b>	bəˈnɑːnə	bəˈnaːnə
bananas	bəˈnɑːnəz	bəˈnaːnəz
<b>band</b>	bænd	
bands	bændz	
<b>bandage</b>	ˈbændɪdʒ	
bandages	ˈbændɪdʒɪz	
bandaged	ˈbændɪdʒd	
bandaging	ˈbændɪdʒɪŋ	
<b>bandmaster</b>	ˈbændmɑːstə(r)	ˈbændmɑːstə
bandmasters	ˈbændmɑːstəz	ˈbændmɑːstəz
<b>bandstand</b>	ˈbændstænd	
bandstands	ˈbændstændz	
<b>bang</b>	bæŋ	
bangs	bæŋz	
banged	bæŋd	
banging	ˈbæŋɪŋ	
<b>banish</b>	ˈbænɪʃ	
banishes	ˈbænɪʃɪz	

FIG. 6.5. A page from Palmer, Blandford, and Martin's *Dictionary of English Pronunciation with American Variants*, 1926

DEP deliberately restricts the number of headwords to under 10,000 (p. xxvii), even though the pronunciation of many more inflected forms are shown. The reasons for this restriction and an elaborate defence of the types of word chosen is given in the introduction—this being in the era before any adequate means of determining word frequency existed. The authors in fact explain that they will ignore what word-lists are available, stating (p. xxi) that the ‘principle of *relative*

*frequency of occurrence* would not have proved adequate, otherwise we might have been content to use the various word-lists so painstakingly compiled, notably by American educationists'. The default pronunciation throughout is British English, and American variants are given in a separate column. If there are no significant variants, no American pronunciation is provided, and predictable forms (e.g. 'flapped t', see below) are not shown. In consequence, there are far fewer American representations than British; in fact, the column is often virtually blank (several pages have only a single American example).

In addition to the major step of including American pronunciation, Palmer and his colleagues also broke new ground in other ways, notably as regards transcription, since *DEP* was the first dictionary to employ a narrow qualitative variety, inspired by the type being used at this period by Daniel Jones and his London colleagues (see above). Palmer comments (p. ix):

By 'narrower system of English phonetic notation' is meant any system that makes use of the symbols [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɒ], [ʊ], [ɜ]. For some years past the tendency to use the narrower system has been increasing. The *Maître Phonétique*, the organ of the International Phonetic Association, makes an exclusive use of it. . . .

In a brief review, Daniel Jones (1927: 8) notes approvingly that this is the first dictionary to indicate pronunciation by means of the 'narrow form of the a.f. [Association Phonétique] transcription', but expresses his doubts on one innovation: 'In addition, the authors have added . . . ɪ to represent unstressed i. . . . Considering that stress is marked throughout, I should have thought that ɪ was unnecessary.' Kenyon (1927: 4), however, states: 'Although I do not need a separate symbol in elementary teaching and ordinary transcriptions, I agree with some of my American colleagues that it should be possible to express the distinction if desired, and for this the new symbol seems to me a good one.'

The authors acknowledge that their description of British English is derived mainly from Jones. The excellent concise summary of the English vowel system (p. xxx) appears to be largely, perhaps entirely, Palmer's own work. The phoneme concept, in the form developed by Jones and his UCL colleagues, is employed throughout, even though, oddly, the use of the actual term 'phoneme' is avoided in favour of 'phone' (p. xxix). One further innovation is the coining of the terms 'checked' and 'free' as labels for short and long vowels, respectively. Although this terminology appears not to have been repeated in any well-known textbook until Moulton's *Sounds of English and German* (1962), nowadays—thanks perhaps to Wells's (1982) *Accents of English*—these labels have wide currency. It is noteworthy that in *DEP* the distinction between checked and free vowels is defined not in terms of difference in vowel length but on the basis of the non-occurrence

of checked vowels in stressed open syllables. A length mark (in fact, a single dot instead of the double triangle advocated by the IPA) is used to show extra duration (albeit only in stressed contexts, *art* being shown with  $\alpha$ , whereas *artistic* is represented with  $\alpha$ ). Potential linking *r* is shown by means of an interpolated round bracket, i.e. (*r*, as in *car* [ $ka(r)$ ]).

The description of American English is detailed and largely accurate, allowing for the pronunciation norms of the time. Palmer *et al.* mark throughout an historical vowel contrast, retained in certain English accents (including some in the USA), whereby two types of words are distinguished (Wells 1982: 161–2): the NORTH set (e.g. *horse, born, short, warm*, shown as [ɔ]) vs. the FORCE set (e.g. *hoarse, borne, sport, worn*, shown also with the alternative [oə]). The authors state that words such as ‘*half, brass, ask, nasty*, etc., are transcribed with the symbol [a], indicating that the vowel varies between [ɑ] and [æ]’ (p. xxxviii). Although it would appear that Palmer *et al.* are aware of the existence of the category of words which Wells (1982: 133–5) was later to term the BATH words, it would seem that they are analysing the vowel used as an allophone of PALM rather than as a separate TRAP vowel. Surprisingly, *DEP* shows no indication in the body of the dictionary of what Palmer *et al.* term ‘flapped t’ (T-voicing in words such as *better, rattle*) and ‘flapped n’ (i.e. /t/ deletion following /n/, e.g. *twenty, wanted*). However, these phenomena are dealt with in an introductory section ‘American Variants’ (pp. xlv–xlvii), together with what would today be termed ‘yod-dropping’ (deletion of /j/ following alveolars and preceding /u:/, as for example in *duke, news, student*).

*DEP*, although almost completely forgotten today, nevertheless broke much new ground. It deserves to be remembered not only as the first dictionary to treat American English on equal terms with British RP, but also for introducing terminology which is current at the present time.

### 6.2.5 Jones’s 1937 revision of the EPD

In 1937, feeling that it was time to update his dictionary, Daniel Jones produced an extensively revised fourth edition of the *EPD*. He stated (*EPD*4: vi) at the time:

It has been evident for some years past that this dictionary was in need of enlargement and of detailed revision. Many new words have entered the language and many rare words have become common since the book was first published (1917). Moreover, many words have undergone changes of pronunciation during that period: new pronunciations have appeared, and pronunciations which were previously rare have now come into common use.

He made no alterations to the transcription system, apart from replacing the diagonally sloping stress marks by verticals, and the substitution of a colon for the IPA double triangle length mark ː, explaining that ‘it was found that the latter symbol becomes indistinct in reprints’ (p. vi). Ironically, despite its many disadvantages, the double triangle has survived into the twenty-first century, and is now in use again in the latest editions of the *EPD*.

In *EPD*<sub>1</sub> Jones could boast that pronunciations were given for nearly 50,000 words (including 11,500 proper names), and that this number would have been far greater if inflected forms and alternatives had been taken into account (p. xxvi). Jones now added several thousand new words, bringing the total up to nearly 55,000. He still relied mainly on his own observations of the speech habits of others (and was proud to state that these were his primary sources), but now also acknowledged that he had ‘derived considerable help’ from H. C. Wyld (1870–1945), whose *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* had appeared in 1932. Additional useful information came from the work of his former colleague Arthur Lloyd James (1884–1943), whose *Broadcast English*—a series of seven booklets containing recommendations to announcers—was in the course of being published by the BBC (Lloyd James 1928–39). A long overdue change from earlier editions was that Jones at long last replaced throughout the text the now dated term ‘Public School Pronunciation’ by ‘Received Pronunciation’ (abbreviated to ‘RP’).

The 1937 revision was to fix the form and contents of the dictionary for an era. The upheaval of the Second World War, and the printing restrictions in the period of austerity in Great Britain which followed, meant that although Jones was amassing information for a major revision of the dictionary, this was not to be published for almost twenty years.

### 6.2.6 *Pronunciation dictionaries in the USA*

Attempts had been made in America at producing pronouncing dictionaries from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, including those by Coxe (1813), Allison (1815), Bolles (1845), and Smalley (1855). All of these authors are cited by Bronstein (1986: 25), who states that Coxe and Allison were based on the works of British orthoepists and failed to show ‘any real recognition of American English pronunciation forms’, while Smalley and Bolles did not achieve ‘widespread use’ (p. 25). In the early twentieth century, as noted above, the pioneering achievement of Palmer *et al.* (1926) in recording a limited number of American variants prepared the ground for others to follow, but almost two more decades were to elapse before dedicated American pronunciation dictionaries appeared.

In 1943, James Bender produced a pronunciation dictionary for the NBC (National Broadcasting Company) entitled *NBC Handbook of Pronunciation*, which was originally intended to provide guidance to American newsreaders to ‘avoid inconsistency in pronunciation’ (p. x). The 12,000 words ‘most apt to present problems’ (p. vii) were represented in a model of General American English (p. ix). Pronunciation for all entries was given in two forms: a respelling system and, in addition, with what Bender termed ‘broad IPA’. In fact, Bender’s transcription is narrower than *EPD* notation and is closer to that which Palmer *et al.* (1926) had used, and also very similar to that soon to be employed by Kenyon and Knott (see below). Whilst the *NBC Handbook* is an unpretentious publication, with limited aims, it can claim credit for being the very first ‘home-grown’ American pronunciation dictionary of the twentieth century, and for setting the standard in terms of choosing a clearly American model and an appropriate phonetic transcription.

A year on, a more ambitious full-scale pronunciation dictionary of American English at long last appeared—the (1944) *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, known to generations of American linguists simply as ‘Kenyon and Knott’. Owing largely to the popularity of his textbook *American Pronunciation* (1924), John S. Kenyon (1874–1959) had become acknowledged as the doyen of American descriptive phoneticians. His book had been notable, not only for its general overall competence but also for following Daniel Jones’s recommendations for a non-prescriptive approach to pronunciation. Kenyon insisted on a description of educated American English speech as actually testified by usage rather than harking back to an idealized model based largely on conservative British pronunciation, as was advocated in many American university speech departments at the time. In addition, Kenyon had gained much fame through being appointed consultant pronunciation editor for the second edition of the Merriam-Webster *New International Dictionary* (1934). His revision of the introductory article on American English in that publication (‘A guide to pronunciation’) was through popular demand reissued by Merriam as a separate booklet. Following six years of intensive collaboration between Kenyon and his colleague Thomas A. Knott (1880–1945), an historical philologist and dialectologist, who had been the general editor of the second edition of the Webster dictionary, the two men felt able to publish their joint work (p. v).

The editors started out with a different approach from that of Daniel Jones. After paying due tribute to Jones, ‘who has placed all later lexicographers under inescapable obligation to him’ (p. v), Kenyon and Knott state explicitly that, unlike Jones, they wished to register not just one variety of speech from a limited section of the community but to ‘record without prejudice or preference several

## axletree

axletree 'æks|,tri, -tri  
 Axminster 'æks,mɪnstə; ES -mɪnstə(r)  
 axolotl 'æksə,lɒt|; ES+-,lɒt|  
 ay *inj* 'aɪs?' e  
 ay, aye 'always' e—*ay is the better spelling*  
 ayah 'aɪə  
 Aydelotte 'ed|,at; ES+-,ɒt  
 Ayden 'edŋ  
 aye, ay 'yes' aɪ—*aye is the better spelling*  
 Ayer ɛr, ær; E ɛə(r), ES æə(r)  
 Aylesbury 'elz,bɛrɪ, -bɔrɪ  
 Aylmer 'elmə; ES 'elmə(r)  
 Ayr ɛr, ær; E ɛə(r), ES æə(r)  
 Ayres ɛrz, ærz; E ɛəz, ES æəz; |-s -ɪz  
 Ayshire 'ɛrfɪr, 'ær-, -ʃə; E 'ɛəʃtə(r), -ʃə(r),  
 ES 'æə-  
 Ayscough, -cuc 'æskju, 'es-, -kru  
 Ayton, Aytoun 'etŋ  
 Azalea ə'zeliə |azalea ə'zeljə

35

## backswept

Azazel ə'zeɪəl, 'æzə,zel  
 Azerbaijan ʔzə'bɑr'dʒɑn, 'æzə-; ES -zə-  
 azimuth 'æzəməθ |-əl, 'æzə'mælθəl  
 azine 'æzɪn, -ɪn |-ɪn -ɪn  
 Azof 'azɒf, -zɒf  
 azoic ə'zɔɪk  
 azole 'æzəl, ə'zəl  
 Azores ə'zɔrz, 'ɛzɔrz, -ɔrz; ES -ɔəz, E+  
 -ɔz  
 azorite 'æzə,rat  
 azote 'æzɒt, ə'zɒt  
 azoth 'æzəθ, -θ  
 Azov 'azɒf, -zɒf, 'æzɒv, 'ɛzɒv  
 Azrael 'æzrɪəl  
 Aztec 'æztek |-ən -ən  
 azure 'æzə, 'ɛzə; ES -zə(r); |-d -d  
 azurine 'æzərɪn, -aɪn  
 azurite 'æzə,rat  
 Azusa ə'zusa

## B

B, b letter bi |pl B's, Bs, poss B's biz  
 baa bæ:, ba:, ba: |ʒ sg baes, pl n baas -z  
 |-ed -d |-ɪŋ -ɪŋ  
 Baal 'beəl, bel  
 babbitt, B- 'bæbɪt |-ed -ɪd  
 babble 'bæb| |-d -d |-lɪŋ 'bæb|ŋ, -blɪŋ  
 babe beb  
 Babel 'beb|, 'bæb|  
 Bab el Mandeb 'bæb,el'mændəb, 'bɒb,el-  
 'mæn-  
 baboo, babu 'babu  
 baboon bæ'bun, bə'bun  
 baby 'beɪ| |-bɪd -bɪd  
 Babylon 'bæb|ən  
 Babylonia 'bæb|ɒniə, -nɪə |-n -n  
 baccalaureate 'bækə'lɔrɪt  
 baccarat, -ra 'bækə'ra, 'bækə,ra (Fr baka'ra)  
 Bacchae 'bæki  
 bacchanal 'bækən|, -næl  
 Bacchanalia, b- 'bækə'neliə, -lɪə |-n -n  
 bacchant 'bækənt| |-s -s |-es bə'kæntɪz, bæ-  
 bacchante bə'kæntɪ, -'kænt, bæ-, 'bækənt  
 Bacchic, b- 'bækɪk |-əl -|  
 Bacchus 'bækəs |-s -ɪz  
 Bach bæk, bax (Ger bɑx)

Bachelor 'bætʃələ, 'bætʃlə; ES -lə(r)  
 bachelor 'bætʃələ, 'bætʃlə; ES -lə(r)  
 Bachman 'bækməŋ, 'bæk- (Ger 'bɑxmən)  
 bacillary 'bæs|j,erɪ, 'bæsɪ|,-  
 bacillus bə'sɪləs |-li -lɪr  
 back bæk |-ed -t |-ache -ɪk  
 backbite 'bæk,bat |-bit -|,bit |-bitten -,bitŋ  
 backbone 'bæk'bɒn, -,bɒn |-d -d  
 backfire n 'bæk,fair; ES -faiə(r)  
 backfire v 'bæk,fair, -'fair; ES -aɪə(r); |-d -d  
 backgammon 'bæk,gæməŋ, 'bæk'gæməŋ  
 background 'bæk,graʊnd  
 backhand 'bæk'hænd, -,hænd |-ed -ɪd  
 ('back,hand(ed) 'stroke)  
 backlash 'bæk,læʃ |-ɪs |-ed -t  
 backlog 'bæk,lɒg, -,lɒg, -,lɒg  
 backset 'bæk,set  
 backslide 'bæk,slɑd, 'bæk'slɑd |-slid -,slɪd,  
 -'slɪd |-slidden -,slɪdŋ, -'slɪdŋ  
 backspace 'bæk,spes |-s -ɪz |-d -t  
 backspin 'bæk,spɪn  
 backstage adv 'bæk'stedʒ, adj 'bæk,stedʒ  
 backstay 'bæk,ste |-ed -d  
 backstroke 'bæk,strok  
 backswept 'bæk,swept

|full fʊl |tooth tuθ |further 'fɜ:ðə; ES 'fɜ:ðə |custom 'kʌstəm |while hwaɪl |how hau |toy tɔɪ  
 |using 'ju:zɪŋ |fuse fju:z, fru:z |dish dɪʃ |vision 'vɪʒən |Eden 'ɪdɪn |cradle 'kredl| |keep 'em 'ki:pŋ

FIG. 6.6. A page from Kenyon and Knott's *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, 1944

different types of speech used by large bodies of educated and cultivated Americans in widely separated areas and with markedly different backgrounds of tradition and culture' (p. v). In consequence, this dictionary is interesting not only for its unique position as the first and only full-scale pronunciation dic-

tionary concerned solely with American English but also because it is not restricted to a single prestige accent. No comparable work has ever been produced for British English.

In fact, Kenyon and Knott chiefly indicate pronunciation variants from three somewhat vaguely defined areas of the USA: the East (New York City and eastern New England); the South (covering a wide swathe of south-eastern states from Virginia in the East as far as Texas in the West); and the North (stated to be the remainder of the USA). In reality, the label 'North' takes in not only the north but also the Midwest and the West Coast, and seems to be largely the same as Krapp's (1925) 'General American' or—since it was the accent generally employed by radio announcers—'Network American'. As such, it was the nearest thing that the USA had to a prestige accent, equivalent in many ways to Jones's British Received Pronunciation.

The phonetic/phonological description in the introduction owes much to Kenyon's *American Pronunciation*, which had by this time become the most widely used and respected textbook on speech in the USA. Because of the amount of variation which needed to be recorded, the reader is faced with a complex array of phonetic symbols and symbol combinations, including twenty-two vowels and diphthongs and twenty-eight consonants (p. xvii). Provision is made for both rhotic and non-rhotic accents, e.g. *furniture* as /'fɜːnɪtʃə-/ and /'fɜːnɪtʃə(r)/, the latter form being labelled ES (Eastern and Southern); the bracket before /r/ indicates potential linking r (following the example of *DEP*, see above). The vowel STRUT /ʌ/ is treated as a separate phoneme from /ə/ (or for rhotic accents /ɜː/), and also from NURSE /ɜː/ (or for rhotic accents /ɜːr/). The back open and back open-mid vowel area is indeed problematical in American English, and to cope with the symbolizations needed for indicating regional and individual variation, Kenyon and Knott employ ɑ for LOT and PALM words and an additional vowel ɒ for easterners and southerners who use this variant in certain LOT words. The symbol ɔ is utilized for words such as *jaw*, *gorge*. The length mark is brought in to indicate phonetic lengthening in certain contexts (pp. xxvi–xxvii). It is noteworthy that the phonetic diphthongs in FACE and GOAT words are represented with the unitary symbols e and o. The NORTH words (see above) are shown only with [ɔ], whereas FORCE words have [o] as the first choice followed by an alternative pronunciation with [ɔ]. One remarkable omission is the lack of any mention of T-voicing (which had indeed previously been noted in *DEP*; see above). It is inconceivable that the authors overlooked this crucial and virtually universal feature of American English, and it must be put down to their reluctance to offend potential users of the dictionary, such as speech trainers and elocutionists, at a time when this feature was still regarded as slipshod by many (perhaps most) prescriptivists. It is notable, however, that another frequently proscribed feature, namely yod-dropping, is treated in full and complex detail (pp. xlii–xliii).

From time to time, Kenyon and Knott also cite British variants, marked by the abbreviation ‘BBC’ (British Broadcasting Corporation)—possibly the first time that this label was employed in a linguistic publication to indicate the British standard accent. (Interestingly, the term ‘BBC English’ has been revived for recent editions of the *EPD*, see below.)

Following on from Kenyon and Knott, remarkably little in the way of dedicated pronouncing dictionaries emerged from America in the second half of the twentieth century. Indeed, Kenyon and Knott, although generally regarded as outdated—possibly by the 1960s, and certainly by the 1970s—was the only reputable dictionary of this type available. Apart from this, pronunciation lexicography was confined to the representations of pronunciation in standard dictionaries such as the *American Heritage Dictionary* and the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*. In addition, beginning with Windsor Lewis’s (1972) *Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of British and American English*, British pronunciation dictionaries introduced American pronunciation alongside British English. Yet, curiously, there has never been a true replacement for Kenyon and Knott. It remains to this day the only example of a full-scale dedicated pronunciation dictionary completely devoted to American English, edited by expert phonetic lexicographers, that has ever been produced.

### 6.2.7 *The EPD in the post-war period*

Little was changed in the numerous editions of the *EPD* that were produced in the war years and the immediate post-war period, but, in 1956, the eleventh edition saw a thorough revision. The dictionary had enjoyed considerable commercial success, considering the tribulations of the war and the era of austerity which followed. In consequence of the large number of copies printed (over 90,000 since 1937), the printing plates had deteriorated to an extent where the text had to be completely reset (p. vii). This gave Jones at last the chance he had waited for to update his dictionary in numerous ways.

One significant change was the extension of the indication of syllable boundaries by means of a hyphen. The history of syllabification in the *EPD* is long and complex—in fact, the debate continues to this day (see below for differences between the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* and *EPD15*). Even in the 1917 edition, Jones had made limited use of this convention, allowing him to indicate, for example, the contrast between *selfish* /'selfiʃ/ vs. *shellfish* /'ʃel-fiʃ/ (*EPD1*: xviii). A brief article ‘The word as a phonetic entity’ (Jones 1931) proved to be the precursor of a drawn-out battle worldwide on what was later termed ‘juncture’, a controversy that preoccupied structural linguists for several decades. In the midst of this



theoretical discussion, Jones (1956b) defended in practical terms his use of the hyphen in transcription. In *EPD11*, which appeared in the same year, the use of the hyphen was extended to cover more entries and, in the introduction, Jones enlarged the discussion of underlying principles (pp. xxvi–xxvii).

However, *EPD11* also saw a major revision of much of the body of the text. During the war, Jones had been appointed chief pronunciation consultant to the BBC, and in this capacity was co-operating closely with the head of the Pronunciation Unit, Gertrude Mary Miller (1911–79).<sup>9</sup> They had compiled an impressive archive of data on both British and foreign proper names (Collins and Mees 1999: 367–8), the British component of which was employed afterwards as the basis of Miller's (1971) *BBC Pronouncing Dictionary of British Names* (later revised in 1983 by her successor Graham Pointon). In the meantime, Jones was able to use the information to update the entries on the proper names in the *EPD*. He was clearly prepared to put in much effort for what he probably thought would be the last major refurbishment of the dictionary in his lifetime. In fact, he was to witness two further revisions of the dictionary before he died.

The first of these (*EPD12*, 1963) incorporated few significant developments, but it was innovative in being undertaken by Jones in co-operation with A. C. Gimson (1917–85), a lecturer at University College London, who, just having completed his very successful *Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (1962), was later in 1966 to be appointed as Jones's successor to the UCL chair of phonetics. 1967 was to be significant for the *EPD* in two ways. In December of that year, Daniel Jones finally died after a long period of illness, and about the time of his death, the thirteenth edition of the *EPD* appeared. Gimson was solely responsible for this revision, with Jones having taken no part.<sup>10</sup>

At first glance, *EPD13* gives the impression of being very similar to its predecessors, and Gimson himself (1977: 156) said:

The thirteenth edition of 1967, which I edited and which appeared only a few days before Daniel Jones's death, introduced some changes (notably, on the phonetic level, the more realistic notation /əu/ for the older /ou/ in a word such as *go*), but the base remained hardly different from that laid down by Jones in 1917.

Yet Gimson's modest statement hides the fact that for the first time he had quietly slipped in several crucial changes which affected the whole philosophy behind the

<sup>9</sup> Gertrude Miller disliked her first name, preferring to be known as 'Elizabeth'.

<sup>10</sup> According to Gimson, Jones had by this time no wish even to look at the proofs of *EPD13*. (Interview, recorded by BC at University College London, May 26 1981. Reproduced in Collins and Mees 2003, Vol. VIII.)

dictionary, and that he intended in the future to make many more. Restrained no doubt by the fact that at the time of writing Jones was still alive, Gimson had left the introduction almost intact, but had included an ‘Editor’s Preface’ where he could indicate his line of thought. He states (1967: vii) that ‘a very high percentage of those who consult this Dictionary do not have English as their first language’ and claims that for his audience ‘a somewhat simplified account of RP would seem to be called for’. Hence, he decided to eliminate most of the ‘allophonic and other variants as are of interest and utility mainly to the minority of users having English as a mother tongue’. Furthermore, Gimson pointed out that he was taking into account the evolution of RP into a more extended social accent, stating that it was ‘less and less the property of an exclusive social class’ and that this had led to ‘some dilution of the earlier form’ (p. vii). In order to discover to what extent changes had taken place in three hundred ‘crucial words’, Gimson sent out a questionnaire to linguist colleagues. This was possibly the first attempt, even if only a very limited one, at carrying out any kind of systematic investigation of language change in RP.

Gimson makes the point that whilst the *EPD* was ‘largely descriptive in intent’ (as Jones had also constantly reiterated) it nevertheless fulfilled a prescriptive function, and therefore had to be relatively conservative in dealing with pronunciation variations. He cites a word with a frequently disputed stress pattern:

The word **controversy**, given in most dictionaries with a recommended accentual pattern ‘----’, emerges from the questionnaire as having -‘---’ (given as a less common variant in previous editions of this Dictionary) for some 40 per cent of the replies. But more than 90 per cent of some 500 students questioned on this point used only -‘---’. The pattern -‘---’ may well, therefore, supersede ‘----’ by the turn of the century. At the moment it would seem appropriate to list both variants as equally representative (*EPD13*, pp. vii–viii).

Gimson then outlines the changes he has made, such as eliminating the weakened [o] in words such as *November*, and allophonic [ç] for the sequence /hj/ in *huge*. Although these may appear to be minor changes, they did underline the fact that from then on the *EPD* would be catering for non-native users rather than native English speakers. It would effectively offer what was now in essence ‘construct RP’, see Ramsaran (1990a) and Fabricius (2000: 29, 61; and 2005), namely a description of a type of language moulded into a model for second language acquisition. There would be far less emphasis on the truly objective all-embracing description of the current condition of the British prestige accent—almost a kind of pronunciation ‘journal of record’—which it had been under Jones.

### 6.3 LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

#### 6.3.1 *Windsor Lewis's Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of British and American English* (1972)

The *Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of British and American English* (Windsor Lewis 1972) (henceforth *CPD*) follows on in certain ways from Palmer *et al.* (1926), albeit after an interval of more than four decades. For the first time in the post-war period, a lexicographer was employing a qualitative transcription system for a dedicated pronunciation dictionary, using more elaborate symbol shapes than Jones's *EPD* transcription. Furthermore, Windsor Lewis took the daring step of dispensing with the length mark.

The most unfortunate feature of the *EPD* transcription as regards its suitability for the EFL user is its highly misleading emphasis on the relatively trivial contrasts of length between the vowels of such pairs of words as *bit/beat*, *not/nought*, *soot/suit* when other pairings equally deserving of such representation (e.g. *come/calm*) and far more vital length contrasts (particularly those of shortness in syllables closed by p, t, k, tʃ, f, θ, s or ʃ versus greater length in syllables not so checked) are not exhibited' (Windsor Lewis 1972: xvii).

On the grounds of simplicity, Windsor Lewis also replaced ɔ by ɒ for the vowel in LOT and ɛə by eə for the vowel in SQUARE; the first of these changes did not catch on, but the second symbolization was to become widely adopted by later lexicographers.

Eschewing the usage *Received Pronunciation*, which he regarded as outmoded (p. xiv), Windsor Lewis referred to his British model of pronunciation as 'General British' (abbreviated to 'GB'), a label he coined on the analogy of General American (GA). Despite the fact that many Americans were now beginning to doubt its validity (see below), Windsor Lewis decided, for convenience, to retain the latter term (p. xiv). For British English, he drew on a large corpus of observations collected over a period of nearly ten years, in which he had carefully noted the speech of 'BBC and ITV national newsreaders and the newsreaders of the World Service' (p. xv). He claimed that he had 'little difficulty' in deciding to take these as the basis of his GB model, since they displayed 'the widest national or international acceptability of their speech'. This was the most thorough and systematic research that had ever been undertaken up till that time on the speech habits of the national standard accent of Britain (or, in all probability, for any other nation or any other language).

In addition, the *CPD* boldly took on the task of showing American pronunciations—the first British dictionary since Palmer's to do so, and something

babble 'bæbl	baize berz
babe beɪb	bake beɪk
babel, B- 'beɪbl \$ 'bæbl	bakelite 'berkəlaɪt
baboon bə'bu:n \$ bæ'bu:n	bakery 'beɪkəri
baby 'beɪbɪ	baking powder 'beɪkɪŋ paʊdə(r)
babyhood 'beɪbɪhʊd	balaclava, B- 'bælə'klavə \$ -'klævə
Babylon 'bæbələn -ɪl- -lən	balalaika 'bælə'lɔɪkə
baby-sitter 'beɪbɪ sɪtə(r)	balance 'bæləns
Bacchus 'bækəs	balance-sheet 'bæləns ʃi:t
Bach bæk	balcony 'bælkəni
<i>instead of this k many use x, the corresponding fricative</i>	bald bɔld
bachelor 'bætʃələ(r)	balderdash 'bɔldədæʃ \$ -dærd-
bacilli bə'sɪləɪ	bale beɪl
bacillus bə'sɪləs	baleful 'beɪflɪ -fʊl
back bæk	balk bɔk
backache 'bækeɪk	Balkan(s) 'bɔlkən(z)
backbite 'bækbɪt	ball bɔl
backbone 'bækbəʊn	ballad 'bæləd
back-cloth 'bæk kləθ \$ kləθ	ballast 'bæləst
back-door bæk 'dɔ:(r)	ball bearing 'bɔl 'beərɪŋ
back-fire bæk 'faɪə(r)	ballerina 'bælə'rɪnə
background 'bækgraʊnd	ballet 'bæleɪ \$ bæ'leɪ etc
backhand 'bækhænd	ballet dancer 'bæleɪ dɑnsə(r)
backhanded 'bæk'hændɪd	\$ bæ'leɪ dɑnsər etc
backlash 'bæklæʃ	Balliol 'beɪlɪəl
backlog 'bæklɒg \$ -lɒg etc	balloon bə'lʊn
backslide 'bæk'slaɪd	ballot 'bælət
backside 'bæksaɪd bæk'saɪd	ballpoint 'bɔlpɔɪnt
backstroke 'bækstrəʊk	ballpoint-pen 'bɔlpɔɪnt 'pen
backward(s) 'bækwəd(z) £ -wɔd(z) \$ -wɔrd(z)	ballyhoo 'bæli'hʊ \$ 'bæli'hʊ etc
backwater 'bækwətə(r)	balm bɔm
bacon, B- 'beɪkən	Balmoral bæ'l'mɔ:ri \$ -'mɔ:ri etc
bacteria bæk'tɪərɪə	balsam 'bɔlsəm £ 'bɔlsəm
bad bæd	Baltic 'bɔltɪk £ 'bɔl-
bade bæd beɪd	baluster 'bæləstə(r)
badge bædʒ	balustrade 'bælə'streɪd
badger 'bædʒə(r)	bamboo bæm'bu
badminton, B- 'bædmɪntən	bamboozle 'bæm'buzl
bad-tempered 'bæd 'tempəd \$ -pərd	ban bæn
baffle 'bæfl	banal bæ'nəl \$ 'beɪnl 'bænl etc
bag bæg	banana bæ'nænə \$ bæ'nænə
bagatelle 'bægətəl	band bænd
baggy 'bægi	bandage 'bændɪdʒ
Baghdad bæg'dæd \$ 'bægdæd	bandit 'bændɪt
baggage 'bægiʒ	bandstand 'bændstænd
bagpipes 'bægpɪps	bandy 'bændɪ
bah bə or a similar gruff vocal eruption	bane beɪn
Bahamas bæ'hæməz \$ bæ'heɪməz etc	bang bæŋ
bail beɪl	banger 'bæŋə(r)
bailiff 'beɪlɪf	Bangkok 'bæŋ'kɒk \$ 'bæŋkɒk etc
bait beɪt	Bangladesh 'bæŋglə'deʃ
	bangle 'bæŋgl
	Bangor 'bæŋgə(r) \$ -gɔr

FIG. 6.7. A page from Windsor Lewis's *Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of British and American English*, 1972.

which was not again to be attempted until Wells's (1990) *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*. For American English, Windsor Lewis was unable to carry out any equivalent research, and admitted that he had 'deferred to the judgments of the American authorities' (p. xv). In particular, he mentions here and elsewhere Kenyon and Knott, and also Edward Artin, the pronunciation editor of *Webster*[']s *Third New International Dictionary*.

Although the *CPD* had limited commercial success, and made no real inroads into the *EPD*'s semi-monopolistic position, nevertheless it is notable for its innovations, its recognition of the status of American English as a global pronunciation model, and for the fresh look Windsor Lewis took at the changing state of British RP. In many ways, *CPD* anticipates later developments and can truly be regarded as the precursor of the modern post-1990 generation of British pronunciation dictionaries.

### 6.3.2 *Gimson's final revision of the EPD (1977)*

In *EPD*<sub>13</sub> Gimson had prepared the ground for the far more radical changes to Jones's original plan which were carried out in the fourteenth edition (1977). He now had the chance to replace Jones's 'EPD transcription' with the qualitative/quantitative transcription for vowel contrasts that he favoured, this being a modified form of what he had used in his influential (1962) *Introduction*. In an interview, he subsequently explained:

[Jones] could never make up his mind about the transcription he wanted to use. He disliked the one which he had, which remained in the *Outline*, and still is in it, and in the Dictionary, until I changed it. Not that he would have changed it to what I changed it to. He would have thought that was worse. He would have gone over to something like MacCarthy's system of doubling letters.<sup>11</sup>

Ironically, this 'new' system—often called the 'Gimson transcription', as in, to quote just one author, Crystal (1995: 237)—could be considered a modified version of the notation that Jones invented and employed during the 1920s. In using a qualitative transcription for pronunciation lexicography, Gimson was following the example set by Palmer *et al.* (1926), Bender (1943), Kenyon and Knott (1944), and, most recently, Windsor Lewis (1972)—although, significantly, Gimson retained length marks for the long vowels. Gimson also took over from Windsor Lewis the simplification of *ea* to *eə*. The introduction of this transcription system into a

<sup>11</sup> Gimson, interview, 1981. By the doubling of letters Gimson is referring to representations such as *sit*–*seat* /*sit*–*siit*/; *cot*–*caught* /*kot*–*koot*/ (as in MacCarthy 1944: 4), a device advocated much earlier by Sweet (1885).

reference work with the authority of the *EPD* turned out to be a boost for the popularization of the IPA alphabet worldwide. From this point onwards, a general consensus developed amongst linguists to use this single type of notation to represent British English, and even those who might have had qualms about certain of its features tended to fall into line. Unanimity was not as obvious in the USA, but as the century drew to a close, linguists increasingly started to use similar kinds of transcription for American English.

## B

- B** (*the letter*), -'s bi:, -z  
**ba** (*note in Tonic Sol-fa*), -s beɪ, -z  
**B.A. (British Airways, Bachelor of Arts)** 'bi:er  
**baa** (s. v.), -s, -ing, -ed ba:, -z, -ɪŋ, -d  
**Baal** 'beɪəl [ˈbeɪəl, *Jewish pronunciation* ba:ɪ]  
**baa-lamb**, -s 'ba:læm, -z  
**Baalim** 'beɪəlɪm [*Jewish pronunciation* 'ba:lɪm]  
**Baal Schem** 'ba:ɪ'fem  
**baas**, -es ba:s, -ɪz  
**Babbage** 'bæbɪdʒ  
**babble**, -les, -ling, -led, -ler/s, -lement/s 'bæbəl, -ɪz, -ɪŋ [-ɪŋ], -ɪd, -ɪə\*/z [-ɪə\*/z], -ɪmənt/s  
**Babcock** 'bæbkɒk  
**babe**, -s beɪb, -z  
**babel (B.)**, -s 'beɪbəl, -z  
**Bab-el-Mandeb** 'bæbəl'mændeb  
**Babington** 'bæbɪŋtən  
**Baboo (B.)**, -s 'ba:bu:, -z  
**baboon**, -s bə'bu:n, -z  
**babooner/y**, -ies bə'bu:nəɪ, -ɪz  
**babu (B.)**, -s 'ba:bu:, -z  
**babyl (B.)**, -ies 'beɪbɪl, -ɪz  
**baby-farmer**, -s 'beɪbɪ'fɑ:mə\*, -z  
**babyhood** 'beɪbɪhʊd  
**babyish**, -ly, -ness 'beɪbɪʃ [-bɪʃ], -ɪ, -nɪs [-nəs]  
**Babylon** 'bæbɪlən  
**Babylonia**, -n/s bæbɪ'lɒnjə [-nə], -n/z  
**baby-sitter/s**, -ing 'beɪbɪ'sɪtə\*/z, -ɪŋ  
**baccalaureate**, -s bæke'lɔ:rət [-rɪt], -s  
**baccara(t)** 'bækərə: [ˌbækə'r-]  
**Bacchae** 'bæki:  
**bacchanal**, -s 'bækənəl [-næl], -z  
**bacchanalia**, -n/s bæke'nɛɪljə [-lɛ], -nɪz  
**bacchant**, -s 'bækənt, -s  
**baccante**, -s bə'kæntɪ, -z [bə'kænt, -s]  
**bacchic** 'bæki:k  
**Bacchus** 'bækiəs  
**Bacchylides** bæ'kihɪdɪz [bə'k-]  
**baccy** 'bæki  
**Bach** (*English surname*) beɪtʃ, bæɪtʃ, (*German composer*) bəx [bɑ:k] (bax)  
**Bache** beɪtʃ  
**bachelor (B.)**, -s; -hood, -ship 'bætʃələ\* [-tʃɪl-, -tʃlə\*], -z; -hʊd, -ʃɪp  
**bacillus**, -i, -ary bə'sɪlɪs, -ar, -əri  
**back** (s. v. *adv.*) (B.), -s, -ing, -ed, -er/s bæk, -s, -ɪŋ, -t, -ə\*/z  
**backache**, -s 'bækeɪk, -s  
**back-bencher**, -s 'bæk'benʃə\*, -z  
**backbit/e**, -es, -ing, **backbit**, **backbitten** 'bækbɪt, -s, -ɪŋ, 'bækbɪt, 'bækbɪtn  
**backbiter**, -s 'bæk'baɪtə\*, -z  
**backboard**, -s 'bæk'bɔ:d [-bɔ:d], -z  
**backbone**, -s 'bækbəʊn, -z  
**backchat** 'bæktʃæt  
**backdat/e**, -es, -ing, -ed 'bæk'deɪt, -s, -ɪŋ, -ɪd  
**back-door**, -s 'bæk'dɔ:\* [-'dɔə\*], -z  
**backfir/e**, -es, -ing, -ed 'bæk'faɪə\* [ˈ-], -z, -ɪŋ, -d  
**backgammon** bæk'gæmən [ˈbæk,g-]  
**background**, -s 'bækgraʊnd, -z  
**back-hair** 'bæk'heə\*  
**back-hand**, -s, -ed, -er/s 'bækhænd [ˌbæk'h-], -z, -ɪd, -ə\*/z  
**Backhouse** 'bækhəʊs  
**backing** (s.), -s 'bækiŋ, -z  
**backlash** 'bæklæʃ  
**backless** 'bæklɪs [-ləʃ]  
**backlog**, -s 'bæklɒg, -z  
**back-pedal**, -s, -ling, -led 'bæk'pedl, -ɪz, -ɪŋ [-ɪŋ], -ɪd  
**back-room** 'bæk'ru:m [-'rʊm, '-]  
**backsheesh** [-shɪʃ] 'bækʃi:ʃ [ˈ-, -]  
**backside**, -s 'bæksaɪd [ˈbæksaɪd], -z  
**backslid/e**, -es, -ing, **backslid**, **backslider/s** 'bækslaɪd [ˈ-, -], -z, -ɪŋ, 'bæks'laɪd, 'bæks'laɪdə\* [ˈ-, -]/z  
**backstairs** 'bæks'teəz [ˈ-]  
**backstay**, -s 'bæksteɪ, -z  
**backstitch**, -es 'bækstɪtʃ, -ɪz  
**backstrap**, -s 'bæks'træp, -s  
**backward**, -s, -ly, -ness 'bækwəd, -z, -ɪ, -nɪs [-nəs]  
**backwash**, -es 'bækwɒʃ, -ɪz  
**backwater**, -s 'bækwɔ:tə\*, -z  
**backwoods**, -man, -men 'bækwʊdz, -mən, -mən  
**back-yard**, -s 'bæk'jɑ:d, -z  
**bacon** 'beɪkən [-kɪŋ]  
**Bacon** 'beɪkən [-kɪŋ]  
**Baconian**, -s beɪ'kəʊnɪən [bə'k-, -nɪən], -z

The *EPD*<sub>14</sub> introduction was also rewritten, now incorporating phonemic slant brackets, but without the use of square brackets for phonetic symbols—presumably because in the body of the dictionary square brackets were still reserved for providing alternative pronunciations. Other matters of transcription involved the loss of the hyphen for showing syllable division, which Jones had introduced into the tenth edition (see above). Gimson came to the rational conclusion that for the limited needs of his largely non-native audience there was no case for indicating syllabification (p. xiv) and removed all but a very few examples (one exception being the hyphen needed to distinguish the affricate /tʃ/ from the sequence /t + ʃ/ in pairs such as *satchel* vs. *nutshell* /'sætʃəl - 'nʌt-ʃəl/.

In 1985, Gimson died suddenly of a heart attack at a point when—according to his UCL colleague and immediate successor as editor, Susan Ramsaran—he was working on updating the dictionary for a planned new edition. Instead, Ramsaran herself produced a revision of his text introducing ‘several thousand alterations to pronunciation throughout the *Dictionary*’ (p. ix). In addition, she included a supplement of approximately a thousand words that had recently entered the language and were in common use, for example, *byte*, *reggae*, and *wok*. Despite her numerous alterations and improvements, the publishers (Dent), presumably in the interests of economy, opted not to reset the volume, and the emendations in their slightly different typeface stand out clearly from the remainder of the text. Nevertheless, in other respects, the book retained a pleasing if conservative appearance—remarkably similar, in fact, to Daniel Jones’s 1917 original.

### 6.3.3 Wells’s Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (1990)

The commanding position in the pronunciation dictionary market, which had so long been held by the *EPD* since its inception in 1917, was at last to be challenged in 1990 with the publication of the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (henceforth *LPD*). It was edited by a former colleague of Gimson’s, John Wells, who in the meantime had been appointed to the chair in phonetics at University College London, previously held by Gimson himself, and before him by Daniel Jones. It is noteworthy that in the ‘Acknowledgements’ Wells recognizes his debt to Gimson, citing their ‘many discussions on the problems of compiling and maintaining a pronouncing dictionary and on the changing nature of RP’ (p. vi). Wells later revealed that, on Gimson’s death, he had been invited by the publishers Dent to edit the dictionary, ‘but they were not prepared to make the major changes I considered necessary, and I decided instead to accept Longman’s invitation’.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/philsoc-bio.htm>, accessed 10 November 2006.

The first edition of the *LPD* was striking, not only for its size and comprehensive coverage (it had 75,000 entries, considerably more than *EPD14*) but also for its many innovative ways of indicating variation in pronunciation. It was also more up to date than its rival, including for the first time numerous commercial trade names and items relating to popular culture (for example, *Beatle* and *hip-hop* now make an appearance); in the spirit of the times, there was also no longer any mealy-mouthed exclusion of taboo vocabulary. Wells gives the pronunciation of many more compound words and phrases than the *EPD* and, for the first time in a pronouncing dictionary, allows some indications of pronunciations generally regarded as falling outside traditional Received Pronunciation. A pivotal development, following the example set by Windsor Lewis's *CPD*, was to show American pronunciations for every entry where these differed from the British standard. Wells continued to have RP as his model for British English, but claimed that this was a 'modernized version' (p. xii). Nevertheless, he also brought in certain regional variations, e.g. northern English *one* as /wɒn/ and /æ/ in the BATH words (Wells 1982: 353–6) such as *bath*, *dance*, *pass*. He marked such alternatives with a dagger (†) so as to imply 'widespread in England among educated speakers, but ... judged to fall outside RP' (1990: xii). Furthermore, he indicated a limited number of pronunciations that he considered to be non-standard, e.g. /'pɜ:kju leɪ tə/ for /'pɜ:k ə leɪ t ə/ (*percolator*), designating these forms with a danger triangle ⚠. For American English, Wells took General American as his model despite his awareness of the opposition that had grown towards the term in the USA itself (for discussion of this topic, see McArthur 1992: 432), stating this variety to be 'what is spoken by the majority of Americans, namely those who do not have a noticeable eastern or southern accent' (p. xiii).

The British RP transcription for the *LPD* turned out to be largely the same as that used by Gimson for the fourteenth edition of the *EPD*. Wells explains that he 'judged it best to stick to the system which in recent years has at last provided a de facto standard in EFL work on Br[itish] E[nglish], namely *EPD14*', noting that the *LPD* transcription deviated only in a few 'minor respects' (p. xviii). Significantly, Wells took over from another Longman publication, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, the use of the weak vowel *i* for the representation of the neutralization of /ɪ/ and /i:/ in the so-called *happy* words (e.g. *happy*, *committee*, *Johnnie*, etc.), and the extension of this concept to the vowels /ʊ/ and /u:/ in, for instance, *graduate*, symbolized as *u* (see Roach 1983: 65–7 for a discussion).<sup>13</sup> This meant that the *LPD* transcription was largely, but not totally, phonemic. Word

<sup>13</sup> Weak *i* was introduced in the first edition of this dictionary (1978) by its pronunciation editor Gordon Walsh. The symbol was retained for the (1987) second edition, whose pronunciation editor was in fact John Wells himself.



**B b**

**b**

Spelling-to-sound

- 1 Where the spelling is **b**, the pronunciation is regularly **b**, as in **baby** 'beɪbi.
- 2 Where the spelling is double **bb**, the pronunciation is again **b**, as in **shabby** 'ʃæbi.
- 3 **b** is silent in two groups of words:
  - (i) before **t** in **debt** det., **doubt**, **subtle**; and
  - (ii) after **m** at the end of a word or stem, as in **climb** klaim, **lamb**, **thumb**, **bomber**.

**B, b** bi: **Bs, B's, b's** bi:z  
 —*Communications code name:* Bravo  
**B and B, b and b**  
**BA** 'bi:teɪ  
**baa** ba: || bæ ba: **baaed** bæ:d || bæd bæ:d  
**baaing** 'ba:ɪŋ || bæ ɪŋ 'ba:ɪŋ **baas** bæ:z  
 || bæz bæ:z  
**Baader-Meinhof** ,bɑ:də 'maɪn ho:f  
 || 'r 'maɪn ho:f —*Ger* [ ,ba: dɑ: 'maɪn ho:f]  
**Baal** 'beɪəl beɪl, ba:l  
**Baalbek, Ba'albek** 'ba: l be:k  
**baas 'master'** bæ:s  
**baas from baa** bæ:z || bæz bæ:z  
**Bab religious leader** bæ:b  
**baba** 'bɑ:bɑ: ə ~s z  
**Babbage** 'bæbɪdʒ  
**Babbitt, b~** 'bæbɪt t-ət  
**Babbitty** 'bæbɪtɪ t-ət-r  
**babb|e** 'bæb-əl ~ed d ~er/s ə/z || 'r/z  
 ~es z ~ing ɪŋ  
**Babcock** 'bæb kɔ:k || -kɑ:k  
**baɪə** beɪə **baɪes** beɪz  
**Babel, babel** 'beɪb-əl || 'bæb-  
 bæ:l... —*see* **baby**  
**Babington** 'bæbɪŋ tən  
**Babinski** bɑ: 'bɪn ski  
**Babiroussa, babirussa** ,bæbɪ 'ru:sə ,bɑ:b-  
 ~s z  
**ba boon** bɑ: 'bu:n || bæ- ~s z  
**Babs** bæbz  
**babu, Babu** 'bɑ:bʊ: —*Hindi* [bɑ:bʊ:]  
**babushka** bɑ: 'bʊ:ʃkɑ bæ-, '-bʊ: —*Russ*  
 [ 'bɑ:bʊʃkɑ]  
**baby, Baby** 'beɪbi **babied** 'beɪbɪd **babies**  
 'beɪbɪz **babying** 'beɪbɪŋ  
**baby 'blue\***; **baby 'boy**; **baby 'buggy**;  
**baby 'carriage**; **baby 'girl**; **baby**  
**grand**; **baby talk**; **baby tooth**  
**baby-bouncer, B~** *tdmk* 'beɪbi ,bəʊn-s ə || -r  
 ~s z  
**Babycham** *tdmk* 'beɪbɪʃæm  
**baby-faced** 'beɪbɪ feɪst  
**babyhood** 'beɪbɪ hʊd  
**babyish** 'beɪbɪʃ ~ly li ~ness nə:s nɪs

**Babylon** 'bæbɪlən -əl; -ɪlən, -ə- || -ə la:n  
 -əl ən  
**Babylonia** ,bæbɪ 'lɔ:ni ə ,ə- || -lɔ:ni-  
 ~ən/s ən/z  
**baby-mind/er/s** 'beɪbi ,maɪnd ə/z || -r/z  
 ~ɪŋ ɪŋ  
**baby-sit** 'beɪbɪ sɪt ~**sitter/s** sɪt ə/z || sɪt 'r/z  
 ~**sitting** sɪt ɪŋ || sɪt ɪŋ  
**BAC** ,bi:er 'si:  
**Bacal** bɑ: 'kɔ:l || -kɔ:l -'kɑ:l  
**Bacardi** *tdmk* bɑ: 'kɑ:di || -'kɑ:rd- ~s z  
**baccalaureate** ,bæk ə 'lə:ri ət \_t || -'lɑ:ri-  
 ~s z  
**baccara, baccarat** 'bæk ə rɑ: ,... || 'bæk-  
 ,bæk- —*Fr* [bɑ kɑ rɑ]  
**baccate** 'bæk eɪt  
**Bacchae** 'bæk i: -at  
**bacchanal** ,bæk ə 'næl '...; 'bæk ə nəl || ,bæk-  
 ~s z  
**bacchanalia, B~** ,bæk ə 'neɪl i ə  
**bacchanalian** ,bæk ə 'neɪl i ə n  
**bacchant** 'bæk ə nt →-nt || bɑ: 'kænt -'kɑ:nt;  
 'bæk ə nt ~s s  
**bacchante/s** bɑ: 'kænt i/z bɑ: 'kænt/s  
 || -'kænt i/z -'kɑ:nt i; bɑ: 'kɑ:nt i;  
**Bacchic, b~** 'bæk ɪk  
**Bacchus** 'bæk ə s  
**bacciferous** 'bæk sɪf ə s  
**baccy** 'bæk i  
**Bach, bach** bæk bɑ:χ —*Ger* [bɑ:χ];  
*Welsh* [bɑ:χ]  
**Bacharach** 'bæk ə ræk  
**bachelor, B~** 'bætʃ ə l ə -l ə || -l ə r ~s z  
**'bachelor girl**; **Bachelor of Arts**;  
**'bachelor's de gree**  
**bacillar** bɑ: 'sɪlə 'bæsɪlə, -əl- || -r  
**bacillary** bɑ: 'sɪlə r i 'bæsɪl-, 'æl-  
 || 'bæs ə lər i bɑ: 'sɪlə r i  
**ba cill|us** bɑ: 'sɪlə s ~l ar i:  
**ba c|itracin** ,bæs i 'treɪs ɪn -ə-, t-ɪn  
**back** bæk **backed** bækt **backing** 'bæk ɪŋ  
**backs** bæks  
**'back ,country**; **back 'door\***; **back**  
**for ,mation**; **back garden**; **back**

FIG. 6.9. A page from Wells's *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*, 1990

stress is indicated on a three-term system of primary, secondary, and tertiary stress, indicated by ' , ˘, as in ,INde ˘FENSi 'BILity (p. xviii); this was reduced to an essentially two-term system for the second edition of *LPD*. Stress shift, as in ,Japə'nese vs. ,Japanese 'language, is indicated by ◀ (p. 684). 'Predictable phonological processes in speech', by which is meant such matters as assimilations and vowel changes, are indicated by an arrow →, whilst possible

compressions (i.e. potential reductions of two syllables to one, especially in more rapid speech) are shown by a subscript linking mark, i.e. <sub>̣</sub> (pp. 152–3). Superscript symbols indicate those optional sounds not recommended for imitation by non-natives, e.g. *sudden* /'sʌḍ ʔn/ and *fence* /fɛn<sup>t</sup>s/. Italic symbols indicate those sounds recommended for imitation, e.g. *lunch* /lʌntʃ/, where /lʌntʃ/ is preferred to lʌnʃ/. Linking r is not indicated in *LPD* but instead discussed in an information box as ‘r-liaison’, p. 578.

The transcription for American English was chosen largely for symbol economy in relation to British English, as Wells makes clear (p. xix):

The system for General American is devised in such a way as to deviate as little as possible from the system used for RP, while accurately reflecting the particular phonemic, and where appropriate also the phonetic, characteristics of GenAm.

He goes on to say that there is more possibility of variation in the General American model than there is in RP (p. xiv). Concerning the notoriously difficult matter of the American back open-mid and back open vowels, Wells explains that *LPD* ‘follows tradition’ in distinguishing the vowel of *LOT* /lɑ:t/ from that of *THOUGHT* /θɔ:t/, and also allows for a closer realization of the vowel before /r/ in words of the set *FORCE* /fɔ:rs/ (whilst nevertheless acknowledging that many Americans have no such raised quality). Other types of variation are not explicitly shown, for example, the pre-nasal neutralization of /ɪ/ and /e/ involving *pen* and *pin*, both being pronounced /pɪn/. Where RP and GA exhibit what might be regarded as surprising differences, e.g. *baton* /'bæt ɒn/ vs. /bə 'tɑ:n/, *docile* /'dɔ:əs aɪ<sup>ə</sup>/ vs. /'dɑ:s <sup>ə</sup>/, readers are put on their guard by means of an asterisk (\*).

In his revision of *EPD14* in 1977, Gimson had decided that there was no case for indicating syllabification (see above), and deleted all but a very few examples. In an article on this topic which appeared in Gimson’s posthumous *Festschrift*, Wells (1990b) criticized this change, suggesting that Gimson had thereby removed an important source of information which could reveal potential allophonic differences. Wells set out in detail his ideas for a novel type of syllabification—running counter to current thinking in phonology—based essentially on phonotactic constraints, combined with the need to preserve word boundaries.

I propose a unified and rule-governed treatment of the compression phenomenon evidenced in the varisyllabicity of words such as *lenient*, *influence*, *reference*, and *national*. I propose a heretical but to me convincing theory of syllabification. And for various words of uncertain or controversial pronunciation I adduce evidence from polling surveys that I have conducted.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/philsoc-bio.htm>, accessed 10 November 2006.

He incorporated this system into the dictionary, and indicated the resulting syllable boundaries by spaces. Clearly anticipating a mixed reaction, he ends the section: ‘Any user of the dictionary who finds it difficult to accept the *LPD* approach to syllabification can simply ignore the syllable spaces’ (1990: xxi). (Compare the syllabification system of Roach and Hartman 1997, as outlined below.)

The *LPD* also showed itself to have overtaken *EPD14* in its recognition of the many changes which had taken place in RP by the last decade of the twentieth century. For the pronunciation of a hundred individual ‘words of uncertain pronunciation’, Wells, moving on from an idea pioneered by Gimson (see above), set up a ‘poll panel’ of 275 educated native speakers of British English, and exhibited the results throughout the dictionary in terms of percentages. Some findings proved surprising, for example, that for *ate* as many as forty-five per cent of those polled preferred the spelling pronunciation /eɪt/ to the traditional RP version /et/ (fifty-five per cent).

In a process of modernization and democratization of the RP model, *LPD1* actually went as far as recommending pronunciations which had formerly been regarded as solecisms, such as the pseudo-Italian /'fɔ:t eɪ/ for the originally French *forte* /fɔ:t/, *impious* and *harass* as /ɪm 'paɪ əs, hə 'ræs/ in addition to the traditional /'ɪmp i əs, 'hærəs/. In the case of *controversy* (see above), stress on the second syllable /kən'trɒvəsi/ was preferred by the poll panel to traditional /'kɒntrəvɜ:si/, as was *deity* /'deɪəti/ to the earlier /'di: əti/. Another innovation was that items ending -ess, and also many with -ate, -et, were shown with /ə/ instead of /ɪ/ as first choice, e.g. *carelessness*, *private*, *secret* /'keə ləs nəs, 'praɪv ət, 'sɪk rət/. ‘Intrusive r’ was now permitted as an alternative even word-internally, e.g. *thawing* /'θɔ:ɹ ɪŋ/. Wells also distinguishes a more open allophone of GOAT preceding dark l as in *cold* /kɒʊld/, terming this a ‘near-RP’ variant (p. xvi); note that this phenomenon was first commented on by Jones over seventy years earlier in *EPD1* (see above).

A strong feature of Wells’s dictionary was its treatment of non-English entries, which were given not only in their common Anglicized adaptations, but also with a version in the original language. This had already been the practice in the *EPD*, but Wells expanded the coverage greatly even though it entailed employing a considerable number of extra phonetic symbols for the purpose. Such a policy enabled Wells to show a completely Anglicized form such as /'deɪg ɑ:/ for the French painter *Degas*, whilst also indicating the strikingly different authentic French /də ga/.

In 2000, the second edition of *LPD* appeared, incorporating a number of changes and improvements and including five thousand extra entries. For *LPD2* the poll panels were vastly expanded to take in the opinions of nearly

two thousand informants, and the results were now displayed in the form of graphs; in addition, a separate American poll panel was set up. Stress marking was simplified to a two-term system and the indicator for educated but non-RP pronunciation was changed from a dagger to a section mark §. The American vowel **ɒ**: as in *THOUGHT* was replaced by **ɔ**: and the minority alternative pronunciation for *FORCE* words was shown as **oʊ** rather than **o:**. The third edition of *LPD* (2008) contained further improvements but no radical changes. A striking enhancement (following the example already set by the latest versions of the *EPD*, see p. 214) was the provision of a CD-ROM giving native-speaker pronunciations of all headwords in both British and American English.

#### 6.3.4 *Roach, Hartman, and Setter's revisions of the EPD (1997, 2003, 2006)*

The success of *LPD*<sub>1</sub> made it clear that, running up to the turn of the twentieth century, *EPD*<sub>14</sub>—even with Susan Ramsaran's considerable emendations—was in many respects outdated and in need of major revision. Ramsaran in the meantime had left academic life (to become one of Britain's first Anglican women priests) and the publishers, Dent, had sold the rights of *EPD* to Cambridge University Press. Cambridge—unlike Dent—were quite willing to make the drastic changes both to content and format that might be deemed necessary. It was, for example, decided that now for the first time the *EPD* would show American pronunciation. Consequently Cambridge invited not only a British phonetician, Peter Roach, but also an American, James Hartman, to take on the task of editing the new (1997) fifteenth edition. In addition, another British phonetician, Jane Setter, acting as a so-called 'Pronunciation Associate', was to provide the editors with constant back-up. For subsequent editions (*EPD*<sub>16</sub> and <sub>17</sub>), Setter would indeed be billed as the third member of the editorial team. Yet, it is noteworthy that on the cover the name of the original author, Daniel Jones, remained in first place, prominently displayed.

With the aim of maintaining a consensus on transcription (see above), the editors of *EPD*<sub>15</sub> took over, almost in its entirety, the system Wells had introduced into the *LPD*. This included the use of the so-called 'weak vowels' **i** and **u** to indicate the potential neutralization of the vowels /i:/ and /ɪ/ in the *happy* words, and of /u:/ and /ʊ/ in words such as *influence*; in fact, these symbolizations had been employed much earlier by Roach (1983) himself (see above). For American English, *EPD* chose **ɔ**: and **ɜ**: for the *THOUGHT* and *NURSE* vowels, where *LPD*<sub>1</sub> had opted for **ɒ**: and **ɜ**:; final *-er*, as in *mother*, was shown as **ə** in *EPD* (*LPD* representation being <sup>ə</sup>r). More detail was incorporated into the transcriptions in *EPD*<sub>15</sub>, as compared with previous editions. Epenthetic /p, t, k/ in sequences

where a nasal consonant precedes a fricative were indicated in italics, e.g. *once* /wʌnts/ (these were shown in *LPD* as superscript). Potential linking *r* was now marked, not by Jones's asterisk but by means of a raised superscript *r*, e.g. *more* /mɔːʳ/; this meant a change which had the disadvantage of possibly leading some users into believing that the British English model was variably rhotic.

Following Wells's example (see above), the editors decided to reverse Gimson's policy and show full syllabification in *EPD15*, indicating syllable boundaries not by spaces, as in the *LPD*, but by means of dots, as recommended by the 1996 IPA chart (IPA: 1999: ix). However, the syllabification system chosen was not Wells's individualistic approach but one in line with the 'Maximal Onsets Principle' favoured by most phonologists (p. xiii). This means that syllable boundaries are located so that as many consonants as possible are assigned rightwards to a following syllable onset, with the constraint that no syllable can end with a stressed checked vowel, thus resulting in representations such as *better* /'bet.əʳ / vis-à-vis *beater* /'biː.təʳ/. The unstressed vowels /ə, ɪ, ʊ/ are permitted to occur syllable-finally if preceding a consonant, allowing for *develop* to be shown as /dɪ'vel.əp/ (no dot is needed where a stress mark occurs). In addition, representations have to conform to word boundaries, so that *hardware* is shown as /hɑːd.weəʳ/ rather than /hɑː.dweəʳ/ (p. xiii).

The end result of indicating syllabification, and of all the other changes mentioned above, is that *EPD* transcriptions now contained vastly more information than they did in Daniel Jones's day. The drawback was that the employment of many unfamiliar symbols together with a mass of superscripts, italics, and dots, all with significant conventions attached to them, might be potentially off-putting to the non-phonetically trained user. It could even make some readers long for a return to the simplicity of Jones's classic scheme. This criticism, of course, also holds true for the similarly complicated representations to be found in the *LPD*, but far less so for the *ODP* with its less ambitious linguistic targets (see below).

Towards the end of the twentieth century, attitudes to an idealized form of pronunciation had undergone a radical change, and a new kind of British English encompassing a wider range of variation was now being put forward as a model for learners. The *EPD* follows this line, clearly stating that the aim for British English is a pronunciation model that is 'more broadly-based and accessible' than traditional RP. In consequence, the editors declare, after a fairly detailed discussion of the history of the term, that 'the time has come to abandon the archaic name *Received Pronunciation*' (p. v). Their chosen replacement was 'BBC English', defined precisely (p. v) as 'the pronunciation of professional speakers employed by the BBC as newsreaders and announcers on BBC1 and BBC2 television, World Service and BBC Radio3 and 4, as well as many commercial broadcasting organisations, such as ITN [Independent Television News]'; cf. Windsor Lewis's corpus above. The use of this label at this point could be considered ill-timed,

**bigraph – biodegradable**

<b>Bilabial</b>	
Bilabial articulations involve both of the lips.	pan /pæn/ ban /bæn/ man /mæn/
<b>Examples for English</b>	
In English, /p/ /b/ and /m/ are examples of bilabial sounds. These are all made with a complete closure of the lips. /w/ is also sometimes referred to as bilabial, but, as it has tongue movement towards the velum in addition to lip rounding, it is more accurately described as 'labial-velar', e.g.	The plosives /p/ and /b/ are one of the pairs which are said to be distinguished by being <b>fortis</b> and <b>lenis</b> respectively, rather than voiceless and voiced.

**bigraph** 'baɪ.ɡrɑ:f, -græf @ -græf-s-s  
**Big Sur** 'bɪɡ'sʊ:ɹ @ 'sɜ:  
**big-ticket** 'bɪɡ.tɪk.tɪ  
**big-time** 'bɪɡ.taɪm-er/s-ə/ɪz @ -ə/ɪz  
**bigwig** 'bɪɡ.wɪɡ-s-z  
**Bihar** br'ha:ɹ, bi- @ -'haɪr  
**bijou** 'bi:ʒu:, -ɹ-  
**bikje** baɪk-es-s-ɪŋ-ɪŋ-ed-t  
**biker** (B) 'baɪ.kəɹ @ -kə-s-z  
**bikini** (B) br'ki:ni, bə-s-z  
**Biko** 'bi:keu @ -kou  
**bilabial** (n, adj.) baɪ'leɪ.bi.əl-s-z-ly-i  
 @ -'leɪ.ə-ɹ-ly-i-nɛs-nɛs-,nɪs  
**Billaboo** br'ba:u, -'ba:u @ -'ba:u:, -'ba:  
**bilberry** 'bɪl.bɹi:ɪ @ -ber-ies-iz  
**Billborough** 'bɪl.bɹ.ə @ -ou  
**Billbrough** 'bɪl.brə @ -brou  
**bilbly** 'bɪl.bi-ies-iz  
**Bildungsroman** 'bɪl.dʊp.z.rəu.mɑ:n @ -rəu-s-z-ə-ə  
**bile** baɪl  
**bilge** bɪldʒ-es-ɪz-ɪŋ-ɪŋ-ed-d  
 'bilʒ, pʊmp; 'bilʒ, wɔ:tər  
**bilgy** 'bɪl.dʒi  
**bilharzia** br'ha:ɹi:zɪ.ə, -'ha:ɹi:si- @ -'ha:ɹi:zi-  
**bilinary** 'bɪl.i.ɹi  
**bilingual** baɪ'liŋ.gwəl-s-z-ly-i-ism  
 -ɹ.ɪz<sup>m</sup> stress shift, see first  
 compound; 'bɪliŋgwəl'sekrətəri,  
 bi,liŋgwəl'sekrətəri  
**bilious** 'bɪl.i.əs @ -jəs, 'i:əs-ly-li-  
 -ness-nɛs-,nɪs  
**billirubin** 'bɪl.'rʊ:bi:n  
**bilateral** baɪ'leɪ.ɹi:əl, -'ɹi:əl @ -'li:ɹ.ə-ɹ-  
 -ly-i  
**bill** bɪl-s-z-ɪŋ-ɪŋ-ed-d, bɪl @ 'fɛ:ɹ; fit the 'bill  
**billable** 'bɪl.ə.bəl  
**billabong** 'bɪl.ə.bɒŋ @ -bɒŋ, -bɒŋ  
 -s-z  
**billboard** 'bɪl.bɔ:d @ -bɔ:d-s-z  
**Billericay** ,bɪl.ə'ri:k.i  
**billet** 'bɪl.ɪt, -ət @ -ət-ts-ts-ɪŋ-  
 -ɪŋ @ -ɪŋ-ted-tɪd @ -ɪd  
**billet-doux** ,bɪl.ə'du: bɪlɛts-doux  
 ,bɪl.ə'du:, -du:z

**billfold** 'bɪl.fəʊld @ -fəʊld-s-z  
**billhook** 'bɪl.hʊk-s-s  
**billiard** 'bɪl.i.əd, -'jəd @ -'jəd-s-z  
 'billiəd, bɔ:l; 'billiəd, ku:; 'billi-  
 iəd, ru:m; 'billiəd, tʌbəl  
**Billie** 'bɪl.i  
**Billie-Jean** ,bɪl.i'dʒi:n  
**Billing** 'bɪl.ɪŋ-s-z  
**Billinge** 'bɪl.ɪŋdʒ  
**Billingham** 'bɪl.ɪŋ, həm  
**Billinghurst** 'bɪl.ɪŋ.hɜ:st @ -hɜ:st  
**Billingsgate** 'bɪl.ɪŋz, geɪt  
**Billington** 'bɪl.ɪŋ.tən  
**billion** 'bɪl.i.ən, -jən @ -jən-s-z  
**billionaire** ,bɪl.i.ə'neɹ, 'ɹjə- @ -'ɹjə'neɹ-s-z  
**billionth** 'bɪl.i.ənθ, -'jənθ @ -'jənθ  
 -s-s  
**billow** 'bɪl.əʊ @ -əʊ-s-z-ɪŋ-ɪŋ  
 -ed-d-y-i  
**billposter** 'bɪl.pəʊ.stəɹ @ -pəʊ.stəɹ  
 -s-z  
**billsticker** 'bɪl.stɪk.əɹ @ -ə-s-z  
**billy** (B) 'bɪl.i-ies-iz 'bilɪ kən;  
 'bilɪ klʌb; 'bilɪ goət  
**billycock** 'bɪl.i.kɒk @ -kɒk-s-s  
**billy-o** 'bɪl.i.əʊ @ -əʊ  
**Billowy** br'la:k.si, bə-, -'lək- @ -'lək-,  
 -'læk-  
**Billston(e)** 'bɪl.stən  
**Bilton** 'bɪl.tən  
**biltong** 'bɪl.tɒŋ @ -tɒŋ, -tɒŋ  
**bimbo** 'bɪm.bəʊ @ -bəʊ-(e)s-z  
**bimestrial** ,baɪ'mes.tri:əl  
**bimetallic** ,baɪ'met.əl.ɪk, -m'ɹɛl-,  
 -mə-  
**bimetallicism** ,baɪ'met.'ɹɪ.ɪ.zɪz<sup>m</sup>  
 @ -'met-ɪst/s-ɪst/s  
**bimolecular** ,baɪ.mə'le:k.jə.lə', -ju-  
 @ -ɹ-  
**bimonthly** ,baɪ'mʌnθ.li-ies-iz  
**bin** bɪn-s-z-ɪŋ-ɪŋ-ed-d  
**binary** 'baɪ.nɹi:ɪ-ies-iz, binary  
 'nʌmbər  
**binaural** baɪ'na:ɹ.ɹəl, bi- @ -'na:ɹ.ɹ-  
**Binchy** 'bɪn.tʃi @ 'bɪn.tʃi  
**bind** baɪnd-s-z-ɪŋ-ɪŋ-bound baʊnd  
**binder** 'baɪn.dəɹ @ -də-s-z  
**binderly** 'baɪn.dɹi:ɪ-ies-iz  
**bindi** 'bɪn.di

**bindweed** 'baɪnd.wi:d  
**Binet** 'bi:net @ br'net  
**Binet-Simon** ,bi:net'sai.mən  
 @ bi,net.si'məʊn  
**Bing** bɪŋ  
**bingle** bɪŋdʒ-es-ɪz -(e)ŋ-ɪŋ-ed-d  
 'binge, 'drɪŋkər, 'binge, 'drɪŋkɪŋ  
**Bingen** 'bɪŋ.ən  
**Bingham** 'bɪŋ.əm  
**Bingley** 'bɪŋ.ɪ  
**bingo** 'bɪŋ.ɡəʊ @ -ɡəʊ  
**Bink(e)s** bɪŋks  
**bin Laden** ,bɪn'læd.ɹən  
**binman** 'bɪn.men, 'bɪm-, -mən  
 @ 'bɪn-men-men-, -mən  
**binnacl** 'bɪn.ə.kl-ə-s-z  
**Binney, Binnie** 'bɪn.i  
**Binns** bɪnz  
**Binoco** br'nɒf, bi- @ -nəʊf  
**binocular** (adj.) baɪ'nɒk.jə.lə', br-,  
 bɔ-, -ju- @ -'nɒ:k.jə.ləz-, -kju-  
**binoculars** (n) br'nɒk.jə.ləz, bɔ-,  
 bɔ-, -ju- @ -'nɒ:k.jə.ləz-, -kju-  
**binomial** ,baɪ'nəʊ.mi.əl @ -'nəʊ-s-z-  
 -ly-i  
**Binste(a)ld** 'bɪn.stɪd, -sted  
**bint** bɪnt-s-s  
**Binyon** 'bɪn.jən  
**bio-** baɪ.əʊ baɪ t @ baɪ.əʊ-, s; baɪ'ɹ:  
 Note: Prefix. Normally carries primary  
 or secondary stress on the first  
 syllable, e.g. **biograph** 'baɪ.əʊ.ɡrɑ:f  
 @ -ə.ɡrɑ:f, **biographic**  
 /,baɪ.əʊ.ɡrɑ:f.ɪk @ -ɹ/, or primary  
 stress on the second syllable, e.g.  
**biographer** 'baɪ'ɹ.ə.fəɹ  
 @ -'ɹ.ɹ.ə.fəɹ. There are exceptions;  
 see individual entries.  
**biochemical** ,baɪ.əʊ'kem.i.kəl  
 @ -əʊ-, əls-ɹɪz-əly-ɹi:, -li-  
**biochemist** ,baɪ.əʊ'kem.ɪst  
 @ -əʊ-, s-s-ɹɪ-ɹi-  
**biocoenosis** ,baɪ.əʊ.sɪ'nəʊ.sɪs-, -sɪ-  
 @ -əʊ.sɪ'nəʊ-  
**biodata** 'baɪ.əʊ.deɪ.tə, -,də-  
 @ -əʊ.deɪ.tə, -,də-, -,dɛɪ.ə  
**biodegradability**  
 ,baɪ.əʊ.dɪ.ɡrɛɪ.də'bɪl.i.ti-, -də.ɡrɛɪ-,  
 -ə.ti @ -əʊ.dɪ.ɡrɛɪ.də'bɪl.ə.ti-, -də-  
**biodegradable**

FIG. 6.10. A page from Roach, Hartman, and Setter's revision of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 2006

since in the last decade of the old century the BBC seemed determined to renounce its long-established association with RP. Speakers of modified British regional accents were now employed as announcers and presenters for its domestic programmes, and a *mélange* of native and non-native English varieties used for international broadcasting (notably for the prestigious World Service).

Furthermore, despite the name change, the model chosen by Roach *et al.* seemed, at least in its essentials, to be very close to traditional RP.

Nevertheless, whilst the basic tenets of RP remained largely intact, it is not difficult to find evidence of a changed attitude to the British model in certain areas. For instance, the initial consonant clusters of words such as *tube* and *due* had formerly been represented only with /tj, dj/, but now the very frequently encountered forms /tʃuːb, dʒuː/ were at last accepted as being within the bounds of ‘BBC English’. They were still given only as second choice, but *EPD* was nevertheless being more realistic than its rival since even in *LPD2* such /tʃ, dʒ/ forms were still marked as ‘non-RP’. The model for American English also appeared to be, to all intents and purposes, very similar to what had formerly been called General American, a label which had now become somewhat out-moded in the USA itself; but having mentioned this term, and the alternative usage ‘Network English’ (pp. v–vi), the editors went on to refer throughout simply to ‘American English’.

As had been the case, *EPD15* continued to provide a far more extensive coverage of the pronunciation of personal and place-names than could be found in conventional dictionaries. As far as non-English proper names were concerned, the editors opted for a conjectured totally English pronunciation as first choice (p. vi), but sometimes with an additional representation labelled ‘as if French’, ‘as if German’, etc., in order to give a rough idea of how native speakers would pronounce the words. However, unlike the *LPD* and previous editions of the *EPD*, no attempt was made to supply authentic native renderings.

In the post-1997 editions of the *EPD* it had become quite clear that the editors had now largely given up on Jones’s aim of catering both for native and non-native speakers, and had instead taken Gimson’s policy of directing the content preponderantly towards the non-native learner to its logical conclusion. Indeed, the current seventeenth edition even includes a set of ‘study sections’, pp. 573–99, added on at the end of the book largely for the benefit of non-native users. One section on ‘Teaching Pronunciation’ (pp. 594–5) attempts what is perhaps the impossible task of dealing with this vast topic in one and a half pages. Doubtless marketing considerations have played a part in determining this approach.

The sixteenth edition (2003) had seen two significant developments. Following the example of the *LPD*, ‘information panels’ were introduced throughout the book to detail spelling-to-sound relationships and provide explanations of technical terms, e.g. ‘aspiration’, ‘fricative’, ‘tone’. These explanations were concise and accurate, even if at times a little over-complex for the non-specialist user. A second crucial innovation was the provision for British English of a CD-ROM giving audio renditions—recorded by a team of male and female speakers—for

all entries in the dictionary (but not including variants). In addition, it allowed non-native learners to compare their own efforts with the model pronunciation on the disk. For the seventeenth edition (2006), similar material was made available for American English. The addition of the CD-ROM put *EPD17* clearly ahead of other dedicated pronunciation dictionaries at that time, and indicated the way all such reference works would have to change. In fact, as stated above, *LPD3* has already followed suit.

### 6.3.5 *The Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation (2001)*

We have seen how in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, under Murray's chief editorship, had pioneered the representation of pronunciation in conventional dictionaries by a type of phonetic notation—as opposed to respelling—even though by so doing it had achieved little success. In the late twentieth century, this tradition continued with recognized phoneticians such as Windsor Lewis, and subsequently Gimson, providing IPA transcriptions for the 1974 and 1980 versions of the third edition of the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. (See discussion in Cowie 1999: 97–9.) Murray's arcane notation was at long last replaced by IPA phonemic transcription both in the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) and in the revision of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993); these were supplied by Clive Upton, a British dialectologist and phonetician, who thus eliminated what had been an obvious flaw disfiguring these distinguished publications. Nevertheless, with the notable exception of Windsor Lewis's *CPD* (see above), Oxford University Press had taken no part in the production of dedicated pronouncing dictionaries. This was to change with the publication of the *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation* (Upton *et al.* 2001, henceforth *ODP*).

It was intended from the outset that the *ODP* should give equal weight to the British and American forms of English, and in consequence an editorial team was set up, led by Upton himself, working with two colleagues based in the USA, William Kretzschmar and Rafal Konopka. The publisher's declared aim for the *ODP* was for it to be 'a unique survey of how English is really spoken in the twenty-first century'.<sup>15</sup> The basic transcription for British English was taken over from what Upton had already devised for the *OED2*, where it had been decided to use certain symbolizations which differed from those then in common use for RP—thus breaking the general consensus which had largely held since 1977 when

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Linguistics/TheEnglishLanguage/?view=usa&ci=9780198607724#Description>, accessed 18 October 2006.



Gimson changed the transcription in *EPD14* (see above). The British English DRESS, TRAP, NURSE, SQUARE, and PRICE vowels were now shown as  $\varepsilon$ ,  $a$ ,  $\partial$ ,  $\varepsilon\text{:}$   $\Lambda\text{I}$  (equivalent to *EPD/LPD*  $e$ ,  $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{ɜ}$ ,  $e\text{ə}$ ,  $\text{aI}$ ). For American English, the same vowel symbols were employed with added  $r$  in the case of NURSE and SQUARE; the TRAP and PRICE vowels were represented as  $\text{æ}$  and  $\text{aI}$ . These decisions had clearly been determined by a desire to use symbols which more directly reflected the phonetic realization of the vowels concerned. Some of the choices can easily be defended as more representative of present-day pronunciation norms (e.g. British DRESS as  $\varepsilon$ , TRAP as  $a$ , and SQUARE as  $\varepsilon\text{:}$ ). However, the adoption of  $\Lambda\text{I}$  for PRICE, on the dubious grounds that this reflects the phonetic realization better, received criticism from some quarters for not fitting in with current usage and going against the transcription consensus. The move was inspired seemingly by MacCarthy (1978), although MacCarthy's motive was symbol economy without any thought that  $\Lambda$  would be a more accurate representation of the starting point of the diphthong; its use in *ODP* involves actually adding a symbol. The STRUT vowel is treated as a stressed  $/\partial/$  in American, which is not unreasonable (and in the past it has been claimed that the same solution could be found for British English) whilst, as in *EPD* and *LPD*, the *happy* vowel is represented as  $i$ . A novelty brought into *ODP* is that wherever there is a choice in unstressed syllables between  $/\partial/$  and  $/\text{I}/$  (as in words ending in *-ity*, e.g. *responsibility*) and  $/\text{u}/$  and  $/\partial/$  (as in *-ful*, e.g. *beautiful*), this has been shown by the idiosyncratic non-IPA symbols  $\text{ɪ}$  and  $\text{u}$ . Even though this saves space, it adds extra exotic letter shapes that could well prove forbidding to the non-linguistically trained user. Space-saving, if a priority, could have been better achieved by choosing symbols for the TRAP and PRICE vowels that were identical for both British and American English.

*ODP* takes a further step in the democratization of the pronunciation model by systematically indicating throughout the dictionary (without any special marking such as in Wells 1990) the characteristically northern accent feature of  $/a/$  in BATH words: *glass*, *dance*, etc. are shown not only as  $/\text{gl}\text{ɑ}:\text{s}$ ,  $\text{d}\text{ɑ}:\text{n}\text{s}/$  but also  $/\text{gl}\text{a}\text{s}$ ,  $\text{d}\text{a}\text{n}\text{s}/$ . No other northern features (such as the neutralization of STRUT  $/\Lambda/$  and FOOT  $/\text{u}/$ ) are shown, and no account is taken of other accents with large numbers of speakers such as Cockney or Scottish. A bold step is the indication of American T-voicing throughout the text simply by  $\text{d}$  (rather than the voiced  $\text{t}$  symbol favoured by *LPD* and *EPD*), so that *matter* is shown as  $/\text{'m}\text{ad}\text{ər}/$ , identical to the representation of *madder*; this feature is overwhelmingly the norm in educated American English, but is nevertheless deplored by many speech trainers.

# Bb

## b

BR bi:, -z  
AM bi, -z

## baa

BR ba:(r), -z, -iŋ, -d  
AM ba, -z, -iŋ, -d

## Baader-Meinhof

BR ,ba:də maɪnhɔf  
AM ,bədər'maɪn,(h)ɔf  
,bədər'mam,(h)af

## Baal

BR 'beɪ(ə)l, ba:l  
AM 'beɪ(ə)l, ba:l

## Baalbek

BR 'ba:lbe:k  
AM 'ba:l,bek

## Baalim

BR 'beɪlɪm, 'ba:lɪm  
AM 'beɪlɪm

## Baalism

BR 'beɪlɪz(ə)m,  
'ba:lɪz(ə)m  
AM 'beɪ,lɪzəm

## baas

BR ba:s, -ɪz  
AM bas, -əz

## baasskap

BR 'ba:skap, 'ba:skɑ:p,  
'baskap  
AM 'bas,kæp,  
'bæs,kæp

## Baath

BR ba:θ  
AM bas, baθ

## Ba'ath

BR ba:θ  
AM bas, baθ

## Baathist

BR 'ba:θɪst, -s  
AM 'baθəst, -s

## baba

BR 'ba:ba:(r),  
'ba:bə(r), -z  
AM 'ba,ba, -z

## babacoote

BR 'bæbəkut,  
'ba:bəkut, -s  
AM 'bæbə,kut, -s

## Babbage

BR 'bæbɪdʒ  
AM 'bæbɪdʒ

## Babbitt

BR 'bæbɪt  
AM 'bæbət

## Babbittry

BR 'bæbɪtri  
AM 'bæbəttri

## babble

BR 'bæbl, -lɪz, -lɪŋ\ -lɪŋ,  
-ɪd

AM 'bæbjəl, -əlz, -(ə)lɪŋ,  
-ɪd

## babblement

BR 'bæblm(ə)nt  
AM 'bæbəlment

## babbler

BR 'bæblə(r),  
'bæblə(r), -z  
AM 'bæb(ə)lər, -z

## babbling

BR 'bæblɪŋ, 'bæblɪŋ, -z  
AM 'bæb(ə)lɪŋ, -z

## Babcock

BR 'bæbkɒk  
AM 'bæb,kak

## babe

BR beɪb, -z  
AM beɪb, -z

## Babel

BR 'beɪbl, -z  
AM 'beɪbəl, 'bæbəl, -z

## babesiasis

BR ,bæ:bɪ'zɪəʊsɪs  
AM ,bæbə'zɪəʊsɪs

## babesiosis

BR ,bæ:bɪ'zɪəʊsɪs  
AM ,bæbə'zɪəʊsɪs

## Babi

BR 'ba:bjɪ, -ɪz  
AM 'bæbi, -z

## babiche

BR 'bæ'bi:ʃ  
AM 'bæ'bi:ʃ

## Babington

BR 'bæbɪŋt(ə)n  
AM 'bæbɪŋtən

## babirusa

BR ,bæ:'brʊ:sə(r), -z  
AM ,bæbə'rʊsə, -z

## Babism

BR 'bæ:bɪz(ə)m  
AM 'bɑ,bɪzəm

## Babist

BR 'bæ:bɪst, -s  
AM 'bæbəst, -s

## baboo

BR 'bæ:bu:, -z  
AM 'bɑ,'bu, -z

## baboon

BR 'bæ:bʊ:n, -z  
AM 'bæ'bʊ:n, -z

## Babs

BR 'bæbz  
AM 'bæbz

## babu

BR 'bæ:bu:, -z  
AM 'bɑ,'bu, -z

## babushka

BR 'bæ:'bu:ʃkə(r),  
'bɑ:'bu:ʃkə(r),  
'bæ'bʊʃkə(r),  
'bɑ'bʊʃkə(r), -z  
AM 'bæ'bʊʃkə, -z  
RUS 'bæbʊʃkə

## baby

BR 'beɪbjɪ, -ɪz, -ɪŋ, -ɪd  
AM 'beɪbi, -z, -ɪŋ, -ɪd

## Babycham®

BR 'beɪbjʌm, -z  
AM 'beɪbjʌm, -z

## Babygro®

BR 'beɪbjgrəʊ, -z  
AM 'beɪbj,grəʊ, -z

## babyhood

BR 'beɪbjhʊd  
AM 'beɪbj,(h)ʊd

## babyish

BR 'beɪbjɪʃ  
AM 'beɪbjɪʃ

## babyishly

BR 'beɪbjɪʃli  
AM 'beɪbjɪʃli

## babyishness

BR 'beɪbjɪʃnɪs  
AM 'beɪbjɪʃnɪs

## Babylon

BR 'bæbɪlən, 'bæbɪlən,  
'bæblən

## Babylonia

BR ,bæbɪ'ləʊniə(r)  
AM ,bæbə'louniə

## Babylonian

BR ,bæbɪ'ləʊniən, -z  
AM ,bæbə'louniən, -z

## babysat

BR 'beɪbɪsət  
AM 'beɪbɪ,sæt

## babysit

BR 'beɪbɪsɪt, -s, -ɪŋ  
AM 'beɪbɪ,sɪt, -ts, -dɪŋ

## babysitter

BR 'beɪbɪ,sɪtə(r), -z  
AM 'beɪbɪ,sɪdə, -z

## Bacall

BR 'bækəl  
AM 'bækəl, 'bækəl

## Bacardi®

BR 'bækɑ:dʒɪ, -ɪz  
AM 'bækɑ:di, -z

## baccalaureate

BR ,bækə'lɔ:riət, -s  
AM ,bækə'lɔ:riət, -s

## baccara

BR 'bækərə:(r),  
,bækə'ra:(r)

AM 'bækə'ra, 'bækə'ra

## baccarat

BR 'bækərə:(r),  
,bækə'ra:(r)

AM 'bækə'ra, 'bækə'ra

## baccate

BR 'bæket  
AM 'bæ,keɪt

## Bacchae

BR 'bæki:, 'bækɪ  
AM 'bæk,i, 'bæk,ai,  
'bæk,i, 'bæk,ai

## bacchanal

BR ,bækə'næl,  
'bækənəl, 'bækən(ə)l,  
'bæknl, -z

AM ,bækə'næl,  
'bækə'næl, -z

## bacchanalia

BR ,bækə'neɪliə(r)  
AM ,bækə'neɪljə,  
,bækə'neɪljə,  
,bækə'neɪliə,  
,bækə'neɪliə

## bacchanalian

BR ,bækə'neɪliən, -z  
AM ,bækə'neɪljən,  
,bækə'neɪljən,  
,bækə'neɪliən, -z

## bacchant

BR 'bæk(ə)nt, -s  
AM 'bækənt, 'bækənt,  
-s

## bacchante

BR 'bækəntɪ, 'bækənt,  
-ɪz\ -s

AM 'bækənt(t)ɪ,  
'bækənt(t)ɪ, -z

## bacchantic

AM 'bækəntɪk,  
'bækənt(t)ɪk

## bacchic

BR 'bækɪk  
AM 'bækɪk, 'bækɪk

## Bacchus

BR 'bækəs  
AM 'bækəs, 'bækəs

## bacciferous

BR 'bæk'sɪf(ə)rəs  
AM 'bæk'sɪf(ə)rəs,  
'bæk'sɪf(ə)rəs

## baccy

BR 'bæki  
AM 'bæki, 'bæki

## Bach

BR 'bæk, bæx  
AM 'bæk

## Bacharach

BR 'bækə'ræk  
AM 'bækə,ræk,  
'bækə,ræk

## bachelor

BR 'bætʃ(ə)lə(r),  
'bætʃ(ə)l(r), -z

AM 'bætʃ(ə)lər, -z

## bachelorhood

BR 'bætʃ(ə)ləhʊd,  
'bætʃ(ə)lɔd

AM 'bætʃ(ə)lər,(h)ʊd

'bætʃ(ə)ləʃɪp,  
'bætʃ(ə)lɪp

AM 'bætʃ(ə)lər,ʃɪp

## bacillar

BR 'bæsɪlə(r),  
'bæsɪlə(r)

AM 'bæsɪ'lər, 'bæsələr

## bacillary

BR 'bæsɪlə(ə)rɪ,  
'bæsɪ(ə)rɪ, 'bæsɪ(ə)rɪ

AM 'bæsə,ləri  
BR 'bæsɪləɪ  
AM 'bæsɪ,ləɪ

A feature of the *ODP* is its clear layout; it is easier to read, and easier for the non-linguist to use. *ODP* is less linguistically ambitious than its two post-1990 rivals; for example, no attempt is made to show syllable divisions, and there is no indication of epenthetic consonants in the manner of the *LPD* and the recent editions of *EPD*. For the average user, doing away with such niceties probably proves no great loss. Although *ODP* contains more pages, there are actually fewer entries, and certainly nothing in the way of the helpful information boxes provided in the other two dedicated pronouncing dictionaries. All in all, even though there is more for the layman, there is less to provide interest and challenge for the more demanding reader. Furthermore, at least for British English, the *ODP* at the moment lacks the status as a pronunciation authority which, in their different ways, both its rivals have inherited from their strong connections with Daniel Jones and the original *EPD*.

## 6.4 CONCLUSION

If the nineteenth century had been totally dominated by Walker's dictionary, then certainly it is true to say that in great part the history of the pronouncing dictionary in the twentieth century is the history of Jones's *EPD*. Despite the alterations made first by Gimson and later by Ramsaran, even the last version of the fourteenth edition could be regarded as carrying on in the spirit of Daniel Jones. Only with the fifteenth edition were notable changes made which affected not only the appearance of the dictionary but also the philosophy behind it, reducing its significance as a record of British pronunciation and emphasizing its role as an aid to second language acquisition. Yet, even in this much changed re-incarnation, it still remains, as Roach and Hartman themselves are eager to acknowledge, essentially the 'greatest work of the greatest of British phoneticians' (p. iv).

On its publication in 1917, the *EPD* rapidly established itself as the only truly reliable guide to the pronunciation of British English—a status effectively unchallenged until the appearance of Wells's comprehensive and authoritative *LPD*. Yet Wells would doubtless agree that his dictionary also clearly bears the imprint of Jones's classic publication. Indeed, with its maintenance of a balance between the needs of the non-native learner and the interests of native speakers with a curiosity about their own language, it could be said that the mantle of Jones has in a sense fallen upon his shoulders.

If we consider the state of pronunciation lexicography elsewhere in the world, English seems to have, and indeed to have had, a peculiarly privileged position. Although notable publications have in the past come out of both Germany (Siebs 1898; Viëtor 1912; Mangold and Grebe (Duden) 1962) and France (Michaelis and Passy 1897; Lerond 1980), currently only the Duden *Aussprachewörterbuch* can claim to be up to date. No other language has anything comparable to offer. From our present survey, it is clear that Britain has a history of pronunciation lexicography which is unrivalled anywhere in the world, and that both British and American English in their standard forms are well served by the three dedicated pronunciation dictionaries available at the present time. It is not too much to say that this state of affairs is in considerable part due to the efforts of just one man—Daniel Jones.

# SYNTAGMATIC AND PHRASEOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

*Thomas Herbst and Michael Klotz*

## 7.1 COMBINATIONS OF WORDS IN LINGUISTICS AND LEXICOGRAPHY

**S**TRICTLY speaking, phraseological dictionaries can be defined as dictionaries that focus on combinations of two or more words that function in different ways as one lexeme. If we consider the traditional distinction between dictionaries as reference works that deal with the properties of individual words and grammars as reference works that describe how words combine to form sentences, phraseological dictionaries might even be seen as contradictions in terms. At the same time, however, the mere existence of phraseological dictionaries bears witness to the fact that the distinction between lexis and grammar is by no means as clear-cut or obvious as is often assumed. On the contrary, one could argue that at the beginning of the twenty-first century in linguistics there is an increasing recognition of the close interrelationship between grammar and lexis, and indeed some scholars, such as Sinclair (2004: 165), see good reasons for questioning the validity of the distinction altogether.

This merging of lexis and syntax can be seen most clearly where entire syntagms act as single lexical choices as is the case with idioms and related phenomena such as proverbs or catchphrases. However, it can also be seen in those cases where the choice of a single lexical item influences the grammatical and lexical choices in the surrounding text. Most, if not all, current linguistic

theories<sup>1</sup> recognize the central role of verbs or, to a lesser degree, of nouns and adjectives in the overall structure of sentences. This means that in syntactic descriptions a central role is attributed to the lexical item and its specific valency properties in very much the way that had been proposed by Tesnière (1959) in his dependency-oriented approach towards grammar. Since valency features have generally been recognized as part of the description of words, they will have to be accounted for in lexicographical treatments of these words (and indeed in models of the mental lexicon). In fact, lexicographical practice may even have preceded theoretical insights: monolingual English learners' dictionaries, for instance, have always contained a strong syntagmatic component in the form of the verb patterns first used in their dictionaries in the 1930s and early 1940s by Harold Palmer and A. S. Hornby and later presented in more user-friendly forms in more recent dictionaries of this type.<sup>2</sup>

What is important, however, is that the combinatorial properties of lexical items cannot be described exclusively in terms of general formal or semantic features; on the contrary, they have been shown to enter into lexical relations of a much more specific type. Sinclair (1991) describes this in terms of the contrast between the open choice principle and the idiom principle. A typical example of the open choice principle is represented by the possible range of objects after verbs such as *see* or *sell*, where there do not seem to be any restrictions on the choice of nouns that can fill that complement position. That such cases are the exception rather than the rule has been revealed by a considerable number of studies in corpus linguistics, which have provided ample evidence for the importance of the idiom principle in language. It seems that three criteria can be used to identify combinations of words which are significant in one way or another:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Frequency of a particular combination: statistically significant combinations include collocations of the type *sandy beaches* (Herbst 1996), clusters such as *a bit* or *a little bit*, which, as Mittmann (2004 and 2005) found, are typical of British and American spoken usage respectively, or even items that Pawley and Syder (1983) or Altenberg (1998) call stems, such as *and then I* or *there is a*.
- (2) Degree of variation within a combination: some combinations of words such as *It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman despise him; out of sight, out of mind, or how do you do?* and

<sup>1</sup> This is not only true of valency and dependency theory but also of such approaches as lexical functional grammar or more recent versions of generative grammar.

<sup>2</sup> For the influence of the ideas developed by scholars such as Harold Palmer and A. S. Hornby see Cowie (1998, 1999a, and 1999b).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Moon (1998: 6f.).

*let's face it* are (relatively) fixed, whereas others allow systematic variation within such categories as tense or number, as do *catch one's breath* or *put your finger on something*. Others again permit a certain amount of lexical variation such as *guilty/bad conscience* or *lick/smack one's lips*. This type of established variation has to be distinguished from variation of a known combination in an ad hoc and possibly creative way as in *Let sleeping boys lie* (*Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*, Volume 2) or *not-tonight-Josephine* (or *Joe*) (ODCIE2).<sup>4</sup>

- (3) Degree of semantic transparency of the combination: while certain combinations such as *sandy beaches* are semantically transparent in a very obvious way, others such as *out of sight*, *out of mind* or *the early bird catches the worm* are semantically transparent in the sense that someone who is not familiar with the idiom may be able to work out its meaning, while a third group exemplified by such idioms as *get on like a house on fire* or possibly also *the early bird* (especially in that common abbreviated form) are not transparent at all. Here, as Makkai (1972: 25) has pointed out, an important distinction has to be drawn between 'decoding'—where *get on like a house on fire* due to its lack of semantic transparency may result in misinterpretation—and 'encoding'—where combinations which are semantically transparent may still be unpredictable to the encoder. In the case of *weak tea*, for instance, foreign students might use combinations such as *light tea* or *feeble tea* to refer to the opposite of *strong tea* which are not acceptable, although *feeble attempt* and *weak attempt* are both possible.

As is already demonstrated by the fact that some of the examples used above occur more than once, these three criteria do not divide up the spectrum of idiomatic units into clear subgroups—neither do formal criteria as employed by Gläser (1990) in her typology of phraseologisms. Rather, it seems, it makes sense to imagine linguistic utterances as forming some kind of continuum ranging from combinations based purely on open lexical choice to rather idiosyncratic and fixed combinations.<sup>5</sup> Within this continuum, a number of areas can be identified which are based on certain criteria such as frequency or transparency: in fact, both corpus linguistics and traditional phraseology have identified a large number of different combinations of lexical items: idioms, collocations, clichés, proverbs, sentence stems, and so on.<sup>6</sup> It is important to bear in mind, however,

<sup>4</sup> For degrees of fossilization see Moon (1998).

<sup>5</sup> Compare also the approach taken in construction grammar frameworks, for instance, Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor (1988) or Croft and Cruse (2004).

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for instance, the distinctions proposed by Gläser (1990) or Cowie (1994).

that these areas may allow for a considerable degree of overlap and that the categories identified are of a prototypical rather than a categorial nature.

What this means for lexicography is that there are few obvious or natural categories of multi-word lexemes that a particular type of dictionary could focus on, and in fact it is not surprising that there does not seem to be a single dictionary that would attempt to cover the whole range of all linguistic phenomena that one could subsume under the notions of phraseology or idiomaticity.<sup>7</sup>

However, a rather interesting discrepancy between linguistic theory on the one hand and lexicography on the other can be observed. While in linguistics there is increasing support for the view that the distinction between lexical and syntactic phenomena is a gradual one and that it is not possible to draw sharp dividing lines between such combinations of words that one would describe as open collocations, restricted collocations, idioms, variations of multi-word lexemes and the like or as co-selections of lexical items,<sup>8</sup> for a classification of syntagmatic dictionaries such a distinction can be made relatively easily. One type of dictionary focuses on the syntagmatic relations that the lemma can enter—valency or collocation dictionaries, for instance—which users would consult in order to find out with which syntactic construction or lexical collocation a particular word is used in the language. The other type, to which idiom and quotation dictionaries belong, aims to describe multi-word lemmata and would be consulted by users to find out what a particular multi-word unit in the language means and how it is used.<sup>9</sup>

## 7.2 DICTIONARIES OF CATCHPHRASES AND PROVERBS

Catchphrases, proverbs, and quotations (→ KNOWLES) represent a special type of idiom in that they can be attributed sentence or utterance status and thus a special pragmatic function. Of course, as Elizabeth Knowles (1997: vii) points out

<sup>7</sup> See also Schemann (1989: 1020): ‘... mir ist kein einziges phraseologisches Wörterbuch bekannt, das (a) sich auf ein Material beschränkte, welches von irgendeiner Definition des phraseologischen Ausdrucks in seinem Umfang exakt abgesteckt werden könnte; und das (b) in den Definitionen, die (in den Vor- und Nachworten) gegeben werden, systematisch-kohärent wäre.’ [I do not know of a single phraseological dictionary which (a) could be exactly delimited in its coverage by any definition of ‘phraseological expression’ and (b) could be considered coherent and systematic in the definitions given in the front or back matter.]

<sup>8</sup> Compare the classification made by Cowie in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms*, for co-selection see Sinclair (2004).

<sup>9</sup> Obviously, a syntagmatic dictionary of the first type can contain multi-word lemmata, and multi-word lemma dictionaries can also provide information on further syntagmatic relations of the whole lemma. Note that the term multi-word lemma rather than multi-word lexeme is used here because quotations can be regarded as lemmata in a quotation dictionary but not as lexemes of the language.



in the preface to the *Oxford Dictionary of Phrase, Saying and Quotation*, proverbs and sayings frequently originate in quotations so that once again the delimitation of these phenomena is not straightforward, although such categories as proverbs, sayings, or nursery rhymes are also covered by special dictionaries.<sup>10</sup>

Collections of these items have existed for a long time. Indeed, the first book printed in England by William Caxton in 1477, Anthony Wydevile, the Earl Rivers' *Dictes and Sayenges of the Phylosophers*, was a collection of proverbs translated from French. Another early example is John Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs* (1546), which belongs to a tradition of language books which Werner Hüllen (2006: 79) has described as 'vocabularies in disguise, that is, contextualised word-lists'. Heywood's *Dialogue* takes the form of a conversation in which a younger man asks a more experienced friend for marital advice. The older man answers with two tales, both of which take their wisdom and authority from the large number of proverbs contained. Two major features distinguish Heywood's work from what may properly be called a dictionary. Firstly, there is no lexicographical access structure which would allow users to find specific proverbs, i.e. the *Dialogue* is not a reference book. Secondly, the purpose of the book is not a description of language, but rather 'to teach the young both morals and manners and to give prudent counsel by way of proverbs' (Habenicht, introduction to Heywood 1546/1963: 3). In terms of more recent dictionaries, a historically oriented account of proverbs mainly before 1500 is provided by Whiting (1968).

Another subtype of phraseological dictionary is represented by dictionaries of catchphrases: combinations such as *close your eyes and think of England* or *beam me up, Scotty* can be found in the *Dictionary of Catch Phrases* (1977) or the *Oxford Dictionary of Catch Phrases* (2002). Despite the existence of dictionaries that are devoted entirely to such linguistic units as proverbs or catchphrases, there is a certain element of gradience between these categories and idioms since a proverb such as *too many cooks spoil the broth* can be used in the shortened form *too many cooks*, for instance, which explains why they are also covered in the more general idiom dictionaries.

A popular reference book that thus stands between the categories of proverb and idiom dictionary is Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1989), which first appeared in 1870. It contains prototypical idioms such as *It is raining cats and dogs* but also proverbs such as *When the cat's away the mice will play*. Furthermore, this dictionary contains information on what one might call curiosities of the language: thus there are entries for *casus belli* or *cat's cradle*, *cat's eye*, and *cat's paw*. There is also an entry for *cat*, which tells us about medieval superstition, the role of the cat in Ancient Egypt, and that *cat* 'is also a term for a spiteful woman'.

<sup>10</sup> Thus the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (second edition, 1992) contains catchphrases such as *big fish eat little fish* with examples illustrating their first occurrence.

The fact that Brewer's *Dictionary* also contains truly encyclopedic information in entries such as *Rollright Stones* or *Roman architecture* is an indication of the way 'it responded to the needs of a reading public created by nineteenth-century conditions', as is pointed out by Ivor H. Evans in the preface to the fourteenth edition (p. xiii), but also shows that this dictionary cannot be regarded as a typical idiom dictionary.

### 7.3 IDIOM DICTIONARIES

As has already been indicated, the first problem facing the compilers of idiom dictionaries is to delimit the actual scope of those linguistic phenomena they actually aim to cover. Some, but by no means all, idiom dictionaries contain thorough discussions of the phenomenon of idiomaticity and the scope of the respective dictionary.<sup>11</sup> Thus, Cowie (1983: xii–xiii), in the Introduction to the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English, Volume 2* (1983) (*ODCIE2*), later reissued as the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* (1993) (*ODEI*), makes a distinction between (i) pure idioms, (ii) figurative idioms, (iii) restricted collocations, and (iv) open collocations.<sup>12</sup> While the last of these have been excluded from the dictionary, it does cover proverbs, sayings, and catchphrases. Yet, whereas *ODEI* also contains expressions such as *in fact* or *at least*, such fixed expressions are excluded by Rosamund Moon (1995: iv–v) from the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (1995) (*CCDI*). She describes the scope of the dictionary as containing 'traditional English idioms' and 'expressions which can be considered "semi-idioms"'. Other types include 'common multi-word metaphors', 'metaphorical proverbs', and 'common similes' (1995: v). Fixed pragmatic expressions such as *just like that* are included in the *Longman Idioms Dictionary* (1998) (*LID*), but like *CCDI* it tends to exclude expressions from the more open end of the phraseological scale.

Overall, there does not seem to be a generally accepted view of what counts as an idiom, although most idiom dictionaries seem to agree that idioms must at least consist of two or more words.<sup>13</sup> Comparing *ODEI*, *LID*, and *CCDI* on the basis of the last twenty entries for letters 'f' and 's' given in each of these dictionaries, one

<sup>11</sup> Hardly any information of this kind is given, for example, in *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms* (1997) or the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (1998).

<sup>12</sup> For parallels to Russian research in phraseology see Cowie (1998: 220).

<sup>13</sup> Yet even this limitation does not establish a common denominator: *Webster's New World American Idioms Handbook* (Brenner 2003) also admits 'idioms' consisting of a single word, such as *soundtrack* (p. 91) or *heartthrob* (p. 113). While it is clear that idiomaticity plays a certain role in these compounds, calling them idioms certainly overextends that concept.

finds that only about 25 per cent of the idioms of the resulting list are contained in all three dictionaries and a further 33 per cent in two. Although certain differences in coverage are to be expected, taking into account the overall size of the dictionaries, the fact that over 40 per cent of the idioms of this list are contained in only one of the three dictionaries is remarkable.<sup>14</sup> Partly, the differences can be explained by the fact that *CCDI* is based on an analysis of the Cobuild corpus,<sup>15</sup> whereas *ODIE* is based on the analysis of a collection of texts dating back to the 1950s, many of which belong to the literary genre. However, since, as Rosamund Moon points out in her introduction to *CCDI*, 'idioms are comparatively infrequent' (1995: v), the reasons for these discrepancies should probably also be sought in a rather different policy towards the items to be included in an idiom dictionary. From the user's perspective this means, of course, that different idiom dictionaries tend to complement one another rather than contain the same information.

One major lexicographical problem met with when treating idioms is that of where exactly a multi-word lemma ought to be listed in the dictionary. As with general dictionaries, editorial policies towards idiom dictionaries differ in this respect. Thus, *bear fruit* can be found under the letter 'b' in *ODEI* but under *fruit* in *CCDI*. The latter's policy is to lemmatize idioms under the first noun contained in the idiom; if there is no noun, then under the first adjective; if there is no adjective, then under the first verb. Furthermore, *CCDI*, like many other idiom dictionaries, ranging from the *Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases* (1896) and *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of Current English Idioms* (1964) to the *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* (1979) (*LDEI*), introduces keywords such as *FRUIT* under which the lemmata *bear fruit* and *forbidden fruit* are subsumed. In *ODEI*, the order is strictly alphabetical, although for obvious reasons the words *a/an*, *the*, *to*, and *and* have been disregarded. Both policies can be justified and will present no problems to users as long as they are aware of the policy adopted by their respective dictionary. To facilitate access, such idiom dictionaries often contain very sophisticated indices which refer users to the appropriate headwords. Such indices can be quite extensive—in the case of the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (1998) (*CIDI*) the index roughly takes up one fifth of the entire dictionary. The alternative is to make use of extensive cross-referencing systems within the main body of the dictionary—a policy followed by *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms* (1997), for example.

As far as the actual entries are concerned, many idiom dictionaries incorporate features taken from the corresponding dictionaries in their respective publishers'

<sup>14</sup> The figures indicating coverage given on the covers of the dictionaries vary from one dictionary to the other: *ODEI* (7,000), *LID* (over 6,000) and *CCDI* (4,400). Of the ninety-three idioms of the list, *LID* contained sixty-five, *ODEI* fifty-three, and *CCDI* fifty.

<sup>15</sup> For the role of corpora in the analysis of idioms see Moon (1999).

series. Thus *CIDI* prominently marks idioms as British, American, or Australian; while *CCDI* stands in the tradition of other Cobuild dictionaries by virtue of its strong corpus basis and resulting frequency indicators (despite the general warning about the relatively low frequency of idioms in general) and by the typical Cobuild type of full-sentence definition,<sup>16</sup> which is also a regular feature of the *Chambers Dictionary of Idioms* (1996) and frequently used in *CIDI* as well. The latter, as well as *LID*, make use of a restricted defining vocabulary of under 2,000 words and includes fifteen so-called theme panels, which gather idioms onomasiologically under headings such as ANGER or HEALTH, which are clearly meant as production aids.<sup>17</sup> The corresponding section in the *LID* is called the 'Idiom Activator', a name clearly inspired by Longman's learners' thesaurus, the *Language Activator*. Such features clearly mark those dictionaries out as pedagogical encoding dictionaries aimed at non-native speakers, although it must be doubted whether the main purpose of idiom dictionaries should not be decoding.<sup>18</sup> Given the low frequency of idioms in actual language use and the very special conditions of their use, one might argue that active use of idioms is perhaps not necessarily something that ought to be encouraged.

A particularly important point concerns examples. Given the generally low frequency of idioms and the rather special conditions of their use, it seems that the case for authentic examples is very strong. In fact, most idiom dictionaries make use of authentic examples. *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of Current English Idioms*<sup>19</sup> draws mostly upon literary examples, while many of the more recent dictionaries use authentic (or slightly modified) corpus examples. In the case of *CCDI* they are taken from the Bank of English, while *LID* takes its examples from the BNC and other Longman corpora. *ODIE* follows some of the conventions established in the first volume of *ODCIE*, which in a second edition was renamed the *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Some of the examples are invented, but many are quoted from literary sources and also newspapers, which is particularly valuable as a support to a very interesting feature of this dictionary, namely that creative variations of idioms in actual use are documented. This concerns both types of structural variation identified above (thus *follow your nose*—*following nothing but their own noses*) but also the more creative kind of variation as exemplified by such quotations as 'Yet Rome was not destroyed in a day' from *The New Statesman* or 'the fish-out-of-water hero' from the *Listener*.

<sup>16</sup> *Englische Idioms von A–Z* (Götz and Lorenz 2002) is a derivative of *CCDI*, which goes one step further in terms of learner-friendliness by giving explanations of the idioms contained as well as translated examples in the mother tongue of its target group users, German (cf. also Lorenz 2004).

<sup>17</sup> A similar function is fulfilled by the topical indices of the *Chambers Dictionary* and the *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (2004). *Webster's New World American Idioms Handbook* is primarily organized according to such semantic or pragmatic criteria.

<sup>18</sup> For this distinction see Hausmann (1977: 145).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Landau (2001: 40).

What establishes *ODEI* firmly in the tradition of English learners' dictionaries, and the tradition of *ODCIE1*, is the systematic way in which information about variation and use of the lemmata is given, which resembles that of the *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (see 7.4).<sup>20</sup> This very explicit kind of information marks *ODEI* out not only as a reception dictionary but also as a production dictionary, particularly directed at foreign users.<sup>21</sup> This aspect also features prominently in W. McMordie's *English Idioms and How to Use Them*, which was first published by Oxford University Press in 1909, and which was originally written for foreign students of English. The various sections of this dictionary not only contain idioms of the kind *play second fiddle* but also, if in a rather short form, information about valency (*anxious about, for, apart from; applicable to*) or phrasal verbs (*break up, bring about*).

While most idiom dictionaries do not supply any information on the history of first uses of the idioms described, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms* (1997) or the *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (2004) (*ODI*) provide short indications of historical origins. These dictionaries inform us that *keeping up with the Joneses* was used in a cartoon series of the *New York Globe* in 1913. It is clear that this type of information is of no consequence for the language learner. Rather, it is aimed at the language aficionado interested in idioms as linguistic curiosities and their historical explanations. This second purpose of idiom dictionaries is mentioned explicitly in the introduction to *ODI* as well as the *Dictionary of Idioms and their Origins* by Linda and Roger Flavell (1992), who write: 'Our own love of language is, we have observed, shared by others. For them, and for ourselves, we have written the parts of this book that aim to please the browser' (p. vi). Consequently, '[m]any idioms were rejected because there was nothing interesting to say about them' (p. vi).<sup>22</sup>

## 7.4 PHRASAL VERB DICTIONARIES

Phrasal verb dictionaries are a firmly established type of EFL dictionary. Since many combinations of the type *fix up, open up, or put up with* have rather special meanings, they can no doubt be considered to be a special type of idiomatic

<sup>20</sup> As far as variation within the idiom is concerned, *LDEI* indicates by the symbol ° in the lemma that a word may inflect, as in 'have° an axe° to grind'.

<sup>21</sup> For a review of *ODCIE2* see Herbst (1985).

<sup>22</sup> Interest in what is perceived by some as the curiosities in language also provides the *raison d'être* for other syntagmatic dictionaries such as dictionaries of catchphrases (→ KNOWLES).

combination. For foreign language users, phrasal verb dictionaries serve the dual function of decoding and production.

As with idiom dictionaries, one of the main problems is to define the scope of what is actually understood by 'phrasal verb'. From a linguistic point of view, it makes sense to distinguish phrasal verbs as a particular type of idiomatic combination on semantic as well as structural grounds. For instance, one could argue that *give up* in a sentence such as

(1) *a* They gave up smoking

is an idiomatic combination since it represents one identifiable meaning as does *look up* in<sup>23</sup>

(2) *a* They should look up difficult words.

The fact that the particle can also occur after the noun phrase as in

(1) *b* They gave it up

(2) *b* They should look them up

can be taken as a syntactic feature which distinguishes them from combinations of verb + prepositional complement (which in its form is dependent on the verb) such as

(3) She looked after her little brother

(4) They decided on the dictionary

and combinations of verb + independent adjunct such as

(5) They decided in the shop.

While *give up* and *look up* can be seen as multi-word lexemes for both semantic and syntactic reasons and *look after* could still be seen as representing a single semantic unit and thus as a single lexeme, in (4) and (5) there is little reason to argue that the verb and the following preposition constitute a multi-word lexeme of any kind.<sup>24</sup> However, while the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985) (*CGEL*) restricts the use of the term phrasal verb to combinations such as *give up* and *look up*, phrasal verb dictionaries very often take a much more liberal interpretation of the term. The linguistically most appropriate description was to be found in the original title of Cowie and Mackin's *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English, Volume 1: Verbs with Prepositions and Particles* (1975)

<sup>23</sup> Of course, there are degrees of idiomaticity: one could argue that *look up* is less idiomatic since the semantic features of *look* are also present in *look up*.

<sup>24</sup> It ought to be mentioned that *CGEL* (1985) treats both *look after* and *decide on* as prepositional verbs. The main argument against such an analysis is that it obscures the parallel between (6) *They decided on buying the dictionary* and (7) *They decided to buy the dictionary*, because according to the *CGEL* analysis (7) contains a verb *decide* and (4) a verb *decide on*. Compare the treatment of such cases in the *Valency Dictionary of English* (see 7.5 and Herbst (1999)).

(ODCIE 1), which regrettably was changed to *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (ODPV) for the second edition (1993). Irrespective of terminology, however, ODPV offers an extremely detailed description of the syntactic uses of the verbs—covered by a sophisticated coding system. Thus the difference between (2) and (4) is made clear by the codes [Vn ↔ p pass] for *look up* and [Vpr pass rel] for *decide on*, in which ‘p’ stands for particle and ‘pr’ for preposition (which are seen as functional categories). It has to be said that ODPV presents an extensive description of this area of the English language, indicating very subtle differences between different verb + particle/preposition combinations. Not only do the pattern codes indicate passivization but they also account for emphatic constructions such as *On a sandbank the coaster went aground*, and relative constructions of the type *A sandbank on which the coaster went aground*. They also indicate word-formation potential such as the ability to form adjectives such as *looked-forward-to* or nominalizations such as *make-up*.

It has already been pointed out in connection with ODEI that these syntactic descriptions also comprise a very useful semantic or lexical component as far as possible collocates are concerned. Thus for *look up* the following characterizations are provided:

- look up 1** [Vp] raise one's eyes: *He didn't look up from his newspaper when I entered the room.* ○ *I looked up from my desk and found myself gazing at grey roofs and chimneys.* LIFE
- 2** [Vp] (*informal*) get better; improve. **S:** trade, business; turnover, figures; things: *Prospects for the small builder are looking up.* ○ *It's a completely new beginning and perhaps things will soon begin to look up for them.* F
- 3** [Vn ⇌ p pass] try to find (sth), usu in a work of reference; seek information about (sth). **O:** detail, account; quotation, expression; train, bus, plane; him etc: *He comes back with an enormous dictionary, sits down and looks up the word.* KLT ○ *All I can do is look up the figures and find that we were the richest country in the world.* CON ○ *I looked him up in 'Who's Who'.* ○ *Evidently he'd looked up the train; it wasn't all a matter of wild impulse.* CON
- 4** [Vn ⇌ p pass] (*informal*) search for sb's house so as to visit (him). **O:** old friend, acquaintance: *I've promised that the next time I go to London I'll look him up.* ○ *Mine was not the kind of life where you 'ran into old friends', or were 'looked up' by them.* THH

FIG. 7.1. A sample entry from *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, 1993

These collocates serve to illustrate the range of possible subjects and/or prepositional objects that can occur with a particular lemma, although from today's point of view it would probably make better sense to choose as examples of possible collocates the most frequent collocates to be found in a corpus. Nevertheless, it has to be said that the amount of syntactic and semantic detail offered in *ODPV* is unparalleled and that this is what makes it an outstanding syntagmatic dictionary.<sup>25</sup> In fact, *ODPV* could be regarded as a prototype of a valency dictionary were it not for the restrictions on the phenomena covered. Thus the constructions *decide that* and *decide* + to-infinitive, which are by far more frequent than even *decide on*, do not fall within the scope of this dictionary. On the other hand, the more complex entries treated in *ODPV*, such as *set the Thames on fire*, *set fire/light to*, *set the world to rights*, definitely go beyond the scope of a valency dictionary.

It is obvious that the full depth of linguistic analysis provided will only be accessible to those users who are willing to make the effort to interpret the pattern codes, and so on. This also applies to the *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1983),<sup>26</sup> which uses the pattern codes of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (first edition) and indicates the difference between verbs with shiftable particles (*look up*) and non-shiftable prepositions (*decide on*) as *v adv* and *v prep*. The *Collins Cobuild Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2002), first published in 1989 as the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, makes the distinction in a very similar form, but spells out the patterns explicitly in the extra column. Thus for *decide on* the pattern 'V+PREP: HAS PASSIVE' is given; for *look up* one finds: 'V+ADV+N, V+PRON+ADV, V+N+ADV: USUALLY+A'. A much more user-friendly approach has been adopted in the *Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2000), where the syntactic properties of phrasal verbs are demonstrated in the form of very prominent boxes (see Fig. 7.2).

The *Collins Cobuild Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* provides a particle index, in which all the particles that appear in the verb particle combinations of this dictionary are listed and described. Thus we are told about *about* that it occurs in ninety-five phrasal verbs in the dictionary and that it can be used as an adverb and a preposition. The most interesting aspect of the particle index is the attempt at a semantic description of the different occurrences of the particles. In the case of *about*, these are described under the headings of '1 Movement', '2 Inactivity

<sup>25</sup> The *Valency Dictionary of English* aims at a very similar description of the possible complements of verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Very often, lists of collocates are also given, although an attempt is made to arrive at generalizations in the forms of semantic roles or semantic cover terms wherever possible (see below).

<sup>26</sup> See also Herbst (1985).



**count out****1 count me out!**

*spoken informal* used to say that you do not want to take part in an activity that other people are planning to do: "Were going to the movies." "Count me out," said Jennifer, as she sank into the couch, exhausted. | "Tonight's special is duck feet soup." "Count me out!" said Albert. "I'll have the chicken."

● OPPOSITE: **count me in**

**2 count out sth**      **count sth out**

to count things, especially money, one by one as you pick them up and put them into a pile: *The teller counted out \$500 in fifty dollar bills.* | *Joey took out a wad of banknotes and started counting them out on the table.*

**3 count sb out**

*AmE* to decide that someone is certain to fail: *Don't count the Colts out. This is going to be a tough, close game.* | *A lot of people count me out. They keep asking me: "When are you gonna retire?"*

\* SIMILAR TO: **write sb off**

**count against****count against sb**

if something counts against you, it is likely to stop you from being successful: *Always dress well for work – an untidy appearance will count against you.* | *It's hard work applying for jobs, and I am always worried that my age will count against me.* | *His lawyers thought that Woods' quiet, awkward manner could count against him.*

\* SIMILAR TO: **tell against** *BrE formal*

FIG. 7.2 Sample entries from *Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary*, 2000

and aimlessness', '3 Encirclement', '4 Turning', '5 Action' and '6 Introduction of subject'. Furthermore, similar uses of other particles (such as *around*) are indicated. While from the point of view of linguistic analysis this particle index certainly provides interesting insights, its usefulness to the user of the dictionary is perhaps limited, especially since no complete list of cross-references between the particle senses and the corresponding phrasal verbs is given.

## 7.5 VALENCY DICTIONARIES

While valency dictionaries are a firmly established type of syntagmatic dictionary for many languages, for instance, German or French, it was not till 2004 that the first English valency dictionary appeared. *A Valency Dictionary of English* (*VDE*) covers the valency structures of 1,365 verbs, adjectives, and nouns, for which altogether 11,441 patterns have been identified. The description is based on the syntactic model of valency theory, which is a surface-oriented model of description, differing from the analysis of verb complementation as offered in *CGEL* in such important aspects as the role of the subject and the treatment of prepositional complementation.<sup>27</sup>

The layout of *VDE* is unusual in that it systematically separates syntactic from semantic information, presenting them in separate sections of the entry, while a system of extensive cross-references links both sections. Verb entries are preceded by a complement inventory, which for each lexical unit identified lists all complement slots (I, II, etc.) with their formal realizations, the valency complements (and sometimes an indication of their participant role), and a cross-reference to the patterns in which they occur. Furthermore, the complement inventory indicates the minimum und maximum valency of a particular lexical unit.

This unique layout allows each pattern to be listed only once even if it is associated with more than one meaning of the given lemma.

In the pattern and examples block, which forms the core of the entry, the valency patterns identified for each lexical unit are indicated in bold type (without subjects, which can be retrieved from the complement block). The patterns are based on an analysis of the Bank of English and supplied with authentic examples from the corpus. Idiomatic phrasal verbs are given in a separate section of the appropriate verb entries. The complements are described in formal terms: [N] for noun phrases, [to-INF] for infinitival clauses, etc.; complements that can function as the subject in passive clauses are marked by *p*. This system aims at transparency because no knowledge of valency theory is required of the user as categories similar to those employed in general learners' dictionaries are used.

The semantic notes block aims to describe which lexemes can occur in particular complement positions. Wherever possible, general labels or descriptions are provided, but in many cases also, closed or open lists of collocates are given.<sup>28</sup> The fact

<sup>27</sup> See Herbst (1999) and in *VDE* (Herbst *et al.* 2004).

<sup>28</sup> Some of the descriptions of the complements resemble the characterization of frame elements in FrameNet (<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>), which is a remarkable online lexicographical project which contains extensive information on the valency of lexical units (see Atkins, Fillmore, and Johnson 2003 and Fillmore 2007). FrameNet as such would probably be better described as a frame-based

## deny verb

A ... truth			
	Active: 2/3	Passive: 1/3	General: 0
I	[N] <sub>A</sub> / [by N]		
II obl	[N] <sub>P</sub>		D1
	[V-ing] <sub>P</sub>		D2
	[that-CL] <sub>P(it)</sub>		D3 T3
III	[to N]		T3

Z **A** The message of the way we now conduct our affairs is surely that one should *deny* and *deny* and accuse and accuse.

D1 + N<sub>P</sub>

**A** The government has *denied* these reports. ◦ But allegations that the crew abandoned the ship have been strongly *denied* by its Greek owners. ◦ He's got documents – and there's no *denying* their antiquity. He *denied* the charge. ◦ The interim Ministry, however, *denied* responsibility for these attacks. The Pentagon, naturally, is *denying* everything, as is the White House.

**B** To *deny* payment, the insurer must prove that the loss is excluded.

D2 + V-ing<sub>P</sub> (frequent)

**A** When the mother approached the girl about her fears, the daughter *denied* having a sexual relationship with him. ◦ If she had recognised him he would have *denied* being the same person. But Mr Hurd *denied* having said any such thing.

D3 + (that)-CL<sub>P(it)</sub> (very frequent)

**A** I would be a hypocrite if I *denied* that we had great fun but I never kidded myself that any attachment formed was forever. Mansell strongly *denied* that he had seen the flag. This is not to *deny* that many people do asso-

B 'refuse'			
	Active: 2/3	Passive: 1/3	General: 0
I	[N] <sub>A</sub> / [by N]		
II obl	[N] <sub>P-2</sub> <i>AFFECTED</i>		D1 T1-2
III	[N] <sub>P-1</sub> <i>BEN/REC</i>		T1
	[to N]		T2

ciate pornography with all kinds of social problems. He *denied* that the country was facing an economic crisis. The BBC foreign affairs correspondent says that some reports from Khar-toum quoted the ambassador as *denying* he had advised the British community to leave.

T1 + N<sub>P</sub> + N<sub>P</sub>

**B** You can *deny* yourself anything, but not music. But this system is a perfect setup for *denying* women justice. Only the United Kingdom – beleaguered but defiant under Churchill's leadership – would remain to *deny* Hitler the complete triumph in the West which he so dearly sought. Until recently police *denied* his bodyguards the right to carry arms. ◦ Historically women have always been *denied* a voice and *denied* the attention they deserved.

T2 + N<sub>P</sub> + to N

**B** This means courts can obtain important evidence which previously would have been *denied* to them.

T3 + to N + that-CL

**A** By talking about other youngsters, these children come to *deny* both to themselves and to others that they are discussing matters of personal urgency.

A	<i>Deny</i> can mean 'say that something is not true.' A person or something written or said by a person <sup>I</sup> can <i>deny</i> (i) something they are accused of or that has been said about them <sup>II</sup> (ii) that something is the case or exists <sup>II</sup> . → Z D1 D2 D3 T3
B	<i>Deny</i> can mean 'refuse': A person or institution <sup>I</sup> can <i>deny</i> a person or a group of people <sup>III</sup> something they want to have or have a right to have <sup>II</sup> . → D1 T1 T2

FIG. 7.3. A sample page from *A Valency Dictionary of English*, 2004

that these notes take a rather ad hoc form is seen by the compilers of the dictionary as an indication of the idiosyncratic nature of valency, which cannot easily be described in terms of general semantic roles, for instance.

onomasiological dictionary and thus will not be treated in detail in the current section. For a contrastive valency dictionary project for English, French, and Dutch see <http://www.contragram.ugent.be/cvvdcont.htm>.

While the rather technical nature of the complement block of verb entries makes it clear that this section is primarily intended as a contribution to linguistic research, the pattern and examples section and the note block can equally be accessed by the general user.<sup>29</sup> Valency dictionaries of this kind serve the purpose of production dictionaries for advanced learners of the language and especially also the purpose of marking dictionaries for non-native speaker teachers of the language, when they want to find out whether a particular valency pattern used by a learner exists or not. It is for this reason that the *VDE* contains patterns marked as rare (which nevertheless should not be marked wrong if used by a pupil) and marks other patterns as *frequent* or *very frequent* to show that they should be taught and used actively.

## 7.6 COLLOCATION DICTIONARIES

The large number of idiom dictionaries for English is in stark contrast to the comparatively small number of dictionaries which are dedicated to collocations, which may have to do with the fact that collocations are a far more elusive phenomenon than idioms. While many native speakers of English will at some point have become interested in the origin of expressions such as *get along like a house on fire* or *shipshape and Bristol-fashion*, only very few will wonder why, in English, people *give a speech* rather than *hold it* (cf. German *eine Rede halten*) or why people *take pictures* with their cameras rather than *make them* (cf. German *ein Bild/Foto machen*). While linguistic curiosity may explain the interest in idiom dictionaries and the marketing options for such dictionaries, the linguistic phenomena subsumed under the term ‘collocation’ tend to be far more unobtrusive and to go largely unnoticed by the non-specialist. Collocation dictionaries can thus either meet academic purposes in that they provide a description of important phenomena of a language, or they can serve the needs of a special kind of learner. With respect to foreign language lexicography, one important difference between idiom dictionaries and collocational dictionaries is that the former mostly serve the purpose of decoding (since in view of the low frequency of many idioms learners need not necessarily be encouraged to make frequent use of them), whereas the latter are important tools for language production.

<sup>29</sup> For an outline of possibilities of using the *VDE* in natural language processing and for deficiencies of *VDE* in this respect see Heid (2007).

And, of course, while being harder to spot, collocations are at the same time the far more common phenomenon (cf. Cowie 1998: 210; Howarth 1996: 162). Thus the first six pages of David Lodge's novel *Changing Places*<sup>30</sup> contain only two syntagms which might qualify as idioms in the traditional sense: *gone over the hill* and *(stop) dead in one's tracks*. In contrast there is a much larger number of word combinations which can be considered collocations, for example, *naked eye*, *exert influence*, *fulsome gratitude*, *stay put*, *the plane climbs*, *escape sb.'s notice*, *enter an aircraft*, *blow a fuse*, *inspire confidence*, *strike a pose*, *give sb. a stare*, *curtain of hair*, and *frozen solid*.<sup>31</sup>

Since collocation is a phenomenon which manifests itself at the more open end of the phraseological scale,<sup>32</sup> lexicographers face the problem of delimiting collocations (as significant word combinations) from other word combinations, which could be called free or unrestricted. It is clear that due to the creative, open-ended character of language (i.e. that part of language use which Sinclair (1991) characterizes as 'open choice'; cf. above), free combinations could not be collected in a dictionary even in principle, let alone when practical considerations of space are taken into account. For this reason there has been a long-standing debate in linguistics and lexicography about suitable criteria for the definition of collocation, which is reflected in the different policies adopted by editors of collocation dictionaries.

According to the *OED* the term *collocation* has been in use at least since 1751 in connection with aspects of language (Howarth, 1996: 25). In its current sense the term is commonly attributed to John Rupert Firth, who famously proclaimed that '[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps!'<sup>33</sup> and gave as examples *dark* and *night* or *milk* and *cow*. However, as Cowie (1998: 210f.) points out, the term was used in that sense as early as 1933 by H. E. Palmer in his *Interim Report on English Collocations*, so that it may well be Palmer who should be credited with coining the term.<sup>34</sup> Be that as it may, Firth's definition of collocation allowed enough leeway for the subsequent development of a variety of collocational concepts. Two questions seem to be of central importance:

<sup>30</sup> Lodge (1978: 7–12).

<sup>31</sup> In the same vein Schmid (2003) talks about the 'ubiquity of collocation'. Compare also Korosadowicz-Struzynska (1980: 115): 'Errors in the use of word collocation surely add to the foreign flavour in the learner's speech and writing and along with his faulty pronunciation they are the strongest markers of "an accent"'. This is borne out by studies such as Granger (1998), Howarth (1996, 1998), Lorenz (1999), and Nesselhauf (2005). Compare also Hausmann (2007), Gilquin (2007), and Lea (2007).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Cowie's phraseological cline of pure idioms—figurative idioms—restricted collocations—open collocations mentioned above.

<sup>33</sup> Firth (1968: 179).

<sup>34</sup> The collaboration of Palmer with A. S. Hornby resulted in the clear phraseological and syntagmatic orientation of English learners' dictionaries.

- Is collocation to be seen as essentially a relationship between full (i.e. semantically rich) lexical items or can grammatical words also enter into this relationship?
- How can the significance of a word combination be evaluated?

With respect to the first question the obvious fact must be pointed out that the co-occurrence of words is to a certain degree regulated by grammatical structure, i.e. colligation in the sense of Firth (1968: 181ff.). For example, the fact that the most common contextual partners for *house* are the determiners *the* and *this*, as Berry-Rogghe (1973: 106) found, has to do more with the structure of English noun phrases than with the collocational behaviour of *house*. Nevertheless, collocation involving grammatical items is a feature of some of the collocational dictionaries mentioned above.

Most notably, this can be seen in the *BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* (second edition, 1997) (*BBI*), which distinguishes lexical from grammatical collocations. The latter are subdivided into eight subcategories (G1–8), each consisting of a full lexical item (noun, adjective, or verb) with a dependent grammatical word or clausal construction (cf. Table 7.1 below). Grammatical collocations centring around verbs (G8) are further subdivided into nineteen verb patterns (A–S) reminiscent of the verb patterns in the early editions of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*.

**Table 7.1** Some grammatical collocations in *BBI2*<sup>35</sup>

G1:	noun + preposition;	... <i>an attempt to do it</i>
...		
G3:	noun + <i>that</i> clause;	... <i>an agreement that she would represent us in court</i>
G4:	preposition + noun;	... <i>by accident</i>
G5:	adjective + preposition;	... <i>angry at everyone</i>
G6:	adjective + <i>to</i> infinitive;	... <i>ready to go</i>
...		
G8-A:	verb + object + object/verb + object + <i>to</i> -phrase;	... <i>sent his brother the book/sent the book to his brother</i>
...		
G8-D:	verb + preposition;	... <i>adhere to the plan</i>
...		
G8-I:	verb + object + infinitive;	... <i>heard them leave</i>

<sup>35</sup> Examples are based on the *BBI* introduction.

From the above list it will be clear that the concept of grammatical collocations aims to cover the same range of linguistic phenomena that are treated in other frameworks under the headings of valency or complementation.

All of the patterns listed can also be found in the *Valency Dictionary of English* (see 7.5). Starting out from the Firthian notion of *words* keeping each other company, the inclusion of grammatical categories such as *that*-clauses or objects as collocates must certainly be seen as an overextension of the concept of collocation.<sup>36</sup>

However, this criticism does not necessarily apply to the same extent to patterns involving prepositions. These can be seen in a different light because here the association is not between a word and an abstract grammatical pattern but between two words. In line with the indeterminate status of prepositions between full lexical and function words, these constructions can also be seen as indeterminate between being instances of collocation or valency.<sup>37</sup>

Other collocational dictionaries fall into two groups with respect to the inclusion of grammatical collocations. The largely statistically based *Dictionary of English Collocations* (1994) (*DEC*) and *Collins Cobuild English Collocations on CD-Rom* (1995) (*CEC-CD*) are agnostic in this respect in that they simply list those co-occurrences which are statistically significant, irrespective of word class, whereas the use of structure words as collocates in the *LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations* (1997) (*LTP*) and the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (2002) (*OCD*) is largely restricted to prepositions. Thus in the *OCD* we find *deliver to*, *delusion about*, and *demand for* on a single arbitrarily chosen page while in the *LTP* there are phrases including prepositions such as *pass judgement on sb.* or *lose all contact with sb.*

The second question raised above concerns the separation of collocations from free word combinations, i.e. how can we measure or evaluate a word combination's collocational strength. One important criterion is commonness, which can be measured in terms of frequency of occurrence in a corpus. The development of computerized corpora has provided the necessary support for this

<sup>36</sup> Cowie (1998: 225) argues along similar lines. This criticism, of course, does not mean that the information given would not be useful to the intended target group of the dictionary—learners of English. The kind of co-occurrence relationship holding between a lexical unit and a grammatical construction can be seen somewhere between collocation and colligation. Compare also Sinclair (2004: 142).

<sup>37</sup> The matter is further complicated by the fact that phrasal verb dictionaries analyse such combinations as multi-word lexemes. However, apart from being a very practical lexicographical problem of delimitation of scope, the indeterminateness of these constructions is also quite interesting from a theoretical point of view because it highlights the gradualness of transition from the more lexical to the more grammatical realm (cf. 7.1 above).

approach; consequentially, three of the five dictionaries mentioned above draw their data from well-known English corpora: *DEC* is based on the Brown Corpus,<sup>38</sup> *CEC-CD* on the Bank of English, and *OCD* on the British National Corpus. According to its preface (1997: 3) *LTP* is based on the original work of Christian Kozłowska and Halina Dzierżanowska, who used ‘a corpus of post-1960 British English writing’, whereas the *BBI* does not disclose its data source.

One of the early pioneers of the statistical approach was the director of the COBUILD research project, John Sinclair.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, of the dictionaries mentioned above it is the *CEC-CD* which follows the statistical approach in its purest form, i.e. collocates of a given head (or ‘node’) were chosen exclusively on statistical grounds and without involvement of a human analyst or reference to the syntactic functions of collocates. As a consequence the *CEC-CD*<sup>40</sup> differs from other collocation dictionaries in two respects. Firstly, it considers word pairs as possible collocations purely on the basis of linear distance or specifically a span of four words to the left and right of the node—irrespective of whether these words form part of a grammatical structure or not. For example, the sixth most frequent collocate given for *question* in *CEC-CD* is *now* as illustrated in Table 7.2.

From the examples given in *CEC-CD* it is clear that *now* does not enter into a syntagmatic relationship with *question* in any real sense in the examples above so that the usefulness of collocation as measured by such methods seems highly doubtful.<sup>41</sup>

**Table 7.2 Corpus evidence for *question–now* in *CEC-CD* (1995)<sup>42</sup>**

---

renchman! Now answer Habib Saadi's question—He wished now that he had risked  
 ed the authorities and the girl in question is now happier and healthier. This  
 e are so many reasons they make me question my sanity now—With his elbows at  
 uld even sniff at them. There's no question now that 1992 is a major dynamic fo

---

<sup>38</sup> A related study based on the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus is the *Frequency Analysis of English Vocabulary and Grammar* by Johansson and Hofland (1989). The study is wider in scope in that it also accounts for individual word and tag frequencies as well as frequencies of colligations (i.e. combinations of a word and a following tag). At the same time the collocational material given is more restricted. As in the case of *DEC*, its purpose is academic rather than pedagogical.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Sinclair (1966) and Jones and Sinclair (1974).

<sup>40</sup> COBUILD actually calls *English Collocations on CD-ROM* a database. The niceties of terminology may well be significant in this case since *dictionaries* are usually the result of careful lexicographic description and interpretation of data. In contrast, lexical databases hold data in a structured and accessible way, but they do not interpret their data.

<sup>41</sup> A fuller discussion of the limitations of the concept of collocational span can be found in Klotz (2000: 69ff.).

<sup>42</sup> Examples are taken from *COBUILD Collocations on CD-Rom*.



*DEC*, which has been described above as another largely statistically based dictionary, also restricts the use of the term collocation to those recurrent co-occurrences of words which, firstly, form continuous strings and which, secondly, are grammatically well formed (1994: xiv), such as VERB PLUS OBJECT (*receive attention*) or NOMINAL HEAD PLUS RELATED STRUCTURE WORD (*question whether*). Also, these grammatical strings can include more than two words as in *there is no reason to* which is classified as IT- OR THERE-CONSTRUCTION PLUS RELATED STRUCTURE WORD.<sup>43</sup> Of course, the fact that only continuous strings are analysed as collocations is a restriction that has a methodological basis and can be justified as a way of identifying collocations in terms of statistical significance in a corpus. However, it seems clear that this method will not necessarily bring up those cases in the corpus in which the collocators are syntactically only very indirectly related or occur in different sentences altogether.

Collocations in *LTP* and *OCD* are also grammatically linked, but here the grammatical structures are largely restricted to binary relations of modification or complementation. Thus in *LTP* we find collocations of the following kind:

ADJECTIVE + NOUN ( <i>splendid career</i> )	}	Modification
ADVERB + ADJECTIVE ( <i>highly excitable</i> )		
ADVERB + VERB ( <i>strongly disapprove</i> )		
NOUN + VERB ( <i>excitement evaporated</i> )	}	Complementation
VERB + NOUN ( <i>cause excitement</i> )		

Secondly, the purely statistical approach only establishes the fact that words co-occur with statistically significant frequency, but it does not ask *why* they do. As Siepmann (2005: 411) puts it, 'it gives us all the raw material, but tells us nothing about how this material came to be or how it is to be structured.' However, from the three factors which affect the frequency of co-occurrence of two words, only the third factor is of real collocational interest:

- colligation
- extralinguistic fact
- lexical norms.

The first factor has already been discussed above with respect to Berry-Rogghe's study. Co-occurrences of this kind are freely included in *DEC*, which under the lemma *based* lists strings such as *was based*, *were based*, *to be based* and *will be based on*. In contrast, to avoid the display of purely grammatically motivated co-occurrences the *CEC-CD* uses a stopword list of about a hundred words including

<sup>43</sup> Siepmann (2005: 417) also discusses evidence for collocations which involve more than two words.

was and were as well as *the*, *of*, and *a*. However, other determiners are displayed as collocates. Thus the collocate list for *question* contains *any* and that for *trees* contains *some*. Other collocation dictionaries usually rule out these function words as collocates, although there are some cases where function words participate in collocations in a linguistically significant way as in the phrase *the other day*, which is listed in *OCD*.

Secondly, word combinations can be statistically significant merely because they refer to common facts of the world (cf. Herbst 1996). Thus the most common collocate for *house* in *CEC-CD* is *new*. This adjective, however, combines freely with concrete (and also many abstract) nouns in general, so that *new house* can hardly be said to be a phraseologically interesting combination; from the point of view of the learner it also seems to be entirely predictable. In contrast, *detached house* is a far more specific combination, which is hardly predictable to the learner and therefore should be included in a dictionary of collocations. In that sense, Hausmann (1984) distinguishes collocations (*detached house*) from free combinations (*new house*),<sup>44</sup> a distinction which coincides with Cowie's (1978, 1981) restricted and open collocations respectively and ultimately can be traced back to Vinogradov's (1947) concept of phraseological combinations (cf. Cowie 1998: 214f.). As Hausmann (1984, 1997) points out, in contrast to free combinations, collocations are semantically 'directed' in that they contain an 'autosemantic' base (*house*) and a 'synsemantic' collocate (*detached*), which depends on the base for a full understanding of its meaning. Thus 'separate' or 'standing apart' are not sufficient semantic characterizations of *detached*, because a combination such as \**detached tree* (in reference to a tree standing apart from the forest) is quite unacceptable; the collocational restriction to buildings (and especially dwelling houses) is part of the meaning of *detached*.<sup>45</sup>

Incidentally, this directedness of collocations also provides a criterion for their placement in the dictionary. Hausmann (1984) argues that, for encoding, *detached house* must be found at the entry for *house* rather than that for *detached*. *BBI*, *LTP*, and *OCD* generally follow that insight, although Benson, Benson, and Ilson explicitly state that in their view lexical collocations 'do not have a dominant word' (1997: ix). However, in *CEC-CD* *detached house* can be found under the lemma *detached* but not *house* because statistically the co-occurrence is significant for *detached* but not for *house*. Whether or not *detached house* should also be given under *detached* with respect to decoding purposes, very much

<sup>44</sup> Hausmann's original German terms are *Kollokation* and *Ko-Kreation*.

<sup>45</sup> Of course, the collocational range of *detached* also includes *detached retina*, *detached manner*, etc., where *detached* has a different meaning. These cases can be ignored for the purposes of the present discussion.

depends on the type of dictionary. Foreign users who come across the collocation *detached house* and find it problematical will certainly need an explanation of the meaning of *detached* but not necessarily an indication of the collocation as such.

While the distinction between collocations and free combinations is theoretically quite convincing, its application to lexicographical practice is exceedingly difficult because, as Cowie (1978: 133) points out, they represent 'end-points of a scale or continuum'. Also, in many cases it is far from obvious whether a given word combination merely mirrors an extralinguistic fact in an entirely predictable way or not. Thus *empty parking space* seems to be entirely predictable at first glance, but as Siepmann (2005: 422) explains, the corresponding German collocation is *freier Parkplatz* whereas *leerer Parkplatz* would refer to a deserted car park. Conversely, in English a *free parking space* would refer to a parking space which is free of charge. It emerges that *empty parking space* is far from predictable for a German learner of English and therefore from the pedagogical and hence lexicographical point of view must be considered a collocation. More generally speaking, the predictability of collocations for a non-native speaker is largely a contrastive issue (cf. Herbst and Klotz 2003: 138).

The cline between free combinations and collocations leads Kjellmer in the introduction to *DEC* (1994: xvii) to abandon the distinction altogether. In contrast, the *BBI*, *LTP*, and *OCD* all draw a prototypical distinction between co-creations and collocations in their introductions, but given the complexity of the situation it hardly comes as a surprise that they do not give clear criteria for their delimitation. Thus the introduction to *OCD* (2002: viii) quite lucidly illustrates the scale from totally free combinations (*see a man*), via weak (*see a film*), and medium-strength (*see a doctor*), to strong collocations (*see reason*), but also says that with respect to the question of inclusion '[t]he approach taken ... was pragmatic, rather than theoretical'. All three dictionaries include free combinations such as *beautiful house* (*OCD*), *accept reluctantly* (*LTP*), or *plant a tree* (*BBI*), but erring on the side of generosity is probably a good lexicographic strategy in this case.

As a consequence of including items from the more open ranges of word-combination, different collocational dictionaries only partly coincide in the combinations they choose to include. Table 7.3 shows the overlap of the collocates listed in the *LTP*, *BBI*, and *ODC* for ten selected bases.<sup>46</sup>

On this basis the following conclusions can be drawn: firstly, *OCD* is the most comprehensive of the three dictionaries:<sup>47</sup> in the given sample it contains more

<sup>46</sup> The first five bases common to all three dictionaries for letters 'c' and 's' were selected. Different senses (e.g. *call* 'visit' vs. 'phone') were counted as different bases.

<sup>47</sup> Also cf. Klotz (2003), who compares the coverage of collocations in *OCD* and *BBI*.

*Table 7.3* Extent of overlap of *LTP*, *BBI*, and *OCD*

Collocates in <i>LTP</i> :	130	of these listed in <i>OCD</i>	64
		of these listed in <i>BBI</i>	61
Collocates in <i>BBI</i> :	132	of these listed in <i>OCD</i>	75
		of these listed in <i>LTP</i>	61
Collocates in <i>OCD</i> :	290	of these listed in <i>BBI</i>	75
		of these listed in <i>LTP</i>	64

than twice as many combinations as the other two dictionaries, which seem to list approximately the same number of collocates. However, *OCD* does not only contain more word combinations, it contains different word combinations, i.e. not all collocations listed in *LTP* or *BBI* are also listed in *OCD*. The same holds true for the comparison of the two smaller dictionaries: although they cover approximately the same number of collocations, only about half of the collocates found in one of them can also be found in the other. Thus, while all three dictionaries can be said to give a wealth of combinatorial information to their users, they clearly differ from each other in terms of coverage.

Clear differences can also be made out with respect to entry structure and layout. Both *LTP* and *OCD* make use of the underlying grammatical relationship between base and collocate to structure their entries. For example, the entry for *focus* in *OCD* first distinguishes the senses ‘centre of interest/attention’ and ‘point/distance at which sth is clearly seen’. Collocates for these bases are then given according to their grammatical relationship with the base, e.g. ADJ. *central focus*, VERB + FOCUS *act as focus*, FOCUS + VERB *focus shifts*, PREP. *focus on*, and finally PHRASES *the focus of attention*. Within these grammatical subsections collocates are grouped according to semantic similarity; for example in the ADJ.-section *central*, *main*, *major*, and *primary* are grouped together, while *clear*, *sharp*, and *strong* make up a separate group. This clear structuring is supported by a generous layout which allows the major sense divisions of the base as well as the grammatical subsections for each given sense to start on a new line. In contrast, the structure and layout of entries in *BBI* is much less clear. Although lexical collocations are also sub-classified by grammatical structure in the introduction, this system is not carried over into the articles in a transparent way. While *BBI* also subdivides the entry according to major sense divisions of the base, collocates are further divided into grammatically or semantically motivated groups, which are separated not by descriptive labels of any kind but simply by consecutive numbers. In terms of layout, no attempt has

been made to structure the article by indentations or new lines. Overall, the structure and layout of *OCD* are therefore far preferable.<sup>48</sup>

The extremely clear layout of *OCD* is, however, partly due to the fact that the task of structuring the entry of a collocations dictionary is fairly easy in comparison to general monolingual or bilingual dictionaries. These contain a great variety of information, ranging from pronunciation and definition to syntagmatic information, which necessarily results in great complexity. In contrast, typical collocation dictionaries are cumulative rather than expository in character,<sup>49</sup> i.e. they list word combinations but generally do not explain the often subtle differences between them. For example, in the entry for *cost* *OCD* gives the adjectives *considerable*, *enormous*, *great*, *high*, *huge*, and *prohibitive* but, since it is clear that these collocates are by no means strict synonyms of each other, it is left to the users' proficiency to make the correct choice for their given purpose.<sup>50</sup> The typical target group of dictionaries of collocations therefore consist of advanced learners or even native speakers, who will generally know the collocates listed but need to be reminded of their combinatorial potential.

## 7.7 CONCLUSION

The spectrum of English dictionaries that focus on combinations of lexical items is very impressive. Dictionaries of proverbs or catchphrases, for example, represent an important type of dictionary, one which reflects the cultural values of a society at a particular time but which is of relatively little linguistic interest. Collocation or valency dictionaries, on the other hand, primarily serve descriptive academic needs<sup>51</sup> as well as pedagogical purposes and are not particularly relevant to the ordinary native speaker of the language. However, since the dictionary market for English is also, to a very large extent, determined by the needs of foreign language teaching, there is definitely a market for pedagogical dictionaries of this kind, although it has to be said that a considerable amount of valuable information on valency and collocation is also contained in the most

<sup>48</sup> For a more detailed criticism of the article structure and layout of the first edition of the *BBI* see Herbst (1988).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Kühn (1985: 52), who makes a similar distinction with respect to synonym dictionaries.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Klotz (2003) for further discussion with respect to the *OCD*.

<sup>51</sup> In any case, it can be argued that lexicographical research—such as the descriptive and theoretical basis of *ODCIE*—has exercised great influence on the linguistic discussion of these phenomena and contributed to demonstrating the indeterminate nature of the distinction that can (or cannot) be made in this area.

recent editions of general learners' dictionaries such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* or the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, in which the phraseological component has been given increasing prominence through the research facilities opened up by modern corpus linguistics.

The wide range of dictionary types now available reflects the indeterminate nature of the distinctions that can or cannot be recognized in this area. Up to a point, it may not be a matter of chance which types of dictionary play an important role in English lexicography. The fact that, in English, phrasal verbs are not spelt together as one word—unless nominalized—may have played an important role in establishing the type of phrasal verb dictionary, because phrasal verbs such as *eat up* or *look up* are perceived as idiomatic combinations of two separate words rather than as compounds as the corresponding German separable compound verbs *aufessen* and *nachschlagen* are. On the other hand, the fact that case inflections of nouns are much more important in German than in English may explain why there is a longer tradition of valency dictionaries of German than there is of valency dictionaries of English.

The different character of the phenomena covered by phraseological and syntagmatic dictionaries goes hand in hand with the prime target groups of such dictionaries and their possible purpose. Dictionaries of proverbs and catchphrases primarily serve the curiosity of native speakers with an interest in language as do idiom dictionaries that attempt to give an account of the origin of idioms. From a foreign language user's point of view, idiom dictionaries seem to be more important for decoding than encoding, whereas collocation and valency dictionaries are primarily relevant as encoding dictionaries for foreign users, or—to put it more idiomatically—while one can take the word-sense out of the idiom dictionary's mouth, collocation dictionaries put the words into the user's mouth.

# DICTIONARIES OF QUOTATIONS

*Elizabeth Knowles*

## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

### *8.1.1 General overview*

TODAY, dictionaries of quotations are a staple of popular reference, and a likely gift purchase. Every bookshop has at least a small selection, ranging from the heavyweight collections, with full ‘finding references’ to bibliographic sources for the quotations included, to small illustrated gift books. There are general collections organized by author and by subject, and specialist titles on subjects ranging from humour to war, and golf to insults. Individually, they promise to inform, to motivate, and to amuse. Among them, they provide answers to two key questions, ‘who said that?’ and ‘what’s been said about this?’

We can look at current dictionaries of quotations, and at any of a range of websites devoted to quotations, and draw our own conclusions as to the status, and purpose, of such collections today. The intention of this chapter is to look at the earlier history of this particular genre, and to show by an examination of specific titles the original assumptions about what the content, structure, and function of such a book should be, and how these changed over time. The transition between the early eighteenth and mid-twentieth centuries will show a progression from the dictionary of quotations as representing a personal collection of (chiefly or solely literary) material assembled by editors for their own pleasure (and that of their friends), to a tool for use by professional writers and the general public. From offering excerpts from ‘the best writers’ as rhetorical models, or providing glosses to classical tags, the dictionary of quotations became the natural resource for identifying the author or source of a

half-remembered line or passage, or for providing well-chosen and apposite words on a given subject which could then be quoted.<sup>1</sup>

### 8.1.2 'Quotations': *what the term may imply*

The term 'quotation' is capable of wide interpretation. At its simplest, a quotation is something quoted. In the broadest sense (as exemplified in a number of the books considered below), the word can denote any fixed form of words used in speech or writing which has been taken from an earlier source (whether known or unknown). More specifically, it may be defined as a fixed group of words said or written by a particular person at a particular time, often in response to a particular event. Whether or not we now know who originated it (there are many anonymous quotations), it is intrinsically an individual coinage with fixed, and distinctive, wording, in which the key thought is pithily expressed. Our most familiar quotations are more readily memorized and repeated through such formal and stylistic features as the juxtaposition of phrases that are contrastive in sense but balanced in sound as well as structure, as in the line from Alexander Pope's *An Essay in Criticism* (1711), 'What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed'.

A proverb or saying, by contrast, is traditionally a maxim or adjuration reflecting observation of the surrounding world, representing a common response, which with alteration of specific wording may well have been voiced by a number of different people over a span of time. The earliest proverbs in English are of biblical and classical origin; in more recent times this grouping has widened to include lines from literature taken as general maxims (*a little learning is a dangerous thing*: Pope), advertising and other slogans (*a diamond is forever*: De Beers Consolidated Mines, 1940s onwards), and catchphrases (*the truth is out there*: the television series *The X Files*). Catchphrases are of particular interest when looking at the middle ground between sayings and quotations. Apart from the key features that they are characteristic utterances rather than being said on one particular occasion, that they have a period of extreme public exposure, and are likely to become part of the popular culture, they are associated with an individual public profile—that of either a real or fictional character, or an organization. Churchill's *Action this day*, and Harry Truman's *The buck stops here*, have claims to be considered as catchphrases.

<sup>1</sup> The leading article in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 23 October 1919 considered how quotations function in the language. The leader writer distinguished two main traditions of quotation. The first, representing an appeal to authority, was that of classical quotation, deriving chiefly from 'the reasonable veneration of antiquity which informed the Revival of Learning', although also probably reinforced by the tradition of the *sortes* (the *sortes*, or more fully *sortes biblicae*, involved the chance selection of a passage from the Bible or other authoritative text as a method of divination or the seeking of guidance). The second (described as the 'modern, allusive way') was the process involved when a writer or speaker reached for the words of another because they express precisely what he or she wanted to say.



Beyond this, both quotations and sayings may in turn generate phrases which become part of the general lexicon (*salt of the earth*: the Bible and *glimpses of the moon*: Shakespeare). At different times, dictionaries of quotations have found a home for examples of all these categories.

### 8.1.3 Selection principles

Quotations, short extracts from a person's writings or sayings, have typically been used to give support or authority to an argument. Through the centuries, quotations have been identified and collected by readers and writers. Sometimes material was excerpted directly from the original source.<sup>2</sup> A statement or passage would strike a reader as particularly apposite and worth noting down, typically in a commonplace book which then became a personal resource.<sup>3</sup> Such a reader<sup>4</sup> was often interested in recording 'parallel passages': lines from writers, perhaps from different cultures and centuries, in which a common theme or thought can be identified. Early collections drew especially on literature (particularly poetry and drama) by what were regarded as 'the best authors'. It was not until the nineteenth century that this brief widened to include what could be regarded as current affairs and political debate.

Familiarity<sup>5</sup> is sometimes cited as a reason for an editor's selecting or including a quotation. An obvious way for this to be demonstrated is usage: evidence that the words in question have been quoted by another person. Traditionally, such evidence has been citation based; more recently, corpus-based evidence has been of increasing value.

### 8.1.4 Organization

The contents of a dictionary of quotations are systematically organized, usually on an A–Z system.<sup>6</sup> Forms of organization (reflecting a view of the primary

<sup>2</sup> In the fifteenth century, Stephen Scrope translated 'The dictes and sayings of the philosophers' for his stepfather John Fastolf, as part of 'a programme of popularizing classical philosophy' (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004–).

<sup>3</sup> A listing of such items would include the fifteenth-century collection made by Robert Reynes of Acle (1980) and the notebook of the seventeenth-century royalist Sir John Oglander (1936). Commonplace books, of course, are still being compiled, and are often published: twentieth-century examples include the compilations of the publishers Rupert Hart-Davis (c.1983) and John Murray (1999).

<sup>4</sup> For example, see the section on Grocott at 8.3.2 below.

<sup>5</sup> See the section on Bartlett at 8.3.3 below.

<sup>6</sup> Chronological ordering of authors or quotations is the exception to this. Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (see 8.3.3) was and is distinctive in grouping quotations under authors who are then organized chronologically according to date of birth.

purpose of such a book) have varied through the centuries. In the first examples, from the early eighteenth century (see 8.2 below), there are two models. In the first, quotations are grouped according to subject area. The second model resembles the early ‘hard words’ dictionaries<sup>7</sup>: an A–Z sequence of phrases from Latin, French, Italian, and other languages, with translations and comments. These glosses might include advice as to how the phrase should be used. In some later collections (see 8.3.4 and 8.3.5 below) quotations, treated like phrases or Latin tags, were organized on an A–Z system according to the first word of the quotation. In others (see especially 8.4.1 below), the controlling A–Z sequence was based on author names, a form which we would now recognize as one of the most common.

The apparatus of a dictionary of quotations, whether organized by subject or by author, is likely to include at least one index: most frequently, a keyword index to the text of quotations, and an index of authors quoted. Early indexes<sup>8</sup> provided single keywords and page references. Later, more help was provided: the reader would be given the context line<sup>9</sup> in which the keyword appeared, and even a reference to the target quotation. Keyword indexes do not distinguish between homonyms (identical words having different meanings and often functioning as different parts of speech): an entry for *may* is likely to be followed by context lines featuring the month, the blossom, and the verb.

### 8.1.5 *Function.*

A dictionary of quotations may resemble a commonplace book<sup>10</sup> or an anthology in its range of coverage and selection of extracts, but its purpose is different. It is not intended to serve as a record of an individual’s personal tastes, or as a representation of the work of a particular writer, but to offer the reader a tool. The earliest examples are collections offering rhetorical models: excerpts of writing (usually poetry) from ‘the best authors’ (a phrase which recurs in introductions and prefaces). Other early collections provide glosses for classical tags and longer foreign-language passages in

<sup>7</sup> The early monolingual English dictionaries, as published in the seventeenth century, provided glosses for words based on Latin, or borrowed from other languages, rather than for the vocabulary of vernacular English. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Sidney Landau’s *Dictionaries* (2001: Chapter 2).

<sup>8</sup> In the keyword index to Grocott’s *Index to Familiar Quotations* (1854; see 8.3.2), a reference to Milton’s ‘Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks In Vallombrosa’ (*Paradise Lost*, 1667) appears as ‘Vallombrosa’ followed by the number of the page on which the quotation is given.

<sup>9</sup> Early context lines consisted of the words immediately preceding, or following, the keyword. Later, the string would include the keyword itself, or its abbreviated initial letter.

<sup>10</sup> A number of dictionaries of quotations are said by their editors to have originated as private collections.

use in English. Later collections suggest a more direct use of their material: they offer a choice of comments on given subjects which can be quoted in a speech, article, or presentation, or which provide a means of tracing the source of a particular, and probably part-remembered, passage.

## 8.2 SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

### 8.2.1 *Bysshe*

While the seventeenth century saw the appearance of some compilations of extracts from different poets,<sup>11</sup> the earliest examples of what we would today recognize as a dictionary of quotations are to be found in the eighteenth century. In 1702, the writer Edward Bysshe (*fl.*1702–14) published *The Art of English Poetry*. This was in three sections, ‘Rules for making English verse’, ‘A Dictionary of Rhymes’, and, the third and longest section, ‘A collection of the most natural, agreeable, & noble thoughts . . . that are to be found in the best English poets’. Paul Baines in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–), having noted that the rhyming dictionary was the first of its kind, says:

The dictionary of quotations, which Bysshe claims to have begun in 1692 at the suggestion of the earl of Lauderdale, and which drew heavily on Restoration poets, especially Dryden, was similarly innovative and influential, though Bysshe had models in pedagogic compilations such as Joshua Poole’s *English Parnassus* (1657).

In his Preface, Bysshe makes it clear that the quotations so assembled were intended to provide aspiring poets with models of linguistic excellence. Having provided rules for verse-making and a dictionary of rhymes, it appeared to him that what was then needed was not just a list of possible adjectives but also a demonstration of the contexts in which they might be used. As he points out, in connection with the list of words given as able to qualify *looks*, three of them, *beautiful*, *charming*, and *smiling*, are commonplace choices. *Dispatchful*, however, is far less predictable, and its presence needs to be validated. This is done by providing the relevant quotation from *Paradise Lost*:

<sup>11</sup> For example, Robert Allott’s *Englands Parnassus* (1600) and Joshua Poole’s *The English Parnassus* (1657). Allott’s collection is in effect an anthology volume, and, while Poole’s extracts are closer to what would be found in a dictionary of quotations, neither authors nor sources are given. For further comments on these titles, see 8.3.7.

So saying, with dispatchful looks, in haste  
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent.

Bysshe had, however, a second reason for giving the sources for these poetic models:

But, to confess a secret, being very unwilling it should ever be laid to my Charge, that I had furnish'd Tools, and given a Temptation of Versifying, to the Debasers of Rhyme, and Dablers in Poetry, I resolv'd to place these, the principal Materials, under the awful Guard of the Immortal Milton, Dryden, &c. (1702: 'Preface' p.ii).

Bysshe's collection of poetic quotations is organized by subject: the book begins with 'Advice', 'Aegeon', 'Aetna', the Four 'Ages' of the World, 'Alecto', 'Ambition', and 'Angel'. A later sequence comprises 'Waves', 'Weeping', 'Words', 'World', and 'Wounds'. Restoration figures such as John Dryden, Thomas Otway, and Lord Rochester are liberally quoted. (Although authors are given, 'finding references' to the sources are not.) Those at a loss for the right expression should look for any word under which the subject of their thought was likely to be classified. They would find there how the topic had been treated by 'our best writers' (1702: 'Preface' p. i).

The third section of *The Art of English Poetry* is immediately recognizable as a collection of quotations: the individual items are excerpts from the work of named writers. Other collections from the eighteenth century, however, may seem to us now much closer to what we would think of as a lexical dictionary of (especially foreign) phrases.

### 8.2.2 Macdonnel and Moore

1799 was the year of publication of the third edition of D. E. Macdonnel's *A Dictionary of Quotations*, which had first appeared two years previously.<sup>12</sup> It originated, according to its compiler, in a personal collection of material drawn up for the private use of a friend, which was then published.

The text of Macdonnel's book consists of foreign-language phrases (and sentences) alphabetized on the first word of the entry. The core material is described by Macdonnel in the sixth edition (1811: 'Introduction' p. vii):

The Quotations, which we either hear or read, consist chiefly of classic flowers, culled and retained from the poets of the Augustan age, or of apophthegms, and technical phrases, the pith and point of which are not easily transferred into another language.

<sup>12</sup> The first edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, noting that 'Small dictionaries of quotations have been published for many years', referred to Macdonnel's appearance in 1799 (ODQ 1941: 'Compilers to the Reader').

The purpose of the book is primarily to enable readers to decode what might be unclear, but some of the commentary he adds also effectively gives guidance as to how such phrases should be used. The range, as the Introduction indicated, included quotations, sayings, and fixed phrases; one section in *Du*—comprises three quotations from Horace, a Latin phrase which was the motto of an Irish peer, and a French phrase.

The simplest form of entry consists of the phrase itself followed by a note of the language of origin, where relevant the author's name, and a translation. Some entries, however, are more complex. The entry for *dulce et decorum est* gives the language of origin (Latin) and the author (Horace), followed by a translation. After that, the editorial comment considers the circumstances in which it is likely to be encountered, and offers guidance as to how it should properly be used. Other entries include quotations from English literature that are related in meaning to the Latin text.

The Introduction to the 1811 sixth edition showed an interesting perception of changing usage. The compiler noted (with regret) that there was actually an increase in the practice of quoting foreign-language originals without a gloss.<sup>13</sup> He attributed this to 'some affected Writers, who seem to take for granted that all their readers are classically informed' (Macdonnel: 'Introduction' p. x). His collection would thus be of particular value to those who encountered such quotations but who did not themselves have the necessary linguistic skills to understand them.

Macdonnel's compilation proved popular: by 1811, it had gone through five editions. In later editions, too, the coverage was expanded: law maxims were added, as were translations of the mottoes of the British and Irish peerage. The success of Macdonnel's book is underlined by the Preface to another collection published twenty years later, Hugh Moore's *A Dictionary of Quotations from various Authors in ancient and modern languages* (1831). Like Macdonnel, he had begun by making a private collection, partly as a hobby, and partly as a resource for a young relation about to enter one of the learned professions. His personal compilation was nearly completed when he encountered Macdonnel's collection. So useful did he think it that he decided to incorporate the material into his own text, while avoiding any suspicion of plagiarism by retranslating all the foreign-language material. As well as this, he annotated all the entries, to show whether they had originated in Macdonnel's text, were common to Macdonnel and Moore's first draft, or were first selected by Moore.

<sup>13</sup> See also the extract from Surtees, footnote 36 below

Macdonnel–Moore had an extended history, as is demonstrated by a spat recorded in the columns of *Notes and Queries*. In an 1868 issue, a column headed ‘Plagiarism’ criticized Shaw’s *New Dictionary of Quotations*, which had just been published, for having plagiarized Gover’s *Handy Book of Quotations*, a charge well deserved by Shaw’s having printed comparable, and almost identical, entries. In the course of subsequent correspondence, it became clear that both Shaw’s *New Dictionary*, and the *Handy Book*, were in fact unacknowledged later versions of Macdonnel–Moore.

Bysse on the one hand, and Macdonnel and Moore on the other, demonstrate key features of early collections of quotations. Bysse’s compilation is a collection of quotations in the English language, organized by subject. Macdonnel and Moore have assembled an A–Z sequence of foreign-language quotations, accompanied by translations and glosses.

### 8.3 NINETEENTH CENTURY TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

#### 8.3.1 *Gent*

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the genesis of a number of long-lived dictionaries of quotations. There was also a significant change in function. Up to this point, the primary purpose of the collections published had been to provide models of writing by ‘the best authors’ on given topics, or to offer guidance on the origin, meaning, and use of foreign-language tags and phrases. Now, however, a dictionary of quotations was increasingly seen as a source for verifying the correct wording, and bibliographic origin, of a quotation.

1852 was the year of publication of *Familiar Quotations*, compiled by L. C. Gent. The Preface to this collection, interestingly, lays considerable emphasis on the importance of this kind of book as a source for verification. The editorial motivation had moved away from providing a resource for personal use (and the use of an inner circle of friends) and was considering an unknown (but probably careless or ignorant) general public. The compiler explains that he has been struck by the ‘incorrect manner’ in which popular passages from ‘our great authors’ are quoted, even by those of ‘the most liberal education’.

The quotations are arranged under authors, with the most quoted figures appearing first. The list opens with Shakespeare, Pope, Milton, and Scott, includes Goldsmith and Gray, and closes with Byron and Dryden. At the end there

is a Miscellaneous section, made up of authors with only a few quotations each: names appearing here include Congreve, Sterne, Garrick, Johnson, Wordsworth, and Addison. The intention, according to the compiler, was to make every extract as brief as possible, with just as much context as to illustrate the section of the work from which the quotation was taken.

With quotations from longer poems, the line number was given; it was in any case hoped that sufficient information had been provided to enable the reader, without much trouble, to find the original passage from which the quotation had been taken. The index had also been carefully considered: one or more of 'the most prominent words in each sentence' appeared in it, so that 'any one, remembering only a few words of the quotation they wish to refer to, may readily find it'.<sup>14</sup>

### 8.3.2 *Grocott*

Two years after the publication of L. C. Gent's compilation, another with a similar title appeared. This was *An Index to Familiar Quotations*, edited by J. C. Grocott. It evidently did well: a second edition appeared in 1863, and a third (and enlarged) edition in 1866. The dictionary was in effect subject organized: an arrangement which grouped 'parallel passages' (that is, quotations on a particular topic brought together under a subject heading). Authors and sources for the quotations were given.

In his Preface to this third edition, Grocott gave some information as to his aim in compiling the book:

One of the objects of a book of this description (and an important one also) is to discover the author of the idea, image, or phrase which has become familiar to us, and with that in my mind I have given numerous parallel passages from the translations of the Latin and Greek classics, and my readers will see how great a share the ancients had in the authorship of the quotations now in daily use ('Preface' 1866: v).

### 8.3.3 *Bartlett*

In the following year, 1855, a collection which was to establish itself on both sides of the Atlantic appeared for the first time. This was the leading American dictionary of quotations, John Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*,<sup>15</sup> now in its eighteenth edition.

<sup>14</sup> The form of the index was to give the page number on which the keyword appeared. Thus 'Whirlwind 51' indicates page 51, on which appears a quotation from Pope's *Dunciad*, including the line 'Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm'.

<sup>15</sup> It is, as has been said, the leading American collection; however, it is also worth noting that, in the nineteenth century at least, it became a staple of the British reference shelf, as is shown by a New Year greeting to his readers from the Editor of *Notes and Queries*, in January 1892:

Professor Michael Hancher has recently (2003) drawn attention to an earlier British model for Bartlett's work, the *Handbook of Familiar Quotations from English Authors*,<sup>16</sup> published by John Murray in 1853.

*Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* is still notable for its particular form of organization: the entries are arranged according to author, but the authors are ordered chronologically (according to date of birth). The reader has the advantage of being able to see quotations from writers of the same period clustered together, but the disadvantage that to find a particular name it is necessary first to consult the list of authors. Bartlett's collection offered the best coverage of American sources of its time.<sup>17</sup> The collection initially was strongly literary, but included significant political figures. When looking at an 'author's edition' of 1869 (Bartlett 1869) we find the names of four Presidents of the United States (John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington), as well as the Virginian orator and politician of the Revolutionary period Patrick Henry, and the New England lawyer, orator, and politician Daniel Webster. Overall, however, despite this widening from the purely literary, those quoted would still be seen to conform to the categorization of 'the best authors'.

#### 8.3.4 Where is It?

In Great Britain, however, the purely literary was still the preferred selection criterion. 1855 was also the year of publication of a small collection of poetical quotations entitled *Where is It?* This was a small collection (around six hundred items), which, it appears, was intended primarily to identify half-remembered quotations. In the Introduction, the anonymous Editor explained:

WHERE IS IT? This question when addressed to ourselves, frequently obliged us to confess our ignorance, and we determined to avoid, if possible, the recurrence of this disagreeable acknowledgement.

One more suggestion he [the Editor of *Notes and Queries*] couples with his best wishes for the New Year to his contributors. Questions which are fully answered in a book so accessible as Bartlett's 'Familiar Quotations' come with irritating persistency. . . . [W]ith every wish to aid all who consult its pages, the Editor holds that it cannot be necessary to occupy space with questions that can be answered from the most obvious sources of reference (*Notes and Queries* 1892: p. 1).

<sup>16</sup> From the dedication, signed 'I. R. P.', and the archives of the publisher John Murray, Professor Hancher has identified the editor as an Englishwoman named Isabella Rushton Preston (for further details of her work, and her correspondence with her publisher, see Hancher 2003: p. 70).

<sup>17</sup> It is however interesting to see that even what would now be regarded as obvious candidates did not necessarily appear in the earliest editions. Those who do not appear include John C. Calhoun, Salmon P. Chase, Henry Clay, William Henry Garrison, Andrew Jackson, Francis Scott Key, and (perhaps most surprisingly of all) Abraham Lincoln.



With the kind assistance of friends, to whom we are largely indebted for researches we could not have made ourselves—we now venture to offer it to the public, with the hope that it may be useful in answering accurately and concisely the often perplexing question—WHERE IS IT? (1855: ‘Introduction’ p.iii).

It is worth noting that *Where Is It?* is an early example of a collection whose primary—and in this case highlighted—purpose is to answer the question, ‘who said that?’ However, the arrangement was not as helpful as might have been hoped, since the editor had not adopted the principle of indexing according to significant keyword rather than the first actual word (which might be a function word, such as *a* or *and*). The quotations appeared under the initial letter of the first word of the quotation, whether or not this was one of the more distinctive words. At *A*, quotations cited include ‘A primrose on the river’s brim’ (Wordsworth, *Peter Bell*) and ‘And like another Helen, fired another Troy’ (Dryden, *Alexander’s Feast*).

### 8.3.5 Friswell

J. Hain Friswell’s *Familiar Words* was published ten years later, in 1865, and the editor went into some detail as to the primary purpose of the collection:

Many lines of which we forget the author haunt the memory of most of us; and many delightful ideas centre round their remembrance which can only be recalled by the context, nor can we recall these more readily than by a Dictionary of Quotations on a systematic plan, and as perfect as the compiler can make it (Friswell 1865: ‘Preface’ p. v).

He noticed that other collections generally gave long extracts which had been taken haphazardly, and which gave only the author’s name without a source—making it difficult for the reader to locate the original. In this book, by contrast, precise details of chapter, act, scene, book, and line number would be given. The quotations, as with the much smaller *Where is It?*, were arranged alphabetically. Footnotes were used where appropriate to call attention to ‘parallel passages’ (quotations from other writers which closely resembled the particular citation).

Friswell’s collection is presented primarily as a tool for tracing quotations to their sources, but it was also his view that it could function as an anthology of the best of English. As he wrote, ‘It is, in fact, a Book of Wisdom, holding more beauties than any book by a single author; and it is a gathering from many minds, that can alone be possible in the tongue of the richest and fullest literature in the world’ (Friswell 1865: ‘Preface’ p. vii).

### 8.3.6 Webster

In 1876, eleven years after the publication of Friswell's book, *Webster's Dictionary of Quotations* appeared. According to its title page, it was 'a book of ready reference for all familiar words and phrases in the English Language'. The text was organized in A–Z sequence. At *Au*–, the quotation 'Sweet Auburn! loveliest village of the plain', from Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, appeared under the headword *auburn*. Further on, there was an entry for *Augean Stables*, with a brief definition ('corruption or pollution of long standing'), followed by an account of the story behind the phrase.

The book claimed to be 'a valuable handbook to writers, readers, and speakers'<sup>18</sup>, and the Preface explained that the book brought readers into contact with the greatest authors in the language and 'their happiest turns of expression'. The stated purpose looked back to quotations as rhetorical model: 'By studying it [i.e. the collection] we may learn something of the mastery of words and the enviable art of putting things neatly' (Webster 1876: 'Preface').

### 8.3.7 Bohn

Other popular collections of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were Henry George Bohn's *A Dictionary of Quotations* (1867), Jehiel Keeler Hoyt's *Cyclopaedia of Practical Quotations* (Hoyt and Ward 1882), and various collections edited by William Gurney Benham (see Benham 1907 and 1921).

Bohn's collection appeared on the general market in 1881, but had had an earlier genesis. It was a verbatim reissue, with corrections, of a volume for private distribution which appeared (in a printing of five hundred copies) in July 1867. It had its origin in a personal collection: by Bohn's own account a taste for collecting poetical quotations was reinforced by an early desire to emulate contemporaries who 'rivalled each other in spicing their conversation with scraps of poetry, sometimes Latin, but oftener English' (Bohn 1867: p. vii).

It is worth looking in some detail at the prefatory material, as it includes not only a review of the book which was published in *The Times* of 7 January 1868, but also a survey by Bohn himself of collections which were currently available.

The *Times* reviewer liked the collection. Bohn's good eye, taken as the result of a lifetime among books, was praised. He had 'caught the trick of extracting from them [books] the valuable essence they may contain, and of keeping it where it

<sup>18</sup> A pencilled annotation on the title page of the copy in the Bodleian Library reads, 'This book is both incomplete and exceedingly inaccurate in the words of the quotations. F.D.S.'

may readily be found when wanted'. It was noted that chapter and verse were given for references, so that readers could trace the extracts back to the original context. The book was judged to be 'free from rubbish', and to show 'evidence of a scholar's eye and taste'.

The *Times* reviewer clearly thought well of the book's functionality, and Bohn's own critique was in line with this. He took the view that there were 'very few accessible books of English quotations'. Allott's *England's Parnassus*, published in 1600, naturally contained only early poets, and was likely to be prohibitively expensive (copies sold for 'upwards of five pounds'). Joshua Poole's *English Parnassus* of 1657 was comparatively useless: as well as being 'ill digested', the poetical quotations of the third section of the book were 'entirely without authorities' (that is, neither source nor author was given). Hayward's *British Muse* of 1738 was satisfactory as far as it went, and was 'within reach of a moderate purse'. However, the poets cited stopped at Herrick: there was no Milton, Butler, Waller, Dryden, Addison, Prior, Gray, Pope, Swift, or Thomson. Finally, Bohn referred to a *Dictionary of Quotations from the British Poets*, published by Whittaker, in three volumes. (*Shakespeare* appeared in 1823, *Blank Verse* in 1824, and *Rhyme* in 1825.) It was anonymously issued, but (according to Bohn) 'known to be by Wm. Kingdom'. Bohn thought well of this book, and noted that it had been widely used by subsequent compilers, English and American, without acknowledgement (Bohn 1881: 'Preface' p. viii).

Bohn did not mention Bysshe (or indeed, Macdonnel or Moore). He went on to consider the more recent past, noting that in the last few years there had been 'a perfect deluge of Quotation books of every kind'. There were, however, causes for dissatisfaction with particular categories. Some were virtually no more than collections of short extracts from the principal poets, which intelligent readers could assemble for themselves. Some were poorly arranged, with a quotation appearing under the initial letter or chief word of the first line, so that it was far removed from the actual words likely to be sought. Others gave inadequate or non-existent sources. The collection with fewest of these shortcomings was Grocott's *Familiar Quotations* (1854, 1863, 1866), which provided sources with exemplary precision, and possessed a good index. However, even in this book, the selection was limited, there was no observance of chronological order, and, although the arrangement was supposedly by subject, it was often by keyword. Friswell's collection of 1865 had exactly the same advantages and disadvantages.

To return to Bohn's own text, it has an alphabetical subject arrangement, with quotations ordered chronologically within the themes<sup>19</sup>. Where possible, sources

<sup>19</sup> The section for *Absence* has, sequentially, quotations from Shakespeare to the Irish poet Thomas Moore (1779–1852).

and attributions are given (in some cases, Bohn had failed to note details when he began his collection, and was subsequently unable to trace them to source). There is an alphabetical list of authors quoted, with birth and death dates, and often with the titles of key publications. There is, however, no keyword index: in order to find a particular quotation, it is necessary to approach it from the angle of the most likely subject heading.

### 8.3.8 Hoyt and Ward

Bohn's *Dictionary* appeared in 1881. The next year, 1882, saw the publication of what was to become an established American collection, Jehiel Keeler Hoyt and Anna L. Ward's *Cyclopaedia of Practical Quotations*. This substantial collection, like Bohn's book, was subject ordered, apparently with the particular purpose of providing useful quotations on a given topic to those engaged in composition.

This collection also moved away from the limitation to quotations from literary (especially poetic) sources, and even included definitions of particular phrases. The contents list included such items as 'German Proverbs', 'Latin Law Terms and Phrases', and 'Ecclesiastical Terms and Definitions—Jewish Church'. Within the themes, quotations were grouped by author, and the author's name and source were given for each quotation. Interestingly, within the sequence of subjects, there was what the Preface described as 'a grouping of certain prominent subjects' which would be found 'new, attractive and useful'.

The special subjects covered were, 'Birds', 'Flowers', 'Months', 'Occupations', 'Seasons', and 'Trees', and it is worth looking in detail at a sample of the subcategories to see how the classification worked. The list of entries for the letter B in the 'bird' category include, as well as a specifically North American bird (*bobolink*), a descriptive term (*beach-bird*) and a creature which is presumably included for its powers of flight (*bat*).

There were full keyword indexes to English quotations and English translations of Latin quotations, as well as a separate Latin index. References were given to page numbers and italic letters (*a*, *b*, *c*, etc.) which identified the specific quotation on the page. (Where there were more than twenty-six quotations to the page, a sequence of double letters began, *aa*, *bb*, and so on.) An asterisk indicated that the quotation was from Shakespeare.

The list of authors gave not only dates of birth and death but also the nationality of the named person, and it is therefore possible to see what coverage of American authors was offered. This was in fact substantial: the letters A and B included the black actor Ira Aldridge (1810–67), the poet Elizabeth Akers Allen (1832–1911), the preacher Hosea Ballou (1771–1852), the poet and patriot Joel

Barlow (1754–1812), the clergyman and writer Cyrus Augustus Bartol (1813–1900), the poet Ethel Lynn Beers (1827–79), the poet Maria Gowen Brooks (1795–1845), and the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878).

Unfortunately, the authors' list was not cross-referenced to specific quotations. It was not possible in this edition, if you were interested in seeing the quotations by Lydia Maria Child (1802–82), Stephen Decatur (1739–1820), Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), Francis Bret Harte (1839–1902), Patrick Henry (1736–99), or Julia Ward Howe (1819–1910), to go directly to the place where the person was cited. Nevertheless, the listing demonstrates quite clearly that *Practical Quotations* offered a coverage which was not otherwise available to those interested in quotations.<sup>20</sup>

### 8.3.9 *Ward*

In contrast to the concentration on poetry in early dictionaries of quotations that has already been remarked, Hoyt's collaborator on *Practical Quotations*, Anna Lydia Ward, brought out in 1889 a *Dictionary of Quotations in Prose: from American and Foreign Authors*. In 1906, it was published in Britain, with a subtitle reading 'from English and foreign authors'. Unlike *Practical Quotations*, this was a dictionary of quotations from named writers, rather than including proverbial, phrasal, and allied matter. The quotations were in English, with the work of foreign writers appearing in translation.

Containing over 6,000 quotations, the book is organized according to topic, from *Ability to Zeal*. There is a 'topical index' (in fact, a list of topics with their page references), and a list of authors. Each name has the author's date of birth (and death), their place of birth, and reference numbers for all relevant quotations. The coverage is cosmopolitan: the section for *Ability* has quotations from Edmund Burke, Hurrell Froude, James Garfield, Edward Gibbon, La Rochefoucauld, John Ruskin, and Elizabeth Oakes Smith.

In her Preface, Anna Lydia Ward explained something of her principles of selection. The chief place had been given to 'the standard English authors', but there was generous allowance for American and European writers, as well as for authors representing 'the ancient classics of Greece and Rome and the Orient' (Ward 1906: 'Preface' p. iii). The prose of recognized poets had been explored, but some writers 'almost unknown to "literature"' had been drawn on, because

<sup>20</sup> When the book was revised in 1896, it included new quotations and new topical headings. There was a certain amount of reordering, with proverbs and foreign quotations and mottoes 'brought into two departments—English and Foreign'. The section of epigrams was said to present 'a collection of the best and cleanest sayings of the poet Martial taken from an expurgated edition' (Hoyt 1896: p. v).

what they had said (as recorded in newspapers and addresses) appeared to Ward to justify inclusion ‘because of their terseness, or beauty, or originality’ (Ward 1906: ‘Preface’ p. iii ). On the other hand, some very well-known writers did not appear, or were meagrely represented, ‘simply because their writings, however unquestionable their ability, do not contain quotable sayings’.

There are two points that can usefully be highlighted here. Firstly, the individual quotations were chosen because they were seen as quotable, not simply because of the name of the speaker or writer from whose work the material came. Secondly (and this is made explicit in the closing sentence of the Preface<sup>21</sup>), the quotations are seen as embodying moral and ethical values rather than as offering rhetorical models.

A final point of interest is that *Quotations in Prose* does give acknowledgement to famous phrases. While the section on ‘Proverbs’ simply has three quotations on proverbs, the section on ‘Phrases’ includes a number of quotations which exemplify, or provide the origin of, set phrases. As well as Bee’s ‘See, there is Jackson, standing like a stone wall!’ (the comment from which Thomas ‘Stonewall’ Jackson derived his nickname), and ‘Patience, and shuffle the cards’ from Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*, items include ‘Barkis is willin’ (Dickens: *David Copperfield*), and ‘Neither rhyme nor reason’ (Shakespeare: *As You Like It*).

## 8.4 EARLY TO MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

### 8.4.1 *Benham*

William Gurney Benham’s collection, *Cassell’s Book of Quotations* (1907), is something of a landmark, since it appears to be one of the, if not the, earliest collections to be organized according to an A–Z author sequence. Having said that, however, it must also be noted that in addition to the A–Z sequence, Benham had a large number of special categories. As with Hoyt and Ward, the quotations content was once more enhanced by proverbs and other sayings, and phrases. The contents list included a ‘Miscellaneous’ section with such subheadings as ‘Waifs and Strays’, ‘Political Phrases’, ‘Folk-Lore and Weather Rhymes’, and ‘London Street Sayings’.

It is worth noting also that at a time when dictionaries of quotations reflected what would now be called the Western Canon, Benham’s ‘Miscellaneous’ section

<sup>21</sup> ‘This treasury of lofty thought, noble sentiment, and wise utterance’ (Ward 1906: ‘Preface’ p. v).

had a subsection for quotations from the Koran. The *Dictionary* was issued in twenty fortnightly parts, with the cover of the first part announcing that Part 2 would be ready on 13 February.

Further editions of Hoyt and Benham<sup>22</sup> were published during the first half of the twentieth century, with Kate Louise Roberts's revision of Hoyt's collection appearing in 1923. The Preface firmly reinforced the profile of a dictionary of quotations having a primarily literary basis, with a reference to its 'rich harvest of fruits culled from the vast fields of literature'. The editor went on to consider the question of current utterances:

The phrases 'which are the parole of literary men the world over', form the basic value of the work. The compiler's blue pencil has hesitated over the prolific output of the 'moderns', for public taste is fickle and what is popular to-day is padding tomorrow.

In these stirring times the press has teemed with utterances of prominent people, but records are inaccurate and unreliable, as has been tested through personal letters (Roberts 1923: 'Preface' p. vii).

#### 8.4.2 *Stevenson*

The year 1934 saw the publication of a new American collection, Stevenson's *Book of Quotations*. This substantial volume, organized by subject, had biographical themes within the main sequence, including figures of particular interest to American history (there are sections for John Brown, Jefferson Davis, and Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson, as well as for Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt). Some large themes were subdivided: the entry for 'America' had eight subsections, including 'American Ideals', 'The Melting Pot', 'The Union', and (the final grouping) 'Some Famous Phrases in American History'. (This subsection in fact contains a number of famous quotations: for example, Nathan Hale's assertion 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country',<sup>23</sup> and John Paul Jones's 'I have not yet begun to fight'.<sup>24</sup> There are also quotations which gave rise to key phrases such as *manifest destiny*.<sup>25</sup>)

<sup>22</sup> The Preface to the 1924 'new edition' (Benham 1924) explains that it is the first major new edition since 1907, although there had in the interim been 'several further editions' which, while they had some additions and minor improvements, had not been substantially revised, or indeed reset.

<sup>23</sup> Nathan Hale (1755–76), prior to his execution by the British for spying, 22 September 1776 (*ODQ* 2004).

<sup>24</sup> John Paul Jones (1747–92), when asked whether he had lowered his flag, as his ship was sinking, 23 September 1779 (*ODQ* 2004).

<sup>25</sup> John L. O'Sullivan (1813–95) on opposition to the annexation of Texas in 1845, 'A spirit of hostile interference against us . . . checking the fulfilment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions' (*ODQ* 2004).

### 8.4.3 Oxford Dictionary of Quotations<sup>26</sup>

The first reference to what was to become the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (ODQ) is found in the Oxford University Press Archives<sup>27</sup> for 1915, in a letter from R. M. Leonard, one of the London editors, to Humphrey Milford (Publisher, 1913–45): ‘What do you think of an Oxford Dictionary of Poetry Quotations (not foreign quotations) based on Oxford texts and the N.E.D.?’ (OP1167/008658: 23 June 1915).<sup>28</sup>

Leonard prescribed as a model a collection which he described as ‘a Yankee production six times as useful as any of the English books arranged under authors’ names’. The chosen volume was apparently the fifth edition of Hoyt and Ward’s *Cyclopaedia* (1883). He provided further details as to its excellences, and must have loaned a copy to Milford. This last can be deduced from a paragraph in Milford’s letter of the following month: ‘The index in this loathly Hoyt—returned herewith with thanks—is of course absolutely useless, not being alphabetical’ (OP1167/008658: 26 July 1915).<sup>29</sup> Milford was, despite this, interested enough to ask if Leonard could provide a ‘shortish’ specimen, but if he did it has not come down to us.

It is not until 1931 that we find the project being actively pursued, in a letter from the then Secretary, R. W. Chapman, probably to Kenneth Sisam. In this letter, he gives a picture of what they would want their collection to contain, and it is clear that they had already extended the original suggestion of 1915:

What one wants is to look for things off the beaten track of Bartlett etc., particularly (1) the really familiar things in other languages like *Non tali auxilio* [a tag from the *Aeneid* which in full means ‘Neither the hour requires such help, nor those defenders’], (2) modern quotations that have not yet got into the books (OP1167/008658: 10 November 1931).

The next stage was for Sisam to request a memorandum on the qualities and defects of the current Bartlett, and indeed on any other current collections. He raised the question of how to deal with major sources such as Shakespeare and the Bible. Chapman thought that to keep matters under control it would be necessary to limit themselves to what was ‘eminently *quotable* and constantly quoted’, rather than what was familiar. The Classics were also a consideration: if

<sup>26</sup> This section is based on an article which first appeared in *Dictionaries* Vol. 25 (see Knowles 2004). It is reprinted with the permission of the Dictionary Society of North America.

<sup>27</sup> All material from the Archives is reprinted by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press.

<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that the initial suggestion was for poetry quotations: a reversion to the tradition of the earliest collections.

<sup>29</sup> It is not clear what Milford meant by this since the keyword index is in expectable alphabetical sequence. Possibly what he wanted was an index of quotations ranked by the first significant word.



the book were not to be limited to English, it would seem illiterate to give ‘a mere handful of classical tags’. There were grounds for a more generous selection: English authors habitually used ‘a great many classical quotations; which most people can’t find by going to Lewis & Short or the like.’ It would however be essential to give translations. The upshot of this was that another of the London editors, Frederick Page, was set to produce an account of the competition.

This memorandum identified the main competitors as *Bartlett’s Familiar Quotations*, then in its tenth edition, W. Gurney Benham’s *Benham’s Book of Quotations, Proverbs and Household Words* (1912), and Hoyt’s *New Cyclopaedia of Practical Quotations* (revised and enlarged by Kate Louise Roberts in 1922).

Page pointed out that dictionaries of quotations could be divided into three groups: those organized by author, those organized by subject, and those with the quotations arranged alphabetically by their first words. Author-organized texts could be further subdivided into those in which the author entries were ordered chronologically (as in *Bartlett*) and those in which they were organized alphabetically (as in *Benham*).

The memorandum combines description and recommendation. Page came down strongly on the side of a subject-organized text, provided, as he said, that the subjects were what he called ‘real subjects’. At least three of the collections he examined seemed to him to fail on this count. His assessment is worth quoting, because it reflects both an appropriate description between a subject and a keyword, and an unconscious assumption that the editor’s world view is to be shared by any prospective reader:

They have subjects such as ‘Presbyterians, ‘Sheep’, ‘Shepherds’, and these are not real subjects, though of course they are keywords. ‘Presbyterian’ is not a real subject, because the normal man can get through a long life respectably without ever having to think about Presbyterianism connotatively, but he cannot get through it without having to think about Puritanism and Clericalism as tendencies (OP1167/008658: 24 November 1931).

As a result, quotations such as ‘New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large’ (Milton), ‘ ’Twas Presbyterian true blue’ (Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras*), and ‘There was a Presbyterian cat’ (from an anonymous song) would appear under headings like ‘Priests, or Clergy, or Puritanism, or Sectarianism, anyhow something very general’.

To illustrate his second example, Page adopted the persona of a prosaic-minded person, ignorant of Tennyson’s poetry, who had to reply to the Commercial Travellers’ toast at a Staff dinner. ‘I want to bring in that clever little thing I heard Mr. Williams say once about “Quotations five words long.”’ He had supposedly heard Charles Williams (with whom in real life Page shared an office) quote Tennyson’s lines:

Jewels five-words-long  
 That on the stretch'd fore-finger of time  
 Sparkle forever (Tennyson *The Princess* 1847: iii.52).

However, his unpoetic nature made it impossible for him to retain the jewel metaphor, and he would have been more likely to look for the passage under Shakespeare than Tennyson. The only hope would be a subject-organized book which had a section on Quotations.

The memorandum was considered by two senior figures in the Oxford University Press, R. W. Chapman (Secretary to the Delegates, 1920–45) and Kenneth Sisam (then Assistant Secretary). Chapman, who described himself as 'an impenitent authorian', was unimpressed by Page's imaginary quotation-seeker. He annotated the memorandum: 'Very ingenious; but nine times out of ten I should not think of what subject heading to turn to. I think it too difficult for human power' (OP1167/008658: 30 November 1931).

Sisam, on the other hand, did not favour author organization, pointing out specific disadvantages (OP1167/008658: 27 November 1931). How were anonyms to be dealt with? And in any case, if he knew an author, he could look up a concordance. Subjects, he believed, were matters for an index rather than dictionary arrangement. He was, however, unable to propose a solution to the overall question of arrangement. He wanted good indexes of subjects, authors, and keywords, to a quotations text in alphabetical order, 'arranged on some practical principle'.

From the perspective of the twenty-first century, it may be thought that what Sisam wanted was the accessibility of an online text. The sequential ordering was less important to him than the ability to approach individual items from a number of starting points. But, in 1931, the only choice was to decide on a formula that would work for hard copy, and Chapman's views carried the day. The *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* would be (as it is today) organized alphabetically by author. It is worth noting here that this was part of a comparatively radical proposal: apart from Benham (see 8.4.1), those earlier collections which had been organized by author had been ordered according to chronology or (in the case of the 1852 *Familiar Quotations*) the number of items quoted under a particular entry.

The *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* as published in 1941 can be seen as marking a watershed. In many ways, it was a traditional collection, with a solid literary and classical base. As with Benham's earlier collection, the A–Z author sequence was augmented by further sections.<sup>30</sup> The Contents List was broken

<sup>30</sup> In later editions they were absorbed into a single A–Z sequence, with sections such as 'Ballads' and 'Bible' being given effective authorial status.

down into 'Authors Writing in English', 'Book of Common Prayer', 'Holy Bible', 'Anonymous', 'Ballads', 'Nursery Rhymes', 'Quotations from Punch', and 'Foreign Quotations'.<sup>31</sup>

There were few, if any, scientists, and few quotations relating to contemporary politics. Winston Churchill, with one quotation (from 1906<sup>32</sup>), was outranked by his father Lord Randolph. Franklin Roosevelt was in (for his coinage of 'New Deal'<sup>33</sup>), but not Neville Chamberlain or Stanley Baldwin. There was in fact very little to indicate the approach of the Second World War, other than Hermann Göring's comment in a broadcast of 1936, 'Guns will make us powerful, butter will only make us fat' (ODQ 2004). There was, however, some material which reflected popular culture: soldiers' songs from the First World War, and advertising slogans for the health-giving properties of Brighton ('Dr Brighton') and Pears' soap.

#### 8.4.4 Mencken

One year after the publication of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, in 1942, H. L. Mencken's *A New Dictionary of Quotations* appeared in America. A copious collection, organized by topic rather than author, this looked back to collections of the nineteenth century in having (according to the Preface) originated as the Editor's personal compilation:

This book is based upon a collection of quotations begun in 1918 for my own use. Its purpose was to keep track of sayings that, for one reason or another, interested me and seemed worth remembering, but that, also for one reason or another, were not in the existing quotation-books (Mencken 1942: 'Preface' p. v).

He went on to explain that as the collection grew steadily, it was further augmented by contributions from friends. Then, following an invitation to publish, it became necessarily also to admit 'some of the common stock of other such works'.

Mencken's *Dictionary* is a substantial publication, but uniquely among the major dictionaries of quotations it has no keyword index. Mencken explained that the decision to exclude had to do with the space that such an index must take up: the index in Stevenson's *Book of Quotations* (1934) occupied 202 pages out of its nearly 50,000 entries.

<sup>31</sup> Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and German were given in the language of origin as well as in translation, while Russian, Norwegian, and Swedish appeared only in translation.

<sup>32</sup> Winston Churchill, 'It cannot in the opinion of His Majesty's Government be classified as slavery in the extreme acceptance of the word without some risk of terminological inexactitude' (ODQ 2004).

<sup>33</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, 'I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people' (ODQ 2004).

As an alternative to a keyword index, Mencken chose to organize his material according to minutely divided subject groupings. As he explained: 'I have not hesitated to make nice distinction, e.g., between Ascetic and Asceticism, Thinking and Thoughts' (Mencken 1942: 'Preface'). There were separate sections for virtually synonymous terms, for example 'Doctor' and 'Physician', 'Freedom' and 'Liberty'. His explanation that someone looking for 'Physician, heal thyself' would—in his view—naturally turn to 'Physician', while someone looking for 'Who shall decide when doctors disagree' would reach for 'Doctor', indicates that to a considerable degree he was using the subject-heading as a keyword indicator.

Each section has a cross-reference paragraph to related sections, and when these are looked at in detail it becomes all the more clear how Mencken expected his cross-references to make a keyword index unnecessary. At 'Freedom', the cross-reference paragraph runs: 'See also Democracy, Fish, French, Government, Health, Ignorance, Kosciuszko (Tadeusz), Liberty, Mind, Prohibition, Slave, Society' (Mencken 1942). At 'Liberty', the paragraph is even more extensive. What this meant was that quotations for which the primary category was, for example, 'Kosciuszko' or 'Voltaire', also conveyed importantly the concept (and probably the actual word) of another subject-heading, such as Freedom ('And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciuszko fell') or Liberty ('Voltaire did more for human liberty than any other man who ever lived or died').

## 8.5 SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The second edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* was published in 1953, and in the changes made it is possible to see the book moving closer to what we would expect today. In order to facilitate reference, sections such as Anonymous, Ballads, Bible, and Punch were incorporated into the main A–Z sequence. Key quotations from figures of the Second World War were included, and material from popular culture was retained (when it was thought still likely to be quoted) and augmented. Nevertheless, there was still wariness about recent material: the records show an anxious debate among the compilers about the inclusion of quotations from the dramatist Christopher Fry.<sup>34</sup> Suggestions ranged from eight to none, and the question was finally referred to higher authority for a verdict. The result was that Christopher Fry did not appear in the *Dictionary* until the third edition of 1979. For much of the second half of the twentieth century, the

<sup>34</sup> This was in 1949, the year of Fry's play *The Lady's Not For Burning*.

dictionary market was dominated by *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* (in America) and the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (in Great Britain). Names like Hoyt and Benham were forgotten.

In the 1990s, a clutch of fresh names was to appear: the *Columbia Dictionary of Quotations* (1993), the *Collins Dictionary of Quotations* (1995), the *Chambers Dictionary of Quotations* (1996), and Random House's *Quotationary* (1998). The beginning of the new century added to the list the *Times Book of Quotations* (2000), and the *Encarta Book of Quotations* (2000). Meanwhile, new editions of *Bartlett* appeared in 1993 and 2003, and of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* in 1992, 1999, and 2004.

These were all substantial collections, typically containing between 18,000 and 20,000 quotations. Some (*Collins*, *Chambers*, and *Encarta*) were organized by author; others (*Columbia* and the *Times Book*) by subject. They were further differentiated from each other, and from earlier collections, by the level of extra information offered to the reader.

The increased rate of publication in this area is indicated by the Bodleian Library catalogue. In August 2005, a search for titles containing the keyword 'quotations' returned 1,279 hits. Of the titles accessed, over half were published in or after 1950.

## 8.6 CONCLUSION

In the twenty-first century, we too, like Henry Bohn (see 8.3.7 above), could speak of 'a perfect deluge of Quotation books'. Instead, however, we may take the opportunity of looking back over the past two hundred years, and considering how far dictionaries of quotations have changed—and how far they have remained the same. Their genesis, as we have seen, lay in two areas: organized collections of extracts offered as rhetorical models, and personal commonplace books. Beyond these, we have a category of 'hard words' dictionaries: publications intended to gloss and decode tags and phrases from classical and modern European languages, and later also to record and explain English idioms.

The earliest collections were exclusively from literary sources, and this literary tradition continued well into the late twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, there were a few examples of material from popular culture or non-western sources, and more representation of political issues of the day,

<sup>35</sup> When in the early 1990s, plans for an *Oxford Dictionary of Scientific Quotations* were made, part of the rationale was that the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (then in its third edition) did not cover this material.

but in the main a dictionary of quotations still reflected overwhelmingly the traditional classical curriculum, and the work of ‘the best authors.’ Material covered might include proverbs, sayings, and phrases, often presented in supplementary sections to the main sequence of (literary) quotations. The key point was that the words in question were assumed to be well known: the adjectives ‘famous’ and ‘familiar’ occur frequently in subtitles and prefaces.

There was, however, a gradual shift in regular use. As well as allowing a reader to identify a quotation or tag, or offering a rhetorical model for writing on a particular topic, a dictionary of quotations could quite simply be seen as a source of material to be borrowed wholesale: either classical tags<sup>36</sup> or English quotations.<sup>37</sup>

Today we take it for granted that a dictionary of quotations is as likely to be used as the source of a pithy and apposite quotation for a speech or presentation, as it is to offer us the attribution for such a quotation as used by someone else. The range of books offered to us may make the work of Bysshe, Bohn, Benham, Hoyt, and others seem very distant. Nevertheless, as the chronological account in this chapter has shown, key features in current dictionaries of quotations can be traced back to the earliest examples of the genre.

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OP1167/008658. K. Sisam letter, 27 November 1931.

OP1167/008658. R. W. Chapman letter, 30 November 1931.

<sup>36</sup> An extreme (if fictional) example of this is found in R. S. Surtees’s *Handley Cross* (1854), in a letter from Mr Bowker to Mr Jorrocks: ‘What he [the Editor] wants is real sporting accounts of runs with superior establishments like yours. . . . If you would have the kindness to furnish off-hand accounts, he would spice them up with learning and Latin. He has Moore’s ‘Dictionary of Quotations’, and can come the classical quite as strong as the great Mr. Pomponius Ego.’

<sup>37</sup> Kate Louise Roberts, in the Preface to her revision of Hoyt’s *Cyclopaedia*, refers to a speaker or writer ‘seeking enrichment of his own ideas’ (Roberts 1923). William Gurney Benham, in the Preface to his *Cassell’s Book of Quotations*, says, ‘Passages have not been included unless they have either proved their right by actual and effective quotation, or have seemed likely to be of general acceptability and usefulness, as “words which come home to men’s business and bosoms”’ (Benham 1924).

# ENGLISH ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

*Anatoly Liberman*

## 9.1 THE PLACE OF ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES AMONG OTHER DICTIONARIES, AND THEIR MAIN FEATURES

UNLIKE dictionaries of synonyms, place names, or Shakespeare's language (to give a few random examples), etymological dictionaries are not always easy to isolate, because in this area the user cannot be guided by titles. At present, a line or two on word origins appear in entries in nearly all 'thick' dictionaries of Modern English. To make their products more attractive, editors and publishers even add the adjective *etymological* to their titles. The best-known of such misnomers is perhaps *Chambers' Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. None of them deserves our attention here.

To complicate matters, some books are close to being etymological dictionaries, though they are called something else. For example, in H. Fox Talbot's *English Etymologies* (1847) words are not arranged alphabetically (there is only an index), so that his work is rather an early example of the type known as 'word histories', but, in principle, it is a dictionary. Very numerous, too, are dictionaries of English words going back to Greek and Latin. At a time when Sanskrit was identified with Proto-Indo-European, Thomas Bellot published a book with a characteristic title, *Sanskrit Derivations of English Words* (1856). Those works are real dictionaries, but they will be left out of the present survey because of their limited purpose; some information on them can be found in Liberman (1998).

Etymology depends on comparison of words, but until the discovery of sound laws the forms compared in learned works were chaotic. The idea of a (or the) protolanguage, unsupported by a knowledge of language families, yielded few practical results. For a long time etymologists were busy deriving the words of English from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Parallel with that trend, a fashion for looking on Celtic as the main source of the vocabulary of European languages set in. Today we have a more realistic notion of such matters; as a result, our compendia of Indo-European incorporate minidictionaries of Old English and, to some extent, of Modern English words (Walde-Pokorny 1929–32—abbreviated as *WP* below). Fick can also sometimes be consulted with profit. Since English is one of many languages dealt with in them, they will not be discussed here.

Two types of etymological dictionaries exist: dogmatic and analytic. Despite the tremendous progress etymology has made since the Middle Ages, and especially since the 1850s, the derivation of many words remains unknown, uncertain, or debatable. Even the origin of presumably onomatopoeic and sound-symbolic words poses numerous difficulties. The author of a dogmatic etymological dictionary will state what is uncontroversial, that is, give the date of the earliest occurrence in texts, list the secure cognates, point to the lending language when the source of the borrowing has been ascertained, and repeat the solution that has the support of the most distinguished scholars—or mention the fact that the cognates and the source remain partly undiscovered. In the worst-case scenario, the word will be dismissed with the verdict ‘of unknown origin’. By contrast, the author of an analytic etymological dictionary will represent the history of research (the origin of few English words has never been discussed), summarize rather than allude to the existing hypotheses, refer to the scholarly literature, and leave the reader with an informed opinion. English etymological dictionaries have been dogmatic for more than two centuries, and the science of etymology as it is presented there is anonymous. Some solutions are excellent, but no credit is given to the people who offered them.

This situation contrasts sharply with what we find outside English etymological lexicography. Analytic dictionaries have been written for most Indo-European languages, dead and living. In the English-speaking world, publishers are content with bringing out ever-new volumes whose compilers recycle the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the last edition of Skeat (1910), and a few easily available dictionaries of Latin and French. A stream of articles and books on Indo-European, Germanic, and English linguistics passes them by. I hope that the bibliography of English etymology we have put together at Minnesota (it is due to appear from the University of Minnesota Press in 2008) will be a first step towards the production of an analytic dictionary of English etymology. At great lexicographical centres, some work is



being done on the most recent words (though they more often than not end up in the ‘origin uncertain’ category) and borrowings, but neither the publications containing fresh ideas on such ‘inconspicuous’ words as *busy*, *cub*, *girl*, *key*, *man*, *understand*, *wife*, *yet*, and so forth, nor the contributions that Murray’s team and Skeat missed, have exercised an influence on the latest dictionaries, except when they, more or less by chance, have caught the editors’ attention and been copied uncritically. The lack of interest in the achievements of etymological research has gone hand in hand with loyalty to the ‘dogmatic’ genre and resulted in attempts to pass off repackaging as innovation.

## 9.2 ENGLISH ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES FROM JOHN MINSHEU TO HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD (1617–1859/1865)

The earliest etymological dictionary of a new West-European language was of Dutch (Kiliaen 1599). Entries in it seldom exceed three lines. Kiliaen gives the source of the borrowing, lists a few cognates, and refrains from indulging in fantasies. In the history of Dutch lexicography, his *Etymologicum* . . . occupies a most important place, but its format did not serve as a model for the authors of the first etymological dictionaries of English and other languages, who tried to discover the ultimate origins of words; this usually meant a search for Hebrew, Greek, and Latin etymons. Along the way, they examined ‘look-alikes’ in various languages and every now and then spotted legitimate congeners as we understand them. At that time, everybody’s guess about the derivation of a word was taken seriously, even when rejected.

### 9.2.1 *John Minsheu*

Minsheu’s dictionary (1617), with which our story begins, is not an example of ‘a pure genre’, for it is a blend of a polyglot etymological dictionary and an incomplete etymological synonym finder in ten languages other than English; hence the plural in the title *Guide into the Tongues*. No other dictionary of English published before Samuel Johnson has been the object of such attention on the part of philologists. Minsheu’s ways of collecting words, his sources, his etymologies (viewed against the background of Renaissance scholarship and from the modern perspective), and his influence on later lexicographers, have been investigated with great thoroughness. In addition to sections in several surveys, for example see Rosier (1961), Schäfer

(1973) (along with his introductory article in the 1978 reprint), and especially Noland (1987), where references to other works dealing with Minsheu will be found. Opinions about the worth of this dictionary vary, though most researchers praise its scope and even some of the etymologies. Only Schäfer, who asked the question ‘scholar or charlatan?’ came to the conclusion that Minsheu was little more than a studious plagiarist. (Schäfer’s tone is not so harsh in the introductory article to the reprint, but there he had to conform to the requirements of the genre.) I tend to agree with Noland’s positive assessment of the dictionary. Minsheu was not an original thinker. In explaining the origin of words that we call Germanic, he depended on Kiliaen (1599) and in the second edition (1627) on Helvigius (1620). He was misled by the idea that most words of English could be traced to Hebrew, but he distinguished proven and plausible etymologies (as he viewed them) from putative ones, and, in assembling the ideas of his more talented predecessors, from Varro and Isidor to near contemporaries, had the good sense not to insist on a one-and-only solution as incontrovertible. His historical excursus and anecdotes about the derivation of words have not lost their interest to this day. It is fair to say that his suggestions laid the foundation of English etymology for more than two centuries: those who followed in his footsteps invariably began their discussion by accepting or objecting to his solutions.

### 9.2.2 S. Skinner

The next etymological dictionary of English was written by Skinner (1671). Unlike Minsheu, who attempted to trace every word to Hebrew, Skinner preferred to seek the origins of English in Greek, and, although his method cannot satisfy us, he restored more ties among words than Minsheu did, because he usually stayed within Indo-European. Many of his proposals are sensible. Thus he compared *bed* (Germ. *Bett*) with the German verb *bähen* ‘warm up’ (transitive). Some modern researchers find this comparison valid. However, none of them refers to Skinner (or perhaps his source), for post-Bopp-Rask-Grimm scholarship usually treated early hypotheses on the origin of words as fiction and ignored them. Skinner’s ‘Anglo-Saxon’ is better than Minsheu’s, because he had access to Somner’s 1659 *Dictionarium*. Kiliaen and Helvigius were equally important to Skinner and Minsheu, and Skinner subscribed to the view that Dutch was of a particular antiquity, but quite a few ideas were his own. Skinner’s *Etymologicum* . . . appeared posthumously and contains numerous additions by the editor T[homas] H[enshaw]. In the introduction to his dictionary, Samuel Johnson acknowledged his indebtedness to Skinner (this often-cited acknowledgment bears witness to the lack of progress made by English historical linguistics between 1671 and 1755), but references to Skinner in notes written by

amateurs are common more than a hundred years after Johnson. *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* . . . (Anonymous 1689) is an abridged translation of *Etymologicum* . . . into English by a book pirate, whose identity remains unknown.

### 9.2.3 *Franciscus Junius*

Like Skinner, Franciscus Junius died before his English etymological dictionary came out. We owe its publication to Edward Lye, a philologist in his own right. He edited Junius's *Etymologicum Anglicanum* and followed Henshaw's example: many entries contain his additions in square brackets. Unfortunately, he believed that certain Germanic words were contractions of Greek words. Junius also looked on Greek as the source of some part of the English vocabulary, but his analysis was subtler and more realistic. Besides this, he knew Gothic and Old English very well and must have had a fairly good command of Danish and Icelandic. Neither Minsheu nor Skinner was aware of the value of the Scandinavian languages for English etymology, and their familiarity with Old English ('Anglo-Saxon') did not go beyond word-lists.

In connection with Junius, it may be useful to assess the value of the oldest etymological dictionaries of English and, by implication, of Dutch, German, and French to modern philologists. Kiliaen, Minsheu, and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century researchers, in some way, belong to our epoch of etymological studies. In this area, the greatest divide is between the Middle Ages and the postmedieval period. Medieval scholars invented derivations to justify the word's 'true' meaning. Our goal is to trace the word's earliest form and find out how it correlates with meaning. We differ from Minsheu's contemporaries in that our method of discovery is more reliable. Knowledge of sound correspondences liberates us from a fruitless search for chance similarities, but it often fails to show the way to the one correct etymon. In etymology, a good deal depends on finding a cogent semantic parallel or well-hidden cognate, that is, on luck. A brilliant association may outweigh months of painstaking digging. Old historical linguists derived one language from another (for example, Latin from Greek and German from Gothic) and were at their weakest when they looked for the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin etymons of words that did not even have related forms in those languages. But while grappling with isolated words and such as were attested (and possibly coined) late, we have few advantages over them.

All this has a direct bearing on our evaluation of Junius's dictionary. His observations, especially when he compared English and his native Dutch, are useful in tracing the origin of the words with no known antecedents, and many of his other conjectures also turned out to be long-lived. For example, he was of the opinion that *flatter* goes back to Latin *lactare*, from \**flactare* 'dupe, entice', or to

*flat* (adj.), because flatterers ‘smoothen down’ those, with a flat hand, as it were, with whom they would curry favour. Both derivations have little to recommend them, but reference to *flat* can be found even in some modern books. Junius derived the noun *trot* ‘old woman, beldame, hag’ from the homonymous verb, for a trot is ‘such a one as hath trotted long up and down’ (in his explanations Junius occasionally used English). The connection is hardly direct, but, most probably, *trot* (v.) and *trot* (sb.) do go back to the same etymon, so that a trot is indeed a heavy treader. The dictionary is full of such astute remarks.

The same cannot be said of Lemon (1783), whose dictionary, as the title page informs us, was compiled from the works of many etymologists. Lemon’s greatest ambition was to discover the Greek etymons of English words. When Greek provided no material for his suggestions, he turned to Latin and Germanic. Neither Skinner nor Junius was above denigrating their opponents (Skinner is especially vituperative). Lemon also often felt superior to his predecessors. ‘Minsh[eu] is not worth quoting’ is his verdict in the entry *heifer*. He ridiculed Skinner, who traced *-bane* in *henbane* to *bean* (because the Greek name of this plant means ‘pig bean’), and dismissed derivations that turned out to be half-Greek, half-English—but his own solutions are usually wide of the mark. Of the oldest etymological dictionaries of English, Lemon’s presents the least interest even as a document of his epoch.

Rask and Grimm’s ideas reached England and the United States with a delay of more than half a century and did not win the day at once. While German researchers were looking for the roots of Indo-European, their English colleagues kept writing little notes on English words of French origin interspersed with hypotheses of the type that the verb *sew* is probably derived from the Greek name of the pig, ‘because the bristles or hairs of swine were used to point threads for *sewing* with. *Sow* (a pig) is from the same root’ (Sullivan 1834; the quotation is from the 1872 edition, the only one I have seen). They followed or fought Horne Tooke, and ‘correct[ed] the errors made by Samuel Johnson’. The last statement belongs to H. Fox Talbot, mentioned in 9.1 above. He found Thomson ‘a remarkably acute philologist, and his work . . . of great utility’. Very little changed until Skeat, Sweet, and Murray came on the scene.

#### 9.2.4 John Thomson

‘The remarkably acute philologist’ John Thomson brought out his dictionary in 1826. He was Private Secretary to the Marquis of Hastings, in India. Probably a self-taught man in matters of linguistics, he did not differ from many other authors who dabbled in etymology and published books on the history of words. As long as etymology lacked method, all conclusions by its practioners remained

guesswork. Some guesses were inspired (like Skinner's *bed*–*bähen* or Junius's *trot*, v.,–*trot*, sb.), others silly (thus Thomson derived *bed* from Swed. *bida* 'stay, dwell'). A typical example of this mishmash will be found in the etymological part of Webster's 1818 dictionary. Thomson's solutions are no better. In a way, they are worse, for Webster had a good command of two dozen languages, and the forms he cited were right (to the extent that contemporary dictionaries could be trusted), whereas Thomson's lists, from Swedish (which he, following an outdated tradition, called Gothic) to Chaldaic, are unreliable. Most of his entries are short. Unlike Skinner and Junius, Thomson wrote a dogmatic dictionary, without references to either his predecessors or his sources. The introduction to his dictionary appeared in book form. The entry quoted below is one of the longest in Thomson's *Etymons* ... and gives an idea of his approach to the history of words.

- (1) GOBLIN, s. an elf or fairy, an apparition; F. *gobelin*; T. *gobold*, *kobolt*; B. *kabouter*; L. B. *covalis*, *cobalinus*, *gobalinus*, were used nearly in the same sense, although perhaps of different origin. G. *gumme*; Swed. *gubbe* was an old man or elf, and *Tumpte Gubbe*, our Hob or Hope Goblin; for with us *hope* and *tump* signify a field. *Cov*, *cob*, signifies metal, with the miners of Bohemia, and *Cobal* is an elf frequenting mines.

### 9.2.5 Hensleigh Wedgwood

For decades, until the publication of Skeat's dictionary in 1882, the most active English etymologist was Hensleigh Wedgwood. He wrote books on various subjects, including geometry and 'the origin of the understanding' (as he put it) and gave some thought to the theory of evolution. Wedgwood sought the beginning of human language in interjections, and many of his derivations are reasonable. The weak side of his preoccupations comes less to the fore in his numerous articles, which appeared in a steady stream year after year in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (the first of them dates back to 1842), because he chose to discuss words that either resembled onomatopoeias or could be thought of as sound-imitative. Even in English, which is indebted for its vocabulary to so many languages, the number of words reducible historically to sound-imitative and sound-symbolic complexes is unexpectedly high. But such complexes are not necessarily interjections, and when the whole vocabulary of English has to be subjected to etymological analysis and it turns out that most of it goes back to expressive cries (for example, *huge* appears to be a derivative of *ugh*, and *plunge* a direct representation of the sound made by

a fall, as though both of them were not borrowed from Old French), the results cannot be taken seriously. To be sure, Wedgwood was unable to find onomatopoeic roots for all words, but the focus on them in his dictionary is unmistakable.

At one time, Wedgwood was the designated etymologist of the Society's dictionary, that is, of what became the *OED*. It would have been a disaster if that idea had materialized, but long before the appearance of the first fascicle Murray must have given up the initial plan. Wedgwood's dictionary, which ran into four editions (the changes from 1859 to 1888 are insignificant), had a mixed press. The reviews written for popular journals extolled Wedgwood and quoted admiringly his least convincing explanations, but serious scholars (Henry Sweet and W. Dwight Whitney among them) did not conceal their surprise at Wedgwood's disregard of sound laws and historical facts. However, George P. Marsh hailed the dictionary as an important achievement and undertook an American edition (only one volume, the letters A–D, with his additions and corrections, was published). Even Anthony L. Mayhew, notorious for the abrasive tone of his writings, recognized Wedgwood's talent for stringing together verbs and nouns from English, Latin, and Finnish, for example, so bafflingly similar in form and meaning that one feels reluctant to attribute their convergence to chance. His etymology of *huge* (the first sample) is below criticism. Wedgwood traced *hug* and *huge* to the same root. *Flatter* (the second sample) is more interesting, and some of the connections he makes are real. The origin of *huge* and *flatter* is still 'unknown'.

- (2) **Huge.** The effect of cold and fear or horror on the human frame being nearly the same, the interjection *ugh!* is used as an exclamation as well of cold as of horror and disgust. Hence *ug* (the root of *ugly*, *ugsome*, &c.), in the sense of shudder, feel horror at; ON. *ugga*, to fear; Sc. to *ug*, OE. to *houge*, to feel horror at; Bret. *heuge*, aversion, disgust. See *Ugly*. The meaning of *huge* then is, so great as to cause terror.

The knight himself even trembled at his fall,

So *huge* and horrible a mass it seemed.—F.Q.

In the same way Bohem. *hruza*, horror, shudder, also a great number, a fearful number.

- (3) **To Flatter.** The wagging of a dog's tail is a natural image of the act of flattering or fawning on one. Thus we have Dan. *logre*, to wag the tail; *logre for een*, to fawn on one; G. *wedeln*, to wag the tail, and E. *wheelde*, to gain one's end by flattery. ON. *fladra* signifies both to wag the tail and to flatter. G. *fladdern*, *flattern*, to flutter, Swiss *fladelen*, to flatter; Du. *vledderen*, *fledderen*, to flutter, flap the wings; *fletteren*, *fletsen*, to flatter; *vleyed-steerten*,

to wag the tail, *vleyden*, to flatter. The Fr. *flatter* seems to come from a different source, having originally signified to lick, whence we readily pass to the idea of stroking an animal on the one hand or of flattery on the other.

Ore donez le chael à *flater* [to lapyn]

Qy leche la rosée [licket the deu] de le herber,

give the puppy (water) to lap.—Bibelsworth [sic], in Nat. Antiq. 153. Sp. *flotar*, to stroke or rub gently, Fr. *flatter*, to pat, stroke, caress, flatter. *Flatter un cheval, un chien avec la main*, to pat a horse or dog. Breg. *floda*, to caress, cajole. Compare Sicilian *liccári*, to lick, to flatter—Biundi; Prov. *le~ar*, to lap, lick, flatter.

When Skeat's dictionary appeared, Wedgwood (1803–91) was seventy-nine years old. However disappointed he may have felt at being upstaged, he did not concede defeat. His polemical book (Wedgwood 1882) contains an insightful criticism of his rival, to which Skeat, a tireless polemicist, never responded. Skeat had a low opinion of Wedgwood's scholarship but accepted many of his suggestions. Above, I noted that we need not look on Skinner and Junius's works as mere exhibits in the museum of etymology. The same is true of Wedgwood's dictionary. Everybody now knows that regular sound correspondences are the basis of historical linguistics and that various processes disrupt sound laws. However, we can afford to read old books impartially, even dispassionately, profiting by their ingenuity and ignoring what we understand to be wrong. Wedgwood did not realize that his intuitive etymologizing and the comparative method were incompatible, but the Neo-Grammarians, in turn, were not aware of the limitations of their algebra. Although Wedgwood's dictionary is hopelessly outdated, his ideas on obscure English words without established cognates are often worth salvaging.

### 9.2.6 Eduard Müller

It will be recalled that the last instalment of Wedgwood's dictionary appeared in 1865. That same year the first fascicle of Eduard Müller's (or Mueller's) *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache* came out. Work on it was completed in 1867. Müller's entries are short but solid; no flight of the imagination: only the main attested forms, indubitable cognates, cautious conclusions, and a few references to the scholarly literature. These features appealed to Skeat, who never concealed his contempt for the amateurish publications on word origins that filled British periodicals. Müller cited with special regularity Jacob Grimm, Etmüller, and Diefenbach. Grimm's books are perennial classics, but Etmüller's (1851) and Diefenbach's (1851), both scholarly and useful, are almost forgotten,

and references to them are not devoid of interest. Between 1865 and 1878 (the date of Müller's second edition) Indo-European and Germanic philology made a gigantic leap forward, which Müller overlooked. In the second edition, he added numerous comments on Wedgwood's etymologies, but by that time there were greater authorities to turn to. Apart from the aforementioned references, a student of English will not find anything in Müller's dictionary that cannot be found elsewhere. The following entry is from the second edition:

- (4) **Huge.** *ungeheuer*; *altengl.* huge, hughe, houge, *nach* Mätzner 1, 131 *auch* hudge: *vgl. bei* Hal. 454 hogge: huge; 465 hudgy: thick, clumsy; hugy: huge; *man hat zur erklärung herbeigezogen* *ags.* hyge: mens; hygian, *altn.* hugaðr: audax; *s.* Dief. 2, 576; Wedgwood *geht natürlich wie bei* hug *zurück auf die interjection* ugh *und sagt (unter vergleichung des altengl. houge: to feel horror at, bret. heug: aversion disgust):* "the meaning of huge then is so great as to cause terror;" *an das nld. hoog, nhd. hoch, engl. high ist erst recht nicht zu denken, wenigstens nicht als unmittelbare grundlage; altrfr. findet sich* ahuge ("la hanste fud grosse é áhuge cume le suble as teissures" *bei* Bartsch 45, 36) *und daraus dürfte das engl. huge entstanden sein; jenes ahuge hoch, lang scheint aber zu dem altrfr. hoge höhe, hügel, norm. hogue, mlat. hoga zu gehören, welche* Diez 2, 346 *ableitet von dem altn. haugr hügeel, grabhügeel, ahd. hôhi höhe; war ahuge, ahoge ursprünglich etwa adverbiale bildung wie amont?*

In 1871, a book appeared that gave every indication of being the worst fully fledged etymological dictionary of English. Its authors were F. Ebener and E. M. Greenway Jr., but Greenway only translated Ebener's text from the German. It is incomprehensible how Trübner could have accepted such a manuscript for publication. The entries are long and full of non-existent forms and irrelevant matter. The etymologies are fanciful. Only the work's format is admirable, for the author(s) compiled a series of superb word indexes, a feature never replicated in any other English dictionary of etymology to this day. Unfortunately, this apparatus is a complete waste. In the reviews, indignation competed with mockery. Perhaps for this reason only the first volume came out. Ebener's models must have been Thomson and Wedgwood, for he too appended 'Principles of Scientific Etymology' to his dictionary.

A survey of pre-Skeat dictionaries would be incomplete without a mention of Charles Mackay's work. Like Ebener and Greenway's dictionary, it was published by Trübner, but with the redeeming phrase 'for the author'. Mackay wrote several books that testify to their author's good knowledge of northern English dialects and of the vocabulary of Early Modern English. But at some point in his career he decided that most English words had originated in Gaelic, and his compendium,



title and all, is the product of his Celtomania. He showed boundless ingenuity in cutting the nouns, adjectives, and verbs of English into Irish components. Mackay's familiarity with both branches of Modern Gaelic guaranteed the accuracy of the forms he cited, but the outcome of his operations is nearly always nonsense. In my experience, even the most bizarre etymological dictionaries have to be consulted, for it is hard to write several hundred pages without accidentally hitting the nail on the head. For example, Mackay (as far as I can judge) guessed correctly the origin of the word *curmudgeon*. In addition to this lucky hit, his book can be put to some use because he begins most entries with an overview of earlier scholarship (to reinforce his conclusions or to show how wrong his predecessors were).

### 9.3 WALTER W. SKEAT AND BEYOND

Modern English etymological lexicography begins with Skeat. In addition to epoch-making editions of Middle English authors, he brought out many books on the history of English and English dialects and on multifarious other subjects. The number of his short contributions to *Notes and Queries* and journals published all over the country probably exceeds two thousand. His archive did not survive, and what we know about him comes mainly from the autobiographical essay in his collection of notes *A Student's Pastime* (1896) and the obituaries; see a summary of Skeat's activities in Liberman (2005: 242–6); to the literature cited in note 25, p. 291, I can now add an obituary by B.E.C. 1913; my attempts to decipher the initials have been fruitless, but the author's name must be known to many, and Brewer (1996: 91–112; especially 91–105).

The first edition of Skeat's dictionary reached completion in 1882, two years before the publication of the A–B volume of the *OED*, and the etymologies in that volume are heavily indebted to Skeat despite the fact that Murray censured Skeat for rushing into print and bringing out a premature work. Skeat later modified many of his conclusions under the influence of Murray's and Bradley's reconstruction; yet he equally often refused to listen to them. Like the editors of the *OED*, Skeat built on the achievements of German philology, but the most important compendia did not exist while he was working on the first edition; references to them were added in due course. Skeat's main authority for Indo-European was Fick. All the etymological dictionaries of Germanic languages were also published later. German scholars chided Skeat for his insufficient familiarity

with their work. However, Skeat knew enough. His greatest strength was Middle English, and his education (classical languages) allowed him to navigate the history of English words with ease. No one can read everything, and no one is qualified to write a fully satisfactory English etymological dictionary single-handedly. Nonetheless, his dictionary is still the best we have.

The period between 1882 and 1910 (the year the fourth edition appeared) was one that saw the unprecedented flowering of Germanic studies, but Skeat's dictionary changed slowly. The first edition already contained 'Addenda and Corrigenda', and the dictionary was reprinted almost unaltered (down to 'Addenda and Corrigenda') until 1910. Only in his *Concise Etymological Dictionary* . . . (see Skeat 1882b) could he replace some outdated statements. The fourth edition is in many respects a new book: compromised etymologies disappeared, the caution born of old age, long experience—and the knowledge enhanced, among others, by the progress of the *OED*—resulted in some increase in noncommittal statements ('origin unknown'). References to German works became constant (but only to compendia and dictionaries), and the direction of borrowing between Celtic and English was reassessed (in 1882, Celtic was usually believed to be the lending language). However, the format remained the same, and so did most of the text.

Skeat's entries vary in length but follow the same format, as can be seen from the two samples quoted here from the fourth edition:

- (5) **GOSSAMER**, fine spider-threads seen in fine weather. (E.) ME. *gossomer*, Chaucer, C. T. 10573 (F 259). Spelt *gosesomer* by W. de Bibbesworth (13<sup>th</sup> cent.); Wright's *Vocab.* i. 147, last line; and in *Nominale*, ed. Skeat, 1. 625, we have 'a web of *gossomer*.' ME. *gossomer* is lit. *goose-summer*, and the prov. E. (Craven) name for gossamer is *summer-geese*; see Craven Gloss. It is named from the time of year when it is most seen, viz. during St. Martin's summer (early November); geese were eaten on Nov. 11 formerly. Cf. *Lowl. Sc.* (popular variant), *go-summer*, *Martinmas*. **β**. We may note, further, that Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.* gives *summer-cout*, i.e. *Summer-colt*, as the name of exhalations seen rising from the ground in hot weather; and the Yorkshire expression for the same is very similar. 'When the air is seen on a warm day to undulate, and seems to rise as from hot embers, it is said, "see how the *summer-colt* rides!"' *Whitby Glossary*, by F. K. Robinson; quoted from Marshall. **γ**. In the same *Whitby Glossary*, the word for 'gossamer' is entered as *summer-gauze*. This may be confidently pronounced to be an ingenious corruption, as the word *gauze* is quite unknown to Middle-English and to the peasants of Craven, who say *summer-geese*; see Carr's *Craven Glossary*, where the *summer-colt* and *summer-geese* are synonymous. **δ**. The G. *sommer*

means not only 'summer,' but also 'gossamer' in certain compounds. The G. name for 'gossamer' is not only *sommerfäden* (summerthreads [sic]), but also *mädchen-sommer* (Maiden-summer), *der-alte-Weiber-sommer* (the old women's summer) or *Mechtildesommer*; see E. Müller. It was simply known as *der fliegende sommer*, the flying summer (Weigand). This makes G. *sommer*=summer-film; and gives to *gossamer* the probable sense of 'goose-summer-film.' The connexion of the word with *summer* is further illustrated by the Du. *zomerdraden*, gossamer, lit. 'summer-threads,' and the Swed. *sommertråd*, gossamer, lit. 'summer-thread.' It may be observed that the spelling *gossamer* (with *a*) is certainly corrupt. It should rather be *gossomer* or *gossommer*.

- (6) **HUGE**, very great, vast. (F.) ME. *huge*, Chaucer, C. T. 2953 (A 2951); P. Plowman, B. xi. 242; Will. of Palerne, 2569. Oddly spelt *hogge*; 'an *hogge* geant;' Rob. of Brunne, tr. of Langtoft, p. 31, l. 17. The etymology is much disguised by the loss of an initial *a*, mistaken for the E. indef. article; the right word is *ahuge*. (The same loss occurs in ME. *avow*, now always *vow*, though this is not quite a parallel case, since *vow* has a sense of its own.)—OF. *ahuge*, huge, vast; a 12<sup>th</sup>-century word. In the account of Goliath in Les Livres des Rois, we find: 'E le fer de la lance sis cenx, e la hanste fud grosse e *ahuge* cume le suble as teissures' = and the iron of this lance weighed six hundred [hundred?] (shekels), and the shaft (of it) was great and *huge* as a weaver's beam; Bartsch, Chrestomathie Française, col. 45, l. 36. Also *ahoge*, *ahoje* (Godefroy). **β.** Of unknown origin; but perhaps connected with OHG. *irhöhen* (G. *erhöhen*), to exalt; and the OHG. *hōh*, Icel. *hār*, AS. *hēah*, high. Cf. Norw. *hauga*, to heap up; Icel. *haugr*, a hill, whence OF. *hoge*, *hogue*, a hill; Norm. dial. *hogu*, arrogant (Moisy). See **How** (2). **Der.** *huge-ly*; *huge-ness*, Cymb. i. 4. 137.

No one educated the British public in matters etymological more than Skeat. Brought up on Trench and Wedgwood, ready to turn for information to Horne Tooke and Skinner, Skeat's countrymen were for the first time given a dictionary that offered scholarly discussion, rather than moderately intelligent guesses, fanciful conjectures, and entertaining anecdotes. Although outdated, Skeat's opus remains our most authoritative etymological dictionary of English. The origin of English words has been studied intensively since 1910, but, as noted above, later etymological dictionaries rely mainly on Skeat and especially the *OED* (1884–1928). The anticlimactic history of post-1910/1928 English etymological lexicography reads like 'a poem without the hero' or 'Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.'

For the sake of completeness, Sheppard (1894) should be mentioned. The preface informs us that the ‘book has been compiled with a view to place [*sic*] within the reach of Indian students a cheap Dictionary of Derivations, which will meet to some extent the requirements of their examinations so far as Etymology is concerned.’ The author states that he ‘ha[s] freely availed [him]self of every work on the subject that [he] could lay hands on,’ but mentions only five popular books as his main sources.

The greatest authority on German etymology was Friedrich Kluge. His knowledge of Old and Middle English must have suggested to him the idea of writing an etymological dictionary of English. Contemporaneously with the sixth edition of his German dictionary, he wrote a booklet that appeared only in English in Frederick Lutz’s translation (*KL*). *English Etymology* (1899) purported to bring to light ‘the linguistic laws underlying the various changes of form and meaning’, allegedly neglected by Skeat, and ‘to serve as an introduction to the study of the historical grammar of English’. Instead, it offers brief etymologies with minimal discussion. The number of words selected for inclusion is small. Isolated words (those of neither Romance nor secure Germanic origin) were left out. Occasionally, Kluge tested the hypotheses that he preferred to suppress in his *Deutsches etymologisches Wörterbuch* and that never appeared in his later reworkings of it. Kluge’s name made the book rather popular, but outside Germany the reviews were courteously unenthusiastic.

For over half a century one of the most active etymologists was Ferdinand Holthausen. Although pre-eminently a specialist in Germanic, he often wrote about Greek and Latin words as well. His numerous articles and reviews appeared in the leading German journals. Holthausen compiled several etymological dictionaries of Old Germanic languages (see 9.4 below), and in 1917 he brought out a small etymological dictionary of Modern English. Entries in it are even shorter than in Kluge–Lutz: they contain the earliest attested form, pronunciation, and one or two cognates (for comparison, the information in *Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* is usually more detailed). The First World War was still raging, and German reviewers, even those who complained of the format, expressed their joy that Skeat’s *Concise* ... had at last been replaced. This was wishful thinking. However, the dictionary must have served its pedagogical purpose at home, for it ran into two more editions, the second of them appearing after another World War. Holthausen could have said a great deal about the origin of English words, and it is a pity that he did not.

The last etymological dictionary of English that bears a strong imprint of its author’s individuality is Weekley’s (1921; 1924 being the concise version). Weekley was the author of numerous books about words, all of them highly readable. Of

the linguistic subjects that he studied he was especially interested in two: the French element in English and proper names. Viewed as a whole, his dictionary is disappointing. Too often, instead of explaining the origin of a word, he offers a characteristic quotation and the solution from the *OED* or Skeat. Weekley also wrote several articles about English usage and the history of lexicography. In the entry *gun* he can be seen to advantage.

- (7) **gun**. First recorded 1339, 'instrumenta de latone, vocitata *gonnes*.' Perh. from female name *Gunhild*, recorded as applied to a mangonel, 'una magna balista de cornu quae vocatur *Domina Gunilda*' (1330–1). *Gunhild*, an ON. name of which both elements mean war (cf. *gonfalon*), was a common name, with pet-form *Gunna*, in ME., and there are many hist. guns which have names of the same type, e.g. the famous 15 cent. *Mons Meg* of Edinburgh. Cf. *Brown Bess*, *Long Tom*, Ger. *die faule Grete* (Brandenburg, 1414) and contemp. Ger. *Bertha* (Krupp), from the proprietress of the gun factory at Essen. A 6-inch howitzer now (Oct. 1918) collecting warloan subscriptions in Bethnal Green is called *Hungry Liz*. Connection with ON. *gunnr*, war, was even suggested by Lye (1743). Another, and less fanciful, suggestion is that *gun* is for OF. *engon*, var. of *engan*, device (cf. *gin*<sup>1</sup> for *engin*), a form recorded in the region (Mons) whence the first gun constructors came to England; cf. *Mons Meg* (v.s.), prob. made at Mons. Perh. both sources have contributed, the latter having helped to fix the already existing nickname. *Engan* is from OF. *enganner*, to trick, of unknown origin. It has a var. *engaigne*, missile, engine, whence early Sc. *ganyie*, missile, regularly used in association with *gun*. To *stick to one's guns*, *son of a gun*, are both naut. The *gunroom* was formerly used by the gunner and his mates. *Gunpowder tea* is so named from the granular appearance. *Gun-runner*, late 19 cent., was coined on *blockade-runner*.

Soon after the Second World War, Joseph Shipley brought out his *Dictionary of Word Origins* (1945). This ramble among English words is an embarrassment. Even the gentle and forgiving Stefán Einarsson, who reviewed it for *Modern Language Notes* (62, 1947: 47–50), wondered how such a book could appear in the series 'The Philosophical Library'. Still more surprising is its reprint in 1969. Another dilettante publication was Eric Partridge's *Origins ...* (1958). Partridge was no more qualified to write an etymological dictionary than Shipley. He did not learn the most elementary facts of historical phonetics, probably could not read German (for otherwise his main authority for that language would not have been M. O'C. Walsh's *A Concise German Etymological Dictionary*, an unpretentious little volume for students), and had only the vaguest idea of the Indo-European roots he cited. That his scholarship was thin (to put it mildly) is an

open secret, but reviewers preferred to hide behind friendly platitudes about Partridge's endearing qualities, unparalleled zeal, and elegant style.

In 1966, two English etymological dictionaries appeared: *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (ODEE) by C. T. Onions (and associates) and *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* by Ernst Klein. The first of these is a digest of the *OED*, and, if accepted on such terms, deserves the highest praise. Within the space of a thousand pages, we find a compressed history of English vocabulary. Lists of cognates contain little superfluous matter, except that words of Romance origin are supplied not only with Latin/French etymons but also with related forms in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. I must confess that this feature of the *OED*, repeated by Onions, has always seemed unnecessary to me. Unless an Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese form elucidates the etymology of an English word, what do we gain by knowing it? And what about the other Romance languages? I agree with Malkiel (1987: 186): '... only the forms that figure in the direct line of descent are worth mentioning'. The Proto-Germanic, Proto-Romance, and Proto-Indo-European etymons appear wherever possible. Brief mentions of phonetic peculiarities turn up with some regularity. The format is exemplary, but the fact remains that Onions and his team produced a work lacking in originality. Words whose history had recently been discussed with profit were proclaimed to be of unknown or uncertain origin if such was Murray's and Bradley's verdict. Deviations from the *OED* are exceptionally rare. The style of the *ODEE* can hardly be improved upon. It is only to be regretted that Onions included so many words about which he had nothing to say and great amounts of unexplained 'exotica' like *proa* 'Malay boat'. An authoritative digest of the *OED*, with emphasis on etymology and the development of meaning, is a useful book. An up-to-date analytic dictionary would have been even more useful. Consider Onions's entries for *huge* and *gossamer*:

- (8) **huge** hjūdʒ very large or bulky. XIII. ME. *huge, hoge, howge*, aphetic – OF. *ahuge, ahoge, ahoege*, of unkn. origin.
- (9) **gossamer** ɡɔːsəmər fine film spun by spiders esp. in autumn. XIV (*gosesomer, gossomer*). ¶The earliest forms suggest deriv. from GOOSE + SUMMER<sup>1</sup>, but the allusion is obscure, and is not cleared up by the synon. Continental forms, e.g. G. *altweiber-, mädchen-, Mechtildesommer* (old women's, girl's, Matilda's summer), G. *sommerfäden*, Sw. *sommartråd* (summer threads).

Not a single feature unites the *ODEE* and Klein's dictionary except the date of publication (1966). According to his introduction, Klein 'aimed' at presenting the history of European civilization and science through etymology as it had never

been presented before. To achieve that goal, he included numerous terms (for example, the names of medicines) and words of Semitic origin, many of which exist at best marginally in English. Klein's venture raises several objections.

First of all, etymological dictionaries are written to explain the origins of vocabulary; from a lexicographer's point of view, the origin of 'things' is important only in so far as it sheds light on the derivation of words. Second, it is not clear whether someone who had not published anything in any area of linguistics was qualified to work on an etymological dictionary, whether of English or Hebrew, or any other language. What matters is not the author's official record, but the fact that an etymologist needs early exposure to the countless 'laws' and riddles of phonetics, grammar, and semantics. A bird's-eye view of them will not suffice. And, lastly, in the second half of the twentieth century someone with the ambitions of Walter W. Skeat, or even Ernest Weekley, had to make it clear why he was taking upon himself the task of again describing the development of the entire vocabulary of English, from the asterisked heights of Proto-Indo-European to modern slang. If some interesting and neglected terms need a better explanation, it is more practical to bring out a volume devoted only to them.

A new comprehensive dictionary must of necessity contain the same 'common' words that every other lexicographer has tackled. Klein could only copy the information on these from other dictionaries. He cluttered his text with cognates that he found in Pokorny, never worrying about 'the direct line of descent'. This show of erudition contributed nothing to our understanding of English etymology, and when it came to specific problems—whether of Old and Middle English, Germanic, or broader Indo-European—Klein showed little familiarity with them and no awareness of the difficulties that confronted him. He often borrowed inadequate explanations from his predecessors and probably did not offer a single new solution. Nor did he know the old solutions except those that turned up in the most obvious sources. The *ODEE* shines with the reflected light of its great 'parent'. Klein has nothing to offer.

Several more etymological dictionaries of English appeared in the twentieth century. Robert K. Barnhart edited two of them (the full version (1988); the concise version (1995)). The 1988 edition emphasizes the fact that it is the first American dictionary of English etymology and claims to have introduced more precise dating than other 'comparable works'. Since English words have the same etymology on both sides of the Atlantic, the place of publication and the nationality of the team are irrelevant for such a project, especially because so-called Americanisms have been included in British dictionaries for some considerable time. As regards the other alleged important feature of Barnhart (1988), the search for antedatings at Oxford and by the staff of the *Middle English Dictionary*

has pushed the problem of the earliest occurrence of English words in texts into the background.

The well-written entries in both dictionaries are ‘dogmatic’ and the etymologies are unoriginal. Sometimes conflicting explanations are given but without references to the sources. The concise version does not differ from the full one, except in length. Neither marks any progress in etymological research. The same holds for Hoad (1988), whose assignment must have been to offer the public as small and cheap an etymological dictionary of English with Oxford’s imprimatur as possible. He could not incorporate the results of his scholarship into this work, and its brevity almost defeats its purpose.

Ayto’s book (1991) contains about 8,000 ‘stories’ purporting ‘to make explicit . . . historical connections between English words’. The following entry gives an idea of those stories:

- (10) **friend** [OE] Etymologically, *friend* means ‘loving.’ It and its Germanic relatives (German *freund*, [sic] Dutch *vriend*, Swedish *frände*, etc.) go back to the present participle of the prehistoric Germanic verb \**frijōjan* ‘love’ (historically, the German present participle ends in *-nd*, as in modern German *-end*; English *-ng* is an alteration of this). \**Frijōjan* itself was a derivative of the adjective \**frijaz*, from which modern English gets *free*, but which originally meant ‘dear, beloved’. ► *free*

The futility of churning out more and more trivial English dictionaries of word origins has been made particularly clear by the appearance of the *Online Etymology Dictionary* by Douglas Harper. Harper says that he is ‘a writer and editor with an amateur’s passion for linguistics’, and yet by using a few sources (neither Skeat nor the *ODEE* is among them) he cobbled together a viable online etymological dictionary of 30,000 words that is not a bit worse than some of its recent predecessors. It would be easy to shrug off his work as a product of cutting and pasting, but it is a true mirror, not a caricature, of English etymological lexicography of our time. Students love it (‘are loving it’, as I hear) and seem to need nothing else when they have a question about the origin of an English word.

#### 9.4 AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH AND SPECIALIZED ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

*Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (AeW)* by Ferdinand Holthausen (1934) is the only etymological dictionary of Old English ever written. Holthausen was



also the author of etymological dictionaries of Gothic and Old Norse. In all of them he chose the same format (extremely short entries, though never as short as in his dictionary of Modern English). For this reason, Feist's *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* and Jan de Vries's *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* are vastly superior works.

The words of Old English can be divided into three groups: borrowings (mainly from Latin), words with established or putative cognates in Germanic and elsewhere, and isolated words (glosses are the main source of the third group). Feist and De Vries showed that the author of an etymological dictionary of one dead Germanic language still has enough to say despite the existence of compendia of Indo-European. Holthausen does not reconstruct protoforms and devotes no space to semantics. Wherever possible, he lists cognates and refers to *WP*. The most frustrating aspect of *AeW* is the absence of discussion. Thus, in dealing with *mioluc* 'milk', one of the hardest words in Germanic (its protoform, original meaning, and ties with the Slavic look-alikes are still a matter of debate), Holthausen cites seven Germanic cognates (including a modern form from Hesse), the undoubtedly related words from Serbian and Russian (but not their puzzling twins, the main bone of contention), Old Irish and Tocharian. This is followed by a reference to *WP* and three other publications. The entry does not give the remotest idea of how complicated the etymology of *mioluc* is. References to the scholarly literature are common in *AeW*, but no summaries of the works referred to (some of them Holthausen's own) follow them.

The phrase 'of unknown origin' concludes many entries in *AeW* (and it could not have been otherwise), but it is hard to understand why *bedd* 'bed', for instance, is said to be of unknown origin, while *god* 'god' and *geohhol* 'Yule', whose derivation is equally controversial, are not, and how they compare with *frician* 'dance', which is dismissed as being of unknown origin without further elaboration. If an Old English word has a modern reflex, Holthausen cites it, but his Modern English includes obsolete and dialectal words, for example, *frick* (from *frician*). At *rippel* 'coppice' (a hapax legomenon), Mod. Engl. *ripple* is given. *Frick* and *ripple* do not appear in the *OED* (but one finds them in *EDD*). Few users of *AeW* will guess that neither *ripple* 'slight wave' nor even *ripple* 'hatchel' is meant, the more so as Holthausen's etymology of *rippel* is confusing: a connection is made among words from several languages meaning 'saw, rake', 'stripe, small thin tree stem' (the latter is referred to as Norwegian, but it is New Norwegian, *Landsmål*), and 'coppice' (Old English), all of them allegedly related to OE *ripan* 'reap'.

The obscure part of the Old English vocabulary remains largely unexplained to this day. Although Bammesberger has done much to dispel this obscurity (apart from numerous articles, his 1979 book is a major addition to *AeW*), and while

Morris's 1967 dissertation addresses the origin 'of some Old English words', a new edition of *AeW* is long overdue. However, there is little hope that it will appear any time soon.

There is one etymological glossary of a modern English dialect (Hoy 1952; East Yorkshire). As a rule, Hoy only summarizes the findings of others. It happens that, in the works on the Scandinavian, Dutch, and Celtic elements in English, thousands of dialectal words are mentioned. Yet, those works have not been put to the use they deserve. Some such words have made their way into the *OED* and been declared to be opaque. The phrase 'of dialectal origin' was coined to give them short shrift. (In similar fashion, one occasionally finds *slang* in the etymological part of entries in our best dictionaries, with the implication that reference to slang absolves the lexicographer from further research.)

Although the literature on words traceable to proper and place names is vast, Partridge (1949) seems to be the only regular etymological dictionary of 'words from names'. Most of the book is derivative from other scholars' publications, and too much trust should not be put in it: no sources are cited in individual entries, quotations from poems substitute for references to special works, and the author's conjectures are offered with the specious charm characteristic of all his etymological publications. Unlike Partridge, Eilert Ekwall was a first-rate philologist and expert in onomastics. His dictionaries of English river-names (1928) and place-names (1960) are standard works of reference (→ HOUGH).

A truly 'specialized' dictionary is A. Smythe Palmer's *Folk-Etymology*. Smythe Palmer was the author of several entertaining books on English words, but only *Folk-Etymology* made him famous. Unfortunately, he yielded to the temptation to look on too many words as being garbled, corrupted, and perverted by ignorance and long usage. He almost equated phonetic change with corruption and purported to scrap the overlay, so as to expose pristine forms. Although his conclusions should be taken with more than a grain of salt, his illustrative quotations from old literature are interesting, and his suggestions are often right.

A few concluding remarks are perhaps in order. Let me repeat that more English dictionaries with the word *etymological* in the title could have been mentioned. They are absent for a reason, as will become clear to anyone who turns to my 1998 article on this subject. The art of making English etymological dictionaries has come a long way from Minsheu to Harper. This journey has had its ups and downs. Linguistics and lexicography have changed radically in the course of four centuries. Today English etymological lexicography is at a low point. It reached its peak in 1910, with the fourth edition of Skeat and has been stagnating ever since, despite the progress made in technology and historical linguistics.

An interesting subject also is the critical reception of English etymological dictionaries. A look at hundreds of reviews shows how much in the evaluation of our work depends on the evaluator's temperament, diligence, erudition, and political predilections, how cautious one should be in agreeing or disagreeing with reviewers, and how reputations are made or ruined by nepotism, envy, and arrogance. It also shows that the impact of reviews on etymological scholarship is insignificant: the same mistakes and absurdities are repeated from edition to edition, the same references are neglected. A detailed survey of these reviews would read like a thriller.

# DIALECT DICTIONARIES

*Robert Penhallurick*

## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

THE *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *dialect* as follows: 1. Manner of speaking, language, speech; *esp.* a manner of speech peculiar to, or characteristic of, a particular person or class; phraseology, idiom; and cites first use as 1579, and: 2. a. One of the subordinate forms or varieties of a language arising from local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation, and idiom. (In relation to modern languages usually *spec.* A variety of speech differing from the standard or literary ‘language’; a provincial method of speech, as in ‘speakers of dialect.’)

First use of sense 2. a. is given as 1577. Whilst it is possible to see both these definitions as providing the core underlying topic of the present chapter, I wish to stress at this point that the chapter is concerned with dictionaries whose interest is chiefly in items belonging to the category described in 2. a. above. It is not concerned with the treatment of dialectal items in other types of dictionary, including major scholarly dictionaries, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (for which, see Wakelin 1987), although that issue is of some relevance. Neither is it concerned with dictionaries dealing with *slang* (‘Language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense’, according to the *OED*, first use 1818), though there is overlap between *slang* and *dialect* in the first sense, above. Also, because of the coverage provided by other chapters in the *Oxford History of English Lexicography*, the present chapter will focus on dialect dictionaries of English in the British Isles, excluding those dealing with Scots (→ DAREAU and MACLEOD, Vol. I).

Inevitably, therefore, the chapter's narrative reaches its high point with an account of the greatest achievement of British dialectological lexicography, Joseph Wright's six-volume *English Dialect Dictionary* (henceforth *EDD*), published between 1898 and 1905. This account will be followed by a discussion of work in the twentieth century. First, however, I look at the origins and development of interest in dialect words and idioms up until the mid-nineteenth century, and, running alongside this (and the account of the *EDD*), I consider the evolution of the distinction between the *dialectal* or *non-standard* and the *Standard*—as in *Standard English*—a distinction substantially influenced by the work of lexicographers.

## 10.2 THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

A good deal of useful information on what might be called the 'early' interest in dialectal vocabulary is gathered in the excellent summaries in Wakelin (1977: 34–46, and 1987: 156–68). Shorrocks (2000) too is a valuable discussion which touches on the matter, whilst Petyt (1980) has a very brief summary.

There is no doubt that the work of all lexicographers of dialect to date has to be seen in the context of the relationship between the categories non-standard and Standard English, and that this relationship has always involved prejudice—cultural attitudes towards Standard and non-standard English in Great Britain are deeply embedded and have always, it seems, been concerned with the relative social values of the different varieties. And it is possible that this has affected the perception of scholarly work on regional dialects. But also, at all times, lexicographers of dialect have been instrumental in helping to construct the two categories above, though the terms *non-standard* and *Standard English* are comparatively recent labels (dating from 1927 and 1836 respectively, according to the *OED*). We could say that these labels are the outcome of the process of construction. In addition, there is no doubt that the early work was antiquarian, that perhaps such a slant is apparent even in the most recent dictionaries, and that the early lexicographers and those seen as belonging to the traditional dialectology (informed by comparative philology) of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were very much motivated by an interest in the history of the English language.

From its very beginnings in the fifth century AD, English has been a language characterized by geographical variety. The first recorded observations on the regional diversity of English, specifically the ‘uncouth’ and ‘strident’ quality of northern English to southern ears, are to be found in the Prologue to Book III of *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (*Deeds of the English Pontiffs*), written by the chronicler William of Malmesbury c. AD 1125. William’s original Latin passage was recast in English in John of Trevisa’s 1387 translation of Ralph Higden’s *Polychronicon*, a history of the world. Conventionally, this period, that is, the end of the fourteenth century, is seen as the earliest point from which one can (arguably) discern the preconditions leading to the emergence of the notion of a ‘best’ kind of English, a variety centred initially in higher class or official circles in London, against which, increasingly, but gradually, other kinds of English are evaluated. The emergence of this notion is discussed at length in Penhallurick and Willmott (2000). Wakelin (1977: 34–42) again usefully compiles a survey of comment on the developing attitudes towards regional or provincial speech from the fourteenth through to the eighteenth century, a topic also discussed at greater length in Bailey (1991).

The well-known remarks—on the harmful effect of local speech—in the spelling manual *The English Schoole-Master* (1597), by Edmund Coote, are typical of a general commentary running from the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth and eighteenth which, whilst displaying an interest in dialect, shows a distaste for and criticism of provincial speech, when measured against the cultured speech of the higher classes in the south-east, and which integrates this into a campaign for a regularized, supra-regional, educated English, to be used in formal and public contexts and especially in writing. In time, the campaign extends also to pronunciation, as is shown, for example, in James Buchanan’s 1764 *An Essay Towards Establishing a Standard for an Elegant and Uniform Pronunciation of the English Language*. Coote’s theme is particularly echoed in Christopher Cooper’s *The English Teacher* of 1687. This ‘best’ English was eventually to crystallize around the concept of a *Standard English*.

There is, however, more to the pre-nineteenth-century interest in dialect than this kind of censure. Associated with the nascent desire for an identifiable national standard, we also see an interest in the history of the national language, which perforce incorporated a concern with dialect. One of the pioneers of the study of early English, and of dialect vocabulary, was the cleric Laurence Nowell (c.1515–70).

Nowell was an antiquary, with an interest in place-names and in mapping the British Isles, and is described by A. H. Marckwardt as having a ‘typically Renaissance breadth of interest and versatility of occupation’ (1952: 5). In English

studies he is known as the compiler of the *Vocabularium Saxonicum*, ‘the first attempt at a dictionary of OE [Old English]’ (Wakelin 1977: 43). The *Vocabularium Saxonicum* is an unfinished manuscript (and remained unpublished until the edition by Marckwardt in 1952). It appears that it was completed by about 1565, and was passed on by Nowell in 1567 to his pupil William Lambarde, who made additions to it. Also it was a major source for the first published dictionary of Old English, William Somner’s *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* of 1659 (see Marckwardt 1947 and 1952: 16).

Nowell’s *Vocabularium* is an early example of a citation dictionary, that is, it provides illustrative citations for many of the words defined. The range of written sources from the Old English period used by Nowell was broad (Marckwardt 1952: 7–8), but he also drew upon his knowledge of the regional language of his own time, including in his dictionary some 190 words which had survived in dialect but had dropped out of wider usage. The great majority (173) of these were from Lancashire, a fact explained by Nowell’s being born and bred there. Some of the dialect words from other parts of England were added by Lambarde. For Nowell, the significance of the regional words was in their direct lineage from Anglo-Saxon, but both Marckwardt and Wakelin comment on the importance of the *Vocabularium* as a source for the modern student of English dialects and their history.

Marckwardt (1952: 13) recognizes the weaknesses in Nowell’s dictionary, such as mistakes regarding Old English declensions and conjugations, an ignorance of Norse influence, and even errors caused by his Lancastrian perspective—assigning incorrect meanings to Old English words based on contemporary northern forms and meanings (1952: 10). In all this, however, it should be remembered that the *Vocabularium* was an unfinished, unpublished work. It has perhaps assumed a greater importance, despite these flaws, in more recent decades, because it remained unpublished for four hundred years, and because it was overlooked as a source by Joseph Wright for his *EDD*.

At this point, Alexander Gil’s *Logonomia Anglica* of 1619 is worthy of brief mention. The *Logonomia* is of some importance to dialectologists because it includes the first attempt to characterize the main dialect areas of England. It is not, however, a dictionary. Its commentary is written in Latin, but it is about English. Its descriptive content is concerned mainly with pronunciation, but it deals also with grammar, etymology, and ‘Dialecti’ (at page 16, of the corrected edition of 1621). Thus Gil (1564/5–1635) lists some features of northern, southern, eastern, and western pronunciation, and does include too some lexis and grammar. Like Coote (1597) and Cooper (1687), Gil (1619) uses the term ‘barbarous’ to refer to provincial speech, a term which originally meant ‘not Greek’, but which

also by this time had the sense ‘uncultured, uncivilized, unpolished’. We can view the work of Gil—and that of Coote and others—as part of the process of constituting Standard English, a process which does not reach its culmination until the second half of the nineteenth century, with the advent of both the *OED* and the *EDD*. Similarly, the work of Nowell—and Coote, Gil, and others—is part of the parallel process of constituting the dialectal. Wakelin, in his survey of ‘The Treatment of Dialect in English Dictionaries’ (1987), points out that, from early in the history of English lexicography, scholars were attempting to distinguish between words considered of lower and higher status (for example, between the ‘vulgar’ and the ‘choicest’ words, as recorded in Henry Cockeram’s *The English Dictionarie* of 1623) (→ OSSELTON, Vol. I). Amongst the early general dictionaries, Wakelin identifies Stephen Skinner’s *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* of 1671, and Elisha Coles’s *An English Dictionary* of 1676) (→ OSSELTON, Vol. I) as the first in which a regional element is openly acknowledged. The pattern that we see developing in this respect, therefore, is of, on the one hand, dictionaries whose prime aim is to designate what we could variously call the general or common, or even core, and eventually standard, vocabulary of English, and which in doing so may identify to some extent a dialectal element, and then, on the other hand, dictionaries whose prime aim is to provide some kind of comprehensive list of dialectal vocabulary.

The first attempt to achieve the latter on a national scale is John Ray’s *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used*, published in 1674. Ray (1627–1705), was a naturalist, a member of the Royal Society (founded in 1645, and which gave a further impetus to the study of the English language), and already the author of *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs* (1670). The bulk of the revised *Collection of English Words* (of 1691) is divided into two sections: ‘North Country Words’ (1–86), and ‘South and East Country Words’ (87–121). In his Preface, Ray acknowledges the help of a number of correspondents, including: Francis Brokesby, who was a major contributor to the list of northern words (and whose observations on the dialect of the East Riding of Yorkshire are included at pages 170–3 of the *Collection*); Tancred Robinson, who also added to the northern words; and Nicolas Jekyll and Mansell Courtman, who added to the southern collection. Wakelin (1987: 159) adds that Ray’s correspondents also included Stephen Skinner and, later, ‘the notable scholar’ Ralph Thoresby, who sent Ray a letter from Leeds in 1703 containing a list of local words.

In a Postscript (169–70), Ray gives a description of the nature of the material included in his (revised) *Collection*:



I have this day sent you by the Carrier my Collection of Local Words, augmented almost by the one half, wherein I have inserted out of the Catalogue [i.e. list] you were pleased to send me, 1. All such [such] as I took not to be of general use. For I intend not this book to be a general *English* Glossary; (of which sort there are many already extant,) but only, as the Title imports, a Catalogue of such as are proper to some Countries [i.e. counties], and not universally known or used. (169)

Here, then, is a subtly different view of the nature of the contrast between dialectal and embryonic standard from that implied by Coote and Gil. Here, in Ray, it is the local compared with the general, as distinct from the provincial (and 'barbarous') evaluated against a polite standard. These are regional words with a limited provenance, as opposed to words which, in Ray's judgement, are in common or widespread use across the land (though the polite standard of Coote and Gil was also promoted and possibly understood by them as the 'common dialect'). Not that this judgement is easy to make in individual cases, as Ray acknowledges in his Preface:

These Gentleman [his 'informants'] being, I suppose North Country Men, and during their abode in the Universities or elsewhere, not happening to hear those Words used in the South, might suppose them to be proper to the North. The same error I committed my self in many Words that I put down for Southerne, which afterwards I was advised were of use also in the North ...

The Postscript also tells us of two other categories omitted from the *Collection*: 'names of some Utensils or Instruments, or Terms belonging to particular Trades and Arts', that is, occupational or technical terms; and 'Words newly Coined about *London*, which will soon be diffused all *England* over', which we might think to be equivalent to slang, although clearly Ray is here making a point about the influence of the capital on general usage, as he understands it.

As for the main body of the *Collection*, an entry in its most basic form consists of the lexical item in italics, preceded by the indefinite article if a noun, or infinitival 'to' if a verb, and followed by the gloss. The provenance can be told from the heading of the section, that is, 'North Country' or 'South and East Country' (actually alternating with the variant form 'East and South Country'). Sometimes further detail is given, such as a county designation (for example, 'Cheshire' or 'Chesh' or 'Cheshire, Lancashire, &c'), or 'Var. Dial.' ('various dialects'), or, in apparent contravention of Ray's own restriction (above), 'This is a general Word, common to both North and South'. Sometimes a brief etymology is given, as in 'A Word common to the ancient *Saxon*, High and Low *Dutch* and *Danish*' (referring to 'A *Beck*; a small Brook' (7)); and sometimes such information is given in Latin, with a reference to 'Skinner', presumably

Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (1671). Great writers are occasionally cited: for example, the entry 'Yewd or Yod; went' (85), in the northern section, cites 'Yed, Yeden' from Chaucer, and quotes three lines from Spenser's *Fairy* [sic] *Queen*.

From time to time an entry includes a comment on variant pronunciations, or presents a number of related sub-entries. For example, the long entry introduced by 'A *Bannock*; An *Oat-cake* kneaded with Water only' (6), in the northern section, includes names for 'several sorts of Oaten Bread'; and, in the following order, *Tharcakes*, *Clap-bread*, *Kitchiness-bread*, *Riddle-cakes*, *Hand-hoven Bread*, and *Jannock*, of which only the last has its own main entry later in the section. Figure 10.1 below, showing two facing pages from the southern section, serves to provide further examples from the *Collection*.

Ray's dictionary can be criticized for not being wholly consistent or systematic in its typography and layout (for example, the alphabetical order of the entries at letter 'S' is wayward at pages 114–15). It is variable too in the amount of information it gives about entries, and in the application of Ray's criteria for

#### 94 South and East Country Words.

A *Cotrel*; *Cornw. Devonsh.* a Trammel to hang the Pot on over the Fire. Used also in the North.

A *Cove*; a little Harbor for Boats, West Country. Used also in the North from *Cavea*.

To *Coure*; to rub down, *ut mulieres solent ad mingendum, ab It. Covare. Fr. G. Couver, incubare, hoc à Lat. cubare.* It seems to be a general word.

A *Cowl*; a Tub, *Eff.*

A *Cowslip*; that which is elsewhere called an *Oxesslip*.

A *Cragge*; a small Beer-vessel.

A *Crotch-tail*; a Kite; *Milvus caudâ forcipatâ.*

*Crank*; Brisk, merry, jocund, *Effex. Sanus, integer: sunt qui derivant à Belg. & Teut. Kranek, quod prorsus contrarium sc. ægrum significat. Ab istis autem antiphrasibus totus abhorreo. Mallem igitur deducere ab Un vel Onkranek, non æger, omnia per injuriam temporis initiali syllabâ,* Skinner. It is used also in *Yorkshire*. Mr. *Brokesby*.

*Crap*; *Darnel, Suff. In Worcestershire* and other Countries they call Buck-wheat *Crap*.

*Crible*; coarse Meal, a degree better than Bran: à *Latino cribrum.*

A

#### South and East Country Words. 95

A *Crock*; an Earthen Pot to put Butter or the like in, *ab AS. Croca, Teut. Krug, Belg. Krogh, Kroegh, C. Br. Crochan, Dm. Kruck, Olla fœtilis, vas fœtile, Urceus, Skinner.*

To *Crock*; *Eff.* to black one with foot, or black of a Pot or Kettle, or Chimney-stock, this black or foot is also substantively called *Crock*.

*Crones*; old Ewes.

A *Cratch* or *Critch*: a Rack: *ni fallor à Lat. Cratica, Craticula, Crates.*

*Crawly mawly*; indifferently well, *Norfolk.*

A *Culver*: a Pigeon or Dove, *ab AS. Culfer, Columba.*

D.

**D**AG; Dew upon the Grass. Hence daggel tail is spoken of a Woman that hath dabbled her Coats with Dew, Wet or Dirt.

It *Dares* me; it pains or grieves me. *Eff. ab AS. Dare, signifying hurt, harm, loss.* Used also in the North.

A *Dilling*; a Darling or best beloved Child.

A

FIG. 10.1. Sample pages from Ray's *Collection of English Words*, 1691

the inclusion of items. Furthermore, its material has not been gathered according to an entirely systematic method—Ray seems to have been dependent on what he was sent by enthusiastic collectors. But the *Collection* is the first major exploration of largely unmapped territory. Nobody previously had attempted to compile such a list on such a national scale, and the *Collection* begins to lay the ground rules for identifying, organizing, and presenting the material. It would become a key source and model for dialect lexicographers for the next two hundred years.

From the first half of the eighteenth century, activity in the field of dialect lexicography grows significantly, reaching a flood by the start of the *English Dialect Dictionary* project at the end of the nineteenth century. Amongst the earliest of the many glossaries, as identified by Wakelin (1977: 43), is Samuel Pegge's *Alphabet of Kenticisms* (1735–6). Wakelin (1977: 43–5, 173–4, and 1987: 159–60, 169) reviews and lists the work of the glossarists, while Petyt (1980: 70) and Shorrocks (2000: 85–7) give short overviews. Volume VI of the *EDD* itself includes an extensive bibliography of the glossaries, and of its other sources. Before looking at the *EDD*, however, three national dialect dictionaries deserve more detailed attention. These are the works of Francis Grose (1787), James Orchard Halliwell (1847), and Thomas Wright (1857). And, before these even, we need to consider briefly Nathaniel Bailey's *An Universal Etymological Dictionary* of 1721.

Bailey's work (a second volume was added in 1727) is a general dictionary, but one with a substantial dialectal element. In fact, this element was published in a separate work in 1883 by the English Dialect Society, as *English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century as shown in the 'Universal Etymological Dictionary' of Nathaniel Bailey*. It was edited by William E. A. Axon, who used the thirteenth edition (1749) of Bailey. In his Introduction, Axon describes Bailey as the 'most popular' of 'all our lexicographers who preceded Dr. Johnson' (1883: v). Axon's aim was to extract all the words from Bailey that might be wanted for the English Dialect Society's Dictionary project, that is, the *EDD*. In Bailey, some dialect words 'are described by the initials for West Country, North Country, and so forth' (Axon 1883: xvi); some have, clearly labelled, the county in which they were used (a total of 227, according to Axon (xvii–xviii)); some have the inexact designation 'Country Words'; and many identified as dialectal by Axon are not marked at all as such by Bailey. The following example entries are from Axon's reprint:

- (1) **To Agist** [*Giste*, a Bed, &c. or *Gister*, F.] signifies to take in and feed the Cattle of Strangers in the King's Forest, and to take Money for the same. *O. L.*
- (2) **Culver** [*Culfre*, *Sax.*] a Dove or Pigeon. *O.*

- (3) **To Mump**, to bite the Lip like a Rabbet; also to sponge upon; also to beg.
- (4) **A Stull**, a Luncheon; a great Piece of Bread, Cheese, or other Victuals. *Essex*.

‘O’ means ‘Old Word’, and ‘L’ means ‘Latin’. Wakelin’s (1987: 164–5) discussion suggests that Bailey was not over-concerned to distinguish between the dialectal, the colloquial, and the obsolete, and Axon (1883: xvi) makes it clear that Bailey’s etymologies are not to be trusted. Bailey’s work, whilst not a dialect dictionary, is a work which contains a great deal of dialectal lexis, as well as being an important if problematic source for lexicographers of dialect.

It is Francis Grose (c.1731–91), an antiquarian and artist, who makes the next attempt at compiling a national dialect dictionary. His *A Provincial Glossary, with a Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions*, appeared in 1787. There is also an edition of 1839, titled *A Glossary of Provincial And Local Words used in England*, which incorporates further material supplied by Samuel Pegge (the Younger, 1733–1800), and which I have used. In the Preface (1839: iii–iv), several sources are named, including John Ray’s *Proverbs*; ‘Tim Bobbin’s Lancashire Dialect’ (Tim Bobbin is a pseudonym for John Collier, whose *A View of the Lancashire Dialect* first appeared in 1746); ‘many of the County Histories’; and *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (which in 1746 published a selection from Collier’s *Lancashire Dialect*, and three pieces on the dialect of Exmoor, including a lengthy ‘Vocabulary’). Grose’s aim was to unite these sources ‘under one alphabet’, augmenting his compilation with ‘many hundred words collected by the Editor in the different places wherein they are used’, for he says that his military work ‘occasioned him to reside for some time in most of the counties in England’ (1839: iii). He also acknowledges the assistance of several correspondents ‘too respectable to be named on so trifling an occasion’ (ibid. iv).

Like Ray, Grose recognizes a number of criteria when selecting provincial and local words. These, he says in the Preface, are of three kinds: words which have become obsolete, through disuse and displacement by ‘more fashionable terms’, but which survive in counties ‘remote from the capital, where modern refinements do not easily find their way’ (iii); words of foreign origin which are hard to recognize as such, being ‘so corrupted, by passing through the mouths of illiterate clowns’ (iii); and ‘mere arbitrary words . . . ludicrous nominations’ (iii), with very local origins, such as *Churchwarden*, ‘cormorant, shag’, in Sussex. Words which differed from those in ‘common use’ only in pronunciation ‘were mostly rejected’ (iv). *The Gentleman’s Magazine* rejected some of John Collier’s material for the same reason (Shorrocks 2000: 87), and here Grose apparently follows the tradition of interpreting such forms as corruptions of ‘standard’ forms. In Grose, several familiar threads reappear. Provincial speech is judged to be a repository of the archaic, and therefore

the 'utility' of a provincial glossary, 'universally acknowledged', is as an aid to understanding 'our ancient poets' (iii). However, local speech is also quaint and crude in comparison with the 'common use'. This phrase may echo Ray somewhat, but the notion referred to by Grose seems to be metropolitan speech, which is more cultured and more modern, and by implication more subject to change. Local speech is therefore both valued and ridiculed for its conservatism, and for its narrowness of outlook. In all of this we see the continued progress of cordoning off the local from the inchoate standard.

As for the *Glossary* itself, the 1839 edition has 188 pages, but no sections or parts: it is one alphabetical list. The basic entry consists of the headword, in capitals, followed by the gloss. Some entries have no indication of provenance; some use 'N', 'S', or 'W', to indicate the North, South, or West of England, there being no 'E' because the 'East country scarcely afforded a sufficiency of words to form a division' (iv). A good many entries contain more specific designations, usually counties; occasionally 'C' is used, meaning 'common', that is, a word 'used in several counties in the same sense' (iv); very occasionally 'Var. Dial.', meaning 'various dialects', is used for much the same purpose. Entries are usually brief. Sometimes, basic etymological information is given, and sometimes there are references to the usage of great writers, such as Chaucer and Shakespeare. Sometimes, again, the reader is referred to earlier dictionaries, though these references can be very cursory, as for example:

(5) ALE-STAKE, a may-pole. See Bailey's Dict.

(6) HIGHT, promised. Cumb. See Chaucer.

Further illustration is provided by Figure 10.2, where two facing pages from Grose's *Glossary* are displayed.

Despite the brevity of its entries, and the shortage of material from eastern England, Grose's *Glossary* is more comprehensive than Ray's *Collection*, being compiled from a broader range of sources. Its lack of precision in showing provenance and its seemingly random selection of etymologies would be criticized by modern linguists, but judged as a concise survey it has the great merit of being clearly set out and very easy to use.

In the nineteenth century, work on the regional lexis of England increases greatly in volume. Wakelin (1977: 45) says, 'From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the glossaries become too frequent to exemplify', and Shorrocks (2000: 86) argues that, in addition to the long-existing antiquarian and nationalistic motivations, the industrialization and urbanization of parts of England created a market for dialect literature (particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire) and a further stimulus to

CROTCH-TAIL, a kite.  
 CROW, a crib for a calf. Lanc. Called a KID-CROW in Cheshire.  
 CROWD, a fiddle. Exmoor.  
 CROWDLING, slow, dull, sickly. N.  
 CROWDY, oatmeal, scalded with water, and mixed up into a paste. N.  
 CROWE, an iron lever. N.  
 CROWSE, brisk, lively, jolly; as crowse as a new washen-house. N.  
 CRUB, or CROUST, a crust of bread, or rind of cheese. Exmoor.  
 CRUCHET, a wood-pigeon. N.  
 CRUEL, very, extremely; as, cruel crass, very peevish; cruel sick, very ill; cruel fine, very finely dressed. Devon. and Cornwall.  
 CRUMP, the cramp; also to be out of temper. N.  
 CRUMPLE, to ruffle, or rumple. N.  
 CRUNCH, CRONCH, and CRANCH, to crush an apple, &c. in the mouth. North.  
 CRUTTLE, to stoop down, to fall. N.  
 CRY'D NO-CHILD, a woman cried down by her husband. Lanc. NO-CHILD is supposed to be a corruption of NICHIL, i. e. NIHIL.  
 CUCKING-STOOL or DUCKING-STOOL, a stool placed over a river in which scolding women are seated and ducked. North.  
 CUFF, an old cuff, an old fellow. Mid.  
 CUFFING, expounding, (applied to a tale.) Exmoor.  
 CULCH, lumber, stuff, rubbish. Kent.  
 CULL, a small fish with a great head, found under stones in rivulets, called also a bull-head. Glouc. To cull, to pick and choose. Kent and S.

CULVERS, pigeons. Exmoor.  
 CUMBER, trouble. N.  
 CUN; to eun or con thanks, to give thanks. S.  
 CUNNIFFLING, dissembling, flattering. Ex.  
 CUPALO, a smelting-house. Verb.  
 CUP O'SNREEZE, a pinch of snuff. N.  
 CURRANT-BERRIES, currants. North.  
 CURTAINERS, curtains. Lanc.  
 CUSHETS, wild pigeons. Yorksh.  
 CUSTIS, a school-master's ferule. Cornwall, North part.  
 CUTE, sharp, adroit, clever. North.  
 CUTTER, to fondle or make much of, as a hen or goose of her young.  
 CYPHEL, houseleek. N.

## D.

DAB, a blow: a dab at any thing, expert at it, perhaps corruption of an adept. N. and S. Also a small quantity.  
 DABBIT, a small quantity, less than a dab. Glou.  
 DAB-CHICK, the water-hen. North.  
 DACIAN, a vessel used in Derbyshire, for holding the sour oat cake. Verb.  
 DACKER, to waver, stagger, or totter. Linc. Dacker weather, uncertain or unsettled weather. N.  
 DAD, a lump; also a father. N.  
 DADACKY, tasteless. Western.  
 DADDLE, to walk unsteadily like a child; to waddle. N.

FIG. 10.2. Sample pages from Grose's *A Glossary of Provincial And Local Words used in England*, 1839

dialect study. He also highlights the role of the clergy in promoting scholarly interest in local speech. During the course of the nineteenth century, the study of dialect, and the study of language generally in England and mainland Europe, was to become much more systematic.

Of the glossaries, Frederick T. Elworthy's huge *The West Somerset Word-Book* (1886), and William Barnes's *A Glossary of the Dorset Dialect* (1886) can be mentioned. Two mid-century national-scale dialect dictionaries are worth consideration before we look at the flowering of nineteenth-century dialectology in the *EDD*: James Orchard Halliwell's *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs, From The Fourteenth Century*, first published in 1847; and Thomas Wright's *Dictionary of Obsolete And Provincial English* (1857). Shorrocks (2000: 85) notes that these two titles demonstrate the close link that was felt to exist between the ancient and the dialectal. The primary aim of both Halliwell and Thomas Wright is to aid their readers' understanding of early English writers, by providing a guide to unfamiliar lexis—unfamiliar either because the words have become obsolete, or because they are obsolete in all but local use. Whilst

neither Halliwell nor Wright treats any part of his task lightly, both believe that the importance of the provincialisms collected in their dictionaries lies in ‘the illustration they afford of our early language’ (Halliwell 1874: vii; I have used the eighth edition of 1874, which, however, retains the original Preface). Both dictionaries are published in two volumes. Halliwell claims to treat 51,027 words, in 954 pages; whilst Wright’s dictionary has 1,039 pages. They have very similar layouts: a capitalized headword, followed by the meaning, usually followed by one or more quotations from early writers (within which the headword is italicized). Sometimes the geographical provenance, such as the county or regional name, is given before the quotation(s). Both regularly also provide very brief etymologies, with Wright consistently giving grammatical class after the headword (generally omitted from Halliwell). Halliwell’s work, in addition to the dictionary, has a 27-page essay on ‘The English Provincial Dialects’ (1874: ix–xxxvi), a key to abbreviations used (955–6), and some ‘Specimens of the Early English Language, chronologically arranged’ (957–60). Both Halliwell and Thomas Wright acknowledge the assistance of several correspondents in compiling their dictionaries, including each other.

By the late nineteenth century, pressure had grown for a comprehensive dictionary of English dialect in Britain. The imperatives that had existed rather fuzzily for centuries now came into sharper relief, owing to a number of factors, including the maturing of comparative philology, the associated ‘neogrammarian’ controversy, and the *New English Dictionary* project, leading eventually to the *OED*. All these developments led to a renewed interest in adding to and clarifying knowledge of early English (as demonstrated by Halliwell and Thomas Wright, above), and to calls for further study of the traditional dialects of English, as the living archive of the national language. In addition, it seemed more necessary than ever to distinguish between the core, common, standard vocabulary of English and the peripheral, the dialectal. In 1842, the Philological Society was established—the *OED*’s original title was the ‘Philological Society’s Dictionary’ (Green 1996: 392); in 1864, the Early English Text Society was founded; followed, in 1873, by the setting up of the English Dialect Society, whose great project was to be a Dialect Dictionary.

### 10.3 THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY: JOSEPH WRIGHT AND *THE ENGLISH DIALECT DICTIONARY*

At its 7 January 1858 meeting, the Philological Society resolved that ‘a New Dictionary of the English Language be prepared under the Authority of the . . . Society’

(wording as reproduced from the ‘Historical Introduction’ to the *OED* published in 1933 (page viii), as part of a supplement to the first edition). As the project proceeded, the *Dictionary* (eventually to be known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*) was shaped by two papers ‘On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries’ delivered by Richard Chenevix Trench, language scholar and Dean of Westminster, to the November 1857 meetings of the Society, and published in 1858 and in a second edition in 1860. Trench states that provincial or local words ‘have no right to a place in a Dictionary of the English tongue’ (1860: 15), unless they are words which were ‘once current over the whole land’, but which ‘have now fallen from their former state and dignity, have retreated to remoter districts, and there maintain an obscure existence still; citizens once, they are only provincials now’. He also urges (66–8) the editors of ‘our older authors’ to append glossaries to their editions, to assist the makers of the English Dictionary that he envisages. This was a challenge taken up by the Early English Text Society, but Trench, and the *New English Dictionary*, also gave the dialect lexicography of English significant new momentum. The eminent philologist of the time, W. W. Skeat, provides a summary:

In compiling the vocabulary of words admitted into the *New English Dictionary*, it was often extremely difficult to know where to draw the line. It has sometimes happened that a word which in olden times may fairly be said to have been in general use, or at any rate, in use over a large area, is now only heard in some provincial dialect, being unknown to nearly all the inhabitants of the rest of England; and, on the other hand, a word which was once used, as it would seem from the evidence, in one dialect only, has now become familiar to everybody. It follows from this that the collection of provincial words is absolutely necessary for completing the material with which the lexicographer has to deal; and hence Mr. [Alexander J.] Ellis and others suggested the establishment of an English Dialect Society. (Skeat 1896: xxx)

Skeat having written its prospectus, the English Dialect Society (henceforth EDS) was inaugurated at Cambridge in 1873, and with it the new philological discipline of dialectology in Britain. From its start, the overriding aim of the EDS was to produce an all-inclusive Dialect Dictionary.

During its short existence (1873 to 1896), the EDS published eighty works in four series: bibliographies, reprinted glossaries, original glossaries, and miscellanies (Petyt 1980: 77). The *EDD* would draw on these sources, as well as many others, such as county histories, accounts of industries (for example, mining), agricultural surveys, and natural histories (Wakelin 1977: 46). Membership of the EDS had grown to 350 by early 1877, though a suitable editor for the dictionary had not yet been found. Throughout the duration of the project, moreover, attracting funds and finding a publisher were major difficulties—though all such problems were dwarfed by the



actual task of compilation. In March 1876, the EDS moved to Manchester, and J. H. Nodal, philologist and editor of the *Manchester City News*, became its secretary. According to E. M. Wright (1932: 351), when Skeat addressed the annual meeting of the EDS in 1884, the preparation of the proposed dictionary was his main topic, but still no editor had been found. In 1886, Skeat set up a new 'English Dialect Dictionary Fund', with an offshoot of the EDS now established to run the project. The Rev. A. Smythe Palmer became an interim editor, his task being to receive quotations from correspondents and arrange them for a future editor, with hundreds of helpers in all parts of the United Kingdom collecting new material (E. M. Wright 1932: 352).

Then, on 13 June 1887, Skeat wrote a letter to Joseph Wright, which contained the following proposition:

We hope to have some day a big Dialect Dictionary. Mr Palmer is provisional editor *pro tem*, for collection of material. But we want a good man for final editor. He should be a phonetician, a philologist, & shd. have some dialect knowledge. I cannot tell whether you consider it within your power or not. Do you think you could do it: & if so, will you undertake it? (As quoted in E. M. Wright 1932: 353)

E. M. Wright suggests that Skeat might have known of her husband because of Joseph's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill in the West Riding of Yorkshire*. An enormously influential work in British dialectology, the *Grammar* was published by the EDS in 1892, but submitted to the Society some time before. Joseph Wright was born in Windhill in 1855, was illiterate until his teenage years, but then enjoyed an academic career of huge achievement. He trained as a philologist under the influence of the neogrammarian school in Germany, completing his doctorate at the University of Heidelberg in 1885. In 1891, he became Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Oxford, eventually becoming a full Professor in 1901. He wrote books on Middle High German, Old High German, and Gothic before embarking on the *English Dialect Dictionary*. Joseph Wright accepted Skeat's invitation, though possibly not immediately.

As well as the primary tasks of collecting and organizing his material, Wright also tackled the funding and publishing problems. The expense of putting out such a work, and the anxiety that the project was too huge to be completed, deterred publishers from making a full commitment. In the end, and astonishingly, Wright himself took on a big share of the responsibility. The Clarendon Press at Oxford provided Wright with the premises for a 'Workshop' at a nominal rent, and agreed to print the *Dictionary*, but the Preface to Volume I has the following statement from Wright:

[T]he Delegates [of the University Press], while offering me every facility for the production of the work, have no responsibility, pecuniary or other, in connexion with it. The whole responsibility of financing and editing the Dictionary rests upon myself. I am therefore all the more grateful to the Subscribers who have supported me in this difficult undertaking. (J. Wright 1898: viii)

As regards Wright's primary task, A. Smythe Palmer handed over in 1889 the materials collected under his interim editorship. This material consisted of 'slips', individual pieces of paper, like index cards, each with one dialect item on it, and giving details of pronunciation, meaning, counties where the word was used, and citations. Wright calculated that these slips numbered over a million, and that he needed eventually at least twice this amount (E. M. Wright 1932: 355).

The slips were fundamental to Wright's method. On each slip, all the information relevant to a dialect item could be gathered in the one place. All possible sources were to be searched for items and illustrations of usage: books and pamphlets in dialect, instances of dialect in general literature (fictional works, as well as guidebooks, county histories, journals, and newspapers), and all the known glossaries (E. M. Wright: 354).

The fullest account of this labour is given in E. M. Wright's biography of her husband (1932: 349–437). The Preface to Volume I of the *EDD* also provides an insight (J. Wright 1898: v–viii). Wright sent out thousands of copies of a 'circular' describing the dictionary project and asking for help; he addressed public meetings; and he encouraged his helpers in the field to work together in local committees. The number of his voluntary helpers increased to over six hundred. In 1893, the EDS moved to Oxford, and Wright became its Honorary Secretary and Literary Director. In effect, it seems, the EDS was now synonymous with the dictionary project, and the Society was wound up in 1896. Wright prepared a *Phonetic Alphabet to be used by workers for the English Dialect Dictionary*, and reminded his helpers of the utmost need for careful and legible handwriting (E. M. Wright 1932: 360–1). Despite his professed interest in getting hold of the 'great deal of dialect which has never yet got itself printed' (reported in E. M. Wright: 358), Wright insisted that written authority was required to corroborate each meaning of a form (359). The material from the sources and helpers went onto the slips, and the slips were sorted, edited, corrected, and checked by Wright and his assistants in the Oxford 'Workshop'. These slips formed the basis for the entries in the dictionary.

The title page of *The English Dialect Dictionary* states that it is 'The complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years'. Published between 1898 and 1905, it comprises six volumes, and nearly 4,700 pages of entries. As Shorrocks (2000: 88) says:

One need only compare a few entries from *The English Dialect Dictionary* with entries in earlier dialect dictionaries to note a quite startling increase in systematicity, thoroughness and historical scholarship: the layout of the entries, the supporting quotations, the phonetics, the etymologies, etc.

Each entry has the headword in capitals and bold, followed by a grammatical classification. Related forms within the entry are also given in bold, as are cross-references to other entries. The grammatical class is followed by the geographical distribution of the item, giving abbreviations for counties or regions or even countries (for example, 'Sc.' for 'Scotland'). Then follows the meaning. If the item has more than one meaning, these are set out in numbered sub-entries. Variant forms and information on pronunciation are sometimes given, including phonetic transcriptions, alongside the geographical distribution. Following the meaning are the citations from sources, which are sometimes indicated by abbreviations (county name in bold with a superscript number—a key to these is provided at the front of each volume). Often the entry finishes with etymological information accompanied by citations from literature and/or references to earlier lexicographers. Figure 10.3 shows a page from Volume I.

The *EDD* is monumental, and without doubt much more systematic than its predecessors. It is, as Wright claims in his Preface, 'a "storehouse" of information for the general reader, and an invaluable work to the present and all future generations of students of our mother-tongue' (v). It has, nevertheless, been the subject of criticism. Petyt (1980: 81) states that 'soon after its publication letters and articles began to point out areas which were undercovered and items which should have been included', but this surely is inevitable, given the nature of the object of study. Petyt adds:

It is not made clear whether items are still in use, and how common they are. And the locality references are far too imprecise: usually they only give the counties where the forms have been attested (or at best something like 'SWYks') and no details are given about who the actual speakers are. (Ibid. 81)

Wakelin (1977: 47) makes the same point about the lack of precise geographical information, and also says that the etymologies are 'often suspect'. However, some of this is unreasonable and expecting too much. The information about localities or speakers was probably not so accessible in the material, and neither was the *EDD* a survey in the mould of modern, synchronic linguistics. For its time, the *EDD* represented a major advance. It is significant also that no scholar in Britain, or group of scholars, has attempted to produce a dialect dictionary on such a scale since Wright's day (except, arguably, in Scotland).

**CULTIVATOR**, *sb.* Lin. Ess. A large iron drag worked by steam power.

n.Lin.<sup>1</sup> Ess. MARSHALL *Review* (1817).

Hence **Cultivate**, *v.* to work the land by means of a steam cultivator. n.Lin.<sup>1</sup>

**CULVER**, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> Lan. Der. Lin. e.An. Sus. Dor. Som. Dev. Also in forms *couver* n.Dor.; *kilver* e.An.<sup>1</sup> [kʷlʷvə(r), kʷlʷvə(r).] The wood-pigeon, *Columba palumbus*.

Lan.<sup>1</sup> nw.Der.<sup>1</sup> n.Lin.<sup>1</sup> *Obs.* s.Cy. (P.R.); RAY (1691). e.An.<sup>1</sup> Sus.<sup>1</sup> Dor. Your eyes be lik' culvers, BARNES *Sng. Sol.* (1859) i. 15; SWAINSON *Birds* (1885) 166; Dor.<sup>1</sup> Lik' culvers vlieen to ther nest In leafy boughs a-swayen, 114. n.Dor. (S.S.B.) Som. SWEETMAN *Wincanton Gl.* (1885); HERVEY *Wedmore Chron.* (1887) i. 297. Dev.<sup>1</sup> n.Dev. There, lick two culvers they'm a-go, ROCK *Jim an' Nell* (1867) st. 79. e.Dev. Yer aies be laik'e 'eud-culvers' aies, PULMAN *Sng. Sol.* (1860) i. 15.

Hence (1) **Culver-headed**, *adj.* (a) stupid, soft-headed; cf. **straw-headed**; (b) applied to a stack, thatched with straw; (2) **-house**, *sb.* a pigeon-house.

(1, a) e.An.<sup>1</sup>, Suf. (F.H.) (b) Nrf.<sup>1</sup> (2) Nrf.<sup>1</sup> s.Cy. *Arch. Jrn.* (June 1887) 105.

[The Hooli Goost comynge down as a culver, WYCLIF (1388) *Mark* i. 10. OE. *culfre*. (2) **Culver-house**, pigeon-house, WORLIDGE *Dict. Rust.* (1681); þe colure ine his colerhouse, *Ayenbite* (1340) 142.]

**CULVER**, *sb.*<sup>2</sup> Suf. [Not known to our other correspondents.] Holly. (F.H.) Cf. **hulver**.

**CULVER**, *v.* e.An. [kʷlʷvə(r).] To beat and throb in the flesh.

e.An.<sup>1</sup> As a sore advances towards suppuration it 'bulks and culvers.' Nrf.<sup>1</sup>

**CULVER-HOUND**, *sb.* Cor.<sup>1,2</sup> The lesser spotted dogfish, *Squalus catulus*.

**CULVERKEY(S)**, *sb.* Nhp. Ken. Som. [kʷlʷvəkɪ(z).] The name of various plants, the flowers of which suggest a bunch of keys: (1) the wild hyacinth or blue-bell, *Scilla nutans*; (2) the cowslip, *Primula veris*; (3) a pale-flowered species of vetch, *Vicia sylvatica*; (4) the seed-pods of the ash.

(1) Som. *Jrn. Horticulture* (1873) 350. (2) Ken.<sup>1,2</sup> (3) Nhp. The paler culverkey, CLARE *Riv. Muse* (1835) 68. (4) Ken. GROSE (1790); HOLLOWAY.

[(1) Pale ganderglass and azure culverkeys, DENNYS *Angling* (c. 1610) in Walton's *Angler* (1653) 36.]

**CULVERS**, *sb. pl.* Oxf. Ess. The wild hyacinth or blue-bell, *Scilla nutans*. (B. & H.) See **Culverkey(s)**.

**CULYIE, CULZIE**, see **Cully**.

**CULZEE**, *sb.* S. & Ork.<sup>1</sup> A large straw basket.

**CUM**, see **Comb**, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> **Combe, Come**, *sb.*<sup>2,3</sup> **Coom**, *sb.*<sup>1</sup>

**CUM-ATHER**, see **Come-hither**.

**CUMBER**, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> and *v.* Sc. Irel. Nhp. Yks. Chs. Stf. Lin. Nhp. Ess. Ken. Sur. Som. Also in form **cummer** Sc. n.Yks.<sup>2</sup>; **cummar** Sc. (JAM.) [kʷm(b)ə(r), kʷm(b)ə(r).]

1. *sb.* Encumbrance, inconvenience, trouble. Also used fig. of persons.

Sc. Up raise the laird to red the cumber, HERD *Coll. Sngs.* (1776) l. 52. Elg. Lang fourscore years now press my life; . . . I crawl a cumber on the earth, COUPER *Poetry* (1804) l. 281. Sik. Light be thy care and cumber, HOGG *Poems* (ed. 1865) 408. Dmf. The wave . . . That wearies with its constant cumber All hearts that climb the climbing tide, REID *Poems* (1894) 137. Gall. I will go the length of my tether in eschewing all cummer and bickering, CROCKETT *Grey Man* (1896) xxiv. Uls. Ten thousand broguineers and more, Would not have been much cumber, Uls. *Jrn. Arch.* (1854) II. 16. n.Cy. GROSE (1790); n.Cy.<sup>1</sup> Nhp.<sup>1</sup> *Obs.* n.Yks. Thur birds are all cumber, Ise cut their throats, MERRISON *Praise Ale* (1684) l. 386; n.Yks.<sup>1</sup>; n.Yks.<sup>2</sup> 'They're iv a vast o' cummer, they are largely involved. 'Cummer's their ailment,' debt is their besetment. n.Stf. I shall-be nought but cumber, a sittin' i' th' chimney-corner, GEO. ELIOT *A. Bede* (1859) l. 159.

Hence (1) **Cumberlin**, *sb.* a troublesome, worthless fellow; (2) **Cumberly**, *adj.* heavy, lumbering, in the way; (3) **Cumberment**, *sb.* encumbrance, hindrance, impediment; (4) **Cumbersome**, *adj.* (a) troublesome, awkward, inconvenient; (b) stout.

(1) Chs. Thah'st getten bad luck top eend, thah cumberlin,

CLOUGH *B. Bresskille* (1879) 19; Chs.<sup>1,2,3</sup> (2) w.Yks. Aw've nowt to add, nobbut as yo' do find some fowk cumberly at times, Yks. *Whly. Post* (Mar. 20, 1897); That's a great cumberly taable, BANKS *Whfd. Wds.* (1865); w.Yks.<sup>2</sup>; w.Yks.<sup>3</sup> A bedstead in the 'house' is 'varry gään [convenient] bud varry cumberly yuh see.' (3) w.Som.<sup>1</sup> You see, mum, tidn same's 'off I was a young man 'thout no cumberment. (4, a) n.Yks.<sup>2</sup> Ess. An'—if umberrelas there we take—So cumbersome we find um, CLARK *J. Noakes* (1839) st. 57. Ken.<sup>1</sup> I reckon you'll find that gurt coat mighty cumbersome. Sur.<sup>1</sup> (b) n.Yks. (H.M.)

2. A piece of wood tied round a cow's neck to keep her from going through hedges.

w.Yks. Rare (M.F.); w.Yks.<sup>2</sup>

3. *v.* To trouble, oppress. N.Cy.<sup>1</sup>

4. **Comp.** (1) **Cumber-ground**, a useless person or thing; particularly applied to useless trees; (2) **-room**, in phr. *in cumber-room*, having the appearance of an intruder, an encumbrance; (3) **-world**, see **ground**.

(1) n.Yks.<sup>1</sup> a.Chs.<sup>1</sup> n.Lin.<sup>1</sup> Nhp.<sup>1,2</sup> (2) Sc. Frithet, an' ye think I'm in cumber-room, I'll no bode mysel' tae bide, *St. Patrick* (1819) III. 147 (JAM.). (3) n.Lin.<sup>1</sup>

[1. Sic hunger . . . sic cummer Within this land was never hard nor sene, DUNBAR *Devorrit with dreme* (c. 1510) 4.

3. Martha was combred about moche servyng, TINDALE (1526) *Luke* x. 40. OFr. *encombrer*, 'embarrasser, accabler' (LA CURNE).]

**CUMBER**, *sb.*<sup>2</sup> Yks. Not. [kʷmə(r).] A cucumber. w.Yks.<sup>2</sup> Well known to old inhabitants. Not.<sup>1</sup>

**CUMBER-BOARD**, *sb.* Yks. [kʷmə-buəd.] A perforated board through which pass the lashings or connecting threads or strings between the jacquard and the heads. See **Lashing**. w.Yks. (J.T.)

**CUMBERED**, *pp.* Sc. Benumbed, stiffened with cold. See **Cumber**, *sb.*<sup>1</sup>

w.Lth. The hands are said to be cumbered (JAM.).

[As when the fynges ben combred and croked for grete colde, TREVISIA *Barth.* (1398) III. xxi. (N.E.D.)]

**CUMBLED**, *pp.* *adj.* e.An.<sup>1</sup> Nrf.<sup>1</sup> [kʷmbld.] Cramped, benumbed with cold. Cf. **cumbered**. Hence **Cumbly-cold**, *adj.* stiff with cold; applied to weather, intensely cold.

[Comelyd for colde, *eviratus*, *Prompt.* Cp. OFr. *acomber*, 'surcharge, accabler' (LA CURNE).]

**CUMBLUFF**, *adj.* Per. (JAM.) [Not known to our correspondents.] In phr. *to look cumbluff*, to have the appearance of stupefaction.

**CUMBLY, CUMEN**, see **Comely, Come**, *v.*<sup>1</sup>

**CUMHETHER, IDDER, JETHER**, see **Come-hither**.

**CUMLEY, CUMLIN**, see **Comely, Coming**.

**CUMMAL**, *sb.* Or.I. A small rising ground. (S.A.S.); S. & Ork.<sup>1</sup>

[A word for a mound, esp. a burial mound, occurring in place-names in Shetland, is *kuml* (*kumbel*), JAKOBSEN *Shetl. Dial.* (1897) 8r.]

**CUMMER**, *sb.* and *v.* Sc. Also written **comer** (e (JAM.)) and in form **kimmer**. [kʷmər, kɪmər.] 1. *sb.* A god-mother, in her relationship to the other godparents. Cf. **cummether**.

Abd. One of the maiden cummers, or godmothers, in this case an interesting girl, took the infant, RUDDIMAN *Sc. Parish* (1828) 118, ed. 1889.

Hence (1) **Cummer-fealls**, *sb. pl.* an entertainment formerly given on the recovery of a female from lying; (2) **Cummer-skolls**, *sb. pl.* an entertainment given to visitors on the occasion of the birth of a child.

(1) Sc. Than at the ledly's recovery there was a ground supper gien that they caw'd the cummerfealls, *Marriage* (1818) II. 130 (JAM.). (2) S. & Ork.<sup>1</sup>

2. A female companion or intimate, a gossip.

Sc. Please your kimmer and ye'll easily guide your gossip, RAMSAY *Prov.* (1737); How's this now, kimmer? SCOTT *Rob Roy* (1817) xxiii. Bch. A glancin' helmet, sword, and targe, I loot the cummers see, FORBES *Ulysses* (1785) 18. Frf. Lads, she's a fine stout kimmer, BARRIE *Thrusis* (1889) ix. Fif. She's a kittle kimmer, the sea, ROBERTSON *Provost* (1894) 27. Rnf. And g'e me your word, my worthy auld kimmer, TANNAHILL *Memoirs* (1807) 258, ed. 1817. Ayr. She said to her kimmers, 'his een are like

## 10.4 THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

That said, important work on a large, indeed national, scale was carried out by dialectologists in Britain in the twentieth century, and a direct line of descent can be traced from Joseph Wright's achievements to much of this work. At the University of Leeds, the Survey of English Dialects (henceforth SED) began its work in the 1940s, and survives there to the present day under the umbrella of the Leeds Archive of Vernacular Culture. The SED was initiated in 1946 by Professor Eugen Dieth, of the University of Zurich, and Professor Harold Orton of Leeds. Following Dieth's death in 1956, Orton became the SED's driving force, overseeing fieldwork and the publication of its *Basic Material* volumes (1962–71) and *A Word Geography of England* (1974). The Survey's *The Linguistic Atlas of England* (1978) was published after Orton's death (in 1975). Earlier in his career, Orton had been in close touch (McDavid 1975: 219; Sanderson 1978) with Joseph Wright—in fact, in 1923, Wright was one of the examiners of Orton's B.Litt. thesis at Oxford. Following this thread further, one of the SED fieldworkers superintended by Orton was David Parry, who went on to found, in 1968, at Swansea University (as it is now called), the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (henceforth SAWD), which adapted the Dieth–Orton *A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England* (1952) for collecting spoken English across Wales. (And maybe the fact that David Parry supervised my doctoral thesis (published as Penhallurick 1991), and that I currently find myself custodian of the archives of the SAWD, gives me a kind of privileged perspective from the tip of this branch of dialectology's family tree.)

The SED and SAWD were greatly informed by nineteenth-century philology and its antecedents, and were continuations of the traditions seen in the English Dialect Society and the *EDD*. But they were affected also by insights from modern linguistics, and in their more recent phases from sociolinguistics in particular. Modern structuralist linguistics was more influential in the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS), another of the major surveys of the twentieth century. (At the earliest planning stages, which were handled by a committee set up by the Philological Society, the SED and LSS were part of the same project.) Each of these three national surveys had as its object of study conservative dialectal English (or Scots, in the case of the LSS, which was also concerned with Gaelic). However, none of them had as its aim the production of a dialect dictionary. Orton (1947) gives a brief historical and critical overview of dialect dictionaries of English, arguing that the format is not the most suitable for the contemporary dialectologist:

Nowadays, a dictionary of local dialect to be adequate, must certainly include all the words in current use—not only those not in Standard English, but also those that do appear in Standard. The dictionary should aim at completeness, all the words, not merely the unusual, the strange. (Ibid. 4)

This is a radical review of the purpose and content of the dialect dictionary—it should provide the complete vocabulary of its target locality or region, with meanings ‘most carefully defined’ and transcription in phonetic script ‘vital to the task’.

If a large region is under investigation, the dictionary becomes a much bigger undertaking. The sounds of each dialect in the region should be ascertained and described as a system; and the currency of each word and its variant pronunciations should be determined. Certainly a big undertaking! Yet a dictionary is hardly the best method of presenting this information. Indeed, it would be far best conveyed by means of maps. . . . What is now wanted is a ‘dialect atlas’ of English. (Ibid. 4–5)

Thus, in this view, the dialect dictionary becomes obsolete. In favouring ‘completeness’, an all-inclusive picture of the living vocabulary of a locality or region, Orton’s argument is in keeping with structuralist linguistics. But to attempt a ‘dialect’ dictionary on such lines—even for a single locality—is impractical, for the scholar and for the publisher. When another requirement is added, that the data must be ‘absolutely trustworthy’, with ‘no second-hand information’ (Orton 1947: 5), then we begin to see the shape of Orton’s survey: the material is collected by means of a questionnaire which gathers non-standard and standard responses (to a comparatively comprehensive set of questions, that is, a large number of questions, but with selected coverage of lexical and semantic fields), and which is used by fieldworkers who are trained in linguistics and in phonetic transcription, the ultimate aim being to produce a national linguistic atlas of regional spoken English. This, in basic terms, is the method followed by the major dialect surveys of the twentieth century in Britain (though the LSS also used postal questionnaires).

Naturally, each of these surveys collected substantial amounts of dialectal vocabulary, subsequently presented and analysed in a variety of publications, with the emphasis on maps. (In addition to those publications mentioned above, see Upton and Widdowson (2006), Parry (1999), and Mather and Speitel (1975, 1977, 1986).) There have been, nevertheless, major publications presenting the material in ways nearer to a dictionary format. The SED *Basic Material* volumes, for example, list all the responses (in detailed phonetics) to all the questions (over 1300) in all the localities (313) in the Survey’s network; and a number of SAWD publications (for example, Parry 1977, 1979, 1999) list all non-standard responses to the questions and all non-standard ‘incidental material’ (that is, not in direct

response to a question) elicited in interviews with informants, giving also full etymological information and cross-references to the SED and *EDD*. Ironically, given Orton's remarks in 1947, one of the later publications of the SED is, in fact, a dictionary: *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar* (Upton, Parry, and Widdowson 1994).

As the Introduction to the volume emphasizes, however, this cannot be a conventional dictionary, depending entirely as it does on the SED's *Basic Material* series, which in turn depends entirely on the responses to the 1300+ questions of the Dieth–Orton questionnaire. The SED's *Dictionary*, therefore, is a re-presentation of the Survey's lexical database. It cannot be, like the *EDD*, a 'complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use' in England; it is perforce 'an alphabetical listing of the wealth of regional vocabulary' (Upton, Parry, and Widdowson 1994: v) which realizes the semantic notions (and only those notions) covered by the questionnaire.

The idea of a dictionary of the SED developed in the early 1980s under the guidance of Stewart Sanderson of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at Leeds University. The first task was to transfer items from the twelve volumes of *Basic Material* to a substantial number of index cards. In the *BM*, these items are listed according to region and locality, and under each Dieth–Orton question. For example, the notion for question V.6.10 'What do you call the thin piece you cut from the loaf [of bread] with a bread-knife?' is *SLICE*. Under this heading, then, are the lexical variants obtained in response to the question in each of the 313 localities (in the *BM* volumes, the SED localities are divided into four regions: Northern, West Midlands, East Midlands, and Southern). The index cards were the first stage en route to re-ordering the items in a single alphabetical list. This first stage was a year-long task of some endurance for a lone research assistant working in the Harold Orton Research Room at Leeds. (I know, for I was that research assistant.)

Funding was provided by the publishers Croom Helm, but it was not until 1994 that the *Dictionary and Grammar* appeared (published by Routledge), after the project had moved from Leeds to the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield. Figure 10.4 shows two facing pages from the *Survey of English Dialects Dictionary*.

Pages 9–475 are the Dictionary, pages 479–506 the Grammar. The latter is included in emulation of Joseph Wright, and because the editors 'consider it to be essential to a proper understanding of the functioning of the lexis' (1994: v). It certainly illuminates some of the lexis. Figure 10.4 exemplifies the layout of the Dictionary and the special nature of its material. The first entries at the headwords **sledge**, **slice**, and **slide**, and the first two at **slip**, are 'core' entries, that is, the headword, in bold, is also

cart-wheel could slide to prevent the cart from going backwards or too fast on a hill, = PROP/CHOCK I.11.2. sled Nf, sle'd Nf  
 3. n a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. sled La Nf Nf  
**sleddar** *n* a DRAG used to slow a cart I.11.3. sleda Db  
**ledge** *1. n* When in winter you can't use a cart with wheels, what do you use for carrying heavy loads? I.9.1. sled's Ess Sx, zhd3 D, sled3 L, sled3 Nb Cu Du La Y Ch Db Sa Sftfat bottom, iron sleds, same shape as cart? He Wo Wa Mon GI O N L Lei R Hu C Nf Sf Bk Bd Hrt Ess So Brk K Do Sx, sled3 Mon O So W Co D Do Ha, zhd3 Ha, sled3 Ess So Sr, sled3 D, sled3 So, stadj Ha, stadj D. => coop, drag, dray, drug, ground-car, ground-cart, skid(s), slead => sled, sled, sleigh, slide => sled, trail-cart  
 2. n a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. sled3 Nb Cu La Y L  
**ledge-roof chamber\*** *n* a BEDROOM in the gable of a house V.2.3. sled3auf:fembo L  
**sleep** *1. n* a railway sleeper, used as the CURB-STONE in a cow-house I.3.9. pl slp'pə Ess  
 2. n a tree STUMP IV.12.4. sle:ap?ə Nf  
**sleigh** *n* a SLEDGE used to carry loads in winter I.9.1. sle: Ch La(none locally), sle: Y(none locally), sle: Ch, pl sle:z L, sle: D, zle: D  
**slender** *v* to THIN OUT turnip plants II.4.2. slenda3 (+V) La  
**slew** *1. n* a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. str: Co  
 2. *n* on the slew DIAGONALLY, referring to harrowing a field IX.1.8. on ðo slw: K  
**slew** *n* ASKEW, describing a picture that is not hanging straight IX.1.3. s'is'ud Du; on a slew on a slw Y  
**slewing** *v-ing* THROWING a stone VIII.7.7. slun3 So [queried SBM]  
**slew-ways-over** *adv* DIAGONALLY, referring to harrowing a field IX.1.8. slw:swəzə Y  
**slice** *1. n* What do you call the thin piece you cut off from the loaf with the bread-knife? V.6.10. Eng. => bit, butty, hunch, hunk, junk, morsel, piece, round, roundel, shive, slab, slash, slippe, slish => slishe, slishe, slithag, sliver, slvsh => slishe, square, stull; => also knot, slive  
 2. *n* a CUTTING of hay II.9.15. stis3 So, slas3 So  
 3. *n* a SHOVEL for a household fire V.3.9. slas3 GI  
**slices** *npl* the horizontal BARS of a gate IV.3.6. slastiz Y [excluding top bar x1]  
**slick** *adj* SLIPPERY VII.6.14. stik He Mon GI, stik GI  
**slick-board** *n* a PASTE-BOARD V.6.5. slikbo:rd GI  
**slicking** *vt-ing* PUTTING your tongue OUT VL.5.4. slikn Man

**slid** *1. n* a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. slid Nf, slvd Nf  
 2. *v* to SLIDE VIII.7.1. slid Y  
**slide** *1. vi* When children find the footpaths or the playground covered with ice, they will at once begin to ... VIII.7.1. Eng exc. We. => glirry, shiri, skid, skiddir, skiri, skirr, slare, slid, slide about, slidder, slire, slip, slither, stir, slur about  
 2. *n* the SOLE of a horse-drawn plough I.8.9. sleid Sa, sterd D, sterd So Sr, slaid Lei Ess K, stoid St W, stoid Wa L Lei Sf, staid Brik  
 3. *n* a chock chained to a cart, which could be placed behind and under a wheel to prevent the cart from going backwards on a hill, = PROP/CHOCK I.11.2. slaid Man  
 4. *n* a DRAG used to slow a cart I.11.3. sle'd Nf, slaid Nih Hu C Bk Bd Hrt, stoid Wa GI O Sf Hrt Ess, slaid Wa Sf Ess, slaid He Mon GI, stoid Mon  
**slider** *1. n* a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. slaida3 Bk, sloda3 Bk  
 2. *vi* to SLIDE VIII.7.1. staida3 Co  
**sliding swivel** *n* a sliding RING to which a tether is attached in a cow-house I.3.5. sloidin swivl Ess  
**slight** *adj* ILL, describing a person who is unwell VI.13.1(b). sftat Co  
**slike** *1. vt* to TOP AND TAIL swedes II.4.3. slatk Sa  
 2. *adj* SLIPPERY VII.6.14. slatk He, slatk He  
**sling** *1. n* the STRETCHER between the traces of a cart-horse I.5.11. slup Ess  
 \*2. ?p'pippi to slip a calf, = SLIPS THE CALF III.1.11. slap Sx  
**slinger** *1. n* a FARM-LABOURER I.2.4. pl slup'oz Co [queried u.r. SBM]  
 2. *n* the HANGING-POST of a gate IV.3.3. slen3 Man  
**slingers** *n* BROTH V.7.20(a). slup'oz Co D  
**sling-gear-horse** *n* a TRACE-HORSE I.6.3. sling'ra3 Db  
**slinging** *v-ing* THROWING a stone VIII.7.7. slupn Y K  
**sling(s)** *n* a SWINGLE-TREE of a horse-drawn plough harness I.8.3. sg: slup Ess  
 s: slup Sf  
**slings** *npl* BRACES VI.14.10. slup3 Co  
**sling-ut** *n* a TRACE-HORSE I.6.3. slupnt Db  
**slink** *1.1. v* to slip a calf, = SLIPS THE CALF III.1.11. slupk Ch; slunk slupk K [before 7 months]  
 1.2. *vt* to slip a calf. slupk Ch K, -ed slupk K; slanked slupk K  
 2. *vi* referring to a cow, show signs of calving by changes in the pelvic region, = SHOWS SIGNS OF CALVING III.1.12(b). -ed slupk K Sx, ppl:3 slupk K

3. *vt* to SLIP A FOAL III.4.6. slupk K, -ed slupk K  
 4. *n* RUBBISH V.1.15. slupk La  
 5. *vi* to SPOIL, referring to meat or fish V.7.10. slupk St  
**slink-butcher** *n* a KNACKER III.11.9. slupkbut3 Db  
**slink-chap** *n* a KNACKER III.11.9. slupk3ap La  
**slink-dealer** *n* a KNACKER III.11.9. slupk3de3 La  
**slink-fellow** *n* a KNACKER III.11.9. s'leap3de3 Y  
**slinkings** *n* the AFTERBIRTH that comes from a cow's uterus after a calf is born III.1.13. slupknz K  
**slinkman** *n* a KNACKER III.11.9. slupkman St  
**slip** *1. v* slips the calf When the cow calves before her time, you say she ... III.1.11. => aborted, calved a dead calf, calved before her time, calves before her time, cast calf, cast-calve, cast her calf, casts, casts a calf, casts her calf, casts it, draws her calf => throw, had a slip, has a slip, has a-warped, has calved before time, has cast, has casted her calf, has cast her calf, has come down before her time, has come down early, has had a slip, has picked, has picked calf, has picked her calf, has picked it, has slipped, has slipped calf, has slipped her calf, has slipped it, has slipped the calf, has strat her calf, has stratred calf, has thrown her calf before time, have slipped her calf, is out of breaking, jacked, pick, pick calf, pick-calved, picked, picked calf, picked her calf, picks, picks a calf, picks calf, picks her calf, picks it, picks its calf, picks the calf, pitched her calf, slanked calf => slink, slink, slinked her calf, slinked it, slinked the calf, slink her calf, slip calf, slip-calve, slip-calved, slip her calf, slipped, slipped calf, slipped her calf, slipped her calf afore time, slipped her calf early, slipped it, slipped the calf, slips, slips a calf, slips calf, slips her calf, slips him, slips the calf, slung the calf => sling, stank => slink, throwed her calf, warped, warped her calf, warped the calf  
 2. *v* to slip a foal What do you say if the mare gives birth before the proper time? III.4.6. => came before time, cast a colt, cast a foal, cast her colt, cast her foal, cast the foal, come down before time, drop a foal, dropped, drop the foal, fling her colt, foal before her time, foaled before her time, foaled before time, had a milskude, had a slip, has aborted, has a-foaled before her time, has a-slipped foal, has cast a foal, has cast her colt, has cast her foal, has cast it, has dropped her colt, has foaled before her time, has foaled before time, has picked a foal, has picked her foal, has slip a foal, has slip-foaled, has slip her foal, has slipped, has slipped a foal, has slipped before time, has slipped colt, has slipped foal, has slipped her colt, has slipped her foal, has slipped the colt, has strat her colt, has strat her foal, has thrown a colt, has thrown her colt, has thrown the colt, have a slip, he came before his time, it came before time, pick, pick a foal, picked the foal,

pick-foal, pick foal, pick her foal, pick its colt, pick its foal, pick the foal, slink a foal, slinks her foal => slink, slink it => slink, slip, slip a colt, slip a foal, slip colt, slip-foal, slip foal, slip her colt, slip her foal, slip its foal, slipped, slipped a colt, slipped a foal, slipped colt, slipped foal, slipping her colt, slipping her foal, slipping the foal, slipping the colt, slips her colt, slips the foal, slip that there foal, slip the colt, slip the foal, slip slip foal, throw a foal, throw a foal early, throwed her colt, throw her colt, to cast her colt, warp, warped, warped her colt, warped the foal, warp her foal  
 3. *n* a PIGLET III.8.2. slip So, stp W  
 4. *n* a TETHER for a cow I.3.4. slip Nf K  
 5. *n* a chain tether. slip Nf  
 6. *n* a tether made of rope or chain. slip Nf  
 7. *n* a leather tether. slip Nf  
 8. *n* a bridle for a cow, to which a tie or tether can be clipped. slip Nf  
 9. *n* a HALTER for a cow I.3.17. slip Nf  
 10. *n* a TETHERING-ROPE used to tie up a horse I.4.2. slip St L Nf K Sx, pl slips Sa [queried i.r.r. WMBM]  
 11. *n* the SOLE of a horse-drawn plough I.8.9. slip Nf Sf, stp D  
 12. *n* a movable horizontal rod stretching between the shafts of a cart, fixing them to the cart-body and stopping the cart from tipping, = ROD/PIN I.10.3. slip Cu  
 13. *n* a movable iron hoop that slides along a cart-shaft and couples it to the projecting end of the beam on which the cart-body rests, = ROD/PIN I.10.3. slip Cu Du Y  
 14. *n* a DRAG used to slow a wagon I.11.3. slip L  
 15. *vi* to SLIDE VIII.7.1. slip Ess [marked u.r. EMBM]  
 16. *v* to REMOVE STALKS from currants V.7.24. -ing slupn Sx  
 17. *n* a decorative APRON V.11.2(b). slip C  
 18. *n* a NECKERCHIEF VI.14.4. stp Do  
**slip-block** *n* the CLOG on a horse's tether I.4.3. slupblok? Nf  
**slip-chain** *n* a chain used to tie up a horse, = TETHERING-ROPE I.4.2. slup3en Nt  
**slip-coat cheese\*** *n* a kind of cream CHEESE V.5.4(b). -s slupko3t f3i: gatz L  
**slipe** *1. n* a PADDOCK I.1.10. slaip C  
 2. *n* the MOULD-BOARD of a horse-drawn plough I.8.8. slaip Y, slap Y  
 3. *n* the SOLE of a horse-drawn plough I.8.9. slaip D, slaip Y, slap Y Db L, slaip Db Nt L Lei R Nih, slaip L  
 4. *n* a CUTTING of hay II.9.15. slaip So, slap

Fig. 10.4. Sample pages from the Survey of English Dialects Dictionary, 1994



the notion sought by a Dieth–Orton question, which is reproduced here in italics following the headword. Such headwords are from Standard English. Following the number of the question (taken from the Dieth–Orton *Questionnaire*) is a list of the chief variant pronunciations of the headword, in phonetic script, with their regional distribution indicated by abbreviations of county names (the editors choosing not to list the finer details of phonetic transcription and networks of localities within each county, arguing that these ‘would overwhelm the text by their length and complexity’ (6), and pointing out that such details are available in the *BM* volumes). This list is followed by another (in bold) which cross-refers to all the other (and generally non-standard) variants obtained in response to the same Dieth–Orton question, each of which (except for those in italics) is also a headword elsewhere in the *Dictionary*. The list under **sledge**, for example, includes **sleigh**, which also appears as a headword in Figure 10.4. This, like the majority of entries, is an ‘ordinary’ entry. Its meaning is supplied by reference to the Dieth–Orton notion (SLEDGE). As with core entries, pronunciations and provenance are given, but the only cross-reference is to the core entry. Grammatical classifications are given at the start of each entry, and sometimes additional secondary commentary is provided in italics between square brackets. An asterisk indicates an item overlooked for one reason or another in the original *Basic Material* lists.

The *SED Dictionary* is of value to any scholar wanting easy access to the particulars of the countrywide distribution of any of the lexical items captured by the survey, as long as one is prepared to forego the finer, precise details of provenance, locality by locality. The *Dictionary* is easy to use, and highly systematic. For the general reader, it makes available in compact form the lexical riches of the *SED*. The editors freely acknowledge that it is not ‘a general dictionary of English dialects’ (v) on the scale of the *EDD*.

It is worth emphasizing further that the twentieth century saw great productivity in dialect research, including research into dialect vocabulary. The abundance of work ranges from the major surveys mentioned above, to the individual projects of staff and students of Linguistics and English departments in universities, to the activities of local societies such as the Lancashire Dialect Society and Yorkshire Dialect Society (successors to the English Dialect Society), to the output of publishers such as Abson Books of London (pocket-sized dialect and slang glossaries aimed at the popular market). Brief mention should be made of some huge endeavours which, however, lie outside the remit of this chapter, such as *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Grant *et al.* 1931–76) (and if we add to this *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Aitken, Stevenson *et al.* 1931–2002) we have an achievement at least comparable to that of the *EDD*), and the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*) (Cassidy and Hall 1985–2002), a project

whose beginnings go back to 1889 and the founding of the American Dialect Society, with four volumes published, and which ‘is for the twentieth- and twenty-first-century study of non-standard varieties of American English what the original *OED* was for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century study of the standard variety of British English’ (Algeo 2000).

Finally, some brief comments on *A Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Macafee 1996), something of a rarity for England, Wales, and Ireland in the twentieth century, in that it is a *bona fide* dialect dictionary project, of ‘the non-standard English vocabulary that is used in traditional or dialectal speech’ (1996: xiv), of the north of Ireland. The Ulster Dictionary ‘is an edited compilation of a number of mainly amateur wordlists, most of whose authors and collectors are long since gone’ (1996: xv). These wordlists come from the collections of the Ulster Dialect Archive, at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. The Ulster Dictionary Project was launched in 1989, with the aim of making these materials ‘readily accessible to the public’ in ‘a single concise volume’ (Macafee 1996: xiii). A simple, straightforward format characterizes the dictionary, therefore. The volume contains over 15,000 entries, with etymologies provided for about a third. Grammatical classifications are given, and some two hundred entries are illustrated by line drawings, but details of pronunciation (other than what can be gleaned from spellings) and provenance are minimal, and statements on the active currency of items are avoided. Nevertheless, the data is presented according to highly methodical and focused principles, and with concision and clarity.

## 10.5 CONCLUSION

The history of dialect dictionaries of English in Britain can be divided into two main periods: pre-*EDD* and post-*EDD*. The *EDD* stands at the culmination of two connected processes, that of identifying and segregating the Standard and the dialectal, and that of developing the methodology for collecting, describing, and presenting the (dialectal) materials. Post-*EDD*, there is a movement away from the dictionary, as the methodology and theoretical underpinning changes under the influence of modern linguistics.

But the dialect dictionary is not extinct, and interest in dialectal vocabulary remains strong. It is true that, whereas the *EDD* was a one-off publication, its sister project, the *OED*, remains a going concern, having embraced the potential of digital media, keeping track of Standard English as it changes, and incorpor-

ating vocabulary from the global community of English usage. British English dialectal speech, however, continues to be rather overlooked in the *OED*. One way forward for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of dialectal vocabulary is signalled by the BBC's *Voices* project. Launched in 2005, *Voices* was an initiative which began in the Online section of BBC Wales, and grew into a nationwide survey of Britain's local speech, making use of the resources of the BBC's regions to collect audio recordings and produce broadcast output. Whilst very much in the *vox pop* mould, it also has significant scholarly input. It includes an online questionnaire, building on the methodology of the Survey of Regional English developed by Clive Upton at Leeds University. Much of the material collected awaits fuller academic investigation, but the *Voices* website includes, for example, an interactive map showing words and their geographical distributions, and links to 'dialect dictionaries' (actually glossaries, with the emphasis on a popular style) of the regions. The *Sounds Familiar* website of the British Library is a similar development. Perhaps we can now envisage the materials held in the archives of the national projects of the twentieth century being made available online also, and being added to, by ventures like *Voices*, forming a continual work-in-progress, a digital network of dialect dictionaries.

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- Voices* (BBC) project at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices>

# SLANG AND CANT DICTIONARIES

*Julie Coleman*

## 11.1 DEFINITIONS

SLANG lexicographers often comment on the difficulty of determining with any confidence which terms are slang (e.g. Green 2005: vii). What one lexicographer labels as slang, another will consider colloquial language, jargon, or dialect. The term ‘slang’ is as subject to semantic change as any other, and this further complicates a historical analysis of slang dictionaries.<sup>1</sup> Even if the labels were used consistently, the terms would be a moving target, shifting unpredictably between registers. This confusion in categorization extends to slang dictionaries themselves and is made worse by the influence of market forces. Even if editors title their work accurately (I shall invent a *Dictionary of Computer Jargon* for this purpose), a marketing department may repackage the work to appeal to a wider market, often by misrepresenting the dictionary’s contents (*E-Slang! The Dictionary for the 21st Century*). In addition, there are some national differences in the way ‘slang’ is used. Dictionaries of dialect, particularly the dialects of America, Ireland, and Scotland, are often marketed as glossaries of regional slang (e.g. Simpson 2004). Dictionaries of Australian English are often catalogued by

<sup>1</sup> See *OED slang* n.<sup>3</sup>: 1a ‘The special vocabulary used by any set of persons of a low or disreputable character; language of a low and vulgar type’ (cited between 1756 and 1839), 1b ‘The special vocabulary or phraseology of a particular calling or profession; the cant or jargon of a certain class or period’ (1801–1872), and 1c ‘Language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense’ (1818–1976) (*OED Online*).

booksellers and libraries as slang dictionaries, regardless of the registers they cover (→ BAILEY, Vol. I).

I should explain here the terms I use and the meanings I attach to them, since they have been employed with great flexibility by writers through the centuries. Colloquial English is informal English, typically spoken but possibly also written. (A hastily written note takes on some of the features of a spoken message.) Dialect terms, usually associated with local accents, and with local grammatical and syntactical features, may be widely used within their areas and survive for long periods. Slang terms are typically, though not necessarily, short-lived. They often belong to restricted groups, such as teenagers, soldiers, students, or fans of a particular fashion or musical trend. Jargon is more technical and sometimes more official than slang, though still restricted to well-defined occupational or interest groups, such as doctors, computer-programmers, or model train enthusiasts. It is sometimes codified, but may still change fairly rapidly because of developments in technology. Some lexicographers distinguish between professional slang and jargon, but many cannot draw the distinction, or choose not to. Cant is the secret language of marginalized groups: beggars, prostitutes, drug-takers, and criminals of all kinds. Early writers on cant claim that it was used to confound innocent eavesdroppers, but Maurer (1950: 179) argues forcefully that it is employed to create a group-identity within the criminal fraternity, and only when the speakers are confident that they will not be overheard. Cant is probably more akin to jargon than to slang, but there is a long tradition of treating cant and slang together in dictionaries.

Most general dictionaries contain some slang terms, particularly terms that concentrate on restricted areas of meaning or experience. However, the existence of many slang words for sex, for example, does not make a dictionary of sex terms a slang dictionary (e.g. Cary 1916). Similarly, though many slang terms are used in sport, a dictionary of horse-racing terms, for example, which will inevitably be marketed as a dictionary of racing slang, may very well be broader in scope (e.g. Wallish 1989). For the purposes of this chapter, I am privileging my definition of 'slang dictionary' above the evidence of title pages and keyword searches to exclude dictionaries of colloquial language, jargon, dialect, and any treatment of a national form of English, family language, or semantic field. I have had to apply these distinctions more rigidly for the later period, when the production of dictionaries aimed at the popular market has increased dramatically year by year. Judging from my own database, which probably omits a few modern lists, about two hundred cant and slang glossaries and dictionaries were published per decade during the 1970s and 80s, and more than three hundred during the 1990s (See Fig. 11.1).

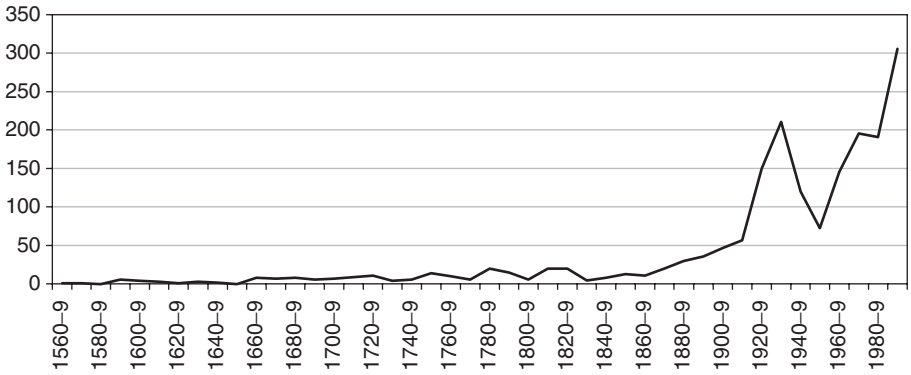


FIG. 11.1. Slang dictionaries published between 1560 and 1999

## 11.2 THE BEGINNINGS OF CANT AND SLANG LEXICOGRAPHY

Any account of cant and slang lexicography has to begin with cant, because, with the honourable exception of B. E. (c.1698), there seems to have been little interest in listing slang much before Grose (1785). Although specialist works containing some cant had been published before, the first English canting glossary was Thomas Harman's *Caveat or Warening for Commen Coursitors* (1567). The entries are arranged by meaning, according to the conventions adopted for bilingual glossaries since the later medieval period (Starnes and Noyes 1946: 198–9). The glossary begins:

- (1) Nab, a head.  
 Nabchet, a hat or cap.  
 Glasyers, eyes  
 a smelling chete, a nose.  
 gan, a mouth (Harman 1567).

Appearing during a period of economic upheaval, it warned against falling prey to the ingenious lies and impostures of travelling vagabonds. Harman's list, collected while he served as a magistrate, was to become the core of a lexicographical tradition that lasted for several centuries. A generation later, Thomas Dekker reissued the list, more or less unchanged and without attribution, in his extremely successful *Bellman of London* pamphlets. With additions, Richard Head included it in his *English Rogue* (1665) and *Canting Academy* (1673). Head

was the first of many cant and slang lexicographers to provide a version of his glossary alphabetized by the standard English term, suggesting that its readers might be interested in cant production as well as comprehension.

The first autonomous dictionary of non-standard English was B. E.'s *New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (c.1698),<sup>2</sup> which included cant and slang as well as jargon, colloquialisms, and new terms used in London's busy commercial centres. He also observed some fine shades of meaning developing around him and used several earlier glossaries in the compilation of his own lexicon, including some of the early canting glossaries. B. E. was the first slang lexicographer to provide citations to any extent, and he attempted to treat etymology where he could:

(2) *Cank*, c. Dumb. *The Cull's Cank*, c. the Rogue's Dumb.

*Canterbury*, a sort of a short or Hand-gallop; from the Road leading to that famous City (of *Kent*) on which they Ride (for the most part) after that manner (B. E. c.1698).

Although B. E. expanded the scope of his dictionary far beyond the realms of mere cant, it was his canting terms that were to be borrowed and copied by later lexicographers. They were, for example, extracted by the compiler of the *New Canting Dictionary* (1725), which was then adapted by Bailey (1759), and took on a life of its own in the many editions of the life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew (e.g. Anon. c.1750). Until the very end of the nineteenth century, the Carew glossaries listed as Gypsy language many terms that can be traced to Harman. This is not the only time that scrupulous accuracy has given way to commercial considerations in cant and slang lexicography.

A great many minor glossaries of cant were published during the eighteenth century. Crime rates were increasing, and fear of crime growing even faster. Policing was amateur and inadequate, so Parliament concentrated on deterrence and passed ever harsher laws. Reformed and condemned felons, as well as enterprising hack writers, cashed in on the widespread interest in criminality by selling accounts of illegal enterprises. Many included brief glossaries of canting language, some repackaging the lists of the previous century, while others apparently documented genuine current usage. There is not space to mention them all here, but the *Discoveries of John Poulter* was particularly successful, and ran to many editions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> All the cant glossaries produced before this were published as appendices to larger works.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller account of early cant and slang lexicography, see Gotti (1999) and Coleman (2004a, 2004b).

Like B. E.'s dictionary, Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785) covered slang, cant, obscenities, and some colloquial and dialectal terms. It appeared in three editions under his name, one of which was posthumous. Grose emphasized in his preface that his was a historical dictionary, but within entries he rarely indicated dates of use. Citations sometimes hinted that terms might have fallen from use, but this information was not provided directly or consistently. In the preface and within individual entries, he sought to present his dictionary as a scholarly work:

(3) TO CAROUSE, to drink freely or deep, from the German word expressing all out.

SIR JOHN, the old title for a country parson, as Sir John of Wrotham, mentioned by Shakespear [*sic*] (Grose 1785).

However, Grose clearly revelled in his subject matter just as his readers did:

(4) COFFEE HOUSE, to make a coffee-house of a woman's \*\*\*\*, to go in and out and spend nothing (Grose 1788).

Grose's dictionary was cannibalized by Potter (1797) and later revised as the *Lexicon Balatronicum* (Anon. 1811), which was itself re-packaged as the *Bang-up Dictionary* (Anon. 1812). Egan (1823) used the *Lexicon Balatronicum* as the source for his edition of Grose's work, and added little of any value to it. Few subsequent lexicographers of historical slang fail to make reference to Grose. While he may not have succeeded in making slang lexicography respectable, he did demonstrate not only that it could be done but also that it could be profitable.

In the same year that Egan's *Grose* appeared, Jon Bee published his *Slang. A Dictionary of the Turf*. It is a much more original work than Egan's, focusing particularly on sporting slang, though it can hardly be cited as an example of efficient and scientific lexicography:

(5) *Jemmy* (bloody)—a sheep's head; so called from a great dealer in these delicious *morceaux*, Jemmy Lincomb, who lived near Scotland-yard, and who, from his occupation, would necessarily be bedaubed with blood. His customers mostly addressed him with 'B—Jemmy, bring us a b—y head, and lend us von o' your b—shlivers,—mine's at my uncle's.' *Jemmy*. 'Now, gemmen, there you are, in a pig's whisper, if you wants it viping, vy there's the bitch ye know.' And the legend adds, that a she-dog's shaggy back served for knife-cloth to his dainty guests. We never *saw it done*, though there was the canine means of cleanliness (Bee 1823).

Perhaps influenced by modern philological approaches to lexicography, John Camden Hotten (1859) set his sights higher than any of his predecessors, in that



he attempted to cover ancient and contemporary slang terms, to explore their etymology in depth, and to illustrate their use by citation wherever possible:

- (6) **Cove**, or **COVEY**, a boy or man or any age or station. A term generally preceded by an expressive adjective, thus a 'flash COVE', a 'rum COVE', a 'downy COVE', &c. The feminine, **COVESS**, was once popular, but it has fallen into disuse. Originally ancient cant (temp. Henry VII.), **COFE**, or **CUFFIN**, altered in Decker's time to **COVE**. See *Witts' Recreations*, 1654; 'there's a gentry-COVE here', *i.e.* a gentleman. Probably connected with **CUIF**, which, in the North of England, signifies a lout or awkward fellow. Amongst Negroes, **CUFFEE** (Hotten 1874).

In fact, like Grose, Hotten drew much of his wordlist from earlier sources, and often relied on literary representations of non-standard language for evidence of use. Since many of these literary works rehashed material found in earlier glossaries, their reliability is questionable. There are five editions of Hotten's dictionary, the last produced after his death and reissued by Chatto and Windus until 1925.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Hotten's dominance of the slang dictionary market was beginning to waver. His provision of citations was haphazard and his etymologies frequently speculative. In each new edition, Hotten invited his readers to provide him with corrections and additions, which he tacked on to existing entries until some headwords included several competing etymologies without any guidance as to which was to be preferred. His was a dictionary aimed squarely at the popular market, with just enough appearance of scholarship for his more impressionable readers. It is, nevertheless, still frequently consulted.

### 11.3 COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL SLANG LEXICOGRAPHY

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a number of influential comparative slang dictionaries were published. Baumann's *Londonismen* (1887) is a dictionary of English slang and cant terms, which are defined in, and compared with, German. For example:

- (7) **public le(d)ger** ... [Haupt-buch] old Cant: Straßenhure.  
**sandboy** ... [Sandträger] sprichwörtlich: as jolly as a ~ (= as merry as a grig)  
 so fidel wie ein Schneetönig, treuzfidel, puppenlustig (Baumann 1887).

Partridge (1933: 104) praises Baumann's 'entries [as] terse and efficient, the definitions exemplarily accurate, and the indications of *milieu* as reliable as they are useful'. Albert Barrère's *Argot and Slang*, published in the same year, defines French slang terms in English and provides English equivalents. For instance:

(8) **Gréer** (naval), se—, *to dress oneself*, 'to rig oneself out'

**Larder** (obsolete), *to have connection with a woman*, 'to dille, to screw'. Terme libre, qui signifie, faire le déduit, se divertir avec une femme.—LE ROUX, *Dict. Comique* (Barrère 1887).

Although later lexicographers of English slang make frequent reference to these dictionaries, they are not particularly helpful for casual reference. English words can only be located in Barrère by looking up all possible French equivalents, while Baumann provides German equivalents rather than actually defining his terms.

Two years after his *Argot and Slang* appeared, Barrère produced the first volume of his *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant* (1889–90) with Charles Leland. It is worth comparing this work with John Farmer and William Henley's *Slang and its Analogues. Past and Present* (1890–1904), to see why *Slang and its Analogues* is now referred to so much more frequently. Towards the beginning of the letter 'M', the following pair of entries is found in Barrère and Leland's dictionary:

(9) **Marble** (American), also *marvel*. To bound, bounce, or run along. From a boy's marble thrown along a sidewalk, which, if properly propelled, will proceed to an incredible distance. Marbles are also vulgarly called *marvels* in Philadelphia, as in Suffolkshire.

**Marbles** (common), furniture, movables.

I can't git the 'ang of his lingo; his patter's all picter somehow, and wot he quite means by Calf, mate, I dunno no more than a cow.

But the Scapegoat, that's him, I suppose, and he looks it; it's rough, as he says; No *marbles*, no lodging, no grub, and that sort o' thing for days!—*Punch*

For the same stretch of the alphabet, *Slang and its Analogues* has:

(10) **MARBLE** (or **MARVEL**), *verb.* (American).—To move off; TO ABSQUATULATE (*q.v.*).

**MARBLE-ARCH**, *subs.* (venery).—The female *pudendum*. For synonyms see MONOSYLLABLE.

**MARBLES**, *subs.* (common).—1. Furniture; moveables. MONEY AND MARBLES = cash and effects. [From Fr. *meubles*]. Hence, any substantial *quid pro quo* [sic].

ENGLISH SYNONYMS. Belongings; household gods; lares and penates; moveables; sticks; sprats; slows; traps.

FRENCH SYNONYMS. *Le bahut* (popular = large dresser); *le bazar* (prostitutes); *du fourbi* (popular).

1867. A. TROLLOPE, *Claverings*, ch. xxx. And you may be sure of this, she won't get any money from me, unless I get the MARBLES for it.

2. (old).—Syphilis; FRENCH GOUT. (*q.v.*).

1592. R. GREENE, *Theeves Falling Out* [Harl. Misc., viii. 392]. Look into the spittle and hospitals, there you shall see men diseased of the French MARBLES, giving instruction to others.

1592. R. GREENE, *Quip for Upstart Courtier* [Harl. Misc., vi. 406].

Neither do I frequent whore-houses to catch the MARBLES, and so grow your patient.

3. (venery).—The *testes*. For synonyms see CODS.

*Slang and its Analogues* was published in seven volumes, which contain almost twice as many entries as *A Dictionary of Slang's* two volumes. Both include many colloquial terms and terms specific to particular industries, such as printing and tailoring.

There are several obvious differences between the dictionaries. Definitions in *A Dictionary of Slang* tend to be longer, as do its citations; *Slang and its Analogues* tends towards briefer definitions, and includes shorter citations, but more of them, all dated and with full bibliographical details. Headwords in *Slang and its Analogues* are more likely to include numbered definitions and compounds, derivatives, and phrases, which tend to merit separate headword status in *A Dictionary of Slang*. Farmer and Henley include decidedly more cross-references. In addition to their shared historical perspective, both dictionaries aimed to provide comparative information. Though neither carried through this ambition consistently, *Slang and its Analogues* probably provides the more material from other European languages. Barrère and Leland provide considerably more information about etymology than Farmer and Henley, but it is not to their credit.

Although it was to be the most authoritative historical slang dictionary available for almost half a century, *Slang and its Analogues* was originally published in small numbers for subscribers only. Even so, Farmer had to take his shocked publisher to court in an attempt to enforce their contract (Atkinson 2003: xxvi). As in mainstream lexicography, the production of scholarly historical slang dictionaries is far more expensive and time-consuming than their sales alone can possibly justify, and Farmer was constantly scrabbling for money to support his efforts.

Writing in the introduction to his 1986 edition of Wentworth and Flexner's *Dictionary of American Slang*, Chapman could assume general agreement for his

description of Partridge as ‘the lofty star at whose work and book all other slang lexicographers must hopelessly aim’ (Chapman 1986: ix). Partridge’s *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937) presents itself as an updated version of Farmer and Henley’s *Slang and its Analogues*. Partridge continued to add to the dictionary throughout his lifetime (indeed, even the first edition has addenda), and Routledge has issued several updated editions since his death. The ninth edition has narrowed its historical scope to ‘the last sixty years’ (Dalzell and Victor 2006: iii), but broadened its geographical remit by including American slang. Like the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the flagship for a fleet of Oxford dictionaries that benefit by association, Partridge’s dictionary spawned a series of concise and shorter versions (e.g. Partridge 1961).

Partridge usually gives no more than one citation per definition, and indicates usage ranges in a general way, by using phrases like ‘19–20c’ or, in an attempt to convey details of style and period, by using strings of abbreviations (for example: ‘from ca. 1780, ob.: s. >, ca. 1870, coll.’). It is not always clear what the evidence behind these assertions is:

- (11) **boodle**. Bribe(ry), illicit spoils, political perquisites, profits quietly appropriated, party funds—all these are *boodle*. Orig. (1858: Thornton) U.S.; anglicised ca. 1890; in C. 20, coll. Hence, money in general, with no reference to the illicit: coll.; orig. (–1888) U.S.; > gen. in England ca. 1900, but this sense has remained s. . . . (Partridge 1937).

Compare this with the most recent edition:

(12) **boodle** *noun*

- 1 profits appropriated quietly, and usually illegally *US*, 1858 [five citations: 1950–81]
- 2 a fake bankroll used in confidence swindles *US* [one citation: 1985]
- 3 a package of snacks *US*, 1900 [one citation: 2003] (Dalzell and Victor 2006).

Users of the new edition will find it clearer, more up to date, more objective, and more informative than Partridge’s own work; but anyone interested in pre-war slang will continue to refer to earlier editions.

Maurer (1951) took Partridge to task for his uncritical reliance on earlier glossaries. It is certain that a number of his sources are unverifiable. For instance:

- (13) **M.I.K.** Go ahead and eat it!: domestic c.p.: late C. 19–20. I.e. more in the kitchen: contrast **f.h.b.** (F.W. Thomas, private letter, 1939) (Partridge 1949a).

Here, as elsewhere, Partridge appears to accept unsupported assertion as demonstration not only that his correspondent heard or used the term but also that it was more widely used over a considerable (if vaguely defined) period.

As the expanding market in slang dictionaries indicates (see Fig. 11.1), there may well be too much slang in circulation now for a single dictionary to cover it all. This is all the more true of historical slang dictionaries, which face the additional problem of attempting to document the spoken language of previous centuries. Ayto and Simpson (1992) restrict themselves by period, aiming to cover the slang of the twentieth century. They list only widely used slang terms, and usually provide no more than one citation per sense, for example:

- (14) **boodle** orig US. noun 1 Money acquired or spent illegally or immorally, esp. in connection with the obtaining or holding of public offices; the material means or gains of bribery or corruption; also, money in general. 1883–. J. JOYCE Ready to decamp with whatever boodle they could (1922). verb trans. and intr. 2. To bribe. 1904–. [From earlier sense, crowd, pack, lot.] (Ayto and Simpson 1992).

Drawing on data gathered for the *OED*, however, they are able to indicate dates of usage with much more precision than Partridge, and to provide more reliable etymologies. Lighter's magisterial and authoritative *Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (*HDAS*) (1994, 1997) provides numerous citations and many more shades of meaning. For instance:

- (15) **boodle**<sup>1</sup> *n.* [*< Du boedel* 'estate; property'; def. (1) reflects a direct application of the Dutch word]
1. the effects (of a deceased person). [1 citation: 1699]
  - 2.a. a crowd or pack (of individual persons or things).—usu. constr. with *whole*. [6 citations: 1827–1961]
  - b. *Und.* booty; loot. [6 citations: 1848–1921]
  - c. the contents of a cache. [2 citations: 1961 + 1984]
  - d. Esp. *Stu.* a parcel of snack foods and the like, or the contents of such a parcel; sweets. [7 citations: 1900–78]
  3. *Und.* a. a parcel or quantity of counterfeit banknotes. [4 citations: 1845–92]
  - b. counterfeit banknotes. [3 citations: 1858–89]
  - c. a roll of banknotes; BUNDLE. [7 citations: 1884–1965/70]
  4. money or profits; (*specif.*) money used for or obtained through graft. Also attrib. [23 citations: 1884–1992] (Lighter 1994).

Simpson rightly asserts that *HDAS* 'sweep[s] its predecessors into the shade' (Lighter 1994: back cover). Despite its landmark status, Lighter's dictionary

demonstrates some of the practical difficulties of scholarly slang lexicography, notably commercial publishers' unwillingness to dedicate the necessary resources to a long-term scholarly project. In this case, Random House published the first two volumes; the next two, after a considerable delay, will be published by Oxford University Press. Similarly hampered by cautious publishers, Jonathon Green's *Historical Dictionary of Slang* was originally due to be published by Cassell in 2008. It aims to be a replacement rather than a revision of Partridge and seeks to provide one citation per decade of use.<sup>4</sup>

#### 11.4 SOCIOLOGICAL CANT LEXICOGRAPHY: REFORMERS, OBSERVERS, AND INSIDERS

Another influential direction in which slang and cant studies were to develop in the later period is also foreshadowed in the earlier: the sociological approach. In the sixteenth century, Harman (1567) claimed to have compiled his wordlist by interviewing cant speakers, while Greene (1591) and Dekker (1608) claimed to have been participant-observers of the language they recorded. By the nineteenth century, anthropological studies of the savages of London began to include consideration of their language as well as their living conditions. W. A. Miles's parliamentary report *Poverty, Mendicity, and Crime* (1839) included 'a Dictionary of the Flash or Cant Language, known to every thief and Beggar' edited by Henry Brandon. Less official, but far more influential, was Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851). Mayhew commented extensively on the language used by different sectors of society in London, and included a brief glossary of back slang.

From the turn of the century, undercover journalists and social commentators began to include glossaries in their reports and studies. For instance, in *Tramping with Tramps* (1899) and *The World of Graft* (1901), Josiah Flynt Willard retold his own experiences of life in the American underworld. George Orwell observed European tramps and their language from close quarters in *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933). An extraordinary study of 1973 was Christina and Richard Milner's *Black Players. The Secret World of Black Pimps*, which describes the means by which this academic couple insinuated themselves into the confidence of their informants by posing as an erotic dancer and her pimp. In this, as in many other studies, the glossary is a by-product of the broader sociological work.

<sup>4</sup> This is a summary of a personal communication from Jonathon Green.

Not going so far as to disguise himself as a member of the criminal fraternities he sought to study, David Maurer is probably the best-known socio-lexicographer. He used tape-recordings and shorthand to document his interviews, and sought to place sub-groups' use of cant in a wider sociological context (see Flexner 1980).<sup>5</sup>

Another group of modern cant glossaries deserves special notice: Irwin's *American Tramp and Underworld Slang* (1931), Tempest's *Lag's Lexicon* (1949), and the *Dictionary of American Underworld Lingo* by Goldin *et al.* (1950). These are all, to some extent, insider accounts of marginal and criminal language. Irwin drew on 'more than twenty years' experience as a tramp on the railroads and roads of the United States, Canada, Mexico and Central America' (Irwin 1931: 10–11) in compiling his list. Goldin and his 'two inmate compilers' (Goldin *et al.* 1950: 6) collected their wordlist inside prison, and filtered it through 'a board of more than thirty widely traveled convict-editors under the overall direction of a prison chaplain' (Goldin *et al.* 1950: front flap). Goldin's dictionary includes many more entries than Irwin's, sometimes providing examples of use, and is unflinchingly precise in defining its many sexual terms. For instance:

(16) **Fag.** A passive homosexual, oral or pederastic.

**Handle.** 1. Petty borrowing; an attempt at chiseling. 'That jerk is always on the bite (borrowing). He just put the handle on me for a deuce (two dollars).' 2 Real name, as distinguished from an alias (Goldin *et al.* 1950).

By contrast, Irwin is more discursive and more interested in etymology. He lists far fewer terms dealing with sexuality, particularly homosexuality, and tends to define them in less detail:

(17) **FAG.**—A homosexual. Widely used, this word seems to owe its use to the fact that these unfortunates seem fagged out, drooping, languid, much of the time. A cigarette; which use has been brought back for American use by soldiers who learned it from the Tommies during the World War; short for 'fag-end.'

**HANDLE.**—A name, that by which a person is called or handled (Irwin 1931).

Tempest's dictionary is an unpretentious revelation of language the author learned during his time in prison for manslaughter. Although he does present slang terms—

(18) **fag.** Cigarette. See *snout; tab; butt; roll-up; tailor-made*, etc.

**handle.** Christian name, nickname, or surname. Usually a surname. It can also refer to titles or degrees or other qualifications (Tempest 1949).

—he also includes encyclopedic material and technical language, for instance:

<sup>5</sup> For an exploration of the methodological problems of using sociolinguistic interviews in data-collection, see Looser (2004).

- (19) **C.R.O.** Criminal Records Office. On discharge all convicts are photographed and their thumb- and finger-prints recorded on a special form. They sign this and it is sent to Scotland Yard for record purposes. See *dabs*; *derbies*; *licence*, etc (Tempest 1949).

Partridge's *Dictionary of the Underworld British and American* (1949b) provides a historical account of cant in much the same style—and inevitably including some of the same material—as his *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* discussed above:

- (20) **fag**, n. A low pickpocket: 1839, W. A. Miles, *Poverty, Mendacity and Crime*, concerning certain skilful pickpockets, 'These thieves are the swell mob, and excite no suspicion; the dirty "fag" being out of sight'; app. † by 1900. Prob. ex. the British Public School sense of *fag*.—2. 'A lawyer's clerk'; U.S.A.: 1859, Matsell; 1891, F & H; † by 1910. Cf. the origin of sense 1.—3. A boy (occ. a man) catamite; U.S.A., mostly tramps': 1923 (see *fairy*, 2); 1931, Stiff; 1931, Godfrey Irwin, who applies it to a homosexual of any age; 1933, Victor F. Nelson, *Prison Days and Nights*, 'Fags—male degenerates'; 1933, *Eagle*; 1934, Louis Berg, *Revelations of a Prison Doctor*; 1935, Hargan; by 1937 (Godfrey Irwin, letter of Sept. 18), it was, like *fairy* by that time, low s. Short for **faggot**, 3, perhaps; but it may have been adopted ex the English Public School *fag* (Partridge 1949b).<sup>6</sup>

With three separate references to the same etymology and numerous unquoted and unverifiable citations, there is much scope for abbreviation in this and other entries. Partridge drew together material from many written sources, but naturally had little first-hand experience against which to test his information.

## 11.5 NATIONAL SLANG DICTIONARIES

This section provides a brief overview of general slang dictionaries from America and Australia. Historical and sociological dictionaries have already been considered regardless of their country of origin, and thesauruses and reverse dictionaries will be similarly treated below. In lieu of discussing general British slang dictionaries (e.g. Dawson 1910), I will look at a sub-category of British publications in a later section—rhyming slang dictionaries.

<sup>6</sup> Partridge does not include the 'name' sense of *handle*, which he had listed as colloquial in 1937.



The earliest American cant dictionary was George Matsell's slipshod and plagiaristic *Vocabulum* (1859), which combines miscopied and misinterpreted entries from a selection of earlier lists, most of which were ultimately derived from Grose. Matsell also included a few shorter sporting glossaries, in which it does appear that he was documenting genuine contemporary usage.

It was not until 1891 that James Maitland published America's first slang dictionary. His description of Hotten's dictionary as 'a vast improvement on all its predecessors' (Maitland 1891: Preface) obscures his considerable debt to it (Robertson 2005: 30). Where Maitland was not over-dependent on Hotten, he tended to be prescriptive, and included colloquial terms as well as slang:

(21) **Enthuse** (Am.), to manifest delight; to become enthusiastic. A mere newspaper barbarism.

**Mean** (Am.), which in England is used for stingy or close, is applied in this country in an entirely different sense. When one young girl says to another 'Now, Sadie, you're real mean,' she desires to express, not that Sadie is close in money matters, but that she is bad-tempered or has done something to the detriment of her friend. The word is abominably misused (Maitland 1891).

Interesting for different reasons, Wood and Goddard's *A Dictionary of American Slang* was published as part of the socialist 'Little Blue Book' series in 1920. Among its short definitions, it includes a few with a clear political message:

(22) *almighty dollar*. Money, the god of America.

*captain of industry*. A wholesale human wolf, who buries his bones in profitable investments (Wood and Goddard 1920).

Wentworth and Flexner's *Dictionary of American Slang* aimed to cover only contemporary language. Some entries include citations, some contain usage notes; a few provide etymologies. Related terms are often listed together under a single entry, for instance:

(23) **pile up** 1 To run aground, said of a ship. *Maritime use*. → 2 To wreck an automobile or airplane. 1948: "After he piled up his car." Evans, *Halo for Satan*, 135. **pile-up** *n*. An automobile accident or wreck, esp. one involving several cars in one collision. 1958: 'the 6-car, end-to-end pile-up on the New Jersey Turnpike. . . .' AP, Oct. 24 (Wentworth and Flexner 1960).

The dictionary was updated in 1967, providing additional senses and new entries in a supplement. Although this separation of additional material is irritating for anyone attempting to use the dictionary for reference (as, indeed, such separation was in Partridge's many editions), it does highlight changes taking place in

the language of the 1960s. Wentworth and Flexner's *Pocket Dictionary of American Slang* (1968) omitted uncommon and tabooed terms, deleted the citations, and (rather oddly) maintained the supplement as a separate list. The 1975 edition of Wentworth and Flexner's dictionary updated only the supplement. Chapman based his *New Dictionary of American Slang* (1986) on the 1975 edition, integrating the supplement, adding new material and taking out terms and senses no longer current:

- (24) **pileup** *n* A wreck, esp one involving a number of cars: *6-car, end-to-end pile-up on the New Jersey Turnpike*—Associated Press  
**pile up** *1 v phr* To wreck; =RACK UP, TOTAL: *after he piled up his car*—J. Evans **2 v phr** *fr late 1800s* To go aground: *We piled up at Wood's Hole* (Chapman 1986).

Chapman separates the noun and verb phrases into separate entries, deletes one sense of the verb, and adds another. Chapman abridged his edition of the dictionary in 1987, but gave no information about the principles underlying the abridgement.

The earliest Australian glossary to be treated here was also a list of canting terms. Vaux's *Memoirs* (published 1819, but dated 1812) included a glossary, which, despite representing many of the terms found in the British tradition, appears to have been compiled without reference to earlier dictionaries. Ten years before Maitland's dictionary of American slang, the *Sydney Slang Dictionary* (Anon: ?1881) appeared, and was quickly followed by Crowe's *Australian Slang Dictionary* (1895). These publications prompted Stephens and O'Brien to begin compiling a *Dictionary of Australian and New Zealand Slang* (1897), but it was never published. Robertson (2004) brought the independence of this unpublished dictionary into question by noting its use of earlier British and American glossaries. Lentzner (1891) also documented Australian slang, but he based his lists on Barrère and Leland (1889–90) and, to a lesser extent, on Farmer and Henley (1890–1904), who were by no means authorities on Australian slang (Robertson 2005: 77).

Sidney Baker was to publish a number of influential works on Australian and New Zealand slang in the middle decades of the twentieth century (e.g. Baker 1941a, 1941b, 1959). In keeping with their intended appeal to a popular market, Baker's dictionaries usually provide only a brief definition:

- (25) **PARALYTIC**: Completely drunk.  
**SHEILA**: A girl or young woman (Baker 1941a).

Ramson (1966: 26, 29) criticizes Baker for his dependence on earlier lists and his refusal to distinguish between slang and standard Australian English. Robertson

(2005: 203, 217) notes that Baker did edit out some of the non-Australian terms in later editions. He argued that ‘slang’:

... must be taken to include many Australian expressions that have long since ceased to be slang in the strict sense of that word and have become ‘standard’ (Baker 1941a: Author’s Foreword).

This looser definition of ‘slang’ is characteristic of many modern Australian dictionaries, as noted above.

Many modern popular dictionaries of Australian slang embrace national stereotypes wholeheartedly in their jocular depiction of the typical Australian as a boozing, macho sports fan. For example:

- (26) paralytic Absolutely, totally intoxicated, or so drunk you can’t scratch yourself. In fact, I’m surprised you’ve read this far!  
sheila A woman. Of course, Australia has the grousest sheilas in the world (Blackman 1990).

Some of these humorous dictionaries are aimed at tourists; others clearly target a popular home market. Lambert’s dictionaries (1996, 2000) are more reliable resources.

## 11.6 SLANG THESAURUSES

Cant and slang lists in which items are alphabetically arranged by their Standard English equivalents are not uncommon. The earliest example, as noted above, is in Head (1673). Full-blown thesauruses of slang are much rarer, and several works claiming to be slang thesauruses are really reverse dictionaries. Howard Rose’s *A Thesaurus of Slang* (1934) is explicitly designed for use by writers of fiction.<sup>7</sup> Rose groups his slang terms by type of user or place of use (e.g. college, detective, oilfield, etc.) and provides a reverse dictionary for each section. The ‘college’ section includes:

- (27) Steal One’s Girl-Friend (v phr): *to cream one’s lady; ex. When he heard I creamed his lady he burned up.*  
Stop Talking (interj.): *pipe down.*  
Stout Girl (n phr.): *a battle ax* (Rose 1934).

<sup>7</sup> *The Writer’s Monthly*, a periodical aimed at aspiring novelists and screenwriters, published similar glossaries of specialist slang between 1917 and 1931.

Rose advises the aspirant author to ‘read over the entire section on which he intends to base his story’ (Rose 1934: viii) before beginning to write. It is possible that the book did serve its purpose, though I am not aware of any great literary works produced in this way. It is of less use to those interested in slang *per se*, because Rose deliberately excluded terms that were already widely known.

Berrey and van den Bark’s *The American Thesaurus of Slang* was similarly designed for the use of writers, though also aimed at ‘the word adventurer’ (Berrey and van den Bark 1942: ix). It bears a much closer resemblance to a Roget-style thesaurus than does Rose’s, though there are still separate sections for ‘special slang’ (e.g. underworld, entertainment, sports), demonstrating the difficulties of incorporating a broad range of specialized and specific slang terms into a thesaurus format. In section 354. **Courting**, sub-section 6, the editors list:

- (28) GO WITH ANOTHER’S SWEETHEART. Beat one’s time, chisel (on), cop a phinny, cream one’s lady, cut out, cut under, hijack, wolf. *Spec.* scab, *to go with a friend’s sweetheart when they are temporarily ‘at outs.’* (Berrey and van den Bark 1942).

Unlike Rose, Berrey and van den Bark provided an alphabetical index of standard terms for those who could not otherwise locate the desired slang terms.

Robert Chapman’s *Thesaurus of American Slang* (1989) and Esther and Albert Lewin’s *Thesaurus of Slang* (1988) are also reverse dictionaries rather than thesauruses proper. In each case, it requires considerable effort to locate the desired slang terms, because it is by no means obvious which equivalent term they will be listed under. Chapman provides an index to standard terms and slang synonyms, which does make locating terms somewhat easier, but it is still necessary to look in at least two places even if one begins with a lucky guess. Under **cheat** *v* *To be sexually unfaithful*, he lists:

- (29) bad time, chippy, get a little on the side, nosh, play around, step out on someone, two-time, yard (Chapman 1987).

Lewin and Lewin place their equivalent list under **infidelity**, at which they provide a grammatical mishmash:

- (30) **INFIDELITY** **n.** affair, carrying on, hanky-panky, playing around, two-timing, getting some on the side, working late at the office, extracurricular activity, cheat on, doggin’, thing, your place or mine? See **ADULTERY** (Lewin and Lewin 1988).

The only British publication of this type that I am aware of is Green’s *The Slang Thesaurus*. Green based his classification on Roget’s and provided an alphabetical

index of the terms within it. In section 353 **Jilting**, and easily locatable using the index, is the following sub-section:

- (31) 3. *to cheat*: burn, chippie, chippy on, two-time (Green 1986).

## 11.7 SLANG DICTIONARIES OF THE TWO WORLD WARS

During the two World Wars there was unprecedented contact and interdependence between men from different social groups, regions, and countries. This, naturally, had an effect on their language. Glossaries of service slang are worthy of particular attention because they represent a period during which slang lexicography really took off in the popular market. They also help to explain why slang began to achieve greater respectability: preserving the language of the troops was one way of respecting the memory of men who fought and died for their country, without idealizing the ordinary soldier or minimizing the horrors he experienced. In general, glossaries of the slang of both World Wars are remarkably humorous in tone.

Slang glossaries began to appear in periodicals while the First World War was still in progress, but these were aimed at a relatively scholarly audience. American and Australian combatants wrote many of the earliest glossaries published for a wider readership (e.g. Empey<sup>8</sup> 1917; Downing 1919). Most of the First World War glossaries cover a wide range of terms unfamiliar to the civilian, regardless of their linguistic status. Technical and colloquial army terms and widely-known standard English words are also sometimes included to familiarize the outside world with the realities of war. For instance:

- (32) “**Barndook**.” Tommy’s nickname for his rifle. He uses it because it is harder to say and spell than “rifle”.

**M. O.** Medical Officer. A doctor specially detailed to tell Tommy that he is not sick.

**Rats.** The main inhabitants of the trenches and dugouts. Very useful for chewing up leather equipment and running over your face when asleep. A British rat resembles a bull-dog, while a German one, through a course of Kultur, resembles a dachshund (Empey 1917).

<sup>8</sup> Although American himself, Empey documented the slang of the British Army, in which he served.

It took a little longer before British soldiers felt able to document military slang. Some of the earliest attempts appear in *Notes and Queries*, where a series of contributors attempted to honour their comrades' memories by pinning down the exact meaning and etymology of a number of terms that had fallen from use since the war (e.g. Sieverking 1921). Fraser and Gibbons's *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* 'was primarily designed as a Dictionary of War Slang at the instance of the authorities of the Imperial War Museum' (Fraser and Gibbons 1927: v), and mostly preserves a stiff upper lip by avoiding undue concentration on death and injury. A few years later, Brophy and Partridge (1930) were able to be more explicit in depicting life in the trenches and in criticizing the authorities who made life and death decisions without facing the dangers of the front:

- (33) **BIG NOISE.**—A Staff Officer, General, Politician, or Distinguished Foreign Personage visiting the troops. From the loud and important voices used by such persons (Brophy and Partridge 1930).

Dictionaries of the slang of the Second World War are very different. There was no period for reflection before substantial glossaries were published—even during the war some quite comprehensive lists were produced. They are not reserved in tone like the early First World War glossaries, or bitter like some published between the wars: they are good-humoured, but also ironic, from the outset. Often printed on wartime economy paper and sometimes provided with introductions by eminent senior officers, it is clear that these dictionaries were part of the war effort. They provide a picture of life in the services as full of petty restrictions, to be sure, but largely characterized by camaraderie, patriotism, and humour. The American glossaries (e.g. Viney 1941; Kendall and Viney 1941; O'Lading 1942/3) tend to be more jocular—

- (34) **an Admiral's watch** ... a sound sleep.  
**the bow** ... pronounced as if spoken by a dog. Front of ship (Viney 1941).

—and the British ones (e.g. Hunt and Pringle 1943; Ward-Jackson 1945; Partridge 1945) more respectful, if only because of the absence of facetious asides:

- (35) **Blues.** A soldier's dark blue walking-out dress embellished with the colours of his Arm or Regiment. He buys a set of blues out of his own pocket if he wants one.  
**Ghost.** A Radio Officer (Hunt and Pringle 1943).

After the Second World War, it was no longer possible to dismiss slang as the language of the uneducated (see Barrère and Leland 1890: v). Social barriers that had once seemed impenetrable had become less rigid under wartime conditions.

Probably even more important was the development of a youth culture, which coincided with the expansion of higher education in the United States and, rather later, in Great Britain.

## 11.8 YOUTH CULTURE AND PERSONAL IDENTITY

College and school slang lists were the first specialist slang dictionaries, going back to the early nineteenth century. The earliest of these are the two editions of the *Gradus ad Cantabrigiam* (Anon. 1803; 1824), but many others soon joined them. Some are brief appendices to broader studies, often memoirs of school life; others were published as articles in scholarly journals, particularly in America from the 1890s onwards. The Second World War saw a lull in the production of these glossaries, but the tradition continued in the pages of *American Speech* into the 1960s, and was revived by the work of Eble (1989) and Munro (1991) in the United States. Outside America, university slang has not enjoyed a similar revival of interest, though children's slang is well represented in Britain and Australia by Lewis's *Dictionary of Playground Slang* (2003) and Factor and Hannan's *Kidspeak* (2000).

Some dictionaries of youth slang focus more particularly on the musical or fashion trends binding a group together. The first of these were several flapper dictionaries which appeared during the 1920s, followed by *Cab Calloway's Hepster's Dictionary* (1938), documenting the jive-talk of hep-cats in Harlem. Gold (1962) listed the slang of jazz lovers, Mathers (1967) and Lit (1968) hippy slang, Blowdryer (1985) the slang of punks, Fab5Freddy (1992) rap slang, and Clark (1997) the slang of hip-hop. Hudson (1983), Dalzell (1996), and Décharné (2000) provide a longer perspective on the changing face of teenage slang.

The documentation of ephemeral social trends in dictionaries is no recent phenomenon. In the 1820s, Pierce Egan and many of his contemporaries capitalized on the phenomenal success of his *Life in London* (1821). Tom and Jerry's flash lingo is found in glossaries appended to plays and song-sheets derived from Egan's work, and appears to have been one of the features of the craze that appealed most to London's fashionable slummers. Indeed, it is unlikely that Egan would have edited Grose's dictionary if there had not been this level of public interest in the slang found in his own work.

Another social trend documented in slang dictionaries is the celebration of differences in ethnic identity. Lentzner (1891) and Yule and Burnell (1886) had documented the peculiarities of English as used in the far reaches of the Empire,

but it was not until several decades into the twentieth century that ethnic groups began to document their own distinctive language. The earliest of these glossaries concentrated on social and musical trends rather than racial identity *per se*, however (e.g. Calloway 1938), and it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that slang glossaries began to be published as expressions of ethnic pride (e.g. Kogos 1967; Major 1970). It is indicative of changes in attitudes to race since then that a contemporary equivalent would probably not be marketed as a slang dictionary (see Center for Applied Linguistics 2001; Benor 2003).

Similarly indicative of pride in group identity, and beginning to appear at about the same time, are dictionaries of gay slang. Psychologists had documented the language of homosexuality before this (Legman 1941),<sup>9</sup> but it was in the *Lavender Lexicon* (1964), Bradley's *Queer Street, USA* (1965), and Rodger's *Queen's Vernacular* (1972) that gay liberation was most effectively expressed:

- (36) **get in on some action** to conveniently chance upon some horny young stud in a restroom.  
**make mudpies** ('70) to have sex in the bushes while it rains or drizzles (Rodger 1972).

Changes in lifestyle brought about by the onset of AIDS are starkly illustrated by a comparison between the hedonistic early glossaries and the glossary of modern gay slang found in Baker (2002). For instance:

- (37) **bareback**, **BB** verb: to have anal sex with someone without using a condom.  
 ... Barebacking is one of the most complex and controversial issues surrounding gay sexuality. Many gay men cannot understand why anyone would even consider it, others believe it is a matter of personal choice and for a minority, a subculture has developed around it (Baker 2002).

## 11.9 SOME EPHEMERAL MODERN SLANG DICTIONARIES

Many modern slang dictionaries make no pretensions to comprehensiveness or reliability. They belong in the 'humour' section of a bookshop rather than in 'reference'. Rhyming slang dictionaries, for example, are staple tourist fodder: 'more souvenirs than practical dictionaries' (Ayto 2002: vii). Many are mere booklets, clearly intended as throwaway gifts that will not place an undue strain

<sup>9</sup> Legman was not himself a psychologist, but his list was published as part of a study of the psychology of sexual variation.



on one's baggage allowance. They are characterized by their humorous cartoons and brief entries. For example:

- |                       |                                  |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (38) Apples and Pears | Stairs <i>Get up them apples</i> |
| Bushey Park           | Lark-joke                        |
| Chalk Farm            | Arm                              |
| Dog and Bone          | Phone (Jones 1971).              |

Although rhyming slang was first listed in dictionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century (e.g. Ducange Anglicus 1857; Hotten 1859), the first rhyming slang dictionary was P. P.'s *A Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (1931). The second edition, appearing a year later, added an English-slang list to facilitate the production of rhyming slang, emphasizing that these dictionaries and the language they document are, above all, playful. Franklyn (1960) and Ayto (2002) are more modern and more reliable sources.

A wide range of online slang dictionaries testify to the perennial faith that anyone who uses slang is qualified to document it.<sup>10</sup> Plenty provide conventional glossaries that offer little more than can be done on paper (e.g. *Australian Slang*). Others, although they involve more sophisticated programming, appear to be the work of an individual or small group of amateur linguists (e.g. *A Dictionary of Slang*). Most invite submission of corrections and additions (e.g. *The Online Slang Dictionary*), and some use these submissions without any editorial intervention (e.g. *Urban Dictionary*, which recorded, at the last count, forty-eight attempts to define *yank*). *The Rap Dictionary* allows its users to edit existing entries and includes a 'wish-list' where definitions can be requested for unfamiliar terms not yet included. A few online dictionaries have given rise to paper editions, including *The Online Dictionary of Playground Slang*, through which Lewis (2003) collected his data. Other online glossaries arise from ongoing dictionary projects, such as Judi Sanders's *College Slang Research Project* at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

## 11.10 SUMMARY

It is clear from the success of the earliest pamphlet-glossaries that there has always been a considerable mass market for revelations about the language of marginal social groups. The market for slang and cant dictionaries has grown as literacy and disposable income have increased. Although there is no longer any doubt that the scholarly study of slang is possible, albeit unprofitable, it would be

<sup>10</sup> Online slang dictionaries and projects mentioned here are detailed at the end of the chapter.

a misrepresentation of this branch of lexicography to concentrate only on serious academic works. I have attempted to represent the full range of slang lexicography, emphasizing scholarly treatments but not neglecting the jocular and ephemeral lists, which are reliable barometers of social currents and fascinating expressions of contemporary anxieties and interests.

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*The Online Slang Dictionary* <<http://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~wrader/slang/>>

*The Rap Dictionary* <[http://www.rapidict.org/Main\\_Page](http://www.rapidict.org/Main_Page)>

*Urban Dictionary* <<http://www.urbandictionary.com/>>

PART II

DICTIONARIES  
SPECIALIZED  
ACCORDING TO USES  
AND USERS

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# DICTIONARIES OF USAGE

*Robert Allen*

## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

### 12.1.1 *The concept of usage*

THE concept of usage and usage criticism in English dates from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, by which time a standard form of the language had become established, the first grammars and monolingual dictionaries had been written, and attempts were being made by literary figures to ‘fix’ the language (Allen 1992; Finegan 1998). The notion of good and bad use of language is, however, as old as language itself. Although in English the term *usage* was not applied to language until the seventeenth century,<sup>1</sup> comparable criticism, influenced by Aristotle and other classical models, is found earlier under different guises, notably in relation to *style*.

The term *usage* is a broader one than *grammar*, and is more judgemental. As with other applications of the word, *usage* embraces choices and methods and is ‘habitual or customary practice, especially as creating a right, obligation, or standard’ (Allen 1990). This duality in the concept of usage, as the accumulation of practice and the standard created by it, is important. For our purposes, *usage* covers grammatical agreement, forms of words, spelling, pronunciation, and choice of vocabulary (including register and appropriacy), and extends to metaphor and other figures of speech. The modern descriptive concept of grammar differs from that of the eighteenth century, when there was little distinction between what we call ‘grammar’ and ‘usage’. Joseph Priestley, for example,

<sup>1</sup> An early occurrence of *usage* in connection with language is that of Defoe, writing about Academies in 1697 (Bolton 1966: 94).

while recognizing the importance of ‘all-governing custom’, defined grammar as ‘the art of using words properly’ (1761: vii, 1).

### 12.1.2 *Writers and scholars*

A critical approach to the use of English was taken by major literary figures from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, including Dryden, Defoe, Swift, Addison, Steele, and Johnson. Jonathan Swift complained in 1712 that ‘our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily Improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions’ (in Bolton 1966: 108), and was among those who unsuccessfully revived proposals of Dryden, Defoe, and others to found a regulatory English Academy. Samuel Johnson claimed in his *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (1747: 4) that ‘the chief intent of it is to preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of the English idiom’, although he modified this position in the Preface published in 1755. Robert Lowth’s *Short Introduction to English Grammar* was published in 1762. Lowth (1710–87) was Professor of Poetry at Oxford and Bishop of London. His *Grammar* attempted to show that good use of language could be determined by the application of rules, and it became a largely unacknowledged source of the better-known work of Lindley Murray (1745–1826), an American grammarian and lawyer who settled in England and wrote a number of school grammars from 1795 onwards<sup>2</sup>. The reformer and writer William Cobbett (1763–1835) published his *Grammar of the English Language*, as a series of letters to his son, in 1818. The publication of grammars gave rise to the first language controversies. Lindley Murray’s *English Grammar* (1795) was denounced as ‘full of atrocious blunders’ by Thomas De Quincey in an article entitled ‘The English Language’ published in *Blackwood’s Magazine* for April 1839 (in Bolton 1966: 198–213), although he grudgingly recognized the value of other works, ‘not one of which is absolutely without value’.

### 12.1.3 *Controversies and criteria*

Key issues that recur in dictionaries of usage and illustrate the range of controversies involved include (in no particular order) the use of *due to*, the position of *only* in a sentence, prepositions at the end of a sentence (a practice first disapproved of by Dryden in criticisms of Shakespeare and Jonson: see Bolton 1966: 60), the split infinitive (a superstition invented by nineteenth-century grammarians), confusion of *infer* and *imply*, the difference between *less* and *fewer*, and the

<sup>2</sup> Murray is referred to in Dickens’s *Old Curiosity Shop* (1840), ch. xxix.

ill-formed phrase *between you and I*. Other popular topics include use of *different to* or *than* rather than *from*, use of *shall* and *will*, misused meanings as in *aggravate* and *anticipate*, confusion of spelling in pairs such as *discreet* and *discrete*, and unstable pronunciation (especially involving stress placement) in longer words such as *formidable* and *distribute*. Beyond this core of controversies, the choice of headwords has varied considerably from one usage book to another (Burchfield 1992b: 14). Older controversies that have faded from public awareness include the forms *dependable* and *reliable*, which were deplored by Dean Alford among others (1864: 253, 'we do not *rely a man*, we *rely upon a man*'). More recently, usage guides have taken up concerns that are more socio-political than linguistic, such as offensive language, political correctness, and gender neutrality.

Books on English usage fall into three broad categories of organization: those divided into chapters, each devoted to an aspect of usage (such as the Fowlers' *The King's English*), those arranged in an alphabetical sequence of entries like a conventional dictionary (such as H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage (MEU)*), and those that combine the two methods, with several chapters each organized as an alphabetical list of one kind or another (such as Weiner's and Delahunty's *Oxford Guide to English Usage*). Each approach has its advantages, depending on the user's needs. A thematic arrangement helps most readily with advice on a large subject such as inflection, collocation, hackneyed phrases, or sentence adverbs. It is designed for those who want an overview, and requires an index, often lengthy, of the individual words and phrases which appear in the thematic entries.<sup>3</sup> An alphabetical listing is preferable for quick reference to a particular word, or to a more focused topic such as the grammar of *none*, or the complementation patterns of *different*. Books that have been organized in this way generally include larger subject articles in the sequence, some extending to several pages, and necessitating a system of cross-references to the individual words and phrases included in them. Idiosyncratic entry headings, which understandably tend to feature in books of this kind, notably *MEU* and Partridge (1947), can create problems for the innocent user.

## 12.2 THE FIRST USAGE GUIDES

The central figures in the development of the genre are Baker, Alford (Dean of Canterbury), Hodgson, Fowler, and Partridge; for other names, see Allen (1992).

<sup>3</sup> The index in Weiner and Delahunty 1993 runs to over fifty pages, one-sixth of the total extent.

### 12.2.1 *Baker*

Robert Baker's *Reflections on the English Language* (1770), a collection published anonymously and prefaced with 'a discourse addressed to his majesty [George III]', is one of the earliest works that could be regarded as a usage guide. Baker himself claimed in the Preface to be 'the first Englishman who has undertaken a work of this sort'. His book lists, in a random sequence, 127 topics that vary in familiarity to the modern reader, including confusable words (e.g. *purpose* and *propose*), *different to* ('I can't help thinking it to be exceptionable'), 'apostrophes improperly used', and controversial word senses such as *undeniable* (which is controversial no longer) and *mutual* (which remains so).

### 12.2.2 *Alford*

Henry Alford (1810–71) was a biblical scholar and Dean of Canterbury. His little book entitled *A Plea for the Queen's English* (1864) covers points of usage listed by number and not in alphabetical order: a subtitle calls them 'stray notes on speaking and spelling'. In his Introduction, Alford describes 'our common English tongue' as 'the highway of thought and speech': 'But it is not so much of the great highway itself of Queen's English that I would now speak, as of some of the laws and usages of the road; the by-rules, so to speak, which hang up framed at the various stations, that all may read them'. The text is largely based on Alford's own experience in the pulpit and on queries raised by correspondents, who are cited throughout the book. Although he is tolerant of many uses that others have castigated, the philosophical basis is clearly derived from the classical languages, and the correctness of English usage is gauged in terms of these models, as in supporting the use of *those kind of things* (instead of *that kind of thing*), where Alford draws a technical analogy with the so-called 'law of attraction' in ancient Greek (1864: 75–6).

American English is a particular target of a disapproval verging on vitriol (1864: 6):

Look, to take one familiar example, at the process of deterioration which our Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases which so amuse us in their speech and books; at their reckless exaggeration, and contempt for congruity; and then compare the character and history of the nation – its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man; its open disregard of conventional right where aggrandizement is to be obtained; and, I may say now, its reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world.



Despite this heavy moralizing tone, however, Alford's book is entertaining and at times humorous, as in his treatment of dropping one's h's (40–1):

We remember in *Punch* the barber who, while operating on a gentleman, expresses his opinion, that, after all, the cholera was in the *hair*. 'Then,' observes the customer, 'you ought to be very careful about what brushes you use.' 'Oh, sir,' replies the barber, laughing, 'I didn't mean the *air* of the *ed*, but the *hair* of the *hatmosphere*.'

Alford has little to say on several issues that became much more controversial later. A case in point is the split infinitive, the existence of which caused him some surprise; he did not know the term now in use, but marked his paragraph 'Adverb between *to* and the infinitive'. He writes with an innocence that is disarming, commenting that 'surely this is a practice entirely unknown to English speakers and writers. It seems to me, that we ever regard the *to* of the infinitive as inseparable from its verb' (188).

### 12.2.3 *George Washington Moon*

Nineteenth-century books on usage constantly referred to the opinions of correspondents and to each other, often disparagingly. Notable among critics was George Washington Moon, a writer born in London of American parents, who published two small books specifically aimed at attacking Lindley Murray (*The Bad English of Lindley Murray*, 1869) and Henry Alford (*The Dean's English*, 1886). He criticized them not only for their rulings but also for their own usage when this seemed to violate their own rules. Most of the criticism is petty and pedantic, and much of it misconceived. The following extract is from *The Dean's English* (110), questioning Alford's idiomatic use of *at all*:

You say, for instance, 'I did not allude to the letter *at all*. Twice one not being plural *at all*. Some found fault with me for dealing *at all* with the matter.' . . . I should much like to know the origin of the phrase, and what difference in the meaning of any of the above sentences there would be if the words were struck out.

### 12.2.4 *Hodgson*

An Edinburgh educationist and economist, William Ballantyne Hodgson (1815–80), wrote a posthumously published collection called *Errors in the Use of English* (1886), an offshoot of an unfulfilled project to write an English dictionary. He anticipates Fowler in the method of demonstrating correctness by giving examples of its opposite:

This work is meant to set forth the merits of correctness in English composition by furnishing examples of the demerits of incorrectness. . . . It is founded on actual blunders, verified by chapter-and-verse reference, and gathered in a course of desultory reading extending over the last thirty years.

Hodgson's text is divided into four sections on vocabulary (an alphabetical listing), accident, syntax, and rhetoric. It abounds in literary examples from Macaulay, Gibbon, George Eliot, Sidney Smith, Charlotte Brontë, Smollett, Johnson, and others. Each item begins with a brief etymology, and meanings are explained by reference to the Latin roots, with sources cited from Latin literature, as in the treatment (7–12) of *avocation* ('conveying the notion of calling off or distracting') in terms of Latin *avocare*, with a citation from Cicero: *Senectus avocata rebus gerendis* 'old age calls us away from the conduct of business' (from *De Senectute* v.15). Then again, in discussing the complementation of *different*, he appeals directly to the Latin root of the word: 'in favour of *different* to it might be urged that in Latin poetry *differe* occasionally took the dative' (112–13). This dependency on the classical languages for guidance affected much of the usage criticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

## 12.3 FOWLER

### 12.3.1 MEU, first edition (1926)

Henry (H. W.) Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (*MEU*), published in 1926, was the first work on usage to be organized as an alphabetical sequence of troublesome words and phrases. He was a former schoolmaster and had already written two major language books jointly with his brother Frank (F. G.): *The King's English* (*KE*) (1906), a subject-based guide to good usage, and *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (*COD*) of 1911. (See, in general, Burchfield 1989, 1992a; McMorris 2001.) Frank died of tuberculosis contracted in the First World War, and Henry Fowler worked alone at the task of writing *MEU*, which he dedicated to his brother's memory. In early correspondence with the publishers, Oxford University Press, Fowler described it as an 'idiom dictionary', a dictionary with the routine words omitted and concentrating on those that were controversial or problematic in use. In a letter of 11 January 1911, he wrote:

Space would thus be secured for treating adequately, without making an unwieldy volume, the hard-worked words that form the staple of general talk & writing; their

varieties of meaning, liabilities to misuse, difference from synonyms, right & wrong constructions, special collocations, & so forth, could be liberally illustrated, & approval & condemnation less stingily dealt out than has been possible in the official atmosphere of a complete dictionary (McMorris 2001: 107).

Eventually the project was scaled down to cover the same sort of ground as *KE*, but the alphabetical approach was kept, together with the name 'dictionary'. But *MEU* was not simply a reworked version of *KE*. It was twice the size of the earlier book and dealt with many topics at greater length, although the judgement rarely changed. Entries might be repeated with the same quirky heading (such as *elegant variation*) but *MEU* had a rewritten text, and entirely new examples given anonymously whereas in *KE* they had been attributed. The proportion of examples taken from newspaper articles was much higher than in *KE*.

Fowler's book is remarkable not only because it set standards and provided workable rules, but because it distinguished grammatical correctness from mere pedantry and intellectual one-upmanship. Where there is a possibility of avoiding problems, that was often his first advice, as with (*the*) *hoi polloi*:

These Greek words for the majority, ordinary people, the man in the street, the common herd, &c., meaning literally 'the many', are equally uncomfortable in English whether *the* (= *hoi*) is prefixed to them or not. The best solution is to eschew the phrase altogether.

His magnificent article on the split infinitive (previously published as an *A Society for Pure English (SPE) Tract*, as had been several other articles) exposed the pedantry associated with it and correctly identified the problem as a matter of style and not grammar. It famously divided the English-speaking world into those who 'know' and 'do not know', and those who 'care' and 'do not care', in various combinations:

... (1) those who neither know nor care what a split infinitive is; (2) those who do not know, but care very much; (3) those who know & condemn; (4) those who know & approve; & (5) those who know & distinguish. ... Those who neither know nor care are the vast majority, & are a happy folk, to be envied by most of the minority classes; 'to really understand' comes readier to their lips & pens than 'really to understand', they see no reason why they should not say it (small blame to them, seeing that reasons are not their critics' strong point), & they do say it, to the discomfort of some among us, but not to their own.

His is the best advice ever given on the split infinitive, despite the datedness of many of the examples; and nobody writing on the subject since has been able to ignore it. Indeed he almost made further argument impossible. He concludes by referring to 'this inconclusive discussion, in which, however, the author's opinion

has perhaps been allowed to appear with indecent plainness'. He appears to leave readers to make up their own minds, whereas in truth he has made it clear that the whole issue is a superstition that can only occasionally be justified.

Fowler was realistic and pragmatic, neither elitist nor doctrinaire, rarely pedantic, and often enlightened. When advising on the verb *decimate*, which Burchfield in his third edition described as 'a key word in the continuing battle between prescriptive and descriptive linguists' (1996: 200), Fowler recognized the validity of extending its meaning beyond the constraints of etymology; otherwise the word is useless:

Its application is naturally extended to the destruction in any way of a large proportion of anything reckoned by number, e.g. a population is decimated by the plague; but naturally also anything that is directly inconsistent with the proper sense (*A single frosty night decimated the currants by as much as 80%*) must be avoided.

He recognized the value of looking to the classical languages as models for modern usage, but condemned those pedantic grammarians who were 'fogging the minds of English children with terms and notions that are essential to the understanding of Greek and Latin syntax but have no bearing on English' (*SPE Tract XXVI*, p.194). Fowler does not cite other language authorities in *MEU*, although he refers to Alford in a letter to the Oxford publishers of 6 January 1911 (Burchfield 1992b: 2, note 3). The illustrative examples used in *MEU*, very many of them from newspapers, are unattributed, unlike in the earlier *KE*, where explicit citations were given to contemporary newspapers and to major works of nineteenth-century literature, including Borrow, Charlotte Brontë, Carlyle, De Quincey, Dickens, Conan Doyle, George Eliot, Lamb, Macaulay, Scott, Stevenson, Thackeray, Trollope, H. G. Wells, and Wilde. He does not seem to have re-used this material in *MEU* (Burchfield 1992b: 6–8).

Fowler showed no knowledge of and little interest in American English, and only a few American writers (among them Emerson, Henry James, J. R. Lowell, and Edgar Allan Poe) are mentioned in *KE*. Fowler wrote in another connection, in a letter to the publishers of 3 July 1928: 'I have no horror of Americanisms; on the other hand I know nothing about them, except the small proportion that are current here, & don't like dealing with material that I have to take at second hand' (Burchfield 1989: 144).

The book was written exclusively for readers whose main language was British English. 'We have our eyes not on the foreigner, but on the half-educated Englishman of literary proclivities who wants to know Can I say so-&-so?, What does this familiar phrase or word mean?, Is this use English?' (Letter of Fowler to Oxford University Press, 5 April 1911.)

A feature of *MEU* that has endeared it to readers over many years is the idiosyncratic article headings on topics such as *battered ornaments*, *cast-iron idiom*, *elegant variation*, *fetishes* (Fowler's extension of the Freudian term), *hysteron proteron* (or 'putting the cart before the horse'), *object shuffling*, *out of the frying pan, pairs and snares* (on confusable words), *slipshod extension* (of word meanings), *sturdy indefensibles* (ungrammatical or illogical idiom), *swapping horses* (changing structure halfway through a sentence), *Wardour Street* (on 'antique' words; from the associations of the London street in Fowler's day with the trade in antique furniture), and *word patronage* (affectation). Several special space-saving devices were used, including the ampersand extensively in place of 'and' (he also used it in all his correspondence) and bracketing parts of headwords to indicate variation (as with *estimat(e)(ion)* to denote both *estimate* and *estimation*).

Fowler's technique was to dovetail longer subject articles into the alphabetical sequence of word-based articles and cross-refer from the specific entries to the more general ones to put a point in context. Examples are BARBARISM[S], 'some word that, like its name, is apt to wound feelings', which was cross-referred from *cablegram* ('not only a BARBARISM, but a needless one') and *coastal* (a formation Fowler disliked), LATIN PLURALS, and TECHNICAL TERMS, the last of these being dropped later by Gowers. Fowler tended to overfragment, however, dipping into issues here and there although the information properly belonged in one article, as in his treatment of *unidiomatic -ly* (in uses such as *contrarily*), which is separated from the more extended treatment of the suffix *-ly* in its own place.

Critical reaction to *MEU* tended immediately to polarize into extreme positions of reverence and vilification. Amateur antiquarians and writers about language took up Fowler's cause with alacrity. An unnamed reviewer in *Notes & Queries* (CLI, 1926, 36) congratulated Fowler for castigating the 'terrible tendencies in modern usage'. At the other extreme, Fowler was fiercely criticized by linguists and descriptive grammarians, notably the Dane Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), who in an *SPE Tract* (XXV, 1926: 192–6), called Fowler the 'instinctive grammatical moralizer', a description that Fowler was willing to accept. Jespersen criticized Fowler for basing his grammatical opinions on Latin principles, as the eighteenth-century grammarians had done, to which Fowler replied (*SPE Tract* XXVI, 1927: 192–6, quoted in Burchfield 1992b: 13):

Whether or not it is regrettable that we English have for centuries been taught what little grammar we know on Latin traditions, have we not now to recognize that the iron has entered into our souls, that our grammatical conscience has by this time a Latin element inextricably compounded in it, if not predominant?

Randolph Quirk, in a radio broadcast marking the centenary of Fowler's birth in 1958 (and printed in the *Listener* of 13 March) praised Fowler as a lexicographer but questioned his soundness as a grammarian, pointing out where Fowler disregards his own rules: 'While he deprecates on one page the *s* genitive in usages like "the narrative's charm", he falls into the practice himself elsewhere with "the termination's possibilities" and "the sentence's structure" ' (Burchfield 1992b: 12–13).

### 12.3.2 MEU, second edition (1965)

*MEU* remained unrevised for many years after Fowler's death in 1933. Then, in the 1960s, the task of updating it was entrusted to Sir Ernest Gowers, a senior Whitehall civil servant who had taken the world of officialdom to task in *The Complete Plain Words* (1954, see below, 12.5). In his Preface to the new edition, Gowers admitted that he was 'chary of making any substantial alterations except for the purpose of bringing him up to date'. He kept a great deal of the original material, substituting more modern examples and adding new material on subjects that interested him, notably (C. K. Ogden's) *Basic English*. He retained many of the idiosyncratic headings (or 'enigmatic titles' as he called them), and added some of his own, notably *abstractitis*, an article dealing with excessive use of abstract nouns, and *to-and-fro puzzles* (on sentences that are not clearly either positive or negative). Some lost causes were removed or modified: thus Fowler's comment on *belittle* (in the sense 'disparage') that 'it is still felt by many to be an undesirable alien', was replaced by the milder admonition that 'we are inclined to forget the old-established words . . . *cry down, decry, depreciate, deride*, [etc.], and *malnutrition* was no longer 'a word to be avoided as often as *underfeeding* will do the work'.

Gowers replaced Fowler's list of 'general articles' with a classified guide to the types of article contained in the text (not retained in the third edition), but he dropped the long glossary article on technical terms. Some important articles were added, including a long one on Americanisms and others on *capitals, clichés, commercialese*, and *officialese*. The last of these lay firmly within Gowers's range of professional experience, as did a number of related entries on individual items: *backlog, ceiling and floor, personally* (as in the redundant use *I personally do not think so*, which no doubt littered civil service memos), and *personnel*.

Some issues of concern today were not known to Fowler. His article on *infer*, now a major object of contention, merely dealt with the doubling of the *r* in inflection. By the time Gowers was writing, the deprecated use of *infer* to mean 'imply' had arisen, but received only a brief warning. Partridge was equally terse

in 1947, but by 1996 (in the third edition of *MEU*) it had become sufficiently widespread to warrant two whole columns.

Unfortunately Gowers had little to say on his methodology. He drew heavily on the *OED* (including the *Supplement* that had been published in 1933, too late for Fowler), and the 1954 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (the fourth, edited by E. McIntosh, 1954; a fifth edition, also by McIntosh, was published in 1964, one year before Gowers's edition of *MEU*).

Reception of the revised edition was as mixed as it had been of Fowler's edition. It was highly praised by teachers and educationists (an unnamed reviewer in the *Teachers' World* of 12 November 1956 described Fowler as 'the greatest champion and paladin of them all') but was derided by literary figures and linguists, notably Barbara Strang: 'Fowler's attitude is not a possible one for a good mind in the 1960s, and the attempt at modernization leads Gowers into irreconcilable conflicts' (*Modern Language Review* 61: 1966, 264–5). She complained in particular of Gowers's writing style, which 'shows a diffuseness or lack of edge, sometimes a want of the courage of the author's convictions or an inconclusive petulance, that are not at all Fowlerian'.<sup>4</sup>

### 12.3.3 *MEU, third edition (1996)*

A third edition was entrusted to R. W. Burchfield, editor of the four-volume *Supplement to the OED* (1972–86), and unlike his predecessors a historical lexicographer. He kept the same basic arrangement as before (dropping the name 'dictionary'), with a mixture of longer topic entries and short entries on individual items. Some of the famous article headings were retained, so the user could still find *elegant variation* and even *Wardour Street* (despite its greatly changed image), though not *battered ornaments* or *out of the frying-pan*. Other items of diminished interest included *blithesome* and *cogged dice*, and a preference for *opinionated* over *opinionative*. More surprisingly, Gowers's entry on Americanisms was dropped entirely rather than updated, and was only partly made up for by a new entry on *Black English*.

Nearly all the text was rewritten. Little of Fowler's writing was left, and still less of Gowers's.<sup>5</sup> Burchfield wrote in a style that is more urbane and dispassionate, and less entertaining. The link with Fowler was achieved by the awkward device of citing him as an external authority. The International Phonetic Alphabet was

<sup>4</sup> For criticism of Gowers's edition, see Burchfield 1992b: 11–13.

<sup>5</sup> Exceptions are (from Fowler) *arguing in a circle* and (from Gowers) the word *insular*: 'merely provincial or parochial writ large'.

used to explain pronunciations, in accordance with Oxford practice from the late 1980s.

Burchfield, like Fowler, drew extensively on the *OED* (now in its second edition of 1989 and available in electronic form) and his own reading of modern English, to which he devoted several years before setting to work on the text. He concentrated on 'good writers' such as William Golding, Iris Murdoch, Kingsley Amis, and of the younger generation, Martin Amis, William Boyd, and Julian Barnes. He also included American writers such as Saul Bellow, Garrison Keillor, Philip Roth, and John Updike, and a few writers from other English-speaking countries. Some non-literary sources were cited, such as broadsheet newspapers (a smaller proportion than in the original edition) as well as ephemeral sources such as a Habitat Catalogue and even BBC Radio, but use of a large-scale text corpus is noticeably absent.

Much new purely factual material was added, especially in the area of descriptive grammar (*adjunct, endocentric compounds*) and phrase and fable (*Albion, fell swoop*). Areas of increased concern, notably Political Correctness and Plain English (both much developed since Gowers wrote) also received attention, and several new entries were added on issues relating to gender and language, including one on the awkwardness of *he or she* used anaphorically to express gender-neutrality: 'The problem is an old one, and various methods of avoiding the use of a backward-referring *he* have been in use over the centuries. The only change is that the process has been greatly accelerated in recent times' (1996: 358).

Words and uses that had become controversial since the 1960s included the homosexual sense of *gay*, on which he was discreetly neutral, *ongoing* meaning 'continuing' (as in *ongoing discussions*), vogue words such as *bottom line, infrastructure, interface*, and *parameter*, meaning shifts such as *refute* (= 'reject, repudiate', originally added by Gowers), grammatical issues such as the sentence adverb (e.g. *clearly, frankly*, and above all *hopefully*), and the influence of American English, which was of less concern to Gowers and of no interest to Fowler.

### 12.3.4 *Smaller usage dictionaries based on MEU*

A smaller A–Z usage dictionary drawing on Fowler's work, though not directly based on it, was Treble and Vallins, *An ABC of English Usage* (1936), described in the Preface as 'an alphabetical companion to English composition'. The organization differed from that of *MEU* and was less idiosyncratic, adding new material on specific topics such as *adjective clause*, literary terms such as *heroic couplet*, tables of inflections, and entries on the individual punctuation marks. (Vallins later wrote two chapter-based popular books, *Good English* (1951) and



*Better English* (1953). Also to be mentioned is B. Ifor Evans, *The Use of English* (1949).) A Pocket edition of *MEU* was published in 1999: it condensed the text to about half its size but found space for some important additions (for example *American English* and *gender-neutrality*).

## 12.4 PARTRIDGE

*Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English*, an A–Z dictionary treatment, was written by the New Zealand-born lexicographer Eric Partridge and was first published in the USA in 1942; a UK edition followed in 1947. In a brief foreword, Partridge stated that the book was ‘designed, not to compete with H. W. Fowler’s *Modern English Usage* (that would be a fatuous attempt – and impossible), but to supplement it and to complement it, and yet to write a book that should be less Olympian and less austere’. The text quotes frequently from Fowler (adopting some of Fowler’s headwords, such as *fused participles*, and adapting others, such as *battered similes* from Fowler’s *battered ornaments*), and from other authorities, including the grammarian Otto Jespersen and the *OED* editor C. T. Onions (the sixth edition of whose *Advanced English Syntax* had appeared in 1932). Unusual topics included *poets’ licence*, *précis writing*, and *sports technicalities*.

There are relatively few citations from English literature or journalism, and in this Partridge differed noticeably from Fowler. He added personal opinions in square brackets at the ends of some entries, often tersely, as follows:

**adequate standard of living.** Enough money. [Gobbledygook.]

*Usage and Abusage* has been revised several times, with new editions in 1957, 1994 (revised by Janet Whitcut, Partridge having died in 1979), and 1999, and is the only British usage guide to have attained a distinction comparable to *MEU*. Much of Partridge’s original material has survived the revisions, and his longer articles on major topics such as *officialese* and *split infinitive* have remained essentially the same, dated though they now seem. Whitcut added new entries on topics that had become controversial since Partridge wrote, including the sentence adverb *hopefully*, changed meanings of *gay* and *partner*, and *sexism*, to which she devoted a general article. Some of the lost causes were removed or modified: *abide* in the sense ‘tolerate’, ambiguous uses of *all*, and insistence on plural number in the word *data*. A splendid article on the viability of *be being* was drastically reduced.

## 12.5 GOWERS

Sir Ernest Gowers (see above, 12.3.2) wrote *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English* (1948) 'at the invitation of the Treasury' (Preface) as a short chapter-based manual of style and usage for civil servants. This was followed in 1951 by *The ABC of Plain Words* (1951), and the two were published together as *The Complete Plain Words* (1954). Gowers's examples were all taken from the language of officialdom (principally that of civil servants and members of the armed forces), and he included lists of wrongly used words under headings such as 'correctness', 'the choice of words', and 'avoiding the superfluous word'. His main concerns were achieving clarity and avoiding ambiguity and verbosity. After completing his revision of *MEU* in 1965, he intended to turn his attention to a new edition of the *Complete Plain Words*, but he died the following year and the revision (by Bruce Fraser, another senior civil servant) did not appear until 1973. Fraser described Gowers's book as 'undoubtedly a classic'. A further revision, edited by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut, was published by HM Stationery Office in 1986; all the editions have subsequently appeared as Penguin paperbacks.

## 12.6 MORE RECENT USAGE GUIDES

Notable among more recent guides are E. S. C. Weiner's *The Oxford Miniguide to English Usage* (1983), revised with A. Delahunty as *The Oxford Guide to English Usage* (1993). This is organized as a sequence of chapters on word formation, pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar, with a separate alphabetical listing of items for each section, plus appendices on punctuation, clichés, and English overseas, and an extensive index. A key feature is the use of attributed citations from twentieth-century literature and journalism, which has added an extra element of authority to that of the Oxford name. A page chosen at random (p.148) yields *New Scientist* and Frederic Raphael on *literally*, *The Observer* on *loan* (as a verb), Margaret Drabble on *locate*, G. B. Shaw on *luxuriant* and *majority*, C. P. Snow on *luxurious*, and C. S. Lewis on *majority*. Another book set out in the same manner, but with many more headings and without the attributed citations, is G. Davidson's *Chambers Guide to Grammar and Usage* (1996).

John E. Kahn's *The Right Word at the Right Time: A Guide to the English Language and How to Use It* (1985) is a single alphabetical sequence of entries,

well organized, and interestingly written: it deserves to be better known. From the same period are John O. E. Clark's *Word Perfect* (1987), Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut's *Longman Guide to English Usage* (1988: see Nunberg 1990b), and Martin Manser's *Bloomsbury Good Word Guide* (1988). A rare example of a dictionary of grammar written on descriptive principles is E. S. C. Weiner and L. Chalker's *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* (1994).

## 12.7 COMMON ERRORS BOOKS

In recent years there have been a number of smaller A–Z dictionaries of usage that focus on particular problems (chiefly spellings, meaning confusions, wrong use of words) and give succinct guidance in a brief space, often with illustrative examples, without attempting much (or any) argument. These include Cullen (1999), Trask (2001), and Thomson (2005).

## 12.8 AMERICAN DICTIONARIES OF USAGE

### 12.8.1 *American works derived from MEU*

Fowler's *MEU* became the model for an American equivalent, *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage*, by H. W. Horwill, published in 1935. This was not, however, an adaptation but a new text (as described in the Preface) 'primarily designed to assist English people who visit the United States, or who meet American friends, or who read American books and magazines, or who listen to American "talkies"'. It was essentially aimed at the British market, and a second edition was published in 1944. The reverse of this approach is represented by Norman W. Schur's *British English A to Zed*, published in 1987 and seeking to explain British English to Americans.

Then, in 1957, a new book, explicitly based on *MEU* and aimed this time at the American user, was published under the title *A Dictionary of American-English Usage*, edited by Margaret Nicholson. The Preface described the work as 'a simplified *MEU*, with American variations, retaining as much of the original as space allowed' and stated somewhat condescendingly that 'Fowler's own mannerisms and pedantries—and I am sure he would have been the last to deny them—have been left untouched'.

No attempt was made to produce an American equivalent of Gowers's 1965 revision, but a new *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (with the same title as Horwill's work) was published by Oxford University Press in 1998, changing its name to *Garner's Modern American Usage* (after its editor, Bryan A. Garner) in a revision of 2003 described as 'dramatically revised and updated'. In this edition, some of Fowler's quirky headings (e.g. *slipshod extension*) were retained, along with new ones such as *skunked terms* for changes in meaning that leave the new meaning unacceptable to some and the old meaning awkward to others (as with *hopefully*), and *mondgreens* for misheard sayings (from the mishearing of 'laid him on the green' as 'Lady Mondegreen' in a Scottish ballad). Garner, like other American writers on usage, is more stringent than their British counterparts in assigning *that* and *which* to restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses respectively: 'British writers,' he says, 'have utterly bollixed the distinction' (2003: 782).

### 12.8.2 *Bergen and Cornelia Evans*

*A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage* (1957), compiled by Bergen Evans and Cornelia Evans, is a traditional A–Z treatment written with a strong authorial voice which seeks to provide users with access to 'respectable English'. Again the importance of language change in watering down firmness of usage is recognized, but the effect here is enfeebling or even contradictory: 'Since language changes so much, no one can say how a word "ought" to be used. The best that anyone can do is to say how it *is* being used.'

Their entry for *decimate* typifies this philosophy, but adds a touch of firmness that is more apparent in the text than in the preliminary explanations:

The use of the term to mean the slaughter of a great number is general and accepted, but if the number exceed one in ten, then the word instead of conveying horror will, at least to the knowing, understate it. To use *decimate* with any particular percentage or fraction other than one in ten (*More than half the population was decimated by the plague*) is to commit a ludicrous error.

### 12.8.3 *Wilson Follett*

Wilson Follett's *Modern American Usage* (1966) consisted of three parts: an introductory discursive section, a 'lexicon' (as it was called) which formed the bulk of the book, and appendices on *shall and will* (it is unclear why this topic was not treated in the alphabetical section) and on punctuation. Follett himself began work on the book in 1958 but died in 1963 before he could finish it: it was completed by a group of editors coordinated by Jacques Barzun. The book adopts

a pragmatic standpoint (p. 6): ‘This discussion draws its authority from the principle that good usage is what the people who think and care about words believe good usage to be’.

#### 12.8.4 *Merriam-Webster*

Merriam-Webster’s *Dictionary of English Usage* ‘examines and evaluates common problems of confused or disputed English usage from two perspectives: that of historical background, especially as shown in the great historical dictionaries, and that of present-day usage, chiefly as shown by evidence in the Merriam-Webster files’ (1989: 4a). The illustrative examples were drawn from an extensive collection of quotation files and were attributed, with precise dates given for newspaper and magazine sources. The articles were shared out among a large number of editors (who are, however, not identified from article to article), and the lack of a single editorial voice makes a sharp contrast with that of Fowler, despite the presence of an editorial director, Frederick C. Mish, who is said to have ‘reviewed the entire manuscript’. Most of the American usage books, and this one in particular, are ‘committee books’. Most notable is William Morris and Mary Morris’s *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* (1975), which drew on the advice of a usage panel (see below, 12.10.2).

Examples of specifically American issues discussed in these books include the colloquial form *aren’t I*, which is standard in British English but disputed in American criticism. (It was unknown to Fowler and was added by Gowers to *MEU* in the entry for *be*.) By contrast, *Merriam-Webster* identified it as ‘a bugbear of American commentators since about the beginning of the 20th century’ (1989: 115). Several uses that have been condemned as American in origin by British usage pundits, e.g. the use of *hopefully*, have also been questioned at an earlier stage in American usage books.

## 12.9 DICTIONARIES OF USAGE IN OTHER VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

### 12.9.1 *Canada*

Fee and McAlpine (1997) have edited an A–Z *Guide to Canadian English* that seeks to assert the distinct status of Canadian English; it draws on a twelve million word corpus of contemporary Canadian writing developed from 1981

by the Strathy Language Unit, supplemented by some 650 million words of Canadian newspaper and magazine texts (journalism therefore overwhelmingly predominates). As well as using the corpus for evidence of Canadian usage, the editors claim to base their selection criteria for problematic items on it as well. Usage problems discussed in other guides that, when checked against the corpus, 'in fact caused writers no problems at all' were dropped. However, with no examples given, it is difficult to know how these conclusions were reached.

As with the *Cambridge Guide* (below, 12.11), the impression created is of an objective survey of usage based on large quantities of language data rather than a system of authoritative guidance. The Canadian element, much stressed in the preliminary matter, lies chiefly in identifying Canadianisms and in the reporting of Canadian names and institutions, and while these have sociolinguistic implications (in the correct designation of ethnic groups, for example) they do not support the notion of a Canadian usage that is distinct from other varieties, since the core usage issues are not treated in any distinctive way.

### 12.9.2 *Australia*

Hudson (1993) is a small dictionary of Australian usage for which the compiler claimed 'the major inspiration ... was Fowler's *Modern English Usage*' but which is as different from that work in style and approach as one could imagine. It is essentially a halfway house between a usage guide and a style manual, with the guidance as a whole apparently aimed at the professional writer and copy-editor rather than the general user. As with the Canadian guide discussed above, the Australian element lies primarily in reporting on Australianisms and in a sprinkling of names for national institutions (e.g. *Crédit Foncier*, 'what Australians mean by *the Crown*', and an entry for *cultural cringe*, 'used to describe our insecurity about Australian artistic standards').

## 12.10 USAGE NOTES IN CONVENTIONAL DICTIONARIES

### 12.10.1 *Origins and development*

From the earliest days of English lexicography, compilers of dictionaries have been aware of an obligation to comment on correctness of usage, and have used descriptions such as 'low words' and 'fustian terms' (see now Barnbrook 2005; Osselton 2006). Edward Phillips identified so-called 'hard words' and technical

terms in his *New World of English Words* (1658), and Nathan Bailey produced a supplementary volume to his *Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1721) which marked non-standard uses with a special symbol (Landau 2001: 244–5). In his *Plan* of 1747, Dr Johnson proposed to identify certain types of uses, including ‘barbarous or impure words and expressions’, with a system of special marks, and in his eventual text these became labels noting subjective judgements such as ‘low’, ‘coarse’, and ‘ludicrous’ (Johnson 1747: 27–8; Osselton 2006: 103). Attempts at devising more objective labels, whether historical (*archaic*, *obsolete*, etc.) or register-based (*colloquial*, *coarse*, etc.), became standard practice in English lexicography in the nineteenth century (and pre-eminently in the *OED*). More recently, the publication of Webster’s *Third New International Dictionary* (1961) became a cause célèbre of minimal usage comment, implying a toleration of disputed usage. The dictionary was widely regarded as evading its responsibility to give authoritative guidance on matters of usage (Landau 2001: 254–7).

The inclusion of usage notes, typically supplementing a system of register labels such as *slang*, *spoken*, *informal*, *formal*, and *offensive*, is now common in dictionaries on both sides of the Atlantic, for native speakers and foreign users alike (Barnbrook 2005: 198–9). The most famous one-volume dictionary of current British English, the *Concise Oxford*, introduced usage guidance gently in the seventh edition of 1982 with discreet labels such as ‘D’ for ‘disputed’ and ‘R’ for ‘racially offensive’ (a major innovation), and these were expanded into full-scale usage notes in the ninth edition of 1995. In more recent editions, and in other larger dictionaries such as the *Collins English Dictionary* (1979) and the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), the notes have made extensive use of corpus evidence, making concessions to the weight of usage and softening the tone as a result.

### 12.10.2 *The usage panels*

The first dictionary to include usage evidence and judgements drawn from a team of advisers was the *Random House American College Dictionary* (1947). The practice was extended by Houghton Mifflin in the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1969), which included notes compiled from replies to questionnaires from a panel of consultants, including linguists, writers, journalists, and broadcasters. The results are often colourful and distinctive, as in the case of *hopefully*: ‘this usage is by now such a bugbear to traditionalists that it is best avoided on grounds of civility, if not logic’ (second edition, 1982). In the third edition of the College edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1993: xviii), Geoffrey Nunberg of Stanford University, chair of the Advisory Panel, wrote at length

about the usage guidance in the dictionary and the role it was expected to serve: ‘The Usage Panel should not be thought of as an Academy, charged with ruling on all questions of disputed usage. Indeed, the opinions of the Panel are often divided, even though at times the Panelists seem to speak with a single voice’.

The editor of the *American Heritage Dictionary* was William Morris; with Mary Morris he took the panel approach further in the *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* (1975, 1985), in which a range of controversies was treated with reference to the opinions of panellists, often quoted in full or given as a statistic. The panellists were typically distinguished writers, journalists, broadcasters, and academics, including some who were British, such as W. H. Auden, Anthony Burgess, and Jessica Mitford. This method affords flexibility, with different levels of usage distinguished, but essentially results in a ‘committee book’. None the less, panellists’ comments are often varied and colourful: ‘The English language is the finest tool for communication ever invented. Since it is used indiscriminately by hundreds of millions, it is no wonder that it is badly misused so often’ (Isaac Asimov); ‘The English language began to curl up and die, instead of being regenerated, sometime after the Second World War, until now it has become like, wow!, you know’ (Douglas Watt).

## 12.11 THE ROLE OF THE LANGUAGE CORPUS

Writers of guides to and dictionaries of English usage have eschewed the use of a language corpus until recently. The objectivity of reporting ‘found’ usage is arguably at odds with the tradition of usage guides as works having a strong authorial and authoritative voice speaking directly to users.

Pam Peters’s *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* (2004) is the most notable example of a work based mainly on corpus evidence. Written at Macquarie University’s Dictionary Research Centre with the support of consultants, it is an A–Z sequence of words and topics with guidance largely founded on corpus evidence. It seeks a consensus of international usage, and is a survey rather than a guide, quoting widely from other authorities and distinguishing British from American practice. Its publicity describes it as ‘descriptive rather than prescriptive’ and claims that it ‘offers a principled basis for implementing progressive or more conservative decisions on usage’. The Preface further explains this policy as allowing writers ‘to choose styles and usage appropriate to their readership, according to how local or large it is’. This method of reporting findings rather



than giving rulings is likely to leave many users unsure how to act, as in the following entry for *distrust or mistrust* which (typically of much of the book) suffers from a lack of rigorous exemplification:

Some usage guides suggest that these words differ slightly in meaning (*mistrust* is more tentative), but dictionaries lend no support to it. . . . In both American and British data *distrust* is preferred for the verb, appearing twice as often as *mistrust* in that role. *Distrust* is actually the later word, a hybrid formation of Latin and English which had no currency until C16. *Mistrust* is centuries older, and purely English (2004: 160).

Examples, when given, are taken without attribution from corpus data. There are longer topic articles on major aspects of style and usage such as abbreviations, apostrophes, capital letters, clauses, and forms of address; on practicalities such as indexing and referencing; on the varieties of English (American, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand, and South African, though not the English of the Indian subcontinent) and the issue of 'English or Englishes'; and information articles on various language topics including dating systems, dialect, ellipsis, etymology, fallacies, International English, metaphors and similes, and slang.

For Canadian English, Fee and McAlpine 1997 (12.9.1) is also, as we have seen, largely based on corpus materials.

## 12.12 USAGE IN JOURNALISM AND PUBLISHING

Articles on English usage have been a feature of American journalism since the days of Edward S. Gould, whose *Good English* (1867) was based on newspaper articles. More recently, newspapers have taken up the usage debate by inviting an authority on language to write a regular column on particular words or topics: notably William Safire in the *New York Times*, Philip Howard in *The Times*, R. W. Burchfield in *The Sunday Times*, and Nicholas Bagnall in the *Independent*. In some cases these articles have been reprinted as collections in book form, e.g. Burchfield (1992b). This practice can be traced back to the eighteenth-century literary writers on language, particularly Addison (in the *Spectator*), via essays such as George Orwell's *Politics and the English Language* (1946), which included fierce criticism of features such as 'dying metaphors', 'pretentious diction', and 'meaningless words', all firmly rooted in the tradition of Fowler.

Newspapers also deal with usage issues as an aspect of their house style, and in recent times their style guides have been made available to the general user, e.g. *The Economist Styleguide* (1991) and *The Times Guide to English Style and Usage*

(1998). Similar style guides have been published by the University Presses and other large publishing houses. Much of their guidance is about routine choices where variants of usage exist (notably the spelling of verbs in *-ise* or *-ize*), the use of the serial (so-called ‘Oxford’) final comma in lists such as ‘A, B, and C’, and preferences in spelling variants (such as *judg(e)ment*, *dispatch/despatch*, and so on). The best known of these books are, in British English, *Hart’s Rules for Compositors and Readers* (named after Horace Henry Hart, the University Printer at Oxford; 1893 and later editions), supplemented by the alphabetical listing in *Collins Authors’ and Printers’ Dictionary* (first edited by F. Howard Collins in 1905, and revised many times), superseded by *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* (1981), this in turn updated twice. For American English, we have *The Chicago Manual of Style*, first published in 1906 and also frequently revised. In a similar institutional category is *The Elements of Style* by W. Strunk and E. B. White, first published (by Strunk alone) in 1935. It is written with a witty succinctness that has sold it millions of copies in its various editions.

### 12.13 CONCLUSION

The essential strand running through all the dictionaries and guides discussed above has been the element of authority, which sets prescriptivism against descriptivism. Until recently, this has been expressed in differing ways on the two sides of the Atlantic: in Britain by means of a single authorial voice, and in America by placing the emphasis on usage reporting, leaving users to make up their own minds. At the time of writing, the language corpus—having grown from a mere million words or so to a typical size of half a billion or more—is likely to play an increasingly significant role. How this will affect public perceptions of authority in guidance on usage remains to be seen. If users continue to seek decisive guidance, it is unlikely that the trend towards reportage will satisfy them.

# THE AMERICAN COLLEGIATE DICTIONARIES

*Sidney I. Landau*

## 13.1 POPULARITY OF THE COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY IN THE MARKETPLACE<sup>1</sup>

THE phenomenal success of the college dictionary in the United States for nearly half a century—from about 1945 to the 1990s—cannot be understood without appreciating the peculiar conditions that encouraged their acceptance by the American public. For most of this period, one to two million college dictionaries were sold each year, the vast majority within the United States. When the G. & C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, heirs to the line of dictionaries edited by Noah Webster, published *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* in 1898, there were fewer than 240,000 students enrolled at institutions of higher education in the United States (*Digest of Educational Statistics 2006*, 2007: 269), which then had a population of seventy-six million; in other words, about 0.3 per cent of the population were college students.<sup>2</sup> In the academic year 1989–90, by contrast, there were over 13.5 million students enrolled (*Digest 2006*: 269) at a time when the population stood at 248.7 million; 5.4 per cent of the population were students, or eighteen times the ratio that existed in 1898. The audience for college dictionaries, of course, extended far beyond college students,

<sup>1</sup> I have drawn on my article (Landau 1994) for much of the material in this and subsequent sections, used with the permission of Oxford University Press.

<sup>2</sup> This actually overstates the number of students, since I am using the figures for 1899–1900. There are no data available for the year 1898.

although they were the core market; yet the fact that so many millions of Americans experienced a college education during this period created a ready market for a dictionary bearing the word ‘college’ or ‘collegiate’. College was associated with youth and would be remembered as the first period of liberation from the family, when as students young people were suddenly free to engage with other young people as independent adults. The close supervision that college administrations tried to enforce in the 1940s and 1950s, under the policy of *in loco parentis*, when same-sex dormitories were the rule, women students had curfews, and males were never permitted in women’s dormitory rooms or in unchaperoned situations with female students, became unenforceable in the tumultuous 1960s (if not earlier) and was replaced by a much freer environment in most campuses. Thus the associations of ‘college’ in these years would be attractive to students and would be remembered by those past college age with fond nostalgia.

The second element in the success of the college dictionary is the name ‘Webster’. Noah Webster’s blue-backed speller (formally *The American Spelling Book*) was, after the Bible, one of the most popular books in America. First published in 1783, it remained the favourite spelling book of millions of Americans throughout the nineteenth century and is said to have sold seventy-five million copies by 1875 (Venezky 1979: 9–30). The blue-backed speller was a pedagogical book designed to teach correct spelling, and Webster’s name had become famous as a language authority before he embarked on his career in lexicography. The eventual success of his dictionaries, particularly *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828 and the so-called Webster–Mahn (formally *A Dictionary of the English Language*), completed in 1864 after his death, reinforced the authority of ‘Webster’ in American dictionaries, an association the G. & C. Merriam Company exploited for commercial reasons, promoting their dictionaries as ‘the ultimate authority’. The Webster name was from then on nonpareil among American dictionary-makers, a position it retains, though not so securely as it once did, to this day. (See 13.6.4 below for the history of the use of *Webster* in American dictionaries.)

For most of the second half of the twentieth century, the collegiate dictionary was taken by most people to be *the* basic dictionary, the one dictionary that would have answers to all their questions about language and, given their usual encyclopedic content, the essential facts about famous people and places, and all manner of other data, such as the Seven Wonders of the World, the dates of the American Civil War, or the height of Mt. Everest. The dictionary was expected to cover, for all usual purposes, the entire lexicon in a broad sense, omitting only technical and specialized vocabularies of limited range, and archaic and obsolete words and senses. Apart from definitions, the reader expected information about

pronunciation, etymology, and usage, and pictorial illustrations as well. Unabridged dictionaries were for library use; the collegiate dictionary was compact enough to carry and cheap enough to own.

## 13.2 ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY

The first collegiate dictionary, as already noted, was *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* in 1898. It was derived from the unabridged *International Dictionary* of 1890 (*Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language*). The dictionary text runs to 948 pages, with two columns per page, and over a hundred pages of appendix material, including sections on Scottish words, names, mythology, quotations, abbreviations, and signs. It includes many small illustrations and comes with thumb-index indentations for the letters of the alphabet. Definitions are short and there appear to be no illustrative quotations, but all other elements of the larger dictionary are at least represented; pronunciations, etymologies, and synonym discriminations are included. Entry words are capitalized and represented in boldface, separated into syllables.

Thus began the long line of Webster collegiate dictionaries, which have been consistently and thoroughly revised about every decade. One can assume that the book was immediately successful or the company would not have devoted such resources to keeping its flagship product up to date. A Second Edition was published in 1910 and a Third in 1916, based on *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1909). A Fourth Edition was published in 1931. Each new edition was thoroughly revised and reset, even while the essential characteristics of the last edition were preserved, thus lending continuity to the series and making each new edition more readily accepted as a familiar work to its anticipated audience.

### 13.2.1 Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1936)

The Fifth Edition in the Webster series, called *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, was based on and published two years after the famous unabridged *Second Edition*, *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1934). No editorial staff is listed, but the Editorial Board lists William Allan Neilson, the editor of the *Second Edition*, as Editor in Chief of Merriam-Webster dictionaries. The revision of vocabulary was managed by John P. Bethel, General Editor. The Preface emphasizes the dictionary's

expanded coverage of technical vocabularies, such as those of aviation and radio, and boasts of improved coverage of the sciences as well. For the first time in the Collegiate series, and following the innovation of the *Second Edition*, a full set of Explanatory Notes describing the features of the dictionary for the user is included. Although only three pages, this signals a major step forward in recognizing the need to educate the public in how to use a dictionary. The front matter includes an eleven-page guide to pronunciation, and, in keeping with the Webster tradition, the dictionary has an extensive section of a hundred pages following the main vocabulary section, covering geographical and biographical names and other ancillary topics. Small pictorial illustrations are included, as in previous editions, and the dictionary is thumb-indexed. It is a substantial volume, close to 1,300 pages in extent.

### 13.2.2 Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1949)

Responding to the need for more space for additional vocabulary entries, in the Sixth Edition of 1949, entitled *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, the publishers enlarged the dimensions of the page (technically, the trim size). The Fifth Edition's trim size was 5 1/2 inches by 8 1/2; the Sixth Edition's was enlarged to 6 3/4 inches by 9 1/2. Thus they could retain almost everything in the previous edition and still add many new scientific and technical terms, as well as (the editors say) the vocabulary of the Second World War, just concluded, citing *foxhole*, *jeep*, and *blitzkrieg* among other words. The editorial staff is given greater attention than in previous editions, with John P. Bethel listed as General Editor. (Among the assistant editors is Philip B. Gove, eventually to become editor of *Webster's Third*.) This edition has a cleaner look, with wider margins, than the Fifth Edition. It is the only edition to drop the pronunciation key that usually appears at the base of the right-hand pages.

### 13.2.3 Early Funk & Wagnalls collegiate dictionaries

Although Funk & Wagnalls introduced its own collegiate dictionary in 1923, called the *Funk & Wagnalls College Standard Dictionary* (also called the *Practical Standard Dictionary*), and continued to publish collegiate dictionaries in the years following, its collegiate dictionaries were never serious competitors to G. & C. Merriam as its unabridged dictionaries were from 1893 to the early 1930s. Unlike Merriam, Funk & Wagnalls, though it had substantial income from its successful *Literary Digest* magazine and other publications, chose not to invest heavily in its line of collegiate dictionaries, even while it kept producing them.

Unlike Merriam, it did not build a substantial citation file from an extensive reading programme, and it spent very little money on publicizing or otherwise promoting its dictionaries.

### 13.3 THE AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY (1947)

Although Merriam-Webster's *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* of 1898 was the first of the collegiate dictionaries, the dictionary that has come to define the modern genre was not published until nearly half a century later. This was Random House's *The American College Dictionary* of 1947, edited by Clarence L. Barnhart, the doyen of American lexicographers, who after a lifetime of immense productivity died in 1993 at the age of 92. Whereas earlier dictionaries had been promoted as abridgements of better-known larger dictionaries, the *American College Dictionary* was represented as a new dictionary in its own right, although, as Barnhart acknowledged in his introduction, by arrangement with *The Century Dictionary* it used material from that dictionary and its abridgement, *The New Century Dictionary*. Nevertheless the *American College Dictionary* (or *ACD*, as it soon came to be called) was strikingly innovative in a number of ways that set it apart from all previous collegiate dictionaries. It was the first collegiate work to use the schwa (borrowed from the International Phonetic Alphabet) in its pronunciations to represent the unaccented initial sound in words like *alone*, a practice later adopted by all other leading collegiate dictionaries.

From the outset, the *ACD* stressed its coverage of 'special vocabularies', which we would today call scientific and technical terms, embracing everything from accounting to zoology (and including, among its many experts, an expert on swine), and it was true to its word, providing excellent coverage to these vocabularies. Indeed, the title page of the first edition bears the information, under Barnhart's name, '*With the Assistance of 355 Authorities and Specialists*' [italics in original]. This is in marked contrast to the Merriam-Webster dictionaries, which have always been, so far as the outside observer can detect, resolutely self-contained. The Preface of *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Eleventh Edition* (2003) makes no mention of obtaining the help of any outside experts and instead pays homage to the experience of its editorial staff.

The *ACD* set a high standard for simply written but clear and accurate definitions. Although it included illustrative phrases with some definitions, it often omitted them, opting to use the space to include more words, and relying on the definition to provide enough guidance without the need for illustration.

Perhaps the *ACD*'s chief innovation was its reliance on academic experts. The dictionary was prepared with the assistance of leading linguists and psychologists, and of specialists in many other fields. In deciding what words and senses to include, Barnhart drew upon the *Thorndike–Lorge Semantic Count*, a vocabulary study by Edward L. Thorndike and Irving Lorge based on a wide range of writing which tabulated the frequencies of particular meanings. The team of advisers Barnhart assembled included many of the most famous scholars in the country. The dictionary is dedicated to Thorndike and Leonard Bloomfield, the distinguished linguist under whom Barnhart had studied. Aside from Bloomfield and Lorge, the Editorial Advisory Committee consisted of Charles C. Fries, whose studies of the teaching of English and work on descriptive grammar put him at the forefront of current educational practice; W. Cabell Greet, a leading expert on pronunciation and the editor of *American Speech*; and Kemp Malone, a former editor of *American Speech* and a prominent editor of other language journals. Thus, in terms of credentials, the *ACD* began life with all the authority that the academic world could provide, and a good deal more than any other dictionary could boast of.

Although much of the success of *ACD* can be attributed to its merits, the timing of its first publication could scarcely have been better. The only other competitor apart from Merriam-Webster was Funk & Wagnalls, which, as noted, captured a far smaller percentage of the market than Merriam-Webster's line. More significantly, the end of the Second World War in 1945 released hundreds of thousands of war veterans (almost all men) from the military, and the GI Bill of Rights presented many, who otherwise would never have thought of going to college, with an opportunity not to be missed. University attendance skyrocketed. In the academic year 1939–40, about 1.5 million students attended institutions of higher education. In 1949–50, 2.6 million were students. Moreover, most of the increase was among men. Whereas women students increased from 601,000 to 806,000, an increase of 34 per cent, male students more than doubled, with almost a million more men enrolled at colleges and universities than before the war: from 893,000 to 1,853,000, an increase of 107 per cent. The *ACD* found itself not only competing against a weak Funk & Wagnalls but with a vastly expanded market—and, moreover, a cohort of men somewhat older and more serious-minded than those in earlier (and later) periods. Many were married and had children to support and were working at full-time jobs while attending college. Most felt they had to make up for time lost in the service and any ready reference that would help them improve their skills would be welcome. As Laurence Urdang has observed (Urdang 1993: 131–2), 'In those days, every college freshman was required to have such a dictionary'. It is therefore no



surprise that the *ACD* was immensely successful, immediately establishing itself as a major presence in the dictionary field.

#### 13.4 WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY OF THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE, COLLEGE EDITION (1953) AND LATER EDITIONS

The *American College Dictionary's* phenomenal success was not to go unchallenged for long. Following its successful publication of *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, Encyclopedic Edition* in two volumes in 1951, the World Publishing Company brought out a one-volume *College Edition* based on it in 1953. Both works were edited by David B. Guralnik (who was to edit the World dictionaries for the next thirty-three years) and Joseph H. Friend. World had won the right to use *Webster* in its dictionaries following a series of Federal Trade Commission hearings held between 1946 and 1949. Earlier dictionaries published by World had been derivative and second-rate, at best, but the 1951 and 1953 editions of *Webster's New World* broke decisively from that tradition. Buoyed by the vastly enlarged university market, the *College Edition* made an immediate impact and, through the remainder of the 1950s and the next two decades, proved to be Merriam-Webster's most formidable competitor. The first edition emphasized that the definitions would be written in the modern idiom 'in a relaxed style', and, indeed, from the beginning the defining style has been notably clear and simple, avoiding difficult or formal words whenever possible. It simplified its technical definitions to make them more understandable to the layperson, gave full etymologies, and initially used no undefined (or 'run on') derivatives, a policy changed in later editions.

*Webster's New World Dictionary, Second College Edition* of 1970, also edited by Guralnik, introduced the now familiar identification of Americanisms, and was for a time the only dictionary to do so. This practice has been continued in all subsequent editions. The *Third College Edition*, published in 1988, lists Victoria Neufeldt as Editor in Chief and Guralnik as Editor in Chief Emeritus on the title page, as Guralnik apparently retired at the end of 1985. *Webster's New World College Dictionary, Fourth Edition*, appeared in 1999 with Michael Agnes as Editor in Chief. The Foreword speaks of a citation-collecting programme by which several thousand citations are obtained each month, providing evidence for

new words and new or altered senses. Technical senses, in particular the vocabulary of the computer age, have been added.

### 13.5 WEBSTER'S SEVENTH COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY (1963)

Although *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, its new unabridged of 1961, might have been a disappointment at first because of the controversy its publication generated, *Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary*, published two years later, was to become the best-selling dictionary of its generation and do much to restore Merriam-Webster's place at the top of the collegiate-dictionary market. Edited by Philip Babcock Gove, the editor of *Webster's Third*, with H. Bosley Woolf playing a major role as managing editor, Merriam-Webster devoted considerable resources to advertising *Webster's Seventh*, and its marketing staff was effective in getting the books stocked everywhere—not only in bookstores but in stationery stores and gift shops throughout the country—and it was by far the most popular dictionary among college and university students.

Once again, as the Preface says, the editors were faced with the need to retain the material from the previous edition but add new definitions and senses. How to find the space? They solved it in two ways: first, by adopting a new definition style, the 'completely analytical one-phrase definition' used by *Webster's Third New International*; and secondly, by employing the more condensed Times Roman typeface used by *Webster's Third*. Although *Webster's Third* was vigorously attacked by some critics, its defining style, which represented a sharp departure from conventional styles, was mostly overlooked. (LANDAU, Vol. I, Chapter 9.11.1, for a discussion of this defining style.) This was a genuine innovation and, though in some cases it resulted in long, complex sentences with many embedded clauses, in many instances it was an effective way to compress a great deal of information and convey it logically. It actually works better in an abridged dictionary like *Webster's Seventh* than in an unabridged work because, of necessity, some information has to be omitted for brevity in the former, resulting in less complex definitions that do not ramble on to Proustian lengths.

*Webster's Seventh* stubbornly avoided applying usage labels to words that were slang or vulgar, and, like *Webster's Third*, dropped the *Informal* label altogether. This policy has been maintained, more or less, in all subsequent collegiate

editions. *Webster's Seventh* often made use of single-word definitions printed in small capital letters that were intended as a kind of cross-reference to another entry regarded as a close synonym where the word would be more fully defined. Obviously a way to save space, the practice was criticized by some because the word referred to, while close in meaning, was rarely identical, and the nuances of differences were thus unreported. The practice continued in subsequent editions. (See 13.7 for examples.)

On the other hand, it must be admitted that in these pre-computerized-corpus years, Merriam-Webster's citation file of millions of slips, which it boasted of in every Preface, did indeed set it apart from all its collegiate-dictionary competitors. Its citation file gave it the basis for including many new words and new senses in each new edition that its competitors could not match. In this respect the *Seventh* was genuinely superior, and this quality too has been maintained in subsequent editions. Although the other dictionary houses all claimed to have citation files, and undoubtedly did to one degree or another, their files were not nearly so extensive as those of Merriam-Webster, and as soon as the *Seventh* appeared, every other dictionary house scrutinized it to pick up new words and senses its own coverage had failed to include. In later years of the twentieth century, when vast computerized corpora—texts at first of fifty million words, then of one hundred, two hundred, or more millions—became available, Merriam-Webster's advantage would become compromised, though not vanish completely.

It is indisputable that in the 1960s and 1970s, Merriam-Webster dictionaries had an unequivocal advantage and made the most of it in their publicity. Sales of collegiate dictionaries during these years were at their height, and *Webster's Seventh* and subsequent editions accounted for roughly half of this total: a million copies a year. The vast majority of these sales were domestic, that is, they were made in the United States and Canada, and a high percentage of domestic sales during this period went to college and university students. During the 1960s, enrolment in institutions of higher learning more than doubled, from 3.6 million in 1959–60 to eight million in 1969–70 (*Digest of Educational Statistics 2006*: 269). In the decade ending 1980, total enrolment reached 11.5 million and, for the first time, more women than men attended college (*Digest 2006*: 269). This was a period preceding the computer age and the arrival of the Internet, when students still relied principally on printed books for information. Moreover, these numbers reflect only postsecondary education. Clearly, many more millions of students were enrolled in high schools, and many of these students as well used college dictionaries. The primary market for American collegiate dictionaries was therefore very large.

## 13.6 COMPETITORS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST

Apart from *Webster's New World Dictionary*, only Funk & Wagnalls remained in competition in the collegiate-dictionary field in the 1950s and 1960s until Random House brought out a successor to its *American College Dictionary* in 1968 and American Heritage made its entry into dictionary publishing in 1969. They will be considered below.

### 13.6.1 Funk & Wagnalls New College Standard Dictionary (1953) and the Funk & Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary (1963)

The *New College Standard Dictionary* of 1953 was called the EM'PHA-TYPE edition because of its inclusion of a simplified pronunciation scheme in special type. The system was supposed to be so easy to use and self-explanatory that no key was provided at the base of the text pages. Its definitions were based on the *College Standard*, originally from 1923 but much revised in intermediate editions. Charles Earle Funk, the editor, explains that no effort was made to distinguish slang from informal uses, as the distinction was deemed too arbitrary; instead the label [Pop.], for 'popular', was employed. After a few years the publishers were forced to realize that the dictionary's experimental pronunciation system was a failure, as users found it difficult to adjust to the new format, and the EM'PHA-TYPE edition proved to be a huge disappointment to Funk & Wagnalls, which had hoped by this innovation to promote it to near parity with Merriam-Webster.

Having suffered such a setback, the *Standard College Dictionary* of 1963, edited by Robert L. Chapman, offered no significant innovations but stayed firmly in the framework adopted by other collegiate dictionaries. The *Standard College* did expand its entry count to 150,000, then considered a high number, and it did reflect the most thoroughgoing revision of the Funk & Wagnalls dictionaries in many years. As in previous editions, definitions were given with the most frequently occurring sense first, not in historical order as in Merriam-Webster dictionaries, and the etymology appeared at the end of each entry. It succeeded, barely, in keeping the name Funk & Wagnalls alive for another decade or so, but, when no new dictionaries were forthcoming, Funk & Wagnalls ceased to play any significant role in the collegiate-dictionary field.

### 13.6.2 The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, College Edition (1968) and Random House Webster's College Dictionary (1991)

Abridged from the *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language—The Unabridged Edition* (1966)—the *College Edition* was published in 1968. (LANDAU, Vol. I, Chapter 9.12.2.) Laurence Urdang, who had served as managing editor of the unabridged, was Editor in Chief. In the Preface, Urdang talks about the electronic data processing of large bodies of texts of all types. He was one of the pioneers in America in using electronic tools 'to collate and sort, compare and contrast, and manipulate data' as a means of analysing language use, at a time when computer use in lexicography was still in its infancy. In keeping with the tradition of the *ACD*, the *College Edition* had a huge staff of consultants in addition to its large editorial staff. Also in keeping with past tradition, there are extensive back-matter sections.

Finally giving way to the seemingly unavoidable attraction of the name *Webster* (see 13.6.4 below for a fuller accounting of this trend) the next edition would be called *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (1991) and was based on the Second Edition of the unabridged *Random House Dictionary* of 1987. The Editor in Chief of the *College Dictionary* was Robert B. Costello, who had earlier worked on Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionaries. The new Random House *College Dictionary* is notable for its extensive explanatory section called *Using This Dictionary*, nineteen pages of very clear and readable descriptions of actual dictionary entries—the best user's guide of any American collegiate dictionary. The front matter also includes the customary two-page reproduction of two columns from the dictionary with leaders identifying particular features.

This dictionary was, unfortunately, the last hurrah for Random House dictionaries. Late in the year 2000, the company suddenly announced that it was laying off its entire dictionary staff, though it would continue to promote and sell its stock of college and unabridged editions. Presumably it could, if it wished, rehire a few staff editors and use a freelance staff to update its collegiate dictionary, but there would be a loss of continuity, of familiarity with the traditional strengths of Random House dictionaries, that would weaken the identity of the revision and strip it of its character. Thus Random House has effectively withdrawn from dictionary publishing. Others, as will be seen below, have taken the opportunity to fill the void created by the inevitable, if gradual, disappearance of Random House dictionaries.

### 13.6.3 The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1969) and the American Heritage College Dictionaries

The controversy surrounding the publication of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* in 1961 (LANDAU, Vol. I, Chapter 9.11) emboldened James Parton, president of the American Heritage Publishing Company, to propose the development of a new unabridged dictionary that would give the American public an alternative to the allegedly corruptingly permissive influence of that work. At one time he considered buying the Merriam-Webster company in order to destroy all copies of *Webster's Third*, but the company was uncooperative (Landau 1994: 314–15). After an enormous expenditure of funds, the company, which had had no previous experience in developing dictionaries, was forced to scale back its plan when it realized that the task of creating and publishing an unabridged dictionary from scratch was effectively beyond its capacity. It decided instead to produce a new dictionary closer in extent to a college dictionary than an unabridged.

The new dictionary was published in 1969 by Houghton Mifflin (which had acquired American Heritage), under the editorship of William Morris, and it broke new ground in three respects. It was produced in a trim size larger than that of the collegiate dictionaries, with a third outer column on each page devoted to pictorial illustration, which included photographs as well as line drawings. The outer column gave the page a clean, open look, and the high number of illustrations provided a degree of visual interest that was unmatched by any of the collegiate dictionaries, which by comparison looked cramped with dense type. Another extraordinary feature of the dictionary was its employment of a usage panel of ostensibly good writers whose opinions about disputed usages were supposed to provide guidance to the public. These elders—and in the First Edition the panel did consist mainly of older men, chiefly writers, critics, and academics—reflected a conservative (some would say, retrograde) attitude regarding language use. Some observers attacked both the idea of a usage panel and the particular composition of American Heritage's as arbitrary and unrepresentative of American speakers or writers (Creswell 1975; Creswell and McDavid 1986), and, in short, little more than a sales gimmick to attract attention to itself. Over time, tempers cooled, the rhetoric on both sides moderated, and the usage panel—now re-formed as a more heterogeneous group with many more women and displaying a wider distribution of ages—is accepted more benignly by the lexicographic community as a slightly eccentric but harmless habit of American Heritage dictionaries, like a penchant for wearing outlandish hats. The third way in which the new dictionary was exceptional was in the extraordinary

attention it gave to etymology, particularly in its inclusion of an extended back-matter section devoted to the Indo-European roots of English words.

The first American Heritage dictionary of 1969 has been revised several times, and each new edition is followed by a new collegiate edition in a somewhat smaller trim size (and at a lower price), but nonetheless retaining the third, outer column for pictorial illustrations, though much narrower than the columns of type. *The American Heritage College Dictionary, Fourth Edition*, edited under the direction of Joseph P. Pickett, was published in 2002. The Indo-European roots section, which, given the severe space limitations in a collegiate dictionary, occupies a huge amount of text space (over thirty pages) was dropped from the second college edition but restored in the third edition, and appears as well in the fourth.

Although competitive in respect to their coverage of the vocabulary with the other collegiate dictionaries, the American Heritage dictionaries have never been outstanding for the quality of their definitions or for the comprehensiveness of their coverage. The allocation of so much space to illustration has resulted in some trade-offs through the years: the treatment of etymology (apart from the Indo-European section) has been cut back, definitions are concise and the use of illustrative phrases limited. Unlike the Random House dictionaries, which emphasize their coverage of science and technology, and the treatment of slang; and the Webster's New World dictionaries, which emphasize the simplicity and clarity of their definitions and the extent of their etymologies; the American Heritage dictionaries have established a niche for themselves as the most visually engaging and the most eager to offer usage advice, which, though less conservative than in the past, still seeks to represent a safe, traditional approach to language change.

#### 13.6.4 Use of 'Webster' by American collegiate dictionaries<sup>3</sup>

The copyright of the 1841 edition of Noah Webster's *American Dictionary* expired in 1889, and when the Merriam Company failed to secure the exclusive right to use *Webster's* as a trade name, other dictionaries began using it without the approval of the Merriam Company. 'By 1904, at least a dozen firms were using *Webster* in their dictionary titles' (Morton 1994: 216). From the late 1920s to the 1940s, the World Syndicate Publishing Company of Cleveland produced a number of dictionaries with *Webster* in the titles, and because of various misrepresentations the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) filed a complaint in 1941

<sup>3</sup> Parts of this section are taken from pp. 410–12 of Landau, S. I. (2001). *Dictionaries: the Art and Craft of Lexicography*. (Second edition.) New York: Cambridge University Press. © Sidney I. Landau. Reprinted with permission.

charging it with misleading and deceptive trade practices. ‘The Merriam company entered the proceedings as *amicus curiae* in the hope that the FTC not only would find the World company guilty of deceptive practices but would also order it to stop using the Webster name’ (Morton 1994: 216).

The result of the FTC hearings from 1946 to 1949 confounded Merriam’s expectations. They won the battle but lost the war. Though the FTC did enjoin World from engaging in deceptive trade practices, it also decided that the name *Webster* could not be considered the exclusive property of the Merriam Company because *Webster’s* simply meant a dictionary, not the dictionary of a particular company. Thus World, now under new leadership, won the right to use *Webster* in the title of its dictionaries. The decision was appealed by Merriam and reached the US Court of Appeals, which reaffirmed the FTC decision.

In the ensuing years, dictionary publishers increasingly felt that if they did not include *Webster* in the title, their dictionaries would be placed at a considerable disadvantage in the marketplace. Eventually, even the publishers of the Random House dictionaries came to believe this, and in 1990 they decided to add *Webster’s* to the title of their dictionaries. In 1991, the *Random House College Dictionary* became the *Random House Webster’s College Dictionary*. The Merriam Company, which had changed its name from G. & C. Merriam to Merriam-Webster in 1982 in an effort to maintain the brand of *Webster* as its own, immediately sued Random House for ‘trademark infringement and unfair competition’ under federal and state laws. They could not argue that using *Webster’s* as such was prohibited, but they argued that Merriam-Webster had established a proprietary right to using *Webster* in conjunction with *Collegiate*, and that Random House’s use of the words *Webster’s College* in its dictionary title was therefore an infringement of their trademark. They also alleged that Random House had engaged in unfair competition by borrowing the ‘trade dress’ of the Merriam-Webster dictionaries, that is, it had unfairly copied their distinctive appearance. They said the red colour of the jacket of the Random House dictionary and the size and style of typeface used for the word *Webster’s* on the spine would have the effect of confusing dictionary purchasers and make them believe they were buying a Merriam-Webster book when they were not. Random House vigorously denied any attempt to deceive customers, pointing out that the words *Random House* remained part of their book’s title and appeared in large letters (though not so large as *Webster’s*).

The case came to trial in September 1991, and the jury found for Merriam-Webster, awarding damages (after adjustment by the judge) amounting to more than \$2 million, and including \$500,000 in punitive damages. The judgement was based chiefly on the alleged violation of the trade dress of Merriam-Webster dictionaries. After consideration, the judge doubled the award to \$4 million.



Random House appealed, but in response to the ruling did alter the design for the jacket, replacing the huge *Webster's* which had been on the spine with the word *Dictionary*. In 1994, the judgement was completely overturned on appeal and the money award rescinded. A federal appeals court decided that using *Webster's* with *College* did not violate any trademark, and that neither bookstores nor customers would confuse Random House dictionaries with Merriam-Webster dictionaries. Merriam-Webster thereupon appealed to the US Supreme Court, which let the appeals judgement stand.

Among the other dictionary publishers, Funk & Wagnalls never used *Webster* in any of its titles, and American Heritage, while avoiding the use of *Webster* in its main line of dictionaries, did for a time in the 1980s publish a dictionary called *Webster II*, a somewhat abridged version of its collegiate dictionary stripped of all taboo words, presumably intended for school use. Meanwhile, as we shall see, Microsoft has added *Webster's* to the title of its college dictionary. The Oxford line of dictionaries, having a pedigree of its own to protect, has so far remained immune from this infection.

### 13.7 WEBSTER COLLEGIATE DICTIONARIES AFTER THE SEVENTH (1973–2003)

*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, the Eighth Edition (1973), was edited by Henry Bosley Woolf, who had been managing editor of the *Seventh* ten years earlier. The Eighth Edition improved on the *Seventh* by moderating some of its more austere stylistic affinities with its parent, *Webster's Third*. It is a more relaxed and inviting book, with somewhat less reliance on one-word synonym definitions (though they are still used). The typography has been tweaked in some way to make the type more readable, though there is no mention of this in the Preface, which is perfunctory and reflects the same points made in every preface for the last thirty years. Emphasis, as in the past, is on maintaining the Merriam-Webster tradition. The Preface does mention that the dictionary had eleven million citations to use as a foundation for the revision. Unusually, there is no separate guide to pronunciation in the front matter—the only edition to omit it. There is, as in previous editions, a pronunciation key at the base of the right-hand column on recto pages. Also in keeping with tradition, there is an extensive back-matter section of 150 pages devoted to biographical and geographical entries and to other subjects.

Although sales figures for all dictionaries are closely guarded secrets by publishers, there is reason to believe that the eighth edition, like the *Seventh*, was extremely successful, and represents a continuation of the period of greatest acceptance of collegiate dictionaries in America. As noted, college enrolment soared in the 1960s and continued to grow rapidly, if at a less spectacular rate, in the 1970s, adding three and a half million more students. Although Philip Gove is listed as an editorial consultant to the eighth edition, probably as a courtesy, given the ultimate reliance of the collegiate dictionary on *Webster's Third*, it is not likely that Gove had an active role. Bosley Woolf deserves a great deal of credit for the dominant part he played in both the *Seventh* and the Eighth, which—far more than *Webster's Third*—generated the income necessary to go on researching, editing, and producing new collegiate dictionaries (and a whole line of other reference works) in the years ahead. In spite of the critical reception of *Webster's Third*, over the years it has been profitable, particularly from international sales. Nevertheless, the collegiate dictionaries are the cash cows that fund the business.

Remarkably, the next three editions, the *Ninth* (1983), the *Tenth* (1993), and the *Eleventh* (2003), were edited by Frederick C. Mish—the first time in the history of Merriam-Webster that three successive editions have had the same Editor in Chief. *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983) slightly enlarged the page width to fit in more entries; the new trim size was 7×9 1/2 inches. This was necessary to allow the inclusion of 'thousands of new words and senses,' based on extensive citation files, now numbering thirteen million. The synonym discriminations were completely redone to use words more closely associated in meaning and to add illustrative citations. In addition, two new features are introduced with this edition. First, a date is included before the definition, reflecting the earliest example known of that sense; and, secondly, usage guidance is offered based on a historical background and on the evaluation of citations rather than merely opinion. It is surely no accident that the managing editor of the *Ninth Edition* was E. Ward Gilman, who was then also at work on the excellent *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*, which would appear in 1989 under his editorship. It would be logical to use material being collected for the usage dictionary in suitably shortened form in the *Ninth Edition* whenever possible. The usage guidance in *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* is based on actual citations, and the advice is offered in a temperate, even-handed way that conveys a thorough canvass of past usages, informed by scholarship, such that it is more authoritative than any individual's opinion. Notes based on this book would be a real benefit for the reader.

The next edition is called *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Tenth Edition* (1993), a title perhaps reflecting an attempt by the company, following its challenge of Random House's use of *Webster's* in its dictionary's title, to

reclaim the distinction of being *the* Webster's dictionary. Nobody else, at least, could call its dictionary *Merriam-Webster*, the company name which the publisher had been promoting in all its advertising for many years. It may have felt that the connection between *Merriam* and *Webster* was so well established that it had nothing to lose by adopting it in the dictionaries' titles.

The *Tenth Edition* is the first to make mention of a computerized corpus of over twenty million words based on the 14.5 million citation slips the company had assembled. The editors were having all 14.5 million slips keyboarded and, using a key-word-in-context system (KWIC), were indexing all the words used in each of the citations. (It seems likely that the keyboarding of the citations was not completed by the date of publication of the *Tenth Edition*, or there would have been many more than twenty million words included. See the *Eleventh Edition* below.) A five-page guide to pronunciation has been re-inserted in this edition's front matter, and the Explanatory Notes extend to a luxurious thirteen pages.

Finally, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Eleventh Edition* appeared in 2003, with a CD included. The citation file now extends to 15.7 million items, and the machine-readable corpus has ballooned to seventy-six million words based on keyboarding of the citations and indexing all unique words. This edition contains essentially the same features as in the last edition but is updated in various ways: new words and senses have been added along with some new pictorial illustrations. The entry count has grown slightly with each edition and for the *Eleventh Edition* is given as 165,000.

As in previous editions, one-word synonym definitions are sometimes used. For example, *unknowing* is defined as IGNORANCE, in small capital letters, indicating the definition is a form of cross-reference. *Unlikelihood*, definition 1, is defined as IMPROBABILITY. The entry *off-load* is defined as UNLOAD. But *unload* has five transitive verb senses, with some subsenses, and three intransitive verb senses, and the reader is given no information as to which meaning of *unload* 'off-load' refers to. Clearly it does not refer to all of them. Moreover, *off-load* is identified simply as a verb, so the reader does not know if *off-load* is used transitively, intransitively, or both. This illustrates one of the problems with single-word synonym definitions. A second difficulty is to be found in the reference to IMPROBABILITY as a definition for *unlikelihood*, as *improbability* is not defined but is run on to *improbable*. The reader has to extrapolate the noun sense from *improbable* and take that for the meaning of *unlikelihood*. It is a lot to ask. It is done, as so many shortcuts are in lexicography, to save space, but it is fair to say that it often does not serve the reader well.

The reluctance of Merriam-Webster collegiate dictionaries to provide usage labels, especially for slang, may be illustrated in this edition by its failure to label

*chump change*, American slang for a small or insignificant amount of money. The term originated in Black English and the first citation in an extensive entry in Jonathan Lighter's *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (which Random House sold to Oxford University Press in 2003 after the publication of its first two volumes), is dated 1967, the same date given by the *Eleventh Edition*. It is labelled slang in every other American collegiate dictionary that includes it. Merriam-Webster's criteria for labelling slang are one of the great unsolved mysteries in American lexicography.

The Merriam-Webster line of collegiate dictionaries has been remarkably consistent overall, and their practice has not deviated in any significant way since the *Seventh* of 1963. There have been minor improvements to style and more significant improvements to the handling of usage notes. Even the labelling of offensive words has improved. But the general approach to defining, to etymology, to pronunciation, has not changed very much through the years.

## 13.8 LATE ARRIVALS IN THE COLLEGIATE- DICTIONARY FIELD

### 13.8.1 Microsoft Encarta College Dictionary (2001) and Encarta Webster's College Dictionary, Second Edition (2005)

Neither the Foreword nor the Introduction of the *Microsoft Encarta College Dictionary* (2001) mentions the *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999), of which it is probably an offshoot, claiming simply to be a new college dictionary based on the Bloomsbury Corpus of World English, a collection of over 150 million words. However, the editorial staffs and consultants of both works have more than a passing correspondence. Encarta dictionaries have been familiar resources to online users for years. It was surprising that the immensely powerful Microsoft Corporation decided to explore the print dictionary market. It would certainly not add much to its bottom line. The dictionary itself is a substantial work of over 1,600 pages, and, unusually for a collegiate dictionary, has three columns to a page. Thus the type size is extremely small and condensed. The dictionary was compiled by large teams of freelancers with insufficient coordination and control from the managing editors, and the result is an uneven work. (See 13.9 below.) The defining style employs brief boldface definitions that precede fuller definitions—a device borrowed from ESL (English as a second language) dictionaries and used here in

polysemous entries to assist users in quickly locating the sense they want. The illustrative examples, which are not copious, all appear to have been invented. The pictorial illustrations are few, and halftones (often of people) predominate over line drawings. The dictionary gives attention to commonly misspelled words and includes several other features, such as brief encyclopedic articles (called Quick Facts) following some entries (such as that for *cubism*).

Belatedly discovering that *Microsoft* and *Encarta* did not sell as many dictionaries as *Webster* and *College*—a fact the rest of the dictionary business had known for at least half a century—the publishers changed the name of the second edition to *Encarta Webster's College Dictionary, Second Edition* (2005). That appears to be all that was changed, as a comparison of the two editions shows that they are, if not exactly identical, then nearly so. In fact, the second edition's Foreword and Introduction are the same, except for the title change, as those of the first edition, and no claim is made in the second edition of any revisions or additions. The spine of the jacket of the original edition gave prominence to the entire title: *Microsoft Encarta College Dictionary*. The spine of the jacket of the second edition gives prominence to *Webster's College Dictionary*. (*Encarta* is almost invisible.) The new edition, though the same number of pages as the first edition, is printed on lighter paper and the volume therefore is much reduced in bulk; the thumb indexes of the first edition have disappeared. As a print dictionary, the Microsoft *Encarta* product, no matter what it is called, is not likely to be much of a threat to the existing collegiate dictionaries in America.

### 13.8.2 The Oxford American College Dictionary (2002) and The Oxford College Dictionary, Second Edition (2007)

*The Oxford American College Dictionary* (2002), edited by Christine A. Lindberg, represents the first Oxford dictionary to go head-to-head with Merriam-Webster and the other major American collegiate dictionaries. Previous Oxford dictionaries for the American market danced around the collegiate size and were either too large or too small to compete directly, and did not use 'College' in their titles. Based on the first edition of *The New Oxford American Dictionary* (2001), which was in turn derived from the British-produced *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), *The Oxford American College Dictionary* is a serious new competitor in the American market. It differs significantly from all the existing collegiate dictionaries.

The Preface makes radical claims with respect to the dictionary's original approach to defining, maintaining that it has 'reappraised the principles on which lexicography is based'. Asserting that the editors have taken full advantage of the latest techniques for analysing usage and meaning, their treatment of definition

begins with one or more central or 'core' meanings regarded as typical, and appends as necessary transferred or figurative subsenses allied to the main meaning. This organization, they claim, sharpens the coverage and avoids the almost random agglomerations of numbered senses that appear in other dictionaries. It results in fewer definitions but leads the reader to a clearer understanding of the major aspects of meaning of each word. Therefore, the A–Z text includes numbered senses only when there are two or more core meanings; all other related senses are introduced by a small black square. This policy probably derives from the similar organization used by some large ESL dictionaries, which have elaborated a similar system to help foreign learners cope with words that have many different senses. The Preface also refers to a databank of searchable texts having a hundred million words, and a citation reading programme of sixty-nine million words. In 2007, a revised edition, *The Oxford College Dictionary, Second Edition*, was published; its Preface says the source for the new material it has added was the Oxford English Corpus, which consists of the unimaginable total of 1.5 billion words based on texts from all over the world and covering many different fields.

On the whole a comparison of entries with the leading American dictionaries confirms that Oxford's treatment stacks up well. It is not always clear that its novel defining system is superior to that of the others, but in the cases of verbs with many meanings, such as *pass* or *run*, the system helps to keep the main senses down to a manageable number, and these can be easily picked out because they are marked by numerals, under which several unnumbered senses are marked off with small squares. The sense coverage is comparable to Merriam-Webster's and better than most of the others, and more illustrative phrases are given than is generally the case with other collegiate dictionaries.

In the *Oxford American*, no etymologies are given except for an occasional grey-tinted box labelled 'Word History'. This seems altogether inadequate for a collegiate dictionary, and the tints make the text hard to read. Fortunately, the *Second Edition* has reversed this policy and added etymologies, though it insists on calling them 'word origins', apparently convinced that American dictionary users have never heard of etymology. There is no proper user guide to the dictionary in either edition, merely a three-page section inaccurately called 'How to Use This Dictionary' that identifies the features of an assortment of dictionary entries with labels in the margins. This is standard for collegiate dictionaries, but the others also include an explanatory guide describing in some detail all of these features, as well as information about pronunciations, definitions, etymology, usage, etc. The Oxford pronunciation system differs significantly from that used by the other American dictionaries. It is evidently an adaptation of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), in which all the non-English alphabetic letters used in the IPA (with the

exception of the schwa, which American dictionaries also use) are represented by combinations of English letters, in the *Second Edition* at least. For example, the voiced fricative represented by the Old English letter *eth* in the IPA is represented by capitalized and underlined TH; and the corresponding voiceless sound by TH without the underline. Although these are hardly radical departures from traditional practice, the American dictionary user has been notoriously reluctant to take the trouble to learn any new pronunciation system. The *Oxford American College* does not include a pronunciation key summary within its A–Z section, but the *Second Edition* does. In an attempt to highlight their inclusion of encyclopedic material, both editions include large, rather simple, full-column maps of various countries, showing the immediately adjacent countries but little else. Beneath each map is an almanac-type listing of various facts about the place: its area and population, the languages spoken, etc.

*The Oxford College Dictionary, Second Edition* (2007) is represented as an updating and revision of the *Oxford American College Dictionary*, and the evidence confirms this. No editorial supervisor is listed, but Judy Pearsall is listed as the Publishing Manager. This edition has been redesigned to reduce the trim size from 7 × 10 to 7 × 9 1/2, and the number of pages has been cut. To make it possible to fit everything in the first edition into a smaller space, the new design utilizes a more condensed typeface with less leading (space between the lines), thus allowing for the same number of lines per page even though the page size is a half-inch shorter, and enabling more text to fit on each line. The result, however, is a page that is visually more dense and harder to read. The *Second Edition* has dropped the back matter pronunciation guide and essay about the history of English, and more significantly has dropped all the half-tones, for example, photographs of Abigail and John Adams, of the Empire State Building, and so on. This was arguably a wise decision if space was a priority, especially since many of the half-tones were too dark, and a postage-stamp-sized Empire State Building is not terribly useful to anyone who has not seen the building. The profusion of tint blocks and half-tones of the *Oxford American* gave that edition, on some pages, the look of having a serious skin infection, and whatever the faults of the *Second Edition*, it looks more wholesome as simply a dictionary.

### 13.9 DECLINING MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY

Although the dictionary sales of American publishers are a closely guarded secret, word has leaked out that sales of the collegiate dictionaries have declined dramatically

since the years of huge annual sales. Throughout the 1990s, as Internet use became more widespread—and soon after, high-speed connections—college students and other young people began to depend less and less on the print medium for information. Newspaper sales have likewise been declining, as young people have never got in the habit of buying newspapers; they get their news from the Internet or from television or radio. Also, many dictionaries are readily available online, and young people in particular are perfectly comfortable using online dictionaries, which, after all, do offer some advantages, such as hypertext associations and audible pronunciations. Some estimates are that sales of collegiate dictionaries are only a quarter of what they were in their heyday, and are apt to decline further. Even a quarter of two million sales a year is a fairly large number, but the market is also more fragmented than in the past, with more dictionaries to choose from. Without a doubt, the income from collegiate dictionaries has dropped substantially for every publisher of American collegiate dictionaries, and such lower income is not something that every business can absorb readily. Random House has already dropped out of the business of editing dictionaries; other publishers may follow.

From an international perspective, the electronic revolution brought about by computers and the Internet has radically altered the dictionary business in two fundamental ways: in the way research is done and in the way dictionaries are written. The corpora—huge text files from a variety of sources, such as newspapers, books of all kinds (fiction as well as nonfiction), magazines, documents, government publications, historical letters—have been assembled and stored electronically by dictionary publishers in the UK and elsewhere throughout the world (Landau 2001: 273–342). Commercial American publishers, in spite of their claims to use such files, have been slow to invest in them or to use them to fullest advantage. Modern corpora have sophisticated search tools that enable the lexicographer to refine searches to particular contexts in order to discover typical collocations and idiomatic uses. With faster and faster computer processing and with storage capacity growing exponentially, there are virtually no practical limits to the size of linguistic corpora. As noted above, the Oxford English Corpus is said to comprise 1.5 billion words. Corpora of a hundred billion words are sure to follow. The difficulty lies in devising software to manage the search tools for such vast files in a way that lets the lexicographer use the corpus material without being overwhelmed with duplicative and extraneous data. This should be possible provided the financial commitment is present.

Whereas many British dictionaries, especially in the ESL area, have long relied on freelance lexicographers, the established American dictionary publishers have generally kept in-house staffs and used freelance lexicographers only for specialized functions, such as etymology, or as consultants to vet definitions in technical



or specialized fields. It is a common practice in the UK to hire freelance lexicographic teams, even spanning several countries, who work in their own homes and who are equipped with software by means of which they can download sections of dictionary text to their own computers. The dedicated software they have enables them to write and edit dictionary text and, when they are finished with that section, log in to the Internet connection and upload the text. They are then ready to download another section. Meanwhile, their supervisors, who have privileged access to the master files, can provide useful feedback to individual lexicographers to correct and improve their work and make whatever changes they wish to the dictionary text. Under such systems, large permanent editorial staffs have become a thing of the past, and even small ones are disappearing.

The advantages of such a system are obvious, the disadvantages less immediately apparent, but nonetheless real. A freelance staff is much less expensive to maintain, and when the dictionary is finished, can be let go without the painful separation that dissolving an in-house staff involves. If a large enough cohort of seasoned lexicographers is available, the quality will not suffer provided the software is good and the supervision is experienced and attentive. The editorial process can be shorter if the team of freelance lexicographers can be made large enough, and, unlike in-house staffs, there is no practical limit to the size of freelance teams if they can be adequately supervised. If not, the work will be uneven in quality. Another potential drawback of assembling new freelance teams for each project is that there is a loss of institutional memory. A good part of the continuing success of Merriam-Webster for over a hundred and fifty years is its faithful adherence to its tradition, and its use of that tradition as an effective selling tool. Of all American dictionary houses, Merriam-Webster has changed its ways of doing things least. It is like a well-oiled machine. It may be old-fashioned in some ways, but it functions smoothly. Yet it too will have to change. Another, longer-range difficulty is that, once there are no in-house dictionary staffs, the pool of experienced lexicographers, freelance or otherwise, will dry up. The craft of lexicography has in the past been learned almost exclusively on the job. If dictionary houses working with freelance staffs first have to train all their editors in the craft, the process of preparing a dictionary will be immeasurably extended, and the result will be of dubious merit. It is one thing to work with experienced editors and depend on email for communicating; it is quite another to try to train apprentice lexicographers by such means.

Perhaps, some day in the future, in-house dictionary staffs will make a comeback. But given the declining sales of collegiate dictionaries in recent years, they may have become too expensive to maintain. There is a continuing

market for collegiate dictionaries, though it is a much smaller one than in the past. The big question is whether the dictionary houses that remain will be willing to invest enough money to build and maintain language corpora, and to hire or maintain the lexicographers, whether in-house or freelance, to continue to develop new collegiate dictionaries for the twenty-first century, or whether they will simply issue periodic updates with new copyrights.

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# THE EARLIEST FOREIGN LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES<sup>1</sup>

A. P. Cowie

## 14.1 INTRODUCTION

WHEN the first all-purpose monolingual dictionaries appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century, 'strangers' (i.e. foreigners) were part of the readership that their compilers hoped to attract (→ OSSELTON, Vol. I). Of course, none of those earlier works were written for foreign users alone—they were invariably directed at a mixed clientele. Foreign students looking for a dictionary designed exclusively for them had to wait until the 1930s, when a number of small specialized dictionaries appeared on the market. First, and more interesting as a curiosity than as a serious contribution to the genre, was *An English Vocabulary for Foreign Students* (1930), compiled by Simeon Potter.

Intended chiefly for beginners, and for readers, Potter's dictionary had a number of unusual features. As a way of providing special support for speakers of French and German it occasionally offered translations in their native languages: 'cucumber (*n.*), *concombre*, *Gurke*'. However, since no other languages were used in this way, and since for French entries there was no parallel explanation in English, speakers of foreign languages were disadvantaged. More useful for the student was the inclusion among the examples of 'a selection of parallel phrases and sentences which ... show two ways of saying the same thing, [and] also present interesting types of sentence structure and word order' (1930: vi). Certainly, the use of paraphrase, as in 'I prefer wine to beer = I like wine better than beer', to explain new vocabulary items is often effective. The chief

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Richard Smith for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

weakness of the *English Vocabulary* as a reader's dictionary is the lack of any attempt to control its defining vocabulary. In many entries, in fact, simple words and phrases are defined by means of much more difficult items, as here: 'gifted (*p.p.*), ... endowed with eminent powers'. As we shall now see, vocabulary control was a dominant concern among those whose learners' dictionaries were to appear after Potter's and which would come to constitute the mainstream in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) lexicography.

Heralding this more professional approach were *The New Method English Dictionary* by Michael West and J. G. Endicott (*NMED*) (1935), designed for readers of English, and *A Grammar of English Words* by H. E. Palmer (*GEW*) (1938), intended for writers. Published later and catering to the needs of both was A. S. Hornby's *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (*ISED*) (1942).<sup>2</sup>

Palmer, West, and Hornby added to the familiar framework of the native-speaker dictionary a number of features which were to become central defining aspects of the EFL model from the mid-1930s onwards. These innovations were the use of controlled vocabularies—in West's case a controlled *defining* vocabulary—the introduction of verb-pattern schemes, and the inclusion of many collocations and idioms. These features were grounded in over a decade of research, and they acquired the status of conventions as the learner's dictionary developed into a distinct genre (Rundell 1998).

Research programmes and the various dictionaries they gave rise to will provide the focal points of this chapter. We begin with investigations in the three areas mentioned earlier—vocabulary limitation, pedagogical grammar, and phraseology. Then follows a critical account of the dictionaries that were conceived while their authors were still teaching overseas—*NMED*, *GEW*, and *ISED*—the latter, appropriately, to be renamed *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*ALD*). Mention must be made too of a small beginners' dictionary (Hornby and Ishikawa 1940) which was unusual in being both bilingual and noteworthy in the important links it forged with *ISED*.

We move on, finally, to describe in outline the two further editions of *ALD* for which A. S. Hornby was responsible. As we have seen, he was the originator of the advanced model, and, by 1974, when *ALD*<sub>3</sub> appeared, had been its unrivalled master for over thirty years (Cowie 1998a). Yet, four years further on, as Fontenelle demonstrates in the next chapter, a formidable rival was to appear from Longman, drawing on the grammatical resources now made available by Quirk and his associates, and giving new scope and impetus to Michael West's controlled defining vocabulary (Quirk *et al.* 1972; Procter 1978: viii–ix).

<sup>2</sup> For an overall view of the careers of Palmer, West, and Hornby, see Howatt with Widdowson (2004), Cowie (1999). For a stage-by-stage account of Palmer's activities and publications, see Smith (1999).

## 14.2 THE VOCABULARY CONTROL MOVEMENT

Of the programmes of research already mentioned, none had a more widespread or profound influence on EFL dictionaries than the so-called ‘vocabulary control’ movement of the 1920s and 1930s, a relationship sometimes compared to that of a parent towards its offspring. By a curious irony, however, none of the three principal or sole authors of the earliest dictionaries seemed to be aware, before the mid-1930s, that only a *dictionary* could give full expression to the linguistic complexities that their research had brought to light.<sup>3</sup>

### 14.2.1 Approaches to vocabulary control

Vocabulary control (or restriction) arose from a simple need to limit the effort required to learn a foreign language by identifying those words and phrases which carried the chief burden of communication in most situations (Bongers 1947). The crucial question, however, was what criterion, or criteria, could be called upon to validate a word-list? Was this chiefly or solely frequency of occurrence? And what kinds of vocabulary units (roots?, derivatives?, idioms?) had to be recognized in the course of drawing up a list?

Research into vocabulary limitation in this period (the early 1920s) followed two divergent routes. The first, associated with the American linguist, Edward L. Thorndike, was called ‘the objective quantitative method’ and consisted—in the case of one widely influential list—of counting words in a body of written text amounting to four million words. Thorndike took account of the overall frequency of a word, but also of its ‘range’, that is, the number of different texts in which it appeared (*The Teacher’s Wordbook* 1921). However, the approach had a limitation which, as it happened, had also to be faced by Palmer and his colleagues: while researchers were able to identify the first thousand words with small likelihood of error, beyond that stage wide differences could be observed according to the material chosen. A selection consisting of children’s books or popular newspapers, for example, would produce different results from a choice of scientific or technical texts (cf. Palmer and Hornby 1937).

The approach followed by Palmer and, later, Hornby, had a different focus and emphasis. From an early stage in his career, Palmer was convinced that the

<sup>3</sup> Writing in 1936, and referring to a major potential source—the *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection* published in that year by himself, Faucett, West, and Thorndike—Palmer predicted the production of dictionaries and a thesaurus based on that *Report*. In fact, *GEW* (1938) was to have a quite different basis.

problem posed when drawing up a word-list was essentially one of classification. How were the various types of lexical units—often lumped together unhelpfully as ‘words’—to be defined? The forms *give, gives, gave, given, giving* were the ‘inflected forms’, of the root GIVE, say. But *gift* (a derivative) was arguably related to GIVE, and so was *free gift* (a compound). Palmer was aware, also, of the problem of polysemy—of what he called ‘semantic varieties’—and that this factor too would need to be taken account of in a full analysis. Because of the relatedness—he wrote—of *give, gift*, and so on, in their various meanings, ‘a vocabulary of 1000 head-words [roots] . . . may represent 5000 or more “learning-efforts” on the part of the student of English’ (Palmer 1938: iv).

Then there was the question of whether some classes of words were of greater value to the learner—and therefore had the prior claim on space in a learner’s dictionary. In his early analytical work in Belgium, Palmer had drawn a distinction, now widely recognized, between ‘grammatical’ and ‘content’ words. The former would include pronouns and determiners and would play a vital role in sentence building, while the latter could be added to as the need for them arose. This binary division was further refined when Palmer (in *The Principles of Language Study*) distinguished within the ‘content’ class between ‘words of special utility (such as names of plants, animals, parts of the body . . . and such-like semi-technical words)’ and ‘words which may occur in any context and which are common to any subject’ (Palmer 1921: 128). The former category would include terms used in specialized fields, but the latter would include what Hornby was later to call ‘heavy-duty’ verbs—*put, send, make, take*, and so on. These words, and the grammatical items mentioned earlier, would have a prominent place in Palmer’s *Grammar of English Words* (GEW) and Hornby, Gatenby, and Wakefield’s *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (ISED).

#### 14.2.2 Michael West and the definition vocabulary

Michael West was separated by distance—he taught in what was then British Bengal—but to some extent also by pedagogical outlook from his Tokyo colleagues. He had come to recognize the need for vocabulary control as a means of producing simplified readers, which in turn served the wider educational purposes of a region in which few schoolchildren had contact with an English-speaking teacher and in which, as a result, great stress had to be laid on the printed word. As we shall see, West’s sense of educational priorities would strongly influence the form that his *New Method English Dictionary* (NMED) took and especially the vocabulary used for defining its entries (Battenburg 1994: 138).

Appropriately enough, it was during the period leading up to the Carnegie Conference of 1934–35, which met on the initiative of West and was intended to bring together experts representing different theoretical views on vocabulary limitation, that West and J. G. Endicott had been compiling their learner's dictionary. Accompanying the dictionary itself was a research report (*Definition Vocabulary*) describing how the 'minimum adequate definition vocabulary' had been selected (West 1935: 34–41). In fact, the report was remarkable for attempting to solve many of the problems that would later (in the 1970s and beyond) face lexicographers wishing to compile defining vocabularies for advanced-level dictionaries (→ FONTENELLE). West pinpointed some of the weaknesses to be avoided. For example, a characteristic flaw of definitions in mother-tongue dictionaries was the tendency to fall back on 'scatter-gun' techniques, by which 'one fires off a number of near or approximate synonyms in the hope that one or other will hit the mark and be understood', as in 'sinuate = tortuous, wavy, winding' (West 1935: 8).

West's approach to checking and refining his defining vocabulary involved taking a word-list and then attempting to write a preliminary version of the dictionary within it, in the process altering the vocabulary first chosen. (Its eventual size was 1,490 words, used to define close on 24,000 vocabulary items.)

### 14.3 GRAMMAR IN THE LEARNER'S DICTIONARY

Apart from his interest in producing 'structured lexicons'—that is to say, vocabularies made up of specially designed entries, with each entry consisting of a root and a cluster of inflected forms and derivatives—Palmer had since the 1920s been devoting much attention to syntax and, in particular, to analysing the noun phrase and what at that stage he called 'construction-patterns' (later on, 'verb-patterns'). Investigating the latter meant identifying the various elements, or combinations of elements, that could follow a given verb. In the case of *Bill made some coffee*, there was a single post-verbal element, the DIRECT OBJECT; in that of *Sarah bought her son a bike*, there were two, an INDIRECT OBJECT and a DIRECT OBJECT. The challenge was to identify the elements precisely and to set out the patterns systematically.

#### 14.3.1 Palmer's analysis of the noun phrase

Palmer's interest in the structure of the noun phrase (at first called the 'noun complex') dates from as early as 1926, but even so it is strikingly modern in its

analytical approach. In an article of that year, Palmer laid down some key principles, chiefly that, to arrive at a sub-classification of nouns, the grammarian must take account of the ‘determinatives’ (or as we should now say, ‘determiners’) with which they can co-occur (1926: 1). By determinatives, Palmer had in mind the broad category to which articles (*a/an, the*), possessives (*his, her*), and quantifiers (*some, any, many, and few*) all belong; and he was aware that while *much* and *more*, for example, co-occur with *money* and *time*, they do not with *shirt* and *tie*. The same examples illustrate the ‘uncountable’ (*money, time*) vs. ‘countable’ (*shirt, tie*) distinction, first introduced by Jespersen in his *Modern English Grammar* (1914: 114–15) and later adopted by Palmer in *GEW*, and by Hornby in *ISED*.

### 14.3.2 *Palmer’s construction-patterns*

Palmer’s first construction-pattern scheme had largely practical objectives—he wished to provide middle-grade pupils with a simple guide to syntax—but it nonetheless pointed forward to the fully developed verb-pattern system set out in *GEW*. The scheme was described in *Some Notes on Construction-Patterns* (1932), and it had two important features. First, it dealt with the structure of the simple sentence—of which *Bill made some coffee* is an example—focusing specifically on those elements which followed and were dependent on the verb. And, second, it arranged the patterns into numbered groups (called Divisions) of more or less related types. The Division shown in Table 14.1 illustrates patterns in which the complement has to do with ‘extent’, ‘weight’, and ‘price’.

In some respects this scheme met the needs of advanced-level students—with modifications, those particular patterns were later incorporated in the *GEW* system. But in other ways it was unsuitable. First, it was concerned with simple sentences alone—those in which the direct objects, indirect objects, and so on, consisted of phrases. So an example such as *We knew that she would turn up* would not qualify for inclusion in the scheme since the direct object (*that she would turn up*) consisted of a dependent clause. Second, the scheme consisted not only of declarative (i.e. statement) patterns but their imperative and interrogative forms as well. It would have been quite impossible to fit full sets of such subsidiary patterns into a system intended for a dictionary, and in fact imperatives and interrogatives do not appear at all in the verb-pattern layout of *GEW* (Cowie 1999: 28).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A further stage in the development of Palmer’s ideas was *Specimens of English Construction Patterns* (1934). This was a highly sophisticated scheme, but difficult to interpret, and thus unsuitable as a basis for *GEW* (Cowie 1999: 28–30).



Table 14.1. Construction-patterns (Palmer 1932)

DIVISION 6	
Pattern 6a	$N_1 \times (\text{always}) \times F \times \text{Extent}$ We walked three miles. It lasted two hours.
Pattern 6b	$N_1 \times (\text{always}) \times F \text{ of } \textit{take} \times N_2 \times \text{Extent}$ It always takes me three hours. That took him ten days.
Pattern 6c	$N_1 \times (\text{always}) \times F \text{ of } \textit{weigh} \times \text{Weight}$ It weighs a pound. It always weighs too much.
Pattern 6d	$N_1 \times (\text{always}) \times F \text{ of } \textit{cost} \times (N_2) \times \text{Price}$ It cost me five shillings. It cost a lot of money.

As things turned out—and as we shall see later when its practicalities are considered—the scheme of twenty-seven verb-patterns eventually adopted for *A Grammar of English Words* was a modest system, well matched to the needs of advanced dictionary users. In fact, if one sets aside the way in which verb-patterns were encoded—Palmer simply used the numbers 1–27—there is a broad similarity between Palmer’s descriptive approach and those of many of his successors. For in *GEW*, Palmer was chiefly concerned with the syntax of finite sentence constructions and with the complementation of their verbs—that is, with phrases functioning as objects, adverbials, and so on. Subordinate clauses formed part of the scheme, but only in so far as they too functioned as post-verbal elements (see 14.5.2 (i) below).

## 14.4 PHRASEOLOGY AND THE LEARNER’S DICTIONARY

### 14.4.1 The Second Interim Report

The choice and classification of examples in both *GEW* and *ISED* drew in part on the so-called *Second Interim Report on English Collocations* of 1933, the first full-scale, systematic analysis of English word-combinations to be undertaken in a language-teaching context. The project on which it was based was initiated by

Palmer, but Hornby joined him in 1931, and became responsible for much of the collecting and detailed classification.

An undoubted strength of their approach was that, having put to one side ‘sentence-like’ expressions such as proverbs, slogans and catchphrases, Palmer and Hornby undertook a rigorous grammatical classification of the much larger group of ‘word-like’ combinations, i.e. those which could function as elements in a simple sentence (Cowie 1999a). The major categories included verb-collocations, noun-collocations and adjective-collocations, but smaller sub-classes were later recognized within those broader divisions including VERB × SPECIFIC DIRECT OBJECT (no. 31211), a category with very many examples:

- (1) To catch the eye of × N<sub>3</sub> (= To catch someone’s eye)  
 To catch fire  
 To catch hold × of × N<sub>3</sub>  
 To catch a glimpse (× of × N<sub>3</sub>)  
 To catch sight × of × N<sub>3</sub>  
 To catch a [the, one’s *etc.*] train  
 To clap one’s hands

It is worth noting, though, that despite the rigour of the analysis, and despite the influence the *Report* has had among later generations of linguists and lexicographers, few would now apply the term ‘collocation’ to the whole range of word-combinations that it recognized. Most would limit the term to word-like combinations which are *not* idioms (i.e. not more or less fixed in structure and/or opaque in meaning) but typically pairs of words of which one has a literal meaning while the other has a sense that is ‘shaped’ by the literal element (Cowie 1999a, Hausmann 1984).

Consider, for example, *catch fire*. Here, *fire* has a literal meaning, and can be used independently, whereas the meaning of *catch* is altogether determined by its partnership (i.e. its ‘collocability’) with *fire*. Almost all the examples in the above list are collocations in the strict sense that they consist of two ‘full’ or ‘content’ words, one of which is independent and shapes (or determines) the sense of the other.

Occasionally, we find examples such as *catch hold of something*, where neither verb nor noun seems to be used literally and where the whole has fused into an idiom. However, the important distinction between collocations (in the strict sense) and idioms—whether in the above list, or in the *Report* as a whole—is not signalled by the use of bold print, and this is a major weakness of the descriptive approach. However, this is often remedied on the practical level by the way the distinction is indicated in the dictionaries of Palmer and Hornby. There, we shall

regularly find that items which are unquestionably idiomatic are distinguished by means by of bold print. (See 14.5.2 (iii) below.)

In some cases, we will find that an idiom or a collocation can be optionally extended, so that we can have *She caught a glimpse of him* as well as simply *She caught a glimpse*. This alternation is systematically conveyed in the *Report* through parentheses, just as a range of choice is indicated by square brackets—To entertain a hope [suspicion, doubt, *etc.*]—and both devices were later to be used extensively in *GEW* and *ISED*.

## 14.5 THE EARLIEST LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES

### 14.5.1 A New Method English Dictionary (1935)

The first monolingual learners' dictionary worthy of the name was the work of Michael West and James Endicott. It contained, as we have seen, just short of 24,000 words defined within a limited vocabulary of 1,490 words. The intention was to meet the decoding needs of the intermediate student, an aim which reflected West's belief in the paramount importance of developing the reading skill. The fact that encoding was accorded a low priority is clear from the treatment of inflection, the absence of syntactic guidance, and an idiosyncratic pronunciation scheme (replaced in the second edition of 1965, it has to be said, by IPA transcriptions). But *NMED* was a dedicated readers' dictionary, and it is not surprising that besides turning his treatment of irregular verb forms to the decoder's benefit, West provides further support through his handling of examples and, especially, of phraseology.

As regards the treatment of inflection in the dictionary, we find that the inclusion of an irregular past or past participle form in an entry for a verb is rare—*drank* and *drunk* do not appear at **drink**, nor *drove* and *driven* at **drive**. Instead, each of these irregular forms appears in an entry of its own (a 'dummy' entry), whose sole function is to guide the reader to the entry for **drink** or **drive**. This arrangement favours readers, since they may come across the form *driven* for the first time in a text and discover via the dummy entry (**driven** ... p.p. of **drive**.) that *driven* is a form of a word, **drive**, whose entry—with its full explanatory matter—can now be accessed. Writers, on the other hand, are disadvantaged, since if they are working with the verb **drink**, and wish to know what its past tense is, they have no means other than guesswork of finding out.

There is a further design feature favouring the reader that is less often commented on. This is the number and character of the examples. Especially in the longer entries for nouns and verbs, the bulk of the presentation is typically given over to examples, and these are overwhelmingly devoted to idioms and collocations. In the entry for the noun **face**, for instance, and after a brief treatment of two common meanings—neither of which is illustrated—there are no less than nine idioms, each with its own gloss. Here is a small part of that spread:

- (2) **face** [feis] front of the head containing, eyes, mouth, etc.; front of anything; *To have the face to say* = dare to say; *In the face of danger* = when about to meet danger; *On the face of it* = judging from outward appearances only; ...

#### 14.5.2 A Grammar of English Words (1938)

##### 14.5.2 (i) Patterns and codes

A grammar, as the term is normally understood, provides an analysis of constituent classes (nouns, verbs, and so on) and the syntactic functions they perform in the sentence (subjects, objects, and so forth). However, Harold Palmer's small but highly original dictionary was concerned with the individual *item*, not the general category, his aim being to describe in an alphabetical wordbook 'the grammatical peculiarities pertaining to individual words' (1938: iii). And, of course, not limiting himself to grammatical idiosyncrasies alone, but dealing with oddities of word-formation and phraseology as well.

For his dictionary, Palmer was drawing upon a 'core' vocabulary in which there were peculiarities in abundance. The practical value of his word-list—it was developed by Palmer and Hornby from a list of close on 1,000 items on which Hornby had at first worked alone—was that it possessed characteristics which made it eminently suitable for the *productive* use of English (Palmer and Hornby 1937).

In his *Essay in Lexicology*, an illuminating paper published in 1934, Palmer itemized the features he had in mind for a 'learner's dictionary'. Verb-patterns were an integral part of the plan. They had a vital contribution to make to sentence building, and in deciding how they were to be presented in the dictionary, Palmer hit on an original method. Having decided what the patterns of verb complementation were to be, his problem was how to record the syntactic potential of individual dictionary entries, and their senses, in a succinct yet informative way. His solution was to encode this information in the entry, thus achieving economy, while at the same time providing a full treatment in the end matter to which the codes could refer (Cowie 1983, 1984).

Let us consider briefly the presentation of the verb-patterns in the entries and in the special explanatory Appendix. As regards the patterns, we will find that where an entry has several senses, each with the same pattern, or patterns, they are indicated once and at the beginning. Where, however, a headword has two or more meanings, and the patterns change with the shift of meanings, the pattern codes (*V.P.* 4, and so on) are positioned alongside the definitions:

(3) **lead** ...

1. = conduct, guide, go in front. *See V.P.* 4.

lead a blind man.

lead a horse.

¶ **lead the way** = go first.

lead *sy.* away [back, in, off, on, *etc.*].

*See V.P.* 6.

2. = act as chief. *See V.P.* 1 & 4.

Who is going to lead (the army)?

The expedition was led by Mr X.

As for the treatment of VPs in the Appendix, it can be seen from VERB-PATTERN 6, reproduced below, and indeed from each of the twenty-seven patterns on display, that Palmer lays emphasis on patterning along two dimensions. First, there is an example in bold print which illustrates the pattern (**put it somewhere**), with, just above, an indication of the pattern itself (VERB × DIRECT OBJECT × ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT). Second, the display offers a range of choice, set out in square brackets—[hold, leave, keep, *etc.*]—at each of the three structural points of the bold example. These invite learners to make substitutions of their own, and so engage in sentence building.

(4) VERB-PATTERN 6

VERB X DIRECT OBJECT X ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT

I **put** [hold, leave, keep, send, bring, take, *etc.*] **it** [*sy.*, him, *etc.*]  
**somewhere** [there, here, *etc.*].

I **push** [pull, throw, burn, *etc.*] **it** [*sy.*, it, him, *etc.*] **in** [out, away,  
back, up, down, on, off, *etc.*]

14.5.2 (ii) Definitions and sense relations

As regards the definitions in *GEW*, one point is immediately clear: Palmer did not intend to use a limited defining vocabulary of the kind designed by West for the

*New Method English Dictionary*.<sup>5</sup> This is in part because the chief purpose of the Palmer dictionary was not to elucidate meaning but to explain and illustrate structure and usage. Moreover, the meanings of the bulk of the headwords listed in *GEW* must surely have been familiar to its users. It was with these factors in mind that we should view Palmer's decision not to define monosemous headwords (e.g. **happy**, **language**, **lend**).

There was, however, semantic support of a different kind in many entries, chiefly in the form of synonyms and antonyms. It happens that the paradigmatic relations of dictionary entries were, until the 1970s, largely neglected in EFL dictionaries. This, however, was not true of *GEW*, where one is struck by the inclusion, alongside headwords, of antonyms, polar opposites and complementary terms. Consider in this respect the examples below:

- (5) **RICH**. *Contrasted with* **POOR** [antonyms]  
**LEFT**. *Contrasted with* **RIGHT** [polar opposites]  
**SHUT**. *Contrasted with* **OPEN** [complementary terms]

#### 14.5.2 (iii) Examples and collocations

It was pointed out earlier that while no indication was given in the *Interim Report* that a particular word-combination was an idiom, this weakness was often compensated for in the way idioms were presented in *GEW* (and later on, in *ISED*).

Having identified combinations of this special type, Palmer placed them in the entry for the principal open-class word they contained (here **rule**) and arranged them within the entry according to the meanings of the headword to which they were thought to be closest (Palmer 1938: x). Consider, for instance, the boldface expressions in this entry:

- (6) **rule** ...  
 II.  
 1.= for controlling action or behaviour ...  
 2.= habitual practice ...  
 ¶ **make it a rule** (to do sg.) ...  
 ¶ **as a rule** [usually]  
 ¶ **as a general rule** [in principle]  
 3.= act of ruling, government ...  
 ¶ **under the rule of**

<sup>5</sup> As Hornby later made clear in the Introduction to *ISED/ALD1*, he too had decided against using a special defining vocabulary. Part of the reason was that 'the compilers could have no confidence that the definition vocabulary would be known to the prospective users of the dictionary' (Hornby 1948: v).

Notice too that whereas the idioms are positioned according to the numbered senses that they are judged to be closest to, their own highly specific meanings—[usually], [in principle]—are indicated in square brackets.

There remains the question of how the much larger class of collocations—in the strict sense—is treated. In some entries Palmer adopts an interesting approach. First, he reduces those examples which are also ‘restricted’ collocations to a core or skeleton. Specifically, he does this by presenting them in a structurally simplified form, with a lower-case initial letter, and the verb in the infinitive form, like this: ‘make sy. welcome’, ‘be welcome to sg.’, ‘be welcome to do sg.’ (see also at (7) below). These conventions signal that the expressions have a special status, though italic print would have underlined the point still more firmly. But, immediately afterwards, examples are presented in which the elements ‘sy.’ and ‘sg.’ (‘somebody’ and ‘something’) are expanded, as is shown by ‘They made us welcome’ after ‘make sy. welcome’. This is an effective way of showing the openness of the grammatical patterns alongside the restrictedness of the collocations.

(7) **welcome** ... *adj.* = received with pleasure, giving pleasure ...

It was a welcome visit.

He seems to be a welcome visitor.

make sy. welcome.

They made us welcome.

Do all you can to make him welcome.

be welcome to sg.

be welcome to do sg.

You’re welcome to any book I have.

#### 14.5.3 *Interlude: A Beginner’s English–Japanese Dictionary (1940)*

It is not widely known that, while working as editor in chief on the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*, A. S. Hornby was also engaged, jointly with a Japanese colleague, in compiling an elementary-level bilingual dictionary—*A Beginner’s English–Japanese Dictionary (BEJD)*. This was a curious publishing decision, as to teach English via translation seemed to fly in the face of Hornby’s most strongly held principles regarding the teaching of meaning. For he and Palmer were firmly wedded to the notion that, as far as possible, English should be learned through the medium of English. They therefore laid emphasis on contextual and ostensive methods and on definitions in simple English (Palmer 1927). Translation was to be resorted to only when the other methods had failed.

Later generations of teachers and researchers have been much less hesitant in defending, indeed promoting, the use of bilingual dictionaries for elucidating meaning. Moreover, while learners at all levels of proficiency use bilingual dictionaries for this purpose, beginners tend to depend exclusively on them, only moving on to monolingual works as their level of attainment improves (Stein 1990; Cowie 1999).

Nonetheless, Hornby was reluctant to concede that translation, mediated by bilingual dictionaries, could be the *initial* means of access to word meanings. He found himself, as a result, justifying *BEJD* on the ground that it would serve ‘as a reference-book, a reminder of what has already been learnt, but for the moment forgotten’ (Hornby 1938: 22).

Perhaps the actual value of *BEJD* has little to do with meanings, and much more with its role as a ‘bridge’ between a minor bilingual and a major monolingual dictionary. Hornby included a great deal of information about grammar in *BEJD* and a number of grammatical terms. The latter were translated into Japanese. The purpose of this information was to enable pupils to use verb-patterns, and grammatical items, later in their language courses. To put it briefly, this minor work could be seen as contributing to a fuller understanding and use of the major one—in short as a bridge.

#### 14.5.4 Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary (1942)

An outline plan for a major advanced-level dictionary had been discussed by Harold Palmer and his Japanese publisher before Palmer left Japan in 1936. The plan included the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns, the introduction of a system of construction-patterns and ‘the presentation of as many collocations as possible’ (Kunio Naganuma 1978: 11). In other words, the design priorities of the proposed *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary (ISED)* (published in Tokyo in 1942, but later reprinted by Oxford University Press for distribution worldwide as *A Learner’s Dictionary of Current English*) were points of grammar and phraseology that had featured prominently in the research undertaken by Palmer and Hornby.

By including the terms ‘idiomatic’ and ‘syntactic’ in the title of the first dictionary to be compiled for advanced learners, Hornby was underlining a commitment to the productive (or encoding) function. Yet, this support for encoding would not be enough for the high school students for whom the dictionary was chiefly intended. For those users the dictionary would need to be a decoding dictionary as well. As it happened, a text which could provide the



basis of such a dictionary already existed in the third edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (COD<sub>3</sub>), published in 1934.

#### 14.5.4 (i) Verb-patterns

There is a good deal of evidence in *ISED* to suggest that Hornby attached great importance to meeting the needs of the reader. And yet he says very little about this all-important function in *ISED* itself. In the front matter, the emphasis is almost entirely on grammar and especially on the verb-pattern scheme.

The most impressive part of the scheme is without doubt the presentation of patterns and examples in a series of tables. We can see right away the advantages of a tabular arrangement if we compare the layout of a Hornby verb-pattern (say, VP 7 shown in Table 14.2) with the Palmer pattern as set out in its appendix, and analysed earlier (see 14.5.2 (i)).

The chief advantage of Hornby's layout is that the columns correspond to the structural elements in the pattern. Readers will quickly grasp the correspondence, and also become aware that in the second column there is a set of noun phrases, with the determiners, where they occur (cf. 'your clothes', 'the box'), also aligned.

Another feature worth noting is the combining of subject and verb within a single column. This arrangement means that when the subject and verb are transposed to form an interrogative sentence (as in 8), or the subject deleted to form an imperative (as in 1, 3, and 4), the arrangement for indicatives (i.e. statements) need not be disturbed.

As for the positioning of verb-pattern codes in entries, there is greater consistency of placement than in *GEW*, codes now being regularly placed immediately after the number introducing the sub-sense and before the definition, as in this entry:

(8) <sup>2</sup>deal ... 1 (P 1, 10, 18, 19, 21) give; give out among a number of people

However, though the codes are normally positioned in the same numerical order as in the scheme, illustrative examples are not always placed in the corresponding order, and the patterns are not always illustrated. This may be the result of competing pressures on limited space (Cowie 1989). In the following entry, for instance, Hornby has chosen to illustrate two prepositional structures, but this means that patterns 1, 10, and 21 have no example:

(9) <sup>1</sup>swing ... 2 (P 1, 10, 21, 23) turn, or cause to turn sharply as though having one point or part fixed; move in a curve. *The car swung round the corner. The soldiers swung into line. ...*

**Table 14.2. Verb–Pattern 7**

Subject × Verb	Object	Adjective
1 Don't get	your clothes	dirty.
2 The sun keeps	us	warm.
3 Get	yourself	ready.
4 Don't make	yourself	uneasy.
5 I found	the box	empty.
6 We painted	the door	green.
7 They set	the prisoners	free.
8 Can you push	the door	open?

#### 14.5.4 (ii) Definitions and glosses

I suggested earlier that in order to meet the receptive needs of the high school students for whom *ISED* was intended, Hornby drew on the third edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD3)*. I have also indicated that ‘the greater part of the macrostructure of *ISED* was produced by taking the *COD3* entry-list and deleting entries thought unsuitable for foreign learners at pre-university level’ (Cowie 1999: 47). A comparison of a run of entries in both dictionaries has shown that 115 main entries—including such rare and difficult items as *mandola*, *mandragora*, and *manducate*—were deleted from the *COD3* entry-list.

It is also informative to compare defining practice in the two dictionaries. Comparison helps to confirm *COD3* as a source for material that was not already the object of Tokyo research by Hornby and Palmer. It also reveals the kinds of adjustments that were made to *COD3* definitions to meet the needs of non-native readers. In one kind, the definition in *ISED* has the same structure as in *COD3*, but uses simpler vocabulary (cf. Cowie 1999: 48):

- (10) **malevolent**, a. Desirous of evil to others. (*COD3*)  
**malevolent** ... *adj.* ... wishing to do evil to others; ... (*ISED*)

But the compilers of *ISED* knew that understanding a definition could depend as much on its grammatical structure as on the right choice of vocabulary.

- (11) **malnutrition**, n. insufficient nutrition. (*COD3*)  
**malnutrition** ... n. [U] not getting enough food or the right sort of food.  
(*ISED*)

Interestingly, in the light of later use (from the 1980s onwards) of full-sentence definitions in EFL dictionaries, which the *COBUILD* compilers were largely

responsible for introducing (Rundell 2006), Hornby was not unaware of such definitions nor of the types of entry in which they could be effectively used—often when the meaning being conveyed is scientific or technical, as here:

- (12) **cable** . . . 2 a bundle of wires used for sending messages by electricity. Cables are laid under the ground or on the ocean bottom.

One feature that is undoubtedly of help when dealing with problems of definition is the attachment of glosses to particular examples. We have already seen instances—in the work of both Palmer and Hornby—of glosses being used to clarify the meaning of collocations (viz. *to lose one's temper* (i.e. get angry or impatient)). However, the gloss is used for a wider range of purposes in *ISED*. Among the commoner uses found in the dictionary are these. It may be added to an example to indicate a more specific sense than is expressed by the definition:

- (13) **dispose** . . . 1 . . . get rid of; have done with. . . *He doesn't want to dispose of* (i.e. sell) *the land*.

It may define the whole example rather than just the headword:

- (14) **inclination** . . . 1 a leaning, sloping, slanting or bending, as *an inclination of the head* (i.e. a nod).

#### 14.5.4 (iii) Examples and collocations

We should bear in mind that when A. S. Hornby embarked (in 1937) on the compilation of *ISED*, he had only two years previously been engaged in updating and revising, in the *Interim Report*, a body of word-combinations that was organized grammatically but also—as regards the individual collocation—typically reduced to a combination of two 'full' or 'content' words: *to hold a meeting*, *to keep one's temper*, *to lose one's hearing* (see also 14.4.1 above). It is not surprising therefore that, when deciding how entry words and their meanings should be illustrated, Hornby should opt in a high proportion of cases for collocations presented in the same form as in the *Interim Report*.

If we examine how adjective + noun and verb + noun collocations, in particular, are treated in *ISED*, we quickly become aware of a number of a recurrent design features. In an entry for a commonly occurring adjective, such as **heavy**, we will find a succession of short examples—such as the following—whose function is to help with the interpretation or correct use of the adjective:

- (15) **heavy** . . . *a heavy blow* (i.e. having great force behind it); *a heavy fall* (i.e. causing shock); *a heavy heart* (i.e. weighed down with sorrow); . . .

The first feature to be noted here is that the collocations are reduced to a structural minimum. The second is that, in parallel with such examples as *light meal*, *light exercise*, they have a literal element (here the nouns *blow*, *fall*, etc.) which determines the sense of the other (the adjective *heavy*). The feature also has parallels with dictionary traditions in other countries and in particular with the French 'dictionnaire de langue' (e.g. the *Petit Robert* of today) and the Italian 'dizionario scolastico' (Cowie 1996).

The prominence given to adjective + noun and verb + noun collocations and the simplified forms they take give some support to the view that Hornby assigned particular example types to particular learning functions, and that the specific function of those types was to serve as carefully simplified patterns for comprehension or sentence building (Cowie 1999a). We have just seen the reduced forms that adjective + noun examples can take in *ISED*. Here is a parallel case where the pattern illustrated is verb + noun:

- (16) **raise** ... (P1, 10) 1 lift; move from a lower to a higher position; cause to rise, as *to raise a weight*; *to raise one's hat* (i.e. as a sign of respect); *to raise one's glass to* (i.e. drink the health of); ... 7 make bigger, louder, stronger, etc., as ... *to raise one's voice*; *to raise a person's hopes*.

From a grammatical point of view, the examples here have a simplified clause structure consisting of a transitive verb in the infinitive and a noun object with minimal modification (*to raise one's hat*, and so on). And returning to the point that in *ISED* examples and collocations are often merged, we should note that, here, most of the clause examples are simultaneously 'restricted' collocations.

Of course, not all examples are two-word collocations. In many entries there is almost an equal number of full sentence examples which, because they are grammatically complete, are closer to specimens of actual speech or writing. These can be used to convey cultural or scientific information, as in these examples:

- (17) I don't like his manners at all.  
Harvey ... discovered the circulation of the blood.  
The rainfall averages 36 inches a year.

## 14.6 LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES OF THE 1960S AND 1970S

The 1950s and early 1960s were times of immense activity for Hornby, as witness his work for the British Council, his creation and editorship of the journal

*English Language Teaching*, and his leading role in the setting up of the BBC programme *English by Radio*. Perhaps, however, Hornby's outstanding achievements of the period were lexicographical. He had no serious rival, especially at the advanced level, and he was persuaded by his publishers to compile intermediate and beginners' titles, thus catering to the needs of learners throughout their language-learning years. He had not lost the appetite for research, and, as we shall see, his book a *Guide to Patterns* (1954) was able to serve the needs of teachers for a grammatical work of reference while feeding directly into the second edition of the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary*.

#### 14.6.1 ALD2 (1963)

*ALD2* marked a shift of emphasis in that it provided a broader coverage of scientific and technical terms than its predecessor, and a much increased number of examples, but an unchanged verb-pattern scheme and unaltered arrangements for the treatment of idioms and collocations. In this edition, the receptive needs of the learners, it was clear, would be given at least as much attention as their productive needs.

As the Preface to *ALD2* makes clear, Hornby took care to include technical and scientific terms known to the educated layperson, i.e. those words 'that occur commonly in ordinary periodicals, but not those that rarely occur outside advanced textbooks and specialist periodicals' (Hornby *et al.* 1963: v–vi). Judging from a detailed comparison of parallel sequences, at letter L, of entries in *ALD1* and *ALD2*, Hornby was remarkably successful in achieving those aims (Cowie 1999: 85). And there were gains in specialist coverage as well as in numbers, as witness: *largo*, *legato* (music) and *liana*, *lobelia* (botany).

##### 14.6.1 (i) Verb- and noun-patterns

As I suggested earlier, the verb-pattern scheme of the second edition remained in essence what it had been in the first. And, in fact, critical reshaping of the verb-patterns would have to wait till the years leading up to the third edition of 1974. In the meantime, there were other aspects of the total grammatical scheme that Hornby could, and did, get to grips with. In the early 1950s, he produced some informative research on noun and adjective 'complementation'. This was published as part of *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English* (1954), the small teaching grammar to which I have already referred, which in addition to setting out the verb-patterns that had already appeared in *ISED/ALD1*, and offering an original semantic treatment of modal verbs, included the results of an investigation into adjective-patterns and noun-patterns (Cowie 2004a).

What was involved here? In part, Hornby meant grammatical collocations consisting of a noun or adjective and a prepositional phrase, and it is on the noun-patterns that the chief emphasis will fall in this discussion. Examples may help to throw light on differences between the main types: *Readiness for a change* is a noun-pattern (specifically, noun plus preposition), and *fearful of the consequences* was an adjective-pattern (in particular, adjective plus preposition).

Hornby did not stop at analysis because, in the second edition, he was able, thanks to this research, to improve on the coverage of noun plus preposition collocations that he had already provided in the first edition. In Table 14.3 below, I have indicated, using the admittedly limited data of the *Guide*, both the increases in coverage that were achieved and the forms that the coverage took. In the left-hand column are set out all the examples of noun + preposition that

**Table 14.3. Noun × Preposition × (pro)noun (Cowie 2004a)**

[NOUN-PATTERN 2]	CODES and EXAMPLES		
Noun × Preposition × (pro)noun	in ALD1 (1948)	in ALD2 (1963)	in ALD3 (1974)
A specialist in chest diseases	∅	ex	ex
His attempt at the climb	∅	ex	code/ex
Our discussion about/of the issue	∅	ex	ex ( <i>about</i> )
The need for a change	ex	ex	code/ex
Have you any use for this?	ex	ex	code
He takes delight in teasing her	code/ex	code/ex	code/ex
An inquiry into the question	ex	ex	ex
In conformity with your instructions	code/ex	ex	code/ex
A quarrel with him about our share	ex ( <i>with</i> )	ex ( <i>with</i> ) ( <i>about</i> )	ex ( <i>with</i> ) ( <i>about</i> )
Make allowances for their youth	code/ex	code/ex	code/ex
Their anxiety about her safety/for news	∅	ex ( <i>about</i> )	ex ( <i>about</i> )
Our dissatisfaction at/with the result	ex ( <i>with</i> )	def	code ( <i>at</i> ) ( <i>with</i> )
Feel an aversion to seeing the man	ex	def/ex	code/ex
Not have the least interest in his plans	ex	ex	ex
It was time for breakfast	ex	ex	ex
We have no idea of its value	ex	ex	ex
The reason for his absence	ex	ex	ex

Key: ex = example; code = pattern code (usually in bold print); def = forms part of definition; ∅ = no information about the specific pattern

Hornby discusses in any detail in the *Guide to Patterns*, while along the top are the first three editions of *ALD*. Worth noticing is that, by 1963, patterns for all seventeen nouns are recorded, either by an example, or by means of a boldface code, or as part of the definition. By 1974, codes—either alone or in combination with an example—account for almost half the total.

*ALD2* and 3 are sometimes criticized for failing to provide a systematic account of noun and adjective complementation. However, this criticism should only be limited to one part of the systematic description, and that is the absence from the dictionary of a system of *codes*, similar to those provided in both editions (and in *ALD1*) to account for verb-patterns. As we have seen, Hornby in the *Guide to Patterns* provided a basis in research for such a formal system and ensured that it included adjective- as well as noun-patterns. Finally, he ensured that in *ALD2* many individual patterns are appropriately labelled in the dictionary text and that this labelling is extended in the third edition.

#### 14.6.2 *ALD2* (English–English–Chinese)

It is not possible to give a complete account of the history of *ALD* in the 1960s and 1970s without making some reference to the edition with a Chinese translation published in 1970 by Oxford University Press Hong Kong under the title *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary English–English–Chinese*. This 'bilingualized' work was additionally important for being the first to have an edition of *ALD* as its starting point.<sup>6</sup>

What were its defining features? A bilingualized dictionary is based on an existing monolingual learner's dictionary, in this case *ALD2*, and is formed by providing translations (in the native language of the users, here Chinese) of pre-selected parts of the various entries. In this case, the dictionary is remarkable in that the headwords, the meanings of polysemous entries, the senses of run-on derivatives, and example sentences wherever they occur, are all given a Chinese translation.

*ALD2* with a Chinese translation established a pattern for subsequent bilingualized texts for Chinese speakers at advanced level. There would also be bilingualized versions of *ALD3* (published in 1988) and of *ALD4* (published in 1994), both with the features I have just described. The choice of Chinese as the first language of adaptation for *ALD* is easily explained, given the existence of a market that was already large and set to expand still farther.

<sup>6</sup> Marengo (1998) refers to an earlier bilingualization of *ALD2* compiled and published in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1966. Unfortunately, I have no direct access to this version.

Users were won over. But what were the features of the bilingualized text that made it so attractive to them? The first is that the translators of *ALD2* were persuaded that, where a dictionary was complex and difficult to make full use of, a translation into Chinese needed to be given at several points in the original entry design. As we have seen, these points included the senses of polysemous entries. But, significantly, the provision of Chinese translations was not made at the expense of the English explanatory text (Marello 1998: 303). Moreover, the verb-pattern codes of the original text were preserved, as was the phonetic transcription. As a result, the learner had an unreduced monolingual text as a tool for encoding, and a supportive Chinese translation, possibly for use in conjunction with the English examples and definitions, as an instrument for decoding (see Figs 14.1 and 14.2).

### 14.6.3 *ALD3*

In the years immediately following the publication of *ALD2* a number of changes took place in the professional and scientific climate in which EFL dictionaries were produced that were likely to affect their future development quite radically. One was the increasing professionalization of foreign language teaching, to which Palmer, West, and Hornby had made a pioneering contribution, and which had the effect of making EFL teachers more receptive to developments in phonetics and grammar. Of particular importance in this respect was the programme of grammatical research conducted at the Survey of English Usage, at University College London, and whose *Grammar of Contemporary English*, published in 1972, was the first comprehensive grammar of present-day English to appear in Britain.

Major descriptions of English such as this, while not deflecting Hornby from the task of up-dating and broadening lexical coverage, brought home to him the more urgent need to deal with the chief descriptive problems left unresolved by *ALD2*.

#### 14.6.3 (i) The Verb-pattern scheme

The number of verb-patterns recognized in the third edition (twenty-five) was the same as in the previous two. However, the number of subdivisions was greatly increased (from thirteen to thirty-eight). Yet much more important were changes to the arrangement of the patterns. Taking note of the verb classes represented by them, Hornby now changed their order so that they ran as follows:



(the cost, value, etc., of sth.): *The firm ~d the cost of the new house at £3,000. We ~ that it would take three months to finish the work. I ~ his income at £500. Ask a contractor to ~ for the repair of the building.*

**es ti mate** ['estɪmət] *n.* [C] judgement; approximate calculation (of time, cost, etc.): *I hope the builders don't exceed their ~. I do not know enough about him to form an ~ of his abilities. The E~s, figures supplied each year by the Chancellor of the Exchequer showing the probable national expenditure, etc.*

**es ti ma tion** [ˌestɪməʃn] *n.* [U] 1. judgement; regard: *in my ~; in the ~ of most people. 2. esteem: held in high ~. 3. bring about a separation (in feeling and sympathy): *foolish behaviour that ~d all his friends; ~ sb. from his friends. ~ment* *n.* [U] being ~d; [C] instance of this: *cause an ~ment between two old friends.**

**es tu a ry** [ˈestjuəri] *n.* [C] river mouth into which the tide flows: *the Thames ~. et cet er a* [ɪˈtsetərə, et] [Lat., usu. shortened to *etc.*] and other things; and so on. **etch** [etʃ] *v.* & *n.* (VP 1, 2) use a needle and acid to make a picture, etc., on a metal plate from which copies may be printed; make (pictures, etc.) in this way. **~er** *n.* person who *~s*. **~ing** *n.* [U] the art of the *~er*; [C] copy printed from an *~ed* plate.

**e ter nal** [ɪˈtɜːnl] *adj.* 1. without beginning or end; lasting for ever: *The Christian religion promises ~ life. the E~ (God. 2. (colloq.)) unending; too frequent: *Stop this ~ chatter. ~ly* *adv.* throughout all time; for ever; (colloq.) (too) frequently.*

**e ter ni ty** [ɪˈtɜːnɪti] *n.* 1. [U] time without end; the future life: *send a man to ~, to his death. 2. (poet.)* endlessness of time that seems endless: *It seemed an ~ before news of his safety reached her. 3. (pl.)* eternal truths.

**e ther** [ɪˈðə] *n.* [U] colourless liquid made from alcohol, used as an anaesthetic.

**e ther** [ɪˈðɜː] *n.* 1. (with def. art.) name given to the substance once believed to fill all space (between particles of air and other substances) and through which light and electro-magnetic waves might be transmitted. 2. (poet.) the pure, upper air above the clouds.

**e the ral** [ɪˈθɜːriəl] *adj.* 1. of unearthly delicacy; seeming too light or spiritual for this world: *~ beauty (music); the ~ figure of an angel. 2. of the pure upper air above the clouds and excitement.*

**eth ic** [ˈeθɪk] *n.* 1. (with indef. art.) system of moral principles, rules of conduct: *Was Islam in Turkey a tradi-*

*tional social code or an ~ for living? 2. (pl., with sing. or pl. v) science of morals; rules of conduct. eth ical* [ˈeθɪkəl] *adj.* of morals or moral questions: *an ~ basis for education. eth ical ly* *adv.*

**eth nic, eth ni cal** [ˈeθnɪk(ə)l] *adj.* of race (the races of mankind). *eth ni cal ly* *adv.*

**eth no graphy** [ˌeθnɒgrəfi] *n.* [U] scientific description of the races of mankind.

**eth no graph er** *n.*

**eth nol o gy** [ˌeθnələdʒi] *n.* [U] science of the races of mankind, their relations to one another, etc. **eth nol o gist** *n.* student of, expert in. **eth no log ical** [ˌeθnələdʒɪkəl] *adj.* of ~.

**eti ol o gy** [ɪˈtɪlədʒi] *n.* assignment of a cause; (med.) study of the causes of disease.

**et iquette** [etɪˈkɛt, ˈetɪkɪt] *n.* [U] rules for formal relations or behaviour among people, or in a class of society or a profession: *medical (legal) ~.*

**et y mol o gy** [ˌetɪˈmɒlədʒi] *n.* 1. [U] science of the origin and history of words. 2. [C] account of the origin and history of a word. **et y mol o gist** *n.* student of ~. **et y mol o g ical** [ˌetɪˈmɒlədʒɪkəl] *adj.* of ~.

**eu ca lypt us** [juːˈkæliptəs] *n.* sorts of evergreen tree (including the Australian gum tree) from which an oil, used for colds, is obtained.

**Eu char ist** [juːˈkærɪst] *n.* the E~, Holy Communion; the bread and wine taken at this.

**eu ge nics** [juːˈdʒenɪks] *n.* pl. science of the production of healthy offspring with the aim of improving the human race.

**eu lo gize** [juːˈlɒdʒaɪz] *v.* (VP 1) praise highly in speech or writing. **eu lo gist** *n.* person who does this. **eu lo gis tic** [juːləˈdʒɪstɪk] *adj.* giving or containing high praise. **eu lo gy** [juːˈlɒdʒi] *n.* [C] & [U] (speech or writing full of) high praise.

**eun uch** [juːˈnɒk] *n.* castrated man, esp. one employed in former times in the household of an Eastern ruler.

**eu phe mis m** [juːˈfɪmɪzəm] *n.* [C] & [U] (example of the) use of other, usu. less exact but milder or less blunt, words or phrases in place of words required by truth or accuracy: *'Pass away' is a ~ for 'die'. 'Queer' is a modern ~ for 'homosexual'. eu phe mis tic* [juːˈfɪmɪstɪk] *adj.* of the nature of ~; *euphemistic language (expressions). eu phe mis tic al ly* *adv.*

**eu pho ny** [juːˈfɒni] *n.* [U] pleasantness of sound; [U] & [C] pleasant sound.

**eu phor ia** [juːˈfɔːriə] *n.* [U] state of well-being and pleasure excitement.

**Eur a sia** [juːˈreɪʃə, ˈɪjə] *n.* [C] Europe and Asia. **Eur a sian** [juːˈreɪʃən] *n.* & *adj.* (persons) of mixed Euro-

pean and Asian parentage; of Europe and Asia.

**eu re ka** [juːˈreɪkə] *int.* (Gr. 'I have found') cry of triumph at a discovery

**eu rhyth mics** [juːˈrɪθmɪks] *n.* pl. harmony of bodily movement, esp. as a system of physical training with music.

**eu ro pe an** [juːˈrɒpi(ə)n] *n.* & *adj.* (native) of Europe; happening in, extending over, Europe: *~ countries; a ~ regulation.*

**eu tha na sia** [juːˈθænɪʒiə] *n.* [U] (bringing about of) easy and painless death (for persons suffering from an incurable and painful disease).

**e vac u ate** [ɪˈvækju(ə)teɪt] *v.* 1. (VP 1) (of soldiers) withdraw from; leave empty: *~ a fort (town). 2. (VP 1, 18) remove (a person) from a place or district (e.g. one considered to be dangerous in time of war): *The women and children were ~d to the country. 3. (VP 1) empty (esp. the stomach or other bodily organ) of its contents. e vac u a tion* [ɪˈvækju(ə)ʃən] *n.* [U] evacuating or being ~d; [C] instance of this. e vac u ee* [ɪˈvækju(ə)ɪ] *n.* person who is ~d (def. 2).

**e vade** [ɪˈvæd] *v.* (VP 1, 17a) 1. get, break out of the way of: *~ a blow (one's enemies, an attack). 2. find a way of not doing sth.: ~ paying one's debts; ~ military service; avoid answering (fully or honestly): ~ a question.*

**e val u ate** [ɪˈvælju(ə)teɪt] *v.* (VP 1) find out, decide, the amount or value of.

**e val u a tion** [ɪˈvælju(ə)ʃən] *n.* [U] value of ~.

**e va nes cent** [ɪˈvænəsənt, ˌɛv-] *adj.* quickly fading; soon going from the memory: *~ political triumphs. e va nes cence* *n.*

**e van gel ic** [ɪˈvændʒəlɪk] *adj.* 1. of, according to, the teachings of the Gospel: *~ preaching. 2. (usu. -al) of the beliefs and teachings of those Protestants who maintain that the soul can be saved only by faith in the atoning death of Jesus Christ, and who deny that good works and sacraments are enough, in themselves, for salvation.*

**e van ge list** [ɪˈvændʒəlɪst] *n.* 1. one of the writers (Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John) of the Gospel. 2. preacher of the Gospel, esp. one who travels and holds religious meetings wherever he goes, preaching to any who are willing to listen. **e van ge list ic** [ɪˈvændʒəlɪstɪk] *adj.*

**e vap o rate** [ɪˈvæpəreɪt] *v.* & *n.* 1. (VP 1, 2) (usu. to) change into vapour: *Heat ~s water. The water soon ~d. 2. (VP 1) remove liquid from (a substance, e.g. by heating): ~d milk. 3. (VP 2) disappear; die: *His hopes ~d, he no longer felt any hope. e vap o ra tion* [ɪˈvæpəreɪʃən] *n.**

**e va sion** [ɪˈvɛɪʃən] *n.* 1. [U] evading:

*~ of responsibility. 2. [C] statement, excuse, etc., made to evade sth.; act of evading: *His answers to my questions were all ~.**

**e va sive** [ɪˈvɛɪsɪv] *adj.* tending, trying to evade: *an ~ answer; take ~ action. do sth. in order to evade (danger, etc.). ~ly* *adv. ~ness* *n.*

**Ev e** [ɪv] *n.* (in the Bible story of the Creation) the first woman.

**eve** [ɪv] *n.* day or evening before a Church festival or any date or event; time just before anything: *Christmas Eve, 24 Dec.; New Year's Eve, 31 Dec.; on the eve of great events.*

**even** [ɪˈvɛn] *n.* (poet.) evening. **~Song** *n.* Evening Prayer in the Church of England. **~tide** *n.* (poet.) evening.

**even** [ɪˈvɛn] *adj.* 1. level; smooth: *A billiard-table must be perfectly ~. 2. regular; unchanging; having the same quality throughout: *His ~ breathing showed that he had got over his excitement. His work is not very ~, it varies in quality. 3. (of amounts, distances, values) equal: *Our scores are now ~. The two horses were ~ in the race. be (get) ~ with sb., have one's revenge on him. ~ odds, chances which are the same for or against. break ~, (colloq.) make neither a profit nor a loss. 4. (of numbers) that can be divided by two with no remainder (cf. odd): *The pages on the left side of a book have ~ numbers. 5. equally balanced: ~-handed justice. 6. (of temper, etc.) equable; not easily disturbed: an ~tempered wife. ~ly* *adv. ~ness* *n.****

**even** [ɪˈvɛn] *v.* (VP 1, 10 with up) make even or equal: *That will ~ things up, make them equal.*

**even** [ɪˈvɛn] *adv.* 1. used to invite a comparison between what is stated and what might have been the case, what might have happened, been done, etc.: *He never ~ opened the letter (so he certainly did not read it). He didn't answer ~ my letter (not to mention letters from others). It was cold there ~ in July (so you may imagine how cold it was in winter). E~ a child can understand the book (so adults can certainly do so). 2. 4. ~ though, used to call attention to the extreme nature of what follows: *I'll get there ~ if I have to pay my watch to get the railway fare. She won't leave the television set, ~ though her husband is waiting for his supper. 3. (with comparatives) still, yet: *You know ~ less about it than I do. You seem ~ more stupid than usual today. 4. ~ as, just at the time when: E~ as I gave the warning the car skidded. ~ more (them), in spite of these (those) circumstances, etc.: E~ now he won't believe me. E~ then he would not admit his mistake. ~ so, though that is the***



- (18) copular and intransitive (VPs 1–4E), e.g. *The children are asleep. The moon rose.*  
 monotransitive (VPs 6A–10), e.g. *Did you enjoy the film? He pretended not to see me.*  
 di-transitive (VPs 11–21), e.g. *He doesn't owe me anything.*  
 complex-transitive (VPs 22–25), e.g. *We painted the ceiling green.*

This rearrangement of VPs according to their major verb-types owed much to the organization in the *Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972). The major categories, though, were not made explicit by setting them out under such headings as ‘monotransitive’, as I have done, perhaps because the practically-minded Hornby realized that few users of the dictionary would understand them.

At times the reorganization of the VP scheme was unnecessarily detailed. For instance, it was made more complex by creating pairs of subpatterns aimed at indicating that one subgroup, e.g. [VP 6A], could undergo a passive transformation while another [VP 6B] could not. A better way of dealing with the passive would have been to leave it out of the VP scheme altogether and to indicate the possibility in individual entries by means of a label. The editors of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* of 1978 (*LDOCE1*) would go further by introducing labels showing four possibilities: ‘often passive’, ‘usually passive’, ‘passive rare’, and ‘no passive’ (Stein 1979).

The chief focus of criticism, however, was the letter-number codes ([VP 6C], and so on), linking individual entries to the tabular scheme in the front matter. The codes were simply an indication of where in the scheme a verb-pattern could be located. They failed to reflect the syntactic structure of a given VP, as V + O, or V + O + O—both to be used in the *Collins Cobuild* dictionary of 1987—would do. Here, then, was a major feature of dictionary design that called out for radical reform.

#### 14.6.3 (ii) Phrasal verbs and formulas

A recurrent theme of this chapter has been the analysis of idioms and collocations and their presentation in *GEW* and *ALD*. In *ALD3*, Hornby greatly improved the treatment of phrasal verbs, a type of word-combination whose complexities often prove a major pitfall to foreign learners. Chiefly improved were combinations containing ‘heavy-duty’ verbs (e.g. *come off, lay up, put down, take away*). In the verb entries in which phrasal verbs appeared, they were aligned in bold italic with the edge of the column, so facilitating access, while the insertion of *sb* (‘somebody’) and *sth* (‘something’) indicated whether the phrasal verb had a direct object, and, if so, whether or not it referred to a person:

- (19) **put**<sup>1</sup>  
**put sth across sb, ...**  
**put sth aside, ...**  
**put sb away, ...**

Another grouping of word-combinations, referred to by Harold Palmer as ‘phrases’, have received only the briefest mention from lexicographers, while their inclusion in general dictionaries is still rather hit-and-miss (Gläser 1986; Cowie 1994). Harold Palmer was more sharp-eyed than most. Defining phrases in the Introduction to *GEW* contrastively in relation to collocations, he stated: ‘While collocations are comparable in meaning and function to ordinary single “words” ... phrases are more in the nature of conversational formulas, sayings, proverbs, etc.’ (1938: xi).

Perhaps in order to guide dictionary-makers more effectively we need to set aside the more traditional categories of proverbs, slogans, and catchphrases—all of which have special dictionaries devoted to them—and focus instead on conversational formulas, sometimes referred to as ‘routine formulas’, and which are ‘expressions used to perform such functions as greetings, apologies and invitations’ (Cowie 1994: 3170). Such routines as *how do you do?*, and *see you (soon)* tend to recur in fixed social encounters and are occasionally treated in learners’ dictionaries, including *ALD3*. The first of the expressions below specifies the conditions in which the formula is used. The second phrase is accompanied by a common variant:

- (20) **How do you do?** formula used as a conventional greeting, esp when persons are formally introduced; ...  
**Be seeing you, See you 'soon** (colloq) used as an equivalent for ‘Goodbye!’.

## 14.7 CONCLUSION

This account of the earliest learners’ dictionaries, and the research programmes on which they drew, has laid special emphasis on the vocabulary control movement, verb-patterns, and phraseology. In all these areas, Palmer, West, and Hornby had joint and individual contributions to make. However, the role of Hornby, especially in the genesis and development of the advanced-level dictionary, should not be underestimated. Though he worked to a blueprint, inherited

from Palmer, which emphasized 'encoding' features, Hornby can claim credit for realizing that the student audience the dictionary was aimed at would need to have an explanatory (i.e. 'decoding') function as well, with the consequence that a broad, diversified vocabulary would form a major part of the word-list. Having, then, inaugurated a model for the learner's dictionary that was 'all-purpose' as well as advanced, Hornby remained in charge long enough to ensure that his commitment to lexical and grammatical research, was accepted as normal—if not obligatory—by his successors and rivals, even if the theoretical underpinning of that research, and the sources of data on which it drew, were to change beyond recognition as the 1970s gave way to the 1980s.

LINGUISTIC RESEARCH  
AND LEARNERS'  
DICTIONARIES: THE  
*LONGMAN DICTIONARY OF  
CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH*<sup>1</sup>

*Thierry Fontenelle*

15.1 INTRODUCTION

THE publication in 1978 of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE, Procter 1978) can be seen as a major milestone in the history of English lexicography. LDOCE was not the first learners' dictionary, of course, and Cowie shows in this volume that systems for encoding grammatical patterns go back to Palmer and Hornby's pioneering work, which led first to the publication of the *Grammar of English Words* (Palmer 1938), and subsequently to that of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (Hornby *et al.* 1942) later to become the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (see also Cowie 1999). Yet, the publication of LDOCE truly revolutionized the field of foreign learner lexicography and of linguistics, as well as the field of natural language processing (NLP). This chapter attempts to describe the various innovative features of the first edition of this dictionary and to provide an assessment of the impact it has had upon NLP

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank A. P. Cowie for his numerous valuable suggestions which helped me improve this chapter, as well as for his friendly reminders and encouragements. All remaining errors are mine, of course.

and linguistic research. We focus on two aspects of *LDOCE* as a dictionary for foreign learners of English: complementation patterns on the one hand, which correspond to descriptions of valency properties of lexical items, and the controlled defining vocabulary on the other.

## 15.2 A DICTIONARY-CUM-GRAMMAR

*LDOCE* can be seen as a co-product of *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (Quirk *et al.* 1972). Since the 1960s, Randolph Quirk and his team had been conducting a programme of linguistic research at the Survey of English Usage (SEU), based at University College London. Among its other achievements, the findings of this very ambitious project led to improved descriptions of the syntactic environments in which lexical items in a particular sense can be found. Furthermore, the elaborate system of grammatical codes aimed at capturing these details, and attached to *LDOCE* definitions, was directly based upon the recommendations and findings of the Survey of English Usage. The fact that Quirk served as a linguistic adviser for this system of grammar codes explains why *LDOCE* is often perceived as a companion volume to Longman's *Grammar of Contemporary English* (Procter 1978: ix).

### 15.2.1 *The LDOCE grammar coding system*

Earlier dictionaries owed much to Harold E. Palmer's pioneering work in the field of verb syntax. Palmer had experimented with various systems for accounting for verbal valency before publishing his *Grammar of English Words* in 1938, which was the first learners' dictionary to contain a verb-pattern scheme. In this dictionary, as noted by Cowie (1998: 10), each verb pattern was identified by means of a number code, and one or more codes were included in verb entries. Palmer strongly influenced A. S. Hornby in the 1930s and the latter took over this idea of using verb-pattern schemes in his *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (Hornby 1942), which, in 1952, would become known as the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. Hornby improved on Palmer's presentation of verb patterns and started to arrange the patterns and illustrative examples in a series of tables (see Cowie 1998: 10 for examples of the advantages of a tabular arrangement where vertical divisions are made to correspond to the major structural elements of a pattern, e.g. noun phrases corresponding to the Object in the pattern VP<sub>9</sub> corresponding to 'Verb + Object + Past Participle'). Hornby adopted in 1974 the verb-

complementation scheme of Quirk *et al.*'s *Grammar of Contemporary English*, grouping together verb patterns that had the same major function (e.g. the class of ditransitive verbs corresponded to Verb Patterns 11 to 21).

Like other learners' dictionaries, before and since, the first edition of *LDOCE* included information on pronunciation, syllable division, compounds, and irregular inflections. It also provided geographical, pragmatic, and field labels (*Austr. E.* for Australian English, *informl* for informal language, and so on). This medium-sized dictionary of general English comprised about 60,000 entries. What really made *LDOCE* remarkable for its time, however, was its highly systematic organization of grammatical categories and codes. The 'double articulation' of the *LDOCE* table of codes makes it possible to represent the syntactic function of a given constituent class. The codes are generally made up of a capital letter which may be followed by a number—which may in turn be followed by a lower-case letter—as shown below.

The capital letters correspond to word classes (parts of speech), as in:

- [A]: noun or adjective used before a noun
- [B]: ordinary adjective
- [C]: count noun
- [D]: ditransitive verb with two different objects
- [E]: adj, adv, or n used after a noun
- [F]: adj or adv used after a verb
- [GC]: group countable noun
- [GU]: group uncountable noun
- [H]: adv used with preposition and other adverbs
- [I]: intransitive verb with no object
- [L]: linking verb with complement
- [N]: vocative n used in direct address
- [P]: plural noun
- [R]: n that is a name or noun-like
- [S]: singular n
- [T]: transitive verb with one object
- [U]: uncountable noun
- [V]: verb with one object + verb form
- [X]: v with one object + something else

The numbers represent the type of environment in which a code-bearing item can be found. They can be seen as syntactic frames or subcategorization properties of the major lexical categories expressed by the letter codes:

- [o]: need not be followed by anything
- [1]: followed by one or more nouns or pronouns



- [2]: followed by the infinitive without TO
- [3]: followed by the infinitive with TO
- [4]: followed by the -ing form
- [5]: followed by a *that*-clause
- [6]: followed by a *wh*-word
- [7]: followed by an adjective
- [8]: followed by a past participle
- [9]: needs a descriptive word or phrase

The letter codes represent the major lexical categories (verbs, adjectives, nouns, etc.), broken down into more specific types (verb codes like D, I, L, T, V, or X being used for ditransitive, intransitive, linking, and transitive verbs), or incorporating dimensions like countability (C, GC, GU, U), number (S, P), or proper noun attributes (R) for nouns.

Combining the letter and number information gives a very sound and systematic indication of the syntactic environment in which a word is used in a given sense. This double articulation was at the time an innovative feature, as was pointed out by Michiels (1982) in his very detailed analysis of the *LDOCE* coding system. The similarity between the realizations of syntactic patterns described by codes like T5, D5 or U5 is reflected in the make-up of the codes themselves:

- (1) [D5]: ditransitive verb with noun phrase followed by a *that*-clause: *He warned her that he would come.*  
 [T5]: monotransitive verb with one *that*-clause object. *I know that he'll come.*  
 [U5]: uncountable noun followed by a *that*-clause. *Is there proof that he is here?*

The three codes describe a pattern that includes a common element (a *that*-clause), a similarity which they reflect in their internal organization, since the three codes have [5] as second element. In 1978, this was a highly innovative approach, since the only major rival at the time—the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (*OALD*, Hornby 1980)—relied upon unanalysed codes such as VP9 (S + V + *that*) or VP11 (S + V + NP + *that*), which did not enable the user to figure out that the patterns included this common element (Michiels 1982: 28).

While the second element corresponds to the realization of a given phrase, the first part of the code, the letter, corresponds to a major part of speech and emphasizes sameness of syntactic function, which can in turn be broken down into very general subclasses. For instance, [T] stands for the subclass of monotransitive verbs taking one direct object. In this pattern, the object is realized by

phrases whose nature can range from regular noun phrases ([T1] for *eat* in *John is eating an apple*), to bare infinitive clauses ([T2] for *dare* in *Would you dare tell your boss about this?*), to *to*-infinitive ([T3] for *want* in *I want to speak to you*), to *-ing*-clauses ([T4] for *quit* in *I quit smoking 10 years ago*), to *that*-clauses ([T5] for *say* in *He said that he'd read the report by tomorrow*), or even WH-clauses ([T6] for *ask* in *He asked what I'd like to drink*). A parallel set of structures can be seen with [D] patterns, which account for ditransitive verbs where the indirect object is realized by the same phrases or clauses: [D1] for regular 'direct object+ indirect object noun phrases' (*tell* in *He told us a nice story*), [D5] for ditransitive verbs taking noun phrase object and another object realized as a *that*-clause (*tell* in *He told her that he'd marry her*), and so on.

This double articulation of the *LDOCE* grammar coding scheme subsequently proved to be an exceptionally useful feature when the computerized version of the dictionary was used in natural language processing applications. If the researcher was interested in studying the distribution of *that*-clauses, it was now possible to focus on the identification of words bearing a grammatical code including the element [5], which would retrieve nouns (C5, S5, U5), verbs (D5, I5, L5, T5), or adjectives (F5) participating in constructions with *that*.

It should be noted that the *LDOCE* lexicographers also introduced a number of refinements in their characterization of possible syntactic environments. For instance, some of the numbers can be followed by a small letter (a, b, c), as in the following examples, in which the item determining the choice of complement is underlined:

- (2) [5a]: THAT is optional: [T5a]: I know that he'll come vs. I know he'll come.  
 [5c]: THAT is never optional and the *that*-clause includes *should* or a bare infinitive: [T5c]: I desire that she come over.

*LDOCE* was also the first learners' dictionary to describe systematically the subcategorization of nouns and adjectives. Hornby's pioneering work had mainly focused on verb patterns, reflected in the practice of beginning each code with VP (COWIE), but was silent as far as nouns and adjectives were concerned (with the exception of the countable–uncountable distinction for nouns). Learners were now, in *LDOCE*, offered information about whether a given adjective could be followed by a *to*-infinitive, a *that*-clause or a *wh*-clause via codes such as the following:

- (3) [F3]: (+ *to*-inf): John is eager to please his teachers.  
 [F5]: (+ *that*-clause): I'm sure (that) she knows all about it.  
 [F6]: (+ WH-clause): I'm not sure where I should go.

It is clear that learners need to know that adjectives such as *adamant*, which occur much less frequently in corpus data than, say, an adjective like *sure*, can be followed by a *that*-clause. *LDOCE* provides the following guidance:

- (4) **adamant**<sup>2</sup> *adj* [B;F(5,in)] fml (esp. of a person or behaviour) hard, immovable, and unyielding: *I am adamant that they should go.*

A number of additional codes were also used to describe morphosyntactic properties like adjective gradability:

[Wa1]: adjective taking *-er/-est* for comparative/superlative: *small–smaller–smallest*

[Wa2]: adjective taking *-er/-est* or *more/most*: *secure–securer vs. more secure*

[Wa5]: adjective which does not have any comparative or superlative (*atomic–\*a more atomic bomb*)

A few words should be said about the criticism that has been levelled at the *LDOCE* coding scheme. While many users acknowledged that a sound system for describing the syntactic valency of all lexical items was long overdue, it has to be admitted that teachers and learners often had difficulty figuring out what these codes meant. Research has shown that dictionary users hardly ever read the prefatory material of dictionaries (see Béjoint 1981), and mastering the subtleties of the *LDOCE* grammar coding system was frequently found to be a daunting task by many learners. A sound linguistic description of the complementation properties of lexical items does not always lead to an intelligible and usable scheme, which explains why subsequent editions adopted a simpler approach with fewer codes (see also Aarts 1999). The pedagogical aspects of grammatical description received closer attention in these editions, clearly in an attempt to meet the needs of the language learner.

One cannot help drawing a parallel with the reception given to the *Cobuild* dictionary (Sinclair *et al.* 1987), whose first edition also included rather obscure grammar labels such as V-ERG for ‘ergative’ (i.e. causative–inchoative) verbs. While such labels were welcomed by mainstream and computational linguists (see Fontenelle 1992), they were often perceived as totally unintelligible by the very users the publishers had in mind and were removed or made more transparent in later editions, despite the relevance they might have to a linguistic description of the English language. In the present case, despite their systematicity, which proved crucial for formal computational analyses, the *LDOCE* grammar codes used in the first edition were found too obscure—and even to some extent inadequate—by many learners, which led the publishers to simplify their coding scheme in subsequent editions.

## 15.2.2 LDOCE definitions and the controlled defining vocabulary

Cowie (1998) stresses the importance of the so-called ‘vocabulary control’ movement, which has had a deep effect on the history of learners’ dictionaries. The leading figure of this movement, Harold Palmer, was interested in identifying the set of words which speakers use most frequently to communicate. After realizing that a high level of natural communication could be achieved by using a vocabulary of around 1,000 words, he worked with A. S. Hornby to produce *Thousand-Word English* (Palmer and Hornby 1937), a word list (of initially 900 words) which was intended to lighten the learning load of the foreign student. Michael West took the vocabulary control idea further by developing a limited vocabulary of about 1,500 words which he used to write the definitions of his *New Method English Dictionary* (West and Endicott 1935). West’s subsequent *General Service List* (1953), which includes frequency ratings for words in their particular senses as well as collocations and idioms, also definitely influenced the next generation of learners’ dictionaries. *LDOCE* followed this tradition by using a controlled vocabulary of about 2,000 words to write the definitions. The words which do not belong to this set are printed in small capitals. Consider the definition of *mink*, where WEASEL and CARNIVOROUS are not part of the controlled vocabulary:

- (5) **mink** *n* 1 [Wn1;C] a type of small WEASEL-like animal – see picture at CARNIVOROUS 2 [U] the valuable brown fur of this animal, often used for making ladies’ coats

Although the editors claimed that these 2,000 words were used in their ‘prototypical’ (or most basic) senses, and only easily understood derivatives, it was clear that this approach to definition was fraught with a number of problems. On the one hand, in the case of a polysemous defining word, there was no possibility, short of looking elsewhere in the dictionary, of knowing which sense of the word had been used in a particular definition. The following examples show that the word *body* is used in different senses in the two definitions:

- (6) a **star** *n* 1 [C] a bright-burning heavenly body of great size, such as the sun but esp. one very far away (a fixed star)  
 b **head** *n* 1 a the part of the body which contains the eyes, ears, nose and mouth, and the brain – in animals at the front of the body, in man on top

The use of a strictly controlled defining vocabulary in principle facilitates the decoding task. It is usually considered useful with learners whose main objective is to expand their vocabularies. Michiels and Noel (1984: 390) demonstrate that

*LDOCE* works with a four-term system to define instruments: *apparatus*, *instrument*, *machine*, and *tool* are the four genus words used in definitions of instruments. Cowie points out (personal communication) that West found it necessary to ‘force in’ sixty-one words which did not merit inclusion on grounds of frequency alone. At least seventeen of these items—e.g. *instrument*, *vegetable*—were genus words used in the definition of many specific objects. The highly productive action-instrument patterns identified by Michiels (1982: 188) can be formalized as follows:

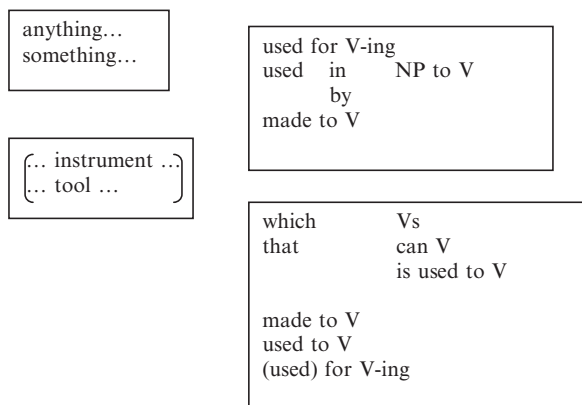


FIG. 15.1 Action-instrument patterns

Dictionaries that do not resort to such a controlled defining vocabulary force the linguist to capture the relevant thesaurus sets to identify the ‘instrument-process’ link. West’s work on vocabulary control made it clear that the lexicographer may have to go outside the defining vocabulary to keep definitions short, this small sacrifice representing a potentially big gain. Words such as *appliance*, *utensil*, *device*, or *implement*, which are frequently used in the definitions of other dictionaries, are clearly semantically related words that belong to the same thesauric class that Michiels and Noel identify, but the more open-ended nature of this class makes the analyst’s task much more difficult.

A further drawback is that *LDOCE*’s lexical simplicity tends to encourage the lexicographer to resort to syntactically more complex, convoluted (or less natural) constructions in order to avoid non-‘core’ vocabulary. For instance, *LDOCE* defines *tabasco* as ‘a very hot-tasting liquid, made from peppers, used for giving a special taste to food’, while something like ‘a very hot sauce’ would probably have been less complex, but had to be rejected because *sauce* is not part of the controlled vocabulary. The need to abide by this principle can create highly unnatural definitions like the following one:

- (7) **tablet** ... 1 a hard flat block of some substance, esp. a small round one of medicine.

The difficulties associated with the polysemy of the defining vocabulary are exacerbated by the ability of native speakers to form what are for foreigners highly complex and often unpredictable phrasal verbs. While it makes sense to say that the verbs *put*, *take*, *give*, *get*, etc., or the prepositions and adverbial particles *in*, *out*, *up*, *off*, etc., belong to the core vocabulary of English, one may wonder whether phrasal verbs resulting from the idiomatic combinations of these items are likely to be mastered by users of learners' dictionaries. It is a well-known fact that phrasal verbs are a stumbling block for learners of English, which raises the question whether *put out* in the following definition is likely to be understood by people who do not already know the meaning of *extinguish*:

- (8) **extinguish** *v* [T1] *fml* to put out (a light or fire)

Jansen *et al.* (1987) describe experiments they carried out on the *LDOCE* database to check to what extent the constraints claimed for the controlled vocabulary had in fact been adhered to. They note, for instance, that the parts of speech are not systematically mentioned in the presentation of the controlled vocabulary. The word *left* is included in this list, for instance, but the reader does not know whether the lexicographer was expected to use the adjective, the noun, the adverb, or the past participle when writing his or her definitions. They also note that some words which are listed in the controlled vocabulary are not even granted headword status in the dictionary. *Anyone* is used forty-three times and *someone* is used 1,016 times, but, to find them, the user has to look up *anybody* and *somebody*, where the former pair are hidden as variants. Jansen and his colleagues also note that the list does not include some words which are actually used in definitions and in examples: *business* is used 176 times and *hole* fifty-eight times. These words should therefore have been added to the list or printed in small capitals. In addition, they remark that some words like *freedom* or *unfit* do not appear in the list either, though this time as a result of excessive reliance on affixation. The editors of the dictionary point out in the preface that 'only the most central meanings of these 2,000 words, and only easily understood derivatives, were used' (1978: ix), which can suggest that the presence of *free*, *un-*, and *-less* in the controlled list gave the lexicographer the green light to use these derivatives. From a pedagogical perspective, however, it may be slightly too demanding to expect learners to master the subtleties of these morphological properties.

The analyses carried out by Jansen *et al.* also reveal that eighty per cent of the words listed in the controlled vocabulary are polysemous and therefore to some

extent ambiguous. They go further in their analysis and show that if only the first sense of a headword is taken into account (a mistake which students frequently make), only forty per cent of the possible definitions are obtained. This provides evidence that the first sense does not always refer to the central meaning of a word, a fact which makes it difficult for a learner to find the exact meaning of a defining word (see the examples with *body* above). Senses bordering on the idiomatic are also sometimes used by the compilers, which again does not make the learner's life easier. Consider the idiomatic use of *break* as part of a restricted collocation in the definition of the noun *alcoholic*:

- (9) **alcoholic**<sup>2</sup> *n* a person who cannot break the habit of drinking alcoholic drinks too much, esp. one whose health is damaged because of this.

The tradition of drawing upon a controlled defining vocabulary was followed in subsequent editions of *LDOCE* and was adopted by most other learners' dictionaries (except the *Cobuild* dictionary, Sinclair 1987). Recent editions of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* push the numbers up by using a set of 3,000 keywords. The *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (*MEDAL*) (Rundell 2002) has also made use of a controlled vocabulary of 2,600 words. Unlike *LDOCE*, which uses small capitals for words used in a definition that do not belong to this subset—in order to signal to the user that the principle has been departed from—*MEDAL* lexicographers choose not to print such occasional exceptions in small print if the word that does not belong to the defining vocabulary is explained in a nearby entry (see Bogaards 2003: 48, who cites *gelding*, defined as 'a male horse that has been gelded', the preceding entry being the verb *geld*).

## 15.3 A COMPUTERIZED DICTIONARY

### 15.3.1 *Machine-readable dictionaries and computerized dictionaries*

The publication of *LDOCE* was a landmark in the history of English lexicography for several reasons. We saw above that its comprehensive and systematic treatment of complementation patterns was truly innovative in a dictionary and that the use of a limited (controlled) defining vocabulary took into account the pedagogical perspective adopted by its designers. However, the success of *LDOCE* was not limited to the community of English language learners and teachers. *LDOCE* can also be seen as the first large-scale computerized dictionary

of English, and the publishers' decision to distribute the computer tape to a number of research groups soon after its publication contributed to a revival in lexical studies and to the creation of a discipline which is now frequently referred to as computational lexicography. The first and most comprehensive description of the *LDOCE* dictionary database was written by Michiels (1982), whose research group at the University of Liège had been allowed to make use of the computer tape for research purposes under contract with the publishers.

At this juncture, it will be useful to draw a distinction between machine-readable dictionaries (MRDs) and computerized dictionaries, since confusion between the two often leads to misunderstandings and possible frustrations. Paraphrasing Michiels (1982: 7–8), we can say that a machine-readable dictionary is simply a dictionary which has been encoded in machine-readable form and usually does not display any other structure than is necessary to drive the typesetting process. The various types of linguistic information, such as parts of speech, headwords, translations or definitions, selection restrictions, etc., are not necessarily formalized (listable). These categories can usually only be identified on the basis of typographical criteria. A special typesetting code might signal the beginning of italics or boldface, for instance, but does not say anything about the nature of the information appearing in italics or boldface. Figure 15.2 illustrates the entries *abandon* and *abandoned* as they were represented in the machine-readable version of the first edition of the *Collins-Robert English–French Dictionary* (Atkins and Duval 1978)—which was published in the same year as *LDOCE*—as described by Michiels (1982: 8) and Fontenelle (1997: 121).

Any exploitation of such data presupposes the identification and interpretation of the structural markers present on the typesetting tape. In the extract below, for instance, >u6< is a typesetting code used to indicate a switch to italics and >u1< is used to introduce a new entry. But there is basically no structure of a linguistic kind, and the fact that the strings *vt*, *forsake*, *Jur*, and *property* are all preceded by >u6< does not provide any explicit indication that we have here a part-of-speech label with some transitivity information (*vt*), a synonym (*forsake*), a subject field code (*Jur*), and a typical collocation (*abandon property*), respectively.

A computerized dictionary is a great deal more than an MRD. The information it provides is highly explicit and is usually organized in what Michiels (1982: 7) calls 'formatted fields, i.e. locations for specific types of information, whose make-up adheres to a body of well-defined, fully explicit conventions'. Such information is then easily accessible and retrievable by automatic means. While the organization of the data in the machine-readable dictionary illustrated below does not make it easy to retrieve the part of speech of the verb *abandon*, for example, a truly computerized dictionary will make such information readily



>u1< abandon >u155< [ >u11< >u18< b >u43< nd >u11< n ] >u2< l >u6< vt >u2< (a) >u8< >u6< forsake >u9< >u6< person >u5< abandonner, quitter, dc>u129<laisser. >u8< >u6< fig >u9< >u4< to >u40< o.s. to >u5< se livrer a>u128< . S'abandonner a>u128< , se laisser aller a>u128< , >u7< >u3< (b) >u8< >u6< Jur etc >u5< : >u6< give up >u9< >u6< property, right >u5< renoncer a>u128< ; >u6< action >u5< se de>u129< sister de, >u7< >u3< (c) >u5< faire (acte de) de>u129< laissement de, >u7< >u3< 2 >u6< n >u8< U >u9< >u5< laisser-aller >u6< m >u5< , abandon >u6< m >u5< , rela>u132< chement >u6< m. >u4< with (gay) >u40< >u5< avec (une belle) de>u129< sinvulture >u7< >u1< abandoned >u155< [ >u11< >u18< b >u43< nd >u11< nd ] >u6< adj >u2< (a) >u8< forsaken >u9< >u6< person >u5< abandonne>u129< , de>u129< laisse>u129< ; >u6< place >u5< abandonne>u129< . >u2< (b) >u8< dissolute >u9< de>u129< bauche>u129< , >u7<

FIG. 15.2 Excerpt from *Collins-Robert Dictionary* (Atkins and Duval 1978)

accessible in a specific field. This, for instance, enables the user of a computerized dictionary to retrieve an exhaustive list of all the part-of-speech labels used in the dictionary or to examine the language of the definitions, since both these categories are clearly distinguishable from examples in a computerized dictionary. The lexicographical applications of such an organization are clear, since the editors and lexicographers are able to carry out a number of consistency checks. A typical example of such a check would be to ensure that all the lexicographers working on a dictionary adhere to the same conventions, for instance by using only a finite set of POS labels, and avoiding inconsistent uses of slightly differing labels like *v*, *vb*, *verb*, or *V* when describing verbs.

Obviously, formalizing POS labels is a relatively simple task. The same is true of labels indicating grammatical codes or usage labels describing levels of formality, for instance, *fml*: formal; *infml*: informal. Other fields are much more difficult to formalize. Definitions are a case in point, but, as we will see below, storing them into well-defined formatted fields proves to be an excellent way of studying and exploiting them, and provides a valuable source of highly interesting information to the linguist. When *LDOCE* was first published, nearly thirty years ago, computer technology was in its infancy. Mark-up languages such as HTML (hypertext mark-up language), SGML (standard generalized mark-up language) or XML (extensible mark-up language), which are so familiar today, did not exist. The structured organization of the *LDOCE* data was truly revolutionary and the exploitation of the *LDOCE* database which Michiels proposed in the 1980s led

to the worldwide recognition that the dictionary housed a good deal of information relevant to Natural Language Processing (NLP), the extraction of which could be partly automated. In his dissertation, Michiels explored the grammatical coding system of *LDOCE*. He proposed a database organization of the lexical data which could make it possible to reuse the syntactic and semantic information of *LDOCE* entries to feed the lexical component of a parser of English. He later put his proposal into practice in an experimental definite-clause grammar parser for a subset of English, importing lexical material directly from *LDOCE* (Michiels 1995 a,b,c). He also proposed an algorithm for ‘decompacting’ the grammatical codes and making them more suitable for exploitation by computer programs. The format of these grammar codes had indeed been compacted to save space in the printed version of the book. The following example illustrates the necessity of rearranging the grammatical codes to make them more explicit:

- (10) **point out** *v adv* [T1(to),5,6a,(b)] to draw attention to (something or someone):  
*He pointed her out to me. | May I point out that if we don't leave now we shall miss the bus*

Knowledge of the syntax of the grammar coding system is essential if the dictionary user, or researcher, is to understand that the number code 5 needs to be attached to T in order to form [T5], that 6a in fact stands for [T6a] and that (b) is in fact [T6b]. The decompacted codes should be read as follows:

- (11) T1 (to): Monotransitive verb with one noun or pronoun object (optionally followed by the preposition *to*), as in the first example (*He pointed her out to me*)  
 T5: Monotransitive verb with one *that*-clause object, as in the second example (*May I point out that if we don't leave now we shall miss the bus*)  
 T6a: Monotransitive verb with one WH-object (the WH-group is clausal, i.e. contains a finite verb, as in *He pointed out where I should go*)  
 T6b: Monotransitive verb with one WH-object consisting of a WH-word followed by a *to*-infinitive phrase, as in *He pointed out where to go*.

Knowing that a phrasal verb like *point out* can be followed by a WH-word and a *to*-infinitive (*She pointed out where to sign*) is crucial for many NLP tasks, but this information would be lost if the codes were not made explicit to the researcher and the computer in a decompacted, restructured format.

### 15.3.2 Subject-field codes

The electronic version of *LDOCE* also provides subject-field information assigned to word senses. A 4-byte field can be filled by one or two codes based

upon Merriam-Webster's classification of around three hundred pragmatic codes. The first two letters refer to a general subject-field code to which a given word sense applies (e.g. /SP/ = Sports; /MD/ = Medicine; /BZ/ = Business; /EC/ = Economics ...). The last two letters, if any, refer either to another subject field or to a one-letter subdivision within the first field (Z being used as a separator). The following examples illustrate the two possibilities (see also Michiels (1982) and Fontenelle (1990) for more details).

- |                |      |                              |
|----------------|------|------------------------------|
| (12) Abortion: | MDLW | (Medicine + Law)             |
| Customs duty:  | ECZT | (Economics + subfield = Tax) |

Some researchers have used *LDOCE* subject-field codes to produce thematic indexes automatically (Jansen 1989). By establishing the statistical frequency of the subject codes for all the words of a given text, it has indeed been shown that it is possible to discover the topic of a text. This can prove crucial in the field of machine translation, where this type of information can be used to drive the selection of the correct word sense to solve possible ambiguities.

Unfortunately, as was pointed out by Michiels (1982), no attempt was ever made to develop automatic checking procedures to ensure consistency with regard to the assignment of field codes, which explains why the dictionary was often found to be marred by errors and omissions. Fontenelle (1990) showed how it was possible to enrich the dictionary and supplement it with subject-field codes that the lexicographer had failed to assign.

For instance, once the dictionary is transformed into a real database, it is possible to retrieve all the definitions that contain keywords pertaining to the field of legal terminology (e.g. law, lawyer, legal ...) and whose subject field does not include the code LW (law). The following example is a case in point with *law* (and *court*) being relevant keywords:

- (13) **exhibit**<sup>2</sup> *n* (...) 2 something brought in a law court to prove the truth:  
*Exhibit A was a knife which, the police said, belonged to the prisoner.*

It is clear that any word-sense disambiguation program would benefit from an explicit indication that sense (2) of *exhibit* belongs to the field of legal terminology, which would make it possible to distinguish it from the other senses (e.g. sense (1): something which is exhibited, esp. in a museum).

Despite the criticism that can be levelled at the consistency with which these subject-field codes have been assigned, it has to be admitted that the very format of the *LDOCE* makes it possible for the researcher to investigate the manifold relationships between the various types of linguistic information provided by the lexicographers. Once the dictionary is structured in a format which makes it

suitable for computer analysis and exploitation, it becomes possible to develop consistency checking procedures and to make information that is hidden in the microstructure of the dictionary entries much more explicit and computationally tractable.

#### 15.4 *LDOCE* AND NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING RESEARCH

Michiels's pioneering work on the *LDOCE* tape triggered a series of research projects in the field of computational lexicography. NLP researchers were indeed (and are still today) confronted with the 'lexical-acquisition bottleneck'. In order to develop a large-scale NLP system—for instance a machine-translation system, a grammar checker, or an information retrieval system—one needs to feed the lexical component of the system with the linguistic description of tens of thousands of lexical items. The provenance of these linguistic descriptions is problematic, however. Should teams of highly specialized lexicographers be hired to code the whole lexicon from scratch or should other resources be tapped to reduce the costs and save time? Exploiting existing resources to build the lexicon seems a more promising approach and, in the 1980s, MRD-based research started to flourish, following Michiels's dissertation as well as Amsler's seminal work on the structure of the Merriam-Webster dictionary (Amsler 1980). Several other research groups obtained the tapes of the *LDOCE* dictionary. Boguraev and Briscoe (1989) reported on work done by a group from Cambridge University who used *LDOCE* to deliver a computational grammar of English with a 50,000-word list indexed to it. Their book is entirely devoted to the computational analysis of *LDOCE*, its grammar coding system, its definitions, and its possible computational exploitation. In the United States, the Lexical Systems group at IBM Yorktown Heights also obtained the *LDOCE* tape and, together with the computerized versions of other dictionaries, used it to create Wordsmith, an automated dictionary system whose powerful browsing functionalities enable users to retrieve words that are close to a given item along dimensions of sound, spelling, syntax, or meaning (Chodorow *et al.* 1985; see also Fontenelle 1997 and Wilks *et al.* 1996 for a survey of MRD-based research). In the 1980s, the same IBM group embarked on a long-term project called CompLex to develop a computational lexicon which provides semantic information (Byrd 1989; Byrd *et al.* 1987).

Unlike earlier attempts that focused on the grammatical components of MRDs, CompLex was, to use Byrd's words (1989), a network of senses coded as a Lexical Knowledge Base. Byrd and his colleagues were interested in finding the following relationships between word senses: homography, hyperonymy (genus terms), hyponymy (specific terms), synonymy, typical arguments, and selection preferences (1989: 72). *LDOCE* was used as a source of lexical information and definitions were used to identify these relations. Using pattern-matching techniques similar to those advocated by Michiels (1982), Byrd's group was also interested in capturing less central relations such as the one which exists between merchants and the goods that they typically sell. By automatically extracting the nouns whose definitions contain the combination 'who' + 'sell' within a window of seven words, they managed to retrieve a class of words including *florist*, *herbalist*, or *confectioner*, whose definitions in *LDOCE* meet the above-mentioned criteria:

- (14) **florist** *n* a person who keeps a shop for selling flowers  
**herbalist** *n* 1 a person who grows and/or sells HERBS, esp. for making medicine  
**confectioner** *n* a person who makes or sells sweets, ice cream, cakes, etc.

One immediately sees the potential for applications in semantic lexicons such as those proposed by Fillmore *et al.* (2003), who use frame semantics to analyse the commercial transaction frame and identify frame elements such as GOODS and SELLERS.

Work on *LDOCE* and other MRDs carried out by this IBM Research group aimed at developing an integrated system for broad-coverage syntactic and semantic analysis of natural language. When some members of this group joined the Research Division of the Microsoft Corporation in the early 1990s (Jensen *et al.* 1993), the research went on to develop a lexicon-based parser which was eventually integrated into the Microsoft grammar checker at the end of the 1990s. The same Microsoft Research team used *LDOCE* and a number of other available computerized dictionaries to automatically create a huge lexical-semantic network called MindNet (Richardson *et al.* 1998; Vanderwende 1995). The interesting thing about MindNet is that its creators used the same broad-coverage parser as the one used in the Microsoft grammar checker to parse the definitions from *LDOCE* and from the third edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary (AHD3)*. They were able to extract labelled semantic relations like HYPERONYM, HYPONYM, SYNONYM, DEEP-OBJECT, MEANS, PART, etc., and produce hierarchical structures which they use for resolving structural attachments and word-sense

ambiguities. All the relations extracted from the dictionary definitions take the form of relational triples like the following:

- (15) car–Hyponym–vehicle  
 wheel–Part–vehicle  
 bank–Part–river  
 write–Means–pen

Richardson *et al.* (1998) show what kind of network can be derived for a noun like *car* which is defined as follows in *LDOCE*:

- (16) **car** *n* a vehicle with 3 or usu. 4 wheels and driven by a motor, esp. for carrying people
- car
- |       |        |       |             |       |        |
|-------|--------|-------|-------------|-------|--------|
| ----- | Hyp >  | ----- | vehicle     |       |        |
| ----- | Part > | ----- | wheel       |       |        |
| ----- | Tobj > | ----- | drive       |       |        |
|       |        | ----- | Means ----- | motor |        |
| ----- | Purp > | ----- | carry       |       |        |
|       |        | ----- | Tobj >      | ----- | people |

Besides creating such network structures, MindNet can also be seen as a very specialized type of thesaurus. By focusing on the identification of direct objects associated with the verb *plant* in *LDOCE* definitions, Dolan (1995) extracts a list of seven nouns which form a tightly coherent semantic class: all of these are botanical words and can be planted: *seed*(1), *plant*(1), *shrub*(1), *plantation*(1), *grove*(1), *blackthorn*(1), *box*(1). The system uses 'path identification' tools to discover the shortest network of links capable of connecting all these words. In this case, the path is fairly short and passes through Hyperonym and PartOf relations, indicating that the seven nouns have a direct relationship with the core noun sense of *plant*(1). This also confirms that the set of typical objects associated with a given transitive verb in the dictionary are usually closely related semantically, a property which Fontenelle (1997) also exploited to build similar lexical-semantic networks with labelled relations from a bilingual dictionary.

It should be realized that all these experiments carried out in the NLP world also led to a better understanding of the structure of the English lexicon and paved the way for different types of dictionaries organized conceptually. Longman used data from a later edition of *LDOCE* to produce what was called a 'new conceptual map of English' (Rundell and Ham 1994), in the form of the *Longman Language Activator*, published in 1993. This onomasiological reference work marked a radical departure from earlier models of conceptual organization in

so far as pedagogical considerations took precedence over the meaning-to-word organization of the data. Real-word items extracted from the *LDOCE* dictionary (*dog, cat, biscuit . . .*) were excluded from the *Activator* because advanced learners of English usually do not have any language-production problems with them. Concepts were then organized in groups of near-synonyms, with keywords such as PROUD, ANGRY, or SAD and information about how to find the most appropriate word to express the meaning a user would want to encode. The *Activator* was probably one of the most successful practical exploitations of *LDOCE* data seen as a thesaurus.

### 15.5 GRAMMAR CODES AS RESEARCH OBJECTS

The availability of the *LDOCE* dictionary in computerized form opened up new vistas for computational linguists who now had at their disposal a treasure trove of lexical data. The automatic and semi-automatic extraction of this information now made it possible to feed the lexical components of their NLP systems, which, until the mid 1980s, had often been reduced to university prototypes with an average of twenty-five lexical entries—if one ignores the 5,000–6,000 word vocabulary used by machine translation systems at that time (see Whitelock 1987, cited by Boguraev and Briscoe 1989: 10). The exploitation of the *LDOCE* database was not limited to those attempts to overcome the ‘lexical acquisition bottleneck’, however. Once the database became widely available to computational and traditional linguists alike, some elements of the dictionary became topics of research in their own right. Grammar codes are a case in point. We pointed out earlier that the double articulation of systematic, normalized grammatical codes was a revolutionary way of describing the syntactic valency of verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The multiple access points offered to the researchers, once the computerized dictionary was transformed into a proper database, now made it possible to conduct experiments about the distribution of these grammar codes and their relation to other elements of the dictionary entry. A number of researchers started to develop search strategies to come to grips with the *LDOCE* codes (Jansen *et al.* 1988; Michiels 1982; Boguraev and Briscoe 1989; Akkerman 1989).

Fontenelle and Vanandroye (1989) tried using the database to identify a class of verbs participating in the so-called causative/inchoative alternation, as in the following examples:

- (17) a John boiled the water.  
 b The water boiled.

Levin (1993) and Atkins *et al.* (1986) use the term ‘ergatives’ to refer to verbs which participate in this alternation. They note that they belong to the subclass of change-of-state verbs (like *grow*, *increase*, *darken*, *improve* ...). They usually involve an agent (often an animate entity) and a patient argument (the entity that changes state). Used transitively, the verb is causative and the patient surfaces as the direct object, as in *John boiled the water*. Used intransitively, the verb is inchoative (i.e. expresses the beginning of a change of state) and the patient argument surfaces as the subject, as in *The water boiled*. This accounts for the widely used reference to the causative/inchoative alternation. Fontenelle and Vanandroye (1989) show that ergativity is lexically governed and should be coded at word sense level. Accounting for the transitive and intransitive usages of these change-of-state verbs can also be crucial if one wants to develop natural-language query-answering systems, as is shown by Fontenelle (1996: 322). Ergative verbs are distinct from activity verbs like *eat* which participate in the indefinite object alternation, which has a different kind of entailment. Consider:

Causative/inchoative alternation—(a) does not entail (b) when the direct object is deleted and (a) entails (c) when the direct object is moved to subject position:

- (18) a OPEC increased oil prices.  
 b \*OPEC increased.  
 c Oil prices increased.

Indefinite object alternation—(a) entails (b) when the object is deleted and (a) does not entail (c):

- (19) a John is eating an apple.  
 b John is eating.  
 c \*An apple is eating.

In their experiment, Fontenelle and Vanandroye started from the hypothesis that the set of dictionary definition patterns for ergative verbs was limited, due to the use of a limited, controlled vocabulary, as we saw earlier, and that ‘defining formulae’ (words used repeatedly in definitions) could be used to locate ergative verbs. They analysed combinations of grammar codes which occurred with specific definition patterns. They realized that the *LDOCE* lexicographers had resorted to a range of definition patterns corresponding to the surface realization of the semantic primitives CAUSE and BECOME, which are components of the



lexical-semantic representation of causative/inchoative verbs (Levin 1993). They investigated the use of defining formulae like the following:

- (20) to (cause to) Verb  
 to (allow to) Verb  
 to (help to) Verb  
 to make or become  
 to bring or come

They identified six grammar codes that express transitivity and intransitivity and are relevant to the representation of ergative verbs. A combination of transitive codes like [T1], [X7], [X9] and intransitive codes like [I0], [L7], and [L9] is an indication of a verb's ability to participate in a transitivity alternation. After studying the distribution of the various combinations of codes together with the definition patterns listed above, Fontenelle and Vanandroye compiled a table illustrating the conjunction of the two types of linguistic elements. The most frequent categories are the following ones, together with the number of word senses in *LDOCE* that meet the specified condition:

*Table 15.1. Conjunction of definition patterns and grammar codes*

<u>Definition pattern</u>	<u>Grammar codes</u>	<u>Number of word senses in <i>LDOCE</i></u>
(cause to)	[T1] + [I0]	567
make or become	[T1] + [I0]	46
(cause to)	[X9] + [L9]	45

The following entries illustrate ergative verbs which were retrieved from the *LDOCE* database by applying this technique:

- (21) **bake** 1 *v* [T1; I0] to (cause to) cook using dry heat in a special box  
**shorten** *v* [T1; I0] to make or become short or shorter  
**fasten** 2 *v* [L9; X9: (to, ON)] to make or become firm in (a given state) or joined to (a given thing)

Grammatical codes are also used by Boguraev (1991: 244–7) in his survey of the various attempts to extract lists of verbs participating in this transitivity alternation from existing machine-readable dictionaries. He argues that Fontenelle and Vanandroye's analysis of the range of defining patterns underlying the deep semantics of transitivity alternations fails to capture a particular structural

regularity employed by the *LDOCE* lexicographers to represent this alternation. Boguraev's contention is that ergativity is extractable from *LDOCE* on the basis of a regularity which can be expressed in structural terms only, without resorting to an analysis of the definitions. This structural property is illustrated below, in entries where word senses have been split into two subdefinitions indicated by small letters (a) and (b):

- (22) **precipitate** 3 *v* [T1; I0] (in chemistry)  
 (a) (of solid matter) to separate from a liquid because of chemical action  
 (b) to cause (solid matter) to separate from a liquid by chemical action

The exploitation of this structural property indeed makes it possible to extract an additional fifty verbs, which can be added to the 700-odd verbs retrieved by Fontenelle and Vanandroye's more semantic approach, which relies upon the traditional Aristotelian distinction between *genus* and *differentiae* (see also Fontenelle (1996) for a more detailed and critical comparison of the two methods).

## 15.6 USING *LDOCE* TO EXTRACT SELECTIONAL RESTRICTIONS

Computational linguists have tried to tap the *LDOCE* data in different ways to extract two types of semantic information:

- Inherent semantic features
- Selection restrictions

I have shown that the grammar coding system was found to be a most useful source of information to populate a syntactic lexicon, given the wealth of details it provides on the syntactic valency of lexical items. All the researchers who used *LDOCE* in natural language processing systems had to develop a methodology for mapping the dictionary's grammar codes to subcategorization frames. Any respectable parser needs, for instance, to know that a verb like *admire* is transitive, which implies that it takes a direct object and, of course, that it also takes a subject (a property which is often taken for granted in electronic dictionaries). However, as noted by Klavans (1987), who cites Sue Atkins, the verb *admire* not only requires a subject, it also requires that this subject be HUMAN. We are touching the field of selection restrictions (or rather selection *preferences*, a better term used in corpus-based lexicography), which pertain to the arguments of a

lexical item (a verb in the present case). The inherent semantic features are properties attributed to a given lexical item (e.g. a noun). If the selection preferences associated with a given verb require that the subject of this verb be HUMAN, the system needs to be able to determine that a given noun has the inherent semantic feature +HUMAN. The unification mechanism of the system will then be in charge of reconciling these two descriptions to resolve possible ambiguities and produce a reasonable analysis of the sentence in question.

Klavans (1987) and Byrd *et al.* (1987) describe experiments and sets of methodologies that they used to extract verbs with a given selectional restriction using semi-automatic techniques. They focus on the extraction of verbs that require +HUMAN subjects in all their senses. Their goal at the time was to build machine translation lexicons. They first extract all the verbs which are marked with an 'H' (for Human) in the field corresponding to co-occurrence restrictions, for all their senses, which generates a list of 2,404 verb senses (*blindfold*, *bike*, *blaspheme*, *brainwash*, and so on).<sup>2</sup> They also use morphology as a clue to semantic features, both of the base and of the complex word. Klavans (1987) starts from the assumption that a suffix such as *-er* in English marks agentivity and that the verbal bases of nouns in *-er* will have a tendency to select for +HUMAN nouns. After extracting a list of about 4,000 nouns in *-er* from *LDOCE*, she sends this list through a morphological analyser to identify the verb bases. This will obviously work for words like *teacher* (<*teach*) or *employer* (<*employ*), but not for nouns that do not have a verb base (like *autobiographer*, which has only a noun base). Some nouns are also morphologically simple, like *cancer*, which cannot be analysed any further. There are also real exceptions, such as *number*, which cannot be broken down into *numb* + *er*. This study of agentive nouns in *-er* enables her to identify 712 verbs which potentially require a +HUMAN subject.

Byrd, Klavans, and their IBM colleagues are also interested in extracting nouns that have the inherent property +HUMAN. To do so, they use 'sprouting' techniques, which means that they select a root and build a hyponym index from the genus list. Starting from a word like *vehicle*, they compile a list of words that have *vehicle* as a hyperonym (thus, *ambulance*, *bicycle*, *tanker*, and so on), producing hierarchies like those featured in the MindNet system. Applying this technique, they are able to identify a fair number of +HUMAN nouns by focusing on the retrieval

<sup>2</sup> The *LDOCE* tape provides some types of semantic information which are not found in the printed version of the dictionary. These semantic codes never really received the attention they deserved because they were never checked for consistency. A special field in the database was used to encode lexical-co-occurrence restrictions, i.e. constraints on the choice of co-occurring items, for instance to indicate that the subject of a verb needs to be human. A more detailed description of these semantic codes can be found in Michiels (1982) and in Boguraev and Briscoe (1989).

of nouns whose definition includes strings like ‘specialist in’ or ‘person who [studies | has studied]’ (*meteorologist, metallurgist, mathematician*, etc.) which incidentally also enables them to propose a new feature, viz. [+discipline] for corresponding nouns like *musicology, metallurgy, mathematics, meteorology*, etc. Using morphological analysis, they are also able to expand the lists of [+HUMAN] candidates by retrieving words ending in suffixes like *-man (businessman), -woman, -ee (absentee), -ist (theorist, communist)*, or *-ess (abbess)*.

## 15.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, whose publication in 1978 was widely considered to be a landmark in the history of English lexicography. We have discussed the various aspects which made the first edition of this dictionary truly revolutionary. Its double articulation of grammatical codes, based upon the findings of Quirk’s Survey of English Usage, paved the way for systematic descriptions of the syntactic and semantic valencies, not only of verbs but also of nouns and adjectives, which had never been described as comprehensively in other learners’ dictionaries. In this regard, *LDOCE* can certainly be seen as a precursor of Herbst *et al.*’s recent *Valency Dictionary of English* (2004).

The use of a controlled defining vocabulary of around 2,000 words, though controversial at times and fraught with implementation problems, was an attempt to apply a pedagogical perspective to the art of definition writing.

Finally, the availability of the *LDOCE* dictionary in a highly structured computerized format has had a very deep impact upon the computational linguistics community. Scores of academic and commercial research laboratories have been able to use the dictionary database to carry out experiments with a view to overcoming the lexical acquisition bottleneck which plagues every large-scale NLP project even today. The *LDOCE* database, together with WordNet (Fellbaum 1998), is probably the most frequently cited linguistic database in computational linguistics research. The special attention paid by the CL community to computerized versions of learners’ dictionaries undoubtedly testifies to the absence of a clear-cut distinction between computational and pedagogical applications of lexicographical reference works. The various research projects which showed in the 1980s that the *LDOCE* database could be used to produce a totally different kind of lexicon, starting from the notion of meaning and geared towards an

onomasiological organization of the lexicon, also paved the way for Longman's subsequent projects, such as the *Longman Language Activator* (Rundell and Ham 1994). Boundaries between dictionaries and thesauri tend to become blurred once a dictionary is available in machine-readable form and is organized in a database format which is conducive to opportunistic browsing via any arbitrary access key, and not just via the alphabetical ordering of the entries. For all these reasons, 1978 is definitely a key date in the history of lexicography.

# THE COBUILD PROJECT

*Rosamund Moon*

## 16.1 INTRODUCTION

THE key importance of the Cobuild<sup>1</sup> project in lexical computing is that it was the first to use a corpus<sup>2</sup> as a basis for writing a dictionary, and its first publication, the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: *Cobuild1*), can be considered the first corpus-based dictionary of English. Cobuild was a joint initiative between Collins Publishers and the University of Birmingham, and *Cobuild1*, like most other Cobuild texts, was designed for the EFL/ESL market. Work leading to the production of *Cobuild1* required technological and computational innovation: it also required editorial experimentation, with the Cobuild team questioning current lexicographical conventions, and often rejecting them. Amongst the chief characteristics of Cobuild publications are beliefs in the primacy of corpus data, the prioritization of frequency and lexicogrammatical patterning, and discursive full-sentence explanations. The first dictionary was widely criticized, but later widely imitated, particularly in relation to the use of corpus evidence in lexicography: this has become standard practice in Great Britain and indeed much of the rest of the dictionary-producing world. The 1987 publication of *Cobuild1* therefore marks a transition point in the development of lexicography.

This chapter deals with the Cobuild project from 1980, when it began, to 1997, when the Birmingham project team was effectively disbanded.<sup>3</sup> Its main focus,

<sup>1</sup> The acronym Cobuild is formed from COLLINS Birmingham University International Language Database.

<sup>2</sup> In the usual linguistics sense: 'a collection of written or spoken material in machine-readable form, assembled for the purpose of studying linguistic structures, frequencies, etc.' *New Oxford Dictionary of English*, 1998.

<sup>3</sup> Editorial responsibility for Cobuild publications later moved to HarperCollins's dictionaries department in Glasgow, where a smaller range is still produced. The remaining Cobuild staff in Birmingham had all left by 2000.

however, is on the ground-breaking *Cobuild1*: how it was written and what it achieved. My own involvement with Cobuild is that I was part of the project team from 1981 to 1990, rejoining it in 1993, and, in writing this chapter, I gratefully acknowledge the help and advice of former colleagues.

## 16.2 CONTEXTUALIZING COBUILD

This section considers the background to the Cobuild project: the linguistic and academic environment which informed Cobuild's approach, and the lexicographical and commercial environment which made Cobuild possible.

### 16.2.1 *Birmingham, Sinclair, and linguistics*

By far the most important figure in the history of Cobuild is John Sinclair, Professor of English Language at Birmingham from 1965, director of the Cobuild project, and editor in chief of its publications. Sinclair's research, which can be characterized broadly as heuristic and engaged with real language, included pioneering work in spoken language, discourse analysis, and corpus linguistics. It can be situated on a line of development beginning with J. R. Firth and running through Michael Halliday:<sup>4</sup> here an evolving 'tradition in text analysis' put emphasis on authenticity of data, the importance of context, including social context, the inseparability of form and meaning, and the interdependence of lexis and syntax (Stubbs 1993: 13ff.). The last two of these features, in particular, can be observed in the patterning of language, which realizes meaning, with collocation having a central role (cf. Firth 'One of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark*'); all, however, conditioned the development of Sinclair's own approach to lexicography.

One of Sinclair's earliest papers, in a memorial volume for Firth, concerns the study of lexis (1966). He comments that dictionaries and existing resources are inadequate for the investigation of vocabulary:

... if one wishes to study the 'formal' aspects of vocabulary organization, all sorts of problems lie ahead, problems which are not likely to yield to anything less imposing than a very large computer (1966: 410).

<sup>4</sup> Halliday was a former student of Firth; Sinclair was a colleague of Halliday at the University of Edinburgh.

He further points out the impossibility—in 1966—of ‘proving’ the existence of lexical patterns, or identity of lexical items (1966: 412), since all that can be done is to produce examples:

Consequently the theory of lexis is fairly rudimentary; it may satisfy our intuitions but it has not been shown to be valid and we have yet to see what a comprehensive description of the lexis of a language looks like (1966: 412).

He outlines a model of lexis with collocability, not syntax and morphology, at its heart (1966: 419ff.): it involves ‘the lexical *meaning* of items as represented by their collocations’ (1966: 428), and operates by ‘looking for typicality, and rejecting the atypical’ (1966: 418). These notions underpin the Cobuild project, and many of the ways in which lexicographical practice developed at Cobuild, fifteen years later, stem directly from this seminal paper.

The first major project to explore the implications of Sinclair’s model was not, however, Cobuild but a computational, corpus-based investigation of English collocation (1963–69), largely funded by the UK Government Office for Scientific and Technical Information (OSTI): Sinclair was Principal Investigator, Halliday part of its steering committee.<sup>5</sup> Its findings cannot be reviewed here, but, significantly, many of the lexical and collocational phenomena which it describes for a necessarily small number of items were later found by Cobuild to occur across the entire lexicon. These phenomena include the way that collocates cluster and distinguish different uses or ‘senses’ of a word, so that collocation is diagnostic of polysemy; the way that different sets of collocates cluster with particular forms of lemmas; and the existence of a large set of delexicalized (semantically depleted) items which fall between traditional grammatical words (e.g. prepositions, conjunctions) and traditional lexical or content words. These delexicalized items include *think, mean, got, sort, thing*, etc.: the report discusses their behaviour in spoken interaction, where co-textual patterns are typically associated with pragmatic functions (Sinclair *et al.* 2004: 65ff.). The representation of all such links between form, meaning, and function, substantiated by corpus evidence, was to become a key objective in Cobuild lexicography.<sup>6</sup>

During the 1970s at Birmingham, there was ongoing work with corpora under Sinclair’s leadership (Renouf 1987: 1ff.). Early studies produced rich results, demonstrating the potential of corpus data for lexical research, but pointed increasingly to the need for much larger corpora. Benchmark corpora such as

<sup>5</sup> A final report, ‘English Lexical Studies’, by Sinclair, Jones, and Daley was submitted in January 1970, though not formally published at the time. An edition, edited by Krishnamurthy, appeared in 2004, and included an interview with Sinclair where he comments retrospectively on the work.

<sup>6</sup> See Moon (2007) for discussion of Sinclair’s metalexical output in relation to Cobuild.



Brown and LOB, each comprising one million words of text, could only show statistically significant behaviour for relatively few, high-frequency items. However, corpus-building then was both expensive and difficult, and most computational resources and national research funding were concentrated in the sciences. One solution was to look for external funding from industry, and so a collaboration with the publisher Collins began.

### 16.2.2 *The role of Collins*

William Collins and Sons<sup>7</sup> had a long history of publishing dictionaries. Their range had been revitalized in the 1970s by the publication of three innovative, very successful texts. The first, Colin Smith's *Spanish–English Dictionary* of 1971, introduced new methodological principles and was noted for its coverage of slang, neologisms, the Spanish of Latin America, and the conventions of contemporary Spanish as actually used (rather than the variety 'regulated' from Madrid). Collins's lexicographical approach was further developed in a new French–English dictionary of 1978, published jointly with the French publisher Robert, which established a new model for bilingual dictionaries; chief editor for the English side was Beryl T. (Sue) Atkins, Sinclair's sister, who played an important part in the early stages of the Cobuild project, training the team and developing methodology. The third text was the monolingual native-speaker *Collins English Dictionary (CED: 1979)*, edited by Patrick Hanks: Sinclair was general consultant. *CED* shook up the British market by introducing features already familiar to users of American 'college' dictionaries—although *CED* often went further. For example, unlike other British dictionaries of the time, *CED* had a single alphabetical sequence, with derivatives and compounds treated as independent items, not embedded under their first elements; it included encyclopedic entries for people and places, conventionally regarded as real-world items, not part of the lexicon; it had much greater coverage of scientific, technical, and slang items; and it had far fewer metatextual abbreviations. Hanks joined the Cobuild project as manager and editor in 1983.

Collins had already published ELT dictionaries, notably *Collins English Learner's Dictionary* (1974), a relatively simple dictionary of 30,000 headwords, which could not compete with the market leader, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (third edition, 1974) (*OALD3*). The developing global market for monolingual ELT materials meant that the dictionary sector was an obvious

<sup>7</sup> Collins later merged with the American publishers Harper and Row, under the name Harper-Collins, as part of the News International group.

area for investment, and this was underlined by the publication in 1978 of the first edition of the highly innovative and well-received *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (*LDOCE1*). See Cowie (1999), → COWIE for discussion of the historical development of ELT dictionaries; → FONTENELLE for discussion of *LDOCE1*.

Dictionary projects increasingly drew on academic advisers both for practical help and to establish their credentials as authorities on the language. Connections between Collins and Sinclair already existed: Birmingham's English department had a strong reputation for teaching and research in applied linguistics, discourse/text analysis, and descriptive linguistics. A joint venture between Collins and Birmingham therefore seemed entirely logical and mutually beneficial. The University would have the prestige of and funding for a large humanities research project in collaboration with industry, while Sinclair and colleagues would have the means to build a large corpus for lexical research; Collins would have a range of new ELT publications for an important, growing market, with a new flagship dictionary to compete with *OALD3* and *LDOCE1*: one to be driven by technical and methodological innovation, and a completely new appraisal of the language.

## 16.3 FIRST STEPS TOWARDS CORPUS LEXICOGRAPHY

Thus several strands came together in Birmingham, with Collins providing funding, the University the premises, equipment, and academic support. The initial phase of the Cobuild project began in 1980 with corpus development under the leadership of Jeremy Clear; the main lexicographical work began in late 1981, when the existing team of three was joined by nine further researchers. The most obvious achievement of the project's first years was the publication of *Cobuild1* in 1987. However, for this to happen, the team had to develop a new lexicographical methodology. This is discussed in the following sections; the dictionary itself in 16.4.

### 16.3.1 *The corpus*

It had already become obvious at Birmingham that the new corpus would need to be much larger than one million words, to provide the team with enough evidence to cover a central lexicon of current English of 30,000 words or so. In 1966, Halliday had proposed twenty million words as a suitable size for a corpus

to study lexis, collocation, and meaning,<sup>8</sup> but, in 1980, this was still an ambitious target, given the technical limitations of the time, when data was rarely available in a tractable electronic form. The first aim, then, was for a corpus of at least six million words. In actuality, this corpus (*The Birmingham Collection of English Text: BCET*) totalled 7.3 million words by early 1982, and was later supplemented by another thirteen million words, a ‘Reserve Corpus’—thus reaching Halliday’s suggested target. See Renouf (1987) for detailed discussion of BCET; see Clear (1987) for discussion of computational aspects.

### 16.3.2 *The evidence*

In the early 1980s, the team worked off-line, with corpus data in a concordance format, either on microfiche or more usually printout. The kind of evidence confronting the team can be illustrated with the word *immaterial*. The original 7.3 million word corpus had just five tokens, supplemented by a further thirteen in the Reserve Corpus. See Figure 16.1.

A striking pattern emerges, with *immaterial* as a complement, typically of *be*. Pragmatically, even these truncated contexts show that *immaterial* is used primarily to discount something as irrelevant: evaluating it, not describing an intrinsic property. Now that corpora are much larger, this evidence for *immaterial* seems sparse (in comparison, the 450-million word Bank of English, which superseded BCET, has 557 tokens). But for its time, this was rich evidence: the Brown corpus had just two tokens, making it impossible to comment reliably on the word’s behaviour in contemporary English.

Later on, when the Cobuild team began to work online, suites of interactive collocational, profiling, and sampling tools were developed: these simplified

ere the Deutsche Kurzschrift and many more. It is immaterial. In any case Pitman himself was not the k', awarding him with a viscounty. The price was immaterial. Nobody was more cynical about honours ipient and prays Ordination and denomination are immaterial. The charismatic community speak next ere was glass in the upper panels of the door was immaterial as it was opaque, green too. It served nal, it was a material centre of force and yet an immaterial fountain of life. It has its own sui ge

ould withhold those parts of the letter he thought immaterial. As for the army and navy orders, well, if You aren't pleased. I'm sorry I was late," "That's immaterial. I expected you to be late. I expect I'm s whom the difference between spending \$75 or 19c is immaterial. In fact, a dangerous shift from primary c ussion of the merit of the decision quickly became immaterial as the need to start battling again - an immaterial, but the run should always be of 15 minute immaterial for some applications such as pumping water immaterial pattern of energy, throwing off a spray of immaterial: proof that he existed for others was what immaterial quality of simple after-images. Marcus bli view, the area covered by wind turbines is almost immaterial since they tend not to compete with other esty a part of the great conspiracy. It is <P 107> immaterial: the Point is still that "intended serious immaterial what happens to a body after the animal is e it with a vet for disposal. Some people think it immaterial- without being able to distinguish betwe machine- whether by typewriter or microphone was

FIG. 16.1. Concordance for *immaterial*

<sup>8</sup> ‘Some twenty million running words ... would perhaps provide enough occurrences to yield interesting results’ (1966: 159).

many aspects of analysis and allowed the team to process much larger amounts of data. However, it could be argued that the early work, when corpus evidence was only available as static concordances, directly influenced Cobuild's approach to lexicography. The fact that different forms of a lemma were indexed separately made the team aware of different behaviours associated with each form. The fact that concordances showed patterns so clearly made the team prioritize the recording of patterns. The fact that some uses predominated, while others were scarcely found, made the team focus on what Hanks labelled the 'central and typical': cf. Sinclair's characterization of the study of lexis as 'looking for typicality, and rejecting the atypical' (1966: 418). Most prosaically, the physical format, series of fragmented, decontextualized examples, forced the team to concentrate on the evidence: they had literally nothing else to go on.

### 16.3.3 *Exploring the Language*

A metaphor of exploration is not lightly chosen for work at Cobuild in the early 1980s: an immensely creative period. English had been thoroughly described many times, yet the team felt that they were discovering it like a new-found territory, and mapping its features and composition as if for the first time from a scientific perspective. Corpus data provided evidence of how actual language worked ('real English' became a Cobuild slogan), and analyses of words had to correlate with what was observed in data, even where this seemed counterintuitive, or contradicted analyses in other dictionaries. The essential lexicographical task was to approach the data without preconceptions about meanings, functions, collocability, grammar, and importance of target words. This was challenging but also exciting: from this there began to emerge a new description of word behaviour.

As Sinclair's team analysed the corpus data, they recorded findings in a lexical database. This database was broadly structured in dictionary format, with senses differentiated, loosely defined, and illustrated by selected corpus citations; grammatical patterning, collocates, synonyms/antonyms, and pragmatic function were recorded both at sense level and for individual examples. The intention was that the text for *Cobuild1*—and other materials—would be drawn directly from this database. Although the eventual dictionary text would diverge in many respects from the database, its development as a first step allowed the team scope to annotate lexical behaviour with delicacy, as well as freedom to explore techniques of description. See Krishnamurthy (1987) for discussion of compilation procedures for the database and *Cobuild1*.

Of course, not every investigation of every lexical item led to a new set of observations and insights, but many did. Furthermore, there were consistent

kinds of finding, which began to characterize Cobuild lexicography. Amongst the most significant are the following, exemplified for convenience from *Cobuild1*.

First, frequency: BCET provided quantitative information concerning which words and phrases were extant, and, more important, which recurred sufficiently to be included in the planned dictionary. In some stretches of the alphabet, this resulted in quite different headword coverage. For example, *Cobuild1* did not include entries for *U-boat*, *ulcerate*, *ulcerous*, *ulna*, *ultimo* (all in *OALD3* and *LDOCE1*), *ukase*, *ulster* ('overcoat'), *ultra vires* (in *OALD3*), or *ullage* (in *LDOCE1*), though it included adjectival *ulcerated*—synchronically, the dominant form of the verb. Perhaps *U-boat* and *ulna* deserved treatment, but the rest are scarcely attested even in the 450-million word Bank of English. At the same time, *Cobuild1* treated vastly more items with the negative prefix *un-*, which the corpus had in profusion. In the range starting *una-* alone, *Cobuild1* had twenty-three items not in *OALD3*, twenty-one of which were also not in *LDOCE1*: these included *unacceptable*, *unaided*, *unattractive*, *unauthorized*, *unavailable*. Many such formations were high-frequency items, occurring in restricted patterns, and/or with meanings which are only partly compositional.

BCET also provided information about relative frequencies of different senses of words: which ones were found and were worth treating. Significantly, the most frequent senses were often neither the most concrete nor earliest historically—the senses traditionally given first in dictionary entries. For example, metaphorical meanings might be much more frequent than literal ones, as with *reflect/reflection* and *torrent*. In other cases, the most frequent uses were phrasal or delexicalized: instances of the phrase *of course* vastly outnumbered instances of *course* used in reference to education, courses of action, or routes; verbs such as *take* were typically followed either by noun groups which combine to form verbal expressions (*take a look*, *take steps*, *take a deep breath*) or adverbial particles which combine to form phrasal verbs. Concrete, literal, and independent senses of *reflect*, *course*, and *take* were certainly well-attested in BCET, but the weight of corpus evidence led Cobuild to prioritize metaphorical, phrasal, and delexicalized uses, putting them first in both database and dictionary.

Corpus data demonstrated that genuinely ambiguous tokens of polysemous words were rare. Intended meanings were usually inferred with ease from concordance lines (the main exceptions being speech formulae such as *you know* and *well*, where precise meanings are conveyed by intonation). It became clear that ease of disambiguation must result from something in the concordance lines themselves: the forms of object words and the short co-texts on either side. Meanings were thus signalled through lexicogrammatical patterns recurring with particular senses, and through other collocates reflecting semantic field and topic. Hence differences, say, between the nature of the actions involved in *planting* seeds, kisses, ideas, and bombs

are conveyed through the object-collocate. Similarly, the distinction between meanings of *strong*, whereby physically frail people can still be strong supporters or candidates, is carried by the restricted collocational and syntactic patterns associated with the latter use. There were also many cases, such as high-frequency general nouns (*fact, matter, time, way, etc.*), where corpus evidence demonstrated how typically they were used in semi-fixed phraseological units which were neither opaque nor fully compositional, but had particular pragmatic functions. At a theoretical level, this suggested that meaning could not exist in isolation but was the product of context and phraseological selection. At a practical level, it led Cobuild to prioritize the representation of form, phraseology, and context, and would lead eventually to the explanatory techniques developed for *Cobuild1*.

Corpus evidence further demonstrated the impossibility of isolating pragmatics as a separate level of language from grammar and meaning. It became evident that many words, senses, and phrases could only be explained adequately in terms of textual function, whether this was evaluative, expressive, performative, cohesive, or deictic. This too would have an influence on the development of explanatory techniques, so that, for example, *sorry* would be described as a way of apologizing (rather than glossed as regretful), and *thing* as 'a substitute for another [more specific] word'.

Many of the above phenomena had been observed before: some were mentioned by Sinclair in his 1966 paper, or described in the OSTI report. However, nobody before Cobuild had recorded their incidence across a whole lexicon from a basis of corpus evidence, and used this to drive a new lexical description of English, equating the content of a corpus with what should be recorded and explained in a dictionary. There would be far-reaching implications for the text of *Cobuild1*.

## 16.4 THE FIRST DICTIONARY: *COBUILD1*

A substantial proportion of Cobuild's lexical database (see 16.3.3; Krishnamurthy 1987) had already been compiled when team members began preliminary work on editing a dictionary text from database entries for individual words. By this time, it had become clear that there was an extensive mismatch between the way lexis behaved in BCET and the way it was described in existing English dictionaries; equally, that it would be difficult to fit a Cobuild description of lexis into a conventional dictionary structure. Much of the editorial experimentation in the period 1984–86 was therefore occupied with how to stretch the dictionary format to take account of corpus phenomena, particularly where meaning and its interrelationship with phraseology

were concerned. The following sections look at how *Cobuild1* reflects this experimentation. The distinctiveness of its text can be seen in its entry for *wake* (first two senses, and first sense for *wake up*, a secondary headword):

- (1) 1 When you wake or when someone wakes you, you become conscious again after being asleep. EG *I sometimes wake at four in the morning ... He woke me early.*  
 2 The **wake** of a boat or other object moving in water is the track of waves which it makes behind it as it moves through the water. EG *He found her staring at the wake of the boat.*  
 1 When you **wake up** or someone **wakes you up**, you become conscious again after being asleep. EG *Ralph, wake up! ... I woke up to discover he had gone ... They went back to sleep but I woke them up again.*

In contrast are the corresponding senses in *OALD3* and *LDOCE1*, which treated verb and noun uses separately:

- (2) *OALD3*  
 1 [VP2A,C,4B] ~ (**up**), stop sleeping: *What time do you usually ~ (up)? I woke early. Has the baby ~d/ woken yet? He woke with a start. He woke to find himself in prison.* 2 [VP6A, 15B] ~ **sb** (**up**), cause to stop sleeping: *Don't ~ the baby. The noise woke me (up). They were making enough noise to ~ the dead.*  
*n* track left by a ship on smooth water, eg as made by propellers.
- (3) *LDOCE1*  
 1 [T1; Io: (UP)] to (cause to) cease to sleep: *She usually wakes early. | The children's shouts woke us out of | from our afternoon sleep. | (fig.) The noise was loud enough to wake the dead.* –see USAGE  
 1 a track or path, esp. the track left by a moving body (such as a ship) in a liquid (such as water): *the broad white wake of the great ship*

See *Looking Up* (ed. Sinclair 1987) for a fuller account of the compilation of *Cobuild1*, written by project team members. For critical comment, see the reviews, comparing *Cobuild1* and *LDOCE2*, by Carter, Hausmann/Gorbahn, and Fillmore (all 1988) and discussion by Cowie (1999: 148ff.).

#### 16.4.1 *The headword list*

Since *Cobuild1* aimed to cover the central lexicon of current English, it was essential that this lexicon should be identified from corpus evidence. There were interesting consequences. First, the headword list in *Cobuild1* differed, often quite markedly, from that in *OALD3* and *LDOCE1*: cf. the discussion in

16.3.3 of words in the early part of letter *U*. Second, the copious evidence for certain words but not others enabled the team to feel confident about which words needed the most detailed treatment, that is, the central part of that central lexicon, with which learners needed to be fully acquainted. This led to a different use of space in *Cobuild1*, with many entries being much longer than in *OALD3* and *LDOCE*: for example, its entry for *fact* was four times as long, and included treatment of discursual uses and many phrases not found in other dictionaries. Third, even a twenty-million word corpus had little or no evidence for many technical terms and traditional idioms, which left the Cobuild team in something of a quandary: whether to omit them, since, if they were not attested, they were clearly not part of the core lexicon of English, or whether to include them, since learners might be expected to know them. Predictably, Cobuild made some reasonable decisions here (*ukase*, *ullage*) and some poorer ones (*U-boat*).

The most important Cobuild achievements here are its realignment of the lexicon—the set of items recorded in dictionaries with the set of items found to be in actual use—and its quantitatively-based selection of core items to prioritize. Other publishers' dictionaries have followed suit. For example, of *Cobuild1*'s twenty-three 'additional' adjectives beginning *una-*, sixteen were included in *LDOCE3* and all twenty-three in *OALD5*; learners' dictionaries now routinely treat high-frequency items, such as *fact*, in more depth, giving prominence to their pragmatics and phraseologies.

#### 16.4.2 *Form and morphology*

Corpus investigations also helped in identifying items which were morphologically defective, only occurring in one form. These were made headword forms in *Cobuild1*: hence *ulcerated*, not *ulcerate*. Similarly with major meanings/uses of high-frequency words which were limited to one form: for example, *be taken with* 'find attractive' is treated separately from *take*. Where a particular word/sense was typically but not uniquely found in a morphological pattern, *Cobuild1* treated it through grammatical coding, examples, and specification of the pattern in its explanations: see further in 16.4.4.

With simple derivatives—adverbs in *-ly*, nouns in *-ness* and *-ity*, verbal nouns in *-ation*—traditional dictionary practice was to list them, undefined and often unexemplified, at the ends of entries for the words from which they derived. However, corpus evidence showed that, where bases were polysemous, such derivatives often occurred only in some corresponding senses: the adjective *lame*, for example, can describe a limping person/creature, or a feeble excuse, but the adverb *lamely* only relates to the latter, and describes behaviour or



attitude, not disability. The solution adopted in *Cobuild1* was to mention derivatives at the senses to which they related, even if this meant that they appeared multiple times. (Derived forms with distinct meanings—nouns such as *goodness* or *civilization*, disjunct uses of *seriously* and *fortunately*—were given headword status.)

*Cobuild1* also decided to list all inflected forms of each main headword, even where items simply took standard endings (*-s*, *-ed*, *-ing*, etc.) without further spelling changes. Cobuild's rationale was that users would not necessarily know that items *were* regular, and would find the list of forms helpful—and certainly work with younger learners and low-literacy students has consistently shown their problems with inferring and retrieving base forms when looking up inflected forms. There was, however, a cost in terms of the length of the dictionary text.

#### 16.4.3 *Sense distinctions and sequencing*

Corpus observations at Cobuild had led the team towards a different understanding of word meaning, one where sense distinctions were dependent on context and typically signalled through formal distinctions such as collocational and grammatical patterning. But while the linkage between form and meaning seemed increasingly significant, a traditional distinction between homonymy and polysemy, based on etymology, now seemed scarcely relevant at all. It was felt that dictionary users only had information about form, and no prior way of knowing, say, that meanings of *bank* ('financial institution'; 'raised ground') or *skate* ('footwear for moving across ice'; 'fish') were etymologically discrete: there seemed no good reason to treat them as separate headwords. Similarly, by treating together noun and verb uses which were semantically linked—'to move on skates' next to 'footwear ...'—users would have a better overview of the whole lemma. See Moon (1987) for further discussion.

Polysemous words in *Cobuild1* were presented as sequences of numbered senses and subsenses, with corpus frequency generally used to establish the order in which senses, or major groups of senses, were given. This meant that *Cobuild1* often made quite different choices from other dictionaries. For example, the first sense of *receiver* being part of a telephone, not a dealer in stolen property; the first sense of the noun *spring* being the season, not a water source or act of springing; and the first senses of *take* being the delexicalized ones. Similarly with the word *matter*, where corpus evidence suggests that its semantically depleted sense, as a cohesive or general noun, is the most frequent: the following compares the first senses given in *Cobuild1*, *OALD3*, and *LDOCE*:

(4) *Cobuild*:

1 A **matter** is an event, situation, or subject which you have to deal with or think about, especially one that involves problems. EG *It was a purely personal matter ... Will you report the matter to the authorities? ... She's very honest in money matters ... This is a matter for the police.*

(5) *OALD3*:

*n* 1 [U] substance(s) of which a physical thing is made (contrasted with mind, spirit, etc): *organic/inorganic* ~.

(6) *LDOCE1*:

*n* 1 [U] the material which makes up the world and everything in space which can be seen or touched, as opposed to thought or mind.

While Cobuild's policy worked well when words had only two or three meanings, it created problems with heavily polysemous words, especially where there were two or more important groups of uses, or where a single entry had to cover homographs with different pronunciations or inflections, as with *wind* 'current of air' and 'to twist, coil'. Consequently, some of Cobuild's entries became long, overcomplicated, and even confusing (for example, *set*, *light*, *point*), and steps were taken in the second edition to clarify such cases. Other publishers' pedagogical dictionaries have followed Cobuild in using corpus frequency to determine sense sequence, though applied less rigidly; unlike Cobuild, most continue to have separate headwords for etymological homonyms or where items function in different word classes.

#### 16.4.4 *Definitions and explanations*

It had become increasingly obvious to the Cobuild team that traditional dictionary techniques of definition were not really suitable for representing what corpus evidence suggested about meaning—though most definitions in the database and early drafts of dictionary text were relatively traditional. The solution eventually adopted was that of the sentential 'explanation' (as a term, preferred to 'definition'), with the headword or phrase embedded in a full, grammatical sentence:<sup>9</sup>

(7) Something that is **immaterial** is not important or not relevant to what you are talking about.

(8) Days or places that are **sunless** have no sunshine.

<sup>9</sup> This technique had antecedents in children's dictionaries, classroom oral definition, and folk definition, and occasionally English dictionaries of earlier periods.

- (9) **Sunlight** is the light that comes from the sun during the day.
- (10) When the weather is **sunny**, the sun is shining brightly.
- (11) If a place **catches the sun**, it gets a lot of sunshine.

The possibility of using sentential formulae had been discussed—and rejected—during the early stages of the project. However, the idea recurred when Patrick Hanks began worrying at the problem, concerned that selectional restrictions and other semantic and contextual delimiters were being included in the definiens, but properly belonged to the definiendum. A traditional definition of *sunless* might be ‘of days or places, not having sunshine’, but it is the word *sunless* which is tied collocationally to days or places, not the paraphrase. Hanks’s early experimentation was with verbs, specifically *take*, where he grouped together senses with human objects (‘to take someone’) and those without (‘to take something’; ‘to take’). It became clear that this approach could be carried into effect systematically for all entries, and offered a good deal, particularly for specifying collocates and other linguistic and extralinguistic contexts. In the final eighteen months or so prior to completion of *Cobuild1*, a range of techniques was developed. Some represented a simple equation (X is Y, to X is to Y, X means Y):

- (12) **Education** is the system of teaching people, usually at a school or college ...
- (13) To **educate** someone means to teach them over a long period, especially at a school or college ...
- (14) **Educational** means concerned with and related to education.

But many used *if/when* formulae to indicate context, co-text, and idiomaticity, and second person pronouns to indicate human subjects, etc.:

- (15) **Tears** are the drops of salty liquid that come out of your eyes when you are crying ...
- (16) If someone is in **tears**, they are crying ...
- (17) If you **tear** something such as your clothing ... it gets damaged ...
- (18) If someone or something **tears** somewhere, they move very quickly ...
- (19) If you **are torn** between two or more things, you cannot decide which one to choose ...

The possibilities were further exploited for cases where it was important to explain pragmatic function, indicate evaluation, or show grammatical uses:

- (20) You say ‘**Steady!**’ or ‘**Steady on!**’ to someone to warn them to be careful.
- (21) You use **strangely** or **strangely enough** in order to emphasize that what you are saying is surprising and interesting.
- (22) If you describe someone as a **stick-in-the-mud**, you mean that they do not like doing anything that is new or fun; an informal word, used showing disapproval.
- (23) If you do something **with** speed, care, etc., you do it quickly, carefully, etc.

The great advantage of adopting sentential explanations was that it afforded Cobuild a convenient way of representing context, function, and pattern. The disadvantages were the increased length of entries; arguably, the redundancy of introductory formulae (‘An X is a ...’) where items are contextually autonomous; and the inelegance or syntactic complexity of some explanations, though this was partly caused by the final, hurried, editing process. See Hanks (1987) and Sinclair (1991: 123ff.) for discussion of Cobuild explanations; Barnbrook (2002) with respect to an automatic parser for explanations.

One of *LDOCE1*’s great successes had been its restricted defining vocabulary, with items defined through a carefully screened set of about 2,000 words. The original plan was to apply similar controls to Cobuild dictionary text, but less rigidly, so as to take into account the relative frequencies of definienda, with a more extensive vocabulary allowed when explaining rarer items (hence an explanation of, say, *seismic* could include the word *earthquake*, rather than giving a lengthy paraphrase, or without using a cross-reference). In the event, the plan was not adopted, though in practice the vocabulary of most explanations in Cobuild dictionaries fall within a set of about 2,500–3,000 words.

Subsequent learners’ dictionaries emulated *LDOCE1* in introducing strict controls on defining vocabulary, unlike Cobuild. Within those controls, they largely retain traditional definition styles, though occasionally using sentential explanations:

- (24) *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (MEDAL)*:  
**propose** if you propose to do something, you intend or plan to do it.  
**snappy** a snappy title or advertisement is clever and does not use many words.
- (25) *LDOCE4*:  
**drive** if people drive somewhere, they travel somewhere in a car.  
**snappy** a snappy title is short, clear, and often funny.

### 16.4.5 Exemplification

From the beginning, it was planned that illustrative examples in the dictionary—as in the database—should be drawn from the corpus and not invented: it would have been illogical for Cobuild to do anything else, given its data-driven ethos. In the entry for *immaterial*, one example is taken directly from the corpus, the second lightly edited.

- (26) *The price was immaterial . . . Some people think it immaterial what happens to a body after death.*

Cobuild's policy is in the tradition of citation-based dictionaries, especially Johnson and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but deviates markedly from that of pedagogical dictionaries, most general monolingual dictionaries, and bilingual dictionaries. In particular, examples in pedagogical dictionaries are generally intended to have pedagogical roles and provide encoding information through contextualized models of use, including collocates and grammatical structures. Cobuild's rationale was, however, that dictionary users needed to be exposed to examples of typical contexts in which words or phrases were actually used, and that the invented pedagogical examples found in many dictionaries and grammars were often unlikely to occur in natural discourse (see Sinclair (1984) with respect to 'naturalness' in language). In fact, once the technique of sentential explanations was in place, the explanations themselves provided the kind of structural, selectional, collocational, and/or contextual information which other dictionaries embedded in examples. Thus:

- (27) If you **steal** something from someone, you take it away from them without their permission and without intending to return it. EG *My first offence was stealing a pair of binoculars . . . Children often steal.*
- (28) **Sour** milk has an unpleasant taste because it is no longer fresh. EG *This milk's gone sour.*
- (29) A **smart** place or event is connected with people who are wealthy and fashionable. EG *We met at a very smart lunch party . . . . . the smart areas of town, where the diplomatic corps have their houses.*

At their best, *Cobuild's* examples are illuminating and representative. However, some were difficult or odd. Cobuild dictionaries have been criticized for these and, more generally, for not showing collocation clearly enough in examples. In reality, the task of finding suitable examples in BCET was often difficult: examples needed to be freestanding, with a minimum of distracting

information, and to show typical collocates, structures, contexts and register, but few corpus examples show all these at the same time. Subsequently, other publishers' corpus-based dictionaries used corpora to identify typical patterns, on which examples should be based, rather than as a source for actual examples. See Fox (1987) for further discussion of Cobuild's examples.

#### 16.4.6 Grammar

The treatment of grammar in *Cobuild1* was motivated by two concerns: first, that it should reflect the grammatical behaviour observed in the corpus; and second, that it should avoid the complex systems of alphanumeric codes, used in *OALD3* and *LDOCE1*, on the grounds that these were non-intuitive, difficult for users, and, along with other abbreviations, cluttered the text. The problem of cluttering could be avoided, since it was already planned that grammar information would be set in an 'extra column', not in the main text (see 16.4.7); the problem of difficulty could be avoided by developing a system which was as self-explanatory as possible. While labels were abbreviated, most abbreviations were relatively straightforward: V for verbs, N for nouns, PHR for phrases. Verb patterns and phrasal structures were shown in terms of clausal roles, such as object or complement: hence a ditransitive verb was shown as V+O+O, an intransitive verb typically followed by an adverbial as V: USU+A or V: IF+PREP THEN *at*. Noun patterns were also labelled (the corpus had demonstrated just how frequently nouns occurred in restricted patterns) as in N SING: WITH *the*/POSS or N COUNT: USU +*of*. Thus labelling represented formulaically the kind of phraseological patterning observed in the corpus, and reinforced what was encoded into explanations and illustrated in examples: see Sinclair 1987: 104–15. Other publishers' pedagogical dictionaries have also developed simpler coding systems for grammar, and used corpus data to identify grammatical patterns; overall, however, the trend has been towards including less detail altogether.

#### 16.4.7 Typography and the extra column

*Cobuild1* was also distinguished by its physical appearance, though this was motivated by an anticipation of users' needs rather than corpus research. In particular, the comparatively clean appearance of *Cobuild1*, as seen in the entries for *wake* above, was a response to the sheer complexity of the systems of symbols, abbreviations, and brackets in many dictionaries of the early 1980s, along with frequent switches in font, indicating different kinds of information. Cobuild felt

these were disruptive for readers, and especially difficult for those whose first languages were not written in roman scripts.

*Cobuild1* text is characterized by its 'extra column', a slim marginal column to the right of each column of dictionary text. This was used to reduce non-discursive matter in the main text, and it contained grammatical labels and also synonyms, antonyms, and superordinates of senses and phrases, which would provide vocabulary extension information and assist navigation of entries. It certainly helped achieve greater fluidity in the main text, with the extra white space on the page helping visually. But it was not wholly successful: for example, users found the grammar labels obtrusive, and synonyms too haphazard to help with navigation. From the production viewpoint, it was difficult to typeset and took up extra space, which, along with sentential explanations and much longer entries for core items, meant that the published dictionary was significantly larger than its competitors: in order to keep to even 1,703 pages of A–Z text, the planned illustrations had to be omitted. Other publishers' dictionaries have also decluttered texts, introducing navigational devices, secondary colour, and more white space to help design and usability. The extra space for this, and the more extensive treatment of core items, has been created by cutting marginal headwords and senses, and examples for concrete and less common items.

## 16.5 1987 AND BEYOND

For the Cobuild project, 1987 was an important date: *Cobuild1* was published, the first critical responses were received, and Cobuild itself became a limited company and subsidiary of Collins in Glasgow, though still based in Birmingham and part-owned by the University. Meanwhile, work began on expanding the Cobuild range, including an intermediate-level dictionary, a grammar, and a language course.<sup>10</sup> For lexicography, 1987 was equally significant, though the full impact of *Cobuild1* would not become apparent for another few years. The new editions of *LDOCE* published in 1987 and *OALD* in 1989 had introduced changes, but both largely maintained their individual approaches. However, in the late 1980s, other publishers began to get involved in corpus-building, with Longman and Oxford University Press becoming principal players in the British National Corpus initiative, for which the target size was a hundred million words. It became clear that the next round of new dictionaries would use corpus data in some way;

<sup>10</sup> The course was authored by Dave and Jane Willis, drawing on corpus evidence and the *Cobuild1* database.

further, it became clear that Sinclair's empirical approach had been vindicated, and the need to realign the lexicon, as *Cobuild1* had done, had been accepted.

### 16.5.1 *Cobuild2 and the corpus generation*

The extent of Cobuild's influence became particularly apparent in 1995, when, within a period of six months, new editions of *Cobuild*, *LDOCE*, and *OALD* appeared, as well as a new competitor, the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (*CIDE*). All used corpus data, with *LDOCE3* and *OALD5* drawing on the British National Corpus. Meanwhile, Cobuild had built a new, much larger corpus, the Bank of English, to supersede BCET: by 1995, it had reached 211 million words.

*Cobuild1* itself was ready for revision: the end stages of its preparation had been rushed, and there was some justification for Hausmann and Gorbahn's comment that it was 'not yet fully mature' (1988: 44). But *Cobuild2*—in full, *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*—was much more than a simple updating. Every entry was re-examined in the light of evidence in the new corpus, and all examples replaced. One innovation was the labelling of word frequency, with the most frequent items being indicated by five black diamonds, the next most frequent by four, and so on: non-core items, around two-thirds of all headwords, were left unmarked. In most other respects, *Cobuild2* followed the practices established for *Cobuild1*, with words, senses, and phrases identified from corpus evidence. Senses were still organized according to frequency, though subsenses were abolished, and a 'superheadword' status introduced for homonyms such as *bear*, *right*, and *wind*, and complex verbs such as *get*. Definitions continued to be formulated as sentential explanations, and the range of techniques was expanded. For example, the revised entry for *immaterial* made more obvious its discursive usage and the non-literalness of its meaning:

- (30) **immaterial** If you say that something is **immaterial**, you mean that it is not important or not relevant. *Whether we like him or not is immaterial.*

While grammar continued to be shown in the extra column, along with synonyms and antonyms,<sup>11</sup> the system of coding was completely overhauled in favour of a more surface description: all principal patterns found for individual senses and items were shown in examples and represented in codes. For example, the verb *mumble* was labelled as V (= 'intransitive') Vn (= 'transitive') V with quote ('followed by direct/indirect speech') and illustrated with three examples:

<sup>11</sup> The extra column was also used for a label PRAGMATICS, to indicate words and phrases realizing particular discourse functions.



- (31) *Her grandmother mumbled in her sleep ... He mumbled a few words ...  
 'Today of all days,' she mumbled.*

See Clear *et al.* (1996) for discussion of *Cobuild2* in relation to the new corpus.

The 1995 generation of learners' dictionaries has inevitably been the focus of much critical attention. Amongst the most systematic and considered are the reviews by Bogaards (1996) and Herbst (1996), and the collection of comparative studies edited by Herbst and Popp (1999); see also Rundell (1998) for an overview. Many critics focused on user-related issues, such as the accessibility and coverage of the text; *Cobuild2*, for example, was criticized because of complex examples, wordy explanations, and inadequate coverage of noun collocations. But whereas in 1987 some had questioned the use of corpus evidence, by 1995 it was considered a lexicographical norm: significantly, one-sixth of the 2001 edition of Landau's lexicography textbook *Dictionaries* is devoted to corpora.

### 16.5.2 *Some further Cobuild publications*

In the period 1987–98, over fifty Cobuild titles were published, many winning awards: like *Cobuild1* and *Cobuild2*, they were based on corpus evidence and research, and used sentential explanatory techniques. While it is not possible to comment on these in detail, the following briefly indicates something of the range.

The Cobuild project had always been concerned with structure—the correlation between structure and meaning had been central to its lexicography—and it produced two reference grammars as well as smaller texts aimed at classroom use. The first, *Collins Cobuild English Grammar* (1990) can be considered the first corpus-based grammar of English. It was based on a hierarchical, systemic model of language, and illustrated points about structure and behaviour through corpus examples and lists of words realizing those points, as described in *Cobuild1*. The second took a different approach, one driven by the lexicogrammatical patterns which had been recorded for major word classes during the writing of *Cobuild2*. *Collins Cobuild Grammar Patterns* appeared in two volumes: the first (1996) dealt with verb patterns, the second (1998) with nouns and adjectives—this was the final text produced by the Cobuild project in Birmingham. See Hunston and Francis (2000) for a detailed account of pattern grammar, and its implications for a radical model of the construction of text: its influence can be seen in Hoey's work on lexical priming (2005).

The first specialized Cobuild dictionary was the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1989): this included a forty-page supplement explaining the recurrent meanings of adverbs and prepositions in phrasal verb combinations,

for example, the inchoative use of *off* in *kick off*, *lead off*, *spark off*. Its companion text, the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (1995) made a special feature of recording variant forms and recurrent exploitations, explaining pragmatics and evaluative orientation, and labelling frequency.<sup>12</sup> Cobuild's general interest in phraseology and collocation led to the publication of a CD-ROM (1995), which provided collocational data based on a five-million word corpus. Cobuild also developed a separate print text, which presented collocation through series of concordance lines (rather than listing typical collocates in semantic/grammatical categories); however, while much of the text was written, it was later abandoned.

Other published texts included intermediate-level learners' dictionaries, several bilingualized versions of Cobuild dictionaries, two dictionaries for native speakers, and a range of usage guides. There were also plans for an innovative corpus-driven thesaurus for learners, combining observations about collocations, context, and frequency with discursive explanations of meaning distinctions; but, like the collocations dictionary, it was abandoned half-finished in 1997, when most Cobuild team members were made redundant, and the research-led project in Birmingham came to an end.

## 16.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COBUILD

In writing this chapter, my intention has been to describe and explain what the Cobuild project did: what Sinclair and the team found when they used a corpus to investigate English, how this affected decisions taken in writing *Cobuild1*, and how this has affected, directly or indirectly, the subsequent development of lexicography (not least by Cobuild lexicographers moving to other publishers). Cobuild under Sinclair pioneered corpus lexicography, and others have followed. It could be argued that Cobuild's status as pioneer was an accident of timing: Sinclair was already involved in using corpora to study lexis, but if Collins had not funded the Birmingham project, then someone else somewhere would eventually have exploited corpus linguistics to write a new description of a language. Their approach might well have been different, but, crucially, their findings would have been similar: that there is a mismatch between the way in which lexis behaves, as demonstrated repeatedly in different corpora, and the impression of lexical behaviour presented in pre-corpus dictionaries.

<sup>12</sup> This drew on my own corpus-based doctoral research, reported in Moon 1998, which in turn had drawn on observations made during the writing of *Cobuild1*.

*Cobuild1* was not only innovative but radically innovative, and, unsurprisingly, not everyone liked its innovations. Critics have, for example, queried Cobuild's perspective on language and lexicographical practices; or commented on awkward, unclear, and inaccurate dictionary entries, and missing words, senses, phrases, or structures (as indeed they do with other dictionaries). The question is, however, whether this is a matter of poor execution on the part of Cobuild lexicographers or of fundamental flaws in policy and underlying theory. Other learners' dictionaries have developed policies differently: largely retaining non-sentential definitions, preferring modelled examples to citations, and simplifying grammatical notation. At the same time, their coverage of the English lexicon, and proportions of coverage allocated to different words and lexical phenomena, have shifted, now chiming with those in *Cobuild1*. Meanwhile, other dictionary projects, bilingual and monolingual, have adopted corpus methodologies.

Ultimately, the Cobuild project is important because it forced a change in the procedures of language description, in dictionaries and elsewhere within linguistics. Before Cobuild, a satisfactory dictionary entry was one which was intuitively sound, clear to the user, and supported by the available citation evidence and entries in other dictionaries. After Cobuild, the entry had additionally to be consistent with corpus data; if an entry did not fit the data satisfactorily, it needed reformulation, just as if theories do not fit data, they have to be replaced. In 1987, the onus was to prove that a corpus enabled better dictionaries; now, the onus would be to prove that intuition and serendipitous evidence can provide equally coherent descriptions of the lexicon, including the core lexicon. This underlines the power of Sinclair's vision, and, in particular, his insistence on putting the data first, not received ideas and preconceived theories. However corpus lexicography develops in the future, Cobuild's role as a catalyst is clear, and imperfections in its dictionaries are less significant than what it prompted other projects and dictionaries to do.

# DICTIONARIES IN ELECTRONIC FORM

*Hilary Nesi*

## 17.1 INTRODUCTION

THE term *Electronic dictionary* can be used to refer to any data collection in electronic form concerned with the spelling, meaning, or use of words. Although this broad definition can be taken to include machine-readable databases used by language researchers, and glossaries, translators, and spell-checkers incorporated into educational or office software, this chapter will focus on the history of more complete lexical reference tools, and particularly on monolingual or bilingual dictionaries intended for use by English speakers—whether natives or foreign learners. It will consider electronic learners' dictionaries accessible via handheld mobile devices, laptop or desktop computers, and the Internet.

## 17.2 THE EARLY USE OF COMPUTERS IN LEXICOGRAPHY

Computers were first employed in lexicography in the 1960s. As associate editor of the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (1966) Laurence Urdang designed a database system to categorize and sort units of dictionary information (for which he coined the term 'dataset'). Definitions could thus be extracted according to subject field, and alphabetical ordering could be achieved automatically, freeing lexicographers to work from a thematic perspective (Urdang 1966; Logan

1991; Cowie 1999: 120). Computer typesetting was still in its infancy, however, and the final electronic version had to be keyed in from a paper version rather than being transferred directly to the printer (Logan 1991: 351; Kilgarriff 2005: 786). At around the same time the Lexicographic Project at System Development Corporation in Santa Monica, California, were creating magnetic tape versions of the paper-based *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* and the *New Merriam-Webster Pocket Dictionary* (Olney *et al.* 1967; Revard 1968). Machine-readable dictionary texts were used for research into natural language processing (Markowitz *et al.* 1986), although in time it became clear that traditional dictionaries did not contain enough information to make adequate lexical databases for this purpose (Zaenen 2002).

Advances in technology in the 1970s encouraged a more extensive use of computers in lexicographical projects. Computer-based compilation systems were employed to sort and check entries in both the first *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE) (1978), perhaps the first truly computerized dictionary, widely distributed to universities and research centres for use as a resource for lexical studies (→ FONTENELLE), and in the first edition of the *Collins English Dictionary* (1979), which was particularly notable for its improved page layout, achieved through innovative use of computerized typesetting in place of conventional hot metal or film printing methods (Kilgarriff 2005: 786). Corpus lexicography began in the early 1980s, with the inauguration of the COBUILD project (Sinclair 1987) (→ MOON) eventually leading to the publication of the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary* in 1987.

Lexicographic information in machine-readable form became increasingly available to lexicographers and researchers. Dodd (1989: 85) names the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (1984) as 'probably the last large European dictionary to be completed using exclusively the traditional methods of handwritten slips and letterpress composition and printing', and at the 1981 symposium 'Lexicography in the Electronic Age' it was claimed that 'at some point in the production—at the composing and proofreading stage—practically all books and other texts will have been stored in a machine-readable form, e.g. on punched tape, magnetic tape or disc' (Norling-Christensen 1982: 213). The use of computers in the process of book preparation had huge implications for dictionary publishers, who could revise, modernize, and combine dictionary material more quickly and easily than ever before, but, as Hartmann pointed out at the same symposium, it had little impact on ordinary dictionary users. According to Hartmann, 'most of these have had no experience of the sort of gadgets we have talked about, nor are they likely to have the opportunity in the foreseeable future to benefit from them' (Hartmann 1982: 255). As it happened, the first attempts to provide users with reference material in electronic form were made not by the dictionary publishing houses but by the designers and suppliers of consumer electronics.

### 17.3 HANDHELD ELECTRONIC DICTIONARIES

Early electronics companies had begun working on the development of handheld gadgets for use in business and the sciences at around the same time as computers were first being used to support dictionary compilation. Kay's concept of the *Dynabook* (1968), envisaged as 'a portable interactive personal computer, as accessible as a book' (Kay and Goldberg 1977; Wilson 2001), was the forerunner of the modern personal digital assistant (PDA). This took many years to develop, however, and was preceded by the first commercial handheld electronic calculator, the *Canon Pocketronic*, in 1970–71, and Hewlett-Packard's *HP-65* calculator in 1974, the first calculator with removable storage. The *Xerox NoteTaker*, a suitcase-sized portable computer based on the *Dynabook* design, appeared in 1976 (Koblentz 2005).

The first electronic 'dictionaries' with interfaces designed for human users were an offshoot of calculator and PDA technology, and became available in 1978. These were the *LK-3000* produced by the Lexicon Corporation, Florida (the rights were acquired by Nixdorf (now Siemens) in 1979), the *Craig M100* produced by the Craig Corporation, Japan, and *Speak & Spell*, an educational toy produced by Texas Instruments. The *LK-3000*, also known as the *Lexicon*, was designed in 1976 and patented in 1979 as an 'electronic dictionary and language interpreter' (US patent number 4158236). Housed in a small (159 × 102 mm) case, it had a 33-button keyboard and a 16-character screen to display equivalencies between words in English and a number of other languages (initially French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish). The language translation facilities (one or two thousand words for each language) were sold separately in removable cartridges. Garfield (1979: 277) complained that the *Lexicon* word-lists had not been compiled with reference to frequency, and that it lacked 'some of the most obvious and necessary words'. He also found that only single-word translations were given for word forms with more than one meaning, such as *watch* (both noun and verb were translated as *montre* in French). Nevertheless, Garfield thought the *Lexicon* a 'marvellous technological feat' (1979: 279), and according to Koblentz (2005: 6) the device was selected as the official translation tool for the 1980 Olympics, and was considered so powerful that it was used by the US National Security Agency as the basis for developing a handheld encryption tool. The *Craig M100*, launched shortly after the *Lexicon* in 1978, had a similar design but 'a wider, more complete vocabulary than the *Lexicon*' and the ability to translate to and from three languages simultaneously (Garfield 1979:

277). About 200,000 *Lexicon* and *Craig* translators were sold worldwide in 1979 (Garfield 1980: 574).

While the *LK-3000* and the *Craig M100* matched translation equivalents, *Speak & Spell* drew on new developments in computer-based speech synthesis to link lexical input to speech data. The first text-to-speech system for English had been created in Japan in 1968, and had been further developed at the Bell Laboratories in the early 1970s (Klatt 1987: 757). In 1976, the *Kurzweil Reading Machine* for the blind had put the technology to practical use (Klatt 1987: 756) and, recognizing the potential of speech synthesis for language learning, Texas Instruments went on to design *Speak & Spell*, a toy to help children learn commonly misspelled words. *Speak & Spell* had a 40-button keyboard and an 8-character display screen. Ten different cartridge libraries were available, each containing about a thousand words at various levels of difficulty, from basic function words to homonyms. The words were stored in the same way that a calculator stores numbers, processed through an integrated circuit model of the human vocal tract, and pronounced in standard American English (Woerner 2001; Maxey 2006). Texas Instruments went on to produce *Speak & Spell* models for the French, German, Spanish, and British English markets, and also *Speak & Read* (first appearing in 1980), which used an electronic voice and programmed activities to help children build their reading skills. *Speak & Read* had eight different cartridge libraries, to practise about a thousand lexical items from basic rhyming words (at level one) to silent letter combinations (at level three) (Woerner 2001).

*Speak & Spell* became a design classic, and versions continued to be produced until 1992. The *Speak & Spell* automated voice featured in electronic dance music of the 1980s, and the device appeared in Steven Spielberg's *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982) as the toy that E.T. adapted to 'phone home' (Woerner 2001).

Texas Instruments used *Speak & Spell* speech synthesis technology when it moved into the market for handheld translating devices in 1979. *The Language Tutor* (renamed the *Language Translator* the following year) translated between several European languages but was technically identical to *Speak & Spell*, although it retailed at a much higher price. A cheaper version without the speaker, called the *Language Teacher*, was introduced in 1980 (Woerner 2001). Each language module for the *Language Tutor* was sold separately, with no cross-referencing between modules and quite a limited range of lexical items. The French/English module, for example, stored 360 individual words and seventy-eight phrases that could be spoken and displayed, and an additional 239 words which appeared on screen but were not pronounced.

The *Language Translator* was closely followed by other speaking translators produced by Sharp Electronics and Matsushita Electric, the parent company of

Panasonic (Berger 1979), and in the 1980s other major electronics companies such as Casio, Franklin, and Seiko also began developing speaking dictionaries. Cator (1983: 197) observed that ‘manufacturers from vending machines to automobiles are literally racing each other to produce the first integrated speech synthesizers in their products’.

Other advances in the 1980s included the development of spell-checking functions, first used in text-processing systems such as IBM *Displaywriter*, launched in 1980 (IBM Archives, undated), and *SpellStar*, an add-on to Micro-Pro’s popular *WordStar* word processing program. In 1986, Franklin Electronic Publishers produced the *SA-88 Spelling Ace*, billed as ‘the world’s first portable spell checker’. The *Spelling Ace* was a word list rather than a dictionary, but it recognized many erroneous ‘phonetic’ spellings (such as g-e-r-a-f for *giraffe*) and for spell-checking purposes this gave it an obvious advantage over paper-based dictionaries. With the success of this product Franklin moved out of the desktop computer business to concentrate on handheld electronic devices. It still produces *Spelling Ace* (now with an additional thesaurus function and games, exercises and study-list creation features) as part of its sizeable current range of electronic reference products including children’s dictionaries, speaking dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries, and ‘travel translators’.

Although handheld dictionary technology continued to improve, drawing on new developments in graphical gaming devices such as those featured in Nintendo’s *GameBoy* (a handheld console launched in 1989), capacity was still relatively limited. Manufacturers began exploring additional means of storing dictionary information, on removable IC (Integrated Circuit) cards, which had been developed at Honeywell Bull in the 1970s, and on CD-ROMs, launched by Philips and Sony in 1984. Small (8cm) CD-ROMs were used to store reference works for the Sony *Data Discman*, a development of the *Dynabook* concept with a 10-line LCD screen, first marketed in Japan in 1990. The more powerful Sony *Bookman* which came out in 1992 used cartridges to store texts, and nowadays its descendant, the *eBookman*, a palm-sized PDA, stores some lexicographical material on memory cards but offers many additional electronic dictionaries for download from the Internet. Titles for the modern *eBookman* (produced by Franklin since 1995) include dictionaries in the Oxford, Merriam-Webster, Collins GEM, and Klett-Pons series.

Sharpe (1995) provides an overview of the range of electronic dictionary types available in Japan in the mid-1990s. He identifies six broad categories:



- A portable handheld dictionaries, which could be as small as a bank card or a pocket calculator, with data held on IC cards. Some of these offered audio pronunciation (via headphones)
- B electronic notebooks, 'an expanded version of A offering extra-linguistic functions'
- C CD-ROM dictionaries, with either 12 cm disks to use with a desktop computer, or 8cm disks to use with a portable electronic book such as the *Data Discman* or *Datapress* (National Panasonic)
- D dictionary software for use on a desktop computer
- E dictionaries on floppy disk to use with an electronic notebook, such as the Toshiba Xtend PN10. These had a smaller storage capacity than dictionaries of types C and D but data could be transferred from the notebook to a compatible PC
- F a dictionary in a small desktop device linked to a handheld OCR scanner. The user could input the search word via a keyboard, or scan it in

The *Canon Wordtank IDX-7500* (1993) is described in particular detail by Sharpe. This was a popular type-A dictionary which could be opened like a book, 'about the size of two cigarette packets', with a 9cm by 4cm screen and a 16MB memory capacity. This device contained three interconnected dictionaries (Japanese–English, English–Japanese, and kanji–Japanese), a last look-up recall function, and a 'Word Memo' mode to record and test word knowledge. It was also possible to expand the database by adding extra IC cards containing lexical and language information such as example sentences, synonyms and antonyms, or lists of business terms.

Bolinger (1990: 145) predicted that the 'hand-held computer' would eventually supersede dictionaries in the traditional book format. This prediction was quite daring at the time, as the manufacturers seemed to be more concerned with technological innovation than with lexicographical information, and on the whole handheld electronic dictionaries had escaped the attention of metalexigraphers. When reviewed at all, evaluations tended to be negative. Sharpe (1995: 48), for example, complained that most handheld electronic dictionaries in Japan did not expand much on the content of their printed sources, despite the potential of IC cards to store a much greater range of grammatical and lexical information. Taylor and Chan found that only 28 per cent of handheld electronic devices they surveyed at the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong provided examples of word use, in addition to direct Chinese–English translation (1994: 600). The twelve Hong Kong teachers they interviewed preferred their students to use printed dictionaries. Similarly, Koren (1997) reported that Israeli schools rejected electronic dictionaries as a matter of policy, because most of them did not

contain 'types of information such as varieties of word meanings, word families, parts of speech, tense, usage and idioms, etc.' Taylor and Chan also reported that, in 1992, the Hong Kong consumer council had filed thirty complaints about handheld electronic dictionaries, relating to such faults as inaccurate spelling, poor pronunciation, and limited vocabulary.

However, as the technology became more sophisticated, as respected publishing houses produced more electronic publications which could be made available for download, and as the memory size of handheld devices increased, the traditional divide between the dictionary in a mobile device (intended for quick reference in practical contexts) and the academic dictionary (prized for the quality of its lexicographic information) began to disappear. Electronics companies gradually began to purchase licences for established lexicographical products, such as Collins COBUILD, Longman, and Oxford dictionaries, adding to these resources the benefits derived from the latest technical inventions. The electronic licensing partner list for Oxford University Press, for example, now includes AOnePro, Canon, Casio, Franklin, Seiko, Sharp, and Sony (for handheld electronic dictionaries and PDAs), Enfour (for Internet-enabled mobile phones), and C-Pen and WizCom (for reading pens).

Yagi and Nakanishi (2003) distinguish between the first generation 'partial content' electronic translators, which only installed a small proportion of the headwords and definitions contained in a printed dictionary source, and the second generation 'full content' devices, which provided the full texts of published print dictionaries, including example sentences. According to Nakamura (2003: 346), Seiko Instruments was the first company to produce a second generation device. The Seiko *TR-700*, published in 1982, enabled users to search the entire contents of an English–Japanese Dictionary, a Japanese–English Dictionary, and Roget's Thesaurus. Seiko later manufactured the first monolingual English learners' dictionary to appear in the handheld electronic format, the *Hand-Held Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995), based on the second edition of *LDOCE*, although this was only marketed in Japan. Developments in compression and decompression technology have since made it possible to store and integrate an ever larger quantity of full-content dictionaries. The Seiko *SR-T6500*, for example, produced in 2003, contained nine full-text dictionaries despite being only a third of the size and weight of the old *TR-700* (Nakamura 2003: 346). Nakamura reports on the trend towards integrating as many as thirty dictionaries in one device, with a 'jump function' that allows users to highlight an unknown word in a definition in one dictionary, and jump to another dictionary to look up the meaning. 'This kind of function makes it easier for English learners

to access English–English dictionaries, because of the instantaneousness and accessibility of the other bilingual dictionaries’ (Nakamura 2003: 349).

Nowadays many handheld electronic dictionaries offer natural-sounding voice simulation, pronunciation of extended text, and speech recognition to translate between languages. The most recent, such as the Besta *CyberDict VIII*, also include video sequences for English language learning, and stylus and touch panel handwriting recognition (the system ‘learns’ to respond to the user’s individual handwriting style). The latest speech recognition facilities are a step towards Crystal’s ‘ideal lexicographical world’ (1986: 79), where a database is addressed through a voice-activated terminal. The usefulness of Sobkowiak’s proposed phonetic-access dictionary ‘beyond the year 2000’ (1994: 509), in which ‘the isolated spoken word is looked up directly in a phonetically transcribed lexicon’ has been queried by metalexigraphers such as Koren (1997) because success depends on the user’s ability to pronounce the search word correctly. Current handheld dictionary manufacturers try to turn this difficulty to their advantage, however. Ectaco advertises its *Partner EC800* ‘talking dictionary’ by pointing out that speech recognition enables users to practise their pronunciation skills: ‘Test your pronunciation by trying to speak out a phrase in the foreign language and see if the *Partner* understands you. If it does, then everyone else would understand your speech too!’

A further development in handheld dictionary technology has been the so-called ‘reading’ pen. Fuji Xerox first marketed *Hyper Synony*, a bilingual English–Japanese electronic dictionary with scanning capability, in 1992 (Sharpe 1995: 41). This early device was about the size of a modern laptop and was wired up to a separate handheld scanner, but in the late 1990s the Israeli company WizCom Technologies developed a pen-shaped dictionary which scanned words on the page and showed their most common translations or definitions on an integral screen. The first WizCom reading pen was marketed in Europe in 1997 (Koren 1997), and was shortly followed by the *C-Pen*, a similar product developed by a Swedish company (C Technologies AB 1999; Bergeron 2001). WizCom’s *Quick-Link* and *Quicktionary* pens and the *C-Pen* continue to be developed and are sold in a number of different versions, some of which are able to store and retrieve previous search words, read scanned text and definitions aloud, and transfer scanned text directly to PC or PDA applications. WizCom’s *Quicktionary II Genius*, for example, launched by Taishukan Publishing Company in Japan in 2003, contained the *Genius English–Japanese Dictionary* (third edition) and offered users the choice of condensed and expanded formats of each dictionary entry: ‘the option of viewing a quick explanation or full definition of any scanned word’ (WizCom 2003a). The *English Reading Pen*, targeted at users with reading

disabilities and launched in London in 2003, contained the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary (COD)* (tenth edition), and had a 'test mode' feature to block dictionary access during exams, while permitting the user to scan words and hear them spoken aloud (WizCom 2003b). The WizCom *SuperPen Professional Complete English Dictionary Pen* (2006) offers the texts of nine Houghton Mifflin reference works (such as the Office Edition of the fourth *American Heritage Dictionary*), has text-to-speech capability, and can capture, store, and transfer up to 1,000 pages of printed text.

Despite these huge increases in capability, the small dimensions of the hand-held computer screen still mean that the user cannot see the full range of information available in a longer dictionary entry without scrolling down the page, and can rarely view a number of entries simultaneously. There have been big improvements in this respect: first-generation Casio dictionaries could display only two lines, with only twelve characters per line, but, by 2003, some models could display up to fifty-two characters per line, and up to seventeen lines of scrolling text (Yagi and Nakanishi 2003). In 2003, however, Casio was still aiming 'to overcome its disadvantage of less information at a glance compared with the conventional printed dictionary' (Yagi and Nakanishi 2003: 344). Some recent handheld dictionaries have five-inch screens, but any further increase in size would severely limit portability. The *Sharp PW-C8000* (2004) appears to be unique in offering the option to connect to a television set to view its reference material, but this may not be the ideal display mode for most dictionary users, who are probably more inclined to consult their dictionaries while reading and writing at their computers than when sitting in front of their TVs.

## 17.4 DICTIONARIES ON DISK

Teachers have generally preferred the dictionary on disk to the handheld device. Handheld devices are designed for private use; they are relatively expensive and are generally purchased by individuals rather than the educational institutions. Disks, on the other hand, can be manufactured cheaply, and under site licence the dictionary content can be installed on many different machines, or distributed via a local area network. Moreover the computer screen is large enough to enable several students (and their teacher) to view and discuss a dictionary entry together, a feature that Guillot and Kenning (1994) appreciated when trialling the *Robert Électronique* in class.

In the 1980s, the price of hardware fell dramatically and there was an urgent need for good-quality educational software to use with microcomputers in schools and universities. Educators such as Shaw (1981: 181), for example, lamented the lack of computer-based materials for UK schools, specifying that: 'programs must be portable and well-documented so that they can be readily installed on a variety of computers'. Dictionaries on disk met this requirement, and the storage medium appealed to publishers because it enabled them to develop, describe, and market their electronic dictionaries independently of the electronic goods manufacturers, on the basis of the quality of the lexicography rather than any gadgetry.

A few dictionaries were published on 3.5" floppy, such as the *Collins English Dictionary* (1991), the *Longman Dictionary of American English for Microsoft Windows* (1994) and the *Electronic Oxford Wordpower Dictionary* (1995), but the CD-ROM was generally the disk format of choice, because of its capacity (a 12cm CD-ROM could hold about 150,000 print pages). The most important lexicographical work to be transferred to disk was the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* (→ WEINER, Vol. I). A CD-ROM of the twelve-volume 1928 edition appeared in 1988 (Kaye 1989, Milic 1990) and this was followed by a CD-ROM of the twenty-volume second edition (1989) in 1992, updated in 1999 and again in 2002. The original transfer process was described by Jackson (2002: 57) as a 'massive undertaking, involving collaboration between the International Computaprint Corporation in Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, the University of Waterloo in Canada, IBM United Kingdom Ltd and Oxford University Press'. The typeface was of too uneven quality to be scanned, so that more than 120 people were employed to key in text, with fifty more to check their work.

Search routes through the first *OED* on CD-ROM were facilitated by recent developments in hypertext applications (Stubbs 1985; Raymond and Tompa 1988). Dictionaries have an inherent hypertextual structure and they are intended to be read non-sequentially, following routes dependent on the user's consultation needs, so hypertext proved to be an ideal way to navigate lexicographical data. It permitted the user to jump from one part of a publication to another, and (in later publications) to jump between reference works, or between a dictionary and whatever online text(s) the user was reading or writing at the time. Having been manually compiled, however, the *OED* posed some hypertext linking problems. The volumes had originally been created in alphabetical order, and there were more cross-references in the later volumes than in the early volumes, because compilers 'were more likely to cross-reference existing entries than the still uncompiled ones' (Raymond and Tompa 1988: 875). It turned out to be much easier to create interfaces for electronic versions of more recent print-based

dictionaries, thanks to the computer-assisted compilation methods that had been developed in the 1960s and 1970s.

Many more monolingual native-speaker English language dictionaries appeared on CD-ROM in the 1990s, including *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, third edition (1992), *Webster's New World College Dictionary*, third edition (1994), *The Chambers Dictionary* (1994), *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, second edition (1996), *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary*, tenth edition (1996), *Infopedia UK* (1996), and *COD* (ninth edition 1997; tenth edition 1999).

Jackson (2002: 70) describes the range of search functions available for these dictionaries, from the simplest which simply linked the search word and the relevant entry (as in *Infopedia UK*), to the more sophisticated which offered the option to search the full dictionary text, and employ wildcards and Boolean operators (as in *COD9* and *10*). As with many second-generation handheld electronic dictionaries, *Infopedia UK* offered limited search facilities but a wide range of sources, being a compendium of the *Longman Dictionary of the English Language*, the *Bloomsbury Thesaurus*, and various encyclopedic reference works, together with photographs, audio clips, video sequences, and maps. At the other end of the scale *COD9* and *10* contained only the text of *COD*, but at least offered complex full-text searches. Jackson notes, however, that *COD9* was a more sophisticated tool for lexical research than the *COD10*, produced two years later. This was because the earlier version included 'filters' to limit the full text search to headwords, definitions, idioms, phrasal verbs, or etymology, thus making it possible, for example, to search for groups of words such as all the phrasal verbs formed with *up* as their adverbial particle (Jackson 2002: 71).

*COD10* introduced a 'quick search' facility which enabled users to call up dictionary entries by double-clicking on words in an onscreen text. This idea was developed further by Oxford University Press and other dictionary publishers through the adoption of *iFinger*, a search and presentation engine. Once the dictionary was installed on the user's hard drive the *iFinger* software enabled a pop-up window to appear whenever a word was typed into the input field box, or whenever the cursor was moved over the word on a web page or in any Windows-based program. *iFinger* technology became a feature of many dictionaries on CD-ROM, including the *PONS Lexiface* bilingual dictionary series, the *Prisma Digitaal Woordenboek* bilingual dictionary series, the *Merriam-Webster* series, and the *Pop-up New Oxford Dictionary of English on CD-ROM* (2001). It has also functioned in multiple title packages such as the *Oxford Pop-up Reference Shelf on CD-ROM* (2000) and the *Oxford World English Dictionary Shelf on CD-ROM* (2002). With *iFinger* searches can take place across multiple reference works at once, with the results presented in a single window. Another lexicographical tool,

*BOOKcase*, gave access to external programs, such as Internet search engines, and also integrated separate but complementary electronic reference works, allowing several to be open at the same time. *BOOKcase* has been used to provide joint access to a number of dictionaries, including those in the Routledge bilingual *Technical Dictionary* series (Quervel 1998; Croese 1998), the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* on CD-ROM (2000), and the *Cambridge Learners' Dictionary* on CD-ROM (2001) (Tsai 2002), and also the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD)* on CD-ROM (2000) and the *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture* on CD-ROM (1999) (Rizo-Rodriguez 2004: 40).

The first English learners' dictionary on CD-ROM was the *Longman Interactive English Dictionary (LIED)* in 1993. This was followed by *Collins COBUILD on CD-ROM* in 1995 and the *Longman Interactive American Dictionary (LIAD)* in 1997. All three were compilations of earlier print-based sources. LIED was made up of four volumes: the *Longman Dictionary of Language and Culture*, a dictionary of common errors, a pronunciation dictionary, and an English grammar. The *COBUILD* and *LIAD* CD-ROMs each contained three volumes: a dictionary, an English grammar, and a usage guide (in the case of *COBUILD*) or a dictionary of common errors (in the case of *LIAD*). LIED and *LIAD* also provided audio files and a series of mini dramas on video, and *Collins COBUILD on CD-ROM* included a previously unpublished Word Bank of five million words. In each case the component volumes were cross-referenced to each other, and when consulting one component the user might be directed to additional information about meaning, pronunciation, grammar, or use to be found in the companion sources. Cross-referencing was often problematic, however, because the printed books, which had originally been created independently of one another, had different numbering systems, different cross-referencing systems, and different levels of coverage of the same words (Nesi 1996). As Seedhouse (1997) comments of *Collins Cobuild on CD-ROM*, 'the rationale ... seems to have been roughly "Stick all the products we already have on a CD-ROM and let's hope somebody can find a use for it".'

These first monolingual learners' dictionaries on CD-ROM were very experimental; the innovations were exciting but the defects were many, especially as far as cross-referencing was concerned. Some publishers opted for a simpler format after this disappointing phase: *Collins COBUILD edict* (1998) lacked the earlier grammar and usage components and did not include the Word Bank, and the first learners' dictionaries on CD-ROM from Oxford University Press, the *Oxford Interactive Wordpower Dictionary* (1998) and *OALD5* and *6* (1995 and 2000), were single-title publications. Newcomers to the market, the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English on CD-ROM* (2000) and the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (MEDAL)* on CD-ROM (2002), were also based on single print-based

sources. Longman continued with multi-title products, however, producing an updated version of *LIED* in 2000 and combining *LDOCE* with the *Longman Language Activator* in 2003. *Collins COBUILD III on CD-ROM* reintroduced the earlier COBUILD characteristics in 2001, adding a concordancer to enable searches of the Word Bank. Two recent products, the *Phrasebuilder Genie* (2004) and the *Oxford Compass* (2005) combine *OALD* material with other titles: the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* in the *Phrasebuilder Genie* and the *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture* in the *Oxford Compass*.

As noted by Jackson (2002: 141), monolingual learners' dictionaries on CD-ROM have tended to exploit the potential of the electronic medium more extensively than native-speaker dictionaries. Rizo-Rodriguez (2004: 39) lists some of their characteristic features:

- Advanced search modes with wildcards, Boolean operators, filters, and in some cases a thesaurus function (see, for example, the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English on CD-ROM* (2000) as described by Tsai 2002)
- Internal links to word-processing applications and other computer software, allowing users to copy text from dictionary to document
- Access to a pop-up dictionary window from the text, and, more recently, 'intelligent look-up', whereby the software selects an appropriate dictionary entry on the basis of linguistic clues (see, for example, the *Oxford Advanced Genie* (2002) and the *Oxford Phrasebuilder Genie* (2003) as described by Tsai (2004))
- The possibility of cutting, pasting, and printing dictionary material
- Instant look-up of words in dictionary definitions and examples, by clicking on them on the screen
- Dictionary annotation features (see, for example, *MEDAL* on CD-ROM, 2002)
- Audio recordings of headwords, and in some cases the opportunity for users to record and replay their own pronunciations
- A 'history' function, that enables users to review the results of previous searches
- 'Banks' of text (as in the *COBUILD* CD-ROMs) or of phrases and examples (as in *LDOCE4*)
- Options to show or hide entry features, so that more or less information is revealed
- Pedagogical extras such as games, exercises, illustrations and video.

Perhaps the most interesting of these developments is the provision of new search modes, enabling many of the 'fuzzy matching' search types envisioned by Dodd



(1989: 89). Dodd had foreseen that electronic dictionaries of the future might allow users to find a word which:

- 'sounds like A'
- 'rhymes with B'
- 'is spelt like C'
- 'has an etymology of D'
- 'dates from year/century E'
- 'is used in the style of F'
- 'is used in technical field G'
- 'is an antonym of H'
- 'is a synonym of I'
- 'is a hyponym of J'
- 'is a superordinate of K'
- 'includes the word(s) L in its definition'
- 'is of grammatical class M', and
- 'has syntactic valency or pattern N'.

Phonetic transcription to search for headwords (Dodd's search route A) first became possible with the 'Sound Search' facility in the *MEDAL* CD-ROM (2002) and *Macmillan Essential Dictionary for Learners of English* CD-ROM (2003), but even the earliest monolingual learners' dictionaries on CD-ROM provided wildcards to help with search routes A, B, and C. The first *LIED* and *COBUILD* CD-ROMs also provided lists of homophone pairs, and for some searches in *LIED* a 'Spelling Note' box appeared, suggesting alternative initial letters for search words. Etymological information (Dodd's search route D) was first included in the *LDOCE* CD-ROM (2003), followed by the *Oxford Compass* (2005), but a route that had some of the characteristics of Dodd's 'dates from year/century E' was available to users of the first *LIED* and *LIAD* through date searches for people listed in the encyclopedic dictionaries of *Language and Culture*. More elaborate searches for style, register, antonyms, synonyms, hyponyms, superordinates, word classes, and valency patterns (Dodd's routes F, G, H, I, J, K, M, and N) could be conducted in many of the early CD-ROM dictionaries by means of filtered searches: Geography, Subject Specialism, Register, Word Class, and Word Class Subcategory in the *OALD* CD-ROM (1997), for example, and Headword, Inflections, Meaning, Examples, Grammar, Synonyms, Antonyms, Superordinates, Phrases, and Derived Words in *Collins COBUILD on CD-ROM* (1995). Search route L ('includes the word(s) L in its definition') could also be achieved in many dictionaries by conducting a full text search.

These features helped to recommend CD-ROMs for educational and library use before the advent of the Internet. The market for dictionaries on CD-ROM for

personal use, however, was always an uncertain one. Harley (2000: 85) noted that sales of electronic dictionaries were ‘rather modest’, and reported that CD-ROM dictionaries had ‘hardly taken off in a big way’. The new technology also turned out to be expensive in terms of customer support; according to Gillen (1995) additional technical advice of some sort was requested for 10 per cent–30 per cent of all CD-ROM products sold. The practice of bundling a CD-ROM with another related product was one way of ensuring distribution. An electronic reference work was sometimes included as an apparently free addition to the print version, as was the case with the 1993 edition of the *Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, noted by Wooldridge (2004). Alternatively, it could be bundled with other software or computer hardware, like Microsoft’s *Encarta* encyclopedia on CD-ROM in the 1990s, and the bilingual English–Chinese dictionary *Kingsoft Powerword*, published by Peking University Press (also known as the *Jin Shan Ci Ba*). Although *Kingsoft Powerword* is full of errors, due largely to the inconsistent quality of its source dictionaries (Zhang 2004), it is probably the most widely used CD-ROM dictionary in the world (eight million copies were distributed between 1997 and 2002, according to the Kingsoft website in 2006).

The practice of bundling continues, and a CD-ROM accompanies many new dictionary editions. Improved technology, however, has also made it possible to download dictionary material directly from the Internet to a PC or PDA, without the need to purchase a CD-ROM.

## 17.5 DICTIONARIES ON THE INTERNET

The first proposal for the World Wide Web was made in 1989 by Tim Berners-Lee at CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research, but the Internet only became a valid storage medium for electronic dictionaries in 1993, when CERN gave up the right to charge royalties for World Wide Web documents. Initially, publishing houses that had invested heavily in dictionary development were unwilling to distribute their products in this way, because Internet services were usually provided free of charge, and little was done to guard against copyright infringement. Carr (1997: 210) commented on the irony of the fact that ‘the pioneers in computerised editing and CD-ROM books are struggling against their technologies spreading onto the Net’.

Because of this, although by 1998 there were about four hundred English dictionaries on the World Wide Web (Li 1998: 21), many early online reference

works such as the *Hypertext Webster Interface* had, according to Carr (1997) 'an obscure copyright status', or no named hard-copy source. Others, such as the 1911 edition of *Roget's Thesaurus* and the 1913 edition of *Webster's Dictionary*, were too old to be copyright-protected. Docherty (2000) describes cases of dictionary plagiarism; a small (unnamed) company in Turkey, for example, simply keyed in an English–Turkish dictionary published by Langenscheidt and placed it on the Internet. The only differences between the online version and the original were the typing errors that had crept into the plagiarized copy.

Storrer and Freese (1996) and Carr (1997) record the opportunity for 'one-stop' simultaneous searches of such reference sources, using free Internet dictionary search engines such as *OneLook*, founded in 1996, or the *Free Online Lexicon and Encyclopedia* (FILE), available in 1997. Usage of the *Free Online Lexicon and Encyclopedia* between October 1997 and January 1998 was reported on the website of its creators, the DICT Development Group (DICT.org, 1999). During this four-month period the DICT group's servers answered approximately 3.1 million requests (over 1,000/hour), but 0.86 million of these were for words that were not found in any of the databases—some obviously misspellings, but others searches of common words that were simply not defined in the freely available online dictionaries at the time. The DICT Development Group also noted that some of its users had found entries from the 1913 *Webster's Dictionary* to be 'offensive or politically incorrect', although the group was understandably wary of acting on this information: 'we do not want to take on the task of editing or updating existing databases'. Storrer and Freese (1996) commented on the unreliability of public domain online dictionaries as compared to dictionaries in book form; arguing that nobody took responsibility for the accuracy of the information which Internet dictionaries provided, and that both the web addresses and the page contents were constantly changing.

Whereas only 188 dictionaries were indexed with *OneLook* in 1997, by 2005 this number had grown to 992 (Li 2005: 16), and included not only the more dubious sources but also a number of highly regarded publications such as the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (indexed in 2002), *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (indexed in 2003), *Encarta World English Dictionary* (indexed in 2003), *Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary*, tenth edition (indexed in 2003), and the *Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English* (indexed in 2004). The variable quality of online dictionaries compromised the effectiveness of one-stop searches, however, because 'all the search data are shown in long lists, results from trustworthy sources and downright amateurish concoctions all mixed up' (de Schryver 2003: 157).

The expansion of Internet dictionary resources was partially due to advances in technology. Initially, connections were too slow to provide multimedia applications such as headword pronunciations, although these were already available for many dictionaries on CD-ROM and in handheld devices. Also, in the early days of the Internet, lines became overloaded if a website proved very popular; an online version of the *Collins COBUILD Student's Dictionary* which was made freely available in 1998 by the Ruhr-Universität Bochum (Hoelter and Wilkens 1998) had to be withdrawn in 2004 'due to excessive usage' (Li 2005). The growing use of high-speed broadband technology in the early 2000s put an end to this sort of problem for many users in the developed world. According to Madden (2003: 5) 6 per cent of American home Internet users had broadband in 2000, rising to 25 per cent in December 2002 and 31 per cent in August 2003.

The increased number of good-quality dictionaries available on the World Wide Web was also partly due to a change in policy on the part of publishers, who started charging for their online products or treated their web dictionaries as marketing tools 'to entice the user to buy a book, CD, or electronic access to text' (Landau 2001: 96). In 1999, Oxford University Press launched the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, available by subscription, and this was followed by *Oxford Reference Online: the Core Collection* in 2002, a subscription service which enabled simultaneous searches of one hundred Oxford dictionaries and reference works. On the other hand, although *MEDAL* (2002) was only made accessible online to those who could prove that they had bought a copy of the dictionary in book form, on the whole the producers of learners' dictionaries have tended to offer their products for free, but with slightly less functionality than on the purchasable CD-ROM. *Cambridge Dictionaries Online*, a 'no frills' service launched in 1999, aimed to encourage users to upgrade to the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English on CD-ROM* (Harley 2000). (In 2006 Cambridge added an *Online Extra* service with audio files, usage notes, study pages, and more elaborate search facilities for paying subscribers.) Similarly *OALD7* is only available online without the additional features offered in the *Compass* CD-ROM which is bundled with the print version, and the online *LDOCE* (2006) provides fewer audio pronunciations for headwords and example sentences than *LDOCE* on CD-ROM. Online dictionaries also attract users to publishers' sites where other activities and products are on display; these might include news items, 'word of the day' or 'word of the month' features, lists of the most frequently looked-up words, teaching and learning materials, and, of course, information about how to buy the publishers' products.

Even if web-based dictionaries lack multimedia files and complex search routes, websites can be more easily revised and augmented, and some online dictionaries claim to offer wider and more up-to-date coverage than that pro-

vided in other dictionary formats. In some cases revision has been facilitated by 'bottom-up lexicography', a procedure noted by Carr (1997) whereby dictionary sites invite their users to participate in the dictionary-making process, either as equal contributors or by making suggestions to an editorial board. The 'Quick Definitions' section of the *OneLook* dictionary site, for example, claims to draw on 'the hundreds of user-submitted additions and corrections we've received over the years'. Similarly, the DICT Development Group (1999) asked its users to solve the problem of missing or objectionable entries in the databases of the *Free Online Lexicon and Encyclopedia* by submitting to the Group their own updated definitions, and the first version of the *Cambridge International Dictionaries Online* (1999) provided users with a contribution form to type in any search word not already listed, its meaning, and an example sentence (Nesi 1999). The same sort of facility was offered by Heinle's *Newbury House Online Dictionary*, also launched in 1999 (Peterson 1999). The Collins *Word Exchange* (2004) goes one step further, by letting not only the Collins editors but also users themselves decide whether or not to publish suggested changes in the Collins *Living Dictionary* (Dean 2005).

Jeremy Butterfield, editor in chief of Collins dictionaries, likens the *Living Dictionary* to *Wikipedia* (Moss 2004). The *Living Dictionary* is not completely collaborative, however, because it employs lexicographers to write definitions, even though it allows the general public to decide on some matters of content. *Wikipedia*, founded by Jimmy Wales in 2001, belongs to another tradition of online reference work, and grew out of ideas conceived in collaborative web-based communities such as *Everything*, and Keith Golden's *Wordbot Collaborative Dictionary* site, both now defunct. In these communities everyone had equal editorial rights, a philosophy explained on the *Wordbot* information page: 'if everyone contributes just a little, then everyone will gain a lot' (Nesi 2000: 142). *Wikipedia* and *Wiktionary*, the companion online dictionary, were able to improve on earlier collaborative sites because of the invention of wiki (originally Quickweb) software, which allows 'everyday users to create and edit any page in a Web site' (Leuf and Cunningham 2002). The first ever wiki site was created in 1995, and the software became available in the early 2000s as an open source tool. The first *Wiktionary* (aiming to describe all the words of all languages) was written in English in 2002, and similar *Wiktionaries* have now been created in other languages along the same lines.

According to a recent article in *The New Yorker* (Schiff 2006), *Wikipedia* is now the seventeenth most popular site on the Internet. There has been much debate concerning its authority (see, for example, *BBC News* online for 15 December 2005 and 9 February 2006) but it is generally conceded that the entries are more

up to date and no more error-prone than those in professionally compiled encyclopedias, albeit not so well written. *Wiktionary* has been less successful in attracting media attention but appears to share some of the same strengths and weaknesses as *Wikipedia*. Writing before the first *Wiktionary* site was under way, Docherty (2000: 68) argued that ‘uncontrolled authorship can be extremely dangerous if the user is seeking quality and reliability’. de Schryver (2003: 160) also dismissed bottom-up collaborative editing as ‘of little scientific value’ because of its lack of quality control. Admirers of *Wikipedia* and *Wiktionary* argue that there are a sufficient number of contributors and readers to prevent any serious errors from remaining on the sites for long, but *Wiktionary* entries do vary greatly in style and range of content, and although it is useful as a means of recording expressions that are too ephemeral or too localized to justify publication in a mainstream dictionary, contributions are undated and unsourced, making it difficult to track neologisms (and desuetude).

## 17.6 DEVELOPING DICTIONARY FORMS

Whereas in the early days of the Internet the transfer was from older print dictionaries to the web, nowadays publishers turn to the Internet for language data to inform new dictionaries in book form (Ross 2003). Dictionary entries on screen are looking less like dictionary entries on the page; pop-up windows often resemble PDA screens, and lexicographers are also making use of non-static display functions such as the ‘three-dimension search’, where related dictionary entries are ‘graphically depicted in a kind of web of words spreading out from a central item’ (Rizo-Rodriguez 2004: 40). Electronic dictionaries are inclined to hybridization, combining alphabetic and thematic groupings, and mixing monolingual and bilingual, lexical and encyclopedic information, in the manner described by Hartmann (2005). The same or a similar electronic dictionary product is also often made available in two or three different formats: on the Internet, on CD-ROM, and downloadable to memory card for use with a PDA.

The most recent developments in technology have led to the use of mobile or cellular (cell) phones for lexicographical purposes. In 2002, for example, Enfour, a Tokyo-based company, launched *Tango Town*, described as a ‘life style tool’ combining a multilingual dictionary engine with educational and cultural material for English speakers living in Japan. *Tango Town* enables cell phone users to

subscribe to dictionary information via the Internet, as in the new era predicted by de Schryver (2003:150), when there will be ‘widespread and generalised full access to the internet (and thus also to internet dictionaries) from handheld, wireless electronic devices’. Most recently, the cell phone has also been made to function like a reading pen. The first commercial cameraphone was introduced in 2000, and now 3Gvision’s *Scanning Dictionary* (2006) provides a downloadable application which can scan words and display them on the cameraphone, with dictionary information beneath. The advertisers invite users to ‘float the camera over a word and get its translation. Move around from word to word and watch the different meanings appear on the screen’.

Most technological innovations were envisaged by metalexigraphers well before they actually materialized on a web page, computer disk, or handheld device. Pop-up windows were predicted by Kay in 1983, in anticipation of the *iFinger* software and other similar dictionary presentation tools, and voice-activated searches were predicted by Crystal in 1986, foreshadowing speech recognition facilities in the latest handheld devices. Zgusta (1991) wrote of the possibility of representing actions and processes visually in an electronic dictionary. The *Oxford Advanced Learner’s CD-ROM Dictionary* (2000) did just this, with video sequences to illustrate over eighty verbs such as *flick*, *shrug*, and *sneer* (de Schryver 2003: 165). Improvements to the audio component of electronic dictionaries have been proposed by researchers such as Perry (1997), and the audio presentation of headwords and even usage examples has now spread from handheld dictionaries to CD-ROMs to web-based dictionaries. Landau (2001) hoped for speech translation, and it is now a feature of several handheld dictionary models such as those in Ectaco’s *Talking Translator* series.

Similarly, innovative access routes to dictionary information were envisaged and discussed long before they became available. The thematic organization of lexical data (standard practice in paper-based thesauruses and lexicons) was strongly advocated by McArthur in 1986, before the electronic format enabled complex searches for groups of words containing the same phonological, syntactic, or semantic features. In 1989, at a time when the options offered by the *OED* on CD-ROM were still limited to searching independent entry fields, Dodd anticipated a range of electronic dictionary search routes, many of which are now in widespread use. Dodd anticipated the use of sound effects to clarify the meaning of onomatopoeic words, an idea realized in 2003 by both the *Macmillan Essential Dictionary* and *LDOCE* on CD-ROM. He also imagined future dictionary users as ‘clients’, selecting lexicographical information via an online database, as is happening with the introduction of services such as *Tango Town*.

Electronic dictionaries continue to offer opportunities for both lexicographical and technological innovation. As we have seen, lexicographical ideas can sometimes be constrained by the limitations of the technology, while the technology can also forge ahead with scant regard for lexicographical content. However, even if the two fields have not proceeded perfectly in tandem, much ground has been covered in thirty years, with an ever-increasing pace of change.



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