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(eds)

English Words
in Time

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ACT II - LATE MODERN PERSPECTIVES: ORTHOEPISTS, LEXICOGRAPHERS, AND THE CODIFICATION OF ENGLISH WORDS

English Words in Time: An Introduction

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The idea of approaching the study of English vocabulary, from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, was at the core of the colloquium "Words in Time" organised and hosted by the University of Catania (site of Ragusa) back in 2008. The title and theme of the colloquium patently took inspiration from, and were meant as a sort of tribute to, Geoffrey Hughes's seminal book *Words in Time. A Social History of the English Vocabulary*, which had first been published exactly twenty years before. And seminal Hughes's book was, because its content and approach influenced the way research on English historical lexicology was pursued, in Italy as much as elsewhere. More conferences and ensuing publications followed, but the organizers of the Ragusa meeting still believed that the papers read there had made a notable contribution to the study of 'English words in time', and should be published. Not long ago, then, the original contributors to the colloquium were asked to revise their papers for publication, and new essays were added in order to give the volume a coherent shape. In particular, it was thought right and opportune to widen the perspective of historical lexicology and lexicography to include some samples of a sociolinguistic approach to the study of present-day English and its role as a global language.

The history of English lexis very much resembles a never-ending theatrical play where, in the unstable ever-changing relationship between words and reality, words end up shaping reality. With this metaphor in mind, the chapters in the volume were organized in a coherent whole and are here presented as making up a three-act play, duly introduced by a prologue.

As any good prologue is meant to do, Lynda Mugglestone's chapter on *"The Illusions of History": English Words in Time and the OED* gives readers a much-needed historical perspective on the development of English lexis: words are the 'property' of each succeeding generation of speakers, but at the same time they are what lexicographers want or, at least, mean them to be. This is also true of the OED, although Mugglestone makes it clear that no

preceding English dictionary had displayed the same meticulous engagement with time and change which the entries of the OED systematically revealed. However, by evaluating and discussing on the various steps and stages – diligently, historically framed – that characterised the making of the OED, Mugglestone argues how lexicographers contribute towards recording history through words.

The high drama of English words starts in the early modern period, when English writers became quite aware of the inadequacies of the English lexical store for all sorts of use the language was being put to; at the same time, though, they were proudly conscious of the leading role their nation had come to perform on the European stage. This contrast was particularly felt by translators, and this is the reason why Act I in our book is entitled "Translation and the Making of Words" and focuses on two key moments in the cultural and linguistic history of early modern England, i.e. the Renaissance and the mid-17th century development of experimental science.

Carmela Nocera, moving from her analysis of George Pettie's translation (1581) of Stefano Guazzo's *La Civile Conversazione*, comments on how translators in Elizabethan England created new words by importing them from foreign texts or by giving existing words new meanings. Nocera's chapter points out, for example, how CIVIL underwent a significant semantic change, while CONVERSATION and its various related lexical forms reveal the wide range of meanings they had and took on in the 16th-century.

Lexical accuracy – that is to say the reduction of polysemy, ambiguity and vagueness – and the availability of 'terms of art' were instead what scientific English was aiming at, as is shown by Giovanni Iamartino in his analysis of lexical innovations in the English translation of William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*. Originally written in Latin for an international readership and published in 1628, Harvey's epoch-making treatise was translated into English in 1653 for a new generation of scientists and doctors that were increasingly using the vernacular language for the promotion of experimental science. English scientific terminology in the 17th and 18th centuries, then, was closely linked to the scientific discoveries of those days, and translators were instrumental in its development.

The late modern period is Act II in the drama of English words: after the 'hurlyburly' of the earlier times, when English finally won the battle for its acceptance as the medium of communication for all kinds of uses, codifying and promoting a standard language became of primary importance. The book section entitled "Orthoepists, Lexicographers and the Codification of English Words" focuses on two aspects of word usage that most defy accurate and objective description, that is to say pronunciation and synonymy.

Joan Beal investigates the issues of codification and prescription in 18th-century pronouncing dictionaries. At that time, norms of pronunciation started being implemented and made available to a larger portion of the population; thus, clear and explicit guides to the pronunciation of every word in the lexicon were provided together with indication of correct and incorrect usage. The codification of the 'best' pronunciation model began, though leaving a legacy of linguistic insecurity.

Massimo Sturiale focuses on another typically 18th-century lexicographic genre, that is to say dictionaries of synonymy. William Perry – already known to the public for his 1775 pronouncing dictionary and his 1795 bilingual English-French dictionary, together with other pedagogical works – further contributed to the codification of the English language by 'synonymising' Samuel Johnson's dictionary. Sturiale points out that Perry was able to improve on the work of his great predecessor, as far synonymy and pronunciation were concerned. He did use Johnson's wordlist and material, but he was also able to contribute something new to the description/codification of the English language.

Dramatic in more than one sense of the word is the recent and current development of the English language worldwide. Hence, Act III of *English Words in Time* focuses on "Present-day Perspectives: English in the Global Society".

This book section opens with Iain Halliday's chapter on the word SOCIETY and its derivative SOCIAL, the linguistic history of which had been dealt with by Hughes in *Words in Time*. Halliday discusses how these words have been used in a mainly British context since 1988, and highlights the semantic ambivalence in their use. The author also points out that a major problem with words in time is that as we study them we are inevitably out of their

times, and out of the times of the people who have used those words through history.

Francesca Vigo argues that, for a social history of the English vocabulary to be complete and updated, the presence and use of words of English origin worldwide should be included. The author mainly focuses on the Italian context and presents her research carried out on data gathered from the corpus of the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*. Her results suggest that there are many reasons why an English word may enter the Italian language and, once adopted, it may be adapted to perform new linguistic and communicative functions, more often than not in an unpredictable, creative way.

Giuliana Russo investigates word-formation processes in the language of Computer-Mediated Communication. She demonstrates that the process of shortening is the most productive word-formation strategy in Internet English. A representative corpus of Internet terms was created from C- and L-entries in the online dictionary *NetLingo*[@]. The productivity of word-formation patterns was tested against a framework of analysis based on Algeo's (1991) taxonomy and compared to data from dictionaries of new standard English words based on the same framework. The data suggest that the Internet is not disrupting the English language – quite the reverse, it is contributing to its creativity.

Creativity and inclusiveness, indeed, seem to be the most salient features of English lexis and its history. This was very clear to John Florio, the champion of the Italian language in Renaissance England, who – in chapter 27 of his *Firste Fruites* (1578) – described English as follows:

> Certis if you wyl beleeve me, it doth not like me at al, because it is a language confused, bepeesed with many tongues: it taketh many words of the latine, and mo from the French, and mo from the Italian, and many mo from the Duitch, some also from the Greeke, and from the Britaine, so that if every language had his owne words againe, there woulde but a fewe remaine for English men, and yet every day they adde.

When Florio passed this judgment on the English language, Elizabethan translator and writers had been struggling to cope with

new communicative needs and widen the English lexis. Conditioned by his sense of belonging to a superior culture and literary tradition, Florio did not understand this. Nor was he far-sighted when, in the same chapter, defined English as "a language that wyl do you good in England but passe Dover, it is worth nothing".

Since then, as the chapters in this book have shown, English words have come on stage — indeed, they have taken centre stage, and do not seem to be going to leave it very soon.

PROLOGUE

"The Illusions of History": English Words in Time and the OED

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1. History and the OED

For James Murray (editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary* 1878-1915), it was the "historical spirit" of the 19th century which had, in essence, both "called for and rendered possible the Oxford English Dictionary" (Murray 1900: 51). No preceding English dictionary had displayed the meticulous engagement with time and change which the entries of the OED systematically revealed. Carefully dated citations made visible the historical trajectories of sense and sense-development; etymology (another advance of the age, as Murray stressed) likewise confirmed historical origins with new certainty. A verb such as *HISTORIZE*, given as "rare" and defined as "to tell the history of, to narrate as history", was, for instance, precisely embedded within a timeframe which spanned 1599 ("those Legends of Saints and tales at which children […] smile; are there solemnly historized in their Cathedrall Pulpits", as the earliest citation confirmed)[1] to its use in the first half of the 19th century. "You have […] attempted to historize, to ratiocinate, to sentimentalize", Bolton Corney wrote in his *Ideas on Controversy* of 1838; for the OED, his words were appropriated to illustrate the sense "to act the historian". Corney's text, like thousands of other books, was converted into a lexicographical resource and mined for quotational evidence by an "army of volunteer Readers" (Murray 1900: 48), verifying – here with reference to Corney's text alone – the verbal history of words such as METALLOGRAPHIC and STRATEGEMICAL, TRACTILE and HEBDOMADAL.

Empiricism based in historical evidence would, by such means, trace what Murray (1888: xviii) described as "the incessant

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[1] The citation was taken from Sir Edwin Sandys's *Europæ Speculum. Or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World*, first published in 1599, but quoted in the OED from the 1632 edition.

dissolution and renovation" which necessarily attends a "living Vocabulary". This, he reminded readers of the dictionary, "is no more permanent in its constitution than definite in its extent. It is not to-day what it was a century ago, still less what it will be a century hence". Historicizing was, in this respect, to be much more than simply an entry within the dictionary. Instead, it encapsulated a distinctive approach to English lexicography, deliberately setting the OED apart from the dictionaries of the past. "The great advance of Philology of late years has completely changed the conditions of a good dictionary", Henry Sweet had stressed, for example, when, in his role as President of the Philological Society, he had urged publication of the future OED upon Oxford University Press (MP/20/4/1877). As Sweet specified,

> What is now required is fullness of citations and historical method, or, in other words, *a full number of citations from every period of the language arranged so as to exhibit the history of each word*. (MP/20/4/1877)

The work of Littré in France (the historical *Dictionnaire de la langue française* was completed in 1873) and that of the Grimm brothers in Germany (the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* began publication in 1852) already demonstrated the advances to be made. Existing English dictionaries lagged conspicuously behind.

As in the formative lectures of Richard Chenevix Trench, which had been delivered twenty years earlier to the London Philological Society, Sweet emphasized the historical consciousness which, over the course of the 19th century, had seen conceptions of lexicographical "best practice" comprehensively redefined. It was Trench, however, who had first articulated the salience of this "revolution in lexicography" (Craigie & Onions 1933: v) with reference to the precise ways in which the OED project was to be established. Two lectures in November 1857 served to provide a careful anatomization of the "deficiencies" of past lexicography, for which Trench located appropriate remedy only in the inception of

"an entirely new Dictionary; no patch upon old garments, but a new garment throughout" (1860: 1).[2]

The original title of the OED – *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society* – which appeared on the title pages of all fascicles throughout the first edition (1884-1928), synthesised these critical departures. It was the importance of a proper sense of history, and the ways in which a dictionary might represent "an historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view" (1860: 6), which Trench had sought to impress upon his audience. The fallibility of Johnson's dictionary as historical witness was, Trench argued, incontestable. Johnson's stated policy on obsolete words – "Obsolete words are admitted when they are found in authours not obsolete, or when they have any force or beauty that may deserve revival" (1755: B1ᵛ) – provoked scathing censure: "I will not pause […] to enquire what a lexicographer has to do with the question of whether a word deserves revival or not" (Trench 1860: 10). Moreover, while Johnson's use of citations had itself been largely innovatory in the English lexicography of the 18ᵗʰ century,[3] the fact that these were undated (often specifying no more than the name of the relevant writer) could, for a more historically conscious age, also suggest the absence of proper linguistic principle. The claims of history were equally compromised by Johnson's habit of filtering citations through his undoubtedly capacious memory so that *INSTILMENT* and *DISTILMENT* shared the 'same' illustrative quotation from Shakespeare ("Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole […] the leperous *distilment*"; "the

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[2] The original plan of the Philological Society had been to produce a corrected Supplement to existing dictionaries. However, preliminary research rapidly convinced them of the inadequacy of this plan (see further Mugglestone 2009). As Trench confirmed (1860: 1), "a Supplement to existing Dictionaries […] would only imperfectly meet the necessities of the case, and would moreover be encumbered with inconveniences of its own".

[3] Some limited use of citational evidence appeared in earlier English dictionaries, such as Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* of 1656 and Edward Phillips's *New World of English Words* of 1658.

leperous *instilment*").[4] Other quotations – such as a favourite one from Dryden's *Dedication to Juvenal* (the origin, in fact, of Johnson's derided principle on obsolete words) – could display similar flexibility. "Obsolete words may be laudably revived, when they are more sounding, or more significant than those in *practice*" appeared under PRACTICE; "Obsolete words may be *laudably* revived, when either they are sounding or significant" appeared under LAUDABLY.

Trench stressed instead the ways in which objective (and verified) historical evidence should be used to document a life-history or "biography" (1860: 43) for each word and sense, operating within what was intended to be a transcendent "inventory" of English. Even the vital "register of […] birth" had hitherto been neglected: "I doubt whether Johnson even so much as set this before him as an object desirable to be obtained", Trench (1860: 29) noted. Instead, for each word, the ideal was now that "as we hailed it in the cradle, we may follow it, when dead, to the grave" (Trench 1860: 41). Linguistic change was, in this sense, to be removed from the negative metalanguage within which it was so often framed, e.g. by Johnson who presented the mutability of words in time as "decay", "degeneration", or the "inconstancy" which "will add nothing to the reputation of our tongue" (1747: 10). The historically-informed lexicography which the Philological Society now embraced would instead engage with time and change through evidence-based – and eminently impartial – documentation.

2. The Lexicographer as Historian

That the lexicographer should be subject to similar redefinition was likewise important. The maker of dictionaries was, Trench insisted (1860: 5), now to be "an historian [of language]" rather than "a critic". This careful apposition underscored what he saw as the fundamental incompatibility of these roles. Historians dealt with facts; critics engaged with evaluation in ways which typified

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[4] INSTILMENT was added as a new entry in the fourth edition of 1773. The correct reading was, however, "distilment", deriving from the speech of the ghost in *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene V, l. 64.

earlier, subjective – and dangerously ahistorical – conceptions of the remit that the lexicographer might legitimately assume. "Every language has […] its improprieties and absurdities, which it is the duty of the lexicographer to correct or proscribe", as Johnson had stated on the opening page of his preface (1755: A1ᵛ). Johnson's entry for SHABBY illustrates this particular sense of "duty" well. Incorporating the evaluative judgment that it was "a word that had crept into conversation and low writing; but ought not to be admitted into the language", the use of spatial metaphors ("crept", "low") invites hierarchical readings of usage in ways which co-exist uneasily with the evidence provided in the accompanying citation from Jonathan Swift. Still more worrying – if in accordance with Johnson's own definition of CRITICK ("a censurer; a man apt to find fault", "an examiner; a judge")[5] – was the verdict that SHABBY should be excluded from English altogether, a decision which further denied the facts of both past and present history.

The treatment (and obligations) of history again consolidated the divide between the determinedly "new dictionary" of the Philological Society, and the past. A very different image of linguistic duty instead assumed prominence, one in which historical sources – and the empirical data they provided – were seen to have their own authority above and beyond the predilections of the individual dictionary-maker. In the OED, for example, the implementation of historical principles would triumphantly confirm the linguistic validity of SHABBY. In the 93-line entry (published in the fascicle *Several-Shaster* in June 1913), its life-history began with John Ogilby's *Odysseus* in 1669 ("Shabby my looks, so mean my garments be, That for her lord she'll not acknowledge me"), and passed through writers such as Mill, Lord Holland, and Thackeray. For Henry Bradley (the editor of this section of the dictionary), its legitimacy was confirmed by its continued currency. Later revisions

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[5] Johnson's entry for CRITICK was expanded in the revisions made in the fourth edition of his dictionary in 1773. Of the original sense-divisions provided in 1755, the first referred to literary criticism ("a man skilled in the art of judging of literature; a man able to distinguish the faults and beauties of writing"), the second to the negative implications of the word ("A censurer; a man apt to find fault"). Two further senses (2. "an examiner; a judge", 3. "a snarler; a carper; a caviller") appeared in 1773.

of the OED would extend this further. History, in this respect, was still being made.

19th-century historians provided influential precedent in this respect, not least in the ways in which, as Munslow comments (2003: 51), "the sovereignty of the raw materials" was taken as central to an objective depiction of history itself. Or as John Tosh has stated in *The Pursuit of History*,

> the nineteenth-century view was straightforward enough. The basis of all scientific knowledge was the meticulous observation of reality by the disinterested 'passive' observer […] scientists approached their work without preconceptions and without moral involvement. (Tosh 2002: 131)

In terms of philology – also now defined as a science ("modern philological science", as Murray notes) – the same principles held true, in ways which were carefully aligned with Murray's sense of the ideal lexicographer as a "logical man accustomed to scientific accuracy of method" (MP/30/10/1889). It was history, vested in the empirical – and eminently factual – observation of the usages of the past which was seen as a means by which words could, in essence, now "tell their own story". Deriving from the German philologist Franz Passow (whose work had inspired Liddell and Scott in their own work on Greek), and voiced equally in Leopold von Ranke's influential dictum of 1824 that "wie es eigentlich gewesen", it was historical precepts of this kind which Murray deliberately echoed in the preface to the first part of the dictionary, and again in that which accompanied the first completed volume four years later. The chronologically arranged citations of each sense and sub-sense, as Murray emphasized (1884: v; 1888: vi), hence serve as a means by which "the word [is] made to exhibit its own history and meaning". The lexicographer, by extension, became merely a neutral mediator between evidence and eventual text, facilitating the telling of a story or history which the word – rather than the lexicographer – possesses. Against the interventionist strategies of Johnson, the lexicographer-as-historian of the OED was constructed as attaining a new and ideal passivity. The facts, as the popular idiom has it, were thereby to speak for themselves.

This specific sense of "historical method" underpinned both the making of the dictionary as a whole, as well as the distinctive patterning of each entry. Sweet's 1877 letter had stressed the salience of "historical method"; Murray in 1884 depicted it as integral to the early history of the OED itself.[6] It was, he later noted, fundamental to the achievements which the dictionary was continuing to make: "The historical method followed has cleared the origin and history of hundreds of words from the errors in which conjectural 'etymology' had involved them" (Murray 1893: vii). Lecturing on the evolution of English lexicography in 1900, it was again "historical method" which was integral to the "supreme development" of the OED, a work which aimed to "set forth every fact connected with its origin, history, and use, on a strictly historical method" (Murray 1900: 50).

3. The Problems of History

This rhetoric of history is pervasive in Murray's writings on the OED. The importance of "historical fact", "historical illustration", and "historical research" is repeatedly confirmed: "From these", he added (1900: 47), "the history of each word is deduced and exhibited". "History consists wholly of facts and inferences from facts", he averred in a lecture given at the Royal Institution (MP/J.A.H. Murray, 1903). History, and the factualism which it enabled, was made integral to the status of the OED as inviolable reference model – and its identity as a consummately truth-bearing text ("the definitive record to the English language", as the OED website proclaims). Nevertheless, as modern historians stress, it is also true that history, and the meanings it may assume, are themselves often more complex than might at first appear. If history as transcendently neutral process underpins the images which, as we have seen, were so often evoked by Trench, Sweet, and Murray (as well as by German predecessors such as Passow), history itself

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[6] "It was proposed that materials should be collected for a new English Dictionary, which, by the completeness of its vocabulary, and by the application of the historical method to the life and use of words, might be worthy of the English language and of English scholarship" (Murray 1884: iii).

can make all too clear that a variety of factors can, in fact, impact on the nature of what is recorded or made into 'history' – or, conversely, on what is not so constructed. As Austen's Catherine Morland pertinently observed in *Northanger Abbey*, history could, for example, seem all too partial at times, leaving out perhaps as much as it included: "The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars and pestilences" but "hardly any women at all", as she is made to comment (1818: 255).

For the dictionary too, history can, in reality, be strikingly Janus-like, facing in two directions, and operating in two domains. The public face of history, and of the OED, stresses impartiality and passivity, placing emphasis on the rhetoric of inclusivity ("every fact", "each word", as Murray (1900: 50) declared) with the lexicographer as, in effect, a handmaid to history and subservient to its claims. The private side of history – and indeed the history of the OED and its making (see further Mugglestone 2005) – can instead repeatedly reveal the salience of selection and active intervention, where selection operates in and between different entries, and in and between different forms of available evidence. That this is so is, of course, on one level entirely predictable. Historical data could be overwhelming. That "every fact" could be included was pragmatically impossible; Murray would have almost two and a half million citations by 1880 (MP/1/12/1880), over five million by the time he gave the Romanes lecture in 1900. Over 60,000 entries made up the first three letters of the alphabet (Johnson's dictionary had contained just over 40,000 in total). The completed text of the OED recorded over half a million words in 178 miles of type. Selection was inevitable, just as it was between different potential entries, so that FIREWORKLESS (used by Dickens, and defined as "devoid of fireworks") was included, as were FROCKLESS and GRATELESS (and GREATCOATLESS, "without a greatcoat"), but not, say, GROGLESS, GOVERNMENTLESS, or LODGELESS; the latter were all drafted as entries, verified against historical data, provided with appropriate citations, but ultimately excluded in the final set of revisions to the dictionary made at proof stage. Even in 1888 the "necessity of compression" (Murray 1888: viii) was proving to be

an important force within the composition of the dictionary.[7] "One of their most serious difficulties was to know which words should be put in and what should not", as Murray admitted in a speech he gave in 1897 (*The Times* 1897: 10).

While the image of words telling their own story, and revealing their own history in time, remains therefore intensely attractive as part of the governing ideals of the OED, examples such as these swiftly reveal the silencing of some stories against others, and the privileging of certain facts while others are occluded. Outside the seductive rhetoric of history, and the ideal of the impartial historian who merely recounts the past, the reality is, of course, that history – in dictionaries as well as outside them – has to be constructed (and interpreted), just as dictionary-entries, in all dictionaries, have to be actively produced. The past, as Keith Jenkins rightly stresses, "cannot carve itself up and/or articulate itself, but always needs to be 'spoken for' and constructed" (1995: 33). Or, as Edward Carr (born during the long gestation of the OED) had earlier pointed out:

> The awkward thing about history is that bias seems an essential element in it – even in the best of history. The fact is that facts do not, as is sometimes said, "speak for themselves", or if they do it is the historian who decides which facts shall speak – he cannot give the floor to them all. And the decision of the most conscientious historian – of the historian most conscious of what he is doing – will be determined by a point of view which others may call biased. (Carr 1960: 845)

The same is true of historical principles and the English dictionary. It is the lexicographer who must make the decision to allow – or not – a particular narrative of verbal history to be told, or to tell a verbal history in one way rather than another. That biography – the theoretical ideal of the dictionary – was defined within it in exclusively male terms ("The history of the lives of individual men") provides perhaps a particularly telling instance of this problem of speaking or being spoken for, as did, say, Bradley's decision to define *EMANCIPATRESS*, a relatively recent (and highly topical) word, as "a female emancipator; one who advocates the

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[7] For the wider consequences of this, see Mugglestone (2005).

'emancipation' of her sex". Here the use of the scare quotes framing 'emancipation' deftly delegitimizes and trivializes the meaning of the word,[8] and its underlying historical reality. Clearly *EMANCIPATRESS*, if given its own voice in terms of Passow's early 19th-century ideals, would undoubtedly have chosen a rather different mode of words, as well as one which avoided the 'Adam's rib' form of definition ("a female emancipator") – and by which *EMANCIPATOR* was, by implication, constructed as a properly male sphere of agency. Instead, Bradley's chosen form of wording has more in common with texts such as Frances Cobbe's *The Duties of Women*, which made use of similar typographical tactics to foster a sense of the moral depravity which emancipation might entail if women thereby moved away from a proper sense of virtue and duty.[9] Just as in Johnson's dictionary, opinion – and the personal or ideological resistance which this embodies – can intervene in the recording of words.

4. Making History

If we place the OED, and the image of words and time within this more critical understanding of both history and empiricism, it readily becomes apparent that lexicographers are not so much handmaids to history as agents who are, necessarily, embedded in a continual process of decision-making and evaluation, not least since, as Murray found, a printed dictionary was confined by the physical page, and the costs of production which attended this. "No one knows so well as I do, how it grieves one to have to do this; but I have had to steel my heart, clench my teeth & do it", he wrote to Craigie in May 1901 (OED/MISC/12/4), on the necessity of omission. Which facts were to be related was critical, requiring, as he indicates, painful patterns of choice ("the most painful part of your work"), as well as the literal measuring out of available space

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[8] It was attested in the *Standard* on December 26th 1882: "The masculine [...] coiffure […] of a London emancipatress". The fascicle containing *E-Every* was published in July 1891.
[9] "There are women who call themselves 'emancipated' now who are leading lives, if not absolutely vicious, yet loose, unseemly, trespassing always on the borders of vice" (Cobbe 1881: 111).

(see further Mugglestone 2005). The draft entry for *GREAT*, for example, began with eight senses, and ended with six; in the process, sense-divisions were excluded, amalgamated, or rephrased. A comprehensive history of *GREAT* does, of course, emerge, duly being published in July 1900; another potential – and more expansive – history, however, exists in the extant proof sheets, the factual evidence of which has now been lost from public view. Both tell different stories, negotiating ultimately different pathways through the facts of available evidence in ways which suggest the mutability and arbitrariness which can attend the crafting of history, and the ways in which 'historical principles' came to operate in particular instances. The same was true of *BOTH*, where correspondence between Murray and his co-editor Henry Bradley revealed the negotiations which underpin the ways in which facts were to be understood and presented. "I am sorry you could not accept my arrangement of Both", wrote Bradley, apologetically deferring on this matter to his senior colleague: "it is not easy for two persons to come to the same conclusions exactly in such a case, but of course your view is more likely to be right than mine" (MP/23/11/1886). Only if endowed with the same "mental eyes" would two editors "spontaneously see alike" on the precise details of sense-division or semantics, as Murray affirmed in a letter to Benjamin Jowett (MP/24/8/1883). These were "matters of opinion" in which the best verdict to be hoped for was that "this is not an unreasonable way of exhibiting the facts".

As this indicates, it was, in effect, to be words and senses, evidence and citations that were – and are – necessarily rendered passive as part of the very process of 'historizing' within the dictionary. Historians and critics, in spite of their antithesis in Trench's lectures, have in this respect a far closer relationship than he had foreseen. If the citations selected for inclusion under the OED's entry for *FACT* hence determinedly stress both certainty and categorical truth (**1836** Thirlwall *Greece* II. xv. 283: "One fact destroys this fiction"; **1875** Jowett *Plato* (ed. 2) III. 611: "The very great advantage of being a fact and not a fiction"), the knowledge that such facts are potentially open to active construction in their use or interpretation (or indeed in the decision not to use them at all) can – while often forgotten in the history of lexicography –

nevertheless cast rewarding illumination on the historical processes by which the OED came into being, as well as upon the nature of the finished text.

As Munslow (2003: 185) notes, for example, historians are "creators of meaning" rather than being simply "sophisticated messengers conveying the truthful dispatch from the past". Historical lexicographers, engaged, by definition, in the specification of meaning and its distillation from the sources at their disposal, can, as the first edition of the OED confirms, display similar susceptibilities. Against Trench's conceptions of historical neutrality,[10] culturally-instituted notions of 'good' and 'bad' – and the lexical correlates which these may possess – can, for example, elicit defining practices, as well as discriminatory patterns of selection, which challenge Trench's ideal of even-handed impartiality in the face of available factual evidence.

The lexis of sexuality and contraception provides particularly apposite illustration here (see further Mugglestone 2007a, 2007b). Popular morality and linguistic evidence were to assume an uneasy co-existence in this respect (and not least since the very fact of this linguistic evidence self-evidently testified to the reality of contemporary practice in more than language alone). The original correspondence on *CONDOM* (a word in use, in fact, since at least 1706) remains in an envelope marked "Strictly Private" in the Murray Papers in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: "I am writing on a very obscene subject", stated the enclosed letter (MP/6/12/1888). Its writer, James Dixon, a retired surgeon, clearly felt he could not commend it for inclusion in the dictionary. "Bad" rather than "good", the item in question was "a contrivance used by fornicators, to save themselves from a dose of well-deserved clap; also by others who wish to enjoy copulation without the possibility of impregnation". Dixon rightly conjectured that it was "too utterly obscene" for treatment even under Murray's historical principles.

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[10] "It is no task of the maker [of the dictionary] to select the *good* words of a language. […] 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" (Trench 1860: 4, 5). Interesting insights on the relationship between historical lexicography and history can be found in the introduction to Adams (2010).

Contrary to popular Victorian stereotypes (see e.g. Mason 1994, Mugglestone 2007b), contraception was in fact a 'hot topic' in the contemporary history of this period, receiving considerable public debate (the euphemistically titled *The Fruits of Philosophy* – a manual of contraceptive advice – was, for example, a Victorian bestseller, with 500 copies purchased within twenty minutes of being put on sale). The relevant facts of language – and of lexical history – would nevertheless remain unrecorded in the first edition of the dictionary, with the exception of their presence in the private data files for the dictionary (Mugglestone 2007b).

5. Culture and Compromise

Entries for other 'difficult' head-words such as LESBIAN, LESBIANISM – which likewise conflicted with conventional social mores – could meet similar solutions. The first edition of the OED, in a fascicle published in 1903, defines LESBIAN as simply "Of or pertaining to the island of Lesbos, in the northern part of the Greek archipelago". Even in the 1930s (and following the widespread public debates which followed publication of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928), the then editors – Charles Onions and William Craigie – would display marked reticence in terms of the possible inclusion of these words in their sexual sense in the 1933 *Supplement*. Onions acknowledged that LESBIAN and LESBIANISM were "hideous words" even if – given their "regular use" – his "lexicographical conscience" made him uneasy about their exclusion (PP/1931/34); Craigie was, however, implacable in his refusal to admit them into the dictionary. The Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press, Kenneth Sisam, concurred in this process of conscious suppression: it was, he noted "not worth wasting time about if Craigie has views". It was, after all, he added, "not very important" (PP/1931/34). Neither word would be allowed to speak – or indeed be spoken for – in the pages of the OED until the second volume of the later *Supplement*, edited in 1976 by Robert Burchfield. Only then did history, time, and language come into line in this respect, as usage was taken back into the 19th century, and a stately progression of eight citations (for LESBIAN), and a further four (for LESBIANISM), verified history into modern period.

Even a relatively brief snapshot of this kind can be used to reveal the problems of history, and the complexity of 'historical fact' – and of what we know, or are allowed to know, of the operations of words in time. "It is the historian who has decided for his own reasons that Caesar's crossing of that petty stream, the Rubicon, is a fact of history, whereas the crossings of the Rubicon by millions of other people before or since interests nobody at all", as the historian Edward Carr (1961: 5-6) reminded his own audience in a somewhat later lecture given in 1960s Cambridge. As this also suggests, the observer of such facts is, on one level, often rendered inseparable from the act of observation, and the recording of what is observed. Had Craigie or Sisam been lesbians, attitudes to the Rubicon of inclusion might conceivably have been rather different; being male and heterosexual, history (and considerations of historical importance) were constructed rather differently.

Throughout the first edition, the treatment of a range of terms denoting sexual identities or preferences which depart from dominant culturally-instituted notions of norms – and the 'proper' sense of moral and cultural normativity which these encode – would reveal the operation of similar sensibilities. Dyads of 'naturalness' against 'unnaturalness' (deriving in reality, from the diction of legal process in these domains) pervade, for example, the crafting of the entries for words such as CATAMITE or TRIBADE (another synonym for LESBIAN). *CATAMITE* was "a boy kept for unnatural purposes" (a definition which remained in use in Simpson & Weiner's 1989 second edition of the OED). It was finally revised in the online edition of the OED in June 2011.[11] *TRIBADE* was defined as "a woman who practices unnatural vice with other women"; *SAPPHISM* was similar ("unnatural sexual relations between women"). A *SPINTRY* was (and is), cryptically, "a place used for unnatural practices", a definition which arguably defeats the very purpose of a dictionary by its euphemistic opacity. Embodying what Hall (2000: 30) defines as "classic moralism",[12]

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[11] It is now defined as "A boy kept for homosexual practices; the passive partner in anal intercourse", OED online version [accessed January 2014].

[12] Hall's discussion of the "useful concept" of "classic moralism" describes "a set of conventional moral attitudes (strongly rooted in the ideas of the 'natural') towards sexual matters" (2000: 30).

PROSTITUTION also departed from lexicographical neutrality, being defined as "the offering of the body to indiscriminate lewdness for hire [...] whoredom, harlotry". Other common words for LESBIAN – such as TOMMY (in use since at least the mid-18th century) – met a decorous silence. The fact that definitions such as those for *PROSTITUTION* and *TRIBADE* have now been revised for a different era – one with different social norms of acceptability (as well as a different understanding of 'nature' and the 'natural'), serves, of course, merely to confirm the mutability of history, facts, and the dictionary once more.[13] For *TRIBADE*, for example, the evidence within the dictionary entry remains exactly the same; only the definition changes in keeping with the reassessment, and subsequent rephrasing, of the 'best' way to interpret the facts.

6. Provisional Histories: Proof and Process

It is perhaps the extant proofs of the first edition of the OED which give, however, the clearest image of history as a process rather than a fixed series of facts which must be told. Deletions and annotations litter this stage of the dictionary, making plain the provisionality of what is, and is not, translated into the apparently immutable 'historical facts' of the published text. The visual image of the proofs (see fig. 1) hence provides an important corrective to the sense of historical inevitability which accompanies a reading of the printed text. In the latter, for example, it can seem a foregone conclusion that the history of words proceeds as it does, *GRAVESTONE* being succeeded by *GRAVET* ("a grave person") and, in turn, being followed by *GRAVEWARD*.

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[13] *TRIBADE* was redefined in the second edition (Simpson & Weiner 1989) as "a woman who engages in sexual activity with other women; a Lesbian". *PROSTITUTION*, defined in 1989 as "The action of prostituting or condition of being prostituted" was redefined in the online third edition (June 2007) as "**I.** The action or process of prostituting, or of being prostituted. **1.** The action of prostituting or condition of being prostituted; the practice or occupation of engaging in sexual activity with someone for payment" [accessed January 2014].
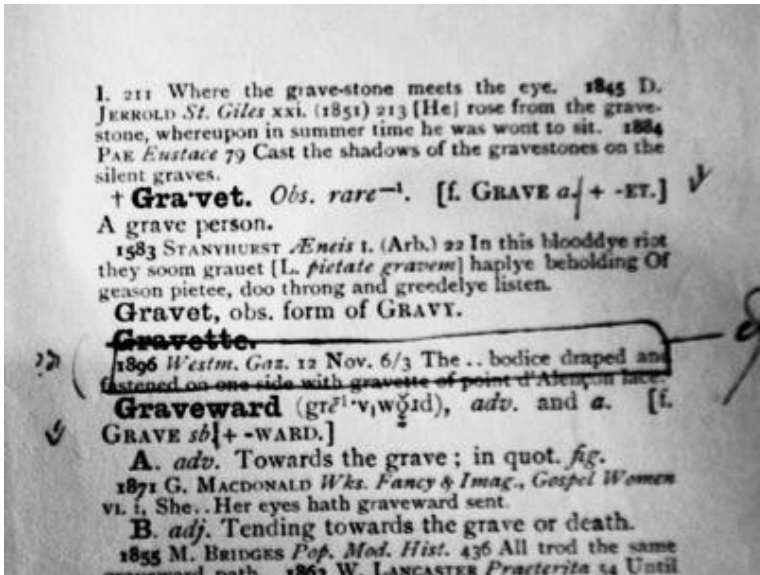
Fig. 1. Dictionary slip showing definitions *GRAVET*, *GRAVETTE*, and *GRAVEYARD* (Reproduced by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press).

The corresponding page of the proof sheets, here in the first revise dated 21 January 1900, contained, however, an additional entry for the word *GRAVETTE*, with its own citational evidence ("The bodice [...] draped and fastened on the one side with point d'Alsace lace"). While, as the proofs confirm, this had hitherto been allowed to 'tell its own story', it was now definitively silenced. Annotations in heavy black ink score through the entry as it stood, firmly removing it from time and history as recorded in the finished text. The space gained was occupied by a new headword deriving from a recently arrived handwritten slip, pasted along the right-hand margin of the sheet. This bore a nonce-usage by the eminently canonical Coleridge ("The particles themselves must have an interior and gravitate being"). Deployed in the sense "endowed with gravity" in Coleridge's 1827 *Notes and Lectures on Shakespeare* and legitimised by literary usage (rather than the merely journalistic authority of the *Westminster Gazette*, the source text which had verified the existence of the now expendable *GRAVETTE*), it was this adjectival and one-off

use of *GRAVITATE* which duly assumed a permanent place in the historical record of English as published in the OED.[14]

This pattern of active symbiosis – of loss and gain – is, in fact, a common one within the making of the OED. If the rhetoric of inclusivity, and untramelled historical empiricism can therefore continue unimpeded (the dictionary "seeks to record every word […] to furnish a biography of each word", "the history of each word is deduced and exhibited", as Murray declared in 1900: 47), behind the scenes, and in the history of words in time as it impacted on the daily process by which the dictionary came into being, it is evident that, as in the contested claims of *GRAVETTE* against *GRAVITATE*, the lexicographer was indeed involved in the active processes of choice and selection – as critic as well as historian. Like Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon versus countless other crossings, Coleridge's lexical usage and authority is placed against that of the anonymous writer whose use of GRAVETTE was – if only temporarily – made part of the historical record of the OED. That one (nonce) form remains intact within the published history of words – and one does not, underscores the fragility of 'history' and its arbitrariness. On the basis of historical usage and the objectivity of linguistics *per se*, both words, of course, existed and both – empirically and objectively – have equal validity.

It is the proofs which can thereby assume incontestable value as historical witness, documenting, for example, the similar patterns of gain and loss enacted between *GESTICULATE* and *GESTELIN*. The former was a relatively recent and scientific coinage, defined as "Of or pertaining to gesticulation", and used by the psychologist Alexander Bain in his monumental *The Senses and the Intellect* (1855).[15] GESTELIN, conversely, was a far earlier word, attested in a quotation from the *Treasurie of Hidden Secrets* of 1591 ("And when it is cold, lay a larde of Quinces in your glasse (called a gestelin glasse) or an earthen pot well glased"). This made its appearance as a new accession of data on a slip pasted to the left-hand margin of a proof sheet. Again, as the inscribed annotations confirm, it was GESTELIN which was privileged and allowed to remain in spite of its

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[14] A new headword *GRAVETTE* ("Name of a long, narrow knife-like flint of Upper Palaeolithic date, having a sharp cutting-edge and blunted back" was added in the later *Supplement* (Burchfield 1972-86).

[15] "An eye unduly oppressed with gesticulate display is an evil in the same way" (Bain 1855: III ii §19). Bain was, as Richards (2004) confirms, "one of the founders of modern psychology" to which *The Senses and the Intellect* made a crucial contribution.

self-evident semantic ambiguity (it remains without a definition in the published text). GESTICULATE was conversely dispelled, now being forgotten as far as words in time (and their public history and representation in dictionaries) is concerned.

Historical records of this kind, if existing only in archival form, hence comprehensively reveal the disjunctions between history as rhetoric, and the day-to day reality of the making of a dictionary on 'historical principles', in which space was finite and financial pressures acute.

Johnson's own position on history had, in this respect, been strikingly prescient. "Distrust", he noted in 1742, "is a necessary qualification of a student of history" (Johnson [1742] 1825: 5). Writing to Edward Cave one year later, he had commented on the idea of history as a constructed image – a genre "which ranges facts according to their dependence on each other, and postpones or anticipates according to the convenience of narration" (Redford 1992: 34). History, as Johnson realised, was rarely seamless; a range of other factors, often ideological, can, as we have seen, underpin the ways in which both history, and the history of words, are depicted. "How can there be a true History, when we see no Man living is able to write truly the History of last week?", tellingly demands the quotation from Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia* (1720) which, in the OED's own entry for *HISTORY*, was determinedly set against Hobbes' earlier (1651) assertion that "The Register of Knowledge of Fact is called History". "If fame were not an accident and History a distillation of Rumour", the OED entry continues, here in a citation from Carlyle, writing on the French revolution in 1837. "The huge Mississippi of falsehood called history", corroborates Arnold, in another quotation – taken from his *Essay in Criticism* of 1865 – which was likewise selected for inclusion from the available body of evidence. The dialectic that such citations reveal can, of course, also be used to suggest an interesting consciousness of the problems (and illusions) of history which a close reading of the OED and available archival material likewise illuminates. 'Historizing', as this indicates, would in practice assume a variety of meanings in the ways in which it impacted upon the making of the dictionary as historical text, as well, as we have seen, upon the precise forms in which 'history' would indeed be told.

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ACT I

EARLY MODERN PERSPECTIVES:

TRANSLATIONS AND THE MAKING OF WORDS

Keywords in George Pettie's *Civile Conversation* (1581)

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1. Introduction

George Pettie's translation of *The Civile Conversation* is well known for his "Preface to the Readers" and his vehement defence of learning, of England and of the English language, and in particular the defence of borrowings.[1] But the same attention has not been paid to the translation itself, though in his thorough study Lievsay rightly defined both Pettie's translation of the first three books[2] of *The Civile Conversation* published in 1581 and Bartholomew Young's translation of the fourth one published in 1586 as "one of the minor classics of the age" (Lievsay 1961: 54).

By accepted convention, *The Civile Conversation* – following *The Courtyer* (1561), translated by Thomas Hoby, and the *Galateo of Manners and Behaviours* (1576), translated by Robert Peterson – is the third courtesy book or conduct book translated from Italian which contributed to the process of self-education – or self-fashioning, in Greenblatt's (1984: 18) terms – pervading Renaissance England. But unlike Hoby's *Courtyer*[3] and Peterson's *Galateo*,[4] Pettie's translation has long been neglected, apart from the discussion in the above-mentioned Lievsay's (1961) book and Sir Edward Sullivan's critical "Introduction" to the 1925 reprint (Sullivan 1925: v-xcii). In fact, although James Winny included in his *Elizabethan Prose Translation* a long extract from the second book of Pettie's *Civile Conversation* (Winny 1960: 59-70), he made

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[1] See Nocera Avila (2008) and the bibliography quoted there.

[2] As a matter of fact, Pettie himself declared: "I have not published the fourth Booke, for that it containeth much trifling matter in it" (Pettie [1581] 1925: 12).

[3] Besides Nocera Avila (1992) and the studies quoted there, see also Burke (1995) and the reprint edited by Virginia Cox (Castiglione [1561] 1994).

[4] Besides Nocera Avila (1997), see Woodhouse (1994) and Botteri (2007).

no specific comments on it.[5] Such neglect is undeserved for a translation which, together with its original, *La civil conversazione* by Stefano Guazzo, first published in Brescia in 1574, enjoyed wide popularity among the literary circles of the time, as is testified by Gabriel Harvey,[6] and had a recognised influence on the English literature of the late 16th and 17th centuries from Florio to Shakespeare and Webster, as is corroborated by numerous allusions and references.[7]

2. The Voyage of *La civil conversazione* through Europe

Both works, Pettie's translation and its Italian source-text, had wide publishing success, though with differences. In Italy, from 1574 to 1631, *La civil conversazione* was published thirty-four times, i.e. two editions (1574 and 1579) and thirty-two reprints. These were all published in Venice by various printers (Lievsay 1961: 280-287; Messina 1976: 2-5; Quondam 1993: LXX-LXXI), except for the very first edition, that came out in Brescia.[8]

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[5] As Winny pointed out in his "Introduction" (1960: xxi), "The extracts chosen for this book are intended to illustrate the main categories of translated work as well as some important aspects of Elizabethan outlook and prose style."

[6] Gabriel Harvey is much quoted for his 1580 "earthquake letter" to Spenser where he wrote apropos of the Italian writers' and Guazzo's popularity in Cambridge: "Matchiavell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation: Petrach, and Boccace in every mans mouth: Galateo, and Guazzo never so happy" (Harvey [1580] 1975: 621). Harvey was also an attentive reader of Guazzo's work both in Italian and in English: see in particular Cochrane 1992.

[7] The influence of Guazzo's book and/or Pettie's translation on English literature has been dealt with by Sullivan in his 1925 introduction (Guazzo [1581] 1925: xxxiv and xxxviii-xci) and by Lievsay (1961: 48-53 and chapter III). More specifically, see Bates (1991) on John Lyly, Lievsay (1939) on Robert Greene, Ellis D'Alessandro (1978) on Shakespeare, Wyatt (2005: chapter III) on John Florio, and finally Anderson (1939) and Tosi (1995) on John Webster.

[8] The full title of the 1574 Brescia edition reads as follows: *LA CIVIL CONVERSAZIONE DEL SIG. STEFANO GUAZZO GENTILUOMO DI CASALE DI MONFERRATO. DIVISA IN QUATTRO LIBRI. NEL primo si tratta de' frutti che si cavano dal conversare, e s'insegna a conoscere le buone dalle cattive conversazioni. NEL secondo si discorre primieramente delle maniere convenevoli à tutte le persone nel conversar fuori di casa, e poi delle particolari che debbono tenere conversando insieme i giovani e i vecchi, i nobili e gl'ignobili, i prencipi e i privati, i dotti e gl'idioti, i cittadini e i forestieri, i religiosi e i secolari, gli uomini e le donne. NEL*

It soon started its voyage through Europe. First it was translated in France (two different translations appearing in 1579), with ten editions from 1579 to 1609 (see Boccazzi 1978; Messina 1976: 6-7). The next stage was England with Pettie's translation in 1581. Then came Germany with three early translations into Latin published in 1585, 1596 and 1606 (fourteen editions altogether from 1585 to 1673) and two into German coming out in 1599 and 1625 (Messina 1976: 5-6, 8; Bonfatti 1979: 75-142; Quondam 1993: LXXII). There were also: a translation into Dutch with two editions, 1603 and 1606 (Lievsay 1961: 287-288; Messina 1976: 8); a translation into Czech in 1621 (Bonfatti 1979: 253); and one in Castilian recently found in a manuscript in the Madrid National Library (Boccazzi 1978: 43).

As far as the Englishing of *La civil conversazione* is concerned, the translation of the first three books appeared in London in 1581, in a 4° volume 'imprinted' by Richard Watkins as *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo Written First in Italian, and Nowe Translated out of French by George Pettie, Devided into Foure Bookes*.

A second edition, including the translation of the fourth book by Bartholomew Young, appeared five years later in 1586, in a quarto book "Imprinted at London by Thomas East". Apropos of this edition Sullivan remarked: "from whatsoever cause it may have happened, the first edition was, apparently, as quickly exhausted; the result of which to-day is that extremely few copies of either the first or the second edition are known to be in existence" (Sullivan 1925: xxvii).

About twenty years later, in 1607, book three of Pettie's *Civile Conversation* appeared in an adapted "small black-letter pamphlet […] entitled *The Court of Good Counsell*" (Lievsay 1961: 181).[9] Its

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terzo si dichiarano particolarmente i modi che s'hanno a serbare nella domestica conversazione cioè tra marito e moglie, tra padre e figliuolo, tra fratello e fratello, tra patrone e servitore. NEL quarto si rappresenta la forma della civil conversazione, con l'essempio d'un convito fatto in Casale con l'intervenimento di dieci persone. ALL'ILLUSTRISSIMO ED ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNOR VESPASIANO GONZAGA. IN BRESCIA APPRESSO TOMASO BOZZOLA MDLXXIIII.

[9] Here is the full title: *The Court of Good Counsell. Wherein Is Set downe the True Rules, How a Man Should Choose a Good Wife from a Bad, and a Woman a Good Husband from a Bad. Wherein Is Also Expressed, the Great Care That Parents Should Haue, for the Bestowing of Their Children in Mariage: and Likewise How*

dependence on Pettie's translation is recorded by Lievsay as follows:

> Though boldly described on the title page as "published by one that hath dearly bought it by experience," *The Court of Good Counsell* is far from being either an original work or one unfamiliar to *some* English readers. For despite its change of title, minor variations of phrasing, and supplied chapter headings, it merely reproduces, and generally verbatim, selected portions from Book Three of Pettie's translation. (Lievsay 1961: 181)

In 1738, after an interval of almost one and a half centuries since its first edition, Pettie's translation was readapted by an anonymous 'translator' as *The Art of Conversation*.[10] As Lievsay demonstrated,

> it is not really a translation at all but […] an unabashed piratical paraphrase of the first English translation, that of George Pettie (Bks. I-III, 1581) […] it is a late, perhaps the latest pre-modern issue of a work once enormously popular and influential on the continent and in England. (Lievsay 1940: 58)

This edition was reprinted in 1759 and 1788 (Lievsay 1961: 289-290; Messina 1976: 8). Between the 1607 and the 1738

Children Ought to Behaue Themselues towards Their Parents: and How Maisters Ought to Gouerne Their Seruants, and How Seruants Ought to Be Obedient towards Their Maisters. Set Forth as a Patterne, for All People to Learne Wit by: Published by One That Hath Dearly Bought it by Experience. At London printed by Ralph Blower, and are to be solde by William Barley at his shop in Gratious Streete. 1607.

[10] Here is the full title: *The Art of Conversation. In Three Parts. I. The Use and Benefit of Conversation in General, with Instructions to Distinguish Good Company from Bad. The Noxious Nature of Solitude, with the Evils and Mischiefs That Generally Attend it. II. Rules of Behaviour in Company Abroad, Adapted to All Ranks and Degrees of Persons; Also the Conduct and Carriage to Be Observed between Princes and Private Persons, Noblemen and Gentlemen, Scholars and Mechanicks, Natives and Strangers, Learned and Illiterate, Religious and Secular, Men and Women. III. Directions for the Right Ordering of Conversation at Home, between Husband and Wife, Father and Son, Mother and Daughter, Brother and Brother, Master and Servant. With Many Foreign Proverbs Interspers'd and Pleasant Stories. The Whole Fitted to Divert, Instruct, and Entertain Persons of Every Taste, Quality, and Circumstance in Life. Written Originally in Italian, by M. Stephen Guazzo. Translated Formerly into French, and Now into English.* London: printed for J. Brett, at the Golden Ball, opposite St. Clement's Church in the Strand. MDCCXXXVIII.

adaptations of Pettie's translation, William Reymes (1629?-1660?) translated the fourth book of *La civil conversazione*, as is evidenced in a 17th-century unpublished manuscript[11] now preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library and considered "an invaluable document in the record of Guazzo's English fortunes" (Lievsay 1961: 255).

In the 20th century Pettie's translation was revived with the already mentioned Sullivan's 1925 edition, reprinted in 1967 by AMS Press, New York. This English reprint brought the European voyage of *La civil conversazione* to a close, a work rightly defined by Patrizi (1990) a "European book", which in the last decades of the 20th century has found a renewed interest among scholars.[12]

3. The 'Civil' Conversation: "what it is"[13]

The editorial fortune of *The Civile Conversation*, as well as the success of the *Courtier* and the *Galateo*, rightly defined long-sellers (see Quondam 1993: XI), is a sign of the "civilizing process" (Elias 1988: ch. III) that permeated Europe at the dawn of the modern age. These treatises are prominent not only for the reception they enjoyed in their time, as is demonstrated by their countless editions and translations, but also, as has been observed, for the attention given to conversation (Burke 1997: 29).

3.1. The Book of the Courtier

Indeed, the primary aim of *The Book of the Courtier* was to fashion a perfect man of court, "formar con parole un perfetto cortegiano"

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[11] The title reads: *An Italian Treat. Or a Pleasant Mode of Entertainment in Use among th'Italians. Being a True Relation of a Treat Made in Casale a Cittie in Italy. Told by One Hannibal a Doct.r to His Friend a Cavalier. Written in Italian by Sig.re Stefano Guazzo in His Fourth Booke of Civill Conversation. Translated in English by W R per gusto suo.*

[12] This is testified by the studies already quoted (Lievsay 1961, Messina 1976, Bonfatti 1979), by Bartocci 1978 and particularly by Patrizi (1990) as this volume was promoted by the Centro Studi "Europa delle Corti". This was followed by an accurate reprint of the 1579 edition, published in Venice by Altobello Salicato, and enriched by a substantial *apparatus criticus* (Quondam 1993).

[13] This is a paraphrase of Thomas Wilson's well known "Plaines what it is" in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (Wilson [1553] 1982: 325).

in Castiglione's words ([1528] 1981: I, 35), translated by Hoby as "to shape in woordes a good Courtyer" ([1561] 1900: I, 42). This primary aim was happily extended by the Elizabethan translator from the court to other members of society, as is clear from the title page of the work, which reads: *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Divided into Foure Bookes. Very Necessary and Profitable for Yonge Gentilmen and Gentilwomen Abiding in Court, Palaice or Place, Done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby* ([1561] 1900: I, 1). In "The Epistle of the Translator", originally penned in 1556, Hoby had made his interpretation of the *Courtier* quite clear by defining the readership he had in mind:

> Generally ought this be in estimation with all degrees of men: for to Princes and Great men, it is a rule to rule themselves that rule others […] To men growen in yeres, a pathway to the behoulding and musing of the minde […] To yonge Gentlemen, an encouraging to garnishe their minde with morall virtues, and their bodye with comely exercises […] To Ladyes and Gentlewomen, a mirrour to decke and trimme themselves with vertuous condicions, comely behaviours and honest entertainment toward al men: And to them all in general, a storehouse of most necessary implements for the conversacion, use, and training up of mans life with Courtly demeaners. (Hoby [1561] 1900: 6-7)

In the translator's view, the *Courtier* extended beyond the court to include "all degrees of men"; but at the same time it acknowledged the role of the court in order to fashion "mans life with Courtly demeaners". Hoby's interpretation of Castiglione's text anticipated the modelling function of the *Courtier*, which was widely recognized later (see Quondam 1980: 15-31; Ossola 1987; Nocera Avila 1992: 36-37). The very fact that Hoby read and translated the *Courtier* – a work he considered "very necessary and profitable" for the education of his countrymen – did not only point out that this book was an ideal educational model, but also highlighted its utilitarian aim as "a storehouse of most necessary implements for the conversacion, use, and training up of mans life with Courtly demeaners". The *Courtier*, indeed, was a long dialogue rich in suggestions and observations on conversation – a stylized conversation, to borrow Burke's (1997: 29) expression.

3.2. The Galateo

The primary end of the *Galateo* was defined in the title of its first page as a *Trattato nel quale, sotto la persona d'un vecchio idiota ammaestrante un suo giovanetto, si ragiona de' modi che si debbono tenere o schifare nella comune conversazione, cognominato Galateo, ovvero de' costumi* (Della Casa [1558] 1990: 3). This was translated by Robert Peterson as *The Treatise of Master Jhon Della Casa Wherin under the Person of an Old Unlearned Man, Instructing a Youthe of his, he Hath Talke of the Maners and Fashions, it Behoves a Man to Use or Eschewe, in His Familiar Conversation, Intituled Galateo, of Fashions and Maners* (Nocera Avila 1997: 13). The aim of the treatise is clear: teaching how to behave in "familiar conversation", which is to be understood both in the narrow sense of 'small talk' and in the wider sense of social behaviour and manners. As has been noted (Burke 1997: 31), a third of the *Galateo* dealt with conversation, echoing Castiglione's book but making it simpler, for a wider range of readers, in the light of *medietas* and pleasantness (i.e., "piacevolezza" in Della Casa, "pleasure and delight" in Peterson). Chapters XI-XIII on "favellare" ("talk and communication") or on the choice of words and topics "to use or eschewe" in conversation were inspired by the classical and Renaissance principle of *delectare docendo* (see Orlando 1990: XVIII) which characterized this practical treatise of conduct and contributed to its fortune in and beyond its time.

If the *Courtier* and the *Galateo* were concerned with the themes and forms of conversation, it was *The Civile Conversation* which was entirely devoted to it. Indeed, as Lievsay wrote,

> The phrase "civil conversation" was not invented by Guazzo, but, beyond all doubt, his use of it gave the expression its European currency during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. […] In Guazzo's day the meaning was so patent that the expression could be transferred literally from the Italian into Latin, French, Spanish or English without the slightest confusion. […] If we are, at the outset, to avoid an anachronistic reading of the phrase, it is obvious that we must understand it as Guazzo and his readers understood it. (Lievsay 1961: 34)

Our understanding is made easier by Guazzo himself when he explains what he means by "civile conversation". Two interlocutors animate the dialogue of the first three books of the work: the author's brother "Cavalier" William Guazzo, affected by melancholia, and a doctor, Annibale (Anniball in Pettie) Magnocavalli, who prescribes conversation, rather than "solitarinesse", as a medicine to heal him. After having debated on the respective qualities of solitude and conversation, the Cavalier, though admitting that conversation is "profitable", wants to know which kind of conversation is "necessary for the obtaining of those commodities you have rehearsed" (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 53). Here is doctor Anniball's answer in Pettie's translation:

> Annib. For so much then as your question was what manner of conversation is necessarie for the attaining of that perfection which you have spoken of, I set a part al other sorts, and propose for this purpose the *civile conversation.*
> Guaz. What meane you by that woord, *Civile*?
> Annib. If you meane to know my meaning of it, I must first aske if you know any citizen which liveth uncivilly?
> Guaz. Yes mary I doe, more then one.
> Annib. Now let me ask you on the contrarie, if you know any man of the countrey which liveth civilly.
> Guaz. Yea very many.
> Annib. You see then, that we give a large sense and signification to this woorde (*civile)* for that we would have understood, that to live *civilly*, is not sayde in respect of the citie, but of the quallities of the minde: *so I understande civile conversation not having relation to the citie, but consideration to the maners and conditions which make it civile. And as lawes and civile ordinances are distributed not only to cities, but to villages, castles, and people subject unto them, so I will that civile conversation appertaine not onely to men inhabiting cities, but to all sortes of persons of what place, or of what calling soever they are.*
> *Too bee shorte, my meaning is, that civile conversation is an honest commendable and vertuous kinde of living in the world.* (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 56; my italics)

The meaning of the noun phrase "civile conversation" is made explicit in these few plain lines, free of theoretical disquisitions and

practical precepts, following in tone and content the *via media* which characterizes *The Civile Conversation* and places it "mid-way between the *Courtier* of Sir Thomas Hoby and the *Galateo* of Robert Peterson" (Sullivan 1925: xxx).

To Guazzo the term CIVIL need not be restricted to 'city' but should be extended to the "quallities of the minde", that is to "the maners and conditions" in the sense used by Erasmus in his *De civilitate morum puerilium* (1530). Since then CIVIL, as has been pointed out, has acquired the sense of 'well-bred' which still exists in Italian (Quondam 1993: XXXI). In English too, the word CIVIL has undergone the semantic shift of generalization. In the OED, s.v. *CIVIL*, beside senses relating to citizens, we find others where the adjective has in time taken up a more general, sometimes slightly negative meaning.[14]

Pettie's literal translation in the above-quoted passage, so crucial to understand the meaning of *The Civile Conversation,* confirms Lievsay's viewpoint that "the expression could be transferred literally from the Italian […] without the slightest confusion" (Lievsay 1961: 34). Pettie, as he himself wrote in his "Preface to the Readers" (Pettie [1581] 1925: 12), translated from a French version[15] supplemented by an Italian revised edition (see Sullivan

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[14] To the former group belong senses 3.a. "Of or relating to citizens or people who live together in a community; relating or belonging to members of a body politic" (first citation c1443), 4. "Befitting or appropriate to a citizen or citizens generally. Obs." (first citation 1526, last citation 1856) and 9. "Civic, municipal; urban. Obs." (first citation a1593, last citation 1713). To the latter group, senses 5. "That is in a condition of advanced social development such as is considered typical of an organized community of citizens; characteristic of or characterized by such a state of development; civilized. Now rare. Freq. contrasted with barbarous, savage", 6.a. "Of a person or his or her attributes, behaviour, etc.: educated; cultured, cultivated; well-bred. Obs." (first citation ?1538, last citation a1704) and 7.a. "Courteous, or obliging in behaviour to others; demonstrating or indicative of such behaviour; polite. In later use freq. with negative overtones: demonstrating only a minimum degree of politeness or courtesy; not rude." Such are the current definitions in the OED third online edition (which, here as elsewhere, is referred to in this chapter).

[15] In 1579 two translations appeared in France: one by Gabriel Chappuys (Lyon, Beraud) and one by Francois de Belleforest (Paris, Cavellat). Pettie translated from the former as can be deduced from a reference in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, where under the date November 11, 1579, there was licenced to "Master Watkins" (Pettie's printer) "to be translated into Englishe and so to be prynted a Book intituled: la civile conversation divisee en quattre livres

1925: xxxvii-xxxviii; Lievsay 1961: 57). Though Pettie's translation of this passage is generally speaking quite literal, a comparison of the three texts – the Italian, the French and the English ones – reveals the mediation and the 'visibility' of the translator/s. Let us consider for example Anniball's answer to Cavalier Guazzo quoted above:

> Eccovi dunque che noi diamo largo *sentimento* a questa voce… (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 40)[16]

> Vous voyez donc que nous donnons vn *sens* et *signification* à cete voix *assez estendue…* (Guazzo 1579: I, 56)

> You see then, that we give a large *sense* and *signification* to this woorde (*civile*)… (Guazzo 1925 [1581]: I, 56)

On the one hand, the French translator, Gabriel Chappuys, well understood Guazzo's extended meaning of the word CIVIL: not only did he amplify and specify the word "sentimento" with the doublet "sens et signification", but he also added the phrase "assez estendue", which is implicit in the semantic shift of CIVIL. On the other hand, Pettie, in rendering the doublet as "sense and signification", was one of the first English writers to use the 16th-century word SENSE which was, according to the OED, either adopted from French SENS or adapted from Latin SENSUS.

Indeed, s.v. *SENSE*, III.19.a. "The meaning or signification of a word or phrase […]", the first citation is dated 1530, followed by one from Elyot's *Dictionary* (1538) and this very same passage by Pettie. Likewise, SIGNIFICATION, either adopted from French SIGNIFICATION or adapted from Latin SIGNIFICATIO, had existed in English since the 14th century as is showed by the OED, s.v. *SIGNIFICATION*, sense 1. "That which is signified by something; meaning, import, implication", whose first citation referring to words is dated 1398.

Traduite d'Italien Du. Sieur Estienne Guazzo gentilhome de Casal par Gabriel Chappius Tourangeoys" (Sullivan 1925: xvii-xviii).

[16] Here and in all the following quotations italics are mine.

However Pettie, while usually following the French text, went his own way this time by adding the word CIVILE as a reinforcement and the affirmation of a word which was gaining new currency.

4. "Conversazione/conversare" in Pettie's Translation

If the noun phrase "civile conversation" literally reproduces the Italian title words, the translation of 'conversazione' and 'conversare' presents a variety of forms and meanings. Indeed, it is from the very title-page that an alternation of "conversation" and "companie" is found in Pettie's translation, which can usefully be compared to the corresponding Italian and French source-texts:

LA CIVIL CONVERSAZIONE DEL SIGNOR STEFANO GUAZZO GENTILUOMO DI CASALE DI MONFERRATO, DIVISA IN QUATTRO LIBRI. NEL primo si tratta in generale de' frutti che si cavano dal *conversare* e s'insegna a conoscere le buone dalle cattive *conversazioni*. NEL secondo si discorre primieramente delle maniere convenevoli a tutte le persone nel *conversar* fuori di casa e poi delle particolari che debbono tenere *conversando insieme* i giovani e i vecchi, i nobili e gli ignobili, i principi e i privati, i dotti e gli	LA CIVILE CONVERSATION, DIVISEE EN QUATRE LIVRES. AV PREMIER EST TRAITTE' EN general, des fruits qui se recueillent de la *Conversation* & donné à cognoistre les bonnes *compagnies*, des mauuaieses. Au Second, des manieres convenables à toutes personnes, pour *hanter compagnie* hors la maison: et puis des particulieres que doiuent tenir *en compagnie*, les Ieunes & les Vieils: les Gentilz-hommes et les Roturiers: les Princes & homes privez: les Sauans et les Ignorans, les Citoyens & les Estranger: les	THE CIVILE CONuersation of M. Steeven Guazzo Written First in Italian, and Nowe Translated out of French by George Pettie, Deuided into Foure Bookes. In the First is Conteined in Generall, the Fruites That May Be Reaped by *Conversation*, and Teaching How to Knowe Good *Companie* from Yll. In the Second, the Manner of *Conversation*, Meete for All Persons, Which Shall Come in Any *Companie*, out of Their Owne

idioti, i cittadini e i forestieri, i religiosi e i secolari, gli uomini e le donne. NEL terzo si dichiarano particolarmente i modi che s'hanno a serbare nella do*mestica conversazione*, cioè tra marito e moglie, tra padre e figliuolo, tra fratello e fratello, tra patrone e servitore (Guazzo [1579] 1993: LXIX).	Religieux & les Seculiers: les Homes & les Femes. Au Troisieme, des moyes que l'on doit tenir en la *conversation domestique*, entre le Mary & la Femme: le Pere &le Fils: le Frere & le Frere: le Maistre & le Seruiteur (Guazzo 1579).	Houses, and Then of the Perticular Points Which Ought to Bee Observed in *Companie* betweene Young Men and Olde, Gentlemen and Yeomen, Princes and Private Persons, Learned and Unlearned, Citizens and Strangers, Religious and Secular, Men & Women. In the Third Is Particularly Set foorth the Orders to Bee Observed in *Conversation* within Doores, betweene the Husband and the Wife, the Father and the Sonne, Brother and Brother, the Maister and the Servant (Guazzo [1581] 1925).

As far as the English translation of "conversazione" and "conversare" in the title-page and in the whole first book of *La civil conversazione* are concerned, it emerges that Pettie generally followed Chappuy's text. In the approximately 90 occurrences of the Italian CONVERSAZIONE and CONVERSARE found in our analysis, the action noun CONVERSATION was generally used;

sometimes, COMPANIE was preferred when, one might argue, the social element of conversation was to be highlighted.[17]

Still, CONVERSATION and COMPANIE are more semantically related than might appear at first sight. In fact, one meaning of CONVERSATION, now obsolete, was "circle of acquaintance, company, society" (as the OED explains s.v. *CONVERSATION*, 5, by respectively using Shelton 1620 and Steele 1712 as first and last citations). This is reflected in Johnson's 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*, s.v. *COMPANY*, where the fourth sense reads "The state of a companion; the act of accompanying; conversation, fellowship".[18]

Semantic overlapping apart, Pettie's use of either CONVERSATION or COMPANIE may be the product of the influence of his French source-text. This may also have prompted the English translator to opt for the use of such doublets as "conversation and company" or "company and conversation" for Italian "conversazione", as shown in the following example:

Cavaliere – E se bene vi parrà forse che la *conversazione* sia naturalmente desiderata da tutti	Le Chev. Et combien qu'il vous semble, paravanture, que la *conversation et compagnie* soit	Guaz. And though it shall seeme perchance unto you, that *conversation and companie* is

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[17] Of the 11 senses of *CONVERSATION* listed in the OED, 7.a. defines the word as "interchange of thoughts and words; familiar discourse or talk" (first citation 1586 from Sidney's *Arcadia*). As for *COMPANY*, the most relevant sense is 5.a. "a gathering of people for social intercourse or entertainment; a social party; a circle". This is also reflected in Burke's comment on such keywords as "la brigata, la compagnie, le monde" that are found in the books on conversation to define a "linguistic community" made up of three or four people (see Burke 1997: 45).

[18] The semantic overlapping of CONVERSATION and COMPANY is also to be found in Italian CONVERSAZIONE and COMPAGNIA, as attested by Salvatore Battaglia's *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* where s.v. *CONVERSAZIONE* we find both "circolo di conversatori, riunione di amici e conoscenti che si trovano per conversare […] Disus.: compagnia, cerchia di persone che si frequentano abitualmente" (first citation from Della Casa) and "colloquio fra più persone, condotto con tono di amabilità e discrezione intorno a vari argomenti" (first citation from Castiglione). As for *COMPAGNIA*, sense 3 reads "Gruppo di persone che si riuniscono per conversare, divertirsi, per passare il tempo; brigata, comitiva".

gli uomini […] non s'ha da mettere in conto […] quella moltitudine, la quale […] se ne sta *in continova conversazione* (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 21).	naturellement desiree de tous les hommes, […] l'on ne doit […] considerer la multitude du peuple, laquelle […] est continuellement *en compagnie* (Guazzo 1579 : I, 19).	naturally desired of all men […] a man must not make reckoning or account of the multitude of people, which […] are always *in companie and conversation* (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I: 26).

It is to be noted here that at the beginning of the above sentence the English translator faithfully reproduces the French doublet, whereas at the end of it the doublet is only found in the English version.

The same English doublets are also employed to render Italian PRATICARE and COMMERCIO,[19] as shown by the following excerpts:

Annibale – E perché la verità si cava dalle intelligenze communi, non si possono apprendere queste intelligenze se non col *praticare* (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 31).	Annib. & pour autant que la verité se tire des communes intelligences, ces intelligences là ne se peuvent aprendre, sinon par la *frequentation et compagnie* (Guazzo 1579: I. 39).	Annib. And for so much as the trueth is taken from the common consent and opinions of men, those opinions can not be knowen but by *conversation and companie* (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 41).
Annibale – vi è una sorte di solitudine […] priva di *commercio umano* (Guazzo [1579] 1993:	Annib. il ya vne maniere de solitude […] prive de *frequentation & compagnie* (Guazzo	Annib. there is one sort of solitarinesse so rare and perfect, that it is […] without *companie and*

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19 This is in a way confirmed by the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, where sense 3 of CONVERSAZIONE is defined as "Ant. e letter. Il frequentare (una persona, un ambiente): pratica, dimestichezza acquisita per consuetudine di vita in comune".

I, 34).	1579: I, 46).	*conversation* (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 47-48).

As far as the verb CONVERSARE is concerned, Pettie recurs to either the one-word verb TO CONVERSE or some multi-word verb phrases. In the example below, TO CONVERSE clearly means "to associate familiarly, consort, keep company; to hold intercourse, be familiar with":[20]

Cavaliere – dunque voi sete di parere ch'un animo gentile ed elevato abbia a *conversare* con tali persone? (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 45).	Le Chev. Vous estes donc d'avis qu'un gentil esprit doit *conuerser* avec telle maniere de gens? (Guazzo 1579: I, 65).	Guaz. Are you then of opinion that a Gentleman ought to *converse* with such manner of people? (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 63).

Elsewhere, CONVERSARE is translated with such verb phrases as "use conversation with", "keepe companie", "bee conversant with" or "bee conversant among", as shown in the excerpts here below:

Annibale - *conversano* fra noi, predicando, insegnando (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 23).	Annib. *conversent* avec nous, en prechant, enseignant (Guazzo 1579: I, 23).	Annib. *use conversation with* us in preaching, teaching (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 29).
Annibale - E per certo abbiamo a fuggire le male compagnie così per lo danno che se ne riceve […], come per l'opinione altrui, conciosiaché tali alla fine noi siamo riputati quali sono quelli con	Annib. Et certainements nous devons fuir les mauvaises compagnies, tant pour le dommage que l'on reçoit […], que pour l'opinion d'autruy, attendu que nous	Annib. And truly we ought to avoyde yll companie, as well as for the hurt which is received thereby […], as for the judgement and opinion of others, for that we are at length taken for such

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[20] OED, s.v. *TO CONVERSE*, 2.a. This sense is marked as obsolete, the first citation being dated 1598 and the last one 1823.

cui più *conversiamo*. (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 40).	sommes à la fin reputez tells que sont ceux, lesquels nous *hantons* (Guazzo 1579: I, 57).	as those *with* whom we *keepe companie*. (Guazzo [1581] 1925: 57).
Cavaliere - E se bene per servigio del mio Prencipe mi conviene *conversare* nonché con gli altri gentiluomini suoi servitori (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 15).	Le Chev. & combien que pour le service de mon Prince, il me faille *hanter* non seulement les autres gentilz hommes ses serviteurs (Guazzo 1579: I, 6).	Guaz. And though for the service of my Prince, I must of force *bee conversant* not only *with* other Gentlemen his servants (Guazzo [1581] 1925: I, 17).
Annibale - E se […] egli non fosse stato *conversevole*, […] disputando e insegnando la sua dottrina, […] ha per lo spazio di tanti anni *conversato fra noi* (Guazzo [1579] 1993: I, 24).	Annib. Et si […] il n'eust esté *compagnable*, […], disputant & enseignant sa doctrine, […] il ha par l'espace de tant d'annees, […] *conuersé avec nous* (Guazzo 1579: I, 25).	Annib. And if […] hee had not been *conversable* […] for that disputing, preaching […] hee *was conversant amongst us* (Guazzo [1581] 1993: I, 30).

As we have just seen, in Pettie's translation CONVERSATION and its related forms presented a variety of meanings that Italian, French and English shared in those days. Such forms and meanings have been lost in time through semantic narrowing. In fact, CONVERSATION no longer has the senses of "praticare", "frequentation" and "to use conversation with", since it has assumed the more restricted, modern sense of "interchange of thoughts and words; familiar discourse or talk" (OED, 7.a.).

5. Concluding Remarks

The work of the French and English translators, vis-à-vis Guazzo's text, shows how words and concepts travelled in early modern

Europe. In the rewriting of *La civil conversazione*, Chappuy and Pettie well understood and adequately translated the subtleties of the concept of 'civil conversation' which, as has been pointed out, "did not merely denote the exchange of views and social pleasantries; it involved 'behaviour' as well as 'words'" (Bryson 1998: 154). CIVIL underwent a significant semantic change, while CONVERSATION and its various related lexical forms reveal the wide range of meanings they had and took on in 16th-century Europe. These words can be considered sociocultural 'keywords', as they certainly were "significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams [1976] 1983: 15) and, we add, in a given period of time.

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Translators as Wordsmiths: Lexical Innovations in Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* in English

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1. Introduction

In Christopher Langton's *Introduction to Phisycke*, published circa 1545, the fifth chapter deals with "The sections of the bodye". While describing the different parts of the brain, Langton comments on the inadequacy of English medical terminology:

> The thyrde chambre is behynde in the laste parte of the heed, whiche before we supposed to be the place and seet, of the memorye, and in this chambre is a greate parte of the brayne, whiche the Grecians call παρεγκεφαλις, in latyne it is called *Cerebellum*: in oure tungue we haue no propre name for it, whiche I can do no lesse then count the negligence of our Phisitions to be the cause of: for yf they had wrytten of theyr arte in theyr mother tunge, as they do in other places, why shulde we lacke englysh names, more then we lacke eyther Latyn names or Greke names? and yet to saye the truthe, it is better for vs English men to haue English names, then eyther Latyn or Greke. (Langton c.1545: XXVIb-XXVIIa)

The promotion of English as the language of science, as it is exemplified by this quotation, went hand in hand with the evolution of science itself. Slow was the change from scholasticism to empiricism in early modern Europe: as far as medicine was concerned, it took decades, indeed centuries, for the old Galenic tradition to be broken with, and the inductive mode of knowing to spread. Correspondingly late was the surrender of Latin although an incipient sense of nationalism, in England as well as elsewhere, promoted the use of the vernacular. It has rightly been argued that, "In the field of science, medicine was in the vanguard of vernacularization" (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2004: 11): this is not surprising at all, because medicine

> was both a subject of scholastic study and a practice carried out by healers without formal training, so we find medical texts in

vernacular languages, presumably aimed at bridging the gap between
learned and popular medicine, which coexisted with far more
numerous Latin medical treatises throughout the Middle Ages.
(Crossgrove 1998: 82)

This is true of early modern as much as late medieval Europe.
Latin did not easily let academic learning slip from its grasp:
advances in science, even after old scholastic thinking started being
rejected, were still discussed in Latin in the universities. Hence,
books for the small medical elite and an international readership
were written in Latin until well into the 17th century. But the
situation had been changing, and it did change dramatically from
the late 1640s onwards: according to data provided and calculations
made by Charles Webster, 207 out of the 238 medical books
published in England between 1640 and 1660 were in English, a
staggering 89.6%! (see Webster 1975: 266-267, and Wear 2000:
40-45).

William Harvey's treatise on the circulation of the blood –
which was originally written in Latin and came out in Frankfurt
(Harvey 1628), to be later translated into English and published in
London (Harvey 1653a) – can properly exemplify both the
climactic moment in the use of Latin as the international language
of scientific communication and the growing prestige of English as
the medium for medical discourse. Between original scientific
works published in either Latin or – increasingly – English,
translations from Latin into the vernacular occupy an intermediate
position that is indicative of a new, wider readership and the
indisputable development of scientific English. Both aspects – the
study and practice of medicine in the 17th century, and the features
of medical English in the same period – and especially their
interrelations are well worth examining in detail,[1] and Harvey's
epoch-making book can make a most suitable case-study.[2]

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[1] Much interesting research has been carried out by historians of medicine in
Britain: see among others Webster (1975), French (2000, 2003), French & Wear
(1989), Porter (1989, 1992, [1987] 1993, 2001) and Wear (1992, 1998, 2000).
First-class research on late medieval and early modern medical discourse is found
in Taavitsainen & Pahta (2004, 2010, 2011).
[2] A thorough analysis of this translation and its socio-cultural context will be
carried out in a forthcoming paper.

However, in order to fall into line with the general topic of the present book, this chapter will focus on one specific feature of the English rendering of the *De Motu Cordis*, that is to say the translator's strategies to cope with Latin technical terminology.

2. Harvey and *De Motu Cordis*

William Harvey (1578-1657) was first educated at Folkestone, where he was born, then at Canterbury and Cambridge, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts from Caius College in 1597. After travelling to the Continent, in 1599 Harvey entered the University of Padua, where he was among the students of the pioneering anatomist and surgeon Fabricius of Aquapendente, and where he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine in 1602. That year he obtained the same degree from the University of Cambridge and then settled in London, holding appointments at St Bartholomew's Hospital and at the College of Physicians; he also became physician to James I and Charles I.[3]

When he published his celebrated treatise *Exercitatio Anatomica De Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* in 1628, Harvey had been working on the circulation of the blood for about ten years. His scientific discovery can be summarized as follows:

> Harvey depended not only on classical doctrines but also on close empirical investigations, which demonstrated to him at least two basic facts: the valves in the veins prevent the blood from moving in any direction except towards the heart; and the heart's movement of diastole (its squeezing) rather than the systole (its engorgement) was the active motion of the heart, causing the blood to rush onward. (Cook 2006: 425)

As has already been mentioned, Harvey's treatise was published in Frankfurt, whose annual book fair guaranteed wide circulation to

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[3] Harvey's life has been the subject of many biographies, among others Keynes (1949, 1966), Keele (1965), and French (2004). On Harvey's work and ideas, see Pagel (1967), Whitteridge (1971), Bylebyl (1979), Frank (1980), Gregory (2001), Shackelford (2003) and French (2006); on Harvey in Padua, see Ongaro *et al.* (2006).

works written in Latin for an international readership. Although – or, rather, as – Harvey's insights stirred heated debate, *De Motu Cordis* achieved a long-lasting publishing success, with nineteen Latin editions, fifteen of them in the 17th century: it was published in Frankfurt, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Leiden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh (see Keynes 1953: 1-23).

Harvey's choice to write his book in Latin was a wise one. In fact, despite the ongoing sociocultural changes, "in Harvey's world the use of Latin was associated with social authority", and

> The formal Latin argument was a good strategy for Harvey in the published work. […] he not only had to reach a wide audience, but to convince them. Here Latin had its advantages. It was the language of philosophy, of demonstration, of rhetoric, and of proof. Harvey uses it for all these. It was the language of the medical experiment, a central part of Harvey's natural philosophy and derived from an anatomical tradition going back through Fabricius, Colombo, and Vesalius to Galen (whom the medical men read in Latin translations). (French 2000: 26, 44)

Moreover, if we are to believe an early biographer,[4] Harvey's use of Latin, although traditional, was no impediment to his research methodology and innovative theory:

> With respect to the style of Harvey's works, it is, perhaps, a circumstance deserving commendation, that, when treating on subjects so perfectly modern, he did not confine himself within the rules of strict Latinity, but used, without scruple, such technical terms, as had been found necessary to express the ideas of an improved science. This is principally applicable to his treatises on the motion of the blood; in which, wholly intent on his subject, he appears only solicitous to write intelligibly, and inattentive to elegance. (Aikin 1780: 324)

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[4] John Aikin (1747-1822) was an English doctor and writer, with a particular bent for biographies. His *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great Britain* is meant to describe "the progress of the medical art" while "throwing due lustre on the characters of men" (Aikin 1780: vii), and deals with fifty-five doctors from the early 13th century to Harvey's times.

3. *De Motu Cordis* in English and the Translation of Medical Terminology

3.1. De Motu Cordis *in English*

The Anatomical Exercises of Dr William Harvey came out in London in 1653, four years before Harvey died. Just a quick look at the title-page will be enough to see that the translation was not carried out from the 1628 Frankfurt edition, but from the one published in Rotterdam twenty years later (Harvey 1648).

At least two plausible reasons can be given to explain why the English translation was based on the Rotterdam edition: firstly, because the Frankfurt edition was not exempt from typos and mistakes, which Harvey himself, who had not been able to see the book through the press, had often complained of; and secondly, because the paratext in the Rotterdam edition wholeheartedly supported Harvey's methodology and conclusions. In fact, it should not be forgotten that Harvey's ideas were often attacked, most notably by the French anatomist Jean Riolan, still an advocate for Galen: his *Opuscula Anatomica* (Riolan 1649) criticized Harvey's views, and the English doctor had to defend himself in his *Exercitatio Anatomica De Circulations Sanguinis* (Harvey 1649), where he argued that Riolan's position was contrary to all observational evidence. Therefore, the anonymous translator[5] was certainly glad to render Zachariah Wood's Latin preface into English, and write as follows:

> *Harvey* did not trust other mens writings, but his own faithfull eys, the truest reporters of Anatomy, because Anatomy is better gain'd by ocular inspection than by long reading, and profound meditation. None is forc'd to swear allegiance to a Master, whom nevertheless we likewise trust after experience. […] Wherefore let *ipse dixit* never be held here, let no excellent mans Authority be brought for an argument, let no opinion have a prerogative, but let the better bear it away. Lastly, while others endeavour to defend Antiquity, let us,

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[5] In his introduction to the Italian edition of Harvey's works, Franco Alessio mentions George Ent – a close friend of Harvey's, and the author of the *Apologia Pro Circulatione Sanguinis* (Ent 1641) in defence of Harvey's theory – as the possible editor of the 1653 translation (Alessio 1963: 36).

together with *Harvey*, plead Truthes cause; Let us approve those things which are agreeable to truth, and reject those things which are contrary to it, weighing and esteeming the inventions of Antiquity not in the scale of Antiquity, but in the scale of Truth. (Harvey 1653a: The Preface, n.p.)

What is notable here, and in the whole preface, is the firm insistence on sensory, 'autoptic' experience as the most reliable form of knowledge, and on the related "construal of experience as 'experiment'" (Dear 2006: 106). This is not only interesting from a cultural and historical point of view, but it is also relevant to a lexicological analysis of Harvey's treatise and its translation. In fact, a narrative description of experience and experiment can but have recourse to pertinent, unambiguous and correct terminology: words, in a sense, are among the tools the anatomist uses to carry out his experiments, to explain his procedures, and to describe objects and facts. Anyway, while Harvey could rely on traditional scientific Latin and its lexical resources to meet his communicative needs, the translator of the *De Motu Cordis* had a much harder job to do, because the English language was on the move as "new technical lexicons were being forged or expanded in the interests of precision, and the polysemy of natural language […] was being rejected" (Campbell 2006: 760). Of course, the most basic anatomical and medical vocabulary had been in the language since the Anglo-Saxon times, and many terms had been added to the lexical store in the late middle English period and the 16th century; but monolingual lexicography was still in its infancy in the mid-17th century, and the new 'natural philosophy' and scientific method required the incessant coining of new terminology.[6] Therefore, even in those days (i.e. not long before the Royal Society was founded) translators were largely left to themselves to tackle the lexical problems posed by texts they had to work on.

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[6] For an exploration of two medical lexical fields between late middle and early modern English, see Norri 1992 and 1998; medical terminology in early modern English lexicography is dealt with in McConchie 1997 and Iamartino forthc. For a general survey on medical discourse in 16th- and 17th-century England see Gotti 2006.

In what follows, the different lexical strategies adopted by the translator of the *De Motu Cordis* will be shown and commented upon. More precisely, focus will be placed on his rendering of Harvey's specialized Latin lexis employed in the close examination and description of physical details and the physiology of human and animal bodies.

3.2. General Scientific and Basic Medical Terminology

A close parallel reading of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* and its English translation provided evidence of some five hundred words or phrases that may be said to belong to the vocabulary of science and medicine. It is hardly possible to be more precise because a degree of uncertainty and subjectivity in the selection was inescapable, since quite a few words in the source and target texts were not technical in themselves but acquired some sort of specialized meaning from their co-text. For instance, while there are no doubts at all about the everyday usage of the verb UNTIE here below, one cannot say for certain whether COMPRESSION and CAPACIOUS should be labelled as technical terms:

> si vel vinculum solveris in administranda phlebotomia, vel infra ligaveris (Harvey 1648: 142)
> If in *Phlebotomie* you either untie the band, or bind it below (Harvey 1653a: 69)

> propter ligaturę compressionē (Harvey 1648: 139)
> by reason of the compression of the ligature (Harvey 1653a: 67)

> quanto minorē ventriculus capacitatē habeat (Harvey 1648: 108)
> how much lesse capacious the *ventricle* is (Harvey 1653a: 49)

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, OED), UNTIE has been in the language since the late Anglo-Saxon period, with literal and figurative meanings, but no technical sense; COMPRESSION had also long been in the language when Harvey's book was translated, but this French loanword had been introduced into English as a technical term through the translation of Lanfrank's *Science of Chirurgie* and was largely employed as such; finally, the very form of CAPACIOUS, only attested in English from

the early 17th century, is indicative of a learned word, apparently chosen on purpose by the translator, who might instead have used CAPACITY in the then current meaning of "ability to receive or contain; holding power" (OED, s.v. *CAPACITY*, 1.a).

Another interesting example is BEATING. It goes without saying that this word does not occur in *The Anatomical Exercises* in its ordinary sense of hitting somebody as a punishment but in the medical sense of the pulsating or throbbing movement of the heart; hence, it should count as a technical term. And yet, its specific meaning can only deduced from the co-text, as the following quotations show:[7]

> palpitationem & vitæ principium, ageret (Harvey 1648: 59)
> it did represent a beating, and the beginning of life (Harvey 1653a: 20)

> in pulsu cordis (Harvey 1648: 64)
> in the beating of the *heart* (Harvey 1653a: 23)

Under the rubric of basic medical terminology, such words as ARTERY, BLOOD, BODY, HEART, SHOULDER, VEIN and many more could be listed; but they belong to the common core of the English language, were readily available to the translator as equivalents of the corresponding Latin terms, and are not worth commenting upon.

3.3. Recent Unadapted or Slightly Modified Loanwords

This category includes Greek or Latin loanwords that are either taken as such (i.e. they are formally unadapted), or show the usual modifications or removal of endings.

To the first group belong such terms as AORTA, DIASTOLE, LARYNX, SYSTOLE, VENA CAVA or URETER. These are taken verbatim from the *De Motu Cordis*, with no explanation or gloss added, as an example can show:

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[7] It should be noticed that BEATING translates both Latin PALPITATIO and PULSUS. As an illustrative quotation for this meaning of the noun BEATING, the OED (s.v. *BEATING*, n. 5) first mentions a line from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and then late 18th- and 19th-century examples: one quotation from Harvey (1653a) might make a very pertinent addition.

> Nam qui motus vulgo cordis Diastole existimatur, revera Systole est.
> Et similiter motus proprius cordis Diastole non est, sed Systole
> (Harvey 1648: 37)
> For that motion which is commonly thought the *Diastole* of the
> *heart*, is really the *Systole*, and so the proper motion of the *heart* is
> not a *Diastole* but a *Systole* (Harvey 1653a: 7)

These and similar technical words were lifted from the source text, and not unexpected so, as the OED makes it clear that they had been used in English since at least the last quarter of the preceding century. More recent words, though, were singled out for special treatment, as is evidenced by the translator's use of EPIGLOTTIS and PLACENTA (according to the OED, the former being first attested in English in 1615, the latter in 1638):

> Larynx à musculis suis & epiglottide clauditur, elevatur & aperitur
> summitas gulæ à musculis suis (Harvey 1648: 62)
> the *larinx* is shut close, by its own *muscles*, and the Epiglottis, the
> top of the *weason*, is lifted up, and opened by its *muscles* (Harvey
> 1653a: 21-22)

> una cum materno sanguine revertente à placenta uteri (Harvey 1648:
> 178)
> together with the mothers blood returning from the *Placenta* of the
> womb (Harvey 1653a: 89)

Both words – occurring only once in the *De Motu Cordis* – were recent and uncommon in English. In the first example, therefore, the translator inserted an explanatory gloss to make the word meaning clear (WEASON being a variant spelling of WEASAND, now chiefly dialectal for the OESOPHAGUS or GULLET); as to the second example, although UTERUS had been in the language since 1615, he opted for a mixed-language expression where the very recent loanword PLACENTA was retained as such, and its meaning was made clear by the subsequent English prepositional phrase.

Lexicologically less interesting, because perfectly in line with the general early modern English tendency to remove or modify the inflectional or derivational endings of Greek and Latin words (see e.g. Nevalainen 2006: 50-56), is the translator's use of such words as ANATOMIE (first attested in 1541), ANATOMICAL (1594), TO

CONTRACT (1604), TO REFRIGERATE (1525), SANGUIFICATION (1578) or THERAPEUTICK (1646).

3.4. Non-Technical Equivalents for Latin Medical Terminology

When no English terms nor recently adopted loanwords were available to him, the translator of the *De Motu Cordis* had to fend for himself, and he was often not very successful.

If all technical terms should unambiguously convey their meaning, a 1:1 correspondence is expected between terms from different languages denoting the same referent. And yet, two distinct Latin words in Harvey's book were sometimes translated in the target text by one and the same term. In fact, SKIN was used for both CUTIS and CUTICULA, and WOUND for both VULNUS and ICTUS. The most surprising instance, though, is BREATHING, which is used as an equivalent of INSPIRATIO, EXPIRATIO and RESPIRATIO:

> ut inspiratio aëre contēperetur (Harvey 1648: 84)
> that it may be temperd by breathing in the air upon it (Harvey 1653a: 34)

> cum sanguis retro in expirationibus remigrasset (Harvey 1648: 94)
> *when in our breathing our blood should return backwards* (Harvey 1653a: 40)

> pulmonum respiratio (Harvey 1648: 96)
> the breathing of the *lungs* (Harvey 1653a: 42)

It can hardly be understood why the translator did not employ INSPIRATION (first attested in 1564), EXPIRATION (1603) or at least RESPIRATION (1425), which he did use sometimes, along with BREATHING, for RESPIRATIO:

> sed & respirationem in illa parte quam caudam nominant (Harvey 1648: 198)
> but a respiration likewise in that place which they call the tail (Harvey 1653a: 102)

This latter instance exemplifies the reverse situation, which is found when a Latin word is given two or more equivalents in English: not only RESPIRATIO is translated as either BREATHING or

RESPIRATION; but Latin VAS can be either VAS or VESSEL, and Latin FISTULA either PIPE or CONDUIT PIPE in English. Another interesting example is the translation of Latin PHLEBOTOMIA with either the learned loanword PHLEBOTOMIE (in English since the early 15th century) or the compound BLOODLETTING, which is also used as an equivalent of SANGUINIS MISSIO:

> si recte in phlebotomia fiat ligatura (Harvey 1648: 129)
> if in the bloud-letting the *ligature* be made aright (Harvey 1653a: 61)

> qua de causa in phlebotomia (Harvey 1648: 141)
> for what cause in *Phlebotomie* (Harvey 1653a: 68)

> in administranda phlebotomia (Harvey 1648: 142)
> in *Phlebotomie* (Harvey 1653a: 69)

> in administranda phlebotomia (Harvey 1648: 146)
> in the administratiō of *Phlebotomie* (Harvey 1653a: 72)

> in sanguinis missione (Harvey 1648: 129)
> in blood letting (Harvey 1653a: 61)

> in sanguinis missione (Harvey 1648: 131)
> in letting of blood (Harvey 1653a: 62)

> post sanguinis missionem (Harvey 1648: 136)
> after bloud letting (Harvey 1653a: 65)

This kind of asymmetrical equivalence is clearest in the case of the different English forms for Latin VALVULA and VALVULAE SIGMOIDES – a varied, somewhat confusing combination of the translation equivalents PORTAL, DOOR, SHUT or LOCK:

> valvularum artificio, positione, & usu (Harvey 1648: 65)
> from the *figure*, *place*, and *use* of the *Portals* (Harvey 1653a: 23)

> & valvulas illas tres tricuspides in orificio aortæ positas (Harvey 1648: 68)
> those *three pointed doors* plac'd in the *Orifice* of the *Aorta* (Harvey 1653a: 25)

> valvulæ sigmoides tres (Harvey 1648: 77)

three * *doors* of the fashion of a Σ (Harvey 1653a: 30)[8]

Sunt in orificio venæ arteriosæ, valvulæ tres sigmoides, sive semi-
lunares (Harvey 1648: 91)
There are in the *orifice* of the *vena arteriosa* 3. shuts, or doors, made
like a Σ, or half-Moon (Harvey 1653a: 38)

Harum valvularum necessitate & usum (Harvey 1648: 91)
the use and necessity of those shuts (Harvey 1653a: 38)

videlicet valvulæ sigmoides (Harvey 1648: 93)
that is to say those three Sygma-like doors (Harvey 1653a: 39)

Communis autem ipsorum omnium, videlicet valvularum, est usus
(Harvey 1648: 94)
Indeed the use of all the shuts or portals is the same (Harvey 1653a:
40)

& hujus rei causa valvularum genera quatuor (Harvey 1648: 96)
and for this reason […] four locks or doors (Harvey 1653a: 41)

   While the presence of these variant forms may be puzzling for
the translation's readers,[9] it is also clear evidence that the translator
was often at a loss to make use of consistent terminology.
   Two final examples of the translator's shortcomings focus
attention on problems of lexical semantics and stylistics.
   Such phrases as "in amputatione membrorum" (Harvey 1648:
211 *et passim*) or "in membrorum excisione (Harvey 1648: 128 *et
passim*), often found in the *De Motu Cordis*, are systematically
translated by using the deverbal nouns CUTTING, CUTTING OFF or
CUTTING AWAY in the English text: although there is no
inconsistency here, one wonders why the translator did not make
use of AMPUTATION and EXCISION (first attested in English in 1617
and c.1541 respectively); more than that, the translator must have
overlooked the non-technical nature of his chosen equivalents,
while AMPUTATIO and EXCISIO are very specific kinds of cutting,

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[8] Harvey (1653a:30) has "* Valvulae" printed on the left-hand page margin.

[9] Another case in point is Latin DUCTUS, which may be found in the English text as
either CONDUCT, CONDUIT, DRAUGHT, DRAWING or PASSAGE.

undoubtedly requiring proper translation equivalents in a book on
Anatomical Exercises.

At the beginning of Chapter XVI MAD is used twice to refer to
rabid dogs: that was, and still is, common usage (OED, s.v. *MAD*, 1),
but the Latin text had provided the translator with the model for the
loanword RABID ("aut canis rabidi morsu", "à morsu canis rabidi",
Harvey 1648: 172,173), which had already been introduced into the
English language (OED, *RABID*, 1.a, first attested in 1594), and
might have been more suitable in a scholarly text.

Semantically and stylistically, therefore, the translator of the *De
Motu Cordis* might have tried harder, at least in a few instances.

3.5. The Translator as Wordsmith (and the OED)

The final section of this chapter will redress the balance for the
anonymous translator of the *De Motu Cordis*, whose shortcomings
have just been highlighted. Indeed, *The Anatomical Exercises of Dr
William Harvey* provides good evidence of its translator's largely
successful attempt to cope with the originality of Harvey's insights,
scientific procedures and descriptions. He succeeded, because his
translation is characterised by the timely insertion of some
neologisms or new word-senses. These were detected both by
referring to the OED and by reading the translated text carefully.

An advanced search of the online OED gave as a result 54
quotations from Harvey's works in English, that is to say *The
Anatomical Exercises of Dr William Harvey* but also the
*Anatomical Exercitations, Concerning the Generation of Living
Creatures* (Harvey 1659b), a translation of Harvey's 1651
Exercitationes De Generatione Animalium. It was this latter book
that was most often quoted from in the OED, where only four
excerpts from the former translation are listed in order to document
the following words and usages:[10]

ALIMENTATIVE, adj., 1. = Alimentary, adj. 1

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[10] It is to be noted that the way the titles of the two translations are shortened in
the OED is a bit confusing, and at least once wrong. S.v. *ALIMENTATIVE*, the
quote from Harvey (1653a) has "vaporous", not "vapourous". Harvey's translation
is quoted, s.v. *RECOURSE*, from the 1673 edition, which is "a reprint of the
edition of 1653 with some textual errors and omissions" (Keynes 1953: 28).

1653   W. Harvey *Anat. Exercises* viii. 46   All the parts are nourished, cherished, and quickned with blood, which is warm, perfect, vapourous, full of spirit, and that I may so say, alimentative.

RECIPROCATE, v., 5.a = *trans.* To alternate the direction of, esp. backwards and forwards; to cause to oscillate. Now *Mech.*
1653   W. Harvey *Anat. Exercitations* vii. 39   [The blood] like Euripus reciprocating its motion again and again, hither and thither.

RECOURSE, n.[1], 7.a = a. Movement, flow; a course, passage, or path *to* or *into* something. Also in extended use. *Obs.*
[...]
1653   W. Harvey *Anat. Exercitations* (1673) 61   You shall quickly see the distance betwixt the heart and the ligature emptied, so that you must needs affirm the recourse of blood.

REFLUX, n. 2. *Med.* Flow of a fluid through a tubular structure, valve, or opening of the body in a direction opposite to that regarded as normal. In early use also: †flow of blood back to the heart (*obs.*). Freq. *attrib.* See also *reflux oesophagitis.*
1630   T. Johnson tr. A. Paré *Treat. Plague* xi. 31   She was some-what troubled with a difficultie of making Water, and I thinke it was, because the Bladder was inflamed by the reflux of the matter.
1653   W. Harvey *Anat. Exercitations* (1673) i. xiii. 81   [The blood] comes..into the ear of the heart in so great abundance, with so great flux, and reflux [etc.].

Although only a few, these quotations are fairly representative of the anonymous translator's contribution to the development of specialized English lexis. In fact, RECOURSE shows a late usage (the 1563 excerpt is preceded by 7 other quotes, ranging from c.1425 to 1620) that became obsolete one century later. REFLUX, instead, represents an early usage, that is still quite common nowadays. RECIPROCATE and ALIMENTATIVE are recognized by the OED as first and successful usages by the anonymous translator, the former

as a new sense of an already existing word, the latter as a full
neologism first brought into the language through the translation.[11]

This is not the only one, though, since research has evidenced
that *The Anatomical Exercises of Dr William Harvey* includes first
usages that have not been recorded in the OED.

One is ANEURYSM, which is first attested three years later in the
OED, and gets clearly explained in the translation:

> A certaine person had a great swelling which did beat on the *right
> side* of his *throat* neer to the descent of the *subclavial arterie*, into
> the *armpits*, call'd *Aneurisma*, begotten by the corrosion of the
> *arterie* it self (Harvey 1653a: 12)[12]

The same kind of short antedating is found for GASTRICK, which
the OED first refers back to the definition of "gastrick vein", s.v.
VEIN, in Blount's dictionary of 1656:

> From the *splenick veins* drawn down into the *Pancreas*, there arise
> *veins* from the upper part of it: the *Coronall*, *Postick*, *Gastrick* and
> *Gastroepiploick* (Harvey 1653a: 92)

The adjective PATHOLOGICAL is another neologism in Harvey's
English translation, only first attested in 1663 in the OED:

> in all parts of *Physick, Physiological, Pathological, Semeiotick,
> Therapeutick* (Harvey 1653a: 91)

As to SIGMOID, found in

> the function of the *portall* in the *veins* is the same as that of the
> *Sigmoides*, or three-pointed *portals* (Harvey 1653a: 78)

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[11] The Latin text of the two quotes is as follows: "partes omnes sanguine calidiore,
perfecto, vaporoso, spirituoso, (& ut ita dicam) alimentativo nutriri, foveri,
vegetari" (Harvey 1648: 104); "instar Euripi, motum identidem, huc atque illuc
reciprocans" (Harvey 1648: 93).

[12] This translates "Habuit quidam tumorem ingentem, pulsantem, Aneurisma
dictum, in dextra parte juguli, prope descendum arteriæ subclaviæ in axillas, ab
ipsius arteriæ exesione prognatum" (Harvey 1648: 45), which proves that the term
was recent in medical Latin as well, thus requiring an explanation.

there is actually no example for its nominal use in the OED. It is a hapax in the translation, and the word may well have survived in its adjectival use only.[13] It can only be explained as a false start by the translator.

4. Concluding Remarks

As far as the late medieval period is concerned, it has been claimed that

> the translation occupied a niche between formalized textbooks and colloquial collections of recipes or tales, between the rational stance of schoolmasters and the sensual grasp of common folk. […] As for the transmitting agent, it is clear that the translator reached out for comprehensibility, while he looked down on the illiterate masses as much as he looked up at bookish authority. (Demaitre 1998: 101)

This is no longer true of the 17th century, and certainly not of the English translation of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*. Although further research must be pursued into the identity of its translator and readership, and indirect evidence must be gathered by systematically analysing the translation itself, it can safely be argued that *The Anatomical Exercises of Dr William Harvey* was meant for a wide range of readers – both practitioners at various levels of medical expertise and interested lay readers, proficient in Latin or otherwise – who might want to pore over an internationally known treatise in their own (and its author's) native language.

Whether their readers realize it or not, translations do not simply provide them with a text in a familiar, rather than an unfamiliar tongue; translations may also have a significant cultural impact on their readership and the society at large. The English text of the *De Motu Cordis* did have such an impact, in more than one way. Firstly, it somehow sanctioned Harvey's discovery: once the most important objections had been raised and met in Latin, and more and more scholars came to accept his ideas, the English translation confirmed Harvey's book by using it as the authoritative source text

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[13] See OED, s.v. SIGMOID, which actually includes a very late and very rare nominal use of the word.

of a now completely established discovery. Secondly, the English translation provided Harvey's doctrines with a wider context and circulation: scientific knowledge originally produced for an international but restricted discourse community of university-trained physicians was now available to a vaster and more varied readership. Thirdly – and most importantly from the perspective of the present chapter and book – the English translation showed how different solutions might be found to make up for the existing lexical gaps in scientific English, all the more so as part of these gaps depended on the very novelty of Harvey's discovery. In some cases the translator exploited the existing resources of English, either ordinary everyday language or scientific usage; in others, he opted for more personal, creative solutions.

William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* has been fundamental for the development of scientific thought in early modern Europe. Its English translation, while making his discovery better known in Britain, notably contributed to development of English scientific and medical terminology.

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ACT II

LATE MODERN PERSPECTIVES:

ORTHOEPISTS, LEXICOGRAPHERS, AND

THE CODIFICATION OF ENGLISH WORDS

Words of Dubious and Unsettled Pronunciation: Standardising Pronunciation in 18th–century Britain

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1. Introduction: The Nature of Standardisation

When discussing the standardisation of the language, histories of English tend to draw a distinction between written and spoken English. Whilst it is generally acknowledged that, with regard to written (and especially printed) English, the process of standardisation was well under way by the 15th century, evidence for a 'standard' pronunciation appears later. Milroy & Milroy state that the "chief characteristic" of standardisation is "intolerance of optional variability in language" and define the process as "based on the idea of aiming, by any means possible, at uniformity" ([1985] 1999: 22, 23). Of course, where pronunciation is concerned, uniformity will always be an unattainable ideal. There is variation even in present-day Received Pronunciation between the speech of different generations: some elderly speakers pronounce OFF, SOFT*, etc. with /ɔ:/, whilst young RP speakers have glottal stops in word-final position. As we shall see, the processes of standardisation outlined by Haugen (1966) and elaborated by Milroy & Milroy ([1985] 1999) apply to pronunciation just as they do to grammar and spelling, but the caveat expressed by the latter that a standard language is "an idea in the mind rather than a reality" (1999: 19) applies to this level of language more than any other. In the following sections, I hope to demonstrate that, whilst the selection of a prestigious or 'standard' variety of English pronunciation was in evidence in the 16th century, the codification of pronunciation only really gets under way in the later 18th century. This chapter focuses mainly on the role of pronouncing dictionaries in attempting to minimise variability in the pronunciation of English, and in both diffusing and implementing this minimally variable pronunciation.

2. Selection: The 'Best' English

Although remarks about variability in pronunciation, such as Caxton's much-cited statement about "egges" and "eyren", can be found earlier (1490 in this case), it is in the 16th century that some kind of consensus emerges as to what the 'best' English might be. Thomas Wilson, in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, a style-guide for authors writing in English, makes the case for uniformity:

> either we must make a difference of English, and say some is learned English and other some is rude English, or the one is court talke, the other is countrey speech, or els we must of necessitie banish all such *Rhetorique*, and vse altogether one maner of language. (Wilson [1560] 1909: 164)

Wilson here seems to equate the "court" and "learned" English on the one hand and "rude" and "countrey" speech on the other. Elsewhere, he states that the place where a man is born and raised determines his character and his honour, and that some places are inherently better than others: "it is much better to bee borne [...] in London then in Lincolne" (Wilson [1560] 1909: 12-13). It is a small step from believing this to attaching prestige to the speech of London. Perhaps the most detailed statement is that provided by Puttenham (1589):

> This part in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked unto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most usuall of all his countrey: and for the same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake... neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort [...]. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort [...] men ciuill and graciously behauoured and bred [...] neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they use in dayly talke, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes all is a matter: nor in effect any speach used beyond the river of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is, no more is the far Westerne mans speach: ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court,

and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx myles, and not much aboue.

Here, Puttenham is recommending the best variety of English to be used by poets rather than prescribing how everybody should speak. Nevertheless, his remarks suggest that some kinds of speaker are better role models than others. Courtiers and the "ciuill and graciously behauioured and bred" are members of the upper classes, as opposed to the "craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort", so there are social criteria involved in the selection of the 'best' English. There are also geographical criteria: CIVIL then had the meaning 'befitting a citizen' (the current meaning of 'polite' is first cited in 1606 in the OED) and Puttenham explicitly recommends the usage of speakers in "good townes and Cities". He also advises against the speech even of "gentlemen" and "clarkes" in the North and West of the country. Finally, Puttenham restricts the geographical reach of the 'best' English to a sixty-mile radius of London.

So, by the end of the 16th century, there is broad agreement as to who speaks the 'best' English, the variety which provides the model for standardisation. It is the language of educated, upper-class citizens, especially of London. The speech of the lower classes, of rural areas and of the provinces is marked as being different from this ideal, but there is not yet explicit condemnation of these varieties: they are simply not recommended as models. John Hart, discussing the variety of English which should provide the model for his reformed spelling, concedes:

if any one were minded at Newcastell vppon Tine, or Bodman in Cornewale, to write or print his minde there, who could iustly blame him for his Orthographie, to serue his neyghbours according to their mother speach. (1569: 20-21)

It is worth noting here that Hart, like Puttenham, selects the varieties spoken in the far North and far West as examples of the 'other': speakers here are so far removed from the ideal model of London that they can not be expected to conform to it. As we move into the 17th century, some orthoepists take on a more derogatory tone when referring to regional or lower-class speech. In his

Logonomia Anglica (1619), Alexander Gil provides examples of Northern, Western and Eastern pronunciations, but recommends that only what he calls the "Common Dialect" should be used, at least in prose. Dobson suggests that "Gil is the first to assert that all people who are well born and well educated use a common form of speech" and that "he was apt to dismiss" other pronunciations "as dialectal or vulgar" (1957: 142). By the early 17th century, then, the process of selecting a variety of pronunciation as a model for standardisation seems to be well under way. However, the 16th century saw very little in the way of codification: Wilson, Puttenham, Hart and even Gil tell their readers what kind of person speaks the best English and recommend such speakers as models rather than provide detailed accounts of what specific pronunciations should be used or avoided.

3. Codification and Prescription

3.1. Steps towards Codification

Milroy & Milroy see codification and prescription as processes involved in the implementation of the standard once it has been selected. They note that

> *prescription* becomes more intense after the language undergoes *codification* (as in eighteenth-century England), because speakers then have access to dictionaries and grammar books, which they regard as authorities. ([1985] 1999: 22. Italics in original)

Here, they are referring primarily to the codification and prescription of vocabulary choice, spelling and grammar, but dictionaries were also to be the main vehicle for the codification of pronunciation in the 18th century. However, we can see the beginnings of this process in some of the descriptions provided by phoneticians in the late 17th century. Christopher Cooper, described by Dobson (1957: 280) as the "greatest" of seventeenth-century phoneticians, wrote his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685), published in 1687 in English as *The English Teacher*, primarily as a guide for foreign learners and native schoolchildren. He provides very detailed descriptions of the articulation of English vowels,

diphthongs and consonants without discussing what variety of English is his model, other than his own. Cooper was born in Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, some thirty miles from London and therefore well within Puttenham's radius, so he was probably describing what was, by then, accepted as the 'best' English. In setting out how each letter or combination of letters is pronounced, Cooper could be seen as taking steps towards codifying this pronunciation. For instance, in discussing the consonant *L* he gives as Rule 1 that "L is silent in *almond, calf, chaldron, chalk, half, halm, falconer, malkin, qualm, psalm, salmon, salve, shalm, stalk, walk*" (Cooper [1687] 1953: 68). No further comment is provided, but the listing of these words under a 'rule' paves the way for codification. Elsewhere, Cooper includes a two-page section on "Barbarous Dialect" in which he uses semi-phonetic spelling to indicate pronunciations "not sounded after the best dialect" (1953: 77). These include *chimley* for CHIMNEY, *git* for GET, *handkercher* for HANDKERCHIEF, *sarvice* for SERVICE, *shugar* for SUGAR, *tunder* for TINDER, *wont* for WILL NOT and *yerb* for HERB. This list is only two pages long and its main purpose is to prevent readers who "would write more exactly" from being misled by "barbarous pronunciation" into mis-spelling the words. Nevertheless, in marking out certain pronunciations as "barbarous" Cooper foreshadows the 18th-century codifiers.

   In the first half of the 18th century, codification of pronunciation does not progress much further. In one of the first grammars printed in this century, Greenwood defines ORTHOEPY as "the Art of True Speaking" which "gives Rules for the right pronouncing of Letters." He then goes on to give a short list of proscriptions: "we must not pronounce *stomp, shet, sarvice, tunder, gove, eend, ommost* but *stamp, shut, service, tinder, gave, end, almost*" (1711: 38). The only word from this list not included in Cooper's examples of "barbarous dialect" is SHET. Greenwood, like Cooper, provides a few proscriptions, but is still a long way from codifying the pronunciation of English as a whole. This comparative lack of attention to norms of pronunciation is characteristic of early 18th-century authors, as Charles Jones notes:

> One has to trawl through the many and various spelling books, grammars and treatises of the period to find statements which can be interpreted as commenting on the social value of pronunciation. (2006: 14)

The later 18th century is a different matter: this is the period in which codification and prescription of pronunciation really gets under way. Jones writes of "a sea-change in the way linguistic usage is perceived to relate to criteria such as social status and place of geographical origin" (2006: 117) and Lynda Mugglestone tells us that "five times as many works on elocution appeared between 1760 and 1800 than had done so in the years before 1760" (1995: 4). These works played a crucial role in implementing norms of pronunciation: they codified these norms more fully and explicitly than ever before, and they diffused these norms by making them available to those who could afford them throughout and beyond Britain. Pronouncing dictionaries in particular provided clear and explicit guides to the pronunciation of every word in the lexicon, often along with rules pointing out correct and incorrect usage. It is here that we see the process of codification at work, as the authors of these pronouncing dictionaries single out specific variants for prescription or proscription and attempt to justify their choices.

3.2. Criteria for Codification: 'Polite' Speech

As we saw in section 2, the selection of a variety which would be the model for the 'best' pronunciation had already taken place by the 18th century. The statement below has many echoes of Puttenham's (cited above), but was written almost 200 years later:

> 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 in monosyllables. (Kenrick 1784: 56)

Pronouncing dictionaries like Kenrick's explicitly codified this type of pronunciation by prescribing what the authors considered to be the usage of "polite speakers in the Metropolis" and proscribing

all others. The antonym of POLITE was VULGAR, defined by Johnson (1755: s.v. *VULGAR*) as:

1. Plebeian; suiting to the common people; practised among the common people.
2. Mean; low; being of the common rate.
3. Publick; commonly bruited.

VULGAR was a keyword in 18th-century pronouncing dictionaries: it appears at least 96 times in Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791), whilst VULGARITY appears at least fourteen times and VULGARLY eight,[1] always with reference to proscribed variants. An example is Walker's comment on the pronunciation of MERCHANT:

> Thirty years ago everyone pronounced the first syllable of *merchant* like the monosyllable *march*, and as it was anciently written *marchant*. *Service* and *servant* are still heard among the lower order of speakers, as if written *sarvice* and *sarvant*: and even among the better sort, we sometimes hear, *Sir, your sarvant*; though this pronunciation of the word singly would be looked upon as a mark of the lowest vulgarity […]. As this modern pronunciation of the *e* has a tendency to simplify the language by lessening the number of exceptions, it ought certainly to be indulged. (1791: 13)

Under his dictionary entry for *MERCHANT*, Walker adds the following note:

> 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. (1791: s.v. *MERCHANT*)

Here, Walker rightly recognises that fashions in pronunciation change: that the /ɑː/ variant was used by 'polite' speakers in the

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[1] These figures were arrived at by executing a search of the text of Walker (1791) on ECCO. Because of difficulty with recognition of the fonts, these searches tend to underestimate the number of occurrences. I have, however, checked all the hits, so the numbers given here represent the minimum.

earlier part of the 18th century is evidenced in spellings such as *sarvant* and *desarve* in letters of the Wentworth family (see Wyld 1936: 216-222), but Walker suggests that this had fallen out of favour by 1791. He goes on to state that "except *clerk, serjeant*, and a few proper names, we have scarcely another word in the language where this *e* has not its true sound" (Walker 1791: s.v. MERCHANT). As I have pointed out elsewhere (Beal 2003: 92-93), Walker's prescriptions here accord exactly with present-day RP: from this lexical set only "*clerk, sergeant* and a few proper names" such as *Derby(shire)* and *Hertford(shire)* retain the /ɑː/ pronunciation. In this case, Walker was approving what he judged to be an innovation, largely because it was 'received', as the opinion of the majority of his fellow-orthoepists shows, and so the alternative was judged "gross and vulgar".

3.3. Criteria for Codification: 'Metropolitan' Speech

As has already been said, in the 18th century as in the 16th, it was the speech of educated and 'polite' Londoners that was held up as a model. Just as the usage of the 'vulgar' was opposed to that of the 'polite', so the language of 'provincials' was proscribed because it diverged from that of the 'Metropolis'. Whereas the 16th-century authors were describing only the 'best' speech of England, by the 18th century this model was also recommended to English speakers in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The varieties of English spoken in these nations were severely proscribed and, especially in the case of Scotland, there was a political incentive for this. In 1707, the Act of Union abolished the kingdom of Scotland and the Scottish Parliament, creating the kingdom of Great Britain. Educated Scots such as James Buchanan, whose *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio* (1757) was the first pronouncing dictionary of English, were enthusiastic in condemning the usage of their countrymen and advocating adherence to an 'English' norm:

> The people of North Britain seem, in general, to be almost at as great a loss for proper accent and just pronunciation as foreigners [...]. I therefore beg leave to recommend this book to the perusal of all whose business requires them to speak in public, and all teachers of youth in that part of the united kingdom; by a proper application to

which they may in a short time speak as properly and intelligibly, as if they had been born and bred in London: and be no more distinguished by that rough and uncouth brogue which is so harsh and unpleasant to an English ear. (Buchanan 1757: xv)

It is worth noting here that the title of Buchanan's dictionary can be translated as 'the true pronunciation of the British language', and that he refers to his native country as "North Britain" and as part of the "united kingdom". These would be the politically correct terms for those who advocated the union: 'Britain' and 'British' were loaded words in the 18th century. Note also that Buchanan assumes that his fellow North Britons would wish to sound "as if they had been born and bred in London" and that they, like him, would agree with the English in judging their language "rough and uncouth". Thomas Sheridan (an Irishman) more explicitly links the suppression of national and regional variants with political unity:

[I]t can not be denied that an uniformity of pronunciation throughout Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as through the several counties of England, would be a point much to be wished; as it might in a great measure contribute to destroy those odious distinctions between subjects of the same king, and members of the same community, which are ever attended with ill consequences, and which are chiefly kept alive by difference of pronunciation and dialects; for these in a manner proclaim the place of a man's birth, whenever he speaks, which otherwise could not be known by any other marks in mixed societies. (Sheridan 1762: 206)

Later in the same work he asks the rhetorical question:

Whether it would not greatly contribute to put an end to the odious distinction kept up between subjects of the same king, if a way were opened, by which the attainment of the English tongue in its purity, both in point of phraseology and pronunciation, might be rendered easy to all inhabitants of his Majesty's dominions, whether of South or North Britain; of Ireland, or the Colonies? (Sheridan 1762: 225)

In his *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780), Sheridan provided a list of "Rules to be observed by the natives of IRELAND, in order to attain a just pronunciation of English" (1780: 59-61) and "Observations with regard to the pronunciation of the natives of Scotland and Wales" (1780: 61-62). These were copied

more or less wholesale by Walker (1791: ix-xii), who added the observation that "there are dialects peculiar to Cornwall, Lancashire, Yorkshire and every distant county in England" but that it would take too long to consider all these. Instead he adds remarks on the pronunciation of his "countrymen, the Cockneys; who, as they are the models of pronunciation to the distant provinces, ought to be the more scrupulously correct" (1791: xii). Whenever variant pronunciations used in "the distant provinces" are discussed by the likes of Walker, they are condemned as incorrect. A good example of this is what Wells (1982: 351) calls the FOOT-STRUT split, whereby regional accents in the North of England have the same vowel /ʊ/ in words of both these classes and those of the South have contrasting phonemes /ʊ/ ~ /ʌ/. In the 18th century, as in the present day, even educated northerners lacked the FOOT-STRUT split. John Kirkby[2] points out that the vowel of "*skull, gun,* and *supper*" etc. is "scarce known to the Inhabitants of the North" (1746, in Bergström 1955: 71) and William Ward, Master of the Grammar School in Beverly, Yorkshire, writes that "*U* is commonly short before two or more Consonants; as in *stubble, rust, percussion*; and before single Consonants at the end of Words, as *put, thus, rub*" (1767: 10). Of course, the metropolitan Kenrick was quick to denounce "the ingenious Mr Ward of Beverly" (1773: 36) for this 'mistake'. Walker, likewise, sees the northerners' pronunciation of these words as symptomatic of their inability to speak correctly:

> 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. If the short sound of the letter **u** in *trunk, sunk* etc., differ from the sound of that letter in the northern parts of England, where they sound it like the **u** in *bull*, and nearly as if the words were written *troonk, soonk,* etc., it necessarily follows that every word where that letter occurs must by these provincials be mispronounced. (Walker 1791: xiii)

We can see the process of codification here: whilst 16th-century authors tell us that northern speech is different from the 'best'

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[2] According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Kirby "claimed to have been born in Cumberland" but "his birthplace is noted as Londesborough, Yorkshire" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade [2004] 2008: s.v. KIRKBY, JOHN).

English, those of the 18th century give very specific comments about which pronunciations should be avoided.[3]

3.4. Scylla and Charybdis: 'Affected' Pronunciation

It was not enough for a speaker who aspired to use the 'best' English to avoid vulgar and provincial variants: authors of pronouncing dictionaries also warned readers against 'affectation'. A good example of this is Kenrick's pronouncement on the class of words spelt with the digraph <oi> and mostly pronounced /ɔɪ/ in present-day RP. There is much evidence from 17th-century sources that these words had the same pronunciation as words which are now pronounced with /aɪ/. Cooper, for instance, includes in his lists of "words that have the same pronunciation, but different signification and manner of writing" pairs such as BILE/BOIL, ISLE/OIL, LINE/LOIN and MILE/MOIL ([1687] 1953: 84-9). In the course of the 18th century, this pronunciation was to become disfavoured, but this was a gradual process, as can be seen from Kenrick's comment:

> A vicious custom indeed prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound intirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of *i* or *y* […] marked […] XVI in the Dictionary, thus *oil, toil* are frequently pronounced exactly like *isle, tile*. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhime to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which by long use, have almost lost their true sound, such are *boil, join* and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than *bile, jine*. We find, indeed, that this mode of pronunciation becomes every day more general. (Kenrick 1773: 39)

The reader has to follow Kenrick's recommendations exactly in order to steer a safe course between the Scylla of vulgarity and the Charybdis of affectation. The latter hazard featured prominently in

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[3] In the case of the FOOT-STRUT split, 16th-century authors could not have commented, since the first evidence for the sound change which caused this split in southern varieties occurs, according to Dobson, around 1640, when "certain orthoepists distinguish the *ŭ* of *cut* from that of *put*" (1957: 585).

comments about the pronunciation of French loan words. In his notes on the pronunciation of the letter *I*, Walker includes the following:

> There is an irregular pronunciation of this letter, which has greatly multiplied within these few years, and that is, the slender sound heard in *ee*.[4] This sound is chiefly found in words derived from the French and Italian languages; and we think we show our breeding by a knowledge of those tongues, and an ignorance of our own. When Lord Chesterfield wrote his letters to his son, the word *oblige* was, by many polite speakers, pronounced as if written *obleege*, to give a hint of their knowledge of the French language; nay, Pope had rhymed it to this sound:
>
> <div align="center">
>
> Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers *besieg'd*
> And so *obliging,* that he ne'er *oblig'd.*
>
> </div>
>
> But it was so far from having obtained, that Lord Chesterfield strictly enjoins his son to avoid this pronunciation as affected. In a few years, however, it became so general, that none but the lowest vulgar ever pronounced it in the English manner; but upon the publication of this nobleman's letters, which was about twenty years after he wrote them, his authority has had so much influence with the polite world as to bid fair for restoring the *i*, in this word, to its original rights; and we not unfrequently hear it now pronounced, with the broad English *i*, in those circles where, a few years ago, it would have been an infallible mark of vulgarity. (Walker 1791: 15)

Walker's remarks on words of French origin show that, whilst it is acceptable to pronounce recent loan words in the French manner, more established loans should be naturalised, especially if a more 'English' pronunciation accords with the spelling. In his discussion of the combination <gn>, Walker recommends that the <g> should be silent in IMPUGN but goes on to comment:

> Some affected speakers, either ignorant of the rules for pronouncing English, or over-complaisant to the French, pronounce *physiognomy, cognizance* and *recognizance*, without the *n*;[5] but this is a gross violation of the first principles of spelling. The only words to keep

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[4] Of course, <ee> is to be interpreted as /iː/.

[5] This is a misprint for *g*. In his entry for COGNIZANCE, Walker exhorts members of the legal profession, who used this word in a technical sense and pronounced it without the /g/, to "reinstate the excluded *g* in its undoubted rights" (1791: s.v. COGNIZANCE).

these speakers in countenance are, *poignant* and *champignion*, not long ago imported from France. (1791: 45)

In his entry for IMBECILE Walker admits the pronunciation with stress on the final syllable through gritted teeth: "We have too many of these French-sounding words; and if the number cannot be diminished they should, at least, not be suffered to increase" (1791: no pagination). However, his greatest scorn is reserved for those who attempt to pronounce words in the French manner but fail because of their lack of proficiency in the language. Under ENVELOPE he writes:

> This word signifying the outward case of a letter is always pronounced in the French manner by those who can pronounce French, and by those who cannot the *e* is changed into an *o*. Sometimes a mere Englishman attempts to give the nasal vowel the French sound, and exposes himself to laughter by pronouncing the *g* after it, as if written *ongvelope*. This is as ridiculous to a polite ear as if he pronounced it, as it ought to be pronounced, like the verb *envelop*. (1791: s.v. ENVELOPE)

Although proficiency in French would be an accomplishment of the 'learned' metropolitan speakers whose usage provided the model for correct pronunciation, it was better to speak as a "mere Englishman" than to attempt a French pronunciation and fail. These remarks, and others concerning affectation, are aimed at the aspiring social climbers who would be aware of their need for guides such as Walker's and be in a position to afford them.

3.5. 'Dubious and Unsettled' Pronunciations

In sections 3.3 and 3.4, we discussed cases where the pronouncements of 18th-century authors codify pronunciation according to criteria already selected by their 16th-century counterparts. The speech of the lower orders and of provincials would always be 'wrong', so there is, by the end of the 18th century, a consensus amongst the codifiers with respect to these variants. However, there were also cases where speakers whose credentials as 'polite' Londoners were equally impeccable used different variants, and the authors of pronouncing dictionaries disagreed with

each other. In 1797, an anonymous work was published, entitled *A Vocabulary of Such Words in the English Language as Are of Dubious and Unsettled Accentuation; in Which the Pronunciation of Sheridan, Walker, and Other Orthoepists, is Compared*. The preface to this work opens thus:

> To bring into view the several ways, in which a number of words, in the English Language, are pronounced by good speakers, and our best orthoepists, is the object of the following work. (Anon. 1797: i)

If such a work was needed at the end of the 18th century, then it would appear that the codification process was still under way. Jones suggests that the author of *A Vocabulary* was "more inclined […] to stress the 'unsettled' state of pronunciation, rather than 'settle' on one particular variety" (2006: 127). However, the author does settle on one variant in that one pronunciation is indicated in the headword and a preference is always stated. The author admits as much, albeit with suitably modest disclaimers:

> Let it not be thought, however, that I mean to advance arrogant opinions of pronunciation; in a case of such difficulty, where men of the first talents disagree, far be it from me to presume to decide; but the seeming necessity of giving a preference has often led me to declare my sentiments. (Anon. 1797: iii)

Although, as Jones points out, the anonymous author is much more complimentary towards Sheridan than Walker in the Preface to *A Vocabulary*, this is another case of lip-service. I checked all the entries from *A-C* under which Sheridan and/or Walker are named and found that the author agreed with Walker's pronunciation in 77.1% of these cases and with Sheridan's in 67.3%. This is not surprising, as Walker's was the most successful pronouncing dictionary of its time. It was reprinted over 100 times, the last reprint appearing as late as 1904. Walker dominated the market so much that he became a household name in the 19th century. I have argued elsewhere (Beal 2003) that Walker's prescriptions and proscriptions were highly influential, probably because he left so little room for doubt. Walker's "intolerance of optional variability", the chief characteristic of a standard variety according to Milroy & Milroy ([1985] 1999: 22), can be demonstrated by contrasting his

remarks on the pronunciation of GREAT with Johnson's. There has been a great deal of research into the variability of pronunciations of words like GREAT, BREAK and STEAK in the Early Modern period, and their anomalous pronunciation in present-day RP (see, for instance, Milroy & Harris 1980) which contrasts with that of CHEAT, MEAT, SPEAK, TREAT, etc. In his *Plan of a Dictionary*, Johnson notes the variability of pronunciation of GREAT, but does not attempt to prescribe either:

> Some words have two sounds, which may be equally admitted, as being equally defensible by authority. Thus *great* is differently used.
>
> > For Swift and him despis'd the farce of state,
> > The sober follies of the wise and *great*.   POPE.
> >
> > And if misfortune made the throne her seat,
> > And none could be unhappy but the *great*.   ROWE.
> > (Johnson 1747: 14)

Walker, by contrast, is very clear about which pronunciation is correct:

> The word *great* is sometimes pronounced as if written *greet*, generally by people of education, and almost universally in Ireland; but this is contrary to the fixed and settled practice in England. That this is an affected pronunciation, will be perceived in a moment by pronouncing this word in the phrase, *Alexander the great;* for those who pronounce the word *greet*, in other cases, will generally in this rhyme it with *fate*. It is true the *ee* is the regular sound of this diphthong; but this slender sound of *e* has, in all probability, given way to that of *a* as deeper and more expressive of the epithet *great*. (Walker 1791: 30)

Of course, his explanation for the anomalous pronunciation of GREAT is a post-hoc rationalisation: there is no reason why /e:/ should be more 'expressive' of greatness than /i:/. Having made this point, he then needs to explain BREAK: "the same observations are applicable to the word *break*; which is much more expressive of the action when pronounced *brake* than *breek*, as it is sometimes affectedly pronounced" (Walker 1791: s.v. *BREAK*). Arbitrary though his explanations may be, Walker's prescriptions have

prevailed: the author of *A Vocabulary* saw fit to recommend Walker's pronunciation in these cases and, apart from the later diphthongisation of /eː/ to /ei/, GREAT, BREAK and STEAK are pronounced in present-day RP exactly as Walker recommended. Walker, like the author of *A Vocabulary*, is aware of disagreements amongst orthoepists, but is less modest in putting forward his own preferences. He often names his competitors and tells his readers which of these he considers correct and why. His note on the word SOOT, for which he recommends the pronunciation /suːt/, is a good example of this:

> 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 mark the substantive in one manner and the adjective deriving from it by adding *y*, in another. The other Orthoepists, therefore, who pronounce both these words with the *oo* like *ŭ*, are more consistent than Mr Sheridan, though, upon the whole, not so right. (Walker 1791: s.v. *SOOT*)

The "professors of the Black Art" are, of course, chimney sweeps: Walker here damns his competitors by association with the labouring classes as well as invoking analogy. In this case, the variant recommended by Walker did not ultimately prevail: OED has /sʊt/ for this word; but whether Walker's recommendations stood the test of time or not, his pronouncements show the process of codification at work: he is selecting variants for inclusion in the model of pronunciation provided for his readers, and rejecting all others.

4. Conclusion

We discussed in section 1 the notion that, whilst the process of standardisation involves aiming at uniformity, especially where pronunciation is concerned, complete uniformity can never be attained. This means that the process of prescription is ongoing:

every generation will introduce new pronunciations which may eventually become accepted as the old ones, to use Walker's words, "become gross and vulgar". Changes in society may bring different attitudes to variant pronunciations: in more egalitarian times it may be better to steer towards the Scylla of vulgarity than the Charybdis of affectation, as Gimson suggested when he remarked that "RP itself can be a handicap if used in inappropriate social situations, since it might be taken as a mark of affectation, or a desire to emphasize social superiority" (Gimson 1962: 84). Nevertheless, it is clear that the elocutionists and orthoepists of the 18th century played a significant role in codifying what was then considered to be the 'best' pronunciation and that they have left us with a legacy of linguistic insecurity which, as I have argued elsewhere (Beal 2008), will see explicit prescriptivism raise its head whenever there is a class of people who wish to avoid being considered 'vulgar' and turn to books or elocution lessons for help.

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William Perry's *Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* (1805). An "attempt to synonymise" Johnson's *Dictionary*

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1. Introduction and Background Information

The aim of this chapter is to focus on one of the first synonym dictionaries to be published in England, that is William Perry's *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* (1805). Little is known of Perry's life (see Sturiale 2006: 144-150 and 2008: 183-187), but it can be claimed that he was one of the most prolific and active lexicographers of the second half of the 18th century, which marked the beginning of a "highly dictionary-conscious" period (Noyes 1951: 970).[1] In thirty years, and to be precise from 1774 to 1808, i.e. the time span which separates his first[2] and last publication,[3] he released two manuals, one spelling-book, three dictionaries and one treatise, together with regular updates and revised editions of his dictionaries (see Sturiale 2008: 184-187).

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[1] In 1831 one Phineas Pica writing to the editors of the *New England Magazine* (1831: I, 108) defined Perry as "a manufacturer of dictionaries".

[2] The title is *The Man of Business, Gentleman's Assistant* published by David Willison in Edinburgh. The book was well received as one can read in the first issue of the *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* (1775: 219): "On the whole, we venture to recommend this performance, not only as one of the best school-books we have met with; but as the best adapted to qualify grown persons, who have not been bred accomptants, for becoming *men of business*".

[3] Perry's final authorial effort seems to be *Philosophy for Youth, or Scientific Tutor*, published in London in 1808. In the Preface, he defined it as "a useful manual" addressed to people who have left school and "entered into the busy world", but it could also be used as a "general introduction to our numerous academies, boarding-schools, and other seminaries of learning" (Perry 1808: i). Perry could well rely on his past experience as a school teacher and, as stated in the title page, on his being the "author of the Royal Standard English and French Dictionaries and of the Synonymous Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary" (Perry 1808: title page).

Perry was widely read and popular in Britain. His success and influence abroad, namely the United States (see Sturiale 2012), was due to his two books on pronunciation, i.e. *The Royal Standard English Dictionary* first published in 1775 – which "passed through ten editions, each consisting of ten thousand copies" (Perry 1805: v) – and *The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue; Or, New Pronouncing Spelling-Book*, published in 1776. The editorial success of the latter, first published in America in 1785, is demonstrated by the fact that it reached its eighteenth edition there by 1801 (see Smith 1979: 37), and came out "revised and corrected" as late as 1832 (Alger 1832). Modern criticism on early American interest in codification and language norms (see, for example, Gibson 1937, Smith 1975 and 1979, Anson 1990, Green 1996: 237 and Micklethwait 2000: 133), often highlights the relevant role played by Perry's works. For example, Allen Walker Read does not only underline the fact that Perry and Walker "superseded" Sheridan's dictionary but, quoting John Pickering, "an observer of American English", he even goes further to claim that "Perry's dictionary had influenced the course of American pronunciation" (Read 1973: 71).

2. *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* (1805)

Unlike Perry's previous publications, *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* was not reprinted after 1805, and Gove (1984: 7a) informs us that "Chauncey Goodrich, Noah Webster's son-in-law, referred to it in 1847 in his preface to the royal octavo volume of Webster as 'entirely out of print'", at least in the United States.

In the Preface – dated "London, July 1, 1805" (Perry 1805: xix) – the author claims that the planning and the actual making of the dictionary took him about "eight years" (Perry 1805: v). The compilation of his last lexicographic effort, unlike his previous works, proved to be very time-consuming having probably started in 1797, or thereabout, with Perry still serving in the Navy until 1801.

1797 can be assumed to be the starting year since it was then that *The Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperour of China* by Sir George Leonard Stanton was published in London. The relationship between Perry's dictionary and Stanton's account is so explained by Perry in his Preface:

> The author of the present production felt himself in this predicament about eight years since, when writing, *anonymously*, An Abridgment of the Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperour of China, extracted from the papers of Earl Macartney, as compiled by the elegant writer, the late Sir George Staunton, Bart. Secretary to the Embassy. From that moment he determined, and actually began to compile this Synonymous Dictionary. Its progress, however, was slow for the first four years, as he was again called into his Majesty's service; but quitting the Navy at the close of 1801, his whole time has since been occupied in bringing it to that state in which it is now humbly offered for public approbation. (Perry 1805: v-vi)

As for the exact publication date of the dictionary, one can refer to an advertisement appeared on *The Morning Chronicle* of November 6, 1805 whose opening lines read as follows:

> This day is published, in Royal Octavo, Price 16s. in Boards, THE SYNONYMOUS, ETYMOLOGICAL, and PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY [...] by William Perry (Anon. 1805).

What is known for sure is that Perry's last dictionary was also widely used by Joseph E. Worcester, who published *A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. Worcester acknowledged Perry's synonym dictionary on several occasions together with other 'authorities' such as Enfield, Jameson, Knowles, Smart, Reid and Webster (see Anon. 1847: 189).

In her article on some 18th-century synonym dictionaries, Noyes defined *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* as an "unusual hybrid" (Noyes 1951: 968), not being in line with other supposedly similar works such as John Trusler's *The Difference between Words Esteemed Synonymous in the English Language* (1766), James Barclay's *A Complete and Universal English Dictionary* (1774), Hester Lynch Piozzi's *British Synonymy* (1794) and Benjamin Dawson's *Philologia Anglicana* (1799).

Interestingly enough, as has already been pointed out by Gove (1984: 7a), Perry does not mention any of the three dictionaries published before his, and thus already available on the market, but in a typical 18th-century marketing strategy simply limits himself to present it as "the only synonymous vocabulary ever offered to the public" (Perry 1805: v). Indeed also the Rev. James Barclay had claimed in his preface that:

> The *Synonimous* part of our Dictionary we modestly assert to be entirely new; the use of which, both in speaking and writing, must at first view appear to every intelligent Reader; and we have endeavoured to execute it without running into any whimsical notions, or fantastic, affected niceties. (Barclay 1774: Preface)

What can be speculated here is that Perry – having left the country or being embarked for long periods of time – was not actually aware of those other similar dictionaries, since in his previous publications he had always acknowledged and referred to other published materials when presenting or commenting on his (see Sturiale 2006 and 2008). This time, instead, both Perry and his printer did want to market a new work very much.

However, it has recently been stated that William Perry, in explaining "words meanings simply by placing them in the context of synonyms, brings us methodically to Roget's doorstep" (Hüllen 2004: 6).

In the Preface to his 1805 *Dictionary* Perry writes as follows:

> The following sheets, containing *the only synonymous vocabulary ever offered to the public*, would have possessed superiour excellence, and have insured general approbation, if, fortunately, they had been undertaken and executed by that luminary of learning, the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, from whose folio Dictionary of the English language, we are proud to acknowledge, the materials for this arduous undertaking *have been purposely selected*. (Perry 1805: v. Emphasis mine)

So, in Perry's view his dictionary – despite the aforementioned earlier works – constituted a first, being "the only synonymous vocabulary ever offered to the public".

This last concept is further highlighted in what he claimed afterwards:

> To the philological, critical, and other interesting observations of the above learned author, we have superadded two exclusive advantages to our publication; the one – as a *synonymous*, the other – as a *pronouncing* nomenclature. The former is new and unique; the latter is on an approved plan, effected by characteristic types, after the manner of the Royal Standard English Dictionary, published by the author upwards of twenty years since, which has passed through ten editions, each consisting of ten thousand copies. (Perry 1805: v)

The synonymous dictionary, described by Hüllen as "a monumental work" (2004: 245), has about 42,000 entries, whereas Perry's pronouncing dictionary contains only about 28,000 (see Sturiale 2006: 154).[4] Quantity, however, is not the real issue here. Hüllen may well appreciate that Perry's dictionary has "the dimensions of Dr. Johnson's dictionary, and indeed it is this unique achievement of English lexicography which William Perry wanted to produce again with a different profile" (Hüllen 2004: 245); but when compiling *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary*, Perry had different and very specific goals in mind so that, as I will show in this chapter, he did not rely on his original source as faithfully and mechanically as one might imagine.

Following the fashion of 18th-century dictionary-making, and Perry's own previous lexicographical works, his 1805 dictionary opens with "A grammar of the English language" (Perry 1805: xx-xlviii). Unlike his previous works, instead, there is no dedication.

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[4] The copy used for the present study is available at the British Library, London (shelf-mark: 12983g.21). Its 718 pages are not numbered, expect for "The preface" (pp. v-xix) and "The grammar" (pp. xx-xlviii). A one-page list of "Explanation of the abbreviation and marks" used precedes the dictionary proper. Each page contains about 60 entries. An "Appendix", with 276 entries in alphabetical order (A-Z), is at the end of the book together with a single-page *errata corrige*. It appears that Hüllen's calculation is clearly wrong or the result of a typo when he claims that: "The folio-sized book is a monumental work having an average of sixty entries per page which amount to some 24,000 entries in all" (Hüllen 2004: 245). As previously said, though unnumbered, the dictionary is made up of 718 pages.

3. The Methodology and Structure of the *Dictionary*

The nature and functions of the dictionary are clearly explained by the title itself and in the following subsections it will be shown how and to what extent Perry closely 'followed' or 'improved on' Johnson's dictionary.

3.1. Synonymy

Perry was the first to introduce the definition of "radical" synonyms. As for the method used in selecting and organising his dictionary entries, we are well informed by Perry himself who, in the Preface, writes that:

> [W]e by no means contend, that the whole of the explanations collected under such initial words as are printed in large capital letters, which we call RADICALS, are all strictly synonymous; neither, on the other hand, can we agree with those who roundly assert, that there are not two words in the whole English language of precisely the same signification; but this we take upon us to say, that we have no less than Dr. Johnson's authority for their selection and disposition as explanatory of their meaning; and they are such as, in the common acceptation of the word, are deemed synonymous, being all applicable to the *radical*, notwithstanding each cannot always be substituted for the other with equal force and accuracy of language. (Perry 1805: vi)

In the "Explanation of the general plan, and execution of the work", Perry first deals with "Synonyma" and he warns the reader that "words which have their various significations printed uniformly in the same type, contain all their synonyma" (Perry 1805: vii) as in the examples below:

> A-bàft`, *ad.* (*a sea term*, Sax. Abaftan *behind*) in the hinder part, or between the main mast and the stern of a ship, aft.

and

> Ăb-brĕv-ĭ-ā`tion, *s.* (French) the act of abbreviating; ABRIDGMENT; the means used to abbreviate; words contracted; any mark to contract.

   Perry was fully aware of the fact that he could not have
reproduced Johnson's entire wordlist and definitions, or his work
would have grown beyond control: something had to be done, some
methodological decision had to be taken in order to reduce the size
of the book itself. He makes it clear that:

> As the insertion of the whole of the synonyma to each word in their
> alphabetical order would have swelled the book to an enormous size,
> to prevent this we have adopted the mode of printing one of the
> explanatory words in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS, by reference to which
> as the RADICAL of the synonyma, its various significations will be
> seen at one view. (Perry 1805: vii)

   And he keeps on warning his readers that, in order to understand
the method used in the dictionary, and as a consequence to consult
it profitably, it will be necessary to follow the instructions/examples
carefully.
   As pointed out by Hüllen (2004: 249), "This method can be
understood as a mere typographical device to save space. Indeed, it
avoids repeating (polysemous) words over and over again". So,
whereas Johnson faced the problem of synonymy by means of
quotations (i.e. by using them to distinguish synonyms and near-
synonyms), Perry "pruned his predecessor's dictionary of all these
quotations – merely retaining the names of the authors, if that – and
thus arrived at a potentially complete alphabetical dictionary of a
whole language" (Hüllen 2004: 245). Here follows an example
taken from the entry for TO ABATE:

Johnson (1755)	Perry (1805)
To ABA′TE. *v. a.*. [from the French *abbatre,* to beat down.] 1. To lessen, to diminish. [...] *Davies, Shakesp., Locke* 2. To deject, or depress the mind. [...] *Spens., Shakesp., Dryden* 3. In commerce, to let down the price in selling, sometimes to beat down the price in buying. To ABATE. *v. n.* To grow less;	A-bāte`, *v. a.* (Fr. abattre *to beat down*) to lessen, to DIMINISH; to assuage, to ALLEVIATE; to deject, or depress the mind (*Shak. Dryden*); to let down the price in selling.
	A-bāte`, *v. n.* to grow less. "His passion *abates*".

| as, his passion abates; the storm abates. It is used sometimes with the particle *of* before the thing lessened. [...] *Dryden* | |

Thanks to his new system which consisted of "lexemes with longer or shorter chains of other lexemes and brief defining phrases between them" (Hüllen 2004: 245), Perry managed to create an easy, ready-for-reference, and user-friendly dictionary. A perfect word finder for any sort of users.

As shown in the above example, lexemes or phrases are separated by a semicolon, or on other occasions by a hyphen, whereas lexemes or phrases belonging to the same group are separated by a comma, as in:

Cóm-bŭs´tĭ-ón, *s*. (French), a BURNING, conflagration, consumption by fire; TUMULT, hurry, hubbub, bustle, hurly burly.

Colons are used "where a subsequent definition or quotation applies to several preceding lexemes or phrases" (Hüllen 2004: 248) as in, for example, *ABOMINATION* here given together with Johnson's entry:

Johnson (1755)	Perry (1805)
ABOMINA′TION. s. 1. Hatred, detestation. [...] *Swift* 2. The object of hatred. [...] *Genesis* 3. Pollution, defilement. [...] *Shakes.* 4. The cause of pollution. [...] *2 King*s	A-bŏm´ĭ-nā`tion, s. Abhorrence, detestation, HATRED: as, every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians (*Genesis*); - pollution, defilement (*Revelations*); WICKEDNESS, hateful or shameful vice (*Sh*.); the cause of pollution. 2 *Kings*

3.2. Etymology

As for the "Etymology", Perry declares to follow Johnson's *Dictionary*:

The etymology and derivation of the words have generally been copied from Dr. Johnson's dictionary, in the execution of which it has been deemed proper to give the *modern* in lieu of the ancient

orthography to such as are of *French* original. In some other cases, where that learned author has quoted etymologies from three or four different languages, we have adopted sometimes but *two*, and occasionally but *one*; especially when *this* seemed to us not only sufficient for the purpose, but the most pertinent and satisfactory. (Perry 1805: ix)

However, it is important to note here that etymology is to be intended not just as the origin of the word, but also as its morphological status since words can be classified as being "primitives" or "derivatives" or compounds. In this case Perry informs his readers that:

> It is necessary to remark, that many words appear without having their derivations noticed, only because they are self-evident. Such are words beginning with the *privative* or *negative* particles *in* and *un*; – likewise compound words, which do not require the repetition of their simple terms to be, in this respect, understood. (Perry 1805: ix-x)

The following examples show how Perry presented lemmas according to the primitive/derivative distinction, for which he was also indebted to Johnson (cf. Johnson 1755: Preface, sig. B). The lemmas chosen are the derivates of HAPPY:

Primitive	Derivative
Hăp, *s.* (Welsh anhap *misfortune*) chance, fortune; that which happens by chance or fortune; accident, CHANCE, casual event; misfortune. *Fairfax*	Hăp´pĭ-ly, *ad.* (happy), fortunately, luckily, successfully; addressfully, gracefully; without labour; in a state of felicity: as he lives *happily*.
Hăp´-py, *a.* (hap) enjoying felicity, enjoying that state in which the desires are satisfied: lucky, fortunate, SUCCESSFUL, addressful, ready in reply, *Swift*.	Hăp´pĭ-nĕss, *s.* (happy) bliss, felicity, state in which the desires are satisfied; good luck, good fortune, weal, welfare, prosperity; fortuitous elegance, unstudied grace. *Pope. Den.*
	Ŭn-hăp´, *s.*, ill luck, mishap, mischance, ill fortune, misfortune. *Shak.*
	† Ŭn-hăp´pĭ-ĕd, *p.a.*, made unhappy *Shak.*

	Ŭn-hăp´pĭ-ly, *ad*. miserably, unfortunately, wretchedly, calamitously.
	Ŭn-hăp´pĭ-nĕss, *s*. misery, infelicity, wretchedness, distress, CALAMITY; misfortune, ill luck (*Burnet*); – mischievous prank: as *she hath often dream'd of* unhappiness, *and waked herself with laughing. Shak*.
	Ŭn-hăp´py, *a*. wreteched, miserable, distressed, CALAMITOUS. Of *persons* or *things*.

Here, as in the rest of the dictionary, the indications offered to the readers were closely respected. Indeed, the same is true of Perry's statement that "The etymology and derivation of the words have generally been copied from Dr. Johnson's dictionary" (Perry 1805: ix). Perry's definition of HAPPINESS, which is his longest entry for a derivative word, can usefully illustrate this:

Johnson (1755)[5]	Perry (1805)
HA´PPINESS. *n.s.* 1. Felicity; state in which the desires are satisfied. *Happiness* is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. *Hooker b.*i. Oh! *happiness* of sweet retir'd content, To be at once secure and innocent.	Hăp´pĭ-nĕss, *s*. (happy) bliss, felicity, state in which the desires are satisfied; good luck, good fortune, weal, welfare, prosperity; fortuitous elegance, unstudied grace. *Pope. Den.*

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[5] A comparison with Johnson's 1773 revised edition shows the inclusion of two more quotations: "Philosophers differ about the chief good or *happiness* of man. *Temple*" and "Form'd by some rule that guides but not constrains / And finish'd more through *happiness* than pains. *Pope*".

Denham. The various and contrary choices that men make in the world, argue that the same thing is not good to every man alike: this variety of pursuits shews, that every one does not place his *happiness* in the same thing. *Locke*. 2. Good luck; good fortune. 3. Fortuitous elegance; unstudied grace. Certain graces and *happinesses*, peculiar to every language, give life and energy to the words. *Denham*. Some beauties yet no precepts can declare; For there's a *happiness* as well as care. *Pope on Criticism*.

This example can be generalized to argue that the Perry's entries are clearly indebted to Johnson's, although the younger lexicographer was independent enough to 'pick and choose' what he thought best in Johnson's dictionary entries, and even provide new material: such synonyms as "bliss", "weal", "welfare" and "prosperity" are original additions by Perry, and his 1805 entry is much richer than the corresponding ones in his previous dictionaries:

Perry 1775	Perry 1793	Perry 1795b
Hăp´pĭ-něss, *s.* good luck, blessdeness, content.	Hăp´pĭ-něss, *s.* good luck, blessdeness.	Hăp´pĭ-něss, *s.* felicity, good fortune.

3.3. Pronunciation

As can be expected, the most original part of Perry's dictionary, if compared to Johnson's, is the section on pronunciation. In the Preface to his dictionary, Johnson had clearly explained his *modus operandi*:

> In settling the orthography, I have not wholly neglected the pronunciation, which I have directed, by printing an accent upon the acute or elevated syllable. It will sometimes be found, that the accent is placed by the authour quoted, on a different syllable from that marked in the alphabetical series; it is then to be understood, that custom has varied, or that the authour has, in my opinion, pronounced wrong. Short directions are sometimes given where the sound of letters is irregular; and if they are sometimes omitted, defect in such minute observations will be more easily excused, than superfluity. (Johnson 1755, sig. Ar)

Pronunciation was not Johnson's main concern. In the same preface he explained why he decided against marking it:

> sounds are too volatile and subtile for legal restraints; to enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength. (Johnson 1755, sig. Cv)

In the last quarter of the 18th century, however, orthoepy emerged and developed. As far as marking pronunciation was concerned, Perry was a very experienced lexicographer, so that by the time *The Synonymous Dictionary* came out, he was self-confident that "the mode […] adopted for this purpose has already been marked with public approbation" (Perry 1805: x). In fact, Perry first elaborated his system of diacritic marking (i.e. resorting to graves and acutes to mark accentuation and to italics to denote mute vowels) in his *The Royal Standard English Dictionary* even though he improved on it during his lifetime and in all his later publications, i.e. *A General Dictionary of the English Language* and *The Standard French and English Pronouncing Dictionary*, both published in 1795 (Sturiale 2008). However, as I have claimed elsewhere (Sturiale 2006: 157), his suggestions for a correct pronunciation are not always easily followed and his introductory notes are thus an indispensable guide.

PREFACE. xi

K E Y

To the Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary, exemplifying the Characters made use of to point out the Pronunciation.

I. THE DIFFERENT SOUNDS OF THE VOWELS.

Vowels not founded *will be printed* in Italics; as, Lā'bour, preach, bear, head, deign.

Indistinct founds of vowels will be in Italics; as, A'ble, par'fon, fat'ten.

Flat and flowly accented fyllables *will have the* Grave accent ('): as, Bōr'der, warn'ing, ceil'ing, ce'ruf, i'ci-cle.

Sharp and quickly accented fyllables *will have the* Acute accent ('): as, Bor'row, wafh'ing, heif'er, bet'ter, id'i-om.

Note—a, i, o, and u, without any of the above characters, either alone, or before or after a confonant, have a fhorter found than ā, ī, ō, and ū, though of the fame quality, in the fame proportion as *a* in *wafh*, is to *a* in *ball*: or, *e* in *net*, to *e* in *fell*.

The vowel e will be frequently feen without any character over it, in which cafe it has the exact found of i; as in the words tick'en, fe'cret, en'glifh, &c. &c.

II. THE DIFFERENT SOUNDS OF THE CONSONANTS.

	ch *like* tch.	ch *like* k.	th *like* fh.
CH.	cheefe, charm	character, chafm.	chaife, chevalier.
S.	s biffing found. us, cuftom, lefs, afcenfion.		s foft like z. refufe, mufe, oceanion.
X.	x fharp like ks. expence, extort, extract.		x flat like gz. example, examine, exile.
G.	g foft found. gelid, gem, apology.		g hard found. geld, gimp, boggy.
	gh *like* f.		gh filent or mute.
GH.	laugh, cough, tough.		although, bough, dough.
PH.	ph *l he* f. phalanx, philofophy.		ph filent or mute. phthific, phthifical.
H.	h mute. honour, hour, rheum.		h afpirate. hail, hear, Jehovah.
	th hard found.		th foft found.
TH.	thin, thick, thought.		thine, thee, thofe.

G always founds hard before e, i, and u.
The only two words in which gh are mute.

CONSONANTS, when printed in *Italics*, are not to be founded; as, borrow, condemn, thumb, whole ;—except CH when, initially, they have the found of fh, as in chaife, chevalier, as above.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE COMBINED SOUNDS OF CERTAIN SYLLABLES.

s-tion	} found	fifh-fhûn	bi-tious	} found	bifh-fhûs	fion	} found	fhûn
si-tiou		zifh-ûn	pri-cious		prifh-fhus	iou, fer		yûn, yûr
di-tion		difh'fhûn	ni-cious		nifh fhus	feous, eûs		fhûs, yûs
di-cial		difh'fhâl	gra-cious		grā-fhûs	geous		jûs
fi-cial		fifh-fhâl	ti-tious		ti-tious	ciate		fhate
fi-cience		fifh'fhênce	ti-tian		fifh-fhân	fient		fhênt
fpi-cience		fpifh'fhênce	gial		zhâl	tre		têr
s-cient		fifh-fhênt	gia, cia		zha, fha	ac		as

Fig.1 The Key from Perry's Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing Dictionary.

In the Key each vowel sound is marked by a superscripted number, even though it is not then reproduced in any of the dictionary entries. As pointed out by Beal:

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. (Beal 2009: 164)

As shown in the various examples given above, Perry's "mode", unlike the systems devised by his fellow orthoepists (see Beal 2009), consisted in leaving the orthography of lemmas mainly unchanged but for the use of simple diacritics such as graves and acutes. The following table shows the different systems devised and reproduced in the two most important 18th-century pronouncing dictionaries, by Sheridan and Walker respectively. For convenience (i.e. a comparison with Johnson's and Perry's entries quoted above), HAPPINESS has been chosen as an example:

Sheridan 1780	Walker 1791
HAPPINESS, h$_a^1$p´p $_y^1$-n $_r^1$s *s.* Felicity, state in which the desires are satisfied; good luck, good fortune.	HAPPINESS, h$_a^4$p´p $_e^1$-n $_e^2$s *s.* Felicity, state in which the desires are satisfied; good luck, good fortune.

Sheridan and Walker appear to be very dependent on Johnson's selections of lexemes and phrases to define HAPPINESS, whereas already in his 1775 pronouncing dictionary and later in his synonym one, Perry clearly shows, as said above, some clear signs of originality. As for pronunciation, the two abovementioned dictionaries made use of a system of diacritics which Perry simply explained in his introductory Key section but actually never used for marking sounds.

4. The Wordlist

As stated by Perry, and as has already been said, the lexicon of *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* is largely Johnson's.[6] However, Perry was also able to go his own way, as the following examples will show.

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[6] Beal (2004: 65-66), following Mugglestone (1995), has pointed out that it was common practice among 18th-century lexicographers to use Johnson's words and

It is true that Perry usually followed Johnson's procedure to exclude adverbs from his wordlist, and

> the reason is obvious; they would have occupied much space to little purpose; and their omission can be supplied, without the least inconvenience, by referring to the radical adjective, by applying the above well-known general rule. (Perry 1805: vii)[7]

However, the adverb *HAPPILY* was included (see 3.2 above), and this is not the only exception to the rule. A comparison between Perry's and Johnson's wordlists, can provide further insights in Perry's methodology and use of Johnson's dictionary as a source for his own. If one examines the very first entries under the letter "A" – from *A* to *TO ABATE* – in Johnson's (1755) and Perry's various dictionaries, i.e. those published in 1775, 1795a and 1805, it is possible to notice some differences. The table below compares the wordlists in Johnson 1755 and Perry 1775:

Johnson (1755)[8]	Perry (1775)
A, *art.*	A.
//[9]	Ă′a-băm, *s.*
//	Ă′ăm, *s.*
AB.	Ab or Abs
//	Ab-ăc′a, *s.*
ABA′CKE. *adv.*	//
//	Ab′-ăco, *s.*
//	Ab′a-cŏt, *s.*
//	Ab-ăct′ĕd, *part.*

---

definitions in order to focus on 'correct' pronunciation. See also Burchfield (1993: 117).

[7] Johnson had similar claimed in the Preface that "Words arbitrarily formed by a constant and settled analogy, like diminutive adjectives in *ish*, as *greenish*, *bluish*, adverbs in *ly*, as *dully, openly*, substantives in *ness*, as *vileness*, *faultiness*, were less diligently sought, and many sometimes have been omitted, when I had no authority that invited me to insert them; not that they are not genuine and regular offsprings of *English* roots, but because their relation to the primitive being always the same, their signification cannot be mistaken" (Johnson 1755: sig. Bv).

[8] The wordlist of the 1773 edition was also checked and no change was introduced here by Johnson.

[9] The symbol // indicates 'not recorded'.

ABA′CTOR. *n.s.*	Ab-ăcto′r, *s.*
//	Ab-ăc′tŭs, *s.*
A′BACUS. *s.*	Ăb′a-cŭs, *s.*
//	A-băd′ĭ′r, *s.*
//	A-bàd′don, *s.*
ABA′FT. *adv.*	A-bàft`, *ad.*
ABAI′SANCE. *n.s.*	†A-bāi`sănce, *s.*
TO ABA′LIENATE. *v.a.*	Ăb-ăl-ĭen-ate, *v.a.*
ABA′LIENATION. *n.s.*	Ăb-ăl-ĭ-en-ā`tion, *s.*
TO ABA′ND. *v.a.*	//
TO ABA′NDON. *v. a.*	A-băn′do′n, *v.a.*
TO ABA′NDON OVER. *v. a.*	//
ABA′NDONED. *part. ad.*	A-băn′do′n-ĕd, *part. a.*
//	A-băn′do′n-ér, *s.*
ABA′NDONING. *n. s.*	A-băn′do′n -ĭng, *s.*
ABA′NDONMENT. *v. a.*	A-băn′do′n-mĕnt, *s.*
//	A-băn′dŭm, *s.*
//	A-bă n′ĕt, *s.*
ABANNI′TION. *n. s.*	A-băn-nĭ′tion, *s.*
//	A-băp-tĭs′toń, *s.*
ABARCY *n. s.*	//
TO ABA′RE *v. a.*	//
//	Ăb-àrn′āte, *v.a.*
ABARTICULA′TION. *s.*	//
//	Ăb′ăs, *s.*
To ABA′SE. *v. a.*	A-bāse`, *v.a.*
ABA′SED, *adj.*	A-bās′ĕd, *part.*
ABA′SEMENT. *n. s.*	A-bāse`mént, *s.*
//	A-băs′sĭ, *s.*
To ABA′SH. *v. a.*	A-băsh', *v.a.*
//	A-băsh'mĕnt, *s.*
To ABATE. *v. a.*	A-bāte`, *v.a*

To the twenty-five entries listed by Johnson correspond thirty-five in Perry's 1775 dictionary. Some similarities may be noticed by comparing the corresponding sequences in Perry's later dictionaries, *The Standard French and English Pronouncing*

Dictionary (1795a) and *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* (1805):

Perry (1795a)	Perry (1805)
A, art.	A
Ă-băck′, *ad.*	Ă-băck′, *ad.*
Ă-b′acŏt, s.	Ă-b′acŏt, *s.*
Ăb′a-cŭs, *s.*	Ăb′a-cŭs, *s.*
A-băd'dăn, *s.*	A-băd'dăn, *s.*
A-baft`, *ad.*	A-baft`, *ad.*
†A-baĭssănce, *s.*	†A-baĭssănce, *s.*
Ăb-ăl-ĭen-ate, *v.a.*	Ăb-ăl-ĭen-ate, *v.a.*
Ăb-ăl-ĭ-en-ā`tion, *s.*	Ăb-ăl-ĭ-en-ā`tion, *s.*
A-băn′do′n, *v.a.*	ABAN′DON, A-băn′do′n, *v.a.*
A-băn′do′n-ér, *s.*	//
//	ABAN′DONED, A-băn′do′n-ĕd, *a.*
A-băn′do′n -ĭng, *s.*	//
A-băn′do′n-mĕnt, *s.*	A-băn′do′n-mĕnt, *s.*
A-băr-tĭc-u-l ā`tion, *s.*[10]	//
A-bāse`, *v.a.*	A-bāse`, *v.a.*
A-bāse`mént, *s.*	A-bāse`mént, *s.*
A-băsh', *v.a*	ABASH′, A-băsh', *v.a.*
A-băsh′éd, *p.*	A-băsh′éd, *p.*
A-băsh'mĕnt, *s.*	//
A-bāte, *v. a.*	A-bāte, *v. a.*

Indeed, Perry's 1805 wordlist is very close to that of his previous dictionaries, and to Johnson's of course, though the presence of *ABACOT* – already introduced in the second, revised edition of his pronouncing dictionary published in 1777– does provide evidence that he could be independent of his 'model'. What is even clearer by comparing the wordlist sections in Perry's first and last dictionaries is that he reduced the number of his entry words by almost the fifty per cent.

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[10] Interestingly enough this lemma, already recorded in Johnson (1755), is introduced by Perry only in his bilingual dictionary.

Going back to the analysis of Perry's debt to Johnson, a different sampling – the first fourteen entries in Johnson and Perry 1805 – provided evidence of a new, important detail:

Johnson (1755)	Perry (1805)
P	P
PAʹBULAR. *adj.*	Păbú-laŕ, *a.*
PABULAʹTION. *n.s.*	Păb-u-lātion, *s.*
PAʹBULOUS. *adj.*	Păbú-l-oŭs, *a.*
PAʹBULUM. *n.s.*[11]	Păbʹu-lŭm, *s.*
PACE. *n.s.*	Pāce, *s.*
TO PACE. *v.n.*	Pāce, *v.n.*
PAʹCED. *adj.*	Pàcĕd, *a.*
PAʹCER. *n.s.*	Pàceʹr, *s.*
PACIFICAʹTION, *n.s.*	Păç-ĭ-fi-cātion, *s.*
PACIFICAʹTOR. *n.s.*	Paç-ĭ-fĭ-cã̄ toʹr, *s.*
PAʹCIFICATORY. *adj.*	Pa-cĭfĭ-ca-to-ry, *a.*
PAʹCIFICK. *adj.*	Pa-cĭfic (this Perry's spelling)*a.*
PACIʹFIER. *n.s.*	Păcifier, *s.*
TO PACIFY. *v.a.*	Paçi-fȳ, *v.a.*
PACK. *n.s.*	Păck, *s.*

The lemma *PABULUM* was included in neither Johnson 1755 nor in any of Perry's previous dictionaries. Therefore, in compiling the *Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing Dictionary*, Perry must also have made use of Johnson's 1773 revised fourth edition.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has tried to provide Hüllen with an answer to his claim that:

> A thorough investigation of Perry's work would be needed to find out how far it deviates from Johnson's model, which he acknowledged in his title. (Hüllen 2004: 253)

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[11] This is a new entry in Johnson 1773.

Far from being "a thorough investigation", this study has at least managed to point out the fact that Perry, thanks to his past experience as a lexicographer and scrupulous scholar, was able to improve on the work of his great predecessor, as far synonymy and pronunciation were concerned. He did use Johnson's wordlist and material, but he was also able to contribute something new to the description of the English language. Like most good lexicographers, he was both a follower and an innovator; and he deserves a place in the history of English lexicography, as his dictionaries brought "the phenomenon of synonymy from the area of style [...] to the area of lexical semantics" (Hüllen 2004: 249).

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ACT III

PRESENT-DAY PERSPECTIVES:

ENGLISH IN THE GLOBAL SOCIETY

SOCIETY, its Derivative SOCIAL, and the Rise of the Antonym ANTISOCIAL

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1. Introduction

In his preface to *Words in Time* Geoffrey Hughes makes mention of the "perennial condition of effervescence and decay, of growth and confusion" that provides the raw material for any study of semantic change in the English language (Hughes 1988: vii). Hughes's near antonyms bring the famous incipit to Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* to mind: language is perennially growing and at the same time is perennially confusing, while society is perennially in midst of the best of times and in the midst of the worst of times; language reflects a binary bent that is widespread among many members of society, which is why we have made (certainly since Dickens's time, since the Victorian era) and continue to make, liberal use of the superlative degree of comparison, for better and for worse. Any social history of English must evidently be an attempt to link language to the history – often bipartisan – of the language's communities, to the people and the peoples who use English. But the existence of conflicting perceptions and their expression in language does not mean that in the study of language we need to take sides. As William A. Kretzschmar, discussing the apparent dichotomy between linguistic rules and linguistic variation, states in his introduction to *The Linguistics of Speech*: "Rules and variations are opposite poles, but that does not mean that we can get rid of one. They are two sides of the same coin, and we need to consider both sides" (Kretzschmar 2009: 3).

My aim in this chapter is to consider the word SOCIETY and its derivative SOCIAL as discussed by Hughes over their history and as they have been used in a mainly British context since the publication of *Words in Time* in 1988 and to highlight the semantic ambivalence in their use. Reference will also be made to the work of one of Hughes's most illustrious predecessors in writing a social

history of English, Raymond Williams, together with Hughes's and Williams's successors – Bennett, Grossberg and Morris (2005) – editors of *New Keywords*. The rise in recent years of the antonym ANTISOCIAL, particularly as expressed in the acronym ASBO (ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR ORDER), is also of particular interest and worthy of attention. While it is not directly mentioned in the title, some attention will also be paid to the word SOCIALIST. The chapter is intended as a survey and as such will inevitably contain subjective choices of examples: from political rhetoric, from popular culture, from newspapers. Thanks to the Internet, I have also been able to look at some corpora and other online resources. It is true that in quantitative terms, in terms of the amount of language stored and accessible for study, these are the resources that offer potentially the most satisfactory data for a more concentrated and in-depth investigation that would go beyond the limits imposed here.

2. A Method

Looking at their meanings and back to the roots of words is an exercise that is not always fully satisfying and conclusive because the history behind our vocabulary is as complex and tortuous as our everyday use of language, perhaps even more so given the vicissitudes of the diachronics of language. We obviously can know something of the origins of our words, but in truth we can know relatively little of the ways in which those original words, and in which contexts, were used; relatively little because the documents and instances that remain available to us are as scraps of unknown lives, viewed through the telescope of history. In terms of method, I feel that one can do no better than aspire to emulate Hughes's equilibrium:

> The mode of approach used in this study is a combination of the atomistic, philological study of individual words, combining their case histories with those of similar background or meaning, but not losing sight of the social determinants of the language, nor its overall system. The assumed relationship between semantic change and social change is that of a flexible symbiosis. (Hughes 1988: 25)

To deny that symbiosis, either by means of a slavish reliance on pure philology or by the promotion of impressionistic views of society above all else, would be to do a disservice to the realities of language and its use in context.

The great problem with words in time is that as we study them we are inevitably out of their times, and out of the times of the people who have used those words through history. Linguists are constrained, are condemned to using language about language – metalanguage – to discuss words, and yet we are diachronically divorced from the minds of those who used these very same words across the years, across the centuries before us. And even in synchronic terms words are never the same for any given pair or group of interlocutors because context, even the apparently limited context of the individual mind, dictates that there is no such thing as true equivalence. Synchrony makes it more likely that one person's conception of 'society' will be similar to another's, but it is by no means a guarantee of such harmony: across the minutes, the seconds even of a political debate, a sitting-room conversation, a pub or even a Facebook chat, interlocutors will express differences of nuance or even differences of fundament regarding the meanings behind the words they use.

All this is a problem, but who would want language to be anything other than a problem of this nature? Only a totalitarian such as – to use a conveniently fictional and extreme example, though unfortunately we are all able to cite real-life, if less extreme examples with minimal effort – George Orwell's Big Brother in the seminal novel, *1984*. In the spirit of our times, in our *Zeitgeist*, that problem, the lack of a totalitarian approach to language, is also an opportunity.

In this sense dictionaries are our anchors. To attempt to be less metaphorical, more linear, they are our points of reference, but it is striking that the Anglophone world's most authoritative point of reference – the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, OED) – now exists primarily in a form that in itself stresses in a most effective way the fact that dictionaries mutate, that words in time change with the men and women who use those words. And to return to the metaphor at the opening of this paragraph, the OED online's quarterly changes are akin to the fact that – as anyone in

charge of a ship or a boat knows – anchors slip, anchors drag in reaction to a variety of stimuli and even the sea-, river- or lake-bed itself changes over time. The geological time that changes the morphology of the planet is of course much more 'dilated' than linguistic time, but it is still time, time inexorable, and the changes wrought by it, on languages as on geology, require investigation.[1]

In comparison with the sophistication and variety of the OED, Dr Johnson's definitions of the word *SOCIETY* in his 1755 *Dictionary* are refreshingly contained and direct, and consequently quotable:

1. Union of many in one general interest.
2. Numbers united in one interest; community.
3. Company; converse.
4. Partnership; union on equal terms.

It is obvious that the development of the Anglophone world in particular, and the world in general, over the intervening centuries has resulted in societies that are infinitely more varied and sophisticated than 18th-century Britain. The very first word used by Johnson in the first definition is indeed a word carrying a concept currently under considerable stress in 21st-century Scotland and England.

Etymology helps of course. The Latin SOCIETAS, for example, the obvious root for SOCIETY, was used with a very specific meaning in Roman life to indicate what we would now call a business association or alliance, often established through friendship and patronage and with a fiduciary commitment on the part of all parties involved. I will suggest below that it is precisely this element of fiduciary commitment, of mutual trust, that has

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[1] The word DILATED came to me as I was writing this sentence and immediately alarm bells started ringing in my mind, for this is an example of interference from Italian, a language that I use daily. DILATARE, the Italian cognate of the English 'to dilate', is used commonly in the sense of temporal extension. That specific sense is now lost in contemporary English, it is now obsolete, but the OED informs us that it was certainly in use between 1399 and 1658, which is why it remains, albeit foregrounded in its inverted commas in the text above: testimony of a once extant meaning and yet still comprehensible in the present. The same might be said of some important parts of the meaning of the word SOCIETY – comprehensible, yet elusive, indeed 'alien' to present-day users of the language.

declined in significance in recent years in the contemporary understanding of SOCIETY.

In his discussion of the word, Hughes (1988: 188) criticizes Raymond Williams (while at the same time blithely using the very same illustrative quotation from Byron provided by Williams little more than a decade earlier in *Keywords*, a quotation that comes originally from the OED) for suggesting that as early as the 14th century SOCIETY was borrowed to mean "active unity in fellowship, as in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381" (Williams 1976: 244). Hughes considers this to be "an unfounded anachronism, based on a Marxist 'proletarian' etymology, and his attempt to enlist the term in the class-struggle appears to be a striking example of ideological wish-fulfilment" (Hughes 1988: 188). It strikes me in fact (perhaps because of our post-modern, 'post-ideological' vantage point through which the ubiquity of ideology is recognized) that "ideological wish fulfilment" might actually constitute a useful generic definition of the activity of writing in any field, including lexicography and linguistic studies. But to return to Hughes's two paragraphs on SOCIETY, he concludes them with two very incisive sentences:

> The differing attitudes towards society are encapsulated in the variants *socialist* and *socialite*. Generally, one may say that 'society' has ceased to be the 'sociable' notion of earlier times, and has become increasingly abstract and alien. (Hughes 1988: 188)

More on socialists and socialites below, but for the moment an immediate temptation, confessedly coming out of a desire to engage in ideological wish fulfilment, which, as mentioned above, I view as a desire to write, is to focus on that last word – ALIEN – and to wonder if Hughes was aware when he used it of its strong Marxist resonance. (Williams's *Keywords* carries some four pages dedicated to ALIENATION, a word that interestingly was omitted from *New Keywords* (Bennett, Grossberg & Morris 2005). A more important point, however, for our purposes here, is to suggest that Hughes's "abstract and alien" is very much in keeping with the social realities of our times since 1988.

3. Ambivalence

There is now something in our conception of and attitude towards society that undermines a significant part of the OED definition of SOCIETY:

> **2.** The state or condition of living in association, company, or intercourse with others of the same species; the system or mode of life adopted by a body of individuals for the purpose of harmonious co-existence or for mutual benefit, defence, etc.

In fact "harmonious co-existence" and "mutual benefit" are not currently intrinsic components of "the state or condition of living in association, company or intercourse with others of the same species", far from it. In fact harmony and mutual benefit are for many people 'cheesy' concepts, an adjective recently used (with admirable knowledge of his native-speaker peer group's lexis) by one of my Italian students of English to describe those very concepts. Parenthetically, this fact – ambivalence with regard to the intrinsic positive qualities of society – has also surely contributed to the success of one of the most intelligent British pop songs of recent decades, which also happens to have one of the most linguistically sophisticated titles of any pop song I know, Nick Lowe's 1974 *(What's So Funny 'Bout?) Peace, Love and Understanding*. Lowe's parenthetical question makes the point that peace, love and understanding are currently cheesy too for many people. The harmony and the mutual benefit in the OED definition are very nearly as embarrassingly funny as peace, love and understanding and it is in this (negative) sense that Mrs Thatcher was famously, infamously, on the right political track in her obvious, blatant untruth as issued to *Women's Own* magazine on October 31 1987: "There is no such thing as society". The utterance and its publication played directly to the widespread ambivalence felt regarding society.

Society is the title of a key song in the soundtrack of Sean Penn's successful 2007 film, *Into the Wild*. Written by Jerry Hannan and performed by him together with Eddie Vedder, *Society* has a lyric that expresses deep disillusionment with the perceived loss of the ideals of mutual harmony and benefit:

It's a mystery to me
We have a greed
With which we have agreed

You think you have to want
More than you need
Until you have it all you won't be free

The first two verses illustrate succinctly the inevitable destructiveness of consumerism, a way of life to which the vast majority of inhabitants of developed economies are deeply bound. "Greed with which we have agreed" means that there can be no genuine common good and – in keeping with the lyric's rhyme scheme – society becomes "a crazy breed".

Penn's film, of course, based on Jon Krakauer's 1996 book of the same title, is famously about a real-life character, Christopher McCandless, who turns his back on society completely, preferring life in the natural wilderness to life in the societal wilderness. There is deep irony in another line in the song's lyric – "I hope you're not lonely without me" – as if the industrialized societies in which we live, having turned their backs on the principle of each according to his or her needs, are capable of missing the contribution of any and all individuals. In a very important sense, when individuals decide they want more than they need, then society ceases to exist. All this, of course, provides further rationale for Mrs Thatcher's statement.

Mitchell Dean, writing in the entry for *SOCIETY* in *New Keywords*, concurs, suggesting that the word in the 20th century has become "reified" and replaced in its previous meanings by a succession of nouns preceded by the adjective "social", from "social action" to "social inclusion" and concludes thus:

In this sense the claim "there is no such thing as society" merely recapitulates C20 learned opinion. Together with the idea of the decline of the nation state, connected with globalization, we might conclude that the notion of "society" as a unity acting on individuals survives only as a naïveté. (Bennett, Grossberg & Morris 2005: 329)

Less than a decade after the publication of Dean's words, however, it seems that learned opinion about society may be forced to undergo a substantial revision occasioned by an apparent failure

in the economic engine that drives the much-touted globalized society and which has left individual nation states no option other than to partially nationalize credit-providing institutions. Credit crunches, bank failures and rising unemployment have put new emphasis on society's (social) obligations, and while the speeches of the world's leading politician of the moment, US President Barrack Obama, display predictably sparse use of the word SOCIETY and its derivative adjective SOCIAL, on accepting the Democratic nomination as Presidential candidate in August 2008 he did have this to say about his Republican rival, Senator John McCain:

> For over two decades, he's subscribed to that old, discredited Republican philosophy – give more and more to those with the most and hope that prosperity trickles down to everyone else. In Washington, they call this the Ownership Society, but what it really means is – you're on your own. Out of work? Tough luck. No health care? The market will fix it. Born into poverty? Pull yourself up by your own bootstraps – even if you don't have boots. You're on your own. (Obama 2008)

Our historical moment is certainly an appropriate one in which to suggest that trickle-down economics is discredited, that trickle-down economics has failed to create a society geared towards the benefit of all. Linguistically, the fact that SOCIETY is so often – as it is here – qualified with an adjective, indicates that over time and often synchronically there is no overarching vision of the concept, that it increasingly requires qualification and description. Our conception of the entity that is society has fragmented just as society has become more fragmented and various in its manifestations. On a more heartening note, a search in the spoken section of the British National Corpus online for SOCIETY, with the request to provide collocates, shows that after BUILDING (with 179 occurrences – the building society remains a fundamental British institution) comes the possessive adjective OUR (with 85 occurrences), a fact that shows there is at least a collective perception of society as the system in which we live.

Indeed, the vacillations of history, particularly economic history, mean that not all of SOCIETY's meanings can be in the forefront of

the minds of English-speaking men and women in any given period. But SOCIETY in all its meanings certainly does exist, for what better abstract noun do we have for our people and our institutions and the way they combine to organize and (apparently) attempt to safeguard our lives? The point is, of course, that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could negate and deny this fact in the pages of *Women's Own* magazine in 1987 in the hope of getting political mileage out of it. Political mileage, however, is a contingency that looks no further than the politician's need to win the next elections and given the nature of his or her reality, why should the politician take the longer view, why should the politician be concerned with the meaning, with the coherence of a word (and the concept it carries) through time? We all use words for our own overt and covert purposes, we all grant words connotations that suit those purposes, politicians do so more than most of us given the urgent nature of their contingencies – language is a loaded weapon that is used and abused.[2] In fact, Thatcher's statement actually proved to be part of her political undoing, despite her office's explanation of the comment as issued to *The Sunday Times* in July 1988; but in many ways the years since the publication of *Words in Time* have been a deeply antisocial time. We could argue – provocatively of course, but after all that was the political game she was playing – that Mrs Thatcher was being profoundly anti-society, antisocial even in making that statement. Perhaps, had the instrument existed at that time, she could have received an ASBO for having used language in such a way, in such a place.

ASBO, a substantive used increasingly as an adjective, is one of the most horrific of recent acronyms in British English simply because the legal instrument it defines is clearly symptomatic of deep-rooted and widespread problems in certain, generally underprivileged, strata of society. In the same way that legislation designed to protect language is often considered to be the tolling of the bell for the language in question, is it an exaggeration to suggest that legislation designed to maintain social behaviour is part of the tolling of the bell for social behaviour? Time will tell. However, putting to one side the provocative jokes about Mrs Thatcher,

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[2] To borrow the title and subtitle of Bolinger 1980.

together with pessimistic conjecture on the future of antisocial behaviour, the ASBO is also horrific in the sense that it inevitably neglects and distracts from a series of other questions about what constitutes antisocial behaviour: without listing and identifying the phenomena individually, surely we have reached a point where we now realize that our continued support of and participation in unbridled and dizzyingly fast economic and technological development has reached a profoundly antisocial level.

ASBO does not appear at all in the British National Corpus, for the simple reason that the BNC's most recent texts date to the early 1990s, prior to the Blair government's introduction of the order in 1998. Ironically, however, it does have one occurrence in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) from the year 2007 in the spoken genre.[3] COCA is a corpus that is currently updated annually with the addition of new texts, texts that are equally balanced among five genres: spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspaper and academic. This fact bolsters Mark Davies's observation in the section of the Brigham Young University's corpora web interface that compares COCA and the BNC:

> For most types of studies, academic publications and presentations that rely on just the BNC for data from Modern English will look increasingly outdated and insular as time goes on.

In terms of future corpus-based study of English words in time, it seems that a specifically British focus that includes the present day will be hard to achieve.

The corpora and their interfaces at Brigham Young University provide a series of extremely interesting tools and resources, including the possibility to make use of the Google Books project as a corpus. The 34 billion words in the British section show that

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[3] Further investigation of the context, however, provides revealing information that reflects negatively on the structure of the corpus (the unthinking classification of radio transcripts in the spoken genre). The occurrence actually comes from an NPR radio programme with the title *Tell me more* and consists of an extended interview/performance with the British rock band, *The noisettes*. ASBO actually occurs as part of the lyric during the performance of the band's song *Sister Rosetta (capture the spirit)*.

ANTISOCIAL in the 1980s accounted for 2.11 out of every million words used, a figure that rises for the 1990s to 6.42 and for the 2000s to 7.5. The 155 billion words of the United States section take us from 3.8 per million in the 1980s to 4.87 in the 1990s, followed by a slight reduction to 4.39 in the 2000s.

Google itself also provides a linguistic tool in the form of its Ngram Viewer, which takes its data from the Google Books collection. This tool shows that the collocates ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR display a staggeringly steep rise from the mid 1940s to the year 2000, with the steepest part of the graphic cline coming during the 1990s. A very similar cline is produced by ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR. Both the US and the UK spellings, however, show a reduction following the turn of the millennium, with the British cline peaking and beginning to fall some three or four years later than its American counterpart. This may demonstrate that as society 'develops', so too do its problems.

In the great undisciplined corpus that is the Internet, however, ASBO is very much alive on pages that have a British provenance. In 2012 the Cameron/Clegg government took the decision to scrap the ASBO as a legal mechanism for curbing disruptive behaviour in society, replacing it with a series of orders that carry less euphonic abbreviations. The "Asbo Era", as some journalists have dubbed it, was relatively brief – a mere 14 years in duration. Linguistically, however, it seems more than possible that the acronym will live on. June 2012 saw publication of Martin Amis's novel, *Lionel Asbo: State of England*, the eponymous protagonist of which changes his surname out of sheer pride in his own antisocial and disruptive behaviour.

A search for ASBO in the archives of the British daily *The Guardian* shows that its occurrences range from 3 in 1999 to 122 in 2011, with a peak in 2006 of 393. ANTISOCIAL over the same period ranges from 147 in 1999 to 485 in 2011, with a peak in 2005 of 809. A study of these articles, together with other occurrences in other newspapers in the same period, would provide an interesting picture of the social history of the 'asbo era'.

4. Conclusion

So, the putative tenor of our time is one in which few people have a clear idea of what SOCIETY means, what SOCIAL means. And then there is that most controversial of derivatives from SOCIETY that I have so far avoided in this chapter, a derivative that *The Guardian* chose to emphasize in the context of the title of an interview with Cherie Blair: "Yes, I am a socialist" (17 May 2008: 33). Of all those who have apparently successfully reconciled Hughes's "differing attitudes towards society" as mentioned above, the former prime minister's wife is surely one of the most celebrated. But the *Guardian* article in question was predictably disappointing because beyond the eye-catching headline there was no discussion whatsoever of what the word SOCIALIST means, or of what it means to be a socialist, neither for Blair nor for the journalist, Martin Kettle. All we learn is that when Cherie Blair insists her husband is a socialist, he "smiles and rolls his eyes and knows exactly what I mean", which seems to be some sort of in joke, the very existence of which is a fact that perhaps tells us exactly what history has done to socialism.

In a sense it was inevitable that the word SOCIALIST would come to be burdened with difficulty: the rise of capitalism throughout the 20th century, the dissolution of state socialism in Eastern Europe in particular in the late 20th century together with the Chinese Communist Party's promotion of capitalism. These events have helped lay down the conditions whereby for a leading figure in a major British political party founded on socialist principles, the word acquired jocular, perhaps even taboo connotations. The weight of the rise of liberal economic principles – the very weight that allowed Prime Minister Thatcher to feel secure in making her famous comment – was simply too much for the concepts carried by SOCIALIST to bear. When a concept mutates or disappears or is discredited, the word that expressed it undergoes mutation too.

The word SOCIETY is currently mutating with the help of its own derivative adjective and at least one of the sources of that mutation is at first glance surprising. Conservative leader David Cameron has of course moved his party on from the "no such thing as society" days. Indeed, the Conservatives have now coined the phrase, "pro-

social society" to help them walk the political tightrope between the concepts of individualism, *laissez faire*, and mutual benefit. Initially the locution might appear tautological, if there is still some residue of the concept of mutual benefit in your understanding of the word SOCIETY, but if we recall Mrs Thatcher's words then it really does makes sense to be attempting to put the social back into society, both politically and semantically. Politics, of course, must respond to the cycles of history and a party that finds itself in the political wilderness must be seen to be making an attempt to inject something new into those cycles in order to gain consensus.[4]

The end of Cameron's lecture to the National Council for Voluntary Organisations in 2005 contains a reference to that most antisocial of events, a reference to war, which is not inappropriate since the world now appears to be in a state of permanent war and war as metaphor is serviceable, comfortably extendible to societies that are apparently at peace. The reference itself also carries a quotation from Churchill, Britain's most prestigious wartime leader.

I, too, can call upon some of Churchill's words – paraphrasing them and using them as a model, stealing them if you like – to close this chapter and while the wartime resonance is perhaps a little exaggerated (at least for the moment in this corner of Europe),[5] I do believe we are in the midst of something of a social emergency that finds expression in the way perceptions of the word SOCIETY have changed. Never in the field of human communication have so many had so little to say to one another in so many different ways. Without wishing to seem in any way reactionary or conservative, the paucity of much of the 'communication' effected through our new and powerful means of communication is evident.

There certainly are some words and locutions the semantics of which have undergone fundamental changes since the publication

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[4] Almost a decade has passed since those words were written and in the interim David Cameron's relationship with SOCIETY has mutated further into the much touted "Big Society" that formed part of the Conservative manifesto in the 2010 election. This is, of course, rhetoric, part of the "Big Society language" as Rowan Williams, former Archbishop of Canterbury, defined it on July 23 2010 in a speech, but it is nevertheless rhetorical and political language much removed from the language used by Thatcher.

[5] In 2011 unrest on Europe's immediate confines led to at least one bloody and protracted military conflict in Libya.

of Geoffrey Hughes's *Words in Time*: CHAT, or TEXT for example and NETWORKING, particularly in the locution SOCIAL NETWORKING. These activities have been expanded and diversified, for better or for worse, by the advent and the continuous development of the Internet. SOCIAL NETWORKING until fairly recently meant maintaining contacts through direct interaction, if not face-to-face interaction then at least telephonic; now of course it principally means exploiting the marvel of the world wide web's hypertext transfer protocol to interact. A CHAT was exclusively a face-to-face experience in which all the nuances of gesture, facial expression and voice (all the nuances that 'emoticons' now attempt to represent in their formulae) came into play, rather than real-time consecutive exchanges of textual utterances. A TEXT was discourse, written or spoken; it was not a short, maximum 128-character, instant message, and it was not a verb. I find myself wondering if a social history of the English vocabulary written, say, in ten years' time will not have to face up to this fact – that the massive expansion in linguistic communication as we moved into the 21st century, did not in any way result in an expansion of social communication, where social communication means exchange of views and desires to work for "harmonious co-existence or for mutual benefit, defence, etc." Indeed, the Anglophone scenario (and the global scenario) is one in which it seems there is a pressing need to put the SOCIAL back into SOCIETY in order to hold back the rising tide of the ANTISOCIAL.

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From Inner to Expanding Circle:
Recreating English Words in Italian

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> Words strain,
> Crack and sometimes break, under the burden,
> Under the tension, slip, slide, perish,
> Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place,
> Will not stay still**.**
>
> T.S. Eliot, *Burnt Norton*

1. Introduction

Words "will not stay in place, / will not stay still", as the well-known lines from T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* remind us (Eliot [1935] 1963: 180). Words change to fit new contexts, to serve new purposes, to convey new meanings. Words move in time, and from place to place; between different generations of speakers in a given speech-community, as much as between different speech communities.

Lexicologists may study words as either 'processes' or 'products', i.e. focussing on their changes as they occur, or on the results of changes. Both options are possible and interesting in themselves, even though sociolinguists seem to favour the former approach as they "try to avoid the bias of conceiving of language in terms of already codified forms […] or written norms" (Mesthrie 2006: 384). Yet, by using electronic corpora, and particularly corpora collecting newspaper language, it is possible to analyse words 'in use': the focus will be on 'products' – word forms actually used and found in newspapers – but the 'processes' will also be there, by implication at least, as it will be easy to show how words change to fit new settings, how they travel to reach new lands. The words I am referring to are words of English origin, the land I will be considering is Italy.

By using Geoffrey Hughes's (1988) *Words in Time* as a starting point, I will refer to later works on the recent history of the English language – rather, on the contemporary development of World English (or World Englishes, henceforth WE) – in order to place Italy and Italian into the picture of the worldwide use of the English language, both in general terms and by means of a case study.

2. Hughes's Words, WE, and the Expanding Circle

In the Introduction to his seminal book, Hughes makes many interesting remarks, among which I will select three:

> Yet linguistic change has been the norm in English for at least a thousand years. […] The past millennium of English history has witnessed huge changes in the social, economic and political structures, as well as in the make-up of the English-speaking peoples. (Hughes 1988: 2)

> The great storehouse of semantic change in English is the OED. (Hughes 1988: 3)

> There emerges a clear sociolinguistic connection between the social status or function of a speech-community and the register or tone of the verbal legacy left by it. It is clear […] English has not been a pure language for over a thousand years: it was […] what Daniel Defoe satirically styled in *The True-Born Englishman* (1701): 'Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman English'. (Hughes 1988: 5)

While the first two statements can be taken as a matter of course – English and its lexical store have long been changing, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* is the storehouse of information about lexical change – the third emphasises the 'impurity' of the English language, i.e. the intermingling of different linguistic influences on it (although the label has no derogative connotations). And yet, what Hughes consistently refers to is Standard British English, and his *Social History of the English Vocabulary* – so runs the subtitle of his book – is that of Standard British English only.[1]

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[1] A different approach is shown by D.R. Davis who, in the opening chapter of the first section of *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*, claims that there has never been such an entity as a 'pure' language and that the awareness of hybridity

My claim is that it is no longer possible to refer to Standard English only if we want to discuss the facts of the English language,[2] and indeed we can borrow Crystal's words to assert this:

> The past century has seen dozen of books which have presented the language [...], describing stages in the emergence of what has come to be called 'Standard English'. A standard is a variety of a language which has acquired special prestige within a community. It is an important focus of study, [...]. But an account of the standard language is only a small part of the whole story of English. The real story is much, much bigger. (Crystal 2005: 1)

Crystal is ready to acknowledge and sustain the importance of Standard English;[3] nevertheless, it is just a 'variety' among others, albeit the most renowned one, and he can conclude that

> the story of Standard English has hitherto attracted all the attention. The *other* stories have never been given their rightful place in English linguistic history, and it is time they were. (Crystal 2005: 1)[4]

The other varieties should become the centre of attention because

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may lead to a different approach as far as the standard ideology is concerned (Davis 2010: 31).

[2] Together with other sociolinguists and historians of English – such as B. Kachru, Y. Kachru, L.E. Smith or E.W. Schneider, to quote but a few – Mesthrie (2006) proposes a different point of view from which a history of the English language should or could be traced. He maintains that traditional histories of English and new WE studies are wrong in dealing with the history of English varieties separately, and he tries to show how to unify such different histories and explains why multilingualism and language contact should be taken into account.

[3] It is perhaps worth noticing that the term 'Standard English' was not so widely used throughout the 18th century, even though what are now called 'non-standard varieties' were condemned and despised by prescriptive linguists. What was earlier defined 'polite language' changed into 'legitimate' as opposed to those 'non-legitimate' forms of language which threatened the institutions (Watts 2011: 210).

[4] To partially redress Crystal's claim, it can be added that the varieties of English have actually started being studied; indeed, a whole volume is devoted to 'English overseas' in *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Burchfield 1995), and various sections of both *The Handbook of the History of English* (van Kemenade & Los 2006) and *A Companion to the History of the English Language* (Momma & Matto 2009) discuss the issue of the varieties of English worldwide.

for every one person who speaks Standard English, there must be a hundred who do not, and another hundred who speak other varieties as well as the standard. Where is their story told? (Crystal 2005: 3)

For a social history of the English vocabulary to be reliable and complete, all or most of the existing varieties have to be dealt with and their vocabulary analysed. Taking into consideration the different varieties of the English language and their sociocultural contexts may challenge – or, at least, enhance – the longstanding tradition that regards Standard English as the 'legitimate' subject for an accurate description of the language. Such varieties are those related to former British colonies or Empire, i.e. places in which English played a role and left a linguistic legacy. And yet it should not be forgotten that there are other places where the English language plays an important role nowadays; places where British colonianism never ruled, where no English linguistic legacy was left, but where English has become the language of economic and sociocultural power, the language of science and international communication. Arguably, then, a full description of the English vocabulary should not exclude what has happened and has been happening to it when English and its words are used in such speech-communities as, say, the Scandinavian countries, France or Italy.

This is not only historically relevant, but also methodologically correct because it is possible to refer back to one of the most famous and widely used descriptive WE models, namely that proposed by B. Kachru in 1985 and later revised.[5] As is well known, Kachru (1985, 1992) proposed three circles to describe the English language situation and distinguished three phases in its spread.[6] The first phase is the expansion of English within the British Isles, the second phase the expansion to North America; they both concern the areas which belong to Kachru's 'Inner circle'. The third phase involves English imperial expansion to Asia, Africa

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[5] For a useful summary of the models proposed to describe the spread of English worldwide, see Schneider (2010).

[6] Drawing from McArthur (1998), Davis (2010: 17) comments on Kachru's circles to point out the need to look at what was 'before' the circles to demonstrate how the inner circle's standard is made of hybrid forms itself, that are in turn comparable to new varieties. Moreover, according to Widdowson, "spread implies adaptation and non-conformity" (1997: 140).

and the Pacific; it is the phase which generated the New Englishes and concerns Kachru's second or 'Outer circle'. The third and last circle – the so-called 'Expanding circle' – contains all those areas that have never been part of the British empire – such as Japan, Russia or continental Europe[7] – and must therefore be related to a fourth phase of expansion.

The three circles differ for various reasons – their very genesis, first of all, and the number of speakers, but also the use of the language and the normative attitude. In fact, the speakers of the inner circle are extensive users and provide the norms for the other speakers; those of the outer circle are functional language users and develop the norms provided by the inner-circle speakers;[8] the speakers in the expanding circle depend on the norms provided by the other circles.

Yet what kind of users are they? They may be functional users of English but, in the countries belonging to the Expanding circle, English plays different roles and the traditional dichotomy Native Speaker (NS) vs. Non-Native Speaker (NNS) proves insufficient and inadequate to explain its position. It is English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or, perhaps more commonly nowadays, English as a Lingua Franca (EFL). And the proficiency in English varies enormously both among the expanding-circle countries (e.g., Scandinavians, as a general rule, speaking much better English than Italians) and inside each country (depending on such individual factors as education, social positioning or age, but also on the international status of the national language or the local linguistic policy, if any).

What follows will focus on Italy and the impact of English on the Italian language – more specifically, on the creative use of English words in the Italian speech-community.

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[7] Seidlhofer (2010) maintains that Europe's sociolinguistic situation, as far as the English language is concerned, cannot be fully accounted for by Kachru's circles because of its peculiarity.

[8] According to Schneider (2010: 379), notwithstanding its limits Kachru's model proves functional for the emphasis it places on the essentially independent status of the outer circle, which leads to a change as far as the 'ownership' of English is concerned.

3. Analysing English Words in Italy

3.1. The Italian Context

As mentioned above, Kachru considers the countries of the expanding circle as norm-dependent and non-creative, speech-communities where linguistic norms are not created but borrowed from the other circles. This is only partially true, though; in fact, even if it is very unlikely that English spoken in Germany, Japan or Italy will ever provide linguistic models for British or American English, the use of English in those expanding-circle countries might prove creative as far as different communicative functions are concerned.

As is well known, Italian foreign language learning policy has not proved very successful so far. In general terms, Italians are not fluent speakers of other languages. Traditionally, French was the first (or only) foreign language taught in the Italian school-system, with English slowly replacing French from the 1970s onwards. The situation has been improving in recent times, as a result of both a concerted effort of the school-system (more competent teachers, CLIL projects, etc) and the ubiquitous presence of the English language in the workplace, in the music industry, in the media, in advertising etc.

As a result, more and more people in Italy study English, get in touch with it, and use it. This is not unlike what happens elsewhere in mainland Europe, and may arguably be said to have the following consequences: (1) a small, slowly growing number of competent speakers of English, especially on business; (2) a contribution to Lingua Franca English (see Seidlhofer 2006); and (3) some sort of impact, almost exclusively at the lexical level, on the Italian language.

This latter element includes, of course, loanwords from the English language, which may have long entered Italian (see, e.g., Iamartino 2001); but it does include other, more recent forms too – forms resulting from the contact between the two codes and from some kind

of creative linguistic behaviour that has a social, communicative[9] and evocative aim, rather than a purely linguistic one.

Indeed, my research (Vigo 2007) has provided good evidence of a creative use of the English language in Italy, English words being used and often manipulated on purpose. For example, the English or English-sounding names of shops and hotels in Italy are often chosen for communicative purposes, for advertising strategies rather than for such purely linguistic needs as clarity, intelligibility or globalisation;[10] English words seem to convey the subliminal message of their users' belonging to a prestigious, trendy group, to the rich and the successful.

English is also present in plays on words, quite common in Italian advertisements. Examples from my previous research include *forty sconti* and *sun & glasses*. The former expression, meaning 'big sales', plays on the near homophony of Italian FORTI and English FORTY to indicate that goods on sale were reduced in price by 40%; and the latter is to be found on the plain black background of a poster where no other information about the goods or the shop was given.

These, and similar, disconcerting examples show that, at times, Italian uses English creatively but not according to the approved or expected formulae. English words are used regardless of both their 'proper' meaning and their intelligibility. They accomplish a different function; they 'obey' different rules.

3.2. English Words in Italian Newspaper Language

Notoriously, advertising exploits the potentialities of languages to the full – and even beyond that, as the above examples and current

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[9] The term 'communicative' is here used to mean 'strategically communicative', i.e. to refer to some linguistic choices that have no denotative meaning *per se*, or whose denotative meaning is not the key issue, but are chosen for their communicative impact and force on society. This is typical of the language of advertising: see Piller (1999 and 2003), Martin (2002 and 2007), Kelly-Homes (2005) and Kristiansen & Dirven (2008).

[10] The people interviewed during my field research – most of them shop or restaurant owners – confirmed that quite often the choice of the name or logo was not theirs but their architect's or marketing consultant's and that they hardly knew what it meant.

literature on this topic have shown.[11] Therefore, it is advisable to consider different areas of language use in order to monitor what Italian has been going through and what new features have arisen, especially as far as English words used in the Italian language are concerned.

Newspapers are particularly suitable for this research purpose, for various and different reasons: (1) although they mirror and display only a section of the wider language use scenario, they may deal with any kind of topics, and therefore use words from any semantic area; (2) although their medium is the written language, the stylistic range of their articles may vary from the formal to the colloquial, with some text-types (e.g. interviews) mimicking spoken language; (3) in order to catch their readers' attention, they may use forms and expressions – English or English- sounding words among them – that deviate from proper and legitimate use; (4) still, newspapers do often represent a linguistic model for many of their readers, who take them as normative tools, not unlike – but much handier and less frightening than – dictionaries and grammar books.

3.3. Methodology

Since, as corpus linguistics research has long and fully demonstrated (see, among others, Tognini-Bonelli 2001 or Sinclair 2004), corpora turn out to be essential tools to corroborate language research and insights, for the purpose of the present research a quantitative approach seemed the best and most productive starting point.

A corpus-based analysis was therefore carried out, by using *La Repubblica* Corpus, collected by SSLMIT – University of Bologna at Forlì.[12] It covers 15 years of *La Repubblica* – a very widely read Italian daily – from 1985 to 1999 and consists of 380,000,000 items. Similar to other newspapers, *La Repubblica* is made up of several sections, some of which are characterized by the use of

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[11]   See, among others, Cook (2007), Goddard (2002), Hermerén (1999), Myers (1994 and 1998) and Vestergaard & Schrøder (1985).
[12]   To learn more about this corpus and the project related to it, see: http://dev.sslmit.unibo.it/corpora/corpus.php?path=&name=Repubblica.

'special language': hence, although it may not be the 'ideal' corpus of the Italian language (see Baroni *et al*. 2004), it is fairly representative of the language currently used in Italy.

The corpus has been tagged, one of the tags being 'loans' under which all the words that do not belong to the Italian vocabulary are listed to form a multilingual inventory. Since, obviously, words from several languages can be found under that tag, the first step of my research was to skim the English words out of the 'loans' list and create an English monolingual list. A taxonomy of the words in the list might distinguish different types of words of English origin, false anglicisms (see Furiassi 2010) among them. However, since the aim of my research was to focus on the creative use and re-use of English words in the Italian language, these distinctions were not relevant to me.

The second step was to investigate the corpus and create frequency lists,[13] differently ordered according to time spans, to check the presence or absence of words in a given year or groups of years. The frequency lists showed low occurrence words, and for this reason words occurring less than 20 or 30 times were removed.[14]

3.4. Occurrences, Lists and First Results

The first figure to be retrieved was the total number of tokens or running words of English 'loans', subsequently compared with the total number of tokens of 'mixed loans', as shown in the following table and bar chart:[15]

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[13] The software used to create the lists and retrieve concordances was that provided with the *La Repubblica* corpus. Some calculations were made by using Microsoft Access.

[14] 20 occurrences were chosen as the minimum lowest limit for single- year frequency lists, 30 occurrences for 5-year span ones.

[15] Of course, the term 'loans' is included between inverted commas for the reason explained above. 'Mixed loans' refers to all the words of foreign origin in the corpus.

year span	English 'loans' occurrences	'mixed loans' occurrences
1985-1989	59,508	112,095
1990-1994	91,234	160,875
1995-1999	97,175	171,386

Table 1. Occurrences of the English vs. the mixed 'loans' (English 'loans' included) per 5-year time span.
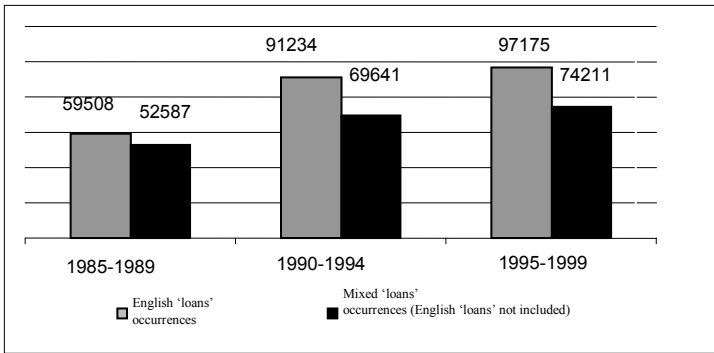

Fig. 1. Visual representation of the English vs. mixed 'loans' occurrences.

A sharp increase in the number of occurrences can be noticed especially between the first and the second time span, even though the increase in English 'loans' as compared to 'mixed loans' is much less sharp: in fact, between 1985 and 1989 53% of the total 'mixed loans' is made up of English 'loans' and, perhaps surprisingly, only 57% of the total in both the second and third time spans. This shows how the introduction and use of English words in Italy runs parallel to that of words from other languages: despite the dominant position of English (statistically, more than half the 'loans' in the corpus come from this language), Italian proves to be a welcoming code, ready to adopt and adapt words from other languages as well.

The overall picture is partially modified by the figures of the types, as displayed in the table and bar chart below:

year span	English 'loans'	non English 'loans'	total 'loans'
1985-1989	346	256	602
1990-1994	465	310	775
1995-1999	507	322	829

Table 2. Numbers of English loan types, non-English loan types, and total loans.
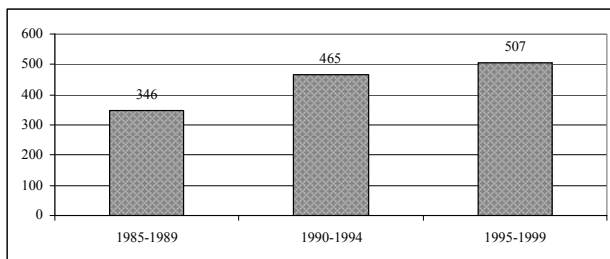

Fig. 2. English types increase in the three 5-year time spans

In fact, type numbers confirm that English words entering Italy grow gradually in time, at the expense of other languages: in the first time span English words are 57% of the total number of types and in the other two five-year time spans they are 60% and 61% of the total respectively.

This increase may also be shown by listing those 'loans' that are only included in one specific five-year time span:

	1985-1989	#		1985-1989	#
1	EARNING	102	**9**	COCKTAILS	33
2	FLOAT	38	**10**	PLAY-OFF	32
3	MONDAY	36	**11**	SIDE	31
4	OPERATORS	36	**12**	YANKEE	31
5	BRENT	35	**13**	FANS	30
6	BROWN	35	**14**	MAX	30
7	LORD	35	**15**	PLAYING	30
8	ZONES	34			

Table 3. 1985-1989 occurrences of English 'loans'

	1990-1994	#		**1990-1994**	#
1	STAY	83	**22**	ANTIDEFICIT	34
2	DIRECT	50	**23**	BOOK(S)	34
3	PROFESSIONAL	48	**24**	BOP	34
4	WOMAN	46	**25**	SOAP	34
5	GUINNESS	44	**26**	NAME(S)	33
6	COMPANIE(S)	41	**27**	SEXUAL	33
7	THEATRE	41	**28**	PLANNING	32
8	PRODUCTION	40	**29**	SPLEEN	32
9	CROSS	39	**30**	YOUNG	32
10	TOUCH	39	**31**	TONIGHT	31
11	ANTI-DEFICIT	38	**32**	WATCH	31
12	PORTER	38	**33**	AGER(S)	30
13	SCOOP	37	**34**	AIRLINE(S)	30
14	LET	36	**35**	COMMUNICATION(S)	30
15	LINE(S)	36	**36**	ANTI-TRUST	30
16	PEOPLE	36	**37**	DOUBLE	30
17	TRACK	36	**38**	FEW	30
18	DIRTY	35	**38**	HOOD	30
19	GUN(S)	35	**39**	INFORMATION	30
20	HEAD	35	**40**	QUALITY	30
21	TRANSPLANT	35	**41**	TRANSPLANT	30

Table 4. 1990-1994 occurrences of English loanwords

	1995-1999	#		**1995-1999**	#
1	PROFIT	291	**52**	FARM	38
2	COORDINATOR	125	**53**	FASHION	38
3	BYPASS	116	**54**	FOREVER	38
4	CHIP	114	**55**	INCOME	38
5	SNOWBOARD	112	**56**	PULP	38
6	BUG	108	**57**	CONCEPT	37
7	FINANCING	105	**58**	NEWSGROUP	37
8	ENTRY	102	**59**	KISS	36
9	POLITICALLY	97	**60**	NEED	36
10	HOP	86	**61**	LAG	35
11	PLACEMENT	79	**62**	NAME	35
12	SAFETY	76	**63**	SKATEBOARD	35
13	CORDLESS	75	**64**	BIRD	34

14	SHUT	74	**65**	CUT	34
15	WIDE	74	**66**	MARKET(S)	34
16	BIKE	67	**67**	SUN	34
17	OK	66	**68**	GREATEST	33
18	SERVICE(S)	62	**69**	MASTER	33
19	THRILLER	61	**70**	MOTOCROSS	33
20	SHARING	60	**71**	ORDER	33
21	EQUITY	58	**72**	PLAYER	33
22	SHOE	58	**73**	UNPLUGGED	33
23	HI-TECH	57	**74**	YEAR	33
24	DEMAND	54	**75**	DOWNTOWN	32
25	LINK	53	**76**	DRIVER	32
26	COMMON	49	**77**	LEAST	32
27	FAN	49	**78**	MIND	32
28	ANTISTRESS	48	**79**	RING	32
29	VAGUE	48	**80**	ROOM	32
30	WARM	48	**81**	SKY	32
31	COMPETITION	46	**82**	AIRBAG	31
32	DEATH	46	**83**	ANGEL(S)	31
33	LEGAL	46	**84**	BED	31
34	POSITION	46	**85**	EVER	31
35	FULL	44	**86**	GHOST	31
36	UNISEX	44	**87**	GUM	31
37	DEAD	43	**88**	LADY(IES)	31
38	POLITICAL	43	**89**	PAGE	31
39	POPULAR	43	**90**	RIVER	31
40	SHIRT	42	**91**	SAY	31
41	SMART	42	**92**	VERY	31
42	DRUG	41	**93**	ACTION	30
43	TRAINING	41	**94**	BIT	30
44	FLAT	40	**95**	CHILD	30
45	MEDICAL	40	**96**	DUAL	30
46	PAINTING	40	**97**	EVERGREEN	30
47	SCOTCH	40	**98**	FRIEND	30
48	SPIN	40	**99**	LOVER	30
49	GOES	39	**100**	SKATING	30
50	NEXT	39	**101**	TRUCK(S)	30
51	RELAX	39			

Table 5. 1995-1999 occurrences of English loanwords

As the tables and the figures show, the number of types grows in time and is highest in the latest time span: from 15 'loans' in the 1985-1989 period to 41 and 101 in the 1990-1990 and 1995-1999 time-spans respectively. In order to try and understand why, it is necessary to move from quantitative to qualitative data, as will be done in the following section of this paper.

3.5. From Lists to Single Words

Occurrences give evidence of the presence of English words in *La Repubblica* and raise some issues as to why such words were used and how they behaved in the corpus and period under scrutiny.

Accordingly, new lists were created to display the fluctuation of English 'loans' in time and then make comparisons. Single years were chosen – namely 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994 and 1997 – with a three-year gap from each other. Then, the occurrences of the English words were compared, and only those items were selected that showed a sharp (and perhaps surprising) increase and/or decrease in the number of occurrences. See, for instance, the following table, where the occurrences of selected English 'loans' in 1991 are compared to the those of 1994 and 1997:

'loans'	1991	1994	1997
BUSINESS	825	807	685
MANAGEMENT	418	416	307
WARRANT	330	346	72
JOINT	317	180	177
CAPITAL	281	73	70
SIR	265	290	204
MADE	236	336	228
CROSS	174	452	307
PUBLIC	66	327	119
STOPPER	60	108	99
COMPANY	54	300	127

Table 6. Comparison of single-year occurrences

Among the chosen words, none shows a regular increase from 1991 to 1997, or a decrease/increase pattern. Some tend to decrease in number more or less regularly (BUSINESS, for example, with CAPITAL evidencing the sharpest drop), while most of them show a increase/decrease pattern (e.g. PUBLIC or COMPANY). All in all, the year 1994 seems to be the period when English 'loans' are used most in *La Repubblica* corpus.

On the basis of these and similar data, it was thought advisable to pass from a quantitative to a qualitative analysis since, for example, a dramatic increase or decrease in the number of occurrences might reveal a more varied – or, conversely, more limited – use of a 'loan'. Hence, some 'loans' were chosen, and concordances were generated and used to examine their co-text because placing the words in wider strings enabled me to verify whether the semantic area a word belonged to was homogeneous or not; lack of homogeneity, in fact, might reveal a wider use of the word, semantically speaking. An example of concordance is shown here below:

Doveva per forza rinunciare	**cross**	(perché Maldini e Tassotti
cussioni su gol laziale: sul	**cross**	,Boksic salta alto e netto
testa al 66`, elegante un	**cross**	,cadendo, al 73`. Perfetto
di Gazza per Negro,buon	**cross**	,Casiraghi ha tutto il tempo
a rispondere con arrotate	**cross**	,che Lori coglieva al volo
.Di Chiara 5,5. Neanche un	**cross**	,continua una stagione dura
sequenze di tiri, falli, di	**cross**	,dei cambi di direzione. Il
laterali che si traducono in	**cross**	,dove il portiere Campos,
vescio di Sampras,attacca in	**cross**	,e volleare poi di diritto
Milan: Di Canio voleva fare	**cross**	ha sbagliato: era di spalle

Table 7. Concordance of CROSS in 1994

The number of occurrences of CROSS increases sharply in 1994, and the co-text reveals that most of the examples refer to football; this is not at all surprising since the World Football Championship was held in that year. However, the word CROSS would be used in Italy extensively even afterwards as the high number of occurrences in 1997 shows.

If CROSS may be said to represent the 'normal' use of an English loanword in the Italian language, STOPPER, another word from the same specialized area – the language of football – provides an interesting example of a different evolution. As Table 6 shows, STOPPER has a sharp increase in the corpus between 1991 and 1994, and a rather small decrease between 1994 and 1997. Arguably, this decrease might have been bigger, as the word has been losing ground in the Italian football terminology, but concordances show how STOPPER came to be used metaphorically, for example to describe party scheming and politicians' behaviour:

(1) C'è l'onore, addirittura l'onore, che impone a D'Alema di dire basta. Botteghe oscure non ce la fa più, non vuole più ricoprire il ruolo certo poco spettacolare in cui il presidente del Consiglio gli chiede di impegnarsi nella 'squadra' dell'Ulivo. Il Pds a **stopper**, al centro della difesa, a turare falle, resistere, respingere le palle insidiose. Gli altri, Bertinotti in testa, ad attaccare, andare in gol e godersi l'applauso del pubblico pagante.

(2) Amico mio, mica è bello perdere! Lui stia dove sta, presidi attentamente l'area di destra dal partito di Rauti che può darci molto dolore. Da centravanti a **stopper**. "Il suo mestiere è quello. Al resto ci deve pensare il centro".

This pragmatic shift is a key feature that characterizes the behaviour of some English words used in Italy. Indeed, many words and/or collocations of English origin seem to change their original semantic value once used in the Italian language. It is not simply a matter of a semantic shift or a narrowing of meaning, which are quite common linguistic phenomena when a foreign word is borrowed into another language, nor the reason for the adoption is the need to fill a lexical gap. Rather, the requirements these English words fulfil are not merely linguistic, but largely pragmatic and communicative (or social, to put it differently).

An example is MADE, especially in such patterns as READY-MADE, SELF-MADE or MADE IN…. Their use in *La Repubblica* corpus seems to become more and more formulaic or frame-like, as in the following excerpts:

(3) è un prodotto **ready made**, già pronto.

(4) Alla sinistra, alla sua cultura, non servono certe semplificazioni **"ready made"**, bell'è pronte; non servono soltanto il disordine delle forme, l'indeterminatezza del giudizio, la sensibilizzazione all'incognita dell'esistente: serve capire che quel disordine, quella indeterminatezza, quella incognita trovano nella letteratura, nell'arte, risposte variamente articolate.

(5) Penso piuttosto che gli esseri umani accettano senza pensarci troppo, o non abbastanza, le forme, gli arrangiamenti, le regole che la società propone per le relazioni personali. Penso che quando si accetta qualcosa **"ready made"**, bell'e pronto, senza pensare che cosa questo significa per te, sono problemi.

(6) questa donna è davvero un esempio unico di **self made man**.

Of course, the use of READY MADE between inverted commas and followed by an explanatory gloss (as in 4 and 5) implies that the newspaper readers may not immediately understand the English form; the reason for its use, then, is not simply denotative but is meant to add a 'nice touch'. It is also noticeable that, in the quotation n. 6, SELF-MADE MAN is used to refer to a woman, and such use is not metaphorical but literal.

Another interesting instance of how English words may be adapted to meet Italian needs to such an extent that their original meaning gets changed, is the collocation PUBLIC COMPANY. As evidenced by *La Repubblica* corpus, this collocation came to occur very many times in 1994; probably, the event that triggered its massive use was the privatization of state companies in which the State itself participated as a shareholder in various forms. Hence, the English collocation, generally used to denote a company that offers its shares for sale on the stock exchange, was used to describe this new and previously unknown kind of company, as shown in the table below:

impugnare l' arma della " public	**company**	", che lascia ampi margini di
oni sul mercato. Sarà una " public	**company**	", come preferirebbero ora an
Cifre da vere e proprie " public	**company**	", come volevano il governo
la prevalenza del modello public	**company**	", dice Federico Imbert, dirett

ione con la formula della " public	**company**	", e l' esigenza di un " nucleo
la Ciga, ormai diventata " public	**company**	", è sufficiente il 35 per cento
banche, in quanto grandi "public	**company**	", hanno obblighi di trasparen
cadere nelle maglie della " Crime	**company**	", l'organizzazione criminale
iano fatte nel segno delle " public	**company**	", ma che Mediobanca ed alle
venduta al mercato come "public	**company**	", ma sulla quale, alla fine, M
da un lato, e quelli della " public	**company**	", o società ad azionariato dif
zioni diverse da quella della public	**company**	". "Poi - ha proseguito Prodi -
stione di " nocciolo duro e public	**company**	". "Si deve procedere caso pe
infine, alla nascita di una public	**company**	". Anche il presidente dell'Iri,
iano "la costituzione di una public	**company**	". Bassolino ribadisce l'impor
rno punta a costruire una " public	**company**	"Da quel momento l' interess
izzata con il sistema della " public	**company**	". E Irti intende "accompagn

Table 8. Concordance of 'company' in 1994

Many more examples could be made to show the changes in the semantic behaviour of words of English origin in the Italian language, and to provide evidence of the independent routes English words may take abroad, especially when the receiving language tends to re-use such words creatively.

4. Conclusions

To borrow once again the subtitle of Geoffrey Hughes's book, for a social history of the English vocabulary to be complete and updated the presence and use of words of English origin worldwide should be taken into consideration. In fact, not only in the places where English is used as a L1 or a SL can English lexis be employed creatively and develop.

By referring to Kachru's three-circle model and with the help of other critical writings, I have tried to place Italy and the Italian language within the WE paradigm: not unlike other speech-communities, Italians are part of the expanding-circle variety of the English language.

It goes without saying that, although English words have started entering Italian centuries ago, it was not until very many decades

ago that English came to play the undisputed leading role as the language of international communication. The time span covered by *La Repubblica* corpus coincides with a key moment in the world history, when the spread of personal computers and the Internet provided a further stimulus to the use of English worldwide.

My ongoing research suggests that there are many reasons why an English word may enter the Italian language and, once adopted, it may be adapted to perform new linguistic and communicative functions, more often than not in an unpredictable, creative way.

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Word-Formation Processes as a Mirror of Socio-Cultural Change: a Study on *NetLingo*[@]

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> YABA: Yet Another Bloody Acronym (pronounced: yah-buh) An <u>acronym</u> used in <u>online</u> <u>chat</u>, <u>IM</u>, <u>e-mail</u>, <u>blogs</u>, or <u>newsgroup</u> <u>postings</u>, it is often seen as "yaba, yaba" in reference to the Yiddish expression "yadi, yadi". (From *NetLingo*[@], www.netlingo.com)

1. Introduction

As early as 1888 Henry Sweet thus described the social character of language:

> Language originates spontaneously in the individual, for the imitative and symbolic instinct is inherent in all intelligent beings, whether men or animals; but, like that of poetry and the arts, its development is social. (Sweet 1888: 52)

From the Saussurian "Language is a social fact" (Sanders 2004: 95-96) to Halliday's statement that

> language arises in the life of the individual through an ongoing exchange of meanings with significant others […] in this sense, language is a product of the social process. (Halliday 1978: 1)

language is diffusely considered a reflection of processes and dynamics at work in society and culture. It has also been argued that English "reflects the main social developments of the past thousand years in profound, uncanny and fascinating ways" (Hughes 1988: 3).

As is well known, one of the major changes modern society has undergone is due to the invention and spreading of the Internet, which has challenged the way people used to communicate in the

past. Language being a mirror of socio-cultural change, it has become crucial to study if and how English is being affected by the new technologies. The point at issue is now to ascertain their real impact on language (Crystal 2001: 237).

The aim of this chapter is to see if and to what extent socio-cultural change fostered by Computer-Mediated Communication[1] has reflections on a specific area of language, that is lexis, and on word-formation processes in particular. It is assumed that the distributional patterns of word-formation processes may vary according to the linguistic variety considered. According to Shortis (2001:53),

> Linguists have developed a taxonomy or system for classifying types of word-formation and the volume of new technical words coming into the language is an opportunity to see these classifications in action; it is also possible that there are some interesting differences in patterns of some of these new words.

However, despite CMC research is proliferating and specialised literature in this field abounds, only a few works have specifically dealt with productivity and distributional patterns of word formation processes in Internet English. Kalima (2007: 4) lamented that

> While the Internet is full of different netspeak dictionaries and acronym finders, the amount of scientific research done on the Internet is surprisingly low. […] when I started this proseminar study on word formation on Internet forums, I quickly discovered that there was very little previous research on word formation in the context of the Internet.

Despite Kalima's claim, Internet language had attracted the attention of scholars and linguists such as, among others, Herring (1996), Baron (2000), Shortis (2001), Crystal (2001), Danet (2001), Boardman (2005), Barnes (2003) and Danet & Herring (2007). As

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[1] Computer-Mediated Communication (henceforth CMC) denotes any communicative exchange carried out through two or more networked computers. It specifically refers to different computer-mediated formats such as emailing, synchronous and asynchronous chats, Instant Messaging (IM), weblogs, social networking and Multi-User Dimensions (MUDs).

regards studies on word-formation processes related to Internet English, Driscoll (2002) analysed the morphology of Internet gamers, Kalima (2007) focused her attention on word-formation processes in Internet gaming forums, and Tagliamonte & Denis (2008) conducted a corpus-based study of Instant Messaging, "a one-to-one synchronous medium of CMC" (Tagliamonte & Denis 2008:3).[2]

What has induced linguists to a more in-depth analysis of the impact of the Internet on languages has been a diffused anxiety on their future, and of English in particular as the global lingua franca of CMC.

Fears and spectres associated with the emergence of new communications technology is no novelty in the social history of humanity. Standage (1998) has explored the parallel between the arrival of the Internet and that of the telegraph, pointing at similarities in the social impact and consequent reactions to the newborn technologies:

> The telegraph unleashed the greatest revolution in communications since the development of the printing press. Modern Internet users are in many ways the heirs of the telegraphic tradition […]. The rise and fall of the telegraph is a tale of scientific discovery, technological cunning, personal rivalry, and cut-throat competition. It is also a parable about how we react to new technologies: for some people, they tap a deep vein of optimism, while others find in them new ways to commit crime, initiate romance or make a fast buck – age-old human tendencies that are all too often blamed on the technologies themselves. (Standage 1998: viii)

As Standage remarkably pointed out, the attitude towards the new medium has been ambivalent, especially at the beginning. On the one hand, it has aroused the curiosity and enthusiasm of the optimists, while on the other it has caused a strong anti-progress reaction in the traditionalists and language purists.[3] As Tagliamonte & Denis (2008: 4) confirm in the introduction to their study on IM:

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[2] For a summary of empirical linguistic research on CMC, see Tagliamonte & Denis (2008: 6, table 1).
[3] Newspaper and online articles such as "Resisting Cyber-English" (Lockard 1996), "Can English Survive the New Technologies?" (Graddol 1997)

Innumerable articles in the popular press have targeted IM. They suggest that it is leading to a 'breakdown in the English language', 'the bastardization of language' (O'Connor 2005), even 'the linguistic ruin of [the] generation' (Axtman 2002).

Although this consideration has been extended to generic CMC, some linguists have recently demonstrated that, far from creating a new language or challenging the present standard, the Internet has provided new options in style. David Crystal, for instance, compares this new dimension of the written language to an extended and more refined choice in clothing:

There is no indication in any of the areas I have examined of Netspeak replacing or threatening already existing varieties. On the contrary the arrival of the new, informal, even bizarre forms of language extends our sensitivity to linguistic contrasts. Formal language, and other kinds of informal language, are seen in a new light by virtue of the existence of Netspeak. An analogy with clothing helps make this point. I remember once owning a very formal shirt and another I used for informal occasions. Then I was given a grotesque creation that I was assured was the latest cool trend in informality […] The new shirt had not destroyed my sense of the value of a formal vs informal contrast in dress behaviour; it simply extended it. (Crystal 2001:242)

This agrees with Baron's claim that

The networked computer supports a range of writing options. At one end is writing that resembles traditionally composed texts, the difference being only the means of transmission. At the other end is dialogue (chat) between two people that highly resembles speech, again, save for the medium of message exchange […] CMC (Computer Mediated Communication) allows for a wide range of permutations and combinations, linked to the relationship between the message sender and the recipient. (Baron 2000: 158)

In sum, traditional distinctions between the spoken and written dimensions of language get blurred as the new medium allows for a series of diamesic options located on a continuum scale in which

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"Cyberspeak: the Death of Diversity" (Erickson 1998) are only instances of the myriads of writings expressing similar concern.

the features of the written and spoken codes constitute the two opposite ends.

2. Theoretical Background and Methodology

While previous works on word-formation processes in Internet English focused on specific forms of CMC, namely synchronous (Driscoll 2002) and asynchronous chat (Kalima 2007) and synchronous one-to-one communication (Tagliamonte & Denis 2008), this study aims to consider all the possible Internet contexts in which English is used. As Crystal (2001: 10-23) rightly pointed out, far from being a monolithic linguistic variety, *Netspeak* assumes different features according to the different communicative situations in which it is used. He listed five of them to which he added some recent developments in the second edition of his *Language and the Internet* (2008): websites, synchronous and asynchronous chatting (forums), synchronous one-to-one messaging (IM), emailing, MUDs, blogs and social networks are the most relevant computer-mediated contexts in which the English language is used.

Thus, to investigate the etymological sources of new words in CMC contexts, a quantitative analysis on a corpus of new Internet English terms was needed. One of the wealthiest and most reliable sources available at present is the online Internet dictionary *NetLingo*[@]. It was created by Erin Jansen in 1994 as a website which started tracking hundreds of new words and terms that were emerging on a daily basis in the community and technology of the Internet.[4] Whereas its macrostructure is traditional, displaying entries in alphabetical order, its microstructure is quite unconventional as each entry provides no grammatical information and is classified according to the following "*NetLingo*[@] categories":

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[4] NetLingo.Inc (www.netlingo.com) was defined by Jansen as "a consumer-technology publishing company and provider of personalized Internet information and educational tools. […] As an educational content provider, NetLingo has received recognition from leading magazines, newspapers, periodicals, universities, radio, and television shows, and tens of thousands of Web sites, giving it industry standard status" (http://www.netlingo.com/contact/about-netlingo.php).

- Online jargon, e.g. CAPPUCCINO COWBOY
- Online business terms, e.g. CHORTAL, COLLABORATIVE FILTERING, CONVERGENCE
- Online marketing, e.g. COOLHUNTING
- Net hardware, e.g. FIBER OPTICS
- Net software, e.g. FLASH
- Net technology, e.g. BLOG
- Net programming, e.g. CSS, LINUX
- Net organizations & people, e.g. CERN
- Technical terms, e.g. CACHE COOKIES
- Text messaging shorthand, e.g. CNP, LOL

What is more, entries are case sensitive in that, if written in capitals, they signal acronyms and initialisms. Thus it is possible to disambiguate cases of homography with standard English words. For instance, CRAP is not the taboo standard English word for EXCREMENT but the Internet English acronym for "Cheap Redundant Assorted Product" and LORE, far from being the standard noun denoting a body of traditions and knowledge on a subject, is the acronym for "Learned Once, Repeated Everywhere".

Words have been gathered from letters C and L, which were randomly selected among all the *NetLingo*$^@$ entries for a total amount of 598 terms. They have been classified and analysed using the categories found in mainstream works on word-formation such as Marchand (1960), Adams (1973), Algeo (1978, 1980, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1998), Bauer (1983), and Katamba (1994).[5] Algeo, in particular, has provided a useful framework of analysis, grouping the processes according to the "relationship between a word and the sources from which it is constructed, its etyma" (1998: 59). His approach is interesting in that it successfully brings together the onomasiological and semasiological approaches to lexicology. What is more, Algeo's is arguably the most effective system, among the existing options, to assess the extent of the "linguistic ruin" (Axtman 2002) of English foreseen by scholars and media opinionists. This is most commonly attributed to a strong preference for abbreviated forms in CMC, although many other

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[5] In more general terms, linguistic productivity, and constraints related to it, is discussed, among others, by Bauer (2001), Plag (2003) and Štekauer (1998).

word-formation strategies are also used. What follows is a list of
such strategies and related examples from standard English,
systematically compared to illustrative *NetLingo*[@] entries.

Word-formation strategies and examples[6]	*NetLingo*[@] entries
Acronymy: the process by which the first letters of a series of words are joined together and pronounced as one word. E.g., RADAR.	***LOL***: Laughing Out Loud -or- Lots Of Love -or- Living On Lipitor**.** Online jargon, also known as text message shorthand, used in texting, online chat, instant messaging, email, blogs, and newsgroup postings, these types of abbreviations are also referred to as chat acronyms.
Initialism: an abbreviation that consists of the initial letters of a series of words, pronounced in sequence. E.g., BBC.	***CUL8R***:[7] See you later. Online jargon, also known as text message shorthand, used in texting, online chat, instant messaging, email, blogs, and newsgroup postings, it can also be spelled in all lowercase because as a form of leetspeak.
Clipping: the process by which parts of a word are dropped (either at the beginning, the end or both). E.g., (TELE)PHONE, LAB(ORATORY), (IN)FLU(ENZA).	***COM OR .COM***: The com in .com means commercial. One of several top-level domains assigned to URLs that are of a commercial nature (for example, www.netlingo.com). Other domain suffixes include .ac, .co, .mil, .gov, .net, .org, and a long list of country codes.
Blending: "words that combine two or more etyma and omit part of at least one" (Algeo 1998: 60). E.g., BRUNCH.	***CLINK***: Stands for CLICK and LINK. Refers to a user clicking on a Web link.

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[6] Unless specified otherwise, definitions and examples here are based on McArthur (1992).
[7] This may be defined as a homophonic alphanumeric combination.

Derivation: the process by which free and bound morphemes are combined to form new words. E.g., ILLEGAL.	*CYBERFRAUD*:[8] It refers to any type of deliberate deception for unfair or unlawful gain that occurs online. The most common form is online credit card theft. […]
Compounding: the process by which two or more free morphemes are bound to form new words. E.g., BOOKSHOP.	*CHAT ROOM*: a.k.a. chatroom, mobile phone chatroom, text chat. A variation on the interactive message board, it is a website for live, online conversation in which any number of computer users can type messages to each other and communicate IRT.
Backformation: the process by which one word is created from another by removing (rather than adding) a morpheme. E.g., TO EDIT.	*TO CONFIGURE*: To change software or hardware actions by changing their settings. Configurations can be set or reset in software or manipulated by changing hardware jumpers, switches or other elements.
Conversion: the process by which a word passes to a new grammatical category without any change in its form. E.g., LOVE / TO LOVE.	*E-MAIL OR EMAIL*: Electronic mail […] The word "e-mail" is frequently used in the online world as a verb. Some grammarians may not agree with this usage, but NetLingo is here to report how Internet terms are actually being used. You may hear, "You didn't get the memo? Strange, I e-mailed it to you yesterday".
Semantic shift: the process by which an existing word takes up a new meaning by amelioration, pejoration, widening or narrowing. E.g., NICE (originally meaning 'ignorant').	*CARNIVORE*: The FBI's controversial e-mail surveillance tool, capable of retrieving all communication that goes through an ISP (including Web-based communication).
Neology: the process by which a new word is created. E.g., COUCH	*VENTURE CAPITALIST*: One who raises venture capital with the goal

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[8] Cyber- has recently become a highly productive prefix, as shown by the over 30 CYBER- entries in *NetLingo*[@].

POTATO.	of earning significant financial returns for the participating institutional investors.
Borrowing: the process by which a new word is created by taking it from another language. E.g., PIZZA.	*CIAO*: Goodbye (in Italian) […] An Italian word, it is not meant to be spelled in ALL CAPS but you often see it that way online. It is used to say "goodbye" affectionately.

CMC provides evidence of at least two other noteworthy lexical strategies, i.e. the peculiar use of proper nouns and idioms. Some proper nouns are related to the invention or creation of hardware and software objects and processes (such as Karel Čapek, the inventor of the robot). Idioms, in turn, may take up slangy meanings, as *NetLingo*[@] shows s.v. *CIRCLING THE DRAIN*:

> Medical slang for a patient near death who refuses to give up the ghost. In office speak, this expression is generally used to describe projects that have no more life in them but refuse to die. For example, 'That disk conversion project has been circling the drain for years'.

3. Data: Findings and Discussion

As regards the outcomes of the quantitative analysis of the data regarding *NetLingo*[@] C-entries, it has been found that combining (compounding and derivation) is the most frequent word-formation process with 228 instances equal to 51.1% of the total C-entries, followed by shortenings (acronyms, initialisms, clippings, backformations: in total, 134 occurrences, i.e. 30.0%). Semantic shifts, mainly restrictions of meaning (48 instances, 10.8% of the total entries), are also relevant, while proper nouns and blends constitute respectively 2.9% and 3.1% of the overall word-formation processes. Idioms only occur six times (1.3%) while coinages (mainly eponyms) and loanwords are barely significant (0.4% and 0.2%). See Fig.1.
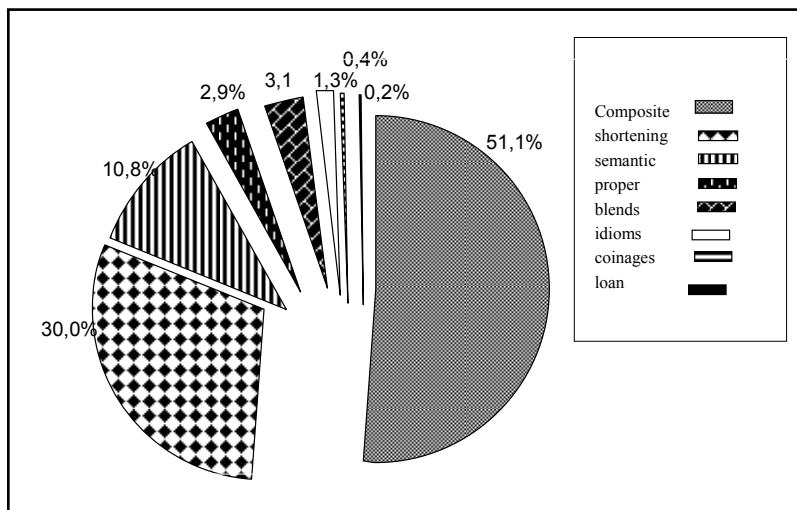
Fig. 1. Word-formation processes in *NetLingo*[@] letter C entries

A different distributional pattern in terms of frequency of occurrences came out of the analysis of the *NetLingo*[@] entries related to letter L. Here shortening is the most frequent word-formation process (75 occurrences, i.e. 49.3% of the total L-entries) followed by combining (47 instances, amounting to 30.9% of the total). Semantic shift, again mostly restrictions in meaning, occurs 20 times or 13.2% of the total amount, while remaining instances are quite evenly distributed among proper nouns (3.9%) idioms (2.0%) and coinages again, basically eponyms (0.7%). See Fig. 2.
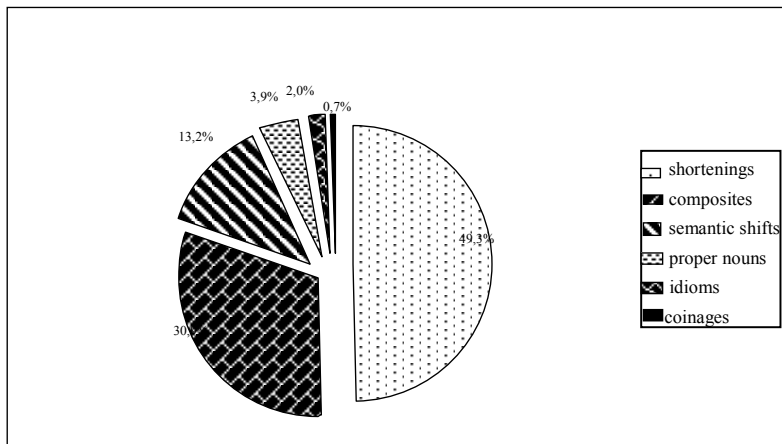
Fig. 2. Word-formation processes in *NetLingo*[@] L-entries

Although findings related to each letter seem to lead to partially diverging conclusions, a more reliable picture emerges if data of C- and L-entries are merged. Indeed, these confirm that combining prevails (275 occurrences, 46.0% of the total), and shortening follows next (209 occurrences, equal to 34.9% of the total). Semantic shifts (68 instances, 11.4% of the total) also contribute to the creation of new Internet English words together with proper nouns (3.2%) and blends (2.3%). The residual categories – idioms (9 occurrences, 1.5 %), coinages or creations (3 occurrences, 0.5%) and loans (1 occurrence, 0.2%) – are almost insignificant as they overall amount to about 2.0% of the total. See Fig. 3.
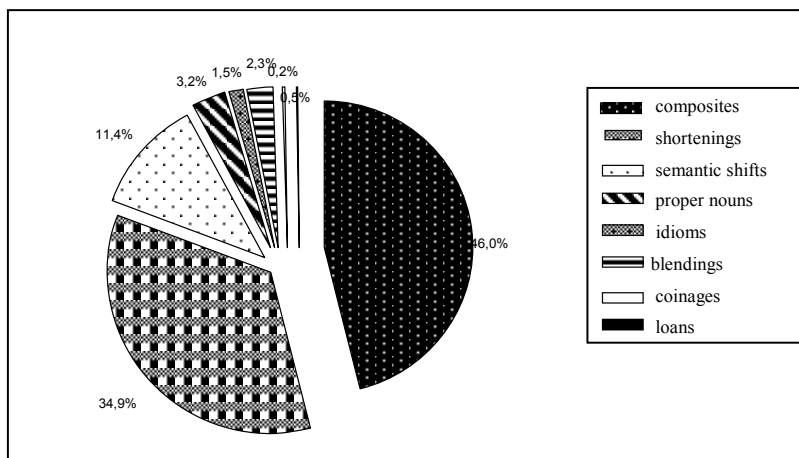
Fig. 3. Word-formation processes in *NetLingo*[@] letter C- and L-entries

By comparing the data emerged in this study to the data on the etymological sources of new words provided by Algeo (1991: 14) – and related not only to his own collection *Fifty Years among the New Words* (ANW) but also to the *Barnhart Dictionary of New English* (BDNE) and the *Longman Register of New Words* (LRNW) (see Fig. 4) –, the result is that the most common way of creating Internet lexis is the combination of free and bound morphemes (in Algeo's taxonomy, "composites" or "combining"): this amounts to 46.0% of the total entries, not very much unlike what happens in Standard English (see Fig. 4: ANW 68.5%, BDNE 63.9%, LRNW 54.5%). Though a significant share was also related to semantic shift (11.0%), which conversely in Standard English is the second most productive process (see Fig. 4: ANW 17.4%, BDNE 14.2%, LRNW 18.4%), in *NetLingo*[@] shortening (acronyms, initialisms, clippings and backformations) is by far the second most recurrent way of creating new words (see Fig. 4: 34.9%). The percentage of blending, borrowing and coinages almost coincide in the four dictionaries.
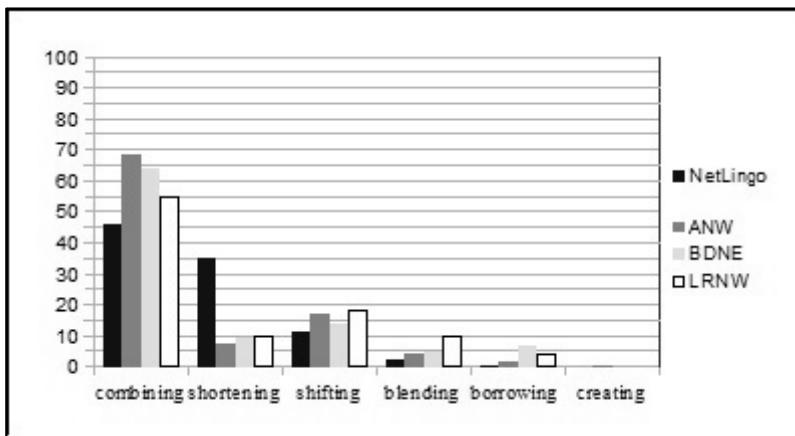
Fig. 4. New words from *NetLingo*[@], ANW, BDNE and LRNW by types

4. Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to give an account of word-formation processes in the language of CMC. It focused in particular on establishing whether the process of shortening, which results in the extensive use of abbreviated forms usually blamed for the "linguistic ruin" (Axtman 2002) of Standard English, is actually the most productive word-formation strategy in Internet English. In order to achieve this aim, a representative corpus of Internet terms drawn from C- and L-entries in the online dictionary *NetLingo*[@] was created. The productivity of their word-formation patterns was tested against a framework of analysis based on Algeo's taxonomy and compared to data from dictionaries of new standard English words based on the same framework.

The results were interesting in that they confirmed that combining, that is compounding and derivation, is the most productive process in Internet English as well as in Standard English (see Algeo 1991, 1998).

Driscoll's (2002) and Kalima's (2007) findings revealed that, in synchronous and asynchronous chat, shortening is by far the most productive process (around 50.0% of the words used are clippings or initialisms). This is hardly surprising, since CMC favours word-

formation processes reflecting urgency and brevity sometimes at the expenses of clarity. However, as *NetLingo*[@] is representative of all the possible Internet contexts in which English is used, the outcomes show a different distribution of word-formation patterns.

There emerged, however, that the specificity of CMC English consists in the high productivity of the shortening process which, conversely, is barely significant in standard English. This is probably due to space and time constraints peculiar to the medium: users are forced to shorten words in order to be brief and effective. Interestingly enough, though, the data on combining seem to suggest that the Internet is not disrupting the English language – quite the reverse, it is contributing to its creativity. Acronyms and initialisms clearly signal that English is a lively language capable of adapting to the most varied socio-cultural situations and uses. This corroborates Crystal's claim that the arrival of the Internet "has shown the *homo loquens* at his best" (Crystal 2001: 276)

Further research should extend to all N*etLingo*[@] entries and, as Algeo (1991:13) rightly pointed out, since "every collection of new words is biased by the interests, purposes, and resources of the collector" it would be advisable to compare the etymological sources of *NetLingo*[@] with those of other Internet collections analysed according to the same principles.

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