Eighteenth-Century Quotation Searches in the Oxford English Dictionary

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The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the ways in which we can search the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) for evidence about words and their meanings, and about linguistic productivity at different periods in the language. I shall also look at how we may evaluate this evidence when we have uncovered it, and describe some of the findings of a recently established research project, Examining the OED (<http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/oed>), on the OED’s documentation of the eighteenth century.

This conference took place at one of the principal homes of English historical linguistics, famous among other things for the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, a major aid in the analysis of various sorts of linguistic phenomena. Its diachronic section is described by its creators as ‘a structured collection of English texts with a time-span of a millennium’. The Oxford English Dictionary can also be seen as a corpus—or rather, a collection of citations—and it is also ‘a structured collection of English texts with a time-span of [roughly] a millennium’. The differences between the two entities are manifold and obvious, but some of them are worth exploring, so as to highlight the matters under discussion: the nature of the evidence in the OED and the conclusions it is legitimate to draw from it.

As is well known, the OED began to appear in a series of fascicles in 1884, and was finally completed 44 years later in 1928. From early on, users perceived that this new dictionary had cultural, historical and linguistic authority greatly exceeding that of all its predecessors. In its scope and depth of treatment, and its collection of (nearly) all recorded words in the English language, it implied an enumeration of all known things or concepts, and this comprehensiveness made it seem a microcosm of the world outside. One of its earliest reviewers began his article by quoting Anatole France: ‘A dictionary is the universe in alphabetical order’ (Osborn 1933), while a correspondent to the OED offices, writing of the abridgement of the parent dictionary published in 1933–34 (the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary), described how ‘the world seems spread before one and the dictionary’s breadth of view seems to be commensurate with reality…here there is no author’s arbitrary handling of the material of life to irk the reader’ (Smart 1937).

The view that the world of words (a popular title for a dictionary from Florio) can or might be ‘commensurate with reality’ is an ancient and contentious one beyond the scope of this paper. Its significance here is that it has led both lexicographers and users of the OED to assume that there is an unproblematic relationship between the dictionary’s sources (in A. France’s terms, the ‘universe’; in Smart’s, ‘the material of life’), as represented in words, and the dictionary’s choice of which of those words to print within its covers. To what extent is it reasonable to say that the OED’s ‘breadth of view [is] commensurate with reality’? Or, to rephrase the question, to what extent was the OED’s choice and representation of its sources impartial and objective? To answer this, we need to know more about those sources and the quotations selected from them. These are matters routinely and explicitly treated in today’s academic corpuses, but this has not been possible, as we shall see, in the case of the OED.

Similar observations to those of France and Smart have been made by the OED’s publishers and lexicographers, though the emphasis has varied from one period to another. The press release issued by the publishers in 1928, for example, on the completion of the first edition, claimed that ‘The Oxford [English] Dictionary is the supreme authority…it is a Dictionary not of our English, but of all English:

2 Hoffmann (2004) has helpfully outlined some of the issues in treating the OED as a corpus.
the English of Chaucer, of the Bible, and of Shakespeare’ (Murray 1977: 312). Here is apparent, as an underlying assumption, the view that ‘all English’ is to be equated with the totality of words found in the great canonical writers and works (Chaucer, the Bible, Shakespeare), rather than with those found in non-literary sources. As Jürgen Schäfer (1980: 13) observed, ‘the OED was clearly conceived as an aid to reading great literature, a fact which has proved a boon for the literary scholar; for the linguist, however, this policy leads to distortion’.3

Moving on from 1928 to 2000, when the current online revision of the OED was launched (the first revision to be undertaken since the original edition was completed in 1928), we find a statement in the Preface corresponding, in more modest ways, to those of France and Smart: the OED is claimed not as a representation of the universe, or of reality, but as a social history: ‘Far more than a convenient place to look up words and their origins, the Oxford English Dictionary is an irreplaceable part of English culture. It not only provides an important record of the evolution of our language, but also documents the continuing development of our society’ (<http://oed.com/about/history.html#future>).

What is the justification for such a view—one which is instinctively shared by many, whether linguists or not? It is, I think, that in its wonderfully erudite and meticulous documentation of words selected from an enormous range of printed sources from 1150 to the present day, the OED may be taken as a reflection of English-speaking culture and society. However, the nature of this reflection depends crucially on the sources the OED elected to study. Any conclusions drawn from the OED’s evidence must therefore take into account the selection of sources, together with the way in which it treated them.

The significance of the role played by quotations in the OED was early acknowledged. As W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions wrote in the Preface to the 1933 re-issue of the first edition of the OED, ‘[the OED’s] basis is a collection of some five million excerpts from English literature of every period amassed by an army of voluntary readers and the editorial staff. Such a collection of evidence—it is represented by a selection of about 1,800,000 quotations actually printed—could form the only possible foundation for the historical treatment of every word and idiom which is the raison d’être of the work. It is a fact everywhere recognized that the consistent pursuit of this evidence has worked a revolution in the art of lexicography’.

This statement identifies the OED’s ‘collection of evidence’—empirical data, freshly gathered and disinterestedly and eruditely analysed—as the key factor in establishing the dictionary’s claim to supremacy. But if the OED’s authority rests on the nature of its sources, and the way that they were (or are) processed by its lexicographers, what can we know about those sources and how they were chosen?

It is in this respect, clearly, that the OED diverges sharply from the much smaller corpuses of historical English, which list their sources and explain the basis for their choice. There are many historical factors that explain this, of course. The founders of the dictionary began in 1859 with the express aim of recording every word in the language, stating unequivocally that ‘The first requirement of every lexicon is, that it should contain every word in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate’ (Philological Society 1859: 2). (‘Literature’ is evidently ambiguous, 3 Justification for this warning is amply provided by McConchie (1997), although he also shows that the OED drew on a wide range of non-literary sources. For an account of how literary works were, in the nineteenth century, uncontroversially regarded as of pre-eminent importance for the development of language, together with data on their treatment in the OED, see Brewer (2005: <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/114/271/>; <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/48/124/>). 4 More information on these and other corpuses can be found at the International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English, <http://helmer.aksis.uib.no/icame.html>, and Hoffmann (2004: 1).
referring either to ‘Literary productions as a whole; the body of writings produced in a particular country or period, or in the world in general’, or ‘a more restricted sense…writing which has claim to consideration on the ground of beauty of form or emotional effect’, or to both—see OED s.v. sense 3.

But there has never been a full statement—of the sort routinely provided by corpus compilers—on which sources were mined for quotations and why, whether provided by the lexicographers themselves or by researchers analysing the dictionary. (There is no comprehensive and reliable bibliography or list of sources for the OED. The most recent printed one is avowedly incomplete, gives no indication of the relative rate of quotation from the sources listed, and is not electronically analysable). Such a statement would have been impossible given the conditions under which this monumental and unrivalled dictionary has been compiled and edited; and neither, consequently, has it been possible to produce an analysis of how the choices of sources have affected, or perhaps determined, the information now available in the OED. However, as Schäfer (1980: 3) pointed out, ‘Instead of providing an unquestioned basis for future research, the OED has to become its object. If we are ignorant of the premises of the OED documentation, we cannot properly evaluate it’.

For much of the last hundred years, although readers could marvel at the wealth of quotation and the extraordinary range of sources assembled by the lexicographers, it has been impossible to undertake any systematic study of this material: its bulk and scope were simply overwhelming.7 But in the 1980s, the dictionary’s publishers, Oxford University Press, combined imaginative foresight with substantial financial investment, and transferred into electronic media both the original edition of the OED and R. W. Burchfield’s four volume Supplement.8 Now that the OED is electronically analysable, we can begin to tap its extraordinarily rich resources, in ways unimaginable by the original editors, through manipulating a sophisticated and flexible range of electronic search tools to identify which sources have been quoted in what sorts of ways. This information can help us move on to consider the relationship between the evidence in the OED and the English language itself.

It is to investigate these and related matters that the research project Examining the OED (<http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/oed>) was set up in 2004.9 What follows is a summary account of some aspects of its study of eighteenth-century sources in the OED.

It has always been clear, from glancing through the OED’s pages, that its documentation of different periods varies in intensity. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, seem particularly well quoted, and this is confirmed by one of the original lexicographers, W. A. Craigie: ‘This is one of the most marvellous periods of the language, and…in the pages of the Society’s dictionary [i.e., the OED]…it bulks very largely indeed, yet by no means more than it deserves.’10 This view was confirmed by Schäfer (1980) and again by Brewer (2000). The graph below is the result of a new analysis of the second edition of the OED based on data obtainable from OED Online (<http://www.oed.com>):
Why do we get these rises and falls? Do they correspond to real variations in lexical productivity over the years, or do they instead tell us where the lexicographers concentrated their investigations? It has been known for some time that the peaks can on occasion be attributed to particularly extensive excerpting of a single source. Shakespeare is the outstanding example of this, while the sharp rise between 1520–1529 and 1530–1539 is largely created by c. 5,400 quotations from Palsgrave’s French English dictionary of 1530, *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse*, which accounts for well over half the total number of *OED* quotations recorded for that year (c. 7,200).

It has also been suggested, for example by Schäfer (1980: 44, 53), that under-representation of a period may simply reflect the smaller number of sources read for a period. Figure 1 indicates that the eighteenth century has fewer quotations in the *OED* than the centuries either side of it, and this is shown more clearly in Figure 2:

If our purpose is to see how useful *OED* evidence is for telling us about changes and developments in language, how can we move forward to interpret the results of searches such as these? First, we can look at various sorts of external evidence, of which I offer two examples here. The *OED* archives at Oxford University Press shed some light on the low documentation of the eighteenth century. When plans for the dictionary were being made at the end of the 1850s, the lexicographers established reading

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11 Reproduced from Brewer (2005); URL: <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/45/127/>. For other graphs (e.g. of the period 1150–1499), an account of the issues involved in searching the *OED* electronically, and a description of our data collection procedures, see related pages on this site.

12 <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/49/130/>.
lists of the main texts they hoped would yield valuable quotations of words and usages. Herbert Coleridge (grandson of the poet), appointed in 1859 as the first editor, reported in May 1860 the plan that ‘the Americans should make themselves responsible for the whole of the eighteenth century literature, which probably would have less chance of finding as many readers in England’, and added, significantly as it turns out, ‘no results of [the American] labours have reached me as yet’ (Coleridge 1860). This proposal was acted upon, and George Perkins Marsh, an influential American politician and man of letters, issued a circular inviting US readers to contribute to the dictionary, explaining that ‘the entire body of English literature belonging to the eighteenth century has been reserved for [the] perusal [of American volunteers]’ (Marsh 1859).

But little seems to have come of the initial plea to the US. Twenty years later, after a period of decline in the fortunes of the Society’s Dictionary, James Murray was appointed as the new editor, and one of his first actions was to make a renewed appeal to volunteer readers. In this he explained that ‘it is in the eighteenth century above all that help is urgently needed. The American scholars promised to get the eighteenth-century literature taken up in the United States, a promise which they appear not to have to any extent fulfilled…nearly the whole of that century’s books, with the exception of Burke’s works, have still to be gone through’. In the accompanying list of books, a note reads: ‘the literature of [the 18th] century has hardly been touched. Readers are safe with almost any eighteenth-century book they can lay their hands on’ (Murray 1879).

It is clear from other records that Murray did an enormous amount to make good the ‘almost incredible gaps’ in quotation material that he had found when he became involved with the dictionary (the general chaos and disarray of dictionary affairs passed on to him by the outgoing editor, F. J. Furnivall, in 1879, are memorably described in Murray (1977: 168–77)). It remains the case, however, that this recorded deficiency in eighteenth-century sources may have had a significant impact upon the finished work (though the fact that the revision of the OED currently underway is, apparently, replicating the chronological pattern of documentation of the first edition suggests that the matter is a complicated one; see the conclusion of this paper below).

My second example of external evidence which helps us to evaluate OED documentation of the eighteenth century is that available from the electronic version of the English Short Title Catalogue. This provides ‘extensive descriptions and holdings information for letterpress materials printed in Great Britain or any of its dependencies in any language—as well as for materials printed in English anywhere else in the world’, and covers the period 1475 to 1700. Analysing the listings decade by decade enables the production of the graph presented in Figure 3, which can be used as a very crude comparator with the OED data in Figure 1.

![Figure 3. English Short Title Catalogue records per decade 1500–1799.](http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/47/128/)

Figure 3 tells us about the expansion of printing in English, which we might expect to correlate very roughly with increasing levels of literacy, and arguably with lexical expansion too (increase in numbers

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13 <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/47/128/>. Data collected from English Short Title Catalogue June 2004 (the online source is updated daily).
of words and usages). Unsurprisingly, it indicates a gradual rise from 1500–1800 with some variation along the way. There is a marked difference between this more-or-less steady upward curve and that for OED quotations, which decline in the eighteenth century.

Both these pieces of external evidence may—possibly—indicate that the OED’s coverage of the eighteenth century is less than it should be, especially when we take into account the explosion of publishing and reading during this period, as various legal restrictions on printing lapsed and as journals, newspapers and novels were published and read in increasing numbers.\(^{14}\)

The other way to pursue this investigation of eighteenth-century documentation in the OED is through examining the evidence in the dictionary itself. The electronic tools allow one to search for ‘first quotations’, that is, those which instance the earliest date at which a word is recorded in the dictionary. This information might, at first sight, seem to tell us about the differences over time in the rate of coining new words. The raw data for first quotations, decade by decade from 1500–1899, is as follows:

![Figure 4. Number of first quotations per decade 1500–1899.\(^{15}\)](http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/54/133/)

While it certainly seems that the OED record of first quotations in the eighteenth century is low, interpretation of this data is not straightforward, as it does not take into account the variations in total numbers of quotations collected century by century. Another way of looking at the same material is as a percentage of total numbers of quotations gathered per century, as in Figure 5.

![Figure 5. Average first quotations (as a percentage of total quotations) by century.\(^{16}\)](http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/55/133/)

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\(^{14}\) Much work is now being done on eighteenth-century printing, reading and literacy. For a recent conspectus and bibliography, see Rivers (2001); for warnings on the difficulty of interpreting statistics of surviving publications, see McKenzie (2002).

\(^{15}\) <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/54/133/>.

\(^{16}\) <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/55/133/>.
According to this representation of the data, the eighteenth century still looks anomalous. But such analyses do not, of course, resolve the question whether the unevenness between one century and the next is due to real variations in the English lexicon—fewer coinages in the eighteenth century, for example—or whether it in some way reflects the reading and recording practices of the lexicographers of the first edition of the *OED*.

Another way forward is to examine the *OED*’s treatment of the main sources cited for this century. These appear to be, in the main, literary authors, although there is a significant exception. There is no systematic way of identifying the main sources, but one can see as one scrolls through the banks of quotations for one decade after another that certain names recur with notable frequency. Here are the results our project has identified:

![Figure 6. Some major 18th-century sources.](https://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/50/132/)

Do these sources represent the lexicon more generally at this period, or, as may seem more likely, the tastes of the late-nineteenth-century volunteer readers and lexicographers? In the main, they are familiar canonical stalwarts: there is only one highly quoted female author (Fanny Burney, who creeps in at just under 2,000 quotations), and no authors such as William Blake, unfashionable then but much more widely read and admired today (Blake is quoted just 108 times altogether in *OED2*, mostly from texts published before 1800). The exception in this list of literary authors is Nathan Bailey, who is quoted, for material in one or other of his dictionaries, nearly 4,600 times.

In all these cases, in order to elucidate the nature and quality of *OED* documentation and hence try to understand how it is legitimate to interpret *OED* evidence, our project is looking more closely at the individual quotations the *OED* has selected from these intensively excerpted sources. The case of Bailey is immensely complicated. Many different dates are assigned to his various works (between 1721 and 1800), and it may be that in some of these instances the dates are in error, since they do not appear to correspond to recorded editions of his dictionaries. All in all, Bailey is cited over 6,000 times, though not in all cases does a quotation support the citation (hence the lower figure represented in Figure 6). Many of the quotations that are printed from Bailey are for dictionary words, or hard words—e.g., *alembroth*, *graviate*, *forloin*, and others. This is clearly interesting, as saying something about the nature of *OED* documentation over this period, drawn from dictionary sources that may themselves have a complex relationship with the more general lexicon of the time (whatever that may be), and demands further study and investigation (see further Schäfer (1989); Osselton (1990)).

Another area of investigation is the individual works most quoted from these favourite *OED* authors. For example, where Pope is concerned, the total number of quotations is just under 6,000. Of

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17 <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/50/132/>.
18 Johnson is quoted mostly from the *Rambler*, the *Idler*, *Rasselas* and *Lives of the Poets*; we have not been able so far systematically to exclude quotations from his dictionary from the figure given here. See further Silva (2005).
these, over a quarter come from his translation of the *Odyssey* (1725–6), and 15% from that of the *Iliad* (1715–18). Again, this seems significant: a substantial proportion (40%) of a heavily quoted source for the period is from a work that is itself a translation of a non-English source. How has or might have this affected the *OED*’s representation of Pope? Would we expect such a work to have different characteristics from the lexicon more generally?²⁹

Such scrutiny leads to a further investigation. As already mentioned, the electronic search tools allow one to search for ‘first quotations’ in the quotation data, and by manipulating these tools one can arrive at the proportion of quotations in any source that are used to illustrate the first dated occurrence of a word.²⁰

Neologisms in a dictionary are methodologically problematic, as Schäfer (1980) showed long ago. Will the *OED* have been able to identify the first instance of a word’s use? Not necessarily: the word may already have been current in spoken language (for obvious reasons, the *OED* limited itself to printed sources), or used earlier in a source not read by the *OED* (or indeed used earlier in a source read by the *OED* but not picked up there). For each *OED* source under investigation, we are also recording the proportion of quotations for which it is the first cited source. The proportion of total quotations to first quotations for any source is significant, for it gives an indication of the degree to which that source has contributed to the language, *as represented by the OED* (a very important proviso): the higher the ratio of first quotations, the more words it looks as if that source has introduced into (the *OED*’s representation of) the language.

This data can be represented and analysed in various ways. Figure 7 below emphasizes the disparity between different authors in their proportion of first quotations to total quotations:

![Figure 7. First quotation percentages for major 18th-century sources.](http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/52/134/)

Pope turns out to have fewer first quotations than many of the other authors. This initially surprised us, given a) Pope’s high number of total quotations, and b) the percentage of total quotations from his translations of Homer. (Might we not expect the temptation to neologise to have been considerable)

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²⁹ Around 93% of Pope’s quotations are, not surprisingly, of poetry rather than prose (as established by Daniel Calvert, research assistant to *Examining the OED*). The majority of the most-quoted sources in the *OED* are poets (although where female writers are concerned—who are far less quoted than male—prose sources predominate). See further <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/category/10/37/140/>). Clearly this will have influenced the nature of the evidence that the *OED* presents.

²⁰ It should be noted that the ‘first quotation’ search facility on *OED Online* is at present a blunt tool, since it retrieves only the first quotation in an entry and not those for different (subsequent) senses of the head word. We hope to find ways of extending this type of search.

²¹ <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/52/134/>. 
under these conditions?) But it is Richardson, the epistolary novel writer, who is lexically innovative—or at least, that is what the OED data appears to show, and it is something that has been picked up by various Richardson critics too (e.g., Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991). It is easy to speculate why this may be—perhaps because letter writing encourages the use of words which are slower to get into more conventional forms of print: while Pope, by contrast, since he was translating a classical epic, favoured a more archaic lexis. These two hypotheses can be supported by some unsystematic sampling of the quotations concerned, but would need to be tested by far more rigorous and extensive study than we have as yet carried out.

**Conclusion**

What do these analyses tell us about the OED and about the English language? Chiefly, they demonstrate the need for further research. The variations from one period to another in the number of quotations printed in the dictionary are too substantial to be taken at their face value (for example, as indicating that word production was low in the early eighteenth century), and the choice of which sources to quarry for quotations seems likely to represent the tastes of the lexicographers and their volunteer readers, the texts readily available to them, and the view of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that literary writing was the backbone of language.

On the other hand, it is no simple matter to ‘correct’ this data. To investigate the true status of Pope, or of Richardson, one would need to read widely in their works, and test the accuracy and consistency with which the OED read and excerpted these sources. One would also need to read widely in contemporary printed (and manuscript) material, non-literary as well as literary, to see the extent to which it is possible to supplement and substantiate the OED’s findings.

This is a major task, on which the current revisers of the OED, headed by John Simpson, have been working since the 1990s. As I have described elsewhere (Brewer 2004), they have transformed the dictionary, adding vast numbers of new quotations, redating existing quotations, updating or supplying bibliographical references, and making a wide range of more linguistic improvements (for example, analysing afresh the semantic development of words and senses, and updating etymologies and pronunciations). Interestingly, their representation of the eighteenth century has closely tracked that of the first edition of the OED, at any rate for the first stages of their revision. So striking a correlation between new research and old is susceptible of a number of different interpretations. Much of the revision to date was conducted before one of the most significant eighteenth-century databases became available, Eighteenth Century Collections Online; it is possible that the additional material in this resource will furnish supplementary quotations in the future. Meanwhile, we hope that the analysis and diagnosis of the previous editions of the OED provided by our research project will aid OED3 as it moves forward in one of the most significant scholarly endeavours of the early twenty-first century.

**References**


22 See graph at <http://oed.hertford.ox.ac.uk/main/content/view/62/123/>. 


Smart, Egbert E. (1937) Letter dated 13 December 1937. OED archives, quoted by permission from the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press.
