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Korpusově založená studie procesů lexikálně-sémantických změn v raně novoanglickém období

Corpus based description of processes of lexical semantic changes in the Early Modern English period

Praha, 2016   Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Ondřej Tichý, Ph.D.

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Tímto bych chtěla poděkovat vedoucímu své práce Mgr. Ondřeji Tichému, Ph.D. za jeho trpělivost, ochotu poskytnout mi cenné rady a za veškerý čas strávený nad touto prací.

Abstract

This thesis deals with the processes of lexical semantic change in the Early Modern English period. The theoretical part summarises previous research in the area of lexical semantic change including the basic taxonomies from secondary literature and outlines the linguistic situation in Early Modern English. The aim of the practical part of the thesis is to analyse qualitatively the processes of semantic change in 5 selected words on the basis of examples extracted from the corpora (CED, PCEEC, PPCEME, PPCME2 and EEBO), i.e. to describe circumstances of the changes and factors influencing the individual instances of change. The results of the qualitative analysis are confronted with the theories of semantic change discussed in the first part of the thesis.

Key words: semantic change, Early Modern English, corpus linguistics, historical linguistics

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá procesy lexikálně-sémantické změny v raně novoanglickém období. Teoretická část práce shrnuje dosavadní poznatky v oblasti lexikálně-sémantické změny včetně charakteristiky základních taxonomií ze sekundární literatury a nastíní lingvistickou situaci v raně moderní angličtině. Úkolem v empirické části práce je kvalitativně popsat procesy sémantické změny u 5 vybraných slov na základě příkladů z korpusu (CED, PCEEC, PPCEME, PPCME2 a EEBO). Specificky tedy popsat okolnosti změny a faktory, kterými byly dané případy lexikálně-sémantické změny ovlivněny. Výsledky kvalitativní analýzy budou také konfrontovány s teoriemi sémantické změny uvedenými v první části práce.

Klíčová slova: sémantická změna, raná moderní angličtina, korpusová lingvistika, historická lingvistika

Abbreviations

OE	Old English
ME	Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
PDE	Present Day English
EEBO	Early English Books Online
CED	A Corpus of English Dialogues
PCEEC	The Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence
PPCEME	The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English
PPCME2	The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
1L	first position on the left
1R	first position on the right
3R	third position on the right
5L	fifth position on the left
5R	fifth position on the right

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1. Introduction

Language is a system that constantly changes. Despite frequent objections of some people to linguistic innovations, language change is inevitable. Since language is our major tool for communication, it always has to adapt to psychological and socio-cultural changes of its speakers in order to keep functioning. The reason why language change attracts many linguists is that study of why and how language changes may contribute to our understanding of human nature itself (Campbell, 2004: 2).

Changes occur at all levels of language structure. The level of meaning has been considered least resistant to change (Raimo, 1989: 136). There is a number of factors that can trigger semantic change – both external and language-internal. Historical linguistics is concerned with how these factors cooperate and what they result in. While many attempts have been made at a convincing classification of semantic changes, it has become apparent that creating such a classification is no easy task. The theoretical part of this thesis pays attention to how different linguists explained and classified semantic change, even though reaching any definite conclusions and finding an absolute consensus proves in the end impossible.

The theoretical introduction will serve as a background to the practical part of the thesis that will examine individual instances of semantic change that took place in English of the Early Modern English period which dates roughly from 1500 to 1800. Five words were chosen randomly from the examples suggested in secondary sources to represent various kinds of semantic change discussed in the theoretical part. Since diachronic change is closely tied to synchronic variation, looking at the samples of actual use of these words at particular points in time within the period in question will show how different elements of meaning of a particular word are given different prominence in the course of time. Consequently, it will become observable how the individual senses of a word move from periphery to centre and vice versa, i.e. how some senses of a word become obsolete and gradually fall into disuse, while other become preferred by the speakers of a language community. Samples obtained through diachronic corpora will serve as the basis for the analysis.

Tracing, for instance, how the word *humour* came to mean 'a temporary state of mind or feeling' and later even 'ability of a person to appreciate or express what is funny or comical' when it had previously meant only 'any of four fluids of the body' (OED) certainly deserves a commentary. However, it is necessary to point out that attempts to account for these sense-

changes are often a matter of interpretation. Besides, it is sometimes difficult to clearly determine whether we really deal with two different senses of a word or just with two different uses of a word in two different contexts. Yet the thesis will attempt to shed light on the phenomenon of semantic change based on the analysis of the individual cases.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Definition of Semantic Change

Before proceeding to the discussion of various aspects and mechanisms of semantic change, it is necessary to define what semantic change is and how it can be differentiated from lexical change, as the terms 'semantic' and 'lexical' are sometimes used ambiguously in the context of language change. Both lexical and semantic change are related to the vocabulary of a language. Lexical change involves all changes that in some way affect the vocabulary like invention of new words, loss of words or various word-formation processes, whereas semantic change concerns the change of meaning of an individual word. Semantic change can thus be subsumed under lexical change.

Stern defines change of meaning as "the habitual modification among a comparatively large number of speakers, of the traditional range of the word, which results from the use of the word (1) to denote one or more referents which it has not previously denoted, or (2) to express a novel manner of apprehending one or more of its referents." (Stern, 1965: 163) This definition points out an important aspect of semantic change. The circumstances in which a word is uttered constantly shift and the use of a word in a new sense should spread to a considerable part of a language community, otherwise it should be labelled not as change but as mere fluctuation. (Stern, 1965: 164)

2.2 Semasiological approach

There are two ways of looking at the relation between form and meaning and its development. We may either focus on a form and study what meanings can be conveyed by this form – then we adopt the semasiological approach, or we may take a meaning and observe which forms can represent it – in such case we adopt the onomasiological approach. Semasiological approach is the primary focus in the present study.

2.3 Definition of Meaning

When dealing with semantic change it is important at least to attempt to define meaning. Providing a simple definition may prove difficult as various criteria can be taken into account. Firstly, it might be useful to exclude what meaning is not. Meaning should not be simply identified with a thought associated with the word, as 'thought' itself is a vague and in no way verifiable concept. Besides, to say simply that words express thoughts would mean

to neglect our other mental activities that may be expressed by a word and are not generally subsumed under 'thoughts' like emotions or intentions. (Waldron, 1967: 21). Similarly, visual images accompanying the use of words should be excluded from the definition since there are words that cannot be pictured (Waldron, 1967: 20). Neither can be meaning equated with a dictionary definition. The definition can make us recognize the referential function of a word and lead us to understanding the meaning but is not the meaning in itself (Waldron, 1967: 59).

In defining meaning it may be distinguished between lexical and actual meaning. Actual meaning is the meaning of a word used in speech, occurring in a certain context and having a definite reference. Lexical meaning, on the other hand, is the meaning associated with a word that is isolated both syntactically and in terms of context. (Stern, 1965: 68-69) An important aspect of the meaning of a word thus seems to be its context- and user-dependency. Potential contexts and users can be implied when discussing the lexical meaning of a word. When the word is put to actual use, its meaning is concretized by the real context and the user, becoming thus an actual meaning. Semantic change is a product of language in use, therefore actual meaning is primary focus here.

With regard to actual use of language, speech has several functions. Through speech the speaker may not only give names to things or express his feelings, but can also communicate his mental content and promote his purposes. The same can be said of the function of individual elements of speech, even though the purposive function of words is restricted to the cases of coincidence between word and utterance (Stern, 1965: 18-22). Consequently, the meaning of a word cannot be defined just on the basis of what a word means for the speaker personally, but there must be a consensus in his language community otherwise his message would not be understood. Therefore words are conventional signs bearing no relationship to what they denote. (Waldron, 1967: 18)

Stern introduces three determinants of meaning that are closely associated with the above mentioned functions of words in actual use. Firstly, it is the objective reference which is the constant element in meaning. This element ensures that the speakers will use the same word when talking about the same referent (although the precise meaning of the word may still differ for each of them along with their different conception of the individual characteristics of the referent). Secondly, it is the subjective apprehension, which involves the speaker's thoughts and feelings about the referent. Depending on the context, various elements of meaning may become central to the speaker's or hearer's attention. Last determinant is the traditional range that limits the total number of referents that can be denoted by the word, so

that the language users can understand each other. (Stern, 1965: 38-43) Eventually Stern provides a definition comprising what has been discussed so far: "The meaning of a word – in actual speech – is identical with those elements of user's (speaker's or hearer's) subjective apprehension of the referent denoted by the word, which he apprehends as expressed by it." (Stern, 1965: 45)

2.4 Process of Change

Earlier works on semantic change were not so much concerned with a general principle of how semantic change may occur, but more recent works are – and usually recognize polysemy (one form having more related meanings) as a necessary step in semantic change. (Campbell, 2004: 266) Traugott, for instance, asserts that "every change, (...) involves not "A > B," i.e. the simple replacement of one item by another, but rather "A > A~B" and then sometimes "> B" alone." (Traugott, 2007: 11) Campbell mentions two other theories frequently promoted by linguists that are related to the concept of polysemy. (Campbell, 2004: 267) Firstly, it is that of core meaning, according to which words usually have one central meaning and several less central ones. When semantic change occurs, a new or a less central meaning becomes predominant to the detriment of the original core meaning. The other is the theory of semantic map that consists in formation of semantic domains, in which individual lexical items overlap and their different senses are selected in different contexts.

An opposite tendency observable in the field of semantics is the general tendency of language towards simplicity and symmetry. This tendency results in avoidance of polysemy, i.e. language strives to achieve one-to-one relationship between form and meaning, so that ambiguity would be minimized. As a result, when there are two or more words representing the same meaning, above mentioned tendencies may trigger semantic change in one of them. It would also explain why the senses of a word that moved from centre to periphery may become obsolete or completely disappear. However, the complete loss of the sense of a word seems to be a relatively rare phenomenon (Traugott, 2007: 11) and the new meanings often coexist with the old ones, sometimes with a shift in markedness. Despite the tendency towards simplicity words still acquire additional senses and become polysemous. Traugott even argues that "there is no evidence that SP/Ws [=speakers/writers] strive for this ideal [one-to one relationship between form and meaning] in their everyday usage of language." (Traugott, 2007: 12) This may be explained by the tendency to fill the semantic gaps. For instance, when the speaker needs to name a newly conceived referent or to achieve certain purposes by his speech, he may employ an already existing word in a different sense, which in case of its

spread across the linguistic community may result in semantic change. On the whole, all tendencies described above seem to be somehow motivated be speaker's intentions. As Stern inclines to believe: "the preservation of meanings as well as their change is due to the same general cause: the functions of speech." (Stern, 1965: 184)

2.5 Factors influencing semantic change

Besides the basic tendencies mentioned in 2.4 that play their part in language change in general there are other factors that influence semantic change. These factors are external factors relating to changes in the referent, language contact, verbal context in which individual words occur and various psychological and emotive factors.

2.5.1 External factors

Changes in society, culture, religion, science or technology are frequent triggers of semantic change. Since language provides us not only means of communication, but also of categorising our experience (Waldron, 1967: 109), we feel the need to place a newly emerged referent to some familiar category. Hence we employ an old name to denote a new referent. (Stern, 1965: 193) A characteristic feature of changes due to external factors is that they are hardly predictable in advance: "For example, the referents of towns, armor, rockets, vehicles, pens, communication devices, etc., have changed considerably over time, as have concepts of disease, hence the meanings attached to the words referring to them have changed in ways not subject to linguistic generalisation." (Traugott, 2007: 4)

2.5.2 Language contact

Contact of two or more languages usually results in lexical borrowing. Influx of loanwords may also lead to semantic shifts. Sometimes a foreign word replaces the corresponding native word, but sometimes these the two coexist in a language and begin to differentiate semantically in the form of narrowing, broadening etc. Curtailment in the semantic range of a native word is a typical scenario. (Waldron, 1967: 120) The statuses of the individual languages may play an important part here: "the motives for adoption of loanwords have often been feelings of delicacy, social superiority and inferiority etc." (Waldron, 1967: 119) Prestige or a feeling of remoteness of a foreign language may thus seem to encourage euphemistic tendencies. (Waldron, 1967: 119)

2.5.3 Verbal context

Meaning of a word can change when "it is commonly used in a context in which a different interpretation of the whole sentence is possible and reasonable." (Trask, 2007: 43) In such cases it often happens that a word acquires associations so strong that they gradually become part of the meaning of the word. Thus the word *cheer* that originally meant 'state of mind' occurred so frequently in connection with *good* like in 'be of good cheer', that the prevailing meaning the word now has is that of 'mirth, joy'. Another common situation is that a word is a constitutive element of a collocation, but when the rest of the collocation is lost, the word undergoes change in meaning absorbing also the meaning of the lost elements. (Raimo, 1989: 138)

2.5.4 Psychological and emotive factors

Traugott asserts that speakers "come over time to develop meanings for Ls [lexemes] that encode or externalize their perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event." (Traugott, 2007: 30) More on her theory of subjectification will be discussed bellow in chapter on predictability of semantic change, but it may be useful to point out here that many instances of semantic change are driven by speaker's subjective attitudes and feelings. For example, speaker's approval or disapproval may be reflected in the connotation of a word. The principles of semantic change due to change of evaluative criteria are explained in the chapter on melioration and pejoration.

A specific driving force of semantic change discussed by linguists as having psychological grounds is the fact that speakers usually realise that there are topics one should not speak directly about. As Trask suggests, "in English taboo subjects include (or have included) sex, reproduction, excretion, death, and the human body." (Trask, 2007: 45) Another taboo subject is that of faith and religion. Speakers seek to replace unpleasant or obscene words with more euphemistic expressions. Moreover, euphemisms themselves often undergo semantic change under the weight of taboos. The need for new euphemisms thus seems unceasing: "inevitably, the euphemisms themselves come to be regarded as blunt ways of speaking and have to be replaced by further euphemisms." (Trask, 2007: 46)

2.6 Basic Taxonomies

Many classifications of semantic change have been proposed but an absolute agreement has not been reached. The main reason probably consists in the fact that there are

different levels at which semantic change can be studied – psychological, logical, social, material etc. (Waldron, 1967: 128) Besides, the proposed categories are sometimes quite vaguely defined. (Campbell, 2004: 254) Consequently, the categories often overlap and the individual instances of change can fit to more than one category or to none of the categories at all. Sometimes a different terminology is used to denote the same mechanism of change.

2.6.1 Generalisation and Specialisation

Classification of semantic changes according to the range of meaning of a word includes generalisation and specialisation, sometimes also called extension – restriction or broadening (widening) – narrowing. Waldron treats generalisation and specialisation under shifts which he defines as "the type of sense-development in which a marginal change occurs among the criteria of a lexical category" (Waldron, 1967: 142) and refers to them as "logical types of semantic change" (Waldron, 1967: 148). Generalisation is a change from specific to a more general meaning. It involves changes from species to genus. An example could be the word *dog* that originally denoted a specific breed of dog and later started to include all breeds of dogs. When the meaning of a word is narrowed from more general to more specific, it is the case of specialisation.[1] A frequently stated example is that of *meat* that restricted its meaning from 'food' to 'animal flesh' only.

Campbell suggests that generalisation and specialisation are associated with the number of contexts in which a word can be appropriately used. (Campbell, 2004: 254-5) Similar idea is developed by Waldron who claims that the verbal context and situation of discourse are relevant in this type of change and although its process is more complex, it could be said that "words develop narrower meanings through being used in restricted registers of speech and, conversely, technical terms broaden their meanings when they pass into less specialised registers." (Waldron, 1967: 149)

2.6.2 Metaphor and Metonymy

Metaphor and metonymy can be viewed synchronically as figures of speech that may lead to diachronic changes of meaning. The dividing line between their use as figures of speech and the change of meaning is often unclear (Waldron, 1967: 189) and so is sometimes

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[1] A more precise definition of generalisation and specialisation cannot be probably offered here, as the concept of the range of what counts as generalisation and specialisation may differ among linguists. Campbell, for example, seems to subsume the cases of abstraction and concretization into generalisation and specialisation, even though these two scales may refer to quite different processes.

the border between the two figures themselves. It has been argued that the principle of metaphor and that of metonymy are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that metaphorisation is often regarded as the outcome of metonymic change. (Traugott, 2007: 29)

Metaphor consists in the application of a word to a category which it does not normally denote, drawing attention to functional, perceptual or other resemblance. In other words, "metaphor in semantic change involves extensions in the meaning of a word that suggest a semantic similarity or connection between the new sense and the original one." (Campbell, 2004: 256) Metaphor operates between different semantic domains. For example, the word *grasp* originally meant 'seize' and later acquired the meaning of 'understand,' so a leap from physical to mental domain is observable. (Traugott, 2007: 28)

Metonymy is based on the relation of contiguity between words within the same semantic domain. Campbell characterised it as "change in the meaning of a word so that it comes to include additional senses which were not originally present but which are closely associated with the word's original meaning." (Campbell, 2004: 257) It involves relations between part and whole, cause and effect, container and its content, invention and the name of the inventor, action and the agent etc. A common example of metonymic transfer is *crown* that can be used to refer to 'king'.

As all figures of speech metaphor and metonymy are often subject to fading. It means that their original literal meaning is lost and the new meaning is no longer the marked one. This phenomenon may be understood as a result of the tendency towards one form – one meaning. Factors that make instances of metaphor or metonymy liable to fading are their repetition and lack of emotive value for the speakers. (Raimo, 1989: 145) The importance of this phenomenon lies also in the fact that it might renew the necessity for a marked form and therefore trigger semantic change in other words as it is in case of euphemisms.

2.6.3 Melioration and Pejoration

Melioration and pejoration, also termed as elevation and degradation, are semantic changes according to evaluation. Waldron subsumes them under shifts similarly to generalisation and specialisation and points out the general inconstancy of evaluative element in meaning: "it is not uncommon also for a word to swing from one end of scale to the other within a relatively short time." (Waldron, 1967: 157) The processes of melioration and pejoration start with implication. For example, the word *cheap* is used to define things of low cost. As we generally associate things of low cost with low quality or low desirability, the

association can be hardly prevented from gradual pervading in the area of meaning proper of the word *cheap*. (Waldron, 1967: 160) When the process takes on the direction towards a more positive meaning, it is the case of melioration. Pejoration is shift towards a more negative meaning.

2.6.4 Other Types

Besides the above mentioned basic taxonomies that more or less regularly occur in most of works on semantic change, there are also several less frequently stated types of change that deserve to be briefly commented on here. Some of them are associated with figures of speech like metonymy and metaphor. These are synecdoche, hyperbole and litotes. Synecdoche is often regarded as a type of metonymy. A part is used to refer to the whole and vice versa. Hyperbole is based on exaggeration, for example English intensifiers such as *awfully* that no longer bear real connection to words they originate in – awe in this case. (Campbell, 2004: 264) Litotes, on the other hand, involves understatement.

Euphemisms are sometimes considered a separate type of semantic change, but according to Campbell, these may be also classified as examples of another type of change like metaphor, melioration etc. (Campbell, 2004: 262) Some propose ellipsis as a type of change that involves a word's absorption of the meaning of originally a whole phrase. For example, English word *intercourse* now expresses what was originally expressed by the phrase *sexual intercourse*. Campbell considers ellipsis as a kind of synecdoche. Raimo sees ellipsis as one of four basic mechanisms of change along with metaphor, metonymy and folk etymology. Folk etymology occurs when there are two similar forms of distinct origin that are mistakenly associated with each other. It is given peripheral importance compared to the rest even by Raimo. (Raimo, 1989: 142)

2.6.5 Stern's Classification

Gustaf Stern offers a different classification, based mainly upon the psychological processes involved in semantic change. He distinguishes seven basic types of semantic change to which he variously assigns some of the traditional categories discussed above. (1) Substitution is a type of change due to external causes, the rest of the types is due to language-internal causes and is divided according to whether a modification of verbal,

referential or subjective relation is involved[2] and whether the shift is intentional or unintentional, i.e. whether the speaker's will intervenes or not. He thus distinguishes (2) analogy and (3) shortening as shifts of verbal relation, (4) nomination and (5) transfer as shifts of referential relation and (6) permutation and (7) adequation as shifts of subjective relation. The criterion of intentionality is decisive when applied to shifts of referential relation, nomination being intentional and transfer unintentional. Stern's theory is not unproblematic either and according to Waldron it confirms the assertion that "an attempt to include in one scheme all possible causes and types of meaning-change on all possible levels of analysis is bound to lead to inequalities." (Waldron, 1967: 133) The reason for mentioning Stern's theory in the present chapter is not only to present a different way of sorting the types of semantic change but also to show that the traditional classification is by no means exhaustive and different standpoints can still be adopted.

2.7 Regularity in Semantic Change

The taxonomies presented in the previous chapter suggest bidirectionality of semantic change. Yet it has been noticed that there is enough evidence to claim that some changes tend to happen in one direction only and the reverse development occurs rarely or not at all. Moreover, they realised that it is possible to find this evidence cross-linguistically. On the basis of that they tried to formulate these tendencies that might help us predict semantic change at least to certain degree. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these are just tendencies, not rules that we would find for example in sound change. One of the linguists who observed regularities in development of meaning was Stern.

Stern studied the group of synonyms in English meaning 'rapidly' and found out that they underwent a parallel meaning development. All of those which acquired the meaning 'rapidly' before 1300 developed the meaning 'immediately.' On the other hand, the reverse development from 'immediately' to 'rapidly' turned out to be improbable. It seems likely that the change took place first in contexts that permitted double interpretation as is observable in Stern's example "*When the king saw him, he quickly rode up to him*," where *quickly* can be interpreted as suggesting both swiftness in space ('rapidly') and swiftness in time ('immediately'). (Stern, 1965: 185-186)

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[2] Corresponding to the individual constituents of meaning mentioned in his definition of meaning in chapter 2.3 of this thesis.

A more recent and very influential study on regularity in semantic change was published by Traugott. She commented on Stern's study and despite her objections to the overall result of the study, she found there an argument for unidirectionality and also support for her theory of subjectification and invited inferencing. (Traugott, 2007: 67-68) The theory of invited inferencing is based on the notion of pragmatic meanings being reanalysed as semantic meanings. For example, Stern's use of *quickly* in the above mentioned example primarily suggests its spatial meaning, but it can also invite the inference that its meaning is temporal. The theory of subjectification is related to the observation that semantic change seems to evince increase in subjectivity. The regular tendencies in language are then, according to Traugott, bound up with these two theories. (Traugott, 2007: 1) Trask aptly summarises the general tendencies Traugott came up with as follows:

I.   External descriptions of reality become internal descriptions of perceptions and evaluations.

II.   External and internal descriptions become textual meanings – that is, they acquire meanings that give overt structure to discourse.

III.   Meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective beliefs and attitudes. (Trask, 2007: 53-4)

Although the greatest degree of regularity of change in this sense can be found in lexemes associated with grammaticalisation, i.e. proceeding from lexical to a more grammatical status of a word, it is not limited to them. (Traugott, 2007: 3) The practical part of this paper will not only contain the analysis of the semantic development in the particular words but any indications of the above stated tendencies will be commented on.

2.8 The Early Modern English Period

The English language underwent a huge transformation in the course of its history. Old English and Modern English as we know it today display fundamental differences. The Early Modern English period usually dates from 1500 to 1700, even though the precise date of the beginning and the end of the period may vary among different scholars. This period is associated with the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment and is considered "a time of 'broadening horizons' with linguistic consequences as well." (Stehling, 2014: 7) It is the period that witnessed the spread of literacy, flourishing of theatre and the revival of the classical learning. The rising nationalism contributed to the improvement of the

position of English, linguistic awareness increased and first grammar books and dictionaries of English were published. More linguistic and metalinguistic material from this period is available compared to the earlier stages of English.

Great Vowel Shift, i.e. a chain shift affecting the Middle English long vowels, changes of orthography related to the development of printing press and the consequent necessity to regulate and stabilize the spelling and the development of periphrastic structures were the main features concerning the formal side of English in the Early Modern English period. In terms of vocabulary and the development of meaning, the process of borrowing from other languages like French or Dutch continued, the influx of words from classical languages being particularly significant. The Latin loanwords could be found not only in the specific areas as religion, medicine or sciences but also in general usage. Protests occurred against such a huge amount of loanwords, especially those that were felt to have been borrowed unnecessarily and seemed pretentious, pejoratively labelled as "inkhorn terms". The inflow of loanwords also often contributed to changes in the semantics of individual words. The processes of semantic change characterised in 2.6 were not uncommon in the Early Modern English period and the aim of the following practical part of this paper is to analyse several particular instances of changes of meaning that took place in this stage of English.

3. Research Project

3.1 Objective and Hypothesis

The aim of the practical part of this thesis is to describe the processes of semantic change in five randomly selected words. To certain extent, these words were already analysed in the secondary literature to semantic change. In this paper attention is paid to the examples drawn from the corpora that help us understand how, i.e. in what meaning and in what context, these words were actually used at particular points in time. Approximately ten examples of the use of each word are examined closely and commented on. In most examples provided in the corpora the meaning of a word in question is ambiguous. It means that it is impossible to determine precisely what elements are central to the meaning in the respective instance or whether any signs of development are detectable compared to earlier uses of this word. These examples are then not very helpful in tracing semantic change and therefore are not of much relevance for the present study. Thus attempts are made to find such examples in which the meaning of the word is transparent or can be easily deduced from the verbal context of the word.

It is expected that the traditional assignment of the meaning development of the selected words to the taxonomies described in the theoretical part will be confirmed. However, knowing the original meaning of a word and the outcome of the change is only the stepping stone. Examination of the corpora examples allows a more detailed analysis of the change and may lead to observations on basis of which further statements concerning causes and circumstances of the meaning development of the particular word can be made.

Even though it may be difficult to determine when exactly a change took place as each change is a gradual process, each example from the corpora is supplied with the date of its production and on the basis of that the change can be approximately assigned to a certain period. The instances of semantic change that took place in the Early Modern English period were chosen for analysis in this paper because this period has more accessible material to offer compared to the earlier stages of English. The material is also easier to handle for a present-day researcher.

3.2 Material and Research Method

3.2.1 Selection of Words

Literature on historical linguistics provides numerous examples of semantic change. When deciding what particular words to focus on, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) proves to be a useful tool. The *OED* is a dictionary that offers not only guidance to the present-day meanings of words, but also to the histories of words. The definitions of words are always accompanied by several quotations from various types of literature to demonstrate how the word was actually used. A precise date is provided to each quotation which gives us the overall idea of when the change in the meaning of a word took place. An important part of the *OED* is the *Historical Thesaurus* that allows us to study synonyms of the individual words and their development over time.

In terms of the very process of selection, the words were picked randomly from the examples offered in the literature on semantic change. Then they were confronted with the *OED* to find out whether they are suitable for the purposes of this paper in terms of the period in which the semantic change took place. The last step was to review the frequency of these particular words because insufficient material would hinder the analysis.

3.2.2 Corpora

Several corpora of Early Modern English were used to obtain suitable examples of the selected words because some of them are too small to provide material sufficient for analysis alone. A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760 (CED) is a corpus comprising about 1.2 million words and focuses on spoken interaction. Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC) comprises about 2.2 million words. It contains letters written mainly by literate people of higher social ranks between 1410 and 1695. The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME) is comprised of about 1.8 million words and contains prose samples produced between 1500 and 1710. The largest of the used corpora is the Early English Books Online (EEBO) consisting of more than 125.000 titles on various subjects written between 1473 and 1700. Occasionally the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English – Second edition (PPCME2) is used for it can provide a means of comparison between earlier and later meanings of a word. PPCME2, PPCEME and PCCEC have the

advantage of being annotated for part of speech. All of the above mentioned corpora are accessed through KonText.[3]

When trying to describe semantic change it is essential to observe the verbal context of a particular word in the corpora samples carefully as the context informs our interpretation of its meaning. A word may frequently occur in set phrases which may have impact on its meaning. The collocations of a word may change along with the gradual change of its meaning. Creating collocation lists may point out a word's affiliation with a certain semantic field. Comparison of collocation lists for different sub-periods may show that an element of a word meaning was undergoing the process of change. Other material to work with is metadata, especially regarding genres and types of texts. The meaning of a word may prove to be associated with certain text types exclusively, which should not be overlooked in the analysis either.

Collocation lists are created according to the logDice ratio, as it probably gives us the best idea about the meaning of a word by its collocations. Minimum frequency in corpus is set to 10. To trace the development of relative frequencies of both single words and collocations in the EEBO the *EEBO N-gram Browser*[4] is used. The tokens in the *N-gram Browser* are lemmatized and regularised, which makes the search more comprehensive. Graphs of relative frequencies in this paper are taken directly from the EEBO *N-gram Browser.* The darker curve always represents the rolling average with the value set to 20 year. Besides, the *EEBO-TCP Key Words in Context*[5] is used, which allows to search lemmatised and regularised tokens in the EEBO. It is used mainly to find particular examples, so that they do not escape the search. However, the examples obtained through the *EEBO-TCP Key Words in Context* are not used for quotations as they cannot be displayed in the original spelling.

3.3 Problems

As was already mentioned, one of the problems historical linguists often encounter concerns the amount of relevant data available for the analysis. Semantic change is a product of language use; therefore corpora like CED or PCEEC seem to be the best choice when searching for examples of the use of particular words, as they are more tied to spoken

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[3] KonText is "a basic query interface for working with corpora. It allows evaluation of simple and complex queries, displaying their results as concordance lines, computing frequency distribution, calculating association measures for collocations and further work with language data." <https://www.korpus.cz/> 1 March 2016. *

[4] It can be found at *Early Print,* <http://earlyprint.wustl.edu/eebotcpngrambrowser.html> 20 April 2016.

[5] It can be found at *Early Print,* < http://earlyprint.wustl.edu/toolwebgrok.html> 5 May 2016.

language.[6] However, these corpora are relatively small and sometimes offer only few examples of the selected words in use. Working with frequencies and collocations would then be very difficult, hence the corpora composed of prosaic texts have to be used as well. Fortunately, the EEBO is a corpus large enough to afford enough data to make the use of frequencies and collocations possible.

Another related problem resides in the fact, that each of the used corpora allows division into sub-periods, but in some corpora, like the EEBO, these sub-periods obviously do not cover the same amount of the data. The later sub-periods tend to contain more examples than the earlier ones, which needs to be taken into account when, for example, creating frequency or collocation lists for the individual sub-periods separately for the purpose of comparison while mapping the meaning development of a particular word. The problem of uneven distribution of data in the EEBO may apply to text types as well.

Although spelling was already relatively stable in the Early Modern English period, difficulties may still occur regarding the form of words. Spelling variations may be still encountered, especially in the earlier sub-periods of the corpora. The *OED* may be helpful here, as it includes the inventory of spellings words had in the earlier stages of English. In case of deficiency in the number of examples different spellings of a word can be tried as a query. Nevertheless, the *OED* spelling inventory is not helpful while further working with language data in the corpora, for example exploring collocations because in such cases spelling variations cannot be fully controlled.

In order to include more spelling forms in a single query CQL search is used. The problem of CQL search is that it may include forms that belong to a completely different word, therefore it is always attempted to formulate such a CQL query that would contain as few undesirable forms but as many desirable forms as possible at the same time. The list of included forms is checked through Frequency / Node forms. CQL search allows more precision when creating collocation lists, but because a word's collocates usually have several different spelling forms too, complete coverage cannot be reached.

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[6] PCEEC is composed of letters which can be associated with written language. However, private correspondence is still closer to the spoken idiom than ordinary prosaic texts.

4. Analysis

4.1 *Starve*

The English verb *starve* is commonly used as an example of a word that underwent semantic narrowing. It developed from the Old English verb *steorfan* which meant simply 'to die'. In the course of centuries, an additional element of hunger was incorporated into the meaning of *starve*. On the other hand, the element of death became optional, so that in the present day use it means 'to die of hunger' or 'to suffer from hunger' and thus the meaning has become more specific. The definition of *starve* as it is used today provided by the OED is "to die of hunger; to perish or be in process of perishing from lack or insufficiency of food; to suffer extreme poverty and want."[7] Both transitive and intransitive uses are possible in PDE and display no significant differences in their semantic development.

(1) "ther is ful many a child unborn of his mooder that shal **sterve** yong by cause of thilke were" (1420-1500, PPCME2)

The example taken from the ME corpus has shown no evidence for the beginning of the change in the ME period yet. *Starve* (*sterve*) in the example is most likely to mean 'to die' as the cause of the child's death is further explicated as war. However, the element of hunger, though not explicitly included, may have associations with war as one of its effects or an accompanying circumstance.

(2) "...yt is to be feared that that action will fall to the ground of yt self, by the extreem beastly ydlenes of our nation, which notwithstanding any cost or diligence used to support them will rather **die** and **starve** then be brought to any labor or industrie to maintain themselves." (1612, PCEEC)

There are examples from the earlier stages of the EModE period, which suggest that different elements in the meaning of the word *starve* may have already grown prominent at that time. In example (2) originating in 1612 verbs *die* and *starve* are coordinated, which may indicate that the two words have similar, yet not entirely the same meaning. Attention should be paid also to the order of these words. Apparently, *die* as a more general term precedes already more specific *starve*, which excludes the possibility that *starve* in this example modifies *die* by specifying the action leading to death.

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[7] "starve, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2015. Web. 1 March 2016.

(3) "...you were threatned by him to be thrown into Prison, where you must lie and ot and **starve** and **die**, without hopes of relief or release, except you could make payment of the debt..." (1677, EEBO)

A reverse sequence *starve* and *die* can be found in later EModE examples that can be put to contrast with preceding example (2). *Starve* preceding *die* as in example (3) from 1677 may be understood as describing an action leading to death. A possible explanation may be that *starve* gradually puts more and more emphasis on the element of suffering, while *die* retains its emphasis on the final phase of losing one's life.

(4) "Indeed those Nurses (Ministers I mean) deserve the greatest condemnation, who let their Children, though they cry, **starve to death**, because they will not take the pains to draw out their breasts to them." (1635, EEBO)

That the element of dying moves to periphery in the meaning of *starve* may be supported by the examples including the collocation *starve to death* which is illustrated by example (4). *Starve to death* occurs in the EEBO in 1561 for the first time and its frequency in the corpus considerably grows towards the end of the EModE period as can be seen in Figure 1. The reason for that may be that since dying is no longer an inherent part of the meaning of *starve*, it has to be expressed by a separate word if needed.

Figure 1: The development of the relative frequency of *starve to death* in the EEBO
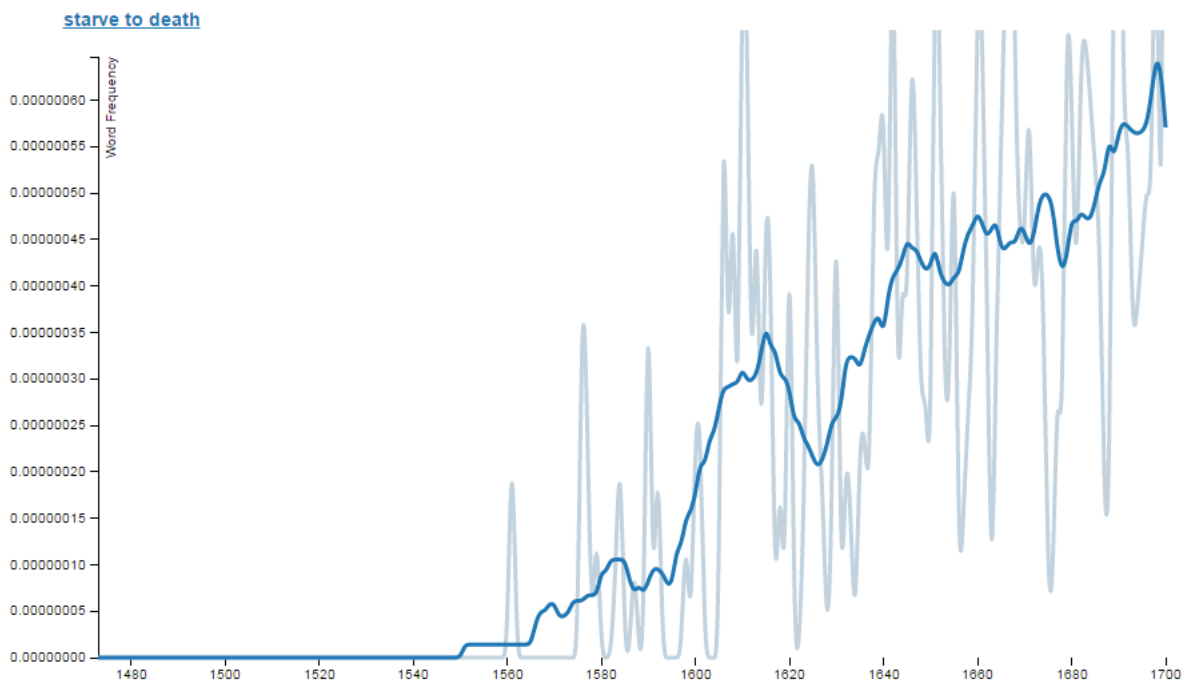
(5) "...so were they more superstitious than the Jews about things clean and unclean; and he knew these would **starve**, die any manner of death, or yield up the City, rather than drink of that polluted drink..." (1673, EEBO)

Example (5) from 1673 may also serve as evidence that in the meaning of *starve* the element of suffering is stressed instead of the element of dying. Provided that "die any manner of death" includes, for instance, dying of hunger or want, which there is no reason to doubt, it seems reasonable to interpret *starve* in the example as 'suffer from want, poverty or hunger' instead of 'die because of want, poverty or hunger,' otherwise there would be an unnecessary repetition of meanings. Another interesting point concerning this example is that the cause of suffering can be here specified as thirst since the people in the example apparently refuse to drink a particular drink and consequently expose themselves to the danger of starvation or death. Thirst is not specifically mentioned in the *OED* among causes of dying or suffering related to the word *starve*, supposedly because of its semantically close relation to hunger or want in general under which it may be subsumed.

Having learnt that the element of suffering or lingering in an unpleasant or painful state in the meaning of *starve* is gradually given more significance, collocation lists may provide a guideline to find out what kind of suffering is most frequently associated with the word. The word *hunger* occupies the first positions in collocation lists according to the logDice score for all sub-periods 1420-1570, 1570-1640 and 1640-1710. Other words appearing on the collocation lists are either related to hunger, for example *food*, *feed*, *hungry* or *famine*, or to other kinds of suffering like *frozen*, *cold*, *lack* or *want*, even though these occupy lower positions. Besides, *starve* increasingly co-occurs with verbs of similar meaning like *famish* which means "to reduce to the extremities of famine and hunger"[8] or *pine* which means "to exhaust or waste with physical or emotional suffering, esp. with hunger, disease, or grief."[9] Multiplication of words with similar meaning in the close proximity can be possibly explained by need for intensification.

(6) "...they might be enabled to eat and not **starve with hunger**..." (1688, EEBO)

The *OED* informs us that *starve* frequently occurred in constructions that specify the cause of death or suffering as can be seen in example (6) from 1688. Such an explicit mention of *hunger* may point out that the element of hunger was not fully incorporated into the meaning of starve yet.

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[8] "famish, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 29 April 2016.
[9] "pine, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 29 April 2016.

(7) "Men do love their Necessary Raiment and Habitations, without which in Winter Seasons their Bodies would **starve with Cold**." (1677, EEBO)

Although association of *starve* with hunger seems to prevail over any other kind of suffering, other possibilities are not uncommon in the corpus. For instance, in example (7) from 1677 quite frequent collocation *starve with cold* is used. Figure 2 shows that at particular points in time *starve with cold* occurred even more frequently than *starve with hunger*. However, only the elements of hunger or more generally of want were preserved as stable elements in the meaning of *starve* until PDE. The *OED* suggests that starve in the meaning of 'to die to exposure to cold' or 'to suffer extreme cold' was retained only in northern dialects. Why and in what manner the elements of meaning related to other kinds of suffering eventually moved to periphery would require further research that would probably go beyond the EModE period.

Figure 2: Comparison of the development of relative frequencies of *starve with cold* and *starve with hunger* in the EEBO
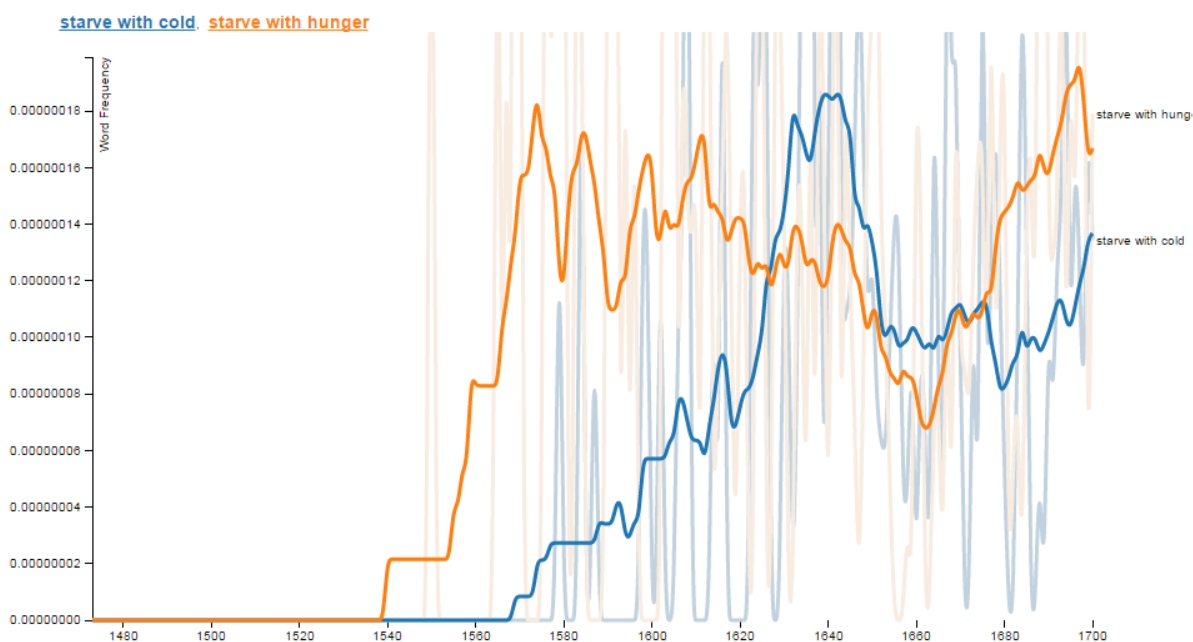
(8) "...she was in such Desolation, and so fully resolved to **starve** her self, that neither Relations nor Friends could persuade her from it. The Magistrates themselves us'd also their endeavours to no purpose, and so gave her over. And now so illustrious a Woman lamented by all, as one that's dead and gone, had been five Days without tasting any Food." (1700, EEBO)

Example (8) from 1700 illustrates that the word *starve* in its later uses does not have to be accompanied by any explicit reference to hunger because the word already implies it. Its association with hunger is later confirmed by the context. A woman decided to "starve her

self" and despite the attempts of other people to prevent her from it, she "had been five Days without tasting any Food."

(9) "...the sight at first pleased Him very well, but having called for some meat, his wittie wife, caused present another course of Golden Viands; what, sid the hungrie Husband, do you mind to **starve** me with a Necromaners feast?" (1700, EEBO)

Similarly in (9) from 1700 the context makes the association of *starve* with hunger clear. A wife offers her husband the effigy of food made of gold to remind him that gold is not what will feed them.

(10) "Till then, to **starve** souls is to be guilty of their damnation." (1689, EEBO)

Besides its literal meaning of 'die of hunger' or 'suffer from hunger' focusing on the physical condition of a body, *starve* is used also in the spiritual sense, describing non-material entities like souls and expressing 'strong want of something' or 'desire for something'. Such metaphorical uses of the word seem to be typical of religious texts. The word *hunger* is stated to have acquired its metaphorical sense of 'strong desire' also in the EModE period in the *OED*.[10] Consequently, because the element of hunger become inherent in the meaning of *starve*, the metaphorical use of *starve* may be assumed to began also in the EModE. The illustrative example is from 1689.

4.2 *Humour*

Nowadays the word *humour* is associated mainly with a person's ability to recognise or produce a commentary that other people see as comical. However, there is a series of semantic changes hidden behind this present meaning of the word. According to the *OED*, *humour* was borrowed into English partly from French and partly from Latin, its original use being tied to ancient and medieval medicine and physiology. In the EModE period the word developed several related senses associated with a person's mental capacities and dispositions from the originally purely physical meaning of "any of four fluids of the body believed to determine, by their relative proportions and conditions, the state of health and the temperament of a person or animal."[11] The original meaning of 'bodily fluids' continued in use but was gradually restricted to medical and physiological applications, while the new senses became predominant in ordinary use.

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[10] "hunger, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 29 April 2016.
[11] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 10 March 2016.

The above described change is labelled as the case of generalisation[12] as the word originally restricted in use expands in the scope of its reference. At the same time the change may be said to involve a movement from concrete to a more abstract sense in terms of tangibility of the referent.[13] Moreover, *humour* can be seen as having undergone the process of amelioration as the original physiological meaning of 'bodily fluids' is neutral in its connotation, while the new meanings, especially the PDE meaning of "ability of a person to appreciate or express what is funny or comical"[14] are generally perceived as positive.

Several difficulties accompanied the exploration of the use of *humour* in the corpora. The biggest problem concerns the spelling of the word because it is extremely variable in the case of *humour*. Its most frequent spelling in the EEBO, the largest of the corpora, is *humour*. Nevertheless, the number of hits for the spelling *humor* almost reaches the half of the number of hits for *humour*. Besides, other spellings like *humoure*, *humore*, *homour* or *houmore* also occur, although not to such a considerable extent. As a result, it is problematic to work with collocations. CQL query partly solves the problem, yet it is perhaps more likely with *humour* than with other analysed words that several spelling forms escape the search, while several undesirable forms are included.

In spite of the problems with spelling forms, collocation lists according to logDice for different sub-periods of the EEBO were created and compared. What can be inferred from them is that words that collocate with *humour* before 1570 are related mainly to the physical meaning of 'bodily fluids' or to proportions of these bodily fluids. These are for example *melancholic*, *choleric*, *mingling*, *superfluous* etc. The spellings of these collocates are also highly variable which possibly further contributes to distortion of the results. These collocates are, however, richly represented even after 1570 which suggests that the meaning of 'bodily fluids' plentifully coexisted with the newly emerged meanings. Medical terms like *crystalline* or *albuginous*, which are associated with the meaning of *humour* of "either of the two transparent, fluid or semi-fluid substances filling the anterior and posterior chambers of the eye"[15] seem to have occurred especially in the earlier sub-periods. However, the significance of this increase cannot be properly estimated because the exact composition of texts in the EEBO is not entirely clear. It also appears that the collocation list for the last sub-period

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[12] For instance in Nevalainen. Nevalainen 66.
[13] However, subsuming concretization and abstraction under generalisation and specialisation was already discussed as problematic in 2.6.1 in this paper.
[14] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*.
[15] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*.

1640-1710 contains most adjectives that suggest that *humour* was used in its abstract senses – for instance *peccant*, *fancy*, *peevish*, *merry*, *nervous*, *malignant*, *ambitious*, *ill* or *gay*.

Collocations were similarly explored also in the smaller corpora. Attention was paid especially to the co-occurrence of *humour* with adjectives in attributive use. Since texts comprised in CED and PCEEC are based on interaction between people, it is not surprising that they contain much more examples of the use of the word *humour* in its abstract senses, collocating with adjectives like *good*, *ill*, *peculiar*, *violent*, *gentle*, *sick, lazy, jealous* or *gallant*. Adjectives describing *humour* as a bodily fluid are not completely uncommon in these corpora compared to the EEBO but still are considerably rarer.

(11)   "Also the temples haue dentes or holes inwardely, wherin he taketh the **humour** that commeth from the brayne, and bringeth the eyes asleep..." (1548, PPCEME)

Tracing the semantic development of *humour* on the basis of individual examples should start with its meaning of 'bodily fluids.' These are typically blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy (also called black bile). Examples of *humour* used in this meaning are easy to find and distinguish from other meanings of the word because explicit references to these fluids or to various parts of the body and their functioning are frequent not only in medical treatises, but also in other text types with the topic of human health. Example (11) that originates in 1548 was taken from a medical text dealing with eyes. *Humour* obviously refers to a bodily fluid here, even though it is not clear what kind of fluid it is.

(12)   "all the **humours** of our body, which hold ouer - much moisture, make a man blockish and foolish, for which cause he sayd, The readinesse of mind and wisedome growes from the **humour of choler**: the **humour of melancholy** is author of firmnesse and constancie; **blood**, of simplicitie and dulnesse; the flegmaticke complexion auaileth nothing to the polishing of mannes. In so much that blood with his moistures, and the **flegme**, cause an impairing of the reasonable facultie." (1635, EEBO)

Humour in the example from 1635 demonstrably serves as a hypernym to the four above mentioned bodily fluids, which are consequently explicitly listed. The context in this example not only directs us to read *humour* as a word referring to these physical substances, but also shows their connection to human mental faculties. Firmness, constancy, simplicity, dullness or wisdom are treated as faculties conditioned by the extent of presence of the respective bodily fluids in the human body. From here it is only a small step to *humour* itself denoting a mental condition instead of a physical one.

(13)   "the house beinge so full of noyse that one could not heare an other speake: some cryed one thinge and some another, as everie p'ticular **humour** ledd them" (1600, CED)

In many examples it cannot be claimed with certainty whether *humour* refers to bodily or mental condition in that particular instance. However, some of the examples illustrate what elements of the meaning of the word grow in importance in this transitional phase. Example (13) from 1600 presents *humour*, whether in bodily or already mental sense, as a source of motivation for a particular behaviour. The word thus seems to have acquired the sense of a cause for observable behaviour or condition. Because this cause is invisible for the external observer, the lack of necessity to determine its nature may have facilitated the development of mental senses of the word.

(14)   "Well then, Davids perswasion of the Truth and Unchangeableness of the Word, was not a sudden **humour**, or a present fit, or a perswasion of a few days standing; but he was confirmed in it by long Experience." (1681, EEBO)

When *humour* started to occur in its meaning related to human mental conditions or qualities, it was first used in relation to temporary states of mind. Example (14) from 1681 demonstrates the use of *humour* to denote a transitory condition that can become a subject to change at any moment. It is listed among other expressions suggesting short duration or transience of David's persuasion and contrasted with "long Experience."

(15)   "I pray your Lordship to grant me this favour. My Lord will you please to grant it? L.C.J. Must I grant it only for your **humour**? Swen. 'Tis not a **humour**, my Lord, but of a great consequence to me, will your Lordship grant me it?" (1702-1703, CED)

Another meaning related to the above expressed idea of temporariness stated in the *OED* is that of "a particular disposition (...), esp. one having no apparent ground or reason; a fancy, a whim."[16] It can be well illustrated by example (15) from 1702-1703. One character wants the other to grant him a favour. The other apparently expresses his or her fear that the wish is based only on a current inclination or a whim. The other rejects it by claiming he takes his wish seriously. *Humour* is thus put to contrast with something "of a great consequence."

(16)   "More especially he ought to acquaint himself with the Histories of his own Nation, that he may not be a stranger at home, but may know the particular **temper and humour** of his own People..." (1661, EEBO)

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[16] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*.

The word *humour* could be also understood as a synonym for *mood*, *cheer* or *temper*.[17] An attempt to explore the co-occurrences of *humour* with these words of related meaning by sorting the results according to the left and right context has shown that they are very frequently coordinated, as in example (16) from 1661 in which *temper* and *humour* are thus juxtaposed. Such juxtaposition may point to similarity in the meanings of the two words.

(17)   "Deerest Kytt, I can not cannot possibly describe to you the **humour** I am in at the writing of this letter." (1659, PCEEC)

In this sense *humour* also started to be modified by adjectives like *good* or *ill*. Another illustration of the use of *humour* as an equivalent to *mood* can be possibly observed in example (17) from 1659, where it seems to serve as an expression of the momentary emotional state, whose duration is obviously limited to the moment of writing of the letter.

(18)   "All this ſtudy goeth on very cooly, becauſe moſt Indians are of a ſlow and lazy **humour**, to which the heat and diet of the Country contributes much..." (1684, EEBO)

When one's moods and temporary states of mind repeat frequently, it is possible to derive more general conclusions concerning his nature and talk about his temperament or habitual inclination to a particular way of behaviour, which is the meaning which the word *humour* later developed. As a result of that, the word can also be modified by adjectives that characterise a person from a long-term perspective rather than on the basis of his or her momentary state of mind. For instance, in example (18) from 1684 the word *humour* is employed to describe general characteristics of the whole nation.

The rise of the collocations of *out of humour* and *out of one's humour* can serve as evidence that the word *humour* occurred more and more frequently in the meaning related to human metal condition. *Out of one's humour* is more associated with the meaning of *humour* denoting person's temperament or habitual condition. It expresses that someone behaves in a way that seems to be inconsistent with his normal behaviour or temperament. However, it has been pointed out in the *OED* that this collocation is to a considerable extent related to a single author, Ben Jonson, whether directly or in the form of allusions.

(19)   "...the Emperour's two Uncles, who bore the Title of Associates in the Empire, said upon their return to Pekin, that when the Emperour was **out of humour**, or

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[17] The synonyms for *humour* in this meaning were found through the *Historical Thesaurus*. "02.04.01.06 (n) State of feeling/mood." The Historical Thesaurus of English, version 4.2. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2016. Web. 3 May 2016. http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category/?id=127644.

appeared melancholick, he resumed his usual cheerfulness so soon as he saw me."
(1686, EEBO)

The appearance of the collocation of *out of humour* plays an important role in the discussion of the semantic development of *humour*, as it points to the word's gradual acquisition of a positive connotation. The definition of the whole collocation provided by the *OED* is "in an annoyed, depressed, or dissatisfied state of mind; in a bad mood."[18] Hence the word *humour* itself in this collocation already clearly denotes a good mood or a positive state of mind. First occurrence of this collocation in the EEBO dates back to 1559 but a significant grow in use can be noticed between 1640 and 1709 as is illustrated in the graph bellow. With regard to this fact, it may also point to the gradual spread of the use of *humour* in this positive meaning. Example (19) from 1686 juxtaposes the collocation *out of humour* with appearing melancholic, contrary to the emperor's usual positive state of mind.

Figure 3: Development of the relative frequency of *out of humour* in the EEBO
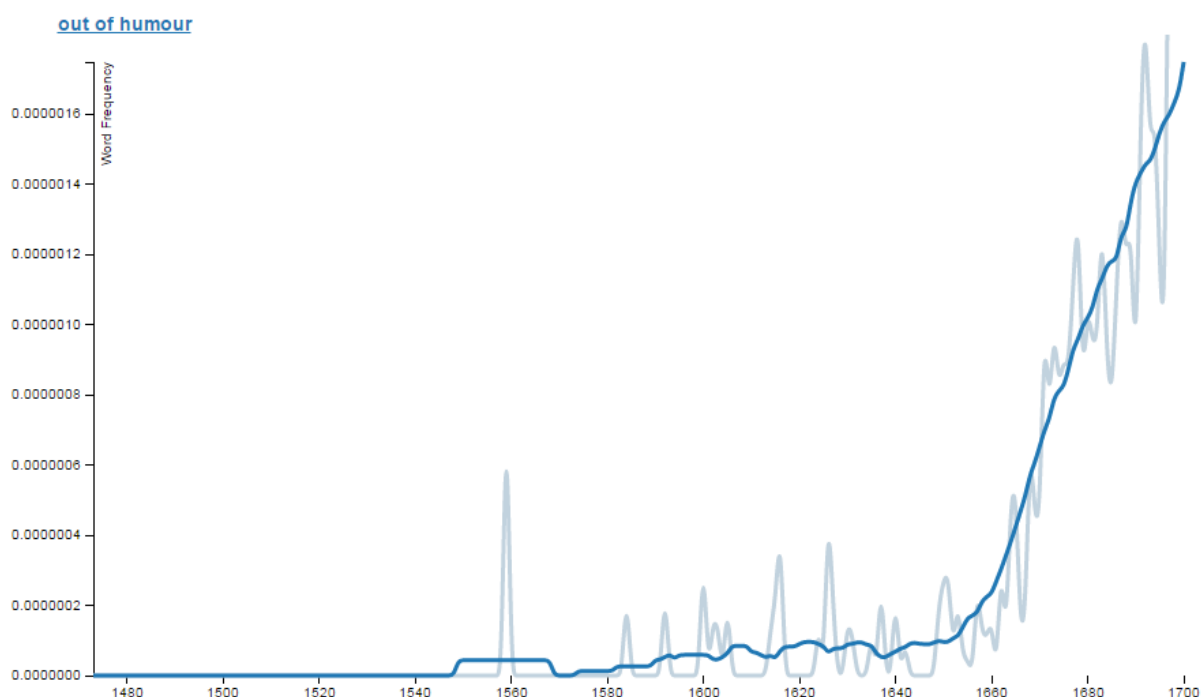
(20)   "He was pleased with somewhat, for I found him in a **good Humour**!" (1700, EEBO)

Why the meaning of the word *humour* started to develop towards a more positive meaning and not the other way round is of course a question not easy to answer. After looking

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[18] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*.

at the log-likelihood ratio or absolute frequency in the collocation lists, it seems that the adjectives *good* and *ill* are two of the most frequent ones. The collocation list according to the absolute frequency with the focus on 1L position for the sub-period 1640-1710 has shown that there are 476 instances of *good humour* but only 246 instances of *ill humour*. In the graph bellow that compares the relative frequencies of *good humour* and *ill humour* it is observable that *ill humour* was more frequent during a considerable part of the EModE period but at the end of the 17th century *good humour* started to exceed it. The development after 1700 is not available in the *EEBO N-gram Browser*, but it may be expected that the steep rise of *good humour* would continue in the following centuries. That could have possibly led to the later assumption on the part of the hearer that *humour* has a positive connotation even without co-occurrence with a positive adjective. Example (20) of such co-occurrence comes from 1700.

Figure 4: Comparison of the relative frequencies of *good humour* and *ill humour* in the EEBO
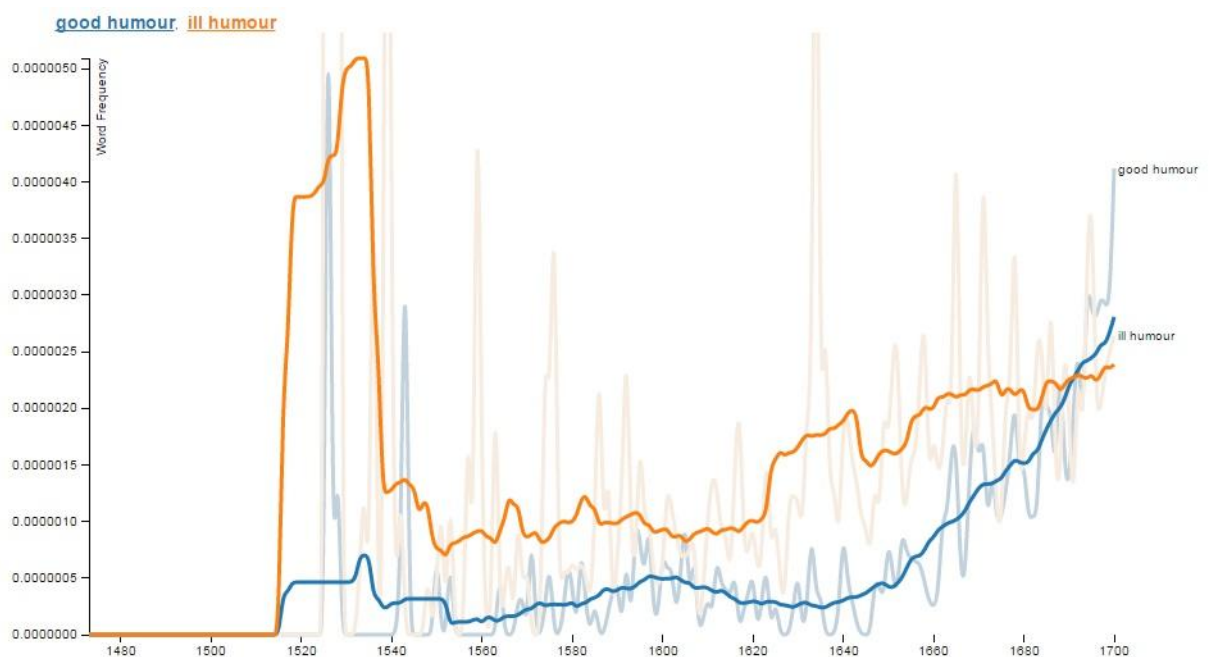
Thus the development of *humour* may have taken a similar path as the word *cheer* described by Trask,[19] which started to refer to a positive state of mind due to its frequent co-occurrence with adjectives like *good*. Eventually, it is necessary to point out that the semantic change of *humour* does not end in the EModE period. For example, in the EEBO there is no single occurrence of the nowadays very common collocation *sense of humour* yet, for use of *humour* as an "ability of a person to appreciate or express what is funny or comical"[20] is a

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[19] Trask 43.
[20] "humour | humor, n." *OED Online*.

matter of later centuries. To describe its entire path of its semantic development would then require use of more recent corpora, which is beyond the scope of research for this thesis.

4.3 *Gentle*

In English the adjective *gentle* developed the meaning of "well-born, belonging to a family of position"[21] already in the 13th century. Shortly afterwards it also started to describe the behaviour associated with higher social classes. It thus became synonymous with *courteous* or *noble* that also underwent similar semantic developments. It is possible that the changes in the society and social order contributed to the changes in the meaning of *gentle*. Nowadays the meaning referring to the social position of and behaviour appropriate to the highborn is mostly archaic, the original sense being retained in the compound *gentleman*. In the EModE *gentle* developed the meaning "mild in disposition or behaviour; kind, tender"[22] when describing persons, their speech and actions. Besides, it started to be employed as a term describing weather or natural phenomena with the meaning of "not rough, violent, or severe" or "moderate in intensity or rate," materials with the meaning of "soft to touch" and animals with the meaning of "tame," "easily managed."[23]

With regard to the taxonomies of semantic change, *gentle* may be said to have undergone the process of change which Campbell calls abstraction, i.e. the meaning shifts from concrete (person of noble birth) to more abstract (moral qualities associated with people of noble birth). Changes in the meaning of *gentle* may be also seen as metaphorical transfers between different semantic domains. Shifts in the use of *gentle* such as: gentle birth → gentle character → gentle behaviour may be interpreted as movements from the semantic domain of actor to the semantic domain of activity. Another shift can be observed in the development of the meaning 'soft to touch.' This shift seems to have taken an opposite direction. On the one hand, it can be understood as concretization, i.e. the meaning shifts from abstract (quality of softness in relation to one's character or behaviour) to more concrete (physical softness of a surface, material etc.). On the other hand, it can be again interpreted as a metaphorical shift from ethical to material sphere.

> (21)   "THOMAS WYATT the delight of the Muſes and of Mankind, Son of Henr. Wyatt of Allington Caſtle in Kent Knight and Banneret, by Anne his Wife Daughter of Joh. Skinner of Surrey, was born of an ancient and **gentile** Family in the ſaid County of Kent..." (1691, EEBO)

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[21] "gentle, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 13 April 2016.
[22] "gentle, adj. and n." *OED Online*.
[23] "gentle, adj. and n." *OED Online*.

Several examples of *gentle* in its original meaning of 'born to a family of a higher social rank' can be found in Anthony Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses from 1691 devoted to the histories of writers and bishops who were educated at Oxford between 1500 and 1690. In that piece he also comments on the social position of each particular person's family. Individual instances of the use of *gentle* in this context apparently serve as demographic information, factual rather than moral aspects of its meaning being stressed. Example (21) is a commentary on Thomas Wyatt.

(22)   "Myn Eme is a **gentil** and a trewe man he may suffre no falshede / he doth nothyng but by his prestes counseyl And I saye yow syth that my lorde the kynge hath do proclamed his pees he neuer thoughte to hurte ony man" (1420-1500, PPCME2)

The ME example from 1420-1500 proves that the meaning associated with behaviour and moral principles of people of higher social rank occurred shortly after the original above discussed meaning and coexisted with it. The author's uncle from the extract is described as *gentle* and at the same time he is characterised as a true man who would suffer no falsehood and hurt no man. Therefore it can be assumed that *gentle* in the example no longer necessarily refers to social position of one's family, but the element of the high moral standard associated with this social position grows prominent in it.

(23)   "...although one man hath aboundaunce and plentye of monye, yet he lackyth another thyng that is to saye, he is ashamed of his ignobilytie, that he is no **gentylman** borne. And another man is well knowen for a **gentyll** man, but yet he is so nedye; poore that he had leuer be vnknowen of his **gentyles** bloude. Another hathe both aboundaunce of goodes, and is noble, and yet he bewaylethe hys chaste lyfe, that he may not marye a wyfe." (1556, PPCEME)

Gentle as a word relating to one's noble birth and blood is used also in the example from 1556. Its author seems to assert that being born a gentle man, i.e. to be born to a good family, does not automatically mean that one is rich in his possessions, nor does it necessarily have direct implications about his moral and personal life. There is, however, another interesting point – the example contains both use of *gentle* as an adjective modifying the noun *man* and a compound noun *gentleman*. These seem to be used as equivalents in that particular context, both referring to one's birth.

The noun *gentleman* is characterised as "a man of gentle birth," "a man in whom gentle birth is accompanied by appropriate qualities and behaviour" or "a man of superior

position in society"[24] in the *OED*. In these meanings the compound is used even today, while the separate adjective *gentle* underwent further developments. With regard to the respective frequencies of *gentle man* and *gentleman* in the EModE period, there seems to be a growing tendency to prefer the compound over the separate words, when referring to man's noble birth or the related noble behaviour. This tendency may be observed in the comparison of the following figures.

Figure 5: Development of the relative frequency of *gentle man* in the EEBO
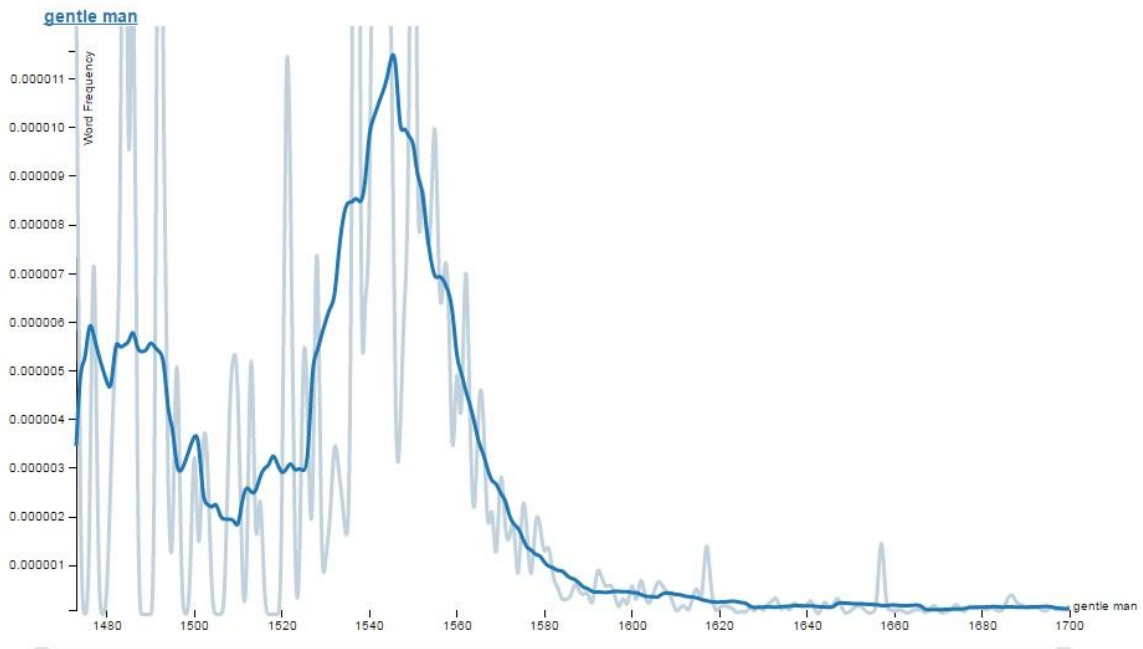
Figure 6: Development of the relative frequency of *gentleman* in the EEBO

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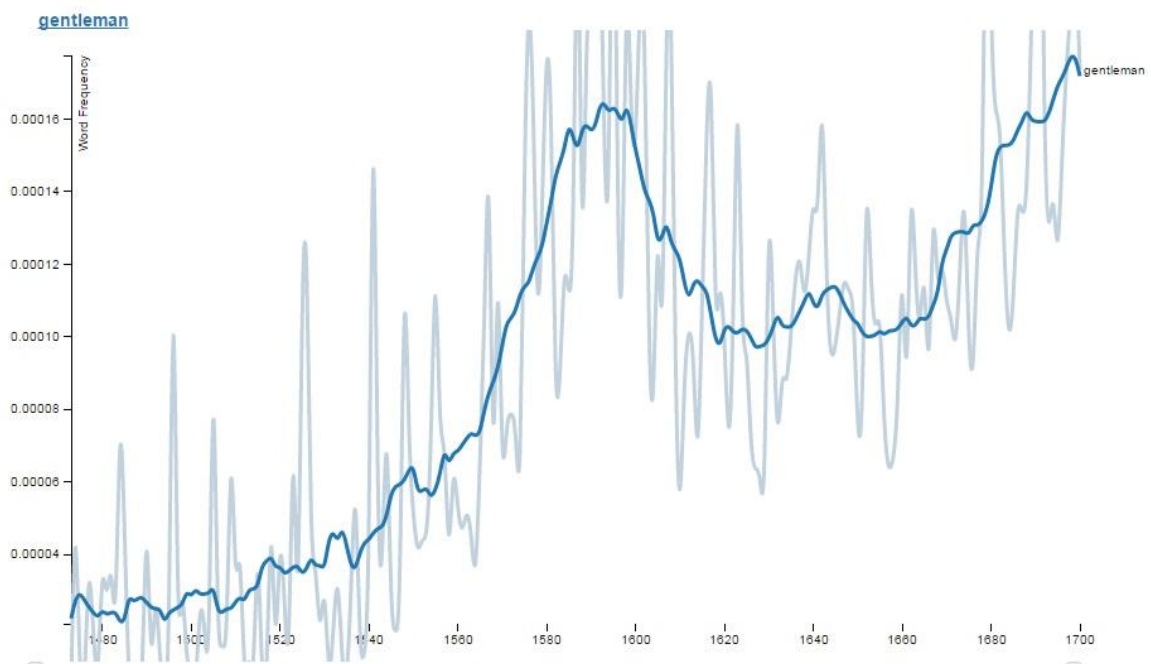
[24] "gentleman, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 14 April 2016.

(24)　　　"There is grete plente of ſamon / of lamprayes / of Eelis and of othir ſee fiſſh / Of egles of cranes / of pecokes / of curlewes / of ſperhaukes / of goſhaukes and of **gentill** fawcons / Of wolues and right ſhrewd myſe" (1480, EEBO)

Other collocations of *gentle* were explored and compared in the different sub-periods in the EEBO by creation of collocation lists according to logDice. The focus was set on the first right position, i.e. a noun modified by the adjective *gentle*. Between 1420 and 1500 *gentle* was used in the traditional meanings discussed so far, the most frequent collocates being for example *woman*, *knight*, *blood*, *earl* or *heart*. It seems to be quite surprising that the fourth position in the collocation list is occupied by *falcon*, which points to quite frequent use of *gentle* when describing an excellent breed of animals. Such use of *gentle* may be demonstrated by example (24) from 1480.

(25)　　　"Here (**gentle** reader) thou seest howe they then entangled themselues with the worlde..." (1570, EEBO)

(26)　　　"And now I haue the Boy, I will vndoe This hatefull imperfection of her eyes. And **gentle Pucke**, take this transformed ſcalpe, From off the head of this Athenian ſwaine;" (1623, EEBO)

Interestingly, between 1500 and 1570 the word *reader* exceeds any other word collocating with *gentle*, while the remaining collocates do not change much compared to the earlier sub-period. This phenomenon probably points to a trend of authorial intrusion in the contemporary literary tradition. The narrator addresses the reader directly, using the phrase *gentle reader* as in the example from 1570. The meaning that is according to the *OED* associated with the phrase *gentle reader* is "used in polite or ingratiating address, or as a complimentary epithet."[25] However, this collocation seems to be tied exclusively to written language. It occurs especially in prefaces or introductions to books. It is therefore questionable if it had any far-reaching consequence for the semantic development of *gentle*. Example (26) apparently shows the use of *gentle* in the same way as in (25) but modifying a proper noun, addressing mischievous fairy figure Puck from Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Such address can be compared to the present use of the word *dear* that typically occurs at the beginning of letters etc.

(27)　　　"...how dearly she loued him, how much she made of him, indearing the sweetnesse of her disposition, her **gentle** behauiour, and the gracefulnesse of her person..." (1623, EEBO)

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[25] "gentle, adj. and n." *OED Online*.

The collocation list according to logDice specified to 1R position for 1570-1640 shows that the collocation *gentle reader* remains widely in use. *Gentle* still modifies persons like *knight* or *butler*, but also starts to modify words referring to a state or an activity like *behaviour*, *disposition*, *correction*, *persuasion, usage* or *admonition* more and more frequently. Such usage is represented by example (27) from 1623.

(28)   "We might have leapt off from the Poop aſhore, and judg'd the Danger to be unavoidable, when a **gentle Breeze** happily blew freſh from the North, and ſet us at Liberty; whereas if any other Wind had aroſe, we had certainly periſh'd." (1698, EEBO)

Figure 7: Development of the relative frequency of *gentle breeze* in the EEBO
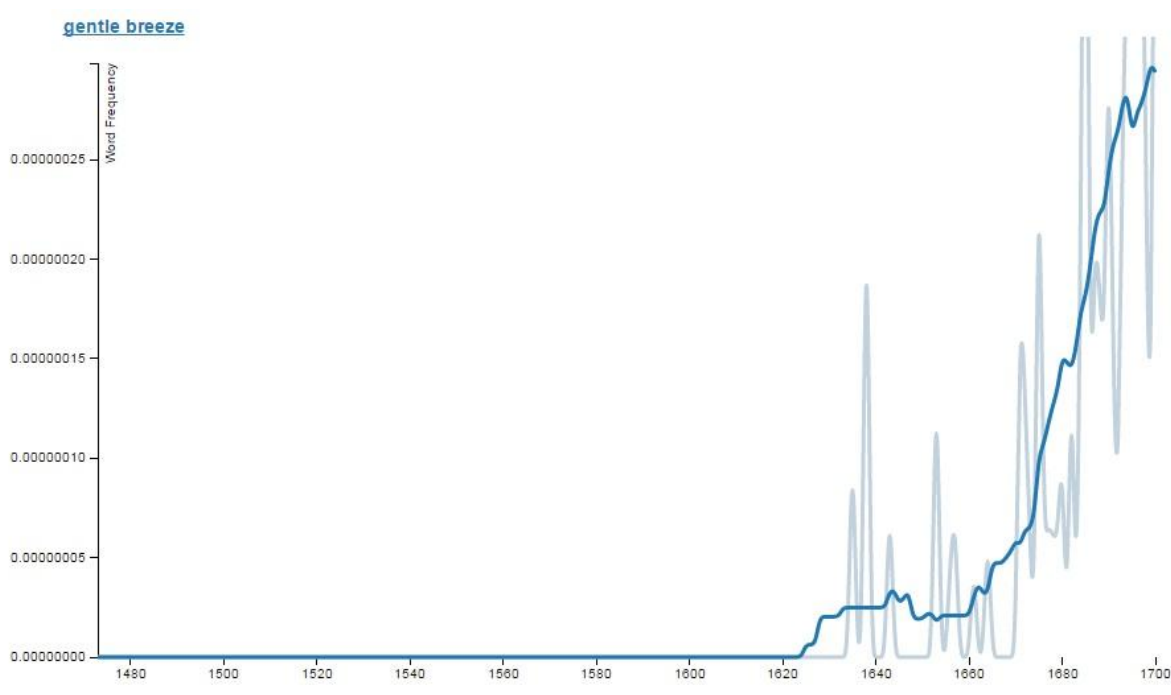
Words that dominate the collocation list for the sub-period 1640-1710 quite radically differ from those on the previous collocation lists. Newly, there are words tied to physical conditions or the phenomena of weather (in literal or a personified sense) – *heat*, *fire*, *warmth*, *breeze* or *wind*. As figure 7 suggests, the frequency of the collocation of *gentle breeze* rises towards the end of 17th century.[26] *Gentle* thus no longer describes only people and their actions, but begins to be applied to descriptions of natural phenomena, the element of moderateness or non-violence becoming prominent in such uses. In the example from 1698 "a

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[26] The steep rise of *gentle breeze* in the graph can be partly caused by the simultaneous increase in the use of the word *breeze* alone.

gentle Breeze" is put to contrast with "any other Wind" whose effect would be violent and disastrous to the narrator.

(29)   "Come, come, Man; what avoid the sweet society of Woman - kind? that sweet, soft, **gentle**, tame, noble Creature Woman, made for Man's Companion." (1675, CED)

The element of moderateness became prominent also in the descriptions of persons or animals and their behaviour. A gentle character could be thus also described as *mild, tender, soft, tame, meek* or *benign*.[27] These adjectives seem to have occurred in close proximity quite frequently. Associations with gentle birth or noble blood as discussed above may be no longer observable. The description of a woman in example (29) originating in 1675 presents the word *gentle* listed among other words of similar meaning. No connections to the social rank or high or low birth are suggested by the context here.

(30)   "This ſort of Habit is called Tunica; it is made of a ſoft and **gentle** cloth, and he that ſhould wear it with a Hood, and ſhould not leave off his Cloak, would be cenſured guilty of a mortal ſin." (1671, EEBO)

(31)   "Our Senses are Sharp - set upon All Fleshly Pleasures, and if they be but Fair to the Eye, Rellishing to the Palate, Harmonious to the Ear, **Gentle** to the Touch, and Fragrant to the Smell, 'tis all we Look for, and all we Care for." (1692, EEBO)

Eventually, it was possibly the growing prominence of the element of softness in the meaning of *gentle* that contributed to its association with the sense of touch, consequently leading to employing the word when speaking about different kinds of material or stuff. Such use of the word *gentle* can be seen in example (30) from 1671, where *gentle* is used along with *soft* when describing a cloth. In example (31) from 1692 the relation to the sense of touch is made explicit.

4.4 *Dish*

The word *dish* developed from Old English *disc*, but its origins can be traced back to West Germanic. *Dish* originally meant "a broad shallow vessel, with flat bottom, concave sides, and nearly level rim, made of earthenware, glass, metal, or wood, and used chiefly to hold food at meals."[28] Besides, the word developed the meaning of "the food ready for eating

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[27] Synonyms for *gentle* in this meaning were obtained through the *Historical Thesaurus* of the *OED*. "01.15.21.04.02.01 (aj) Gentle/mild.", "01.05.07 (aj) Domesticated/tame." *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.2. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2016. Web. 4 May 2016.http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk.
[28] "dish, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 19 April 2016.

served on or contained in a dish"[29] in EModE and thus may be said to have undergone a metonymic transfer from container to its content. It also started to be used as a term of quantity denoting "as much or as many as will fill or make a dish when cooked"[30] in the EModE period.

(32) "After take also a drope of bawme; put it into a **dissch** or in a cuppe with mylk of a goot..." (1350-1420, PPCME2)

The ME example from 1350-1420 demonstrates the earlier use of *dish* denoting a vessel for food or drink. A dish is presented as something to which a drop of balm can be put. It is juxtaposed with another container usually containing a drink as its alternative.

(33) "The little Pullets, or Hennes, though the old age, both for theyr vnfruitfulnesse, and other causes disalowed them, yet in many places they proue to be good, and lay many Egges In England at this day, they are vsed as a **daynty dishe** at mens tables." (1577, EEBO)

Collocation lists according to logDice for different sub-periods in the EEBO have shown that this original meaning remained in frequent use along with the newly developed meanings. At first, the search for collocations was specified to 1L position, so that the adjectives most frequently modifying *dish* became observable. Until 1570 *dish* seems to collocate mainly with numerals, occasionally also with adjectives denoting material of which a dish is made. Between 1570 and 1640 a strong collocation with the adjective *dainty* occurs, which already points to the new meaning referring to food. Example (33) from 1577 shows that pullets or hens are used as a *dish* which excludes the possibility that *dish* was meant to denote a vessel.

(34) "MInce your mea fine, mix it vvith grated bread, currans, dates, nutmegg and sugar, vvith a little rose - vvater, a little salt, and two or three eggs, warm them together over a **chafing dish of coals**, and stir them all the while..." (1664, EEBO)

However, the co-occurrence of *dish* and adjectives referring to various materials like *silver*, *pewter*, *wooden* or *earthen* is also common and these remain in wide use until 1700, which points to the co-existence of the meaning of vessel and of food in the EModE period. Between 1640 and 1700 the collocation with the word *chafing* becomes noticeable. A *chafing dish of coals* as can be seen in the example from 1664 referred to a particular kind of vessel on tripods that was used to heat and cook food since medieval times. It seems that such use of *dish* is tied to the historical facts concerning the contemporary cooking practice.

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[29] "dish, n." *OED Online.*
[30] "dish, n." *OED Online.*

(35)   "King Oswald glad of an occasion to exercise his Charity, stretched forth his hand and took up a silver **dish** full of meat, which he commanded the servant to distribute among those poore..." (1668, EEBO)

Collocation lists were also made for 1R to 3R position. It appears that frequent constructions in which *dish* is used are *a dish of* or *a dish full of*, which still leads to the notion of dish as a kind of container. What usually follows is a word for particular kind of food or drink, for instance *meat*,[31] *water*, *sippets*, *asparagus*, *sugar*, *apples*, *cream*, *gravy* or *fricassee*. Example (35) from 1668 demonstrates such EModE use of *dish* denoting a vessel, whose content and the material of which it was made are explicitly stated. The graph of the development of the relative frequency of the construction *dish full of* in the EEBO confirms its relatively stable use in the later sub-periods. The original meaning of a vessel thus obviously did not tend to fall in disuse.

Figure 8: Development of the relative frequency of the construction *dish full of* in the EEBO.
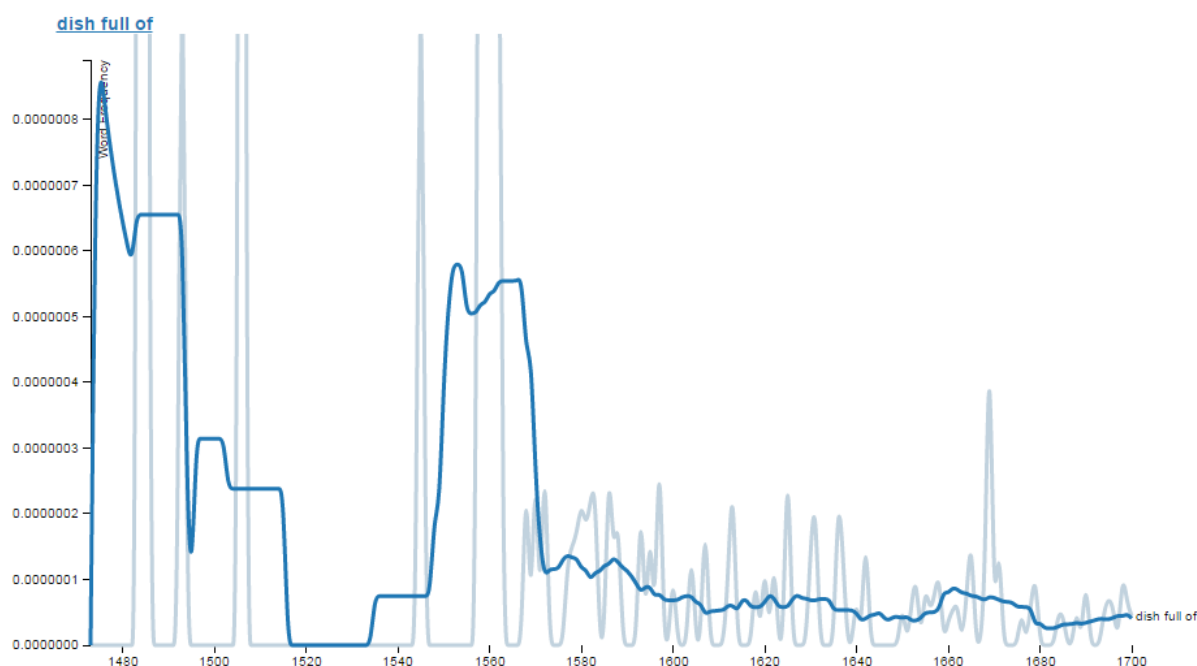
(36)   "...if Christians would meet like Christians, for society, and not for meat, and be content with one **dish** or two, it were much better..." (1650, EEBO)

Finally, several examples can be found in the EEBO that suggest that in EModE *dish* could be used not only as a word for a vessel or its content, but also as a word denoting the amount of something that the vessel could contain. In example (36) from 1650 the physical

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[31] It is important to note that the most frequent contemporary meaning of *meat* 'flesh' started to occur also in the EModE period, which means that *meat* co-occurring with *dish* in the examples from EEBO is quite likely to still have its older original meaning referring to 'food, nourishment or meal.'

substance of a vessel seems relatively unimportant. The content of the vessel is left unspecified, *meat* being a general term for 'food.' On the other hand, numerals evoke the notion of quantity. The element of measure thus becomes prominent in such uses.

4.5 *Vulgar*

The word *vulgar* occurred in English in the 15th century. It comes from Latin *vulgaris* derived from *vulgus*, which means 'common people' or 'crowd.' Its original meaning in English is thus 'popular,' 'common' or 'ordinary.' It described especially common people, their actions and language. As thought and behaviour of the common people were probably generally associated with simplicity and ignorance, even the word *vulgar* gradually acquired negative connotation, i.e. it underwent the process of pejoration.[32] In the 16th century it started to mean "belonging to the ordinary or common class in the community; not distinguished or marked off from this in any way; plebeian"[33] which may already seem slightly negative. In the 17th century the obviously pejorative meaning of "having a common and offensively mean character; coarsely commonplace; lacking in refinement or good taste; uncultured, ill-bred"[34] developed.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the meaning of *vulgar* in EModE, it is necessary to note that although variability of spelling of the word *vulgar* was not as high as, for instance, of the word *humour*, the research concerning the use of *vulgar* and search for collocations has problems of its own. Since Latin was one of the major sources of loanwords in EModE and was widely used as a language of science, it is not uncommon that *vulgar* occurs in the corpora as a part of Latin terms or quotations (such as the plant *Rofmarinum vulgare* mentioned in a book of travels including a catalogue of plants) and hence should not be counted to the analysis.

Another problem concerns the possible multiple interpretations of the word since change of connotation will be discussed here. Even though the negative connotation of *vulgar* started to occur relatively early in the EModE period, neutral uses can be found throughout the era. However, whether the meaning of *vulgar* is in the individual instances really neutral is a matter of interpretation to a great extent. It often depends on what associations language users have when they speak or hear about the common people or their language.

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[32] Analogical semantic development can be observed earlier in the OE word *ceorl*, which was originally used as a neutral word denoting 'human being, man,' later 'man without rank,' and eventually, it acquired negative connotation and started to serve as a term of contempt pointing out low breed, baseness and villainy.

[33] "vulgar, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 24 April 2016.

[34] "vulgar, adj." *OED Online*.

(37)   "The same manere maist thou worche to knowe the quantite of the **vulgar** nyght." (1350-1420, PPCME2)

Two examples of the use of *vulgar* can be found already in the Middle English corpus. Both examples come from a handbook of astronomy and represent the word in the meaning defined by the OED as "employed in common or ordinary reckoning of time, distance, etc."[35] In this meaning *vulgar* can be found also in the EEBO, usually in connection with words denoting a stretch of time such as *night* (as in example 37), *day* or *era*. However, the frequency of these co-occurrences is relatively low.[36] In such a context *vulgar* apparently functions as a word without negative connotation.

(38)   "wee bestow the blessing of Cardinall CARAFFA: who, when the people flocked to him in great multitudes to be blest by him, (...), lifting vp his eyes deuoutly to heauen, and making according to the manner, crosses in stead of the accustomed forme of Episcopall benediction, blessed the honest **vulgar** French - men in these words..." (1624, EEBO)

In the example from 1624 *vulgar* modifying Frenchmen is accompanied by a positive adjective *honest*, so that it seems improbable that it is meant as a pejorative. *Honest*, according to the OED meant "respectable" or "trustworthy, sincere."[37] The meaning of *vulgar* in this context thus may be close to 'not distinguished from other people,' but possibly still possessing good qualities. The text from which this extract was taken discusses religious matters – it justifies the protestant conference and refutes popish difference.[38] *Vulgar* describing people in texts on religion can be interpreted as 'common' when compared to people of higher status, but also as an opposite to *divine* when people are compared to the supernatural.

(39)   "Howe many sortes of Louers be there? Two sortes: the one after Plato celestiall, and the other **vulgare** and terrestiall. (1566, EEBO)

The previous point can be illustrated also by example (39) from 1566. *Vulgar* love is distinguished from *celestial* love. *Vulgar* in such contexts can be possibly interpreted as a neutral word simply describing a particular sort of relationship without evaluative elements, or it can be understood negatively, when the focus is set on the negative qualities the author probably intended to highlight. In this particular example a reference to Plato is made. Plato's

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[35] "vulgar, adj." *OED Online.*
[36] The number of examples of *vulgar night*, *vulgar day* and *vulgar era* in the EEBO was checked through *EEBO-TCP Key Words in Context.* It does not surpass 20 instances in total.
[37] "honest, adj. and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2016. Web. 25 April 2016.
[38] This information was obtained through metadata in the EEBO.

theory of love is well known. Vulgar love is characterised as earthly, lower and being based on material attraction, while divine love based on spiritual or intellectual attraction is the one that should be sought. Mentioning Plato may thus imply that the author of the extract used the word *vulgar* with a negative connotation.

Another context in which *vulgar* may be interpreted as neutral is the one dealing with language. As collocation lists in the EEBO show this context is probably the most frequent one. The collocation list for the period 1420-1570 points to a frequent co-occurrence of *vulgar* and *tongue*, *English* or *speech*. Between 1570 and 1640 *vulgar* tended to co-occur with *translation*, *tongue*, *Latin, language* or *edition*. In the last sub-period 1640-1710 previously mentioned words remained and words like *error* or *capacity* were added.

(40)   "The Learned Men of each Countrey differed from each other in the Sound of Vowels and Letters too, as those of Galilee, in Christ's time: And we see, where a Language is **vulgar**, the Pronunciation and Sound used in one Age and County, differs from that of another, as here in England." (1692, EEBO)

Example (40) from 1692 demonstrates how *vulgar* can be employed to describe *language*. *Vulgar* is obviously used as an equivalent to *non-standard* or *vernacular* here. The author seems to describe quite objectively in which areas one may expect differences in languages of different counties. The connotation of *vulgar* in such use is thus not necessarily negative.

(41)   "And here I cannot chuse but take notice by the way of a **vulgar** speech frequently used by the common people of our times, whose manners shew them to be better fed then taught by far..." (1651, EEBO)

On the other hand, *vulgar* used in relation to language or speech is sometimes clearly negative as can be observed in example (41) from 1651. The context directs the reader to interpret *vulgar* as a pejorative. Claiming that the people are "better fed then taught by far," the author makes his negative opinion of these people explicitly stated. Though *vulgar* modifies the speech these people use and not the people themselves, a negative association was established.

(42)   "Certes there is nothinge more ignorant and vnwise, than the **vulgare** people, whiche without any difference or wisedome iudgeth and onelye pondreth the chaunce of the thynge..." (1557, EEBO)

The reason why common people are often spoken about with contempt in the text, which, besides other things, leads to pejoration of the expression *vulgar people*, is apparently

a quick association with the negative qualities assumed to be characteristic of these people. There are examples in the corpora that suggest which qualities associated with vulgar people prevail. A typical observed feature is a contrast between lack of wisdom or knowledge and consequent quick creation of a judgement or an opinion without any foundation. This is demonstrated by example (42) from 1557.

> (43)   "...thou must not set hand to thy sword in my defence, if thou doest not see that those which assault me be base and vile **vulgar** people; for in such a case thou mayst assist me." (1652, EEBO)

Finally, example (43) from 1652 points to a possible way of how the negative connotation of *vulgar* was established. In discussion of *humour* in 4.2 of this paper it was suggested that its frequent occurrence in phrases like *in good humour* may have caused its gradual melioration, i.e. it acquired a positive connotation because it frequently occurred in a context arousing positive associations. Similarly, frequent co-occurrence of *vulgar* with other adjectives (and not only adjectives) which bear negative connotation like *base* and *evil* in (43) may have negatively influenced its connotation.

5. Conclusion

The object of this thesis is to summarise the previous research on lexical-semantic change and analyse the processes of this change in five randomly chosen words from the secondary literature – *starve*, *humour*, *gentle*, *dish* and *vulgar* – in the Early Modern English period. The aim was to classify these changes into the traditional categories of semantic change and to describe circumstances and factors influencing the individual instances of change. *OED* offers a number of definitions of meanings of the analysed words, from original to the present-day ones. These helped to direct the search for the examples and the analysis of the meaning of the words in the analysed texts.

Examples for the analysis were extracted from diachronic corpora of Early Modern English. Around 100 examples were identified for the purpose of research of each word, out of which 20-40 were chosen for a deeper analysis. These chosen examples can be found in the appendix. The most representative examples were quoted and commented on in the body of this paper. Representative examples are such examples, in which the meaning of the analysed word is transparent due to its context. When analysing the individual examples, the focus was thus set on the context of the analysed words and changes of collocations.

The criterion of semantic change is mutual understanding among the speakers and spread of the word in a new sense across the language community. For this reason it is important not only to examine the context of a particular word in the individual examples, but also to observe the frequency of the occurrences of the word in a particular meaning, so that it becomes obvious that we are not dealing with a mere fluctuation of meaning or a product of an idiolect of the speaker. Therefore, collocations should be also noticed, since they often indicate that the word is used in the particular meaning and direct the interpretation on the part of the receiver. Besides, collocations are measurable. It is possible to trace and illustrate increases or decreases in co-occurrences of individual words and consequently get an idea about the spread or the disuse of a word in a particular meaning.

Collocation lists according to the logDice ratio were created at the beginning of the research of the development of each word. It enabled us to get an idea about the semantic field to which the word belongs and observe which associations related to the word were probably most widespread in the individual sub-periods. For example, it was therefore possible to find out that the verb *starve* was richly associated with hunger already at the

beginning of the EModE period, while words relating to other means of suffering never dominate the collocation lists. This may suggest the future development of the word.

Sorting the examples according to the left and right context also proved useful. Examples of coordination of two words belonging to the same word class are particularly interesting. Juxtapositions of synonyms were found that can indicate the meaning of the analysed word. Words can be sometimes coordinated for the purpose of intensification, sometimes the coordinated expressions may be interpreted as instances of gradual modification. For example, we can encounter the expression *starve and die*, which suggests a logical order of events in a certain chronological sequence, but also the expression *die and starve* that leads us to interpret dying as a part of the meaning of *starve,* but to presume a certain semantic nuance or larger specificity in comparison to a more general *die*.

The way collocations are studied also depends on which word class the word belongs to or what type of semantic change is expected. When it is the case of melioration or pejoration, i.e. acquisition of positive or negative connotation, it turned out effective to focus, in the case of adjectives, on nouns that are modified by them, in the case of nouns on adjectives in attributive use that modify these nouns etc. As a result, it was possible to detect increase in the frequency of usage of expressions like *good humour* and consequently presume that it was this increasing frequency of the co-occurrence of *humour* with a positive modifying adjective that played an important role in the process of melioration of this word.

The first of the analysed words, the verb *starve*, was chosen as an example of semantic narrowing. The originally more general meaning 'to die' was specified to 'die of hunger or want' in the course of the EModE period. The focus thus shifted from the act of dying to the suffering preceding death, so that 'death' ceased to be an inherent part of the meaning of the word. The focus on the element of suffering is manifested, for instance, in collocations explicitly expressing the manner or cause of death such as *starve with hunger*. The increase in the use of the collocation *starve to death* possibly suggests that the relation with death was more and more often expressed by means of a separate word, whether in literal sense or for the purpose of intensification, for the verb *starve* alone was no longer sufficient to express the element of dying.

The noun *humour* first occurred in the context of ancient and medieval medicine. In the course of the EModE period it developed several more abstract meanings originally based on the association between proportional distribution of the bodily fluids and consequent

manifestations in the human behaviour, whether of long-term or momentary nature. *Humour* could thus denote mood or temperament. Thanks to collocations like *in good humour* it is observable already in the examples originating in the EModE period, which direction the semantic development would take after 1700 and later until it acquired its mainly positive PDE meaning.

The adjective *gentle* underwent metaphorical transfer from the semantic sphere of origin or social rank to the sphere of character and morality. The change happened most likely on the basis of the spreading association of noble birth with sophisticated behaviour. The semantic element of non-violence and softness became prominent, which led to the use of the word even in different semantic fields associated with this element. It can be demonstrated by the increasing frequency of the collocation *gentle breeze*, in which this adjective is used in the context of weather, or by its occurrence in expressions like *gentle to the touch*, which may serve as the evidence for the use of the word in the material sphere.

The noun *dish* underwent a change of meaning that can be characterised as metonymy. Its meaning of 'a vessel' was supplemented by 'the content of a vessel.' In expressions like *dainty dish* or *a dish full of* it is easy to distinguish between the use of the word in its old and new meaning. At the same time, coexistence of such expressions points to the fact that both meanings were common in the Early Modern English period. The co-occurrence of *dish* and numerals indicates its semantic development into the area of measuring quantity.

The last of the analysed words, the adjective *vulgar*, underwent the process of pejoration. Its meaning of 'common,' 'ordinary' or 'popular' started to be associated with ignorance, prejudices and ill-breeding, for these were probably the associations arisen when talking about common people. Nouns that are modified by the adjective vulgar most frequently such as *people*, *language*, *speech* or *translation* usually do not bear negative connotation themselves. Larger context is thus necessary for the interpretation of the word. It has been shown that vulgar with negative connotation is often accompanied by other adjectives with negative connotation like base or evil or by a more complex negative characteristic. Frequent occurrence of the word in a negative context has thus undoubtedly a far-reaching effect on its semantic development.

It has been proved that the development of new meanings does not necessarily lead to the extinction of old meanings. Coexistence of several meanings of a word seems to be more frequent, the usage of the word in a particular meaning depending on the situation of the

utterance. Nowadays, the verb *starve* probably would not be used in its original meaning 'to die.' Similarly, the adjective *vulgar* would be scarcely used in neutral connotation today. On the contrary, the original meaning of the noun *humour* did not completely disappear, even though its usage was restricted to the field of physiology, from which the new meanings originally emerged. The adjective *gentle* retained its original meaning in the compound *gentleman*. The word *dish* developed the new meaning of 'food,' but the original meaning of 'vessel' is stated as most frequent even today.[39]

It has also been shown that regularities in semantic change proposed by E.C. Traugott can be observed in the semantic development of the analysed words. Traugott exemplifies mainly the instances of semantic change that are related to grammaticalisation. Although lexical words were chosen as objects of research for this thesis, even these words show tendencies, for example, to subjectification, i.e. to externalisation of subjective attitudes of speakers, especially in the case of the words that underwent melioration and pejoration in which the subjective associations of a speaker are probably most evidently projected. *Gentle* underwent metaphorical transfer, which may also be said to be based on the subjective perception of representatives of higher social classes as representatives of impeccable manners. Similarly the change of meaning from 'vessel' to its 'content' undergone by the word *dish* may be seen as a product of subjective associations on the part of speakers.

The hypothesis of regularity in semantic change seems to be confirmed also by the fact that synonymous words often undergo similar semantic development. During the research of this thesis instances of analogical development of meaning were noticed, namely in the case of *gentle – noble – courteous*, where the element of noble birth started to be associated with positive qualities in the field of human behaviour and character, or in the case of the adjective *vulgar* and the noun *churl*, which both underwent pejoration on the basis of speakers' subjective association of the element of commonness with the element of primitiveness and baseness.

In conclusion, during the research several problems emerged. These consisted either in the shortcomings of the corpora (such as size, uneven distribution of metadata etc.), or in the formal variability of words in the Early Modern English period. Yet this thesis is hopefully a

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[39] For example in *OALD. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*
<http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/dish_1> 3 May 2016.

contribution not only in terms of the presented results, but also in terms of methodology and approach to studying semantic meaning of words.

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7. Resumé

Předmětem této práce je shrnutí základních poznatků o lexikálně-sémantických změnách a následná analýza procesů těchto změn u pěti náhodně vybraných slov ze sekundární literatury – *starve*, *humour*, *gentle*, *dish* a *vulgar* – v raně novoanglickém období. Cílem bylo pokusit se zařadit jednotlivé případy do tradičně uváděných kategorií sémantické změny a zároveň specificky popsat, za jakých okolností a za působení jakých faktorů se dané změny uskutečnily. Jako materiál potřebný pro analýzu posloužily příklady z diachronních korpusů, ve kterých byl pozorován zejména kontext daných slov, měnící se kolokace, popřípadě souvislost s typem textu.

První část práce shrnuje dosavadní poznatky o sémantické změně, přičemž vychází zejména z díla G. Sterna, R.A. Waldrona, A. Campbella a E.C. Traugottové. Zabývá se sémantickou změnou v obecné rovině, možnými přístupy k této změně a významem slova jako takovým. Ten se ukazuje jako obtížně definovatelný a zároveň v praxi poměrně nestabilní. Dále pojednává o přirozených tendencích jazyka, jako je tendence k ekonomičnosti nebo naopak ke vzniku polysémií a o interních i externích faktorech majících vliv na sémantický vývoj slov. Rovněž předkládá a charakterizuje tradičně vymezované kategorie sémantické změny, tedy generalizaci a specializaci, metaforu a metonymii, melioraci a pejoraci, a zmiňuje další kategorie nebo systémy klasifikace, na kterých se historičtí lingvisté zcela neshodují. Stručně představuje Traugottové teorii o pravidelnostech v sémantické změně.

Teoretická část práce se také věnuje shrnutí základních informací o raně novoanglickém období, které bylo zvoleno pro zkoumání z důvodu lepší dostupnosti historických dokumentů a menší variabilitě slovních forem v porovnání se staršími obdobími. Sémantická změna v angličtině se samozřejmě na toto období neomezuje. Existují slova, která prošla sérií sémantických změn započatých ve staré angličtině a skončených v angličtině moderní. Je třeba podotknout, že ani změny významu slov analyzovaných v této práci zřejmě nemohou být lokalizované do rané moderní angličtiny zcela jednoznačně a výlučně.

Praktická část této práce spočívá v analýze příkladů extrahovaných z diachronních korpusů raně moderní angličtiny. *OED* nabízí řadu definic významů zkoumaných slov, od počátečního po současný. Úkolem této studie je však pozorovat vývoj významu slov v daném období v praxi. V rámci zkoumání použití každého z vybraných slov bylo identifikováno okolo 100 příkladů, z nichž přibližně 20 až 30 bylo vybráno k hlubší analýze. Tyto vybrané

příklady jsou uvedeny v příloze. Nejreprezentativnější příklady daných slov byly použity v textu práce a okomentovány. Za reprezentativní jsou považovány takové příklady, ve kterých je význam zkoumaného slova díky kontextu transparentní.

Kritériem sémantické změny je vzájemné porozumění mezi mluvčími a rozšíření použití slova v novém významu napříč jazykovou komunitou. Z toho důvodu je na místě sledovat nejen kontext slova v několika jednotlivých případech, nýbrž také mapovat frekvenci, s jakou se slovo v daném významu vyskytuje, aby bylo zřejmé, že se ve zkoumaných příkladech nejedná o pouhé kolísání významu nebo o produkt idiolektu konkrétního mluvčího. Tomu napomáhá také zkoumání kolokací, neboť kolokace velmi často poukazují na to, že je slovo užito v jistém významu a usměrňují interpretaci čtenáře či posluchače. Zároveň jsou kolokace něčím měřitelným. Je možné vystopovat a znázornit nárůst či pokles souvýskytu jednotlivých slov a tím si utvořit představu o šíření nebo naopak úpadek používání slova v určitém významu.

Na začátku zkoumání každého slova byly pro jednotlivá podobdobí vytvářeny kolokační seznamy podle frekvenční míry logDice. To umožnilo vytvořit si představu o sémantické oblasti, v jaké se dané slovo nachází, a sledovat, jaké asociace se s daným slovem pravděpodobně nejvíce pojily v jednotlivých časových úsecích. Díky tomu bylo například možné zjistit, že sloveso *starve* bylo hojně spojováno s hladověním již na počátku raně novoanglického období, zatímco slova spojená s ostatními druhy strádání v kolokačních listech tak významně nefigurují. To samo o sobě nastiňuje budoucí vývoj významu tohoto slova.

Přínosným se ukázalo také využití funkce třídění příkladů podle levého a pravého kontextu. Zajímavé jsou příklady koordinace dvou slov stejného slovního druhu. Nalezeny byly juxtapozice synonym, které mohou často napovědět význam zkoumaného slova. Slova mohou být takto koordinována za účelem intenzifikace významu. Jindy mohou být koordinovaná spojení slov interpretována jako postupné rozvíjení. Setkáme se pak například se spojením slov *starve and die*, které naznačuje logickou posloupnost událostí v jistém chronologickém sledu, ale i se spojením *die and starve*, které vybízí k tomu spatřovat prvek umírání jako nedílnou součást významu slovesa *starve* a zároveň však předpokládat jistou významovou odlišnost nebo větší specifičnost v porovnání s obecnějším *die*.

To, jakým způsobem jsou kolokace zkoumány, závisí mimo jiné i na tom, o jaký slovní druh se v daném případě jedná, nebo jaký typ sémantické změny je očekáván. Pokud se

jedná o melioraci nebo pejoraci, tedy nabytí pozitivní nebo negativní konotace, osvědčilo se zaměřit se např. v případě adjektiv na substantiva, která jsou jimi modifikována, v případě substantiv naopak na adjektiva v atributivním užití, která tato substantiva modifikují apod. Tak bylo možné například zjistit nárůst ve frekvenci užití spojení *good humour* a následně usuzovat, že právě tato rostoucí četnost souvýskytu slova *humour* s pozitivním rozvíjejícím adjektivem sehrála v procesu meliorace tohoto slova zásadní roli.

První ze zkoumaných slov, sloveso *starve*, bylo vybráno jako ukázka sémantického zužování významu. Původně obecnější význam ‚zemřít' byl v průběhu raně novoanglického období specifikován na ‚zemřít hladem, popř. jiným nedostatkem.' Důraz se tedy postupně přesouval z aktu smrti na utrpení smrti předcházející, takže mnohdy samotná smrt již ani nebyla inherentní součástí významu. Zaměření se na element utrpení se projevovalo například existencí kolokací explicitně vyjadřujících způsob či příčinu utrpení, jako např. *starve with hunger*. Nárůst četnosti kolokace *starve to death* naznačuje, že spojení s umírání muselo být stále častěji vyjadřováno explicitně, ať už v doslovném smyslu nebo pro účely intenzifikace, neboť samotné sloveso *starve* již pro vyjádření smrti nebylo dostačující.

Podstatné jméno *humour* se nejdříve objevovalo v kontextu starověké a středověké medicíny. V průběhu raně novoanglického období rozvinulo řadu abstraktnějších významů původně se zakládajících na spojitosti mezi proporčním rozložením tělních tekutin a následnými projevy v lidském chování, ať už dlouhodobějšího, nebo krátkodobějšího rázu. *Humour* tak mohlo označovat náladu nebo temperament. Zároveň již v raně novoanglickém období začalo být zejména díky kolokacím jako *in good humour* patrné, jakým směrem se ubírala změna významu po roce 1700, dokud slovo nezískalo dnešní pozitivní význam.

Adjektivum *gentle* je příkladem metaforického posunu ze sémantické oblasti původu či společenského postavení do oblasti morálky a charakteru, neboť zřejmě došlo k rozšíření asociace urozeného původu s kultivovaným chováním. Do popředí tak začal vystupovat významový prvek nenásilnosti a jemnosti, což postupně vedlo k aplikaci adjektiva i v jiných oblastech spojovaných s tímto významovým prvkem. To dokládá například rostoucí frekvence kolokace *gentle breeze*, kde je toto adjektivum užito v kontextu počasí, nebo výskyt spojení jako *gentle to the touch*, dokládající užívání slova v oblasti smyslové či materiální.

Sémantické změny u substantiva *dish* jsou příkladem metonymie, kdy došlo k transferu z významu ‚nádoba' na ‚obsah nádoby.' Spojení slov jako *dainty dish* nebo *dish full of* umožňují jednoznačně odlišit použití slova ve významu novém a významu původním,

zároveň to poukazuje na fakt, že oba významy byly v raně novoanglickém období četné. Souvýskyt s číslovkami pak indikuje vývoj významu také směrem k oblasti kvantity a měření množství.

Poslední z analyzovaných slov, adjektivum *vulgar*, prošlo procesem pejorace. Jeho význam ‚běžný,‘ ‚obyčejný‘ nebo ‚lidový‘ začal být asociován s nevědomostí, předsudky či špatným vychováním, neboť právě takové byly nejspíše asociace spojené s obyčejným lidem. Substantiva, která jsou adjektivem *vulgar* modifikována nejčastěji, jako *people*, *language*, *speech* nebo *translation*, většinou sama negativní konotaci nenesou. Pro interpretaci tohoto slova byl tak většinou nezbytný širší kontext. Ukázalo se, že v hanlivém užití je slovo *vulgar* velmi často doprovázeno jinými negativními adjektivy jako *base* či *evil*, nebo rozsáhlejší negativní charakteristikou. Častý výskyt tohoto slova v negativním kontextu měl tak nesporně vliv na jeho sémantický vývoj.

Potvrdilo se, že vývoj nového významu nutně neznamená zánik významu původního. Častějším jevem se zdá být koexistence několika významů jednoho slova, s tím, že použití slova v určitém významu se pak odvíjí od situace promluvy. Sloveso *starve* se dnes sotva použije ve svém původním významu ‚zemřít.‘ Podobně slovo *vulgar* se dnes zřídka použije v neutrální konotaci. Na druhou stranu, původní význam substantiva *humour*, který odkazoval k tělním tekutinám, s nástupem nových abstraktnějších významů zcela nezanikl, i když jeho použití bylo omezeno na oblast fyziologie, odkud se nové významy tohoto slova původně rozvinuly. Adjektivum *gentle* zachovalo svůj původní význam v kompozitu *gentleman*. Slovo *dish* sice rozvinulo nový význam ‚jídla,‘ ale původní význam ‚nádoba‘ je dokonce dodnes mnohdy uváděn jako nejčastější.[40]

Dále se ukázalo, že v konfrontaci s Traugottové teorií o pravidelnostech v sémantické změně jsou jisté tendence skutečně pozorovatelné. Traugottová uvádí především případy sémantické změny spojené s gramatikalizací. Ačkoli byla v této práci pro zkoumání vybrána slova lexikální, i u nich můžeme spatřit například tendence k subjektifikaci významu, tj. k externalizaci subjektivních postojů mluvčího, a to zejména u meliorace a pejorace, kde jsou subjektivní asociace mluvčího asi nejpatrněji promítnuty. I u *gentle*, kde došlo k metaforickému transferu, je možné tvrdit, že podstatou tohoto transferu bylo subjektivní vnímání představitelů vyšších vrstev jako představitele dobrých mravů. Také u slova *dish* je

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[40] Například v *OALD. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*
<http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/dish_1> 3 May 2016.

možné chápat záměnu nádoby za její obsah jako produkt subjektivních asociací na straně mluvčích.

Hypotézu o tom, že v sémantické změně je možné pozorovat jisté pravidelnosti, potvrzuje i fakt, že synonymní slova často prochází podobným sémantickým vývojem. I v rámci zkoumání významu slov v této práci byly zaznamenány případy analogického vývoje významu, a to v případě synonym *gentle – noble – courteous*, kdy se prvek urozenosti začal pojit s pozitivními vlastnostmi i na poli lidského chování a charakteru, nebo v případě adjektiva *vulgar* a substantiva *churl*, kdy u obou došlo k pejoraci na základě subjektivního spojování prvku prosté obyčejnosti s prvkem jisté primitivnosti a nízkosti.

Závěrem lze dodat, že během zkoumání vývoje významu jednotlivých slov bylo nutné čelit několika problémům, které spočívaly jednak v nedostatcích korpusů (jako velikost, propracovanost v oblasti metadat apod.), jednak ve formální variabilitě slov v rané moderní angličtině. Přesto je snad tato práce přínosná nejen z hlediska prezentovaných výsledků analýzy, ale také z hlediska metodiky a přístupu ke zkoumání sémantického významu slov.

8. Appendix

Table 1: Used CQL queries

Word	CQL
Starve	[word="[sʃ]t[aæeou][ao]?r[uwvf].*"]
Humour	[word="[hy]?[uo][o]?[uwvm]?m[oue][u]?r[e]?"]
Gentle	[word="[gjyi][eay]nt[yi]?l[l]?[e]?"]
Dish	[word="d[yi]s[szc]?[sc]?h[e]?"]
Vulgar	[word="[wv][uo]?[u]?lg[aue]?[ai]?r[e]?"]

Table 2: Examples commented on in the paper

No.	Source	Year	Example
1	PPCME2	1350-1420	ther is ful many a child unborn of his mooder that shal **sterve** yong by cause of thilke were
2	PCEEC	1612	yt is to be feared that that action will fall to the ground of yt self, by the extreem beastly ydlenes of our nation, which notwithstanding any cost or diligence used to support them will rather die and **starve** then be brought to any labor or industrie to maintain themselves
3	EEBO	1677	you were threatned by him to be thrown into Prison, where you must lie and ot and **starve** and die, without hopes of relief or release, except you could make payment of the debt
4	EEBO	1672	Indeed those Nurses (Ministers I mean) deserve the greatest condemnation, who let their Children, though they cry, starve to death, because they will not take the pains to draw out their breasts to them.
5	EEBO	1673	so were they more superstitious than the Jews about things clean and unclean; and he knew these would **starve**, die any manner of death, or yield up the City, rather than drink of that polluted drink
6	EEBO	1688	they might be enabled to eat and not **starve** with hunger
7	EEBO	1677	Men do love their Necessary Raiment and Habitations, without which in Winter Seasons their Bodies would **starve** with Cold.
8	EEBO	1700	she was in such Desolation, and so fully resolved to **starve** her self, that neither Relations nor Friends could persuade her from it. The Magistrates themselves us'd also their endeavours to no purpose, and so gave her over. And now so illustrious a Woman lamented by all, as one that's dead and gone, had been five Days without tasting any Food.
9	EEBO	1700	the sight at first pleased Him very well, but having called for some meat, his wittie wife, caused present another course of Golden Viands; what, sid the hungrie Husband, do you mind to **starve** me with a Necromaners feast?
10	EEBO	1689	Till then, to **starve** souls is to be guilty of their damnation.
11	PPCEME	1548	Also the temples haue dentes or holes inwardely, wherin he taketh the **humour** that commeth from the brayne, and bringeth the eyes asleep
12	EEBO	1635	all the **humours** of our body, which hold ouer - much moisture,

			make a man blockish and foolish, for which cause he sayd, The readinesse of mind and wisedome growes from the **humour** of choler: the **humour** of melancholy is author of firmnesse and constancie; blood, of simplicitie and dulnesse; the flegmaticke complexion auaileth nothing to the polishing of mannes. In so much that blood with his moistures, and the flegme, cause an impairing of the reasonable facultie.
13	CED	1600	the house beinge so full of noyse that one could not heare an other speake: some cryed one thinge and some another, as everie p'ticular **humour** ledd them
14	EEBO	1681	Well then, Davids perswasion of the Truth and Unchangeableness of the Word, was not a sudden **humour**, or a present fit, or a perswasion of a few days standing; but he was confirmed in it by long Experience.
15	CED	1702-1703	I pray your Lordship to grant me this favour. My Lord will you please to grant it? L.C.J. Must I grant it only for your **humour**? Swen. 'Tis not a **humour**, my Lord, but of a great consequence to me, will your Lordship grant me it?
16	EEBO	1661	More especially he ought to acquaint himself with the Histories of his own Nation, that he may not be a stranger at home, but may know the particular temper and **humour** of his own People
17	PCEEC	1659	Deerest Kytt, I can not cannot possibly describe to you the **humour** I am in at the writing of this letter.
18	EEBO	1684	All this ſtudy goeth on very cooly, becauſe moſt Indians are of a ſlow and lazy **humour**, to which the heat and diet of the Country contributes much
19	EEBO	1686	the Emperour's two Uncles, who bore the Title of Associates in the Empire, said upon their return to Pekin, that when the Emperour was out of **humour**, or appeared melancholick, he resumed his usual cheerfulness so soon as he saw me.
20	EEBO	1700	He was pleased with somewhat, for I found him in a good **Humour**!
21	EEBO	1691	THOMAS WYATT the delight of the Muſes and of Mankind, Son of Henr. Wyatt of Allington Caſtle in Kent Knight and Banneret, by Anne his Wife Daughter of Joh. Skinner of Surrey, was born of an ancient and **gentile** Family in the ſaid County of Kent
22	PPCME2	1420-1500	Myn Eme is a **gentil** and a trewe man he may suffre no falshede / he doth nothyng but by his prestes counseyl And I saye yow syth that my lorde the kynge hath do proclamed his pees he neuer thoughte to hurte ony man
23	PPCEME	1556	although one man hath aboundaunce and plentye of monye, yet he lackyth another thyng that is to saye, he is ashamed of his ignobilytie, that he is no **gentylman** borne. And another man is well knowen for a **gentyll** man, but yet he is so nedye; poore that he had leuer be vnknowen of his **gentyles** bloude. Another hathe both aboundaunce of goodes, and is noble, and yet he bewaylethe hys chaste lyfe, that he may not marye a wyfe.
24	EEBO	1480	There is grete plente of ſamon / of lamprayes / of Eelis and of othir ſee fiſſh / Of egles of cranes / of pecokes / of curlewes / of ſperhaukes / of goſhaukes and of **gentill** fawcons / Of wolues and

			right ſhrewd myſe
25	EEBO	1570	Here (**gentle** reader) thou seest howe they then entangled themselues with the worlde
26	EEBO	1623	And now I haue the Boy, I will vndoe This hatefull imperfection of her eyes. And **gentle** Pucke, take this transformed ſcalpe, From off the head of this Athenian ſwaine;
27	EEBO	1623	how dearly she loued him, how much she made of him, indearing the sweetnesse of her disposition, her **gentle** behauiour, and the gracefulnesse of her person
28	EEBO	1698	We might have leapt off from the Poop aſhore, and judg'd the Danger to be unavoidable, when a **gentle** Breeze happily blew freſh from the North, and ſet us at Liberty; whereas if any other Wind had aroſe, we had certainly periſh'd.
29	CED	1675	Come, come, Man; what avoid the sweet society of Woman - kind? that sweet, soft, **gentle**, tame, noble Creature Woman, made for Man's Companion.
30	EEBO	1671	This ſort of Habit is called Tunica; it is made of a ſoft and **gentle** cloth, and he that ſhould wear it with a Hood, and ſhould not leave off his Cloak, would be cenſured guilty of a mortal ſin.
31	EEBO	1692	Our Senses are Sharp - set upon All Fleshly Pleasures, and if they be but Fair to the Eye, Rellishing to the Palate, Harmonious to the Ear, **Gentle** to the Touch, and Fragrant to the Smell, 'tis all we Look for, and all we Care for.
32	PPCME2	1350-1420	After take also a drope of bawme; put it into a **dissch** or in a cuppe with mylk of a goot
33	EEBO	1577	The little Pullets, or Hennes, though the old age, both for theyr vnfruitfulnesse, and other causes disalowed them, yet in many places they proue to be good, and lay many Egges In England at this day, they are vsed as a daynty **dishe** at mens tables.
34	EEBO	1664	MInce your mea fine, mix it vvith grated bread, currans, dates, nutmegg and sugar, vvith a little rose - vvater, a little salt, and two or three eggs, warm them together over a chafing **dish** of coals, and stir them all the while
35	EEBO	1668	King Oswald glad of an occasion to exercise his Charity, stretched forth his hand and took up a silver **dish** full of meat, which he commanded the servant to distribute among those poore
36	EEBO	1650	if Christians would meet like Christians, for society, and not for meat, and be content with one **dish** or two, it were much better
37	PPCME2	1350-1420	The same manere maist thou worche to knowe the quantite of the **vulgar** nyght.
38	EEBO	1624	wee bestow the blessing of Cardinall CARAFFA: who, when the people flocked to him in great multitudes to be blest by him, (...), lifting vp his eyes deuoutly to heauen, and making according to the manner, crosses in stead of the accustomed forme of Episcopall benediction, blessed the honest **vulgar** French - men in these words
39	EEBO	1566	Howe many sortes of Louers be there? Two sortes: the one after Plato celestiall, and the other **vulgare** and terrestiall.
40	EEBO	1692	The Learned Men of each Countrey differed from each other in the Sound of Vowels and Letters too, as those of Galilee, in Christ's time: And we see, where a Language is **vulgar**, the Pronunciation

No.	Source	Year	Example
			and Sound used in one Age and County, differs from that of another, as here in England.
41	EEBO	1651	And here I cannot chuse but take notice by the way of a **vulgar** speech frequently used by the common people of our times, whose manners shew them to be better fed then taught by far
42	EEBO	1557	Certes there is nothinge more ignorant and vnwise, than the **vulgare** people, whiche without any difference or wisedome iudgeth and onelye pondreth the chaunce of the thynge
43	EEBO	1652	thou must not set hand to thy sword in my defence, if thou doest not see that those which assault me be base and vile **vulgar** people; for in such a case thou mayst assist me.

Table 3: Other examples

No.	Source	Year	Example
44	EEBO	1619	O good Iohn it is I, quoth the widow, the night is so extreame colde, and my Chamber walles so thin, that I am like to be **starued** in my bed
45	EEBO	1619	woman lacks most of her teeth, quoth the Tanner, and therefore a peece of tender Chicke is fittest for her. If I did lacke as many of my teeth, quoth the olde woman, as you lacke points of good husbandrie, I doubt I should **starue** before it were long.
46	EEBO	1684	Formoſa is a very fruitfull Iſland, but lies untill'd; the Inhabitants ng for the moſt part a lazy People, not much unlike the Spaniards, er willing to **ſtarve** than work.
47	EEBO	1649	they were in another as bad as that, there you ſhall find they want bread, and were ready to **ſtarve** for hunger
48	EEBO	1658	Therefore they were crouded into the walled Military grounds: where numbers of them were **starved** to death daily, there being in all 4500.
49	EEBO	1678	so of eating or drinking, which are necessary, or of eating of such a meat, or drinking of such a liquor, which are indifferent things; there can be an excess of eating or drinking too much of it, or a defect when some out of an extraordinary grief forbear eating, as if they intended to **starve** themselves:
50	EEBO	1664	I am glad 'tis no worse; by my troth, Sir, if you will **starve** with meat before you, I will bury you, but I will never pity you
51	EEBO	1578	cattell were readie to **starue** for lacke of meat
52	EEBO	1677	Ah have I then no more than this t' expect? My stinted Hopes will **starve** on such thin meat.
53	EEBO	1665	Thou mayst think, if my outward man need food, and without it cannot subsist, surely spiritual food is as needful for my inward man, and without it that will **starve**;
54	EEBO	1629	she shall bee readie to **starue** for lacke of food
55	CED	1599	Lab. I maruaile much at my sonnes sodaine straunge behauiour. Lem. Beare with him yet my Lord, tis but his **humour**
56	CED	1584	It may be an vnquenchable thirste of conquering maketh him vnquiet: it is not vnlikely his long ease hath altred his **humour**: that hee shoulde be in loue, it is not impossible.

57	CED	1594	If that fleet vp and downe with him, well he may loose an eye with poaring vpon his Puerilis, but with climing the Alpes as Hanniball did, for catching an ill **humour** in that sort, I dare put you in comfort and be his warrant.
58	CED	1599	My lord Ile leaue you, your sonne Dowsecer hath made me melancholy with his **humour**, and Ile go locke my selfe in my close walke till supper time.
59	CED	1597	by that time we had drunke our wine, beeing well whitled with strong Ale before, of the goodwiues owne brewing, we began all of vs to be verie pleasant, & my Hoast of Andouer seeing vs grow in a good **humour**
60	CED	1623	My **humour** shall not coole: I will incense Ford to deale with poison: I will possesse him with yallownesse, for the reuolt of mine is dangerous
61	CED	1623	He is there, see what **humor** he is in: and I will bring the Doctor about by the Fields: will it doe well?
62	CED	1676	I fear this restlessness of the body, Madam, pursuing her. Proceeds from an unquietness of the mind. What unlucky accident puts you out of **Humour**
63	CED	1696	He had always desired a Wife of that condition, Untaught and Innocent, that so he might with less difficulty form her to his own **humour**.
64	PCEEC	1574	lett appear sum sence of my Lord Cooks hard using me, which, in regard of the person, time, and place, I the rather disgested, ascrybing it to the stirring of sum **humour** at that instant only.
65	PCEEC	1626	Since thay have putt me into an **humor** of honor, I will have my right before I have done, which is in a good forwardnes, but keep this to y r selfe.
66	PCEEC	1605	I am aged neere yeares, of sanguine **humour**, and a thinn cholerique frame of body, and was taken with the Palsey 3 yeares since, though I prayse god I endure no great affliction or disability thereby
67	PPCEME	1601	he having a purpose to procure the Subversion of a Kingdom, and wanting Aid for the accomplishing his **Humour** thought it the surest means for the winning of the Hearts of the Citizens unto him
68	PPCEME	1599	I loue not the **humour** of bread and cheese
69	PPCEME	1676	Trust me, brother Peter, I find my Scholar to be so sutable to my own **humour**, which is to be free and pleasant and civilly merry
70	PPCEME	1689	That all our threatning Calamitie proceeded from mens Vices, and they, for want of stable, Christian and Moral Principles, an universal atheistical, or sceptical, **humor** overspreading the nation
71	PPCEME	1680	And the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by Wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many to be more diverted by that **humor**, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in Intemperance: which at length did so entirely subdue him; that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually Drunk
72	EEBO	1678	People muſt then be plied when they are in a good **humour** or mood.
73	EEBO	1593	For who are commonly made priuie to such sinnes, but men of like **humour** and affection?

74	EEBO	1666	Of all things, Complacency is the best Cyment of affection, and similitude of **humour** and disposition; for similis simili gaudet, All Likes do love their Like, and hate the contrary; unless perhaps some **humours** in them, may be too predominant; and then a little of the contrary would be a good Allay
75	EEBO	1635	Becauſe that fat folkes have leſſe blood, which is the **humour** in the moſt benigne, and the moſt friend to nature, for conſervation of naturall heat, for the food which turneth in them into fatneſſe, turneth it ſelfe into blood in the leane.
76	EEBO	1699	Some Wives will call it Ill - **humour** if their Husbands change their Style from that which they uſed whilſt they made their firſt Addreſſes to them
77	EEBO	1640	Honeſt Nebulo, My man draw neare, I'm in a **humour** now To change ſome words with thee
78	CED	1623	Fen. What newes? how do's pretty Mistris Anne? Qui. In truth Sir, and shee is pretty, and honest, and **gentle**, and one that is your friend
79	CED	1696	So those that manage Horses, they speak them fair, they smack their Mouths, they stroke them, and clap their Necks; and by such means, they become as **gentle** as a Lamb.
80	PCEEC	1633	if you doe not at this time with a more **gentle** winde blow more favorable uppon mee, I looke not but to bee for ever to be drownde in the sea of dispaire
81	PCEEC	1660	I allwaies look'd upon her as of a very **gentle**, and soft temper, fitted to receave all good impressions, but the danger is that even these good qualities may expose her the easier to be wrought upon to her disadvantage.
82	PPCEME	1696	so bind it on the Stock gently with Woollen-yarn, or narrow shreds of Linen-cloth, or **gentle** Stuff, or with Basses, or Bast, of which the Russia Mats are made
83	PPCEME	1605	learning doth make the minds of men **gentle**, generous, maniable, and pliant to gouernment, whereas Ignorance makes them churlish thwart, and mutinous
84	PPCEME	1664	if you take Blew, but Unsophisticated, Vitriol, and burn it very Slowly, and with a **Gentle** degree of Heat, you may observe, that when 't is 'tis Burnt but a Little, and yet so far as that you may rub it to Powder betwixt your fingers, it will be of a White or Whitish Colour
85	PPCEME	1615	prick it with your knife in the top, and so put into the Ouen, and bake it with a **gentle** heate
86	PPCEME	1630	About the houre of three in the afternoone, with good hope we weighed Anchor, and with a curteous tide and a **gentle** winde we sailed downe the river of Thames, as farre as the grand Oyster hauen of Quinborough
87	EEBO	1612	Iouanni Souranza a man of a verie ancient family, **gentle** & courteous, was chosen in his place
88	EEBO	1683	I am a Maid, and one of **gentle** birth, A Scythian born, and Enemy to thee, Not as thou art a Man, but Friend to Dacia.
89	EEBO	1640	at theſe words they redoubled their embraces, and continuing their diſcourſe they reſolved to take ſeveral waies, Dorigel commanded to

			ſteer for the fortunat Iſland, for to raiſe ſome forces in aid of the Greek Princes; Ruſsian and the Polack reentred their Bark in purſuit of their fortune; and the **gentle** Amanio took his way towards the Parthian Empire
90	CED	1615	As if I haue not a good **dish** of Oysters, and a cold pye at home to hold you tacke.
91	CED	1582	He saith he hath seene his father to feede them out of a blacke **dish** with a woodden spone
92	CED	1582	And this Examinate beeing asked how often she had giuen them meate sithence shee had them, saieth and confesseth, that she fed them twise out of a **dyshe** with mylke
93	CED	1602	For bread and salt , for grapes and malt, For flesh and fish, and euery **dish**: Mutton and beefe, of all meates cheefe
94	PCEEC	1639	Your father has diuers times sence you went asked for strawbery butter, and in memory of you this day I made Hacklet make some. I wisch you a **disch** of it.
95	PCEEC	1670s	Both dearly kynd and cruell Neece, You feast me so with choyce excesse of kyndnis, I am torn'd epicure: upon your conscience bee itt. Every line of yours is such a severall daynty **dishe** I can not feede on it without glottony
96	PPCEME	1676	So , now we shall be sure to have a good **dish** of Fish for supper .
97	PPCEME	1615	The Milke which you did milke in the morning you shall with a fine thinne shallow **dish** made for the purpose
98	PPCEME	1630	Our second **dish** perhaps a pecke of boyld apples; hony, the Apples being boyled skins, cores, stalkes; all: Thirdly Gudgeons newly taken perhaps, yet as salt as if they had beene three yeares pickled
99	PPCEME	1608	The day drew on, and the gentiles were come, and all was in a redinesse, and still Jack forgat not the pie, but stood faintly sicke, and refused his meate: the knight, sory that his best **dish** fayled him, made no small account of his well fare
100	EEBO	1542	Well seynge that ye haue so fruytfully digested the fyrst **dysshe** of your Banket, nowe haue I a fyt place, a conuenient tyme, a good occasion to brynge vnto you the seconde dysshe, as it followeth in order.
101	EEBO	1577	I content mee selfe aswell, as yf I had the dayntiest **dishe** in Europe.
102	EEBO	1634	Of the Geese kind are the Birganders named Chelanopeces: and (than which there is not a daintier **dish** knowne in England) the Chenerotes, lesse than wild Geese.
103	EEBO	1578	They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one **dish**, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer ouercharged
104	CED	1615	It is either for feare of some foule discouery, or for hope of his recouery: hee finds it his best course, to sooth him with the acknowledgement of a learned and pithy Treatise, and to free him from the vices of **vulgar** life.
105	CED	1605	Indeed I held you for a man of better iudgement, But what? you followe the **vulgar**.
106	CED	1703	besides the Arguments on the other side are more Copious, which

			makes them more easily apprehended by **vulgar** Capacities.
107	CED	1615	speech not so wise as the braying of Balaams Asse, a gaudy stile, a head blanke without matter, defiling, nay loading his margent with all manner of impertinent stuffe, as **vulgar** sentences, triuiall verses, childish authors, reeling, tottering, and ridiculous phrases, seruing only to wast inke and to blurre paper.
108	CED	1723	Madam, I know, your exalted Understanding, abstracted, as it is, from **vulgar** Prejudices, will not be offended, when I declare to you, I Marry to have an Heir to my Estate, and not to beget a Colony, or a Plantation:
109	PCEEC	1615	even ill actions, have a wordly wisdom, not penetrable by every **vulgar** ey
110	PCEEC	1539	As for me I have thought tyll nowe that it had bene but a fayned thing and an opinion **vulgare** withoute any fondation.
111	PPCEME	1593	O Glory, glory, on thousandes of men nought worth, a greate name thou haste bestowed. For many haue lost greate renoune through vulgar false opinion, than which what can be worsse?
112	EEBO	1658	This **vulgar** Bugil, is of a kinde of wilde Oxen, greater and taller then the ordinary Oxen, their body being thicker and ſtronger, and their limbs better compact together
113	EEBO	1673	The Plants we took more eſpecial notice of in this voyage were, Roſmarinum **vulgare**; cedrus Lycia folio retuſo Bellonii; Barba Jovis frutex, on the rocks and cliffs by the Sea ſide in many places
114	EEBO	1671	And the worlds experience puts it past doubt, that the generality of the **vulgar**, unlearned and injudicious sort of men, do value a man by his tone and voice more than for the judgement and excellency of his matter, if not put off by such advantage.
115	EEBO	1700	She would have it thought that ſhe is made of ſo much the finer Clay, and ſo much more ſifted than ordinary, that ſhe hath no common Earth about her. To this end ſhe muſt neither move nor ſpeak like other Women, becauſe it would be **vulgar**; and therefore muſt have a Language of her own, ſince ordinary Engliſh is too courſe for her.
116	EEBO	1700	The only Question is how to make a good Choice, and not confound true Wit and Sense with abundance of low Thoughts, and dull, and **vulgar** Jests which are imposed upon the World
117	EEBO	1700	For the **vulgar** part of Men speak of all things according to the Impressions of Sense, and the Prejudices of Infancy.
118	EEBO	1700	Degenerate and vulgar Souls are unworthy of Philoſophy.
119	EEBO	1641	But the plot of every Prince was at the publicke cost to purchase to his broken or unquiet fortunes more profitable conditions: and the good natured **vulgar** with little trouble gave themselves liberty to be deceiv'd.
120	EEBO	1643	Bearing a high, and heroick mind, free from base and sordid inclinations, and passions, such as ordinary and **vulgar** people are subject to.
121	EEBO	1675	She has no virtues which in Courts may shine. Cidip. Her beauty like her mind is **vulgar** too.

Table 4: Collocation lists for *starve* according to the logDice ratio; position 5L to 5R; EEBO

No.	1420-1570	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	honger	9,069	hunger	9,617	hunger	8,692
2	hungre	8,267	pine	7,946	pine	7,741
3	roode	7,810	foode	7,401	Hunger	7,413
4	huger	7,180	pined	7,138	famiſh	6,799
5	venus	6,647	begge	7,107	lean	6,710
6	tyl	6,542	steale	6,607	want	6,555
7	hunger	6,250	Tantals	6,428	hungry	6,553
8	deye	5,778	famine	6,348	beg	6,500
9	ſuld	5,621	leane	6,276	almoſt	6,351
10	fyne	5,561	food	6,255	famish	6,339
11	pine	5,215	famished	6,134	food	6,306
12	ny	5,135	Tantalus	6,075	poor	6,126
13	yeue	5,113	frozen	5,880	ready	6,083
14	mote	5,063	famish	5,838	pined	6,041
15	graunte	4,963	streetes	5,828	almost	5,978
16	wol	4,923	colde	5,824	half	5,959
17	lyue	4,844	lacke	5,823	feed	5,949
18	lete	4,778	hungar	5,780	periſh	5,948
19	owen	4,688	feede	5,759	Bering	5,901
20	playnly	4,646	pines	5,680	famine	5,828

Table 5: Collocation lists for *humour* according to the logDice ratio; position 5L to 5R;EEBO

No.	1420-1570	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	melancoly	8.295	melancholy	7.723	melancholy	7.288
2	vycyous	7.486	cholericke	7.624	peccant	6.686
3	melancolye	7.405	radicall	7.409	predominant	6.662
4	superflue	7.307	melancholike	7.397	fancy	6.603
5	ſturred	7.153	watery	7.075	comply	6.574
6	habundaunce	7.087	Criſtalline	7.070	peevish	6.541
7	Albugineus	6.954	ambitious	7.012	gratifie	6.509
8	choleryke	6.929	glaſſy	6.933	merry	6.485
9	Vitreus	6.921	feede	6.878	nervous	6.458
10	mynglynge	6.920	groſſe	6.866	watery	6.361
11	frettynge	6.918	melancholicke	6.843	malignant	6.325
12	melancolike	6.916	wateriſh	6.761	ambitious	6.305
13	melancholike	6.915	purge	6.697	covetous	6.292
14	abounde	6.869	flowing	6.566	ill	6.289
15	thycke	6.690	thinne	6.558	serous	6.289
16	sapor	6.684	flegmaticke	6.548	gay	6.272
17	engendred	6.630	itching	6.510	Melancholy	6.259
18	moyſt	6.628	ſerous	6.457	sharp	6.179
19	deſyer	6.552	thicke	6.425	watry	6.159
20	diete	6.504	melancholie	6.425	ſharp	6.112

Table 6: Collocation lists for *gentle* according to the logDice ratio; position 1R; EEBO

No.	1420-1500	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	reader	8.709	reader	9.184	heat	7.833
2	knyght	8.188	Reader	8.803	Purge	7.289
3	erle	7.219	knight	7.026	gale	7.243
4	knyghte	7.057	gale	6.972	fire	6.983
5	Reader	7.031	disposition	6.733	Fire	6.582
6	reder	6.743	behauiour	6.363	Gales	6.475
7	wymmen	6.510	Butler	6.284	uſage	5.969
8	reders	6.482	Knight	6.241	Vomit	5.954
9	readers	6.481	admonition	5.882	Gale	5.941
10	blode	6.342	Readers	5.739	Reader	5.916
11	herte	6.053	corrections	5.725	▢	5.915
12	hert	5.932	hart	5.673	warmth	5.856
13	Erle	5.908	vsage	5.637	Heat	5.783
14	harte	5.757	Squire	5.587	behaviour	5.747
15	knight	5.730	perswasions	5.580	gales	5.661
16	condycyons	5.704	perſwaſions	5.550	Breeze	5.644
17	woma	5.651	medicines	5.499	usage	5.614
18	mayster	5.651	correction	5.457	Methods	5.569
19	behauiour	5.591	admonitions	5.270	family	5.557
20	wemen	5.538	persuasions	5.177	Winds	5.465

Table 6: Collocation lists for *dish* according to the logDice ratio; position 1L; EEBO

No.	1420-1570	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	syluer	5.404	daintie	6.189	pewter	7.315
2	thyrde	5.235	pewter	5.943	wooden	7.253
3	seconde	4.619	woodden	5.942	chafing	7.176
4	fyrst	3.741	chafing	5.864	lordly	7.027
5	chiefest	3.061	dainty	5.859	dainty	6.618
6	fourth	0.522	daintiest	5.630	earthen	6.603
7	euery	-0.949	dayntie	5.584	Lordly	6.362
8	e	-1.200	daynty	5.477	Chafing	6.351
9	a	-1.934	wooden	5.441	Pewter	6.102
10	one	-2.152	daintier	5.341	savoury	5.501
11	good	-2.224	deinty	5.202	peuter	5.426
12	your	-2.739	earthen	5.093	Chaffing	5.423
13	his	-4.047	chasing	6.189	chaffing	5.419
14	this	-4.153	Pewter	5.943	riven	5.389
15	my	-4.182	dayntiest	5.942	Shallow	5.227
16	the	-4.933	delicate	5.864	silver	5.070
17	or	-4.970	deintie	5.859	chasing	5.016
18	that	-6,487	wodden	5.630	Wooden	4.895
19			siluer	5.584	woodden	4.762
20			silver	5.477	delicate	4.712

Table 7: Collocation lists for *dish* according to the logDice ratio; position 1R to 3R; EEBO

No.	1420-1570	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	syluer	6.141	coales	7.685	sippets	8.195
2	ful	3.987	Sippets	6.240	Coals	8.112
3	siluer	3.711	clout	6.219	coals	7.994
4	mete	3.487	sippets	5.942	clout	6.690
5	meate	2.901	Sparagus	5.904	bason	6.429
6	wherin	2.262	suger	5.780	Frigasie	6.172
7	</seg>	0.272	meat	5.729	strew	6.168
8	/	0.191	meate	5.683	pottage	6.154
9	cast	-0.038	apples	5.651	Coffee	6.116
10	<seg>	-0.214	creame	5.641	sliced	6.077
11	water	-0.243	platter	5.593	meat	5.974
12	blood	-0.348	dish	5.585	bake	5.846
13	full	-1.229	buttered	5.485	gravie	5.846
14	y	-1.299	lettice	5.443	Strawberies	5.807
15	t	-1.438	Coales	5.246	platter	5.805
16	ye	-1.732	sauce	4.935	gravy	5.805
17	same	-1.825	butter	4.903	Cream	5.764
18	vnto	-2.095	serued	4.888	grated	5.654
19	A	-2.129	coles	4.823	spoon	5.647
20	before	-2.594	drest	4.695	Tea	5.611

Table 8: Collocation lists for *vulgar* according to the logDice ratio; position 5L to 5R; EEBO

No.	1420-1570	logDice	1570-1640	logDice	1640-1710	logDice
1	tounge	9.470	translation	9.395	Latine	8.019
2	tonge	8.805	Latine	9.122	Latin	7.920
3	toungue	8.641	readeth	8.210	Tongue	7.488
4	tunge	8.484	tongue	8.069	capacities	7.434
5	toung	8.289	edition	8.030	Tranſlation	7.261
6	Seruice	7.871	tranſlation	7.997	Error	7.011
7	tong	7.731	latine	7.956	Language	6.869
8	Tounge	7.658	Latin	7.916	reads	6.768
9	tog	7.552	languages	7.824	Translation	6.679
10	communely	7.274	tongues	7.678	translation	6.563
11	speche	7.034	translations	7.476	capacity	6.548
12	touge	6.952	sort	7.371	tongue	6.503
13	englyssh	6.890	ſort	7.327	Capacities	6.489
14	commoun	6.872	toung	7.129	sort	6.464
15	ſpeche	6.728	language	6.974	tranſlation	6.387
16	speache	6.671	tong	6.787	ſort	6.358
17	commen	6.582	translated	6.598	language	6.306
18	togue	6.539	Greeke	6.549	credulous	6.298
19	pepil	6.533	interpreter	6.523	obvious	6.281
20	langage	6.514	toong	6.434	popular	6.266