Using Dictionary Evidence to Evaluate Authors' Lexis: John Bunyan and the *Oxford English Dictionary*¹

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Introduction

This paper builds on the work of many scholars who have demonstrated that the coverage of individual works and authors in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) is shaped by their literary status (see, for example, Schäfer 1980). Although this is now a well-established fact, it does not discourage popular and scholarly assertions about the unusual creativity of a writer or the particular influence of a work based on their provision of *OED* citations (see Brewer 2012b; McConchie 2012). Indeed, the accessibility of the “top 1,000 authors and works quoted” on *OED Online* encourages this approach. The continued scrutiny of the lexis of well-represented sources produces additional new words, senses and antedatings, and thus the circular process of reputation-enhancement is sustained. Brewer (2009; 2012a) argues that, in the same way that some authors were systematically favoured in the original compilation of the *OED*, others were systematically side-lined. She finds, for example, that female authors tend to be cited specifically for domestic terms rather than for evidence of general usage. McConchie (2012) finds that the treatment of compounds and level of detail in definitions also varies between authors. This paper argues that *OED1* made similarly stereotyped use of citations from the works of John Bunyan and that the citations selected from his works were shaped by his declining literary reputation in the centuries following his death. The creative use of compounds is a characteristic feature of Bunyan’s written style, perhaps reflecting the wider usage of contemporary dissenters, and these are not represented in the same detail as compounds used by more canonical writers. This paper also argues that changes in editorial policy and the use of electronic searches for *OED3* are likely to lead to Bunyan slipping down the *OED*’s table of most frequently cited sources.

Bunyan’s life and literary reputation

The earliest record of John Bunyan's life is of his baptism in 1628 in Elstow, Bedfordshire. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Bunyan's family were "poor, but not destitute" (Greaves 2004), and he worked as a tinker after a period fighting on the side of the parliamentary army during the Civil War. Following a period of intense spiritual turmoil, with symptoms including depression, anxiety, and auditory and visual hallucinations, Bunyan was supported by members of a separatist church in Bedford as he began to preach and write about his faith. His best known work is *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which was to become standard Sunday reading for Protestant children throughout the English-speaking world as well as in the furthest reaches of the British Empire, but Bunyan also wrote numerous sermons, pamphlets and books dealing with a range of spiritual, theological and political issues. His characteristic mode is dialogue, and his characters often discuss religion and everyday concerns in an uneasy mixture of colloquial and Biblical language.

Bunyan characterized his education as basic and his youth as dissolute:

notwithstanding the meanness and inconsiderableness of my parents, it pleased God to put it into their heart, to put me to school, to learn both to read and write; the which I also attained, according to the rate of other poor mens [sic] children: though, to my shame, I confess, I did soon lose that little I learnt, and that almost utterly... (Bunyan 1666, 3)

Bunyan's contemporaries accepted this account, and the works of this "uneducated tinker" (Hill 1990, 3) were "despised by the literary establishment" (*ibid.*, 15). In the centuries following his death, even Bunyan's admirers admitted that "his education [was] of no account" (Martin 1798, 11) and that he achieved what he did "in spite of a clownish and vulgar education" (Scott 1830, 469). His readers were considered to be similarly unlearned:

In the wildest parts of Scotland the Pilgrim's Progress is the delight of the peasantry. In every nursery the Pilgrim's Progress is a greater favourite than Jack the Giant-killer.
(Macaulay 1843, 411)

Bunyan's homely religious enthusiasm also became a yardstick for mockery. For example, in 1700 John Asgill, "a prolific pamphleteer of eccentric views" (Cruikshanks et al., 2002, 61) propounded the notion that true faith enabled believers to bypass Adam's original sin and thus to enter heaven without the inconvenience of dying first (*ibid.*, 62). This view was satirized in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Way to Heaven in a String*, whose author addressed the reader thus:

These are the first Lines that ever I attempted in Dogrel, and according to their reception in the World perhaps may be the last. The Design will bear a great many more; and my Lines flow as the Learned Dr. Bunyan says of his,

They came to mine own Heart, thence to my Head,

Thence to my Fingers ends they trickeled;

Thence to my Pen, and then immediately

On Paper I did drible it daintily. (Anon 1700)

These invented lines parody Bunyan's pseudo-Biblical grammar (*mine own, did drible*), forced rhymes (*my head/trickeled, immediately/daintily*), uneven scansion (in the last two lines) and homely language in a religious context (*trickle* and *dribble* with reference to divine inspiration). The reference to "the Learned Dr Bunyan" ironically reveals the poor judgement of Asgill's pretended admirer.

As the ideal of polite English gained sway during the decades following his death, Bunyan came to be seen as a literary curiosity. In his dissertation ‘Of the Standard of Taste’, David Hume wrote:

Whoever would assert an equality of genius and elegance betwixt *Ogilby* and *Milton*, or *Bunyan* and *Addison*, would be thought to defend no less an extravagance, than if he had maintained a molehill to be as high as *Teneriffe*, or a pond as extensive as the ocean. Though there may be found persons, who give the preference to the former authors; no one pays attention to such a taste; and we pronounce without scruple the sentiment of these pretended critics to be absurd and ridiculous. (Hume 1757, 209-210)

Like Bunyan’s works, John Ogilby’s translations of Virgil, Aesop and Homer “were decried by eighteenth-century critics” (Withers 2004). Measured against contemporary standards of “politeness” in language (Stein 1994: 9), publications by Bunyan and Ogilby were dismissed as crude and unpolished. Their earlier appeal was explicable only as evidence of the untutored taste of pre-enlightenment readers.

By the later eighteenth century, some of those who had enjoyed reading Bunyan’s work in their own youth were expressing their admiration carefully. Boswell wrote that:

[Samuel] Johnson praised John Bunyan highly. ‘His “Pilgrim’s Progress” has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale.’ (Boswell 1791, I 529)

Similarly, Piozzi asked:

Was there ever yet any thing written by mere men that was wished longer by its readers, excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and the Pilgrim's Progress? (Piozzi 1786, 281)

Although Bunyan's appeal is acknowledged here, it is significant that his artistry is commended largely by reference to its popularity. To say that a book's readers are enthusiastic is pointedly not the same as saying that it is a great work of literature.

So little were Bunyan's works valued by the late eighteenth century that Cowper felt the need to defend the "ingenious dreamer":

I name thee not, lest so despised a name

Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame ...

'Twere well with most, if books that could engage,

Their childhood pleased them at a riper age (Cowper 'Tirocinium' (1784), ll.141-2, 147-8; from Baird and Ryskamp 1995, 274)

Although he commends the innocent pleasure of Bunyan's youthful readers, Cowper would not have needed to defend Bunyan's reputation if the sneers of sophisticated readers had not become general. For Cowper, however, the failure lies in adult readers' loss of innocence rather than in Bunyan's simplicity of expression.

Later editors took for granted both that Bunyan's most popular work was intended for children and that it was acceptable to make improvements to it. For example, the 'Advertisement' in a nineteenth-century American abridgement comments that an editor must take into account that:

there is a wide difference ... between those books among the works of the older authors, which are fitted to the capacity of children, and that larger class which are designed only for the educated and mature mind. That which might be unpardonable in the treatment of Locke, and Butler, and Edwards, may be both allowable and useful when applied to Bunyan. (The Committee of Publication 1834, 7).

The accessibility of Bunyan's moral teachings ensured that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was not only progressively modernized for children but also translated for the use of missionaries in Africa (e.g. Bunyan and Schlienz 1834; Bunyan and Fuller 1885; Bunyan and Cannell 1886), North America (Bunyan and Thomas 1886), Asia (Bunyan 1870/1; Bunyan and White 1886) and Australasia (Bunyan, Kemp and Stokes 1854; Bunyan and Buzacott 1892). These later adaptations and translations demonstrate that Bunyan's moral teaching and imagination were held in much higher regard than his language.

Bunyan and the literary dictionary tradition

By the time the Philological Society began work on its dictionary, Bunyan's reputation as an uneducated writer for unsophisticated readers was well established. Readers for the dictionary would not have expected to find examples of language used in innovative or interesting ways in his works:

[Bunyan's] vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, which would puzzle the rudest peasant. (Macaulay 1843: 423)

Bunyan had not fared well in earlier citation-based dictionaries. Johnson explained that he had:

studiously endeavoured to collect examples and authorities from the writers before the restoration, whose works I regard as *the wells of English undefiled* (Johnson 1755, 61)

— and Southey echoed Johnson's words in describing Bunyan's written style:

If it is not a well of English undefiled to which the poet as well as the philologist must repair, if they would drink of the living waters, it is a clear stream of current English, — the vernacular speech of his age, sometimes indeed in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and strength. (Southey 1830, lxxxviii)

Despite Johnson's alleged admiration for Bunyan's works, he does not cite him at all in the dictionary. Bunyan wrote slightly too late to qualify according to the stated criteria, but Johnson did make exceptions when he chose to, going so far as to cite his contemporaries and even himself in some entries (W.M. 1812; Walker Read 1935). Another citation-based pre-*OED* dictionary (Richardson 1839) also overlooks Bunyan's works as a source. While we cannot be sure that these lexicographers' omission of citations from Bunyan represents a negative assessment of his work — it may just be chance — this does mean that ready-selected citations were not available in these intermediary sources to enhance evidence made available by the *OED*'s voluntary readers (see Brewer 2012b).

Citations in the *OED*

The *OED* sets out to present the post-Conquest history of all but the marginal words of English. Its pre-eminence in the documentation of the lexical history of English is unassailable, and it is often cited in support of assertions about the creativity of an author or the influence of a text (see Brewer 2011b). However, it has also been criticized for over-representing canonical authors, particularly male ones (Schäfer 1980; Brewer 2009), for its

imperialist perspective (Willinsky 1994, but see also Ogilvie 2012) and for its concentration on literary texts (but see Considine 2009). With reference to any of these perceived biases, we might expect Bunyan, a widely-read male British author, to be well-represented in the *OED*.

The *OED Online* allows us to access information about its sources with great ease. In the top 1000 sources, Bunyan is listed at 388 (as of 27/06/2013), with 1134 citations to his name. 28 of these represent the first evidence for a word and 128 the first evidence for a sense. His peers in the upper 380s are John Galt (1779-1839), William Black (1841-1898), Thomas Brown (baptized 1663, died 1704), Thomas Wilson (died 1581) and Thomas Ken, none of whom is a household name (see Figure 1). On first glance, this appears to confirm that Bunyan's language was old-fashioned, and that he had little to add to the *OED*'s account of the history of English words.

Figure 1

AUTHORS CITED AT A RATE COMPARABLE WITH BUNYAN IN THE *OED* [BASED ON DATA FROM THE *OED ONLINE* 16/11/2012]

One way of evaluating the *OED*'s use of its sources is to compare the proportions of citations that offer the first evidence for a word or a sense. If these represent a relatively low proportion of the citations from a particular source, this may indicate that the source has been mined with great thoroughness so that citations from it have been available as intermediate illustrations of the use of well-established terms. Conversely, if the first evidence for words and senses represents a high proportion of an author's citations, this may suggest that the author's works have been cherry-picked for unusual usages rather than surveyed in detail. Figure 2, based on *OED Online* data, shows these proportions for some of the most frequently cited authors.²

² Multi-author texts, such as *The Times*, are omitted from the tables.

Figure 2

THE *OED*'S USE OF ITS MOST FREQUENTLY-CITED AUTHORS [BASED ON DATA FROM THE *OED ONLINE* 16/11/2012]

Authors' first citations for words have received a great deal of attention in their own right, but those citations that do not provide the first evidence for a word or sense are perhaps even more revelatory of the *OED*'s biases, resulting from a series of choices made by voluntary readers, sub-editors and editors (see Gilliver 2004). These 'courtesy citations', shaded in black, provide a measure of an author's status rather than of their innovative use of language.³ For the frequently-cited authors shown in Figure 2, courtesy citations range from 96% for Macaulay to 27% for Cotgrave (see Figure 3).⁴

³ Brewer (2010, 121) calls these 'bread-and-butter' citations. *OED*-users are actually offered a rich diet of literary citations: let them eat cake.

⁴ Macaulay's *History of England*, which appeared in four volumes from 1848 to 1854, accounts for 80% of all citations from Macaulay's work. It is beyond the scope of the current paper to account for the unusual prominence of this historical work.

Figure 3

THE PROPORTION OF COURTESY CITATIONS FOR THE *OED*'S MOST
FREQUENTLY-CITED AUTHORS [BASED ON DATA FROM THE *OED ONLINE*
16/11/2012]

These figures confirm that, despite the current revision process, the *OED* is still essentially a nineteenth-century literary dictionary which selects examples of words in use in preference to examples of their occurrence in earlier dictionaries (such as Cotgrave's) wherever possible. The varying levels of courtesy citation might be taken as a measure of the *OED*'s bias towards high profile literary authors. Figure 4 indicates that the rate of courtesy citation is also subject to considerable variation in less frequently cited authors. With courtesy citations at 86%, Bunyan appears to have been treated with some thoroughness by the *OED*.

Figure 4

COURTESY CITATIONS FOR AUTHORS CITED AT A RATE COMPARABLE WITH BUNYAN [BASED ON DATA FROM THE *OED ONLINE* 16/11/2012]

In 1980, Schäfer used Nashe as a test case to prove that many *OED* citations from prominent authors would prove to be ante-dateable if less canonical authors were accorded similarly thorough coverage. The revision programme of *OED3* has confirmed Schäfer's broader argument by antedating up to 60% of existing first citations (see Gilliver, this issue). Those authors whose works were surveyed in detail for *OED1* are more likely to provide first citations simply because evidence of their use of a word is more likely to have been available to editors than earlier uses by less prominent writers. Moreover, these authors also provide large numbers of 'courtesy citations' for the same reason.

However, it is not quite this simple. We also know that authors accorded thorough coverage by the *OED* are not just cited frequently for words in general use, but are also cited when they use words unusually. For example, *bepray* ‘to pray’ is listed solely on the strength of its appearance in Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, even though it is marked as a doubtful usage and found only in the first quarto. Because citations of this type count as first evidence for a word or a sense, they lower the proportion of what we have called ‘courtesy citations’ even though they represent the highest level of courtesy available: that of treating an author’s nonce usages as an integral part of the English language. While the revision process will tend to reduce the number of first citations from authors who were accorded thorough coverage in *OED1*, it is unlikely that there will be equivalent reductions in ‘courtesy citations’ or in the coverage of authors’ nonce usages. Shakespeare’s continued dominance of the top 1000 is therefore assured.

Citations from Bunyan in the *OED*

The words for which Bunyan provides the first evidence in *OED Online* (16/11/2012) largely illustrate three main trends. The first trend is that first citations from Bunyan are often for terms relating to religion and faith and to the emotions associated with religious doubt and self-perceived moral failings: *despond* ‘the act of desponding; despondency’, *diabolonian* ‘One of the host of Diabolus (the Devil) in his assault upon Mansoul’, *discouraging* ‘that discourages or causes discouragement’, *fall-away* ‘one who falls away from religion; an apostate’ and *Jordan* ‘the name of a river in Palestine, the crossing of which is used ... to

symbolize death'.⁵ This is entirely explicable, in that religion, faith and morality are key themes in Bunyan's work.

Second, first citations from Bunyan are often for terms relating to argument, judgement, mercy and forgiveness: *advocating* 'the action of *advocate* v.', *incoherency* 'the quality of being incoherent', *jealouse* 'to suspect (a thing or person)', *misplead* 'to plead wrongly or falsely', *pitilessness* 'the quality or condition of being pitiless', *self-evidence* 'the quality or condition of being self-evident', *squibbling* 'of the nature of a quibble', *superstition* 'to regard superstitiously' and *think-so* 'a matter of opinion'.

Third, first citations from Bunyan are often for dialect and colloquial terms. In this group are *clump* 'to walk or tread heavily and clumsily', *crack-groat* 'a cracked or damaged groat [a coin with a face value of four pence]', *holloa* 'to call 'holloa!''', *puly* 'given to puling; whining; sickly', *shuff* 'shy', *smirch* 'a dirty mark or smear; a stain; a smudge; also, that which smirches or dirties', *snug* 'a rugged projection' and *spangling* 'that spangle(s); sparkling, glistening'. These three trends are not mutually exclusive. Many of the terms pertaining to argument and judgement are used, in Bunyan's works, with reference to divine judgement and religious disputation. *Squibbling*, for example, pertains to argument and judgement but also appears to be a non-standard term.

Only six terms for which Bunyan provides the first *OED* evidence do not fit within these categories: *enfolding/infolding* 'that enfolds', *fit* 'a preparation or fitting *for* something', *penned* 'shut up or enclosed in a pen; (of water) confined in a river by a weir, lock, etc.', *pouching* 'that forms or resembles a pouch', *spend* 'the action of spending money; the amount spent' and *top-piece* 'the best or finest piece; the *chef-d'œuvre*, masterpiece'.

⁵ The definitions are from *OED Online*, sometimes slightly abbreviated.

The archaeology of *OED* first citations from Bunyan As a dictionary involved in a rolling editorial process, *OED Online* is a moving target, and it is necessary to delve further back into the dictionary's history to determine the origins of these first citations. This is made possible by comparing a machine-searchable version of *OED2*, kindly supplied by Oxford University Press,⁶ with the hard-copy of *OED1* to identify citations from Bunyan that were added after the completion of the first edition: in the first or second supplement (*OEDSupp1*; *OED Supp2*) or in the *Oxford English Dictionary Additions Series* (*OEDAS*). Further evidence from the *OED* archives is also discussed below.

Table 1 indicates a slight increase in the coverage of new words from Bunyan between *OED1* (1884-1928) and *OED2* (1989), but shows little change thereafter. The apparent stability after *OED2* obscures a few further changes. *OED3* added three new citations from Bunyan, antedating the existing first citations for *pitilessness* (1755), *penned* (1794) and *advocating* (1803). These were balanced by three other words for which a first citation from Bunyan in *OED2* was antedated in *OED3*: *quirking* n. 'making quips at the expense of (a person)' (1637), *muckrake* n. 'a rake for collecting muck' (1366) and *ad infinitum* 'to infinity; again and again in the same way; endlessly, forever' (1596).

⁶ This version of *OED2* represents the second published edition which combines *OED1* with material from the first and second supplements and a few additions made in *OEDAS*. It is equivalent to the earliest CD-ROM of the *OED*, issued in 1992. This edition was available for separate searches on the *OED* website until the 2010 re-launch (see Brewer, this issue) and is now available to researchers by request to the *OED*.

	<i>OED1</i>	<i>OED2</i>	<i>OED3</i>
Bunyan provides the first citation	18	22	22
Bunyan provides the first citation and other citations are related (either Biblical or alluding to Bunyan's work)	2	2	2
Bunyan provides the only citation	5	5	5
Total	26	29	29

Table 1

CITATIONS FROM BUNYAN AS THE FIRST EVIDENCE FOR WORDS IN *OED1*,
OED2 AND *OED3* [AS OF 16/11/2012]

As Table 1 indicates, five senses are included in the *OED* solely on the strength of a single citation from Bunyan. These are *fall-away*, *shuff*, *squibbling*, *crack-groat* and *superstitiate*. However, the ‘first citations’ are mechanically generated, and on closer examination it becomes apparent that there is additional evidence of use for most of these single-citation entries. For example, the citation paragraph for *crack-groat* begins with a square bracketed cross-reference to a citation for *cracked*, used with reference to groats. This is replaced by the square-bracketed citation in *OED3*. *Fall-away* has only one citation from Bunyan for its first sense, but there are two later citations for another sense. The etymology for *shuff* refers the reader to the term’s appearance in Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* and *squibbling* is treated as a derivative (“cf. prec.”) of another single-cited form, *squibbler*, which appears to combine *squib* and *quibbler*. An unused slip in the *OED* archive indicates that *squibbling* was also used by John Cleveland, but this earlier citation was not followed up and does not appear in the dictionary:

But you’re enchanted, Sir, you’re doubly free

From the great guns and squibbling poetry ... (Cleveland 'Rupertismus' (c.1653), ll.29-30, from Berdan (1911), 131)⁷

If additional citations and related forms and senses are viewed as supplementary evidence of use or as additional arguments for including these terms, the only word cited solely on Bunyan's authority is *superstitiate*. However, as we shall see below, when *OED Online* generates figures for first use, it does not include all compounds: only those that are accorded a separate entry in their own right. Bunyan provides the first citation for several compound forms that are thus not included in the figures above.

A striking feature of the first citations from Bunyan is the high proportion of Latinate terms. Of 18 terms first cited from Bunyan in *OED1*, *despond*, *ad infinitum* and *superstitiate* were from Latin. Of the six first citations added in later editions, *advocating*, *diabolonian* and, probably, *squibbling* are also Latinate. The numbers are small, but they represent a surprisingly high proportion of Latinate terms among those cited from an author generally regarded as uneducated. It is possible that they were submitted for consideration by readers precisely because they stood out in Bunyan's work, or that editors selected them for inclusion in an unspoken continuation of the 'hard word' tradition of earlier dictionaries. Considine (2009) argues that part of the *OED*'s unique mission is to enable its users to read literary texts from earlier periods, and if Bunyan's readers were typically held to be uneducated, these are the types of word that they would have been most likely to need to consult.

The prospects for Bunyan's first citations in *OED3* As with all of the *OED*'s current first citations, some from Bunyan will be ante-dated as the revision process proceeds. For example, *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) currently provides earlier examples of *advocating* (1656), *discouraging* (1584), *holloa* (1634), *incoherency* (1651), *enfolding*

⁷ This is taken from the edition cited on the unused slip.

(1622), *jealousie* (1660), *misplead* (1656), *self-evidence* (1632) and *spangling* (1660). As EEBO's coverage expands, further antedatings may come to light, and other electronic sources may also provide examples of earlier use to replace Bunyan's remaining 20 first citations.

Other aspects of Bunyan's changing coverage in *OED3* An 'advanced search' for Bunyan as a quotation author using the electronic *OED2* locates 934 matches in 847 entries. To date (27/6/2013), *OED3* has increased the number of citations from Bunyan by 200 (21%). Although only very rough figures are provided for the total number of citations in each version (*OED2*: 2.5 million; *OED3*: 3.1 million), this increase is about 25%, suggesting that there has been no significant re-evaluation of Bunyan's potential contribution to the dictionary. In contrast, Brewer (2010: 114-115) found that citations from many eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors had risen dramatically in the portion of *OED3* that had been revised at that time: Austen by 287%, Fielding by 137%, Burney by 69%, Defoe by 63%, George Eliot by 57% and Dickens by 44%. Despite contemporary editors' access to electronic databases, Brewer (2010: 116) observes that "some of the beneficiaries [of the current revision process] are just those canonical authors we might have expected *OED3* to be more chary of". This focus on canonical authors may be, in part, because the revision process is returning to slips that were submitted during the course of work on *OED1* after the relevant portion of the alphabet had been published.

Bunyan and the *OED* reading programme Murray (1879a) did not include Bunyan's works among a list of those he wanted read. Murray (1884), indicates that seven volunteers⁸

⁸ S.S. Bagster *Miscellaneous Works* (603); G.B.R. Bousfield *Pilgrim's Progress* (606); R.N. Cust *Holy War* (611); Miss C. Ellis *Holy Citie* (613); J.E. Ewan *Grace Abounding* (614); Miss [Eliza M.] Saunders *Pilgrim's Progress* (633); C. Sheldon *Pilgrim's Progress* (634). I

had already provided approximately 8500 citations from their reading of several texts including a range of Bunyan's works. At least three readers sent in slips from *The Pilgrim's Progress* alone. Taken together, Murray's two publications suggest that he considered Bunyan's work to have been examined in sufficient detail for the dictionary. Notwithstanding, Cornelius Paine, a prolific contributor to the dictionary and sub-editor under Furnivall (Gilliver Online), also compiled an index of about 330 words and senses from his own reading of ten works by Bunyan, including some that the readers listed by Murray (1884) had also read.⁹ Paine's index is now housed in the *OED* archive, and annotations on it by Murray's assistant, Charles Balk, suggest that it was housed in the Scriptorium before Balk's retirement in 1913, perhaps donated by Paine's executors after his death, which had occurred by 1890 (Gilliver Online). Paine's indices, for this is one of several, may have been intended for use in rectifying deficiencies in the existing citation base. These deficiencies could have been identified by *OED* editors or proof-readers, and might have reached Paine's attention in public appeals (e.g. Murray 1879b) or private correspondence. It is also possible that Paine created the indices for use in the Scriptorium. Cross-reference with slips in the *OED* archive indicates that neither Paine nor anyone else systematically made slips from the index to Bunyan. Many of the terms noted were already well provided with citations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indicating that this was a wise decision: the labour involved would not have been particularly fruitful.

am grateful to Peter Gilliver for alerting me to these publications and for additional information about these readers.

⁹ I am grateful to Bev Hunt, *OED* archivist, for bringing this index to my attention. The information about Paine and his other indices is from Gilliver (personal communication).

One of the four readers of Bunyan identified by Murray (1884: 624) was “W. F. Lever, Salford”, who had provided approximately 780 slips from periodical and devotional texts which included a relatively minor work by Bunyan, called *Come and Welcome*. The same text was also among the ten Bunyan texts read by Paine. *OED1* cites *Come and Welcome* for *gleed*, in an entry originally published in 1900, and *relative*, originally published in 1906. The slip for *relative* appears to be in Paine’s handwriting; that for *gleed* is in a different hand and may have been made by Lever. *OED3* adds citations from *Come and Welcome* to the quotation evidence for *abhorring* (*OED1* entry from 1884), *hoggard* (*OED1*: 1899), *liven* (*OED1*: 1903) and *Old Testament* (*OED1*: 1911). There are no corresponding slips in the *OED* archives, and these words are not included in Paine’s index, suggesting that *OED3* editors have accessed them using electronic resources.

Fresh evidence from Bunyan’s works

The individuals who originally read Bunyan for the *OED* did not have the advantage of being able to make immediate reference to *OED Online*. When they chose to write out a slip for a citation, they had no way of knowing whether it would prove useful to an editor working on the relevant portion of the alphabet decades later. Although some of Bunyan’s works were read several times over, my own examination of a selection of his works indicates that readers could have provided many more useful citations to the *OED*.

My re-reading of a selection of Bunyan’s texts (listed below) involved a systematic process of checking against *OED Online*. For example, the opening sentence of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* reads:

As I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where
was a Denn; And I laid me down in that place to sleep: And as I slept I dreamed a
Dream. (Bunyan 1678, 1)

In this case, it was only necessary to check the *OED* for terms that were not used in OE: *wilderness* (c1200) and *certain* (138.). The *OED* has citations for *place* and *light* (in a different sense) from the OE period. As Bunyan's opening sentence illustrates, some of the stereotypes surrounding his language are accurate, at least with reference to this work: he did tend to use simple clear language, with a preference for everyday terms. This has the effect of foregrounding his unusual usages.

The first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was clearly surveyed in considerable detail by *OED* readers in its original edition or a relatively faithful later edition, because I did not find any antedatings for *OED Online* at all.¹⁰ However, the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1684: PP2), *Some Gospel Truths Ordained* (1656: GTO), *Christian Behaviour* (1663: CB), *Grace Abounding* (1666: GA), *Mr Badman* (1680: Mr B) and *Holy War* (1682: HW) all provided antedatings for existing *OED* entries. A full list of antedatings is provided in appendix 1.

It is not particularly surprising that Bunyan provides eight antedatings for terms first cited later in the seventeenth century: many first citations can be antedated by a few years or decades. Given the *OED*'s relatively poor coverage of the eighteenth century (Murray 1879a, 3), we might also expect some patchiness in the first citations currently available for that period. Bunyan provides a further eight antedatings for terms first cited from the eighteenth century and ten from the nineteenth century. It is likely that some of these terms, such as

¹⁰ See below for a discussion of changes in *OED* coverage across the various editions represented in *OED Online*.

townsfolk and *cashbox*, had continued in use throughout the intervening period, but that earlier citations were not provided by the *OED*'s reading programme. Antedatings of late nineteenth-century citations reveal that terms used across a longer period and nearer to the date of the *OED*'s composition were also slipping through the net.

The list in appendix 1 consists only of those words whose first citation can be antedated by reference to Bunyan: it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a comprehensive list of *OED* senses that could be antedated using Bunyan's works. A few examples will have to suffice. *Mr Badman* provides an antedating for the 1686 first citation for *unbiased* with the sense 'impartial', for the ?1706 first citation for *lumping* 'big' and for the a1732 first attributive citation for *sickbed*. Moreover, Bunyan appears to use *gospelly* in the sense 'in accordance with the gospel':

I have not here only in general treated of this doctrine of good works, but particularly, after some discourse about works flowing from faith, and what makes it truly and gospelly good, I discourse of them as we stand under our several relations in this world among men. (*Christian Behaviour*, A2v)

This sense is listed in *OED3* without any citations to support it, presumably on the grounds that it must have antedated the sense 'truthfully', which is cited from ?1542.

Antedating Bunyan's antedatings Notes in appendix 1 demonstrate that many potential antedatings from Bunyan can be antedated in their turn by reference to EEBO. This information is summarized in Table 2, which demonstrates that *OED* editors are using electronic resources with great thoroughness as they work their way through the alphabet. With the exception of *pulpit-stairs* ("In the sense 'of or belonging to a pulpit', as **pulpit bible, pulpit cushion, pulpit door, pulpit stairs**, etc."), there are no unused EEBO antedatings for the portion of the alphabet that has been revised in full (M-R). Bunyan's use

of *pulpit-stairs* does not antedate the earliest *pulpit*- compound under this heading and it was not, therefore, necessary to include it.

	ante-datings for existing <i>OED</i> first citations	average antedating from Bunyan	average antedating from EEBO		ante-datings for existing <i>OED</i> first citations	average antedating from Bunyan	average antedating from EEBO
A	1	28	42	M	0	0	0
B	3	131	140	N	0	0	0
C	3	102	168	O	0	0	0
D	3	173	173	P	1	43	61
E	0	0	0	Q	0	0	0
F	3	25	75	R	0	0	0
G	2	155	65	S	3	27	131
H	2	102	144	T	2	55	90
I	0	126	0	U	1	66	126
J	0	32	0	V	1	2	32
K	1	128	158	W	0	0	0
L	0	0	0	XYZ	0	0	0
				total	26	2263	3075
				average		87	118

Table 2

A COMPARISON BETWEEN BUNYAN AND EEBO'S ANTEDATINGS FOR THE TERMS LISTED IN APPENDIX 1

Figure 5

AVERAGE ANTEDATINGS FROM BUNYAN AND EEBO (BASED ON TABLE 2)

It will be no surprise that Figure 5 shows EEBO to be a better source for antedatings than Bunyan's work alone. Of 26 *OED* first citations that can be antedated by reference to this selection of Bunyan's work, only *boot-and-saddle*, *drooling* and *griggish* could not be antedated further by reference to EEBO. Although the relevant works by Bunyan are included in EEBO, the software currently available for searching this resource did not always find the relevant citations, often because of inconsistencies in spelling or word division and despite including variant forms in the search parameters.

Postdatings Less attention has been given to *OED* last citations than to its first citations. Given that Bunyan's language has long been characterised as conservative, it should come as no surprise that *Mr Badman* alone provides at least nine citations that illustrate the continued use of terms with last citations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see appendix 2). The longest postdating offered by this work is 154 years, for *dispraising*. Again, reference to

EEBO often extends the date-range further, by a further two years in the case of *dispraising* (see Table 3 and Figure 6), but the software sometimes failed to find the relevant citations from Bunyan despite the inclusion of these works in the EEBO database.

	post-datings for existing <i>OED</i> first citations	average postdating from Bunyan	average postdating from EEBO		post-datings for existing <i>OED</i> first citations	average postdating from Bunyan	average postdating from EEBO
A	0	0	0	M	1	26	0
B	1	16	32	N	0	0	0
C	0	0	0	O	0	0	0
D	2	88	99	P	0	0	0
E	0	0	0	Q	1	81	0
F	0	0	0	R	0	0	0
G	0	0	0	S	3	55	42
H	1	77	97	T	0	0	0
I	0	0	0	U	0	0	0
J	0	0	0	V	0	0	0
K	0	0	0	W	0	0	0
L	0	0	0	XYZ	0	0	0
				total	9	539	431
				average		60	48

Table 3

OED ANTEDATINGS FROM BUNYAN AND EEBO (SEE APPENDIX 2)

Figure 6

OED ANTEDATINGS (BASED ON TABLE 3)

Compounds Bunyan's extensive use of compound forms, often in preference to loan-words from Latin, Greek or French is a particularly striking feature of his written style. A case could be made for the inclusion of fifteen new compounds from *Mr Badman* alone. For example, there are no citation slips in the *OED* archives for *bastard-bearer* or *bastard-getter*, so neither is listed in *OED Online*. The inclusion of comparable compounds suggests that these terms would have been listed if evidence of their use had been available to *OED* editors.¹¹ Clearly the *OED* cannot include all the compounds for which readers provided

¹¹ An advanced search for *-bearer finds 191 entries, almost all of which are for compounds referring to someone who carries something in their hands or about their person (e.g. *ensign-bearer*, *lamp-bearer*, *ring-bearer*, *water-bearer*) or, occasionally, for someone who relates disreputable stories (e.g. *rumour-bearer*, *scandal-bearer*). Only one, *live-bearer*, refers to the carrying of young, implying that *bastard-bearer* is a less transparent compound than many of

citations, let alone all possible compounds (see Brewer 2007: 182-184 for a discussion of Murray, Craigie and Burchfield's positions on this matter), but Bunyan's work could potentially have been a good source of additional examples and citations for compounds and derivatives. Further examples of compounds that are not currently listed in the *OED*, all from *Mr Badman*, are provided in appendix 3. For eight of the fifteen, EEBO provides additional examples of use.

The coverage of compounds is very varied in the *OED*. The official policy is that the level of detail provided depends on their transparency and status as a 'major' or 'minor' usage (*OED Online*: Guide to the Third Edition of the *OED* [accessed 11 July 2013]), but different editors have applied these distinctions with varying degrees of ruthlessness. William Craigie, the third editor appointed, was particularly driven to reach the end of the alphabet as quickly and efficiently as possible (Brewer 2007: 24-25). In contrast, *OED Online* can be more thorough because it is not constrained by the costs of print publication. For this reason, the omission of Bunyan's compounds from *OED Online* might result from a number of possible causes ranging from insufficient citation evidence to changing editorial practice. There are various grounds on which terms might conceivably have been excluded: to save space (because the compounds were transparent or because they were nonce usages: see

those that are included. A search for *-getter finds 30 comparable compounds and derivatives, largely referring to the breeding of animals. These include *foal-getter*, *ram-getter*, *stock-getter* (grouped in a list of related terms), *twin-getter* and *wether-getter*. A single citation supports the adjectival use of *bastard-bearing*, which figures among 91 results for *bastard*-, including both compound and derived forms. Many are supported by only one citation, but *bastard cabbage tree*, *bastard mahogany*, *bastard olive* and *bastard pennyroyal* are included without any supporting citations.

appendix 3), because the subject-matter was considered inappropriate¹² or because the source-text was considered in sufficiently deserving.

Citations in the *OED* archive for compounds that have *soul* as their first element provide a useful insight into the evidence from Bunyan that was available to Craigie, who edited this portion of the alphabet. For example, Craigie's entries for *soul-fool* and *soul-shepherd* are both supported by a single citation from Bunyan's *Greatness of the Soul*. These are listed together on a single slip, along with *soul-self* and *soul-things*, also from *Greatness of the Soul*, but Craigie chose not to include the other two compounds in the dictionary. He did include *soul-sinking* and *soul-amazing*, supported by single citations from Bunyan's *Jerusalem Sinner Saved* and *Heavenly Footman*, respectively. Another citation from *Heavenly Footman* "The · · soul-entangling flatteries of such sink-souls as these are" provides the only evidence for *sink-soul*, but *soul-entangling* is not listed in its own right. Slips were also available from Bunyan for *soul-murderer*, which was included using other evidence, and for *soul-sluggard*, which was omitted. Craigie thus included five of the nine nonce usages from Bunyan for which evidence was available to him, though other editors might well have included a lower proportion.¹³ Had *OED* readers provided more citations for Bunyan's compounds, there is no reason to think that *OED* editors would not have listed a selection from them.

Bunyan undoubtedly did use compounds in interesting ways, though he was not always alone in doing so. For example, *soul-seller* uses the language of commerce with reference to religion. This is a reversal of a better-established contemporary practice of using

¹² *Dung-sweat* offers a possible example: see appendix 3.

¹³ Murray (1977: 288) quotes a letter from James Murray to Craigie fulminating against his inclusion of *railway porter*.

religious language to legitimize commercial activities, which were “liable to appear in a morally and even a legally dubious light” Skinner (2003, 147). For example, careful shopkeepers might be raised above suspicion if they fulfilled their obligations *religiously* or planned their affairs *providently*. Conversely, Bunyan uses commercial vocabulary to criticize spiritual behaviour in his use of *soul-seller*.

Similarly, *OED* -*master* compounds often have a concrete first element, as in *bridge-master*, *dog-master* and *trades-master*. The first element indicates the area of commercial or official life in which the *master* is skilled or for which he is responsible. It is in this light that we should interpret Bunyan’s reference to an *oath-master* in *Mr Badman*:

But if I might give advice in this matter, no Buyer should lay out one farthing with him that is a common Swearer in his Calling; especially with such an Oath-master that endeavoureth to swear away his commodity to another, and that would swear his Chapmans money into his own pocket. (Bunyan 1680, 39)

Bunyan’s *oath-master* is a tradesman or merchant whose craft lies in swearing false oaths to trick his unwisely trusting customers. *Master-sinner* offers a similar example of Bunyan’s use of everyday civic language to convey spiritual meaning. *Oath-master* and *master-sinner* both appear to be Bunyan’s own coinages (see appendix 3).

The future for Bunyan in *OED3* As we have seen, despite being read by several readers, Bunyan’s works do have more to offer to the *OED*’s account of the history of English. Electronic searches have gone some way towards filling gaps in the *OED*’s coverage for the sections of the alphabet revised so far, but they can only locate terms that are sought by the user and located by the software. Table 4 shows that the useful new citations from Bunyan identified in the appendices are distributed through most of the alphabet, including sections already revised for *OED3*. Clearly these are small in number as well as in proportion to the

OED as a whole, but it is likely that they are representative of other minor works and writers already surveyed as part of the *OED*'s reading programme.

	terms identified in the appendices	number of words in <i>OED</i>	useful new citations from Bunyan per 1000 words in the <i>OED</i>		terms identified in the appendices	number of words in <i>OED</i>	useful new citations from Bunyan per 1000 words in the <i>OED</i>
A	1	16614	0.06	M	2	20480	0.10
B	6	12836	0.47	N	0	7839	0.00
C	4	22263	0.18	O	1	9442	0.11
D	6	12671	0.47	P	1	29537	0.03
E	0	9252	0.00	Q	1	1728	0.58
F	3	9082	0.33	R	1	15951	0.06
G	2	7753	0.26	S	8	29631	0.27
H	5	8517	0.59	T	3	12330	0.24
I	0	10155	0.00	U	2	12496	0.16
J	2	1947	1.03	V	1	4184	0.24
K	1	2518	0.40	W	0	6295	0.00
L	0	7576	0.00	XYZ	0	2072	0.00
				total	50	273169	5.57

Table 4

USEFUL NEW CITATIONS FROM BUNYAN AS A PROPORTION OF WORDS IN *OED* *ONLINE* [AS OF 30/06/2013]

Figure 7, based on Table 4, shows these new citations per thousand words currently listed in *OED Online* for each letter of the alphabet. There is no significant difference between the coverage achieved at the beginning of the *OED* reading programme (B-L) and at the end (S-Z).¹⁴ This suggests that continued reliance on the reading programme would not

¹⁴ The letter A has been partially revised and is therefore excluded from these figures.

have led to significantly better coverage in *OED3*. Despite the peak for Q, which represents a single citation, the letters that have been revised throughout for *OED3* (M-R) do provide markedly better coverage of Bunyan's works, in that significantly fewer new citations have been found ($p=.001$). This indicates that, although targeted reading of a single author can identify ante-datings for *OED Online*, the use of text databases is a much more efficient way of improving coverage.

Figure 7

USEFUL NEW CITATIONS FROM BUNYAN PER 1000 WORDS IN *OED ONLINE*

[BASED ON DATA FROM THE *OED ONLINE* 30/06/2013]

Conclusions

As we have seen, with the exception of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan's works did not receive the type of exhaustive attention that *OED* readers accorded to Shakespeare.

Bunyan was a popular writer whose style was seen as both unpolished and linguistically conservative and while *OED* readers appear to have considered him a useful provider of citations for dialect and religious terms, they did not make extensive use of his works for evidence of normal words being used in the usual ways. This was a general tendency and is by no means peculiar to Bunyan. As a more experienced contributor, Paine largely indexed normal usages in his reading of Bunyan, but these were largely superfluous because other authors (including Shakespeare and Milton) had already provided citations from earlier in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. To some extent, these processes combined in the production of the *OED* to marginalize Bunyan into conformity with his stereotype.

Although *OED* readers and editors may have considered that Bunyan was unlikely to provide many useful examples of language used in innovative ways, we have seen that he was an active creator of compounds and derived forms. These tend to be treated in less detail in *OED1*, which becomes problematic if *OED Online* is used as a data source for morphological studies. For example, *OED* publicity materials, issued alongside newly edited words in December 2011, commented that:

a glance at the new compounds added during the course of revision of the *OED* can illuminate the language and preoccupations of the 20th and 21st centuries just as effectively as looking at the new senses which have arisen in this period. (*OED Online*)

A glance at this new material also indicates that compounds are being treated with more thoroughness in *OED3* than was possible in *OED1*. Unless this process is extended back in time, the unevenness of evidence will be misleading to scholars and particularly to students of the history of English.

Clearly the *OED* cannot include all possible citations from all authors. The reading programme represented a sampling of English literature that was undoubtedly influenced by

the preferences and preconceptions of volunteer readers. This paper has offered a case study of how these preconceptions fed through into *OED1* coverage, which continues to be reflected in *OED Online*, both in edited and unedited entries. Without targeted re-reading, Bunyan is likely to slip down the *OED*'s top 1000 table as earlier citations are found from a wide variety of sources accessed through textual databases and as more selective coverage of nonce-usages. Relatively few of the first citations from Bunyan will remain and his newly-identified nonce-usages are now less likely to be inserted than they were in *OED1*, though other authors' nonce-usages will not be deleted:

the process of adding any new word, or a new sense of an existing word, is long and painstaking, and depends on the accumulation of a large body of published (preferably printed) citations showing the word in actual use over a period of at least ten years.

Once a word is added to the OED it is never removed (*OED Online: Frequently Asked Questions* [accessed 11 July 2013])

Courtesy citations from Bunyan will undoubtedly shrink as a proportion of the whole citation base, if not in absolute numbers. If the work done by voluntary readers is not re-visited, their marginalization of Bunyan's language will be confirmed. There are a number of reasons why this matters. First, Bunyan was an influential and widely read author, whose works are likely to have been formative in the language of many generations of young readers. For some, Bunyan's allegorical characters, such as *Talkative*, *Obstinate* and *Prudence*, will have shaped their later use and understanding of these words, in the same way that contemporary children's understanding of terms such as *excruciating*, *imperious*, *oblivious* and *petrify*, will be coloured by their reading of Harry Potter.¹⁵ If the relevant

¹⁵ *OED* does recognise Bunyan's influence on the later use of *beautiful*, *giant*, *muckrake*, *pliable*, *slough* and *worldly-wise*.

citations from Bunyan were included in the *OED*, users would be primed to identify his influence in their reading of later citations. Second, it emphasizes that although the *OED*'s list of top sources appears to offer a meaningful measure of authors' creativity and influence, it is really just a snapshot of later accretions to developing lexicographical practice. Without easy access to changes in practice, it is difficult to identify them or evaluate their effect.

Although the stereotypes will vary, there is no reason to think that other authors were not also treated in similar ways by *OED1* readers and editors. Further research is required to identify general trends in the provision and use of citations from other authors from this period. It may be, for example, that texts written by dissenters were read for examples of religious terms, that uneducated authors or those addressing a popular audience were read for examples of colloquial language or dialect and that working-class authors were read for non-standard usage and for professional terms relating to their occupations. It may be that Latinate coinages in the works of learned authors are included, while coinages from OE in the works of popular authors are not. Since *OED1* material, based on the original reading programme, provides the foundation on which *OED3* is based, it is essential to identify its biases and deficiencies so that they can be redressed in the current revision.

Appendix 1: *OED* antedatings from Bunyan

In the list below, the first number represents the period of antedating, followed by the date of the current first citation in brackets. Earlier citations in EEBO are noted in square brackets, with the period of antedating in round brackets. Except where noted, these terms were not included in Paine's index:

2 years (1682): *vilifyingly* (adv.) ‘in a vilifying manner’ (Mr B) [antedating a citation from Bunyan’s own *Holy War*; EEBO: 1650 (32 years)]¹⁶

8 years (1690): *flushed* (adj.) ‘suffused with red or ruddy colour’ (HW) [EEBO: 1680 (10 years)]

11 years (1667): *fore-ordaining* (adj.) ‘that fore-ordains’ (GTO) [EEBO: 1613 (54 years)]

15 years (1697): *boot-and-saddle* (n.) ‘the signal to cavalry for mounting’ (HW) [same first date in EEBO]

18 years (1681): *self-pleasing* (n.) ‘doing one’s own ‘pleasure’ or will’ (CB) [EEBO: 1583 (98 years)]

19 years (1699): *cautiously* (adv.) ‘in a cautious manner’ (Mr B) [EEBO: 1602 (97 years)]

24 years (a1680): *self-righteous* (adj.) ‘righteous in one’s own esteem’ (GTO) [EEBO: 1546 (134 years)]

28 years (1694): *awakening* (adj.) ‘fitted to arouse; rousing’ (GA) [EEBO: 1652 (42 years)]

38 years (1718): *slabber* (n.) ‘slaver; excessive saliva’ (Mr B) [EEBO: 1556 (162 years), apparently with the sense ‘slime’ rather than ‘saliva’]

40 years (1703): *heart-aching* (adj.) ‘causing heart-ache; distressing’ (CB) [EEBO: 1620 (83 years)]

43 years (1709): *pulpit-stairs* (n.) ‘stairs belonging to a pulpit’ (GA) [EEBO: 1648 (61 years)]

¹⁶ The *OED* provides only one citation for *vilifyingly*, but because this is in a citation paragraph that includes evidence for several derived forms of *vilify*, it was not identified as the first citation for a word by the *OED Online* software.

55 years (1737): *townsfolk* (n.) ‘the people of a town’ (HW) [EEBO: 1655 (82 years)]

55 years (1737): *town-officer* (n.) ‘an officer (of excise) posted in a town’ (HW)

[EEBO: 1640 (97 years)]

57 years (1723): *fourpence-halfpenny* (n.) [with reference to the value of an Irish
sixpence in England] (GA) [Paine included this term in his index of

Bunyan’s works, but it did not find its way into the dictionary. EEBO: 1560
(160 years)]

66 years (1746): *unutterably* (adv.) ‘inexpressibly, indescribably; unspeakably’ (Mr B)

[EEBO: 1620 (126 years)]

112 years (1768/74): *gospel-minister* (n.) ‘a minister of the gospel’ (GTO) [EEBO:

1638 (130 years)]

128 years (1812): *know-nothing* (n.) ‘a person who knows nothing; a very ignorant

person; an ignoramus’ (PP2) [the Bunyan citation was added while this
paper was being written; EEBO: 1654 (158 years, but I did not undertake a
thorough search through over 5000 examples, which were largely of the
verbal use)]

134 years (1818): *contemplating* (n.) ‘the or an act of contemplation’ (PP2) [EEBO:

1576 (242 years)]

136 years (1818): *dejecting* (adj.) ‘that dejects’ (HW) [EEBO: 1609 (209 years)]

154 years (1834): *cashbox* (n.) ‘a box in which money is kept; a till’ (Mr B) [EEBO:

1670 (164 years)]

163 years (1829): *heart-affecting* (adj.) ‘that affects the heart’ (GA) [EEBO: 1625 (204
years)]

169 years (1849): *bespatterer* (n.) ‘one who bespatters with mud or abuse’ (Mr B)

[EEBO: 1658 (191 years)]

174 years (1869): *drooling* (n.) ‘the or an act of producing excessive saliva’ (Mr B) [not antedated by EEBO]

197 years (1879): *griggish* (adj.) ‘merry’ (HW) [not antedated by EEBO]

208 years (1871): *back-slidden* (adj.) ‘that has relapsed into sin’ (CB) [EEBO: 1657 (214 years)]

209 years (1891): *debasing* (n.) ‘the action of the verb *debase*’ (HW) [EEBO: 1581 (310 years)]

Appendix 2: *OED* postdatings from Bunyan

In the list below, the first number represents the period of post-dating, followed by the date of the existing last citation in brackets. Those that are not defined are largely presented as derived or compound forms, which are not generally provided with a full quotation paragraph:

9 years (1671): *slighty* (adj.) ‘superficial’ [EEBO: 1698 (27 years)]

16 years (1664): *by-hole* (n.) [not defined; EEBO: 1696 (32 years)]

21 years (1659): *defrauding* (n.) [not defined; EEBO: 1700 (41 years)]

26 years (1654): *misreckon* (v.) ‘to defraud’ [not postdated by EEBO]

58 years (1622): *slithy* (adj.) ‘slovenly, careless’ [EEBO: 1700 (78 years)]

77 years (1603): *hazarding* (n.) ‘the action of *hazard* v. in various senses’ [EEBO: 1700 (97 years)]

81 years (1599): *quirk* (v.) ‘to attack a person by means of quirks; to make quips at the expense of a person’ [not postdated by EEBO. This is in Paine’s index, but was not included in the dictionary. *OED3* moves an *OED2* 1823 citation to another sense]

97 years (1583): *sermon-while* (n.) [not defined; not postdated by EEBO]

154 years (1526): *dispraising* (n. and adj.) [not defined; EEBO: 1682 (156 years)]

Appendix 3: Bunyan's compounds and comparable compounds in the *OED*

In this list, the first compound is Bunyan's, which is not found in the *OED*. The others are comparable forms with the date of their earliest *OED* citation. It was not possible to check all of the slips in the *OED* archive to determine whether or not evidence for these compounds was available to the editors, but notes are provided for some of these terms:

bastard-bearer (n.) [discussed in the text; EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

bastard-getter (n.) [discussed in the text; EEBO provides three additional examples between 1659 and 1700]

continued-in (adj.): *believed-in* (1655, among related forms), *reined-in* (1674, among related forms), *rolled-in* (1832), *turned-in* (1900) [no citation evidence was available to *OEDI* editors for this form, but it would be a useful addition because although *-in* is used as a suffix in a number of adjectives, it is usually used with the sense 'within', as in *walled-in*, *glassed-in* and *screened-in*. EEBO provides additional examples from 1654 and 1657]

dung sweat (n.): *dung-fly* (1658), *dung-pile* (1658); *ground-sweat* (1699), *muck-sweat* (1679) [This was included in a list of compounds for *dung* written by one sub-editor, annotated by Murray and at least one other person, and stored among the slips for *dung* in the *OED* archive. *Dung-sweat* was supported by this citation

from Bunyan, but it was not included in the dictionary. EEBO does not provide any additional examples.]

half-fool (n.): ?*half-brother* (c.1330), *half-wit* (1678); *sub-fool* (1680) [EEBO provides seventeen additional examples between 1577 and 1700]

heart-pride (n.): *heart-grief* (1580), *heart-sorrow* (no citation); *self-pride* (a1586); *wit-pride* (1605) [EEBO provides eight other examples between 1619 and 1676]

Jack-pay-for-all (n.): *Jack-hold-my-staff* (1625); *jack-go-to-bed-at-noon* (1853), *jack-jump-about* (1955) [EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

judgement-affronting (adj.): *judgement-outbraving* (1659); *God-affronting* (a1693), *sun-affronting* (1702) [no citation evidence was available to *OED* editors for this form and EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

master-sinner (n.): *master-gunner* (1475), *master-builder* (1557); *proto-sinner* (1702), *under-sinner* (1684) [EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

oath-master (n.): *oath-breaker* (1601), *oath-taker* (1597); *boat-master* (1248), *billet-master* (1640-4) [no citation evidence was available to *OED* editors for this form. EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

rob-shop (attrib.): *rob-house* (c.1450); *rob-orchard* (1673); [many -shop compounds, but the first element generally indicates what the shop sells] [no citation evidence was available to *OED* editors for this form and EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

soul-means (n.): *soul-concern* (c.1662); *soul-power* (1642); *money-means* (1612) [no citation evidence was available to *OED1* editors for this form and EEBO does not provide any additional examples]

soul-seller (n.): *soul-killer* (1548), *soul-loser* (1682); *ale-seller* (OE), *spirit-seller* (1896) [no citation evidence was available to *OED1* editors for this form; EEBO provides six additional examples between 1570 and 1685]

tub-side (n.) *tub-end* (1542), *tub-hoop* (1892); *stirrup-side* (1663), *well-side* (1656) [EEBO provides an additional example from 1659]

upright-hearted (adj.): *narrow-hearted* (c.1230), *wise-hearted* (1535), *right-hearted* (1592), *godly-hearted* (1679) [I was not able to examine the citation evidence available for *upright-hearted*, but it represents a useful addition in that no other compound adjectives beginning with *upright* are currently listed. EEBO provides numerous additional examples between 1602 and 1700]

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