Stranded in Time. Andrew Clark and the Language of WW1.

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***ABSTRACT* Stranded in Time: Andrew Clark and the Language of WW1.**

This paper examines the stranding of Andrew Clark's real-time record of the language of WW1, in ways which explore both his own sense of failure (the project remained unrevised and incomplete) as well as the arresting achievement it still presents. Archived in the Bodleian Library, Oxford are almost 100 notebooks and files—many headed 'English Words in War-Time', replete with carefully dated slips, provenance, annotation, and alphabetic or thematic organization. It remain an almost entirely neglected work. Clark has, in effect, been 'stranded' too, along with his philological expertise and historical principles (which reveal – and refract) his close engagement with the then on-going first edition of the *OED*. Nevertheless, Words in War-Time is a project that was deliberately archived, by Clark himself, in ways which favoured the autonomy of the notebook page over print, while its sequential narratives of words in time aimed to document 'a record of the great struggle from a linguistic point of view' as war advanced. In tracking language on the move in WW1, anything, Clark argued, might be a text, and capable of exhibiting the ways in which language mediated a period of unprecedented historical change.

All dictionaries, wrote Samuel Johnson, exhibit some form of stranding. His own work was no exception – even given its two folio volumes and impressive 'bulk', it was, as he admitted, merely 'finished, but not completed'. The last word – in this instance, *zootomy* (defined as 'Dissection of the bodies of beasts') -- had been written. Yet, as Johnson pointed out, even in the act of 'hastening to publication' and *en route* to the printers, language will, in reality, continue to 'bud' and 'fall away'.[1] Lexicography is a manifestation of the fundamental changeability of discourse – with living language as impossible to capture, he noted, as the 'agitation' of the trees in a 'grove'.[2]

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[1] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language; in which the Words are deduced from their Originals and illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan, J. and P. Knapton et al, 1755), C1^{v}, C2^{v}.
[2] Johnson, *Dictionary*, B2^{r}.

These tensions between time, change, and the record that reference works might provide have particular salience for 'English Words in War-Time' (henceforth *WiW*), a diverse and heterogeneous collection made by Andrew Clark (1856-1922) which, with its ancillary notebooks and files, 'hastened' not to publication but, courtesy of Clark himself, to the Bodleian Library in Oxford where it now forms part of the Library's modern manuscript collection.[3] While Johnson's *Dictionary* spans evidence from Chaucer up to the mid-1750s -- and an even greater temporal sweep was captured by the 'historical principles' of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED1*), published in parts between 1884-1928 -- Clark's scrutiny of language and language change began in the immediate prelude to WW1 and continued for just over four years. If, as Ephraim Chambers had stated, the 'Dictionarist, like an Historian, comes after the Affair',[4] Clark's conception of both historical observation, and the language practices in which history exists, was different. *WiW* was to be a real-time record of words and meaning within a distinct, and distinctive, act of short-term historical lexicography. Across its many volumes, Clark sought to engage, in detail, with the temporalities of usage which on-going language history in WW1 revealed.

In spite of the wealth of contemporary detail it contains (Clark collects up tens of thousands of words and senses, many of which did not appear – and, indeed, still do not appear -- in the records of formal lexicography), the 'stranding' of *WiW* has, in reality, long been a distinguishing feature of its history and use. While Clark clearly envisaged readers of his own - injunctions to 'unfold tenderly' or 'carefully', inscribed against larger extracts used as evidence, appear at a number of points – his record of war-time English has, in reality, remained largely forgotten and unused. Clark, too, has arguably been 'stranded' in similar ways -- and in need, as a result, of a form of recuperation (and reassessment) which does justice to his historical scholarship, linguistic dedication, and the innovative methodologies he adopted. Granted an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he is, for example, presented as a 'Church of

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[3] 'English Words in War-Time' can be found at Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc.e.265- e.329. Clark's interest in war-time language also prompted a range of other collective projects, which importantly share the same methodology. Thanks are due to Colin Oberlin-Harris for permission to cite material from the Clark collection, and to the Leverhulme Fund for funding for the wider 'Words in War-Time Project'. On Clark as war-time linguist, see Mugglestone (forthcoming, 2021).

[4] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. 2 vols. (London: James and John Knapton, 1728), I, xxii.

England clergyman, scholar, and diarist'. Mention of *WiW* is minimal (and inaccurate). Clark 'filled sixty-five books with notes on current usage', it states.[5] His wide-ranging interests in dialectology, and involvement with the historical philology of the then on-going *OED* (the methodology of which was both re-appropriated and redirected for *WiW*) do not feature. Instead, when seen in relation to WW1, it is Clark's other war-time project that conventionally claims attention. Clark's war diary, comprising 92 volumes and some three million words, is, as Munson affirms, 'one of the largest and most comprehensive diaries ever kept in English history'.[6] It narrated a history of war-time via daily events, however small and insignificant these might at first seem. It is, Clark notes, a repository of 'authentic written scraps of genuine village opinion', based in the small village of Great Leighs in Essex.[7] It exists, in reality, as a companion piece to *WiW* (with which it is carefully cross-referenced by Clark himself).

This essay, in focussing on Clark's work on language across WW1 and its immediate aftermath, seeks, in contrast, to address the distinctiveness of his contributions to language history, and to our knowledge of war-time English. As we will see, Clark was, in practice as well as inclination, part of the philological revolution of the Victorian period, in a network of writers that included Friedrich Max Müller, James Murray and Henry Bradley (both editors of the *OED1*), and Frederick Furnivall, who had edited the *OED* until the late 1870s while setting up a variety of other enterprises in the endeavour to provide accurate historical texts that the *Dictionary* might use. While, as the *DNB* entry notes, Clark was also an indefatigable editor, whether for the Oxford Historical Society or for Furnivall's Early English Text Society (EETS), it is equally clear that, in such activities, he not only edited writers such as John Aubrey or Antony Wood, but also carefully filleted them for words and word-usage, sending the results to Murray at his house in North Oxford.[8] Clark's status as a long-term contributor, reader, and

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[5] G. H. Martin, 'Andrew Clark', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006).
[6] https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:4563/10.1093/ref:odnb/55619.
James Munson edited a one-volume selection from the diaries in 1985. See James Munson (ed.), *Echoes of the Great War. The Diary of the Rev. Andrew Clark* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.ix. The diaries themselves, under the general heading 'Echoes of the Great War' (henceforth *War Diary*) can be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, at MS Eng.hist. e.88–177c.
[7] *War Diary* (1914) I, 2[r].
[8] Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1623-1695, described by Himself*. 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891-99); John Aubrey, *"Brief Lives", Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set down between 1669 & 1696, Ed. from the Author's MSS. by A.*

critical reader for the on-going *OED* is, in this light, another pertinent aspect of his 'stranded' history. 'In this way I have preserved for the collector of words some quaint forms and expressions', as he comments in his 'Introduction' to Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.[9] While citational evidence from Aubrey and Wood pervaded *OED1*, this was largely derived, in fact, from Clark himself. History, for Clark, was not only a narrative of events but densely imbricated in the processes and patterns of words in time.

As war began, Clark was, in fact, hard at work on another volume for the EETS -- and engaged in drawing up yet another word-list for the *Dictionary* based on the manuscript evidence he had found.[10] His record of words such as *merlette* ('A representation of a bird with neither feet nor beak') and *yearing* (an obsolete word designating 'one-year-old') still provides the earliest evidence within relevant *OED* entries. The *Diocese Documents*, as Clark's preface stated, contained 'many points of interest, both linguistic and historical'.[11] Current events, however, as Clark notes, contained many more, bringing the 'opportunity' for a new type of work in which his close familiarity with historical principles, and with reading as a form of linguistic exegesis, could be redirected to new ends.

As Richard Chenevix Trench had declared in his foundational lectures to the London Philological Society, the *OED* had, of course, been envisaged as a 'historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view'. The dictionary-maker was henceforth, he added, to be a 'historian', the dictionary an 'inventory' of historical use across time.[12] Yet, as Clark realised, 'point of view' could also be changed such that, while attention remained closely focussed on linguistic use, a different 'history of a nation' might emerge. Seen in this light, *WiW* was, from the beginning, deliberately experimental. As we will see, the 'great writers' who conventionally act as authorities for usage are displaced. Instead, as in Clark's diary, attention determinedly moves to the ordinary, ephemeral, and every-day. 'Original work, patient induction

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Clark. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898). All subsequent references are to these editions

[9] Clark, *Brief Lives*, 6.

[10] Andrew Clark (ed.), *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544*. (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1914). Clark's word-lists appear on pp.364 ff of his edition.

[11] Clark, *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, vi.

[12] Richard Chenevix Trench, *On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries. Being the Substance of Two papers read before the Philological Society, Nov. 5, and Nov. 19, 1857* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1860), 5-6.

of facts, minute verification of evidence, are slow processes, and a work so characterized cannot be put together with scissors or paste', James Murray had proclaimed in 1900.[13] Clark, across *WiW* and its related notebooks, ventured to disagree.

Writing a war of words

In the history of modern lexicography, the hand-written – whether in relation to data collection or the preliminary drafting of definition and sense–relations – typically occurs behind the scenes. We can, for example, examine Samuel Johnson's hand-written annotations on the books he perused for the purposes of citation for his own *Dictionary* (see e.g. DeMaria 1997; Mugglestone 2018), or scrutinize the marginal asides which occur on proof-sheets used in the making of *OED1*.[14] If such sources are illuminating, they are nevertheless distinct from the finished text. As Philip Horne comments, writerly notebooks are usually characterised by the provisionality of the information they contain. They attest antecedent stages in the process of composition – 'flashes of perception, phrases, half-formed and potential ideas' -- rather than the finished work *per se*.[15]

Notebooks for Clark had, in contrast, long assumed a status and value of their own. Paginated and indexed, they are collective artefacts, filled with information of various kinds in the interests of scholarly enquiry and record. Even before war began, Clark's notebook habit was well-established. 'This donation brings the total of manuscript volumes written and presented by Dr. Clark, the Oxford and Essex antiquary … between 1885, and 1913, to a surprising total of 282', the 'Annual Report of the Curators of the Bodleian Library' affirmed.[16] Earlier issues of the *Report* had drawn attention to 'Thirteen volumes of topographical notes' (deposited by Clark in 1893), two volumes of 'Essex Library Notes' (in 1904), or twelve volumes of 'Maldon Notes' (in 1907).

As a former Curator of the Library, Clark was by no means unaware of the pressures of space that the Bodleian, given its status as a copy-right library, faced. The Library 'increases yearly at the rate of 15,000 bound volumes, and about fifty manuscripts', Clark's own *Bodleian*

[13] James Murray, *The Evolution of English Lexicography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 48.
[14] On antecedent stages of the *OED*, and the evidence of proof-sheets, Lynda Mugglestone, *Lost for Words. The Hidden History of the Oxford English Dictionary* (London and New York: Yale University Press, 2005).
[15] Philip Horne, 'Briefly Noted', *The Guardian Review*, 7 April 2018, 32.
[16] 'Annual Report of the Curators of the Bodleian Library for 1913', *Oxford University Gazette*, 11 March 1914, 558.

Guide for Visitors had informed readers in 1906.[17] Nevertheless, the demands of on-going research, and the desire to preserve the information thereby gained, imposed imperatives of its own. 'As Macbeth saw the murderous dagger before him, handle to his hand, I see a row of quarto note-books – all wagging Bodley-wards in hope of shelter', Clark wrote to Bodley's Chief Librarian, Falconer Madan, in early 1914.[18] Temptation in WW1 proved equally impossible to refuse.

As Clark recognized, notebooks offered, above all, a valuable autonomy -- a space in which material which might otherwise be neglected or forgotten (or, still worse, lost altogether) could be documented and conserved. Few publishers would, after all, be willing to take on the eighty-five volumes which made up his 'Oxford College Collections', or the seventeen volumes which, by 1913, comprised Clark's 'Collections for Great Leighs Parish' – or, indeed, scores of volumes detailing language change and use in WW1 which also head 'Bodley-wards' between 1915 and 1922. Clark's notebook project on language exists, as such, outside the published record by design. Instead, he aimed to present a time-capsule of war-time usage in which words and meanings – however insignificant they might seem -- are presented as part of history as lived experience, and documented in notebooks replete with newspaper clippings, advertisements and ephemera.

At first glance, what results can seem like a form of lexical scrapbook, a history of words in pen, paper, and paste. As the 'Annual Report' of the Bodleian Library confirmed in 1916, it was seen, from the beginning, as 'a very unusual type of work', characterized by 'the valuable manuscript notes' it provided on words, frequency, meaning, and usage.[19] Scrapbooks, writes Ellen Gruber Garvey, might perform 'archivalness' in diverse ways but they share a generic identity courtesy of the 'repurposing' they reveal -- a means by which material which originally appeared in one context is transferred to another, depending on the desiderata of the collector,

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[17] Andrew Clark, *A Bodleian Guide for Visitors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p.iii. By 1914 accessions had increased to c.52,000 volumes p.a. though given this decreased during the war years.

[18] Andrew Clark to Falconer Madan, 9 February 1914. Bodleian Library, MS. Library Records d.1030: 'The Rev. A. Clark's Donations, 1885-'.

[19] 'Annual Report of the Curators of the Bodleian Library for 1915', *Oxford University Gazette*, 3 May 1916, 436.

and the new ends it might serve.[20] Clark's 'repurposing' nevertheless revealed specific intellectual and theoretical foundations, as well as an arresting single-mindedness across the years of war. In his work, a scrapbook can be a quasi-dictionary, a reference work on a particular stage of linguistic evolution.

As closer scrutiny reveals, for example, his use of citations as evidence –the basis of each notebook entry – supports, in effect, the construction of a particular type of lexicographical enterprise, one based in the philological revolution (and 'historical method') of the Victorian period. As Clark's work for the *OED* had made plain, to comment on language without supplying corroboratory evidence of usage is, for example, untenable. 'This chaplain, for aught I know, may be quâ chaplain a very jewel. As a collector of words, he is contemptible', Clark expostulated alongside a lengthy article on the war-time use of *biff* as written by 'a Chaplain among the Wounded' in March 1915.[21] The historical method of the chaplain in question was deemed seriously awry: 'He does not take the trouble to give even one sentence of soldier-speech to show how the word is really used. He seems not to have heard of "biff" = a blow: "Give him a biff in the eye"'. *Biff* (defined as a '"show" or a "scrap," … a special attack on, or engagement with, the enemy') might have been a common word in war-time diction at the front but it was, Clark rightly stressed, by no means a new feature of English.[22] Logophilia – and a committed interest in words and meaning -- has its limits. Clark was undeniably fascinated by the flux of words in time but his insistence on a proper, and empirical, methodology is plain.

Individual notebook entries can, by extension, easily confirm Clark's meticulous replication of the 'Directions to Readers' as sent out by James Murray as part of the crowd-sourcing enterprise on which the *OED*'s own data would depend. 'Make a quotation for every word that strikes you as rare, obsolete, old-fashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a peculiar way', Murray had recommended: 'Take special note of passages which show or imply that a word is either new or tentative, or needing explanation as old or archaic, and which thus help fix the date of its introduction or disuse'.[23] Clark's clippings, he makes plain, are 'slips' in ways which mirror the evidence he had earlier supplied for the benefit of the *Dictionary*, '11.20 p.m. finished

[20] Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 50ff.
[21] 'The Battle'. A Chaplain among the Wounded', *Scotsman*, 27 March 1915 [Clark archive].
[22] *WiW* (XXIX), 171. Citations for *biff* in the modern *OED* track usage back to 1889. Its first appearance as headword occurs in the 1933 *Supplement*.

pasting in slips of letter *P* into a volume of words for Jan. --Feb. 1915', as another entry in his diary records. He stresses, too, the importance of 'the exact context, & the exact sense'. Similar forms of appropriation extend to field labels and common *OED* abbreviations. Seen in this light, an incidental clipping on e.g. 'EDINBURGH WOMEN AND THE WAR', used in illustrating *cake-and-candy* ('As a result of a cake-and-candy sale held on Tuesday at 10 Queensferry Street by the V.A.D., No. 8, Edinburgh, a sum of £26, 10s. 7d. was raised to help to provide a motor ambulance for the front') documents not only a form absent from the *OED* both then and now but, in recording date, page, and provenance in the *Scotsman*, it also provides a meticulous historical record for such use. Hand-written annotations – *cake-and-candy* was, Clark added, 'much in use 1914-15' – meanwhile amplify the historical record where necessary, in ways based in an acute sense of the living history of words. 'People provided these delicacies, which were sold for purposes of medical charities in connection with the war', he notes.

Lexicography, however instituted, is, writes Bejoint, always a combination of tradition and innovation.[24] This, too, is evident in what Clark does. The *OED*, as he stressed, was a work of extraordinary scholarship and range; as he informed Murray, he read each and every page with absorbed interest. Yet, equally plain were recurrent problems about the nature, and scale, of the evidence to be used. Furnivall and Murray, might, like Clark himself, be convinced of the historical salience of evidence from the popular press. Furnivall's own collection of clippings regularly made its way to the archives of the *OED.* 'To the philologist & historian of language – newspaper quotations are the *most valuable* of current instances – they show how the language grows – they make visible to us the actual steps which for earlier stages we must reconstruct by inference', as Murray had early stressed to Bartholomew Price, Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press (and another close friend of Clark's).[25] Directives from Oxford University Press could, conversely, reveal a different set of priorities. That 'quotations

[23] James A. H. Murray, 'Directions to Readers for the Dictionary'. Readers were also invited to provide a short definition 'if convenient'. The 'Direction' are reproduced in the Appendix to K. M. E Murray, *Caught in the Web of Words. James A. H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary*. (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

[24] Henri Bejoint. *Tradition and Innovation in Modern English Dictionaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[25] Bodleian Library, Murray Papers. MP/9/6/1882. James A. H. Murray to Bartholomew Price, 19 June 1882.

illustrative of modern literary words' were to 'be taken from great authors, and those from newspapers to be as few as possible' formed, for example, part of a detailed set of 'Suggestions for Guidance' received by Murray even before the first fascicle of the *Dictionary* appeared.[26] Further directives issued in 1896 likewise specified, among other desiderata, that 'New words, which have appeared (generally in newspapers) during the last 15 years [are] to be simply ignored'.[27]

Exclusion was, of course, never complete. 'We should always get the best authority we can for a word or phrase', as Henry Hucks Gibbs, another Delegate, had urged Murray: 'Hasty writing in newspapers is not the best authority, except when it is the *only* authority, and … then it must be used'.[28] Nevertheless, the making of *OED1* confirms a history of constraint in this and other respects. Modern non-canonical citations prove both vulnerable to excision, as well as being subject at a number of points to compromised methods of representation in which patterns of cultural privileging can, in effect, be overt (see e.g. *let* (v.), sense 35: 'a1902 *Mod. Newspaper Advt*., Wine and Spirit Vaults ... Let-offs could pay all rent'; *apparel* ('1883 *Newsp. Advt*., Piece Goods, Apparel, etc. for Sale by Auction', or e.g. *tipper* ('*Mod. Newsp. Advt*., Umbrella tippers wanted, indoors'). Canonical citations, we might note, invariably receive a full historical record.[29]

Clark's reading, and models of representation, for *WiW* determinedly reversed hierarchies of this kind. Established writers such as Rudyard Kipling or Arthur Conan Doyle can, of course, occasionally claim attention. Doyle's use of *girl* as verb in an article on munitions usefully foregrounded, for Clark's purposes, the diction of female agency and the 'girl behind the man behind the gun'. 'It is not yet fully manned -- or should I say *girled*? -- but when it is, not less

[26] Bodleian Library, Murray Papers. MP/18/4/1883. *The New English Dictionary. Suggestions for Guidance in Preparing Copy for the Press*.

[27] Bodleian Library, Murray Papers. MP/24/4/1896. *New English Dictionary. Correspondence and Minutes Printed by Order of the Board*.

[28] MP/14/6/1882. Henry Hucks Gibbs to J. A. H. Murray, 14 June 1882.

[29] On these contrastive methods in historical representation, see Lynda Mugglestone, 'Transcripts of Time: Examining Historical Methods in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Andrew Clark's *English Words in War-Time*'. Forthcoming in *Historical Language Dictionaries: Approaches and Comparisons*" edited by Hassan Hamze (Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha, 2021).

than 12,000 munition workers will be running the miles of factories which overlie the peat bog of last summer', as a clipping Clark extracted in 1916 attested.[30] Kipling's commendatory *war-wise* ('Never again the war-wise face'), used in a poem written after the death of Field Marshal Lord Roberts in November 1914 elicited a similarly careful record, not least given its absence from formal lexicography.[31] Both, however, were recorded only by virtue of their appearance in the popular press. Clark's reading – always with pen or pencil in hand – was not directed to the poets or novelists in which the later literary record of war-time use often resides. 'It is to be hoped that this writer is a better postman than he is a poet', Clark notes acerbically, for example, against another rare snippet of poetic evidence, extracted from 'The Gill Bringers', by J. Bernard McCarthy, described in the *Daily Express* as 'The Irish nationalist Postman-Poet, and Playwright'.[32] Instead, across *WiW*, he reads, deliberately, across a social and geographical spectrum of newspapers, ranging from the *Scotsman* (the newspaper for 'people in Scotland, and Scots out of their native country', he notes) to, say, the left-wing *Star*, the evening counterpart of the *Daily News*, a newspaper that he undoubtedly found less congenial but which was carefully scrutinized all the same. Other frequent source-texts include, as above, the vigorously patriotic *Daily Express* (then a half-penny morning daily), the *Telegraph*, the *Evening News* (a London-based half-penny paper which Clark could obtain in nearly Braintree after 6.45 p.m), and the local Essex press where relevant. If, as Clark confirms, he had by no means been an avid reader of newspapers before the war, *WiW* displayed on a number of levels, new-found resolution.

Detail – and a willingness to engage with the shifting play of meaning and sense, or with the nonce or short-lived formations of popular discourse -- form quintessential elements in what Clark does. He reads relevant texts from cover to cover, in ways which repeatedly confirm his own wide-ranging interest in register, and the value of newspapers as what Görlach describes as 'conglomerate texts',[33] replete with an 'orderly variety' of text-types such as letters or diaries, advertising, cookery, sport, or motoring. For Clark, embedded 'letters from the Front' usefully attested to a range of war-time vernacularities and their diffusion in the national press. Reported

[30] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Miracle Town', *Scotsman*, 28 November, 1916 [Clark archive].

[31] 'Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Tribute', *Daily Express*, 20 November 1914 [Clark archive].

[32] *Daily Express*, 2 March 1916 [Clark archive].

[33] Manfred Görlach, *Text Types and the History of English* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004), 106.

speech – whether of witnesses to Zeppelin air raids on the Home Front, or the King's English of George V – likewise elicits close attention. *WiW* is an intriguingly multi-voiced project in ways that yield other forms of democratization in lexical evidence and its use.

The making, and wider aims, of *WiW* were, in turn, usefully recorded for posterity in Clark's diary. 'To-day I concluded another section of my collection of '*English Words in Wartime*', being slips from certain newspapers of words used in connection with the war', as he noted in November 1914: 'The collecting these & arranging them for the period 1 Oct. to 31 Oct. has taken a large slice of every day. Pasting them in in alphabetical order into two quarto note-books, & attaching to each slip the record of where it came from has absorbed four days, rising early & keeping on till late'.[34] A similar entry, three days later, was written at 12.30 a.m. Even at Christmas, words would demand their due.[35]

Reading and representation

Seen as a whole, Clark's work presents therefore a micro-history of discourse in a period of all too critical historical change. Its sense of temporality is marked. It includes evidence on, say, otherwise unrecorded neologisms such as *Zeppelinophobia* and *Zeppeleinitis*, reflective of new and pertinent anxieties about the nature of aerial attack and the non-combatant victims it might claim. Early meanings by which *Zeppelinophobia* designated an entirely irrational fear were obsolescent by January 1915. 'Many people are suffering from ***Zeppelinphobia***, among them some who ought to know better', the *Daily Express* had announced in October 1914. Anxieties of this kind instead proved both prescient and real. Conversely, as the final months of war approaches, Clark turned to recording e.g. the *thunder-stroke attacks* of Spanish flu documented courtesy of clippings from the *Daily Telegraph*: 'A sudden development of influenza was a characteristic of the disease, but "thunder-stroke attacks" ought not to be regarded as normal', as it warned in October 1918.[36] We can, at other points, trace the language of the *sea attack*, another form absent – then and now -- from formal lexicography. In war-time use, in contrast, it was early familiarised as part of the emerging diction of total war following the German bombardment on Hartlepool and Whitby in December 1914 from battle-cruisers located in the

[34] *War Diary* (1914) IV, 82[r].

[35] *War Diary* (1914) VIII, 3[r].

[36] *Daily Telegraph,* 11 October 1918 [Clark archive].

North Sea. Significant, too, from April 1915 was e.g. the diction of the *respirator* or *anti-gas-mask* for use on both Home and active fronts -- a form embedded in other new meanings of *chlorine* or *gas* as weapons, and in the distressing familiarization from 1915 of *gas warfare* and its attendant metalanguage. 'GAS POISON PROTECTION FACE MASK Removable Chemical Pads Non-Flammable Eye Pieces Easily Carried in Pocket. TWO SHILLINGS EACH', as war-time advertising in the *Evening News* proclaimed, courtesy of a clipping Clark extracted in mid-1915.

In the liberal and inclusive record that Clark provides, we can likewise map the diverse intersections of women and the public world of work in a widely-changing discourse of *substitutes* and *substitution* as men of military age went to the front. 'If she is surrounded by luggage it is not her own, and she is far from helpless, for she is the new *woman porter* who has sprung into existence at Marylebone', as a clipping from the *Star* testified of other visible forms of social (and linguistic) history.[37] *Call girl*, documented in the modern *OED* as 'A female prostitute, *spec.* one who makes appointments by telephone as opposed to soliciting on the street' (though it can, it adds, also be used in referring to telephone operators)[38] demonstrated other war-time specificities. 'THE FIRST CALL GIRL. INNOVATION AT SHAFTESBURY THEATRE. Tovey, the call boy at the Shaftesbury theatre, has joined the army as a trumpeter, and Mary Powell, who is only fourteen years old, has taken his place. She has the distinction of being the first call girl in the world', as the relevant clipping in Clark's notebook affirms.[39]

Conversely, in what is a literally different mode, we can track the impact of war on female fashion in which the *military*, as Clark noted, functioned as paradoxically popular 'persuasive', generating entries for forms such as *cartridge button*, or *Joffre blue* (named after the French Commander in Chief), or documenting the disturbingly fashionable *silken bayonet belt* whose patriotic meaning was far removed from the pragmatics of attack ('a sash which is worn round the waist and has a piece of the silk of which it is made hanging at one side, in

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[37] 'Fair Porters on the G. C. W.', *Star*, 7 April 1915 [Clark archive].

[38] See *call girl* (n.), *OED Online*. *Call boy* is defined as 'A person, typically a boy or young man, whose job is to assist the prompter, and call the actors when they are required on stage'.

[39] *Daily Express*, 28 May 1915.

imitation of the soldier's sheath for carrying the bayonet').[40] In war-time use, Clark argued, *war necklaces* ('The coloured bead necklaces now so much in vogue as "war necklaces" owe their revival to Princess Mary, who originated this new industry in order to benefit various war funds')[41] can be a signifier as much as, say, the marketing of *trench periscopes* and *trench capes* (in still other collocations that, as he comments, were unknown and unrecorded in pre-war days). We can, of course, also track the conceptualization, and consolidation, of *trench warfare*, itself an entirely new phenomenon, as well as, say, the emergence of the *tank* or the consolidation of *war in the air*, or the shifting properties and percolation of trench slang.

Print lexicography is, of course, often depicted as a strikingly Sisyphean domain such that, even as Z is reached, the beginning of the alphabet will demand renewed scrutiny. Clark's real-time attention to language presented, in effect, a marked acceleration of this process. His first notebook, ordered alphabetically, spanned a mere five weeks (and over a thousand entries) in August to mid-September 1914. The next volume ('much too crowded', Clark admits) was devoted to 'single words *A*-*R* in the later half of Sept. 1914'. It documented words such as *fiction-factory*, a scathing coinage for the German press (in ways that neatly confirm the longevity of fake news and its associated anxieties), as well as hitherto unrecorded compounds such as *fighting-front* or *food hog* (a coinage which, in sharply negative censure, referred to those who attempted to hoard food in the immediate outbreak of war). A third notebook, finished in October 1914, provided evidence on the remaining section of the alphabet, before the process of collection began once more. It included entries such as *shell-shield* (testimony to other aspects of the changing architecture of modern war)[42] and *Tipperary*, popular before the war, but already redefined by Clark as 'the soldier's marching song of 1914'.

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[40] H. J. Greenwall, 'War and Women's Dress. The Military Touch in Winter Fashions', *Daily Express*, 8 December 1914 [Clark archive].

[41] *Daily Express*, 27 January 1916 [Clark archive].

[42] See e.g. *Scotsman*, 19 September 1914: 'The enemy's trenches north of Chalons are a metre (just over a yard) deep, with *shell shields* every twenty metres and rest chambers. The multiple lines of the trenches are flanked with further defence works, concealing metrailleuses'. *Shell-shield* remains absent from the *OED*.

Here, too, notebooks rather than print were clearly advantageous. Clark, as this suggests, does not so much engage in what Johnson in 1747 had described as a process of 'beating the track of the alphabet with sluggish resolution' but can instead hurtle from A to Z – only to repeat the process as still other forms and senses emerge into view.[43] If a particular tranche of language proved unexpectedly abundant, a new notebook -- in a principle that Clark frequently deploys – could readily be purchased, and the process of collection begins again. Likewise, if print texts conventionally bind the writer within a given work to uniform model of both presentation and intent, his notebooks offered striking latitude. 'Experience has shown that …. an alphabetical order makes the matter of a dictionary very disjointed, scattering the terminology of a particular art, science, or subject, all over the book, and even when related words come together, often putting the unimportant derivative in front of the important primitive word', James Murray had commented in 1900, contemplating the history of dictionary-making to that point.[44] For Clark, as war advanced, thematic notebooks, devoted to e.g. science, or India, or nature, gradually joined alphabetic ones, exploring other approaches by which 'disjointedness' of this kind might instead be obviated.

While the dictionary-maker, as Murray had reminded his own readers, is, of necessity, engaged in drawing a line around a given language which 'nature' has drawn nowhere,[45] Clark's 'line' – and the compass of discourse he creates – would, in turn, refract new latitude in relation to what could, and should, be included in a history of the native tongue. As elsewhere, the *OED* can form a locus of both emulation and resistance. The Delegates' iterated insistence, in the making of the *OED*, that one citation per century was adequate for the purposes of historical illustration was, of necessity, rejected, not least since, from Clark's point of view, it often yielded a form of historical flattening which elided the detailed play of words in time. Yet, in other ways, too, as he comments, he had 'generally included certain classes of words which N.E.D.

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[43] Samuel Johnson, *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1747), 2.

[44] Murray, *Evolution of English Lexicography*, 19.

[45] See James Murray. 'Preface to Volume I'. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society*. Vol. I. *A and B.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), pp.v-xiv.

deliberately excluded'. Publically praised by Murray for his activities as a reader, and critical reader, for the *OED*,[46] Clark's critical reading would, as such, extend in new directions. Proprietary names, excluded by the *OED*, 'claim some recognition on the part of English dictionaries', he argued. That *Kitchener* was not only the name of the recently appointed Secretary of State for War, but, say, a patriotic name for a brand of war-time cigarettes, was also a fact of history, and historical use, that should, he contended, be preserved, not least since ephemeralities of this kind are arguably most open to loss. What is 'trivial', as Clark had argued in editing Wood, is, in reality, often illuminating, and deserving of recognition, not least in 'understanding the manners and habits of the time'.[47] *Kitchener*, as his archive confirms, proved unexpectedly productive, generating, across the war, entries for e.g. *Kitchener kit bag*, *Kitchener hut*, *Kitchener man,* and, among others, *Kitchener test* and *Kitchener's medal.*

An independent project facilitated other departures, too. 'Words coined for the nonce can hardly be worth recording unless the writer's authority is so great as to lead to the permanent adoption of any word that he uses', the Delegates had advised with reference to the *OED*, and the politics of inclusion it should observe.[48] Clark did not agree. 'The war has given rise to a large number of nonce-words, not formerly in use but thought apposite to the present occasion', he observes with reference to his own work. They provide, Clark argued, particularly important evidence in their responsiveness to the shifting parameters of experience. That the *Scotsman* chose, for example, to deploy the neologism *assassin cruiser* in reporting the German bombardment of English coastal towns rather than *battle-cruiser* (the latter, Clark noted, also absent from *OED1*) was likewise part of the historical record that should be made. 'Not battle cruisers did these ships deserve to be called. *Assassin cruisers* was a better name. Perhaps Germans thought we would be frightened by attacks on defenceless seaside towns', as the *Scotsman* defiantly declared (19 December 1914). *Assassin* invoked a moral culpability, and

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[46] See e.g. James Murray, 'Preface to Volume II', *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Vol. II. *C* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), vii; James Murray, 'Preface to Volume V', *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Vol. V. *H to K*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), vii. See also James Murray, 'Preface to Volume VII', *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Vol. VII. *O, P* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), [n.p.].

[47] Clark (ed.), *Life and Times*, I, 5.

[48] MP/2/4/1896. Philip Lyttelton Gell to James A. H. Murray. 2 April 1896.

delegitimization, that *battle*- lacked. 'What is deemed representative can itself be open to change. Collections can be made in different ways. Loanwords, code-switches, and proper names would, for Cark, reveal similarly historical potential. 'I have brought in a number of geographical adjectives, and attributions from names of persons, which the N.E.D. excludes as I think too rigorously', he confirmed of other aspects of the collective principles he had come to adopt.[49] Place-names, as he argued, could embody a complex of connotative meanings in a world at war. The injunctions to 'Remember Scarborough' which appeared, for example, in recruiting posters and speeches in early 1915 by no means referred to its pre-war identity as a location of cheerful seaside holidays but instead redeployed its attack by German ships a spur to active resistance. In similar ways, in what was, from the outset, depicted as a *world-war*, the code-switches and temporary denizens from other languaages merited careful remark. If these were, as he recognized, liminal areas of discourse –'words not really naturalized, but quoted by people showing off a little of the foreign languages heard abroad during their visit as war correspondents to the different countries in the field of war', or encountered via spoken contact given the exigencies of conflict, as well as making their way into advertising and other popular texts, via what the *Daily Mail* described, for example, as a new '*entente gallicism'* – the aim was to record them before such evidence disappeared.[50]

WiW might therefore have its origins in ways which drew self-evident inspiration from the *OED*. It is, by the end, a very different work. An evolving system of diacritics likewise served to confirm both Clark's careful collation of his own evidence with that of *OED1*, while underscoring the absences that he found. Red asterisks – used to indicate words for which formal lexicography did not provide a record – are abundant, being appended to e.g. advertorial ('An advertisement disguised as a section of a contributed article'), British warm ('a warm overcoat, worn by officers of the British Army, which does not come lower than the knee'), or *do one's bit*. Other experimental processes attend the length of citational evidence to be deployed in illustration, ranging from, say, the relatively short quotations of the early notebooks, to strikingly expansive clippings which occur in others, and in which Clark's interest in contextual meaning – of knowing a word by the company it keeps – is given far freer reign. Wring language history, in

[49] *WiW* (XXIX), 2[v].
[50] *WiW* (XXX), 7.

Clark's hands, can be an engaging and innovative process, explorative and diverse, counter-cultural and arrestingly receptive to the nuances which words, and meaning, acquire.

Stranding and the casualties of war

Clark's ambition, and his interest in continued experimentation, was nevertheless in some ways perhaps to be his downfall. What, after all, was the ideal mode of historical representation? Was material to be topical or alphabetical, attested via short or long quotations, using diacritics or paying attention to other features such as frequency or register? Features of this kind undoubtedly confirm the versatility of Clark's thinking on lexical and semantic history, and the kind of evidence that might productively be used. Yet it also precludes consistency and a fully cohesive work. A decision to archive his notebooks in tranches, as they were completed, embedded other problems within the work as it now exists. With hindsight, the 'ideal procedure' was, as Clark admitted, 'leisurely selection, day by day, of characteristic slips; then, after these have accumulated for perhaps a couple of years, sorting them into heads; and writing a conclusive judgment on each head'. Instead, as he recognized, 'these newspaper notes are very far from what I intended them to be'.[51] Preserved for safe-keeping in the Bodleian, they were, of necessity, also precluded from the kind of revision and critical overview which a fully finished work requires.

Stranding prompts, in effect, intriguingly self-conscious scrutiny. The richness of material he had initially encountered, as well as his own willingness to create a highly inclusive repository of words in time had, as he acknowledged, brought corresponding problems. 'When I began collecting these slips', he had, he makes plain, 'not the faintest idea that they would extend beyond a dozen volumes at most'. If, Clark added, 'they had been kept within that limit, I could have carried out my idea, as at first entertained, of one A.B.C. for all the words in the volumes that were not alphabetical'.[52] War provided the historical impetus for the project as a whole but it also imposed pragmatic difficulties unforeseen when *WiW* began. In terms of language, for example, Clark can document, in extraordinary detail, the drift from *voluntary enlistment* to *conscription* in British use, alongside the patterns of lexicalization and over-lexicalization that this reveals. Yet the same process also had a real-world effect. 'The War

[51] *WiW* (XXX), 23.
[52] *WiW* (XXX), 27-8.

office is taking my garden lad, so that I shall take myself from studies of all kinds to black boots, flush drains, & groom a pony', he wrote to Madan in March 1916. The 'harmless drudgery' of work on language could, of necessity, become drudgery of a different kind. 'Word-work' could be displaced by the exigencies of heat and fuel: 'To have a fire at all, I have to spend some hours before daylight & some after nightfall sawing wood by candlelight'.[53] If the '*lacrimae lexicographi*' are, as Korshin records, yet another well-iterated trope in the annals of lexicography, they assume a highly distinctive form in relation to *WiW*.[54] As Clark indicates, particularly unfortunate was the fact that 'with the increase in the number of the volumes, there came great restriction of time available', such that he 'had to be content with lists of words for a volume at a time, and for every volume on a much hastier plan than I at all cared for'. Alphabet fatigue is a noted problem of lexicography, but other forms of exhaustion – both linguistic and physical – would, in such ways, affect the later volumes of *WiW*.

A single-handed venture into the world of words, and on historical principles which reflect on-going change, could, as a result, seem increasingly foolhardy. Clark had, he notes, achieved 'something much less satisfactory from the point of view of linguistics' that he had intended. On one hand, as he admits, 'the thorough examination of all material was, in reality, 'practically … impossible for a student to attempt, who had other duties to serve, and other clamant interests to attend to, who could give to this word-work only uncertain fragments of time at irregular intervals'. Given circumstance of this kind, a single reader cannot, however valiant the endeavor, capture each and every word. Yet, on the other, as the *Times* conceded in 1916, it was, in a number of ways, undeniable that there had, in effect, come to be a 'routine of war as well as of peace' – a 'monotony of war' in which ' nothing seems to change'. If Clark had, across the early months and years of war, striven assiduously, as we have seen, to remark the otherwise unremarkable, there is a certain loss of momentum that attends later volumes. Features remarkable at the beginning of the war – as in the diction of trench warfare or war in the air, or even total war -- were now well-established. 'Even the *Scotsman* has very little that I care to take out of it before sending it to the Scots wounded in the V.A.D hospital at Braintree', Clark

[53] Andrew Clark to Falconer Madan, *War Diary*, 25 November 1915.
[54] Paul Korshin, 'Johnson and the Renaissance Dictionary', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974): 306.

lamented.[55] Across 1916, his 'clippings collection' slowed. 'There is now so little matter worth preserving', he admitted to Madan.[56] Individual notebooks or what Clark termed his 'bundles' are newly dedicated to, say 'Art and literature' in war, or 'Naval matters'. But even these, he noted, represented the 'poverty of matter available when one begins to collect, however promising the field appeared'. If clippings in 1917 and 1918 continue, it was at a reduced pace. Even as the end of war approached, a pile of unsorted 'word-slips', many relating to otherwise unrecorded compound forms, continued to reproach him. 'These await sorting out & pasting in either halcyon days of peace, or December snows', he commented: only then, he noted, might be find opportunity to 'bring order out of the chaos of these slips'. The final depositions in the Bodleian were made, posthumously, in 1922. Clark, already ill in 1917, died on 24 March. The *Bodleian Quarterly Record* offered its own last words. Clark was 'a giant of work and efficiency', it noted: he 'has not left his like in Oxford'.[57]

Clark's project nevertheless had its own afterlives which can both mitigate – and problematize – its stranded status. Read, in part, by the *OED* itself, it was used in the process of making the one-volume *Supplement* by Charles Onions and William Craigie, published in 1933. 'The voluminous War collections of the late Dr. Andrew Clark' have been 'accessible in the Bodleian Library', the 'Preface' confirms.[58] A puzzled comment on *bedspread* in one of Clark's early notebooks -- 'it is odd that this word, so frequent in domestic use, should be absent from N.E.D.' –prompted, for example, a new entry in which Clark's supporting evidence, if in truncated form, now supports the revised print text of the *Dictionary* ('1914 *Evening News* 15 Oct. 7/6 You will have a pretty, light, and warm bedspread at a cost of 1s. 7½d'). A comment made under *baby* – 'It is odd that N.E.D. has no heading or quote for 'baby' in sense of youngest member eg. of a regiment' – likewise yielded a corresponding sense, defined as 'The youngest or most junior of a family or group of persons', and verified by illustrative citations Clark had found in the *Daily Express* in 1914 ('The 'babies' of the Southern League, Croydon Common, will face Crystal Palace'; [He] was only eighteen years of age, and was known as 'the baby' of his company'). Clark's documentation of e.g. *battle-front, battle-cruiser*, or *bantam* (in the

[55] Andrew Clark to Falconer Madan, 12 November 1915. Bod. Library Records d. 1030.
[56] Andrew Clark to Falconer Madan, 17 January 1916. Bod. Library Records d. 1030.
[57] [Falconer Madan], 'The late Dr. Andrew Clark', *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (1922) III, 201.
[58] William Craigie and Charles Onions (eds.) *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), vi.

newly specific sense of ‘a soldier formally too short to enlist’) – generated a range of war-related patterns of revision. A clipping for the former, gathered from the *Scotsman* in 1914, hence reappears under a new sense-division of *battle* in 1933. *Battle-cruiser* is, in contrast, now given as a lemma in its own right, illustrated by citations which include Clark’s ‘The Nuremberg, a German cruiser, is said to be flying from a British battle cruiser’ (recorded in the *Daily Express* in September 1914). *Bantam* meanwhile draws closely on the documentary processes of *WiW* which provide, in reality, two out of the three illustrative citations that the *Supplement* deployed: 1914 *Daily Express* 20 Nov. 5/5: ‘Bigland's Bantams’ will probably be the pet name of a battalion which is being raised of men who are just too short to enlist under the ordinary conditions... The Bantams Battalion has been recognised by the War Office; 1914 *Scotsman* 11 Dec. 7/4 The Edinburgh Rotary Club..has now completed arrangements for the raising of a ‘Bantam Battalion’). In similar ways, a range of other *OED* absences identified in Clark’s notebooks (such as *adrenaline*, *anti-toxin*, *aspirin*, *biff*, *bahadur*, *balaclava helmet*, *ballonet*, *Boche*, *body-building*, *civvy*, *comb-out*, *crouton*, *dekko*, *directoire dress*, *izzat*, *kharif*, *non-skid*, or *knut*) were carefully redressed. A clipping for *Boche*, taken from Clark’s reading of the *Daily Express* in September 1914, hence verifies war-time use in the *Supplement* entry for the same word. *Eggless* – attested by Clark in relation to the privations of *war economy* – forms the basis of another new entry: ‘1915 *Evening News* 20 Jan. 7 Eggless and Less Egg Cookery’.

Nevertheless, appropriation can also bring its own changes in ways which dilute or omit Clark’s own close focus on the distinctive prosodies of war-time use. The *OED*, and the *Supplement*, focussed, of necessity, on the big picture, in historical narratives of change in which a mere four years were insignificant. For *eggless*, the point in war, as Clark notes, was the implied reference to something which in ordinary cases is made with egg, but which now, because of war, must be made without them, in nuances that the *Supplement* redefinition (‘Without eggs’) elides. *Boche*, in similar ways, is redefined as ‘The French soldier’s name for a German’, with the result that its role in English war-time praxis, widely attested by Clark, disappears. In reality, Boche had, by 1917, even made its way in emphatically English use into the *Bodleian Library Record*, courtesy of a ‘Letter from the Front’ (‘The Boche’s rearguard kept making a stand ….Abrams and his runner were following up to organize the platoon to resist a counter-attack expected from the Boches’).[59] Clark’s red-asterisked entry for *back number* in an

[59] ‘Notes and News’, *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* (1917) II, 6.

early notebook might likewise have spurred renewed consideration in the *Supplement*. This is, a new entry states, ‘A number of a magazine, periodical ... earlier than the current one’. Yet Clark’s careful engagement with contemporaneity is removed such that we no longer know that *back number* ‘was an epidemic in 1914-15’ or that, if, denotatively it signified (as above) an earlier issue of a journal, its applied use in the sense ‘an effete and negligible power’, popularly deployed in a form of robustly patriotic denial with reference to Britain itself, in ways which had particular significance in war-time use. ‘The efficiency shown by Britain - naval, military, and civil - showed that she was not yet a *back number*. With regard to the historic words "Wake up!" it was clear that if she had been asleep it was with one eye open’, as a corroboratory clipping from the *Scotsman* recorded in August 1914. *Beano*, another red-asterisked word which often piqued Clark’s interest, provides further illustration. Included in 1933 with the general definition ‘a festive entertainment frequently terminating in a noisy frolic’, it sits uneasily with the war-time examples that Clark had gathered up, and which the Supplement replicated (‘I wish you could hear the men on their first morning in the hospitals ... ‘Fighting's a beano with this sort of thing for dessert’, as a first-hand account in the *Evening News* announced).[60]

If, as Murray (and Franz Passow) had stressed, the aim in historical lexicography to let each word ‘tell its own story’ in ways that place descriptive salience on both evidence and impartiality, it is clear that, in reality, stories – for the same words – can be told or retold in different ways, or, indeed, not told at all, A narrative of language in four years is inevitably different from what one can or might wish to include in a far larger work. If ‘picking and choosing’ were, as Trench stressed, inimical to the ‘inventory’ that modern lexicography should create,[61] they were processes inevitable in what was, behind the scenes, widely admitted to be a ‘scratch’ supplement.[62] That Clark provided a super-abundance of evidence which could by no means be used was plain. So, too, was the fact of other processes that, for the *Supplement*, came, in effect, to replicate the cultural privileging of the main *Dictionary*. As Kenneth Sisam stressed,

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[60] For a comparative study of Clark and the *Supplement*, see Lynda Mugglestone, ‘’Living history’: Andrew Clark, the *OED* and the Language of the First World War’. In I. Tieken Boon van Ostade and Wim van der Wurff (eds.), *Current Issues in Late Modern English*. Amsterdam: Peter Lang. 2009, 229-49.

[61] Trench, *On Some Deficiencies,* 5.

[62] OED/MISC/393/256.i Kenneth Sisam to William Craigie, 26 January 1932.

the aim was 'not to waste time on things obviously trifling' and 'not to treat all things as of equal importance'.[63] 'Permanent' additions to the language were to take precedence: 'The main object has been to record those words which since c.1800 have taken a permanent place in the language'.[64] 'Pick out only the obvious', he advised.[65] Ephemeral – and nonce words – were regarded with caution, as were proper nouns. It remained 'difficult to draw the line between quotation of a foreign word' and its proper 'Englishing', Sisam remarked, reflecting other forms of caution in relation to what might legitimately be included.[66] Canonicity remained important. 'An important author must always have a preference', he emphasized.[67]

Newspapers could likewise remain problematic. Furnivall's clippings, many of which remained unused in the main *Dictionary*, were, like *WiW*, identified as a significant resource for the *Supplement*, if not always 'for purposes of immediate quotation, but as suggesting sources of better authority or indicating the kind of currency which a particular word or meaning had reached at a particular time in his extracts'. As other behind the scenes information on OED practice confirms, 'piles of modern matter, chiefly from newspapers and periodicals' had, in practice, been 'kept separate … because of its trivial character'.[68] Clark, we might note, in spite of the extensive evidence he provides, does not contribute in the *Supplement* to the language of aeronautics and airmanship, or aerial defence, or to trenches and trench warfare, or indeed to *war* and its derivatives. Nor, in other respects, do we find his entries for *cigarette cough*, or *bomb drill*, or *flying sickness* or *war-airmanship* (among thousands of other forms). *War front* in the modern *OED* is documented from 1950. Clark records it from 1914, just as he does, say, *war relief*, added to the *OED* in 1985 and recorded from 1940, or *war souvenir*, still given a date of first use in 1963 in a novel by Len Deighton in *OED Online*. What we know of language history, and the rise of and fall of words, can, as this suggests, often exhibit its own forms of stranding in ways which problematize conventional accounts of e.g. contact and early twentieth-century English, or conventional accounts of lexical/ semantic change.[69]

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[63] OED/MISC/393/74. Kenneth Sisam to Mrs Heseltine, 1 January 1932.
[64] OED/ MISC/20/4/. Undated note by Charles Onions.

[65] OED/MISC/393/21.1 – Kenneth Sisam to William Craigie, 26 January 1932.
[66] OED/MISC/393/24. Kenneth Sisam to Sir Henry McNally, 2 February 1932.
[67] OED/ MISC/393/54. Kenneth Sisam to G. G. Loane, 9 March 1932.
[68] OED/PP/1926/13.i – ii. William Craigie to Raymond Chapman, 12 January 1926.
[69] See e.g. Christian Mair, *Twentieth-Century English. History, Variation, Standardization* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2006). As Mair notes (57), while *OED* evidence for

Only in recent years has Clark's material been granted its own database as part of the on-going 'Words in War-Time Project' at Oxford University (2014--), by which it is now possible to see in new terms the patterns of expansion or contraction within particular domains of use, or the recurrent themes and areas of interest that drew Clark's eye. Incomplete and unfinished as it is, *WiW* can, as such, offer a robust corrective for Beal's conviction that language in WW1 exhibits troubling stasis, as well as for the silence or communicative gaps that stereotypes of language in WW1 repeatedly evoke.[70] Seen with hindsight, *WiW* remains, of course, a historical outlier – stranded methodologically as historical scrutiny turned, increasingly, to 'big data'. Even Murray, as he confirms, was working with a citation file of some six million slips by the early twentieth century. Modern corpora provide a far greater range of evidence, as well as facilitating a systematicity of scrutiny that both Clark – and the historical methods on which much of the *OED* continued to rely – clearly lacked.

Nevertheless, Clark's evidence, replete as it is with detailed snapshots of change in progress, and the conflicted realties of war-time use on Home and active Fronts, remains an interesting and valuable resource for how we might understand language praxis at this time. This article allows, of course, merely an overview of his work on war-time discourse to be presented, alongside the critical departures in the role and implementation of the historical method that he sought to make. Even so, Clark's interest in its potential for creative appropriation in relation to sources often marginalized or under-represented in *OED1* is clear; he both offers, and implements, a critical restitution for the compromised methods he saw in evidence, while providing a meticulous documentation of the popular sources he preferred. News discourse, just as Murray had argued, would indeed prove an unparalleled resource for examining the 'actual steps' by which new forms of use emerge. The fact that Clark's collective principles take place within the autonomy of a private manuscript text has, of course, its own significance in this respect, enabling him to document usage irrespective of the potential longevity of the forms he chose to include, or the amount of space they might require. His interest in temporalities of

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the twentieth century suggests a systematic decline in lexical creativity as compared with that of previous eras, this confirms not a shift in praxis per se but rather than 'much work still remains to do for lexicographers of present-day English'.

[70] Joan Beal, *English in Modern Times, 1700-1945* (London: Arnold, 2004), 31. On assumptions about the stasis and communicative gaps of war-time use, see e.g. Hazel Hutchison, *The War that Used up Words: American Writers and the First World War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).

meaning – and with definitions or frequency statements which deftly engage with short-term history– can illuminate what Penelope Lively has described as 'the roar of the historical process' with striking ease.[71] If language, as Eric Partridge reminds us in *The Gentle Art of Lexicography*, has, in reality, 'an aspect that, in the main, is insusceptible of inquiry, except from oneself and one's reading and one's constant observation of speech',[72] Clark -- stranded as he is -- remains exemplary.

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[71] Penelope Lively, *Ammonites & Leaping Fish. A Life in Time* (London: Penguin, 2014), 5.
[72] Eric Partridge, *The Gentle Art of Lexicography as Pursued and Experienced by an Addict* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1963), 19.

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