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THE SEMANTIC PEJORATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN *PRIEST* IN A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

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The creation of the lexical field CLERGY was a consequence of the arrival of Christianity and the later activities of the Church in Mediaeval England. *The Historical Thesaurus of English* [26] lists 80 synonymic terms entering the lexical field CLERGY in Old and Middle English. Considering their value loading these terms were either neutral items referring to the functions of the clerical offices or to the appellations of reverence and respect towards clergymen. For the 16th and 17th centuries there are respectively 39 (10 derogatory) and 46 (18 derogatory) synonyms recorded to have entered the field.

The present paper looks at the extralinguistic secularizing factors which contributed to the appearance of pejoration in the lexical field PRIEST. The study relates semantic pejoration to the societal processes in England in Early Modern times. The mechanism of the growth of the field is discussed with reference to onomasiological salience and conceptual domains whereas pejoration of the field has been illustrated with corpus searches for adjectival collocations.

Key words: corpus linguistics, semantics, onomasiology, lexical field, collocation, pejoration, Protestant Reformation, anticlericalism.

1. Introductory remarks

The present discussion of pejoration in the conceptual domain of [CLERGY] focuses on the term *priest* as a denominationally neutral name of a religious office. The lexical field CLERGY includes denomination specific names of church offices, but terms such as the Catholic *pope* or the protestant *pastor* have been excluded from the study. The Old and Middle English names of the office of *priest* comprise lexical items both introduced into English from Latin or French and the native morphological creations. [26] lists 31 synonymous terms entering the lexical field PRIEST in Old, Middle and Modern English, cf. Table 1. In Old English there are 8 terms recorded, i.e *œweweard*, *ciricpingere*, *clænsere*, *cleric*, *clerus*, *sacerd*, *pingere* and *prest*. With the exception of the term *priest* Middle English marks the loss of all the early appelations of *priest* and records 7 new additions to the lexical field: *beaupere*, *sire*, *sir*, *Sir John*, *pater*, *paternity*, *fatherhood*.

Considering their value loading, these terms were either neutral items referring to the functions of the clerical offices, such as the terms recorded for Old English, or to the appellations of reverence and respect towards clergymen, such as the Middle English terms which were originally associated with the concept of [FATHER] or [FATHERHOOD]. The sole exception in this period is the colloquial and somewhat contemptuous term *Sir John*. For the 16th and 17th centuries there are respectively 7 (1 derogatory) and 5 (2 derogatory) synonyms recorded in the field. The 18th century displays no new additions to the field while in the 19th century 3 synonyms were added, 2 of which are derogatory. For the beginning of the 20th century one derogatory term has been recorded. The present paper looks at the extralinguistic secularizing factors encoded in the social attitudes towards

clergy which contributed to the appearance of pejorative terms in the lexical field CLERGY. It has been assumed in the discussion that the social attitudes towards ecclesiastics are linguistically encoded in adjectival collocations involving the term *priest*.

	OE	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
æweweard	OE									
ciricþingere	OE									
clænsere	OE									
cleric	OE									
clerus	. OE									
sacerd	OE									
þingere	OE									
priest	OE									current
beaupere		c	1300_			1599				
sire			c1	380						
sir			c1	386		163	35			
Sir John			c	1386		1	553			
pater				.c1400		c16	30 unat	tested 18	342	_current
paternity				143	9			1	1855	
fatherhood				1	483		a1661			
father					1529_					current
key-bearer					a154	40				current
presbyter					1	550				current
key-keeper					1	563-87				
vicegerent					1	1572				current
your priestdom						.1588-1	615			
sacerdos						.1590	un	attested	1930	Ocurrent
flasher						1611	unatteste	d 1736		
your priesthood	l					a161	6			
pére						161	9			current
His Fathership						10	570			current
sacerdote						1	685			
soggarth								1830	6	current
your priestship								180	68	current
soutane								1	890	
joss-man									1913_	current
	OE	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Table 1. The onomasiology of PRIEST (Historical Thesaurus of English; category no. 03.07.02.05.02. .)

The collocation in the present study is understood as a co-occurring combination of adjective + noun and as such it is sometimes labelled *an open collocation*; cf. [4], [23], and [19] for a discussion of "open" as opposed to "restricted collocations". A comprehensive account of the studies on collocations is offered in [2] (Also see [20] for a systematic discussion of collocations and lexical functions). Thus, an open collocation is a broader term which does not presuppose the semantic characteristics of the collocating terms. Regarding collocational restrictions the possible combinations of adjective + an ecclesiastic person are not fully specifiable and consequently are not characterized by "systematic collocational restrictions". Their unpredictable nature will be more adequately defined by "idiosyncratic collocational restrictions"; cf. [4].

However, it is assumed that the syntagmatic co-occurrence of adjective-noun combinations is cognitively motivated and allows one to draw conclusions as to the reasons for their co-occurrence. The perceptual salience of the base of the collocations will be claimed to attract certain attributes evidenced in the semantics of the collocating adjectives. This is particularly the case in derogatory combinations involving ecclesiastic persons such as *peruerse priest*, *amorous bishop* or *bloody minded papists*. As regards the structure of a collocation, the present study applies Hausemann's distinction, see [10] and [11], between "the base", i.e. the terms *priest*, and the "collocants", i.e. adjectives expressing the ascribed attributes of the priest. For a discussion of onomasiological salience see [7] and [8] and procedural insight into the analysis of conceptual domains is found in [15], [16] and [17]. The references to the lexical meaning of the studied terms have been based on [25] and [27].

2. Discussion of the corpus searches

In search for the collocations a corpus of 1045 comedy plays has been examined which encompasses all the English comedies performed on stage in the period from the 16th to the end of the 19th century. The dating of the results of the searches has been based on the first performance of the plays on stage. The searches of the corpus for the term *priest* were conducted by means of the browsing programme available for the database of [28]. The browsing selections allowed to choose the dramatic dialogues to constitute the proper corpus of the analysis. The study yielded 205 instances of adjectival collocations including both attributive and predicative use of adjectives. The diachronic distribution of the adjectives has been provided in Table 2.

time	1501- 1550	1551- 1600	1601- 1650	1651- 1700	1701- 1750	1751- 1800	1801- 1850	1851- 1900	Total
tokens	7	26	49	60	36	15	6	6	205

Table 2. The diachronic distribution of the adjectival collocants of *priest* as recorded in the Literature Online corpus of comedy texts

The collocational ranges of *priest* included both scalar (gradable) adjectives, such as *good*, *poor* or *busy* and complementary (non-gradable) adjectives, e.g. *domestic*, *Italian* or *non-resident*. The dominating number of attributive pronominal adjectives in the researched material points to the more stable characteristics of *priest*: "(...) pronominal adjectives are associated with permanent and characteristic properties; postnominal are associated with temporary and occasional properties."; cf. [22, p. 149]. Thus, the properties ascribed to the clerical offices and expressed with pronominal adjectives can be treated as the reliable statements of attitudes towards clergy. Consequently, the ensuing discussion will focus on pejoration and negative loading of the collocations. (For a more comprehensive cognitive

discussion on qualifying entities by ascribing properties with adjectives, see [3, pp. 164-192] and [22, pp. 141-174].

The non-pejorating adjectives include both descriptive adjectives and noun determiners, such as *next* and *first*. Among descriptive adjectives two types of value loading will be distinguished, neutral, with a purely referential focus, and positive loading, with a favourable colouring of the collocant.

Following a statement from [4, p. 281] that "The collocational ranges of some lexical items can only be described by listing permissible collocants." an overview of the collocants of *priest* is offered in the List. The collocants can be classified into pejorating and non-pejorating. In the latter group there are adjectives with neutral loading such as *old*, *rare* or *full* and those with more favourable connotations e.g. *good*, *holy* or *pious*. The danger of this type of classification is that it might be subjective to some degree, although every effort has been made to avoid personal bias in determining whether the adjectives are negative, neutral or positive in their connotational meaning and the general understanding of which qualities in a priest are required and approved of and which are not.

16th century

pejorating

baulde [bald], damned, fellowlist [fellowly + est], dapper, horson/horsen [whoreson] (2), Iack-a-nape [jackanapes], pelting, peruerse, proud, pyld/pylde [pilled] (3), stoned, stone (3), wily, scuruy

non-pejorating (favourable): good, Sir (2)

non-pejorating (neutral): fellow, old, Welch

17th century

pejorating

abominable, apochryphal, canting, counterfeit, damn'd (2), dull (2), envious, false, feather'd, gay, honest toping, imposing, infaallible, lap, left-handed, liquorish, little, lustfull, lying, mute, oftentatious, painted, pamper'd, popish (6), proud (2), Romish, silenc'd, stone, strange, tithe-scraping

non-pejorating (favourable)

good (2), good Roman Catolique, holy (10), honest, next honest, obseruant, officious, pious, pretty, religious (3), reverend, sacred, self-denying, sir, solemne, zealous

non-pejorating (neutral)

absolving, domestick (2), first, full, household, Irish (2), Italian, mountayne, next (3), night, non-conformist, non-resident, old, poor, ready (5), Scotch, secular, prepar'd

18th century

pejorating

baudy [bawdy], crafty, decay'd, dirty, false, gabling, greasy, ill-manner'd, infallible, meddling, mischief-making, old snuffling, pamper'd, plump, popish, prayer mumbling, pretended, rascally, roguish, sham (3), swearing and forswearing, tedious, wicked

non-pejorating (favourable)

good (3), good Protestant, greatest, happy, holy, lordly, merciful, solemn, subtle

non-pejorating (neutral)

another, busy, Christian, court, first (2), French, hard by, heathen, next (2), old, prepared, pronouncing, rare, real, Welsh (2)

19th century

non-pejorating (favourable): good

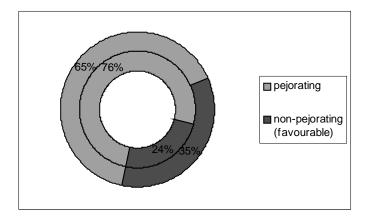
non-pejorating (neutral): immolating, old, Spanish (2), Welsh

The List. Adjectival collocants of priest (16th –19th c.)

From the adjectives in the List two sets of opposing characteristics emerge. The priestly attributes include antonymous pairs such as *holy*: *damned*, *pious*: *lustful*, *real*: *pretended*, *honest*: *lying*, *solemn*: *swearing and forswearing*, *merciful*: *rascally* and *rougish*. The comparison of the pejorating with the non-pejorating favourable collocants evokes a clerical split personality of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. The evil Mr Hyde dominates the 16th-18th centuries to completely disappear in the 19th century. Within the studied period 60 pejorating types of collocants are recorded with 78 tokens and 19 non-pejorating favourable types with 42 tokens. Figure 1 illustrates the proportions of pejorating to non-pejorating favourable collocants. The types are included in the inner circle and the tokens in the outer circle.

The non-pejorating neutral collocants account for 32 types of search items with 52 tokens. An additional class of collocants is also distinguished which includes the designations of non-Christian religions which are characteristic of the 17th century in particular. These include Apollos, Cybels, Delphian, Memphian, Musæus Apollos, Phoebus, and are excluded from the current numerical comparisons.

Among the positively loaded adjectives *holy* and *good*, with respectively 11 and 9 occurrences, are most frequent. The expected holiness of life is also expressed by *lordly*, *pious* and *sacred*, and adherence to clerical duties is present in *observant*, *officious*, *religious*, *solemn* and *zealous*. A good priest will also be *honest*, *merciful*, *self-denying* and *subtle*.



	pejorating	non-pejorating
types	60	19
tokens	78	42

Figure 1. The collocants of priest: types and tokens

However, the positive personality traits and respectful appellations are countered by a number of derogatory adjectives. The most numerous group consists of the terms of general contempt which includes *abominable*, *damned*, *horson* [whoreson], *pelting* 'worthless' of *paltry* 'rubbish', *rascally*, *roguish*, *scurvy*, *wicked*. An indication of immoral behaviour of priests contradicting their own teaching is found in *canting* 'insincerely talking about morals', *crafty*, *envious*, *infallible*, *left-handed*, *lying*, *meddling*, *mischief-making*, *peruerse*, *proud*, *swearing* and *forswearing*, *wily*. The use of *infallible* as in Quotation (1) is an exaggeration and thus understood as a contemptuous term. Sexual misbehaviour is recorded

in *baudy*, *lustfull*, *stone* 'of animals not castrated and here metaphorically 'lustful'' while fondness of drinking is expressed by *liquorish* and *toping*, the latter illustrated in Quotation (2) and related to a hurried wedding.

A separate category of adjectives points to the falseness of a priest's office e.g. apochryphal, counterfeit, false, pretended and sham. It is a reflection of a popular belief that a mock marriage is used as a means of seduction. As reported in [24], "A survey of the plots of 241comedies dating from 1660 to 1714 has shown that 91 of them involve a clandestine marriage, 70 of them false marriages or marriages performed by trickery or deception, and 26 mock or joke marriages." (See also [21] for an account of clandestine marriages in the period of 1500-1850). A related aspect of hasty marriage is encoded in the collocations involving the determiner next. The readiness for marriage performed by the very next priest met by the enamoured couple is illustrated in (3-4).

- (1) Do not, for de Church is infaallible, and de Pope is infaallible, and de Caardinals are infaallible, and I vill spake more unto you, de **Prieshts are infaallible** too. And I shay blesh dy shweet Faash from patches, dou hasht a pretty Faash pull of dese Spots, (Thomas Shadwell. 1690. *The Amorous Bigotte*, I.I.100-125)

 Date first performed: **Mar 1689**?
- (2) My Genius, my Soul, my Spirits, I have not breath enough to speak my joy, Oh that I could flye now, my Legs cannot carry me half fast enough, now would some **honest**Toping Priest would come fluttering like a Swallow down the Chimney, I must try and get one presently, for fear she cool again.

 (Thomas Plufey, 1601 I over for Morey, IV III 175, 200)

(Thomas D'Urfey. 1691. Love for Money, IV.III.175-200)

Date first performed: Jan 1691?

- (3) You are certainly in the right: pleasantness of humour makes a Wife last in the sweet meat, when it will no longer in the Fruit. But pray let's make haste to the next honest Priest, that can say Grace to us, and take our appetites while they are coming. (John Dryden. 1673. The Assignation, V.II.1-25) Date first performed: Nov 1672.
- (4) This is the House. Now if *Fillette* will but decoy her down, I'll move off with the little Baggage, fiddle her away to the **next Priest**, thence to the *Bagnio*, and then strip her to some Tune. Come, Flourish.

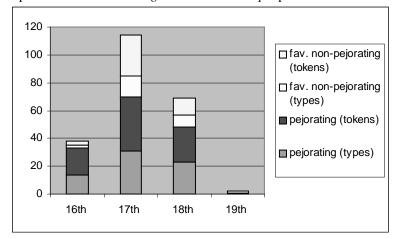
(Charles Molloy. 1718. *The Coquet*, IV.525-550) Date first performed: **19 Apr 1718**.

Quotations

A desire of priests for comfortable and trivial life is found in *dapper* 'neat in appearance' suggesting derogatory pettiness and triviality, *lap* 'nursed in the lap' *oftentatious*, *pamper'd* and *tithe-scraping*. The rare adjective *oftentatious* is most probably *ostentatious* as in "they suspect a Man who is oftentatious of his Riches" (Henry Fielding (1732) *The Modern Husband*. III.IV.1-25.) and formed as a morphological misinterpretation of the sophisticated *ostentatious*.

Among the adjectives related to physical appearance and behaviour the carelessly performed prayers or rituals resulted in *dull*, *gabling* 'talking unintelligibly', *prayer mumbling*, *snuffling* 'speaking through the nose' and *tedious*. It is also an undesired situation when priests are *mute* or *silenc'd*. The combination of *scuruy Iack-a-nape* contemptibly compares priests to monkeys and the adjective *stoned* meaning 'castrated' metaphorically renders the meaning of 'deprived of vigour'. Outer appearance is caricatured in *baulde* [bald], *dirty*, *greasy*, *little*, *plump* and *pyld* [pilled]. In the 17th century

it was pejorative, if not threatening, to be called a *popish* or *Romish* priest, although a *good Protestant* priest is balanced with a *good Roman Catolique* priest.



priest collocations	16 th	$17^{\rm th}$	18 th	19 th
pejorating (types)	14	31	23	0
pejorating (tokens)	19	39	25	0
fav. non-pejorating (types)	2	15	9	1
fav. non-pejorating (tokens)	3	29	12	1

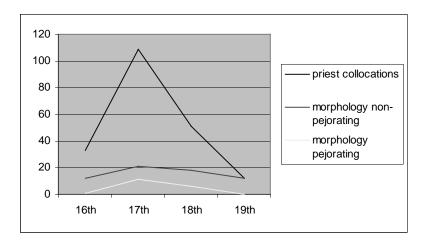
Figure 2. Diachronic distribution of the collocants of priest

	1501 1550	1551 1600	1601 1650	1651 1700	1701 1750	1751 1800	1801 1850	1851 1900	total
high priest	0	0	2	2	3	2	2	9	20
priesthood	1	1	4	7	1	1	0	0	15
parish priest	1	3	1	3	0	3	0	0	11
priestcraft	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	0	9
Jack Priest	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	6
priestess	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	5
hedge priest	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4
priest-ridden	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
priest-trap	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
archpriest	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
mass-priest	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
priest (v.)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
priest-lack-latine	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
priestly	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
priest-port	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Table 3. The onomasiological activity of *priest* as recorded in the corpus of comedy texts. When the distribution in time of both the pejorating and favourably loaded adjectives is considered it is the 17th and 18th centuries which manifest the largest intensity of the term

priest appearing in adjectival collocations. Figure 2 summarizes the distribution of the collocants. Additionally, the study yielded 15 types of the derivatives and compounds of priest with 81 occurrences. There are 5 derogatory terms two of which *hedge priest* and *priest-lack-latine* point to the rustic and uneducated character of priests.

The cunning dishonest nature of clergy is evidenced in *priestcraft* which leads to the world being controlled by the priests, i.e. being *priest-ridden*. The 10 non-pejorating terms include *archpriest*, *high priest*, *Jack Priest*, *mass-priest*, *parish priest*, *priest* (v.), *priestess*, *priesthood*, *priestly*, *priest-port*. With the exception of *priest-port* all these terms are related to church organization or, the terms such as *priestess* and priestly in a broader sense, to religious activity. The diachronic distribution of the morphological creations have been presented in Table 3.



	16th	17th	18th	19th
priest collocations	33	109	51	12
morphology non- pejorating	11	21	18	12
morphology pejorating	2	11	6	0

Figure 3. Diachronic distribution of the morphological creations and collocations of priest

The peak of the morphological activity of *priest* in the *Literature online* material is observed in the 17th century and coincides with the largest number of *priest* collocational combinations. As illustrated in Figure 3 the trends observed for all the processes follow the same pattern. They start increasing in the 16th century, reach the peak of activity in the 17th century and through the 18th century decrease to the level of non-appearance.

3. Social contexts of pejoration

With the advent of Reformation the social status of clergy was challenged and the often violent struggle against clerical dominance yielded hostile linguistic attitudes towards ecclesiastic persons. As clergy was dispossessed of their former political standing a connotational change appeared in the names of ecclesiastic offices.

The pejoration of the conceptual domain of CLERGY is evident in semantic change which exemplifies secularisation of language and remains related to secularisation processes as studied by the sociology of religion. The relation of the loss of social dominance of clergy and the cultural process of secularisation are discussed in [1]. As he

claims, "Secularisation is best understood not as the decline of religion, but as the declining scope of religious authority." [1, p. 750] The process was accompanied by anticlerical attitudes of the English society. In the sociological studies of the period it is claimed that anticlericalism was present in the Protestant movement from its beginnings. The discussion of the initial years of Reformation in Germany is found in [14, p. 527] where the studies by Scribner are referred to.

(...)Bob Scribner has attributed to the early Reformation sermon "an explosive effect" when joined to the widespread hatred of the clergy. He suggests a three step model of the progression from sermon to action: First, the preacher reveals (*Offenbarung*) to the people the ways and extent to which they have been swindled and betrayed by the clerics. Second the clergy come to represent to the laity the "personification and concretization" of the cosmic battle between God and the devil. Third, under homiletic inspiration, the populace rises against the clergy.

As is also reported in [14, p. 526] "(...) Johnson [13] is confident of the role of late mediaeval sermons critical of the clergy in preparing the populace to accept the Reformation." The religious motivation for the loss of clerical authority is found in [9, p. 99] "Anticlericalism also was fostered by disillusion, the belief that ministers were devoid of spiritual light." For a comprehensive collection of studies on late mediaeval and early modern European anticlericalism see [6].

As reported in [18, p. 310], in the Lollards' doctrine "Catholic worship, especially the mass, was superstition and idolatry". Continuing his commentaries on the social background of Protestantism in England Lindberg states:

"Anticlericalism was of course not the sole preserve of the Lollards. On the eve of the Reformation, the humanist dean of St Paul's, John Colet, used his convocation sermon (6 February 1512) to attack both parish clergy and the prelates. The former "seke none other thynge in the people than the foule lucre" and the latter are marked by "gredynes and appetite of honour and and dignitie (Dickens 1987: 385)."

Following [12, p. 311] [18] quotes the text of the *Supplication for Beggars* (1529), a severe and biting pamphlet on ecclesiastics. The author Simon Fish, having to flee England from Cardinal Wolsey, expressed the popular anticlerical mindset of the time.

"The clergy "truly [do] nothing more but apply themselves ... to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that cuckoldry and bawdry should reign over all ... These be they that have made a hundred thousand idle whore in your realm."

The obvious libel of Fish's tone is however not a solitary voice. Referring to the writings of the Elizabethan period [9, p. 99] reports on the pejorative phrases which were in common use at the time. This only enlarges the onomasiological scope of the domain CLERGY. As recorded in [9]:

None of these writers castigated all clergy in derogatory terms, but the widespread usage of language depicting incompetent ministers as mass men, idle shepherds, dumb dogs, sleepy watchmen, ignorant shepherds, "wine-prophets," loiterers, "slowbellies," time servers, and "scraping fleecers," made such phrases common coinage, ready for use by those who disliked all clergy.

In the struggle between clergy and the English society there were attempts to appease the aggressive attitudes towards ecclesiastics. The battle, however, appears to have been lost. As [9, p. 104] comments on the situation: "The picture that emerges is one of an embattled clergy striving desperately to preserve its hereditary position of social and religious leadership, in the face of encroaching secularism and religious sectarianism."

4. Concluding remarks

The arrival of the Protestant Reformation in England in the 16th century induced social changes which are reflected in the lexical field *priest*. Semantic pejoration of the synonyms of *priest* is a reflection of the social pejoration of referents which are seen in the negative context of ironic or hostile attitudes towards clergy. Pejoration renders the negative attitudes originating in non-ecclesiastic social classes but also among the clergy themselves. The linguistic processes accounted for in the paper remain closely related to the social and political events of the post-Reformation times in England. The present discussion offers insight into how lexicogenesis follows a need to verbalize concepts which gain and lose prominence in social and historical events affecting a speech community.

The present paper offers a reconstruction of attitudes towards the social class of clergy and ties up with [5, p. 229] who claims that "(...) the meanings of a past language state hook on to a world which is no longer with us and has to be reconstructed by other historical sciences." The attempt of this study is to offer linguistic insight into the events traditionally examined by "other historical sciences".

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СЕМАНТИЧНА ПЕЙОРИЗАЦІЯ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНОГО ДОМЕНУ *PRIEST* У ДІАХРОННОМУ ВИСВІТЛЕННІ

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Становлення лексичного поля CLERGY в історії англійської мови відбулося у результаті прийняття християнства та подальшої діяльності церкви у середньовічній Англії. Історичний тезаурус англійської мови [26] нараховує 80 конституентів поля у давньоанглійському та середньоанглійському періодах . Ці одиниці за ціннісним навантаженням були нейтральними чи меліоративними сигніфікатами у сфері церковного життя. Після XV ст. певній частині лексичних інновацій поля властива пейоризація позначуваного. У XVI та XVII ст. 10 та 18 із 39 та 46 нових зафіксованих синонімів були пейоративними. У статті проаналізовано позамовні секуляризаційні чиники, що спричинилися до цього процесу, та вказано на те, що семантична пейоризація цих лексем пов'язана із суспільними тенденціями в Англії ранньомодерного часу. Інвентарне зростання досліджуваного поля показано на фоні ономасіологічних особливостей відповідних концептуальних доменів у той час, як процеси пейоризації проілюстровано корпусними запитами щодо релевантних атрибутивних словосполучень.

Ключові слова: корпусний аналіз, семантика, ономасіологія, лексичне поле, сполучуваність, пейоризація, Реформація, антиклерикалізм.

СЕМАНТИЧЕСКАЯ ПЕЙОРИЗАЦИЯ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНОГО ДОМЕНА *PRIEST* В ДИАХРОНИЧЕСКОМ АСПЕКТЕ

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Становление лексического поля CLERGY в истории английского языка произошло в результате принятия христианства и последующей деятельности церкви в средневековой Англии. Исторический тезаурус английского языка [26] насчитывает 80 конституентов поля в древнеанглийском и среднеанглийском периодах. Эти единицы по ценностной нагрузке были нейтральными или мелиоративными сигнификатами в сфере церковной жизни. После XV в. определенной части лексических инноваций поля свойственна пейоризация обозначаемого. В XVI и XVII вв. 10 и 18 из 39 и 46 новых зафиксированных синонимов были пейоративными. В статье проанализированы внеязыковые секуляризационные факторы, которые повлияли на этот процесс, а также указано, что семантическая пейоризация этих лексем связана с общественными тенденциями Англии нового времени. Инвентарное увеличение исследуемого поля показано на фоне ономасиологических особенностей соответствующих концептуальных доменов, в то время как процессы пейоризации проиллюстрированы корпусными запросами относительно релевантных атрибутивных словосочетаний.

Ключевые слова: корпусный анализ, семантика, ономасиология, лексическое поле, сочетаемость, пейоризация, реформация, антиклерикализм.

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