

## Enthusiasm and Condescension

### Abstract

A central question for computational lexicography is whether word meanings can be identified empirically. Corpus analysis encourages the view that norms of usage can be identified for each word, and that these norms of usage can be associated with norms of word meaning and belief. But this is an over-simplified account. One problem is that no generally accepted criteria exist (yet) for distinguishing norms of usage from exploitations, such as metaphors and uses with negatives.

Another problem is that norms themselves change over time. Comparison of a modern corpus with a historical corpus will show how norms of meaning and use have changed, deepening our understanding of texts of the past. The paper contains a case study of the noun *enthusiasm* and the adjective *condescending*.

### Preamble

On the walls of Exeter Cathedral in the south-west of England stand a number of monumental inscriptions. One of them is sacred to the memory of James Lavington, an 18th-century Bishop of Exeter (Figure 1). (See Appendix for Figures.)

To a modern reader, at least two phrases in this inscription seem odd. Why should the worthy bishop be praised for being "a successful exposor of enthusiasm"? And why is he praised for his "condescending deportment"? In today's world, condescending behaviour and a condescending attitude are bad things, while enthusiasm is a good thing. So much is common knowledge. Or is it?

Lexicographers are masters of the unsubstantiated assertion. Definitions in dictionaries are hypotheses, which owe more to art than to science (Hanks 1979). Moreover, Atkins and Levin (1991) showed that the assertions of each lexicographer are rarely commensurable with those of others. There is no way of mapping the sense divisions of one dictionary onto another. This implies that there is no simple, 'correct' way of analysing and defining the meaning of any given word. It is all a matter of literary taste and judgement. Even if we appeal to a principle such as that of substitutability *salva veritate* (i.e. substituting the definition for the target word 'without affecting the truth value'), the accuracy of the substitution still calls for an element of judgement.

That, at any rate, is the status quo. Nevertheless, dictionary makers and dictionary users persist in speaking as if word meanings are entities with a real existence which can be captured scientifically. How can this be done? One line of investigation is to seek to link beliefs about word meanings with traces of patterns of word use. This is the line that underlies the belief that a dictionary based on a large body of evidence is likely to be better than one based on pure introspection. In pursuit of this line of thought, it is incumbent on us to show how the evidence should be used. What principles guide us in distinguishing one meaning from another? By what principles do we select one citation as a good example of a particular sense or usage, and reject another as being marginal or eccentric?

### **Linguistic Norms: Prototypes of Meaning and Use**

A good starting point for lexical analysis of corpus data is to distinguish norms from exploitations. Norms are prototypes of usage, associated with prototypical syntactic behaviour and prototypical beliefs about presupposition and entailment. Exploitations include metaphors and puns, but also a large class of other noncentral uses.

After looking at the evidence for **enthusiasm** in the British National Corpus (a selection of which is given in Figure 2), we can begin to postulate norms for the present-day use of this word. These include the statements listed in Figure 3.

These "prototypical" statements about the usage of **enthusiasm** are based on statistical analyses of the British National Corpus (BNC). We ask the computer, "What words are most associated with the word **enthusiasm**?" The results are then selected and arranged partly by syntactic structures and partly by groups of collocates. Not all significant collocates are included: there is an element of 'noise' which has been judged irrelevant. And some simplification has been allowed, principally on the strength of the hierarchical nature of lexical semantics. For example *demonstrate enthusiasm* and *convey enthusiasm* are significant collocations, but since *demonstrate* and *convey* are hyponyms of *show* they are not listed separately.

It is possible that, as additional corpus evidence accrues, additional norms of usage in modern English will be identified. However, the whole point of a norm is that it represents a statistically significant recurring pattern of behaviour, not a particular individual event, so if the BNC is (as it claims) 'representative' of modern English, then it is unlikely that many additional norms for this word in general English will accrue. If they do, they will probably be much weaker (i.e. less strongly supported by evidence) than the norms already identified.

A further step at this point would be to look for norms of usage associated with particular genres, by studying genre-specific corpora. We would certainly need to do this to get a better understanding of norm 13 (**religious enthusiasm**), for example. However, contrastive genre analysis is a whole new topic and I shall say no more about it here.

In Figure 3 the prototypical patterns have been expressed informally, for human readers. They can also be expressed in more formal terms, as in Figure 4, to satisfy the requirements of grammarians and machines.

Notice that, although they represent norms of usage as observed in a corpus, some of these prototypical statements can also be read as norms of belief.

The most salient beliefs associated indirectly with norms 1 – 11 may be summarized as in Figure 5.

### **Exploitations**

Having identified the more obvious norms in a corpus, the next stage in a lexical analysis is to decide what counts as an "exploitation" of the norm. Other observed usages can then be

classified, on the one hand as examples of the norms (and subclasses of norms), and on the other as exploitations.

The most typical form of exploitation of a norm is metaphor. However, being an abstract noun, **enthusiasm** has fewer metaphorical uses than, say, a verb or a concrete noun. The greatest profusion of exploitations are found with concrete nouns, especially those denoting functional body parts: *hand, finger, head, eye, ear, mouth*, etc. There are hardly any metaphorical uses of **enthusiasm**. There are, however, plenty of examples of other kinds of exploitation.

First among these is metonymy (transferring the emotion to the object of the emotion), which is standard for many abstract nouns denoting attitudes and emotions, e.g.:

Nietzsche's main enthusiasm was no longer Schopenhauer, but the composer [Wagner].

Another kind of exploitation is exemplified in the following sentence from Kurt Vonnegut's *Fates Worse than Death*:

It seems prudent to say that I was and remain unsympathetic to the enthusiasms of the Nazi War machine.

The point here is that the norm says that **enthusiasm** is an emotion experienced by people, and "the Nazi war machine" is not a person. It would of course be quite wrong to add another norm to the effect that institutions can also have enthusiasm. The correct analysis is that this sentence is an exploitation of norm 3 (*Enthusiasm is a quality which people have*), and that in this context "Nazi war machine" is an honorary person. It is an absolutely standard exploitation (metonymy) for human emotions and actions to be attributed to institutions (the state, the government, football teams, learned societies, etc.).

Another major class of standard exploitations of norms is use with negatives and questions. Negative adjectives are of particular interest. All the adjectives in the set of prototypical uses in norm 11 pick out types of enthusiasm. In other words, the answer to the question, "Is this really a case of enthusiasm?" is "Yes". But there is another set of adjectives for which the answer is "No". The important thing about *feigned enthusiasm*, *false enthusiasm*, and *apparent enthusiasm* is that, like *no enthusiasm* and *little enthusiasm*, they identify cases in which enthusiasm is explicitly denied. There are plenty of negatives with **enthusiasm** in the corpus: people say things *without enthusiasm*, they *lack enthusiasm*, and so on.

*Enthusiasm* in the following citation is likewise classed as an exploitation:

For years, Bulent Ersoy has been a source of confusion to music-loving Turkish Muslims. They adore her as the queen of their traditional music, and then revile her, with equal enthusiasm, as a moral obscenity.

The reason for classing this as an exploitation is as follows. The norms for **enthusiasm** imply positive semantic prosody: enthusiasm is a good thing. (The term "semantic prosody" was coined by John Sinclair in conversation with Bill Louw; see Louw 1993). In the sentence

about Bulent Ersoy, the terms *revile* and *moral obscenity* generate negative prosody. Here, therefore, the term **enthusiasm** is being used ironically. Irony is another class of exploitation.

### Norms Change over Time

So much by way of summarizing norms and illustrating a few types of exploitation. We must now ask, how stable is a norm? The answer is, *not very*. Words change their meanings in unpredictable and sometimes dramatic ways.

When we read the literature of the past, we are liable to be misled by the influence of the modern senses of words. How can we know what a writer in the past really meant by a particular word? It is of course fashionable these days to argue that the original writer's intentions are irrelevant: a reader deconstructs a text, creating his or her own interpretation, which is satisfactory in its own terms. But however much sympathy we may have with this view, it is the first step on the road leading to Humpty Dumpty's position:

"When I use 'glory'," said Humpty Dumpty, "I use it to mean 'a nice knock-down argument'."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can use words to mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master. That's all."

If we allow ourselves to be free to impose our own interpretations on a text without considering the linguistic norms of the time and the language in which it was written, we consign ourselves to a solipsistic universe like Humpty Dumpty's, in which other minds, other worlds, learning, and scholarship all count for nothing.

It is, therefore, valid to ask ourselves questions such as, "Was Jane Austen's understanding of the word **enthusiasm** any different from our own?" even if we cannot guarantee ourselves an exhaustively accurate answer. Jane Austen used the word quite often, as we can see in Figure 7.

These uses are indistinguishable from modern usage, given the context of the romantic novel. However, when we look at uses of **enthusiasm** in texts written in the century before Jane Austen's time (Figure 8), with at least some of which she must have been familiar, a rather different picture emerges.

The word **enthusiasm** had a negative prosody for at least some writers. It was at the heart of the religious and philosophical controversy between those who believed that only the power of reason distinguishes us from the beasts, and those who gave priority to the divine or poetic inspiration of the human spirit. Alongside these uses, the word was also used in military and political contexts to refer to people getting carried away (beyond reason) with patriotic fervour or berserk fury. In short, enthusiasm was contrasted with reason.

The Oxford Historical Corpus is still in an early stage of development. It is hoped that in years to come, part of the value of the historical corpus will be that it will help us to distinguish the idiosyncrasies of great writers from the norms of their times, even when those norms are now obsolete and therefore seem strange to modern readers. It must, of course, be

acknowledged that a collection of admired literary works does not necessarily show the language in its most ordinary form. A high literary style may indeed prove a distraction for those attempting the empirical identification of something as unglamorous as norms of usage. But even great writers, especially prose writers, use language in an ordinary way much of the time.

It is, then, already possible to use the historical corpus to attempt a partial, tentative analysis of 18th-century norms for *enthusiasm*, illustrating what sort of beliefs were associated with it in the years just before Jane Austen's time. We may tentatively extrapolate the norms listed in Figure 9.

OED indicates that the English word **enthusiasm** is first found in 17th-century writings describing religious or prophetic frenzy among the ancient Greeks: the Greek word *enthousiazein* means literally, 'to be possessed by a God', and is based on *en* + *theos* 'a god inside'. In Nonconformist Christian circles in the 17th century, **enthusiasm** was adopted to mean "possession by the Holy Spirit" and was associated with forms of worship such as shaking, quaking, prophesying, and speaking in tongues. John Locke devoted a whole chapter of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* to an attack upon enthusiasm, which ran counter his notions of enlightenment and reason.

In the 18th century the word came also to be used in the domain of military history, in collocations such as *martial enthusiasm* and *patriotic enthusiasm*. At the same time writers such as Dryden and Hume discuss the notion of *poetical enthusiasm* – the idea that poetry was divinely inspired in the most literal sense. This notion in turn came to be associated with literary Romanticism and Sturm und Drang.

Thus, to Jane Austen and her contemporaries, the word would have had a much stronger, and not wholly favourable from the one that it has today. Even though she used the word in its modern sense, connotations of divine inspiration; patriotic fervour; and dangerously wild, uncontrolled behaviour would have been much closer for her than they are for us. Austen's use of the word is a declaration of allegiance to Romanticism. By admiring Fanny's enthusiasm, Edmund is acknowledging that beneath her mouselike, downtrodden, self-effacing exterior there beats a passionate heart and an inspired soul.

We may deal rather more briefly with **condescending**. The semantic prosody of this word has moved in the opposite direction: from positive to negative.

There are only 91 occurrences of **condescending** in the BNC. Using the mutual information statistic, we can ask which words occurs most significantly within, say, four words to the right of the key word. The five most significant are:

condescending tone  
 condescending voice  
 condescending towards  
 condescending look  
 condescending way

If we look more closely at the BNC citations for **condescending** (Figure 10), the negative prosody of the word today emerges quite clearly. **Condescending** is associated with a *patronizing* attitude, and with other negative words such as *divisive*, *heartless*, *authoritarian*, *arrogant*, *high-handed*, *dictatorial*, *sexism*, *sod*, *old bitch* and *sneer*. It is something to be avoided; it is something that people complain about.

But when we look at some of the 18th- and 19th-century uses (Figure 11), we see a rather different semantic prosody developing. In "gracious, condescending, and forgiving" and "a smile of condescending sweetness", the semantic prosody is unmistakably positive. By the time we get to Dickens, the prosody is equally clearly negative. The *but* in "a little condescending, but extremely kind" says it all.

And in the middle once again we find Jane Austen, but this time for a different reason. Her use of this word is consistent with the old, dying, 18th-century norm, but a wider reading of the contexts in which the word is used demonstrates that she by no means accepted that norm uncritically. A condescending deportment is associated in her novels with Lady Catherine de Burgh (as reported by Mr Collins in *Pride and Prejudice*), Mrs Elton, and Sir Walter Elliott – all characters whose conception of their own status and dignity is inflated to the point of ridiculousness.

This paper did not start out with the intention of offering a critique of Jane Austen's language. However, by looking at the way she used two words whose norms of usage were changing during her lifetime, we can see just how radical she could be in her attitude to received conventions.

## Conclusion

Returning now to the monumental inscription with which we began, we can now see that what Bishop Lavington exposed was not (in the modern definition) "intense and eager enjoyment, interest, or approval", but rather, in Johnson's phrase, "a vain confidence of divine favour or communication" or, in Bradley's (OED), "ill-regulated or misdirected religious emotion; extravagance of religious speculation". The notion that rolling about and speaking in tongues was divinely inspired enjoyed considerable currency among some groups of Dissenters from the 17th to the 19th centuries, but Anglican clergy and rationalist philosophers resolutely set their faces against it from the first. However, as the term came to be appropriated in the cause of literary Romanticism and political libertarianism, the original notion of religious enthusiasm became relegated to the status of a historical curiosity. The norm had changed.

The norm has also changed for *condescension*. From a society in which everyone knew their place, and inferiors were gratified if a superior condescended to speak to them at all, we have moved on to an egalitarian meritocracy, where the appropriate reaction is to take offence if someone speaks condescendingly to you, be it a bishop, one's boss, or indeed even the Queen of England herself.

**Bibliography**

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Appendix

**SACRED**  
To the Memory of  
**GEORGE LAVINGTON, LLD**  
Who having early distinguished himself  
By a conscientious and disinterested attachment  
To the cause of Liberty and the Reformation,  
Was successively advanced to dignities  
In the Cathedrals of Worcester and St Pauls,  
And lastly to the Episcopal Chair of this Church.

Endowed by Nature with superior Abilities,  
Rich in a great variety of acquired knowledge,  
In the study of the holy Scriptures consummate,  
He never ceased to improve his talents,  
Nor to employ them to the noblest purposes;  
An instructive, animated and convincing Preacher,  
A determined Enemy to Idolatry and Persecution,  
And successfull Exposer of Pretence and Enthusiasm.

Happy in his services to the Church of Christ!  
Happier, who could unite such extensive cares  
With a strict attention to his immediate charge!  
His absences from his Diocese were short and rare;  
And his Presence was endeared to his Clergy  
By an easy access and a graceful Hospitality,  
A winning conversation and condescending Deportment.  
Unaffected Sincerity dignified his Instruction  
and indulgent Candor sweetened his Government.

At length, having eminently discharged the Duties  
Of a Man, a Christian, and a Prelate,  
Prepared by habitual Meditation  
To resign Life without Regret  
To Meet Death without Terror,  
He expired, with the Praises of God upon his Lips,  
In his 79th Year. Sepr 13th 1762

Figure 1: In Exeter Cathedral.



108> Later on , backstage , I am greeted with n of about seventeen , was full of energy and ng deep convictions , lively minds , tireless re of keen and well-informed supporters whose tdated expression , plus his look of youthful everybody , "gaspd Nicola , full of breathy 1st they disagreed about the objects of their direction we can use the approach to generate es and began to polish them in the sheet with ely mature , "says Gaultier with unconcealed I 'd i-like more , "Pogo said with his usual d tasting the very essence of the island with argaret and Chris for all their hard work and ry minute of the trip , "I said with genuine uld be changed regularly in order to maintain olving everyone and it is done with gusto and played , not very well but with a captivating onic products , which has been met with great inue . <p 51> 1882 began with a fresh wave of year could be celebrated with whole-hearted the leadership -nor the only one to feel more merican Free Trade Agreement , there is a new observant , methodical , fired by religious <gap> integrated team have shown tremendous a good team . I am always thankful for their er more than 20 years ago . Her never-failing pupils . Children are swept along by waves of posterity must judge . Anyone who shares my ast supermarkets this week demonstrated their hostility to foreign war gave way to growing 1939 . The present show results from a shared The European world in general saw a flurry of n the environment . "His eyes shone with the s Grace , and paid tribute to the support and st use of pigments as paints . Judging by the rts were stirred by his exalted aims . In the s a very great deal to the almost evangelical imply , knowing then that because his lack of right , but , after a brief commitment , the sent their sound has more to do with youthful ion for his band , <page=15> a real do-or-die etter for so being . There is a freshness and arter for the United Nations . Underlying the rivatisation proposal with the same degree of verything on four wheels , or two , with such oesn't usually reflect the time , thought and ried landscapes and coastlines . Yet , in our atients , and lack adequate staff , money and the environment . In 1992 , we responded with success in Clwyd when patients showed little he professionalism of SSE , its potency , and during 1992 and we look forward with renewed and lacked force and credibility and Scottish ly the wheels begin turning on this deal , my line . I fear that too much of his energy and ch as washing his Sierra ; all his energy and has lost none of the original excitement and tronics Systems Programme . His expertise and physical resources . Energy , imagination and ere preached by the official Church ; but the enthusiasm , as if I were a long-lo enthusiasm , but she said that it w enthusiasm , incorruptible moral st enthusiasm , knowledge and confiden enthusiasm , reminded Cassie briefl enthusiasm , running towards the do enthusiasm , they didn't take issue enthusiasm , to create a sense of t enthusiasm . " On your first evenin enthusiasm . " She sings perfectly enthusiasm . " Take him down to Hur enthusiasm . . PP Slowly she drained enthusiasm . <h1> The Back Pain Ass enthusiasm . <p\_44> "We all love t enthusiasm . <p 81> In addition to enthusiasm . A great deal of the cr enthusiasm . At that moment Hencke enthusiasm . NDT Eagle 's SV-1 desk enthusiasm . No fewer than eleven G enthusiasm . One young lady , disgu about Europe than Mrs Th enthusiasm about open trade among c and a passionate convict enthusiasm and commitment in comple enthusiasm and commitment as we hav enthusiasm and dedication helped to and some teachers are so for Martin Scorsese 's enthusiasm for cheaper beef is th enthusiasm for continental campaign for his work on the part enthusiasm for planned reconstruct of a man who has found h of his wife , Alan Smith enthusiasm of pupils and teachers a of these people is a del of those who run it . We enthusiasm on Saturday had worried tends to lapse along wit than finesse . What they enthusiasm that 's frustratingly ab that communicate with th that greeted this new at that he opposed the priv that he soon became a fa that went into it . The to enjoy our great outdo to prevent them becoming to the theme of the Eart to travel to South Wales towards it . The most se to working with you all waned steadily . On 1 Ma wanes . Realizing that I was dissipated on Habbak went into cleaning and p which she shared with Si will be greatly missed . will be needed to bring with which the preaching

Figure 2: A SELECTION OF BNC CITATIONS FOR "ENTHUSIASM"

- 1 *A person may say something (or do something) with enthusiasm.*
- 2 *A person may feel or show enthusiasm for something.*
- 3 *Enthusiasm is a quality which people have: 'enthusiasm' is often preceded by a possessive determiner (his, her, their, your, Sophie's, John's, the men's, etc.).*
- 4 *People may be fired with enthusiasm.*
- 5 *An event or state of affairs may arouse or excite enthusiasm in people.*
- 6 *Enthusiasm is associated with energy and commitment.*
- 7 *Enthusiasm may be tempered by something else (caution, realism, cynicism, or a state of affairs).*
- 8 *Eventually, enthusiasm wanes.*
- 9 *'Enthusiasm' is often used with an intensifying adjective, e.g. great enthusiasm, tremendous enthusiasm, enormous enthusiasm, immense enthusiasm, boundless enthusiasm, unbounded enthusiasm, unbridled enthusiasm, passionate enthusiasm, real enthusiasm, genuine enthusiasm, excessive enthusiasm.*
- 10 *Enthusiasm may be shared collectively.*
- 11 *Kinds of enthusiasm include: initial enthusiasm, new-found enthusiasm, sudden enthusiasm, early enthusiasm, spontaneous enthusiasm, growing enthusiasm, undiminished enthusiasm, renewed enthusiasm; boyish enthusiasm, youthful enthusiasm, innocent enthusiasm; popular enthusiasm, infectious enthusiasm, patriotic enthusiasm.*
- 12 *There is another kind of enthusiasm, called religious enthusiasm.*

Figure 3: Norms of Usage for "Enthusiasm" in modern English

- 1 NP[PERSON] [SAY/DO] NP[ACTION/SPEECH] *with* \_\_\_
- 2 NP[PERSON] [FEEL/SHOW] \_\_\_ for NP
- 3 POSSDET \_\_\_
- 4 NP[PERSON] *be fired with* \_\_\_
- 5 NP[EVENT/STATE\_OF\_AFFAIRS] *arouse/excite* \_\_\_ *in* NP[PERSON]
- 6 \_\_\_.. *energy/commitment.*
- 7 \_\_\_ *be tempered by* NP[(*caution/realism/cynicism/STATE\_OF\_AFFAIRS*)]
- 8 \_\_\_ *wane.*
- 9 ADJ[INTENSIFYING] \_\_\_
- 10 \_\_\_ *be shared.*
- 11 ADJ[CLASSIFYING {list}] \_\_\_  
 {list: *initial, new-found enthusiasm, sudden, early, spontaneous enthusiasm, growing, undiminished, renewed enthusiasm; boyish, youthful, innocent enthusiasm; popular, infectious, patriotic* }
- 12 *religious* \_\_\_

Figure 4: Formal Representation of the Norms of Usage for "Enthusiasm" in modern English

- 13 *Enthusiasm is an emotion.* [superordinate in a semantic hierarchy]
- 14 *Enthusiasm involves a positive emotional response to some event or state of affairs.* [positive semantic prosody]
- 15 *Enthusiasm is often shared collectively by members of a group.*
- 16 *Enthusiasm is variable and, generally, transitory.* [First it is excited, then it wanes]

Figure 5: Norms of Associated Belief for "Enthusiasm" in modern English  
 (less easy to express in formal terms)

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ited in the short term, despite its apparent  
 in couples , greeting one another with false  
 ould have chosen but he accepted with feigned  
 ch 1963 discussed the issue but showed little  
 ey for The Sunday Telegraph . There is little  
 prospects of a water rate , showed as little  
 like a packhorse in the tunnel but had little  
 and heals . Actually, though , I have little  
 success in Clwyd when patients showed little  
 d of it , and when George the Greek showed no  
 onship . The mother 's uninterest and lack of  
 g hedge . Their reception lacked any trace of  
 lowed suit . The fat man looked at us without

enthusiasm to off-load a VAX 6000  
 enthusiasm and competing for the at  
 enthusiasm . <p\_239> In fact he fou  
 enthusiasm . <p\_31> The third polic  
 enthusiasm among voters for a coali  
 enthusiasm for the benefits of wate  
 enthusiasm for the military discipl  
 enthusiasm for the venture . Could  
 enthusiasm to travel to South Wales  
 enthusiasm they were disappointed .  
 enthusiasm will be apparent . Poor  
 enthusiasm . Behind the front door  
 enthusiasm . " From the Globe , ain

Figure 6: NEGATIVES EXPLOIT THE NORM

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1

1814 cene." "I like to hear your  
 1814 the fondest biographer. The  
 1814 n might exercise her tender  
 1814 away with a little, by the  
 1817 yond all others. Warmth and

enthusiasm, Fanny. It is a lovely night, an  
 enthusiasm of a woman's love is even beyond  
 enthusiasm, and that the remaining cold por  
 enthusiasm of her fondness for Henry. I tol  
 enthusiasm did captivate her still. She fel

Sources

- 1811 Austen: Sense and Sensibility
- 1813 Austen: Pride and Prejudice
- 1814 Austen: Mansfield Park
- 1817 Austen: Persuasion

Figure 7: SOME USES OF "ENTHUSIASM" BY JANE AUSTEN

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1

1690 etween faith and reason, no enthusiasm, or extravagancy in religion, ca  
 1690 her faith or reason; I mean enthusiasm: Which laying by reason, would s  
 1690 ght I pretend to, it is but enthusiasm. For whether the proposition sup  
 1740 ferences betwixt a poetical enthusiasm and a serious conviction. In the  
 1740 in the warmth of a poetical enthusiasm, a poet has a counterfeit belief  
 1740 l say, that it is religious enthusiasm to place our salvation, or capac  
 1749 wild passionate rapture and enthusiasm, that express'd excess of pleasu  
 1749 n mine, that in a delicious enthusiasm, I imagin'd such a transfusion o  
 1759 t levity, and pious without enthusiasm. He soon gained the esteem of hi  
 1763 n and narrow-minded bigoted enthusiasm; the younger branch of our famil  
 1764 e been under the madness of enthusiasm or disappointed hopes in their a  
 1776a he consuls, and the martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first  
 1776a st writers in his patriotic enthusiasm for the virtues and noble manner  
 1776a ated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist t  
 1776a ers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, the  
 1776b hey are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among i  
 1776b by popular superstition and enthusiasm. This plan of ecclesiastical gov  
 1784 ons into our minds, is mere enthusiasm and deception; for that neither  
 1784 prejudices, superstitions, enthusiasms and diversities of interests an  
 1798 riancy of noxious passions? Enthusiasm rushes forward with destructive  
 1811 's, which all the charms of enthusiasm and ignorance of the world canno  
 1814 cene." "I like to hear your enthusiasm, Fanny. It is a lovely night, an  
 1814 the fondest biographer. The enthusiasm of a woman's love is even beyond

Sources cited

1690 Locke: Essay Concerning Human Understanding  
 1740 Hume: On Human Nature  
 1749 Fielding: The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling  
 1759 Johnson: Rasselas  
 1763 Brooke: the History of Lady Julia Mandeville  
 1764 Otis: Rights of British Colonies  
 1776a Gibbon; Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire  
 1776b Smith: Wealth of Nations  
 1784 Allen: Reason  
 1798 Wollstonecraft: Maria  
 1811 Austen: Sense and Sensibility  
 1814 Austen: Mansfield Park

Figure 8: SOME 17TH- AND 18TH-CENTURY CITATIONS FOR "ENTHUSIASM"  
 [FROM THE OXFORD HISTORICAL CORPUS]

**1** *Enthusiasm was associated with possession, supernatural inspiration, and wild passionate rapture.*

**2** *Enthusiasm was also associated (by mainstream writers) with fraud, delusion, and superstition.*

**3** *Martial enthusiasm was associated with ardour for action and heroism.*

**4** *People were motivated by enthusiasm in a cause (good or bad).*

**5** *Men could be blinded by enthusiasm.*

**6** *Kinds of enthusiasm included: religious enthusiasm, narrow-minded enthusiasm, bigoted enthusiasm, mad enthusiasm, ugly enthusiasm, wild enthusiasm, passionate enthusiasm, ardent enthusiasm, rapturous enthusiasm, furious enthusiasm; martial enthusiasm, patriotic enthusiasm, invincible enthusiasm; poetical enthusiasm, elegant enthusiasm.*

Figure 9: SOME 18TH-CENTURY NORMS FOR "ENTHUSIASM"

lso see <page=271> <gap> her as divisive, can sometimes seem arrogant , or at least he 'd tell him a few home truths about his on . Their attitude towards the masses was I thought the teachers were arrogant and perienced and you could be patronizing and be interested in . Like some grand lady , e sympathy of the reader as he is snobby , ultures is at worst negative , and at best any other it seems , well , pyrotechnic , Jew , blaming his political setback on the 7> Fourteen per cent claim the men have a has been riding since you first told some of" too clever by half "with a series of d at any time" . Instead they dispensed a y stuff , and to reject it outright with a "said Jim-the-bus-driver with the sort of ve you done much skiing ?" .PP It was the t on then , Bob ! "said Jannie . <p\_71>" ed and cross-questioned Phoebe in the most She looked Max and I up and down in a most ust <page=114> how you must be feeling . excluding them from discussions , or being of subjective comment by biased and often faith by Nizan in his own superiority , a he wants to look around the place and make Rock . It has a hackneyed , distasteful , led one . And the other sniped : "That 's yself . "<p\_128> If the tone was a little ide-books , "interrupted the woman with a blic recognition he deserved , to wipe the t time acknowledging their presence with a rned to the station in the city centre . th them have gone much of the outrageously Equally , you should try to avoid that dandy Miguel ?" .PP She ignored his ok at it this way , Billy , "he said in a in Kropotkin 's husky , languid , somewhat t she was condescending to me like a don ap of" thinking down" to his pupils , of g exciting ; <page=107> today I feel I was suggests , British doctors should be less anges towards those around him by becoming ( see pp. 77 \_ 8 ) . <p\_89> \* Avoid being <LI> Strident voice . <LI> Sarcastic or it . He recognised the drawling , somewhat quals , who do not indulge them , act in a it . He was simply laughing at her in that ou ! "he grated . "How dare you use your go : one of the wire services reports in a he more educated women complain that it 's h the children warm , yet not in the least

condescending , and a destructive force in pol  
condescending , as in this extract : <page=79>  
condescending , heartless , authoritarian atti  
condescending , high-handed and ultimately dic  
condescending , " Was it a question of not bei  
condescending . <h2> Stress and trauma </h2> <  
condescending . Perhaps she would , really , h  
condescending and harsh towards Magwitch as is  
condescending and patronising . These cultures  
condescending and too clever by half . "<p\_46=  
condescending attitude of Mr Shamir and his al  
condescending attitude . <p\_7> And one in a hu  
condescending aunt from your pushchair" It 's  
condescending footnotes to some of its more ar  
condescending homily . <p\_212> What would our  
condescending intellectual leer would have fel  
condescending jocularity adopted by one in the  
condescending look on his face that did it . F  
Condensing lowbrows , "said Dyson sourly .  
condescending manner , made worse by the fact  
condescending manner . Max took an instant dis  
Condensing old bitch . "<p\_114> "Of course  
condescending or patronizing . They jump to ur  
condescending outside observers is a marked co  
condescending refusal to interact with lesser  
condescending remarks . Things turn ugly , he  
condescending ring to it and an overview by it  
condescending sexism . "<p\_17> "Oh , "said t  
condescending she did not complain ; it was st  
condescending smile . "They tell you only about  
condescending smiles off their faces , would k  
condescending sneer . Corbett refused to be ru  
Condensing sod , "he thought , gathering up  
condescending theorising expressed by professi  
condescending to , or appearing to patronise ,  
condescending tone , and said , "Yes , frankly  
condescending tone of voice . "If by any chanc  
condescending tones . Charsky stroked her shou  
condescending to some poor don 's wife at the  
condescending to them . .PP There is an extrac  
condescending to the people I deceived and I v  
condescending towards their Continental collee  
condescending towards them and showing little  
condescending to your reader or about the text  
condescending voice . <LI> Chilling cold and c  
condescending voice or Bella Kropotkin . For a  
condescending way , or look upon them as somet  
condescending way he had . "But , really ,  
condescending ways on me ! So I 'm an object c  
condescending way that under local law , the h  
condescending when the notes translate ruptur  
condescending with too much bonhomie . <p\_231>

Figure 10: CITATIONS FROM THE BNC FOR "CONDESCENDING"

1728 1749 1763 1766 1792 1809 1813 1816 1817a 1817b 1828 1837 1848	hose below me, be gracious, hip. However, as you are so g approbation in a smile of sort to the company, he was with the lullaby strains of owldgments of so great and as lady Catherine herself m. just as accomplished and s; Sir Walter prepared with s,' he said, in the tone of s, Hugh appropriated with a val of the player in a most Mrs. Blimber was a little	Condescending and Forgiving, using Clemency condescending to take up with the best I ha condescending sweetness, I consented with a condescending enough to desire me and the p condescending endearment ! Let them be taug condescending a kindness to her boy. Emma, condescendingly says, will connect themselv condescending as Mrs. Elton meant to be con condescending bows for all the afflicted te condescending praise, that a great man uses condescending bow and smile; and making a s condescending and patronising manner, which condescending, but extremely kind. </p>
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Sources

- 1728 Franklin: Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion
- 1749 Fielding: Tom Jones
- 1763 Brooke: The History of Lady Julia Mandeville
- 1766 Goldsmith: The Vicar of Wakefield
- 1792 Wollstonecraft: Rights of Women
- 1809 Austen: The Waltons
- 1813 Austen: Pride and Prejudice
- 1816 Austen: Emma
- 1817a Austen: Persuasion
- 1817b Austen: Letters
- 1828 Hawthorne: Fanshawe
- 1837 Dickens: Pickwick Papers
- 1844 Dickens: Martin Chuzzlewit
- 1848 Dickens: Dombey and Son

Figure 11: SOME 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY CITATIONS FOR "CONDESCENDING"