THE MYTH OF *MANKIND* AND THE REPRESENTATION OF *PEOPLE* IN LATE 18TH-CENTURY BRITISH DICTIONARIES OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

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ABSTRACT

Lo studio ha come obiettivo l'analisi dei termini *mankind* e *people* in due opere lessicografiche dedicate al commercio e pubblicate a Londra intorno alla metà degli anni '50 del Settecento. Si tratta di *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* di Rolt (1756) e di *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* di Postlethwayt (1757). Una panoramica degli stessi termini nei dizionari universali di arti e scienze pubblicati sia nella prima, sia nella seconda metà del secolo (cfr. References, Primary Sources), sarà utile per definire il quadro di riferimento storico-culturale e storico-sociale più in generale. A partire dai termini chiave *mankind* e *people*, la rispettiva frequenza d'uso e la loro rilevanza nei due dizionari *ND* e *UD*, la ricerca si amplia per includere altri termini a essi associati (e.g. locuzioni e strutture sintattiche nelle quali *mankind* e *people* ricorrono) e categorie semantiche (e.g. contesti d'uso specifici: condizione sociale, sistema di valori, demografia, identità e cittadinanza, etc.). Le voci lessicografiche, i rinvii, e le locuzioni si combinano e strutturano una rete complessa sia sul piano lessicografico, sia sul piano lessicologico. Tale rete di rapporti, oltre a fornire informazioni e contenuti relativi ad ambiti specifici, mette in luce il principio gerarchico che governa la società inglese della tarda modernità. In particolare, *people* si declina in una miriade di entità. I dizionari che hanno come oggetto il commercio, gli scambi, e la società del periodo sono fonti documentarie estremamente ricche sul piano contenutistico, ma anche veicolo molto incisivo di prospettive ideologiche.

PAROLE CHIAVE
Popolo, umanità, lessicografia del XVIII secolo, scambi e commerci, nazione e paese

The investigation aims at analysing the two general notions of *mankind* and *people* in two lexicographic reference works on trade and commerce published in London in the 1750s: Rolt's *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (1756) and Postlethwayt's *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (1757). An overview of the same notions in universal dictionaries of arts and sciences (cfr. References, Primary Sources), issued before and after *ND* and *UD*, will also be of help to define a more general background. Starting from the key words *mankind* and *people*, their frequency and relevance in the two dictionaries, the investigation is widened to include related terms (e.g. multiword expressions and language patterns in which *mankind* and *people* occur) and semantic categories (e.g. specific contexts of use: social condition, social values, demography, identity and citizenship, etc.). The many entries, cross-references, and the various lexical clusters reveal a complex lexicographic and lexicological network. This network, beyond providing information and contents on specific topics, ultimately emphasises the hierarchical organising principle at the basis of Late Modern British society: in particular, *people* unfolds into a myriad of 'entities'. Dictionaries of trade and commerce are plentiful sources of knowledge, from general concepts and notions to more specific contents, but also powerful ideological tools.

KEY WORDS
People, mankind, 18th-century lexicography, trade and commerce, nation and country

1. AIM AND SOURCES

The investigation aims at analysing the lexemes *mankind* and *people* in two lexicographic reference works on trade and commerce published in London in the 1750s: Richard Rolt's *A New Dictionary of Trade and*

Commerce[1] (hereafter *ND*) and Malachy Postlethwayt's *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*[2] (hereafter *UD*). The 1750s were a watershed at different levels: historians agree that after the mid-century many causes that were difficult to identify and analyse in isolation mark a turning point in the life of 'people' (and British people in particular)[3] as regards demography (political arithmetic), health conditions, social conditions, production systems and technological progress,[4] literacy, dissemination of useful knowledge,[5] national identity and the expansion of the empire (colonies, relationships, trade and commerce, merchandising, financial and economic issues, welfare, etc.). The general and/or specific notions expressed by *mankind* and *people*, as well as their use in context, become pivotal to represent the new and expanding idea(l)s, values, processes, and realities. Alongside their more general, neutral, and sometimes 'vague' meanings and usages, these two terms are recursively associated with more specific and marked circumstances, events, situations, and entities, and are recorded in a myriad of language expressions within the dictionaries of trade and commerce. These multiword expressions and contexts of use are the focus of the present study.

Before introducing the methodological section and the discussion of data retrieved from the quantitative and qualitative analyses of primary sources, it is worth contextualising the two works in their time, and briefly highlighting their intended functions and usefulness in contemporary society.[6]

ND is a single folio volume for «the Use of the Merchants and Tradesmen of Great Britain» (title page) and includes, among others, information on natural productions, manufactures, banking, and the terms of trade and commerce, or any «commercial subjects in all languages» (title page). The Preface, written by Samuel Johnson,[7] focuses on both the alphabetical arrangement of the dictionary, deemed as being the most appropriate way to organise the «innumerable particulars unconnected with each other»[8] in «commerce, considered in its whole extent»,[9] and «the *materials*, the *places*, and the *means* of traffick».[10] In two occasions, the word *mankind* is used: in the first paragraph of the Preface,[11] *mankind* generically represents the target audience of the dictionary, whereas towards the end of it, *mankind* refers to the community of people of a particular country as the ultimate beneficiary of trade and the merchant's attention: «every man ought to consider himself as part of the community to which he belongs, as while he prosecutes his own interest [i.e. trader's interest] to promote likewise that of his country, it is necessary for the trader to look abroad upon mankind».[12] The Preface ends with an explicit statement about the usefulness of a «Commercial Dictionary, which though immediately and primarily written for the merchants, will be of use to every man of business or curiosity»,[13] highlighting thus the dissemination of practical knowledge in civil society, and its applicability or usage.[14]

UD consists of two folio volumes compiled by Malachy Postlethwayt (1707-1767), «writer on economics and publicist».[15] The work is based on Jacques Savary des Bruslons's (1657-1716) *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, published posthumously in 1723. However, most of *UD*'s contents are added and incorporated «in an english dress; to the end that the same [i.e. universal knowledge of commerce] may be more peculiarly adapted to the state of the trade and navigation of the british empire».[16] The original *Dictionnaire* was used as a «*canevas*»[17] to be corrected and expanded «with topics [dealt with] in a more extensive and profound manner».[18] The aim is not only to inform merchants and traders, but also the «private gentleman»,[19] and «the *statesman* and the *senator*; because the knowledge and practice of the merchant, is applicable to the most profound political discernment in affairs relative to the interests of national commerce».[20] Therefore, the entries

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[1] ROLT 1756.
[2] POSTLETHWAYT 1757, second edition.
[3] MOKYR 2005 and 2009, p. 4; HOPPIT 1996, p. 519.
[4] MOKYR 2009, p. 81.
[5] Ivi, p. 26.
[6] LONATI 2012, 2014, and 2020, pp. 232-234.
[7] FERRERO 1993, p. 179; RIZZO 2004, s.v. Rolt.
[8] ROLT 1756, Preface, p. 1/A.
[9] *Ibidem*.
[10] ROLT 1756, Preface, p. 2.
[11] Ivi, p. 1/A.
[12] Ivi, p. 3/The.
[13] Ivi, p. 4/A
[14] MOKYR 2009, pp. 369-376.
[15] GROENEWEGEN 2021, s.v. Postlethwayt.
[16] POSTLETHWAYT 1749, Plan p. 3.
[17] BERG 2017, p. 1174.
[18] *Ibidem*.
[19] POSTLETHWAYT 1749, Plan p. 24.
[20] Ivi, p. 26.

do not only provide facts and detailed information on the multifaceted foreign and domestic commercial issues, but also a political overview on the role of commerce as the means to promote the nation: «It is not that nation whose foreign trade may be the most universal, that will become the most opulent and formidable; but that nation which has the most universal trade, and that the wisest regulated, is certain of becoming the richest and most powerful; by reason the wealth of such nation will increase beyond that of others, in proportion to the superior wisdom and good policy of such regulation.»[21]

UD is a dictionary of the works «of the trading part of mankind»,[22] that is of those people in late modern society whose perspective and activity are beneficial to the human species in general, and to the nation of Great Britain in particular: «The political knowledge of commerce throughout this work, being chiefly grounded on the practical knowledge thereof [...] for the lasting prosperity, we humbly hope, of Great Britain; the author desiring to live no longer, than he can be useful to mankind in general, and to his native country in particular.»[23]

The Preface systematically emphasises the interest of the nation-state, and public welfare,[24] and concludes by stating that the kind of knowledge included in the dictionary articles is of «great national concernment» to prevent «public injury and deception» and promote general and individual happiness.[25] With this work, Postlethwayt introduces the reader to the contemporary emergent discourse on 'political economy',[26] or the political discussion of trade.[27]

As regards the secondary sources: historical and socio-historical readings,[28] encyclopaedic lexicography,[29] lexicological studies on pre- and post- modification and their sociolinguistic impact,[30] previous studies on the works and topic/s under scrutiny[31] are fundamental to support data collection and methodological issues, as well as the discussion of quantitative and qualitative results.

2. METHOD

The research perspective is qualitative, but the starting point for data collection is quantitative, in order to provide a survey on frequency (Absolute Frequency/AF, and Relative Frequency/RF) by examining the occurrences of *mankind* and *people* in the selected dictionaries of trade and commerce, and to identify the multiword expressions formed by them. AntConc (3.5.8. 2019) was used to collect raw data from primary sources, whereas the selection of relevant lexical units and extracts for qualitative analysis was grounded on close reading. In other words, from general quantitative data, the investigation moved to a qualitative description and interpretation in order to illustrate the specific meaning and use of the words *mankind* and *people*. The following steps represent the process of selection:

a.   absolute frequency and relative frequency: *mankind*/*people* (quantitative)
b.   keyness values and Reference corpus (*Cyclopaedia* 1728 and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1768-1771; quantitative to qualitative)
c.   lexical clusters/units: pre- and post-modification, mixed types
d.   most relevant and frequent lexical clusters/units: focus on pre-modification and *mankind*/*people* as post-modifiers in *of*-phrases and as indirect objects in *to*-phrases (qualitative; similarities vs. differences, Rolt vs. Postlethwayt; Rolt's and Postlethwayt's usage/s (qualitative)

Steps a. to b. will be presented and discussed in the following section, 3. 'Quantitative Results and Discussion'. Steps c. and d. will be discussed in section 4. 'Qualitative Results and Discussion'.

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[21] Ivi, p. 27.
[22] POSTLETHWAYT 1757, General Contents, p. V.
[23] Ivi, p. XIII.
[24] POSTLETHWAYT 1757, Preface, pp. XV and XX.
[25] Ivi, p. XXVIII.
[26] BERG 2017, p. 1170.
[27] Ivi 2017, p. 1174-1175; also BENNET 2011, p. 7; LONATI 2012, 2014, 2020, pp. 232-234.
[28] HOPPIT 1996; MOKYR 2005 and 2009.
[29] YEO 2011.
[30] BÄCKLUND 2006.
[31] BENNET 2011; BERG 2017; FERRERO 1993; LONATI 2012, 2014, 2020.

3. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.

3.1. Absolute frequency and relative frequency: step a.

Rolt's *ND* counts 1,257,092 word tokens, and 122,231 word types (one folio volume), whereas Postlethwayt's *UD* includes 3,246,039 word tokens, and 186,977 word types (two folio volumes). *UD* word tokens are three times as many as *ND* Word tokens, whereas *UD* word types are a third more than *ND* word types. As regards word tokens, this implies a plausible expansion in the number of entries and topics included, as well as the length of individual entries. As regards word types, the relationship between the two dictionaries is closer: this may suggest that they share a common core of specialised words, used either in the entries, or as headwords.

As regards *mankind* and *people*, they are not among the most frequent nouns in *ND* and *UD*: the most frequent one is *trade* (see Table 3). The following Table 1 summarises the main results:

Table 1 - Absolute frequency, Relative frequency, and Keyness: *ND* vs. *UD*

	Word tokens	Word types	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 wds)	Keyness *ND* vs *UD*
Rolt's *ND* 1756	1,257,092 (1 folio vol.)	122,231	--	--	--
mankind people	--	--	26 546	2 43	-- --
Postlethwayt's *UD* ²ⁿᵈ1757	3,246,039 (2 folio voll.)	186,977	--	--	--
mankind people	--	--	145 2,344	4.46 72.2	+15.5 +126.64

As displayed in Table 1, the higher rate of AF in the use of *mankind* in *UD* than in *ND* apparently shows that the word is more prominent; however, this rate is reduced if occurrences are related to the number of word tokens. In this case, *UD* occurrences are only 2.5 as much as *ND* per 100,000 words.

As regards *people*, the results are more interesting, since occurrences are significantly higher in both dictionaries: this seems to point that *people* has a more central role and probably a different function than *mankind* for both Rolt and Postlethwayt. This hypothesis will be discussed in section 4. (Qualitative Results and Discussion).

3.2. Keyness values and Reference corpus: step b.

The fact that the use (AF and RF) of *mankind* and *people* in *UD* is greater than in *ND* is also confirmed by keyness. Indeed, from the direct comparison of the two words in the two dictionaries, we can see that in *UD* *mankind* is +15.5 vs. *ND*, and *people* is +126.64 vs. *ND*.[32] If keyness values are still – or more – limited in *UD* vs. *ND* for *mankind*, the relevance in the use of *people* is definitely marked.

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[32] Keyness was estimated on the following parameters: Log likelihood/4 terms; Stat Threshold/All values; Effect size measure/Dice coefficient; Effect size Threshold/All values.

Keyness was also calculated by comparing *ND* and *UD* against an 'encyclopaedic' reference corpus made of two universal dictionaries of arts and sciences: Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*[33] (hereafter *Cy*), and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (hereafter *EB*).[34] Table 2 displays the main results:

Table 2 - Absolute frequency, Relative frequency, and Keyness: *ND+UD* vs. *Cy+EB* (reference corpus)

	Word tokens	Word types	Absolute frequency - AF	Relative frequency - RF (per 100,000 wds)	Keyness *ND* vs *UD*
ND + UD	4,503,131 (3 folio voll.)	268,061	--	--	--
mankind people	--	--	171 2890	3,8 64	+5.36 +817.91
Cy + EB	6,168,147 (2 folio voll. + 3 quarto voll.)	628,420	--	--	--
mankind people	--	--	183 1680	2,9 27,2	-- --

As can be seen from the table, *ND+UD mankind* and *people* RF has a higher rate than *Cy+EB* RF. However, there is a substantial difference between the two words. *People* RF is always more marked than *mankind* RF, in all the works under scrutiny (*ND*, *UD*, *Cy*, and *EB*), and definitely in *ND* and *UD*. This result, as already suggested, may be relevant at a qualitative level since it highlights a consistent interest and a general expansion in the use of *people* vis-à-vis *mankind*. In particular, *people* RF in *ND* and *UD* may also imply wide-ranging contexts of use and expressions in the two dictionaries of trade and commerce.

As regards keyness against the reference corpus (*Cy+EB*), the results are arranged in Table 3. By way of comparison, and to provide further reference and context for *mankind* and *people*, *trade*[35] has also been added to the data:

Table 3 - Keyness: *ND+UD* vs. *Cy+EB* (reference corpus)

RANK (per 268,061 word types)	FREQUENCY	KEYNESS comparison with *Cy + EB*	KEYWORD
1	9,960	+14,675.78	trade (1st keyword and 1st noun word in *ND + UD*)
156	2,890	+817.91	people
14,027	171	+5.36	mankind
268,056	5	0	warriors (last noun word)

Keyness confirms the relevance of *people*, of its use and most likely of its function/s in *ND* and *UD*. It also confirms the general tendency already recorded above, and related to the extremely marked increase in the

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[33] CHAMBERS 1728, 2 folio voll.
[34] AAVV. 1768-71, 3 quarto voll.
[35] Trade: *ND*, AF 2224/RF 176 per 100,000 words; *UD*, AF 7736/RF 238 per 100,000 words, Keyness *UD* +162.02 against *ND*.

number of occurrences. This increase in relevance and occurrence is even more clearly marked here in comparison with/to *Cy* and *EB*.

4. QUALITATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: *MANKIND* AND *PEOPLE* USAGE/S ACROSS ENTRIES.[36]

4.1. Lexical clusters: step c.

As above mentioned, *mankind* and *people* are more frequently used in *ND* and *UD* than in universal dictionaries of arts and sciences (Reference corpus), with a remarkably higher rate of AF and RF in Postlethwayt's *UD*. *Mankind* and *people* were considered in the contexts and the co-texts in which they appear, especially in pre- and post-modification, but many other cluster types (categorised as 'mixed types') were included and used in the two dictionaries (e.g. lexical coordination to establish alternative and/or equivalence). Lexical clusters of min 2-3 words/max 3 words constitute the basic structure for selection: *mankind* and *people* are displaced either on the right or the left side of the clusters.

Most of these two- to three-word *mankind*/*people* clusters occur only once in the texts under scrutiny. This implies a great variety of expressions, related to trade, commerce, and society, but a limited number of patterns.

The four most interesting types of clusters are

1. pre-modified *people*   usually 2-word clusters
2. post-modified *mankind*/*people*   usually 3-word clusters
3. of/to + *mankind/people* (PP)   usually 3-word clusters
4. mixed types (e.g. lexical coordination)   usually 3-word clusters

and the most relevant clusters among them include pre-modification and the use of *mankind/people* as post-modifiers in *of*-phrases. *Mankind* is post-modified, is used as a post-modifier, is included in mixed types of clusters, but is not pre-modified. Expressions including *people* are more frequent and diversified, the word is post-modified, is used as a post-modifier, is included in mixed types of clusters, and is frequently pre-modified.

The following sections exemplify the four cluster types, by arranging results in relation to specific semantic categories that are context-based and determined through a close reading of the sources, and especially referring to:

CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation)
       e.g. rank: *rich/poor people*, *generality of mankind*
ACTIVITY (occupation, profession)
       e.g. *mercantile people*, *people in business*
POSITIVE VALUES (or qualities) and social usefulness
       e.g. *laborious*, *honest people*, *advantage of mankind*, *benefit to mankind*
NEGATIVE VALUES (qualities) and burden to the nation
       e.g. *idle*, *ignorant people*, *hurtful to mankind*
QUANTITY (e.g. political arithmetic, or demography)
       e.g. *multitudes of people*, *increase of mankind*
GEOGRAPHY (identity and expansion)
       e.g. *eastern people*, *people of Jamaica*
NATION (citizenship, and also inhabitants; political perspective)
       e.g *people of England*, *people of Rome*, *people in London*
OTHER
       e.g. *necessities of mankind*, *consolation to mankind*; *neighbouring*, *corpulent*, *impartial people*

All these semantic categories highlight the interpersonal nature of *mankind/people* and their social and collective quality; whereby interpersonal means that the referent (*mankind* or *people*) is characterised «as a

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[36] In both *ND* and *UD*, *mankind* is not included as a headword, whereas *people* is the headword of two entries, and cross-refers to further headwords/entries (e.g. Great Britain, Labour, Political arithmetic, *ND*; Money, Ballance of trade, Exchange, Duties, Poor, *UD*). Since the focus of the present analysis is the discussion of *mankind* and *people* lexical clusters and their occurrences across entries, the headword-entry People is omitted. A selection of *ND* and *UD* extracts are nonetheless recorded in Appendix 1 and 2 as general reference.

social being».[37] As regards the two categories POSITIVE and NEGATIVE VALUES, they either refer to coded or emerging values and meanings of the period under scrutiny, or evidence from the texts.[38]

4.2. MOST RELEVANT AND FREQUENT LEXICAL CLUSTERS/UNITS: STEP D.

4.2.1. Pre-modified (mankind) and people.

As regards pre-modification, there are clear differences between *mankind* and *people*: *mankind* is never pre-modified except for the expression *all mankind*, and its meaning usually refers to «The race or species of human beings»[39] and/or to «5. Men, or persons in general. In this sense, the word *people* is used indefinitely, like *on* in French».[40]

Most of the pre-modified clusters can be included in the category CONDITION, with a greater rate of frequency in number and variety in *UD*. In relation to the five definitions recorded in Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755, hereafter *DEL*), the expressions cover persons of a particular class (4), the vulgar and commonalty (2-3), and persons in general (5): these social groups can be also associated with specific values, which can be either positive or negative (see respective categories).

POSITIVE VALUES usually refer to labour and industry (industrious attitude) as sources of wealth, honesty and parsimony, respectability; they are connected to some kind of working or professional activity, at different levels (*middling people* in trade, *lower people* as *working people*), and ultimately to usefulness. Positive issues are also highlighted by *rational*, *vigilant* and *judicious* people (their attitude and social behaviour): in other words, the *ruling people* (e.g. active *wealthy*/*rich people*, not only living on expense, but governing 'the nation'). Positive expressions are more frequent in *UD*. Good qualities and positive values can make the nation powerful.

NEGATIVE VALUES are those bound to idleness, superstition and credulity, inferiority and ignorance: they are usually associated with the *lower* ranks, particularly those people who do not work and live on public expense (burden to the nation): *poor*, *poorer*, *poorest*, *alms*, *indigent*, *beggarly*, *necessitous*, *unhappy*, *weak people*, etc. In the category NEGATIVE VALUES, along with *idle*, *indolent*, *ignorant*, *superstitious* and *credulous people*, we can find *savage*, *unpolished*, *turbulent*, *cheating* and *corrupted people*. In Johnson's definitions, it corresponds to the vulgar (2) and/or the commonalty (3). Table 4 below exemplifies the results for each dictionary: if modifiers appear more than once, the number of occurrences is recorded between brackets.

Table 4 – Pre-modification and semantic categories

Categories	Rolt's *ND* – *premodification*	Postlethwayt's *UD* – *premodification*
No premodification	*mankind*: –	*mankind*: –
Premodification	*people* (search: min/max 2 words, *people* on the right):	*people* (search: min/max 2 words, *people* on the right):
CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation)	- nobility, middling - common (11), poor (4), scum, working (4), hard-working, labouring, necessitous (2), unhappy, abandoned - country (6) - free - uncivilized (2), savage, inferior*	- [polite and] wealthy (2), rich, ruling - common (38), poor (23), poorer (2), poorest, alms, sick, indigent (4), beggarly, lower, [low] mean, meaner, necessitous, unhappy, weak (2), labouring (6), slothful*, working (6), work-people, employed (12), [mean negroes and] ordinary

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[37] BÄCKLUND 2006, p. 21.
[38] GEERAERTS 2010, pp. 230-233.
[39] JOHNSON 1755, s.v. Manki'nd.
[40] Ivi, s.v. Pe'ople. In JOHNSON's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), *mankind* is primarily and generally defined as "1. The race or species of human beings" (s.v. Manki'nd), whereas *people* is firstly denoted as "1. A nation; these who compose a community", and next as "2. The vulgar [...] 3. The commonalty; not the princes or nobles [...] 4. Persons of a particular class [...] 5. Men, or persons in general" (s.v. Pe'ople).

	- young - whatsoever (2)	- country (25), colony (2) - private (9), married - civilized (5), wild, savage - free (5), independent - young (28), old - warlike* (1 out of 3) - whatever/whatsoever (2)
POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness)	- formidable (2), industrious (3), intelligent, laborious (2) - good - useful - powerful	- industrious (13), ingenious, laborious, enterprizing, unwary - good (3), proper, generous, greater, honest (2) sensible (2), parsimonious, rational, vigilant, judicious, respectable - useful - powerful - warlike* (1 out of 3)
NEGATIVE VALUES (qualities; burden to the nation)	- idle (4), unthinking - superstitious, inferior* - [turbulent and] litigious	- idle (5), indolent - ignorant (3), credulous (2), mean, meaner, improvident, slothful*, unskilful - turbulent, indocile, warlike* (1 out of 3), tyrannical, terrible - unthankful, cheating, corrupted, perverse - barbarous (3), unpolished

Some expressions that are more limited in number as regards pre-modification, are worth mentioning. These are the categories ACTIVITY and QUANTITY. As regards ACTIVITY, if in *ND trading people* highlights the most relevant and general occupation in the 'trade and commerce perspective', in *UD* the concept is not only more popular (*trading people* has a higher number of occurrences) but more varied and specific: *mercantile*, *seafaring*, *military*, *ruling people.* These *UD* expressions in fact do not only emphasise commerce, but also *seafaring* expansion, the essential *military* support, and not least the *ruling*-political outlook as essential to govern the nation and complementary to trade.

To conclude, some fewer examples refer to GEOGRAPHY and reflect geographical expansion in a vague and general perspective in both dictionaries: *ND eastern*, *northern*, *asiatic*, *remote people*; *UD eastern* (4), *northern*, *inland people*. Others refer to the NATION, or citizenship, and inhabitants: *ND British*, *French*, etc. *people*; *UD European*, *French*, *England*, etc. *people.*

4.2.2. Post-modified mankind *and* people*: prepositional phrases*

The post-modification of *mankind* and *people* is more limited in number and type: these two terms are frequently followed by *in-* and *of*-phrases.[41] In both *ND* and *UD*, *mankind* is post-modified by *in general* and *in particular*. As regards their meaning, these expressions usually refer to what Johnson defines as «1. The race or species of human beings».[42]

In comparison with *mankind*, *people* in *ND* and *UD* is post-modified more frequently, with the following structure: head+of/in+'any place'. Prepositional phrases can be found in the GEOGRAPHY category, since they essentially highlight geographical expansion and remote places around the world (e.g. *people of Jamaica, Algiers, Canada, Africa*, etc. *ND*; *Loango, Martinique, Mozambique, Monomotapa, Mopemugi, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Virginia*, *UD*); as well as in the NATION category, since they give prominence to citizenship (e.g. *people of England, France, Great Britain, Germany, Portugal,* etc. *ND*; *people of England, Ireland, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Turkey,* or *in Holland, in Italy, in Poland, in Spain*, etc. *UD*), or to the inhabitants of a specific place (e.g. *people of Europe, Attica, Languedoc, London, Shetland, Tripoli,* etc.;

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[41] Post-modification may also consist of relative clauses or reduced relative clauses: clauses as post-modifiers are not treated in this study, since the focus of the analysis is on lexical clusters/units.
[42] JOHNSON 1755, s.v. Manki'nd; cfr. nt. 40.

or *in Europe*, *in London*, ND; *people of Provence, Rome, Muscovy, Nantes, Paris, Poitou*; or *in London,* etc. *UD*). Lexical units of this kind are numberless and disseminated across entries in the two dictionaries.

These expressions may be interpreted as 'the nation',[43] or 'the inhabitants of', especially when referring to towns (e.g. London, Rome, etc.). Moreover, the idea of nation as *people of*, and their political and commercial power, is also related to the definitions Rolt and Postlethwayt use in their entries s.v. People:[44]

> PEOPLE. The whole collection of inhabitants in a kingdom or state. The people being the first matter of power and wealth, by whose labour and industry a nation must be gainers in the balance of trade, their increase or decrease must be carefully observed by any government that designs to thrive.[45]

> PEOPLE [...] The people being the first matter of power and wealth [...] by whose labour and industry a nation must be gainers in the ballance of trade, their increase or decrease must be carefully observed by any government that designs to thrive; that is, their increase must be promoted by good conduct and wholesome laws; and if they have been decreased by war, or any other accident, the breach is to be made up as soon as possible [...].[46]

If *people of* represents the nation as a community of people, a country, or the inhabitants (e.g. people of London); *people in* may refer either to the nation, or to a group of people in a particular place for the most diverse reasons, sharing, for example, activities, behaviours, habits, interests:

> The Scotch make the best knit Stockings of any people in Europe, and sell them at exorbitant rates; [...][47]

> [T]he vigour and influence of his government [i.e. Lewis XIV] was so prevalent, that his subjects, as it were changing their nature, shook off their indolence, shewing themselves to be the most active, ingenious, and laborious people in Europe; particularly in manufactures, commerce, and navigation.[48]

> Travellers tell us of people in the Indies, who make use of wooden anchors in their navigation; but the inhabitants in the isle of Ceylon, in lieu of anchors, use ponderous round stones; and in some places a kind of wooden machinery is used, loaden with stones.[49]

> The ESQUIMAUX, or ESKIMAUX, are one of the fiercest, and hitherto unpolished, people in all North America. They are seated on the most eastern verge of it, beyond the river of St. Lawrence, and spread themselves up north and east into the large tract of land, called Terra de Labrador [...].[50]

> The common people in France use that oil instead of butter but most of those who use a great deal of it complain of pains and heaviness in the stomach.[51]

> It appears from these computations, that we have two millions of people in Ireland, yet no more than a sixteenth part of them, viz. a hundred and twenty-five thousand, are fully employed in the linnen manufacture, or staple commodity [...].[52]

> The seamen here are called Venetians, though they are not so; and the landmen are called Mortaques, though they are both Dalmatians or Croatians. But they all speak Italian, or rather a kind of Lingua Frank, common to all the seafaring people in the Levant.[53]

As regards other post-modifying prepositional phrases of the *of/in* type, it is worth mentioning those which introduce specific social groups, having different social functions and social relevance. These units express

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[43] JOHNSON 1755, s.v. Pe'ople, definition number 1, which also includes definitions 2-3 and 4-5, cfr. note 40.
[44] Cfr. Appendices 1 and 2 for details. The two definitions used by Rolt and Postlethwayt are taken from Charles Davenant, '*Of the people of* England', in *An Essay Upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, p. 17, 2nd ed. 1700.
[45] ROLT 1756, s.v. People, opening lines.
[46] POSTLETHWAYT 1757, s.v. People, mid-entry definition.
[47] ROLT 1756, s.v. Stocking, Woven stockings.
[48] Ivi, s.v. France, Isles of Britany.
[49] Ivi, s.v. Anchor.
[50] POSTLETHWAYT 1757, s.v. Canada, or New France, The Esquimaux.
[51] Ivi, s.v. Beech-Tree.
[52] Ivi, s.v. Linnen.
[53] Ivi, s.v. Dalmatia, Remarks.

CONDITION and ACTIVITY, such as *people on work* (*ND*) and *people of business, people of fortune, people of good behaviour, people of reputation, people of weight and distinction, people in business, people in trade, people in work* (*UD*). All of them also refer to the definition-notion of *people* as a source of wealth, power, and labour,[54] and, as such, to positive values for the time.

4.2.3. Mankind/people *in of-phrases and to-phrases*

Mankind and *people* are frequently used as post-modifiers in *of-phrases* to narrow down semantic references, making them more specific. *Mankind* is also used as an indirect object in *to-phrases*, and is usually the receiver of positive issues. Most of these units, head+*of/to phrases*, can be found in the categories of CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation), POSITIVE VALUES (or qualities, and social usefulness), NEGATIVE VALUES (or qualities, and burden to the nation), and QUANTITY (political arithmetic, or demography) in both *ND*, and *UD*. Sometimes *mankind* is preceded by *for/between*, but these examples are limited. Table 5 provides evidence of *mankind* as *of*-post-modifier and *to*-indirect object:

Table 5 - *Mankind* as post-modifier in *of/to phrases*

Rolt's *ND - mankind*		Postlethwayt's *UD - mankind*	
CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation) rest of mankind		CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation) condition of mankind generality of mankind part of mankind rest of mankind	
POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) advantage of mankind consent of mankind good of mankind support of mankind use of mankind connection between mankind for all mankind	POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) benefit to mankind benevolence to mankind service to mankind	POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) curiosity of mankind emolument to mankind good of mankind happiness of mankind industry of mankind liberties of mankind lover of mankind ornament of mankind prosperity of mankind rights of mankind service of mankind support of mankind	POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) beneficial to mankind benefit to mankind blessing to mankind comfort to mankind dear to mankind service to mankind utility to mankind
NEGATIVE VALUES (qualities; burden to the nation) hurtful to mankind		NEGATIVE VALUES (qualities; burden to the nation) concerns of mankind corruptions of mankind cunning of mankind	
QUANTITY (political arithmetic/demography) increase of mankind mortality of mankind		QUANTITY (political arithmetic/demography) bulk of mankind increase of mankind	

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[54] ROLT 1756 and POSTLETHWAYT 1757, s.v. People, cfr. Appendices 1 and 2.

OTHER	OTHER	OTHER
--	business of mankind effeminacy of mankind enemy of mankind fancies of mankind history of mankind necessities of mankind nourishment of mankind sustenance of mankind talk of mankind carriers for mankind	consolation to mankind

The most represented category is POSITIVE VALUES, with a more frequent rate in *UD* than in *ND*. The expressions are general and vague, and mainly refer to *benefit* and *benevolence*, *advantage* and *comfort*, *good* and *happiness*, and similar comprehensive notions. These positive values echo and expand some of those attributed to *people* as pre-modifiers in Table 4 above. It is worth mentioning, for example, the correspondence between *industry of mankind* as the source of any progress, and *industrious people* (also including *formidable*, *intelligent*, *ingenious*, *enterprizing people*, etc.).

Expressions of negative values, including damage (i.e. *hurtful to mankind*), *corruptions of* and *cunning of*, are few. They are associated with pre-modifiers such as *corrupted* and *cheating people* (cfr. Table 4, NEGATIVE VALUES), which usually represent the lower ranks or uncivilized people. The expressions in the category OTHER include various semantic areas (*fancies of*, *history of*, *necessities of*, *nourishment of*, etc.), which could belong to more categories and no one in particular.

Moving to *people*, the balance between categories changes: the two largest lexical sets are CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation) and QUANTITY (political arithmetic, or demography). These two (sub-)groups are strictly connected in both *ND* and *UD*. Social condition and status are defined and re-defined in relation to the number of people, and the balance between ranks (wealth vs. poverty), and their social functions. This tight relationship is essential to determine the wealth and power of the nation.[55] As regards the structure of the lexical clusters, *people* as a post-modifier prepositional phrase is always preceded by *of*. Table 6 exemplifies the most relevant categories, and their respective lexical units:

Table 6 - *People* as post-modifier in *of phrases*

Rolt's *ND – people*	Postlethwayt's *UD – people*
CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation) condition of people generation of people kinds of people meanest of people races of people sort/s of people	CONDITION (social condition, social status, social situation) class of people classes of people condition of people degrees of people generality of people half of people kind of people sort/s of people variety of people
POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) --	POSITIVE VALUES (qualities; social usefulness) industry of people

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[55] ROLT 1756 and POSTLETHWAYT 1757, s.v. People, 4.2.2. and cfr. Appendices 1 and 2.

QUANTITY (political arithmetic/demography)	QUANTITY (political arithmetic/demography)
assembly of people body of people company of people concourse of people draughts of people full of people million of people multitudes of people numbers of people scarcity of people set of people stock of people	abundance of people body of people concourse of people confluence of people flux of people full of people increase of people million of people millions of people multitude/s of people number/s of people plenty of people scarcity of people set of people want of people
NATION (citizenship, inhabitants; political perspective) --	NATION (citizenship, inhabitants; political perspective) country of people
OTHER --	OTHER consideration of people incentive of people information of people invitations of people

The comparison between *mankind* and *people* in PP (Table 5 and 6 above) highlights a more concrete usage of the word *people* and the multiword expressions it forms, whether they be pre-modified (Table 4, section 4.2.1.), or post-modified in *of*-phrases (Table 6). If *of mankind* specifies abstract values or qualities, and *to mankind* is the receiver of such values, *people* is usually bound to the more factual context of contemporary society and the expanding world: e.g. *class/-es*, *degrees*, *kind/races/sort/variety of people*, or *increase*, *millions*, *multitude*, *number/s of people*.

To conclude this section, it is worth mentioning some examples of *people* in mixed types of clusters (e.g. lexical coordination). *People* may be found in combinations which establish equivalence, such as *people or nation*, *people or inhabitants* (*ND*), and *working people or labour, people or nation, people or subjects, people or inhabitants* (*UD*). It may, however, also be found in sequences which express a relationship, or a condition: *people and subjects, people and riches, people and artificers, people and body, people and cattle, people and children, people and commerce, people and mariners, people and money, sick people and valetudinarians, people and wares, trades-people and workmen, people and trade* (*UD*). Some formations highlight the nature of certain people as an essential characteristic: *people industrious, people luxurious* (*UD*). As in other kinds of lexical clusters, certain key issues are reiterated, especially *people* as nation and/or inhabitants, and *people* as workforce and source of money and riches (*labour*, *trade*, *commerce*, *wares*).

5. FINAL REMARKS.

This study, which aimed at analysing the two lexemes *mankind* and *people* in 18th-century dictionaries of trade and commerce, has highlighted their use in a variety of lexical clusters and contexts. Three major trends emerge at the quantitative and qualitative levels, and they are strictly connected: firstly, the higher Relative Frequency of *mankind*/*people* in *UD*, as opposed to *ND*, and especially compared with universal dictionaries of arts and sciences; secondly, the relevance of *mankind/people* at textual and discourse levels, supported by a qualitative expansion of contexts of use, especially in *UD*; thirdly, the systematic correspondence between form and function on the one hand, and semantic categories on the other to arrange lexical units, i.e. certain

structures and functions are usually preferred to express a selected variety of semantic categories (cfr. sections 4.1. and 4.2.).

The higher frequency (RF) suggests that the relevance of *mankind*/*people* at textual and discourse levels is progressively accentuated and gradually reinforced in *UD* vs. *ND*. Keyness values are fundamental to highlight this tendency, and also to pinpoint major differences between *mankind* and *people*. If the use and relevance of *mankind* is moderate, the use and relevance of *people* turns out to be at the core of a complex and productive lexical network (e.g. keyness values between *ND* vs. *UD*, and between *ND+UD* vs. *Cy+EB*; cfr. section 3.1. and 3.2., Tables 1-2).

This means that the variety of language expressions in which *mankind* and *people* are found increases in *UD*, in comparison with *ND*, providing more specific and refined semantic references (e.g. pre-modification and post-modification, etc.) to represent and lexicalise both general ideas and values (especially *mankind*), and a multifaceted reality (essentially *people*). In this perspective, it is worth underlining the function of *mankind* in post-modification to express positive values (e.g. *advantage*, *good*, *support*, *happiness*, *liberty*, *prosperity of mankind*, etc., cfr. Table 5), as well as the many pre-modifiers of *people* and their role in denoting contemporary British society (e.g. *nobility*, *wealthy*, *rich*, *middling*, *labouring*, *common*, *poor*, *alms*, *indigent*, *sick*, *lower*, *mean people*, etc., cfr. Table 4), its multifarious components, and its growing hierarchical structure. It is no coincidence that this social hierarchy is either systematically supported and reinforced by civilised and useful qualities and values (e.g. *industrious*, *intelligent*, *laborious*, *rational*, *respectable people*, etc. cfr. Table 4), or consistently downgraded by derogatory qualities and values (e.g. *idle*, *superstitious*, *inferior*, *ignorant*, *credulous people*, etc., cfr. Table 4). On the one hand, the highly positive activity of upper- and upper-middle *classes of people* (i.e. *trading*, *mercantile*, *ruling people*, cfr. Table 4-5) is emphasised; on the other hand, the *common people*, the *lower* or *meanest* ranks (cfr. Table 4), or hard-working and idle people, hardly survive as outcasts in the margins of society. Their work may be a source of wealth to the country, their idleness a source of damage and burden to the nation.

As regards the correspondence between form-function and semantic categories, pre-modification is only used with *people* and mainly within the categories of CONDITION, POSITIVE VALUES, and NEGATIVE VALUES (cfr. Table 4), and much less in other categories (e.g. ACTIVITY, QUANTITY, GEOGRAPHY), which include a more limited number of examples. As pre-modification, post-modification also clearly highlights differences between *mankind* and *people*: relevant examples essentially include post-modified *people* (vs. *mankind in general* and *mankind in particular*, only). Most of the post-modified examples belong to the semantic categories GEOGRAPHY and NATION (e.g. *people of Jamaica*, *people of Great Britain*, *of London*, etc.; cfr. section 4.2.2.), to which some units expressing CONDITION and ACTIVITY can be added (e.g. *people of fortune*, *people in business*, etc.; ibidem). *Mankind* as a post-modifier or indirect object in PP is usually associated with Positive values and general qualities, as well as with mixed contents as OTHER (cfr. Table 5), whereas CONDITION, NEGATIVE VALUES, and QUANTITY have a limited impact. On the contrary, *people* as a post-modifier in *of*-phrases is pre-eminently and consistently related to CONDITION and QUANTITY (cfr. Table 6), other categories are almost irrelevant.

The combination of form-function and semantic categories highlights complementary distribution in the use of *mankind* and *people* for specific semantic areas and patterns, and a less definite distribution for other areas. This provides evidence that *mankind* and *people*, beyond their general meanings (cfr. Johnson's *DEL*), tend to specialise and stabilise their applicability to a restricted number of multiword expressions and semantic fields. Another interesting aspect concerns the distinction between abstract and concrete meaning. *Mankind* is usually associated with abstract, general, and ideal notions and concepts (e.g. *advantage*, *consent*, *good*, *happiness*, *liberties of mankind*; *benefit*, *benevolence*, *comfort*, *utility to mankind*; cfr. Table 5). *People*, instead, denotes and lexicalises more concrete realities, that is to say social entities and activities in the real world (cfr. Table 4 and 6). This difference is further emphasised by the customarily positive meaning of *mankind* vs. the multifarious and multifaceted phenomena expressed by *people*. In this perspective, a complex lexicographic and lexicological network emerges. The two dictionaries of trade and commerce published in the mid-1750s, besides providing information and contents on specific topics, ultimately emphasise the positive, or highly positive, myth of *mankind* balanced by the more factual *people* which denotes a multifaceted reality.

APPENDIX 1

Rolt's PEOPLE

The whole collection of inhabitants in a kingdom or state. The people being the first matter of power and wealth, by whose labour and industry a nation must be gainers in the balance of trade, their increase or decrease must be carefully observed by any government that designs to thrive. […]
For it is not extent of territory that makes a country powerful, but numbers of men well employed, convenient ports, a good navy, and soil producing all sorts of commodities. […]
PEOPLE of England […] the nobility and gentry, with their families and retinues, the persons in […]ces, merchants, persons in the law, the clergy, freeholders, farmers, persons in sciences and liberal arts, shopkeepers and tradesmen, handicraftsmen, naval officers, with the families and dependents upon all those, and the remaining […] are common soldiers, labouring people and out-servants, cottagers, paupers, and their families, with the vagrants. […]
There are in all probability, ten times as many poor as rich people in the kingdom, who ought to be employed in some manual occupation; for otherwise they will weaken, instead of strengthening a nation. See Great Britain, Labour, and Political arithmetic. (Rolt, *ND* 1756, s.v. People)

APPENDIX 2

Postlethwayt's PEOPLE

Under the article MONEY, we have shewn, that it is the measure of commerce, but that the spring and original thereof, in all nations, is the natural or artificial product of the country; that is to say, what their land, and what the labour and industry of the people produce.
[…]
But this natural or artificial product being most of it in the result of the people's labour and industry […] considering the numbers of the people. [….] not only the quantity but the quality of the inhabitants must be duly pondered; they must be divided into their several ranks and classes: it must be distinguished, who, by their arts, labour, or industry, are increasing; and who, by their expence, poverty, or sloth, are decreasing the kingdom's wealth.
These sub-divisions are likewise to be made, of what numbers are employed in the church, in the wars, in the fleets, mercantile and warlike, in the law, in offices, in merchandize, in shop-keeping and traders, in handicrafts; and who, both in the higher and lower degree, are persons living upon their estates, who are freeholders, farmers, labouring people, servants, cottagers, alms-people, and vagrants.
Various have been the conjectures, in relation to the number of people in this and other countries; which being a matter of use in commercial, as well as other political disquisitions […] People alone do not make a government rich; for a multitude of beggars or slothful people renders it poor and weak.
Wealth alone does not make a government rich; for people may be wanted to manage and propagate a great stock. […]
People, and wealth, and industry, will not make a government rich and powerful, unless the ruling ministers of state take pains to give them a proper direction and application, which is extremely difficult to do, without some knowledge of the quantity of each of these ingredients and how they are employed.
[…]
The people being the first matter of power and wealth […] by whose labour and industry a nation must be gainers in the ballance of trade, their increase or decrease must be carefully observed by any government that designs to thrive; that is, their increase must be promoted by good conduct and wholesome laws; and if they have been decreased by war, or any other accident, the breach is to be made up as soon as possible […]. (Postlethwayt, *UD* 1757, s.v. People)

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