Horace Walpole and his correspondents : social network analysis in a historical context

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Horace Walpole and his correspondents

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Froukje Henstra, Den Haag, March 2014

Abbreviations

ARCHER	A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
CEEC	Corpus of Early English Correspondence
CEECE	Corpus of Early English Correspondence Extension
CHWC	The Corpus of Horace Walpole's Correspondence
DENG	*A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar 1700-1800* (Sundby *et al.* 1991)
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online, *http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online*
EEBO	Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com
HWC	The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence (ed. Lewis *et al.* 1937–83)
NSS	Network Strength Scale
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition *http://www.oed.com*
ODNB	*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition *http://www.oxforddnb.com*
SNA	Social network analysis

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Against all odds: Walpole and his correspondents as objects of linguistic interest

The current study focuses on the language of the eighteenth-century "author, politician, and patron of the arts" Horace Walpole (1717–1797)[1] and his correspondents (*ODNB s.v.* Horace Walpole). It deals mostly with what Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 27) describe as "upper- and middle-ranking male informants" – classical subjects of linguistic research. It therefore does not at first sight fit into the current vogue of research on language history and language change from below (e.g. Auer 2008; Elspaß *et al.* 2007; Fairman 2000, 2007a, and 2007b; Sokoll 2001; Van der Wal 2006; and the research project Letters as Loot) . However, as Elspaß (2007) points out,

> "[l]anguage history from below" ... is not only a plea for a long overdue emancipation of more than 95% of the population in language historiography. Secondly and more importantly, the concept of "from below" pleads for a different starting point of the description and explanation of language history (2007:5).

This, he continues, includes "an acknowledgement of language registers which are basic to human interaction and which are prototypically represented by speech in face-to-face interaction" (2007: 5). Elspaß argues that studying language from below may be accomplished by using "material as close to actual speech as possible, only in written form" (Elspaß *et al.* 2007: 5) and that "[s]uch material is maybe best represented in ego-documents,[2] be they written

[1] Unless otherwise specified, dates of birth and death here and elsewhere have been taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online (*ODNB*).

[2] The term "ego-documents" is in widespread current use outside the field of English historical sociolinguistics to refer to private documents such as personal letters and diaries.

by paupers ... or by members of the nobility" (Elspaß *et al.* 2007:5). What is more, Mesthrie *et al.* (2009) observe when reviewing present-day sociolinguistic research that though sociolinguists may "have been preoccupied with documenting vernacular language use: rather less is known about variable language use of high-status speakers" (2009: 442). If this is the case in present-day studies, it is even more so for studies of earlier varieties of the language, and in particular of English.

In this study, I challenge the view that upper-class usage is necessarily standard and uniform, and that our current knowledge of the history of Standard English forms a closed chapter in linguistic research. By using the private and informal correspondence of Horace Walpole and his correspondents I will take a look at the language of the upper classes. I am doing so at the same time in order to take up the plea for a different starting point for linguistic research. Since "[u]nmarked communication, as represented in informal everyday language in recent history, is at the core of change from below" (Elspaß *et al.* 2007: 6), letters offer important possibilities for sociohistorical linguistic research (see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a). The material in the Walpole correspondence is extremely promising for the purpose of taking a closer look at language variation within the upper classes: Horace Walpole and his correspondents are subjects of linguistic interest, against all odds.

1.2. Walpole's letters as a source for linguistic analysis

Horace Walpole was an extremely productive letter writer: according to Baker (1980: 13) he was "England's greatest letter-writer ... with something over four thousand letters to about two hundred correspondents". Many of his letters as well as those of his correspondents have been preserved; they have been

published together in what is considered to be a complete edition, called *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (ed. Lewis *et al.* 1937–83, henceforth referred to as HWC), which comprises forty-eight volumes altogether, forty-two of which consist of letters. The other six volumes contain additions, corrections and lists of images and correspondents (HWC 43) and a very extensive index of all names and subjects occurring in the correspondence (HWC 44–48). The edition of the correspondence is an extremely valuable source for research into all kinds of fields and subjects, especially because of the existence of the indices, but it is mostly used by historians, art-historians and literary scholars: I was the first linguist to visit the *Yale Lewis Walpole Library* – where the printed edition of the correspondence, along with the collections of source and related manuscripts, are housed – for research in February 2009. Moreover, the (published) correspondence has not yet been used to any great depth or in a systematic and comprehensive way for linguistic research; the only studies I know of that include Walpole's language as found in the correspondence are Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987a and 1994) and Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999, 2002a, 2002b), though neither author focuses on Walpole and his correspondence in great detail. The current study is in that sense unique.

The "familiar letter" as described by Anderson and Ehrenpreis (1966) is an important genre for studying eighteenth-century English, since during that period letters became an important medium of communication (cf. Fitzmaurice 2002a). According to Sherburn and Bond, the eighteenth century was "a century devoted to communication ... letter-writing [being] a natural means of conversing with absent friends" (1967: 1063) and Görlach calls the private letter "a major text type in the 18th century" (2001: 211). Moreover, according to Beal during this period "advances in transport allowed letters … to be

carried from place to place more easily" (Beal 2004: 9). This led to an increase in the number of letters that were sent and delivered. Nevala and Palander-Collin argue similarly that in the eighteenth century letters and letter writing "became a means of public entertainment" (2005a: 3), as is evident, for example, in the development of epistolary fiction. This includes novels such as Richardson's *Pamela* (1740-41) and *Clarissa* (1747-48). Since the kind of "genuine communication" that is attested in letters can "tell us how and with whom people interact" (Nevala and Palander-Collin 2005: 3), the familiar letter seems a useful source for research into the question of how patterns of social behaviour may be linked to patterns in language use. Horace Walpole's correspondence provides the sociohistorical linguist with a wealth of material in this respect.

1.2.1. The familiar letter in the study of vernacular language

Besides arguing that letters are an important means of communication, several scholars believe that they also provide a glimpse into the vernacular language of the eighteenth century. However, there is no real agreement on what this vernacular entails exactly. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005a), for example, says that "[a] good place to look for evidence of the eighteenth-century – written – vernacular is in the letters of the period", since "[e]ven in the written medium there is evidence that the language of many of the informal letters produced in the eighteenth century is characterised by rules different from and independent of the language of more standard written styles" (2005a: 118–119). This is connected to Labov's definition that "the vernacular includes inherent variation, but the rules governing that variation appear to be more regular than those operating in the more formal 'superposed' styles that are acquired later in life" (Labov 1981: 3, as quoted by Tieken-Boon van Ostade

2005a: 118). In her discussion of what she calls the "written vernacular", the variety found in private and familiar letters, Tieken-Boon van Ostade argues that

> consciously composed letters are ... unlikely to contain much evidence of vernacular language, as the amount of attention paid to their form would have resulted in a more formal, more standardised language. They illustrate ... the historical equivalent of a phenomenon known from modern sociolinguistics, the observer's paradox (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a:128).

(For a fuller discussion of the form the observer's paradox takes in the context of sociohistorial linguistic research, see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000a.) Montgomery says that in a historical variationist approach to language change "[t]exts should be as close to speech, and especially vernacular styles, as possible" (Montgomery 1997a: 227), and Schneider argues that "this condition largely excludes formal and literary writing – such texts may be of marginal interest, but, being shaped by prescriptive traditions and conventions, they normally display categorical, invariant usage and fail to reflect natural speech behaviour and associated processes" (Schneider 2002: 71). As noted in section 1.1. above, I challenge the assumption that knowledge of prescriptions and conventions generally rules out variation in upper-class or educated (informal) writing.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade argues for the use of the least consciously written material, namely

> those letters that are most likely to have been produced spontaneously. In the absence of any overt evidence of spontaneity, indirect evidence can be found in the form of epistolary formulas adopted. In addition to a close relationship between the correspondents, the relative importance of the subject is likely to correlate with

> greater or less formality in the language used (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a: 132).

Schneider takes this argument one step further: whereas Tieken-Boon van Ostade argues that if "heavily edited letters such as Pope's published letters or Swift's *Drapier Letters* ..., or letters written for publication in the widest sense of the word, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters" are excluded, "we can identify much of the language of informal eighteenth-century letters as a written vernacular" (2005a: 119). Schneider, however, wants to confine the term "vernacular" to the spoken language only. He consequently excludes what would in fact be most of the existing eighteenth-century material as examples of vernacular usage on the grounds that

> ... letters do not represent spoken utterances; but when persons who have had but limited experience in writing and exposure to the norms of written expression are forced to write nevertheless, their writing reflects many features of their speech fairly accurately: what they do is put their own 'imagined' words onto paper, if only with difficulty (2002: 75–76).

He refers to the work of Montgomery (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, and Montgomery *et al.* 1993) who has "discovered, analyzed and evaluated most authoritatively" that "what we are most interested in are letters by semi-literate writers" (Schneider 2002: 76). Horace Walpole's correspondence, however, falls into the category of "members of the higher social classes" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a: 124), and his letters according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade should be considered a much needed addition to the currently available and studied material, which thus far has very much focused one-sidedly on the language of the middle-classes.

I will not go as far as Schneider's perception of what the vernacular entails to, which would exclude the private writings of educated or upper-class writers. The terms educated and upper-class are of course not interchangeable but will more often than not coincide, as during the period I am concerned with here, education was still very much a prerogative of the more highly placed in society. Vernacular language, moreover, does not have to equal speech: Tieken-Boon van Ostade, for example, notes that "Milroy (1987: 12) defines a vernacular as 'a speaker's least overtly careful style'" (2005a: 118). In studying the letters of an upper-class social network, it will suffice to assume that the language in their familiar, private, informal correspondence is the "least overtly careful" language that we will be able to find. In this study I will therefore take as my starting point the familiar correspondence of the Walpole circle as an example of an upper-class network as representative of their most vernacular register in writing, and therefore most promising for the study of language change in progress and language variation between speakers and writers.

1.2.2. The familiar letter as a text-type

In the previous sections I have argued that the language in letters of educated upper-class writers may be considered the most vernacular style available to the modern linguist for members of that social class. This language, however, does not necessarily represent speech. Speech is of course the holy grail of sociohistorical linguistic research, but it is also naturally not available for historical analysis. In the present section I will provide a brief discussion of the place the familiar letter takes in the continuum of oral and literate styles, following Elspaß *et al.* (2007) in defining it as "material as close to actual speech as possible, only in written form" (2007: 5). Text-types may be defined

as “specific linguistic pattern[s] in which formal/structural characteristics have been conventionalised in a specific culture for certain well-defined and standardized uses of language” (Görlach 1992: 728). Individual text types, Görlach argues elsewhere (2001: 196), are characterised by “specific conventions ..., that is, textual formulae accepted as appropriate to thematically defined texts for specific purposes”. In other words: a text-type shares a set of linguistic, stylistic and formal characteristics which, together, make texts belonging to the text-type recognisable because of their specific language use. Some text-types are closer to typical speech while others are closer to typical writing in their characteristics. Schneider (2002) puts it as follows: “essentially texts come in text types, determined by their respective discourse parameters, which, in turn, condition their proximity to speech” (2002: 71–72). A similar idea is analysed in detail in the work of Biber (1991), who provides a multi-dimensional linguistic analysis of different genres of speech and writing. The result is a complex pattern of correlation between style, text-type and medium (speech or writing). On the basis of his analysis Biber shows, for example, that “personal letters are quite similar to conversation, being involved, situation-dependent, and non-abstract, and not having markedly high or low scores on other dimensions” (1991: 167). Personal letters thus have many linguistic characteristics in common with typical speech, face-to-face interaction being the “unmarked genre” (Biber 1991: 37). Familiar letters are therefore not the same as speech, but their linguistic make-up shows important similarities with face-to-face conversation.

Fitzmaurice (2002a) discusses “conventional comparisons of letter-writing with easy conversation” (2002a: 1) and offers an analysis of the familiar letter which “is more solidly rooted in the methodology of linguistic pragmatics than in the methodology of sociohistorical or variationist linguistics” (2002a: 3).

Her study "address[es] the familiar letter, both fictional and real, as a pragmatic act that is embodied in a text that responds to a previous text, whether spoken or written, and at the same time anticipates new texts ... thus represent[ing] an exchange between actors" (Fitzmaurice 2002a: 1). This pragmatic approach comes close to the stylistic view on language and orality presented by Traugott and Romaine (1985), who argue that style may be "view[ed] ... primarily as a relationship between participants in speech events who, as individuals, negotiate speech acts and thereby create 'styles' strategically, but who also are exemplars of social roles" (1985: 29). We could then say that the style of language in the familiar letter shares certain features with oral language and others with written language, being neither prototypically literate nor oral in its characteristics. Fitzmaurice finds, moreover, that

> [a]lthough the letter is patently not conversation on paper, epistolary discourse does imitate some of conversation's characteristics. The letter may seem most like conversation because conversation routinely engenders what linguists would consider miscommunication, misunderstanding, and conflict, failures of communication that require immediate on-line pragmatic repair work to resolve (Fitzmaurice 2002a: 233).

Hence, writing in letters is not to be considered the same as spoken word, but it has many of the same text-specific characteristics, more so than any other kind of writing. Finally then, considering Schneider's view of "the written record [which] functions as a filter" for all too spontaneous utterances and which "provides us with a representation of a speech act that we would have liked to have listened to and recorded acoustically and that without the written record would have been lost altogether" (Schneider 2002: 67), it may be concluded that the idea of using familiar letters as a means to study the least

careful language use of our research subjects is the next best available option for historical sociolinguists. Schneider notes, however, that "at the same time the rendering of the speech event is only indirect and imperfect, affected by the nature of the recording context in certain ways", and that "a primary task will be to 'remove the filter' as far as possible" (Schneider 2002: 67–68). It is therefore important always to realise that the language we are analysing through sources such as private correspondences is not the same as the language that would have been spoken by the writers of those letters. It is, however, the closest we can get to their less careful and more vernacular styles.

1.3. Horace Walpole and his correspondents: writers of the standard language?

At first glance, Horace Walpole and his correspondents, including people such as Sir Horace Mann (1706–1786), Lady Mary Coke (1727–1811) and Henry Seymour Conway (1719–1795), may seem to confirm the image of a standard and uniform language use by the upper classes. In *A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar 1700–1800*, which provides a detailed inventory of criticism of a wide array of usage problems presented in eighteenth-century grammars, Walpole is listed as being quoted only once by eighteenth-century grammarians as an example of a person making a grammatical mistake (Sundby *et al.* 1991: 37). On the face of it, several of his correspondents fared considerably worse, and as many as thirteen of them are listed in Sundby *et al.* (1991) to a total number of 285 examples of incorrect usage. The names of the correspondents in question may be found in Table 1.1.

As the overview in Table 1.1. suggests, however, this figure needs to be interpreted with care. To begin with, it includes as many as 214 instances from the philosopher and historian David Hume (1711–1776), whose

grammatical errors thus make up three-quarters of the total figure altogether. Straaijer notes that

> Priestley is responsible for more than half the critical comments on Hume's language in Sundby *et al.* (1991: 35). He indicates that he did not seek to specifically criticize Hume but referred to him so often because he happened to be reading Hume's work at the time (Priestley 1768: xiii). However, I suspect that Priestley read Hume quite critically to begin with, probably due to Hume's (atheist) philosophy (Straaijer 2011: 225, *footnote*).

A quick count in Sundby *et al.* tells us that of the 213[3] instances 109 indeed come from Priestley's work. The one comment listed for Walpole is incidentally also from Priestley (1768). However, it is not taken from his correspondence with Hume.

Correspondent	Birthdate	Date of death	Number of quotations
David Hume	1711	1776	214
Richard Bentley	1662	1742	33
George Lord Lyttelton	1709	1773	8
William Robertson	1721	1793	6
Robert Dodsley	1703	1764	5
George Colman the elder	1732	1794	4
Philip Dormer Stanhope	1694	1773	3
Joseph Warton	1722	1800	3
Edmund Burke	1729	1797	2
David Dalrymple	1726	1792	2
Thomas Gray	1716	1771	2
Conyers Middleton	1683	1750	2
William Mason	1724	1797	1
total			**285**

Table 1.1. Overview of Walpole Correspondents criticised in eighteenth-century grammars, following Sundby *et al.* (1991: 27–37).

[3] Sundby *et al.* (1991: 35) list 214 as the total number of instances for Hume but I could only find 213 when searching the digital manuscript of *DENG* which was kindly made available by Kari Haugland.

Moreover, Percy (1997: 134) discovered that the most authoritative and frequently reprinted grammar by Robert Lowth (1710–1787), *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), only includes examples from the language of deceased authors to illustrate what he considered incorrect usage, and this may be true for other grammarians as well. Straaijer, for instance, notes that "Johnson wrote that he would refer only to dead authors in his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) in order to retain an objective review of the material he used" (Straaijer 2011: 226). Since Walpole died in 1797, it may be the case that his language was not even considered as a source by most of the grammars printed before 1800 and included in the analysis by Sundby *et al.* However, Robert Baker, author of the first English usage guide called *Reflections on the English Language* (1770), did quote from living authors, such as William Melmoth (1710–1799) (Vorlat 2001; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008a: 14) and so did Priestley (1761 and 1768) (Straaijer 2011: 227).

Looking at the lifespan of the authors whose language was criticised in the grammars analysed in Sundby *et al.* it is revealed that out of the total of 209 authors criticised in eighteenth-century grammars (and works for which the author is not mentioned), as many as 155 were actually still alive in that century, while 103 were still alive during the period after 1750 (Sundby *et al.* 1991: 27–37). Baker was thus not alone in quoting from living authors, and indeed quoting from living authors appears to have been relatively standard practice at the time. The fact that Walpole was alive when most of the grammars listed in Sundby *et al.* were published does not seem to be an influencing factor in the extremely low incidence of examples taken from his language by contemporary grammarians. His personal usage may therefore indeed seem to be uniformly standard according to current opinion at the time, but this is certainly not the case for all of his correspondents, as the figures

presented in Table 1.1. suggest. Claims about uniformity of the language of the upper classes and its conformity to the standard – see for example sections 1.1 and 1.2 above – can in any case not be maintained without actually looking at the language itself.

Besides having provided us with a rather large sample of eighteenth-century usage in the form of letters, Walpole is also an interesting candidate for sociolinguistic analysis because he himself seems to have been very much linguistically conscious. In several of his letters he comments, without scruple, on his own and other people's linguistic competence. Walpole expresses his opinions on the (mis)use of the English language in no uncertain terms. His criticism is, amongst other things, directed at the command of English of a well-known contemporary (who was, however, not a native speaker of English),[4] i.e. the writer and philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778):

> 1. Voltaire's English would be good English for any other foreigner – but a man who gave himself the air of criticizing our – and I will say, the world's, greatest author, ought to have been a better master of our language, though both his letter and his commentary prove that **he could neither write it nor read it accurately and intelligently** (Walpole to the Rev. Joseph Warton, 12 September 1784, HWC 42: 121. Emphasis here and in all further cases is mine).

In examples (2) and (3) below Walpole ridicules the accents of 'commoners': country people living near the Walpole estate in Norfolk (although the language criticised in the example may lead one to believe it was written from a remote corner of the earth) and the language of the local parson, respectively.

[4] In this light it is interesting to see that he does occur in the *ODNB* (*s.v.* "Arouet, François-Marie").

> 2. Indeed writing letters is of great service to me; I do it to keep up my English; I should forget it else **at this distance from all language** – I try indeed to learn the **noises** by which the people about me convey their minds to one another – but I do not make great progress; and am constantly forced to use the **country interpreter, the bottle,** when I have a mind to converse with any of my neighbours (Walpole to Lord Lincoln, 18 September 1742, HWC 30: 34).
>
> 3. one of the first sentences that **blundered** out of the mouth of the parson, was, how then can we take *complacency* in a vicious life – I that have been abroad for two years and a half can talk **better English** than that – I take no *complacency* in sermons (Walpole to Lord Lincoln, 18 September 1741 OS, HWC 30: 25).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000b: 27), moreover, comments on the fact that Walpole corrected the language of a poem published by Robert Dodsley (1704–1764) in a letter addressed to him in November 1753: "Line 449, and line 452, should I think be corrected, as **ending with prepositions**, disjoined from the cases they govern" (Tierney 1988:161). This comment is of particular interest, as the placement of prepositions would become a topical issue with the normative grammarians at the time (Yáñez-Bouza 2006 and 2008). Walpole is also critical of another such grammatical issue, i.e. the use of *between you and I* (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1994). What is more, he filled a full page in his *Book of Materials* on several linguistic issues, most in the form of prescriptive linguistic comments. Examples 4 – 12 below were all taken from Walpole's *Book of Materials*, a manuscript source in possession of the Yale Lewis Walpole Library (Walpole 1759: 17). In examples 4 to 6 below he used famous authors as examples of 'bad language use', as Lowth was to do in his grammar published three years later:

4. They who spreaded – **Lely's Philip. 2? 164.**

5. **The authors of the Parl. Hist.** Often use cassate ; it is a bad word, I believe [sic]?? of their own making.[5]

6. **Bishop Loyds** was admired by Burnet as the most correct style of that time – yet it was very mean – see proofs of it in his life of Pythagoras. Biogr. Brit. vol.5.2989.[6]

Walpole's comments furthermore make use of proscriptive and prescriptive language, which is also comparable to the practice in normative grammars of the time (see for example Straaijer 2011: 215–227 and 413–421 on proscriptive and prescriptive comments in Joseph Priestley's grammar published in 1761), as illustrated by examples 7 – 12, also from the *Book of Materials* (Walpole 1759: 17).

7. *Ic* in general is a **better** termination than *ical.* as tragic, historic. Yet it **cannot always be used**: whims*ic* never for whimsical. Comical & comic have different senses. So, politic, & political.

8. *Ence,* **better** termination than *ency*. **We no longer say**, impenit*ency*, but Impenit*ence* &c. Yet Decency, not, Decence.

9. **bad expression**, yet how to avoid it? *go a hunting.* &c

[5] The work Walpole most likely refers to here is *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England; from the Earliest Times, to the Restoration of King Charles II. ... By Several Hands.*, Volume 1, The second edition, in twenty-four volumes. London, 1761–1763 (source: ECCO). The word *cassate* only turns up once in a full-text search of the work. Note, however, that the full-text search function of ECCO is not always completely reliable.

[6] Walpole most likely refers to William Lloyd (1627–1717), bishop of Worcester, author of A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras, and of Other Famous Men His Contemporaries with an Epistle to the Rd. Dr. Bently, about Porphyry's and Jamblicus's Lives of Pythagoras. London, 1699 (source: EEBO).

10. In the *Dialogue-way*, **idle express**. for in the way of Dialogue.

11. **Instead of** saying, best qualified for *the* making Laws, **say**, for making Laws. The Synopsis to Plato's works.

12. It is the *nearest* way by *far*. ***a sombrous rankness of expression***.

Finally, Walpole's comments also reveal that he was aware of the possibility of linguistic influence of one person on another person, which also becomes clear from example 3 above, in which he expressed how even he himself, who had "been abroad for two years and a half can talk better English" (HWC 30: 25). In another letter he mentions how, when abroad, he needed to write his letters in order to "keep up [his] English" (HWC 30: 34), thereby implicitly acknowledging the possibility of other languages and dialects influencing his own English. The following remark from yet another letter makes the same point:

13. As I am still desirous of being in fashion with your Ladyship, and am over and above, very grateful, I keep no company but my Lady Denbigh and Lady Blandford, and learn every evening for two hours to **mash my English**. Already I am tolerably fluent in **saying *she* for *he*** (Walpole to Lady Ailesbury, 20 July 1761, HWC 38: 102).

In a footnote made by his literary executrix and correspondent Mary Berry (1763–1852), the editor notes that this was "[a] mistake which these ladies, who were both Dutch women, constantly made" (HWC 38: 102). Apparently Walpole did not find it unthinkable that linguistic influence could take place even in a situation like the one he described here (though he jokingly overstated most of these claims).

Walpole's seemingly black-and-white view of the rights and wrongs of language use and his apparent rejection of non-standard varieties of English fits in with the current normative attitude towards language in eighteenth-century England. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008b) notes that the "important increase in the output of English grammars ... can be related to the need for the codification of the language in the absence of an Academy that would have taken this in hand" and also to "increased social mobility, particularly during the second half of the century, and the concomitant need for grammars to provide linguistic guidance in this" (2008b: 10). The increased production of grammars in the second half of the eighteenth century is described in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008b) and (2008c) as well as illustrated by other articles in the same volume (see, for example, Auer 2008 and Percy 2008 for work on the reception and popularity of eighteenth-century English grammars). This normative climate of linguistic correctness does not necessarily mean, however, that actual usage within a network of upper-class correspondents such as Horace Walpole's is standard and uniform.

Walpole himself sometimes questions his own linguistic abilities and instincts, for instance: "Thank heaven it is complete, and did not remain imperfect like a *watergall* I do not know **if I spell well**" (HWC 32: 158), and the comment in example 9 above: "bad expression**, yet how to avoid it**? *go a hunting.* &c" (Walpole 1759: 17). Especially his sensitivity to spelling is of interest in view of the existence at the time of two standards of spelling, a public one, as found in printed texts, and a private one attested in personal letters (Osselton 1984). Despite his low position on the list of most frequently criticised authors in eighteenth-century grammars, with just one instance to his

name,[7] Walpole was not wholly free from criticism on his language use either during his lifetime. The following quotation suggests that he was aware of this: "The chief points in dispute lie in a very narrow compass; they think I do not understand English, and I am sure they do not; yet they will not be convinced, for I shall certainly not take the pains to set them right" (Walpole to John Chute, 2 February 1759, HWC 35: 107). In the editors' footnote to this passage it is disclosed that Walpole refers to *The Monthly Review* of December 1758 here, in which his work *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors with a List of their Works* (1758) was reviewed. It is said in the review Walpole referred to that "[h]is manner of writing, **though sometimes incorrect**, is in general easy and elegant". It is interesting to see that Walpole's language is criticised in the *Monthly Review*, especially in light of Percy's (2008) idea that language criticism in magazines and periodicals preceded the period of great expansion in the printing of normative grammars. Percy notes that "[i]n some cases, grammatical shibboleths may even have been cited in reviews before they appeared in grammar books" (Percy 2008: 138), and she argues furthermore that

> the role of the reviews themselves shaping Late Modern English and ideas about Late Modern English should be acknowledged. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, contemporary opinions about language had been disseminated and consolidated very effectively in books, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals ... The reviews disseminated and very likely affected trends in the

[7] As mentioned above, the one instance listed in Sundby *et al.* (1991: 435) is taken from Priestley (1768). Walpole is criticized for splitting "of" from its headword, in the sentence "His **picture**, in distemper, **of** calumny, borrowed from the description of one painted by Apelles, was supposed to be a satyr on that cardinal. Walpole's Anecdotes" (Priestley 1768: 172–173, emphasis mine). Interestingly, Hume, one of his correspondents, is criticized for the same type of mistake on the same page (Priestley 1768: 172).

> development of both the English language and of its codifying texts (Percy 2008: 142).

In Henstra and Tieken–Boon van Ostade (2009) we provided an analysis of linguistic creativity found in Walpole's language in his letters concerning productive morphology in *-ess* for the creation of female forms. An English translation of this article has been included as Appendix A. Indeed, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) Walpole is the first cited author for the words *adventuress*, *agentess*, *artistess*, *chancelloress*, *conspiratress*, *incumbentess* and *Methusalemess*, and many other words are attributed to him (Henstra and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 61). We conclude that, although Walpole puts emphasis on correct language use where grammar is concerned (as was illustrated above by examples from his letters and from the *Book of Materials* (Walpole 1759)), in his informal letters his use of language is in fact innovative and creative. This is something that was already noted by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987a), who describes Walpole as being ahead of his contemporaries in his use of periphrastic *do*, and also by Beal (2004), who writes that Walpole's language, especially his vocabulary, was innovative. In this respect Walpole can be considered a relatively unusual language user, even though his language is expected to be standard and grammatically correct on the whole. Horace Walpole and his correspondents are thus interesting subjects for linguistic analysis, despite their advanced level of education and the relatively standard or correct language use that should correlate with this.

1.4. Research questions and outline

In this study I present an analysis of certain features in the language of an upper-class network of people in the context of the rise of normative grammar. I will do so by studying their (familiar) correspondence and by using a social

network approach based on Lesley Milroy's study *Language and Social Networks* (1987). James Milroy argues that "[a]s language use … cannot take place *except* in social and situational contexts … our analysis – if it is to be adequate – *must* take account of society, situation and the speaker/listener" (1992: 5–6). One of the sociolinguistic models that have been developed since the 1980s is that of social network analysis (see Milroy 1987), which was adapted for a historical context with varying degrees of success by Bax (2000), Bergs (2000, 2005) and Sairio (2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). In the present study I seek to explore further the usefulness and validity of the social network model for historical data by applying it to the results of an analysis of linguistic variation in relation to the developing linguistic norms at the time. To this end, I will focus on selected sets of letters of Horace Walpole and his correspondents, in order to see to what extent language use and variation may be successfully explained in a social network context.

The types of variation which will be studied are: alternation between use of *you was* and *you were* for the second person singular form of the verb *BE*, the distribution of the verbs *BE* and *HAVE* with mutative intransitive verbs in the perfect, and variation in the use of preterite forms for the past participle in perfective and passive constructions in the irregular verb paradigm. The variability of all three of these constructions were topical issues with the normative grammarians of the period (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002a, Rydén and Brorström 1987 and Oldireva-Gustafsson 1999, 2002a, 2002b). I will also venture into the relationship between the language produced by the upper classes during Walpole's lifetime and the language as codified in the grammars, with special reference to Lowth's grammar, which was one of the most popular grammars in the eighteenth century (see for instance Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2011 as well as Auer 2008). As Walpole was a representative

of the upper classes , even though Lowth does not seem to have been acquainted with him personally, it is of considerable interest to test the extent to which Walpole's usage of the above mentioned constructions does indeed agree with the rules in Lowth's grammar.

My study therefore consists of three parts: firstly, I will compare the language of Horace Walpole and his correspondent Horace Mann to the norm as codified in the precept of eighteenth-century grammar in order to see if the language of these upper-class users is as uniformly standard as expected. Secondly, I will test the applicability and validity of the social network model as a means of explaining and predicting variation in language use between correspondents by studying language variation in two network clusters within Horace Walpole's network of correspondents. Thirdly, I will seek to improve the existing models for social network analysis for use in a historical context. In doing so I will show that the models currently available for the analysis of historical networks do not always match the available data. This compromises the reliability and moreover the applicability of the results in the greater context of the research. My main research questions may be summarised as follows:

1. Can the claim that upper-class language use is uniformly standard be maintained?

2. How can variation between the language use of the correspondents within the Walpole collection be explained in a social network context?

3. How useful is social network analysis as a model for historical linguistic research, and how can the model be improved?

For the purpose of my analysis I have compiled a corpus of the correspondence of Horace Walpole and his correspondents, called the *Corpus of Horace*

Walpole's Correspondence (henceforth CHWC), by digitizing much of the text from the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (ed. Lewis 1937–1983). For an overview of the volumes used for the compilation of this corpus, see Appendix B. In chapter 2 the nature of the corpus as a source of analysis will be evaluated (in the light of the data it has produced with respect to my searches for the variation in usage of the constructions mentioned above. In chapter 3, I will explore the language of two upper-class language users in order to ascertain how their usage relates to the codified norm, and also to investigate the claim that upper-class language is uniformly standard.

In chapter 4, I will provide an account of the methodology of social network analysis (Milroy 1987) and the ways in which this research model has been used thus far in sociohistorical linguistic research. My own application of the model to the Horace Walpole network, as presented in the subsequent chapters, will highlight some of the problems encountered in the course of applying it (even) to as vast a corpus as that comprising the Walpole correspondence. My discussion of the results of the analysis below will present arguments for revising the model for historical social network analysis. Such a revised model will enable us to do research on data from earlier stages in the history of English that are almost by default incomplete, even in the case of the present corpus, which may be considered as the most extensive correspondence of a single network that is available for analysis, consisting of almost 4 million words (see also chapter 2 and Appendix B).

Redford (1986) argues that the style and content of Walpole's letters are largely influenced by the recipients of those letters. What is more, he claims, "so deft and complete are his transformations … that Walpole can be said to remake his identity from correspondence to correspondence" (1986: 134). Through a change of style, as Redford puts it, Walpole "vanishes

chameleon-like into his audience" (Redford 1986: 14). Whereas Redford discusses the appearance of a different Walpole for each correspondent largely from a literary perspective, his comments are also interesting from a linguistic point of view. If Walpole consciously or subconsciously adapted his style of writing to suit his reader, will other aspects of his language use, such as spelling and grammar, also have been influenced by his partner in discourse (cf. Traugott and Romaine 1985: 16ff)? In social network terms: do we expect the social network position of the correspondents to cause conscious or subconscious linguistic accommodation? This was found, for example, by Bax (2002) for Hester Lynch Thrale (1741–1821) and Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), who accommodated to each other in style and the adoption of literary allusions as a reflection of their closeness and mutual need for approval. These issues will be dealt with in chapters 5 and 6, in which I will focus on two network clusters in the greater Walpole network, based on specific parts of the correspondence; in these chapters, several of his most important correspondents will be dealt with in biographical detail.

In chapter 6, again on the basis of my analysis of the above-mentioned linguistic features, I will also discuss the main methodological issues in working with small numbers in sociohistorical linguistic research. In particular, I will focus on the question of the nature of the data for this type of research. In the eyes of Labov (1994) they can only be considered as *bad data* because the informants are no longer available for analysis on a personalised basis, but this view is increasingly being challenged by e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011). In this chapter I will, moreover, present suggestions for further refinement of the social network analysis model for the purposes of application in a sociohistorical context.

chapter 7 will present the conclusions of my study of the functionality of social network analysis in a historical context and my thoughts on the presupposed uniformity of upper-class language use in Walpole's network.

Chapter 2. The Yale edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence

2.1. Introduction

In the preface to the first volume of the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* Lewis states that there were "three good reasons for a new edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence: to give a correct text, to include for the first time the letters to him, and to annotate the whole with the fullness that the most informative record of the time deserves" (HWC 1: ixx). The work done on Walpole by Lewis and his fellow editors is indeed of an almost incomprehensible value for a scholar working on Walpole. Having Walpole's complete correspondence readily available for analysis saves the researcher on Walpole much time and effort: the painstaking task of collecting and editing the correspondence has already been taken care of by the editors of the *Yale Edition* and therefore research on the texts, linguistic or otherwise, can start virtually straight away.

As much as it is a blessing to have all of Walpole's extant letters neatly collected and published with a comprehensive index, ordered according to correspondent and clarified with annotations and introductions written by scholars who are all experts in the field of the eighteenth century and of *Walpoliana* in particular, a published body of correspondence also raises some questions which are of particular importance for use of the text by a linguist. I will discuss these below.

2.2. Using an edited text as a source for corpus analysis

Walpole's letters have hitherto mostly been used in scholarly research as "chronicles" (HWC 1: xxiv) of the eighteenth century. The *Yale Edition* is

therefore very much geared towards usage by historians and the historically interested:

> [The] primary intention [of the present edition] is to facilitate the studies of scholars in the eighteenth century. Sooner or later, the eighteenth century scholar, be his subject what it may, must consult Walpole's correspondence … This edition, through its index, hopes to lead the scholar, whether the subject of his search is Dr Johnson or ballooning, to whatever Walpole's correspondence may have to say about it. (HWC 1: xxi)

By the term "correct text" (HWC 1: ixx) which is used in the introduction as one of the aims of the *Yale Edition*, Lewis means both the accuracy of the transcriptions which were used in relatively modern earlier editions when collated with the original letters, and the 'rigorous' editorial practices of some of the earliest editors of Walpole's letters. Examples of the first type of editions are Toynbee (1903–1905) and the later supplement to that edition (1928–1925), and Cunningham (1860–1861), and of the second type Berry (1798). Concerning the early twentieth-century Toynbee edition, Lewis states that "[c]ollation of the printed letters with the originals shows that the texts are frequently inaccurate"; however, the inaccuracies he mentions are mostly of a historical and editorial nature, "involving dates, proper names and omitted passages" (HWC 1: ixx). Lewis notes that "[t]hese far exceed the usual casualties of the press and are attributable, in part, to misplaced confidence in certain of the transcripts which were made by friendly owners with more goodwill than knowledge of Walpole's occasionally tricky handwriting" (HWC 1: ixx).

Worse is the practice of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century editors and publishers, such as Mary Berry and William Roberts.[1] Lewis calls it "blameworthy" that "[n]o letter which passed through the hands of Mary Berry, Walpole's literary executrix and correspondent, remained the same. She inked out paragraphs, suppressed proper names and wrote her notes even where there was no room for them" (HWC 1: ixx). Even worse, Hannah More, who "was solely concerned with her responsibility to the public morals, in case the letters to her should ever be published", fervently edited the original letters in her possession "with her pen, or, in great emergencies, with her scissors" (HWC 1: xx). It is perhaps not surprising that the greatest editorial liberties were taken by the editors who were themselves correspondents of Walpole, which is the case for Mary Berry and Hannah More. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1991) has shown that this was, unfortunately, common practice in the eighteenth century. Both Fanny Burney (1752–1840) herself (who edited her own letters later in life) and nineteenth-century editors of her letters for publication, such as Charlotte Barrett (1808–1864), "Fanny Burney's niece, who took it upon herself to publish her aunts journals and letters" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 146), likewise went to work with scissors and ink.

However alarming the suppression of passages by editors may be, for linguistic research it is not the greatest of problems. Of course, one would prefer to have all the material that was once extant available for research, but it is possible to carry out linguistic analysis on texts from which fragments are missing, which have been slightly misdated or from which personal names have been removed. I would like to note that for the historical linguist, and especially for the sociohistorical linguist, the content and context of the

[1] William Roberts was the brother of Hannah More's literary executrix. The writer and philanthropist Hannah More (1745-1833) was one of Walpole's Correspondents.

linguistic data are perhaps almost as important as tools for analysis as are the textual data themselves. The *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* with all its annotations, restored texts (by collating the transcripts from earlier editions with the original letters) and previously unpublished letters is in that sense a very useful resource for sociohistorical linguistic analysis. However, in making use of the material, one always needs to consider the compilers' focus on the correspondence as a historical source when assessing the usefulness of the letters as a source for linguistic analysis.

The issue of using an edited edition of correspondence for linguistic research is also addressed by Dury (2006), who refers to the "firm principle" laid down by Roger Lass "that language historians and compilers of historical linguistic corpora should work with diplomatic transcripts, and not with edited texts", because "[e]ditors emend, modernize, alter word-divisions, regularize spelling and even 'reconstruct' a lost original by conflating various versions. Through these activities, information is lost and the historical record is falsified and confused" (2006:193). As I am demonstrating in the present study, even though Lass's principle holds in general, it is possible and at times unavoidable for the linguist to use edited material for corpus research. The choice to use this type of material will most often be led by practical motivations, which is in line with the fact that compiling a corpus is at its onset a very practical task: Dury notes that "[i]t is the common experience of corpus-creation (and indeed of all human endeavour) that the methods adopted at the outset of projects must inevitably adapt to solve unforeseen problems" (Dury 2006: 194). The researcher may choose to use an edited edition as a basis for his or her corpus analysis because there simply is not enough material available in its 'original state', or because time constraints demand a choice to be made between spending either more time on compiling a corpus from originals or on the

linguistic research itself. The compilation practices of the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) and its extension CEECE are a good example of this practice:

> In selecting the letters we have aimed at the greatest possible authenticity, choosing autograph letters whenever possible and looking for editions which not only produce original spelling, but also explain their editorial principles as explicitly as possible…. Even though the corpus is based on editions, we have found it a reliable tool for the study of morphology and syntax, as well as pragmatics. (Nurmi 1999: 55)

Sairio (2008) describes her method of collecting and classifying a selected number of letters for the purpose of compiling her Bluestocking corpus. She notes the importance of basing a network analysis on existing material: "My research focus has inevitably been affected by the letters still available by network members: a thorough network analysis without material to test it on is not particularly useful" (Sairio 2008). In other words: one can hypothesise on linguistic influence and the influence of network structure, but this is not very useful if there are no linguistic data to test these insights on. Reference corpora such as CEEC and CEECE and the correspondence sub-corpus of "A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers" (ARCHER)[2] each are between one and two million words in size and generally provide a better fit of data versus research question than small corpora do. However, the Corpus of Walpole's Correspondence (CHWC) which I have compiled for the purpose of this study is considerably larger than that, consisting of nearly four million

[2] According to its website "ARCHER is a multi-genre corpus of British and American English covering the period 1650–1999, first constructed by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in the 1990s. It is now in in-house use and managed as an ongoing project by a consortium of participants at fourteen universities in seven countries" (from: http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/archer/).

words. Enough data should thus be available for a generally significant analysis. In Table 2.1. below I provide an overview of CHWC, in which the differences between the available material for the different network clusters also becomes very clear.

Correspondents and correspondence clusters	**No. of words in-letters (from HW)**	**No. of words out-letters (to HW)**	***Total***
Berry	143.847	3.982	*147.829*
Chatterton	46.923	28.896	*75.819*
Chute	120.598	42.475	*163.073*
Coke/More	80.054	16.812	*96.866*
Cole	87.366	135.265	*222.631*
Conway	192.897	204.653	*397.55*
Dalrymple	66.816	10.713	*77.529*
Gray/West/Ashton	26.49	50.474	*76.964*
Lady Ossory	307.635	332	*639.635*
Mann	689.118	720.981	*1410.099*
Mason	161.281	64.624	*225.905*
Montagu	150.949	58.247	*209.196*
Selwyn	58.355	6.916	*65.271*
Walpole Family	47.058	24.63	*71.688*
Total	**2179.387**	**1700.668**	***3880.055***

Table 2.1. Overview of the Corpus of Horace Walpole's Correspondence

As can be gauged from the process of compiling the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, which took over twenty years and considerable financial, personal and technical resources to complete, it would have been an impossible task to compile a corpus of this size from original sources within the limited time and scope of the present study. Therefore, the use of an edited source necessarily opens up a different array of possibilities for scholarly research into the language of this specific group of correspondents. The use of such an edition as a basis for corpus analysis, however, comes with certain constraints and limitations and needs to be done under certain conditions.

It is of the foremost importance to know the textual history of the sources used in order properly interpret the results taken from linguistic research on the language found in this source (cf. Nurmi 1999: 55). An important question for the present study has therefore been in what way the textual history and editorial practice of the editors of the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* which is primarily geared towards historical research, has influenced the possibilities for its use in linguistic research. In making use of the material I have specifically drawn upon the history of textual transmission of the correspondences in the different volumes and have considered the issues this raises for use of the letters from the edition by linguists (see the point raised by Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a: 113–117). Whenever relevant I have taken into account editorial practices which have been identified as problematic for linguistic research (see Dury 2006: 193, see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991) in assessing the extent to which they are a limiting factor for linguistic research on the corpus.

2.3. Editorial practice in the Yale edition

Lewis states that "[t]he first decision in editing this work was to publish the letters by correspondences and not chronologically" (HWC 1: xxxv). This has as a favourable consequence for sociohistorical linguistic research, especially, as in the case of the present study, the kind based on the social network model, that certain network clusters are already identified by the co-occurrence of the relevant correspondents in one volume. A practical benefit of this is that the letters of these clusters are thus found together in one volume, which saves the researcher a lot of time in compiling the corpus for research. Secondly, Lewis mentions a "much more difficult decision ... in which the Advisory Committee [on the publication of the edition] are by no means unanimous",

namely the question of "what to do about 'normalization'" (HWC 1: xxxv). The consequences of spelling normalization for linguistic research are quite obvious: one cannot study eighteenth-century linguistic variation and change within the field of spelling on the basis of modernized text. Fortunately, such a high degree of normalization was not employed with the correspondence in the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. According to Lewis "[t]he decision was to retain Walpole's punctuation and spelling of proper names, but to normalize other spellings and capitalization" (HWC 1: xxxv). Lewis argues that the regularization of capitals has led to "a considerable gain in readability and appearance" of the text (HWC 1: xxxv1i), noting that "the extra labour and expense of printing [Walpole's unclear capitalisation] (incorrectly, no doubt, in many cases), have not seemed to justify the securing of something which, to many, is relatively unimportant" (HWC 1: xxxv-vi).

These statements emphasize the specific manner in which the editors of the edition of Walpole's correspondence have defined the notion of 'textual correctness' which was mentioned as a main objective of the edition in the introduction, namely in a way geared more towards historical and literary research. As a consequence of their decision, spelling irregularities and other spelling-related phenomena such as capitalization and punctuation cannot be studied using this text. Besides the obvious results of the limited normalization practices of the editors, there are also less obvious consequences for what may be called the linguistic relevance of the correspondence in the edition. These result from the history of transmission of the text, and, indirectly also from normalization and pruning practices of editors of earlier editions. The editors of Walpole's correspondence have, however, been very meticulous in documenting, in the introductory sections to the several different volumes of correspondence, the editorial methods which they employed, as well as the

history of transmission of the texts. This is of great importance for the linguistic researcher.

2.4. Concluding remarks

For the reasons mentioned above and because spelling as such is not dealt with in the present study, the edition, though perhaps not ideal for all purposes of linguistic analysis, is considered suitable for the type of analysis undertaken here. However, I would like to emphasise that Walpole's spelling warrants more research in the future, if only in order to find out more about the differences between his own language use and that of his secretary Kirgate who copied many of his letters for him, especially later in life.

In September 2011 the complete digital edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence (ed. Lewis *et al.* 1937–83) was published online,[3] which made my work easier in its final stages and at the same time made the research data more accessible for others. The digitizing of the text done by myself was completed before publication of this digital edition, and was necessary nonetheless to perform full-text corpus research with specialist software such as WordSmith Tools (Scott: 2013). In the digitization process I scanned the published texts into a computer program and used an OCR program to convert the pictures into Unicode text. I manually checked the texts and made sure the letters were dated and separated within the larger files. For all that, the publication of the complete correspondence online has facilitated some last-minute checking of quotations. Fortunately, an increasing number of letters in the digital edition now also contain a link to facsimile images of the original manuscript letters in possession of the Yale Lewis Walpole Library. This is an

[3] http://images.library.yale.edu/HWCorrespondence/.

incomprehensible treasure trove for linguists, and I expect that other linguists will find this collection of great use for their research.

Chapter 3. Strong verb forms in the language of Horace Walpole and Horace Mann[1]

3.1. Introduction

According to Cheshire (1994:115), even though "[p]resent-day standard English has relatively little inflectional morphology ... a small amount of variation still exists in one area of standard English verbal morphology: the preterite and past participle forms of certain irregular verbs". Variety in irregular verb morphology is nowadays mostly found in non-standard English only, and Cheshire attributes this to the codification process the variety of the English language which developed into the standard underwent. As a result of this process, variability in the use of this particular linguistic feature "seems to have been brought to a stop ... between 1600 and 1800" (Cheshire 1994:116). In eighteenth-century English, variation in usage was still very common. Oldireva-Gustafsson carried out a case study of idiolects in private and public writing from the period, focusing on "variety in the otherwise well-known scenario of the rise of a standard" (1999: 266; see also Oldireva-Gustafsson 2002a, esp. 180–246, and 2002b).

Lass (1994) uses what he calls the clean-up of the strong verb in English as an example of the operation of the process of standardisation and codification or "regulation" taking place in the history of the English language. The process had a levelling and restructuring effect on the irregular verb paradigm, which consequently led to the parallel use of certain preterite (PRET) and past participle (PP) forms in verbs for which these two forms had remained distinct. Cheshire (1994) states that there is "general agreement that

[1] This chapter is based on my paper "WRITE, WROTE, WROTE. Preterite and past participle forms in the language of Horace Walpole and Horace Mann" presented at the 15th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, in Munich, August 2008.

eighteenth-century prescriptive grammarians stood in the way of the 'normal' process of simplification that was taking place with the strong verbs" (Cheshire 1994: 125) – these grammarians are known to have prescribed retention of distinct PP forms while the PRET forms were being reanalysed as PP in actual usage. On the basis of her case study, Oldireva-Gustafsson discovered that what she calls "shifted forms of irregular peterite and past-participle", such as the use of *wrote* rather than the present-day form *written* as a participle, were rare at the time. Moreover she notes that "variation in the use of these forms was never great" (1999:280–281). For all that, eighteenth-century grammars were very much preoccupied with proscribing the usage of irregular verb forms, and with prescribing a system that allowed for a distinction between past tense and past participle forms in the strong verb paradigm. Lowth does indeed comment on these types of construction in his grammar, and in no uncertain terms. He calls the use of PRET for PP a "very great Corruption", and states: "This abuse has been long growing upon us" (1763: 64– 65).

In this chapter I will discuss variation in usage in the irregular verb paradigm as attested in Horace Walpole's idiolect, and I will contrast it with the usage of one of his correspondents, Horace Mann (1706–1786), who, though somewhat older, was a close friend of his throughout much of his life. The private correspondence between these two men spans a period of almost fifty years, which makes it an excellent case study for studying variety in educated usage during both the rise and the peak of the codification process that affected the strong verb system. This chapter will show how the usage of members of the educated upper classes fits into the existing picture of variability, and also whether a "codification-effect" can be demonstrated from changes in their usage over time.

For the analysis, I will focus not so much on the development of the irregular verb paradigm itself as on the variety of usage in the two idiolects in question, and I will discuss how this variation relates to the precept of the prescriptive grammars produced in the period. I will compare data on variation in usage in the language of Walpole and Mann primarily with the aim of investigating whether their usage could possibly have served, either directly or indirectly, as a norm on which grammarians like Lowth based the prescriptions in their grammars (see for example Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006). Firstly, I will provide a brief account of the relationship between Horace Walpole and Horace Mann (3.2), and describe the corpus I have compiled for the purpose of analysing their language (3.3.1). Next, I will analyse their usage in a context of earlier studies on the irregular verb in a sociohistorical linguistic context (3.3.2). In doing so, I will refer to any developments which the usage of these two men may have undergone in the course of time, and I will highlight particular problems that will arise as a result of doing this kind of corpus-based research in a historical sociolinguistic framework (3.3.3). Finally, I will discuss how the language of Walpole and Mann fits into the existing pattern of variability – that is, in as far as it has been described; I will discuss what my data contribute to a discussion of the degree of difference between precept and practice, a point raised by Cheshire (1994), Lass (1994) and Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999, 2002a and 2002b); and I will show how the usage of both men relates to the norm as codified in the grammars of the period (3.3.4 and 3.4).

3.2. The two Horaces

> *Well, Sir Miny, you are a good creature, to send one such a long letter, such a large packet, & such a quantity of news. I wou'd be as good as you as you if I had as much time; but you see how many letters I have and they must be answer'd.*
> *I have paid your little friend your debt of crowns; & have drawn for a hundred pound my in all, 194 crowns for you & the rest for*

> *myself; as it is all put in one note, & consequently will make a jumble, we must settle our accounts when we meet.*
> *The Princess arriv'd on Sunday; the Pr. & Princess of St Croce went to meet 'em, besides several English, & they came in at high corso time with eight coaches & six, coaches & pair, chaises &c. &c. I believe she put down the whole Corso to her own account; as a Mayor's Wife that happen'd to come into a country church as the Beleif was repeating; she thought they all bow'd & curtsied to her, & declar'd they were the best bred Parish she had ever set foot into. Madame de Craon in half an hour's time was up to the Ears in Roman Princesses and Dutchesses, & so for three nights [...]*
>
> *[…] I may beg you will tell my Lady that I have been looking out for Pope's Testoons (or Testicles as Ld Mansel calls them) for her, but silver is so extremely scarce here, that I have not yet met with one with the head on it [...]*
>
> *Good night, child, I am in a violent hurry. Oh - Porto Bello, the delightfull news! - Corradini is certainly to be pope & soon. Next post I shall probably be able to tell you he certainly is not.*
>
> *Yrs ever,*
> *H.W.*
>
> (Extracts from Walpole to Mann, 16 April 1740, HWC vol 17: 2-4)2

This is how we first meet Horace Walpole in his letters to Horace Mann. Walpole was on his Grand Tour of Europe which het ook as a Young man between 1739 and 1741. He wrote the letter to Horace Mann from Rome. Horace Mann, whose name already came up in section 1.3 as one of Walpole's correspondents, was more than ten years Walpole's senior, and lived and worked in Florence. The *ODNB* characterises him as a diplomat, though

[2] The text reproduced here was taken from HWC vol 17: 2-4, but edited by transcription of the manuscript source in order to reflect the spelling and punctuation of the manuscript original as found in the digital edition of HWC.

politically speaking he was not a very successful one. As Lewis puts it in the introduction to the correspondence between Walpole and Mann:

> we see him quite clearly in his dispatches to London, a fussy minor diplomat whose main job was to watch the Pretender and his sons and who was treated as below the salt by the great secretaries of state. … We laugh at him when he sends a courier dashing off to England with the false rumour of the Young Pretender's departure in 1741, or when his garden party becomes a scandal (HWC 17: xxiv)

Florence is also where the two men met, when Walpole visited this city on his Grand Tour of Europe in 1741. After they met, they took up a correspondence which lasted for more than forty years, but in the course of which they never met again. The letters are of very great interest to linguists and historians alike, as they may be considered a chronicle of the times: most of them deal with political and social affairs. In the transcript above we see Walpole communicating to Mann on exactly these types of subjects: taking care of a private financial matter for Mann, the visit of a prince and princess, some gossip about a common acquaintance, and the election of a new pope.

In their overview of the familiar letter in the eighteenth century, Anderson and Ehrenpreis (1966:277) refer to the letters between Mann and Walpole, calling them “an example of a correspondence in which a human relationship is formed almost entirely through the exchange of comments on social and political events ... [T]heir correspondence was nevertheless no exchange of news bulletins: each valued the other for the insights *and* the information he offered”. W.S. Lewis also praises the correspondence for its grand scope and longevity:

> The correspondence with the elder Horace Mann extends from Walpole's twenty-third year to his sixty-ninth, from

> 1740 to 1786, from the Age of Pope to the appearance of the Kilmarnock Burns. For sweep and variety and the procession of great events it is unrivalled among Walpole's correspondences: the reader who goes through it from beginning to end will acquire, we suggest, a fuller picture of the period than he can get from any other writer in it. (HWC 17: xxiii)

Mann and Walpole were also distantly related; Mann's great-great-grandmother was the sister of Walpole's great-great-great-grandmother (see HWC 17: xxvi, xxix), but more importantly, Mann owed his appointment in Florence in part to Sir Robert Walpole, Horace's father, (see also: *ODNB* s.v. Mann, Horace). Lewis also notes Mann's dependence on Walpole as a reason for the fact that the strong relationship between the men survived their long separation:

> In Mann's case the reason was obvious enough: Walpole was his life-line to London ... it meant everything to him to have a vigilant and powerful friend at home, who was dedicated to keeping him in his post ... regardless of who was in power (HWC *17:* xxvi)

One might say this hints at a certain asymmetrical hierarchy in the relationship between the men; however, Walpole did not seem to see it this way. Instead, he focused in many letters on the shared enterprise of chronicling their age in their letters. He noted that "long absence makes one entirely out of all the little circumstances of each other's society .. which are the soul of all letters" (Walpole to Mann, 22 July 1744 OS, in HWC 18: 480) and therefore he felt that they were "forced to deal only in great events like historians; and instead of being Horace Mann and Horace Walpole, seem to correspond as Guicciardin and Clarendon would" (HWC 18: 480 as quoted by W.S. Lewis in HWC 17: xxvi). Walpole's view of himself as a historian appears over and over again

throughout the correspondence. Walpole refers to Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609–74), historians of their respective nations whose works he owned. Note that the "long absence" had only been three years at this point, and that in the following 42 years the men somehow succeeded in retaining the spirit of their conversation through letters, as we can see from this extract from a letter written by Mann in 1780:

> A pain, which many people would persuade me is the gout in my right hand, has made it extremely inconvenient to me to write for some time past … but I cannot refrain from telling you a story which will make a noise in the World and make you laugh (Mann to Walpole, 12 December 1780, HWC 25: 100).

Mann continued to tell the story of the very public marital problems of the Countess of Albany and her husband in great detail in this letter. Besides chronicling (and gossiping about) the greater and lesser events of European history in their letters, the men also shared an interest in antiques. That is to say, Mann provided excellent access to some of the antiques Walpole wished to acquire from the continent. They both, moreover, suffered from health problems, as can also be seen from the fragment above, possibly consisting partly of hypochondriac inclinations: on his first trip to Italy Mann even brought a coffin on the boat with him in case he would not survive the journey (see HWC 17: xxx). Both men lived as bachelors and never had any children. For all that, and as will be illustrated furthermore for Walpole in chapter 5, they both took an active interest in the well-being in their younger relatives, and they generally enjoyed the life of high society. Lastly, their shared characteristics and the tone and subject matter of their correspondence have elicited rumours from biographers and contemporaries alike about both men's effeminate characters and even supposed homosexuality (see for instance

Mowl (1996) on a queer reading of Walpole's corresponcence). Hester Lynch Piozzi called Mann a "finger twirler":

> Mrs Greatheed & I call those Fellows Finger-twirlers; – meaning a decent word for Sodomites: old Sir Horace Mann & Mr James the Painter had such an odd way of twirling their Fingers in Discourse; – & I see Suetonius tells the same thing of one of the Roman Emperors 'nec sine *molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione*.' Vid. C. Suet. Tranq: Tib: Nero Cæsar [Life of Tiberiuis, chap. 68] (Piozzi 1951: 874-5, vol. ii, entry for 29 March 1794).

Haggerty, however, takes position against the thorough "queering" efforts of Mowl (1996), as well as the "bachelor" view of earlier biographers:

> If Mowl makes Walpole too outrageous a homosexual and if Lewis, Fothergill, and other biographers such as Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer all make him an asexual "bachelor" of some unimaginable kind, then all these outpourings of personality may help us to see a man who does not fit any of the identities his biographers would like to create for him (Haggerty 2006: 554).

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1. The letters analysed

For the analysis presented in this chapter I have digitized the published personal correspondence between these two men from HWC, specifically volumes 17 to 25 (see Appendix B). The letters from the two men that have come down to us span a period of forty-five years: the first letter dates from 16 April 1740 and the last from 5 September 1786. The material consists of all letters between the two men that have come down to us, as many as 1713 altogether. The resulting corpus of letters between them makes up slightly over 1.4 million words, and amounts of text which are about equally divided between letters from Mann to Walpole and vice versa. The material collected

has been divided into nine periods, based on the respective volumes in which they were published as part of HWC; this has the practical advantage that even though the time-spans per individual period may be unequal, the sample of words is nearly the same for each sub-period. Table 3.1. provides an overview of all this.

The Walpole–Mann corpus which I have compiled is in no way representative of eighteenth-century usage as a whole, nor was it meant to be: my aim in compiling it was to analyse the language of two relatively contemporary authors who shared a close relationship. For the sake of comparison, it may be noted that the corpus used by Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999, 2002a and 2002b) for her analysis of irregular verb morphology consists of a broader spectrum of sources from the period 1680–1790, but comprises about 750,000 words only. As a consequence, and given the fact that the feature analysed in this chapter is a relatively high-frequency one, it is expected that the present corpus may provide satisfying results from the perspective of research on idiolectal usage as well as from a statistical approach; my results can then be compared to the more representative results from Oldireva-Gustafsson's corpus of private and public writing that spans the century in which Walpole and Mann lived and wrote. Consequently, I will be able to put the two Horaces' usage into the wider perspective of eighteenth-century usage.

As for the feature analysed in this chapter, I am drawing on the account of the history of the strong verb as provided by Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999, 2002a and 2002b), as indicated in section 3.1, above. In addition, I have drawn on Cheshire (1994) who describes variation in present-day English and who argues that the roots of this variation lie in the historical context of the rise of the standard. The wider context of the analysis presented here may be

summarised as follows: for the eighteenth century, the rise of the modern standard, as evident from the data for the irregular verbs analysed, is expected to be more progressed in the language of more educated users, such as Walpole and Mann. The grammar precepts, according to Lass (1994) and Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999: 267-68, 280-81), are expected to describe a wider variety than that found in usage corpora; an example of this can be seen in Table 3.2. below: a rather large proportion of the nonstandard verb forms is found in the precept, the forms which are proscribed or prescribed in the grammars, but not in actual usage in this part of CHWC.

Letters from Walpole to Mann				
Period	**First letter**	**Last Letter**	**Number of Letters**	**Number of Words**
1	16 April 1740 NS	21 July 1742 OS	56	49,270
2	29 July 1742 OS	14 January 1745 OS	73	56,868
3	1 February 1745 OS	18 September 1748 OS	74	54,384
4	2 December 1748 OS	29 August 1756	86	81,626
5	19 September 1756	4 January 1762	99	77,094
6	29 January 1762	8 March 1768	97	83,209
7	31 March 1768	1 May 1774	105	87,918
8	15 May 1774	20 December 1779	103	85,129
9	4 January 1780	22 June 1786	134	113,620
Total	*16 April 1740 NS*	*22 June 1786*	*827*	*689,118*

Letters from Mann to Walpole				
Period	**First letter**	**Last Letter**	**Number of Letters**	**Number of Words**
1	? April 1741 NS	29 July 1742 NS	66	86,971
2	5 August 1742 NS	12 January 1745 NS	93	97,612
3	26 January 1745 NS	24 October 1748 OS	91	83,743
4	15 November 1748 NS	18 September 1756	107	90,073
5	23 October 1756	9 January 1762	107	80,004
6	6 February 1762	23 February 1768	116	85,023
7	12 March 1768	23 April 1774	107	76,015
8	17 May 1774	13 March 1779	91	55,932
9	3 Jan 1780	5 September 1786	108	65,608
Total	*? April 1741 NS*	*5 September 1786*	*886*	*720,981*

Table 3.1. Overview of the corpus of correspondence between Walpole and Mann

3.3.2. The verbs analysed

For the analysis presented in this chapter, I have selected a number of verbs, based on the study by Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999: 271-73 and 2002a: 303-306). An overview of the verbs is presented in Table 3.2. below. The table includes both standard forms (in as far as they were considered as such at the time), which have been taken from the discussion in Lowth's grammar (1762: 78-95), and non-standard forms as listed by Oldireva-Gustafsson. The non-standard forms have, moreover, been cross-referenced with the discussion of these forms provided in Sundby *et al.* (1991). In most cases, the standard forms overlap with those that are in use in Standard English today. Forms printed in italics did not occur in the corpus.

Standard forms (preterite)	**Nonstandard forms (preterite)**
bade, broke, began, chose, caught, forgot, got, spoke, ran, wrote	bad, *bode, bidded,* bid, *brake, breaked, begun, beginned, chosed, cotch, cothc't, cotched, cotch'd,* catched, *catcht, catchet, forgat, gat,* spake*, speaked,* run*, runned,* writ, *writt, wrot, writed*
Standard forms (participle)	**Nonstandard forms (participle**
bidden, broken, begun, chosen, caught, forgotten, gotten, spoken, run, written	*bode, bade, bad, bidded,* bid, broke*, brake, breaked,* began*, beginned,* chose*, chosed, cotch, cothc't, cotched, cotch'd,* catched*, catcht, catchet,* forgot*, forgat,* got*, gat,* spoke*, spake, speaked, ran, runned,* wrote, writ*, writ, wrot, writed*

Table 3.2. Overview of studied forms

One or two additional points should be made here. Contrary to Oldireva-Gustafsson's practice, I have not adopted the full list of forms listed in Sundby *et al.*, as some of the forms are considered standard in one grammar and non-standard in another; they would consequently have cancelled each other out in the above list. Oldireva-Gustafsson, moreover, notes that there is never a one-to-one correspondence between a single grammar's prescriptions and a single idiolect (1999: 270). Furthermore, it seems unlikely that either Walpole or Mann were influenced by or used Lowth's grammar. Sairio (2008) asked the same question with regard to Elizabeth Montagu (1718—1800), with respect to her usage of preposition stranding, another controversial feature at the time, but found no evidence that she was either:

> Overall, it seems reasonable to assume that Bluestockings often referred in their letters to what they were reading. However, I have not found any mention of grammars ... It appears that the Bluestockings did not have an interest in grammars as such (Sairio 2008: 142-43, see also Sairio 2009b 198).

Mrs Montagu, Sairio argues, did not belong to Lowth's target audience, and the same could be said to apply to the two men under discussion here. It is, however, known that Walpole owned a copy of the second edition of Lowth's grammar (1763), and that he read and annotated it (see Hazen 1969). Such practice was in fact quite common at the time, as has been shown by Navest (2007), who argues convincingly that one of the annotated copies of Lowth's grammar in the possession of the Winchester College Library was that of William Warburton (1698—1779). In this respect, Walpole differs from Mrs Montagu, who does not appear to have possessed a copy of the grammar. But whether his language use was actually influenced by the rules in the grammar is hard to say, and may be impossible to determine. In Warburton's case, however, of whom we at least know that he read Lowth's grammar very thoroughly, no immediate influence seems to have occurred in relation to the use of singular *you was*, a feature that was condemned by Lowth in his grammar in no uncertain terms as a solecism (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2011: 111). I have nevertheless selected Lowth's grammar as a starting point here as well as in the context of the broader research of the present study (see chapters 5 and 6, below), because of the general question, posed in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006), (2010) and (2011), about the relationship between the norm he presented in his grammar and upper-class usage which may have served as a model to him in the grammar.[3] As explained above, my reason for focusing on the language of two educated members of the upper classes was to find further evidence for this.

Looking at the language of Walpole and Mann, we encounter examples of standard and non-standard preterite and past participle use, as in the following examples:

[3] According to Sairio (2009b: 295-319) this seems indeed to be very likely.

Walpole's use of a standard preterite form:

1. Murray **spoke** for the first time, with the greatest applause; Pitt answered him with all his force and art of language, but on an ill-founded argument (Walpole to Mann, 9 December 1742 OS, in HWC 19: 123).

2. They tell a melancholy story for the assassin; that having lost a commission, he gave a memorial to the King, who **bade** him give it to the secretary at war, which the poor creature did not think a likely method of redress (Walpole to Mann, 31 December 1769, in HWC 23: 166).

Walpole's use of a standard past participle form:

3. The Duke of Cumberland, who has entirely **broken** with Mr Fox, has had a conference' of four hours with Mr Pitt. Hitherto it has produced nothing. (Walpole to Mann, 30 November 1762, in HWC 22: 102).

4. I conclude there is nothing to know. The shooting season is **begun**, and we have our fashions too. I suppose of politics on ne parle plus (Walpole to Mann, 26 September 1765, in HWC 22: 342).

Walpole's use of a non-standard preterite form:

5. I did but cross Piccadilly at eight in my coach with a French Monsieur D'Angeul whom I was carrying to Lady Hertford's; they stopped us, and **bid** us huzza (Walpole to Mann, 31 March 1768, in HWC *23: 6).*

Walpole's use of a non-standard past participle form:

6. All this while, nothing was certain: one day the coalition was settled; the next, the treaty **broke** off: I hated to write to you, what I might contradict next post (Walpole to Mann, 24 December 1744, in HWC 18: 549-50).

7. He talks of returning; and indeed I would advise it for his sake: he is quite spoiled for living in England, and had

entirely **forgot** what Visigoths his countrymen are (Walpole to Mann, 17 November 1749 OS, in HWC 20: 99).

In the case of Walpole's non-standard use of past participle forms, there is a clear example of PRET/PP-shift: Walpole uses the PRET forms in a PP context. The form *bid,* used as a preterite, is irregular in the sense that the prescribed form in the precept is *bade*. However, the form *bid* is considered a correct alternative to *bade* for the preterite in modern English (*OED s.v. bid* v.).

For Mann, examples of the following standard and non standard forms may be presented:

Mann's use of a standard preterite form:

8. I am now confined by a violent cold which I **caught** in making an attempt of that kind on horseback a few days ago (Mann to Walpole, 19 February 1757, in HWC 21: 58).

Mann's use of a standard past participle form:

9. They all strictly denied it, though Cardinal Albani's friends and the very few Catholics our friends **began** to doubt of it on his and Mr Chute's assertions, though till then not one soul in Rome had ever hinted such a thing (Mann to Walpole, 25 January 1746 NS, in HWC 19: 198).

Mann's use of a non-standard preterite form:

10. He conveyed away all his goods, borrowed above ten thousand crowns some days before, and **run** away to Rome (Mann to Walpole, 17 June 1741 NS, in HWC 17: 68).

11. I was pleased to see that Giuseppe **run** home to his wife the moment he had put me to bed (Mann to Walpole, 27 August 1741 NS, in HWC 17: 117).

Mann's use of a non-standard past participle:

12. Though part of his troops had actually **began** to march, orders were then given to make preparations on the road towards Perugia (Mann to Walpole, 16 February 1745 NS, in HWC 19: 7).

13. …it does not appear that any of the Courts that have a right by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle10 and an interest to oppose it, have **spoke** a single syllable against it (Mann to Walpole, 6 September 1768, in HWC 23: 54).

Mann's non-standard usage in these examples is a mix of PRET/PP-shift (using the preterite form *began* in the context for past participle *begun,* and *spoke* for *spoken*) and use of an otherwise non-standard form for the preterite (use of *run* for *ran*).

The number of non-standard and standard forms for the preterite and past participle forms of the verbs listed in Table 3.2. as found in the language of Mann and Walpole's letters can be seen in Table 3.3. below. The percentages indicate relative usage in relation to what was considered the standard verbal paradigm at the time (see also Table 3.2.).

From Mann to Walpole				
Grand Total	Number of standard forms used	Number of non-standard forms used	% of standard forms used	% of non-standard forms used
Preterite forms	572	53	91.52%	8.48%
Participle forms	158	600	20.84%	79.16%
From Walpole to Mann				
Grand Total	Number of standard forms used	Number of non-standard forms used	% of standard forms used	% of non-standard forms used
Preterite forms	620	14	97.79%	2.21%
Participle forms	521	349	59.89%	40.11%

Table 3.3. Overview of standard and non-standard usage of PRET and PP forms in the language of Walpole and Mann

To see whether we can detect any change in usage across time, I have presented the different figures for the two men for each of the nine subperiods set out in Table 3.1. in a graph (Figure 3.1).

The graph in Figure 3.1. shows a number of interesting things. To begin with, usage of the preterite forms, as represented by the two lines at the top of the graph, is more standard than usage for the past participle for both correspondents. The difference between the degree of standard usage in participle and preterite use is statistically significant. We may therefore conclude that usage of the preterite is already more standardised in the two men's language use than the use of the participle. The lines representing the figures for Mann, moreover, show that his usage remained fairly stable across time overall. For all that, the differences for his usage between the earliest and the last subperiods are still statistically significant ($p<0.05$).

Mann's usage for the preterite is, as said, more standard than for the participle. With an average of about 90 per cent standard forms used in the preterite as against only 20 per cent for the participle (see Table 3.3.), this difference is statistically significant as well ($p<0.05$). For Walpole we see that there is also a difference between the degree of usage of standard forms in the preterite and the past participle forms. The difference is also significant, although the average difference between standard and non-standard usage in both types of forms is much smaller in Walpole's case than in that of Mann: Walpole used nearly 98 per cent standard forms in the preterite, and about 60 per cent for the participle (see Table 3.3.). The difference in usage for the two men is statistically significant for both forms.

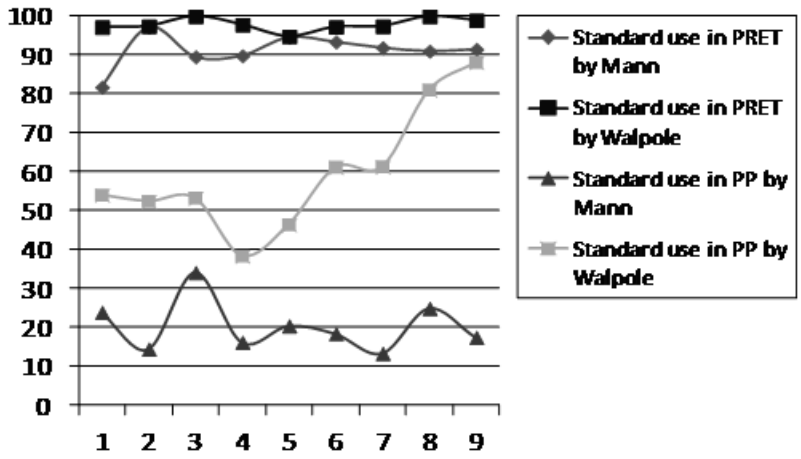

Figure 3.1. Overview of the percentage of standard and non-standard usage of PRET and PP forms in the language of Mann and Walpole over time[4]

The interesting thing about Walpole's usage, as Figure 3.1. indicates, is that his use of the standard form for the past participle increased over time while that for Mann remained relatively stable. The rise can be seen to start in period 4, which covers the years 1745–1748, following an earlier decrease, and is statistically significant (chi-square test, $p<0.05$). Walpole's change in usage across time is significant in the light of Sairio's remark that her data show that "[t]he Bluestockings were aware of the stigma of preposition stranding already in the late 1730s and early 1740s ... indeed well before the publication of Lowth's grammar in 1762" (Sairio 2008: 154). The data for Walpole's usage suggest that he was aware of this same linguistic climate, too. As discussed in

[4] Here, as well as in Figures 3.2. and 3.3. below, the numbers represent the following periode: period 1: 1740 – 1742; period 2: 1742 – 1745; period 3: 1745 – 1748; period 4: 1748 – 1756; period 5: 1756 – 1762; period 6: 1762 – 1768; period 7: 1768 – 1774; period 8: 1774 – 1779; period 9: 1780 – 1786.)

1.3, he shows in his letters that he was conscious of the existence of linguistic variation in usage: he joked about the dialect speakers he met in Norfolk, and commented on other people's clumsy or illiterate usage in letters addressed to various correspondents. Sairio also notes that her figures on preposition stranding "suggest that in the 1750s attitudes toward and the writers' awareness of correct usage may have changed" (2008: 151), which in turn "may reflect the increasing numbers of published grammars and discussion of correct language use during those years". Looking at my own data, it might be said that Walpole was evidently part of the linguistic climate which inspired the normative rules laid down in the grammars of the 1760s and beyond.

As can be seen in Table 3.3. above, the number of tokens found for each of the possible irregular verb forms is quite low, especially in the preterite. Only 14 irregular uses of the preterite are found for Walpole, in a corpus of 720,981 words, that is a 0.002% frequency; the rate is slightly better in Mann's language sample, with 53 tokens on a corpus of 689,118 words amounts to a 0.008% frequency of occurrence. It is not surprising that this type of research on a smaller language sample will often be frustratingly fruitless. I therefore believe that any data for irregular verb morphology retrieved from much smaller corpora would also be considerably more unreliable than those I obtained on the basis of the present corpus.

Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999: 280) remarks that "Walpole's grammar stands out in my sample as an example of the minimum variability associated today with a cultivated command of grammar". Indeed, we also see from the above results that Walpole's usage is more standard than that of Mann. However, variation found in my own much larger corpus is much greater than in the 20,000 word sample compiled by Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999), which showed a non-standard usage in Walpole's language of 0.7 per cent in the

preterite and 1 per cent in the past particple against 2.2 per cent in the preterite and as much as 40.1 per cent in the participle in my own corpus. Overall, the percentage of non-standard usage in my corpus is also much higher than the figures found by Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999: 281), on the basis of which she concludes that "variation was never great: for the period from 1760–1790, which was the apogee in the prescriptive suppression of variability". In that study, Oldireva-Gustafsson found 1–5 per cent non-standard usage for preterite forms and 1–7 per cent past particple usage in her overall corpus (Oldireva-Gustafsson 1999: 281). Especially the figure for this lastcategory is much higher in my larger corpus.

One explanation for this discrepancy might be that I have selected one form as the standard form, whereas the list in Sundby *et al.* (1991) which Oldireva-Gustafsson used as a basis for her own analysis often supplies several options for the standard; this might have "levelled" the results. For all that, it seems unlikely that the results would be affected so much by this that the 79 per cent non-standard usage of Mann for the participle on average would come anywhere near Oldireva-Gustafsson's figure of 1–7 per cent. In chapter 5, below, I will analyse the language of the Walpole Family Network Cluster for the same feature and where possible draw a comparison to the results found for Walpole and Mann. As for the differences in usage between Walpole and Mann: they both belonged to the upper class, were both highly educated and would therefore be expected to have drawn upon a similar linguistic norm. However, we have seen a significant difference in usage, to which point I will return in 3.3.4.

3.3.3. Quirks and blips in the data

In order to get a better picture of the variation in usage by the two Horaces, I shall focus on a number of specific forms, and also try to account for the particular form the changes in usage take as seen in Figure 3.1. For convenience sake, I will here reproduce only the relevant part of that figure, i.e. that for the standard past participle forms in the letters of Mann and Walpole (Figure 3.2.). My reason for doing so is that there are a number of important points to be made about the results of the analysis presented above, and I will highlight a few quirks and blips in the data in order to illustrate my point.

I will first compare Figure 3.2. to Figure 3.3. below, which shows the degree of standard usage for the participle forms of the verb WRITE for both Walpole and Mann across time. How do the data for this verb fit in with the general picture of their usage as discussed in the previous section and as seen in Figure 3.2. Figure 3.3. shows that Mann's usage for the verb WRITE is considerably less standard – indeed strikingly so – than that of Walpole. This difference is statistically significant (chi-square test, $p<0.05$), and fits in with the general picture of Walpole's usage being more standard than that of Mann, particularly where it concerns past participle forms, and more so as time passes. However, Walpole's usage for WRITE does not follow the pattern of increasing standardness that his usage shows across the board in Figure 3.2.; there is a clear dip for his usage during periods 4, 5 and 6, the mid-eighteenth-century in other words, and there is no clear sign of the semi-linear increase towards standard usage that we see for his usage in general during this period (cf. Figure 3.2.). Walpole's use of *wrote* as a past participle does increase steadily over time; however, in the mid-eighteenth century, Walpole added

writ as a variant to his usage, possibly as a contraction of *written* (which is how it is described by Lowth (1762:74)) as can be seen from example 14:

14. If I had **writ** to you last week, I should have told you that the scene brightens up for the Court, that the petitions begin to grow ridiculous, and that the Opposition have succeeded lately in no one material point. (Walpole to Mann, 30 November 1769, in HWC 23: 155)

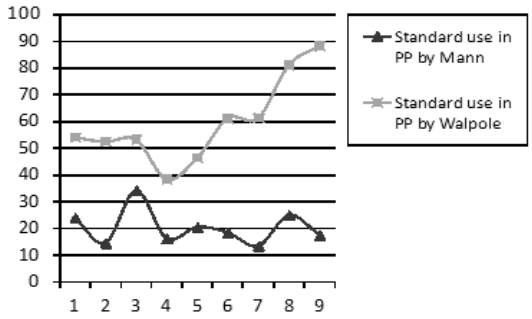

Figure 3.2. Overview of the percentage of standard and non-standard usage of PP forms in the language of Mann and Walpole across time

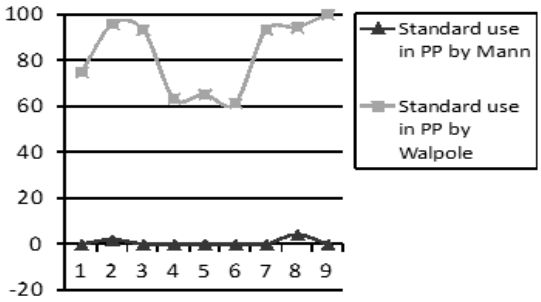

Figure 3.3. Overview of the percentage of standard usage of PP forms of the verb WRITE in the language of Walpole and Mann across time

Table 3.4.below presents all data on the use of WRITE in PRET and PP in the language use of Walpole and Mann, for a more detailed insight into the degree of standard and non-standard usage in the language of both men. There may be several explanations for the distribution of forms we find in this overview. Some of these explanations have a direct bearing on the fact that working with historical corpora is further complicated when one has to work with data wholly derived from published material. It is possible that Walpole simply started to use a new word, and that he was influenced in this by one of his other correspondents, or by an external influence. This possibility cannot be confirmed on the basis of the present corpus, as Mann did not use the form *writ*.

Period	1 (1740-1742)				2 (1742-1745)				3 (1745-1748)			
	HW		*Mann*		*HW*		*Mann*		*HW*		*Mann*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard use in PRET	19	100	0	0	13	100	44	100	15	100	32	100
Non-standard use in PRET	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Standard use in PP	12	75	0	0	23	95.83	1	2.04	28	93.33	0	0
Non-standard use in PP	4	25	1	100	1	4.17	48	97.95	2	6.67	50	100
Period	4 (1748-1756)				5 (1756-1762)				6 (1762-1768)			
	HW		Mann		HW		Mann		HW		Mann	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard use in PRET	26	100	36	100	25	92.59	32	100	21	100	34	100
Non-standard use in PRET	0	0	0	0	2	7.41	0	0	0	0	0	0
Standard use in PP	21	63.64	0	0	17	65.38	0	0	16	61.54	0	0
Non-standard use in PP	12	36.36	33	100	9	34.61	31	100	10	38.46	39	100

Period	7 (1768-1774)				8 (1774-1779)				9 (1780-1786)			
	HW		Mann		HW		Mann		HW		Mann	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard use in PRET	20	100	26	100	17	100	27	100	30	100	34	100
Non-standard use in PRET	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Standard use in PP	28	93.33	0	0	17	94.44	1	4.35	40	100	0	0
Non-standard use in PP	2	6.67	32	100	1	5.56	22	95.65	0	0	23	100

Table 3.4. Overview of standard and non-standard usage of the verb WRITE in the language of Horace Walpole and Mann

Another viable option is that it was the influence of his secretaries who wrote and copied a number of letters for him. The high degree of standard usage in the early letters may in turn be influenced by the fact that many of the early letters in the Horace Walpole correspondence only exist in the form of later copies in Walpole's own hand, taken from letter books into which he copied his correspondence years after the letters were first sent, as Lewis explains:

> The earliest letters after Walpole's landing in England were returned to him in 1749, nearly nine years after the correspondence began; the last were returned to him after Mann's death in 1786. Walpole seems to have begun his transcriptions of the letters in 1754. He **pruned the text** and wrote footnotes **to nearly all the early letters** and to many of the later ones (HWC 17: xli).

Moreover, "[w]hen he reached his letter to Mann of 22 April 1755 he resigned the labour of transcription to Kirgate, thereafter merely writing the headings of the letters and an occasional note" (HWC 17: xli). This coincides directly with the *blip* in use of the standard form for the Past Participle of WRITE (*written*), and also with the introduction of the form *writ* into Walpole's letters. It could

well be argued that this form may in fact have been introduced into the transcripts by Kirgate, Walpole's secretary. However, the later periods do not show this influence.

This effect is also not visible in the usage for the other irregular verbs (cf. Figure 3.1.), of which most non-standard forms do occur mostly in the earlier letters. As discussed above, Oldireva-Gustafsson (2002a:27) remarks that she eventually discarded Walpole's letters from her study because they were written in different hands, probably those of his secretaries, but it seems peculiar to say the least that Walpole would have corrected his own usage only for certain forms in the copying process. In such cases, usually only the spelling is affected, while grammatical features are as a rule left as in the original. For this reason it is generally considered safe to draw on even copied material for analysis, though in the case of grammatical studies only. Oldireva-Gustafsson also notes that she "could use the extracts from the Yale edition for a case study of variation in the use of the past participle variants for the verb *write*" (Oldireva-Gustafsson 2002a: 27). The introduction of the form *writ* for *written*, possibly by Kirgate, seems less striking in this light when we consider Lowth's classification of the form as a contraction, rather than a grammatical alternative (1762: 24).

Other small quirks may lead to similar questions: where do the two single occurrences of *catched* in Walpole's language come from, for example? They may be found in examples (15) and (16):

15. The Princess was at the feet of the bed; she **catched** up a candle and ran to him, but before she got to the head of the bed, he was dead (Walpole to Mann, 21 March 1751, in HWC 20: 232)

16. I **catched** at a little Lorrainer that sets out for Florence tomorrow, and made him promise to carry a letter for me (Walpole to Mann, 2 May 1740 NS, HWC 17: 18)

The form is not recorded in Lowth's grammar, which prescribed the regular form *caught* instead. Sundby *et al.* record *catched* as an irregular form that was criticised in grammars (1991: 304), however. Do these few instances reflect Walpole's own usage? If so, do they reflect evidence of his informal vernacular (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005a: 118)? Influence of the secretary's usage on Walpole's language is less likely, since Kirgate copied mostly letters dated after April 1755, and I was in fact able to ascertain that both letters are in Walpole's own hand by consulting the digital images available in the digital edition of HWC. This point is of major concern in any study that will be dealing with data like the Horace Walpole correspondence, and the newly facilitated access to digital copies of manuscript letters greatly improves the possibilities of selecting data and interpreting 'stray' forms. Taking such drastic measures as in the case of Oldireva-Gustafsson (2002a) by excluding all letters of doubtful scribal provenance altogether would furthermore preclude the possibility of making use of otherwise valuable data for historical sociolinguistic research. I would argue that the data is still highly valuable, but that in interpreting any unusual deviations from an expected pattern the problem of the hand of the letters should be taken into account. The analysis presented here, despite the serious methodological problems I have pointed out when interpreting the data, nevertheless shows that Walpole's language is more standard than that of Mann, and that Mann's usage is more stable across time whereas Walpole's usage developed towards the norm of the standard of the time, foreshadowing usage as it is today.

3.3.4. The two Horaces' idiolects

Another important finding on the basis of the data presented in this chapter is that both patterns of usage continue along lines that suggest that neither man

was directly influenced in their usage by the other. The question needs to be asked why Mann's usage, in contrast to Walpole's, did not change over time. Something to be considered here is the fact that Mann lived outside England during most of his life (see section 3.2): as an expatriate it is less likely that he would have been subject to ongoing changes in the English Language, even to the extent that his usage would not be influenced by that of his close friend Walpole, despite intensive and prolonged contact. Arnaud mentions a similar effect for Robert Browning:

> We must remember that between the ages of 24 and 50 he lived in Italy (1836-1861), largely removed from the influence of his native community. This is not likely to have encouraged him to adopt a new development he already shunned. (Arnaud 1998: 133)

Het notes, however, that "this explanation is highly speculative"(Arnaud 1998: 134).

As for the idiolectal differences between the two correspondents, Table 3.5. provides a detailed overview of the nonstandard forms attested in their letters, both for the preterite and the past participle forms of strong verbs. In Table 3.5. below all non-standard forms indicated in the precept of grammars are italicised.

Walpole: preterite forms	**Walpole: past participles**
bade, *bad, bid*, broke, began, chose, caught, *catched*, forgot, got, spoke, *spake*, ran, wrote, *writ*	*bid*, bidden, broken, *broke*, begun, chosen, *chose*, caught, *catched*, forgotten, *forgot*, gotten, *got*, spoken, *spoke*, run, written *wrote, writ*
Mann: preterite forms	**Mann: past participles**
bid, broke, began, chose, caught, forgot, got, spoke, ran, *run*, wrote	*bid*, bidden, broken, *broke,* begun, *began*, chosen, *chose,* caught, forgotten, *forgot, got,* gotten, spoken, *spoke*, run, *wrote*, written

Table 3.5. Walpole and Mann's idiolects

Oldireva-Gustafsson (1999: 276) notes on the basis of her own study of the subject:

> It seems that men of letters tend to employ a greater spectrum of variabillity than less educated writers. At the same time, the preference of the variant suffix *–en* [as in the forms *broken, bidden, written, chosen, etc.*], or at least its introduction into the set of possible paradigmatic variants appears to be a sign of a more advanced command of grammar.

This observation matches very well with the usage I have described for Walpole in the preceding section of this chapter: Walpole used slightly more variant participial forms (9 variant non-standard forms) than Mann (8 variant non-standard forms). He thus used *writ* and *wrote* alongside *written*, for example, but also *spake*, *bad* and even *catched* alongside *caught*. However, he also used more of the standard *-en* forms: I have attested *gotten* (proscribed by the grammarians of the period, but according to Oldireva-Gustafsson never used in her corpus, except by one writer; 2002a: 69) as well as *forgotten* in Walpole's usage, while he apparently preferred *broken* to *broke*. The number of variations in Walpole's language is greater than in that of Mann, though the degree of standard usage by Walpole is also greater: Walpole thus has a more variable idiolect, but he uses it in a more standard way.

3.4. Concluding remarks

Walpole and Mann both belong to the educated upper classes of the eighteenth century, and for this reason I expected to find similar usage in the language of their letters. The results, however, have proved to be very different. One explanation for this could be that Walpole, who was both linguistically interested as well as highly linguistically conscious as I have noted in the introduction to the current chapter as well as in chapter 1, was more

sensitive to language and the changing language than Mann. At the same time, and as already noted in section 3.3.4, Walpole was himself part of the linguistic climate in England, with its growing focus on language correctness. This was expressed both in the public press of the period, as Percy (2008) has shown, as well as in the increasing interest in normative grammars published at the time (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b and 2008c). That Walpole was part of this climate, and presumably interested in what was going on, is evident from the fact that he acquired a copy of Lowth's grammar (see 3.3.2.). Whether he actually used it is a different question, and can in all likelihood probably never be proven. Sairio (2008:155), quoting Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006), writes that "Lowth based his grammar not on his own language use, but on his perception of an upper-class norm, so the actual direction of the influence may have gone both ways". What Tieken-Boon van Ostade refers to here is the influence of actual usage, that of the aristocracy, on the norm presented by grammarians such as Lowth in his grammar, and, conversely, the shaping of usage by the normative grammars subsequently. This would also support the fact that Walpole's language use changed over time whereas Mann's remained stable: Mann was not part of the linguistic climate to the extent that Walpole was, a climate in which usage changed and was criticised in the public press, while rules based on that usage were laid down in grammars, further influencing usage as a result.

This chapter has illustrated and strengthened the idea that Walpole's usage reflects the linguistic climate or vogue of eighteenth-century England, in which the language was codified as part of the ongoing standardisation process of the language, which in turn significantly influenced that same linguistic climate, giving rise to an interest in prescriptivism among the general public. Mann's usage can be interpreted as providing an example of a kind of negative

evidence of what was going on at the time, in displaying usage that was more stable, and did not develop towards or in line with the changing norm. One might call this *expatriate lag* as a variation of the term *colonial lag,* used to describe the apparent retention of archaic features in the language varieties spoken in colonies. According to Bauer "this conservatism in colonial varieties is, rather unfortunately, termed 'colonial lag' – unfortunately because the term gives the impression that the colonial variety will (or should) one day catch up with the home variety, though this is unlikely to ever happen" (Bauer 2002: 5) Görlach (1987: 91), largely debunks the myth that is *colonial lag,* but Bauer notes that "this myth does, of course, have some foundation in fact ... [t]he relevant fact is that some regional dialects of English retain old forms which have disappeared from the standard form of the language" (Bauer 2002: 5). Mann's usage is not *lagging* in a literal sense: it does not necessarily reflect an older norm, but his physical distance from the womb of the English language makes him less susceptible to the process of ongoing change. Walpole's language seems to be ahead of the change: it was already approaching the norm before it was laid down in the grammars. Sairio (2008) showed a similar effect in the case of preposition stranding. The studies undertaken so far confirm the premise posed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006) that the input for the norm as codified in grammars was influenced by the language of the upper classes and educated users.

Chapter 4. Social network analysis and the history of English

4.1. Introduction

In chapter 3 I provided an account of linguistic variation between Horace Walpole and one member of his social network, showing that the language of the upper classes is not uniformly standard as represented in the codified norm in grammars at the time . In chapters 5 and 6, below, I will embark upon a linguistic and structural analysis of two more complicated network clusters within Horace Walpole's network and their correspondence, and try to explain any linguistic variation within the network by using social network analysis (SNA). It is therefore important to review the basic principles behind this study at this time, which I will do in the present chapter.

Since sociolinguistics studies "the correlation of dependent linguistic variables with independent social variables" (Chambers 2003: ix), one needs to find a way to define these social variables in order to be able to study the link between language and context systematically. This is particularly relevant in a historical context where data are sparse and more difficult to interpret in a straightforward manner without such a systematic analysis. In the present study, the theoretical framework for quantification of social variables is that of social network analysis (SNA), following Milroy (1987). SNA is based on the broader concept of network theory, which, as explained by Fitzmaurice (2000a), is

> also a technical [notion], developed in the fields of anthropology, social psychology, sociology, epidemiology, business studies, economics, and recently in sociolinguistics, to describe the relationship between individuals and the social structures which they construct and inhabit (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 203–204).

SNA as applied in sociolinguistics is used for the quantification of the different types of relationships that function as variables in the analysis of language variation and change. In sociohistorical linguistics this is stretched further to include the explanation of historical networks and language variation and change in a historical context, or, simply, as taking place in the more or less distant past.

The present study is not meant as a justification of the disciplines of sociolinguistics or sociohistorical linguistics. This has been done in more detail in Chambers *et al.* (2002), for example, who provide different takes on and explanations of the variationist view on language which lies at the basis of the development of sociolinguistics. More specifically, Chambers (2002) provides an epistemology of sociolinguistics, and Chambers (2003) is a broad introduction to the different fields within sociolinguistics, using linguistic studies as an illustration of key terms and concepts in the field. Nor will I provide a complete historical overview of the development of network theory or SNA as a model in its broadest sense, or of its development within the humanities. Examples of studies that do so can be found elsewhere, such as Milroy (1987: 1–46, 166–172), Bergs (2005: 8–55) and Sairio (2009a: 15 - 35), which provide comprehensive accounts of the background of sociohistorical linguistics and of the development of SNA as a model within the humanities and within sociohistorical linguistics, as well as in other scientific disciplines. Milroy (2002) also offers a very clear overview of work that has been done on social networks in the context of research on modern language variation and change.

In this study I will focus on the practical application of SNA in a historical context and will therefore only discuss the status quo of SNA in sociohistorical applications. In the following section I will first address the basic

terms and concepts used in SNA. In the sections on the theoretical framework to be adopted in the present study I will discuss most of the earlier work on SNA in a historical linguistic context.

4.2. Terms and concepts

According to Milroy (2002), "[a]n individual's social network is straightforwardly the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, and social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of these relationships" (2002: 549). Similar explanations of the terms and concepts that are important in SNA can be found in virtually all studies concerned with the methodology of this research model, for example in Milroy (1987: 18–22, 46, 49–52, 139), Wasserman and Faust (1994: 35–54), Chambers (2003: 79–86) and Sairio (2009b: 16–19). In the following overview of important terms and concepts that are of relevance to my analysis of Walpole's language I will refer to one or two of the many explanations provided in these works for each term, rather than exhaustively to all of them.

People in a network, referred to as **actors**, are represented by **nodes** in network theory and the **relationships** or transactions between them are called **vectors, links** or **edges** (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 17; see Sairio 2009b: 16). Any link can represent a transaction or connection of any type, such as goods, communication, aid, trade, or membership of the same formal group. In social network analysis a link typically represents a relationship with a functional and emotional content (see, for example, Bax 2000). The relationships can therefore be measured by quantifying the strength of these functional and emotional ties and the direction of the links or vectors in a so-called **network strength scale** (NSS), which in the model developed by Milroy (1987) "consists of a six-point scale going from zero to five, and functions

rather like a social class index" (1987: 139). The measures of a NSS can be adapted to different times and circumstances as long as a number of preconditions are met, as will be discussed in chapter 6. The focal point of a personal network is called **ego**, and the network consisting of all of the **first-order network contacts** of ego may therefore be called an **ego-centred network**. This is the type of network that is most commonly focused on in network analysis, because it presumes a finite set of actors for whom relative network positions and tie-strengths can be calculated with greater ease. In theory, each person's network is infinite in size, but for practical reasons a finite number of network connections needs to be the focus of an analysis (see Wasserman and Faust 1994: 42, as paraphrased by Sairio 2009b: 17).

Other important concepts in SNA are **density** and **multiplexity**. The density of a network is an expression of the number of actual relationships in ratio to the number of possible relationships. In a dense network, most actors have relationships with most of the other actors in the network (Milroy 1987: 49–50). Density is calculated by dividing the number of actual links or vectors by the number of possible links in a network, multiplied by one hundred percent. The maximum density of a network is therefore a hundred percent: in that case, each network member is connected to each of the other network members. Multiplexity, on the other hand, expresses the fact that ties do not just exist as such, but may exist in several forms at the same time: someone may be both a neighbour, a friend and a co-worker at the same time (cf. Sairio 2009b: 18, see also Milroy 1987: 21, 51). Milroy notes that "it is inadequate simply to specify a link without considering the content of that link" (Milroy 1987: 51). If an actor is "connected to ego in a single capacity only ... such a relationship [may be referred to] as uniplex, or having single content" (Milroy 1987: 51). According to Milroy "multiplexity and density are conditions which

often co-occur, and both increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism" (Milroy 1987: 52).

A high-density network is usually a **closed** network: everyone in the network is connected to (almost) everyone else in the same network, which makes the likelihood of someone in the network not being connected to most other people in the network much smaller. In an **open** network most actors only have connections with one or a few of the other actors, and the chance that they have connections outside of the network is much greater (see Milroy 1987: 20–22). Milroy illustrates this with the example of the Hemnes study, a Norwegian community (Blom and Gumperz 1972):

> Blom and Gumperz noted that the heaviest (low-status) dialect users generally were members of 'closed' networks ... since low-status speakers interact mostly within a defined territory, a given person's contacts will nearly all know each other. The élite of Hemnes on the other hand had 'open' personal networks. They moved (like Fried's urban middle classes) outside territorial boundaries, and a given person's contacts each had his own contacts, none of whom necessarily knew each other (Milroy 1987: 20).

According to Milroy "it is possible for one network to be described as *more* or *less* dense than another, rather than in absolute terms as *open* or *closed*" (Milroy 1987: 21). Sairio (2009b) notes that the network of the Bluestockings – an eighteenth-century group of intellectual women and men who met in Elizabeth Montagu's (1718–1800) literary Salons – is very dense for example, but not completely closed in the sense that most of the network contacts were also connected to other networks. This makes the Bluestocking network more a dense **cluster** within a greater network of the élite circles of eighteenth-century literary society in England. Network clusters are important focal points

within SNA: Milroy defines them as "segments or compartments of networks which have relatively high density: relationships within the cluster are denser than those existing externally and may also be considered as being relationships of like *content*" (Milroy 1987: 50). Clusters function as strong norm-enforcement mechanisms (see Milroy 1987: 51, following Bott 1957).

In passing I have mentioned that the structure of a network and the relationships between actors can be measured by way of a network strength scale, which quantifies the existence and the relative strength of ties in a network. The idea that a network consists of **weak** and **strong** ties was developed by Granovetter (1973 and 1983) "who sees 'weak' ties between individuals as important links between micro-groups (small, closeknit networks) and the wider society" (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 364). These micro-groups may be considered closed network clusters within greater networks. According to Granovetter "the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (1973: 1361). Here, Granovetter presupposes positive and symmetrical ties only. Milroy and Milroy "note that by this measure multiplex ties – i.e. those with multiple content – would be counted as relatively strong" (1985: 364). In other words, the tie-strengths calculated by a NSS, which take into account both density and multiplexity, i.e. the number as well as the content of ties, can be said to directly relate to Granovetter's notion of weak and strong ties.

Someone who is integrated into a network cluster consisting of many multiplex or strong ties may also have a weak tie to another network cluster, for instance in the single capacity of being a neighbour. Such a person or such a weak tie can function as a so-called **bridge** between two networks or two network clusters (see Granovetter 1973; 1983 and Milroy and Milroy 1985:

364–365). Granovetter (1983) provides a very clear explanation of this bridge phenomenon:

> Some arbitrarily selected individual – call him Ego ... will have a collection of close friends, most of whom are in touch with one another – a densely knit clump of social structure. Moreover, Ego will have a collection of acquaintances, few of whom know one another. Each of these acquaintances, however, is likely to have close friends of his own right and therefore to be enmeshed in a closely knit clump of social structure, but one different from Ego's (Granovetter 1983: 202).

The basic argument is that strong ties within a network act as norm enforcement mechanisms, or in other words: "density and multiplexity usually go together, and ... dense, multiplex networks act as norm enforcement mechanisms" (Milroy 1987: 136–137), thus enforcing a particular linguistic variety as a norm of identity characterising the members of that particular network or network cluster. Weak ties between networks or network clusters on the other hand act as bridges that help to spread innovations from one network to another or between networks.

The notion of weak ties functioning as bridges directly relates to different **adopter categories** of which Sairio (2009b: 21–25, 141–144), basing herself on Ryan and Gross (1943), Rogers (1983: 248–251), Rogers and Kincaid (1981) and Valente (1996 and 1999), distinguishes the following: "1) innovators, 2) early adopters, 3) early majority, 4) late majority, 5) laggards" (Sairio 2009b: 22). Adopter categories have to do with the flow of innovation and change through a social or communication network. Changes filter downward through a network from opinion leaders to the followers in the network (cf. Sairio 2009b: 20, 22–25). Sairio notes that the "**early adopters** ... resemble Labov's leaders of linguistic change", as they "are often role models in a position of

responsibility, so they face greater risks if they adopt a new idea that will not be accepted by others" (Sairio 2009b: 23). Early adopters are central to the network clusters of which they are part, whereas "**innovators** are loosely connected to (various) social networks and have a number of weak ties" (2009b: 23). Combining this information on the **diffusion** of innovations and change with our knowledge of language maintenance in networks, which is the result of the norm enforcement function of closed networks or network clusters, we can now (partly) explain why a dense network or network cluster is more likely to maintain a norm of its own. The more strong ties there are, the smaller the chance is that someone in the network will have a tie that is not shared by the other network members: in a relatively closed network cluster, the number of possible bridges will be much smaller than in a more open network consisting of more weak ties through which innovations can enter the network. Furthermore, Milroy identiefies "changes in network structure as an important social mechanism of linguistic change" (Milroy 1987: 170). Changes in network structure can occur as a result of geographical or social mobility of its members (Milroy 1987: 137), which may change the density and contents of ego's network quite drastically (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2000 and 2003 for a discussion of the effects this had on language change on a macro-level). A breakdown of network density and multiplexity on a wider scale, beyond that of single individuals, makes room for more weak ties, and therefore more room for innovations and change to spread within the network: the more open a network is, the larger the number of potential innovators that belong to the network. This is of course a simplified account of diffusion and innovation theory, but for the purpose of the analysis carried out in this study the distinction between potential

innovators and early adopters, and the role of strong and weak ties in diffusion and innovation as well as language maintenance as discussed above will suffice.

4.3. Theoretical framework: Historical applications of SNA

At the tenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, held in Manchester in 1998, a special workshop called 'Social Network Analysis and the History of English' took place, organised by Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. It was aimed at "explor[ing] the possibilities of applying the concept of social network as used and developed by Lesley Milroy in her book on the Belfast vernacular (Milroy 1987) to older stages in the history of English" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000c: 211). A number of suggestions for questions to be discussed in papers were made in the call for papers, as is noted by Tieken-Boon van Ostade in the introduction to the volume in which the papers from the workshop were published (Tieken-Boon van Ostade *et al.* 2000). Two of the topics discussed are especially relevant for my own study, as they largely overlap with the research questions I am addressing here:

> What problems do we encounter when applying the Milroys' research model to older stages of the language? [...] To what extent can Milroy's network strength scale be applied as a tool for measuring network strength in the past?
>
> Once potential linguistic innovators and early adopters have been identified, how can we study the spread of linguistic change (a) from one network to another and (b) within a network (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000c: 215–216)?

Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that the resulting workshop papers "illustrate more than anything else the potential of this new approach in the field of English historical linguistics" (2000c: 216). A decade and a half have passed

since this first impulse for a historical application of social network analysis was given, and I will discuss the developments which have taken place in the field during the years behind us. I will assess to what extent the papers in the volume provide (satisfactory) answers to the questions posed above, and discuss the way in which other and later publications have sought to answer the basic question of how to apply social network analysis in a historical context. However, some earlier work on the historical application of SNA was carried out before the workshop on this topic was hosted in Manchester in 1998, and this work needs to be taken into account first, for it inspired the questions raised above.

4.3.1. Early work: exploratory historical network analysis

Some of the earliest exploratory work on the historical application of SNA was published by Tieken-Boon van Ostade when she studied language use during the eighteenth century. In doing so she focused on the network of Samuel Johnson and was concerned with the language of Samuel Richardson (c.1689–1761) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991) and James Boswell (1740–1795) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996), both of them members of Johnson's social network though at different periods in his life and in different roles. The work on Richardson focuses on finding an explanation for the fact discussed in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987a) that his use of periphrastic *do* is very conservative, and does not vary between his more public and more private writing styles:

> Generally one would expect a more old-fashioned pattern of usage, in this case with a higher proportion of *do*-less negative sentences, in an author's more formal prose styles than in his or her more informal, colloquial styles. This has indeed been attested with respect to their usage of *do* for about half of the authors studied in Tieken

> (1987). That Richardson's usage of *do* is so very conservative is remarkable in itself; it is even more remarkable that in his private letters the same pattern is found (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 47).

Richardson's linguistic conservatism is attributed to linguistic insecurity: being upwardly mobile on the social ladder would have meant that he was aware of a standard that was to be aspired to, but unsure of whether he was reaching that standard or not. Tieken-Boon van Ostade infers that his linguistic insecurity and sensitivity to the existence of linguistic norms which were perhaps not quite within his grasp, led to the use of hypercorrection which according to Cameron and Coates (1985: 144, see: Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 47) is typically associated with the language of women. Cameron and Coates note that "such insecurity on the part of women offers a clear parallel with the lower middle class, who of course provide the classic example of hypercorrect linguistic behaviour" (1985: 144).

At the same time, Richardson is found to be "something of an innovator in language" (Keast 1957: 432, see: Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 48). He could put "into words even the most elusive feelings of any kind", and "Johnson recognised Richardson as a word-maker ... his decision to include in the *Dictionary* so many quotations from Richardson is a tribute to his capacity" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 51). Johnson seems to have held the language of the linguistically insecure Richardson in high regard. Moreover, "[a] number of the words included by Johnson are the earliest instances in the *OED*" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 51), which confirms that Richardson's language use was innovative, in some ways at least. He was in that sense a linguistic conservative and a linguistic innovator at the same time (much as was pointed out in the case of Walpole in chapter 1). Tieken-Boon van Ostade invokes SNA

as a means "to show that these apparently contradictory aspects of Richardson's language can be reconciled" (1991: 48).

In the study at hand she does not provide a network analysis as such, but rather interprets the linguistic facts in light of network positions occupied by the key players in her analysis: Richardson was an outsider and could therefore, functioning as a bridge, bring innovations into Johnson's network, which Johnson could subsequently spread as a central network figure and early adopter (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 49). Richardson's lexical innovations are a good example of how this worked. Even though he was a marginal network member, Richardson also seems to have been able to influence Johnson's language concerning the use of *do*-less negative sentences in his writing in *The Rambler* (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 51–53), a journal that Johnson published from 1750 to 1752. Finally, in his own network Richardson may have been a central figure for some of his female supporters, and may have influenced their epistolary spelling as a result (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991: 54–55). Evidence of this is presented in a later study on the language of Sarah Fielding (1710–1768), which suggests that Sarah Fielding was very likely influenced in her use of spelling and capitalisation by Richardson (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996) is similarly concerned with the usage of periphrastic *do* in the language and network of James Boswell, as well as with his use of epistolary spelling. She demonstrates that "[i]n his early letters to Johnston (ed. Walker 1966:3–107), Boswell shows himself a rather idiosyncratic speller", and, since "none of the spellings ... are found in Dr Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), which represents the current standard at the time, we may conclude that Boswell represents another exponent of what Osselton (1984) has termed 'informal spelling systems' commonly attested in the letters

of educated eighteenth-century authors" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 328). However, "an analysis of Boswell's later letters to Johnston ... shows that he abandoned most of his informal spelling habits in favour of the more current printers' practice" (1996: 328). Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that Boswell's change in spelling practice can be pinpointed "fairly accurately: it took place soon after August 1767" (1996: 329): after his return from his continental tour and when he returned to his legal studies. She has also found that Boswell's use of periphrastic *do,* like Richardson's, does not vary between his different writing styles and different genres and text types. Again SNA is invoked in order to find an explanation for these linguistic peculiarities.

Boswell fulfils a number of characteristics which make him likely to be an outsider in the network around Dr. Johnson, or someone loosely connected to the network, just like Richardson:

> Boswell was certainly geographically mobile: he largely divided his time between Auchinleck, the seat of his Scottish ancestors, and London. As future Laird of Auchinleck he can hardly be called socially mobile, though he does seem to have wished to break with his past .... If anything, his case seems an example of downward, not upward social mobility (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 332).

Quennell says that the Thrales' visitors "with the possible exception of Boswell – [were] gifted descendants of the hard-working *bourgeoisie*'" (1972:54). This indeed puts Boswell in the position of an outsider in the network, which, moreover, may have strengthened the linguistic insecurity which his being a Scotsman in English circles already instilled in him. Furthermore, Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that "[a]s Johnson's biographer, Boswell must have had a strong tie with Johnson, but Johnson may well have been the only one of this particular circle with whom Boswell had such a tie" (1996: 332). All of this puts

Boswell firmly in an outsider position in Johnson's network, similarly to Richardson.

Despite the fact that Johnson is the central figure and hence presumably the norm enforcer in this network, Tieken-Boon van Ostade finds that there is no linguistic influence from him on Boswell (1996: 333). And, contrary to the case of Richardson, there is no influence from Boswell as an outsider on the linguistic norm operating within the network either, even though as "a bridge between Johnson's network and his own [he ...] qualifies as a potential linguistic innovator to the group" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 333). According to Tieken-Boon van Ostade,

> Boswell did not think very highly of Johnson's prose style ... If Boswell did follow a linguistic norm, it was that of Addison's prose writing ... Addison was widely recognized in the eighteenth century as a model of good prose writing (Wright 1994), and already in his school days Boswell was 'taught to admire Addison's prose' (Pottle 1950: 3) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 333).

In fact, Boswell's usage of periphrastic *do* in negative sentences is very close to that of Addison as well as of Johnson: "the figures for all three are highly similar" (1996: 333). However, "unlike Addison or Johnson ... Boswell did not distinguish stylistically in his use of periphrastic *do*" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 333; see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987a: 187; 1987b: 164). Tieken-Boon van Ostade attributes this to his linguistic insecurity, which leads to hypercorrection (see Cameron and Coates 1985: 144 for a similar point on Richardson's language). It is hard to say which norm Boswell actually aspired to without more data for comparison, such as letters to other correspondents, and this is worthwhile exploring further. Finally, Tieken-Boon van Ostade attributes Boswell's sudden shift in spelling practice to a growing "interest in

correct spelling", caused by an immersion "in vast amounts of material written in the standard spelling of the time" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 334) after his return from his Grand Tour when he started pursuing a legal career, "[giving] in to his father's wishes" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996: 334).

What both these papers show is how SNA may provide satisfactory answers to problems that seem counter-intuitive at first, such as Richardson's conservatism combined with his innovative behaviour, Boswell's and Richardson's stylistic indifference, and Richardson's influence on the central network member, Johnson. However, we also saw that by the same method we can arrive at completely different conclusions: unlike Richardson, Boswell does not seem to have had an influence on Johnson or the network, and vice versa, even though he occupies a similar network position. This illustrates the need for a method for objective quantification of network positions rather than relying on interpretation alone. Boswell and Richardson were both outsiders in the Johnson network – though at different periods in time – on the basis of interpretation of historical sources. More precisely calculated network positions, based on a greater number of criteria, would allow for a more systematic approach for studying influence and variation on a network level.

Fitzmaurice (2000a) already takes some steps in that direction, although the papers from the Manchester workshop and many papers published after that time take the model for quantification of network ties much further. She applies social network analysis to the network of Joseph Addison (1672–1719) in order to shed light on the "social and political motivations of what amounts to a kind of prescriptivist movement" in the late eighteenth century (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 195). Writing about the role of politics and prestige in this prescriptivist movement, Fitzmaurice aims to establish "how the prescriptive grammarians came to identify a particular version or

variety of English as a basic model for the construction of Standard English" (2000a: 195). She argues that "the prescriptive grammarians took as one of the bases of their model of Standard English the periodical *The Spectator*", a journal which ran from 1711 to 1712, though she notes that it was not as such "the paper's linguistic purity which most recommended it, for its pages furnished the prescriptivists with many examples of flawed, ungrammatical and incorrect English" (2000a: 195). She shows that *The Spectator* and the men behind it – primarily Joseph Addison and Richard Steele (1672–1729) – became an example of both good and bad language practices for the grammar writers of the late eighteenth century, because of the importance of the periodical in the social and political reality of the developing polite society. Though issued in the early years of the century, *The Spectator* continued to be influential throughout much of the century after its demise in 1712.

Fitzmaurice argues that prestige usually precedes activism. That is to say, in the codification process a certain form becomes prestigious through social processes and this is then reflected, often with a time-lag, in the codification of this form in grammars and usage guides. "Identifiably powerful speakers", as she puts it (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 196), may have an influence on this process through mechanisms such as social networks. Fitzmaurice points out, however, that there is an inherent contrast between the way in which social networks may facilitate language change or the spreading of certain forms in an often subconscious way (change from below, as discussed in chapter 1, above) and the way in which "the construction and implementation of a standard language is an intentional, ideologically motivated set of actions" (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 196), i.e. change from above. In the process of explaining the selection of linguistic models, however, SNA is a useful research model to

explain roles of power and prestige within a network, affecting the perception of a standard outside and within the network.

No objective quantification data are provided in Fitzmaurice's analysis of the Addison/*Spectator* network. Social network analysis is again used mostly in a discursive way as an illustration of the different roles taken up by the men in Addison's circle, ranging from familiar friendships to client-patron relationships. Relevant network measures are mentioned though, as follows:

> The degree of proximity between actors might be measured in terms of the nature of their ties. The criteria by which these ties are measured are: longevity of relationship, geographical proximity, formal social relationship in terms of comparative rank (social equal / superior / inferior) and type of relationship (intimates / equals / acquaintances / friendship / competition) (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 204).

However, the exact model for network measurement is not provided in any kind of detail in the study. Fitzmaurice merely notes that "[t]o introduce a degree of flexibility, I have judged each parameter for each relationship on a five-point scale. The overall calculation of 'proximity' is a mean of the aggregated scores" (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 215). I will return to this practice below, since an incremental scale of measurement seems to have a number of advantages over other commonly used measuring systems, as in the work of Bax (2000), which was also commented on by Sairio (2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b).

In an earlier study of the language of the Addison circle, Fitzmaurice (1994) carried out a linguistic analysis of, amongst other things, the use of the relative clause markers *which* and *who* in this network: a practice favoured by the grammarians over the use of *that* and the zero-relativiser or elliptical construction. She measures the usage in works (prose, verse and miscellanies)

written by central and peripheral members of the network and compares this with the precept presented in later eighteenth-century grammars. Fitzmaurice concludes that

> [t]he examination of two linguistic features – one innovative and one an index of propriety – provides a clear sense of the grounds for Addison's eminence as an exemplar of the new standard ... Modernity and correctness (propriety) are ... balanced in Addisson's prose to the extent that his language appears to occupy the centre of a stylistic continuum (Fitzmaurice 1994: 265–266).

Returning to the subject six years later however, Fitzmaurice finds that in their familiar correspondence most of the network members, with one exception, show an unexpected preference for the elliptical or zero-construction and that "[t]hese results seem to indicate that the prescriptivist rule is not entirely an ideal construct unrelated to actual usage in the era of *The Spectator*" (2000a: 214). The link between the prescribed usage in the grammars and the linguistic practice of Addison's circle thus seems to be much weaker than perhaps was to be expected based on Fitzmaurice (1994) and the idea that the writings of the *Spectator* network may have been an example for grammar-writers. However, this is in fact not surprising when we consider that the material used for the analysis in the second study (Fitzmaurice 2000a) consists of familiar personal letters only: it was established in chapter 1 above that this is typically the context in which one's most vernacular usage may be found. And it is this vernacular usage which is in turn criticised in the grammars of the eighteenth century. Fitzmaurice furthermore implies that a particular linguistic instance may be criticized and still be an example of good or elegant language: "The grammarians cite and change *The Spectator's* language to demonstrate how

elegant language might be improved by grammatical correctness" (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 201).

In the same study, Fitzmaurice also touches upon a number of problems which have become more apparent in subsequent research using SNA in a historical context, for instance the fact that

> subjects leave only partial personal historical records, leaving the linguist to do the work of historical detective, biographer and amateur psychologist. So the historical evidence for the nature, strength and number of ties between individuals is at best partial and at worst misleading (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 204).

This is directly related to the problems which the papers presented at the Tenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics in Manchester in 1998 tried to tackle. Below I discuss her paper for that workshop, i.e. Fitzmaurice (2000b), which expands upon this approach and follows Carley and Krackhardt (1996) in "characterizing the asymmetrical and occasionally non-reciprocal contacts that occur in the evolution of a relationship between individuals", measuring this by "using both sociometric and cognitive data" (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 205). This will be one of the most important premises of the model for analysis of the Walpole network which will be presented in subsequent chapters.

What these three exploratory historical network analyses most clearly illustrate is the usefulness of the application of SNA for identifying some of the more unexpected linguistic patterns: the paradoxical combination of Richardson's conservatism and innovativeness (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991); the unexpected and in fact contrary directions of influence within the network of Samuel Johnson (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996); and the non-standard usage of zero-relativisers by Addison and others in the *Spectator* network, who

were, after all, linguistic models for the standard language during much of the eighteenth century (Fitzmaurice 1994 and 2000a). Discursive analysis of a social network can shed some light on these types of patterns, but the lack of a unified theory of influence which is backed by an objective model for network quantification prevents any conclusion in these early papers from being more than tentative.

4.3.2. The Manchester papers

A number of the papers presented at the Manchester workshop (Tieken-Boon van Ostade *et al.* 2000) take steps toward a more unified theory of influence and an accompanying model for objective quantification. Fitzmaurice (2000b), for example, concentrates on social network analysis as a form of micro-level analysis "in the context of the macro level represented by the business corporation or social class" (2000b: 265). She proposes that since "[t]he processes argued to underlie social influence include 'relations of authority, identification, expertise and competition' (Marsden and Friedkin 1994: 3) ... these relationships have to be constructed and demonstrated to be effective rather than simply identified" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 265). In other words, Fitzmaurice takes as a starting point the question whether social relationships are effective in processes of (linguistic) change, and what a suitable measure for that effectiveness is. How do we construct "social influence and its manifestations in language" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 266)? And, as Fitzmaurice puts it, "how contiguous can we expect the processes of social influence and linguistic change to be" (2000b: 268)?

To study questions like these, Fitzmaurice argues, "[s]ocial network analysis is suitable for historical application, assuming an appropriate historiography and social theory" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 265). There are several

reasons why social network analysis is applicable even in historical contexts. Firstly, "social network analysis is designed to capture the relationships between individuals", and therefore "it provides an appropriate descriptive approach to the organization of data that consists largely of textual productions of individuals or dyads rather than groups" (2000b: 268). Secondly, a historical application uniquely allows for a real-time description of change in relationships, in contrast to "[p]resent-day speech communities [which] cannot offer the linguist such direct data" (2000b: 268), and finally, the data available "correspond at least in part to the kind of ethnographical detail usually collected to construct contemporary social networks" (2000b: 268). Social network analysis thus seems to be eminently suitable for historical application as well.

However, Fitzmaurice also identifies a number of problems, linked to the question of how to construct social influence within an "appropriate historiography and social theory" (2000b: 265). For example, "[w]hat do the ties in network structures signify in terms of the kind of interpersonal relationship captured?" (2000b: 269). Historical and modern definitions of friendship and kinship are very different from each other, and the interpretation of historical information on interpersonal ties is therefore difficult. Borrowing from other disciplines which have successfully applied the concepts of networks and change "should enable us to assess more effectively the descriptive robustness of kinds of social networks and current wisdom about their association with kinds of influence" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 266). One of the notions which may be introduced in that way when studying historical networks is that of asymmetry and, linked to it, reciprocity. Fitzmaurice postulates that interpersonal ties are rarely completely symmetrical, and that therefore the judgement of actors in a network as well as of a third party, in

this case the historian or linguist, plays a role in attempting to assess the nature of such ties. Asymmetry can be the result of differing social or economic status, but also of an asymmetrical emotional component in a relationship: the meaningfulness of a relationship may be considered differently by both participants of a relationship.

Asymmetry and reciprocity also illustrate the dynamic nature of ties. An actor in a network may be the receiver in a non-reciprocal relationship, but in time the other actor in the dyad may gain "recognition as a reciprocal actor" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 271). Over time the social and economic status of actors in a network may also change and with it the nature of the ties between them. According to Fitzmaurice, "[w]hile reciprocity and symmetry offer two specific ways in which network ties transform themselves, it is useful to have as a basic assumption in network analysis the proposition that networks are dynamic because network *ties* are dynamic" (2000b: 273). Therefore, she continues, following Zeggelink (1994), "the formation, maintenance and dissolution of a friendship relation is a continuous combination of personality factors, relational factors and environmental factors" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 273)

Fitzmaurice deals with coalition formation as a kind of focused social network cluster, allowing for the robust description of strategic and planned relationships. Coalitions are a form of network relationships that are contracted strategically and consciously for a specific purpose. This makes such relationships more easily measurable and perhaps also more easily quantifiable than other more broadly defined relationships. Description of these types of networks may be more reliable since one need not proceed from evidence drawn from "extensive self-report for the ethnographer's interpretation" but may rather be based on "features that may be observed in the actors' behaviour and interactions" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 274). One might say that a

coalition can be described by more objective means than a regular social network, and according to Fitzmaurice this provides a better fit for the historical data. Fitzmaurice notes, though, that "it should be clear that the use of the coalition as a descriptive social category for the sociolinguistic investigation of earlier speech communities more easily facilitates the analysis of language maintenance rather than of language change" because the ties "are not straightforwardly weak" but are rather "of a highly restricted kind", and therefore such an approach "arguably allows a historical social analysis that is transparent, and facilitates a well-defined, highly focused investigation of social influence" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 276).

Fitzmaurice's main question in the paper under consideration here was to what extent the methodology of social network analysis may be successfully extended to a historical situation. Her solution for the problems concerning the historiographical robustness of social constructs that are relevant for interpersonal ties such as friendship is two-fold. Firstly, there is the idea of asymmetry and reciprocity defining the dynamic nature of networks, and secondly, she considers a special kind of network: the coalition. Even though this type of network is highly specific, I believe elements of it may be used in the analysis of broader and more general networks. One could say that consciously contracted ties to a specific purpose are really just another type of strong tie. Sairio (2009a and 2009b) argues similarly. I will adapt these concepts further in the final model used for the Walpole network (chapter 6).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000d) applies social network analysis to the network of Sarah Fielding (1710–1768), the sister of Henry Fielding (1707–1754), who was a novelist as well as a scholar of Greek in her own right. Tieken-Boon van Ostade's basic assumption is that the section of Sarah Fielding's network focused on in the paper is a closed network cluster,

consisting of family, friends and fellow authors, and that it was instrumental in the development of her writing career in various ways. In the light of Fitzmaurice's (2000b) comments on coalition networks it may be argued that Sarah Fielding contracted strategic alliances in her network in order to successfully publish her literary works. The question Tieken-Boon van Ostade wants to answer is whether the network was indeed dense and closed, and how this influenced the linguistic norm in the network. To accomplish this she "provide[s] a reading of the biographical introduction to the edition of the Fieldings' letters – one of the rare sources of information concerning Sarah Fielding's life at that time [though cf. Battestin and Probin 1996: xviii] – in the light of the concept of social network analysis as described by Lesley Milroy" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 293).

The approach is less concerned with the methodology of social network analysis than with the linguistic reality of the network, namely the spelling practice of Sarah Fielding in her letters to several different correspondents, in light of the available biographical information. It is therefore descriptive in nature and does not provide a quantitative model. A number of points made by Tieken-Boon van Ostade, however, will be applicable when devising such a quantitative model for analysis of the Walpole network. In the description of the Fielding network Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes, for example, that the correspondents "all knew each other in a variety of capacities" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 294), in other words, their relationships had one or more functional elements, such as those involved with being co-author, housemate, or family-member. In a network strength analysis this means that the actors' relationships were characterised by differing degrees of multiplexity, which a model would have to reflect quantitatively as well. Tieken-Boon van Ostade points out that

> [t]he link between Sarah Fielding and Richardson was not without its complications, as Richardson and Henry Fielding were declared literary rivals. Sarah, therefore, "was caught in an awkward position. On the one hand there was her deep family and artistic loyalty to Henry, and on the other an unrestrained artistic admiration for Richardson's writing" (Battestin and Probyn 1993: xxxi) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 294).

A quantitative model for the analysis of a network must therefore also be able to reflect the differences in so-called emotional content of the relationships. Again, Fitzmaurice's notions of reciprocity and asymmetry (Fitzmaurice 2000b) seem to be highly appropriate in this case: Fielding allowed her brother Henry to correct, or, more accurately, to change the spelling and punctuation in her novel (for the corrections did not always actually improve the text as such). This reveals at least some kind of asymmetry in the relationship.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade identifies the cluster in the Fielding network as a high-density one, which also included a number of more peripheral members. As noted above, a close-knit network "might impose on its members a linguistic norm which would function independently of Standard English and which may serve as a means of identification for the network in question" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 292–293). Citing Milroy, she adds: "according to Milroy, network clusters are even 'more important means of compelling normative consensus than *overall* density [of the network]' (Milroy 1987: 137)" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 295). At first glance, Sarah Fielding's network therefore seems more likely to illustrate language maintenance rather than change. Tieken-Boon van Ostade shows, however, that the different relationships within the network each have their influence on the distribution of linguistic changes in progress in Standard English, within the network. She supposes an influence of Henry Fielding and possibly their mutual lifelong

friend James Harris (1709–1780) as central members of the network cluster on the language of Sarah Fielding and her friend and fellow writer Jane Collier (*ca*. 1715–1755), who was also a member of the network cluster, and looks at the distribution of epistolary spelling versus the printer's spelling that was developing into the standard in the eighteenth century (see Osselton 1984).

It is difficult to test the hypothesis of linguistic influence for a number of reasons. Firstly, Tieken-Boon van Ostade raises the point of "the scantiness of the material" that is available for analysis (2000d: 296). Since "Henry Fielding was not an eager letter writer [...] only about seventy letters have survived", and "there is [...] no published edition of either Jane Collier's letters or of those of James Harris" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 296). Moreover, Sarah Fielding's surviving letters (fewer in number than those of her brother) "all date from the period after Henry's death in 1754" (2000d: 296). This makes comparison of the language of these correspondents very difficult. After Henry Fielding's death, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Sarah had two new role models occupying the gap left by her brother. Her literary model was Samuel Richardson, and her scholarly mentor was James Harris. Therefore, "[t]he question presents itself whether she adopted either of these men's language as her linguistic norm to replace Henry's former position in this respect" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 297).

Against the background of the conflicting models of epistolary spelling and public spelling as discussed by Osselton (1984), Tieken-Boon van Ostade shows that "in her use of extra initial capitals, [Sarah Fielding] distinguishes between the relative formality of her letters" (2000d: 298). The most formal letters were written to James Harris, and in these letters the spelling is closest to the printed standard. Sarah Fielding's spelling of the weak verb past tense and participle endings, which varied at the time between *-ed* and *-'d*, shows a

less clear pattern: all studied correspondents are "ahead of the printers' practice in their private spelling" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d: 299) and Sarah Fielding seems to be "experimenting with [a] new spelling form" at a time "which coincides with the date of her first attested letter to Harris" (2000d: 299). Sarah Fielding's linguistic competence allowed her to distinguish a different style of writing to her different correspondents. "As for her language," Tieken-Boon van Ostade concludes, "it seems quite likely that she picked up the use of extra initial capitals from Richardson: in his letters he generally applies the rule fairly consistently." Samuel Richardson, as a printer, would also have represented the printed standard she aspired to in a conscious manner in her most formal writings.

A problematical part of this analysis is that there are so few data, and, although interesting, no full statistical dataset is provided in the article. It is therefore impossible to say whether the findings are significant, or to compare them with other data. Also, lack of data from and about other correspondence by the Fielding network members makes it difficult to interpret these findings in the broader context of the network. It is very interesting to see that Tieken-Boon van Ostade finds an example of change that goes against the expected direction of change from the higher social class to a lower social class: Sarah Fielding seems to be influenced by a man, Richardson, who was to all intents and purposes her social inferior. Tieken-Boon van Ostade shows once more that social network analysis is a promising tool, which I believe is even more true when the analysis is more objectively quantified in a model and can thus be easily tested and compared. In passing, the paper shows another possible tool for quantification of the closeness of relationships: Tieken-Boon van Ostade uses epistolary formulas to assess the level of formality between the Sarah Fielding and her correspondents. I believe this may be succesfully used

as a tool for quantification of social networks, such as was undertaken in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011) for the Lowth network.

Bax (2000) writes about the so-called Streatham Circle, named after a series of portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, at the time decorating the library at Streatham Park, which were commissioned by Henry Thrale (1728–1781) and which depict his family and friends. One of these friends was Samuel Johnson. Bax notes that "the existence of the Streatham portraits suggests that their subjects form an identifiable group, or a social network in the terms of the Milroys' study of Belfast speech, with the Thrales at its centre" (Bax 2000: 277). In his analysis of the network Bax focuses on a model for analysing social networks and social ties in a quantitative manner, rather than the more discursive approach that was prominent in most of the papers focusing on SNA and its application to the eighteenth century up to that moment. His aim is to "devise a network strength scale (NSS) which will be applicable for the study of social networks in earlier times, in particular the eighteenth century" (2000: 278).

In her study of the Belfast network, Milroy uses a NSS based on "indicators of ... network attributes" which measure a subject's network integration, "by assigning them one point for each of the following conditions they fulfill" (Bax 2000: 279). Indicators for membership of a high-density, territorially based cluster are the following:

- Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood (more than one household, in addition to the informant's nuclear family);
- working at the same place as at least *two* others from the same area;
- the same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area

- voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours (Milroy 1987: 141–142, as quoted by Bax 2000: 279).

The choice of these indicators is based on the criterion that network strength indicators "must reflect … conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies, in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by the local community". In addition, "[t]hey must be recoverable from data collected in the field and easily verifiable" (Milroy 1987: 141). Milroy, however, cautions that "an entirely different set of criteria for measuring network structure [than the one proposed above] might, with equal validity, have been chosen" (1987: 143), as long as the "two principles of verifiability and of building on the findings and implications of previous network studies" (1987: 143) are not violated. In that way, her NSS can be adapted to fit a different network in a different place and time by using different indicators, which would also make it a useful tool for sociohistorical linguistics. Bergs (2000), in the same volume as the other Manchester papers, also notes that social network analysis with the use of a NSS is a viable option for studying linguistic influence in earlier periods of time (in his case the Middle English period), and he stresses that adaptation of the criteria to suit the time and context is of great importance. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: xxx) call for the need to provide **social embedding** for the data found. It seems clear that the conditions used by Milroy mentioned above are indeed not very compatible with the reality of eighteenth-century networks: "people like the Streathamites had little in common with the Belfast working-class communities in which Milroy did her research; they were not working-class people. E.P. T hompson argues that it would even be misleading to project the term 'working class' onto eighteenth-century England (Thompson 1978: 134)" (Bax 2000: 279).

Bax therefore proposes different conditions, distinguishing between "a *functional* component, which relates to network patterns, and an *emotional* component relating to attitudinal factors" (Bax 2000: 279—280) which he proposes to combine in a revised version of the NSS model. The scores making up the functional component are calculated similarly to the indicators Milroy (1987) uses and which were mentioned above. The emotional score is calculated for each network member from an individual viewpoint: a network member receives points from each of the other network members based on how that correspondent viewed the relationship. This is in line with Fitzmaurice's (2000b) comments on the role of reciprocity and asymmetry in the strength of relationships. This leads to the revised network strength scale which Bax proposes, and which has been reproduced in Table 4.1. below. The "context defining group membership" denotes the basic denominator of the group, i.e. being a group of school friends or a group of colleagues. Network members can spend voluntary leisure time with each other either inside the context defining group membership (at school or at work, in breaks), or outside of it (at home, at a sports club).

***Functional component* – One point is assigned to network contacts A and B for each of the following conditions that they fulfil with regard to each other**	
(a)	being family (kinship/marriage)
(b)	living in the same household
(c)	having a professional relationship
(d)	interacting as members of the same formal club
(e)	living in the same place and knowing each other
(f)	spending voluntary leisure time together inside the context defining group membership
(g)	spending voluntary leisure time together outside the context defining group membership

***Emotional component* – Each term classifies how contact A views network contact B. Only B is assigned the corresponding points:**
close friend (3 points)
friend (2 points)
acquaintance whom A likes (1 point)
acquaintance whom A dislikes (-1 point)
enemy (-2 points)

Table 4.1. The proposed network strength scale for the study of eighteenth-century English (Bax 2000)

Bax'ss model identifies Johnson as "the central network contact" (2000: 288) in that he has the highest total functional and emotional score, and Bax states that it is therefore likely that Johnson was in a position to exert linguistic influence on his network contacts. The central role of Johnson in the network is "not a surprise" for "those readers who are familiar with the Streatham Circle" (Bax 2000: 288). Bax, however, notes the importance of being able "to arrive at the same conclusion by means of a relatively objective quantification method", and argues that "if this method works with Johnson, it will work with individuals whose position in the network is less easily predicted without the aid of a NSS" (Bax 2000: 288–89). Our instincts about networks and network positions provide useful insights, but a more objective view on a network may take analysis a step further. This is one of the most important arguments for using a semi-objective quantification method such as a NSS for social network analysis.

I use the word semi-objective rather than objective here, because much of the quantification model as proposed by Bax still depends on the instincts and deductions of the researcher. Bax notes that "[u]nlike with functional relationships, any classification of emotional relationships may appear to be a major stumbling block, if only because feelings resist quantification" (Bax 2000: 283). A reliable working model for objective

quantification of relationships would have to take into account the existence and influence of emotional relationships, but would also have to be able to quantify them as objectively as possible. This can partly be achieved by taking into account Bax'ss comments on the subjectivity of the available sources for data on emotional relationships. Drawing on the nature of material found in primary source documents such as diaries and private letters, he ranks several methods of determining network members' opinions about other network members in order of reliability and subjectivity of the data, as is represented in Table 4.2. below.

The most reliable method in trying to ascertain information on personal relationships Bax considers "to be the examination of diaries that were not meant ever to be read by anyone but the diarist". He notes, however, as a complicating factor in doing so that "not all diarists could express themselves freely, dreading the possibility that their records fall into the wrong hands" (Bax 2000: 284). A second option is to look at private texts in general:

> An examination of private texts may eventually lead to an inventory of features which governed a diarist's classification of emotional relationships. With such *subjective feature lists* an attempt can be made at classifying relationships which a diarist had with people he or she did not write about clearly in explicit terms (Bax 2000: 284).

Methods 1 to 7 in the overview in Table 4.2. above may therefore be seen as presenting a decreasing scale of reliability, which unfortunately often coincides with an increasing scale of availability of the type of data needed for the analysis. A possible solution to the problem that arises from this lies in the combination of several – more or less objective – quantification methods and

models into one amalgamated model, as will be developed further on in this study.

Least readily available	Method 1	A's true opinion of B is found in A's diary	**Most reliable**
	Method 2	Reconstruction of A's opinion of B by means of A's subjective feature list based on A's diary	
	Method 3	A's opinion of B is found in A's letters to B	
	Method 4	A's opinion of B is found in A's letters to C/A's words are reconstructed in C' diary	
↓	Method 5	C's impression of the true relationship between A dn B is found in C's diary	↓
	Method 6	Application of researcher's own subjective feature lost to events described in texts/copying another researcher's reasoned classification of A's opinion of B	
Most readily available	Method 7	Copying other researchers' classifications of A's opinion of B (unclear what these classifications are based on.	**Least reliable**

Table 4.2. Methods of ascertaining an individual's opinion of another network contact (based on Bax 2000:284–85)

The papers discussed in this section do not yet fully answer the questions addressed in the introduction to this chapter, namely: "What problems do we encounter when applying the Milroys' research model to older stages of the language?", and "how can we study the spread of linguistic change (a) from one network to another and (b) within a network?" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000c: 215–216). The most important problems identified by the papers discussed so far are a lack of data for accurate comparison and analysis (Fitzmaurice 2000b and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000d), the lack of a historiographically robust unified methodology (Fitzmaurice 2000b) and a lack

of objective quantification methods for different types of relationships (Bax 2000). Fitzmaurice (2000b) approaches the problem of historical robustness by introducing the concept of asymmetry and reciprocity to SNA. She emphasises the need for the combination of sociometric data with biographical data in order to achieve more robust results. Bax (2000) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000b) contribute to the possibility of obtaining these sociometric data by introducing ways of more objectively measuring network ties by means of a NSS and an analysis of the use of epistolary formulas respectively. In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss later work on SNA in a historical context and focus on what this work contributes to a unified model for objective quantification of networks as will be attempted in this study.

4.3.3. The model refined

Bax (2002) approaches linguistic variation in the correspondence between Samuel Johnson and Hester Lynch Thrale from the perspective of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), based on Giles (1973), Giles *et al.* (1987), Coupland and Giles (1988) and Giles *et al.* (1991). He introduces the concept as follows:

> The Accommodation Theory was originally developed to analyse face-to-face conversations. Named Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), it deals with motivations underlying and consequences that are the result of ways in which speakers adapt their language and communication towards others … The broader label, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), emerged much later in 1987 (Giles *et al.* 1987) and covers aspects of communication other than those of speech (Bax 2002: 10–11).

In this paper Bax tries "to show that some of its components are indeed valuable to the analysis of reciprocal correspondence" (Bax 2002: 9) in a

historical context. Bax'ss idea that CAT can be used in a historical and written context is strengthened by "Bell, who applied CAT to the speaker-audience relationship in mass communication, … being structurally different from face-to- face interaction , because it involves 'a disjunction of place, and often also of time, between communicator and audience [and] most media content is also not ad lib speech, but scripted in whole or in part' (Bell 1991: 70, 72)" (Bax 2002: 11). Bax argues that the characteristics of mass media communication mentioned by Bell are very similar to some of the characteristics of historical letters, which would at first sight make them seem less suitable to analysis within the framework of a communication theory based on face-to-face conversation. In letters from earlier stages of the English language the writer and addressee are usually also separated by time and space, and the notion of "scripted" language "is easily associated with the standard recommendation found in early modern and eighteenth-century manuals for letter-writers, namely that letters should be 'especially spontaneous' and 'comparable to conversation' (Biester 1988: 151–52)" (Bax 2002: 11). However, Bell (1991) showed that a CAT-based approach could be used for mass media, and consequently this should be possible for letters too. Bax also notes the importance of understanding contemporary attitudes in particular to letter-writing in relation to the linguistic evidence to be obtained:

> Because eighteenth-century polite correspondence was subject to particular normative constraints, any accommodation-based analysis would have to take these into account. For example, one needs to distinguish the public from the private mode, as letters were commonly read by, and read to, other people than the recipient (Bax 2002: 12, following Anderson and Ehrenpreis 1966: 274).

A seemingly familiar and 'talkative' letter may therefore not always reflect the most private of writing styles and, importantly, it consequently does not accurately reflect the spontaneous and informal speech of a correspondent that a sociohistorical linguist is after (see also chapter 1 above). Conventional salutations and opening formulas of letters must also be read in light of contemporary norms for the use of such forms: writers and addressees knew and shared these norms, and therefore a certain degree of self-evaluation is always present in even the most familiar and private of letters.

Upon studying the language of the letters of Johnson and Mrs Thrale, Bax finds several forms of *converging* accommodation: two idiolects changing towards each other, or, becoming more alike in certain aspects. Thrale follows Johnson, for example, in using a certain type of literary allusions in her letters, which Bax calls "accommodation through content" (Bax 2002: 13, following Ferrara 1991: 216). Notably, Traugott and Romaine (1985) find that "oral modes of expression, whether spoken or written, focus on contextualized participant interaction", which is based largely on "shared knowledge" (1985: 14) between the speaker and the listener (see also Pratt and Denison 2000: 406 on the use of "Language of Allusion"). The allusions used by Thrale and Johnson can be placed firmly in the domain of shared knowledge, and therefore this lends a certain orality to their written language, strengthening the argument that CAT can indeed be applied to traditionally written text-types, since not all written text is free from oral components. Secondly, Bax considers lexical convergence:

> Johnson, famous for his heavy Ramblerian prose style …, 'remains associated with Latinate lexis and syntax' (Percy 2000). If he adapted his style of writing to that of his correspondents, as Chapman (1952: I, xix) claims but does not show, one expects to find a moderate use of multi-

> syllabic words in his letters to Thrale ....[as] she was known for a colloquial style of writing (Bax 2002: 15).

Indeed, Bax finds that the percentage of polysyllabic words in Johnson's letters to Thrale is almost exactly the same as that in Thrale's letters to Johnson. He does not, however, provide data on Johnson's or Thrale's language in letters to other correspondents or other private and public writing, and in that sense no conclusion can be drawn on the question whether we are dealing with convergence here or not, or whether any accommodation actually takes place. Similarly, no data for comparison are provided when he considers the percentages of use of paratactic constructions (simple and compounded clauses) and hypotactic constructions (using clauses linked by means of subordinating conjunctions) in the letters of Johnson and Thrale. Bax says that according to Redford (1986) "Johnson adapted his language to Thrale's conversational style, relying heavily on simple and compounded structures, and exhibiting 'a decided preference for paratactic rather than hypotactic constructions' (Redford 1986: 208)" (Bax 2002: 17). He reports a comparable percentage of hypotactic and paratactic constructions in the language of both correspondents, as reproduced in Table 4.3.:

	Thrale	**Johnson**
Simple/paratactic structures	78.2 % (n=772)	73.6 % (n=1,033)
Hypotactic structures	21.8 % (n=215)	26.4 % (n=371)

Table 4.3. Syntactic structures in the Thrale-Johnson correspondence (as taken from Bax 2002: 18)

This supports Redford's claim s about Thrale's style. However, no data for comparison are given, for example from their language use in letters to other correspondents, so no conclusions on the existence and direction of convergence can be drawn definitively.

Finally, Bax provides a background for the explanation of the types and directions of convergence that have been claimed to exist between Johnson and Thrale. He writes: "Johnson was to some extent conscious of his own accommodative behaviour ... He maintained that plainness, ease and simplicity force the writer to ignore decorum, insisting that the variety among one's correspondents demands flexibility in style" (Bax 2002: 19, following Biester 1988: 155). This is in agreement with the premise in CAT that "the addressee is a full participant in the formulation of the message" (Kraus 1987: 96). Furthermore, CAT hinges on the idea that the outcome of "reduction of linguistic dissimilarities" (Giles at al. 1991: 3) may produce results that are beneficial to either or both of the parties involved, "as increasing behavioural similarity is likely to increase, among other things, a person's attractiveness and interpersonal involvement in the eyes of the recipient" (Bax 2002: 19). It is, according to Bax, "one of the model's central predictions ... that convergence reflects the need for social approval" (Bax 2002: 11). This recalls the point made by Fitzmaurice (2000b), that in asymmetrical relationships "the recipient of a non-reciprocal tie may actually be the transmitter of social influence" (2000b: 272) and, when extended to the SNA framework, of linguistic influence.

In the case of Johnson and Thrale, Bax stipulates that Johnson may have purposely accommodated his language to Thrale's – though he might have done so subconsciously as well – in order to remain a recipient of the Thrales' wealth and hospitality. Originally a poor man, he enjoyed the comforts of being a "virtual member of the Thrale household" (Bax 2002: 20), remaining, however, always that: a "virtual" member, a position not quite as secure as a family tie. Bax notes that "while he clearly enjoyed these physical comforts, Johnson longed primarily for Mrs Thrale's company and conversation" (Bax 2002: 20). These factors may explain the (claimed) instances of linguistic

convergence from Johnson in the direction of Mrs Thrale. Mrs Thrale, on the other hand, is seen to accommodate towards Johnson in using a style of writing including allusions, like Johnson, in her letters to him. She clearly had something to gain from the connection as well, and Bax argues that "Thrale had had literary ambitions ever since she was a child; she had always had the need to show off her talents as a writer, and was still looking for approval. She found it in Johnson who was interested in her writing" (Bax 2002: 20).

What Bax'ss paper shows is that ideas from CAT may be beneficial to undertaking a social network analysis of eighteenth-century networks in describing the strength of dyadic ties, rather than for measuring the network structure as a whole. Importantly, CAT explains how "convergence may bring rewards as well as costs; potential costs include possible loss of personal and social identity" (Bax 2002: 21). Indeed, the data suggest that Thrale, who was close to Johnson in a traditional sense of social network ties, does not converge with him on all accounts. When applying SNA to an eighteenth-century network, it may therefore be very valuable to keep in mind some of the concepts derived from CAT described here, such as participant interaction and the costs and rewards of potential convergence. The model was already shown to overlap in a certain sense with coalition formation and the idea of asymmetrical relationships as described in Fitzmaurice (2000b). The concept seems especially relevant when the results of a linguistic analysis of a network dyad do not confirm first intuitions, or the hypotheses drawn from a NSS or other forms of network analysis.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002) study two members from the network of the publisher Robert Dodsley, Robert Lowth and Samuel Johnson, each in the context of their own networks, in order to explain the different roles they occupied in those networks and why Robert Dodsley would employ

them for some of his major publishing projects. These projects comprised the publication of an authoritative English dictionary (Johnson 1755) and grammar (Lowth 1762). Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax note that, similar to what Fitzmaurice (2000b) argues on the subject of coalitions, social contacts and social networks as a whole often also have an instrumental function. Robert Dodsley conceived several printing projects, notably ones that have turned out to be very important in the codification process of the English language, and for these projects he employed people from his broader network, such as Johnson and Lowth (although the idea that Lowth's grammar was conceived as a printer's project has since been modified by Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006). Johnson and Lowth "do not appear to have known each other", though "both men have in common the fact that they were close friends of Dodsley's" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002). The roles Johnson and Lowth each occupied in their own networks, however, were very different from one another.

As already discussed above, Samuel Johnson is shown to be a central member of his network and therefore a possible early adopter: "holding a central position in Mrs Thrale's personal network", for instance, "he was able to influence others in several ways" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002). This is supported by the earlier findings in Bax (2000) and (2002), and in later work by Sairio (2005). In accordance with Bax (2002) it is argued that Mrs Thrale accommodated her language towards that of Johnson in her spelling of words ending in *-ic*, such as *music* and *physic*, by using the more archaic forms ending in *-ick*. The argument is strengthened by way of illustrating Johnson's literary and other non-linguistic influences on people around him: "When Johnson, central to the Streatham network, spoke highly of [Fanny Burney's novel] *Evelina,* that was good enough reason for others to appreciate it, too"

(Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002). Johnson may therefore broadly be seen as an example for the people around him, a model to be imitated, linguistically and non-linguistically.

In contrast, Lowth occupies a more peripheral position in his own network: "His career was a fairly mobile one: he rose from being an Archdeacon of Winchester all the way to the Archbishopric of Canterbury ... He was thus both socially and geographically mobile, and therefore of interest from the perspective of social network analysis as a possible linguistic innovator" (Tieken Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002). In order to find out whether Lowth was indeed a linguistic innovator, more needs to be known about his language and his network. Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax note that

> what has been found so far is that there is a certain amount of variation in all kinds of aspects of his language, spelling, morphology, grammar, which correlates with the style of his letters (formal vs. informal), and the norm which he presents in his grammar appears to reflect the way in which he thought his most elevated correspondents ... spoke or wrote (Tieken –Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002).

Lowth may therefore be said to be sociolinguistically competent, being aware of the network and social positions of several of his correspondents. According to Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax, "in this respect he would have acted like a true innovator, creating a bridge between his own middle-class social network and that of members of the aristocracy with whom he was proud to be in touch" (2002).

The most relevant part of the paper for the model which is being developed in this study, however, concerns the way in which Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002) reconstruct part of Lowth's network, by looking at epistolary formulas. In the article the technique is used to try to identify the

writers of anonymous letters, but the concept of a "hierarchy of terms" of address and salutation as represented by Baker (1980: 48) may be very well suited to supply additional information when reconstructing social networks, especially concerning the strength of network ties, and the relative closeness between network contacts. "Lowth employed a system of expressing relative closeness to his correspondents which ranged from 'his faithful humble service', through 'esteem' and 'affection' to 'affection' combined with greetings from his wife, a formula which is only found in the letters to his closest friends" Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax write. This type of index of relationships based on commonly used epistolary formulas may be of great assistance in evaluating or even calculating the strength of network ties, especially since "often this kind of information is not available through conventional sources, such as biographies or literary analyses" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax 2002).

Fitzmaurice (2002b) focuses on client-patron relationships and the role of humiliative discourse (as evident from the use of modal expressions) in the context of politeness theory and SNA. The paper is not so much a typical social network analysis, as an analysis of a particular type of discourse in a certain social network – in this case a client-patron network. "Social network analysis provides a means of describing a particular historical speech community in terms of the nature of the social relationships among its members" (2002b: 240), Fitzmaurice summarizes, and her paper can indeed be viewed as descriptive rather than overtly methodological in nature.

According to Fitzmaurice "there were multiple strategies for the linguistic expression of politeness in earlier stages of English [by which] one could adapt one's manner of speaking to meet the requirements of the situation and the addressee" (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 241). One of the stylistic

ways of expressing politeness she mentions is the choice and use of modal verbs (see also Fitzmaurice 1994 and 2000a) and it is this usage which is analyzed for the client-patron network to which Addison belonged, centred around literary patron Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax (1661–1715) (see Fitzmaurice 2002b for a more comprehensive account of the meaning and content of such relationships and their formal manifestations). "Most of the men who belonged to Addison's own social network were clients or would-be clients of Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax," Fitzmaurice writes (2002b:245), and therefore the language use within the context of the network is compared to that of the network members in correspondence with their patron, as baseline data. No information is given on how the network visualization presented by Fitzmaurice (2002b: 247) was achieved, but she does mention that "the ties contracted between the actors within this network vary in terms of duration, strength of tie (weak or strong), purpose of connection (for example patronage, friendship, professional collaboration), and the reciprocity and symmetry of tie" (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 247). All of these factors can of course be translated into a NSS for any network.

What is most interesting is that Fitzmaurice identifies a difference in the frequency and distribution of the use of modals between different genres of writing, and between the baseline data from the social network as a whole and the data from the client-patron correspondence with Halifax. "Overall," she writes, "modals occur less frequently in essays than in letters" written by the network members (2002b: 250). The usage and distribution in a so-called "'patronage' subcorpus" which she compiled (2002b: 251) is less straightforward:

> The following modal verbs occur more frequently in the patronage letters than in the corpus of letters as a whole

> on average: *can, shall, could,* and *might*. However, not surprisingly, each client differs from the other and each departs from the letter corpus mean with respect to the frequency with which particular modals are chosen (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 251).

However, the data presented in an Appendix to the article (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 265) show that the distribution of the different modals found in the baseline data, the letter-corpus which is taken as a means for comparison, is also very varied per correspondent, comparable to the data from the essay corpus. Fitzmaurice notes that "[i]n particular, genre, idiolect, and style are three contexts that prompt the examination of modal use and frequency in order to determine the extent to which modals participate in the construction of humiliative discourse" (2002b: 252). A closer look at the modal use across registers and styles for a number of authors reveals that, aside from idiolectal preferences, "Halifax's clients appear to choose modal verbs more frequently for their patronage letters than for other epistolary purposes", but also that "it is not clear that a particular modal verb stands out from others for its humiliative qualities" (2002b: 256).

Fitzmaurice finally also carries out a semantic-pragmatic analysis of stance markers co-occuring with the modal auxiliaries (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 256–257). Stance markers are ways in which speakers express their attitude about what they are saying. The question she investigates is in which ways modals such as *can, could, should, may , will* and *might* interact with stance markers such as

> *to*-complement clauses controlled by epistemic verbs like *hope*, or *that*-complement clauses controlled by verbs like *wish*, conditional clauses, and indirect clauses ... [and] so-called comment clauses that modify the expression of a

> proposition in parenthetical fashion (Fitzmaurice 20002b: 256).

She concludes that, for the seekers of patronage, which she focused on in her study, "the overall impression of their appeals is that of a highly conventionalized discourse that is nevertheless practiced with subtlety and invention in order to enhance the standing and face of both client and patron" (2002b: 261). In other words, the regular interaction of stance markers and modal verbs leads to certain standardized expressions functioning as humiliative markers, i.e. markers of politeness. What is important for our development of SNA as a model for historical linguistic analysis is that these types of polite discourse may represent what can be called an "unequal, nonreciprocal tie" (2002b: 260). Fitzmaurice notes that her

> study suggests that corpus linguistic techniques for the analysis of linguistic features in large bodies of text may be usefully deployed in conjunction with the social description facilitated by social network analysis to provide a context for the close analysis of discourses produced in an historical speech community (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 262).

I would like to extend this, to say that the existence of humiliative discourse in a language sample may point to a certain type of tie between correspondents, and that similar analyses it may fruitfully be applied in the analysis of network and tie strength. This is especially the case considering the fact that what is here termed variation "according to register (letters or essays) as well as purpose of … communication" (Fitzmaurice 2002b: 261) may be reinterpreted on a social network level as mainly variation according to relative network position: after all, in the patronage sub-corpus all correspondents occupied a

network position which was asymmetrical and non-reciprocal, whereas in the letter corpus the relationships were more varied and more equal.

Bax (2005) provides a quantitative analysis of the language of Samuel Johnson and Fanny Burney (1752–1840) in a social network perspective. The point that Fanny Burney and others were influenced in their language by Samuel Johnson has been made numerous times before, for instance in Bax (2002) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002), and before these mostly in qualitative rather than quantitative studies, such as Wimsatt (1948) and Sörensen (1969) and many others, according to Bax (2005: 160). Bax notes that "[w]hile qualitative studies ... are obviously far from simple guesswork, they remain impressionistic, which makes it difficult to incorporate their (and similar) observations in quantitative sociohistorical linguistic studies of the English language" (2005: 160). His paper addresses the question as "to what extent … Fanny Burney [was] the 'slavish imitator' that Sörensen (1969: 390), among others, claims her to be", and he proposes to take "a *quantitative* rather than qualitative perspective, … by addressing the problem within the framework of social network analysis" (Bax 2005: 160).

The paper does not add much to the method of SNA in the ways which have been discussed for the previous papers, but it does illustrate, once again, the working of a centre/periphery structure in a network on influencing the spread of linguistic change and variation. In the Streatham Circle "Johnson, because of his fame and central position ... set the norm" (Bax 2005: 161). In order to test whether Fanny Burney was a follower of this norm, Bax devised a corpus consisting of stylistically differentiated genres from different time periods in Fanny Burney's life. He compares Johnson's so-called *Ramblerian* prose style – based on the language Johnson typically used in the *Rambler* essays – with the private and public writing of Fanny Burney in the period

before she was acquainted with Johnson, during the period when she knew him personally, and during the period after his death. This is done in order to see "whether or not any adoption of Johnsonian features was maintained, for it may be expected that an adoption is at least partly reversed once a source of influence is lost, as in the case of a when a network cluster, which might previously have acted as a norm-enforcing mechanism …, breaks up" (Bax 2005: 163).

Bax found that for the linguistic features studied, namely the "use of emphatically positioned prepositions ... a particular type of abstract noun phrases... Latinate borrowings ... and their use of long noun phrases" (Bax 2005: 163), Fanny Burney does indeed change her usage for all features studied after she had met Johnson: "Her style [became] heavier once she had met, and continued to meet, Johnson"; for all that, Bax argues, "the trends dicussed show that the term 'slavish' is altogether undeserved with respect to the linguistic features discussed in this paper" (Bax 2005: 175). SNA is invoked mainly to explain the motivations for Fanny Burney's "imitative patterns" (Bax 2005: 172). One of the most important points made about this by Bax, which is also relevant for the analysis of Walpole's language, is the question "to what extent [Burney] was actually conscious of these changes". As he argues,

> [i]f she wasn't at first, she cannot have been unaware of the unflattering comments made by some of her contemporaries, notably James Boswell ... who informed his readers that 'the ludicrous imitators of Johnson's style are innumerable' (quoted in Görlach 2001: 264). Surely she must have recognised some of Johnson's style in her own writing, being a connaisseur of his prose style herself (Bax 2005: 175).

When discussing linguistic influence at a micro level, the question of change taking place from above or below the level of consciousness is an important

one; it is, however, also one that cannot directly be answered, especially when focusing on a single dyad of network contacts. The possibility is something that should always be present at the back of the researcher's mind when interpreting change and influence, as a possible complicating factor.

Bax notes that in the case of Burney and Johnson, linguistic influence can be attributed to both conscious and subconscious factors: as a result of her extensive private reading as a young girl, Burney came to admire Johnson and specifically *The Rambl*er (Bax 2005: 172), and her admiration must have grown when she became acquainted with him. This type of asymmetrical relationship can lead to both conscious and subconscious linguistic influence or accommodation, as has been shown in Bax (2002). However, in the network graph of the Streatham Circle "it appears that Burney was more than 'just' a member of Johnson's circle", that is to say, "she and Johnson were members of the same network cluster" (Bax 2005: 174). Since "in historical social network studies linguistic influence is understood to spread from central group members to the so-called followers ... [Johnson's] influence would have been considerable with regard to his position in the Streatham Circle as a whole"; he adds, however, that "it will have been even greater in the network cluster in which Johnson was a central person" (Bax 2005: 174), and to which Fanny Burney also belonged. Because the density of network clusters is "a more important norm enforcement mechanism than overall density" (Milroy 1987: 51, as quoted by Bax 2005: 174), we may expect a great deal of subconscious and conscious linguistic influence from Johnson on Burney and other members of the network cluster. It is therefore shown by Bax'ss paper that it is worthwhile to zoom out to a slightly more macro level than the micro-level study of just a network dyad. What is more, I would argue that in order to gauge the influence of Johnson on his network properly, one would have to

study the language of all of the network cluster members in letters addressing each other as well as in letters addressing people outside the network. This would provide enough baseline and interactive data for comparison to reach true conclusions, but is probably impossible to achieve with historical data. Due to its size, with the Walpole correspondence we may come a long way toward reaching that goal.

Sairio (2005) offers another view on the model for quantifying social relationships which was presented in Bax (2000) discussed above. Her "paper discusses Dr. Johnson's membership in the Thrale family circle from the perspective of his language use, specifically the degree of linguistic involvement revealed in personal letters" (Sairio 2005: 21). She compares the results of her analysis of the Thrale family with those found by Bax (2000) for his Streatham network using a network strength scale (NSS). Their networks show a great degree of overlap. Sairio has several comments on the NSS suggested by Bax (2000), which, as dicussed in section 4.3.2, was based on the idea that all relationships consist of a functional and an emotional component. According to Sairio: "the classification of emotional relationships is complicated, because they are subjective and bound to vary and change over the course of time", and also, "[a]bsolute categorisation from *friend* to *enemy* facilitates the classification of relationships, but perhaps a continuum from *immediacy* to *distance* would better represent reality" (Sairio 2005: 23).

This is what Sairio attempts in her study, by using a more objective method of quantification: she studies "how Johnson's membership in the Thrale household in the 1770s and early 1780s is reflected in his letters" (Sairio 2005: 24). Whereas the classical network strength model of social network analysis is, for use in historical periods, very much dependent on the interpretation of background information, the model of analysis used by Sairio

(2005), based on the work on involvement by Chafe (1985) and Palander-Collin (1999a, 1999b), hinges purely on linguistic elements, namely features of involvement. In this model a higher degree in linguistic involvement is expected to coincide with a closer relationship in network terms (comparable to a higher network strength score in the classical model). Sairio explains the different types of involvement as follows:

> Chafe (1985: 116–17) distinguishes between three kinds of involvement in conversation. **Ego involvement**, or self-involvement of the speaker, is most obviously seen in the use of first person pronouns. **Interpersonal involvement** between the speaker and hearer is indicated e.g. by the frequent use of second person pronouns. The speaker's **involvement with the subject matter** expresses an ongoing personal commitment to what is being talked about. These features typically refer to spoken language, but can also be applied to personal correspondence (Sairio 2005: 24).

What is more, Sairio writes, "[i]n a later study by Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 107, 111), personal letters are seen to show the highest amount of ego involvement when compared with conversations, lectures and academic papers" (Sairio 2005: 24). She therefore suggests that when the language in letters between two correspondents shows more linguistic markers of involvement, these correspondents are expected to be closer to each other in terms of network strength as well.

Sairio shows that her results for a network analysis of the members of the Thrale family using the model of involvement largely coincide with Bax'ss (2000) findings for this largely overlapping network of people, particularly in placing Johnson centrally in the network, but her results for some of the other network contacts differ from those achieved by using a NSS as in Bax (2000). Sairio concludes: "The results ... suggest that linguistic involvement is a

relevant indicator of the closeness of the relationship between two people", but she allows for the fact that "the ... writer's inner world and mental state should also be considered", since "a lower level of involvement can indicate the writer's reduced enthusiasm for taking part in a discussion in a personal and committed way", whilst "this does not necessarily mean that the writer does not consider the recipient as close to him as previously" (Sairio 2005: 34). I believe that the use of linguistic involvement is a very helpful analytic instrument, especially when adopted in combination with other indicators for strength of network ties, such as a NSS. An involvement model allows for even more objectively quantifying network relationships than a NSS does. However, there is of course a great risk of circular reasoning when a linguistic feature is used to determine a network structure which is then used to explain linguistic variation within that network. In chapter 6 I will argue that for this reason linguistic involvement cannot be used as a stand-alone model.

With her analysis of the language of Robert Lowth and his correspondents, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005b) expands on the work done by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) on the language of the Early Modern English period. In this paper, she carries out a quantitative analysis for eighteenth-century English on the basis of the letters of members of Robert Lowth's social network, concerning the fourteen linguistic features which were analyzed for Early Modern English by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). For each feature Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005b) presents data which show their continuing development in eighteenth-century English, though the results cannot be taken as representative for the English Language in general since they are largely based on an educated writer's idiolect. Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that "almost all linguistic items discussed here continue their development as predicted by the data in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg

(2003)", and she argues that it will therefore "be interesting to see whether this will be confirmed by the eighteenth-century extension of the CEEC [Corpus of Early English Correspondence]" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005b: 152b). This extension of the corpus, now known as CEECE, or "Corpus of Early English Correspondence Extension", was at that point in time in the process of being developed.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade uses social network analysis in a qualitative manner for the Lowth network, in order to account for variation in the patterns found in her focused corpus, when compared to the representative CEEC. She discovered, for instance, "that Lowth's usage largely agrees with that found in the letters of his correspondents" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005b: 152), and adduces five cases in which "Lowth might have been influenced by the language of people in his social network" (2005b: 153). It is noted that due to lack of data for comparison, and because she performed a qualitative network analysis, it is "difficult, if not impossible, to prove that influence actually took place" because, for example in the case of Lowth's use of generic ONE which is very similar to that of one of his correspondents William Warburton (1698–1779), influence "may have travelled from either to the other" (2005b: 153). Once more, this illustrates the need for objective quantification tools for network analysis, and also for larger datasets. A final point made in the article is the usefulness of lists of presentation copies for published works, in this case of Lowth's book *Isaiah, A New Translation* (1778), to reconstruct the social network. Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that "Lowth may not have known all individuals on the list intimately, but he had become Bishop of London the year before *Isaiah* was published, and he possibly used the occasion of the publication of his new book as a means to consolidate his acquaintance with a number of important people" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005b: 137). In effect,

and as Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011: chapter 5), following Fitzmaurice (2000b), elaborates upon later, this is an attempt at coalition formation. When no other data exist, or when a dataset contains anonymous letters, other means of reconstructing the network, such as using presentation lists of works when the network of a published author is under consideration, can be very useful.

I will briefly mention Fitzmaurice (2007) here. This is an article in which the author discusses how "register-oriented practices are related to the linguistic behaviours associated with social networks" (2007). In other words, Fitzmaurice investigates whether shared linguistic practices within a social network may be expanded outside this network to a broader register-based scope, in this case "the wider community of periodical writers" to which Addison and his circle belonged (Fitzmaurice 2007). Fitzmaurice "submit[s] that social networks provide the scaffolding for the study of discourse communities in a particular milieu such as early eighteenth-century London" (Fitzmaurice 2007). Walpole's correspondents, however, as will be shown in the different chapters that will follow, do not clearly belong to one type of discourse community, as they occupy not only different relational but also different professional functions inside and outside the network.

In this paper Fitzmaurice takes as a starting point the idea that "Social networks analysis (SNA) provides the basis for examining the way in which actors cooperate in specific projects in order to achieve certain goals", and that it "examines the ways in which the nature of ties between individuals shapes linguistic behaviour" (Fitzmaurice 2007). The first statement strikes a very similar chord to the concept of coalition formation (see Fitzmaurice 2000b), which was already discussed above. The paper is mostly concerned with the concept of the discourse community, which is then related to an underlying

social network structure. This is, however, not as relevant for the Walpole network as for Addison's circle of friends, for whom Fitzmaurice (2007) demonstrates this concept. I will therefore not expand on this topic further here, but will in the chapters to follow pay attention in my analysis of the Walpole network to the network strengthening effects of coalition-like relationships which are once again illustrated in Fitzmaurice's paper.

Sairio (2008) continues earlier work on the quantification of network ties (see Sairio 2005) for her network of Bluestockings, which partly overlaps with the Streatham Circle discussed by Bax (2000, 2002) and Sairo (2005). In this paper Sairio looks at innovation and language change within the Bluestocking network centred around Elizabeth Montagu, paying special attention to the influence of network structure and the positions of individual correspondents. The case studies presented in the paper are analyses of the use of the progressive, a relative innovation at the time (see Strang 1982, Arnaud 1998 and Rissanen 1999), and of the use of preposition stranding, a structure which was stigmatized in contemporary grammars (see Fischer 1992 and particularly, Yáñez-Bouza 2006, 2008). Sairio does not provide a full description of the quantitative analysis of the network, but offers a number of remarks and descriptions which are useful when devising a method for carrying out such a task. For instance, she describes the method and sources used for reconstructing the network. Firstly, she "tracked [Elizabeth Montagu's] social contacts through time with the help of contemporary studies and historical documents". Secondly, she used previous studies on network members, and thirdly she "used two biographical letter collections of [Elizabeth Montagu's] correspondence ... letter editions and biographies of other Bluestockings and their contacts ... and the manuscript letters" that she was able to access (Sairio 2008).

Sairio continues with a description of important concepts in social network analysis, with a special focus on Rogers and Kincaid's adopter categories (1981: 90; cf. section 4.2 above). She concludes that, based on network structure and position, most of the Bluestocking network members are "potential early adopters and early majority", though "network ties were not found to be considerably influential in the epistolary use of either the progressive or preposition stranding" (Sairio 2008). This conclusion may at first sight seem somewhat disappointing when considering SNA as a tool for historical linguistic analysis, but a number of conclusions may be drawn from Sairio's analysis. Firstly, she notes that in the case of preposition stranding, "the stigma which preposition stranding carried seems eventually to have been more important for Montagu than the example of her network contacts" and also that "there were indications that social class influenced the use of preposition stranding" (Sairio 2008). This is interesting in light of Bax's comment (2005:175) on the influence of conscious processes on language use, as mentioned above.

Secondly, Sairio notes a number of times in her analysis of the Bluestocking network that an insufficient number of instances is found for analysis. The Bluestocking corpus was (at the time Sairio wrote the article in question) ca. 151,000 words in size, but it appears that even a considerably larger corpus such as the one I have compiled on the basis of the extensive Walpole correspondence may not produce the desired results either. I will return to this problem in chapters 5 and 6.

In this light I want to mention Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008d), who provides an account of reconstructing Robert Lowth's social network by way of an analysis of his letters. More importantly Tieken-Boon van Ostade tries "to assess the extent to which the letters actually attested can be considered to be

representative of the total estimated size of Lowth's correspondence" (2008d: 52). She also points out that because of the relatively few extant letters, ca. 300 in all, in contrast to the wealth of material available on, for instance, the Bluestockings and Walpole, "Lowth's corpus can ... serve only a relatively limited purpose when we wish to analyse systematically any linguistic influence he might have undergone form members of the social networks to which he belonged" (2008d: 64). Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that on the basis of the material available it is nevertheless possible "to identify the different styles of writing he had at his disposal ... when addressing people with whom he had a certain type of relationship – i.e., his communicative competence" (2008d: 64); this was after all the main object of her analysis. She finds that Lowth varies his spelling of certain words in letters to certain correspondents, which in this case may be seen as an effect of social network position as well, but her analysis as presented in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011) demonstrates that this type of patterned variation is evident in Lowth's use of grammar, too. Even when not enough data are available to test hypotheses of linguistic influence and change, useful insights may be gained into the linguistic competence and correspondent-based stylistic variation at a micro-level.

Sairio (2009a) deals with preposition stranding in the Bluestocking Corpus (cf. Sairio 2008), and provides a more detailed description of a proposed NSS for network analysis. The sources for network reconstruction that Sairio mentions are similar to those in Sairio (2008), namely "contemporary documents and modern research, ... early twentieth-century editions of Montagu's correspondence", editions of correspondence of other network members, "recent studies on Elizabeth Montagu and the Bluestockings ... and the letters in the Bluestocking Corpus" (Sairio 2009a: 113). Sairio has compiled a "database of [Elizabeth Montagu's] most frequent

contacts and geographical mobility" based on the information in all of these sources (2009a : 113). This may be seen as the contextual and biographical information which I mentioned earlier as the basic information for a classical NSS (see Henstra 2008 and 2009 as well as Bax 2000; see also sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. above and chapters 5 and 6). For the Walpole correspondence, such a database would be too great an undertaking, considering the timespan of the correspondence, since the letters range in period between 1725 and 1797, and because of the sheer size of the corpus, which comprises more than 5500 letters. However, the number of extant letters sent between correspondents can perhaps give some indication of the intensity of their relationship. As I will discuss in chapter 6, however, one's closest relationships at a certain point in time need not always be reflected in the frequency of letters exchanged or in the sheer existence of a correspondence: Walpole and Gray made a tour of the continent together, but at that time did not write to each other because of their physical and geographical proximity, nor would one expect to find a correspondence between a husband and his spouse at a time when they lived under the same roof and neither of them travelled extensively. This does not mean, however, that such relationships are not close. This paradox is partly resolved by the other functional parameters that are taken into account when devising a NSS, such as sharing a place of residence and having a bond of kinship or friendship.

Sairio states that "[s]ocial network analysis considers the structure and contents of a network, particularly by investigating the density and multiplexity of network ties", which can both be quantified by means of a NSS (Sairio 2009a: 116). She expands on the model proposed by Bax (2000, see also Table 4.1. above) which in turn follows Milroy (1987) "quite closely" in the functional components of the relationships considered (Sairio 2009a: 119), as

well as Fitzmaurice (2007, as discussed above). Sairio notes that her "NSS has been designed for measuring the tie strengths of an eighteenth-century social network of the upper levels of society, in which literary and other joint projects were an essential factor" (Sairio 2009a: 118). She notes practical problems in using the emotional components Bax (2002: 279-82) integrated in his model:

> The emotional component is no doubt a useful complement to the functional analysis, but somewhat problematic from a practical point of view ... Few kinds of data will allow for reliable quantitative classification of emotional components. Also, the emotional distance does not rule out structural network influence: a contact classified as an "enemy" may be a powerful opinion leader or norm enforcer, whose general influence in a network is enough to pressure an individual to adapt (Sairio 2009a: 119)

This is certainly a factor to be reckoned with: the strength of a dyadic tie may influence a network member's position in the network as a whole, whereas it is not clear whether a single emotional relationship has any bearing on linguistic influence on a less detailed level: the network (cluster) as a whole. In chapter 6 I will present a model for the historical analysis of networks in which I aim to minimise the effect of such ties on the perceived network strength of the network as a whole, by combining more than one method of measuring strength in order to be able to provide a reliable picture of both dyadic relationships and the network cluster as a bigger structure.

Sairio (2009a) suggests that in past research "it would appear that either the methods of measuring network tie strength have been somewhat inadequate, or that patterns of linguistic variation are so complex that they do not readily correspond with network structure or position" (2009a: 120). Sairio's proposed NSS in this paper "consists of functional components and a

broadly defined emotional component between two network contacts, and the scores apply only in a particular moment in time" (Sairio 2009a: 120), as was argued by Fitzmaurice (2000b) and myself (Henstra 2006, 2008) as well. She follows some of the parameters proposed by Fitzmaurice (Fitzmaurice 2000a: 204, as discussed above, see also Fitzmaurice 2007), combining objective and subjective relationship criteria:

> the longevity of relationship, geographical proximity, formal social relationships in term of comparative rank (social equal/superior/inferior), and type of relationship (intimates/equals/acquaintance; friendship/ competition) (Sairio 2009a: 120).

According to Sairio, "most of these [criteria] have been used in previous studies, but their combinations appears to be elegantly simple and generally applicable" (2009a: 121). This is important in light of Milroy's comment that indicators of an individual's integratedness into his or her community may be changed, but "must reflect the conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies, in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by the local community", and that "they must be recoverable from data collected in the field and easily verifiable" (Milroy 1987: 141). Sairio selects criteria which "represent geographical proximity, type of relationship in terms of intimacy—distance, network connectedness, network collaboration, social rank, and the longevity of relationship" (2009a: 121), which leads to the NSS in Table 4.4. below.

1. Same domicile		
	yes often (e.g., during the season) rarely (e.g., abroad) no	2 points 1 point 0.5 points 0 points
2. Type of relationship		
	intimates acquaintances not acquainted	2 points 1 points 0 points
3. Same social circle		
	yes: primary yes: secondary no	2 points 1 points 0 points
4. Professional collaboration		
	yes: balanced/"giver" yes: "receiver" no	2 points 1 points 0 points
5. Social status		
	equals superior inferior	2 points 1 points 0 points
6. Previous network connection		
	yes no	1 point 0 points

Table 4.4. The proposed network strength scale parameters in Sairio (2009a)

Sairio notes that "these categories mainly convey multiplexity", and that "the frequency of interaction is implied in some categories, but there is not enough reliable data to justify a separate category of frequency" (Sairio 2009a: 121). She adds that "an ideal addition would be to study the intensity of a network connection by the amount and frequency of correspondence, but this would require a very thorough record of letters sent and received, and existing letters do not provide a reliable source for this kind of study" (2009a: 121). In Walpole's case, such a record is already available in the separate indices of correspondence; however, only the record of extant letters is presented

comprehensively in the form of an index of letters (HWC 43). Although this list is not ideal in that it only provides a record of extant letters, the number of extant letters in Walpole's case is so large that I will be able to use these data – though carefully – as an indication of relative intensity of contact, albeit in a positive rather than a negative sense: the existence of many letters indicates close contact while the absence of letters cannot conclusively indicate that contact was not intensive.

Using the category "professional relationship", Sairio integrates Fitzmaurice's idea of coalition formation into the NSS (Fitzmaurice 2000a, 2000b, and 2002b; see also the discussion of these papers above and in chapter 5). Network collaboration in the Bluestocking circle "was particularly prominent [..., for instance] reading and commenting on each other's writings, and assisting in the printing processes and other types of publishing" (Sairio 2009a: 122). Similar "instrumental alliance[s]" (2009a: 122) are encountered in the Walpole network, for instance in the publishing endeavours Walpole undertook with the poetry written by Gray and West, and the collaboration between Walpole and his antiquarian friends such as Mann (see chapters 3 and 6) in Walpole's writings on these subjects. Sairio notes that "the coalition approach had particular advantages in that the complex questions of friendship and intimacy are avoided" (2009a: 122).

Sairio's case study shows that the hypothesis that "strong network ties correlate positively with the use of a familiar and somewhat stigmatised linguistic feature" (2009a: 131) is true "when the recipients were below Elizabeth Montagu in terms of social rank" (Sairio 2009a: 131). She also shows that preposition stranding was avoided and "[p]ied piping favoured considerably when the recipients were her social superiors" (Sairio 2009a: 131) Sairio continues that "[a]s linguistic variation was best explained including the

social variable of rank", which was already a part of the aggregate network strength score, "in the analysis, [she] suggest[s] that (historical) network analysis, especially in terms of tie strength, be accompanied with the sociolinguistic framework" (Sairio 2009a: 131).

In Sairio (2009b) the NSS discussed above is used, based on the same background as in Sairio (2009a), but it is extended with two further categories, i.e. age and gender, in agreement with both suggestions made in Henstra (2008) (see chapter 5). Sairio (2009a) already reflected on criticism which SNA studies have faced, for instance "Labov's (2001: 332-333) reanalysis of Milroy's (1987) figures", which "shows that gender appears in fact to be more important than the network effect" (Sairo 2009a: 120). Support for the extra parameter *gender* may furthermore be distilled from (perhaps even off-hand) comments, such as Tieken-Boon van Ostade's (2000b: 298) remark that "Sarah Fielding's relationship with Samuel Richardson, 'though very close indeed, could not, of course, have been as close as that with another woman'" (Sairio 2009b: 47, quoted from Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000b: 298). This leads to the model in Table 4.5. below (Sairio 2009b: 150).

A full discussion of this model is provided in Sairio (2009b: 149-152). Sairio (2009b) also provides a detailed theoretical framework and background for social network analysis and the proposed NSS (2009b: 16- 36), much of which has also been discussed in the current chapter. Sairio concludes that "the Bluestocking network consists of strong ties, and Elizabeth Montagu's links to these friends did not vary a great deal in terms of tie strength" (2009b: 163). This rather homogeneous picture makes it harder, of course, to explain linguistic variation within the network in social network terms. Sairio finds, for instance, that her

> analysis of the network ties correlated significantly with the analysis of language and variation in the case of the progressive, less so in the case of spelling, and not at all in the case of preposition placement. Overall social network membership seems to underlie various significant changes that took place in Elizabeth Montagu's language use over the years (Sairio 2009b: 318)

1. Same domicile		
	yes often (e.g., during the season) rarely (e.g., abroad) no	2 points 1 point 0.5 points 0 points
2. Type of relationship		
	intimates acquaintances not acquainted	2 points 1 points 0 points
3. Same social circle		
	yes: primary yes: secondary no	2 points 1 points 0 points
4. Professional collaboration		
	yes: balanced/"giver" yes: "receiver" no	2 points 1 points 0 points
5. Social status		
	equals superior inferior	2 points 1 points 0 points
6. Age		
	same generation older generation younger generation	2 points 1 points 0 points
7. Gender		
	same other	2 points 0 points
8. Previous network connection		
	yes no	1 point 0 points

Table 4.5. The proposed network strength scale parameters in Sairio (2009b)

Furthermore, she notes that "social networks had an effect but different social variables were also shown to influence linguistic variation in varying degrees", and she suggests therefore "in line with Labov (2001) ... that social network analysis should be complemented with other frameworks to explain socially embedded language use" (Sairio 2009b: 318). I find it interesting that this is the case even though a number of these sociolinguistic variables had already been integrated as parameters into the NSS that was devised for the analysis of the Bluestocking network, for instance age, gender and social rank (parameters 5, 6 and 7). It would furthermore be interesting to see what the results of this type of analysis would be for a larger corpus of texts: the letters used in Sairio's corpus are a selection from the larger correspondence and a number of the analyses show relatively low instance counts

4.4. Concluding remarks

The papers discussed in this chapter have all contributed important insights into varying aspects of the historical application of SNA. Bax (2000) proposes a NSS for historical application, whereas Sairio (2005) discusses this NSS and compares it to a linguistic analysis of involvement features, finding overlap as well as differences in results. In later work she greatly refines the standard model for devising a NSS (Siario 2009a, 2009b). Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002) demonstrate the usefulness of incorporating epistolary formulas in a network analysis and of using this as a means to identify network members and positions. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005b) mentions presentation lists as a means of identifying network contacts. When network contacts have already been identified, as is the case in the Walpole network, these methods may still aid to the study of network structure and strength, as sociometric network data. Finally, Fitzmaurice (2000a, 2002b) brings to mind the influence of text-

type and genre on the linguistic make-up of the material. Especially when incorporating linguistic measures of network strength, it is important to keep in mind that there are also other influences on the data, such as the text-type specific language use, and changes in the language over time, which should be reckoned with. The overall picture drawn by the studies discussed in this chapter is most importantly that there is a need for a method of quantifying network measures as objectively as possible and the need for a sufficiently large dataset to test such a method on, in order to be able to make any realistic claims about the applicability of SNA in a historical context. A discursive or purely qualitative approach combined with small datasets leaves too much leeway for free interpretation of unclear and inconclusive results. In the following chapters I will test several of the ideas put forward in earlier work on sections of the Walpole Network, and work towards a more objective model for quantification of network strength.

Chapter 5. Social network analysis and the Walpole family[1]

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse the language of Walpole and his family network of correspondents which I will refer to as the Walpole Family Network. In doing so, I draw on the previous work on SNA in a historical context as discussed in chapter 4, and I will focus more specifically on one of the quantification models for network ties, i.e. the classic network strength scale (NSS). Since Walpole's complete correspondence has been published, all of the first-order network contacts for whom linguistic material exists in the form of letters as well as their relationship with Walpole are known. In the current chapter I will consider the correspondence between Walpole and his own family as a specific type of network, and I will pay special attention to the principles behind the quantification of network strength.

5.2. Style and social network

A first step in my analysis of the Walpole Family Network has been to look at the elements which influence style of writing; the quantification of style can be seen as an attempt to decide which contextual factors influence a linguistic utterance, and how to describe these factors. According to Traugott and Romaine (1985), as well as Biber (1991), the style of a certain utterance correlates with a whole set of circumstances. First, the medium of an utterance, or rather the implied orality or literacy of that medium, is of importance for its style. Biber (1991), for example, provides a linguistic analysis of several genres of speech and writing, indicating a correlation along multidimensional lines between typical speech-like and typical literate features in different text types.

[1] An earlier version of this chapter was published as Henstra (2008).

Secondly, the implied orality or literacy of a medium is influenced amongst other things by the degree to which the participants interact and by the organisation of topics in discourse. What Traugott and Romaine call "contextualized participant interaction" (1985: 14) is typical of oral modes of discourse. In this case the speaker and hearer (or, in the case of historical analysis, the writer and reader) share a context, for example of thought, location or knowledge. Because of contextualised participant interaction, the organisation of discourse in oral modes is different from that of typically literate modes, in that, for example, the organisation of topics is typically less "logical" and the utterances are more "rhapsodic or chunking", as Traugott and Romaine (1985: 14) put it. Biber notes similar characteristics for personal letters in his detailed linguistic analysis of multiple text genres: "personal letters … assume a high degree of shared background knowledge between reader and writer" (1991: 71), which is a characteristic this genre has in common with typical speech. Redford (1986), in his literary stylistic study of eighteenth-century familiar letters, notices a similar effect on a more literary level, and in fact describes contextualised participant interaction:

> Because of their particular literary and social milieu, the letter-writers under scrutiny … have several major advantages. The first and most important of these is a feeling of cultural consensus, which allows them to spin a delicately allusive web. Such a web substitutes for the physical presence that fosters intimacy between actor and audience … [the letters] gain immeasurably in force and subtlety from the network of shared assumptions, attitudes, and acquaintances that pervades them (Redford 1986: 6).

In this way the style of an utterance is also influenced by the relationship between the speaker and hearer during the creation of that utterance: the

context they do or do not share and the degree of interaction that the medium permits.

Thirdly, the relationships between speakers and hearers in a broader sense influence style, and an example of this is the operating of "social group norms" (Traugott and Romaine 1985: 16). According to Traugott and Romaine, "Labov predicts that speakers will show shifts in the direction of what is assumed to be more formal or more standard", especially in settings that elicit more formal language; but they also note that "[n]ot all speakers show shifts in the direction of what is assumed to be more formal or more standard. In some situations … there is divergence rather than convergence" (1985: 16). This observation is in line with what one would expect in light of the SNA model. On the one hand, social mobility, and especially upward mobility, is expected to influence language use towards the standard, producing a formal style in more formal situations or more literate modes. On the other hand, within a social network cluster a different norm can be stronger than the pull of the standard language (see e.g. Milroy 1987: 52 and 136–137). There is what Traugott and Romaine call "a plurality of norms" (1985: 17) which influences speakers. It is not only the relationship or shared context between the speaker and hearer during the creation of discourse that is important, but also their "larger … roles" in society as a whole as well as within their shared social network (Traugott and Romaine 1985: 18).

As discussed so far, style is influenced by the orality or literacy of the mode of discourse in a multidimensional way. Another factor in style which is influenced by social factors is accommodative behaviour. Traugott and Romaine refer to Giles *et al.* (1973), for whom "accommodation is seen as conscious or unconscious modification of speech style by speakers in order to control how they present themselves and are in turn perceived by others"

(1985: 21), and they note that "[t]he Giles framework does not make any connection between setting and participant, though this may clearly have implications for accommodation" (1985: 22). When style is considered as a negotiation between participants in a particular setting, "the speaker is often seen as actively creating styles in accommodation" (1985: 19). However, on a linguistic level this does not necessarily mean that "the speaker is paying conscious attention in all cases" (1985: 29). Self-monitoring and accommodation need not correlate unidimensionally: linguistic accommodation can be either conscious or subconscious, depending on the topic and medium of discourse and the setting in which it is created.

When we consider the following comment by Redford (1986), it becomes clear that it is indeed important to consider conscious attempts at stylistic variation in my analysis of letters produced from within the Walpole Family Network:

> [T]he eighteenth-century familiar letter, like the eighteenth-century conversation, is a performance – an 'act' in the theatrical sense as well as a 'speech act' in the linguistic. Through a variety of techniques, such as masking and impersonation, the letter-writer devises substitutes for gesture, vocal inflection and physical context (Redford 1986: 2).

Language in such letters is influenced not only in style (largely subconsciously) to suit the medium and its orality, the speaker–hearer relationship, and the setting and topic of discourse, but also possibly in a conscious and strategic attempt to mimic something that is not there: speech. The letters are after all produced in a medium that is writing. Rather paradoxically, this evident self-monitoring does not necessarily mean that the language in eighteenth-century personal letters is more literate, but neither does the fact that the letter

writers of the period try to imitate the act of speaking mean that the language is more oral. As Redford puts it: "the truest letter, we might say, is the most feigning" (1986: 7). It is difficult to predict how oral the language of eighteenth-century letters will be, since we only have written sources, which differ in degree of literacy and orality (see also chapter 1). However, of more importance to the letters under investigation in the chapter is the fact that letter writers varied their style of writing under the influence of the identity of the recipient of the letter. The social network position of those participating in written discourse and the strength of their network ties are expected to influence their language from a stylistic point of view.

Redford mainly stresses the influence of individuals negotiating a speech act at the level of topic and diction:

> Instead of assuming interest, great letter-writers create it: details are pruned and inflections calibrated according to the identity and interests of the recipient. The finest familiar letters are always correspondent-specific: they play to a particular audience (1986: 10).

What is more, he notes that in the case of eighteenth-century familiar correspondence the letter "tells us, if we look closely, about its author *and its recipient*" (1986: 12; emphasis added). However, it can be expected that the influence of the negotiation between speaker and hearer reaches further, taking us to the level of syntax and idiom as well. Traugott and Romaine offer the following starting point for a working definition of style, which was already briefly referred to in my discussion of the familiar letter as a text-type in chapter 1:

> [Style is] primarily … a relationship between participants in speech events who, as individuals, negotiate speech acts and thereby create 'styles' strategically, but who also

> are exemplars of social roles and have relationships in larger social institutions beyond the frame of … interaction, e.g. networks (1985: 29).

From this definition we see that there is room to interpret social network positions as a stylistic influence at the level of the *individual*. The density of a social network and the relative position of each correspondent within it provide an opportunity for quantifying the influence of the speaker–hearer relationship on style. Redford's study of Horace Walpole as a man of many voices provides a way to link social network analysis to Traugott and Romaine's broad stylistic approach to language variation, and, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, my analysis of Horace Walpole's correspondence, and in particular that of the Walpole Family Network, will serve to illustrate how their approach will function within a sociohistorical linguistic context.

5.3. Quantifying social variables

The next step in my analysis of the Walpole Family Network is to attempt a definition of the social variables that were established as being of influence on style and language. Before any predictions on the linguistic influences of interpersonal relationships and network strength in general can be made, a measure is needed to quantify the relationships themselves. Most of the terminology used here has already been discussed in section 4.2. In the present chapter I will only clarify some terms in their context for this particular casestudy. As discussed in chapter 4 above, a NSS measures "network patterns" (Milroy 1987: 139) of individual people involved in discourse and therefore allows us to gauge how well each member is integrated into a particular network. Someone who has ties to many people in the network and is also bound to several of those people in multiple ways (for example as a friend, colleague and neighbour at the same time) is more integrated into the

network than someone who is only tied to one person in a single way. Milroy suggests "key notions of relative multiplexity and density of personal networks" (1987: 141) for which an individual is scored in order to establish a NSS. A network member receives points in a NSS for fulfilling specific requirements which indicate a certain degree of integration in the network. In Table 4.4 and in section 4.3.2. above, I have outlined the indicators of network strength that were used for the Belfast study conducted by Milroy and that were later adopted (and adapted) by Bax (2000) for his study of the Streatham Circle. In the following sections of this chapter I will address examples of the methods that should, according to Sairio (2005: 32), be considered further in the context of historical social network analysis from the viewpoint of the reliability of the model. In doing so, however, I encountered a number of problems with the adaptation of the model to the situation of the Walpole Family Network as well as subsequent complications concerning the interpretation of the results of my analysis. I will proceed to discuss these accordingly.

5.3.1. Dynamic network ties

According to Fitzmaurice, "[i]t may be rare for an interpersonal tie to be perceived in the same way by both of its actors", a contrast which is "captured in the notions of asymmetry and reciprocity" (2000b: 271), as discussed in 4.3.2. People do not always like each other to an equal extent, and this is expected to have consequences for their language use. Bax (2000) illustrates the notion of asymmetry with the example of the relationship between Mrs Thrale and a certain William Pepys, showing that "Pepys treated her like a friend but she treated him like an acquaintance" (2000: 282). Fitzmaurice suggests that "the recipient of a non-reciprocal tie may actually be the transmitter of social

influence" (2000b: 272). A person who is the recipient of many friendships but does not return them equally to all who like him is likely to be a popular person: he or she might have some close relationships which are reciprocal, but also receives the affection of people who would like to be a part of the 'inner circle' and whose affections are not reciprocated. This need to 'belong' is a basis for the social and linguistic influence recipients of non-reciprocal ties may have on other network members. Perhaps this 'queen bee' is even the central person in a network and a possible early adopter (see 4.2. for a detailed discussion of this term). In Bax'ss model this is reflected by asymmetrical emotional network scores: in his model the score Mrs Thrale receives from Pepys is higher than the one he receives from her. Thus, Mrs Thrale may have had a social influence on Pepys but also (following the social network model) a linguistic influence. It is therefore of great importance to take notice of asymmetrical and non-reciprocal network ties when conducting an analysis of historical (or any) data with the help of this model.

Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the fact that emotional scores may change over time. Whereas for the year 1779, when Mrs Thrale wrote about Pepys that she regretted "that she continued to treat him 'like a common acquaintance'", Bax assigns Pepys one point for being an acquaintance, while Mrs Thrale receives two points as a friend; by 1780, however, "their relationship was symmetrical" (Bax 2000: 202–3). Fitzmaurice similarly observes that "an individual may change network strength score with a shift from being the recipient of a non-reciprocal tie to gaining recognition as a reciprocal actor" (2000: 271), and mentions the development of the relationship between Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689 – 1762) and Joseph Addison as an example of this effect. When calculating network strength scores one should always focus on a particular period of time in order to be able to

deal with the fact that relationships, both functional and emotional ones, are dynamic. Therefore, in the network strength analysis of the Walpole Family Network I will consider the quantification of the relationships between network contacts by means of a NSS to be a 'snapshot' view of a social network at a particular point in time. This can be either a very short and well-defined period of time in a particularly dynamic relationship, or a longer period which may by its relative stability still be characterised as a discrete one within the relationship, depending on the (biographical) information available. Computing network strength by means of a NSS for two different periods (taking as it were two 'snapshots' of the network at different points in time) and taking into account the changes in the relationships between the network members in those two periods can subsequently serve as a functional tool to test ideas about linguistic influence within social networks. If someone's total (emotional) score within a network greatly increases in a given period, it is possible (following Fitzmaurice 2000b) that his or her linguistic influence has also increased.

5.3.2. The nature of the sources

Another problematic factor in the application of the model of social network analysis to situations in the past is the existence of incomplete data. Even though, as explained in chapter 1, the corpus of Horace Walpole's correspondence is far from small, it is nevertheless incomplete. In his introduction to *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Walpole Family* (HWC 36: xxx), Lewis states, for example: "The one letter we have to Charles Churchill, Walpole's brother-in-law, shows us how close Walpole was to him and his wife, Lady Mary, to whom for fifty years and more he wrote hundreds of letters". However, these letters are "now all lost" (HWC 36: xvii). Which

letters have been preserved is a product of historical events and mere chance. We cannot ignore the fact that a social network analysis may consequently be influenced by the sample of correspondence that has been preserved. According to Labov (1994): "Historical linguistics can … be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data" (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 26). However, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg feel that "there is no need to overstress what Labov calls 'bad data'" and they "would rather place the emphasis on making the best use of the data available", by "[i]ntegrating information gathered by historians into linguistic research" (2003: 26–7). In other words, as long as one is conscious of the fact that data may be incomplete and as long as one draws on interdisciplinary ways to fill the gaps – for example by using historical sources, modern as well as contemporary ones, other diary and letter collections and biographical information – incomplete data need not be an insoluble problem for sociohistorical linguistic analysis.

In the case of the Walpole Family Network, some of these gaps in information can be filled by references to missing letters in other letters, by biographical information as well as by other writings that have come down to us, such as all the different accounts of the so-called 'Nicoll affair' (for a description of which see below; see also HWC 14: 195ff.), which is one of the two focal points in my analysis of this part of the Walpole network. However, it has proved impossible to present a NSS of all the correspondents within Walpole's family network due to lack of information about some of the correspondents, such as Lady Mary Churchill, mentioned above. For the analysis presented in this chapter I have therefore looked at a small selection of correspondents for which I based myself partly on the number of letters that are presented in the volume called *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Walpole Family* (HWC 36) and partly on biographical and other historical

information which suggests that these informants are of particular interest from the viewpoint of social network analysis.

Bax (2000) raises the subjectivity of available data as another problem, and lists seven methods of assessing the emotional relationship between two network members, numbered according to increasing unreliability. These methods have been discussed in 4.3.2., and for my analysis of the Walpole Family Network I have dealt with information on emotional attachment mainly through methods 3 (A's opinion of B is found in A's letters to B), 4 (A's opinion of B is found in A's letters to C /A's words are reconstructed in C's diary), 6 (Application of the researcher's own subjective feature list to events described in texts / copying another researcher's reasoned classification of A's opinion of B) and 7 (Copying other researchers' classifications of A's opinion of B), due to the nature of the sources that are available to me. The sources primarily consist of letters, biographical essays and information in the footnotes of letters in the Lewis edition. It is not possible to indicate, as Sairio (2005: 33) suggests, "the differences in reliability [of a source] in the points [assigned]" to network members in a study of such a small scope; but it is still important to be aware of the possible unreliability of sources used, especially considering the principle of "verifiability" of the data that was proposed by Milroy (1987: 143) as a criterion for designing the indicators of an adapted NSS. The methodological problems discussed in this section are all taken into account in my analysis of the Walpole Family Network. However, in the process of adapting Bax'ss NSS for the Walpole family and in its subsequent application to the family network analysed here, some further issues have come to light. I will deal with these below.

5.3.3. Family networks and the historical context

As discussed in 4.3.2., Bax (2000) has adapted the key notions of Milroy's (1987) model for measuring network strength to fit an eighteenth-century closed network cluster consisting of people from the upper middle classes. From the viewpoint of social network analysis, closed network clusters are likely to behave similarly under similar conditions, regardless of the social stratum to which the network members belong (cf. Milroy 1987: 179–81). Bax'ss NSS criteria for the Streatham Circle should therefore be applicable to Horace Walpole's upper-class family network cluster as well. However, my analysis of the Walpole family focuses on a network cluster consisting solely of family members, and it is to be expected that the nature of the relationships between members in such a network is inherently different from those in a mixed circle consisting of family and friends such as the Streatham Circle (or, as in the case of the work done by Sairio (2008, 2009a and 2009b), of that of the Bluestockings). Therefore, the conditions for measuring the emotional and functional network scores of members of the Walpole Family cluster need to be different from those used by Bax for the Streatham Circle. My consideration has been that the range of functional relationships within a network consisting of only family members is different from that within a mixed circle of family and friends. For example, in the model created by Bax (2000), the correspondents of the Walpole Family Network cluster all fulfil the condition of "being family" (Bax 2000: 282). Thus, in a network consisting of relatives, the condition of being family is no longer distinctive between the network members and is therefore not a significant measure of network strength. Moreover, I believe it to be questionable whether any one of the conditions

which determine the one-to-one functional scores of the network members in Bax'ss model can be of significance in a family network.

It may be the case, for example, that certain family members fulfil conditions for functional relationships which other family members do not: the condition "having a professional relationship" (Bax 2000: 282) is one which creates an extra link between Sir Robert Walpole the elder (1676–1745) and Horace Walpole, for example. Father and son had a multiple functional relationship when they were both Members of Parliament in the period after Horace's return from his tour of the Continent in 1741 until Sir Robert's death in 1745: they were at this time not only family members but also colleagues, and they therefore would receive a higher one-to-one functional score in Bax'ss model. What is more, the emotional relationship between Sir Robert Walpole the elder and Horace Walpole is also likely to have been affected by the creation of this multiple functional link. In his introduction to *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Walpole Family* (HWC 36), Lewis illustrates the change. Before taking the Grand Tour in 1741, Horace Walpole, being "wholly under the domination of his mother" (HWC 36: i), was not very close to his father, whereas when he returned and took his seat in Parliament, the relationship between the men changed: "Sir Robert's political enemies were closing in on him, yet he had no more loyal supporter in the House than his youngest son", as Lewis puts it (HWC 36: i). According to Lewis, "[f]ather and son discovered each other" (HWC 36: i) when they became colleagues, and they remained close until Walpole the elder's death in 1745. It hardly seems possible to speak of function and emotion separately when dealing with family members. Bax notes a similar effect:

> [I]t is possible for two people to have an emotional relationship at a certain point in time without having a

> functional relationship as well, but the reverse is impossible. This is because being, say, colleagues (i.e. having a professional relationship) implies that one also thinks of the other person in terms of emotional distance (2000: 281).

The fact that the Walpole family members have a family relationship does not imply that they were by definition friends as well, but rather that there is always some form of emotional relationship between them.

Taking the argument a step further, one could say that, even though there may be variation in the one-to-one functional scores of family members within a network cluster, however slight, in essence their functional relationship is uniform: they are family. Therefore variation in functional relationships between family members is more likely to have a demonstrable effect on their one-to-one emotional scores than to be otherwise significant. Furthermore, Milroy notes that "most studies utilising the network concept have in practice found that either density of one or more of the clusters … or relative multiplexity, offers powerful means of accounting for various behaviours", and she states that "it is worth noting that both network patterns, and attitudinal factors suggest themselves as a basis for the measurement of degree of integration into the community" (1987: 139-40). Since the Walpole Family Network is a network cluster, I expect that focusing solely on attitudinal factors rather than on both functional and emotional relationships in the analysis of network strength and the integration of network members will be sufficient for making argued claims about linguistic variation.

An important issue to be considered in a social network study of an eighteenth-century family is the historical context of the terms 'friend' and 'family'. Trumbach (1978) gives the following definition of the concept family: "A family might mean either the members of a household, a group of parents

and children, or the descendants of a common ancestor" (1978: 294). In this sense of the word 'family', all the members of the Walpole Family Network cluster indeed fulfil the condition of 'being family'. However, Trumbach also notes that "friendship and kinship were not … easily distinguished in the eighteenth century" (1978: 64). Moreover, he states:

> 'Friend' was the most commonly used kinship term; a husband's best friend was his wife, a child's, his parent. But 'friend' was also the most frequently used term of individual social classification … In short, it is likely that in traditional societies with cognatic kindreds [such as the eighteenth-century British aristocracy], friendship, as understood in its instrumental rather than expressive sense, is the most important social tie … The difficulty in distinguishing friendship from kinship in eighteenth-century society ought not, therefore, to be taken as an indication of the importance of kinship ties but rather the contrary: the truly significant institution was friendship (1978: 64–5).[2]

This statement reinforces the above-mentioned idea that within a family network cluster the emotional links between people are of a more defining nature for their network integration than the fact that they are family and the functional closeness which is associated with it.

The fact that the Walpole network cluster under scrutiny in this chapter is a family network has consequences for the calculation of the one-to-one emotional scores of the correspondents. As mentioned above, the fact that the correspondents are relatives implies the existence of an emotional relationship between them, regardless of the nature of that emotional relationship; and the emotional connection between two relatives is perhaps even more significant than the family relationship. It is therefore difficult to

[2] See also Tadmor (2001) for a linguistically based discussion of the terms 'family' and 'friendship' in the eighteenth century.

classify family members according to the definitions used by Bax (2000: 281) as friend, enemy or acquaintance. The alternative approach to this problem offered by Fitzmaurice (2000b) will be of use here: she deals with historical social networks from the viewpoint of coalition formation, which was discussed in 4.3.2 above. Looking at "the different ways in which social (and ultimately linguistic) influence might issue from how individuals align themselves for social, political and economic gain", she notes that "[f]or periods in which the issue of friendship is a tough one to construct and understand in social terms, it may be more useful to analyse identifiable, apparently strategic alliances of people as coalitions … which are formed in order to achieve particular goals or to pursue a … common agenda" (2000b: 266).

5.3.4. Coalition formation and network strength

Drawing on the concept of coalition formation as proposed by Fitzmaurice (2000b) may serve as a useful strategy for describing the dynamic nature of the emotional relationships between the Walpoles. For example, when Horace Walpole joined Parliament, not only was a second functional relationship between him and his father formed, but also what could be called coalition formation took place. Lewis states that after Horace Walpole joined Parliament, he "poured out his long suppressed affection for Sir Robert *whose enemies became his enemies* and remained so ever afterwards" (HWC 36: xii, emphasis added). This is in line with Fitzmaurice's explanation of coalitions, though it must be noted that within the Walpole family, coalitions, being a "set of ties contracted for specific purposes … for particular, variable periods of time" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 273), are not necessarily purely "strategic" and "power-based" (2000b: 274), but are rather a by-product of the circumstances which also determine the emotional and functional relationships at a particular time.

In that way, coalition formation can serve to illustrate and illuminate the fact that emotional relationships between family members and members of the Walpole Family Network in particular change over time under the influence of both external and internal factors.

When we view the one-to-one emotional scores as a dynamic aggregate of attitudinal factors, functional components and sometimes consciously engaged strategic alliances, it becomes clear that it is more promising to use a scale ranging from immediacy to distance for analysis of the Walpole Family Network cluster, as suggested by Sairio (2005: 23), rather than Bax'ss absolute categories of friend, acquaintance and enemy. An example of an event within the Walpole family which led to coalition formation and which may serve to illustrate the consequences of this for the one-to-one emotional scores of those involved is the so-called 'Nicoll affair', named after the object of the quarrel, a young woman called Margaret Nicoll (see HWC 14: 195ff.). The affair may be summarised as follows. Horace Walpole attempted to broker a match between Margaret Nicoll, a wealthy young lady, and his nephew, George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford (1730–1791). In his account of the affair Walpole claimed that he was thwarted in the attempt by his uncle, Horatio Walpole, Lord Walpole of Wolterton (1678–1757). We thus have to do with a coalition here that tried to secure the marriage, consisting of Horace Walpole and his friend John Chute. It is not clear from the sources whether Horatio was actually against the match and consciously strove to prevent it, but this is what Horace felt was happening. Horatio Walpole indeed formed a coalition against Horace Walpole and John Chute, together with Miss Nicoll's temporary guardian, a certain Mr Capper. Together they were extremely displeased with the accusations of treachery that Horace Walpole expressed in his letters to

them, as they felt that they had done nothing to deserve them, as can be read in this letter from Horatio Walpole:

> *Dear Sir,*
>
> *I am so far from having any scheme for Miss Nicol's continuing at Mr Capper's, that as he was with me this morning, I told him that having reason to think that those who had the greatest concern for the young lady and have the greatest credit with her had no inclination to it, I would not desire him to take that great charge upon himself, at which he was extremely pleased saying that nothing but a regard for our family would have induced him to be at all concerned at first, although he and his family are very well satisfied with the young lady's behaviour, yet it is a matter of too great a nicety and consequence for him to be trusted with, and therefore, dear Horace, your honour in this respect will be very safe, and thank God I shall have nothing more to say to it directly or indirectly. There seems something mysterious in this affair that I do not comprehend, nor am I at all curious to unriddle, it being no business of mine any otherwise than still to repeat that if you and Mr Chute continue to be of the same opinion and as zealous for Lord Orford's marrying Miss Nicol as you appeared at first, I think it may be happily effected, and I earnestly entreat you to put it [out] of your own and your friend's head as if I have ever had any scheme or view to have Mr Capper guardian to the young lady, and what has fallen from me was only as a common friend to promote that honourable design in which I thought we were all agreed and to which I still wish well.*
> *I am,*
> *Most affectionately yours*
> *H. WALPOLE*
>
> (Horace Walpole Sr to HW, 21 June 1751, HWC 14:216)

Walpole, however, is quite certain that the opposite is true, and dismisses Horatio's letter in no uncertain terms in this reply:

> *Sir,*
> *You need not give yourself the trouble to have the letters copied, or to send them back, for to me they are mere waste paper. Whether I am desirous Lord Orford should marry Miss Nicholl or not (though I pressed their meeting at your house which you*

> *would have declined, and you know you said it would be better to stay till she was settled somewhere) I do not think fit to justify to you; I shall to the world in the most public manner. You told me we had quarrelled formerly and you believed it would come to that again—you know whether I ever sought a reconciliation, or whether it was possible for any man ever to show more indifference to another's friendship than I have always done for yours: after taxing me with not promoting Lord Orford's welfare by any means in y power, there are no terms on which I should not disdain your friendship.*
> *I am Sir, for the last time of my life, your humble servant*
> *HOR. WALPOLE*

(HW to Horace Walpole Sr, 22 June 1751, HWC 14: 205-06, printed in Horace Walpole's Narrative of the Nicoll affair)

At the time of the affair, June 1751, it is likely that the bonds between the coalition partners became stronger, and consequently the distances between the different coalitions are emotionally as well as linguistically greater than before and after the period of coalition formation. The one-to-one emotional scores of Horace Walpole and his uncle Horatio are expected to be lower during the existence of their respective coalitions than at any other time. Their relationship was emotionally more "distant", to use the term adopted by Sairio (2005), and from a social network point of view this is expected to have linguistic consequences.

The possibility of using the notion of coalition formation as a factor in network tie strength is also supported by Trumbach's comment that, "though the continuity and power of an individual family might be maintained through patrilineal and primogenitural practices, aristocrats nonetheless found that in their political alliances, friendship was far more important than kinship" (1978: 2). Furthermore, Tadmor notes that "affective friendship relations were increasingly tied with instrumental and occupational relationships" (2001: 177) in the eighteenth century. Among members of the upper classes, friendship (or

emotional closeness), in its affective as well as instrumental sense, was the decisive factor in the strength of network ties, even between family members. I also note the relationship between coalition formation and CAT (Bax 2002). The latter theory may aid the interpretation of dyadic ties within the network in such a case. Coalition formation may thus serve as a useful means to indicate the degree of closeness or distance between network contacts.

5.4. Linguistic analysis and the limitations of the model

5.4.1. Scoring the network

I conducted a network strength analysis of the Walpole Family Network cluster for the year 1751, during the Nicoll affair, and the period immediately after 1772, which is of special interest in order to determine the relationship between Horace's brother Edward Walpole (1706–84), Edward's illegitimate daughter Maria Walpole, later Lady Waldegrave and Duchess of Gloucester (1736–1807), and Horace Walpole himself, because at that time Maria Walpole was estranged from her father because of her scandalous marriage to the Duke of Gloucester[3]. Walpole was not so much a supporter of this union, but remained a loyal friend and ally to his niece. The results of the analysis have been presented in Table 5.1. In this table the network scores are to be interpreted as a scale in which a positive number indicates relative closeness and a negative number relative distance; in calculating the scores I adopted the method developed by Bax (2000: 282) as discussed in 4.2.2. above, which I adapted to suit the purposes of the present analysis pertaining to a family

[3] In 1759 Maria Walpole married the second Earl Waldegrave. He died after only four years of marriage, and in 1766 Maria secretly married the Duke of Gloucester. He was twenty years younger than she was, and the marriage was only publicly announced in 1772. For sake of clarity I will refer to her as Maria Walpole throughout the text.

network (see 5.3.3.). Thus, in this case-study network contact A is scored according to network contact B's view of him or her in the following manner:

- if B's relationship with A is very close, A receives 2 points from B
- if B's relationship with A is moderately close, A receives 1 point from B
- if B's relationship with A is neutral, A receives 0 points from B
- if B's relationship with A is moderately distant, A receives –1 point from B
- and if B's relationship with A is very distant, A receives –2 points from B.

As discussed in 5.3.4. above (see also Milroy 2002: 549), the total emotional involvement score is an aggregate of the individual attitudes of the correspondents towards each other, in which case a higher number indicates deeper integration of the individual into the network. Question marks in the two rightmost columns in the table indicate a gap in the NSS that is due to a lack of information about the relationship between the two network contacts at the time. If there are gaps in the scores which contact A receives from the other contacts, a question mark is added to the total emotional involvement score to indicate uncertainty about this aggregate score. Subsequently, the existence of gaps negatively influences the possibility of interpreting a total involvement score in order to be able to assess the role of the network member in macro-level linguistic developments. A dash indicates that there was no relationship between the network contacts involved at the time of the NSS, in this case caused by the fact that Horatio Walpole the elder died in 1757. By means of the model adopted here it is possible to offer a hypothesis on the dynamics of language use within the Walpole family.

The first thing that becomes apparent from Table 5.1. below is that there are many gaps in the data, which lead to a high degree of uncertainty in most of the total network strength scores. There is in this case also a clear division between the data available for two distinct groups of family members, caused by the two separate family affairs which dominate the analysis of the social network presented here. In the previously discussed Nicoll affair of 1751, Horatio Walpole the elder, George Walpole and Horace Walpole take centre stage, whereas Edward Walpole and his daughter Maria Walpole play no part. However, in 1772 Horatio Walpole the elder had already died and only two letters between George Walpole and Horace Walpole written after 1772 have come down to us, whereas Edward, Horace and Maria carried out a lively correspondence during these years.

The lack of sources for some correspondents complicates the completion of the NSS for all family members in both periods. There are, for example, no extant letters in the current edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence between Horace Walpole and Maria Walpole from before 1772, and no mention is made of their position in the Nicoll affair in the bibliographical notes either, so it is impossible to provide their relationships with the other family members with scores of emotional distance or immediacy for the year 1751 pertaining to the Nicoll affair. We can, however, be quite certain from other sources that there was emotional closeness between Horace Walpole and Maria Walpole in 1751, and can consequently score their relationship with reference to this information.

In 1751, Maria Walpole was fifteen years old and not yet married to Lord Waldegrave. She was one of the illegitimate daughters of Horace's elder brother Edward by a seamstress named Dorothy Clement. According to the entry on her husband in the *ODNB*, "Maria grew up with her sisters and

brothers at her father's houses at Englefield Green, Surrey, and in London; they were treated by their father's family as if they were legitimate" (*ODNB s.v.* William Henry, prince).

Contact A	Contact B	Emotional involvement scores for June 1751	Emotional involvement scores after 1772
Edward Walpole	Maria Walpole	1	1
	Horatio Walpole the Elder	?	-
	George Walpole	?	?
	Horace Walpole	1	1
	Total	**2?**	**2?**
Maria Walpole	Edward Walpole	1	1
	Horatio Walpole the Elder	?	-
	George Walpole	?	?
	Horace Walpole	2	2
	Total	**3?**	**3?**
Horatio Walpole the Elder	Edward Walpole	?	-
	Maria Walpole	?	-
	George Walpole	0	-
	Horace Walpole	-2	-
	Total	**-2?**	**-**
George Walpole	Edward Walpole	?	?
	Maria Walpole	?	?
	Horatio Walpole the Elder	0	-
	Horace Walpole	1	1
	Total	**1?**	**1?**
Horace Walpole	Edward Walpole	1	1
	Maria Walpole	2	2
	Horatio Walpole the Elder	-2	-
	George Walpole	0	0
	Total	**1**	**3**

Table 5.1. A quantification of the relationships between Horace Walpole's correspondents: the one-to-one and the total emotional involvement scores for June 1751 and the years after 1772

Horace Walpole certainly recognised Edward's daughters as Walpoles when he rejoiced in their favourable marriages. He even fancied himself having had a hand in the match between Maria Walpole and Lord Waldegrave (see HWC 36: xiv). According to Lewis, Maria was "her Uncle Horace's favourite" (HWC 36: xiv); and even though Edward and Horace did not get along very well at that time, in an otherwise "violent letter" from 1745, "Edward acknowledged from the first Horace's unflagging kindness to his four illegitimate children" (HWC 36: xiii). Horace Walpole can be expected to have been emotionally very close to his young niece in 1751, because he is seen to act as a father to her and her sisters, perhaps even more so than their own father. The attachment was mutual, according to Lewis:

> We see him in the letters [Edward's daughters] wrote their Aunt Jane Clement and her niece Anne after Dorothy Clement died. In them Uncle Horace is the wise, affectionate counsellor and delightful companion. These letters … show how beloved Uncle Horace was (HWC 36: xiii).

Determining the relationship between Maria Walpole and her father in 1751 is more complicated. There is no evidence in the sources for conscious dissociation or any altercation between Edward and his daughter in 1751, which would have led to lower emotional involvement scores than they have received in this instance, and which would indicate possible linguistic dissociation – that is to say a linguistic divergence from each other, rather than linguistic convergence through closeness. However, there is no evidence that suggests particular closeness either. From Lewis's introduction we may conclude that Edward was pleased with the fact that Horace treated his daughters so well, and therefore that he himself cared for their well-being. However, Lewis notes that "when the children were ill [Horace Walpole] took

them to Strawberry Hill from their father's casually run houses" (HWC 36: xiii), which suggests that Uncle Horace was perhaps closer even to Edward's daughters than Edward was himself. He therefore receives a higher emotional involvement score from Maria and vice versa than Edward Walpole does.

For Horace and Edward Walpole the year 1751 might be called a turning point in their relationship. Letters between the two men in the mid-1740s concentrate on what Lewis calls "a row about money" (Lewis 1978: 34). The disagreement culminates in an unsent letter written by Horace Walpole to Edward in 1745, which is a sneering and biting, albeit rather witty, reply to a letter in which Edward accused Horace of many accounts of injustice against him (see HWC 36: 14–15). Horace's refutations of his brother's claims (printed in italics in the quotation that follows) in the letter (that was, however, never sent) show clearly that the brothers were at that time not very close:

> To give myself an additional credit and weight in Parliament. *You might have left out additional* …. Or how you happened to imagine I was not to be consulted. *I will ask you another question, how you happen to imagine it was necessary for me to consult you?* ... Good nature, which I think and say you possess in a great degree. *Dear brother, I wish I could think the same of you* (Walpole to Sir Edward Walpole, ca. 16 May 1745 OS, HWC 36: 17).

By 1751, however, things had changed. As we can see from the following letter from 1774 from Edward Walpole to Horace Walpole, later in life the relationship improved greatly:

> *Dear Horace*
> *I have not yet thankd you by letter or in person, which I have very sincerely done in every other shape, for your great goodness to Mr Bishop; amply mani=fested in the extraordinary Condescention and benevolence of the Marquise du Deffand towards him. I did not indeed take notice of it before, as he was appointed to the Stage; and I imagined I should have some instance of his success to recount to you when I should*

> *acknowledge your kindness to me. I find since, that He exhibits himself this month [and] by a letter from another friend of mine now at Paris, I hear that he meets with uncommon encouragement and approbation among the people of the profession.*
>
> *If in your Correspondence with Mad[me] Du Deffand she should mention any thing about him worth my knowing I dare say you will favour me with a line. And when he returns to England I shall hope for your protection for him.*
>
> *I am most Affect=*
> *=ionately Yours Ed: Walpole*
>
> *P.S. I beg when you write that you will desire the Marquise to accept my [best] respects and [to] believe that I have the deepest sense of her great benevo=lence and Condescention = she was so ex=ceedingly attentive to your request, that she orderd her carriage and ~~xxxxxx~~ took him to Mons. Pontdeveylle's.= I have no words to thank her in for so very gracious and so efficacious an Act of Patronage as that [...]*

(Extracts from Edward Walpole to Walpole, 16 July 1774, HWC vol 36: 106-07)[4]

In this letter Edward Walpole, Horace Walpole's brother, thanks Horace for his help in obtaining a suitable position for a certain Mr Bishop. In comparison to Walpole's letter to Horace Mann which we saw in section 3.2., the tone of voice in this correspondence is much more formal and subdued, and most of all less humorous. The letter is an autograph manuscript, probably written without a prior draft version: the post script section (shortened here) is longer than the body of the letter, and both letter and post script contain several insertions and deletions. We see no great degree of emotional closeness in the letter (the language used is quite formulaic). Horace seems to have undertaken

[4] The text reproduced here was taken from HWC 36: 106-07, but adapted in that the transcription reflects the spelling and punctuation of the manuscript source as found in the digital edition of HWC.

a task for the benefit of a friend of Edward's, which also indicates some degree of closeness, though no great closeness specifically. Unfortunately we do not have Horace's reply to his brother's letter. The next extant letter in the correspondence is from the year 1777, and in this letter Walpole conveys his worries about the quality of care that is received by their cousin, George the third Earl of Orford, who was at that time mentally unstable and taken into care at Eriswell. This does show that the brothers at that time still had a common interest or goal: the well-being of their cousin and the upholding of the Walpole Estate.

Biographical accounts also describe an event in 1751 in which the brothers formed what may be called a coalition in the terms of Fitzmaurice (2000b). According to Lewis, "Horace proved he was a good brother … when a gang charged Edward with sodomitical assault. Horace took the stand as a witness for the defense and helped to convict the conspirators" (Lewis 1978: 35; cf. Mowl 1996: 177–178). Edward and Horace were clearly in some sort of coalition in 1751, though there is no indication in the sources that were available to me that they were more than moderately close. The relationship between Edward and Horace was well on its way to becoming closer than before in the year of the court case, but it was not yet as close as it might have been. It is thus possible to score all correspondents in relation to Horace Walpole for 1751 and the two groups of family members within their respective situations as well, though not in relation to each other, which leaves a number of gaps in the NSS.

In the years after 1772, the period of my second snapshot, the focal point of the Walpole Family Network analysis is the lively correspondence between Horace Walpole, Edward Walpole and Maria Walpole, by that time Duchess of Gloucester. After her scandalous second marriage marriage in 1766

to the Duke of Gloucester (1743–1805), a man "who was seven years her junior and who had fallen in love with her when he was only twenty" (HWC 36: xv), Maria was very much in the public eye. Uncle Horace "continued to give her admirable advice and the support she badly needed and did not get from her father" (HWC 36: xv) after the public announcement of the marriage in 1772, which also suggests a greater closeness between Horace Walpole and Maria Walpole than between father and daughter. Correspondence after that time often concentrates on the well-being of family members and other affairs of home and family. Horace Walpole showed, time and time again, a very loving disposition and a great amount of care towards his nieces and nephews, which can be perceived as a factor in all his relationships with his younger family members that is relatively stable through time. Apparently Horace cared greatly for many members of the younger generation of his family, even regardless of his relationship with their parents at the time. Horace Walpole, the childless bachelor, took on the role of surrogate father and close friend to several of his nephews, nieces and cousins.

What is also interesting to see from the NSS presented in Table 5.1. is that Maria Walpole has received the highest total emotional involvement score for both periods. In the second period Horace Walpole's score is symmetrical with hers, even though his score in the first period is one of the lower total scores. This would suggest that Maria Walpole is the central network contact in this cluster, and thus a potential early adopter and norm-enforcer. Subsequently, the network strength analysis suggests that Lady Maria's language is likely to have been an example for the others in the network, the followers in other words. The network contact with the lowest score is Horatio Walpole the elder, with a score of minus 2 points. This would suggest that he is the peripheral network contact who may have been in a position to introduce

linguistic change into the network cluster: he is thus in the position of having been a linguistic innovator. However, there are several complications that must be taken into consideration and due to which one cannot take the results of the network strength analysis at face value.

Firstly, there are gaps in the analysis of the relationships of both Maria Walpole and Horatio Walpole, so that their total emotional involvement scores are less reliable than those for Horace Walpole, who has received scores from all four network members. In fact, Horace Walpole is the only network member to receive emotional involvement scores from more than two of the correspondents. This is not surprising when we take the nature of the sources into account: Bax'ss preferred method for reconstructing network contacts' opinions of each other is from diaries (cf. Bax 2000: 284–5) or otherwise from letters between the network contacts involved. However, all our information has come from Horace Walpole's collection of letters and from biographical information which focuses on him. It is less likely that we will find information about George Walpole's view on his relationship with, for example, Horatio Walpole the elder or with any other member of the Walpole family other than Horace Walpole in those sources, since generally no letters between the other members of the Walpole family are included in the correspondence. Therefore, most of our information – inevitably – comes from sources that Bax (2000) deems less reliable. The total emotional involvement scores for the family members other than Horace Walpole will therefore always be less reliable than those for him.

It is not only the problem of incomplete data or lack of reliable information which complicates the interpretation of the emotional involvement scores at the level of the network, however. The low emotional involvement score which suggests that Horatio Walpole the elder is a marginal

network contact and a possible linguistic innovator is caused entirely by his dissociation from Horace Walpole in the opposing coalitions which they formed in the Nicoll affair. The total network scores of both men are greatly affected by the affair. The fact that they consciously dissociated from each other and were emotionally very distant in this way indirectly means that neither of these men can be regarded as central network contacts. The negative effect of their personal and reciprocal dissociation has in this model perhaps too much influence on the reflection of their position within the network as a whole as expressed in their total emotional involvement scores, since not all network members that have been scored in the NSS were personally involved in this particular event. It is therefore difficult to use the outcome of the NSS for the Walpole family to hypothesise about the arrival and spread of linguistic change and the treatment of the norm on the level of network structure.

Furthermore, the NSS in this case does not take into account the fact that Maria Walpole was a woman, which may have been a factor of great significance in her ability to influence the other network members. Milroy notes that the influence of gender on language use in the Belfast area is in some cases comparatively smaller than the influence of the degree of integration into a social network:

> Using the concept of statistical significance, it is possible as we have seen to designate some linguistic elements as *sex* markers, in the sense that men and women use them at significantly different levels. Others appear to function as *network* markers in the sense that they correlate significantly with the network patterns of the individual. Sometimes a linguistic element may be associated with both variables, sometimes only one of them, and sometimes it is linked significantly to these variables in only one age group (Milroy 1987: 192).

In pre-industrialised eighteenth-century England, however, the differences between the social positions of men and women were on the whole considerably greater than during the second half of the twentieth century, when Milroy did her research. This inequality was noted by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000b: 298) concerning the relationship between Richardson and Sarah Fielding (as quoted in section 4.3.3).

Therefore a NSS in the eighteenth century should to take gender more strongly into account as a potentially negative factor when calculating possible linguistic influence. A linguistic analysis of the language of the people concerned may bear this out. An analysis of linguistic features may show, for instance, that Walpole's niece Maria Walpole was indeed an early adopter and that Horatio Walpole the elder was an innovator, as is suggested by the current results, or it may confirm intuitions (contrary to what the results of network analysis indicate) about the influence of gender on relative network positions and the capability of leading and introducing change and, more importantly, of influencing the language use of the other (male) network members.

In the above discussion I have shown that the nature of the sources and of the network itself limit the extent to which it is at this time possible to reliably predict processes of linguistic change at a macro-level in the network. A network strength analysis with many gaps, such as that for the Walpole Family Network, may nevertheless yield results that are promising for the prediction of linguistic influence at a micro-level. If we look at the emotional involvement scores at an individual level, it is possible to work towards a hypothesis about language variation and accommodation at the level of the individual. In the light of what Fitzmaurice (2000b: 272) has noted about asymmetry in relationships being linked to 'social influence', asymmetry in network scores between network members is a possible indicator of the fact

that linguistic influence may have occurred. In the Walpole Family Network the only two correspondents with an asymmetrical relationship are Horace Walpole and George Walpole. The fact that Horace feels closer to George than George does to Horace would suggest that George Walpole may have had a social and linguistic influence on Horace Walpole, following Fitzmaurice's view on asymmetrical ties and the direction of social and linguistic influence. Another case of asymmetry can be found in the scores that Edward Walpole and Horace Walpole receive from Maria Walpole. The fact that Maria was emotionally closer to Horace Walpole than to her father, Edward, suggests that she may have been more likely to follow Horace's linguistic norm than that of her father. Analysis of the language of George Walpole, Maria Walpole, Edward Walpole and Horace Walpole should be able to show the direction of any linguistic influence that may have occurred.

The effect of symmetrical emotional involvement scores on the language of the individual members of the Walpole network is also to be reckoned with. Bax (2002: 11) states, on the subject of Communication Accommodation Theory which he applies in his study of the language of Hester Lynch Thrale and Samuel Johnson (see 4.3.2 above): "As increasing behavioural similarity is likely to increase … a person's attractiveness and interpersonal involvement in the eyes of the recipient, one of the model's central predictions is that convergence reflects the need for social approval". The convergence of linguistic choices between two correspondents can in that way be said to reflect the desire of one correspondent to be 'approved' of by another. This statement is in line with Fitzmaurice's (2000b) ideas of social and linguistic influence when emotional involvement scores are asymmetrical. However, when two network contacts are very close to each other (and therefore their individual emotional involvement scores are symmetrically high), the

convergence can be said to be reciprocal: the network contacts are expected to accommodate to each other. This was, for instance, found by Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002) for Johnson and Mrs Thrale. Conversely, when network contacts receive a low score (or, more precisely, a negative one), it is to be expected that linguistic divergence will take place. For the Walpole network the ideas on linguistic influence as described by Bax (2002) suggest that it is likely that Horace Walpole and Horatio Walpole the elder would linguistically diverge in June 1751, as was already predicted from their places in opposing coalitions (following Fitzmaurice 2000b). Maria Walpole and Horace Walpole, on the other hand, are expected to converge linguistically in the communication between the two of them in 1751 and more so in the years after 1772 (see Table 5.1.).

However, as can be seen from Table 5.2. below, which contains an overview of the corpus used for the analysis in this chapter, we are confronted with a problematical scarcity of linguistic data. For example, only four letters received by Horace Walpole from Horatio Walpole the elder, called in-letters according to Baker (1980: 123), have been preserved. And only three letters written by Horace Walpole to his nephew George Walpole, so-called out-letters, have been located and published (whereas, for example, at least ten in-letters and eight out-letters between George Walpole and Horatio Walpole are known to have existed; see HWC 36: xxxi). Even more problematically, the only extant letters from June 1751 are between Horatio Walpole the elder and Horace Walpole, so that the claims about network strength in that period cannot be tested with respect to any one of the correspondents except for these two men. Furthermore, as will become apparent from the linguistic analysis presented below, some of the samples are so small that there are no attestations of the constructions for which I have analysed the corpus at all.

Therefore, only tentative claims can be made and suggestions offered regarding influence on a macro- as well as on a micro-level.

Correspondent	No. of in-letters	Words	No. of out-letters	Words
Edward Walpole	20	4412	9	5201
Horatio Walpole the elder	4	1203	5	1758
George Walpole	3	828	3	1346
Maria Walpole	14	4287	15	7126
Horace Walpole (total)	n/a	n/a	32	15431

Table 5.2. The corpus of correspondence among the Walpole family

5.4.2. Linguistic analysis

As a basis for the linguistic study of the Walpole Family Network, I have used features that are known to have been in the process of changing in the late modern English period, and which were commented on by contemporary grammarians. The first of these is mentioned in Beal (2004: 70): "the loss of *thee*/*thou* … left English with no means of marking the singular/plural distinction when addressing one or more people". Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002b) suggests that *you was* was a "bridge phenomenon" because it "appears to have arisen simultaneously with *you were"* as a singular form which facilitated the introduction of this singular construction (2002b: 100; see also 96–98, 100–101). Beal notes that Lowth in his grammar of 1762 condemned what in effect would have been the early eighteenth-century solution of using "*you was* for the singular and *you were* for the plural" (2004: 70). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011: 111) notes in discussing *you was* that Lowth was "at his most critical" calling its use "an enormous solecism".

In light of the question of the origin of the norms presented in the grammars of the period, it would be interesting to see whether the usage of

you was was already in decline within, for example, the Walpole family before the publication of Lowth's grammar, and how the network members vary in their usage individually. After all, the claim is made that Lowth would have been influenced by the language use of the aristocracy in setting his norm for linguistic correctness. The Walpole Family Network that I am focusing on in this chapter unfortunately gives no statistically relevant or even interpretable answers to this, since the raw figures are extremely low, as can be seen in Table 5.3. Horatio Walpole the elder simply does not use any instances of the second person singular, simple past form of *be* in the letters written by him that I have analysed here, and the normalised scores of the other correspondents give us hardly any clue as to the development of *you was*/*you were* in this network cluster.

Correspondents and constructions	**In letters**				**Out letters**			
	absolute no. of tokens		*normalized frequency per 1000 words*		*absolute no. of tokens*		*normalized frequency per 1000 words*	
	you was	*you were*	*you was*	*you were*	*you was*	*you were*	*you was*	*you were*
Edward Walpole	1	0	0.227	0	0	0	0	0
Horatio Walpole the Elder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
George Walpole	0	1	0	1.208	1	0	0.743	0
Maria Walpole	0	1	0	0.233	1	0	0.140	0
Horace Walpole	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	0	0.130	0

Table 5.3. Variation in the use of *you was*/*you were* by the members of the Walpole Family Network

A few tentative remarks can be made, though. In the Walpole Family Network cluster, usage of *you was* and *you were* is about equally divided (there are three occurrences of *you was* and two of *you were*). This is in line with the analysis of this feature as a bridge phenomenon in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002b). The occurrences of *you was* from the letters of Horace Walpole are the following:

1. We wish to leave your Lordship in as happy and respectable a situation as **you was** born to (Walpole to Lord Orford, 5 October 1778, HWC 36: 165).

2. As **you was** not set out, and give so good an account of yourself, Madam, I am far from thinking the journey will hurt you after an interval of repose (Walpole to the Duchess of Gloucester, 27 September 1777, HWC 36: 149).

And (3) is the final example of the construction in a letter from his correspondent Edward Walpole:

3. I imagine **you was** alarmed with the nonappearance [sic] of our young ladies at 4 o'clock (Sir Edward Walpole to Walpole, 18 October 1777, HWC 36: 154).

It is interesting to note that the two correspondents who used the innovatory form *you were* are both from the younger generation and that one of them is a woman. This seems especially relevant in light of Labov's idea, as expressed by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, that "women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men" and that "women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do" (2003: 111, following Labov 1990: 213–15; 2001: 274, 292). However, the form used by the Duchess of Gloucester occurs in a subjunctive context, in which *were* is the required verb form,

4. if *you were* here and knew all that I have gone through you would not wonder that I (although with fear) catch at every gleam of hope (The Duchess of Gloucester to Walpole, 23 August 1777, HWC 36: 134).

Data concerning this construction cannot therefore be used in order to make claims about the role of gender, nor can any claims be made about the influence of the correspondents on each other or the influence of the grammatical tradition on the correspondents' use of the construction with such sparse information available.

Maria Walpole occupies an interesting place in relation to the second linguistic feature that I will analyse in this chapter. Following Rydén and Brorström (1987), I studied the variation in use of *be* and *have* in perfective constructions with a list of mutative intransitive verbs, such as *change*, *come* and *arrive* (Rydén and Brorström 1987: 234–65). In these contexts Present-Day English would require *have,* but in the eighteenth century, as Rydén and Broström demonstrate, variation between *be* and *have* was quite common. The following examples illustrate constructions with these verbs from the Walpole Family Network correspondence:

5. I think I **am** more **changed** than H.R.H. and could Lord Dalrymple see me now, he would beg Madame du Deffand's pardon for the mistake he had made about my beauty (Duchess of Gloucester to Walpole, 10 August 1777, in HWC 36: 131).

6. That I had taken the best physical advice, Dr Jebbe's and Dr Monroe's, and that having taken advice, I **was come** to execute it, not to ask other advice (Horace Walpole to Sir Edward Walpole, 21 April 1777, in HWC 36: 118) .

7. The physicians **were** not **arrived** but were known to be not far off (Edward Walpole to Walpole, 26 July 1777, in HWC 36: 127).

Not all verbs on the list of mutative intransitives from Rydén and Brorström occurred in my corpus of the Walpole family correspondence. Table 5.4. below provides an overview of *be* and *have* variation in the verbs that did.

Overview of variation per correspondent	**In-letters**				**Out-letters**			
	Absolute tokens		*%*		*Absolute tokens*		*%*	
	be	*have*	*be*	*have*	*be*	*have*	*be*	*have*
Edward Walpole	7	0	100	0	4	1	80	20
Horatio Walpole the elder	0	2	0	100	2	0	100	0
George Walpole	0	1	0	100	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	10	4	71	29	3	0	100	0
Horace Walpole (total)	n/a-	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	1	90	10
Overview of variation per verb	*Absolute tokens*				*%*			
	be		have		be		have	
alter	2		0		100		0	
arrive	3		0		100		0	
change	1		0		100		0	
come	2		1		67		33	
enter	0		1		0		100	
flee/fly	1		0		100		0	
get 'come/go'	2		1		67		33	
go	8		2		80		20	
grow	2		0		100		0	
pass	3		3		50		50	
return	1		0		100		0	
Total	25		8		76		24	

Table 5.4. Variation in use of *be*/*have* in perfective constructions with mutative intransitive verbs in the Walpole Family Network[5]

Rydén and Brorström describe a levelling development in the *be*/*have* paradigm for mutative intransitives during the Late Modern English period (1700–1900), which led to "an almost complete *have* dominance" in the

[5] x = no data/no results.

nineteenth century (1987: 197).[6] They note that "the *be*/*have* paradigm comparatively seldom elicits comments [from contemporary grammarians], at least in terms of variant distribution" (1987: 207), and that "the spread of *have* did not on the whole, it would seem, call forth the wrath of the prescriptivists" (1987: 209). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002c) looks at the usage of *be* and *have* in Lowth's language, as well as at the comments on the construction in his grammar. She discovered that his use is conservative "in view of usage in the eighteenth century as a whole as documented by Rydén and Brorström" (2002c: 169). Lowth does not comment prescriptively on the use of *be* with mutative intransitive verbs in the main text of the grammar, neither in the first nor in the expanded second edition published a year later. He describes these verbs as

> signify[ing] some sort of motion, or change of place or condition: as, *I am come*; *I was gone*, *I am grown*; *I was fallen*. The verb *am* in this case precisely defines the Time of the action or event, but does not change the nature of it (Lowth 1763: 47).

However, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes (2002c: 167), Lowth does comment on the use of *be* with some verbs in the footnotes to the second edition of his grammar (Lowth 1763: 47). She points out that Rydén and Brorström therefore "associate the beginnings of prescriptive comments relating to this construction with Lowth" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002c: 162–163). In actual fact, however, she writes that "Lowth's usage of the *be*/*have* periphrasis combined with his unease with the use of certain verbs in the construction as expressed in a footnote in his grammar suggests that at this time the development was still in its early stages" (2002c: 169).

[6] See also Brinton (1994) for an account of developments in perfective constructions to the background of which *be* was replaced with *have* in many contexts.

On the basis of the NSS presented in Table 5.1. one would expect Maria Walpole, Duchess of Gloucester, to be leading this incipient change within the Walpole Family Network because of her high network integration score. Though not statistically significant,[7] the variation as found in Maria Walpole's language (a usage of *have* in almost 30 per cent of cases) is indeed most innovative in this respect. Her usage is close to what Rydén and Brorström find for the genre of letters in the second half of the eighteenth century, namely 33.2 per cent (1987: 232), whereas the other correspondents they analysed are more conservative in their usage of *be*. Horatio Walpole the elder and George Walpole both have a categorical *have* preference (see Table 5.4.), but since for both of them the data for *have* are based on a single construction, this heavily skews the data. The instances from Horatio Walpole the elder may be found in (8) and (9):

8. As what **has passed** between Lord Orford and me relating to the mutual entail of our estates (Horatio Walpole Sr to Walpole, 13 April 1756, HWC 36: 29).

9. Sir I *have* communicated to Lord Orford your letter to me of yesterday, and am with his approbation to acquaint you, that you seem not to understand rightly, what **has passed** between his Lordship and me, relating to the mutual entail of our estates

[7] In testing the statistical significance of the correspondents' usage of *have* versus *be* with mutative intransitives I have excluded Horatio Walpole the elder and George Walpole from the equation, since they skew the data. When testing the variation in usage between Edward Walpole, Maria Walpole and Horace Walpole there is no statistical significance: chi-square = 3.226. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 5.99. For the purpose of comparison: adding Horatio Walpole the elder's and George Walpole's very low token scores to the equation changes the chi-square to 13.119, $p<0.011$, but the reliability of this figure is too low to take it into account.

(Horatio Walpole Sr to Walpole, 14 April 1756, HWC 36: 29).

The single instance from George Walpole contains the construction *would have come into*:

10. ... that it is a very prudent and justifiable agreement, and what, I am firmly persuaded, my grandfathers (if alive*)* **would have come into** (George Walpole to Walpole, 10 April 1756, HWC 36: 24).

It is interesting to see that Horace Walpole does use the verb *be* with the perfect of *pass*, as in example (11), contrary to his uncle, from whom he is indeed expected to dissociate linguistically:

11. Madam, for your answer to my letter, and for the permission of concealing what **is passed** from the two persons in question, who, I am sure, would suffer as much as I have done (Walpole to the Duchess of Gloucester, 27 October 1772, HWC 36: 83).

However, the instances are found in letters to Edward Walpole and to Maria Walpole from the 1770s (see example (11)). There is no attestation of a perfect form of *pass* in his letters to Horatio Walpole the elder, nor in any other letter from the period during which he was socially dissociating from his uncle, so no solid conclusion about linguistic dissociation can be drawn from this.

Horace Walpole is expected to converge linguistically with his niece Maria Walpole due to their symmetrically high network strength scores (see Table 5.1.). At first glance this may indeed seem to be the case: Horace Walpole is the only other correspondent who varies in his usage between *have* and *be*. The single construction concerned is *have entered upon*:

12. PS. If I **have entered upon** more points than your letter led me to, it was from my heart's being full

> of resentment for a long series of your injustice to me (Walpole to Sir Edward Walpole, 16 May 1745, HWC 36: 20).

Rydén and Brorström note for this verb that "the latest ex[ample] of *be* with *enter* (in the whole corpus) is ... not later than 1769 (Boswell) ... a fact indirectly foreboding the exclusive use of *have"* in their nineteenth-century corpus (1987: 82). The example from Walpole's language is an early instance of the use of *have* in this context, namely from 1745, in which case his usage may be deemed innovative, like that of his niece. However, this one instance was not found in a letter to Maria Walpole (who was only nine years old at that time and not, as far as we know, corresponding with her uncle) but in a letter to Maria's father, Edward. We cannot say anything about linguistic convergence in this case, simply because there are no letters with similar instances from the same period between Horace Walpole and his niece in which variation in the use of *be* and *have* is found with any of the mutative intransitive verbs listed in Rydén and Brorström. Because of the larger number of occurrences of this particular linguistic feature than of the *you was*/*you were* dichotomy, we are able to glean at least some tentative insights into possible micro-level variation, and these seem to strengthen the idea that Maria Walpole, Duchess of Gloucester, may be an early adopter and linguistic leader in this network – though this remains a hesitant claim. I note furthermore that Rydén and Brorström (1987) mention a large number of syntactic and semantic contexts favouring either *be* or *have* for the verbs under discussion, a fact which will have to be looked into more closely in any future analysis of this feature of the language of the period.

As for the third feature I am analysing in this chapter, Table 5.5. shows parallel use of PRET and PP (or, more precisely, the use of PRET forms where

PP is expected according to the codified norm) in the language of Walpole and his family correspondents. See chapter 3 for a detailed description of this linguistic variable and its sociolinguistic background. Non-standard usage in the Walpole Family network is illustrated in (13) and (14):

13. for I might have **broke** my neck if I had not **broke** my fall (Sir Edward Walpole to Walpole, 18 October 1777, in HWC 36: 153).

14. It was **wrote** in low spirits from bad news at that time received, which has been followed by good and bad, good and bad, alternately (Duchess of Gloucester to Walpole, 4 September 1777, in HWC 36: 135.)

The figures between brackets in Table 5.5. indicate the number of occurrences including adjectival or elliptical use, e.g. 'neither my brother Orford, nor I hope any man else thinks his interest in worse hands, when *given* at my suit, than at yours' (HWC 36: 18, emphasis added). In the numbers without brackets these types of participles have been filtered out. The list of verbs was compiled by running a concordance of all forms of *be* and *have* that allow for a PP complement, and then comparing the list of combinations found with one list of irregular verbs described in Lowth (1763: 47–66), which produced a list of irregular verbs with distinct PRET and PP forms in the eighteenth century, all occurring in the Walpole Family Network correspondence corpus.

Overview of variation per verb	**Absolute tokens**		**%**	
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
break	3	2 (3)	60 (50)	40 (50)
choose	2	0	100	0
come	0	5	0	100
fall	0	2	0	100
forget	2	0	100	0
get	9	0	100	0
give	0	14 (15)	0	100
mistake	0	2	0	100
shake	0	1	0	100
show	1	6	14	86
sit	1	0	100	0
speak	2	0	100	0
strike	1	0 (1)	100 (50)	100 (50)
take	0	14	0	100
throw	0	1	0	100
write	9 (10)	3 (4)	75 (71)	25 (29)
see	0	14	0	100
total	27 (29)	67 (70)	29 (29)	71 (71)

Variation per correspondent for the verb *break*	**In-letters**			
	Tokens		*%*	
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	x	x	x	x
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	1	1	50	50
Horace Walpole (total)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Variation per correspondent for the verb *break*	**Out-Letters**			
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	2	0	100	0
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	0	1 (2)	0	100
Horace Walpole (total)	2	1 (2)	67 (50)	33 (50)

Variation per correspondent for the verb *show*	**In-letters**			
	Tokens		*%*	
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	1	1	50	50
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	0	3	0	100
Horace Walpole (total)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Variation per correspondent for the verb *show*	**Out-Letters**			
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	0	2	0	100
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	x	x	x	x
Horace Walpole (total)	0	2	0	100

Variation per correspondent for the verb *write*	**In-letters**			
	Tokens		*%*	
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	3(4)	0	100	0
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	1	0	100	0
Maria Walpole	5	0	100	0
Horace Walpole (total)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Variation per correspondent for the verb *write*	**Out-Letters**			
	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)	PRET (non-standard usage)	PP (standard usage)
Edward Walpole	0	2(3)	0	100
Horatio Walpole the elder	x	x	x	x
George Walpole	x	x	x	x
Maria Walpole	0	1	0	100
Horace Walpole (total)	0	3(4)	0	100

Table 5.5. Variation in the use of preterite forms (PRET) and past participle forms (PP) in perfective and passive constructions (PP context) in the irregular verb paradigm in the Walpole Family Network correspondence[8]

We can see from the overview of variation per verb in Table 5.5. that certain verbs, such as *come*, *fall*, and *take*, show categorical use of the PP, as in present-day English. Examples (15) and (16) illustrate this usage.

15. ... what **has fallen** from me was only as a common friend to promote that honourable design in which I

[8] x=no data/no results.

thought we were all agreed and to which I still wish well (Horatio Walpole the elder to Walpole, 21 June 1751 , in HWC 14: 216).

16. You may be perfectly easy about Lady Laura: she has perfectly recovered her spirits and colour, though I own her grief **had taken** sole possession of her (Walpole to the Duchess of Gloucester, 27 September 1777, in HWC 36: 149).

Other verbs, such as *speak* and *choose*, have categorical use of the PRET form in PP context, as is illustrated by the following example (which is grammatically interesting for more than just the use of PRET for PP)[9] from Horace Walpole's language.

17. you have treated me, who have always loved you, have always tried to please you, **have** always **spoke** of you with regard, and who will yet be, if you will let me, Your affectionate brother and humble servant (Walpole to Sir Edward Walpole, 17 May 1745 OS, in HWC 36: 21).

Verbs with a categorical use within the network of either PRET or PP in a PP context cannot be used for testing claims about social network influence, since the network members do not vary in their usage. As noted in chapter 3, they are interesting in a further analysis concerning the question which verbs lead the change towards the fully codified use of PP over PRET in perfective, passive and adjectival or elliptical constructions in the irregular verb paradigm in

[9] In this case Walpole does not only use the PRET for PP in *have* ... *spoke*, but also uses the plural form *have* to refer to the singular object *me* in the construction "you have treated **me**, who **have** always loved you, who **have** ..." (Walpole to Sir Edward Walpole, 17 May 1745 OS, in HWC 36: 21).

present-day English. In the present chapter, however, I concentrate on explaining variation within the Walpole Family Network, and will therefore discuss the three verbs in which use of PRET for PP is found in this correspondence. The instances are listed in Table 5.5.: the verbs *break*, *show*, and *write*. The verb *strike* has a variant form in one instance, namely in adjectival use, but as it occurs in a poem sent by Edward Walpole to Horace Walpole, "And bids the **stricken** deer go weep" (Sir Edward Walpole to Walpole, 18 September 1777, HWC 36: 146), it has not been taken into account in this analysis because poetic language is far removed from informal prosaic writing, let alone from vernacular language use.

Again, the number of tokens for the construction is very small and the variation between the correspondents found for the verbs *break* and *show* is not statistically significant.[10] For the verb *break* we see that Maria Walpole varied equally between *broke* and *broken*, whereas Horace Walpole used *broke* more often, but does show variation in his usage. One might suggest that this is due to accommodation to Maria Walpole: his only use of the codified PP form is in letters to her, while to her father he only used the non-standard PRET forms. However, we cannot compare the results conclusively, since there are no data for Edward Walpole. The verb *show* has a similar distribution, but this time it is Edward who varied his use equally between *showed* and *shown*, whereas Maria and Horace both showed a categorical preference for the PP form. No sensible claims about linguistic influence can be made about these sparse data.

The verb *write* shows a different picture: the distribution of variants in this case is significant, due to the usage of Horace Walpole, which is quite

[10] *Break*: chi-square = 0.139. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 3.84. *Show*: Chi-square = 3.022. For significance at the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 5.99.

different from that of all the other correspondents.[11] Whereas the correspondents show full preference for the form *wrote* in PP context, Walpole is consistent in his use of *written*. Compare the examples in (18), from George Walpole, and (19), from Horace Walpole:

> 18. I **have wrote** to the Duke of Devonshire to desire he would vacate your seat and Sir John Turner will settle the time of issuing out the writ for your re-election (George Walpole to Walpole, 7 February 1757, in HWC 36: 33).
>
> 19. I know Lord Cholmondeley **had written** to the Duke and in truth I did not care to tell foreign post offices, though no secret, the confusion we were in (Walpole to the Duchess of Gloucester, 13 March 1783, in HWC 36: 208).

Horace Walpole in this case can be considered to be an innovator in this network, setting the norm for use of the modern form which was prescribed in the normative grammars of the period. Oldireva-Gustafsson (2002a: 268–273, esp. 269) also shows this in her case study of the variant forms in the verb *write*, and her findings demonstrate that Walpole used the form *written* but also its contracted form *writ,* as was confirmed in my study of the language of Walpole and Mann in chapter 3. It is impossible, however, to say anything about the operation of any linguistic influence within the network, nor can anything conclusive be said about whether or not Walpole was an innovator or early adopter and norm-enforcer within the network.

[11] *Write*: chi-square = 14. For significance and the .05 level, chi-square should be greater than or equal to 7.82, the distribution is therefore significant, and p is less than or equal to 0.01.

5.5. Concluding remarks

The rather unsatisfying results of my attempt at using an adapted NSS to try to explain linguistic influence within the Walpole Family Network can be ascribed to several factors. On the one hand, the problem of incomplete data has come up in several contexts in this chapter as a serious issue in trying to assess linguistic influence in the network: one cannot successfully interpret linguistic usage if there are not enough tokens to be studied in the language of many of the correspondents. The nature of the sources used plays a part in this: Horace Walpole's correspondence is likely to reveal much more about Horace Walpole's relationships with all his correspondents than about the relationships *between* the correspondents. Therefore, the Walpole Family Network is not easily studied for network-level phenomena such as the introduction of linguistic change. The use of a family network cluster, moreover, may not be the best choice for hypothesising about routes of linguistic influence: I have argued that the emotional relationships between family members are the deciding factor in their attitudes to language at the level of usage. However, these relationships are more difficult to describe than functional relationships. A network strength analysis that makes use of the full model as proposed by Bax (2000) is likely to find greater differences in scores and types of network tie, and will also be able to identify such ties. When analysing a family network, Fitzmaurice's (2000b) notion of coalition formation looks like a useful approach. This method can predict the direction of linguistic influence quite clearly, but can only do so for those directly involved. This is also what I found in the Walpole Family Network: those who are not involved in coalition formation are virtually impossible to provide with a network

strength score. In further research it would be interesting to further investigate dyadic ties by using CAT (Bax 2002).

Another factor which is not taken into account by the model as proposed by Bax (2000) is the fact that relationships may be asymmetrical not only in attitudinal factors but also because of factors such as age, generation, occupation and gender. This may be illustrated by the case of Horace Walpole, who cared very much for several of his younger relatives (see 5.4.1. above). If we characterise these ties as very close ones – or even if we characterise his relationship with these relatives in terms of Bax'ss (2000) model as that of a tie between friends – a possibility of reciprocal linguistic influence between Walpole and, for example, his niece Maria Walpole is implied. Alternatively, in the case of an asymmetrical tie, like the one between George Walpole and Horace Walpole, a linguistic influence of the younger nephew on Horace Walpole is expected. I propose, however, that it is likely that there is some form of hierarchy in the relationship between Horace and his nephews and nieces which cannot be expressed in terms of the current model, but which should effectively block linguistic influence from the child or youth to the adult, at least on a conscious level. The same holds for the factor gender, which I feel is underrepresented in the NSS as adapted from Milroy (1987) for the eighteenth century by Bax (2000). In any further study of social network strength as an influence on language use, components of generation and gender as hierarchical elements should also be taken into account, particularly when family members are dealt with.

However, the greatest complication in the analysis that has been conducted in this chapter has been the lack of linguistic data to prove or disprove hypothesised linguistic influence. Even when it was possible to fill gaps in the NSS with meta-linguistic information and background information

about the lives and relationships of the correspondents taken from other primary and secondary sources, in some cases simply too little linguistic evidence could be obtained from the corpus of correspondence to make argued and informed claims about the language and influence from one member of the network on another. This does not mean, however, that the method of social network analysis is not applicable in a historical context. It rather means that not all types of clusters are suited to linguistic or network analysis. A larger and preferably more balanced corpus of texts could be the key to a viable analysis, though this is probably also the hardest criterion to meet. After all, the Walpole correspondence is at present one of the largest collections of letters that is available in published and manuscript form. The linguistic features surveyed in this chapter all promise to be useful indicators of linguistic evidence if only enough linguistic material would be available to test it on, and I shall proceed to do this in the next chapter for one feature for which it was indeed possible to obtain more data. In the present chapter I have in any case been able to demonstrate that there possibly was a certain amount of linguistic influence from Maria Walpole, as a central network contact and early adopter, on other network members even though she was a (young) woman at the time. I have also demonstrated that especially Maria Walpole and Horace Walpole seem to use innovative language features more often than their fellow network members, and perhaps even more so than their contemporaries.

Chapter 6. Social network analysis and the problem of small numbers[1]

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will deal with the problem of small numbers of instances in sociohistorical linguistic analysis on the basis of data from the Horace Walpole correspondence. This, as I have demonstrated in chapter 5 above, is a particular challenge for linguists, and it has been argued that it can be approached from the viewpoint of what Labov calls "making the best use of bad data" (Labov 1994: 11). In focusing on this issue, I will discuss the kind of problems which seem to be inherent in the type of *bad data* that sociohistorical linguists use and in the models they have available for analysis, and propose possible strategies for dealing with these difficulties. My approach will draw on and combine two models that have been in use within social network analysis: what I have called in section 4.4 the classical model of network strength analysis, which is based largely on biographical and contextual information on the authors analysed, and a linguistic model for measuring linguistic involvement used as an indicator of network strength. These models will be applied to a closed network cluster in Horace Walpole's social network, for which I will analyse the language of his correspondence with Thomas Gray (1716–1771), Richard West (1716–1742) and Thomas Ashton (1715–1775). The linguistic feature I will analyse is the variation in the usage of *be* and *have* in constructions of the perfect with mutative intransitive verbs in order to test the suitability of the different models for explanatory purposes.

[1] This chapter is based on an earlier version of Henstra (2009). I am grateful to Anni Sairio for her helpful comments and suggestions during the writing of this chapter, as well as for the comments of anonymous readers of the original article.

6.2. The network cluster and the corpus

6.2.1. The correspondents

Within the greater network of the correspondents of Horace Walpole that is the object of this study I will focus in this chapter on the cluster in the network consisting of Walpole and his Eton school friends Ashton, Gray and West. With some of them Walpole maintained a lifelong friendship and correspondence. The group was very close knit and the young men even identified themselves by means of a special name: the "Quadruple Alliance" (HWC 13: xxiii). They also gave each other nicknames: according to the *ODNB*, "Ashton was Almanzor from John Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*; Walpole was Celadon from D'Urfé's *Astrée*; West was Favonius or Zephyrus from Latin names for west winds; and Gray was Orosmades from Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens*" (*ODNB*, s.v. Thomas Gray). Walpole is claimed by the editors of his correspondence to have been somewhat of a leader to the group: "[h]e assumed that rôle inevitably, not because he was the Prime Minister's son … but because he was gay and gregarious and had a gift for friendship" (HWC 13: xxiii). Perhaps this gift was an important factor in the development of the large network of friends and acquaintances with whom Walpole corresponded throughout his life.

Walpole had been at Eton from 1727 until 1734, when he went to the University of Cambridge to continue his education. At Cambridge, he joined his friend Thomas Ashton at King's College. Ashton was to make a career in the clergy, and is said to have been much furthered in this by Walpole. The editors of HWC note that Ashton is often "put down as a time-server who attached himself to the Prime Minister's son at Eton with a view to securing future preferments" (HWC 13: xxvii). Ashton and Walpole eventually fell out over a religious pamphlet written by Ashton in July 1750 as an attack on Walpole's

friend the reverend Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), and the break was never mended: after that time Thomas Ashton was no longer a part of Walpole's life and the correspondence between the two men ceased. The poet and literary scholar Thomas Gray is perhaps the best known of Walpole's correspondents dealt with in this chapter. After studying at Eton and Cambridge, Gray went on a European tour together with Walpole in 1739. It was not long into the trip, however, before the men experienced difficulties in travelling as friends. Gray and Walpole eventually each went their own way at Reggio in 1741 after an incident of which the nature has never become quite clear. They resolved their differences in 1745, however, and not so much rekindled, as recreated their friendship. The friendship in later life centred around the publishing of Gray's poetry by Robert Dodsley, in which Walpole was closely involved, while Gray also assisted Walpole in his historical research. The fourth member of the quadruple alliance is Richard West. He was with the others at Eton, but went to study at Oxford in 1735 instead of Cambridge. In September 1741, upon his return from Europe, Gray found their friend ill and declining. West died in London in 1742 at the age of only 26. Poetry was an important part of the lives of all four men, and their correspondence played an instrumental part in their poetical enterprises. As the *ONDB* puts it, "[m]ost of West's small output of poetry", for example, "was enclosed in letters to Gray" (*ODNB*, s.v. Richard West). West was considered by the others as "the truest poet among them" (HWC 13: xxviii), but because of his untimely death he would never mature to his full potential as a poet.

6.2.2. The letters

Throughout the correspondence, the four men are linked together by their shared love of poetry, music, art, classical culture and literature, which is also

reflected in the nicknames they gave each other (6.2.1). Their earliest letters abound in literary allusions and parodies, and they consequently often have a jocular tone, as the following letter from Gray to Walpole demonstrates:

> *To Mie Nuss att London*
>
> *Honner'd Nurse,*
>
> *This comes to let you know that I am in good health, but that I should not have been so if it had not been for your kind promise of coming to tend m e yourself and see the effect of your own prescription.*
> *And I should desire of you, so please you, as how that you would be so good as to be so kind as to do me the favour of bringing down with you a quantity of it, prepared as your grandmother's aunt, poor Mrs Hawthorn (God rest her soul, for she was as well a natured a good gentlewoman as ever broke bread or trod upon shoe-leather, though I say it that should not say it, for you know she was related to me, and marry, not a jot the worse, I trow!) used to make it. Now I would not put you to this trouble if I could provide myself of the ingredients here, but truly, when I went to the poticaries for a drachm of spirit of ridicule, the saucy jackanapes of a prentice-boy fleered at me, I warrant ye, as who should say, you don't know your errand. So by my troth, away ambles me I (like a fool as I came) home again, and when I came to look of your receipt, to be sure, there was spirit of RIDICULE in great letters, as plain as the nose in one's face. And so, back hurries I, in a making-water-while, as one may say; and when I came there, says I, you stripling, up-start, worsted-stocking, white-livered, lath-backed,s impudent princox, says I, abuse me that am your betters every day in the week, says I, you ill-begotten, pocky, rascally, damned son of a bitch, says I—for you know, when he put me in such a perilous passion how could one help telling him his own—why, 'twould have provoked any Christian? in the world, though 'twere a dog, to speak. And so if you'll be so kind, I'll take care you shall be satisfied for your trouble.*
> *So, this is all at present from Your ever-dutiful and most obedient and most affectionate loving god-daughter,*
> *PRU. OROSMADES*
>
> (Thomas Gray to Walpole, 17 November 1734, HWC 13:61-62)

Walpole's correspondence in later life is also often funny and full of allusions to art, political events and history, but none of those letters can match the plain fun that is emanating from the early letters written by the members of this

network cluster. In the letters the men often expressed how displeased they were at not seeing or hearing enough of each other, sometimes in a more serious tone, but often in a light-hearted and witty manner. In one of his letters Gray labours the point, for instance, that Walpole must think he is dead, or else he would not have neglected him so badly: "Dear *Dimidium animae meae,* As you take a great deal of pleasure in concluding that I am dead, and resolve not to let me live any longer; methinks you ought to be good to my ashes" (Gray to Walpole, ca. 29 December 1734, HWC 13: 69).

As the relationships matured and circumstances changed, so did the tone and content of the letters. The boyish jokes and wittiness in the early letters gave way (though never completely) to a more serious attempt at maintaining a friendship while physical distances increased. In the letters dating from after 1739, when Gray and Walpole were travelling the continent together, they tried to share as much of what they saw in Europe as they could with West and Ashton back in England:

> Ever since Wednesday, the day we were [at Versailles], we have done nothing but dispute about it. They say. We did not see it to advantage, that we ran through the apartments, saw the garden *en passant,* and slubbered over Trianon. I say, we saw nothing. However, we had time to see that the great front is a lumber of littleness, composed of black brick, stuck full of bad old busts, and fringed with gold rails (Walpole to West, 15 May 1739, HWC 13: 168).

It may be noted that the arts and culture were still important subjects in the lives and correspondence of the men, as they had been the case since their earliest days at Eton. Social gossip is a second recurring theme in their letters, a subject on which Walpole was able to employ his sarcastic but humorous tone to its full potential, jokingly, for instance, calling Lady Mary Wortley Montagu a

"she-meteor" and her conversations with two friends a "rhapsody of mystic nonsense" (Walpole to West, 31 July 1740, HWC 13: 227–228).

The correspondence between Gray and Walpole after their reconciliation in 1745 is also mainly concerned with art and poetry, though more in a practical way than in the allusive manner of their youthful letters:

> I am very glad my objections serve only to strengthen your first opinion about the subject of your picture; if I casually meet with anything more, I shall send it you. The reason I trouble you at present is to tell you that I have got in my hands the Dugdale Mr Chute inquired after (Gray to Walpole, 11 April 1754, HWC 14: 81).

After West's premature death in 1742 and Walpole's definitive break with Ashton in 1750, Gray and Walpole were the only two members left of the quadruple alliance. The later letters reflect the lasting closeness between Walpole and Gray, a closeness which was maintained perhaps because of their shared history, certainly because of their shared interests in art, history and culture. Ironically enough, the men also shared a medical problem, which occupied both to a great extent in the latter part of their lives: "You are very kind to inquire so particularly after my gout: I wish I may not be too circumstantial in my answer; but you have tapped a dangerous topic; I can talk gout by the hour" (Walpole to Gray, 19 November 1765, HWC 14: 142).

6.2.3. The corpus for analysis

The first of the problems concerning models and data that needs to be addressed here has to do with the nature of the material which is available to me, which was referred to in chapter 5 as the problem of *bad data*. The problem in question may be best illustrated by a description of the corpus which I have compiled for the current linguistic analysis. The corpus is divided

into three discrete periods, based on the background information about the correspondents and their letters discussed above. Period I, from April 1734 to March 1739, is the time at which the correspondents were first in transition from Eton to university and later when they were all at their respective colleges. However, being at university did not necessarily imply a permanent physical presence there: the men went on trips abroad and were sometimes otherwise away from university during lengthy periods of time. It is noted in the *ODNB*, for example, that Walpole "left Cambridge … after increasingly erratic appearances there" (*ODNB*, s.v. Horace Walpole). This is the period of the early letters in which the correspondents can be seen to mature from boys to gentlemen. The sub-corpus of Period II, from March 1739 to July 1741, consists of the letters written by Walpole and Gray during their tour on the continent, to West and Ashton at home, and of the letters from England to the continent. Period III, ranging from July 1741 to March 1771, consists of the letters by Walpole and Gray in their adult life, when they were the only two members of the quadruple alliance left, after West's death and the break with Ashton. The three periods represent different phases in the lives of the correspondents, and also different phases in the network: as discussed in chapter 3, the make-up of a social network is dynamic, networks change with time and circumstances as relationships do, and these three periods will therefore represent three radically different network structures for one and the same group of people. This should reflect possible changes in the linguistic reality of the network as well.

The overview of the corpus per period, presented in Table 6.1., instantly reveals a number of weaknesses and gaps in the corpus:

	Correspondent	Number of letters	Number of words
Period I: April 1734 to March 1739	Gray to Walpole	38	13,761
	West to Walpole	10	4553
	Ashton to Walpole *	1*	77*
	Walpole to Gray	1	1003
	Walpole to West	3	1053
	Total	***53***	***20,447***
Period II: March 1739 to July 1741	Gray to West	3	1062
	West to Walpole	7	4014
	Ashton to Walpole *	1*	549*
	Walpole to West	17	13,298
	Walpole to Ashton	3	1926
	Total	***31***	***20,849***
Period III: July 1741 to March 1771	Gray to Walpole	88	28,229
	Walpole to Gray	11	8859
	Walpole to West *	1*	481*
	Total	***100***	***37,569***

Table 6.1. Overview of the corpus per period (correspondences consisting of less than 1000 words have been marked with an asterisk)

In Period I there is hardly any material from Ashton. There are also only a few letters from Walpole, though the word count for those letters is higher than that for Ashton and should be sufficient for some cautious linguistic analyses. Since Period II is the time during which Walpole and Gray travelled through Europe together, there are no letters from Walpole and Gray to each other for this period. Gray did finish three of Walpole's letters to West, though, so we get some glimpse of Gray's language use in that period through these letters. Finally, for Period III there is only the correspondence between Gray and Walpole, since West had died in the meantime (only one letter remains, sent to West by Walpole after his return from the continent and shortly before West's death). Very small corpora cannot realistically be used for linguistic analysis,

and I have here marked correspondences of less then 1000 words (which is the minimum number of words on which, for practical purposes, I have decided in this specific analysis) with an asterisk. These parts of the corpus have not been used in the linguistic analysis which follows. What furthermore may be noted is the great unevenness in the number of letters and amount of text available for each of the correspondents. Overall, the writings of Gray to Walpole and of Walpole to West seem to be overrepresented in this corpus.

Focused historical corpora such as this one are likely to be (problematically) unbalanced and to contain gaps, since, as I have already discussed in chapters 2 and 5, as a researcher one is completely dependent on the historical material which is available for the selected informants in compiling a corpus. When performing linguistic analysis, the potential problem involved with underrepresentation or overrepresentation of certain correspondents in the corpus needs to be kept in mind. Even if the linguistic data are normalised to occurrences per 1000 words, the corpus itself remains unbalanced and therefore generalisations about the language of a network in relation to, for example, general eighteenth-century usage are to be made cautiously. It is true that historical linguists often have no choice but to work with what they have at their disposal, which is therefore often enough called *bad data.* However, I would also like to point out that in the kind of sociohistorical research which is described in this paper the use of focused rather than representative corpora for a micro or idiolectal analysis, rather than for making general statements on the state of the language, is a common practice.

6.3. Applying two models for sociolinguistic analysis

6.3.1. The classical network strength scale

For my analysis of the data from the Walpole correspondence Eton Network Cluster, I will draw on what I have called the classical network strength scale following Milroy (1987) (see chapter 4). One of the main propositions of that model is that closed or dense network clusters are able to maintain a norm of their own and that someone's relative integration into a network is one of the best predictors of linguistic behaviour. As the "Quadruple Alliance" in its full form qualifies as a closed network cluster, the model seems particularly appropriate to use. I will use the model as set out in chapter 4 but in the adapted form as proposed in section 4.3.3.; including notions on coalition formation taken from Fitzmaurice (2000b) as well as the comments made by Sairio (2005) that a scale from immediacy to distance, rather than Bax'ss scale from friend to enemy (Bax 2000), would be better suited for quantifying emotional relationships in historical data. The model adopted here thus consists of a functional and an emotional element, and I will consider all respective relationships within the Eton network cluster, assigning points accordingly. For full details, see Table 4.1. in chapter 4 above. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.2 below.

What can be seen from the results of the application of the network strength scale to the Walpole Eton Network in Table 6.2. is that network scores indeed differ greatly between the correspondents in the three discrete periods of time. It should be taken into account, though, that these periods were defined on the basis of the available biographical and contextual information about the different phases in the lives of the men and their friendships. The changes in network strength scores and relationships over time are in

accordance with the idea that relationships are in essence dynamic. In 5.5.1 I proposed a view of the network strength scale as a 'snapshot' of a social network at a particular time, while this particular time can also be a longer period which in case of any relative stability may still be characterised as a discrete one within the relationship.

			Correspondent B			
	Correspondent and period		*Gray*	*West*	*Ashton*	*Walpole*
Correspondent A	***Gray***	I		3	5	5
		II		2	2	6
		III		–	–2	4
	West	I	3		3	3
		II	2		3	2
		III	–		–	–
	Ashton	I	5	5		6
		II	2	3		2
		III	–2	–		–2
	Walpole	I	5	3	6	
		II	6	2	2	
		III	4	–	–2	
	Total network integration score of B	***I***	***13***	***11***	***14***	***14***
		II	***10***	***7***	***7***	***10***
		III	***2***	***–***	***–4***	***2***

Table 6.2. The network strength scale for the Walpole Family Network per correspondent and period analysed.

In this case the three periods represent three such *snapshots*, and the changes between the periods may be seen as representing the dynamic nature of the relationships between the four men. I have already cited Fitzmaurice's observation that in asymmetrical relationships "an individual may change network strength score with a shift from being the recipient of a non-reciprocal tie to gaining recognition as a reciprocal actor" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 271) (4.5). However, no traces of shifting asymmetry within the network relationships can

be found in the classical network strength analysis presented in Table 6.2. This is due to the nature of the information upon which the analysis is based: this network analysis is wholly symmetrical, which is perhaps indicative of its rather generalised nature.

A basic premise of social network analysis is that if a network tie is stronger (represented in the current model by a higher network strength score between two members), influence is more likely to travel from one person to the other. If a network consists of many strong ties (and the total network integration scores are therefore high), the network may be considered dense, with, consequently, a likelihood of a strong internal norm being in operation. Networks which consist of weaker ties may be considered more open and are therefore more susceptible to the introduction of change (see Milroy 1987: 185–191). Looking at networks from the perspective of the individual one may say that a stronger tie between correspondents promotes the upkeep of the relationship-internal and network-internal linguistic norms by means of the travel of linguistic influence between the correspondents; on the other hand, a weaker, or in this model sometimes negative, tie leaves the correspondent more open to change from the outside and at the same time makes it less likely for him – in the case of the Eton Network Cluster – to be affected by the operation of the internal norm through linguistic influence within the network, since a weak tie represents a less responsive attitude towards any internal norm-enforcing influences. Given these general principles, the question arises as to what the network strength scale in Table 6.2. implies for the possibilities of linguistic influence between Walpole and the other members of the network cluster.

In Period I, the time during which Walpole and his friends were at university, all correspondents were very close to each other, although West

was slightly less connected. I have visualised the differences in connection strength as found in Table 6.2 by using thinner lines in Figure 6.1.

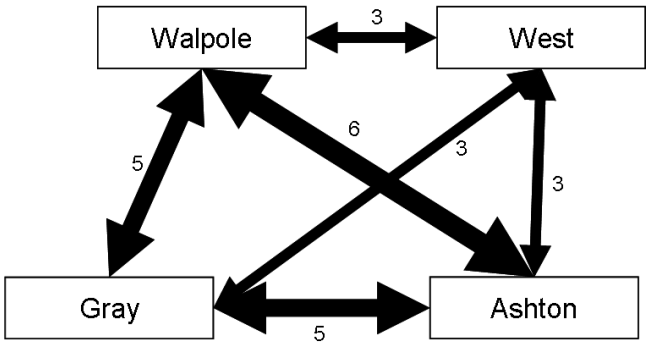

Figure 6.1. The Eton Network Cluster during Period I: April 1734 – March 1739

West was living away in Oxford at the time, and he therefore fulfils fewer functional relationship conditions than the other members of the network cluster who were living and studying in Cambridge together. In this network structure West, as the least integrated network member, is "relatively more *exposed* to the influence" (Milroy 1987: 196) of some outside or different norm, and he is therefore someone who would be able to introduce change into the network cluster. The scores of Ashton and Walpole are both slightly higher than those of the others, because they also lived at King's College together, and therefore fulfil an extra functional criterion. The possibility of linguistic influence is expected to be substantial between all network members, but also to be relatively equal between them.

During Period II, for which see Figure 6.2. below, there are literally two fronts: West and Ashton are in England on the one side of the diagram, and Walpole and Gray are taking the grand tour of Europe together on the other. Looking at the total network integration, the network integration scores for Walpole and Gray are much higher than those for West and Ashton, which

makes them more central to the network. Therefore the language of West and Ashton may be expected to approximate that of Gray and Walpole. Possible linguistic influence is also expected within the two groups, in a symmetrical way, with the network members adapting their language to one another.

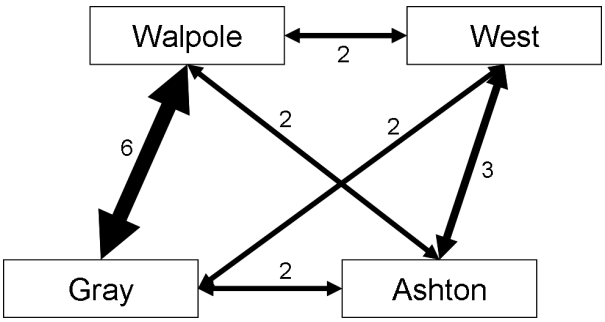

Figure 6.2. The Eton Network Cluster during Period II: March 1739 – July 1741

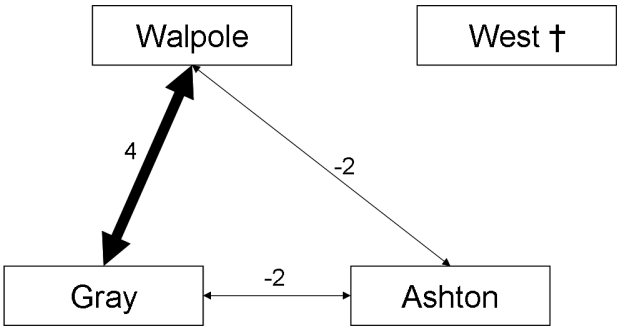

Figure 6.3. The Eton Network Cluster during Period III: July 1741 – March 1771

During Period III, represented in Figure 6.3., there is no longer a network score for West, as he had died at its very beginning, in 1742. Ashton is now an outsider to the network, due to his disagreement and subsequent break with Walpole. Gray and Walpole had reconciled in 1745: “In November 1745 …

Walpole wrote offering a meeting, and Gray went up to London, to be kissed on both cheeks … Ashton was no longer a person of significance in Gray's eyes" (*ODNB*, s.v. Thomas Gray). Gray sided with Walpole in his disagreement with Ashton. They would therefore be expected to dissociate linguistically from Ashton and *vice versa*, whereas the two friends are expected to have influenced each other reciprocally because of their close contact during the latter part of their lives (see Bax 2002 for more on CAT).

The closeness between Gray and Walpole during this period stems, among other things, from their shared enterprise of publishing Gray's poetry. However, due to the nature of the classical network strength model, the total integration score of the network is much lower here. There are fewer people and there are fewer functional relationships between them. One might wonder, though, whether this means that the network is actually to be considered weaker and thus more open to change from outside, or not. Gray and Walpole are clearly working together on a shared enterprise, a manner of closeness which perhaps cannot be expressed specifically enough in the current model (see also the application of Fitzmaurice's ideas on coalition formation (2000b) as discussed in chapters 4 and 5).

A second problem that needs to be raised here as being inherent in working with sociohistorical linguistic data and models, therefore, has to do with the risk of interpretation and generalisation in an analysis such as that of the Walpole Eton Network Cluster. It was noted that the basis of the classical network strength scale lies in the interpretation of biographical and contextual background information, as well as of the content of the correspondence. In this case the data consist of a network of informants who are no longer alive and therefore cannot be asked directly about their social situations. The best use of these *bad data* is made by interpreting the information we have from

first, sometimes second and often even third-hand parties. In chapter 5 I posited that many gaps in existing data can be filled that way, but that in the interpretation from contextual sources one is limited by the reliability of the second-hand information and the type of sources: was a personal letter written with possible other readers in mind? What is the influence of the subjective filter through which an observer describes a situation on the reliability of that background information? As discussed in chapter 4 (see table 4.2.), the nature of the sources used determines the reliability of the network analysis, and the most trustworthy source for background information is an author's private diary. Personal letters range somewhere in the middle of the continuum of reliability. Moreover, in the interpretation of the information there is also a risk that one only sees what is expected or what is a desired result, rather than a possibly more complicated or perhaps unclear truth.

A third problem to be considered in the context is that, in the light of the dynamic nature of relationships, the periods which I presented as relatively coherent periods of time in the analysis above are perhaps much too long and unequal (ranging from five to thirty years) to be seen as discrete, stable and comparable units. However, there are not enough data for analysing the relationships over much shorter time-spans. In analyses like the present one, a choice has to be made between discerning trends over longer periods of time, or taking snapshots of shorter periods, which has as a major drawback that there are often not enough data available to devise a reliable network analysis, or, indeed, to perform a linguistic analysis. The interpretation of network strength as discussed above for Walpole and his Eton correspondents must be seen as very tentative. This does not mean, however, that a classical network strength scale cannot be a useful tool for research, though one needs to be

cautious in applying it in view of the possibility of misinterpreting the available information.

6.3.2. Linguistic involvement

Whereas the classical network strength model of social network analysis is, for use in historical periods, very much dependent on the interpretation of background information, the model of analysis used by Sairio (2005), based on the work on involvement by Chafe (1985) and Palander-Collin (1999a, 1999b), hinges purely on linguistic elements, namely features of involvement (see chapter 3). According to this model, a higher degree in linguistic involvement is expected to coincide with a closer relationship in network terms (comparable to a higher network strength score in the classical model). In the following section I will apply a version of a linguistic involvement analysis to Walpole, Gray, Ashton and West, creating what I will call an *involvement* strength scale, in order to compare the implications of the results with those of the classical network strength scale discussed above.

As set out in chapter 4, the elements which make up an involvement score (calculated as a number of tokens per 1000 words) belong to three types. Firstly, there is self-involvement, including the use of first person pronouns, evidential constructions such as the use of *I think* and other references to the writer's mental processes. For the purpose of the present analysis I have adopted the list of evidential verbs given in Sairio (2005: 26) which consists of the verbs *think, know, believe, suppose, find, be sure* and *doubt*. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate this type of usage in the language of Walpole and his friends:

1. I am obliged on the sudden to come hither to see my poor mother, who is in a condition between life and death, though **(I think)** much nearer the latter (Gray to Walpole, 27 February 1753, HWC 14: 66).

2. The uncertainty of my silly health might have made me the duller companion, as you know very well; for which reason, fate took care to remove me out of your way; but my letters, **I am sure**, at least carry sincerity enough in them to recommend me to any one that has a curiosity (West to Walpole, 27 February 1737, HWC 13: 127).

Secondly, there is hearer-involvement, or in this case, rather adressee-involvement, which includes the use of what Chafe (1985: 117) calls "ubiquitous" *you know*, an example of which is given in (3), and the use of second person pronouns, for which see (4):

3. for we must give the Spaniards another drubbing, **you know** (Walpole to West, 20 July 1739, HWC 13: 180).

4. We have miserable weather for the season; could **you** think I was writing to **you** by my fireside at Rome in the middle of May (Walpole to Ashton, 14 May 1740 N.S., HWC 13: 214–215)?

By nature of the current concordance-based analysis of the texts, instances of *you know* function doubly as tokens of adressee-involvement (counted both as second person pronoun *you* and an instance of "ubiquitous" *you know)*. This is a problematical factor which is to be reconsidered carefully in future use of the model.

And finally there is subject-involvement, which is here represented by the use of intensifying degree adverbs such as *very* and *so*. For my analysis I have followed the features analysed by Sairio (2005: 26–27), including the intensifier adverbs *very, so, quite, pretty* and *really*, in which she applies Chafe's notion that subject-involvement, as "a speaker's lively interest in the subject matter being communicated", may be found in the use of "vivid particles" (Chafe 1985: 117). This is illustrated by examples (5) and (6):

5. I'm **pretty** sure, if I were divided into two persons one half would forget t'other very quickly (West to Walpole, 15 October 1739 O.S., HWC 13: 185).

6. About a month ago he was three votes of being Pope. He did not apply to any party, but went gleaning privately from all, and of a sudden burst out with a number; but too soon, and that threw him **quite** out (Walpole to Ashton, 15 May 1740 N.S., HWC 13: 214–215).

In Table 6.3., the results of the involvement analysis for the Walpole Eton Network Cluster can be found:

Period I	**Gray to HW**	**West to HW**	**HW to Gray**	**HW to West**
1st pers. pro.	56.1	66.11	30.9	46.53
2nd pers. pro.	31.03	25.92	2.99	31.34
you know	0.58	1.1	0	0
evidential	3.63	5.05	1.99	3.8
degree adverb	9.23	9.44	7.98	4.75
Involvement	***100.57***	***107.62***	***43.86***	***86.42***

Period II	Gray to West	West to HW	HW to West	HW to Ashton
1st pers. pro.	38.61	64.77	44.44	50.36
2nd pers. pro.	25.42	36.12	16.91	12.46
you know	0	1.99	0.53	1.04
evidential	0.94	5.48	3.53	5.71
degree adverb	8.47	9.97	7.82	5.71
Involvement	***73.44***	***118.33***	***72.23***	***75.28***

Period III	Gray to HW	HW to Gray
1st pers. pro.	46.76	55.31
2nd pers. pro.	25.36	17.83
you know	0.38	0.45
evidential	4.14	4.97
degree adv.	6.09	9.37
Involvement	***82.73***	***87.93***

Table 6.3. Network involvement scores per correspondent and per period, expressed in number of tokens per 1000 words (HW = Horace Walpole)

Once again, a few possibly problematical issues for this model present themselves quite clearly. Firstly, because of the small size of some of the sub-corpora, some involvement features do not occur in every period for every correspondent. This makes the total involvement score, which is an aggregate of all of the involvement features' frequencies per 1000 words, less reliable: if for instance an intensifying degree adverb does not occur in a sample which is only slightly larger than 1000 words, that does not necessarily mean that its mean frequency per 1000 words in a larger sample would also be zero. This is a clear drawback of working with very small sub-corpora.

Secondly, as noted in chapter 4, because the data for the network model are taken from the same textual sources as will be studied for linguistic properties in light of the network make up, there is a risk of circular reasoning. Also, some of the features are subject to linguistic change in the period or thereafter, and text-type may also influence the occurrence and frequency of some of the linguistic parameters. For all these reasons, I feel a linguistic analysis like this should always be combined with other data, as I will argue in section 6.5.2. as well.

Thirdly, because the involvement model draws wholly on linguistic data, it is impossible to devise an involvement score for all network members relating to each of the other network members for all three periods of time, which was indeed possible in the network strength scale using biographical background information for periods from which no letters exist (see 6.3.1). The gaps which are left by the lack of linguistic data for certain network members during particular periods of time become more clearly visible when the total involvement scores are ordered in the same way as for a classical network strength analysis into what I have called an involvement strength scale, in Table 6.4.

Correspondent A	Correspondent B					
	Correspondent and period		*Gray*	*West*	*Ashton*	*Walpole*
	Gray	I II III		73.44		100.57 82.73
	West	I II III				107.62 118.33
	Ashton	I II III				
	Walpole	I II III	43.86 87.93	86.42 72.23	75.28	

Table 6.4. Involvement strength scale (B is scored for the total involvement as expressed in A's letters to B in that specific period)

We see, for instance, that it is impossible to devise a reliable score for Ashton's language due to the very limited data, less than 1000 words, we have of his language and the same holds for the single last letter from Walpole to West from period III. However, in leaving so many gaps, the model using involvement is in a way more suited to the linguistic variation it is supposed to help explain, since both analyses are purely linguistic: a network analysis based on involvement in this fashion will show the same gaps in the data as an analysis of a linguistic feature within the same network.This may be considered a positive side to the circularity of reasoning which checking linguistic data against a linguistically based model entails. Comparable to classical network strength scores, a higher involvement score signals the possibility of greater linguistic influence. I will therefore now take a closer look at the total involvement scores for this model and what their implications are for predicted

linguistic influence in the network, as was done for the classical network strength scale.

Firstly, the asymmetry which was absent from the network strength scale, perhaps due to interpretational difficulties of the relatively sparse background information, is clearly present in the results from the application of the involvement model. If we are to interpret a high involvement score as a high network strength score, we see that the current model suggests that Gray, whose involvement score towards Walpole is almost twice as high as vice versa, is possibly influenced by Walpole in Period I. This is in agreement with Fitzmaurice's remark that "[i]t may be rare for an interpersonal tie to be perceived in the same way by both of its actors", a contrast which is "captured in the notions of asymmetry and reciprocity" (Fitzmaurice 2000b: 271). As discussed in chapter 4, recipients of non-reciprocal ties very likely present the route by which social influence is transmitted. The convergence of linguistic choices between two correspondents can in that way be said to reflect the desire of one correspondent to be approved of by the other. Translating this into the involvement model leads us to expect that in the case of asymmetrical relationships, influence is likely to travel from the person who is less involved to the person who is more involved in the relationship. However, more extensive linguistic analysis is needed to provide more evidence for ideas on asymmetrical relationships and linguistic influence, and discussion of influence is therefore still necessarily highly theoretical and hypothetical.

In Figure 6.4. we see that in Period I Walpole is less involved with, and less connected to Gray than Gray is to Walpole, and possible linguistic influence is therefore expected to travel from Walpole to Gray: Gray is expected to accommodate (either consciously or subconsciously, see Bax 2002)

to Walpole's language. The relationship with West seems to be more equal. As noted above, no score is available for Ashton due to lack of linguistic material.

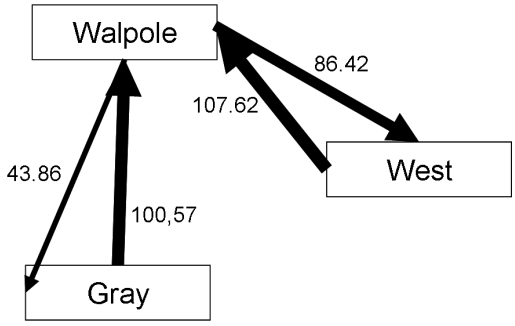

Figure 6.4. The Eton Network Cluster during Period I: April 1734 – March 1739.

For Period II, represented in Figure 6.5., we see asymmetry between West and Walpole. This asymmetry leads us to expect an influence of Walpole on West. There is also asymmetry between Walpole and Ashton and Gray and West but this is caused by the non-existence of letters from Ashton to Walpole and West to Gray, and therefore we cannot presuppose any direction of influence.

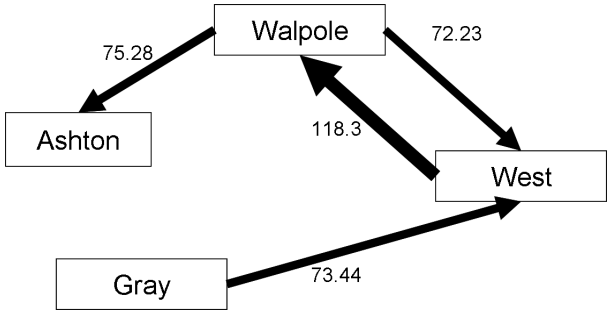

Figure 6.5. The Eton Network Cluster during Period II: March 1739 – July 1741.

The possibility should be considered though that the lower involvement scores may not be entirely due to social network related causes. We see that

Walpole's involvement with West in Period II, during the European tour, decreases. However, both Walpole and Gray's writing in Period II are less involved than that of West, as one would perhaps expect with the greater physical distance between the correspondents and the lack of day-to-day contact. It may also be due to influence from other external factors, such as the fact that the content of the letters from Period II consists mostly of travel descriptions, that the writing of the two travellers shows less personal and interpersonal involvement during Period II. As I noted before, the linguistic make up of a text is also influenced by its genre, and travel writing might have to be considered a different kind of text type than personal correspondence. It is not unikely that the letters from abroad therefore have different linguistic properties, which influence the results of the involvement analysis. Notwithstanding these considerations, West's asymmetrically high involvement is in line with the idea that he wants to belong to a group to which he does not belong: the travellers. This would make linguistic accommodation by West to Walpole more likely.

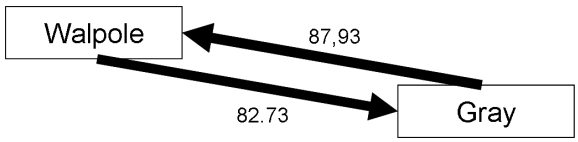

Figure 6.6. The Eton Network Cluster during Period III: July 1741– March 1771

Period III, visualised in Figure 6.6., shows an almost symmetrical relationship between Gray and Walpole with a relative closeness which suggests some possible reciprocal influence. The one remaining letter between Walpole and West does not contain enough linguistic data to devise a reliable involvement score for Walpole towards West in Period III.

In the previous discussion I have illustrated a third problem which is linked to the data and models that sociohistorical linguists use: the influence of external factors other than social network integration on linguistic reality. The analysis of the network above, which is rather general, shows that the linguistic basis of the involvement model makes the model more suited to the data and less dependent on interpretation, but at the same time also more open to the influence of other external factors on linguistic reality. Extra-linguistic factors other than social network integration may have an influence on the occurrence of involvement markers in the language of the correspondents; linguistic changes (such as the subjectification of evidential verbs, see Brinton 2006) and the influence of text-type are only two possibilities. Speech and writing are two radically different media. Chafe (1985) focuses on the differences between spoken and written language on the basis of features like involvement, and states that in spoken discourse "[t]here is involvement with the speaker's own ego, with the process of interaction with the hearer, and with subject matter", whereas "[w]ritten language lacks these manifestations of involvement" (Chafe 1985: 122). He also notes, however, that "[t]hese generalizations apply best to the extremes of spoken and written language" (Chafe 1985: 122), which is supported by Palander-Collin's remark that "Biber and Finegan (1989, 1997) … addressed register variation and identified linguistic features characteristic of different written and speech-based genres … showing that personal letters contain a high number of so-called involved features" (Palander-Collin 1999b: 129). Sairio argues that "[i]n a later study by Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 107, 111) personal letters were seen to show the highest amount of ego involvement when compared with conversations, lectures and academic papers" (Sairio 2005: 24).

However, although personal letters are more *speechlike* than other genres of writing, letters are still a fundamentally written medium. As Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009:122) notes, "Letters [...] are *not* speech, and should be treated accordingly". Furthermore, it would be unwise to treat personal letters as a single text type, especially because of their varied forms and subject matter (see for instance Görlach 2004: 23-88). In the involvement analysis for the Walpole network during Period II, I argued that the differences in the levels of involvement between Gray and Walpole on the one hand and West on the other may have to do with the content and perhaps the genre of their letters. Therefore, even while using a purely linguistic model, for historical linguistic analysis one always needs to take notice of contextual information and subject matter. Involvement analysis can be a very useful tool, I believe, in predicting or explaining linguistic influence, but perhaps not in a completely straightforward way. It is important to watch out for overgeneralising influences on language such as text type and underestimating the influence of other extra-linguistic factors when devising a model of linguistic influence which is itself linguistically based.

6.4. Linguistic analysis and evaluation of results

After having looked at the material and the two different models, and having noted some of the problems and possibilities of their application, I will now turn to the language in the present corpus in order to see whether the predictions about possible linguistic influence in the Walpole Eton Network Cluster, based on the two models, are in line with the linguistic data. To this end, I have carried out an analysis of variation in the use of *be* and *have* in the perfect with mutative intransitive verbs such as *I am come* and *he was gone to town*. As already discussed in chapter 5, during the eighteenth century a shift

occurred from the predominant use of *be* to *have* as in modern usage and I expect to find evidence of this development in the language of the Walpole Eton Network Cluster as well. Rydén and Brorström describe a levelling development in the *be/have* paradigm for mutative intransitives during the LModE period (1700–1900), which led to "an almost complete *have* dominance" in the nineteenth century (1987: 197). For this analysis I have adopted the list of verbs from Rydén / Brorström (1987: 234–265). Table 6.5. below shows the results of the analysis of *be/have* variation with these verbs. Once again, the results show a number of gaps, and a number of zero and very low token counts. Similar results were obtained for the Walpole Family Network in chapter 6, which probably has to do with the relatively small corpus of letters which is available for the analysis carried out there. For now, I will only discuss the results of the analysis in the context of the focus of the present study, asking the following question: can the social network model (in two different manifestations) be successfully used to explain linguistic variation in a network context and at the level of the individual?

The results of my analysis of *be/have* variation which were obtained for the Walpole Eton Network cluster can now be compared to the expectations raised by the two different models as discussed above. For Period I, the classical network strength scale predicted possible linguistic influence between all correspondents. The involvement model led to expectations of possible influence from Walpole upon Gray as well as linguistic convergence for all correspondents. Unfortunately, the analysis of *be* and *have* seems insufficient for a reliable comparison and test of the models, for this period at least, since there are no data from Walpole. Therefore, any influence which includes Walpole cannot be tested, and since there are no letters from, for

example, Ashton to West or West to Gray in Period I, the prediction of all-round linguistic convergence cannot be tested either.

	Period I: 1734–1739			
	Number of tokens		Percentage of use	
	be	*have*	*be*	*have*
Gray to West				
Gray to HW	9	3	75	25
West to HW	1*	2*	33.33*	66.67*
HW to Gray	0*	0*	0*	0*
HW to West	0*	0*	0*	0*
Total	*10*	*5*	*66.67*	*33.33*

	Period II: 1739–1741			
	Number of tokens		Percentage of use	
	be	*have*	*be*	*have*
Gray to West	1*	1*	50*	50*
Gray to HW				
West to HW	2*	2*	50*	50*
HW to Gray				
HW to West	15	4	78.95	21.05
Total	*18*	*7*	*72*	*28*

	Period III: 1741–1771			
	Number of tokens		Percentage of use	
	be	*have*	*be*	*have*
Gray to West				
Gray to HW	11	8	57,89	42.11
West to HW				
HW to Gray	5	4	55.56	44.44
HW to West				
Total	*16*	*12*	*57,14*	*42.86*

Table 6.5. Variation in the use of *be* and *have* in perfective constructions with mutative intransitives (numbers of tokens which are too small to draw reliable conclusions about usage have here been marked with an asterisk)

In the second period the network strength analysis predicted influence from Walpole and Gray on West and Ashton, as well as linguistic convergence within the two separate groups. The involvement model also predicted an influence of Walpole on West. Because the linguistic analysis yields no results

for Walpole and Gray (since there are no letters between them in the CHWC), we cannot test any of these claims. The Thomas Gray Archive[2] lists a number of unlocated letters and letters which are not extant, as well as one French letter from West to Gray and/or Walpole, as well as seven letters from Gray to Ashton which I have not been able to study and some of which are in private collections.

West's usage in Period II shows an equal preference for *be* and *have*, while there was a tentative *have* preference in Period I (two instances of *have* versus one of *be*). Walpole shows a clear preference for *be*, so this could be seen as West adapting to Walpole, which is what is expected in both models. However, West's results are based on only three tokens in the first period and another four in the second period, so no significant claims can be made here.

For Period III we see a convergence in the usage of Walpole and Gray (their usage percentages are virtually the same), which confirms the predictions from both models. Moreover, both men show a decreasing preference for *be*, towards the modern usage of *have* in these constructions. Gray's use in period II seems somewhat more modern than in period III, albeit a tentative conclusion, regarding the very low number of instances. Periods I and III are the only periods for which a slightly larger number of tokens is available, I have therefore disregarded the asterisked data in Table 6.5. There could be several reasons for this besides influence on each other. Walpole and Gray may, for instance, also have been influenced by the publication of normative grammars (though one may wonder whether they belonged to the

[2] The Thomas Gray Archive is, according to the website "a fully browseable, searchable and annotated digital archive of the life and works of Thomas Gray (1716-1771)" , which is currently housed at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University <http://www.thomasgray.org/>.

intended audience of those books) which condemned the use of *be* in these types of constructions.

The seemingly disappointing results of this analysis may still provide some new questions and directions that will be relevant for continuing research along these lines. It would, for instance, be interesting to make a further separation in Period III, somewhere in the middle of the eighteenth century, representing the time before and after the rise in the publication of normative grammars such as Lowth's (1762), in order to look at whether the normative linguistic environment which is represented by the grammars led to a decrease in the usage of the construction with *be*. Conversely, it might be asked whether the language of the upper class in the middle of the eighteenth century may actually have been a model for the norm as it was written down in the grammars. McFadden (2007) for instance, who mainly concentrated in his paper on the linguistic context of the variation in usage of *be* and *have* with mutative intransitives, mentions the decrease of the use of *be* in mutative intransitive perfects in the second half of the eighteenth century as a puzzle that cannot be solved by purely linguistically driven change. Could it be more than a coincidence that this puzzling change coincides with the time in which the publication of so many grammars allowed a normative influence to make itself felt?

6.5. Suggestion for further research: the combination model

It has been demonstrated in the discussion of the methods and the several case studies above that the models for network strength analysis that have been used hitherto have all had their own challenges: concerning their fit with the data, the reliability of the information that was needed to be able to analyse the network, the influence of external factors on the results and the

reliance of the models on the subjective interpretation of background information. As a suggestion for further research I would like to make the case for a combination model. With the suggested model I aim to avoid these issues as much as possible, for instance by combining sociometric with cognitive data, as suggested by Fitzmaurice (2000a: 205). The basis of the NSS goes back to Milroy (1987), but comes more directly from Sairio (2009b). Sairio's model was based on Fitzmaurice (2007) and also took some suggestions from Henstra (2008, see chapter 5), which in turn was based on Bax (2000). Following Fitzmaurice (2007) I use a 5-point scale ranging from 0 to 4, for two reasons. Firstly, unlike was attempted in Henstra (2008, see chapter 5) there is no need to use negative scores for the more distant relationships, which complicated the statistical analysis of network strength a great deal. Secondly, the greater differences in scores between network members, created by a broader bandwidth of scoring the ties, simplifies interpretation by enlarging the differences between the network members, it also makes it possible to compare the classical NSS with involvement scores which have been recalculated to a 5-point scale. What I shall call the *first layer* of analysis can be found in Table 6.6. below.

I recall here Milroy (1987) saying that the chosen indicators must "must reflect … conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies, in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by the local community" and that "[t]hey must be recoverable from data collected in the field and easily verifiable" (Milroy 1987: 141). The indicators in the model in Table 6.6. are based on previous research by Bax (2000), Fitzmaurice (2007), Sairio (2005, 2008, 2009a) and myself (2008, 2009, the current study) and have been shown by Sairio (2009b) to be at least in some sense effective measures of network strength. The interpretation of

these parameters will differ for each network: in this case I have adapted some terms for use with Walpole's network, and in turn they may be adapted again for other networks. These adaptations will be discussed below. For the other terms I follow Sairio (2009b: 149-152).

1. Same domicile		
	yes often (e.g., during the season) rarely (e.g., abroad) no	4 points 3 points 1 point 0 points
2. Type of relationship		
	intimates kin acquaintances not acquainted	4 points 3 points 2 points 0 points
3. Same social circle		
	yes: primary yes: secondary no	4 points 2 points 0 points
4. Professional collaboration		
	yes: balanced/"giver" yes: "receiver" no	4 points 2 points 0 points
5. Social status		
	equals superior inferior	4 points 2 points 0 points
6. Age		
	same generation older generation younger generation	4 points 2 points 0 points
7. Gender		
	same other	4 points 0 points
8. Previous network connection		
	yes no	2 point 0 points

Table 6.6. The proposed NSS. Layer 1: functional analysis (based on Sairio 2009b: 149-152)

An option that I have added for the Walpole network in the parameter "relationship type" is kinship. Friendship and kinship are somewhat problematical notions for the eighteenth century, as was noted in chapter 5 and also in Sairio (2009b: 149). However, since some of Walpole's correspondents are family members and others are not, this is a distinctive paramterer which could not be ignored in the analysis. The parameter "same social circle" I have defined on the level of the network clusters as identified in the Walpole correspondence and "professional collaboration" may be seen as incorporating all types of collaboration in coalition-like associations, political alliances as well as collaborative writing projects.

Self involvement	
(a)	first person pronoun use
(b)	evidential constructions with *think, know, believe, suppose, find, be sure* and *doubt*
Hearer involvement/addressee inclusion	
(a)	second person pronoun use
(b)	nominal third person reference to addressee: ubiquitous "you know"
Subject involvement	
(a)	intensifying degree adverbs

Table 6.7. The proposed NSS. Layer 2: Linguistic involvement

This classical NSS is then superposed with a *second layer* of network strength analysis, in which an analysis of involvement features in the language of the correspondents is carried out, following Sairio (2005), Palander-Collin (1999a, 1999b) and Henstra (2009, see also this chapter). The NSS is quite simply a reflection of the normalised frequencies of linguistic tokens of involvement, and their occurrence in the language of the correspondents per 10,000 words. The analysed features have been shown to reflect involvement

strategies in previous research such as Chafe (1985), Palander-Collin (1999a, 1999b and 2009) and Sairio (2005). The background of these features was discussed in more detail above. A summary can be found in Table 6.7. above.

Tokens for all these involvement features are added up for each network tie and then normalised per 10,000 words. In Table 6.8. this is done with the data from the correspondence between Walpole and his Eton friends as found in Tables 6.3. and 6.4. above:

Period I	*Gray to HW*	*West to HW*	*HW to Gray*	*HW to West*
Involvement	**10.06**	**10.76**	**4.34**	**8.64**
Period II	*Gray to West*	*West to HW*	*HW to West*	*HW to Ashton*
Involvement	**7.34**	**11.83**	**7.22**	**7.52**
Period III	*Gray to HW*	*HW to Gray*		
Involvement	**8.27**	**8.79**		

Table 6.8. Involvement scores for Gray, West, Ashton and Walpole, expressed in number of tokens per 10,000 words (HW = Horace Walpole), based on Table 6.3.

The scores are then re-calculated to fit a 5-point scale (from 0 or – to 4), to make them easier to compare to the scores given in the first layer: the classical NSS. I have chosen this method to create a universal fit for the very different ranges of involvement that different text types, times, and authors will have.

- No involvement (i.e. no extant letters) equals a – or 0 (not shown in Table 6.9.)
- The maximum involvement score (*M*) in Table 6.8. is 11.83
- The lowest involvement score (*m*, noting that *m*>0) in Table 6.8. is 4.34

The formula for calculation of the involvement scores (*I*) is then the following:

$$\frac{N-m}{(M-m)/3}+1=I$$

The involvement score for Gray to Walpole in Period I, for instance, is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{10.06 - 4.34}{(11.83 - 4.34)/3} + 1 = 3.29$$

When all scores in the network are recalculated this way, and rounded off to the nearest whole number, this leads to the following involvement scores, based on Table 6.8.:

Period I	*Gray to HW*	*West to HW*	*HW to Gray*	*HW to West*
Involvement	**3**	**4**	**1**	**3**
Period II	*Gray to West*	*West to HW*	*HW to West*	*HW to Ashton*
Involvement	**2**	**4**	**3**	**2**
Period III	*Gray to HW*	*HW to Gray*		
Involvement	**3**	**3**		

Table 6.9. Layer 2. Involvement scores for Gray, West, Ashton and Walpole, expressed on a 5-point scale (scores between 0 / – and 4)

The highest involvement score is used as the basis for the calculation of the top of the scale so that scores are never higher than four points. The lowest involvement score is used as the basis for calculating the score of one, so that scores are never lower than one (if no involvement tokens are found whatsoever, or if there is no correspondence between two network members a score of zero or a – is noted, to mark a clear difference between low involvement and no involvement). In this way the scores within a network can also always be related to scores calculated for another network in the same way, because they are relative scores expressing *degree* of involvement as compared to the other network members, rather than as an *absolute* score. This also provides some relief for the influence of changes in the language over time, such as the subjectification of the evidential verbs used to calculate

involvedness (see Brinton 2006 and Biber *et al.* 1999). Rounding off the scores creates another margin for error of course, and one may choose to round off the numbers to half points, for instance, for greater precision. However, as may be seen from chapters 5 and 6 above, it is difficult to back a very fine-grained network analysis with statistically significant results.

As a final step we can now combine the classic NSS and the Involvement network scores into the following Combination Network Strength Scale:

Correspondent A		**Correspondent B**							
Correspondent and period		***Gray***		***West***		***Ashton***		***Walpole***	
		NSS	***Inv.***	***NSS***	***Inv.***	***NSS***	***Inv.***	***NSS***	***Inv.***
Gray	I	n/a	n/a	3	–	5	–	**5**	**3**
	II			2	2	2	–	6	–
	III			–	–	–2	–	4	3
West	I	3	–	n/a	n/a	3	–	3	4
	II	2	–			3	–	**2**	**4**
	III	–	–			–	–	–	–
Ashton	I	5	–	5	–	n/a	n/a	6	–
	II	2	–	3	–			2	–
	III	–2	–	–	–			–2	–
Walpole	I	**5**	**1**	3	3	6	–	n/a	n/a
	II	6	–	2	3	2	2		
	III	4	3	–	–	–2	–		

Table 6.10. The Combination Network Strength Scale for Walpole, Gray, West and Ashton (based on Tables 6.2. and 6.9.)

We see that only a few of the Involvement scores correspond exactly with the classic NSS scores, these cells have been highlighted in the darker shade of grey. Such a similarity may be seen as a confirmation of both the NSS and Involvement analysis. More scores, however, are relatively close to each other (the difference is 1 point), these have been highlighted in a lighter shade of

grey and may be seen as a tentative confirmation of NSS and Involvement scores. It may be helpful to look at the Involvement scores at a higher livel of significance, for instance rounded off at two digits to see if the difference is then smaller or greater. Finally, there are a number of cases in which the difference is rather large (<1), in one case even 4 points. I suggest further research is needed to see if there is perhaps something interesting going on, or if the method of collecting data for the involvement scores needs to be finetuned. However, considering that there are ten instances in which a combination of NSS and Involvement data for the same correspondent and period exist, a tally of 30% identical scores and another 40% similar scores (difference of no more than 1 point) seems like a good start, and I think the combination model shows promise for use as an objectifying tool within historical social network analysis when developed and tested more fully.

6.6. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that the two versions of a social network model which I drew upon for the analysis of my data for the Walpole Eton Network Cluster here both have their problems, but also that they have distinctive advantages and value for historical sociolinguistic research. The problems which were addressed along the way may be summarised as follows: firstly, there is the underrepresentation and at the same time overrepresentation of certain authors in focused corpora. These corpora are more suited to social network analysis with its dependence on background knowledge (which is more easily gathered for smaller network clusters). They are, however, often unbalanced, and cannot easily be used for more generalised research. Furthermore, focused corpora run a greater risk of not containing enough linguistic data to find statistically significant results in a linguistic analysis.

Secondly, a classical network strength scale (as well as any other model which depends on contextual information for filling gaps in the linguistic information) is open to interpretational difficulties. As a researcher one always runs the risk of overinterpreting information and of applying a tunnel vision towards the desired result when dealing with this kind of analysis. Thirdly, linguistically based analyses such as those drawing on the involvement model are very much open to the influence of other extra-linguistic factors on linguistic reality and to linguistic change. A genre such as personal letters cannot be seen as stylistically and linguistically homogeneous and there is a risk of overgeneralising the specific linguistic characteristics of these different text types when they are put together in a linguistically based analysis (see for example Biber 1999: 133; 146; 148 on the importance of register variation). Furthermore, circular reasoning is a serious consequence of using linguistic data to predict linguistic change or usage. I believe that all these problems can be taken under one heading: there seems to be a mismatch between the type of research sociolinguistic models make possible, namely a very specific, micro-level network analysis, and the type of research for which our historical linguistic data allow.

I have provided a suggestion for further research in the form of a combination model, in which a layered model provides us with a more complex representation of the truly complex reality than the classical NSS or the linguistic involvement model can, as was found in a wide variety of historical network analyses presented in chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. It provides the necessary *double check* for the researcher, who cannot just trust a single-tier analysis. The social network model has proved to be an enticing model for explaining linguistic variation on a micro-level. However, I have shown that a successful and statistically sound application of it using historical data is difficult. The

combination model provides a much needed objectified view of the subjective and flawed measuring methods available to us, which invite anecdotal use of the model, rather than theoretically sound applications.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

On the face of it, Horace Walpole's language presents a good case for historical sociolinguistic analysis: his extensive correspondence is by far the largest collection of eighteenth-century letters that is available in published form. What is more, the collection includes the in-letters alongside the out-letters, which, though highly desirable from a historial sociolinguistic perspective, is by no means standard practice. This allows for the study of the language use of the people Walpole corresponded with, who, in other words were part of his social network at various stages of his life, in addition to studying his own usage. Historical sociolinguists are inevitably faced with the fact that they cannot influence or monitor the amount of data they have available for analysis but have to make do with whatever has come down to us. In the light of this so-called *bad data* problem, the Walpole correspondence with its scope and size therefore showed a lot of promise. It would enable us, for instance, to study the possibility of linguistic influence occurring within this particular social network, one of the central research questions in the present study, as well as to study the question of what determines the kind of patterned variation that is expected to surface, and that did surface in the language use of the network, similar to any modern sociolinguistic study carried out today.

Actual practice, however, proved different. Even what could be considered high-frequency morpho-syntactic data showed up in, at times, disppointingly small numbers. The occurrence of *you was* vs. *you were* which only temporarily showed up in the history of the developing standard language as part of the process of the ongoing development of *you* as a singular pronoun provided very few tokens; the variation in the occurrence of *be* and *have* with mutative intransitive verbs that was evidence of another ongoing change in

progress and the effects of the normative grammarians' attempts to prevent the levelling of strong verb forms, which that would have given us *write*, *wrote*, *wrote* rather than *write*, *wrote*, *written* showed only a little more promise in the case studies that were undertaken. Another problem that presented itself was the amount of background data available that was needed to be able to interpret usage patterns that evolved from the analysis in as informed a way as possible. As in all sociolinguistic analysis, modern as well as historical, social embedding of the data encountered is essential in order to be able to interpret it adequately.

These were issues I came up with in the course of the present study, and I have tried to deal with them by incorporating them into a single methodological approach in order to make the best use of the data I found. With this approach I sought to remedy the realities of working with large gaps in available material, caused by dealing with specific subcorpora, and the concomittant problems of (over)rigorous interpretation. The problem of small numbers and bad data is a reality of research in historical sociolinguistics which cannot be ignored, but I would like to propose that the more precise our models for mapping background knowledge to a network analysis are, the less likely it becomes that misinterpretation of whatever sparse facts we have will cloud the predictions and results. As I have argued in the above chapters, this may be accomplished, for instance, through combining current sociolinguistic methods such as the classical network strength model that have been adapted for historical research with linguistically based methods such as involvement analysis: as was demonstrated in chapter 6, predictions largely overlap between the models. Furthermore, the network analyses presented in this study (see chapter 4) may be taken as examples of oversimplification of complex material for the sake of brevity and clarity of the argument, which is

sometimes unavoidable, though not without consequences. Since *good* historical language data unfortunately cannot be created anew, the only way to avoid methodological and interpretational hazards is to keep working on methods better suited to the type of data we have available to us. With my study, I have aimed to present a significant contribution to this.

In chapter 3 I dealt with the language of two highly educated members of the upper classes and the question of to what extent normative grammar rules, in particular those presented in the most authoritative grammar of the period, Robert Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), were reflected by upper-class usage. The methodological problem confronted with here was the fact that even a very big corpus produced relatively small amounts of data of a high-frequency linguistic feature. This calls for particular caution in using earlier studies that have dealt with the same feature on the basis of much smaller corpora. As for the feature in question as well as the two informants studied, it turned out that the two men different significantly in their usage, which could be accounted for by the interesting phenomenon that Horace Mann, who was in effect an expat during most of his life, had not kept abreast of the changes the language had undergone during his absence. Contrary to Horace Walpole, Mann was simply not part of the current linguistic climate of increasing prescriptivism. The analysis, moreover, confirmed that upper-class usage may very well have informed the linguistic model presented in Lowth's grammar.

To be able to study more complicated network clusters and test the functionality of SNA in a historical context, I first provided in chapter 4 a detailed account of how historical social network analysis has evolved over the past twenty years. This comprehensive overview showed that past studies, though offering important contributions to a new and developing field in their

own right, tended to be primarily descriptive in nature. My analyses presented in the subsequent chapters heavily drew on this earlier work, though they were aimed to offer a more rigorous methodological approach, which at the same time brought to light the problems involved in taking such an approach. For the linguistic analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6, I focused on different sections of the Walpole correspondence: the Walpole Family Network, consisting of Walpole and some of his Family members in chapter 5; and the Eton Network Cluster, consisting of Thomas Ashton, Richard West and Thomas Gray, in chapter 6.

Each of these analyses highlighted a different problem in applying the traditional model of social network analysis to the material selected. Thus, chapter 5 demonstrated that analysing a family network is particularly problematical given the approach taken, since emotional relationships prove more difficult to describe in the light of the available background information about the informants than functional relationships. Interestingly, it was found that even coalition formation could occur within a family network, which had its expected effect on the correspondents' language use during the time this situation was in process. The analysis presented in this chapter showed specific ways in which social network analysis needed to be adapted for historical sociolinguistic analysis: asymmetrical relationships, as discussed in the theoretical framework in chapter 4 and the case study in chapter 6, should also be reckoned with as existing in relation to age, generation as well as gender: linguistic influence may occur in such relationships, but primarily in a single direction. Such factors are of particular importance when dealing with family members in a network, and will have to be taken into account whenever such networks are studied.

The methodological problem that emerged from the analysis presented in chapter 6 concerned the bad data problem in its fullest form. The subcorpora identified to be able to take different snapshots of the network cluster analysed across time both underrepresented and overrepresented particular informants as far as their usage was concerned. As a result, the specific problem to be addressed was having to deal with unbalanced subsections of the corpus, a common phenomenon in this type of historical research. Other problems were the risk of overinterpreting results in the light of the data available, and the question of the stylistic and linguistic homogeneity of letters as a text type. The latter point became clear when I argued for adopting a linguistic involvement model of analysis alongside that of social network analysis. Letters serve different purposes, ranging from merely keeping a relationship alive to providing narrative accounts of the author's travels. The resulting language use can be very different indeed. In chapter 6 I also suggested a refined model for the historical application of SNA, combining contextual and linguistic data into one model.

The language of the upper classes is not usually considered to be of interest by modern sociolinguists. My study of the language of Sir Horace Walpole has proved the contrary, despite the paucity of data that emerged. In corresponding with many members of his social network throughout his long life Walpole has left us with a huge amount of material, which, thanks to the editorial efforts of W.S. Lewis and his fellow editors (see chapter 2), could be analysed in as much detail and against as much biographical background as the material itself allowed. In doing so I have made use of research models that have been exploited in earlier studies within the field, but that proved defective in not being geared enough to the demands of rigorous interpretative analysis. This type of analysis is required to deal with the kind of

methodological problems that came to light when I encountered sometimes disappointingly small amounts of data that emerged even from such as large collection of letters as the Horace Walpole correspondence. My contribution to the field of historical sociolinguistics consists in combining different analytic models in such a way as to try and confront the amounts of data in a consistently methodological way, and also in pointing the way to the treasure-trove of data that is now digitally available in the digital edition of HWC.

To return to the research questions that were posed at the outset of this study (see chapter 1), conclusions may be presented to the following questions:

1. *Can the claim that upper-class language usage is uniformly standard be maintained?*

Neither Horace Walpole's own usage nor that of the people he corresponded with was uniform as such nor uniformly standard (see chapter 3, 4 and 6). It might be argued that variation was the rule rather than the exception even though for some of the features concerned fewer variable forms were found than was expected. This is after all only to be expected given the fact that the standard language was as yet still in the process of developing. It turned out that some of the informants whose language I analysed, notably Walpole's namesake Horace Mann, were outside the developing linguistic climate, which was acquiring a more prescriptive outlook on usage at the time. Being in this case a peripheral member of the current linguistic society as such precluded any form of linguistic influence taking place from one man on the other and vice versa. The two Horaces clearly each represent a very different case, the one being, as an expat, typically conservative in his usage while the other, given his position in the social network to which he belonged, being more typically at the forefront of linguistic change.

2. *How can variation between the language use of the correspondents in the Walpole collection be explained in a social network context?*

3. *How useful is social network analysis as a model for historical research, and how can the model be improved?*

Within the language use of members of Walpole's social network we find important differences in usage, the majority of which could be accounted for by taking a micro-level approach and focusing on each informant from the perspective of their place in the network cluster analysed vis-à-vis that of the cluster's central network member, Horace Walpole himself. The downside of a micro-level analysis is that the number of tokens in the linguistic analysis generally is much lower than when a larger language sample is taken from a larger group of correspondents. I identified this as a mismatch between models and data in chapter 6.

As for the ultimate question of the usefulness of social network analysis as a model for historical analysis, I would argue that it certainly is, given the specific improvements I have suggested above, based on methodological shortcomings of earlier work in the field, along with the application of it along other more linguistically oriented models such as that which analyses a writer's linguistic involvement. The linguistic involvement model can never be used in isolation though, because of the linguistic and extra-linguistic influences which complicate interpretation of the results, such as: language changes in progress; the influence of genre and text-type on the register and its linguistic make-up; as well as the possibility of circular reasoning. When using a classic NSS in a historical perspective, it was argued that sociological parameters such as gender, age and rank may also have an influence, either consciously or unconsciously. In the suggestions for further

research in chapter 6 I have therefore argued for a combination model in which sociometric data are combined with cognitive data and linguistic data to the best possible effect. While ultimately deriving from Milroy (1987), the idea for such a combined model originated with a suggestion made by Fitzmaurice (2000a), and furthermore owes much to Bax (2000) and Sairio (2005). Applying the combination model as rigorously as possible in the light of the available data, what is often claimed to be *bad data* from a modern sociolinguistic perspective need not be so bad after all.

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Appendix A. Walpole's Use of Female Terms ending in -ess[1]

A.1. Walpole in the *OED*

Horace Walpole takes up second place in the list of authors mentioned by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: 58) with words that were first recorded by the *OED*. In the list of 230 words that carry his name as first user, one group of words stands out in particular, i.e. those ending in *-ess*: *adventuress*, *agentess*, *artistess*, *chancelloress*, *conspiratress*, *incumbentess*, and *Methusalemess* are all ascribed to him. Furthermore, Walpole was also believed to be the first to have used *countess* as a verb in the sense of "to make someone a countess" (ca 1785), which is an example of morphological conversion. Besides the fact that for unclear reasons it is remarkable that all these words exclusively occur in the first half of the *OED*, it is striking that the source of all these words are Walpole's correspondence, with four of the above words deriving from his correspondence with Horace Mann (see further chapter 5). Apart from his enormous collection of letters, Walpole is also credited with writing various literary works, including the novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764). Altogether 97 quotations in the *OED* have been derived from this novel, though not none of them illustrate his use of the *-ess* suffix. A search through the digitized version of the novel (see *Project Gutenburg*) only yielded evidence of already existing *-ess* words, including *heiress*, *mistress*, *princess*, and *protectress*. This begs the question of what makes Walpole's letters, particularly those addressed to Mann, so exceptional that the *OED* exclusively cites newly-coined *–ess* words from them?

[1] What follows in this appedix derives from an article jointly written with Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, in Dutch (Henstra and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009). I am grateful to Matthijs Smits for his help in preparing the original text for inclusion here.

A.2. Walpole and Mann compared

The large number of first usages from Walpole in the *OED* suggest that Walpole was particularly progressive in his language use, especially in his letters to Mann, not least due to his use of *-ess* terms. Walpole is credited with being the first user of 230 words, of which 42 (18%) are from his correspondence with Mann. Moreover, of Walpole's total contributions to the *OED* (2160 items), 316 (14,6%) are from his letter correspondence with Mann. These numbers could point to two things: either Walpole's language in his letters, particularly to Mann, is more innovative and demonstrably different than in other texts, or the makers of the *OED* derived a non-representative number of quotations from Walpole's correspondence, and especially that between Walpole and Mann. As for the latter, this is not unlikely, as Schäfer (1980) shows that this was indeed the case for Shakespeare.

In order to put the occurrence of Walpole's *-ess* words in the *OED* in a wider perspective, the digitized correspondence used in the present study (CHWC) was supplemented with texts from Walpole that were available from *Project Gutenburg*, i.e. two older editions of his correspondence and a number of literary and historical works, namely *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), *Historic doubts on the life and reign of King Richard the Third* (1768) and *The hieroglyphic tales* (1785). In the analysis of earlier editions of the letters I checked whether the *-ess* words in the *OED* indeed occur more often in letters to Mann than in those addressed to other people, while Walpole's other works were studied to find out if the words were typical of the language used in his letters.

Searching Walpole's correspondence for possible *–ess* words produced the results presented in Table A.1. The table also shows for which

year each word was first cited in the *OED*; in three instances, designated in bold, Walpole was cited as the first user of the word in question. To be able to assess the relative frequency of the words discussed, I have normalised their occurrence per 100,000 words.

word	frequency	per 100,000 words	year	first occurrence in *OED*
sing. + pl.				
actress	5	0,726	1741	1666
adventuress	1	0,145	1754	1754
ambassadress	12	1,741	1743	1716
archduchess	7	1,016	1741	1618
baroness	2	0,290	1762	1420
conspiratress	1	0,145	1770	1770
countess	110	15,692	1740	1154
dauphiness	4	0,580	1744	1548
defendress	1	0,145	1749	1509
duchess	309	44,840	1740	1300
electress	5	0,726	1743	1618
empress	69	10,013	1742	1154
giantess	1	0,145	1781	1380
goddess	13	1,886	1742	1340
governess	3	0,435	1742	1712
heiress	9	1,306	1743	1659
hostess	1	0,145	1743	1385
idolatress	1	0,145	1769	1613
incumbentess	1	0,145	1760	1760
Jewess	2	0,290	1747	1388
laundress	1	0,145	1744	1550
legislatress	3	0,435	1772	1711
marchioness	1	0,145	1747	1570
mayoress	1	0,145	1749	1525
mistress	78	11,319	1742	1330
murderess	5	0,726	1752	1393
patroness	1	0,145	1771	1425
peeress	12	1,741	1743	1688
pretendress	1	0,145	1772	1700
priestess	1	0,145	1762	1656
princess	282	40,922	1740	1385

protectress	1	0,145	1766	1570
shepherdess	1	0,145	1742	1387
tigress	1	0,145	1766	1700
tutoress	1	0,145	1752	1614

Table A.1. Words in *-ess* and their relative frequency in the Walpole letters to Mann (1741–1786, approx. 689,000 words).

A large number of the words in Table A.1 occur only once or a few times in the letters to Mann. The most frequently occurring words are titles of nobility, such as *empress*, *duchess* and *princess*, most of which were already in general use by the eighteenth century (*princess*, for example, was already cited with a quotation from 1385 in the *OED*). However, there are also words which originate from the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, such as *legislatress*, *peeress*, *pretendress*, and *tigress*. In this respect, Walpole's usage reflects that of his time, and for a number of these words he is cited along with a quotation in the *OED*, albeit not always as the first user.

If we compare Walpole's letters with Mann's that are also part of the edition by Lewis *et al.,* we notice that Mann's use of the *-ess* words was much less frequent than that of Walpole. While Walpole's amounts to approximately 138 of these forms per 100,000 words, that of Mann comes down to about 108 per 100,000 words. In the *OED* there are only seven words for which Mann was attributed as the first user: minchiate, miramur, paymastership, pandle, puddy, retardure and oilskin. Many of these words are now obsolete, and a number of them are of Romance origin: minchiate, miramur, retardure. The number stands in stark contrast to Walpole's 230 first quotations, although this may also be clarified by the relative scarcity of material Mann produced in comparison to Walpole. Mann was a diplomat and not a writer, like his friend, and Mann's quotations in the *OED* are all from his correspondence with

Walpole. This correspondence therefore appears to have been an important source for the compilers of the *OED*. Moreover, if we look at the amount of creativity in both men's language, we notice that Walpole's letters show more variation in language use in terms of lexical playfulness than Mann's letters. Walpole used 48 different types of words ending *-ess*, whereas with Mann I found only fourteen. After deducting the items designating titles of nobility, we are left with 25 types with Walpole, and six with Mann. In terms of language use, Walpole therefore appears to be more innovative and creative lexically than Mann in his letters addressed to him.

A.3. Walpole's use of -ess words

Beal (2004: 21) also refers to Walpole's innovative word usage, basing herself on the occurrence of so-called nonce-words, hapax legomena such as *gloomth* and *greenth* formed in analogy with *breadth* which were hardly accepted at the time. *Gloomth* nonetheless appears in the *OED*, illustrated with no less than three examples derived solely from Walpole's letters, the first of which is from a letter to Mann from 1753 (the other examples are from 1754 and 1774). *Greenth* also dates back to 1753, and was illustrated with an example from a letter to another good friend of his, George Montagu (1713–1780).

The many quotations by Walpole in the *OED*, especially the 230 words he would appear to have coined, including the seven *–ess* words for which he was cited as the first user, confirm the general idea we have of Walpole as an innovative language user. This is at least apparent from his informal correspondence. In order to compare the language used in letters to Mann with Walpole's usage in general, the *-ess* words in the correspondence with Mann from Table A.1 were compared to the three other available digital texts. The results have been summarized in Figure A.1 below. This graph shows that

the number of *-ess* words shows considerable variation in the different Walpole texts. It is particularly remarkable that the frequency of these words is much higher in his novel *Hieroglyphic tales*, that is, in narrative prose, than in the collected letters and the letters to Mann (and also the historical text). Furthermore, it appears that the frequency of *-ess* words does not differ considerably from the collected correspondence and is in fact lower than the oldest of the two in the two earlier letter editions.

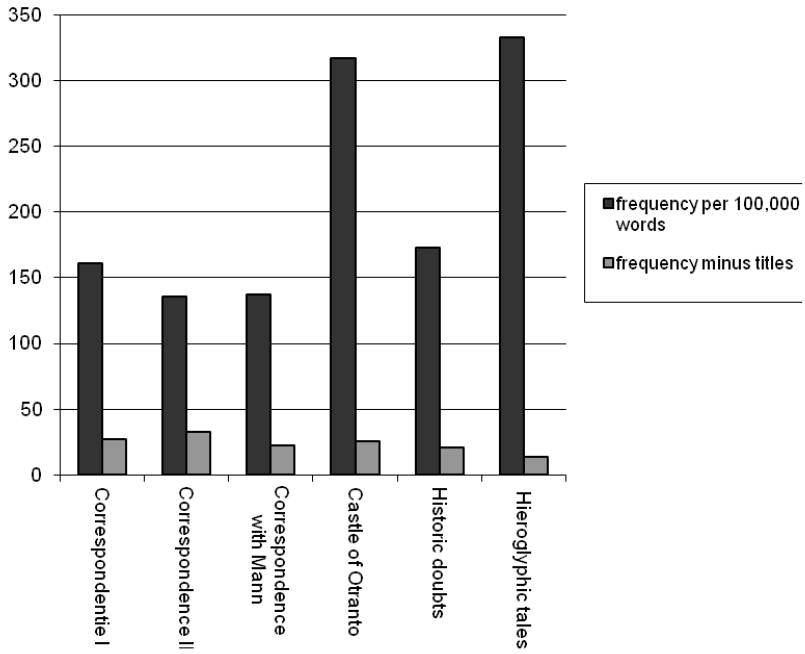

Figure A.1. The use of *-ess* words in different types of Walpole texts.[2]

[2] Correspondence 1: 1735–1797, approx. 1,175,500 words; Correspondence 2: 1736–1795, approx. 185,300 words; Correspondence Mann: 1741–1786, approx. 689,100 words; *Castle of Otranto*: 1764, approx. 38,500 words; *Historic Doubts*: 1768, approx. 38,100 words; *Hierogyphic Tales*: 1785, approx. 14,500 words.

However, there are important differences as well. *The Castle of Otranto* contains a high frequency of *-ess* words, even though the only words which recur regularly are *heiress*, *mistress*, *princess* and *protectress*. The same goes for the two other texts, in which we also find titles of nobility such as *countess*, *duchess*, and *empress*. If we confine the *-ess* to those relating to nobility, which, after all, had been in the English language for much longer, it appears that the frequency of *-ess* words in the letters is not much different from that in the other texts. However, in the different editions of the correspondence the variation of *-ess words* is much larger. Besides the list of words from the correspondence with Mann (Table A.1) we find in the older letter editions: *laddess*, *imitatress*, *Methusalemess*, *conqueress*, *abbess*, *translatress*, *paintress*, *prophetess*, *poetess*, *physicianess*, *persecutress*, *patriarchess*, *coheiress*, and lastly *authoress*. In addition to *Methusalemess*, for which Walpole was mentioned as the first user in the *OED* (see A.1)we find the word *imitatress* in a letter from 1784 to the Count of Strafford. However, the dictionary provides a quotation from Coleridge dating from the nineteenth century as first citation: thus, this word may be antedated with a quotation from Walpole.

On the basis of all this it may be concluded that the frequency of *-ess* words in Walpole's language is not necessarily higher in his letters than in his other works, but that the *creative* use of language by Walpole in his letters is more prominent than in his other works. This fits the general picture of Walpole: as shown in chapters 1 and 3, Walpole was keen on correct language use, but he also appears to have been in an innovator in the use of certain morphosyntactic constructions in his informal texts such as letters to friends.

A.4. Walpole's quotations and the *OED*

Of the 42 words from the correspondence with Mann for which the *OED* provides a first citation by Walpole (not just the function designations ending in *-ess*), eight have the label "rare", seven are "obsolete", three are nonce words, five are "alien/not naturalised", and one is "now dialectal". In all, 21 of the 42 words, exactly half, were marked with one of these labels. Examples include *agentess* (rare), *artistess* (rare), *chancelloress* (nonce) and *Methusalemess* (obs., nonce). Moreover, for thirteen of the 42 words quotations are given only from Walpole, sometimes even more than one. It seems that many of the words that are ascribed to Walpole, except for the *-ess* words *agentess*, *artistess* and *Methusalemess* also words like *awaredom*, *caligulism*, *Frenchism*, *gloomth*, *Gothicize*, *impertinence* (v.), *primitivity*, *sultanize*, *unembroiled*, *unnotify*, *well-behated*, and *zingo*, were hardly in common use at the time. Only a few words, including *artistess* and *chancelloress*, have later citations. It is thus debatable whether these words should have been included in the *OED* at all. The *OED* is currently being revised, and in doing so the editors have decided to be more consistent than was possible for their forebears in the pre-digital era (see Brewer 2007). A comparison with the second edition of the *OED* (1989), which may still be consulted digitally, shows that many changes have been made between the letter M, where the revision process started, and Z, which is where the editors arrived in December 2011. Right now work has started on the early letters of the alphabet, but work also continues on the basis of themes and keywords. For example, seven new words have been added for Walpole during the revision process. Besides that, many alterations have been made to words where Walpole was originally cited as the first user. In the second edition he is

named as the author of *pasticcio* with a quotation from 1752 from a letter to Mann, whereas in the revised edition this word has been antedated by ten years, again with a quotation from a letter from Walpole, though without the name of the letter's addressee. The first quotation for *politicize* has remained the same, although here, too, Mann's name as the addressee has been removed. Thus, not every change appears to be an improvement in presentation of the material.

A.5. Conclusion

The word *primitivity* in the above list of new words by Walpole is a good example of his linguistic creativity (he could have simply used the word *primitiveness*, which has existed since 1644). This first use of *primitivity* is illustrated by a quotation from a letter to Mann (1759). A second quotation is from more than a century later, which begs the question of whether Walpole's usage had any discernible impact. This also counts for the majority of function designations ending in *-ess* that were ascribed to him by the *OED*, including words that were unpopular at the time and would not gain much currency later either. Walpole may have been a linguistic innovator with regard some words that started to become a part of the developing standard language, but his use of unprecedented (and undocumented) word forms, particularly his use of *–ess* words, is a different matter altogether. Walpole's use of these words did not have a resounding impact, particularly because they occurred in his most informal letters only, in which he apparently felt more licensed to be lexically creative than in his published works. It is perhaps for that reason that his usage may have gone unnoticed by people engaged in the codification of the language by way of dictionaries or otherwise.

Görlach (2001: 174) asserts that in the eighteenth century the morphological process 'the productivity of the [*-ess*] pattern is quite limited'. This undoubtedly applies to English in general, but this statement is not necessarily true at the level of the language user as an individual. Indeed, as the above discussion has shown, Walpole's language was quite productive in this area. This was, in fact, discovered this by way of a kind of historical coincidence. As a 'historical dictionary' (see the *OED* website, 'About the *OED*') the *OED* ought to provide a representative account of language use throughout time. Walpole's exceptional language use, as it is described here, is, however, evident only due to the unsystematic way in which the *OED* at its outset collected material for illustrating words and their usage. These kinds of inadequacies will, it is expected, be dealt with during the dictionary's revision process. On the one hand this would be commendable; on the other hand, some changes have not led to improvements. Walpole's lexical creativity remains visible, but for unclear reasons the references have sometimes been altered to such an extent that the exact context in which the quotation appeared is no longer present. The most consistent editorial intervention in revising the *OED* would be – in this case – to remove all the material for which Walpole's informal letters served as evidence. As seen in the quotation above from Görlach (2001), most of the words dealt with in this study never really became a part of the English language. This, however, is not a procedure that would be recommended, as there would consequently remain little opportunity for a philologist to examine the private language of an individual language user, Horace Walpole in this case, which would provide valuable insight into creative morphological processes as they function today.

Appendix B. Overview of the Volumes and correspondents in the digital *Corpus of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*

Volume	Correspondent
1—2	Rev. William Cole
9—10	Frederick Montagu
	George Montagu
11—12	Agnes and Mary Berry
	Agnes Berry
	Barbara Cecilia Seton
	Mary Berry
	Robert Berry
13—14	Rev. Thomas Ashton
	Thomas Gray
	Richard West
15	Rev. William Beloe
	11th Earl of Buchan
	Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes)
	James Edwards
	Edward Edwards
	Robert Henry
	Samuel Lysons
	Rev. Daniel Lysons
	Rev. Conyers Middleton
	Rev. Robert Nares
	William Robertson

	William Roscoe
16	William Bewley
	Thomas Chatterton
	John Fenn and Mrs Fenn
	Nathaniel Hillier
	Michael Lort
	John Pinkerton
	Rev. Henry Zouch
17—26	Sir Horatio Mann, 1st Baronet
28	Rev. William Mason
30	Charles Hanbury Williams
	Richard Edgcumbe
	Henry Fox
	Lord Lincoln
	Lord Holland
	George Selwyn
31	Anne Pitt
	Lady Mary Coke
	Lady Browne
	Lady George Lennox
	Lady Hervey
	Lady Suffolk
	Mary Hamilton
	Hannah More
	Mrs Dickenson
32—34	Lady Anne Fitzpatrick
	3rd Duke of Grafton

Anne, Countess of Upper Ossory

John and Anne, Count and Countess of Upper Ossory

John, Count of Upper Ossory

35 Richard Bentley

John Chute

Sir William Hamilton

George Simon 2nd Earl Harcourt

George Hardinge

The 2nd Earl of Strafford

36 Horatio Walpole, 2nd Baron of Wolterton

George, 4th Earl Waldegrave

Hon. William Waldegrave

Anne Clement

Charles Churchill

George, 3rd Earl Cholmondeley

George, 4th Earl Cholmondeley

Maria, Duchess of Gloucester

William Henry, Duke of Gloucester

Sir Edward Walpole

Frederick Keppel

Honorable Robert Walpole

Horatio Walpole, 1st Baron of Wolterton

Jane Clement

Lady Cadogan

Lady Chewton

Lady Charlotte Maria Walpole

Lady Dysart

Lady Elizabeth Laura Waldegrave

Catherine, Lady Walpole

Lady Mary Churchill

Mrs Cholmondeley

Mrs Horace Churchill

George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford

Sir Robert Walpole

Thomas Walpole the younger

Thomas Walpole

Hon. William Waldegrave

37—39 Lady Ailesbury

Anne Seymour Conway

Francis Seymour Conway, Viscount Beauchamp

Henry Seymour Conway

Henrietta Seymour Conway

Francis Seymour Conway, 1st Earl of Hertford

Isabelle, Countess of Hertford

Lord Henry Seymour

Samenvatting

Horace Walpole en zijn correspondenten
Sociale-netwerkanalyse in een historische context

In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik het netwerk en het taalgebruik van de 18e-eeuwse politicus, auteur en mecenas Horace Walpole (1717-1797) en zijn correspondenten. De meeste informanten in het netwerk behoren tot de hogere klasse en zijn van het mannelijke geslacht. Nevalainen en Raumolin-Brunberg (2003:27) noemen mannen uit de bovenklasse het klassieke onderwerp van taalkundig onderzoek. Om die reden past het materiaal dat ik hier onderzoek niet bij de groeiende belangstelling en vraag naar onderzoek van de taal van de onderklasse, zoals gedaan door o.a. Elspaß *et al.* (2007), Fairman (2007a en 2007b) en Sokoll (2001). In dit proefschrift ga ik de strijd aan met de stelling dat de taal van de bovenklasse niet interessant of relevant is omdat deze uniform zou voldoen aan de standaard.

De basis voor het onderzoek naar variatie in taalgebruik binnen een netwerk is het gebruik van sociale-netwerkanalyse , waarbij kritisch gekeken wordt naar de toepassing hiervan op historisch materiaal in eerder onderzoek en naar de functionaliteit ervan in het algemeen bij het gebruik van historische data. Dit gebeurt in dit proefschrift door middel van enkele case-studies waarin clusters uit het netwerk van Horace Walpole en het taalgebruik in hun brieven worden bestudeerd. De taalkundige context is die van de standaardisatie en codificatie van het Engels in de achttiende eeuw. In deze periode werd een groot aantal grammatica's gepubliceerd waarin commentaar geleverd werd op bepaalde grammaticale constructies en veranderingen in de taal.

Walpole en zijn correspondentie als onderwerp van taalkundig onderzoek

In het eerste hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift bespreek ik naast de opzet van het onderzoek en de onderzoeksvragen ook de keuze van het materiaal en de informanten. In dit onderzoek maak ik gebruik van de persoonlijke correspondentie van Walpole en de mensen met wie hij brieven uitwisselde. Dit geschreven medium is nadrukkelijk geen representant van gesproken taal, maar is wel de bron die het dichtste bij 'vrij' taalgebruik komt zoals het gesproken woord dat is. Multi-dimensionale analyses van verschillende teksttypes laten zien dat er wel degelijk overlap is tussen de taalkundige kenmerken van gesproken tekst en persoonlijke brieven, bijvoorbeeld in het werk van Biber (1991). Ook Fitzmaurice (2002a) stelt dat ondanks het feit dat een brief nadrukkelijk niet hetzelfde is als gesproken tekst op papier, brieven wel degelijk sommige karakteristieken delen met gesprekken. Er is simpelweg geen beter historisch materiaal voor historisch sociolinguïstisch onderzoek voorhanden dan de persoonlijke brief.

Naast zijn brieven heeft Walpole ook andere geschriften nagelaten. In zowel zijn brieven als in zijn persoonlijke notities laat Walpole zien dat hij een taalbewust man is. Hij bekritiseert anderen om hun taalgebruik (van Voltaire tot de dorpspastoor), noteert prescripties en proscripties zoals ook de grammatici in die tijd dat deden, maar toont tegelijkertijd onzekerheid over zijn eigen taalgebruik. Deze uitingen, passend bij het normatieve taalklimaat van de achttiende eeuw, tonen aan dat Walpole bezig was met taal en met wat correct is en wat niet, maar ze bewijzen niet dat het eigenlijke gebruik binnen een netwerk van correspondenten uit de bovenklasse zo uniform en standaard is als vaak wordt aangenomen. Horace Walpole en zijn correspondenten zijn

ondanks hun maatschappelijke positie interessante onderwerpen voor taalkundige analyses en met name voor sociale-netwerkanalyse.

In hoofdstuk 2 behandel ik het gebruik van een gepubliceerde en geredigeerde bron voor taalkundig onderzoek. De volledige correspondentie van Walpole en zijn correspondenten is tussen 1937 en 1983 verzameld en gepubliceerd door W.S. Lewis en zijn medewerkers, en gepubliceerd door Yale University Press. Tot nu toe is deze bron voornamelijk gebruikt als een "kroniek" van de achttiende eeuw, voornamelijk vanwege de inhoud van de brieven en niet vanwege de taalkundige informatie die daarin verscholen ligt. De editie bevat weliswaar geredigeerde teksten, maar dit is beperkt gebleven tot het niveau van de spelling en interpunctie. Dit maakt de brieven wel geschikt voor onderzoek van bepaalde grammaticale constructies, zo lang men maar rekening houdt met het proces waar zij voor publicatie doorheen zijn gegaan. In de eerdere edities van Walpoles brieven uit de negentiende eeuw werd veel meer aan de tekst gesleuteld en werden vaak zelfs passages weggelaten. Lewis *et al.* (1937-83) hebben zich voor deze editie op de originele handschriften gebaseerd om deze omissies te repareren waar mogelijk.

Voor mijn onderzoek heb ik de brieven uit verschillende delen van de edities ingescand (zie Appendix B) en omgezet naar tekst. Dit resulteerde in een corpus van Horace Walpoles correspondentie (CHWC) van circa vier miljoen woorden, waarvan iets meer dan de helft is geschreven door Horace Walpole, en de rest door zijn correspondenten. Het corpus is bijna twee keer zo groot als de bekende referentiecorpora, zoals het correspondentie-subcorpus van ARCHER en corpora zoals CEEC/CEECE, die elk een tot twee miljoen woorden bevatten. In CHWC kan de spelling van Horace Walpole en zijn correspondenten niet bestudeerd worden, maar inmiddels zijn veel van de

originele manuscripten ook online beschikbaar op de website van de *Yale Lewis Walpole Library* en dus makkelijker bereikbaar voor dergelijk onderzoek.

Sterke werkwoorden in het taalgebruik van Walpole en Mann

In hoofdstuk 3 onderzoek ik de variatie in het gebruik van sterke werkwoorden in de taal van Horace Walpole en zijn correspondent, de diplomaat Horace Mann (1706-1786). Walpole en Mann schreven bijna vijftig jaar intensief met elkaar. Hun brieven laten het taalgebruik zien van twee hoogopgeleide leden van de Engelse bovenklasse tijdens de opkomst en het toppunt van het codificatieproces dat het sterke werkwoordsysteem beïnvloedde. Variatie in de morfologie van onregelmatige of sterke werkwoorden komt tegenwoordig nog voor in dialect, maar in de achttiende eeuw was variatie in de standaardtaal ook nog gebruikelijk. Het proces van standaardisatie zorgde voor een parallel gebruik van bepaalde vormen van de onvoltooid verleden tijd en voltooid deelwoorden bij werkwoorden waar deze vormen nog verschilden van elkaar. Het gaat dan om het gebruik van *wrote* in plaats van *written* als voltooid deelwoord van het werkwoord *write*, bijvoorbeeld, maar ook om spelling- en morfologische variatie binnen de vormen. In de grammatica's van de achttiende eeuw werd dit gebruik streng veroordeeld, onder andere door Robert Lowth (1763: 64-65). Ik beschrijf de variatie in het idiolect van de twee Horaces, en toon hoe dit past binnen het bestaande beeld van variatie in gebruik in die tijd. Tevens kijk ik of er een "codificatie-effect" aangetoond kan worden vanuit de veranderingen in het taalgebruik van de twee correspondenten.

In de taal van Walpole en Mann komen diverse standaard en niet-standaard vormen voor bij de sterke werkwoorden in de onvoltooid verleden tijd en het voltooid deelwoord. Zowel Mann als Walpole gebruiken in de

contekst waar volgens de moderne standaard de onvoltooid verleden tijd gewenst is grotendeels standaardvormen, waarbij Walpole een hoger percentage standaardvormen gebruikt. In de context waar een voltooid deelwoord wordt verwacht is het aandal niet-standaardvormen veel hoger. Bij Mann is dit bijna 80 procent, bij Walpole 'slechts' circa 40 procent. Het gebruik is door de tijd heen vrij stabiel, met als uitzondering een stijging in het voorkomen van standaardvormen in de voltooide tijd in het taalgebruik van Walpole. Je zou daarom kunnen zeggen dat Walpole zichtbaar onderdeel was van het taalkundige 'klimaat' waarin de normatieve regels omtrent taalgebruik werden gecodificeerd; deze regels waren een reflectie van een verandering die al in gang was gezet, meer dan dat deze de verandering veroorzaakten. Wat het gebruik ook laat zien is dat beide mannen niet noodzakelijkerwijs in hun taalgebruik werden beïnvloed door elkaar, ondanks dat ze een hechte relatie via hun correspondentie onderhielden en veelvuldig contact hadden. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat Mann door zijn geografische verwijdering van het Engelse thuisland geneigd was een conservatiever taalgebruik te hanteren dan Walpole die zich te midden van de taalverandering bevond. Wat de analyse in ieder geval aantoont is dat het taalgebruik van de bovenklasse een mogelijke inspiratie was voor de norm zoals gecodificeerd in grammatica's, zoals ook aangetoond in Sairio (2008).

Sociale-netwerkanalyse en de geschiedenis van de Engelse taal

In hoofdstuk 4 bespreek ik de manieren waarop in het verleden gebruik is gemaakt van sociale-netwerkanalyse (SNA) bij de bestudering van historisch materiaal, en bespreek ik kort de belangrijke begrippen en concepten van SNA. Volgens Milroy (2002) is het netwerk van een individu simpelweg de optelsom van de relaties die hij of zij met anderen aangaat, en is sociale-netwerkanalyse

het onderzoeken van de verschillende structuren en eigenschappen van deze relaties (2002:549). In vrijwel alle methodologische verhandelingen over sociale-netwerkanalyse komen dezelfde termen voor, waarvan de belangrijkste zijn dat een netwerk bestaat uit individuen, uitgedrukt in knopen, en relaties of transacties tussen deze personen, verbeeld door vectoren of verbindingen. Het aantal verbindingen en de sterkte daarvan kunnen gemeten worden en gekwantificeerd in een netwerksterkteanalyse, waarbij het model van Milroy (1987) uitgaat van een schaal van 0 tot 5.

Andere belangrijke concepten in het model zijn dichtheid en gelaagdheid van een netwerk, waarbij de dichtheid wordt bepaald door het aantal relaties en verbindingen ten opzichte van het aantal mogelijke verbindingen zodat een dichtheid van 100 procent betekent dat iedereen in het netwerk met iedereen verbonden is. De gelaagdheid wordt bepaald door het feit dat een relatie of verbinding niet op zichzelf staat, maar dat deze uit verschillende soorten relaties tegelijk kan bestaan, bijvoorbeeld doordat iemand familie, collega en vriendin van dezelfde persoon is. Volgens Milroy komen dichtheid en gelaagdheid vaak samen voor, en versterken ze beide de kracht en effectiviteit van het netwerk als normbevestigend. Een dicht en gelaagd netwerk heeft een grotere kans om een sterke interne norm te hebben.

In een meer open netwerk, met een lagere dichtheid en minder gelaagdheid, is de kans veel groter dat leden van het netwerk ook connecties buiten dat netwerk hebben. Veranderingen kunnen dan ook makkelijker binnenkomen in een open netwerk, of in elk geval via iemand die minder dicht in het netwerk zit en minder sterke banden heeft. Granovetter (1973 en 1983) ziet zwakke (dus niet sterk gelaagde) verbanden tussen mensen als bevorderend voor de verbinding tussen kleinere micro-groepen of clusters in een netwerk. Binnen een groot netwerk kunnen kleinere clusters voorkomen

waarvan de leden dichter verbonden zijn met elkaar dan met de rest van het netwerk. Personen die met meerdere clusters of netwerken verbonden zijn, kunnen fungeren als brug voor veranderingen binnen het netwerk en voor invloed van het ene netwerk op het andere. Bruggen worden vaak gevormd door personen die vernieuwers zijn in hun netwerk.

In de rest van hoofdstuk 4 bespreek ik de huidige stand van zaken met betrekking tot de sociale-netwerkanalyse zoals die is toegepast op historisch materiaal. Ik behandel allereerst de vroege en meer anekdotische pogingen eind jaren tachtig en begin jaren negentig (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987a, 1991, 1996; Fitzmaurice 2000a). Vervolgens bespreek ik de resultaten van een workshop over sociale-netwerkanalyse en de daaropvolgende papers in 2000 (Tieken-Boon van Ostade *et al.* 2000) waarin stappen worden gezet om tot methodologische principes voor de toepassing op historisch materiaal te komen, onder andere door Bax (2000). Ten slotte komen publicaties aan bod uit de jaren daarna waarin Bax (2002, 2005) en Sairio (2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b) het model verfijnen en uitbreiden door gebruik te maken van andere modellen zoals communicatie accommodatie theorie (CAT) en betrokkenheidsanalyse.

Sociale-netwerkanalyse: case studies

In hoofdstuk vijf onderzoek ik het taalgebruik en het netwerk van Walpole en zijn familieleden, de Walpoles. Daarbij maak ik gebruik van een klassieke netwerksterkteanalyse gebaseerd op het werk van Bax (2000). Bij het kwantificeren van de netwerkpatronen ga ik uit van de dynamische eigenschappen van relaties en dat kunnen veranderen door de tijd. Ik maak zogezegd een aantal momentopnames van het netwerk zoals het eruit zag op verschillende momenten in de tijd. In de analyse maak ik gebruik van de notie

van asymmetrische netwerkverbindingen zoals besproken door Fitzmaurice (2000b).

Binnen het Walpole-familienetwerk is de functionele kant van de relaties ondergeschikt aan de relationele of emotionele kant. De functionele kant is voor alle familieleden min of meer gelijk. In de analyse richt ik me daarom op het kwantificeren van de emotionele verbindingen tussen de netwerkcontacten. Dit gebeurt op basis van de contextuele informatie in de brieven en bijbehorende geschriften. Door de tijd heen veranderen de relaties behoorlijk, en vindt er diverse keren zogenaamde coalitieformatie plaats (Fitzmaurice 2000b). De netwerksterkteanalyse laat echter door gebrek aan informatie en aan materiaal veel gaten open, en dus zijn de totale netwerkscores van de netwerkleden niet geheel betrouwbaar. Er kan daarom alleen zeer voorzichtig iets gezegd worden over invloed binnen het netwerk. Bovendien blijkt in de taalkundige analyse dat er voor deze kleine netwerkcluster onvoldoende taalkundig materiaal voorhanden is om significante resultaten te kunnen vinden bij de analyse van het gebruik van *you was* in plaats van het nu standaard voorgeschreven *you were,* noch voor de analyse van het gebruik van *be* en *have* met intransitieve mutatieve werkwoorden. Ook voor het gebruik van onregelmatige vormen voor de onvoltooid verleden tijd en de voltooid deelwoorden van sterke werkwoorden zijn geen significante resultaten gevonden. Wat wel gesteld kan worden, is dat er in deze analyse van een familienetwerk ook invloed lijkt te zijn van meer traditionele sociale indicatoren zoals gender, generatieverschil en hiërarchie binnen de familie. Ook is te zien dat Horace Walpoles nichtje Maria Walpole (1736-1807) ondanks het grote leeftijdsverschil met de andere correspondenten ten tijde van de briefwisselingen mogelijkerwijs een centraal netwerkcontact zou kunnen zijn alsmede een *early adopter*. Zij en Horace

Walpole lijken beiden meer innovatieve grammaticale constructies te gebruiken dan hun familieleden en wellicht ook meer dan hun tijdgenoten.

In hoofdstuk 6 behandel ik het netwerk van Walpole en zijn vroegere schoolgenoten op Eton, waarbij ik inga op de problematiek van het werken met kleine datasets en lage frequenties van te onderzoeken vormen en cosntructies. In dit hoofdstuk voer ik zowel een klassieke netwerksterkteanalyse uit, als een betrokkenheidsanalyse op basis van bepaald taalgebruik, gebaseerd op Sairio (2005). Ook in deze analyse houd ik verschillende periodes aan waarin de relaties steeds een specifieke fase doormaken. De eerste periode is de tijd waarin de jonge vrienden allen studeren. In de tweede periode gaan twee van de vrienden met elkaar op reis, terwijl de beide anderen thuisblijven (één van hen overlijdt jong). Er ontstaat ruzie tussen de reisgenoten en de vriendschap lijkt verbroken te worden. In de derde en laatste periode zijn alleen Gray en Walpole nog onderdeel van het netwerk. Hun ruzie is bijgelegd en ze delen in de brieven vooral hun liefde voor antiek, en hun lichamelijke pijntjes met elkaar. De veranderingen in de netwerkstructuur zijn goed te zien aan de veranderende dichtheid en gelaagdheid van het netwerk als het uitgetekend wordt.

Naast de klassieke analyse voer ik een analyse uit op basis van taalkundige informatie die volgens Chafe (1985), Palander-Collin (1999a, 1999b) en Sairio (2005) een bepaalde mate van verbondenheid tussen de correspondenten of preoccupatie van de correspondent met zichzelf aangeeft. Hierbij wordt gekeken naar het gebruik van eerste- en tweedepersoons voornaamwoorden, het gebruik van *you know*, het gebruik van evidentiële constructies en van bijwoorden van graad zoals *very* en *quite.* Het uitvoeren van een taalkundige analyse levert natuurlijk als bijwerking op dat de resultaten ervan ook beïnvloed worden door zaken als teksttype en genre (wat

echter voor al het gebruikte materiaal hetzelfde is) en het feit dat ontbreken van taalmateriaal dus ook een ontbrekende betrokkenheidsscore oplevert. Ik stel daarom in dit hoofdstuk voor om de twee analyses te combineren, en vooral te kijken waar de resultaten van die analyses elkaar bevestigen. In hoofdstuk zes blijkt dat de (naar dezelfde schaal omgerekende) scores met beide methoden voor Walpoles netwerk in 30 procent van de gevallen overeenkomen en in nog eens 40 procent van de gevallen zeer dicht bij elkaar liggen. In het geval dat de scores erg ver uit elkaar liggen, wijst dit op een punt van verder onderzoek, ook op het gebied van de gebruikte methodologie voor de betrokkenheidsanalyse. Een subjectieve netwerkanalyse op basis van contextuele informatie kan door deze gecombineerde manier van werken echter toch enigszins objectiever gemaakt worden. De taalkundige analyse van het netwerk op basis van het gebruik van *be* en *have* met mutatieve intransitieve werkwoorden is echter wederom teleurstellend. Ook hier zou het zo kunnen zijn dat het taalgebruik van de bovenklasse, waartoe Walpole en zijn correspondenten behoorden, eerder een bron voor de grammatica's is geweest dan dat de informanten daardoor werden beïnvloed.

Conclusies

Noch het taalgebruik van Horace Walpole, noch dat van zijn correspondenten is uniform en volledig conform de destijds geldende standaard. Je zou kunnen zeggen dat variatie eerder regel dan uitzondering was, hoewel er voor sommige grammaticale constructies minder verschillende varianten werden gevonden dan vanuit de beschrijvingen in de grammatica's zou worden verwacht. In het geval van Horace Mann kon ik vaststellen dat hij zich aan de periferie van het taalklimaat bevond, waardoor hij buiten de directe invloedssfeer van het ontwikkelingsproces van de standaardtaal bleef, hoewel

hij op basis van zijn positie in het netwerk eerder een vernieuwer had kunnen zijn.

Binnen het taalgebruik van de leden van Walpoles netwerk vinden we dus variatie in taalgebruik die voor een groot deel verklaard kan worden door op micro-niveau naar het netwerk en de positie van de informanten te kijken ten opzichte van Walpole zelf. De keerzijde van een micro-analyse is dat de opbrengst van taalkundig onderzoek op basis van het taalgebruik binnen een kleine netwerkcluster vaak teleurstellende resultaten oplevert. Ik ben ervan overtuigd dat sociale-netwerkanalyse een nuttig instrument kan zijn voor de analyse van historisch materiaal als het met inachtneming van voldoende theoretische onderbouwing gebeurt. Ook de aanpassingen op het model zoals ik die heb voorgesteld, door de netwerksterkteanalyse te combineren met een betrokkenheidsanalyse, kunnen het model robuuster en minder subjectief maken. De betrokkenheidsanalyse kan echter niet los van de netwerksterkteanalyse gebruikt worden aangezien de taalkundige samenstelling van een corpus ook beïnvloed wordt door genre, teksttype en taalveranderingen.

Tot slot heb ik beargumenteerd dat een klassieke netwerk-sterkteanalyse van historisch materiaal wellicht aangevuld moet worden met sociologische parameters zoals gender, leeftijd en sociale klasse. Hoewel het aangepaste combinatiemodel uiteindelijk teruggaat op Milroy (1987), komt het idee ervoor van een suggestie van Fitzmaurice (2000a) en is het daarbij gebaseerd op het werk van Bax (2000) en Sairio (2005). Het toepassen van een combinatiemodel, op een zo rigoureuze wijze als de data mogelijk maken, kan van zogenaamde slechte data toch bruikbare data maken.

Curriculum Vitae

Froukje Henstra was born on 5 January 1983 in Leiden, The Netherlands. She went to *Het Groene Hart Lyceum* in Alphen aan den Rijn, where she received her secondary education certificate (VWO) in 2001. After secondary school she attended Leiden University and obtained her MA degree (with honours) in English Language and Culture in 2006. She graduated with a thesis in the field of sociohistorical linguistics called *A Family Affair: Social Network Analysis and the Language of the Walpoles.* Straight after graduating, Froukje joined the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics as a PhD candidate in the project "The Codifiers and the English Language: tracing the norms of standard English", supervised by Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. She continued her research on the language of Horace Walpole and his correspondents and more specifically on the structure and analysis of his social network, which resulted in several published articles and the present dissertation. During her time as a PhD student Froukje also spent a month at the *Yale University Lewis Walpole Library* in Farmington, Connecticut, where she was able to study the original manuscript material thanks to a visiting fellowship, granted by the library. After her contract at Leiden University ended in 2010, Froukje started training and working as a teacher in secondary education. During the past four years she has been working as an English teacher while she also finished her dissertation and obtained a teaching degree