Terttu Nevalainen and
Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (eds.)

Letter Writing

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Letter Writing

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Table of contents

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Introduction

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1.   On the history of letter writing

Letter writing has always been situated activity. Take, for instance, the following translation of a cuneiform letter despatched over 3700 years ago. The writer, Bahdi-Lim, was the prefect of the royal palace of Mari and the recipient, *my lord*, was Zimri-Lim, the last king of Mari (1779–1757 B.C.), the ancient Mesopotamian city and kingdom situated on the Euphrates River. The letter was written to accompany another letter containing a message from a female prophet.[1]

(1)   Speak to my lord: Thus Bahdi-Lim, your servant:
The city of Mari, the palace and the district are well. Another matter: Ahum, the priest, has brought me the hair and the garment fringe of a prophetess, and her complete report is written on the tablet that Ahum has sent to my lord. Herewith I have conveyed the tablet of Ahum together with the hair and a fringe of the garment of the prophetess to my lord.
(ARM 26 201; translation from Akkadian by Nissinen (2003:34))

To the extent that there are universals in letter writing, they would include at least the following. A letter consists of written communication typically addressed to one or more named recipients, and identifies the sender and conveys a message; even if it is just to say that the message (including its authentication!) is included in an enclosure, as is the case in (1).

The material circumstances of letter writing have naturally changed with time, as have its discursive practices. A basic means of written communication, letter writing has contributed to the rise of other, more specialised genres intended for larger audiences such as the newspaper, the scientific article and the epistolary novel (Beebee 1999, Raymond, ed., 2002, Valle 1999). Specialisation as such is not a recent phenomenon in the history of letter writing, which has generated diverse epistolary subgenres ranging from the New Testament letters to medieval verse love epistles (Camargo 1991).

As a written genre, letter writing has to be learned. In the past its basic princi-

ples were to be mastered at an early age, particularly by those who received a classical education. Teachers of *ars dictaminis*, the medieval art of letter writing, compiled model letters which were widely copied, taught and assimilated throughout western Europe from the eleventh century onwards. Their principles can be traced back to Roman times (or perhaps even to Mesopotamia, as suggested by the sources consulted by Tiisala in her contribution to this volume). Their direct influence began to fade partly because of the classical models introduced during the Renaissance and partly because of the widening social base of writers, whose needs often centred on business formats such as the letter of credit and letters of sale or quittance (Camargo 2001, Nevalainen 2001, Richardson 2001, van Houdt *et al.*, eds., 2002).

In the sixteenth century, letter-writing advice of various kinds started to appear in printed manuals, which became a means of disseminating epistolary conventions in European vernaculars. Their influence on the actual letter-writing activity is difficult to assess, but it must have varied greatly (Austin 1973 [1998]). Chartier (1997: 7) notes with reference to the heyday of these manuals in nineteenth-century France that:

(2)   The educational purpose which quite evidently underpinned the large-scale spread of model-letters in no way implies that all their purchasers, or even a majority of them, became letter-writers who complied with the conventions they had been taught, or even that they ever wrote a single letter.

Comments like this leave the door open for research into the various situated aspects of letter writing in the past.

2.   The language of letters

Letters provide material for the study of language variation and change in the past. It may be argued, for instance, that official correspondence has had a key role in setting written language norms in many language communities. This appears to have been the case with English and German in the fifteenth century (Deumert and Vandenbussche, eds., 2003). In England the Signet Office, which was the King's personal writing office, *de facto* selected the language variety to be disseminated by royal missives throughout the country in the early fifteenth century (Benskin 1992).

By contrast, personal letters written by people without access to formal education, notably women, have provided data on various aspects of pronunciation at a time when the standard spelling system made texts regionally unlocalisable. They were used by H. C. Wyld (1936) to illustrate the extent to which the "Modified

Standard" pronunciation of English varied between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. More recently, women's letters have supplied material for antedating one of the major changes in the pronunciation of Middle Scots (Meurman-Solin 2000).

The language of personal letters has also been compared with and contrasted to other genres of writing in the history of both British and American English. Many studies over the last ten or fifteen years have been corpus-based and have made use of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC) and the ARCHER Corpus (Rissanen *et al.*, eds., 1997, Conrad and Biber, eds., 2001). Taken together, these corpora contain letters from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. The studies typically place personal letters in the oral or, in Biber's terms, *involved* category, closer to comedies and fiction than to such literate genres as official documents, sermons, religious treatises and academic prose.

Personal letters have similarly formed the basis for reconstructing the sociolinguistic contexts of language change. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) investigate fourteen processes of language change in Tudor and Stuart England from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. The social variables they focus on include the age, social status, gender and regional background of 778 individuals in the electronic Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC). Region and gender are shown to be the most relevant factors in the majority of the linguistic changes studied.

3.   Widening perspectives

The contributions to this volume discuss letter writing from 1400 to 1800.[2] They both extend and complement the traditional agenda of letter-writing research in the history of European languages, which approaches the topic from a largely rhetorical perspective. Using corpus-linguistic techniques, these articles bring a set of pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches to bear on historical letter-writing activity.

3.1 Medieval *ars dictaminis* and language contact

Fading though the influence of *ars dictaminis* may have been in Renaissance Europe, it continued to provide the general code of politeness for official correspondence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This appears to have been particularly the case when letters were exchanged in a language which was not the mother tongue of all the corresponding parties.

Seija Tiisala's article discusses the degree to which the dictates of *ars dictaminis* were followed in late medieval Hanseatic correspondence. She discusses the official and semi-official letters exchanged between the Swedish authorities and the Hanse

councils and merchants in northern Baltic Europe from the mid fourteenth century to the first decades of the sixteenth century. Three languages were used in these letters: Latin, Low German and Swedish, but the dominant *lingua franca* was Low German. Because of the low level of literacy of the correspondents, it was customary for secretaries to read the messages aloud to the recipients. Low German was preferred to Latin, whose influence had begun to diminish in Hanseatic Northern Europe from the thirteenth century onwards.

The Latin-based rules of letter writing were nevertheless followed in these epistles. Tiisala notes that they may not have been as strict as those applied to charters (i.e., letters with legal consequences), the most common kind of document found in the Hanse archives, but that they were clearly in evidence, for instance, in salutation formulae. The salutation of a letter specified the sender, the recipient and the manner and quality of greeting. Senders and recipients were placed in three social categories, high (kings, bishops), middle (nobility, bailiffs, feoffees) and low (clerks, scholars, burghers and merchants). *Summae dictaminis* laid down the principles of polite salutation for each category, and included prescriptions on the right kind and number of adjectives expressing praise ('noble', 'wise', 'honoured', 'honest', 'good', 'able', etc.). One of the effects of this long-term language-contact situation was the many politeness expressions borrowed from Low German into Swedish.

3.2 Socio-pragmatic subtypes of letters

How to classify texts by type was one of concerns of classical rhetoricians, and the question reappeared in Renaissance letter-writing manuals. In his popular textbook *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522), Erasmus of Rotterdam lists three rhetorical-functional categories of letters: *demonstrative*, *judicial* and *persuasive*.[3] These categories closely resemble, but do not translate directly into the three well-known language functions described by Karl Bühler in the 1930s: *descriptive*, *expressive* and *appellative*. Bühler provides the backdrop against which **Alexander Bergs**, whose data come from the fifteenth-century English Paston family, discusses the communicative and pragmatic functions of letters. Bergs refrains from making a distinction between *genres* (or *registers*) defined using extralinguistic criteria, and (intra-)linguistically defined *text types*. He argues that both are relevant and need to be combined, regardless of whether we discuss "super text types" such as letters, sermons, recipes and novels, or their various subtypes.

Apart from *petitions*, which constitute a super text type of their own, Bergs postulates five socio-pragmatic subtypes of letters: *reports*, *requests*, *orders*, *counsel* and *phatic* letters. These are defined in terms of Bühler's basic functions and writer-addressee relations. Reports, for instance, are thus descriptive and neutral;

requests appellative and from social inferiors to superiors; and orders appellative and from social superiors to inferiors. Social status and role differences are reflected in the correspondents' lexical and grammatical choices and so socially condition the linguistic expression of pragmatic functions. Ultimately, linguistic variation within each subtype would depend on the degree to which writers accommodated to their addressees.

Bergs assumes that "apart from subtle stylistic differences, different socio-pragmatic text types should correlate at least to some extent with certain salient linguistic variables". In order to test this hypothesis he analyses third-person plural personal pronouns and relative markers, contrasting the incidence of older forms with incoming ones. These pilot studies suggest some interesting trends but show no strong correlation between socio-pragmatic text types and these linguistic variables. More work is obviously required here. Bergs himself regards a prototype approach as one promising direction for future research.

Another way forward would be to analyse the lexical features characteristic of the different subtypes, including the *speech acts* associated with them. Historical speech-act research has intensified over recent years, and provides signposts to go by (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000, Fitzmaurice 2002). Although indirect speech acts will cause problems, Kohnen's study (2002) suggests that direct speech acts were probably more common in the past than they are now. Bergs paves the way for this approach by equating Bühler's functions with speech-act types as he notes that "descriptive texts contain more representative speech acts, expressive texts more expressive speech acts, and appellative texts more directives".

3.3 Letter writing as social and discursive practice

A framework such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) can prove illuminating for an overall view of letter writing as situated activity. In her study of Margaret Paston's fifteenth-century correspondence, **Johanna Wood** refers to Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse (1992), which approaches texts not only in terms of their linguistic properties but also suggests that texts are social and discursive acts. An analysis of fifteenth-century letters as *social practice* cannot overlook the late medieval social hierarchy reflected in forms of address, for instance, and will need to account for the role played by gender in letter writing in England at the time. Wide-ranging female illiteracy meant that only a handful of the women's letters in the Paston collection were written by the women themselves.

This becomes relevant when we turn to the *discursive practice* of letter writing. In late medieval England it includes special circumstances in letter production. Margaret Paston's messages were mediated through a scribe and, at a time before the services of the post office, by a carrier of the letter ('courier') or a messenger.

Since we may assume, if not with certainty, that Margaret Paston dictated her letters, she was responsible for the wording of her letters but not for their spelling. As Wood points out, the extent to which she was also responsible for routine rhetorical formulae remains unclear. Her letters contain the usual greeting and closing formulae such as "no more to you at this time", but their middle part is long and unorganised, and does not follow dictaminal conventions. Both Bergs and Wood note that letters like this would be hard to classify into any particular functional category.

In Fairclough's model, *text analysis* refers to the lexical, grammatical, cohesive and text structural properties of texts. He also distinguishes three other aspects of texts that relate more to discursive practice than to text analysis: the 'force' of utterances (speech acts), coherence and intertextuality (Fairclough 1992: 75). By analysing how Margaret Paston addresses her correspondents and how she is in turn addressed by them, Wood shows how she positions herself and how she is positioned by her family in the social world of her day. The analysis reveals the estimation in which she was held by her husband and sons, and the multiple social roles she had in her family.

Another contribution informed by Fairclough's analytic framework is **Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen's** paper on *intertextuality* in the correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, a distant seventeenth-century relative of Margaret Paston. In Bakhtinian terms, intertextuality means the ways in which texts "are shaped by prior texts that they are 'responding' to, and by subsequent texts that they 'anticipate'" (Fairclough 1992: 101). Tanskanen's analysis shows how intertextual links in letters consist of references to other letters. The categories of links established are: acknowledgement of receipt, references to the recipient's or writer's previous letters or letters written by a third party, references to future or planned letters, and references to the current letter.

The receipt of the preceding letter was routinely acknowledged in family and business correspondence in the fifteenth century, but it was not compulsory (Sánchez Roura 2002). Tanskanen approaches this intertextual category in terms of social practice, there being no guarantee that a letter could be delivered safely in the early modern period. As direct acknowledgements of receipt are quite rare in Lady Katherine Paston's letters, however, indirect means of assuring the recipients of the safe delivery of their messages are looked for — and found — in her correspondence.

References to the current letter, which Tanskanen includes as a case apart, constitute the largest category in her material. Some of them may also be related to letter writing as a social practice. Lady Katherine Paston frequently apologises for her bad writing, which may be a sign of her measuring her writing ability against an educated norm, which even women of her rank could rarely attain in seventeenth-

century England. On the other hand, some of the references may also be part of the discursive practice of letter writing. Lady Katherine occasionally puts her bad writing down to haste, which combines the conventionalised apologies for bad writing and haste found in English correspondence from the fifteenth century on (Austin 1973 [1998: 342–345]).

3.4 Audience design and epistolary politeness

Epistolary conventions can also be approached from the perspective of the audience, both the recipients of the letters and others with access to them. **Minna Nevala** applies Allan Bell's *audience design model* (2001) in comparing the forms used in the salutation and in the body of the letter with the superscription found on the outside of it. In her discussion of the general principles according to which address terms were constructed, she refers to the concept of *face* and the notions of *positive and negative politeness* (Brown and Levinson 1987). Nevala's material, which comes from the electronic Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), consists of over 3,000 private letters from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (for the corpus, see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003).

Besides the addressee, a letter may be exposed to various categories of outsiders, in Bell's terms, "auditors", "overhearers" and "eavesdroppers", according to whether their involvement is known and ratified. The superscription outside the letter particularly is accessible to all these categories, but in earlier times personal letters were often shared with the addressee's immediate circle of family and friends, which also increased their exposure to ratified and known auditors.

Nevala finds that, although the address forms inside the letter vary according to the correspondents' social status and mutual relationship, they are always addressee-oriented. Between those equal in power, distance typically determines the choice in that as the distance between correspondents grows, address terms become more deferential, and the number of alternatives decreases. The opposite, close distance, is reflected in first names and kinship terms and an increasingly creative use of nicknames and terms of endearment. By contrast, the necessary exposure of the superscription of the letter to unknown and unratified parties is reflected in the increasing fixity of address forms in the eighteenth century; the writers' friendship or kinship is no longer acknowledged on the outside of the letter, as was often the case in the previous century. This means that close and distant addressees become undifferentiated in superscriptions, and forms of address inside and outside the letter grow more asymmetrical in familiar letters. In politeness terms, while positively polite terms prevail inside familiar letters, negative politeness becomes the norm on the outside in all kinds of correspondence.

Annemieke Bijkerk traces the rise of the letter-closing formulae *yours sincerely*

and *yours affectionately* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters. She begins with the assumption, suggested by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1999), that *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately* were introduced as positive politeness markers in the early eighteenth century when *your most humble servant* and its variants were still common even in letters exchanged by friends and social equals. Having analysed a vast amount of data including the Chadwyck-Healey Literature Online collections and the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, Bijkerk is able to date the first instances of *yours affectionately* to the early seventeenth century. Her data also agree with Tieken-Boon van Ostade's finding that *yours sincerely* emerged in the early eighteenth century, thus antedating the OED by about a hundred years. But it is not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately* were generalised in private letters and other similar kinds of writing.

3.5 Between public and private: early scientific correspondence

Studies of letter writing often make a distinction between private and non-private, public or official letters (see 2, above). This simple dichotomy is called into question by **Ellen Valle's** paper on early scientific correspondence. Valle argues that there was no clear-cut distinction between an informal or "contingent repertoire" and a formal "empirical repertoire" in eighteenth-century scientific correspondence. She examines this duality in a corpus of letters in natural history relating them to activities in and around the Royal Society. The correspondence constitutes a form of social practice within a *discourse community*, which in Valle's data has a colonial dimension as the letters she studies were exchanged by British naturalists and their suppliers of plant and animal specimens in North America.

By the eighteenth century, the discourse community in natural history had become truly global because it involved collecting new species and other specimens in the overseas colonies and transporting them to Europe, where they were named and classified, and put on display in private collections. At the more formal end, accounts and papers related to these activities, sometimes in epistolary form, were published in books and journals such as the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. At the informal end, letters circulated among a small correspondence network. As in the personal correspondence discussed in Nevala's study, the distance between the writers determined the level of (in)formality in these letters. These two kinds could however also be mixed when informal personal news was included at the beginning of the letter and scientific matter in a more formal style in the middle.

Valle's illustrative material comes from the correspondence of Peter Collinson, a London merchant, and John Bartram, a Pennsylvania farmer with a supplement

of letters by John Ellis, another London merchant, and Alexander Garden, a Scottish-born physician in South Carolina. The fact that Collinson often presented Bartram's letters in Royal Society meetings may account for the fact that they are more carefully constructed with report-like parts than his own, more mixed letters to Bartram. The letters that were published in *Philosophical Transactions* were usually edited at least orthographically and typographically, and the more personal matter was omitted. Part of the business of determining the discursive practices in the production of eighteenth-century scientific correspondence is therefore unravelling the roles played by the recipient of the letter, the editor of the Royal Society, and the printer — a process as intricate as tracing the various "text producers" of Margaret Paston's fifteenth-century correspondence discussed in Wood's contribution.

4.   Concluding remarks

The variety of ways in which epistolary activity can be contextualised derives from its diverse nature as social and discursive practice. The approaches adopted by the contributors to this volume range from analyses of language contact and basic language functions to critical discourse analysis, audience design and linguistic politeness. This rich contextualisation both distances letter writing away from its past as a branch of rhetoric and sheds new light on its conventional aspects. Viewed from these perspectives, writing letters becomes highly context-sensitive social interaction. The shift of focus from letters as products to letter writing as an activity shows the extent to which writers are the agents responsible for the outcome of the process.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Professor Martti Nissinen for kindly making the text available to me; for a discussion of the material, see Nissinen (2000). The State Archives of Assyria project is introduced at: http://www.helsinki.fi/science/saa/cna.html

2. The editors of this volume organised a seminar on Letter Writing Matters at the Second International Conference on Organization in Discourse in Turku, Finland, in 2002. Most of the contributions to this volume, previously printed as as special issue of the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* (2004, 5:2), have grown out of papers presented at this seminar.

3. Erasmus' *demonstrative* letters comprise "accounts of persons, regions, estates, castles, springs, gardens, mountains, prodigies, storms, journeys, banquets, buildings and processions" (1522 [1985]:71). The *judicial* category consists of letters of accusation, complaint, defence, protest, justification, reproach, threat, invective and entreaty; and the *persuasive* category includes letters of conciliation, reconciliation, encouragement, discouragement, persuasion, dissuasion, consolation, petition, recommendation, admonition, and the amatory letter. Many similar classifications appear in early modern letter-writing manuals.

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Power and politeness

Languages and salutation formulas in correspondence between Sweden and the German Hanse

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The power structures in northern Baltic Europe in the Middle Ages can be studied through the correspondence between the Swedish authorities and the Hanseatic Councils. The letters were written in three languages: Latin, Low German and Swedish. Low German was the dominant language in the correspondence from the fifteenth century onwards. The aim of the paper is to examine the ways in which power relationships are manifested, including choice of language, conventional expressions of politeness, use of laudatory adjectives when addressing the recipient, use of adverbs to express deference or hedging, and elaborations in orthography.

Medieval letter-writing followed models described in various instruction books called *summae dictaminis.* These reflect the hierarchy of medieval society by classifying senders and recipients of letters according to their social position, and giving instructions for address of one group by another. The European tradition of rules for letter writing can be traced back in an unbroken line to the Roman Empire, and in spite of certain local differences most rules concerning the form of the letter and expressions of politeness were shared all over the continent.

1. Introduction

In medieval times, northern Baltic Europe was a multilingual area where three languages were used in written communication: Latin, Low German and Swedish. Documents in other languages spoken around the northern Baltic Sea, such as Finnish and Estonian, are of a later date than those in Swedish and Low German. Written material from the Middle Ages was preserved only to a limited extent in Sweden; according to some estimations, less than five percent of all medieval texts

produced survive. Extant letters and charters from this time consist chiefly of documents of legal value, often concerning transfer of property. These texts played an important role in the advancement of literacy in Sweden (Larsson 2003:115).

The material analysed in this study consists of official and semi-official letters concerning matters in Finland, originating both in Sweden and the German Hanse. We will use the term *Hanseatic letters* to designate these letters, which were exchanged between individuals outside the Hanse (representatives of the Swedish crown, bishops and other clerics in high positions and merchants) and the Hanse (that is, Hanse councils, chiefly in Tallinn which was then known as Reval, and Hanseatic merchants). The letters having to do with Finland have been published in *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder* I–VIII (abbreviated as FMU), which contains approximately 800 letters in every volume, written in Latin, Swedish and Low German. The letters are printed in chronological order, with the earliest letters from the thirteenth century and the latest ones from 1530 in volume VIII. The Hanseatic letters are actually a minority of the texts reproduced in FMU; the bulk of the volumes consists of different kinds of charters, that is to say letters with legal consequences. We will not be concerned with these, but only with the smaller number of epistles or personal letters having no direct legal consequences.

The material analysed is thus restricted to northern Baltic Europe, the time span to approximately 1350–1530, the time when the Hanse was an important power factor in the area, and the genre to epistles.

The aims of the paper are threefold: to study the choice of languages in personal (but not private) correspondence in the area during the Hanseatic period; to consider how language choice reflects the power structures in the area; and to analyse the formulaic expressions in the protocol part of the letters, especially the address and *salutatio*, in order to determine how closely the writers followed politeness conventions established in the medieval books on letter writing called *summae dictaminis*.[1] The strict rules in these books concerning addressing and greeting the recipient show how the power relationships between sender and recipient should be expressed in a way that appropriately reflects these power relationships in reality.

2.   Language situation in the area

The languages used in the Hanseatic correspondence were Latin, Low German and Swedish. Of the 150 letters from the Hanse, 135 are in Low German, 15 in Latin and none in Swedish. There are no letters in Latin in the material from 1431 to 1529 (volumes III–VII), but four Latin letters can be found in the material printed in the last volume of FMU (vol. VIII, 1519–1530). Of the 560 extant letters from

the Swedish side, 476 are written in Low German, 56 in Swedish and 28 in Latin. The first Swedish letters date from 1431, there are no letters in Latin from 1431 to 1529, but two appear in the same time period as the last letters in Latin from the Hanse (see Tiisala 1996:281 for more detailed statistics).

Other languages were spoken in the area, including Finnish, which was the language of the majority of the population in Finland and a minority in Sweden. There was also an influential German speaking minority, especially in urban areas.[2] In other words, Sweden-Finland was already a multilingual and multiethnic society at this time. Finnish, although not used in written contacts, had a certain status in Hanseatic communication, because some of the burghers and representatives of the nobility in Finland, and above all many of the potential customers for the Hanse in Finland, were Finnish speakers. The language situation can be illustrated by a letter written at the beginning of the sixteenth century by a merchant in Danzig who sent his two sons to Archdeacon Scheel in Turku (Åbo), to be taught Latin, Finnish and Swedish:[3]

(1) *dat he de sprake mochte leren fijnijch; vnd, so ijk heret, hebbe gij bij juw wol stoddenten, de en noch mochte leren swedijsche breffe mochte leren, vnd fijn- nijch ok so wat lattijnesch; he chan jo wat worsoket, wen en sal he eyn chopp- man werden, so ijs ijt em ganch nwtte. …Effte gij beter rat wessten, dar bijdde ijk ijw fruntlijch wme effte gij en depper jnt lant ssenden wme de sprake.* (FMU VII:5687, 1513)

'… that he would learn Finnish; and you have, so I have heard, students who could also teach him to write Swedish letters, and Finnish and some Latin; he can try to learn some, if he is going to be a merchant it is useful for him. … In case you find it advisable I request you to send him deeper into the country for the language's sakes'.

Low German had been the language of prestige in Hanseatic Northern Europe ever since Latin had lost its dominant position, a process which started in northern Germany in the 1250s, and reached its conclusion in the fifteenth century (Peters 1985:1214–1216). North German merchants and artisans migrated to Sweden in considerable numbers beginning in the eleventh century, and as a result of this movement the upper classes (including the nobility) and some of the burghers in Sweden and Finland are believed to have become bilingual in the higher status language of Low German (Peters 1985:1212).

Swedish, on the other hand, was still the language of administration in the realm. It was used in the legal code as early as the thirteenth century, and in the middle of the fourteenth century the king (Magnus Eriksson) handed down laws requiring all texts having legal significance to be written in Swedish. The language was also used in the translation of religious texts, and by the indigenous families who formed most of the nobility at the time. All these factors contributed to the relatively

high status of Swedish. But in written contacts with the powerful Hanse it was rarely used; normally only in cases when the sender did not have a German secretary at hand, when the Swedish sender was annoyed or when he had some urgent information to give to the advantage of the Hanseatic recipient. It must be noted that the Hanse never wrote letters in Swedish to Swedish officials, or at least no such letters can be found in FMU. There is even a suggestion that it was considered impolite to write in Swedish to the Hanseatic Councils: A letter written by the powerful nobleman Krister Nilsson ends with an apology for writing in Swedish, the reason being that there was no German secretary at hand at the castle (FMU III: 2168, 1436). The Hanse never apologises for writing in German, which indicates the difference in status between the two languages in the Baltic area at this time.

How is a language situation like this possible, where one language community writes to another in a language they do not share, and expects to be understood? Kurt Braunmüller describes this as a situation of "semicommunication", a term first used by Einar Haugen (Braunmüller 1995: 308). The participants on both sides were used to varieties within their own systems, for the idea of a strict norm in vernaculars emerged only later. Thus they were able to tolerate more "noise" in communication than we are today. They could accept a situation where a counterpart answered in another language that was closely related and consequently typologically and lexically similar to the recipient's mother tongue. This type of communication is not unknown in present-day Scandinavia. People were also more able and willing to learn certain rules of transposition between closely related languages when the alternative was learning a more distantly related *lingua franca*, in this case Latin.

Latin came later to Sweden than to Denmark, and its position seems to have been weaker (Tengström 1973: 107), according to the familiar centre-periphery pattern. In the early Middle Ages, few clerks in Sweden knew Latin well enough to use it in high-quality written communication. And with the coming of the Reformation in the late Middle Ages, Latin lost its position in Scandinavia in general. Nevertheless, Latin was the main language of Hanseatic correspondence until the middle of the fourteenth century, and had some status throughout the rest of the Hanseatic period as a language of communication (cf. letters from Hans Chonnert to Archdeacon Scheel, FMU VII: 5459, 1510 and 5687, 1513).

The Swedish letters written to the Hanse are not entirely in Swedish; they contain a notable amount of code-switching. The *intitulatio*, address, and date are practically always in Latin, which hardly ever happens in the German letters. Very few letters written entirely in Swedish can be found in the Hanseatic material. One possible interpretation is that the Latin phrases were used to give the letters a higher stylistic nuance, since Latin still had a great deal of prestige as the language of learning.

3. Letter types and guidelines for writing

We earlier identified two main types of letters, namely epistles, or letters without legal consequence, and charters (also known as *charta*, *instrumentum*, *praeceptum*), letters with legal consequences such as testaments and documents of privileges. Charters are clearly more common than epistles, and in fact are the most common type of document surviving from the Middle Ages in general, including medieval Sweden. The majority of the documents in FMU are of this type. Charters tended to be preserved because they were needed as evidence, and had to be kept safe. Because they might need to be read in a context different from that of their composition, they were formulated according to general rules which remained similar from one century to another. However, most of the Hanseatic letters in FMU are epistles. These too had to be written according to rules, chiefly those in the *summae dictaminis*; these rules might not have been as strict as those concerning charters, but they stated clearly the conventions the sender had to follow in order to show due respect towards the recipient.

The medieval rules concerning the proper way of writing letters, including how to address the recipient, date back to the old Roman, Hellenistic and Byzantine cultures, and most likely all the way back to Mesopotamia. The rules were coded in instruction books, the most important of which were published in 1863 by Ludwig Rockinger, some of them in abridged form with summaries of the excluded parts.[4] Most of the texts in Rockinger's edition are from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first Latin *summa dictaminis* is from a fourth century textbook on rhetoric. It stresses the differences between letters and speech and focuses on salutation phrases (Hansson 1988:16).

Across Europe, *ars dictaminis* was an important part of rhetoric studies in different types of schools, both clerical and secular, and Sweden was no exception. Students learned not only stylistic elegance and grammar, but also law and legal writing. The legal aspect was essential, because many letters had legal consequences. Letters were originally delivered orally, and for that reason letter-writing rules drew on rules for general rhetoric that had grown out of the classical oral tradition. As literacy spread and the memory and performance aspects declined, the rules increasingly stressed formal factors, until the later advent of humanism shook off some of the formalism. Nevertheless, a certain degree of orality was present through the Middle Ages, because of the limited number of people who could read and write. Messages were commonly delivered orally in the sense that secretaries read the text aloud to the recipient (Hansson 1988:15–20).

The European tradition of letter-writing rules has continued unbroken over centuries (Rockinger 1863:xv), and although there was some variation in the rules, especially in the late Middle Ages, owing to local cultural and legal differences,

most of the general standards concerning letter forms and expressions of politeness were shared across Europe.

The origins of the models for letter writing in Scandinavia and particularly in Sweden still need to be studied in greater detail. We know very little, for instance, about possible Anglo-Saxon influence coming through Norway at the time when northern Scandinavia and Britain were ruled by the same king. It seems reasonable to speculate that there was such influence, since the king's chanceries were in a key position to set standards in the use of written non-clerical language (Johnson 1998: 32–51). There is certainly material to work with; manuscripts and parts of manuscripts of *summae* can be found in Swedish libraries, and information about the names of instruction books used and owned by Swedes is strewn through inventories and testaments (Larsson 2003: 189–191). It has been maintained that the original instructional texts used in Sweden came mostly from east Central Europe (Nygren 1958). One likely model is Nikolaus von Dybin (d. 1387), whose texts were widely distributed in Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland — the very countries where many, if not most Swedish scholars were educated at this time. The texts by von Dybin were used at the universities in the realm and influenced later works in rhetoric (Szklenar 1987: col. 1062–1069).

A *summa dictaminis* normally consists of two parts: a theoretical part, where the principles of letter writing are explained, and a practical part with formulas and examples of letters, either actual or purpose-written. The general principles expressed in the *summae* can be seen to be stable from approximately 800 onwards:

– A letter has five parts: *salutatio, benevolentiae captatio, narratio, petitio, conclusion.*
– The senders and recipients of the letters are grouped into high, middle, and low groups, corresponding roughly to social rank. The names for the groups vary somewhat, for example *summus, medius* and *infimus* (*ordo*) in Ludolf, and *supreme, mediocres,* and *infime* (*personae*) in Hugo of Bologna. Some *summae* list the occupations typical of each group and subgroup. Clerical categories appear in all three groups.
– The categories of interest in this context are placed in approximately the same groups in all *summae*: kings and bishops in the highest group; nobility, bailiffs, and feoffees in the middle group; and clerks, scholars, burghers and merchants in the lowest group. It must be noted that even the people belonging to the lowest group are people of some consequence; they have respectable occupations and can write and receive letters. Some writers of the instruction books also mention categories beyond these "honest men", such as whores and handicapped persons, who only have reason to write supplications or humble requests (Conrad in Rockinger 1863: 429).

– There are strict rules about how people in each group should be addressed, what adjectives should be used of them, and in what order the sender's and recipient's names should be placed when the recipient is addressed.

The instruction books reflect the clear-cut hierarchies in medieval society. The politeness aspect is most important, not only in the sense of deference but also its reverse: Those belonging to the highest categories are supposed to show their superiority by being polite to inferiors. The appearance of arrogance must be avoided at all costs; showing respect towards the recipient is of vital importance.

4. Politeness in the protocol

Politeness is expressed in many ways and in different parts of the letter: in addresses, in the text proper in adverbs and adjectives showing friendliness and appreciation, in the protocol, especially in the *salutatio*, and in the eschatocol.[5] The *salutatio* is often narrowly defined as the part of the protocol expressing the greeting only, although it is also thought to be intimately connected with the inscription (Skautrup 1947:70, Nielsen 1969:col. 714–715). However, the term *salutatio* is more commonly used in *summae* to mean a combination of *inscriptio*, *intitulatio* and the salutation proper, and we will use it in that sense here.

Most *summa* writers agree that in the type of letters whose recipient(s) can be specified the *salutatio* is an obligatory part of the letter, or, as Ludolf puts it: "*salutacio nunquam tacetur*" (Rockinger 1863:360). Some writers say that it may be omitted, but only for serious reasons (Iohannes Angelicus in Rockinger 1863:599). Conrad has a chapter called *Quid sit salutatio* explaining its function, form, and elements (Rockinger 1863:461–462). The function is to mark affection (*affectum indicans*), the grammatical form is normally third person,[6] and there are three necessary elements: the person who greets (*persona salutans*), the person who is greeted (*persona salutata*) and the manner and quality of the greeting (*qualitas et modus salutandi*) (Rockinger 1863:461).

The quality of the *salutatio* appears in the choice of appropriate adjectives. Alberic says the adjectives should show the sender's respect for the recipient, and if any adjectives are to be used of the sender, they must show humility, and on no account arrogance. Laymen should not use any adjectives of themselves (Rockinger 1863:11). Hugo of Bologna, like many other writers, gives examples of salutations and the adjectives to be used in them, and states that adjectives must be selected according to the social position of the persons involved and the relationship of the recipient to the sender (Rockinger 1863:56). The appropriate number of adjectives

is three or four: "*In salutatione uidelicet primo, si tria uel iiii ad laudem adiectiua ponamus…*" (Rockinger 1863:57). 'In *salutatio* we place first three or four adjectives expressing praise…'.

The adjectives used in letters in Latin of the recipients are *famosus* 'famous', *circumspectus* and *providus* 'circumspect', *nobilis* 'noble', *discretus* 'discreet', *preclarus* 'well-known', *strenuus* 'valiant, forceful', *robustus* 'strong', *insignis* 'excellent', *honorabilis* 'honourable', *honestus* 'honest', *sapiens* 'wise'. The adjective *strenuus* is used of knights (*miles*) only. The adjectives in Low German are *erbar* 'honourable', *edel* 'noble', *gestreng* 'valiant' (to noblemen), *ersam, erwerdigh* 'honourable', *vorsichtig* 'circumspect', *wijs* 'wise', *bescheyden* 'modest', *wolduchtig* 'able', *gud* 'good', *leve* (+ *vrund*) 'dear +friend', and in Swedish *erligh* 'honest', *wis* 'wise', *aerwaerdogh* 'honourable', among others.

5.   Types of Hanseatic letters in FMU

As noted earlier, the Hanseatic letters about Finland to be discussed are mostly of the epistolary type, and various social classes are represented: representatives of the Swedish crown, stationed at castles on the southern coast of Finland; bishops and other clerics; burghers, merchants, Hanseatic Councils and leaders of the Baltic provinces controlled by different religious orders such as the Teutonic Knights. Several types of combinations of senders and recipients of these letters can be identified:

–   representatives of the higher categories (mostly non-clerical) writing to equals;
–   clerics in high positions writing to merchants;
–   merchants writing to people in high positions, clerical and non-clerical;
–   bishops writing to the Hanseatic Councils;
–   the Hanseatic Councils writing to all the above categories.

5.1 Letters from Sweden to the Hanse

5.1.1 *Letters in Latin*
a.   Representatives of the Swedish crown writing to the Councils
These letters from the fourteenth century, written in Latin, place the recipients first, with appropriate adjectives:

(2) *Honorabilibus viris aduocatis et consulibus Rewaliae Kanutus Jonsson, illustris regis Sweciae et Norwegiae dapifer … perpetua cum salute* (FMU I: 326, 1325). 'To the honourable men, members of the Council of Reval, Knut Jonsson, steward of the illustrious King of Sweden and Norway, sends his greeting as always'.

b.   Bishops writing to Hanseatic Councils

These letters begin with the sender's name and with the addition of *Dei gratia* or *miseracione diuina episcopus* 'bishop of God's grace' (FMU I: 702, 1363); the *salutatio* follows the rules in *summae*, according to which the bishops belong to the highest category. The devotional form *divina miseracione* occurs in variation with *Dei gratia*, depending among other things on the status of the bishop (Ljungfors 1995: 76–89).

c.   Clerics in lower positions writing to the Councils

The recipients' names and the appropriate adjectives are placed first:

> (3)   *Viris honorabilibus et honestis proconsulibus et consulibus omnibus civitatis*
> *Revaliensis Laurentius, curatus ecclesie Kariis … in Domino salutem et dilec-*
> *cionem* (FMU I: 346, 1326).
> 'To the honourable and honest men, members of the City Council of Reval,
> Laurentius, the curate of the parish Karis … sends his greeting and love in God'.

5.1.2 *Letters in Swedish with code-switching*

Some of the Swedish letters contain Latin phrases in the protocol and/or eschatocol. A much-used type of phrase in early letters with code-switching from representatives of the Swedish crown is *Amicabili in Domino semper salute premissa* (FMU II: 1331, 1410), 'Friendly greetings in God (always first)'.

A few letters have double code-switching: a Latin *salutatio* is followed by an *inscriptio* in both Low German and Swedish within the same phrase, while the main text is in Swedish (FMU II: 1927, 1429). Later the long Latin phrase is often shortened to *Salute premissa* 'first greetings' or *post salutem* 'after the greeting'.

A clue to the interpretation of this phrase (and its Low German equivalent *Na der grote)* may be found in the thinking reflected in the use of tense in letters in Classical Latin. The forms were selected from the recipient's point of view, so that the tense coincided with the time when the letter was read. The salutation was sent before the recipient received the message. The shortened version is also a pointer to the place in the letter where the salutation phrases in their more complicated forms, familiar to all, should be placed.

In letters where the Latin phrases occur only in dates and addresses the salutation is usually of the same type as in the following example from a letter written by the Swedish king's representative in Finland, Krister Nilsson:

> (4)   *Mina oedhmywka thjaenist tilforena met warum herra. Within, aerwaerdoghe*
> *herra, borghamestara och radhmen i Reffla …*
> (FMU III: 2059, 1432).
> 'The expressions of my humble services in Our Lord. You should know,
> estimated sirs, burghermeisters and members of the City Council of Reval…'

In another example, Bishop Björn writes to the Council of Reval:

(5) *Famosis viris ac circumspectis dominis proconsulibus et consulibus ciuitatis*
     Revaliensis … presens detur (address). Bero, diuina miseracione episcopus
     Aboensis, amicabili in Domino salute sinceriter premissa …
     (FMU II: 1322, 1410).
     'To the well-known men and circumspect sirs, members of the City Council
     of Reval … this letter is sent. Björn, of God's divine mercy the bishop of
     Turku, sends first his sincere, friendly greetings in God…'

5.1.3 *Letters in Low German*
Letters from the representatives of the Swedish crown, written in Low German, are
far more numerous than those in Swedish, and normally there is no code-switch-
ing. Most greetings follow the same pattern, namely *Vruntlike grote tovoren*
(geschreuen) (FMU I: 933, 1385) 'First friendly greetings' or *Vruntlyke grote und wes*
ik gudes vormach tovoren (FMU III: 1994, 1431) 'First my friendly greetings and my
well-wishes (and what good I am capable of)'.
This phrase is followed by the *inscriptio* with a variable degree of politeness, for example:

(6) *Vryntlike grote vurscreven. Ersame unde vorsichtige, synderlighe gude frundes*
     … (FMU III: 2005, 1431).
     'First my friendly greeting. Estimated and circumspect, good, special friends…'

(7) *Mynen vruntliken grod myt vermoghe alles ghuden. Ersamen wolwysen heren*
     … (FMU V: 3870, 1481).
     'My friendly greeting and well-wishes. Honoured, wise sirs…'

A good example of a *salutatio* following the politeness rules comes from this letter
written by the bailiff at the castle of Stockholm and the Stockholm City Council to
the Council of Reval:

(8) *Den wisen, ersamen, vorsichtigen heren borgermeisteren unde radmannen der*
     stad Reval, unsen gunstigen vrunden, entbede ik Hans Cropelin, hovetman des
     slotes Stocholm, unde wii borgermestere unde radmanne der stat Stocholm
     unsen vruntliken grut mit begere alles gudes unde doen witlik … (FMU
     III: 2096, 1434).
     'To the wise, honoured, circumspect sirs, the burghermeister and members
     of the city council of Reval, send I, Hans Kröpelin, the bailiff of the Castle
     of Stockholm, and we, the burghermeisters and city council members of the
     city of Stockholm our friendly greetings and well-wishes and want to make
     it known…'

All politeness rules are observed here: the quality and number of adjectives is correct
according to the *summae*, the recipients are mentioned first and the senders afterwards.

Sometimes the degree of politeness is raised through the orthography. Here is the *salutatio* from an orthographically polite letter:

(9)   *Minnen frunntlyckenn gruth myth vormoghe allisz ghudenn stets vorgeszannth.*
      Erszamenn voerszichtighenn vnndt wollwyszenn herenn, byszunder leuenn
      naber vnndt gudenn frunde (FMU V: 3915, 1482).
      'I send you my friendly greetings and wish you well, as always. Honoured,
      circumspect and wise, very dear neighbours and good friends'.

The address in the same letter is as follows:

(10) *Denn erszamenn vorsichtighenn vnndt wolwyszenn mannenn herenn borger-*
      meisterenn vnndt radtmannenn der stadt Reuall, synen biszunder leuenn
      naberenn … (FMU V: 3915, 1482).
      'To the honoured, circumspect and wise sirs, the burghermeister and mem-
      bers of the City Council of Reval, the very dear neighbours …'

The doubled *n*, *gh* in place of *g*, *sz* in place of *s* — every extra pen-stroke shows that special trouble was taken.

Letters from bishops also follow the rules expressed in the *summae*:

(11) *Born mit godes gnaden bischop to Aboe. Erwerdige, heelsame grut unde wes wii*
      ghudes vormoghe. Leve here, here kumptur, unde gi, erbaren lude … (FMU
      II: 1302, 1409).
      'Björn, of God's grace bishop of Turku. Honoured sirs, God's grace be with
      you and we wish you well. Dear sirs, my lord master of the order, and you,
      honourable people…'

The letters from burghers and merchants, who belonged to the lowest social category of correspondents, follow a simpler pattern, and begin, as recommended in the *summae*, normally with an expression of the type *Mynen denst na vormoge alles gudes etc.* (FMU VII: 5747, 1514) 'I am your servant and will do what I can for you etc.'

5.2 Letters from the Hanse

5.2.1 *Letters in Latin*

Only ten letters in Latin from the Hanse can be found in FMU I (with letters from the fourteenth century), and one in FMU II (1401–1430). A long gap follows, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when four letters in Latin appear in the material. In these letters the *salutatio* follows the rules, appropriate adjectives are used of the knights, and other politeness rules are observed, as in this example from a letter to the knight Narwe Ingvaldsson:

(12)   *Nobili ac preclaro militi domino Narwoni Ingevaldzson, capitaneo Finlandesi
…* (FMU I: 712, 1364).
'To the noble and famous knight sir Narve Ingvaldsson, governor of Finland…'

The rules are also followed in this letter to a widow:

(13)   *Nobili ac honeste domine, domine strenui militis domini Stenonis Thursson, pie
memorie, relicte, consules Reualie cum omnimoda reuerencia sinceram in
Domino caritatem …* (FMU I: 565, 1356).
'To the noble and honest madam, widow of the valiant knight, sir Sten
Turesson, of blessed memory, the consuls of Reval wish sincerely, with all
respect, God's love'

A wife or a widow had to be shown the same respect as was due to her husband,
because they were one: *Item uir et uxor, cum sint unum et idem, non debent ad
inparia iudicari* 'In the same way husband and wife, because they are one and the
same, cannot be estimated differently' (Conrad in Rockinger 1863: 447).

5.2.2 *Letters in Low German*
Code-switching is rare in the German letters written by the Hanse, and the Latin
phrases used are very short: *Salutacione etc.* (FMU II: 1044, 1395), *Post salutationem*
(FMU V: 4469, 1493), or *Premissa salutacione etc* (FMU V: 3884, 1481). A typical
beginning is a translation of *Post salutationem*, namely *Na der grote* 'after the
greeting', followed by an *inscriptio* with a variable degree of politeness, as in this
letter from the City Council of Reval to Klaus Fleming, a nobleman in an important
position in Sweden:

(14)   *Erverdyge, leve, lovesame vrund, her Claues, besundere gude gunre* (FMU
II: 1520, 1418).
'Honoured, dear, amicable friend, sir Clas, our especially good patron'

In this letter from the Master of the Teutonic Order to the Swedish king's representa-
tive Krister Nilsson, the name of the sender is mentioned first:

(15)   *Bruder Cize von Rutenberch, mester Dutschs ordens to Lifflande* (FMU
III: 2015, 1431).
'Brother Cize von Rutenberch, Master of the Teutonic Knights in Livonia'

followed by the greeting and the *inscriptio*:

(16)   *Unsirn vruntliken grut und wat wii um juwen willen gudes vormogen altit
tovor. Ersame, strenge und vorsichtige leve her Cristerne, besundere vrunt und
gude nabur …*
'First, as always, our friendly greeting and all our well-wishes. Honoured,
stern and circumspect sir Krister, our special friend and good neighbour…'

The writer, being a cleric in a high position, is superior to Krister Nilsson, a representative of the Swedish king, and mentions his own name first. All the rules of politeness are followed in the letter, including appropriate adjectives in the *salutatio*, both as regards the meaning and the number. The greetings often get more complicated in later German letters from the Hanse, as does the orthography with addition of extra characters.

6.   Conclusion

This paper gives only a brief survey of Hanseatic letter writing and its formulaic expressions. The material examined indicates strongly that the German and Swedish vernaculars used in the letters show clear influences from Latin in the adopted formulas, even though the nature of epistolary letters is such that all the formal rules need not be followed strictly. The language may be less elegant, but the rules of politeness are followed carefully, even in letters where controversies are discussed.

Politeness is expressed in many ways: in the *salutatio*; in addresses, where the number of adjectives sometimes exceeds the recommendations for salutations; in polite adverbs (*fruntliken* 'friendly', *gutliken* 'kindly') and adjectives describing the recipient in the text proper. The examples also illustrate clearly that Swedish borrowed many lexical items for the expression of politeness from Low German. The supremacy of Low German and the strong position held by the Hanse in the Baltic area is reflected in the dominant position Low German has in the correspondence.

Notes

1. Other names used include *ars dictandi*, *ars dictaminis*, *rationes dictandi*, and *viaticus dictandi*.

2. On the language situation in the area in general, and language and literacy in the Hanseatic communication, see Östman (1996) and Salminen (1997).

3. Letters from FMU will be referred to here by volume number and sequence number, followed where relevant by year of composition (in this case, 1513).

4. The 1863 edition was reprinted in 1961, and the references to Rockinger in this article come from that edition.

5. The terms "protocol" and "eschatocol" correspond roughly to the opening and closing sections that bracket the body text of a modern letter.

6. That is, the default is *salutacione tercia persona loquitur ad terciam*, in which a third person addresses a third person, but in certain cases a first person addresses a second person, both in singular and in plural, according to Ludolf (Rockinger 1863: 360).

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Letters

A new approach to text typology[*]

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This paper explores the question how far "letters" as one specific text type can be subdivided into smaller groups of texts (i.e. subtypes such as "requests", "orders", or "reports") on the basis of socio-psychological and pragmatic dimensions and factors, including speech act and accommodation theory. This paper argues that this differentiation into socio-pragmatic subtypes actually can be made and that these subtypes materialize in significant systematic morphosyntactic variability. The idea is explored and illustrated on the basis of pronoun and relativizer variation in the late Middle English Paston Letters. In particular, it is shown how authors use their individual stylistic freedom to pursue specific communicative goals in different types of letters.

1. Introduction

There is no great doubt that "letters" in general form a special and distinct "genre" or "text type", contrasting in both intra- and extralinguistic features with other "genres" or "text types" such as "recipe", "testament", "sermon" etc. Within the group of letters, a further distinction can be made between "private" and "non-private" writings, assuming that such a functional, and thus primarily language-external distinction is somehow mirrored by language internal phenomena and patterns, often along the informal-formal, oral-literate, proximity-distance dimensions (see, e.g. Biber 1995 for exemplary studies). This paper intends to add to this idea in that it suggests more finely grained distinctions in subtypes of "letters" on the basis of author and addressee roles on the one hand, and natural pragmatic and communicative functions of letters on the other. It will be argued that texts may be classified as belonging simultaneously to two interrelated categories: One "surface" or "super" text type (i.e. "letter") and one or more "socio-pragmatic" subtypes (e.g. "order", "request", "report", "phatic" etc.). While

surface text types are traditionally based on material conditions and cultural models, the novel notion of socio-pragmatic subtypes is based for the most part on the different functions that language can fulfill (in the sense of Bühler, Jakobson, or Halliday, for example), an extended form of accommodation theory, and speech act theory. This is the topic, from a rather theoretical point of view, of the following section. In a second step, the differentiation into subtypes will be tested in an exploratory study of the late Middle English *Paston Letters* (ed. by Davis 1971). It will be shown that writers in the late Middle English and Early Modern English period were not simply constrained by the basic letter-writing conventions of the time, though these certainly played an important role, but that the function of the letter and the roles of addressee and author, i.e. its underlying, socio-pragmatic text subtype, were also of great importance in shaping its actual form. Therefore, this paper is eventually also concerned with the personal freedom of authors and how they employed the linguistic means available to them for their individual purposes.

2.   Text types, genres, registers and related matters

The "terminological maze" (Moessner 2001) of text types, genres, styles, and registers is still a matter of dispute and controversial debates (see, e.g. Moessner 2001; Diller 2001). The present paper is not intended as yet another voice in this sometimes very dissonant chorus; it will not make any claims as to whether the distinctions introduced in the following are a matter of text type, genre, register, or style. Instead, "letters" will be regarded, superficially, as one "text type", in contrast, for instance, to other text types such as "sermon", "recipe", "novel", or "contract". Text types differ from each other in both intra- and extralinguistic features and are generally based on native speakers' intuitions about these types. For example, a native speaker can always recognise and distinguish a recipe from a novel. That these text types and their individual features must also be understood as prototypes goes without saying. A novel might be very short, for example, or a recipe very long; a novel might contain a recipe, a recipe a brief narrative exposition — but both remain principally recipe and novel.

     Within the text type "letter" several "subtypes" can be defined. The most common distinction is between "private/personal letters" and "non-private/ business/official letters".[1] The external determinants in this case appear to be the purpose of the letter, publicity, and addressee (i.e. some social relationships and roles simply do not allow for private letters, e.g. John Paston I writing to King Henry IV in 1449 — this clearly has to be business communication, in this case an official petition). The internal, linguistic correlates depend, of course, on the cultural and linguistic background, but generally revolve around formal, literate

constructions and forms expressing linguistic and social distance in non-private documents (e.g. Latinate vocabulary, complex NP structures, sentence initial adverbials; cf. Kohnen 2001) and informal, oral constructions, and forms expressing linguistic and social proximity in private/personal correspondence (e.g. Germanic vocabulary, zero relativisation, short forms, simple NP structures, the use of complex predicates; see Kytö 2000 for an illustrative study of early American letters; see Koch and Österreicher 1994 for the "language of distance" versus "language of proximity" distinction). However, apart from this common distinction between private and non-private correspondence, there seem to be further subtypes of letters: "love letters", "requests", "orders" are more or less intuitive categories that spring to mind.

The introduction of this distinction rehearses the theme of multiple determination of linguistic variation as outlined by Ferguson: "Every utterance (in speaking and writing) simultaneously exemplifies dialect, register, genre, and conversational variation in the senses used here" (1994: 25). The differentiation of various subtypes plays on the themes of genre and conversational variation in Ferguson's terminology. It relates to genres in Fergusonian terms as most "letters", particularly in late Middle English and Early Modern English, have a clear, "identifying internal structure, differentiated from other message types in the repertoire of the community" (Ferguson 1994: 21). In other words, they are commonly realised with very fixed formulae and structures (see Davis 1965, 1967; Nevalainen 2001; Sanchez Roura 2002 a,b), and thus leave very little room for personal choices. Letters, in late Middle English, were, after all, an *ars dictaminis* or *ars dictandi* (Schäfer 1995: 316; cf. Markus 1988: 172). Today, in contrast, we are witnessing a gradual loss of defining structural features for the genre/text type "letter", with no uniform greeting formulae, frequent lack of an exposition, or even without salutations and complimentary closes (cf. Wyss 2002: 79, 87 on the loss of *epistolare Schreib-schriftlichkeit* 'epistolary written-ness'). Letters in Middle English were much more conventionalised with regard to their structure. But apart from that, speakers were relatively free in their choices how to fill the empty spaces between the various formulae and obligatory parts, as will be shown in the following sections. Even the obligatory parts themselves still left some choice, albeit very little (see Wood, this vol., for more details on variation in the opening and closing formulae). And this is the place where Ferguson's "conversation factor" plays a role: Language in general can be used for different functions. The Viennese psychologist Karl Bühler distinguished between three different functions: descriptive, expressive, appellative (Bühler 1934: 28f). Language is used descriptively (in a symbolic function) when it relates states or events in this world. (Halliday and Lyons referred to this function also as ideational: e.g. "A man with a gun is waiting for you outside".) It is used expressively (in a symptomatic function) when it relates the thoughts or feelings of

the speaker (e.g. "Ouch!" or "I'm tired"). The appellative (signalling) function of language takes precedence when language is meant to invoke some reaction in the hearer (e.g. through directive speech acts: "Give me the salt!", "Be careful!"). For Bühler, these three language functions are idealisations which rarely, if ever, occur in isolated, pure forms. Instead, in real life utterances we find a mixture or overlap of all three functions, as in, for example, "I think I have forgotten my invitation". This can express simultaneously the speaker's thoughts and feelings (e.g. embarrassment), a description of the state of the world (e.g. the fact that the invitation is not there), and an indirect, directive speech act intended to provoke a reaction on part of the hearer (e.g. "let me in without the invitation").

How does that relate to the question of text types and letters in particular? It may be argued that all three language functions are, essentially, also present in written communication. Fictional writing, such as poetry and novels, prototypically fulfills the expressive function of language (although, of course, we also find programmatic fictional texts which have a strong appellative component or texts that border on the descriptive, ideational part). Newspaper reports, on the other hand, (should) lean towards the descriptive function. Cooking recipes, manuals, and similar texts are exemplars of appellative text types. Letters, however, seem to fall in between all these functions. They do not belong *per se* and prototypically to one single category, at least not in the late Middle English period. The first letters, written more than 5,000 years ago, were essentially business letters, i.e. they fulfilled descriptive and appellative tasks. Only with the advent of private, personal correspondence (but see footnote 1) did the expressive dimension enter the stage. By c. 1500 AD letters certainly fulfilled all three functions to a greater or lesser extent and were not necessarily subject to a strict division between private, personal and non-private, business letters. On the contrary: many Paston Letters, for example, actually show an interesting division within one single letter: while in half of the letter the author strictly talks business, the other half is decidedly more intimate and personal (cf. Kohl 1986: 99). Descriptive, expressive, appellative functions clearly coexisted (*pace* Lass 1999: 150).

How exactly do the different functions embodied in letters influence or shape the linguistic form? It has been mentioned above that letters in Middle English were quite formalised and that letters often employed fixed phrases and formulae. These, obviously, would show only few differences with respect to the various functions. However, it has also been argued that in between the formulae and even within the range of possible formulae there is a certain degree of variability which may be used for functional, communicative purposes. The first and most obvious difference in letter forms and functions lies in the speech act types that can be found. Quite simply, descriptive texts contain more representative speech acts, expressive texts more expressive speech acts, and appellative texts more directives.

A second diagnostic may be simple lexical variation, as has been reported by Sanchez Roura (2002b) in her study of the late Middle English Cely Letters. She quite rightly points out that there is a big difference between the two commendations "I heartily recommend me to you" and "I humbly recommend me to you". The former clearly expresses warmth, affection, positive politeness (in Brown and Levinson's terms, 1987); the latter deference, negative politeness, "an act of self-humiliation" (2002b: 85). Thus, socio-pragmatic functions may determine lexical choices even in very fixed expressions. On top of these obvious differences, however, the function of a particular letter also makes itself felt in certain linguistic forms through socio-psychological principles such as accommodation and dissociation (Street and Giles 1982), or, more broadly speaking, identification theory (Smith 1996: 9). In a nutshell, accommodation theory claims that "we tend to 'accommodate' our speech to the speech of the people we are talking to, in the hope that they will like us more for doing so" (Hudson 1996: 164). Dissociation, on the other hand, is the reverse use of linguistic means to signal differentiation or separation (see Spolsky 1988: 108f; Hickey 2000 for extensive and illuminating discussions). As regards letter-writing, Fitzmaurice (2000: 362) quotes Horace Walpole on the matter of accommodation and dissociation: "a letter is addressed to a single mind of which the prejudices and partialities are known, and must therefore please, if not by favouring them, by forbearing to oppose them". Bax (2002) also discusses accommodation in the written exchanges of Hester Lynch Thrale and Samuel Johnson in the eighteenth century. Taking into account the principle of uniformity in linguistic change, there is no reason why a similar line of thought should not have played a role three hundred years earlier, in the fifteenth century. We find some support for this in Margaret Paston's advice to her son, John II:

> (1)   What þe entent therof was I wot not, but thowge he toke it but lyghtly I wold ye shuld not spar*e* to write to hym ageyn as lowly as ye cane, besechey*ng* hym to be yo*ur* good fad*er*, and send hym suche tydyng*ys* as bethe in þe contr*é* ther ye bethe in, *and* that ye be ware of yo*ur* expence bettyr and ye have be before thys tyme, *and* be yo*ur* owne purse-berer*e*. I trowe ye shall fynd yt most p*ro*fytalble to you. (1463, Margaret Paston to her son John II, no. 175, p. 288, ll. 13–18)

Like Walpole about three hundred years later, she suggests that the son should employ a style "as lowly as ye can" when asking his father for support. While this does not necessarily imply linguistic accommodation as such, it still shows clearly style and register awareness as well as the presence of enough individual linguistic freedom to utilise more or less subtle stylistic differences in letter forms.

     In this context it should also be noted that Walpole, just like most other authors, seems to have assumed basically cooperative speakers/writers who do not

wish to offend their interlocutors, or who at least pay some attention to the addressees' personae. This is certainly important and true for the subtypes of "report" and "request". With these subtypes, speakers do well if they avoid language use that may be offensive to the addressee. In other words, if speakers need money or other important social and emotional resources, we expect greater accommodation to the language of the addressee, i.e. the grant-giver. If, however, a person in a socially more powerful position writes to a socially inferior person, as in the subtype "order", for example, we expect very little accommodation or perhaps even dissociation. As a somewhat complicating factor it should be added that power and status in relationships need not be static and fixed, but that these may be dynamic, negotiable, and evolving (cf. e.g. Watts 1991 for a comprehensive overview on power and status in family discourse). Fitzmaurice (2002) discusses the correspondence between Lady Mary Pierrepont and Edward Wortley in the eighteenth century. In this study, she describes writers and readers who are not prototypically cooperative, as is commonly assumed, but who are constantly fighting for power in a generally problematic and shifting relationship — not so much because one of them is *per se* more powerful than the other, but because this is part of the battle of wits in the relationship itself. Dynamic relationships of this kind are of course much harder to document and analyse in historical sociolinguistics, even if they are perhaps more realistic and more fascinating. Sociolinguists, at least from a correlational point of view, often have to rely on stable patterns and factors; what they are looking for is a social still life, not a video clip (see Bergs 2005 for a detailed discussion).

As regards the question of style and sociolinguistic variation, it seems reasonable to assume that in the case of "dissociation" the actual style of the letter much more reflects the writer's own usage (is closer to the "vernacular") than in the case of "accommodation", where the writer tries to emulate the addressee's language as far as possible, for instance in order to flatter the recipient or create positive face. What also needs to be taken into account is Bell's Style Axiom, which says, in a nutshell, that intraspeaker variation only follows interspeaker variation, i.e. register and style variation generally should not exceed socially motivated variation. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg have tested this hypothesis on the basis of five changes documented in the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC; see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996) and have found the very same implicational scale to be operative in their data: "social variation (regional variation > gender variation) > register variation according to addressee" (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 200). Thus, studies on linguistic variability in early data should also consider both intra- and interspeaker factors. In the present case, the Pastons provide data from roughly one geographical location (mostly Norfolk, Cambridge, and London) and very few female informants (four out of fifteen with

approximately one third of the total data, of which in turn more than 90% was produced by one single speaker, Margaret Paston — see Wood, this vol., for a detailed discussion of Margaret's language), so that these factors appear to be negligible. In sum, one basic hypothesis is that, apart from subtle stylistic differences, different subtypes of letters should correlate at least to some extent with certain salient linguistic variables. In the following, we will test this hypothesis on the basis of the Paston Letters, i.e. a corpus of family correspondence from between 1421 and 1503, with c. 245,000 words (ed. by Davis 1971).

3.   The linguistic consequences of socio-pragmatic text types

In the following, the linguistic consequences of a socio-pragmatic division of the text type category "letter" will be described and discussed on the basis of the late Middle English Paston Letters. The authoritative edition of the *Paston Letters and Papers* by Davis (1971)[2] already contains some intuitive and basic differentiation into different text types: Letter, Indenture, Memorandum, Inventory, Testament/ Draft Will, Declaration, Schedule, Verses, Account, Bill of Complaint, Statement, Recipe, Draft Deed, and Petition. Only Letter and Petition qualify as belonging to the text type "letter", since they are the only interactive/bidirectional texts, i.e. written for a particular recipient. Schedules, Verses, Recipes etc. are not necessarily written with any addressee in mind, i.e. they are not necessarily interactive/ bidirectional and thus cannot be included in the text type "letter". In terms of socio-pragmatic subtypes, the following classification has been used in this study: reports, requests, orders, counsel letters, phatic letters.[3] This division is based in part on phenomenological observations in the texts, but also on the language functions discussed above: "Reports" basically report, i.e. describe some facts or state of affairs (the descriptive function) from a socio-psychologically neutral point of view. They may be written from superior to inferior and vice versa, but since their focus is meant to be on description rather than on social relationships, only little influence is to be expected. "Requests" are generally made from socially inferior to socially superior; their function is essentially appellative, focusing on the hearer/addressee. "Orders" are also appellative in nature, but made from superior to inferior. "Counsel" letters are borderline cases between the descriptive and appellative function. They are rather characterised *ex negativo*: they do not give orders, do not express requests, and they do not focus on descriptions — though these may also be present. Socio-psychologically, they are also rather neutral. They simply give counsel without forcing the addressee to follow the advice. "Phatic" letters are a mixture of phatic communion, descriptive, and expressive language functions. They show no socio-psychological asymmetries, although they, too, can

be directed from superior to inferior and vice versa. Although it may be suggested that this list, certainly non-comprehensive, represents parts of a universal text type inventory, as it reflects universal language functions (cf. Bühler 1934: 26ff), it also seems clear that individual linguistic communities at different times, in different regions, and in different cultures may employ these subtypes differently. Some types may simply be absent; others may be added through more finely grained distinctions. The development of (at least European) letters in general, from official business letters to a general means of written communication, is a case in point in this respect.

Table 1. Socio-pragmatic differentiation of text types

Text type(s)	Subtype(s)
Letter	Report (= descriptive, neutral)
	Request (= appellative, socially inferior to superior)
	Orders (= appellative, socially superior to inferior)
	Counsel (= descriptive-appellative)
	Phatic (= phatic-descriptive-expressive)
Petition	Request (= appellative, socially inferior to socially superior)

Some examples: Letter no. 346 (1471), from John Paston III to his mother Margaret, belongs, of course, to the general text type "letter". Pragmatically, however, it should be classified as a "request". It begins with the traditional formulaic introduction:

(2) Aftyr humbyll *and* most dew recmendacyon, jn as humbyll wyse as I can I beseche yow of yo*ur* blyssy*n*g, prey*in*g God to reward you wyt*h* as myche plesyer *and* hertys ease as I haue latward causyd you to haue trowbyll *and* thowght. (1471, John Paston III to his mother Margaret, no. 346, p. 565, ll. 1–4)

This introduction and greeting, though formulated along traditional lines, is extremely humble in comparison to other similar letters (cf. e.g. Sanchez Roura's comments on lexical variation between "heartily" and "humbly" mentioned above). In the rest of the letter John asks for money and help; in doing so he frequently employs phrases such as "ye may spare eny money" (l. 8), "do yo*ur* almesse" and "in as hasty wyse as is possybyll" (both l. 9). These seem to underline his very unfortunate position. The letter culminates in John's exclamation that he has "neyther met, drink, clothys, lechecraft, nor money but vp-on borowy*n*g" (ll 12f). He asks for money, clothing, information on certain important issues, help, and many other substantial things and ends by ascertaining that all his renderings

are "trew for v*er*y serteyn" (l. 40). In brief, this is an almost prototypical example of the subtype "request".

　　Letter no. 339 (from John Paston III to his brother John Paston II in 1470) was also classified primarily as "letter". Pragmatically, however, this turns out to be more like a "report". It also begins with a formulaic opening; this, however, is much shorter and much less humble in comparison to his brother's: "Ryght worchepfull syr, I recomand me to yow aftyr þe old maner, sertyfying yow þat I haue comonyd wyt*h* my modyr for y*our* comy*n*g hom […]"(ll 1f). Interesting here is his mentioning of "þe old maner" of introducing a letter and of recommending the author. This interesting metalinguistic comment hints at some kind of aware-ness with regard to the traditional, old-fashioned, high prestige form of beginning letters (Davis 1965, 1967; see also Sanchez Roura 2002b: 81–84, Nevalainen 2001), and, what is more, it shows that authors had the chance to vary these forms at their discretion. In this particular case, it may indicate the expressively low-key tone, orality, and informality of the letter. John goes on in a list-like fashion, telling his brother about various things that have been discussed before: "It*em,* as for y*our* clok at Harcort*ys*, it wyll be nye Est*er*n er it be redy […] It*em,* the caryer forgat y*our* byll behynd hym […], It*em,* as for Doctor Pykenh*a*m, J. Pampyng can tell yow he is not in Norwyche […]"(p. 554, ll 5ff). All this indicates a report rather than a request. The fact that there are a few lines in which John asks for minor things ("It*em,* I pray yow that ye wyll make aqwetance on-to the person of Mawtby […]"(ll 13f), "It*em,* I prey yow send me swyr tydy[n]g*ys* of the world in hast" (l. 41)) does not change the essential character of this letter, which is that of a report. Many forms and constructions that we find here would be stylistically awkward in a humble request. A request involves asking the person for vital, important things, and a strong dependence on the fulfilment of this request. An order has a similar kind of function, but here we find a reversal of power between addressee and author:

(3)　I grete you wele, letyng you wete that þ*er* was told me a thing in y*our* absens þ*a*t goth right ner*e* myn hert […] Wher*e*-fore, in eschwyng of þe greet slaundre *and* inconveniens þ*a*t may grow þ*er*-of, I require you *and* more-ou*er* charge you vp-on my blissyng, *and* as ye wull haue my good will […] that ye restreyn it. […] And how so eu*er* wull councell you the con[t]*ra*ry, do as I advyse you in this behalffe or ell trost neu*er* to haue comfort in of me. […] Ther*e*-for*e* send me word be þe berer*e* her*e*-of whed*er* ye haue assent to any such thing or nought, *and* how that ye be disposid to do there-in; for I shal not be quiete in myn hert till I vnd*er*stond yow of þe con[t]*ra*ry disposic*i*on.
Be y*our* moder
(c. 1472, Margaret Paston to her son John II, no. 214, p. 361ff)

In this letter, Margaret comes straight to the point and simply leaves out most formulae and formal features, such as the common commendation and pious valediction (see Sanchez Roura 2002b, Nevalainen 2001). She addresses her son directly, gives orders in a very straightforward fashion, and even includes some threats should he not comply. It seems very reasonable to assume that Margaret did not even try to emulate her son's language to create familiarity or positive face, as would have been expected on the basis of general socio-psychological findings (see also, e.g. Walpole's advice quoted above). She is the more powerful person in this relationship, the *mater familias*, a strong woman with a good sense of business (see Wood, this vol.). So, on the contrary, it seems very likely that this is her very own style, quite close to her "vernacular" in the traditional Labovian sense,[4] and hardly tainted by any social conventions.

In what way do social status and pragmatic/stylistic function interact in these letters? In other words, how much of the form is determined by mere social status and conventions, how much is due to individual decisions resting on socio-psychological principles, such as accommodation? It is to expected, for instance, that the two brothers John II and John III *per se* interact differently with each other than with their mother Margaret. While the differences between the two factors and their effects are certainly very complex and hard to establish in each and every case, some general indicators can be found. Margaret, on the one hand, being the more powerful person, shows very little variation in her salutations and complimentary closes. In the letters to her husband, she almost exclusively uses "right worshipful husband" and some deity-invoking formula at the end (e.g. "The blyssyd T*r*inyté haue yow in his kepy*n*g", 1454, no. 151, p. 2–55, l. 21). This is in perfect accord with decorum and contemporary (English) letter-writing style (see Sanchez Roura 2002 a,b; Nevalainen 2001). However, in some very few cases, she either uses brief forms ("In hast, all jn hast", 1459, no. 152, p. 257, l. 45) or leaves out the formulae altogether. John II, on the other hand, being the less powerful person,[5] shows much more variation. In writing to his mother he effectively varies between no address or pious valediction and the whole battery of polite usage ("Most worschypffull *and* kynde moodre" (1472, no. 266, p. 445, l. 1); "No mor*e* to yow atthys tyme, but Jhesu have yow in hys kepyng" (1473, no. 279, p. 467, l. 42)). Intermediate forms include, *inter alia*, simple "Moodre" (1469, no. 243, p. 405, l. 1), and "Afftr*e* dew recommendac*i*on" (1474, no. 286, p. 477, l. 1). It is very interesting to note that he stops using most formulaic language in letters to his mother in or during 1476, i.e. from letter no. 295 onwards. How far this is related to his success in regaining Caister, the family estate, is a matter of speculation, or sociolinguistic still-life versus video clip. In letters to his brother, John III, we find a similar bandwidth of variation, albeit with different formulae. The most common forms of address are minor variations of "Ryght wyrshypfull *and* hertyly belovyd

brother*e*" (1473, no. 282, p. 470, l. 1) and the simple "I comande me to yow" (1471, no. 264, p. 442, l. 1). Pious valedictions are almost completely absent from these letters. One of the very few occurrences clearly exemplifies the status of this rhetorical element: "I schall sende yow tydyng of other*e* thyngys in haste, wit*h* the grace of God, **who &c**" (1468, no. 238, p. 399, ll. 31ff, emphasis added). What can be made of this? These patterns seem to suggest that some basic variability, such as the presence or absence of pious valedictions, might be governed mostly by social status. On the other hand, some of the variation cannot be accounted for in terms of social status alone. It seems to be based on other factors, including subject matter and the author's intention, in other words: socio-pragmatic subtypes.

Before the distinction between text types and socio-pragmatic subtypes is put to the test with two linguistic variables, one word of caution is in order. While many of the letters have to be analysed from the perspective of critical discourse analysis in order to determine their actual function, sometimes authors explicitly state their intention:

(4) Aftyer all dewtés of recomendacyon, in as hu*m*byll wyse as I can I beseche
     yow of yo*ur* blyssy*ng*. The cheff cause that I wryght to yow for at thys season
     is for that I vnderstand that my lady wold be ryght glad to haue yow
     a-bought hyr at hyr labore […]
     (John Paston III to his mother Margaret, no. 371, 1476, p. 602, ll. 1–4)

John goes on to explain that his wife will write to Margaret soon and that he would be glad if she could be there. The rest is a report-like list. This may be regarded as a borderline case between "request" and "report" and shows that the differentiation into subtypes does not have the same empirical background and precision as the distinction of text types in general. In fact, as has been pointed out above, socio-pragmatic text types, just like Bühler's language functions, may show a great deal of overlap and should thus be treated as non-discrete constructs with prototypical exemplars (see Taylor 1995 on prototype theory in general). It has been shown in previous studies (e.g. Kytö 2000) that the distinction between private and non-private letters not only surfaces in different speech acts and styles, but that it also has consequences for the distribution of certain linguistic variables, for instance the use of first and second person pronouns, possibility modals and wh-questions. In the following, the differentiation into socio-pragmatic text types will be tested with regard to the distribution of two important variables of late Middle English: the third person plural pronouns (i.e. *hem* and *here* versus *them* and *their*) and some relativisation patterns, in particular the new forms *who, whose, whom*.

3.1 Personal pronouns

During the Middle English period, the Old English third person plural pronouns *hi*, *here*, *hem* were progressively ousted by the Scandinavian loan forms *they*, *their*, and *them*. While *they* had already been firmly established by the beginning of the fourteenth century, perhaps even earlier, *here* and *hem* can still be found, sporadically, until about the first quarter of the sixteenth century (see Lass 1992:120f; Werner 1991; Bergs, 2005). Thus, we can expect some variation in the Paston Letters, which were written between 1421 and 1503. The basic results for this corpus can be found in Table 2.

Table 2. Personal pronouns in the Paston Letters[6] (text types)

Text types	Pronoun	Agnes	John I	John III	Margaret	William II	Total
Letter	*hem*	7	58	65	190	8	328
	them		12	76	118	9	215
	here	1	1		42		44
	their		9		60		69
Petition	*hem*		35				35
	them		18				18
	here		19				19
	their		17				17
Total		8	169	141	410	17	745

Ignoring all language internal factors, such as phonetic environment, syntactic function, referent type etc., this distribution maps onto subtypes as outlined in Table 3 below.

First, it must be said that Table 3 shows no clear, uniform results, i.e. there is no clear and strong correlation between the subtypes and linguistic forms. We do notice, however, an interesting correlation between *th*-pronouns and "orders" and "phatic" as subtypes. Both subtypes, and "orders" in particular, show a significant increase in *th*-forms. "Request" and "report", on the other hand, show significantly higher numbers of traditional *h*-forms. How can we account for this distribution? Table 3 demonstrates that this distribution is not due to any individual preferences on the part of the authors — on the contrary. The author with the proportionally highest number of *th*-pronouns (the most progressive speaker/writer) is John Paston III; but he did not produce many "orders" which are characterised by innovative forms. John I, on the other hand, is one of the more traditional speakers with many instances of *hem* and many "report" texts. These show many instances of *here*, although John I does not use many possessive forms, so that this part of the

Table 3. Personal pronouns (socio-pragmatic subtypes)

Text types	Subtypes	Pronouns	Total
Letter	Counsel	*hem*	3
	Phatic	*hem*	1
		them	6
	Orders	*hem*	4
		them	35
		here	2
		their	20
	Report	*hem*	306
		them	166
		here	40
		their	49
	Request	*hem*	14
		them	8
		here	2
Letter Total			656
Petition	Request	*hem*	35
		them	18
		here	19
		their	17
Petition Total			89
Total			745

data is independent of him as an individual speaker. Another interesting fact that should be taken into account can be seen in a comparison of "petition/request" and "letter/request". In both groups, the proportion of *hem*/*them* is roughly the same (2:1); data for the possessive forms is, unfortunately, too scanty in the case of "letter/request" to allow for any conclusions. Nevertheless, both groups show a similar distribution of the objective forms, which suggests that the subdivision within the group "letters" is actually mirrored in Davis's original types "letters" and "petition". The actual reasons for this kind of overall distribution, i.e. innovative, *th*-forms being associated with "order" or "letter", are hard to make out. Two major factors come to mind, though. First, as has been pointed out above, certain socio-pragmatic subtypes naturally call for more conservative language use and thus reflect a more formal, careful style. "Requests" in particular are often made by someone socially inferior (often younger) to someone socially superior (often

older). The accommodation principle then would require the use of more tradi-
tional, conservative, "older" variants, just to please the addressee. This is also partly
confirmed by the data on relativisation (see below). Second, the *th*-pronouns may
also be described as carrying greater phonetic signalling value (see Ritt 2001; Bergs
2005), which in turn corresponds to more important and official texts, which
depend on clarity and precision (cf. Lüdtke 1980). This accounts for the fact that
the new forms are associated with "orders" as one socio-pragmatic subtype. Further
studies will have to deal with this problem in greater detail. Suffice it to say at this
point that a subdivision of the text type "letter" according to socio-pragmatic
principles has led to significant and interesting results, which cannot be explained
on the basis of social status alone and thus need to be further explored.

3.2 Relative clauses

During the Middle English period, *that* as a relativiser was gradually replaced and
complemented by the *wh*-relativisers *which, who, whose*, and *whom* (see Fischer 1992
for details). Just as with personal pronouns, the Paston Letters exhibit a great deal of
variation in this respect. Ignoring all language-internal factors, Table 4 below
already shows an interesting distribution of forms: "Letter", with the majority of
overall token occurrences, has by far the greatest bandwidth of variation.

Table 4. Relative clauses[7] (text types)

Text types	*that*	*which*	*who*	*whose*	*whom*	*the which*	Total
Letter	1159	457	31	24	49	70	1790
Petition	37	24		5	1	3	70
Total	1196	481	31	29	50	73	1860

"Petition", on the other hand, has a significantly ($p < 0.01$) higher frequency of
whose. In the following, it will be shown that this is due to the socio-pragmatic
nature of the text types in question. Table 5 divides the text type "letter" into six
different socio-pragmatic subtypes.

Most "letters" actually function as "reports", i.e. neutral descriptions about
some state of affairs. Second come "requests" and then "orders". "Requests" have
a surprisingly high number of *who, whose, whom* forms in comparison to other
types, a fact which is mirrored in the "petition" surface group. How can that be
explained? In order to account for this distribution it is important to look at the
individual contexts of these occurrences. In late Middle English, *who, whose*, and
whom predominantly occur in fixed formulae and with deity antecedents, such as
in "By þe grace of God, who haue yow in hys kepyng" or "Please it you to wete that

Table 5. Relative clauses (socio-pragmatic subtypes)

Text types	Subtypes	*that*	*which*	*who*	*whose*	*whom*	*the which*	Total
Letter	Counsel	2						2
	Phatic	22	9			4		35
	Orders	101	15	2	1	6	5	130
	Report	916	380	18	21	30	60	1425
	Request	118	53	11	2	9	5	198
Petition	Request	37	24		5	1	3	70
Total		1196	481	31	29	50	73	1860

myn awnte is dissesid, whos sowle God assoyll" (see Meier 1967; Rydén 1983; Bergs & Stein 2001; Bergs 2005). These phrases, in turn, can mostly be found in requests and similar texts. Again, the reason for this fact lies in accommodation and discourse-pragmatic principles. When somebody asks for money or assistance, it certainly helps to invoke God, the Holy Trinity, or some Saints, and to express all sorts of well-wishing formulae, pious valedictions, and blessings. Such rhetorical strategies would hardly be required in "orders" — after all, why should authors send somebody their best wishes and blessings if they want the addressee to pay some bill or perform some task? Also, and this is important, these formulae must have had the connotation of being traditional, old-fashioned forms. Some speakers (e.g. William Cely II, Harold Stawtoyn, see Bergs & Stein 2001:88) take the liberty of abbreviating the formulae into sequences such as "By þe grace of God, who &c." This underlines the idea that the use of these formulae had been available for communicative-functional purposes, such as accommodation or dissociation. This particular case seems to be of even greater interest, as it is commonly assumed in studies on late Middle English relativisation that all "wh"-pronouns are at least functionally equivalent, and can thus be grouped together into one single category (Romaine 1982; see also Lavandera 1978 on the issue of functional equivalence). If *who*, *whose*, *whom* were indeed largely restricted to deity antecedents and fixed formulae, and these formulae predominantly occurred in "requests" and similar subtypes, this could have far-reaching consequences for statistical analyses, and it should be considered whether such a grouping into one single category is actually desirable. Instead, careful differentiation can lead to interesting results with regard to the development of individual forms, in the sense that early occurrences, such as those discussed here, may have acted as diachronic vectors in synchrony and may have shaped future developments through reanalysis by (invited) inferences (see Bergs & Stein 2001; Bergs 2005).

4.   Summary and Conclusions

It has been shown that the traditional category of "letters" as one text type can be modified and expanded through the introduction of socio-pragmatically motivated subtypes, such as "report", "request", and "orders". In late Middle English, these socio-pragmatic subtypes do not necessarily differ in their overall structure and make-up, though they do show interesting and significant differences in their use of formulaic language, speech acts, and their functional elaboration of certain linguistic variables, including the *th*-pronoun forms and relativisation patterns. Further studies on similar corpora (e.g. Cely, Stonor, Plumpton) will have to explore these first tentative hypotheses further. The investigation of socio-pragmatic subtypes also requires some adjustment of methodological repertoires, as these subtypes are not necessarily quantifiable, discrete units, but are rather based on prototype categories and context-bound "best of exemplar" relations (see Taylor 1995). The classification of single subtypes may also have to be done on the basis of critical discourse analysis. How far this approach can be used with modern large-scale corpora, such as the CEEC, will have to be seen. As regards further developments in the English language after 1500, it is to be expected that increasing standardisation, functional elaboration, and codification have multiplied possibilities of language use for meta-communicative purposes. Speakers before 1500 may have had fewer problems (inhibitions?) in adjusting or changing their personal language use, as there was no or hardly any prestigious "standard", or ideology of a standard, and, basically, no or hardly any pressures from language "norms" in the overtly prescriptivist sense.[8] Speakers after 1500 had the possibility of employing the complex notions of standard and stigma for their needs. The universal and "objective" measuring pole of a standard language thus has come to fulfill a double-role: it has enabled speakers to use and gauge their own language and that of others in direct comparison to language *as it should be*, and it has also put some basic constraints on personal language use, i.e. the lower end of the varietal spectrum has *seemingly* disappeared, at least from written records. Without this mental linguistic measuring pole, speakers must have been much more at ease with the variability of language and had considerably fewer problems in changing and adapting their own linguistic system and use. But, on the other hand, they also perhaps lacked clear means of telling when somebody actually shifted and in what direction, apart from understood norms in local, close-knit networks and focused groups.

Notes

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1. Note the interesting terminological confusion between "business", "non-private", and "official" letters. To my knowledge, no clear distinction between these types has been made so far and the terms seem to be more or less freely interchangeable in this collocation. Also, many historians and sociologists have voiced their skepticism about the distinction between "private" and "public" in the European Middle Ages. In terms of letter writing, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000) has demonstrated that even in eighteenth-century England hardly any writings could be kept "private", i.e. hidden from others, which in turn led to something like the "observer's paradox" — even in letter writing. Still, I would like to contend that a notional distinction can and should be made between letters primarily concerned with private, daily issues, and official letters concerned with business, at least as two extremes on a continuum. It should be kept in mind, though, that "private" in this context is not defined by use, but by content.

2. Published in two volumes. Only the first volume containing letters written by the Pastons will be used here. It comprises 421 documents and c. 245,000 words by fifteen authors. The Paston Letters count as one of the earliest collections of "private/personal letters" in English.

3. The classification proposed by Erasmus (outlined in Nevalainen 2001:211), for example, is also based on functional properties and distinguishes between *persuasive*, *demonstrative*, and *judicial* letters on the one hand, and *familiar* letters (to socially equals or inferiors) on the other. The latter "may be informative, announcing public or private news, or narrative, congratulating, lamenting, instructing, expressing gratitude, and offering assistance, or joking" (Nevalainen 2001:211). While these contemporary categories and concepts are certainly very helpful in describing and accounting for many phenomena, an interesting possibility is to group some of these categories together on the basis of Bühler's language functions: Demonstrative, narrative, informative, and announcing letters may all fall under the label of "description", congratulating, expressing gratitude, and lamenting is essentially "expressive" and so on.

4. Needless to say, we are talking about written language here, not spoken language or written representations thereof. Nevertheless, it might be argued that particularly for pre- or non-standardised languages, such as Middle English, certain writings reflect the authors' personal, unbiased style more closely than others. This in turn is reminiscent of the Labovian definition of "vernacular", i.e. completely unmonitored speech. Margaret's letter to her son primarily reflects her own *written language* style, not her *spoken language*. How far the latter can also be traced in these documents is still a matter of dispute (see, e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000).

5. The issue of power in this relationship is problematic. Technically speaking, Margaret was only more powerful than her son(s) in some sense while her husband was still alive. After the death of John I in 1466, John II became the head of the family, and thus also more powerful. However, socio-psychologically one has the impression that Margaret never ceased to hold the reigns in family affairs, actually managing the estates and the family fortune while John II was travelling abroad or leading the life of a rather careless *bon vivant* (see Wood, this vol., for a detailed analysis of Margaret's role). And so we are faced again with still lives versus video clips of social reality.

6. Only the so-called "Variation Group" has been taken account, i.e. only those speakers who actually do vary in their pronoun forms to any noteworthy extent. All the other family members either use only traditional forms (e.g. William I) or only innovative forms (e.g. John II). For the methodological background, see Bergs (2005).

7. All family members vary here, so that the introduction of a "Variation Group" was not necessary.

8. There is, of course, some evidence that suggests that there were stigmatised varieties of English before 1500 (see Smith 1992 and references therein). However, the stigmatisation of some varieties does not necessarily imply the supra-local, overt prestige of others. Before 1400 at least, only French carried such a label. Also, it seems unclear whether some varieties of Middle English were stigmatised on social or geographical grounds, or both. Evidence from literature (e.g. from Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale*, or the Wakefield Master's *Second Sheperd's Play*) is difficult to interpret and does not allow for indubitable conclusions (cf. Mugglestone 2003:7ff). Thus, many varieties might have been recognised just as such: regional or social varieties of English. They may have provoked certain associations, as studied, e.g. in perceptual dialectology (Preston 2002). William of Malmesbury's comments on Northumbrian Middle English (quoted in Smith 1992:58) read very much like some comments elicited in Preston's studies on present-day American English. But these associations should not be confused with the complex notion of linguistic standard(s) and standard ideologies in modern languages.

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Text in context

A critical discourse analysis approach to Margaret Paston[*]

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This paper analyses lexical features in letters written to and by Margaret Paston, using Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis. Historical pragmatics, as a relatively new field, is open to the development of new methodologies and the adaptation of established ones. Although Fairclough's methodology is intended as a systematic way of approaching modern text, it is shown to be relevant and useful in historical work. The letters are analysed in context, with reference to the discursive practices (production, distribution, and consumption of text) and social practices of the fifteenth century. The analysis shows that Margaret occupies a powerful position within her family and the community.

1. Introduction

As historical pragmatics is a comparatively new field in linguistics, new methodologies are still being developed and approaches that were first advanced for present-day data are being adapted. This paper has a dual purpose: to investigate whether Fairclough's (1992) approach to critical discourse analysis may be adapted for use in a historical context, and to analyse the form and content of Margaret Mautby Paston's fifteenth-century letters. With Margaret, the investigation revolves around issues of her identity and power as a woman in the fifteenth century, evidenced by the language of her letters. The concern with methodology arises from an attempt to be systematic and unbiased in analysing the data and to situate the data within the context of fifteenth-century England.

The choice to approach the data using a method developed for critical discourse analysis is intended to complement other recent work in historical pragmatics that adapts established frameworks to the analysis of historical data from letters. Notable for the application of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness

theory to forms of address in English letters is the work of Nevalainen and Rau-molin-Brunberg (1995) and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996). More recently, Bergs (2000) uses the theoretical framework of social network theory (Milroy 1987) in his approach to the Paston letters. Although Bax's (2001) data are from plays, not letters, his use of frame analysis (Goffman 1974) might also be just as applicable to letters since conversations are "played out" in letters; as Fitzmaurice (2002:1) comments, the letter "represents an exchange between actors".

As for the data itself, the correspondence of the Paston family is one of the earliest personal letter collections written in English and its use as a source of socio-historical data has long been recognized. However, personal letters also provide particularly interesting and useful material for linguists. Letters are part of a dialogue, or a conversation, and interactions between writers and readers develop and build. As Fitzmaurice points out, the letter is a text that both responds to previous texts and anticipates new texts. In addition, as studies of text type and register reveal, personal letters are often more informal and represent an "oral" and "involved" style (e.g. Biber 1988, 1995). Consequently, the writers' attitudes, feelings and emotions are likely to be grammatically and lexically encoded (e.g. Biber and Finegan 1989; Meurman-Solin 1997). However, there are limits to the informality in letters that are imposed by the conventions of the genre, and freedom of personal expression is constrained by the form. As Watt (1993:122) comments, the letter can be "on one hand conventionalised and influenced by the writer's culture and on the other an expression of the writer's individuality and immediate personal experiences". Therefore, in studying Margaret Paston, it is essential to first establish what is conventional in fifteenth-century letters in order to see whether and how she departs from the conventional. That is, the investigation has to be undertaken in context, and the use of Fairclough's (1992) method is an attempt to establish that context.

Fairclough's model was chosen for several reasons. First, the model gives a systematic methodology for analysing text in context. The method is three-dimensional and aims to take into account the discursive practices and social practices of the community in which the text is produced and consumed. As mentioned above, letters are conventionalised and their form is constrained by the discursive practices of the time and often influenced by style guides. But the form can be shaped by social practice, and discursive and social practices are sometimes interdependent. (See below for an example which shows the effect that the end of the feudal system had on the form of letters). A second reason for using this method is that I am interested in issues of power, in particular how Margaret constructs and establishes a position for herself within her family and within the community. Fairclough is concerned with incorporating issues of power into his model on a macro scale since, as he says, "Hegemonies within particular organisa-

tions and institutions and at a societal level are produced, reproduced, contested and transformed in discourse" (1992:10). Although this paper is concerned with Margaret Paston, who is to be viewed as an individual (even if she may have been representative of women of her time and social status), and not a representative of an organisation or institution, similar conditions apply. For example, Fairclough's focus in this area is on intertextuality, particularly on identifying which prior texts are drawn upon, both overtly and indirectly, and how they are represented in the discourse. Letters, as mentioned above, are a "natural" for intertextuality, at least overtly, as they respond to prior texts both written and spoken. A final reason for using this method is that it is intended to be a method for historical analysis and for change. Again, this is applicable to historical as well as modern discourses. A present-day analysis of discourse within this model would aim to raise people's awareness about their own ideologies and those around them so that they then could actively strive to change them if need be. However, if the model is robust, it should also enable one to look back in time to see whether there has been, in the past, a relationship between changing discourses and social change. Therefore, although the model was developed for present-day discourses, there are several reasons why it might be applicable in an historical context. The first question, then, is whether this is a useful way for systematically approaching historical data in letters. This question will be addressed by applying the three-dimensional analysis to Margaret Paston's letters.

The second, more specific question relates to Margaret and has as its starting point the following observation: "Images and descriptions of the late medieval female are numerous in literary and religious texts, but all too often depict women as either weak, and dangerously distracting, like Eve, or divinely virtuous, blameless creatures, like the Virgin Mary" (Truelove 2001:42). My general impression from reading about Margaret is that she plays an active, even central, role in her family and in the community. That subjective notion will be tested by drawing on linguistic data to discover what the language in Margaret Paston's letters reveals about her role as a fifteenth-century woman. The second question, then, put very simply, is whether Margaret Paston resembles Eve, the Virgin Mary, neither, or both.

The outline is as follows. Section 2 introduces Margaret and the Paston letter collection. Section 3 sets out Fairclough's three-dimensional model and considers two of the three dimensions in the model, social practice and discursive practice, in a fifteenth-century setting. The section concludes with an explanation of how this approach relates to and leads to the third dimension, namely, close textual analysis. Section 4 is a close textual analysis of i) address and salutation terms and ii) the vocabulary of naming. These were chosen after consideration of the other two dimensions in Section 3. Finally, in Section 5, I draw conclusions both about Margaret and about the usefulness of the model.

2.   Data

Margaret Mautby Paston was born c.1422 and died in 1484. She married John Paston I, probably around 1440, and between 1442 and 1459 gave birth to seven children. In the Paston letter collection, 107 letters are attributed to her, spanning 37 years. The letters are part of a collection of 1000 documents pertaining to the Paston family that were stored in an attic and discovered after the death of the last surviving Paston in 1732. The Paston documents from the fifteenth century sparked considerable interest when the collection was discovered and they were first edited in the eighteenth century. The collection is particularly interesting because three generations of the family are represented, providing an opportunity to study language change in one family. For example, John III, in the third generation, is the first Paston to use only postverbal negation while his older brother, father, and mother all use the older form of preverbal *ne* (Wood 1997). See also Bergs (2005) for detailed discussions of intra- and intergenerational morphosyntactic changes in the language of the Pastons. It is also interesting to note that the fifteenth-century letters are from before and after the introduction of the printing press in England. The present study uses the most recent edition of the letters, Davis (1971), Volume 1, available in electronic format. Most of the analysis is of the letters Margaret wrote to her husband and sons: 68 letters to her husband, John I, 20 letters to her eldest son, John II, and eleven letters to her second son, John III. Section 4.2 uses the letters Margaret's husband and sons wrote to her as well as hers to them.
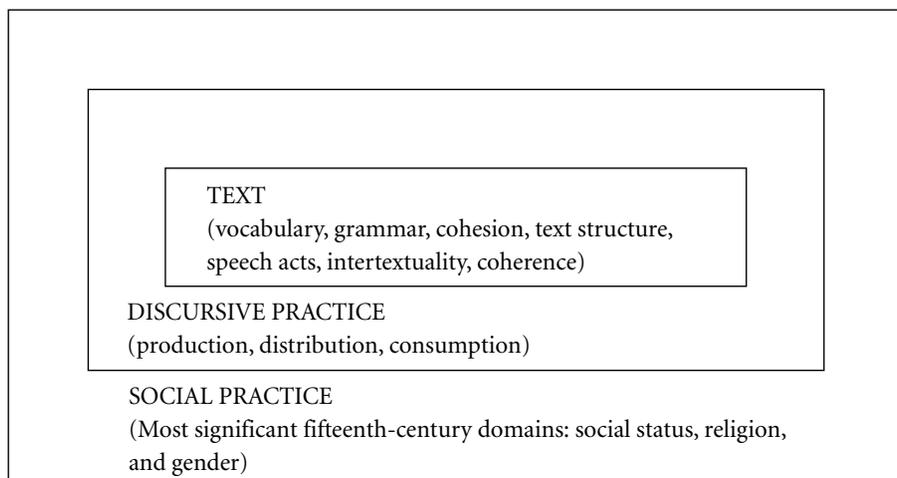
One methodological factor that has to be taken into account with Margaret's letters is that she almost certainly could not write. None of the letters were written in her hand, and 29 different hands make up the letter collection attributed to her. Many of these scribes have been identified, as other documents by them survive. It was not unusual for people in the Paston circles to employ secretaries. Although her husband, John, could write, and letters in his own hand survive, many of his letters are written by others. The use of scribes alone is not evidence of inability to write. However, the men usually signed letters written by others and so did Margaret's daughter-in-law, Margery. The absence of even a signature by Margaret and the multiplicity of hands over such a large span of years in the letters attributed to her, leads Davis (1971:xxxvii) to the conclusion that she could not write and called on whichever literate person was available at the time. If this was the case, the issue becomes whether she dictated the letters verbatim or gave instructions to a clerk who then went away to draft a letter. This is still an open question. Davis (xxxviii) mentions the evidence from corrected mistakes which appear to have arisen through mishearing or miscopying but are not mistakes that someone composing as they wrote would make. There is room for more work here. Bergs (2005) compares certain letters that the same scribe wrote for different family

members and finds sufficient differences to lead him to suggest that the family members and not the scribe are responsible for the morphosyntactic variation. As I will show, even with the formulaic openings of the letters there is evidence that Margaret was partly responsible for the wording.

In Section 3 below, the model is explained and systematically followed in order to place the textual analysis in the context of the fifteenth century.

3. Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Fairclough advocates that close textual analysis should be undertaken with reference to the discursive practices and the social practices of the communities in which the text is produced and consumed. In outlining his method, he emphasizes that text analysis should not be done in isolation and in his model he attempts to bring together three analytical traditions: "the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macrosociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretivist or microsociological tradition as seeing social practice as something people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures" (1992:72). The analysis should be an integrated undertaking consisting of the description of texts and their interpretation. The model is represented in Figure 1 below.

> TEXT
> (vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure, speech acts, intertextuality, coherence)
>
> DISCURSIVE PRACTICE
> (production, distribution, consumption)
>
> SOCIAL PRACTICE
> (Most significant fifteenth-century domains: social status, religion, and gender)

Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse adapted from Fairclough (1992:73).

The model represents the concept that a piece of text is simultaneously a social and a discursive act and that there is a dynamic and reciprocal relationship among the

three. In this initial investigation, the method will be used in a straightforward way to systematically approach Margaret's letters and put them in the context of the fifteenth century. The discussion below considers first social practice, and then discursive practice. The model will then be used as a guide as to what features of the text should be analysed.

3.1 Social practice

In the area of social practice, three domains — social status, religion, and gender — will be considered. All three appear to be particularly significant in the letters as well as, according to historical reports about this period, being important in late medieval society. The reasons for choosing these three areas stem from previous research as well as from initial observation of the letters. First, a consideration of gender is relevant because the questions about Margaret specifically relate to Margaret's role as a woman. Next, with respect to religion, dates in Margaret's letters are usually given in relation to the liturgical calendar, and blessings are a formulaic part of the letters' closing. Also, it is generally accepted that religion and the rule of the clergy were significant in people's lives at this time. Finally, with respect to social status, the relationship between the address form in letters, class and social distance has already been investigated (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995, Raumolin-Brunberg 1996) and so there is here a specific research base on which to build. In addition, the Pastons' struggle to become accepted in higher circles is well documented in their biographies, as is their claim to Norman ancestry, disputed by some contemporaries who maintained that the Paston's ancestors were Norfolk peasants (e.g. Bennett 1922, Geis and Geis 1998).

The changing social system at this time made it possible for the Pastons and others like them to aspire to social acceptance on the basis of their possessions and not their birth. Despite their attempts to construct a respectable genealogy, it is clear that the Pastons were not nobility, but *nouveau riche* landowners. As the feudal system declined and commerce rose, opportunities to climb the social ladder through accumulation of wealth abounded. The rise of commerce at this time is evidenced in language by the increase in "commercial jargon" (Markus 2001). Also, as will be discussed in the following section, Richardson (1997) makes a direct link between the changing form of letters in the late Middle Ages and the changing social order. Other evidence of social practice in the letters shows that the Pastons were aware that rank has not only its privileges but also obligations (*noblesse oblige*). Within the hierarchical system, people had obligations to those above them, starting with God, and those below them in the social structure (Reeves and Medcalf 1981). In letter 73, John Paston acknowledges this, reminding Margaret of her rank, that she is a *gentilwoman*, who should look after the tenants' needs:

"Neuer the les ye be a gentilwoman, and it is worshep for yow to confort yowr tenantis" (letter 73).

In considering the third area of social practice, gender, the status of women in the fifteenth century is not clear. As is well known, women were excluded from politics and public office and received less education than men. However, Archer (1992) suggests that although there is little evidence of formal education of women, wives of estate owners were perhaps more prepared for their roles than historical documents suggest. Also, although by law married women's lands and legal status were controlled by their husbands, Archer suggests looking beyond the law. She argues that women were often left as the sole representatives of their absentee husbands and that, whatever the law might dictate, in actual practice, all married women of property took on responsibility for estate management even though, since legal documents are in the man's name, the evidence is lacking. The historical record is fuller when it comes to widows as they received one third of their husband's property over which they exercised full control. Margaret, as will be seen, takes an active role, or even a lead, in estate management and is a shrewd businesswoman and negotiator, pulling in support from dukes and bishops when it suits her purpose.

In the above discussion of the first dimension, social practice, the three most important areas — social status, religion and gender — were outlined. In the following section, discursive practice is discussed in order to draw conclusions about how social and discursive practice may relate to the textual analysis.

3.2 Discursive practice

According to Fairclough, discursive practice involves text production, distribution and consumption (1992: 78). With respect to letters, I interpret the most significant discursive practices to be (a) the form: the way the letter itself is structured, (b) production: concrete materials with which it is constructed and the way in which that construction takes place and (c) the distribution and consumption of texts: how they make their way from writer to recipient and are interpreted by the recipient.

3.2.1 *Form*
The principles of letter writing at this time followed a conventional form. Known as the *ars dictaminis*, the art of letter writing spread from twelfth-century Italy across Europe. Model letters were produced that instructed writers on the correct form and the appropriate stock phrases for different occasions. Traditionally, the format of the *ars dictaminis* followed a standard five-part structure: the *salutatio*, a formulaic greeting, the *captatio benevolentiae*, a section securing goodwill, the *narratio*, a description of the occasion of the letter, the *petitio* or *dispositio*, a request

or demand and the *conclusio*, a formulaic ending (Murphy 1974, Kennedy 1980). The English tradition differed from the continental one and by the late Middle Ages was starting to break down. Nevalainen (2001) points out there is some disagreement as to whether English letters followed a Latin-based model (Richardson 1984) or an Anglo-Norman model (Davis 1965). As she points out, the main differences between them are that the Anglo-Norman model has two elements not found in the Latin model, namely a series of stock phrases enquiring after the recipient's health and reporting the writer's good health, and a closing formula, "no more to you at this time" (206). Margaret's letters appear to have the elements of the Anglo-Norman model and often include the "no more to you" and the "health" formulae.

Another significant feature of the form of Margaret's letters is that they are long and rambling. Sometimes she introduces a new topic with the word "item", but she often jumps from topic to topic. Richardson (1997:137) points out that two styles were used in private English letters at the end of the Middle Ages. Type I letters are characterised by "highly feudal rhetoric", a "terse, tightly structured, single-subject style", and were used by the high born to issue commands or the less-born to petition humbly. Type II letters such as Margaret's, which are less common, retain the formulaic greeting and ending but have "a greatly expanded middle section consisting of unorganised bits of news and queries, as if taken down by dictation over several days". The topics are mixed and they show the medieval lack of division between public and private. As observed by Bergs (this vol.) it is not always easy to classify letters of this kind as belonging to a particular text type.

Type II letters do not appear to follow the conventions of the *ars dictaminis* that were outlined above. According to Richardson (2001), its influence was "fading" at this time for several reasons. One reason is that the feudal system was being replaced. He suggests that the tight structured form of the *ars dictaminis* was suited to a feudal system. In a feudal system, letters were either commands (from a superior to an inferior) along the lines of "since X has happened you must do Y for me", or petitions (from an inferior to a superior) along the lines of "since X has happened I ask you to do Y for me". They were concise and single-topic. Once people started exchanging money for goods, different social relationships were formed; merchants and their customers were on the same level as far as obligations to each other were concerned. The form was also unsuitable for narrative and for involved explanations. The rising merchant classes, people like the Pastons, did not feel the need to educate themselves in a form that had no practical value for them.[1] However, just because letters were long and rambling with mixed topics does not mean that stock phrases were abandoned wholesale. In fact, Austin (1973) notes that certain formulae such as a closing prayer and the "health formula", endure for four hundred years; they are found in the Paston letters and, while simplified, remain essentially unchanged and still appear in eighteenth-century letters. Also,

in her investigation of the sixteenth-century correspondence of the Johnson family, Nevalainen (2001) finds that some family members adhere to more of the late medieval conventions than others, indicating a gradual loosening of the conventions as well as room for individual variation in the sixteenth century.

Considering Richardson's suggestions about the fifteenth century in terms of Fairclough's model, it is apparent that, as the model predicts, discursive practice (in this case, the *dictamen*) and social practice (in this case, the feudal system) are interdependent. There is a direct relationship between social practice and form; as the ideology changed, so did the rhetorical style.[2]

3.2.2 *Production and distribution*

Production involves the manufacture of the actual physical object, the letter, and distribution involves the way in which the letter gets to its readers. Since these are very closely intertwined, they will be discussed together.

The first consideration is the material and physical appearance of the letter. The Pastons wrote their letters on paper imported from France or Italy, as paper was not manufactured in England until the end of the fifteenth century. The sheets were large, ten to twelve inches wide and 16 to 18 inches long, and if the writer did not fill the whole sheet, the unused paper was cut off for future use. Some letters almost fill a sheet and others are long and narrow. For example, letter 212 is twelve inches by four inches. Before being sent, letters were folded into a packet and stitched with string or paper tape, and the ends sealed with wax. The directive to the carrier was written on the outside (Davis 1971: xxxiv, Bennett 1922: 127). For example, Margaret's first letter in the collection has a directive as in (1) below and the inside salutation is as in (2):

(1)   To my worshepfull husbon, John Paston, abidyng at Petyrhous in Cambrigg.

(2)   Ryth reuerent and worseful husbon, I recomawnde me to ʒow wyth alle myn sympyl herte. (letter 124: 1441?)

Every letter in the collection that was sent (as opposed to drafts) then has two text examples that involve terms of address, one inside, apparently intended for the recipient, and one outside, visible to the carrier and the rest of the world. In Davis' edition, the directive is included at the beginning of each letter. In order to carry out an informed textual analysis, the relationship between the directive and the salutation should be understood, which is only possible if the physical appearance of the letter is first considered. This is where the model helps guide which parts of the text to analyse. The difference between the directive and the salutation will be followed up in Section 4.

Distribution of letters in the Middle Ages was a more complex operation than in the present day involving several participants. According to Richardson (1997),

the sender, scribe, carrier and recipient make up an "epistolary quadrangle". Figure 2 below shows the quadrangle:
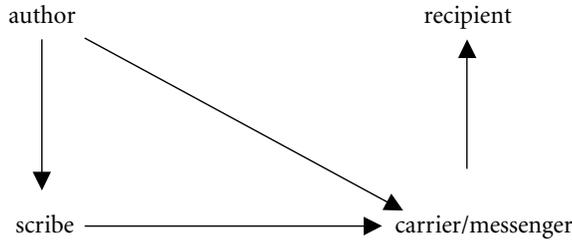

Figure 2. Fifteenth-century letter production and distribution.

First, consider the roles of the author and the scribe. As was mentioned earlier, Margaret relied on various scribes, as did the Paston men on occasions, even though all the men could write. Richardson points out that physically writing out a document was a skill separate from composing the content and most documents were penned by scribes (1997:138). Hence, the letter "producer" at first sight involves two roles, author and scribe. However, Fairclough suggests "deconstructing" the text producer, referring to Goffman's (1981:144) distinction between "animator", "author", and "principal". In Goffman's terms, the "animator", the person who puts the marks of Margaret's letters on paper, would be the scribe. However, the two other roles, Goffman's "author" and "principal" are more complex and both are dual roles. The "author", the person responsible for the wording would be both Margaret and the scribe, since although she would presumably be responsible for the content and wording in the body of the letter, using the correct rhetorical formulae would perhaps be the responsibility of a scribe who was trained in those arts. However, as I will show in Section 4, there is variation in the address formulae that indicates Margaret's influence there too. Finally, the "principal", the person whose position is represented, is also a dual role. Margaret is constantly acting as a "go-between", representing not only her own position but also that of others. For example in (3) below, she warns John of his mother's threats:

(3) Item, my modere told me that she thynkyth ryght strange that she may not haue the profectys of Clyre ys place in peasabyll wyse for you. She seytit ys hers and she hath payd most therfore yet, and she sayth she wyll haue the profectys therof or ells she wyll make more folk to speke therof (letter 180: 1465). 'My (your) mother told me that she thinks it very strange that she may not have the profits of Clere's place from you in a peaceful manner. She says it is hers and she has already paid for most of it and she says she will have the profits from it or else she will make sure that people talk about it.'

The antagonism between John and his mother, Agnes, and their disagreements over her husband's will is well known. (3) shows Margaret apparently in the middle, reporting to John threats that Agnes has made concerning a land dispute she had with him. Margaret is no longer speaking for herself but for Agnes, adding another dimension to the role of author. Therefore, the responsibility for "text production" is not that of one person but of three: Margaret, the scribe and a third party.

Next in the epistolary quadrangle, consider the carrier. With no regular mail service at this time, getting the letter to its recipient was often a haphazard and uncertain affair. Letters were delivered by servants, friends and acquaintances who were going that way, or by common carriers. The roads were bad and weather conditions often impeded travel, especially in low-lying Norfolk. Also, as this was a time of great civil unrest, care had to be taken that sensitive information did not fall into the wrong hands. Often, trusted friends and servants were instructed to relay information which was too involved or too sensitive to write (Bennett 1922: 120–123). For example, Margaret Paston writes:

(4)   I trowe the berar of this shall telle more by mowthe, as he shall be
      enfourmed, of the revell in this cuntré. (letter 158: 1461, 03, 01)

This practice introduces another layer into the consideration of letters in the Middle Ages, the interdependence of the oral and written word. It also complicates the role of "producer" by adding another actor. In Table 1 I show the different roles that each person involved may play.

Of course the oral part of the letter as related by the scribe cannot be recovered, but again it may be seen that in the area of text production and distribution social practice and discursive practice have an effect on each other, as social conditions (political unrest, no postal service) influence the content of the letters (sensitive information withheld).

Finally, some of the issues pertaining to the consumption of the letter by the recipient will be outlined. Since the lack of ability to write does not necessarily preclude the ability to read, we cannot be sure whether Margaret's letters were meant to be read to an assembled audience or by the individual. As was noted above, the topics of the letters mix public and private information. Of course, the consump-

Table 1. Text "producer" of Margaret's letters

Roles	Players			
	Margaret	Scribe	Carrier	3rd Party
author (responsible for wording)	X	X	X	
principal (position represented)	X			X
animator (marks the paper or speaks)		X	X	

tion of the letters does not stop with the recipient. It is well known that the reason the Pastons kept all their letters was because they were often involved in litigation, which would indicate that ultimately they were not considered private. And, of course, consumption does not end with the Pastons but continues to this day.

In the above discussion of social and discursive practices, several examples of the interdependence of the dimensions of the model emerge. They include the relationship between the end of the feudal system and the loosening of the *dictamen* rules, the need to consider the contributions made by author, scribe and carrier to the final message, and the physical form of the finished packet with both a public and private address to the recipient. In the next section, I approach the third dimension, textual analysis, guided by the above discussion.

4. Close textual analysis

The discussion of social and discursive practice has followed closely the model as set out by Fairclough. However, when it comes to the third dimension, textual analysis, there are myriad possibilities for what to analyse. Fairclough establishes seven main headings, which fall into two groups. In the first group he mentions four areas: "vocabulary", individual words, "grammar", words combined into sentences and clauses, "cohesion", the linking together of clauses and sentences, and finally, "text structure", the organisation of texts. My interpretation of these is that they loosely refer to the traditional linguistic levels: lexicon, syntax and pragmatics. He then adds another three headings: the force of utterances (what sorts of speech acts are involved), intertextuality, and coherence. Since this is a very broad area to cover, making almost any linguistic feature a potential candidate for textual analysis, I let the above discussion of the two other dimensions guide the choice.

First, as was discussed above, there are two ways of addressing the recipient, both the inside salutation and the outside directive. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's (1995) in-depth discussion of address formulae considered only the inside salutation, because that is a more integral part of the letter. However, the difference between the private face a writer displays to the reader and the public face displayed to the world is interesting, especially in close kinship relationships, and so the directives were compared with salutations in Margaret's letters to her husband, John I, and to her sons. This was followed by a wider investigation of kinship terms in general and the vocabulary of "naming", both of the ways Margaret refers to herself and the way others refer to her.

4.1 Directive and salutation

As is well documented by Raumolin-Brunberg (1996), address formulae in letters at this time were complex, and the salutation consisted of a head noun and one or more modifiers, which could be coordinated and/or intensified. An example was given earlier in (2) above: *Ryth reuerent and worsepful husbon* where there are two co-coordinated adjectives and an intensifier, *ryth*. The terms used vary according to the relationship between the sender and recipient and the social status of the addressee. However, as pointed out by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1995: 547), the choice of address form is not totally predictable. In this section, two questions are investigated: i) what terms of address did Margaret use to her husband and sons and how did they vary and ii) what difference is there between the outside directive and the inside salutation. With respect to the first question, if fixed formulae are involved and the scribes have control over them, there would be little variation, or one particular scribe might be responsible for a particular form. With respect to the second question, there might be a difference between the directive, which is visible to the whole world, and the address, which is for the eyes of the recipient only. It might be expected that in letters to close family the directive would be more formal and the salutation more intimate, unless the rules do not allow this. According to one of the earliest letter manuals, de la Serre (1640) (quoted in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1995), writers should not express relationships on the outside, as it is not fitting that the carrier should know the relationship. However, it will be seen that Margaret and her scribes did not follow this edict. One possible reason is that 200 years earlier the rules may have been different. (Or rather, since there were no fifteenth-century manuals in the vernacular, the rules were looser in the English Middle Ages than in the Renaissance. In fact, Richardson (2001: 245) argues that Elizabethan letter-writing manuals "act as if the Pastons never existed …. They ignore the dubious tradition of actual English private letters from the 1470s on".)

The directives (D) and salutations (S) in Margaret's letters to her husband are as shown in Table 2.

The kinship term *husband* is the most frequent head noun. Many of Margaret's

Table 2. Directives and salutations in Margaret's letters to John I

Husband in D and S (usually *right worshipful husband*)	38
Master in D and *husband* in S	8
No D and *husband* in S	10
No S	10
Other	2
Total	68

address terms for John use the phrase *ryght worshypful hosbond* in both directive and salutation, that is, a head noun, *husband*, one adjective and an intensifier. Over half of Margaret's letters (38/68) use the same noun *husband* in both the directive and the salutation, and 56 have *husband* in the salutation. This pattern is used throughout the years represented and there is no cluster at any particular time. A typical example is shown in (5) below:

> (5)   To myn ryght worshypful hosbond John Paston be thys delyueryd in haste.
>   Ryght worshypful hosbond, I rekomaund me on-to you.
>   (letter 177: 1464, 06, 08)

However, of these 38, two letters, written in 1441, use two adjectives rather than one: *Ryth reuerent and worscheful husband.* One example has a more complex directive and one a more complex salutation. The Old English *worschipful* is "an honorific or a respectful epithet for a city, one's social superior, an official, a spouse, etc." (MED s.v. *worschipful*) and the Old French *reuerent* is "frequent in salutations of letters, petitions, etc. in respectful address; right ~" (MED s.v. *reverent*). That is, both adjectives are formal terms of respect. Both these examples occurred in 1441 when Margaret had been married about a year and it appears she started by addressing her new husband with a more complex form, but as soon as she settled into the relationship, became less formal.

Little significance can be attached to the fact that ten of Margaret's letters have no directive. All these letters appear to have been sent (are not drafts) so possibly either the carrier was given an oral directive or a separate sheet may have been used as a wrapper. There is also nothing very unusual in the fact that ten letters have no salutation. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1995: 561) found examples of "no-naming" in their data. However, they found that even though the recipient's name may be omitted, there still are opening formulae of varying complexity, for example, *I greet you well* or *after reverent/humble recommendation* …. In the ten examples of no-naming that Margaret uses, she usually includes a brief formula. However, very often her reason for no-naming appears to be the urgency of the matters at hand, as she launches straight into details of the latest crisis:

> (6)   Plesyt yow to wet þat John Wellys and hys brodyr told me thys nyth þat the
>   Kyng lay at Cambryge as yestyr-nyth to Sandwyche ward, for ther is gret
>   dyuysyon be-twyx the lordys and the schypmen ther that causyth hym to
>   goo thedyr to se a remedye ther-for. (letter 170: 1462)

> (7)   Please it you to wyte that on Satour-day last youre seruauntys Naunton,
>   Wykys, and othere were at Drayton and there toke a dystresse for the rent
>   and ferm that was to pay. (letter 182: 1465)

> (8)   On Tuesday in the morwyn whas John Botillere, oþerwyse callid John Pal-
>   mere, and Davy Arnald your cook, and William Malthows of Aylsham taken

at Heylesdon be the balyf of Ey, callid Bottisforth, and led for to Cossey, and there thei kepe hem yet wyth-ought any warant or autoryté of justice of peas. (letter 194: 1465)

In (6) and (7) there is a brief opening formula, *please it you to wyte*, 'may it please you to know' followed by an almost breathless launching into news of the latest crisis. In (6) she reports the King's arrival in the area to resolve a "great division" and goes on to hope it will all be settled before their son gets involved. In (7) she reports the taking of a *dystresse*, "the action of seizing goods or chattels to obtain satisfaction for arrearage, damages, and the like" (MED s.v. *distresse*). (8) dispenses with even the briefest of opening formulae and goes straight into a report of unlawful arrests. It appears, then, that the urgency and emotion of the matters at hand might be an influence in the openings of these letters.

Next, as can also be seen with reference to Table 2, the only head noun that Margaret uses other than *husband* is *master*. It is used only in directives, as shown in (9) and (10) below, not in salutations:

(9) To my ritht wurchipfull mayster John Paston be þis delyueryd in hast. Rytht worchipfull hosbond, I recommawnd me to yow, praying yow to wete þat.
(letter 147: 1453)

(10) To my ryght wyrshypfull mayster John Paston the oldest be þis delyueryd in haste. I recomaund me, &c. Yf it pleasyd you I wold …
(letter 181: 1465)

No correlation could be found between the use of this term and the events, or between the use of this term and the scribe responsible for it. The eight uses of *master* are by two different scribes, and are spread over 16 years, as shown below. The unidentified scribe who Davis names "128" is responsible for six out of the eight examples but he also did write a total of 19 letters for Margaret.

(11) 1449–3 in hand 128
1450–1 in hand 128
1453–2 in hand 128
1465–2 in hand of Wykes

There are several possibilities for the meaning of *master* in the directive. The word was borrowed into English twice, first into Old English from the Latin *magister* and then into Middle English from French, *maistre*, and by the fifteenth century had acquired several layers of meaning including being prefixed to a first or last name as a term of address from which the modern English "Mr." derives (MED s.v. *maister* (6 (b)) and OED s.v. *master* (22)). Since John Paston had not been knighted, he would not be called "sir" and *master* would be his title as a member of the lower gentry. A second possibility for Margaret's use is that *master* is synonymous

with *husband*. The term *my master* was used by Margaret's daughter-in-law, Margery, around this time in the sense of "husband" (MED s.v. *maister* (2 (d)). A third meaning is "one who has control over somebody or something; one in control; a superior in a hierarchy" (MED s.v. *maister* (2 (b)). Finally, the meaning "male head of household" (OED s.v. *master* (5a)) should be considered, even though, according to the OED, the first use in this sense is in 1536.

It is ultimately impossible to be sure in what sense Margaret uses the term *master* to John I and, indeed, she need not be using it in one sense to the exclusion of all the others, as, when a word grammaticalises, new meanings evolve gradually, layer by layer. However, a brief discussion of the options is in order here. A strong possibility is that it is not meant as a title but is synonymous with *husband*, both because she uses it interchangeably with *husband* in directives and because she always uses it with the possessive determiner, *my*. Neither of the dictionaries consulted give examples of the word used as a title when preceded by a possessive. However, in this case the dictionaries do not tell all, as Margaret is not the only person to use the term *my master* in letter directives to John I. It is also used by others, for example John Pampyng, one of the Paston clerks writes:

(12)   To my right worshipfull master John Paston the older, squire.
        (letter 644: 1461)

Obviously (12) cannot mean 'husband' and could either be a prefix to the name or have the meaning 'one in control, a superior'. Another Paston clerk, the estate servant Richard Calle, uses the word *master* twice in several of his directives to John I:

(13)   To my right reuerent and wurschepfull maystre, my Mastre John Paston.
        (letter 647: 1461)

In (13), could Calle be using the first term, *maystre*, to mean 'superior, one in control', and the second, *Mastre*, as a title prefixed to the name? It is clear that there is room for more work on the use of *master*. It also seems that Margaret's use of the term to her husband is not exclusively as a courtesy title, a view supported by the way in which she directs letters to her sons.

Unlike their father, John II and John III were both knighted, John II in 1463 and John III in 1487 (after his mother's death). Margaret's directives to her two sons give further evidence that she did not use *master* exclusively as a title. First, she never uses it for John III, but designates him *esquire* or *the younger* as shown in (18) and (19) below. Also, she uses *master* to John II only once, in 1466, three years after he was knighted as shown in (14) below.

(14)   To my ryght wyrshypfull maystere Ser John Paston, knyʒt, be thys lettere
        delyueryd in hast. (letter 198: 1466)

In this directive she already has used the title *Ser* and so *maystere* is unlikely to be also a title. The timing of this particular example in letters to John II is significant, as it is a few months after her husband's death when John II would have just become the head of the household. Again, even though the possessive determiner is used, it cannot mean 'husband', and so could mean 'one in control' or perhaps even that she is acknowledging John II as head of the Paston household. Possibly this is part of the sense in which she used it earlier in directives to her husband. If so, then this use predates the OED entry for *master* with this meaning by 70 years, as the first citation for 'male head of household' is from 1536.

Looking further at the directives and salutations in letters to John II, it is found that although Margaret frequently acknowledges a relationship (husband) in the directives to John I she does so on only one occasion when writing to her son, John II. The one exception is shown in (15) below:

(15)   To my welbelouyd son Ser John Paston. (letter 175: 1463)

Afterwards, with two exceptions, (14) and (15) above, Margaret directs all her letters as in (16) and (17) below:

(16)   To Ser John Paston, knight be þis deliuered in hast. (letter 199: 1467)

(17)   Vn-to Syr John Paston be this delyuered in hast. (letter 224: 1475)

This is very similar in form to her usual directives to her second son, John III, who is designated *þe yongere* or *esquyere*:

(18)   To John Paston, esquyere, be þis deliuered. (letter 213: 1471)

(19)   To John Paston þe yongere be þis deliuered in hast. (letter 206: 1470)

Just as the timing of the term *master* is significant, so is the timing of her use of the word *son* as (15) was written in November 1463, just after John II was knighted. Unfortunately, there are no letters from Margaret to John II before his knighthood.

In considering the relationship between Margaret and John II, both family ties and social position are a factor. In the mother-/son relationship Margaret would expect deference from John, but when he becomes a knight he is socially superior to his mother. So, an interesting change in their relationship takes place in the 1460s when, in 1463, John II is knighted and again, in 1466, when his father dies. Interestingly, these are the very two occasions on which there is variation in Margaret's directives to John, (14), written just after he becomes head of the family, and (15) just after he is knighted. Could the reason for this one public use of the word *son* in (15) be a mother's display of pride? Recall that the Pastons were "social climbers" and to have their son and heir so recognised must have been enormously important to them. It appears then, that the two occasions on which Margaret's directives to John II show variation can be tied to significant events in her life. (See

also Bergs (2005) for changes in other idiolectal morphosyntactic variables and related social factors.)

In the above discussion of salutations and directives, indications were found that although the formulae are fairly fixed, the small amount of variation appeared to be influenced by Margaret's emotions rather than an impartial scribe. First, at the very beginning of her marriage her letters use a more complex noun phrase as an address term on two occasions. Next, she tends to leave out part of the salutation to her husband when the news is particularly urgent, and finally, the two occasions on which variation in directives to John II occur are just after his knighthood and just after his father's death. Also, no correlation was found between the form of the directive to the carrier and the scribe who wrote the directive. The conclusion is that the minor variations in form are influenced by Margaret and by external events i.e. in Goffman's terms, she is one of the "principals" in the production of directives and salutations.

4.2 The vocabulary of "naming"

In the previous section, the kinship terms, *husband, master* and *son* were encountered. In this section, vocabulary is considered further by looking at i) the titles and/or modifiers Margaret's family use to address or describe her and ii) the terms Margaret uses for herself. Terms used by John I in the addresses, salutations and body of his letters to her are shown below:

> (20)   John I to Margaret: mastresse; my mastras Margaret Paston; my trusty cosyn Margaret Paston; my wurschipfull coosyn Margaret Paston; my mastres Paston; gentilwoman; souereyn lady; good gille.

First, the terms John I uses in the directives will be discussed followed by the terms he uses in the body of the letter, which, being less constrained by form, are possibly more indicative of his attitude to Margaret. John I's directives to Margaret generally use the nouns *mistress* or *cousin*. The former is a French borrowing, the female equivalent of *master* and at this time meant "a woman who is in charge or control; the mistress of a household". It was also starting to be used in titles in this time as "a polite mode of reference to a woman, less deferential than *ladie*" (MED s.v. *maistres*). As for *cousin*, another French borrowing, this was used in the sense of "a blood relation, a kinsman or kinswoman; any relative by blood or by marriage" (MED s.v. *cŏsīn(e)*). These two terms indicate the dual nature of their relationship, the kinship, blood relationship between them with the more intimate *cousin*, and Margaret's social position as the powerful wife of a landowner with the more formal *mistress*. Margaret plays two roles, wife and head of household.

These two roles may be seen very clearly in one particular letter, 77 written on September 27th 1465. The directive is as in (21) below, using the familiar *cosyn* but continues as in (22):

(21)   To my cosyn Margret Paston.

(22)   Myn owne dere souereyn lady, I recomaund me to yow and thank yow of the gret chere þat ye mad me here, to my gret cost and charge and labour.

Although John does not generally use a salutation (he uses "no-naming") in his letters to Margaret, this is a special occasion. Margaret had traveled to London to visit him in prison and obviously made a great impression as evidenced in his letter. The salutation *myn owne dere souereyn lady* elevates her rank from *mistress* to *lady*. As a modifier, *sovereign*, another French loan, was used to modify lord or lady at this time in the sense of "having superior rank or power" (OED s.v. *sovereign*) or "outstanding in some respect, excellent; distinguished, renowned, worthy" (MED s.v. *soverain*). In naming Margaret a *sovereign lady*, John is elevating Margaret's social status several notches (but for her eyes only). Obviously, as keeper and protector of his property and interests while he was in prison, he regarded her highly. Another possible connotation is that *oure sovereign lady* was sometimes used at this time to mean the Virgin Mary.

If Margaret is likened to a lady or the Virgin Mary at the beginning of this letter, at the end she is definitely Eve. An entirely different tone is set at the end with a piece of doggerel. John concludes with:

(23)   My Lord Persy and all this house
        recomaund them to yow, dogge, catte and mowse,
        and wysshe ye had be here stille,
        for the sey ye are a good gille.
        Nomore to yow at this tyme,
        but God hym saue þat mad this ryme.
        Wret þe vigill of Sent Math[ew] be yowr trew and trusti husbond, J, P.

With time on his hands in prison, John has been inventive with the closing part of his letter. Notice that though this is a creative piece, he incorporates one of the closing formulae from the Anglo-Norman tradition, *Nomore to yow at this tyme* that was mentioned above (Nevalainen 2001). Most interesting, however, is his reference to Margaret as a *good gille*. The term *gille* is "a familiar or contemptuous term applied to a woman; a lass, wench" (OED s.v. *gill*). This is the second recorded reference for the word in the OED; John's use is predated only by five years by the Townley Mystery Plays. It is a shortened form of the name *Gillian* from the French *Juliane*. It does not, however, appear to be a word synonymous with *lady*. In this one letter, John demonstrates different sides of Margaret. He starts with the address

cosyn, a familiar term, emphasizes Margaret's status by calling her *lady* and, at the end, becomes affectionate and familiar. One wonders how Margaret came to be highly regarded by "all this house", that is, the occupants of the Fleet prison. Here, two sides of Margaret may be seen through John's eyes.

Finally, another term John I uses for Margaret is *gentilwoman*, somewhere in rank between *lady* and *gill*. As has already been mentioned above, the belief that, in a hierarchy, the privilege of rank entails obligations meant that the Pastons were expected to look after the tenants' interests. On June 27th 1465, John orders Margaret to visit the tenants and ask for their loyalty until his return. In other words, she is to act as his deputy:

> (24) Call sendith me word that Master Phylip hat entrid in Drayton in my lord of
>   Suffolk name, and hat odir purpose to entre in Heylisdon, and he askith
>   myn auyse; whech is that ye conforte my tenantis and help hem til I come
>   hom …. Neuer the les ye be a gentilwoman, and it is worshep for yow to
>   confort yowr tenantis; wherfor I wold ye myth ryd to Heylisdon and Dray-
>   ton and Sparh[a]m, and tari at Drayto[n] and speke with hem, and byd hem
>   hold with ther old master til I com, and that ye haue sent me word but late,
>   wherfor ye may haue non answer yet.

He points out that she is a *gentilwoman*, that is, "of good birth or breeding", and it is *worshep*, that is "honorable", that she should comfort her tenants. He suggests the stalling tactics she should use — to say she has already contacted him and is waiting for an answer. Notably, he first uses the phrase *my tenantis* but then switches to the second person possessive determiner, *yowr tenantis* showing that, as far as managing his estates is concerned, he considers them her tenants as well as his. John makes it clear in the language of this letter that Margaret's word is as good as his.

More evidence along the same lines may be found in one of John III's letters, not from the directives and salutations but from a letter to his father in which he calls his mother *my mastyr*. The salutations the sons use to their mother are elaborate, as may be seen in (25) and (26) below. However, these appear completely formulaic, as their aunt Elizabeth uses almost the same wording to her own mother Agnes Paston in (27) and John II uses similar wording to John III in (28):

> (25) Ryght reuerend and my most tendre and kyynde moodre.
>   (letter 293: John II to Margaret)

> (26) Ryght worchepfull and my most good and kynd moder.
>   (letter 378: John III to Margaret)

> (27) Right worshipfull and my most entirely beloude moder.
>   (letter 121: Elizabeth Poyninges to Agnes Paston)

> (28) Ryght worchepfull syr and my most good and kynde brodyr.
>   (letter 375: John III to John II)

However, in October 1465, John III recounts to his father how he was summoned by the Duke of Norfolk because the Duke had heard that he was gathering a company of men. John was ordered to disperse them but refused, drawing on not his father's but his mother's authority — his *mastyr*. John tells his father:

(29)   And then i answ[er]ed my lord and seyd how þat at that tyme i had my mastyr wyth-in þe maner of Cotton, whyche was my modyr, and in-to the tyme þat I had spook wyth hyr i cowd geue none answer.

By using the male term, *mastyr*, and not the female term, *mastresse*, John III appears to be making his mother's authority very clear. And it worked! The Duke promptly sends a messenger to Margaret so that she could be consulted on the matter. Thus, John III, who would have been 21 at the time, and well able to speak for himself, not only includes her in decisions but publicly acknowledges his mother's authority. The role that he gives his mother is that of one who has power, makes decisions, and is head of the family in his father's absence.

Finally, the terms that Margaret uses to refer to herself, shown in (30) below, are considered:

(30)   Margaret: *faynt houswyff, halfe a wedowe, youre gronyng wyff, captainesse.*

John was frequently absent. When not in prison he spent months in London on business and it is no wonder that she describes herself as *half a widow* in 1459, when she tells him of her hopes that he will return home soon.

(31)   I pray you that ye woll come as sone as ye may. I xhall thynke my-selfe halfe a wedowe because ye xal not be at home. (letter 153: 1459)

So, after 19 years of marriage and the year in which her seventh child, William III, was born Margaret can still tell her husband she misses him.

The usual way in which Margaret signs her letters to John I is "by your Margaret Paston" but she occasionally adds an adjective to describe herself. When she signs herself *youre gronyng wyff* this might be another expression of grief at his absence or perhaps a humorous look at her (again) pregnant self. Another adjective she uses for herself is *faynt*, when she signs herself as below:

(32)   Wryten on the Tewysday nex be-fore Corpus Cristi. By youre faynt houswyff at thys tyme, M. P. (letter 184: 1465)

The term *houswyff* meant a woman in charge of a family or household, and does not appear to have the negative sense that is does now. It was used as a gender-neutral term at this time and John II calls his brother *a good huswyff* in letter 274, because he is likely to sell some wood at a profit.

(33)   Item, iff the seyde wood, clere above all chargys excep as is above, be made any better than cc marke I woll seye that ye be a good huswyff. (letter 274: 1473)

The adjective *faint*, in use in English from the fourteenth century, meant "sluggish, timid, feeble, weak, lazy or cowardly" (OED, s.v. *faint*). Is this how Margaret saw herself, as an ineffective housekeeper? Perhaps by adding the phrase "at this time", Margaret indicates that this comment is about a momentary lapse, as the other evidence shows her to be shrewd and assertive.

Perhaps the most telling self-description that Margaret uses and one that fits the image of the powerful woman who stood up to the Duke of Norfolk is when she calls herself *captenesse* in another letter to her husband, written just one month before she had signed herself *faynt houswyff*:

(34)   I haue left John Paston the oldere at Castere to kype the place there, as Richard can tell you, for I had levere, and it pleasyd you, to be captenesse here then at Castere. (letter 180: 1465)

The MED gives only one quotation for this word, Margaret Paston's, and the definition "head of a household, mistress", but Margaret surely means it in the OED sense, "a female captain or commander". In this letter she describes in detail the trouble at the manor of Hellesdon, the taking of *distresses* mentioned earlier, and how she took charge of the situation, even going to see the Bishop of Norwich to elicit his support. She does not just give a description of the event but adds her own advice and judgments:

(35)   I pray you thanke Skypwyth of hys gode wyll …. Me thynkyth he ys ryȝt well wyllyd to you. (letter 180: 1465)

The names Margaret uses for herself show she had many faces and roles, as wife, mother, and mistress of the manor.

5.   Conclusion

Two separate questions were addressed in this paper, whether Fairclough's model provides a useful way to approach the data and what the language of the letters reveals about Margaret Paston.

5.1   Conclusions about the model

Following the model and considering the three dimensions helped with a systematic approach to the data. It also gave indications about what aspects of the text to analyse. While working through the model, the dynamic relationship between the

three dimensions — social practice, discursive practice, and text — was apparent. It was seen that the changing social system and the rise of commerce meant that the tightly structured form of the *dictamen* was no longer suitable for the type of letters people needed to write. With the change in form came changes in the actual text especially in the body of letters. The effect that social conditions had on the text was also apparent. Since a letter may fall into the wrong hands, sensitive messages were conveyed orally by trusted carriers, which means that the entire message is not always contained in the text available to the researcher.

The consideration of social practice and discursive practice gave some guidance on how to approach the textual analysis. As was seen in the discussion of the *dictamen*, both the directives and salutations are formulaic. Considering the process of writing, folding and sealing the letters led to the realisation that a comparison between the directive and salutation (both formulaic but one public and one private) would be worthwhile. Considering the production, including the involvement of the scribe, revealed that although the scribe is likely to be responsible for the formulaic wording of the directive and salutation, if Margaret were present when the actual writing took place, she also could have influenced the wording. It was found that variation in the formulae could be linked to significant events in Margaret's life history. A more complex address formula was used earlier in her marriage, and two directives in letters to her son that varied from the norm were used when he was knighted and when he became head of the family. It was also found that the more formal name or title, *master*, was only used in directives.

The model, therefore, was useful in putting the text in the context of the fifteenth century. Although the consideration of social and discursive practice looked at topics similar to those covered by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1995), the model provides a systematic method.

5.2 Margaret Paston

Several indications of the way Margaret's husband and sons view her were found in the ways they refer to her in their letters. John's delight in her visit to Fleet prison is evident; he calls her a *lady*, a higher rank than she holds, showing her elevated worth in his estimation and a *gill*, a more down-to-earth term. The incident in which John III calls her *master* is the most telling as it is a public admission of her authority. Margaret herself has moments of self-doubt as when she describes herself as *faint* but shows that she is a leader when taking charge as *captenesse* of Hellesdon manor.

Margaret Paston has many roles and different voices, among them wife, mother, and lady of the manor. She is neither Eve nor the Virgin Mary. She is not weak (though she may be dangerously distracting if everyone at Fleet prison considers her a "good gille"). In her dealings with family, tenants and God, she shows she is *mastyr wyth-in þe maner*.

Notes

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1. Unlike the eighteenth-century Clift family. Austin (1973:16) reports that the younger members used forms that were ceasing to be used by more educated writers. The Pastons appear to be innovators and the Clifts to be imitators.

2. In summing up the loosening of formalities in the sixteenth century, Nevalainen (2001:221) suggests three possible causes: "the rhetorical ideals of the Renaissance", "the improved postal services", "the enhanced privacy of private letter-writing". Considering these in terms of the model it can be seen that there has to be a dynamic within a dimension as well as between dimensions. Form (discursive practice) can perhaps be influenced by Renaissance ideals (social practice), as well as other discursive practices, postal service (distribution) and enhanced privacy (production and consumption).

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Intertextual networks in the correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston

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In the dialogue of correspondence, letters both respond to previous letters and anticipate new ones. The intertextuality existing between letters in a chain of correspondence can be made explicit, and it is these manifest intertextual connections that are explored in this paper. More specifically, the study focuses on the use of references to other letters as intertextual links.

The analysis reveals that other letters, previous, future, and even some that were planned but never written, are explicitly present in the majority of the letters passing between Lady Katherine Paston and her fellow correspondents. Some types of references to other letters are constrained by the relationship of the correspondents and the frequency of the correspondence, while others function independently of such factors.

1. Introduction

Lady Katherine Paston starts her letter to her son William in June 1624 with the following words:

> My good Will: the mercyfull blesinge of our heavenly god be euer more vpon the, I am not a littell glad, and comforted with thy most louinge linnes, by which I see that thow hast a desire to heere often frome me, and thy offten wrighting to me makes me see, that thow hast a good minde to speake offten with me…

Towards the end of the letter, she writes:

> …commend me to good mr Roberts I will wright to him the nexte weeke, I pray the thanke him for his offten wrighinge. he can not wright too offt so longe as thow arte so good a boy and be so well gouerned. in my next letter I will begine to inquier your cominge hom… but more of this heerafter: thy father tooke thy wrighinge to him in good parte: and is very glad that thow arte a good chilld…

It is not unusual to find instances such as the first extract above in Early Modern English correspondence. Starting a letter with an acknowledgment of letters received and/or repeating some of their contents no doubt served an important purpose in helping correspondents keep track of letters sent and safely received. The second extract extends this strategy, as it were, by acknowledging letters sent to someone other than the current writer or written by someone other than the current recipient. The second extract moreover includes a mention of a letter not yet written and even its contents.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate such instances in a selection of Early Modern English letters. References to previous and future letters are analysed as intertextual links, which make explicit the connections between the letters. The paper investigates the distribution of such references, i.e. whether they are constrained by factors such as the closeness of the correspondents or the frequency of the correspondence. Furthermore, letters which mainly consist of references to other letters deserve special attention: why was it so important to write about writing?

2.   The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston and Early Modern English epistolary spaces

The letters written by various members of the Paston family in the fifteenth century have provided material for several studies, including those by Bergs and Wood in this volume. In this paper, we stay with the same family but move to the early seventeenth century: the letters analysed in the present study come from *The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603–1627*, edited by Ruth Hughey.

The collection includes 85 letters, four of which were excluded from the analysis because they were not written by or to Lady Paston; the number of letters analysed is thus 81. The number of letters written by Lady Paston compared to those addressed to her is not quite balanced, but there are enough of each: of the 81 letters, 48 are written by Lady Paston, while 33 are addressed to her. There is a greater difference when we consider the correspondents, for the letters written by Lady Paston are addressed to three recipients only, whereas letters addressed to her come from 13 different correspondents.

Lady Katherine Paston composed her letters in a period during which letters were irreplaceable as a method of communicating over a distance. With the help of letters, Early Modern people were able to construct and maintain complex networks of familial, business and patronage relations. Throughout the Early Modern period, the drafting of letters was an essential part of the education of men of the higher ranks, and increasingly so for the women of the upper classes as well. Numerous letter-writing manuals provided instruction for those eager to improve

their epistolary style; manuals targeted especially at women started to appear in the early seventeenth century (Daybell 2001:72; Tanskanen 2003:168,174).

Lady Katherine Paston had undoubtedly been trained in letter writing, since she wrote most of her letters herself; she left only the drafting of official petitions to scribes, as was common practice for both men and women during the Early Modern period (Daybell 2001:64; Hughey 1941:27). Her correspondence includes a variety of letters: there are several letters, both to and from Lady Paston, which have to do with the management of the Paston property (because of her husband's ill health, Lady Paston was for many years in charge of the Paston estate). The bulk of the collection edited by Hughey, however, consists of letters addressed to Lady Paston's son William at Cambridge, where he was studying from 1624 to 1627. To Hughey, these letters are more interesting than the earlier business letters, because "they reveal Lady Paston's interests and activities and her intelligent concern for the education of her son" (Hughey 1941:5).

It is interesting at this point to consider the epistolary setting in which Lady Paston wrote her letters. In his study on the role of the British Post Office during its first hundred years, How (2003:1,4) remarks that the foundation of the Post Office "opened up new 'epistolary spaces'"; he argues that the creation of a regular postal service made it possible for people for the first time to stay connected with each other through correspondence. Before the 1650s, letters had about them "the feeling of a special occasion", but the Post Office created a channel through which people could "exchange messages frequently and almost casually" (How 2003:7).

Of course, members of the nobility or gentry had been able to correspond with each other even before the foundation of the Post Office. They employed the services of private messengers or carriers, or asked family members or friends who happened to be travelling in a suitable direction to deliver their letters. In fact, as How (2003:5) notes, upon its foundation the upper classes regarded the Post Office as less reliable than private messengers, because the new postal services involved more people in the handling of letters and thus there were also more opportunities for the letters to end up lost or read by someone other than the intended recipient.

The following examples show that Lady Paston too made use of the services of friends and carriers in the delivery of her letters; examples (1) to (3) are all from letters addressed to her son:

(1)   … Tom Hartston is glad to be the mesinger of this my letter…

(2)   … I hope before this time thow hast receiued my letter, which I sent by younge Iohn Wyteman of sporll…

(3)   … it is true that I haue receiued 6. of thy letters and both thow and I haue wronge if thow hast not receiued 4. of mine besids this, on by my Cosine Cook on by mr Parker. on by Iohnsons the Carier, on by Cowell the Carier. this last munday or tusday: I hope thou hast had them all befor this…

Example (3) also shows that Lady Paston wanted to ensure that her son had received all the letters she had sent: even with friends or reliable carriers, the safe delivery of letters could not be guaranteed in the early seventeenth century.

What can also be learned from Lady Paston's letters, however, is that regardless of the uncertainties in the delivery of letters, she wrote regularly to her son and also expected him to do so (as illustrated in example 4). Example (5) further shows that William Paston intended to do as his mother wished. Even though regular postal services were not yet at her disposal, a privileged Early Modern woman such as Lady Paston was obviously able to engage in frequent correspondence with her fellow correspondents.

(4)   … I had sett by my rest, onc a weeke, namly on the wedensdays to haue written to the; hopeinge to haue hearde from Cambridge on the munday every week. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(5)   … euery Saturday your Ladiship shall haue a Letter from me or my tutor, if they doe not miscary By the carrier. (William Paston to Lady Paston)

As can be seen from the extracts at the beginning of this paper and from the above examples, a letter can include several references to other letters, which help create connections between the letters. In the following, such connections in Lady Katherine Paston's correspondence are investigated with the use of the concept of intertextuality.

3.   Intertextuality

Intertextuality can be broadly defined as the relationship between a text and other texts. Fairclough (1992:103) distinguishes between "horizontal intertextual relations of a dialogical sort" and "vertical intertextual relations". The latter exist between a text and other texts which form its context, for instance texts which are contemporary with it. The former, horizontal relations, are more central for the purposes of the present study: they exist "between a text and those which precede and follow it in the chain of texts".

Fairclough's examples of horizontal intertextuality are conversations, where "speaking turns incorporate and respond to turns which precede them, and anticipate those which follow", but also letters, which are "related intertextually to earlier and subsequent letters within the correspondence" (Fairclough 1992:103; see also Hoey 2001:43,51; Linell 1998:154–158). Along similar lines, Fitzmaurice (2002:1) notes that a letter both responds to previous letters and anticipates new ones.

The focus in this paper is, furthermore, especially on "manifest" intertextuality, where "other texts are explicitly present in the text under analysis" (Fair-

clough 1992: 104). This is due to restrictions in the material: studying other than explicitly marked intertextuality would require access to all letters in the relevant chain, but unfortunately not all letters written to or by Lady Paston have survived. For instance, there are 43 letters written by Lady Paston to her son, but only two from him to her.

In a letter, other letters become explicitly present through the various references to them that writers can make, and it is these references that are investigated in this paper. In the analysis, the references are divided into seven different categories: *acknowledgement of receipt*, *references to recipient's previous letter*, *references to writer's previous letter*, *references to letters written by a third party*, *references to future letters*, *references to letters planned but not written*; and finally, *references to the current letter*, which actually represent *intratextuality* rather than intertextuality (cf. Linell 1998: 156), but which nevertheless throw light on how references are used in correspondence. To complete the analysis, two special types of letter are discussed: on the one hand, letters without any references at all, on the other letters which mainly consist of references to other letters.

3.1   Acknowledgement of receipt

In her studies of the fifteenth-century Cely letters, Sánchez Roura (2001: 331; 2002: 258) notes that acknowledgement of receipt is socially constrained: close business partners and family members in frequent contact include acknowledgement of receipt, while correspondents in sporadic contact do not mention it. In Lady Katherine Paston's correspondence, the same appears to be true: acknowledging the reception of letters only occurs between correspondents who are in closer contact, whether on business or family matters (see the Appendix for a list of correspondents).

When an acknowledgement of receipt is mentioned, it is often placed at the very beginning of the letter, directly after the greeting, as in examples (6) to (8). Some details about the letter are often also included. In example (6), for instance, Lady Paston mentions the name of the messenger who delivered the letter. In example (7), Sir Thomas Holland refers to the contents of the letter he has received, while in (8) a gift that has arrived with a letter is mentioned.

(6)   Good Brother. I haue receyved by your man mr matchett your kinde letter. (Lady Paston to Sir John Heveningham)

(7)   My worthy Sister. I receaued your letter within 4 dayes after the date of that letter which did impart to vs your safe cominge with your sweet boyes to London the vnderstandinge of which was most welcome to vs all. (Sir Thomas Holland to Lady Paston)

(8)   My good Will: the Lords blessinge be evermor vpon the. I have receiued two
      letters from the this weeke with a booke, all which are most wellcom to me.
      (Lady Paston to William Paston)

It is also possible to acknowledge receipt in the middle of the letter, as can be seen
in examples (9) and (10). In (9), besides confirming the receipt of a letter from the
recipient, i.e. her son, Lady Paston also confirms that she has received a letter from
his tutor Mr. Roberts. Example (10) was already discussed as example (3) above; it
is repeated here because it shows the importance of being able to keep track of
letters sent and received, especially between correspondents who are in very close
contact. Finally, (11) is an example of an acknowledgement of receipt included as
a postscript, which also illustrates the importance of confirmation of receipt
between close correspondents.

(9)   … I haue receiued thy louinge lines together with mr. Roberts letter by your
      honest pedder. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(10) … it is true that I haue receiued 6. of thy letters and both thow and I haue
      wronge if thow hast not receiued 4. of mine besids this, on by my Cosine
      Cook on by mr Parker. on by Iohnsons the Carier, on by Cowell the Carier.
      this last munday or tusday: I hope thou hast had them all befor this. (Lady
      Paston to William Paston)

(11) I haue this night receaued your letter wherby I find your receipt of the letters
      sent. (Sir Thomas Holland to Lady Paston)

Considering the uncertainty in the delivery of letters in the Early Modern period,
it does not seem illogical to assume that acknowledgement of receipt is an impor-
tant element in the correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston. It is therefore
slightly surprising that it is found in only 13 out of the 81 letters. However, there
are other kinds of references to previous letters that act indirectly as confirmation
of receipt, as we shall see in the following section.

3.2   References to recipient's previous letter

There are altogether 13 letters in the collection that include references to a previous
letter written by the current recipient, which indirectly also confirm their receipt by
the writer. In example (12), Lady Paston refers to a previous letter by Sir John
Heveningham "concerninge this bisnes", which refers to a dispute between the two
about some Paston property, while in (13) she repeats some of the contents of her
son's previous letter:

(12) Good brother. I know well. you needed not to haue written to me at all
      concerninge this bisnes. (Lady Paston to Sir John Heveningham)

(13)   … I was very glad to heer by your first letter that you wer so saffly arriued at your wished portt. but more glade to reade thy Louinge promises to parforme my desiers. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

Examples (14) and (15) illustrate that it was also possible to refer to letters not addressed to the current writer. In (14), Lady Paston mentions a letter that her son had written to his father. In (15), the writer, Philip Alpe, refers to a letter that Lady Paston had sent to his master. As to the distribution of references to a recipient's previous letters, example (15) also shows that unlike acknowledgements of receipt, these could be included even in letters between correspondents in sporadic contact.

(14)   … thy father tooke thy wrightinge to him in good parte: and is very glad that thow arte a good chilld. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(15)   Maye it please your Ladiship I had present accesse vnto his lordship who pryuatlye red your letter, then calling for Mr hobard and Mr Shepherd he openlye red the same againe to them, and coming to that part where…
(Philip Alpe to Lady Paston)

3.3   References to writer's previous letter

Let us next consider references to the current writer's previous letters. These can be found in twelve letters in the collection. As would be expected, these references only occur in letters between correspondents in close contact. It is, however, possible for the writer to refer to letters previously sent either to the current recipient or a third party, or both.

In example (16), Lady Paston mentions her previous letters sent both to her son and his tutor. In (17), the previous letter has been addressed to William only, but a sum of money for his tutor has been included. Examples (18) and (19) illustrate references to letters sent to someone other than the current recipient. In (18), Lady Paston refers to a letter she wrote to Mr. Roberts, while in Sir John Heveningham's letter (19) the contents of his letter to a third party are repeated.

(16)   … I hope you haue receiued my late letters written to mr Roberts and you. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(17)   … I hope before this you haue receiued my letter by Iohnsons the Cambridge Carrier with 5 li 10 s. sent to good mr Roberts for a supply till I send more for comencement. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(18)   … I sent in my last letter, that mr Roberts wold doe so much as by you a tamill gowne to wear this summer I hope it is done.
(Lady Paston to William Paston)

(19)   … I haue written to Sir Walter Deurveux that he would perfitt the collaterall assurraunce which he promised to make this Tearme, for the said farme. (Sir John Heveningham to Lady Paston)

3.4 References to letters written by a third party

References to letters written by a third party can be found in 15 letters in the collection; they are thus slightly more common than the previous categories discussed. Third-party references are less constrained as regards their distribution, for they can also occur in letters between correspondents in sporadic contact.

In examples (20) and (21), letters addressed to the current writer by a third party are referred to: in (20), Lady Paston tells her son about letters sent to her by her sister, and in (21) she mentions a letter sent to her by his tutor. Examples (22) and (23), on the other hand, refer to letters sent to the current recipient by a third party. In her sister's letter (22), Lady Paston is told about a letter Sir John Heveningham has written to her. In (23), Lady Paston refers to a letter written to William by his younger brother.

(20)   … my sister haue sente very kindly to se me. and I have receiued from her: 3. or 4 kinde letters very latly of which I am very glad.
(Lady Paston to William Paston)

(21)   … I was glad to heer by Phillup of thy good healthe and allso by mr Roberts letter to vnderstand of thy wellfare every way.
(Lady Paston to William Paston)

(22)   … I went vnto Sir Ihon and had some speach with him; of whatt had ben spoken; he tould me he had that day written vnto you.
(Lady Muriel Bell to Lady Paston)

(23)   … your brother is very well, and have sent you a letter of his own inditinge as you may se. but mr brend was his clarke.
(Lady Paston to William Paston)

3.5 References to future letters

The next category to be discussed are references to future letters. These too appear in various forms: writers can refer to their own future letters, letters they hope they will receive from the current recipient, or letters that someone else is planning to write. Again, it is an expected finding that the use of references to future letters requires that the correspondents are in close and frequent contact with each other. What is perhaps less expected is the fact that these references are also very common when compared to the previous ones, for they occur in 24 letters in all.

In examples (24) to (28), the writer refers to her or his future letters. In (24) and (25), the letters will be addressed to the current recipient, while in examples (26) and (27) the letters are intended for a third party:

(24) … I purpose to be heere agayne vpon Wedensday morninge, & vpon Thursday you shall Receiue a letter from me.
(Sir John Heveningham to Lady Paston)

(25) … in my next letter. I will begine to inqueir your cominge hom.
(Lady Paston to William Paston)

(26) … Commend me to good mr Roberts I will Wright to him next weeke if god lett me not. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(27) … I will wright a very sharpe letter to him, both that he shall pay you the rest of the money presently, & to tell him of his false information.
(Sir John Heveningham to Lady Paston)

Examples (28) and (29) illustrate references to letters that the current writer hopes to receive from the recipient: in (28), William refers to a future letter by his mother, while in (29), Lady Paston tells her son what she would like to hear in his next letter. Finally, in (30) Lady Paston tells William that he can expect a letter from his brother.

(28) … if ther be no oranges att Norwich if your Ladiship will sende in your next letter we will sende some by Iohnson. (William Paston to Lady Paston)

(29) … I desire likewis to heer that Mr Roberts haue lost his ague fitts, I pray the do not forget to send me word of it in thy next; all-so how poor tom harstonge dothe with his arme. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(30) … thy father…comends him to the and so do thy brother, with thankes to the for his gold Grams you made him a Ioyfull man with it, he will wright when more Newes Com to towne. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

3.6 References to letters planned but not written

This category of references is somewhat problematic; we can naturally question whether references to letters planned but not actually written fall within the concept of intertextuality. In other words, how can a letter that has never existed create intertextuality? The same problem of course occurs with the previous category as well; there is no way of knowing if the writers actually wrote all the letters mentioned.

I would like to claim, however, that both of these problematic categories deal with letters that are part of a chain of letters, regardless of whether or not they were actually written. Thus, for instance, when Lady Paston mentions a letter she intends

to write in the future, or one that she had been planning to write but for some reason failed to, the letters exist at that moment not as physical entities, but nevertheless as links in the network of her letters.

References in the present category, unlike the previous one, are not numerous in the collection: there are only six letters which include a mention of a letter that was not written. Moreover, these even more than the other types seem to be constrained by the closeness and frequency of the correspondence; they all occur in Lady Paston's letters to her son. In example (31), Lady Paston refers to a letter she was planning to write to her son, while (32) and (33) mention letters that she had been meaning to write to his tutor and his friend, respectively.

(31)   … I do imagine that thow didest earnestly expect a letter from me the last weeke, and I had a pen in hand to begine to the, but thy brothers illnes prevented me at that time. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(32)   … I had thought to haue written to mr Roberts this time. but this sudene Iorney of this mesinger affordethe me not so much time I pray the remember me very kindly to him and exguse me for this time I will not fayll hime the next opertunyty. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(33)   … good will tell tom Hartstonge that I doe like well of his wrightinge. I wold haue written to him to put him in minde of sum things but I haue now no time. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

3.7 References to the current letter

We next turn to the category which is the largest in the present study, namely references to the current letter. These can be found in 31 of the 81 letters, between both close and sporadic correspondents. As mentioned earlier, this category is included as a special case; rather than creating a connection between texts, it creates one within a text.

Barton and Hall (1999:6) note that "the existence of the letter itself has meaning in addition to the content", which is why writers often refer reflexively to the current letter. A letter's importance in the network of letters can thus be made apparent through internal references. One of the reasons for including a reference to the current letter is the writer's dissatisfaction with the appearance of the letter, which perhaps reflects the importance of the letter itself in addition to its content. Example (34) shows Lady Paston apologising for the pen, paper and writer alike, while in (35) both haste and the pen are to blame for the appearance of the letter, and in (36), she tells her son that she has already written five letters before the current one.

Daybell (2001:62) points out that it was usual for women to apologise for their bad writing, either because it was a convention or "because they wanted to project

an aura of vulnerability to male recipients, i.e. for tactical reasons". However, the practice is not restricted to Lady Paston in the present collection of letters; in (37) we can see Samuel Matchett apologising for his writing. Perhaps the strategy can also simply reflect the fact that the writer is being critical and considers that the appearance of the letter actually leaves something to be desired.

(34)   … never wors pen never wors paper nor wors writer.
         (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(35)   … I wright this as much in hast as may be: with a pen of my Cosine Cooks which I think haue writen many an indenture, it is but a bad one and my hast makes it not better. (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(36)   … this is my sixt letter. and I assure the I am very weary.
         (Lady Paston to William Paston)

(37)   … I beseach yow passe by my bouldnes herein & lett these my illitterate & tedious lynes be only knowne to your Ladyship.
         (Samuel Matchett to Lady Paston)

Even if the letter's mere existence was important, its content also seems to have been relevant to the decision to include an internal reference. In example (38), for instance, Lady Paston refers to the letter she is writing, perhaps finding its length somewhat overwhelming; (38) can of course also be regarded as an instance of positive politeness. In (39), on the other hand, William Paston obviously thinks that the shortness of his letter may give offence and offers an explanation.

(38)   … and if ever I haue offered you wronge. it is now in trubling you so much with my criblinge. but for that my hart is very full for beinge wrongfully condemned by you and my good sister Heveningham. I am the bowlder to make this long discourse. to satisfy you if it maybe.
         (Lady Paston to Sir John Heveningham)

(39)   Most deare and honored mother, you must giue me leaue To Epitomise my letter into A short Compendium for mr Dikes hast will not Suffer me To Doe Anie otherwise. (William Paston to Lady Paston)

3.8 Letters without any of the above

Although references to the current letter or other letters, as we have seen, are abundant in the correspondence, and the majority of the letters in the collection include at least one, there are altogether 20 letters which include neither internal references nor references to other letters.

Some of these letters are quite short, such as an invitation to dinner from Lady Mary Heveningham to Lady Paston. There are also a few brief letters from Lady Paston to her son William sent shortly before he is due to come home: in them,

Lady Paston instructs her son, for instance, to dress warmly or ride carefully.

Another category of letters without references are notes accompanying parcels or gifts: there is one, for instance, from Sir John Heveningham to Lady Paston, another from her tenants, and several from Lady Paston to her son. The notes often mention or specify the item they accompany (such as books, a cake, or various food items, respectively), which of course create a connection between the note and the item. Notes accompanying parcels were obviously more or less obligatory; at least Lady Paston explains why such a note is missing (40):

> (40)   … I send 2 boxes of marmelate on to mr Roberts on to the by father Iohn-
>   sons: but he haue no letter, for that Philup will be with you first. (Lady
>   Paston to William Paston)

It is not surprising that letters between Lady Paston and her fellow correspondents with whom she only has sporadic contact include fewer references to other letters than those which pass between her and her closer correspondents: for intertextuality to work, a chain, or minimally a pair, of letters is needed.

3.9 Letters which mainly consist of references to other letters: Writing about writing

The examples above illustrate the scope of the use of references in letters, but because they are presented without much context, it is difficult to form a picture of their impact on entire letters. The majority of the letters include one or two references to other letters, but there are some which have more. There are several with three or four references from Lady Paston to her son William, and one with four references from Sir Thomas Holland to Lady Paston. All the letters which include five or more references are from Lady Paston to her son. Let us consider one such letter in its entirety:

> (41)   My good Will: the Lords blessinge be evermor vpon the. I have receiued two
>   letters from the this weeke with a booke, all which are most wellcom to me: I
>   am glad to heer by good Mr. Roberts that thow hetherto haste demeaned
>   thyself well and as it is meet thow shouldest haue giuen good respect to all;
>   all good news of the, and from the, cheers me more then any thinge in this
>   world; and I know thow dost loue to haue me cheerly. goe on still my good
>   child in all well doinge and be then as mery as mery maye be: Mr Parker I
>   hope by this time haue delivered my letter and token to the, he was to be at
>   Cambridge on munday or tusday last: I doe like that thow doest inditt thy
>   owne letters thy selfe. for thow weart wont to know how to speake to me.
>   and euen so wold I haue the wright. and hetherto I doe like exedingly of
>   them and of the well wrightinge of them: the vse of wrightinge will perfict

your hand very much: I am so strayted of time as I can not tary longer to talk with the now: but bid the farwell. besechinge god to keepe the in all thy ways now and euermore.

According to How (2003: 7, 200), it was the foundation of the Post Office that enabled people to "correspond on matters of no particular importance" and "'commune' with each other in epistolary space". Lady Paston's letter (41), however, includes very little informational content, so little, in fact, that it can be seen as representing "writing about writing". She first tells her son that she has received letters from him and his tutor, and that she is delighted with their contents, after which she expresses her hope that her son has received her previous letter. In the rest of the letter she encourages her son to keep writing to her.

Consequently, the letter gives the impression of being simply writing for the sake of writing. It suggests that between close correspondents, who expected to receive letters regularly, the content of a letter may have been secondary to its function as a simple reassurance of such epistolary regularity. The idea suggested by Barton and Hall (1999: 6) that the existence of a letter itself has meaning in addition to its content was discussed above; perhaps a letter such as (41), with its plentiful references, is further evidence of such meaning.

Furthermore, the letter shows that for Lady Paston, there existed an epistolary space within which she could "talk" with her son, as she writes towards the end of her letter. This kind of "talking" was also advocated by contemporary letter-writing manuals, which emphasised that writers should aim at a style reminiscent of face-to-face conversation (see Tanskanen 2003: 175–176). It can be concluded that Lady Paston did not require regular postal services in order to perceive her correspondence with her son as frequent and casual communication.

4.   Conclusions: Intertextuality in epistolary space

The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston includes some short letters, a number of notes accompanying parcels and one official petition which do not include any references to the current letter or other ones. In the rest of the letters, whether written by or to her, from one to as many as seven such references can be found. Other letters are thus explicitly present in one way or another in the majority of the letters passing between Lady Paston and her fellow correspondents.

Some types of references appear to function independently of the relationship between the correspondents or the frequency of the correspondence. Thus, references to previous letters written by the current recipient appear in letters written by both close and/or frequent and sporadic correspondents, as do references to letters written by a third party and references to the current letter.

Other references seem to be more constrained by the relationship of the writers, the frequency of the correspondence, or both. Acknowledgement of receipt can only be found in letters between correspondents who are in close and frequent contact with each other. Similarly, references to previous letters written by the current writer as well as references to future letters require that the correspondents are in close and frequent contact. Finally, references to letters planned but not written can only be found in letters written by Lady Paston to her son.

In the collection of letters examined, the relative power of the correspondents does not seem to be a significant factor in terms of the distribution of references. References to the current letter and other letters can be found in letters written to superiors, inferiors and equals alike.

As intertextual links, references to other letters make explicit the connections between letters. With a reference to a previous letter, the writer reminds the recipient of a previous part in the dialogue of correspondence. A reference to a future letter confirms that the dialogue will continue, while a reference to the current letter may point to its significance in the network of letters. Studying these references in the correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston has revealed that her epistolary space was made up of a network of letters sent and received, letters still being planned and some that never even materialised.

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Appendix: Table of correspondents included in the study

	Distance	Power	Number of letters
To Lady Paston from			
Philip Alpe	Distant	−	1
Lady Muriel Bell	Close	=	1
William Brende	Distant	−	1
Sir William Denny	Distant	=	1
Sir John Heveningham	Close	=	13
Lady Mary Heveningham	Close	=	1
Sir Thomas Holland	Close	=	4
Samuel Matchett	Distant	−	1
Edward Paston	Close	=	6
William Paston	Close	−	2
Jane and John Smith	Distant	−	1
Dr. Samuel Walsall	Distant	−	1
From Lady Paston to			
Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam	Distant	+	1
Sir John Heveningham	Close	=	4
William Paston	Close	−	43

Inside and out

Forms of address in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters[*]

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This article focuses on socio-pragmatic aspects of address forms in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century personal letters in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) by comparing the forms found inside and on the outside of a letter. In addition to providing a wider social perspective, the research questions concern the private and public aspects of address formulae and the influence of different participant roles of the writer and the recipient. Address forms are analysed using Bell's (1984, 2001) audience design model, as well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. The study shows that formulae inside a letter are mainly governed by relative power in the relationship between the writer and the recipient. Address in superscriptions, on the other hand, seems to be the result of taking into consideration both the addressee and the audience with its possible opinions and reactions.

1. Introduction

Letters were an intrinsic part of communication between people living in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The writer and the recipient, just as today, had a central role in their correspondence, which was most often manifested through the word choices in the letter itself. In early England it was common, however, for letters to be read aloud among those nearest, and as the postal delivery was not a very secure means of handling correspondence either, it meant that often not only the outside, but sometimes also the inside of the letter was exposed to the inspection of others. Instead of being *entre quatre yeux*, correspondence at the time could in fact mean *entre six, huit* or *dix yeux*.

   This article discusses a particular feature in letters that shows the way in which letter-writers acknowledge their audience, namely, the use of address formulae. The "inside" forms studied here are those used to address the recipient directly either

at the beginning or in the body of a letter. By the "outside" forms, on the other hand, I mean the forms used on the back (the outside) of a letter, which are usually intended to be read both in private, i.e. by the recipient, and in public, for example by the person who carries the letter to the recipient.

The material for the study is from the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC), a database of personal letters written between c. 1410–1680, as well as an extension and supplement of the corpus covering the years from 1681 to 1800. I will concentrate here, however, only on private correspondence from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The time span covered by the CEEC makes it possible to study both earlier and later developments in address and superscription formulae (for Late Middle and Early Modern English, see Nevala 1998 and 2003).

The address forms are mainly analysed using Bell's (1984, 2001) audience design model, as well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. My research questions concern the private and public aspects of address formulae and the influence of different participant roles the writer and the addressee may have, or can be assumed to have, in correspondence. My purpose is, furthermore, to draw conclusions in a wider social perspective, and to make some comparisons between the actual use of address formulae in authentic letters and the instructions found in letter-writing manuals, which were becoming increasingly popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2.   The social background of address usage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

2.1   English society and the concepts of public and private

Seventeenth-century English society was well structured and hierarchical, even to the point of what was to be said in a face-to-face encounter or the proper place to sit in church (Wrightson 1982: 17). At the top of the social ladder were the nobility and the gentry. Landowners dominated as opposed to the lower, poorer ranks. Social stratification was strictly defined, and, for example, Sir Thomas Smith's description of a gentleman as one who could "live without manual labour … and … be called master, which is the title that men give to esquires and gentlemen" illustrates well the major divide between the gentry and the labouring ranks (Coward 1994: 45; for a more detailed survey on social stratification models in Early Modern England, see e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995, 1996 (eds.) and 2003). The nuclear family had a major influence on a person's social standing, and was more important than, for example, any relationships with influential people from the higher ranks. Patriarchal to a high degree, families were probably the primary background against which the notions of power and status were learnt in the

seventeenth century.[1]

The gentry gradually gained more wealth, and by the final decades of the seventeenth century, it was thought of as a "squirearchy" due to its increasing power (Briggs 1999: 160). In the course of time, eighteenth-century English society gave rise to a new way of describing social hierarchy: the middling sort was introduced among the upper and the lower sort. As before, eighteenth-century society continued to be "a matter of status, of hierarchy, of ranks and orders" (Webb 1980: 29). Proper behaviour, and politeness in the social sense of the word, was to be learnt, and this enlightened society was further divided into the common and the élite, a cultural differentiation of the informed and the ignorant already present in the seventeenth century (Wrightson 1982: 220). Social mobility was considerable, but although people talented enough to rise from the lower ranks were welcomed into polite society, it was done condescendingly (Porter 1990: 49; 2000: 365). Nevertheless, progress, whether social or individual, was considered a great hope among the lower ranks — as Porter (2000: 370) puts it, "today's vulgar might be tomorrow's polite".[2] Different kinds of clubs and societies were founded, and science was popularised by public lectures. The "people" were relentlessly educated by the "enlightened".

In general, the notions of "public" and "private" were not necessarily opposed concepts. Munck (2000: 198–9) notes that in the eighteenth century domestic privacy, for example, did not mean the same thing as today; private space was exposed to public control. "Private" was considered, following the ideology of Rousseau, to be secretive and factional. "Public", on the other hand, was most often connected with the "public good". However, concerning personal communication like letters, "public" and "private" were more likely to be distinct rather than overlapping notions. Fitzmaurice (2002: 208) notes this to be true e.g. when there is a "move from talk in public places to writing in private", as in her example of the courtship correspondence of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her future husband.[3] Public reputation was still crucially important, especially to women, and it must be placed before any intimate aspirations. Fortunately, women in the eighteenth century were not as much at the mercy of scribes and amanuenses as in the earlier centuries; since rising female literacy in the seventeenth century had promoted greater confidentiality (Daybell 2001: 7). It is rather questionable how far personal letters in fact were "private" in the strict sense of the word, since in the seventeenth century letters were still frequently read among the entire family and closest friends and neighbours, and in the eighteenth century another aspect of the concepts of public and private was introduced by so-called travel letters, which were also widely circulated among a number of people. These aspects will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.3.

2.2 Letter-writing manuals

Chartier et al. (1997: 21) note that the practice of letter-writing was torn between the tensions of secrecy vs the "social" family network, as well as spontaneity vs guidelines. Although one would think that people in early England obediently followed whatever form of instruction they could get in the art of letter-writing, in reality there was room for personal preference, or, as Irving (1955: 16) expresses it, "sturdy individuality".

Letter-writing manuals were, however, more and more widely used from the seventeenth century onwards, especially among letter writers of the upper, but later in the eighteenth century also of the lower social stratum. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were mostly translated from French, but by the end of the century, manuals written by and for Englishmen, and -women, gained ground.

One of the most famous letter-writing manuals that bred several modified versions was *The Academy of Complements* from 1640, which was partly a translation from Puget de la Serre's well-known and -used *Le Secrétaire de la Cour* (1625) and *Le Secrétaire à la Mode* (1640), also translated into English as *The Secretary in Fashion* (1640) by John Massinger (see e.g. Robertson 1943: 43–4). It presented model sentences called "pearls of eloquence", which included appropriate forms of address, as well as, of course, model letters.[4] Among these could be found all sorts of letters from a letter of excuse to a letter from a languishing lover (Hornbeak 1934: 57–8; Robertson 1943: 48). Later followers of de la Serre, such as Edward Phillips's *The Beau's Academy* (1658), John Hill's *The Young Secretary's Guide* (1687) and Samuel Richardson's *Familiar Letters* (1741), presented "humbler" readers with models of love letters titled "A Souldier to his Mistress", "A Seaman to his delight in Wapping" and more business-like variants like "A letter from a Serving Man to his master" and "From a Country Chapman beginning Trade, to a City Dealer, offering his Correspondence" (Hornbeak 1934: 66–7, 102).

The instructions on letter-writing were socially determined, a fact which was made very clear to the reader. In addition to the contents, the writer was supposed to take proper conduct into account in other parts of the letter as well — for example, when making decisions about the actual position of the greeting and the subscription. In de la Serre's opinion, a great distance between the greeting and the body of the letter itself signified great respect. The same was true of the position of the subscription in relation to the text (Goldberg 1990: 253; Chartier et al. 1997: 75–6). Leaving out the space meant that the writer did not want to honour the recipient. On the outside of letters, the same applied, so that if the letter was written to someone of high social status, there had to be a considerable gap between the first and the second line of the superscription. Other features which indicated the recipient's status included the use of both the abbreviated and the full forms of the name of the addressee, both intended to be used for persons of lower

status inside or outside the letter.

There were some further points on the form of superscriptions. De la Serre warned letter writers that kinship should not be expressed in the superscription on the cover because it was not fitting for the person carrying the letter to know what the relationship between the writer and the recipient was. An indication of social standing was, however, an obligatory part of superscriptions both outside and inside the letter, or as de la Serre taught about titles, "to give everyone such as befit him, or he desires to have" (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 547).

One of de la Serre's successors intended for women, Hannah Woolley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (1675), presented not only a large number of model letters but also detailed instructions for differents parts of a letter. Woolley divided the address into two parts, superscription and subscription. The former was two-fold: the external superscription was to include the name, title and abode of the person written to, whereas the internal superscription was to consist of the already familiar forms of address appropriate for different recipients. She further advised the reader: "It would be absurd for any one to write to a superior as to a familiar, and that which would suit very well with an ancient man, or a person in authority, would be ridiculous for to use to a man of mean degree, or of the younger sort; surely we are not to use the like expressions to a soldier, as we do to a scholar or lady" (1675: 228).

Hill's letter manual, as well as the very well-known *The Secretary's Guide* (London edition, 1721), introduced a trend towards increasing intimacy in address, especially between friends and other correspondents equal in power. Although letters to one's father still ought to be addressed "most indulgent father" or "honoured father", one's friend could well be addressed as "dear Harry" instead of "most obliging friend" as suggested earlier. Formulae used to address one's sweetheart included "dear mistress of my heart" or "fair conqueress of my heart" (Woolley 1675: 233; Hornbeak 1934: 86, 90, 97–8, 107); similar terms had, however, been introduced already in less matter-of-fact manuals in the seventeenth century. It is clear, however, that it was not possible for these kinds of expressions of intimacy to spread that radically in letters written to socially superior or distant recipients. The social setting of the Late Modern period was still too strongly hierarchical to permit the spread of e.g. terms of endearment on every level of address usage.

3.   Approaches to the study of address forms

3.1   Participants in action: Audience design

Communication — letter-writing being no exception — often involves multiple participants. Bell's (1984, 2001) sociolinguistic model of language variation introduces the point of view in which style as an active and interactive phenomenon focuses on people instead of any mechanisms used as a means to produce it. Bell's basic dichotomy is between linguistic and extralinguistic variation, of which the latter is further divided into two separate categories. Inter-speaker variation means the 'social', underlying level of language differences between people, i.e., it may include factors like class, age, gender and ethnicity. Intra-speaker variation, on the other hand, is a 'stylistic' side of language use, which includes e.g. the topic and the setting of discussion. The two categories are interdependent: variation in the 'stylistic' dimension derives from and echoes the variation in the 'social' dimension (the so-called "Style Axiom"; see Bell 1984:151; 2001:145).

The correlation between these two dimensions is the core of the audience design model. Speakers and hearers are considered equally essential in the dialogic process, which derives from the claim that speakers design their speech in response to their hearers. The main character in the audience is the addressee, who is typically known, ratified and addressed. The audience may also consist of other parties: those participants who are known and ratified are auditors, whereas those known but not ratified are called overhearers. Eavesdroppers are neither known or ratified. These factors belong to the responsive dimension, as opposed to the initiative dimension, in which style is seen as a dynamic force which redefines an existing situation.

The responsive axis also includes non-audience style design. This means linguistic variation that occurs via a change in topic or an addressee. For example, a person may use different styles when talking to a colleague at work and when speaking to a family member at home; or he may use another way of speaking when discussing politics and gossip. Bell (1984:161ff.) makes a comparison between style variation on this level and the accommodation model, which is based on a person's ability to accommodate his/her speech to the addressee in order to be approved (for the accommodation theory, see e.g. Coupland and Giles (eds.) 1988). The two different axes of the initiative and responsive style are shown in Figure 1.

As further seen in Figure 1, Bell distinguishes a parallel of initiative style design which includes what he calls referee and hyper-addressee axes. Initiative (hyper-addressee) convergence is considered the norm against which initiative (referee) divergence is the exception. Hyper-addressee shift happens e.g. when the speaker converts his/her speech beyond the addressee's own style in order to bring the addressee closer. Referees, on the other hand, are third persons who are not
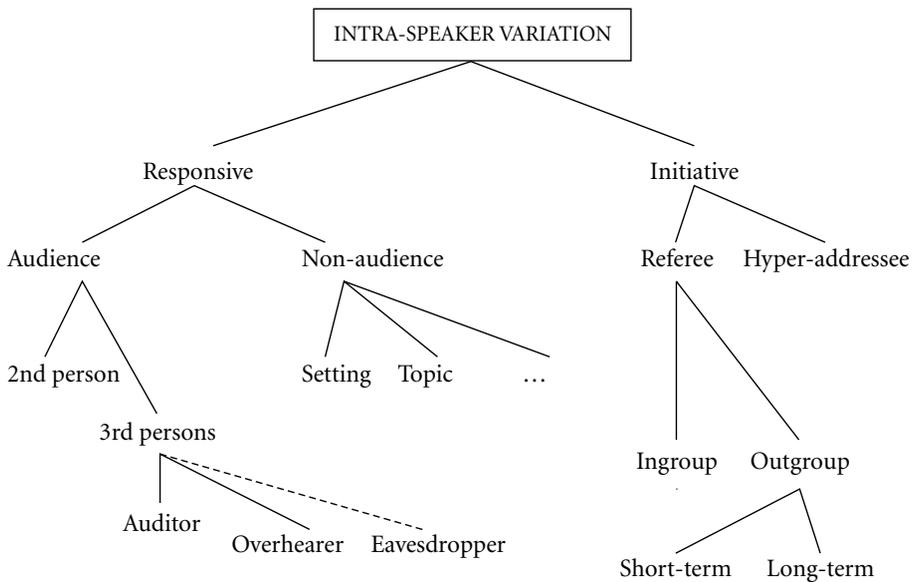
Figure 1. Audience design and referee design (from Bell 1984:196; 2001:144).

physically present in a communicative interaction but nevertheless have an impact on the speaker's language use. Referee design results in making the speaker shift style as if talking to a referee rather than to a hearer.

Referee design is further divided into in-group and out-group referees. In an in-group referee design, the speaker identifies with an external referee and shifts away from the immediate addressee. Out-group referee design, on the other hand, means that the speaker wants to shift away from his own speech style and convert towards the linguistic features of an out-group. The difference between the two shifts is that in in-group design, the speaker and the addressee disagree on the language referee, whereas in out-group design both participants agree on the influence in question.

3.2 Politeness implications

Audience design involves more than just a style shift. It may include pragmatic factors such as forms of address and politeness strategies. In addition to the accommodation model, Bell's analysis of in-group and out-group divergence in referee design also agrees with the strategic use of language and the ability to perform face-threatening acts (FTAs), as described in Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. One of the basic functions of the theory, i.e. to integrate notions of "polite friendliness" and "polite formality" within a single scheme (Brown and Levinson 1987:283), involves the audience. Bell's definition

of both the responsive and initiative style shifts on the whole bears close resemblance to Brown and Levinson's description of positive and negative politeness strategies, in that style or language can be used to alter the distance between the speaker and the addressee.

Moreover, both theories are based on the assumption that the speaker is rational and aware of the impact of his/her (speech) actions in relation to other people. Brown and Levinson (1987:62) describe this by saying that "the most salient aspect of a person's personality in interaction is what that personality requires of other interactants"; Bell (2001:143), correspondingly, stresses the speaker's active ability to respond to the audience, noting that e.g. showing deference is audience-directed behaviour which can result in extreme style shifts (Bell 1984:156).

As Fitzmaurice (2002:43) also notes, variation in the way people address each other has always been considered indicative of social relation, attitude and consideration for the addressee, and thus, the audience. In epistolary form, address formulae may be positively polite, negatively polite and a mixture of both. Address tending towards the addressee's positive face usually takes the form of informal and intimate terms like first names or nicknames. Negative politeness manifests itself in such formulae as titles and honorifics.

Historical letter-writers had to be extremely sensitive to social and hierarchical factors governing address usage. As already stated in Section 2.1, the social constraints and demands on "keeping up (polite) appearances" were in the background in every verbal interaction. In politeness theory, social status and authority fall under the variables of power and distance (Brown and Levinson 1987:80). A superior in relative power usually has precedence over his/her inferiors, which is displayed in his/her ability to use positive politeness in address even if the social distance is close. In Early and Late Modern England, as in many of those present-day societies where the majority of public relations are governed by power relations, this appears to be asymmetrical: negative politeness is used by inferiors in return.

Equal status, whether regarding distance or power, seems to affect address usage to a certain degree. If both power and distance differences are very small, like among younger family siblings, reciprocal positive politeness is used. If the power difference is small but distance is greater than between nuclear family members, as in the case of close friends, the use of positively polite forms cannot be taken for granted. The strict social hierarchy of Early Modern England, for example, in most cases forces the writer to change from positively polite to negatively polite forms of address if the addressee becomes upwardly mobile. Social mobility increases the degree of both the power and the distance and makes the writer reassess his/her relationship with the recipient (for more information on the influence of social mobility on address in letters, see e.g. Nevala 1998).

4. Material and method

My material is drawn from the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC), a database which, in its extended version, consists of personal letters from 1410 to 1800.[5] For the present analysis, I studied only a part of the corpus, which covers the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letter material. This was done, firstly, because my previous studies have shown that the seventeenth century in particular appears to be an era of increasing intimacy, which can also be seen in the use of address forms. Therefore, one of my purposes was to see whether this could be extended to superscriptions as well, and whether the change from seventeenth- to eighteenth-century society was apparent in address formulae in any way. Secondly, I wanted to compare forms of address in authentic correspondence to those in letter-writing manuals, which did not appear in English until the end of the sixteenth century. The statistics on the resulting data are presented in Table 1.[6]

It must be noted that not every letter in these collections includes both an opening formula and a superscription, due either to the authors' or the editors' preferences. My purpose was, however, to choose the letter collections in which superscriptions have been edited in most of the correspondence, and so, in the editions used, letters lacking any kind of outer address were studied for further background material on the use of direct address. The selection may have further decreased the material in certain categories of register. For example, the number of family letters from royalty and the nobility, as well as the clergy, is very low, as opposed to the abundance of gentry family correspondence — this reflects, however, the overall proportion of material between the gentry and other upper ranks in the CEEC itself. Furthermore, letter material from merchants was also left out due to the criteria used for the study.

The data was primarily divided according to social ranks: in the seventeenth-century material, into the royalty, nobility, clergy, gentry and professionals, and in the eighteenth-century material, into the higher (the royalty, nobility and gentry), middle (e.g. professionals) and lower (e.g. craftsmen, tradesmen) ranks (following the social stratification models used in the compilation of the CEEC; for further

Table 1. The material from the CEEC

Time span of letter collections	Number of letter collections	Number of letters
17th century	30	1857
17th & 18th century	5	439
18th century	11	777
Total	**46**	**3073**

information on these models, see e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 136–8). It was then organised according to the determinants of social distance and relative power. The primary division was made by placing the forms in three separate categories: F (including nuclear family members and other members of kin), TC (close friends) and T (servants, other writers). The material was further classified according to power relations, i.e., into letters from superior to inferior, inferior to superior and between equals. My purpose behind this classification was to find the most prominent factors that influence address usage both on a purely social level, i.e., between and among members of different social ranks, and on an interactional level, e.g., in marital or other familial relationships.

5.   Address forms inside and outside of a letter

5.1 The seventeenth century

5.1.1 *Royalty and nobility*
As could be expected, direct address inside seventeenth-century letters to members of the highest ranks does not show much variation according to the distance between the writer and the addressee. If we compare letters written between close correspondents and those written between distant ones, we can see that there are only a few noticeable differences.

In family letters, superiors, such as husbands, usually address their power inferiors (wives) using terms like *madam* and *your ladyship*. Occasionally, the form *dear wife* may occur, although any kind of kinship terms (henceforth KT) are less common. Power equals and inferiors also use KTs depending on their relationship with the addressee. In royal letters, for example, high social status is usually mentioned in address, thus mixed forms like *worthy Prince and my dearest brother* may be used to address a princely brother, whereas *sir* and *your majesty* appear in letters to the king. Noble children may use KTs to their parents and older relatives (*dear mother*, *dear aunt*), but the terms *madam* and *your ladyship* appear in this category as well. Deferential address is equally common in letters from wives to their noble husbands, as can be seen in Example (1).[7]

(1)   The Last letter I receiv'd from **yʳ honour,** was something scandalous, soe that I knew not well how to answer it, 'twas my designe to have writ to my Lady Anne Willmot to intercede for mee, but now wᵗʰ joy I finde my selfe againe in yʳ favour, it shall bee my endeavours to continue soe; (WILMOT: 1670s?, Elizabeth Wilmot, 275)

When looking at direct address in letters between mutually distant correspondents, we may note that the forms used consist of titles and honorifics only. Superiors and equals use the terms (*honoured*) *sir*, *my* (*noble*) *lord* (+ last name; henceforth LN) and *your lordship*. Socially sensitive inferior writers, mostly members of the gentry, address their superiors with formulae which show an equal, or even higher, degree of deference, such as *honourable/worthy lady*, *most noble earl*, *most honourable sir* and *your highness/excellency*, as in Example (2) from Samuel Machett's letter to Katherine Paston.

> (2) **My euer honored Lady** I doe acknowledge my self to be more then bould in daringe to write vnto your worthy self yet I hope that the confession of my fault (with the occasion thereof) by your favourable construction maye obtaine pardon at your handes.
> (PASTONK: 1619, Samuel Machett, 49)

In superscriptions the practice is even more rigid than in direct address. Although address in letters by family superiors and equals may show some indication of the close distance between the writer and the addressee, it is more likely that the superscription indicates deference. Children, like other kin inferiors, may sometimes rely on KT + title combinations, as in Example (3), but more usually terms like *his honourable good lady*, or simply, *the Earl of Rochester* are used.

> (3) To **my honourable good mother the lady Johan Barrington** at Hatfeild Broadoke give [these] (BARRINGTON: 1629, Robert Barrington, 51)

Address forms present in superscriptions to distant recipients resemble those used to close correspondents. Regardless of the power relation to the addressee, the writer may use simple terms like *the Earl of Montgomery* or *the Lord Sheffield*, or rely on more elaborate formulae like the one presented in Example (4), when the situation so requires, as in this case in Ben Jonson's petition from prison to Robert Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury.

> (4) To **the most nobly vertuous and thrice honor'd Earle of Salisbury**.
> (JONSON: 1605, Ben Jonson, 194)

There is some indication that social inferiors tend to use longer and more deferential terms in superscriptions than royal superiors and noble equals, but this would have to be further studied. The material from inferiors includes formulae like *the right honourable my very good Lord the Lord Hunsdon Lord Chamberlain* and *for his Excellence the Lord General Cromwell*, but what these few examples really seem to show is the proper recognition of the addressee's social status and degree. It is probable that these kinds of address forms are more typical of the upper ranks of society as a whole than indicative of the user's social inferiority.

5.1.2 *Clergy*

Although degree-wise the upper and lower clergy can be classified in the same categories as the nobility and the gentry, respectively, I have decided to account for the address forms used in the letters to members of the clergy as a separate category in this century. One of the reasons for doing so is the frequent use of forms like *brother* and *friend*, as well as clerical terms like *Archdeacon*, *Minister* and *Bishop*, in the material.

Unfortunately, owing to the almost complete lack of data for letters between correspondents of extremely close relationship in this category, the analysis relies on forms used to address recipients of greater distance alone. The only example of direct formulae in letters written by members of kin is in the form of *nephew* + LN, as in a letter from Robert Blakiston to his nephew John Cosin.

In general, power superiors and inferiors seem to use similar forms to each other. *Your Grace*, *my good Lord* and *your Lordship* are common, as well as more deferential formulae like *right reverend Sir* and *right reverend and my right honorable good Lord*. Such terms also occur when the writer and the recipient are power equals, but in this category the range of different types of formulae seems to be wider. Members of the lower clergy are often addressed with as simple a form as *Mr* + LN, to which combinations of premodifying adjectives are added, as in the formula *good honest Mr Cosin*, or even by first name (henceforth FN), as in *good John*.

One of the more distinctive features of direct address between clergy equals is the above-mentioned use of the terms *friend* and *brother*. This may or may not depend on the degree of closeness between the writer and the recipient. It is more usual, though, that for example close friends address each other with more intimate terms like *most dear and honoured brother*. Deferential forms like *reverend and very much respected in Christ* are used, however, also between friends, as in the letter from John Eliot to fellow minister Richard Baxter in Example (5).

(5)   **Reverend and much esteemed in the Lord,**
       I have received your christian and very loving letter wherein your deepe
       sense of my infirmity and eminent acceptance of my poore labours among
       the Indians (ʙᴀxᴛᴇʀ: 1657, John Eliot, 22)

Both *friend* and *brother* appear more widely in superscriptions. The use of *brother* is surprisingly similar throughout the material, regardless of the writer's and the recipient's power relations. It is equivalent to the term *father*, since it can be used even of members of the upper clergy like bishops and archbishops. This is not the case with *friend*, though: it seems that it can only be used between equals, especially of the lower clergy. These kinds of "solidarity markers" usually occur together with more deferential terms in mixed formulae, as can be seen in Example (6).

(6)   For **my R^d. friende, Mr. Deane Steward, Deane of the King's Chappell**,
       These, in Holland, at Breda, or the Hage.
       (ᴄᴏꜱɪɴ: 1651, John Cosin, I,280)

On the whole, there appear to be no great differences in the way superiors address their inferiors and vice versa. In all relations it is common to recognise the degree and status of the addressee, a feature already noted when discussing the superscriptions used by the nobility in the previous section.

5.1.3 *Gentry and professionals*

The data on address used to the representatives of the gentry and professionals is the largest in the material. Futhermore, the variety of different formulae is wider in this category, especially in letters between writers of F relationship. If we first look at address used in the inside of the letter, we can see that possible forms range from nicknames (henceforth NN) to titles. Terms of endearment are widely used in F correspondence, and formulae such as *good sweetheart* and *my dearest love* are common. Most NNs appear in letters from F superiors to inferiors, such as wives, children or younger relatives, so that forms like *good Ned*, *dearest Besse* and (*my best deserving*) *Ben* are used. The use of FNs is equally common, without a KT or an LN or with either one, as in Example (7).

(7)   **Sonn Daniell**
       I receiued yo^rs with the Books you sent by Burneyeat: I am glad to heare of yor wellfare and no less to heare of yor welldoeinge.
       (ꜰʟᴇᴍɪɴɢ: 1651, William Fleming, 17)

F inferiors seem to use similar strategies in addressing their superiors and vice versa. KTs and terms of endearment are used, like in *good father*, *my beloved nephew* or *dear heart*. The range of formulae is also wide, so that in addition to KTs, also titles (+ LN) can be found in the material, regardless of the degree of kinship. Power equals address each other mostly by KTs like *worthy sister*, *dear brother* and *honoured cousin*.

In letters between mutually more distant correspondents, the use of a title or a LN is most common. Superiors may address their inferiors with FN + LN or title + LN, whereas power equals may correspond with their addressees using combinations of occupational title + LN, NN + LN or *friend* + LN and a premodified LN. The word *friend* (+ premodifier), and *partner* to business associates, is characteristic of this category as well (Example 8; a letter from Lady Brilliana Harley to Mrs Wallcote). When the writer is an inferior, however, the superior recipient is addressed with titles alone, as for example *most honoured Sir* and *my ever honoured Lady*.

(8) **My much honnored and deare frinde**, — I acknowledg this as a greate
      fauor, and I shall be ready to expres my thankes with all the testimony of
      true respets, and I acknowledge, that for the vertues you haue, I much loue
      and honnor you. (HARLEY: 1642, Brilliana Harley, 184–5)

In superscriptions the degree of distance between the writer and the recipient is
most often expressed by the presence or lack of KTs. Family power superiors, equals
and inferiors all use formulae like *my most loving wife Mrs Benedicta Hoskyns, his
most loving and kind brother Mr Daniel Fleming* and *my very loving father Sir Robert
Knollys Knight*. In addition to KTs, titles, occupational and other, are used by family
members, although it is possible to find a few examples of extreme intimacy (NNs,
terms of endearment) in superscriptions as well, as can be seen in Example (9) from
a letter by John Hoskyns to his wife Benedicta.

(9) To **my only comfort & only earthly joy my Ben: the mother of my Bens:**
      (HOSKYNS: 1615, John Hoskyns I,70)

Naturally, when writing to a more distant recipient, the use of address forms is more
strictly governed by social constraints. The terms used by social superiors are fixed and
straightforward (title + FN + LN), whereas address in superscriptions between
equals shows more variation in form and ranges from *my loving friend Captain
Stockwell* (most often in letters between close friends) to plain *Thomas Scott Esq.*[8]

It is not totally uncommon for social inferiors to address their superiors with
the term *friend*, although this is rare in the material. Superscriptions to superiors
more usually vary only in the use of premodifying adjectives, if at all, and even
these forms are more fixed than free. The most common formulae in this category
appear to be in the form of *the worthy Mr John Hoskyns* and *right honourable Sir
George Fleming Baronet*, depending on whether the addressee is from the upper or
lower gentry. Furthermore, the use of FN together with LN, as seen in these
examples, occurs in all power relationships.

5.2 The eighteenth century

5.2.1 *Better sort*
As already discussed in Section 4, the so-called better sort in the eighteenth century
included the royalty, nobility and the gentry. Owing to the shortage of material, I
have in this century grouped the examples of address used to members of the clergy
under this heading as well, since their social position equals more that of the better
sort than of the middle sort.

As might be expected, eighteenth-century material also shows great intimacy
in the use of address between correspondents of close distance. FNs, NNs and
terms of endearment continue to be used among nuclear families, and increasingly

by other members of kin. It is not unusual to see older formulae like *dear nephew*, but also terms like *dear Sukey* (Sally) or *my dear Fanny* from a family superior to inferior, or *my dear Phil* (Philippa), *my dear Carlucci* (Charles), *my dearest love* and further derivations from FNs and NNs between equals, as can be seen in Example (10) from a letter by Fanny Burney to her sister Charlotte.

(10) **My dearest Charlottenberg** — you are a most excellent Charlottenberg — & a woman of business indeed. (ʙᴜʀɴᴇʏꜰ: 1799, Fanny Burney, IV, 308)

The use of address by nobility superiors and equals does not seem to differ much from that used between family members of the gentry proper. Unfortunately, the lack of material from nobility inferiors to superiors, i.e., for instance, from children to parents, prevents further comparisons between these two social groups. Gentry children continue to use titles like *Sir* and *Madam* to their parents, but there are also some examples of more inventive and endearing formulae, such as *my dearest padre* and *dear papa/mama*.

The range between different address forms used by more distant correspondents appears to be both narrow and wide. The most narrow is in letters from social superiors to inferiors and vice versa, and widest when used between equals like close friends. Terms like *Mr Fox*, *dear Sir* and, to noble recipients, *my Lord Duke*, *your Grace* and *your Lordship* are common in letters from both superiors and inferiors to each other, whereas forms of address to one's equals include examples from the more formal *Madam* and *Mr Morgan* to noticeably more intimate alternatives like *my dearest Duchess*, *my dear Fannikin*, *my own dear little Burney* and *dear Boulton*. As can be seen in example (11) from a letter written by Erasmus Darwin to Anna Seward, the closeness of the friendship makes it possible even to invent address forms in letters of fictitious nature:

(11) **Dear Miss Pussy**,
As I sat the other day carelessly basking myself in the sun in my parlour window, and saw you in the opposit window washing your beautiful round face, and elegant brinded ears with your velvet paw; and whisking about with graceful sinuosity your meandring tail;
(ᴅᴀʀᴡɪɴ: 1780, Erasmus Darwin, 100)

Clergy equals of great distance remain, however, very conscious of the social position of their correspondent, and the number of different variants is extremely low. The title *Sir* remains to be used with certain premodifiers, so that the most common formulae are *reverend Sir* and *dear Sir*.

Superscriptions appear to be much less variable in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth century. The most typical address formula used on the outside

of the letter is in the form of title + (FN +) LN, or alternatively, FN + LN + term of social grade (to male recipients most often *esquire*; also, additional terms as the one in Example 12 are used).

(12)   ffor / **Richard Greenville Esq. member of Parliam.^t** in Pall^{mall} London
        ffrank / (PUREFOY: 1749, Henry Purefoy, 368)

This appears to be the case in most of the letters written by gentry superiors, equals and inferiors, regardless of the distance, so that similar superscriptions may be directed both to family members and distant acquaintances. In letters written to noble recipients, however, it is still usual to acknowledge the addressee's high status, and so formulae like *his Grace the Duke of Grafton*, *the right honourable the Lady Mary Pierrepont* and *the right honourable Charles Lord Halifax* are typical in the material. To members of the (lower) clergy, formulae like *the reverend Mr Williams* are most common.

5.2.2 *Middling sort and poorer sort*
The middle sort here consists of professionals, i.e., lawyers, doctors and business-men, whereas the poorer sort includes craftsmen, tradesmen and artificers. It may be argued here, however, whether skilled craftsmen might be considered members of the middling sort, depending for example on their wealth and volume of trade. The material in this category is rather limited, but still shows the most typical examples of address used to representatives of these social subgroups.

The direct address formulae in letters from social superiors to inferiors and between equals are rather similar. The title *Sir* is mostly used to professionals like attorneys and doctors. Craftsmen like carpenters, ironmongers and stonecutters may be addressed with *Mr* + LN or plain FN (only servants).

Superscriptions differ even less from each other. It seems that a professional of any magnitude may be addressed with *Mr* + (FN +) LN + occupational term, as in *Mr Porter attorney at law*, *Mr Wallbank a surgeon* or *Mr Dodsley bookseller*. Lower craftsmen could receive similar formulae, as can be seen in Example (13) by Elizabeth Purefoy. There are also some remnants of the old style of address usage in the material. Henry Purefoy, Elizabeth's son, uses the term *goodman* to address a yeoman, both directly and in the superscription (Example 14). This form is extremely rare in an eighteenth-century letter, and reasons for its use seem even more obscure when in another letter Henry addresses the same John Elms as *Mr Elms*.[9]

(13)   To **Mr Belchier a cabinet-maker** at the Sun in St Pauls Church yard &c.
        (PUREFOY: 1736, Elizabeth Purefoy, 98)

(14)   ffor / **Goodman John Elms** at Mr Rose's at Charlton
        (PUREFOY: 1752, Henry Purefoy, 41)

It becomes obvious by looking at the material that the middling and the poorer social groups were no longer as coherent in the eighteenth century as in the previous centuries. The use of the forms *Mr* (*Mrs*) + LN and *Sir* (*Madam*) could be extended outside the boundaries of the gentry, and the variety of occupational terms could be used to emphasise the differences in the recipients' social standing.

6.   Discussion

6.1 General observations

If we first consider diachronic aspects in the use of address from a social point of view, we can conclude that letters written to members of the upper ranks of society seem to change least from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The royalty, nobility, upper clergy and upper gentry receive honorifics, titles and other terms of social grade, whereas the manner in which the lower gentry and professionals are addressed varies more according to the relationship between the writer and the recipient than any social determinants. The gentry seems to be the locus of variation in both centuries, and particularly the address formulae which social equals use to each other inside the letter may vary considerably.

So, any change in the form of the direct terms used is usually governed by the distance of the relationship. The writer may simply use NNs, FNs, terms of endearment and KTs when the addressee is a member of the family or a very close friend, but as the distance grows, direct address becomes more deference-oriented and the number of options decreases. In addition to the distance factor, direct address formulae may follow the writer's general attitude towards the recipient, as well as the age of the addressee, so that, for example, more negatively polite address forms are used if the writer is angry with the recipient, and more positively polite forms when the recipient is younger than the writer. In the eighteenth century, an entirely new aspect of the choice in the forms of address is introduced by literary writers: their use of direct address is more easily affected by the mood of the letter itself, and so the range of formulae may include even such examples as *Inconstant pusillanimous woman* and *Dear Miss Pussy*.[10]

With superscriptions the situation is, however, different from address formulae inside the letter. On the outside, address formulae closely follow a certain model: they are conventional and rigid in the eighteenth century, although they do become superficially more plain towards the end of the seventeenth century. For example, formulae in the superscriptions in letters written two centuries earlier, such as *my right worshipful brother* or *the right worshipful and his singular good master* can no longer be found in the eighteenth-century material, although it must be noted that this type of change seems to be more typical of letters written by social superiors to

their inferiors than vice versa. Time does not change the fact that the foremost purpose of superscriptions is to direct letters to their intended recipients, and in order to achieve this, names and titles must be in their right place.

Close distance does not seem to affect the formulae in superscriptions to the same extent as it does on address inside the letter. Although in the seventeenth century kinship and friendship are still mentioned also on the outside of the letter, it is typical of the superscriptions in the eighteenth century to show no difference between close and distant recipients.[11] Even letters written to close family members are always directed to *the right honourable*, *Mr* or *Mrs*, and they are also a perfect tool for acknowledging changes in social standing more publicly than address formulae inside the letter. If we compare direct address to superscriptions, we may indeed note that it is in letters of close correspondents where we find the greatest asymmetry. Furthermore, the inside and the outside formulae match less in letters of social equals, whereas if the addressee is either superior or inferior to the writer, they correspond to each other more closely.

One more noticeable aspect in the development of superscriptions is the use of the term *friend*. The material shows that it is commonly used in most of the seventeenth century, but slowly vanishes by the beginning of the 1680s.[12] After that, it appears only in direct address inside the letter. If we take a closer look at its use in superscriptions, we can see that *friend* is used between social equals, most commonly in letters between members of the lower gentry, the lower clergy and professionals. The term may imply true friendship and intimacy, which is usually the case with gentry correspondents, or it can be used as an expression of solidarity, as occurs mostly in the letters of the clergy.[13] If *friend* is used in superscriptions from a superior in power to an inferior, it is most likely to appear in letters from a husband to a wife, or, if the social distance is greater, in cases where the relationship between the writer and the addressee is somehow closer than that between average strangers (e.g. when the correspondents are in frequent contact with each other), or when the superior wants to express goodwill to the addressee.[14] By contrast, when *friend* is used by an inferior to a superior, it may work as a kind of social "softener", or a device to affirm the addressee of the writer's loyalty, as in the case of Andrew Marvell and Ben Jonson. It is not certain how much the fact that both of these men were social aspirers contributed to their use of address formulae in their already pleading and self-humbling letters to their superiors; further study on the influence of social mobility on the use of *friend* is needed before any definite conclusions can be drawn (for more information on the influence of social mobility on the overall use of address formulae, see e.g. Nevala 1998).

6.2 Designed to be polite

The results from this study show that for the address form inside the letter to be successful as a marker of the relationship between the writer and the recipient, it must be addressee-oriented, i.e., the addressee is the most important participant governing the choice of direct address. This feature remains constant from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The forms in superscriptions may have to be looked at from another angle. Here, audience, meaning both ratified and unratified auditors, may be seen to be as equally influential as the addressee. Diachronically speaking, it seems likely that in the eighteenth century direct address inside the letter became more central than address in the superscription, which in turn lost its position as a marker of the nature of the correspondents' relationship to each other.

So, it is clear on the basis of the analysis that address both inside and outside the letter is governed by audience design rather than referee design. The only feature in superscriptions which might bear any similarities to referee-oriented language choices is, again, the use of the term *friend*; in this case only when used by a writer such as a social aspirer who has some goal to achieve by using it. It might be interpreted as a tool for expressing either in-group convergence or out-group divergence, depending on whom the writer assumes, and wishes, to be the referee. However, it is more likely that the overall choice of address formulae also in superscriptions is more influenced by either the addressee or the audience, or both.[15]

When we look at the material simply on the basis of positive and negative politeness, we can notice that in most letters relative power plays an important role in the choice of direct address terms. Inferior correspondents are usually addressed with positively polite formulae, whereas superior ones receive forms denoting negative politeness. Those equal in power are usually addressed with either positive or negative politeness, depending on the relative distance between the correspondents.

Superscriptions, however, always include address forms which might be said to be negatively polite to a certain degree, and so power does not seem to lead to similar fluctuation between positive and negative politeness as in the case of address formulae inside the letters. It seems that especially in the case of family letters, address formulae in the opening and the body of letters are more likely to show a diachronic change from negative towards positive politeness than those used in superscriptions. It has become clear in the process of this study that analysing address forms on the outside only by the parameters of politeness is not sufficient, as opposed to the analysis of direct address inside the letter. It may well be that superscriptions lack the very thing which makes address formulae more apt for the influence of individual choices: privacy. Thus, it could be said that maintaining negative face in superscriptions is indeed more important than doing so inside the letter.

6.3 "Private" practices and "public" treatises

Although in this study no definite conclusions can be drawn concerning the full influence of letter-writing manuals on the use of address forms, I would still argue that especially in the seventeenth century the function of manuals as a tool describing the established practice was more important than setting a norm. However, different practices may have been used, and in the upper ranks rather than in the lower ones, forms of instruction on how to conduct oneself correctly towards and among socially superior addressees were most probably greeted with appreciation. Although letter writers in my material may have been influenced, at least to some degree, by letter-writing manuals of the time, especially family letters include address formulae that cannot be anything but a product of the writer's own mind.[16]

Differences can also be seen in the influence of manuals on address in the inside and on the outside of letters. Direct address in the beginning and the body of a letter is less formulaic in family correspondence, in which personal practices are clearly more varied than in letters between more distant correspondents, and at the same time, mostly less norm-bound. The increasing use of nicknames in letters between family members, as well as friends, is in itself an indication of the overall adjustability of address formulae.

In superscriptions, however, individual variation does not appear to have gained a footing in the actual use of address forms. As we have seen, the formulae in the eighteenth century are not only simplified in form but also in function, and so e.g. KTs and forms like *friend* are not used on the outside any longer. This practice may well have been influenced by manuals, since as we noted earlier in Section 2.2, de la Serre, for example, advised his readers to leave any terms indicating kinship and friendship out of the superscriptions as early as in the 1640s.[17] Why this is not seen in practice until three or four decades later might be explained by the increase not only in the production, but more clearly in the use of letter-writing manuals in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It would, however, have been interesting to see whether manuals influenced the eighteenth-century use of *friend* in superscriptions of the clergy — a fact which could not be ascertained in this study due to the nature of the material.

The more active use of manuals may well have begun as late as the latter part of the eighteenth century, but it is likely that individual letter writers also had relative freedom in their own practices. Whatever the extent of manual usage, I am willing to agree with Nevalainen (2001: 219), who suggests that the use of address does not originate from letters themselves, but is deeply rooted in societal conventions.

The progress of routinisation of address in superscriptions, as well as in direct address inside the letter, also raises the question of the influence of public and private aspects in letter-writing. During the eighteenth century the notion of what

was "public", as well as the changing society as a whole, may have encouraged the increasing use of simplified forms of address. Particularly in superscriptions this may well have been so. The choice of address formulae inside the letter was, however, connected with the private aspects in addition to public ones, and the writer must have been aware of, and apt to exploit, the differences between the two.

7.   Conclusion

In this article, I have studied the use of address forms as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon on the basis of the theories of audience design and politeness. The analysis of the differences and similarities between forms of address in the inside of a letter and in superscriptions requires looking at people in the process of correspondence as more or less influential participants. Whereas different formulae in the beginning or in the body of a letter are mainly governed by the relationship between the writer and the recipient, the choice of address in superscriptions seems to be the result of taking into consideration not only the addressee, but also the audience and its possible opinions and reactions. The inside of a letter is after all more likely to be seen by fewer people than the outside of it.

On a wider scale, societal norms and conventions must have had their own effect on the use of address, especially in a highly structured society like Early Modern England. The influence of letter-writing manuals on the actual use of address remains uncertain, although it can be thought that particular features stated in the manuals, such as e.g. the disappearance of the term *friend* from superscriptions, may have been the result of letter-writers' growing awareness of normative models. Later changes in the parameters of social structure may have influenced the standardisation of address formulae, particularly in letters between socially distant correspondents; nevertheless, individual preferences seem to have existed in direct address in letters between mutually close correspondents, like family members and friends.

Notes

1. Naturally, the use of address forms from one family member to another was restricted by social conventions, which means that wives and children did not have the same freedom to use e.g. first names or nicknames as the father of the family. Houlbrooke (1984:32–4) notes, however, that the later humanist ideology challenged the earlier view, in that expressions of familial love and feelings of affection were regarded as a way to strengthen the marital bond. Wall

(2001:80) agrees by noting that changes in the style of address seem to have happened gradually in the course of the seventeenth century; e.g. terms of endearment and nicknames started to be increasingly used also in letters from a wife to a husband (for a more detailed diachronic analysis, see Nevala 2002 and 2003).

2. The word "polite" can here be understood as an equivalent to "civil" or "courteous". As Fitzmaurice (2000:10) writes, politeness in Early England could be understood as "a criterion of proper behaviour". Burke (2000:39–40) also notes that in eighteenth-century England the middle ranks used polite speech as a way of showing their closeness to the upper ranks, alongside other means, such as e.g. accent or vocabulary. Polite language could, of course, also be used by members of the upper ranks to distinguish themselves from their social inferiors, which Burke (2000:47) suggests to have been "a reaction to the decline of 'external evidence of rank'".

3. Redford (1986:44) notes that in her later correspondence, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu used French when she wished to express intimate feelings like e.g. passion, which she considered untypical of the English. She in fact wrote to Alexander Pope, saying that the English language could not be used to express "such violence of passion" since the English themselves rarely felt that way.

4. Tanskanen (1996:147, n. 3; see also Tanskanen 2003) points out that model letters could range from early translations of classical letters to examples invented by the writers of the manuals themselves. Especially in the eighteenth century, manuals could often be compilations of those already published, and so the model letters section could include sections from two or more separate manuals.

5. The 1998 version of the CEEC was compiled by the *Sociolinguistics and Language History* team at the Department of English, University of Helsinki. It consists of c. 2.7 million words in 96 letter collections from around 1410 to 1681. An extension used in this study consists of letter material covering the eighteenth century, and it is currently under further compilation (at present adding up to a total of over two million words). More information on the project and the corpus can be found on the website ⟨http://www.eng.helsinki.fi/varieng/team2⟩ and Laitinen (2002). A sampler corpus (CEECS) is available on the second ICAME CD-ROM. Most of the references to the collections used in this study, as well as other collections in the 1998 version, can be found in e.g. Nurmi (1999) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003).

6. The letter collections in the CEEC and its extension used in this study are as follows: ADDISON, AUSTEN, BARRINGTON, BASIRE, BAXTER, BROWNE, BURNEYF, CHAMPION, CHARLES, CORNWALLIS, COSIN, DARWIN, DEFOE, DODSLEY, EVELYN, FITZHERBERT, FLEMING, FLEMING2, GAWDYL, GIBBON, GIFFARD, HADDOCK, HADDOCK2, HARLEY, HENSLOWE, HOSKYNS, HUTTON, JONES, JONSON, KNYVETT, LOWTHER, MARVELL, MELBOURNE, MONTAGU, ORIGINAL3, OXINDEN, PASTONK, PEPYS, PEPYS2, PIERCE, PINNEY, PUREFOY, STAPYLTON, STIFFKEY, STOCKWELL and WILMOT.

7. The references after each example show the name of the letter collection in the corpus, the year when the letter was written, the name of the writer and the exact page reference in the letter edition.

8. The use of *esquire* as a title dates back to the fifteenth century. According to the *OED*, *esquire* gradually came to mean all persons who are regarded as "gentlemen" by birth, position, or education (except for clerical persons and anyone of a higher rank), as opposed to its earlier use as a title for the eldest son in the family. It is now used only e.g. in the addresses of letters, although the term *Mr* is more commonly employed. The *OED* further notes that *Mr* became the customary prefix to any man below the rank of knight in the seventeenth century. It is not certain when *esquire* and *Mr* became similar address forms, but on the basis of my study this appears to have happened in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century at the latest.

9. The *OED* gives examples of the use of *goodman* as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century (1702). Later usage appears to be either historical or poetic.

10. There are, of course, examples of the influence of mood even in the earlier centuries, as can be seen e.g. in Elizabeth of Bohemia's use of a mocking formula *thou ugly, filthy camel's face* to the Earl of Carlisle (see e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 578).

11. There are some examples of eighteenth-century superscriptions which include a kinship term, as in e.g. *to my wife.* In my opinion, this only indicates that the letter was most probably delivered by hand (by someone close), not by any postal services, in which case there is no need for a more detailed, and deferential, superscription.

12. In the current data, the last instance of the term *friend* is in John Evelyn's letter to Samuel Pepys in 1680. The last time a KT is used in a superscription occurs a year later in 1681; the user this time is Samuel Pepys, who addresses his brother-in-law's sister, Ester St. Michel, as *sister.*

13. In this case the solidarity perspective is based on the fact that in the material the term *brother* is used even between two archbishops.

14. Shiina (2003: 66–70) has studied the use of *friend* as a vocative in early English comedies, and found that it can be used as what she calls a "familiariser" from a superior to an inferior. However, when it occurs, for example in a dialogue between a wife and a husband, the situation is different. A shift from the address forms which are normally used to the use of *friend* seems to change the entire utterance into an aggressive one, and thus increases the distance between the spouses.

15. Youssef (1993: 273) notes that audience-oriented speech does not always have to be dependent on the immediate addressee as such: e.g. in her study, when children made different linguistic choices, the influence of other listeners (ratified) was in some cases equally, if not more, important than that of the addressee.

16. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1999: 107), Austin (2000: 52,57) and Nevalainen (2001: 220) have found that the models and formulas introduced by manuals were not always followed by letter-writers. The influence of epistolary conventions has most probably been more sporadic and indirect than consistent and self-evident.

17. In addition to letter-writing manuals, so-called conduct books included advice on how to use certain terms in public. In *The Rules of Civility* (1678: 33), for instance, it is made clear that words like *service* and *friendship* can only be used among equals or from a superior to inferior. (I am grateful for Dr Minna Palander-Collin for providing me with her notes on this book). Furthermore, it is not certain how much the disappearance of *friend* from general usage is due to the fact that it was commonly used by the Quakers as a solidarity marker. One explanation might also be that when its differentiated use became known to the public, people slowly stopped using it in letter superscriptions to distance themselves from a religious group like the Quakers.

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Yours sincerely and *yours affectionately*

On the origin and development
of two positive politeness markers[*]

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This article explores the history of *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately* as closing formulas in letters. It focuses especially on the rise of the formulas in the eighteenth century, tracing their origin as positive politeness devices which took the place of the pragmatised standard epistolary formula *Your most obedient humble servant*. The article will also try to find evidence for John Gay (1685–1732), writer and poet, being a linguistic innovator in terms of the research model of social network analysis as developed by Leslie Milroy (1987). It will be argued that John Gay might have been responsible for the adoption and subsequent spread in usage of the formula within his own social network, comprising Pope, Swift and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

1.   Introduction

"I beg my kindest respects to Mrs. Southey, and am always sincerely and affectionately yours, Walter Scott". This is the first instance of the use of *yours sincerely* in the subscription of letters that is provided by the *OED* (online edition, s.v. "sincerely", 2b), and it dates from 1817. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1999: 107), however, found that John Gay (1685–1732) used *yours sincerely* a hundred years before the *OED* reference, i.e. in 1714 in a letter to the Irish poet Parnell. She suggests that

> Gay's usage seems to represent an innovation here, and from the fact that he adopts Type 2 formulas [i.e. *yours most sincerely* and *yours affectionately*, see below] only in letters to his closest friends it appears that he wished to break with the routinised standard usage of *Your most humble Servant* and its variants. (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1999: 107)

Furthermore, she suggests that Gay might have been a linguistic innovator in terms of the social network model developed by Lesley Milroy (see Milroy 1987), and that

he was thus possibly responsible for the introduction of the formula in the literary circle to which he belonged along with Pope, Swift and Parnell. In this social network, with Gay as the linguistic innovator, Swift, Pope and Parnell would function as early adopters, the ones responsible for setting the norm in the network, subsequently causing the formula to spread further (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1999: 108).

In order to find out more about the history of the formula and its spread in usage, and to be able to try and determine whether John Gay was indeed responsible for introducing the new formula or not, I have looked at several databases containing information on *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately*. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1999: 106) classified the formulas *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately* under what she referred to as "Type 2" formulas, which "appear in three forms [in Gay's letters], as *Yours most sincerely* (1), *Yours most affectionately* (2) and as a combination of the two, *Yours most sincerely & (most) affectionately* (3)".

Type 1 formulas are those that Tieken-Boon van Ostade describes as *your most humble servant J(ohn) G(ay* and *I am / My Lord / your Lordship's / Most obedient & / Most oblig'd humble / Servant / J Gay* as a longer version (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1999: 104). The use of the shorter or longer version of Type 1, or the choice between Types 1 and 2, depends, Tieken-Boon van Ostade suggests, on the degree of deference that the writer wants to bestow on his addressee. Thus, the longer version of Type 1 formulas show a higher degree of negative politeness, in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, while Type 2 formulas show a higher degree of positive politeness in terms of the same theory.

2.   Background

2.1   The history of the formula

The first reference in the *OED* to *sincerely* in the subscription of letters in general is a hundred years older than the one mentioned above, dating from 1702: "Excuse all … defects in, sir, your most sincerely obedient Servant" (s.v. "sincerely", 2b), although the word here appears in a different function, i.e. as a modifier of *obedient*. The adverbial *sincerely* as such entered the English language fairly late, as the *OED* gives a sixteenth-century example as its first reference in the now obsolete meaning of "without falsification or perversion": "All bishops and curates should preach the gospell of Christe syncerlye and truly" (1535) (s.v. "sincerely", 1). The adjective *sincere* came into the language around the same time, for which the *OED* gives the earliest reference for 1533, "Master Wickliffe was noted …to be a man …of a very sincere life", in the meaning of "honest or straightforward" (s.v. "sincere", 4). Even the noun *sincerity* came into existence at roughly the same time,

as the *OED* gives a first reference for the year 1546: "That England might the better attain to the sincerity of Christ's doctrine", meaning "freedom from falsification" (s.v. "sincerity", 1). The *Middle English Dictionary* (online edition; *MED*), on the other hand, gives a much earlier date, i.e. a. 1425 with "Y say not that subtilite of sentence or mellifluous eloquence schal be expressede in hit, but sinceritie of deuocion schalle schewe obsequy to the matere" (s.v. "sinceritie").

Affectionately used in the subscription of letters is not recorded as such in the *OED*. The earliest reference for *affectionately* as an adverbial in the *OED* is from 1588, a little later in the sixteenth century than the first instance for *sincerely*. The quotation, "Their beholders ...while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones", illustrates the use of *affectionately* in the now obsolete meaning of "with strong inclination" (s.v. "affectionately", 1). The adjective *affectionate* entered the English language a hundred years earlier: 1494 is given by the *OED* as the date of the earliest attestation. It occurs in the quotation "Another of the affeccionat seruantes of kyng Lowys ... and thus two of the derest beloued seruantes" in the meaning of "held in affection, beloved" (s.v. "affectionate", I). The noun *affection* is much older, the *OED's* earliest reference dating from 1230 in the sense "An affecting or moving of the mind in any way": "þreo degrez beoð þerinne [in carnal desire] þe uorme is cogitaciun, þe oðer is affectiun, þe þridde is kunsence" (s.v. "affection", II 2a). The earliest reference in the *MED* is from 1340, a hundred years later than the *OED* instance, in the meaning of "that faculty of the soul concerned with emotion and volition": "the hete help tuo zides, the onderstondinge and the wyl — the skele and the affecioun".

Though neither source on the etymology of *sincerely* and *affectionately* always provides the dates for the oldest forms entering the language, it is clear that both words are relatively new to English. Neither of their root words appears before the thirteenth century, and they appear to have entered the English language as loanwords from French. The words *sincerely* and *affectionately* themselves were not in use before the sixteenth century. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Type 2 formulas, such as *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately*, came into use rather late as well, during the nineteenth century according to the *OED*.

2.2 John Gay's usage

John Gay used *yours sincerely* for the first time in a letter to Parnell in 1714 (ed. Burgess 1960: 7). He used the formula once more, in a letter to Francis Colman, the father of George Colman the elder, in 1721 (ed. Burgess 1960: 40). *Yours affectionately* appears seven times: the first time Gay used it is in a letter to his friend Pope in 1725 and then in a letter to William Fortescue in the same year (ed. Burgess 1960: 48 and 49). All the other instances are in letters to Swift from the years

1726/7, 1727/8, 1728, 1729/30 and 1730. The last letter, from 1730, is a letter written to Swift by Gay together with his patroness the Duchess of Queensberry (Burgess 1960: 99). However, they signed the letter separately, and the formula *Yours most Affectionately* occurs alongside Gay's initials JG.

The third variant, *Yours most sincerely & (most) affectionately*, appears three times, all in letters to Swift, in 1726, 1729 and 1730. Thus, in 81 letters, Gay used the Type 2 formula twelve times. All the letters in which Gay used this formula are addressed to Gay's close friends, i.e. Swift, Pope, Parnell, and to Francis Colman, although the position of Colman in Gay's social network remains rather a mystery.

3.   Method and Material

In order to trace the origin of the so-called Type 2 formula and its variants, *yours sincerely*, *sincerely yours*, *yours affectionately* and *affectionately yours*, I have looked at databases that contain letters, whether literary ones, such in as the Chadwyck-Healey database, or actual correspondence, such as the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), which contains English letters from 1420 until 1681, and the CEEC Extension, which covers the eighteenth century. In addition, I have used the *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (ed. Williams 1963–1965) and *Letters of Alexander Pope* (ed. Butt 1960), as neither of these two writers is represented in the corpora mentioned above, while both are very important in John Gay's social network. Thus, to find out whether Gay is indeed a linguistic innovator with respect to the use of Type 2 formula, the two main figures in his network have to be included in this study.

The Chadwyck-Healey Literature Online database contains more than 300,000 works in American and British prose, drama and poetry. I have used the Individual Literature Collections, and searched them for *yours fby* (i.e. "followed by") *sincerely*, *sincerely fby yours*, *affectionately fby yours* and *yours fby affectionately*. This way, longer forms of the formula, such as *Yours ever very sincerely* would be included in the search, as well as shorter forms such as *Yours sincerely*. I have only searched the collections from the start of a particular collection up to the nineteenth century; I thus excluded the twentieth-century collections, as it is clear that the formula had by then become common usage. The collections I have used are: American Poetry (1600–1900), American Drama (1714–1911), Early American Fiction (1789–1850), Early English Prose Fiction (1500–1700), Eighteenth-Century Fiction (1700–1780), English Drama (1280–1915), English Poetry, Second Edition (600–1999) and Nineteenth-Century Fiction (1782–1903). Table 1 below shows the collections and the number of works the online database contains.

As can be seen, it will be very difficult to judge the results coming from the

Table 1. The Chadwyck-Healey Individual Literature Collections

Collection	Number of works
American Poetry (1600-1900)	40,000 poems by 200 authors
American Drama (1714-1911)	711 plays
Early American Fiction (1789-1850)	440 titles by 80 authors
Early English Prose Fiction (1500-1700)	200 works in fictional prose
Eighteenth-Century Fiction (1700-1780)	96 works in English prose
English Drama (1280-1915)	4,000 plays by 1,200 authors
English Poetry, Second Edition (600-1999)	183,000 poems by over 2,700 poets
Nineteenth-Century Fiction (1782-1903)	250 novels

individual collections, for none of the collections are equal with respect to the time they cover or in the number of works they contain. Also, the type of text is very different in each collection. For instance, it will be difficult to compare the results from the American Poetry collection (spanning 200 years and containing 40,000 poems by 200 authors) to the results from Early American Fiction (spanning 61 years and containing 440 titles by 80 authors). However, the collections will, I expect, serve well as a general outline for the history in usage of the Type 2 formula and its variants.

The two other databases I looked at are the CEEC and the CEEC Extension (CEECE). CEEC contains letters written between c. 1410 and 1681 and was completed by 1998. It has 2.7 million running words from 778 writers (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996 and Keränen 1998).[1] The CEEC Extension is based on the same principles as the CEEC, but this collection aims to cover the eighteenth century only. Unfortunately, at the time I did my research for the present article, the collection was not yet available as a database, but only in collection-based files. I therefore looked at eighteen different files from CEEC Extension, and in Table 2 below I have listed the names of the files, the total number of letters included, the number of correspondents in each file and the period the letters cover. The file name is the name of the person or family from whose correspondence the letters were taken, but this does not necessarily mean that all letters in the file were written by that person or family only. Thus, in the file of Robert Dodsley there are 154 letters, written by ten different people, amongst whom Robert Dodsley himself. In the discussion, a differentiation as to who wrote what will be made, whenever it is important to the results.

Finally, I have looked at the correspondence of two of Gay's closest friends, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift. In Butt's (1960) edition of Pope's letters there are altogether 226 letters from Pope to a number of correspondents. I have only analysed Pope's correspondence with the purpose of finding all the instances of the Type 2 formula.

Table 2. The files from CEEC Extension

Name	Number of letters	Number of correspondents	Time span
Joseph Addison	40	1	1699–1718
Jane Austen	27	1	1796–1800
Banks family	99	23	1710–1740
Charles Burney	47	1	1762–1784
Fanny Burney	72	3	1774–1800
Robert Dodsley	154	10	1743–1764
Eliza Draper	19	2	1762–1773
Essex Pauper Letters	11	11	1731–1795
David Garrick	94	1	1733–1777
Edward Gibbon	60	1	1750–1792
Lady Melbourne	11	1	1776–1795
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	204	2	1710–1761
Newdigate Family	62	1	1731–1797
Eliza Pierce	37	4	1751–1771
Purefoy Family	111	3	1736–1752
Hester Thrale	70	3	1784–1798
Ignatio Sancho	44	1	1768–1780
Wentworth Family	174	9	1705–1739

As for Jonathan Swift, I have used Williams's edition (1963–1965) to compile a small corpus of Swift's letters, which consists of 205 letters to and from Swift, with a total of roughly 94,500 words. The corpus contains only those letters which Williams (1963–65:I, xxi–lxx) indicated had been taken from autograph sources. Table 3 below shows the correspondents, the number of letters and the time span during which the letters were written. As there are two files containing a collection

Table 3. Jonathan Swift and his correspondents

Name	Number of letters	Time span
Swift to John Barber	11	1732–1739
Swift to Charles Ford	18	1711–1733
Swift to Mrs. Howard	12	1726–1731
Swift to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford	19	1724–1738
Swift, collection of early letters	15	1692–1726
Swift to women	15	1709–1737
John Arbuthnot to Swift	18	1713–1734
John Gay to Swift	18	1714–1732
Elizabeth Germain to Swift	27	1730–1736
Collection of female correspondents to Swift (17)	36	1712–1737
Collection of male correspondents to Swift (9)	16	1708–1739

of different correspondents, I have indicated behind the filename the number of correspondents in that file. All the other files contain only one correspondent.

4.   Results

In order to facilitate the presentation and discussion of the results of my analysis, I subdivide what Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1999: 106) called "Type 2" formulas, i.e. all variants of *yours sincerely* and *yours affectionately*, into four different forms:

Formula 1: *yours* followed by *sincerely*
Formula 2: *yours* followed by *affectionately*
Formula 3: *sincerely* followed by *yours*
Formula 4: *affectionately* followed by *yours.*

Table 4 and Figure 1 show the results for formulas 1 to 4 for the Chadwyck-Healey database. The time-span, in which the results occur in the Chadwyck-Healey database, has been divided into fifty-year periods; the Individual Collections have not been indicated. As explained above, the size as well as the contents of the Individual Collections varies considerably; consequently, it has been possible to present the figures below only as absolute figures. Though they are not meaningful in their own right, they do show certain tendencies in usage, which may be verified by comparing them to the figures obtained from the CEEC and the CEEC Extension.

As can be seen from Table 4 and Figure 1, the Chadwyck-Healey database does not give any results for any of the four types of formulas for the sixteenth century. It does, however, give three instances for the seventeenth century. The CEEC, which does not go beyond the seventeenth century, does not give any results for any of the formulas, either for the earlier period as in the case of the Chadwyck-Healey database, or for the seventeenth century.

Table 4. Results for the Chadwyck-Healey database

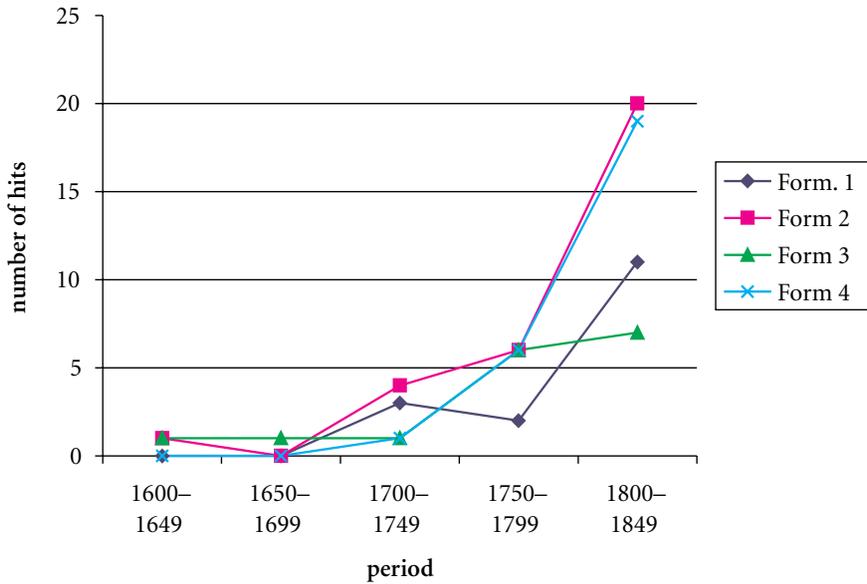| Period	Formula 1	Formula 2	Formula 3	Formula 4
1500–1550	0	0	0	0
1550–1600	0	0	0	0
1600–1650	0	1	1	0
1650–1700	0	0	1	0
1700–1750	3	4	1	1
1750–1800	2	6	6	6
1800–1850	11	20	7	19
1850–1900	40	53	16	23
Total	56	84	32	49

Figure 1. Results for the Chadwyck-Healey database

The CEEC Extension, which covers the eighteenth century, does have results for all of the formulas, as is shown in Table 5 and Figure 2. Here, the material has been divided into decades in order to make it easier to detect what is going on during the century as a whole. Furthermore, in order to see the relative importance of the absolute number of instances in the CEEC Extension, percentages have been provided in brackets for each formula per period. Thus, to give an example, in the decade 1720–1730, formula 4 occurs in three of the 44 letters

Table 5. Results for the CEEC Extension

| Decade	Total number of letters	Formula 1	Formula 2	Formula 3	Formula 4	Total
1700–1709	62	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0
1710–1719	200	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0
1720–1729	44	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (6.8)	3 (6.8)
1730–1739	126	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0
1740–1749	169	3 (1.8)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	6 (3.6)
1750–1759	237	7 (3.0)	4 (1.7)	9 (3.8)	18 (7.6)	38 (16.0)
1760–1769	131	1 (0.8)	4 (3.1)	4 (3.1)	19 (14.5)	28 (21.4)
1770–1779	145	3 (2.1)	7 (4.8)	2 (1.4)	3 (2.1)	15 (10.3)
1780–1789	69	0 (0)	5 (7.2)	0 (0)	3 (4.3)	8 (11.6)
1790–1800	144	1 (0.7)	19 (13.2)	0 (0)	14 (9.7)	34 (23.6)
Total	1327	15 (1.1)	40 (3.0)	16 (1.2)	61 (4.6)	132 (9.9)
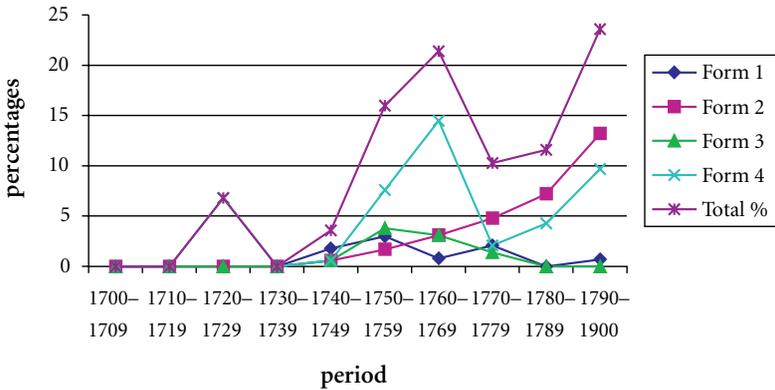
Figure 2. Results for the CEEC Extension in percentages

included, amounting to 6.8%.

Finally, the results for the correspondence of Swift and Pope are shown in Tables 6 and 7. The name of the correspondent has been given, as well as the type of formula (i.e. Formulas 1–4) and the year in which the letter in question was written.

Table 6. Results for Jonathan Swift's correspondence

Correspondent	Type	Date
John Arbuthnot to Swift	4	1729
Lady Elizabeth Germain to Swift	4	1732
Jonathan Swift (to Charles Ford)	4	1732
Duchess of Queensberry to Swift	4	1733

Table 7. Results for Alexander Pope's correspondence

Correspondent	Type	Year
Alexander Pope	3	1714
Alexander Pope	2	1719
Alexander Pope	2	1730/1
Alexander Pope	3	1736
Alexander Pope	3	1736

5.   Discussion

It is clear from the Chadwyck-Healey database that the absolute number of instances for all four types of formulas increases in the second half of the eighteenth century. The data, such as they are, suggest a rapid increase for the nineteenth century, which supports the information provided by the *OED*. Formula 3 (*sincere-*

ly yours), however, does not seem to be as popular as the others, and its increase is much more gradual for the nineteenth century than that of the other formulas. Also, Formula 1 (*yours sincerely*) is not as popular as the two formulas containing *affectionately*. Interestingly, Formula 3 is one of the formulas that was first used in the first half of the seventeenth century. Its earliest reference is from 1621, and comes from Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania*, which can be found in the Early English Prose collection.

Thus, Formula 3 appears for the first time in the seventeenth century together with Formula 2 (*yours affectionately*), which can be found in Nicholas Breton's letter to his publisher in the front matter of *A Dialogue Full of Pithe and Pleasure* (1603) in the English Drama collection. There is one other instance of Type 2 formulas in the seventeenth century, a Formula 3, as well. It comes from the Early English Prose collection, and appears in Mary Manley and Richardson Pack's *Letters* (1696). The reference from Nicholas Breton is particularly interesting as he also published a book with fictional letters called *A Post with a Packet of Mad Letters* (1602). This book appeared after the first French letter-writing manuals had been translated into English in the sixteenth century. Manuals such as William Fulwood's *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568) and Angel Day's *The English Secretorie* (1586) remained popular well into the seventeenth century, and similar manuals were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the first manuals were translated from French into English in Nicholas Breton's time, it may therefore well be that Type 2 formulas were inspired by similar usages in French.

The earliest reference for Type 2 formulas for the eighteenth century dates from 1714 and appears in Charles Gildon's *A New Rehearsal* in the English Drama collection. The instances after this one are from the 1720s with *yours most affectionately* in Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flaunders* (1722) in the Eighteenth-century Fiction collection and with *Sincerely yours* in Eliza Haywood's *The Masquaraders* (1725) from the same collection. There are two instances for the 1730s, for Formulas 1 and 2, and all the other instances for the eighteenth century are from the 1740s onward.

Thus, it is now clear why the CEEC, which does not go beyond the seventeenth century, does not have any instances to Type 2 formulas. The Chadwyck-Healey database, which is much larger than the CEEC, has only three instances for Type 2 formulas in the seventeenth century. These instances appear in collections that contain drama and fiction, whereas the CEEC only contains letters. This does not mean that the Type 2 formulas were unknown to "real" letter writers, because for Type 2 formulas to occur in fiction and drama they had to be familiar enough to the readers for them to recognise the formulas. They just were not very common yet.

As the Chadwyck-Healey database shows, Type 2 formulas became more popular during the eighteenth century and this is indeed reflected in the CEEC

Extension, which also has quite a few instances. Overall, the CEEC Extension shows the same pattern for Type 2 formulas as the Chadwyck-Healey database. For instance, it displays an increase in usage towards the end of the century, and here too, Formulas 1 and 3 are the least popular, with almost no rise at all towards the end of the century, as Figures 1 and 2 show. Nevertheless, the Type 2 formulas remain a marginal feature throughout the CEEC Extension, with no more than 23.6 percent usage of Type 2 formulas at their highest point. Unsurprisingly, this is found in the last period before the nineteenth century.

The peak that occurs between 1750 and 1770 is caused by Robert Dodsley's collection. It is his correspondence that accounts for 25 of all the 37 instances of Formula 4 between 1750 and 1770. The Dodsley collection is one of the largest collections in the CEEC Extension, with 145 letters from ten different writers. It covers almost exactly the period between 1750 and 1770 since the collection dates from 1743 till 1764. This means that from the 368 letters between 1750–1770 contained in the CEEC Extension at the time this study was carried out, almost 40% come from the Dodsley collection, which gives an imbalance to the numbers in Table 5. Whether or not Formula 4 is typical of Dodsley and his correspondents is something that deserves to be further investigated.

The earliest reference to a Type 2 formula in the CEEC Extension dates from 1721, when Lady Mary Wortley Montagu signed a letter to her sister with *affectionately yours* (Formula 3). She did the same in two more letters, dating from 1723 and 1726. However, all the other 201 letters in her correspondence have traditional Type 1 formulas (i.e. the occurrence of Type 2 formulas in Lady Wortley's collection is 1.5%). David Garrick is the one who used a Type 2 formula next, in 1741, when he signed a letter to a family member with *yrs sincerely* (Formula 1). Garrick's distribution of Type 2 formulas is 28.7% (with 27 instances in 94 letters), his favourite formula being number 3 (12.8%). The correspondent with the highest usage of Type 2 formulas is Jane Austen, with a total of 55.6% (15 instances in 27 letters), all of them Formulas 2 and 3, in letters to her sister. Jane Austen, however, wrote her letters in the last few years of the eighteenth century and her figures anticipate those found for the nineteenth century.

Finally, the usage of Type 2 formulas in the correspondence of Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope may be discussed. Obviously, the number of occurrences is very low as there are only four instances in the Swift collection, which is 2.0% of the total number of letters in his collection, and only five instances in Pope's correspondence, which is 2.2% of the total of all closing formulas in his collection. However, these two collections of letters are from the early part of the century, and if they are compared to contemporary collections in the CEEC Extension, such as those of the Banks family (0%), the Wentworth family (0%) and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1.5%), the Swift collection and Pope's correspondence are

similar in their usage. John Gay, however, uses a Type 2 formula twelve times in 81 letters, in a collection which dates from 1705 to 1732, which is 14.8% of the total of closing formulas in his correspondence. Gay's figures could be compared to collections such as those of Eliza Pierce (16.2%), Fanny Burney (18.1%) and Edward Gibbon (16.7%). These collections, however, are from the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, it seems that John Gay might have been ahead of his time after all in his use of Type 2 formulas.

As I mentioned above when discussing John Gay's usage, Type 2 formulas appear to have been a new way of expressing positive politeness to friends and family as compared to the more negative politeness expressed in Type 1 formulas. The CEEC Extension, for instance, seems to confirm this, as most of the letters in which a Type 2 formula was found are addressed to family or close friends. Such letters are coded in the CEEC Extension as FN (nuclear family), FO (non-nuclear family) and TC (close friends) and 114 of the letters that have a Type 2 formula (132 in total) have been coded as such (86.4%).

The Chadwyck-Healey database, on the other hand, reveals another distinction, i.e. not between Type 1 and Type 2 formulas, but between Formulas 1 and 3 on the one hand, and Formulas 2 and 4 on the other, between *sincerely* and *affectionately*. Within the Chadwyck-Healey collections, it seems that Formulas 2 and 4 are more often used to family members, lovers and friends, while Formulas 1 and 3 are more often used to addressees who can be identified as acquaintances, including business acquaintances, and even enemies. Of course, as the Chadwyck-Healey database does not have any codings and certainly not a coding for the relationship between two correspondents, it is very hard to judge the relationship between the writer and the addressee in a small piece of text. However, roughly speaking, the overall impression seems to confirm this distribution.

It would seem likely that the CEEC Extension shows a similar distribution, with Formulas 1 and 3, the more negatively polite formulas, used to acquaintances and family members with higher power, such as when a son writes to his father (see also Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995:584). Formulas 2 and 4, the more seemingly positively polite formulas, would then be used between relatives, such as between sisters, or between close friends. However, it is hard to find such a distribution in the CEEC Extension. All the formulas occur in letters coded with mainly FN and TC, and there does not seem to be a difference in that respect between Formulas 1 and 3, and Formulas 2 and 4. It may be that the sample from the CEEC Extension is too small to display such a distribution, but it may also be that, as the Chadwyck-Healey mainly covers the nineteenth century while the CEEC Extension only covers the eighteenth century, the distinction in usage between formulas with *sincerely* and formulas with *affectionately* reflects a development over time. This would make sense if the eighteenth century is considered to

be the age in which the Formula is first used and the nineteenth century as the age in which its usage expanded rapidly in general and became more restricted in the details of its usage. In other words, from an expression of positive politeness, Type 2 formulas developed a distinction amongst its variants into expressions of negative and positive politeness.

6.   Conclusion

The *OED* is clearly in the wrong when dating the origin of *yours sincerely* as a subscription in letters to the nineteenth century and omitting forms of *yours affectionately* as a closing formula completely. Type 2 formulas can be found throughout the eighteenth century and traced back as early as 1603. It may well be that the form originates from French, as the Nicholas Breton connection possibly indicates. It would be very interesting to trace Type 2 formulas in letter-writing manuals from the nineteenth century back to the first manuals in English in the sixteenth century and their French equivalents.

Type 2 formulas show an increase in usage throughout the period investigated, but they became especially popular in the nineteenth century, and subsequently *yours sincerely* became a standard formal closing in the twentieth century. The Type 2 formulas started their development as an innovative closing formula, showing positive politeness to friends and family in the eighteenth century, then split in usage into positive politeness (Formulas 2 and 4) and negative politeness (Formulas 1 and 3) in the nineteenth century, with the *sincerely* formula ending as a rather formal, negatively polite and old-fashioned closing convention in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

It was suggested in the beginning of this article that possibly John Gay was the first to use Type 2 formulas and would therefore count as a linguistic innovator. It was also suggested that within Gay's social network, Swift and Pope might have functioned as early adopters, as they were influential norm-setters in this network. Swift and Pope could therefore have been responsible for making Type 2 formulas acceptable to the network as a whole and thus responsible for its spread in usage.

Interestingly, all the early correspondents in the CEEC Extension, Swift's collection and the Pope correspondence who use a Type 2 formula were part of John Gay's social network. Swift and Pope were his close friends, John Arbuthnot was a friend, Lady Germain was part of the network through Swift, though she may have known Gay in another capacity. The Duchess of Queensberry was Gay's patron and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was a correspondent of Pope's and had been acquainted with Gay since 1715 (Nokes 1995: 223). The early instances in the Chadwyck-Healey database, however, contributed by Nicholas Breton, Mary Manley, Lady Mary Wroth and Daniel Defoe, do not seem to have anything to do

with Gay, Swift or Pope.

Therefore, John Gay obviously was not the first to use Type 2 formulas, but he may well have been the first to use these formulas in his social network and as such functioned as a linguistic innovator within the social network to which he belonged. Gay used a Type 2 formula for the first time in 1714. The only other member of the network to use a Type 2 formula as early as this is his close friend Alexander Pope (also in 1714). The others, including Swift and Lady Wortley Montagu, followed about ten to twenty years later. This is, however, still earlier than in the other letter collections in the CEEC Extension examined here.

Thus, in short, it may be possible that Gay functioned as a linguistic innovator within his social network. There is nothing in the material collected here to contradict this possibility. It is harder to prove that Swift and Pope functioned as early adopters, as Gay and Pope seem to have started the use of Type 2 formulas around the same time. For all we know, it may have been Pope who first used the formula and Gay who took it up. However, Gay's use of Type 2 formulas is much more frequent than Pope's (14.8% versus 2.2%). More research into Gay's social network and the networks related to it is obviously needed to find out whether Gay functioned as a linguistic innovator with respect to usages other than *yours sincerely*.

More research is also needed to determine why and when *yours sincerely* developed from a positive politeness marker into a routine marker of formal correspondence. The fate of such *pragmatised* forms and constructions may be that they will eventually disappear, as in the case of the comparable process of grammaticalisation; this is a development that actually seems to be in progress now with *sincerely*.[2]

Notes

1. For recent information on CEEC, see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003:44).

2. For the term *pragmatisation*, see Raumolin-Brunberg (1996:167).

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"The pleasure of receiving your favour"

The colonial exchange
in eighteenth-century natural history

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The article deals with correspondence in natural history in the eighteenth century between England and North America. The corpus discussed consists of correspondence between John Bartram and Peter Collinson, and between Alexander Garden and John Ellis. The approach used in the study is qualitative and rhetorical; the main point considered is how the letters construct scientific centre and periphery in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. A central concept is the "colonial exchange", whereby "raw materials" from the colonies — in this case plant and animal specimens, along with proposed identifications and names — are exchanged for "finished products", in this case codified scientific knowledge contained in publications.

> It is certainly to great advantage when Brethren of the same profession doe correspond and communicate their thoughts to one another this tends to their mutual satisfaction and the further advancement of the science they design to improve.
>
> (Patrick Blair to James Petiver, 24 February 1714. BL Sloane Papers.)
>
> You say you know several gentlemen that would exchange books for seeds. If they [sic] be seeds to be found here, you may depend on my procuring them if they agree to that condition.
>
> (Alexander Garden to John Ellis, 25 March 1755; in Smith 1821:I:346)

1. Introduction

The Early Modern period witnessed the emergence of several new genres, among them two which grew out of an originally epistolary form: journalism and scientific writing. Even today, letters are visible in both forms of publication, transparently

or camouflaged; news items are contributed by "foreign correspondents", and scientific journals generally include a correspondence column for purposes of debate and brief contributions.

Correspondence continued to play a major role in scientific writing and publication for a considerable period. In fact, correspondence has probably always been an important form of communication for members of the community who wish to discuss their work informally with colleagues prior to formal publication.[1] Along with other aspects of epistolary discourse, this informal correspondence can offer insight into the "contingent repertoire" (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984) of the scientific community, i.e. how scientists talk informally and "off-record" about their work, in contrast to the formal "empirical repertoire" used in public. Today the two repertoires are strictly separate at least in writing; in spoken scientific discourse, for instance at a conference, the contingent repertoire sometimes replaces the empirical one in the discussion following a formal paper. From the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, however, the two repertoires — insofar as they existed — were less strictly separated. The reasons for this are partly bound up with the epistolary origins of scientific writing, and with the complexity of the process whereby a "private" letter was transformed into a publicly disseminated text.

In a historical context, scientific correspondence can be analysed from two perspectives, corresponding to the private/personal and public/social faces of discourse. At the interpersonal level we can examine such aspects as forms of address or the pragmatics of politeness; at the social and cultural level, we can focus on ways in which the letters construct scientific knowledge and at the same time a centre and a periphery in the natural history of their time. In this article, I explore some aspects, both private and public, of a small corpus of eighteenth-century correspondence in natural history in and around the Royal Society.

2. Corpus and approaches

The letters are derived from three sources: (1) the corpus established for Valle (1999), consisting of fifty texts published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society during 1765–1768; (2) the correspondence between Peter Collinson and John Bartram, consisting of 276 letters from the years 1733–1768; and (3) the correspondence between John Ellis and Alexander Garden, consisting of 66 letters from the years 1755–1775.

The Bartram/Collinson letters are contained in Bartram (1992); Collinson's side of the correspondence is also available in part in Collinson (2002). I have used the Bartram volume as my primary source, since it preserves the original spelling,

punctuation and other accidentals; the Collinson volume has been edited to make it more "accessible" to the modern reader. In addition, the Collinson volume is a selection of 200 out of the more than 1000 surviving letters written by Peter Collinson, "to provide a convenient picture of his interests and influences", while the Bartram volume purports to contain all the surviving correspondence of John Bartram, both as writer and as recipient. I have used the Collinson volume as a convenient source because I have access to it in electronic form,[2] but have checked the text of the letters against the Bartram edition and modified them accordingly.

The Garden/Ellis letters are taken from Smith (1821). This two-volume edition contains many letters which either are no longer extant or are scattered around diverse libraries and archives. It also offers an almost contemporary perspective; the editor, James Smith, was personally acquainted with Linnæus and with many of his English correspondents. Use of this volume, however, is problematic in two respects. First of all, the letters have been selected for their "importance" and "interest" with regard to natural history, from the perspective of the early nineteenth century. The second drawback is that the letters have evidently been edited to omit material considered too personal or perhaps embarrassing; they have also been edited according to contemporary editorial principles, meaning that "mistakes" have been corrected and the spelling and punctuation normalised according to early nineteenth-century standards. Nevertheless the Smith edition is very valuable for anyone interested in the correspondence of eighteenth-century natural historians.[3]

It should be emphasised, however, that this is not a corpus study in the strict sense. At least at this point it is qualitative and descriptive rather than quantitative. Only part of the corpus has been computerised, and in any case the kinds of things I am primarily concerned with are difficult or impossible to identify in terms of specific strings. The analysis has been carried out "manually", using printed editions of the correspondence; in some cases, the text has been checked against the original manuscript letter in the archives of the Royal Society, the Linnæan Society or the Natural History Museum in London.

The general theoretical framework adopted in the article is to view this correspondence as a form of social practice within a discourse community (e.g. Fairclough 2003:21–38); such a perspective has been applied in a context of scientific writing for instance by Ken Hyland (2000, 2002) and John Swales (in particular Swales 1998). What I am attempting is a "thick", "situated" description of the correspondence, in terms of the objectives and needs of the discourse community within which it occurs.

The analysis falls into three parts. I first focus on the macrostructure of the letters and on personal, private aspects of the correspondence; I then discuss some aspects of the process whereby private correspondence was transformed into pub-

lished texts. Finally, I explore the construction through correspondence of what can be called a "colonial exchange" in the domain of scientific knowledge. To begin with, however, it is necessary to briefly examine the general background within which this particular discourse community is situated.

3.   The community context: Correspondence in and around the Royal Society

Correspondence was important to the early Royal Society in general, both as a means of maintaining contact among a widespread community and as a writing genre commonly used in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Many experimental reports were published in epistolary form (Atkinson 1999: 81–84,128–130). Correspondence was especially important in natural history because of the far-flung nature of both the discourse community and the objects of study (plant and animal species). While experiments in natural philosophy were by and large performed in London and testified to by credible witnesses (Shapin and Schaffer 1985, Shapin 1994), natural history involved the collection of new specimens at the colonial periphery, their transportation to Europe, and their appropriation through naming and classification, in European metropolitan centres such as London, Paris or Uppsala. Closely related, and often carried on by the same individuals, was the more utilitarian and indeed commercial practice of importing plants, usually in the form of seeds, for planting in European gardens, and of animals — live or stuffed — for display in private collections. Non-living specimens — animal bones, dried herbaria, rocks and fossils as well as human artefacts belonging to "primitive" and "savage" peoples — were placed in private cabinets and collections of "curiosities", which later evolved into public museums.[4] The letters, and illustrations of the specimens, were published in books and journals, in particular the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. Both physical specimens and written knowledge thus became part of European, western cultural capital.[5] The process through which this took place involved practical activities, sometimes physically strenuous and even dangerous (e.g. Pratt 1992); at the same time, it always involved writing, generally in the form of letters. Latour (1987) and Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), among others, have pointed out the centrality of writing, along with practical activities, to the practising of science; in Early and Late Modern natural history, this writing takes to a great extent an epistolary form.

The sheer volume of the correspondence is staggering. The *Calendar* of the Banks correspondence (Dawson 1958) contains some 7500 items, and these are mostly letters *received* by Banks and therefore located in London or at least Great Britain (letters *written* by Banks are scattered around the world). Browne (2002: 11)

estimates that "Darwin wrote or received some fourteen thousand letters that are still in existence in libraries the world over, and there must have been as many again now lost to posterity". The Sloane correspondence, located in the British Library, numbers tens of thousands of items. The archives of the Royal Society, the Natural History Museum and the Linnæan Society (to mention just the main repositories of these letters located in London) contain innumerable folio volumes of manuscript letters. While some of these letters (primarily those involving prominent scientific figures) have been described or even published, the great majority have never been seen by anyone apart from their original recipient(s).

Correspondence was thus linked with practical activity; it is also linked with the various forms of discourse practised in natural history, in this case in the Royal Society and its circle. These discourses can be tabulated as shown in Figure 1.

Oral ⟵		⟶ Written
Formal ↑	*Presentations, discussions and conversations* taking place within a relatively small group (a few dozen participants) at weekly meetings of the Royal Society. Often based on letters received by participants or written by them and read before being sent.	"Accounts" and "papers", sometimes in epistolary form; in the seventeenth century mainly voiced by the editor or the recipient, in the eighteenth century by the writer himself or the recipient. Letters were addressed to the Royal Society as a body, to the Secretary or President, or to a personal addressee. They were sometimes but not always read in the meetings, recorded in the Journal Book and/or published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.
Informal ↓	*Conversations* taking place within the same or a slightly larger group meeting outside the Royal Society, especially in coffee-houses. To a lesser extent linked with letters.	*Letters* circulating among a correspondence network. Although two "adjacent" members of the chain were almost always acquainted (letters were not sent to strangers), some members of the network were strangers to each other. This to some extent determined the formality/informality of the letters and the occurrence of personal material.

Figure 1. Forms of discourse in the early Royal Society.

The letter thus plays a role in all four sectors: formal and informal, oral and written. In the discourse of the early Royal Society, the boundaries between orality and literacy, between private and public discourse, and between epistolary and non-epistolary genres, were relatively loosely defined. Letters from correspondents, both acquaintances and strangers, entered into the oral discourse of the meetings and the written and/or printed discourse of the community; in the other direction,

letters written by members of the face-to-face community might be read in the meetings before being sent. The face-to-face community might also entrust a member with the task of writing a letter to a correspondent, either requesting or transmitting information.[6] Since the letters were expected to circulate among a group, not all of whose members were necessarily familiar with each other, they gradually took on a fairly standardised form; personal and family news tended to be located at the beginning and end of the letter, while the core of the letter contained scientific information and was more formal in style. It was thus easy to copy the middle part for circulation, leaving out the more private material. For instance first-person and second-person forms are most common at the beginning and end. This practice, however, is by no means universal; both in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, features of "involvement" and "situatedness" occur throughout the letters, even in their published and printed versions.

The importance of epistolary networks has been referred to several times. These networks remain central to communication in natural history from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, after which the public functions of the correspondence are taken over by published journals; correspondence continues to thrive, but tends now to be bipolar rather than interstitial, and to use the contingent rather than the empirical repertoire.[7] These networks consist of from three to a dozen participants; there is usually a central mediating figure, who is himself a member of the group. But the different webs are overlapping rather than separate, and active individuals tend to belong to more than one colliteration:[8] thus Garden is at the centre of one network (Figure 2), but also at the periphery of others, with Ellis or Collinson at the center. And such men as Oldenburg, Sloane, Linnæus and Banks can be described as "super-mediators", participating in dozens of overlapping colliterations.

4.   John Bartram and Peter Collinson

In this and the following section, I discuss in more detail two sets of correspondence, both crossing between North America and Great Britain: that between John Bartram and Peter Collinson, and that between Alexander Garden and John Ellis.[9] The corpus is described above in Section 2. Here I first give some background on the individuals involved, and then discuss some central aspects of the letters.

Peter Collinson was born in London in 1694, into a Quaker family.[10] As a young man he succeeded to his father's business as haberdasher and mercer. His love for and knowledge of natural history was based on reading, conversation, correspondence and practical work in his own garden. This dedication to natural history led to his election in 1728 to the Royal Society. He had a voracious and indiscriminate
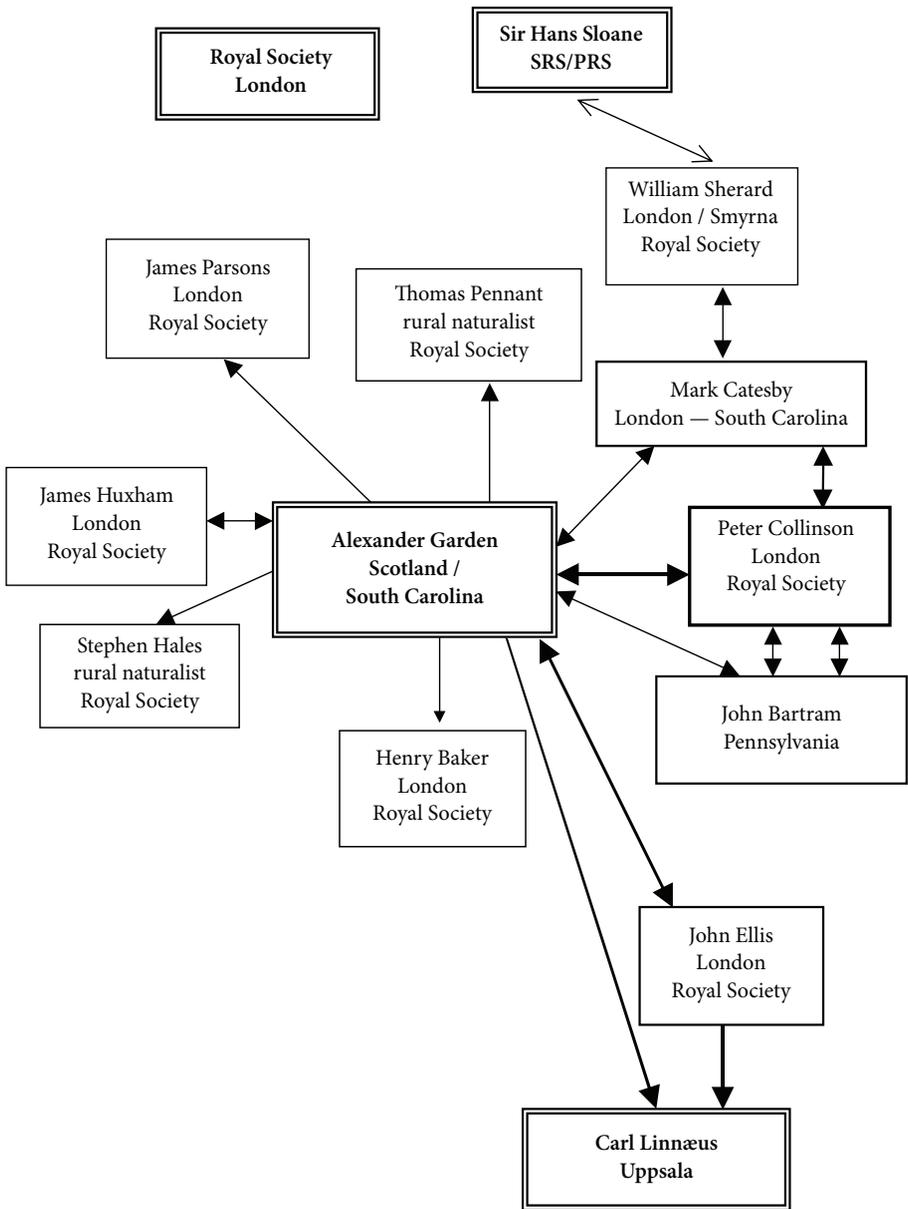
Figure 2. Colliteration centered on Alexander Garden. Thickness of arrows reflects size and importance of correspondence.

appetite for news of natural history, and an even greater covetousness for new plant specimens and seeds, to be distributed among his friends and patrons as well as planted in his own garden. Swem (1949: 154–6) gives a list of Collinson's correspon-

dents, showing the wide scope of the correspondence geographically, socially and scientifically. The total number of correspondents listed by Swem is more than one hundred, and he does not claim that it is exhaustive.

Collinson's most frequent epistolary partner, John Bartram, is described by Swem (1949:25) as a "courageous pioneer in American science, a native, self-taught genius, who became the leading authority on natural history in … colonial America … [a] modest Pennsylvania farmer, sustained by an intense philosophic, not sanctimonious, admiration of the universe". Bartram was born in 1699, into a Quaker family who had come to America in the wake of Sir William Penn in 1683. His formal education took place in the small local Quaker school. He later described himself as having an intense interest in botany for its medical applications; he was frustrated by lack of access to scientific books (Bartram 1992:xii).

After his wife and older son died in 1727, Bartram bought a farm near Philadelphia. During one of his frequent visits to the city he made the acquaintance of Joseph Breintnall, who was also one of Collinson's correspondents. Collinson was looking for someone to supply him with North American plants; Breintnall brought him and Bartram together.

The Bartram-Collinson correspondence begins in 1733 and continues up to the death of Collinson in 1768, at the age of 74; Bartram himself died in 1777, aged 78. The correspondence thus covers a period of 35 years in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as almost half of the life-span of both men — beginning when both are in the prime of life, in their late 30s, and continuing into old age.

Neither of the men had a professional background in natural history or any other scientific field. Likewise neither had any institutional or official backing, although Collinson was active in the Royal Society and communicated many of Bartram's letters to them. Bartram was basically a Pennsylvania farmer, Collinson a London merchant; for both, natural history was a serious avocation. For Bartram it was also a badly needed source of extra income. Swem (1949) cites the earliest serious biographer of Collinson, Norman Brett-James' *Life of Peter Collinson* (1925), as giving a list of sixty subscribers to parcels of seeds ordered from Bartram during 1736–1766. Collinson acted in all cases as intermediary, with no (monetary) compensation.

The letters on both sides of the correspondence tend to be relatively long, in particular those from Collinson. They were obviously written over several days or even weeks, as time allowed; they wander from topic to topic, and sometimes have several postscripts as Collinson returns to a topic he earlier abandoned. The orthography and punctuation is haphazard; Collinson, for instance, rarely uses a full-stop at the end of the sentence, but merely uses a dash or leaves a longer space on the line, followed by a capital letter. The text in fact seems to approximate

spoken discourse, in being paratactic rather than hypotactic;[11] the writer is indeed "talking" to his friend.

Some of the features of the letters are fairly predictable. For instance, almost all of them deal to a greater or lesser extent with the details of collecting, preserving, packing and shipping specimens; Bartram tells Collinson what he is sending, Collinson replies with information as to the condition in which the plants have arrived and what he intends to do with them, as well as presenting orders and requests for the next shipment. The later letters also contain personal and even intimate details; the men have become friends. Nevertheless the relationship remains one of centre and periphery.

Many aspects of the letters are related to some form of *exchange*, and one important objective seems to be to ensure that this exchange is seen by both parties as equitable and fair. The "goods" that are exchanged include the following:

– natural specimens (plant and animal; living, preserved and seeds)
– observations about natural phenomena
– money
– material goods presented as compensation (especially clothing and materials for making clothes)
– material goods described as "gifts"
– other material compensation (for instance the obtaining of a royal pension)
– knowledge and information in the form of books
– knowledge and information in another form
– personal benefits and obligations (requests for help; gratitude for a favour)
– personal involvement and concern (including family members)

At the same time, through the letters the writers construct their private and public identities, consisting of (at least) the following aspects:

– scientific: balanced. Both concerned with natural history; each possessing knowledge the other desires.
– cultural: unbalanced. One at periphery, other at centre.
– social: relatively balanced. Both occupy a respectable middle-class position in terms of their respective societies, one as a merchant, the other as a farmer; Collinson has influential/wealthy/aristocratic friends and patrons, but Bartram too has access to the colonial élite of his time. Thus neither is at a disadvantage.
– national: more or less balanced. One English, the other American but of English origin.
– religious: balanced (both Quakers)
– economic: balanced. One offering specimens, the other material reward. But achieving and maintaining the appropriate balance between the two is often difficult.

–   personal: relatively balanced. Both concerned to be seen as "simple men", without social pretentions or ostentation, but with a justified self-esteem.

It is presumably the relatively balanced sum of these characteristics that allows the exchanges to take place and the friendship to grow and endure for more than forty years, despite the frequent friction over money and Collinson's somewhat patronising attitude. The only area in which there is a serious lack of balance is the cultural one of centre vs. periphery; it is this which allows Collinson to write in an occasionally condescending manner.

These exchanges can be seen as performing the work of natural history, in two ways. The first involves observing, reporting, interpreting and discussing occurrences in nature; the intended end result is the creation of codified, reliable knowledge about nature, which can be incorporated into written documents (chiefly books) and becomes the collective property of the knowledge community. The second is the concrete, physical redistribution of species, more particularly the transfer of North American plant and animal species to Europe, where they are appropriated in various ways.[12] But the living specimens too become part of the knowledge system: in many cases they were exhibited at meetings of the Royal Society, circulated among the members of correspondence networks, and ultimately assigned an authoritative name and classification. Thus the appropriation of nature at the centre takes a dual form: as tangible property (which also serves to enhance the proprietor's social status), and as immaterial property, i.e. scientific knowledge, which in theory at least belongs to the entire community. The latter can then be re-exported to the periphery, in the form of information and books.

When Bartram reports his observations on natural history, he tends to write in a relatively impersonal, factual and detailed reporting style; he was aware that many of these letters would be presented to the Royal Society and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Most of these texts nevertheless contain frequent markers of situatedness, narrativity and involvement, as was indeed common at the time (Atkinson 1999:Ch. 5; Valle 1999:Ch. 7). They also refer repeatedly to the design of nature by a benevolent Providence, for the good of all (not necessarily human beings in particular, as was perhaps more common in natural theology); this may indicate a Quaker self-positioning. Despite the writer's modest Quaker stance, however, he shows an understandable pride in his claim of priority of scientific discovery. One of the earliest letters is an instance:

> Philadelphia, July 17, 1734
>
> Mr. Collinson,
>
> Near *German Town*, about six miles from this City, we found a *Rattle Snake*, which is now become a Rarity so near our Settlements. I took it home and dissected it. In the head I met with what has not been observed before by any, that I remember:

that is a Cluster of Teeth on each side of the upper Jaw, at the root of the great Fangs, thro' which the Poison is ejected — I observed in the same case, that the two main Teeth were Sheath'd, in which lay four others at the root of each Tooth in a cluster together, of the same Shape and Figure with the great ones; and I am apt to think for the same use and purposes: if by accident the main Teeth happen to be broken; as was the fellow to this that I send you, may not these Clusters of Teeth be placed to supply such a defect successively, for the support and defence of the Creature?

I am not certain whether this is an uncommon case; Perhaps others have not dissected the head of this Animal with the same care that I have done. I wish you would make Inquiry about it, which will oblige yours / John Bartram. (Bartram 1992: 3.)

Another letter, from a few years later, includes the following report:

I have observed for many years past the annual Progress of a certain Species of Caterpillars. Their Course is from West to East, about ten, twenty or thirty miles a year, and so they proceed Eastward towards the Sea, where it is concluded when they come into their flying state, they are blown off the Land, and perish in the Sea. …

This is very surprising to behold such noble stately oaks killed by so small an Insect; but this happens not only with us but in our neighboring Provinces. …

This leads me to remember, about twelve or fourteen years agon there came a great number of Bears amongst our Inhabitants in the Fall of the year. This was reasonably concluded was owing to want of Acorns, their autumn food, a very great way Westward, which might be occasioned by the Caterpillars devouring the leaves and so disabling the Trees from bearing Acorns. …

I shall now beg leave to make some Remarks on these Observations, as first the wonderful order and Balance that is maintain'd between ye vegetable and Animal Oeconomy, that the Animal should not be too numerous to be supported by the Vegetable; nor the Vegetable Production be lost for want of gathering by the animal. (Bartram to Collinson 26 April 1737; Bartram (1992): 44–45. The letter was read to the Society 8 February 1738.)

Collinson responds to this in December 1737; as usual, he praises Bartram's observations as "curious" (in the eighteenth-century sense, meaning "scientifically valuable") and "entertaining" to him and his friends (Bartram 1992: 67), and offers information in return, concerning similar or dissimilar occurrences in England; always in a tone of authority, as befits an Englishman writing to an American, from the scientific metropolis to the periphery. He then comments on Bartram's ecological views and observations, also acting to mediate further debate:

I have heard frequent accounts of the prodigious Flocks of pigeons but thy Remarks on the wonderful provision made by Our allwise Creator for the support of the Creation is well worth Notice   The balance kept between the Vegitable &

Animal productions is really a fine Thought & what I never met with before, but it is more remarkable with you than with us for you have Wild animals & mast in greater plenty than Wee have —

I can't help but being of thy mind with regard to the Rattle Snake for if Creatures were Bitt by him first, I can't Imagine they could be able to run away — pray compare notes with Docr. Kearsley, who is of the Contrary opinion & supports it very Ingeniously — I wish it may be thy Lott without harm to Meet with this Creature to observe his Motions, but I am confirmed of his power over men, in the manner thou Mentions by a very Curious Friend of mine & a great Philosopher Colonel Byrd of Virginia wh says you must not think Mee fanciful when I assure you, I have Ogled a Rattle Snake so long till I have pceived a sickness in my stomach —

Now Dear John I have made some running Remarks on thy Curious Letter, which contained so many fine Remarks, that it Deserved to be read before the Royal Society & thee has their thanks for It, Desiring thee to Continue thy observations & Communicate them, pray make no apology, thy style is much beyond what one might expect from a Man of thy Education — The Facts are well described & very Intelligible. — I am with Love thy sincere friend, [Peter Collinson]. (Collinson to Bartram 10 December 1737; Bartram 1992: 67–68.)

One theme which recurs throughout the correspondence, and which seems to be the source of the greatest friction and possible threat to face (and to the relationship) is that of money. Thus in December 1737 Collinson writes as follows:

What I hinted as to thy Cargo coming when I am so much Engaged is not to have the Season altered but to show thee that as thee strains a point to serve Mee So I Strain a point to serve thee — pray pursue the same successful Track & Method thee has always done but this I tell thee what I do, I would do for none but thee — & yett by the Sequel of thy Letter thee thinks thy self not amply Rewarded — pray Frd John Consider twenty-one pounds p annum Sterling Returned in Goods or Money is a Hard Case [if it] will not make near or Quite or More than Forty pounds a year your Currency — this I think will pay for 5 or 6 Weeks spent annually In thy Collection & Hireing a man and other expences   Supposing thee art in expense in this affair Ten pounds your currency p annum which I don't think, why to have Thirty Pounds yr Currency in Circulation thy affairs, must certainly be a fine thing & sufficient to Content any Reasonable pson — I know thee art a man of More Equity than to Desire the subscribers Money for little Matters, and on the other hand thee art so Honest to send the Most thee can afford to procure for them — more, they don't Desire — then what reason is there for thee to be uneasie — pray lett Mee hear no more of It, if thee canst not afford to go on with this business — tell us so — and it will be at an End —

Now Frd John I shall turn over and never think of the Last Mentioned Matter unless thee revives it. (Collinson to Bartram 20 December 1737: Bartram 1992: 73. Words in square brackets inserted by the editors.)

To which Bartram responds:

> In thy letter of december ye 20th thee supposed me to spend 5 or 6 weeks in colections for you & that ten pounds will defray all my anual expenses but I assure thee I spend more than twice that time anualy & ten pounds will not, at A moderate expense defray my charges Abroad beside my neglect of business at home in fallowing harvest and seed time. Indeed, I was more then two weeks time in gathering ye small acorns of the Willow leafed Oak, which are very scarce & faling with the leaves so that daily I had to rake up the leaves and reconed it good luck if I could gather 20 under one tree & hardly one in twenty bore any   yet I don't begrudge my labour but would do anything reasonable to serve you but by the sequel of thy letter, you are not sensible of the fourth part of ye pains I take to oblige you[.] (Bartram to Collinson May 1738; Bartram 1992: 89.)

Thirty years later, after a lifetime of affectionate correspondence between the two men, money, its management, and a just exchange continue to be a prickly topic:

> I am glad thou hast sent some plants & seeds to our Gracious King, as thy annuity[13] is Regularly paid — I dare say any of thy Journals would be very acceptable to Him; could they be Copied Fair, — Send Him Every year one for he must not be Cloyed by too much at once Begin with the First, after Thou received the Salary — this would keep thee in His Memory — (Collinson to Bartram 10 February 1767; Bartram 1992: 680.)

> I have drawn upon thee for 100 pound Sterling for my son in law George Bartram which I hope thee will answer & place it to my account
>
> Pray at thy leasure draw out our accounts and sent it by ye first opertunity, I want to know how those affaires stand between us which will oblige thy real friend / John Bartram. (Bartram to Collinson 20 May 1768; Bartram 1992: 704.)

> the advice of thy 100 £ Bill came regular so no trouble, but thou should, Also, have mentioned it in thy Letter for fear of accidents (Collinson to Bartram, 6 July 1768; Bartram 1992: 706.)[14]

Political and social news is also exchanged:

> Dear Peter
>
> I have put on board ye ship Beulah 3 boxes of forest seeds: No. 1 for ye Duke of argile No. 2 for Squire Hamilton & No. 3 is for thyself. I sent in a vesail that sailed last november 4 boxes: No. 1 for smithson No. 2 for Williamson No. 3 for Lord Deskford No. 4 for Lord Hopetoun. I have sent none for ye Dukes of Richmond and Bedford this year for I had nothing new to send them but what I had sent them several times before. I sent them A fine parcel of ye white Pine last spring by Seymour … I sent several to gather ye Cedar seeds but they found but few so I could send but A little seed to each correspondent that wanted it & it was not safe going beyond our mountains for fear of ye French Indians. I have not received one letter from thee this long time   ye last was dated June ye 6th   we are surprised

that we have no news from London this many months. We expect a visit from ye French early in ye spring & numbers of our people is daily exercising & learning ye Martial discipline in order to oppose them if thay should attempt to land & are making preparations for forts & bateries to stop any vesails that come in A hostile manner. ye clergy exercises thair talents with all thair force of eloquence to persuade thair hearers to defend thair country, liberties & families by ye sword & ye blessing of god but our society like fools or something worse opposeth them by pamphlets persuasion & threats of reading them out of our meetings for breach of our discipline in takeing up ye carnal weapon which unreasonable proceeding I suppose hath made one hundred hypocretes to one convert for thay cant bind ye freedom of thought. (Bartram to Collinson 30 January 1748; Bartram 1992:291–292)

This is interesting for a number of reasons. On the one hand, it continues the constant theme of the correspondence, i.e. the details of collecting and shipping. The second half of the letter consists of comments on the political situation in the colonies and the preparations for war with the French. The writer uses certain phrases which evidently are already part of a specifically American rhetoric — "country, liberties, and families"; "freedom of thought". He then comments critically on the pacifism and non-violence which is part of the official Quaker ideology ("our society" = the Society of Friends). The first person plural (*we*, *ours*) is used first for Americans, secondly for Quakers; since Collinson too is a Quaker, *our society* may be inclusive or exclusive — but *our meetings* is exclusive. In any case, there now seems to be a clear conflict between these two aspects of Bartram's epistolary identity; the language is unusually forceful for this pacific and mild-spoken man. These political and social themes recur throughout the correspondence during these years.

Twenty years later, the themes of natural history, collecting, shipping, money and politics recur, but personal/family topics — health and illness, problems with children — are also prominent. Bartram is now 67 years old, Collinson 72; this is the easy conversation of old friends, although a slight unbalance in the relationship persists above all in matters of money:

Dear Peter

I am now returned to my family all whome I found in good health God almighty be Praised for his favours. I am at present tolerable well but can hardly get over ye dreadful sea sickness & ye Southward fever I have left my son Billy in florida. nothing will do with him now but he will be A planter upon St Johns river about 24 mile from Augustine & 6 from ye fort of Picolata this frolick of his hath & our maintenance drove me to great straits so that I was forced to draw upon thee at st Augustine & twice at charls town all of which I sent thee letters of advice either with or in ye bills of exchange which I hope thee will answer for thy ould & yet true friend but I should be well pleased if thee will let me know perticulary how our

account stands now I have not had it of several years; my sons tels me that thee objected against my bills of 40 pounds not being indorsed ye meaning of which we cant understand I think thay was sent as usual this makes me very uneasy lest some or all of those bills of exchange I drawed upon thee in florida & charles town should not answer thy critical examination alltho thay was drawn by men of very good Characters & learning & I am sure Intend nothing but strict Justice & very willing if thay be not drawn right to thy mind to have them mended I have packed up in A little box directed to thee at large ye seeds I brought from florida which I should have sent sooner but had not A good oppertunity but yet thay are good don't dispair of thair coming up if not this year yet may come in 3 year as many of ye southern Plants do …I am grated ye cargo my son John sent last fall is come safe & in good order as thy letter by Captain shirley mentions

John is in high spirits about it I have brought home with me A fine Collection of strange florida plants which perhaps I may send sometime this summer some for ye king & some for thy self but I want to know how those I sent from charles town & georgia is accepted or those I sent last spring to ye king from home I hope what specimens I sent for thy self will give thee great pleasure as many of them is intirely new ye collecting of which hath cost thy friend many score pounds pains & sickness which held me constantly near or quite two months in florida ye fever & Jaundice & a looseness thro No & So Carolina & georgia yet some how or other I lost not an hours time of travailing thro those provinces … (Bartram to Collinson 30 June 1766; Bartram 1992:668–669.)

At least from Collinson's point of view the objective is not merely or even primarily the furthering of natural history, but the obtaining of plants and above all seeds for himself and his wealthy patrons, especially Lord Petre. It is estimated that Collinson imported, directly or indirectly, hundreds of plants from North America. Some of these he planted in his own garden; others entered into a system of circulation whereby specimens were exchanged for benefits, tangible or otherwise. An example of this circulation appears from an early letter from Collinson to Sloane, as President of the Royal Society (RS LBC 21:117):

Grace-Church Street

June 20: 1734

Sir Hans,

I presumed it might not be unacceptable to you and the rest of the Gentlemen to see a Sloth. It is well preserved. It came last from Jamaica, but I conclude it is no native of that place, because not mentioned in your natural history. — Mr. Edwards has taken a draught of it. With it come the horns of a Stag from New England, which project forward, and are quite different from our English Deer.

I am &c

P. Collinson.

The Register Books of the Royal Society are in fact filled with reports of the display of a specimen in a meeting or its presentation to the Society. Most of these specimens ended up in the collections of wealthy patrons. This material circulation is then further transformed into codified knowledge, as shown, for instance, in George Edwards' *Natural History* from 1751. Each plate is associated with a brief descriptive text, which usually includes the provenance of the particular specimen on which the drawing is based. The following examples serve to illustrate on the one hand the flow of specimens from the periphery to the centre, on the other the system of circulation, in the metropolis, of *specimens, patronage* and *knowledge*:[15]

> The Black Parrot from Madagascar: This bird was first at Sir Charles Wager's and was presented by him to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, who employed me to make a draught of it for him, and permitted me to take another for myself.
>
> The Arabian Bustard: This bird was kept alive many years by my honoured patron Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. at his house in London, whose goodness always gave me free leave to draw any curious thing he had in his possession. This bird was brought from Mocha in Arabia Felix, and presented to Sir Hans Sloane, by Clarles [sic] Dubois, Esq; treasurer to the India Company.

It is as part of this system of circulation — of specimens, texts, information and knowledge — that the Bartram-Collinson correspondence can partly be understood.

5.   Alexander Garden and John Ellis

John Ellis (1714–76) was an Irish-born linen merchant. He became agent for West Florida in 1764 and for Dominica in 1770, which gave him easy contact with suppliers of specimens in these areas. Like Collinson, Ellis imported many seeds, but he was particularly interested in the transportation of live plants; in 1770 he published a booklet entitled *Directions for bringing over Seeds and Plants*. Ellis was very active in natural history and Royal Society circles throughout the 1750s and 1760s: in addition to his work on the corallines, he published a number of papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

Alexander Garden (1730–1791) was a Scotsman and a university-educated physician. In 1752 he travelled to Charles Town, South Carolina, where he married and settled down to practice medicine. He remained in North America most of his life. Garden had a large correspondence, both within North America and across the Atlantic (see Figure 2). In addition to his medical practice and his work in natural history, Garden also took an interest in silk culture, viniculture and the cultivation of indigo in South Carolina. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1773.[16]

The Garden correspondence published in Smith (1821) includes 55 letters written by Garden to Ellis and twelve letters from Ellis to Garden. This epistolary exchange extends from 1755 to 1768, thus coinciding with the last years of the

Bartram/Collinson correspondence. The nature of the correspondence is in some ways different: first of all, Garden himself was a European (a Scot), secondly he had an academic and scientific education, and thirdly the financial relationship was less important. What Garden craves is *knowledge*, in the form of books; particularly in the early letters this is mentioned very often. In particular Linnæus's works and Philip Miller's *Gardeners Dictionary* are crucial, since without these basic reference works he is unable to identify or classify the plants he encounters.[17] Copies of the *Philosophical Transactions* are also very much desired; they enable him to keep up with new knowledge and ideas, and probably help to create a sense of intellectual community for this educated Scot in the colonial wilderness. Garden is also often critical; he positions himself as a fully authorised member of the community, entitled to pass evaluative judgment on the work of others:

> I have received Dr. Pallas's two volumes some time ago, and wrote you before what occurred to me in reading him. I am but a very novice in all these marine productions, so that I can say little on this head, though I must observe that, as far as I could judge, his latinity is the best part of his book. As to the quarto, I really think it is so glaring and gross a catchpenny, that I am amazed how he could have the effrontery to publish it, and attack Monsieur de Buffon, whose labours in that way must do him eternal honour, and confer infinite obligations on all the lovers of Natural History.
> (Garden to Ellis 6 July 1768; Smith 1828:I:564–567)

There are two aspects of Garden's letters which are particularly prominent: his constant reference to other correspondents in the network, and his involvement in the eighteenth-century project of species classification and naming. In other words, Garden, much more than Bartram, positions himself as not merely providing the raw material for science but as producing knowledge itself. He also uses nomenclature to confer gifts on his friends and on members of the natural history community. His suggestions, however, are by no means always accepted. The complexity of the taxonomic project is suggested by the following example:

> This Summer Mr. George Saxby shewed me a list from you, which I helped him to procure, by giving him our country names for these you mentioned, and assisting him to some seeds, particularly the *Magnolia*, which I gave chiefly as I imagined he could send his much sooner than I could send mine, though after all they only went by the same vessel. He likewise sent you some of the *Schlosseria* or a new genus of the Palm tree. I shall send you its characters, and shall leave it to you to call it either the *Schlosseria* or *Halea*, in honour of my much esteemed correspondent Dr. Hales. Some time ago I called our wild Horehound *Halea*, but I am afraid that there is too nigh a relation between that and the *Eupatorium* to separate them, so that I would denominate this either by his name or by Dr. Huxham's both which gentlemen I think greatly merit every mark of esteem which not only I, but every lover of science can confer. Poor indeed is this, but it

is at least a testimony of a grateful mind. Some time since I called the *Solanum triphyllum* of Mr. Catesby, *Huxhamia*; but since I received the *Species Plantarum*, I find that Linnæus has called the *Trillium*, for which reason I would willingly join either of these names to so beautiful a plant as this, which from proper and strict examination I am certain is a new genus. You shall have its characters, and then you may name by either of them with my approbation.
(Garden to Ellis, 1756; Smith 1821:I:365–366. Italics in original.)

Where the main source of tension and unbalance in the Collinson/Bartram correspondence is in money, in the Ellis/Garden correspondence (as well as in Garden's other correspondence) it tends to be over scientific status. While Garden positioned himself as a fully competent member of the community, his location at the periphery rather than the European centre meant that this was not necessarily accepted by others. A full exploration of this claim needs further work; some evidence, however, is offered by the fact that when Garden's information is presented by Ellis, first as a report in meetings of the Royal Society and subsequently in printed form in the *Philosophical Transactions*, it is reported in indirect discourse:

> These two specimens of a remarkable kind of animal, which I have the honour to lay before this Royal Society, I received last summer from Dr. Alexander Garden, of Charles-Town South Carolina, who says, it is evidently a new genus not yet taken notice of by naturalists, and that it appears to him, to come between the Muræna and the Lacerta. The natives call it by the name of Mud-Inguana [sic]. …
>
> During this state of uncertainty, I forwarded to Dr. Linnæus, of Upsal, at Dr. Garden's request, his account of the largest specimen, and at the same time, sent him one of the smaller specimens preserved in spirits; desiring his opinion, for Dr. Garden's, as well as my own, satisfaction.
>
> About the latter end of January last, I was favoured with an answer from the Professor, dated Upsal, December 27, 1765, wherein he says,
>
> "I received Dr. Garden's very rare two-footed animal … [20 lines verbatim quotation, in English; translation from Latin?]
>
> [postscript:] In a letter lately received from Dr. Garden, he mentions one remarkable property in this animal, which is, that his servant endeavouring …; he further says, that he had lately had … and that he never saw one with more than two feet; so that he is fully convinced, that is quite a new genus of the animal kingdom. (An Account of an Amphibious Bipes; by John Ellis, Esq; F. R. S. To the Royal Society. Phil. Trans. 56:189 (1766).)

Linnæus, as the unquestioned grand old man[18] of European natural history, is allowed to speak in his own voice; Garden, as a colonial scientist, is reported in indirect discourse. Further exploration of this issue, comparing the original letters, the reports in the Register Books and the published versions, will add to our understanding both of relationships within the discourse community and the construction of eighteenth-century natural history.

6.   Between private and public: Epistolary texts in the *Philosophical Transactions*

Irmscher (1999: 14–15) points to the distinction made in classical rhetoric between *epistola negotialis* and *epistola familiaris*. In his discussion of nature writing in colonial north America, he refers to the existing epistolary tradition in science writing:

> the influence of this tradition on the fashionable eighteenth-century pursuit of botany became visible in publications such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Lettres élémentaires sur la botanique* (1771–1773). We would be mistaken to believe that Collinson and Bartram, simply because they were scientific autodidacts and literary amateurs, used the letter form without self-consciousness. Bartram, for one, realized that all his observations were of potential interest to the Royal Society, of which Collinson was an active member, and he knew that his friend would edit and publish whatever he thought could be of interest in their correspondence. (Irmscher 1999: 15.)

This is certainly a valid point, as far as observations on natural history as such are concerned, and indeed there are some letters which have obviously been written with quasi-public circulation and ultimate publication in mind. A great majority of the letters, however, consist of much more than natural history; they range over a wide variety of themes, and construct — on both sides of the correspondence — a wide variety of positions, private and public. It is significant that in the letters (particularly those by Collinson) no hard and fast line can be drawn between those parts of the letters dealing with natural history and those dealing with other themes. The letters were clearly written at odd free moments, and seem to form almost a stream of consciousness. In this respect Bartram's letters are more carefully constructed, and some parts were clearly written as separate reports or descriptions, with a more formal and public audience in mind; this, however, was not necessarily a matter of publication in print but of presentation at a meeting of the Royal Society — in fact, at least in the seventeenth century this amounted to "publication" according to the ideas of the Society (cf. Johns 2003). On the other hand, circulating the letters among a private network would not necessarily be considered "publication". To what extent these ideas persisted in the eighteenth century, when publication in print had become more commonplace, needs further investigation.

A relatively large number of Bartram's letters were "published" by Collinson in this looser sense. What this meant was that he presented them in the regular weekly meetings of the Society; they were read aloud, followed by discussion. Both the letter itself and the discussion were recorded, often in full and verbatim, in the minutes. Thus the letters participated in several different discourses located at the borderline between public and private. First, there was the quasi-private *epistolary*

discourse, with letters circulating among members of the community. Second was the *oral discourse* of reading and discussion at the meetings of the Royal Society, which were in principle private but were open to invited and qualified guests. Yet a third was the *recording* of this spoken discourse in the written but non-public reports of the meetings, the Register Books of the Society. (See Fig. 1.)

Bartram's letters tend to differ according to whether they were deliberately written for circulation/publication or were entirely private. The first type, however, may also include personal matter, which was usually edited out by Collinson before he presented it to the Royal Society. This is exemplified by the very first letter in Bartram (1992), the report on the rattlesnake (see Section 4.2): the letter basically consists of the factual report, but it includes phrases directed to Collinson personally, such as *I send you* and *I wish you would make Inquiry about it, which will oblige yours / John Bartram.* In general, letters published in the *Philosophical Transactions* were edited at least orthographically and typographically: spelling and capitalisation were often "modernised" and made more consistent, italics and/or small capitals were added for species and proper names, paragraphing was added or changed and headings and metatextual signposting were introduced.[19] Often, however, it is impossible to distinguish changes made by the recipient of the letter, by the editor (the Secretary of the Royal Society) and the printer: an example of this ambiguity, based on close examination of a manuscript letter containing editorial amendments, is discussed in Valle (1999: 246).

7.   General conclusion: The "colonial exchange"

The term "*exchange*" is often used in speaking of imperial and colonial natural history. The first use of the term in this context evidently goes back to 1972, when Alfred Crosby spoke of the *Columbian* exchange with regard to the exchange of species and pathogens between the Old and the New World. A more recent use is Alan Frost's (1996) *antipodean* exchange. What is happening in the correspondence described in this article can be termed a *colonial exchange*, analogous to the colonial relationship described by economists. The colonies produce raw materials, which are appropriated by the colonising power: at the centre these raw materials are processed and converted into finished goods, which are re-exported — at a profit — back to the colonies. What is being produced at the periphery is the raw material for the creation of scientific knowledge: specimens, descriptions and drawings, along with what Collinson refers to as "country names" (i.e. vernacular names in English). What is produced at the centre is systematic knowledge: names, taxonomies and natural systems, with a Latin nomenclature. These are then re-exported to the colonies in the form of publications: books and journals. The colonial

collectors can and do use these books to attempt to classify and name their plants themselves: but the suggestion always has to be submitted to someone in Europe for final approval, and is by no means always accepted. This — along with the construction of the sense of community, and with genuine friendship and affection — is what the natural history correspondence ultimately shows us.

Notes

1. An extreme example is Charles Darwin, who explored and discussed his ideas about the transformation and evolution of species with his close associates for 15 years before making them public; this correspondence alone accounts for hundreds of letters in the collected correspondence. It was also a letter, from Alfred Russel Wallace, which forced him into publication, to avoid being preempted and losing credit for his ideas.

2. I am very grateful to Alan Armstrong for making the manuscript of his book available to me, in electronic form, prior to publication.

3. Smith (1821) also contains a large correspondence between Ellis and Linnæus, which would be of great interest to anyone concerned with the discourse of natural history; most of Linnæus's letters, however, were written in either Latin or Swedish, and their analysis thus presents special problems. There is also a correspondence between Linnæus and Garden; as an educated man (a physician), Garden wrote to Linnæus in Latin (Ellis wrote in English). The Linnæan correspondence is currently being collected, edited and published.

4. On this collecting culture see for instance Gascoigne (1994). The colonial connections of European gardens are documented for instance in Drayton (2000), but are most clearly demonstrated in the correspondence itself, especially that between Bartram and Collinson, as well as the earlier correspondence of James Petiver (not discussed here).

5. These processes have been documented, analysed and placed within a context of European colonialism in a number of recent publications; see in particular Drayton (2000) for a "post-colonial" perspective. A good overview of different aspects of the process is given in the volume edited by Miller and Reill (1996).

6. For the seventeenth century, information about the content of meetings is available in Birch (1756–57/1967); for later periods, we have to go to the minutes of the meetings, i.e. the Register Books in the Royal Society archives.

7. More accurately, we can say that it is only at this point that the two repertoires become strictly separate.

8. David Allen, speaking of the practice of natural history at the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, has suggested the term "colliteration" to describe "that other, less visible social nexus, the semi-permanent circles of correspondents. …in the absence of a properly developed periodical literature, private correspondence now had an even greater role to play than ever before or since". (Allen 1976/1994:17)

9. Collinson and Ellis both lived in London and were both members of the Royal Society. They were also both involved in business activities across the Atlantic. Their networks thus to some extent coincide. Collinson, however, was primarily a collector and mediator, while Ellis's scientific work, especially on the corallines, is still cited today in the specialised literature.

10. The following brief biographical sketches are based on Swem (1949: 18–21) and on the introduction to Bartram (1992).

11. Collinson was a near contemporary of Samuel Johnson, the prototypical representative of the complexly structured "periodic sentence". Generalisations about the "formality" and "elaborateness" of eighteenth-century writing are dangerous; obviously, widely different writing cultures can coexist, depending on the context and function of the writing.

12. Redistribution also takes place, though to a much lesser extent, in the opposite direction; Collinson sometimes sent European seeds to Bartram for planting in his garden.

13. Collinson was instrumental in bringing about the awarding of a Royal pension to Bartram.

14. This was the last exchange between the friends; Collinson died mid-August of that year.

15. From a rhetorical point of view, these elevated provenances in part fulfill the functions of acknowledgements, in part they help to establish the credibility and reliability of the information conveyed (Shapin 1994).

16. Just as Ellis and Collinson knew each other in London, Garden and Bartram knew each other in North America; due to the geographical distance between Philadelphia and Charleston, however, their contacts were primarily through correspondence and occasional visits.

17. Philip Miller (1691–1771) was Head Gardener at Chelsea Physic Garden and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He carried on an active correspondence with many members of the natural history community. The first edition of his *Gardener's Dictionary* was published in 1731; it went through several editions throughout the eighteenth century, down to 1807. The copy I have examined at the library of the Royal Society is a single-volume large folio, weighing approximately 5 kg; if this was the edition which traveled across the Atlantic and was consulted by naturalists in the field, it indeed speaks volumes for their dedication to natural history.

18. Linnæus (1707–1778) was at this time 59 years old; his *Systema Naturae* had been published in 1735, *Species Plantarum* in 1753 and *Genera Plantarum* in 1754.

19. On eighteenth-century shifts in typography and orthography, see Wendorf (2003).

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BOOK REVIEW

Susan Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: A Pragmatic Approach*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002. ISBN 1588111865.

Reviewed by Monika Fludernik (University of Freiburg)

Susan Fitzmaurice (formerly Wright) has produced an enlightening and highly readable study of epistolary discourse from the perspective of (linguistic) pragmatics. The book applies insights from speech act theory, politeness studies and from relevance theory to the lively correspondence of several key figures between 1660 and 1750 — Joseph Addison, Aphra Behn, Margaret Cavendish, William Congreve, Mary Pierrepont (later Lady Mary Wortley Montagu), Matthew Prior, Richard Steele and Jonathan Swift. The analyses use key concepts of the named pragmatic theories to account for the irony and manipulative strategies observable in the letters of these writers: illocutionary acts, face, implicatures, presupposition, indirection, implicitness. Fitzmaurice concentrates in great detail on the establishment of a viable relation to the addressee and the epistolary strategies to which this gives rise. She also focuses on the construction of subjectivity in epistolary discourse — an important facet of literary correspondence of the period which can be fruitfully integrated within a larger framework of literary history.

In fact, Fitzmaurice's book is a must for those students of eighteenth-century literature and culture who are interested in the manipulations of fact and fiction in the literature contemporary with the rise of the novel (now to be located between Aphra Behn and Fielding).

Let me first deal with the linguistic aspects of the study, and I will later turn to the more properly literary facets of the corpus.

Fitzmaurice's book is a sad misnomer — it should have been called *The Familiar Letter* **in the Augustan Period**, rather than *in Early Modern English*. I, for one, picked up the volume in the expectation of finding pragmatic analyses of the Renaissance letter corpus (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*), and not exclusively post-Restoration texts (which are now considered to be part of the "long" eighteenth century). Having said that, I have to admit that the choice of material is certainly astute since it covers a distinct phase in the art of letter writing and enables Fitzmaurice to document a significant range of pragmatic contexts. In the initial two chapters, which outline basic theorectical material from speech act theory and discuss issues of politeness and the politics of address, Fitzmaurice turns to the pragmatics of indirection and general strategies of addressee manipulation. Thus, in Chapter 1, much of the discussion revolves

around a letter by Richard Steele to his wife in which he asks her to send some money and, in the attempt to propitiate the wife's likely negative reaction, starts with a solicitous enquiry after her health. In Chapter 2, the wordy letters of Mary Wortley Montagu from abroad to her daughter in England are analysed from the perspective of preserving and challenging the interlocutors' face needs. Other examples in the chapter include letters by Behn and Cavendish as well as Swift. Fitzmaurice particularly highlights the ways in which letters pretend to be constructed as ongoing conversational exchange (she makes a comparison with phone calls on p. 19–20) and how the vagaries of the postal service, temporal and spatial distance and the threat of letters being intercepted by the wrong party has important effects on the discourse strategies employed. Swift's playful letter in which he announces his arrival for breakfast but says he will arrive before the letter arrives at its destination illustrates the fact that Augustan practitioners of letter writing are obviously aware of the mechanics of epistolary exchange and clearly able to satirise it (as one might have expected from such masters of satire).

Chapter 3 gives a long introduction into Searle's speech act theory and the distinction between Gricean implicature (intentional violation of a maxim with the clear expectation of the listener's ability to pick up on the intended meaning) and implicit meaning generation in which addressees think that certain meanings are implied on the sly without this being a case of the violation of conversational maxims. Fitzmaurice's humorous examples come from a dispute between Steele and Swift in a series of ripostes intended as a battle of wits. (After all, need we remind ourselves, we are in the age of wit writ large.) Lingustically, Fitzmaurice's most interesting point here and elsewhere in the book is that the model of speech act theory only accounts for very simple pragmatic situations, whereas the material in hand requires much more sophisticated treatment that gives the complexity, playfulness and irony of the correspondence their due.

Chapter 4 deals with the genre of the advice letter by discussing Margaret Cavendish's *CCXI Sociable Letters*, in which she dispenses medical advice. Fitzmaurice shrewdly notes how Cavendish creates a subjective persona in opposition to the anonymity of medical practitioners, and thus also assumes and acquires (not to say, arrogates) an authority in matters medical that by professional authority she clearly lacks. The chapter is also a critique of Searle's sincerity conditions since it outlines a wide range of speech acts (including that of giving advice) which in speech act theory could only be defined with reference to status (somebody knowledgeable gives advice) and effects (the addressee taking the advice) that are appropriate to the given exchange. Instead, in a very literary move, Fitzmaurice suggests that the dispensing of advice needs to be compared to the distribution of gifts, a canny interpretation that fits in with Cavendish's self-image constructed in the correspondence to her fictional addressee(s).

Chapter 5, one of the most successful of the book, compares Addison's and Swift's letters to their patrons, John Somers and Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax. The chapter is preceded by a selection of photos, providing the reader with the likenesses of Steele, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Matthew Prior, Jonathan Swift, Congreve, Addison, Dorothy Osborne and Sir William Temple, as taken from paintings of these famous figures. Applying for patronage is discussed by Fitzmaurice as a "perlocutionary act" (131), trying to get the patron to provide a job for the artist. The examples from the correspondence of Addison, Swift and Congreve analyse with particular elegance how the authors deploy strategies of irony, self-deprecation, paradox and negation in order to disguise the fact that they are asking for money, an eminently face-threatening request. On the one hand, the correspondents try to disguise their position as supplicants by downplaying their needs or by discussing the availability of certain jobs in a virtual scenario; on the other hand, they have to be particularly careful not to encroach on the recipient's negative face needs, veiling the fact that they are actually importuning the great man. Fitzmaurice's enumeration of these writers' manipulative strategies also holds great interest for the literary scholar. Thus, the fiction that a poet is addressing a fellow poet is shown to be a shrewd way of circumnavigating the face-threatening patron-supplicant scenario.

Chapter 6 focuses on the construction of the addressee in Dorothy Osborne's love letters to William Temple. In her astute analysis of selected passages Fitzmaurice argues convincingly that by creating an image of how she sees William Temple (attributing a number of virtues like kindness to him) she at the same time constructs an image of herself for his benefit, e.g. as somebody who particularly appreciates kindness, discretion and wisdom. These insights have a wider significance since they demonstrate the necessarily complementary and mutually constructive nature of all attributive discourse, going some way towards explaining why even negative attributions frequently serve to enhance individual or collective processes of identification between interlocutors (cf. Lauterbach 2005).

Finally in Chapter 7, Fitzmaurice concentrates on the proliferation of unintended epistolary meanings. The example this time is the later Mary Wortley Montagu's correspondence with her future husband in which, to phrase it colloquially, they both manage to put their foot in their mouth whenever they send off the next missive in this history of the wooing process. The chapter is therefore also an example of failed epistolary communication (Wortley broke off the relationship after the exchange) — a timely reminder that not all letter writers are able to juggle the demands of epistolary correspondence with equal success.

Before turning to the substantial merits of the book from a literary perspective, let me note briefly here what I believe are the results of the study for the linguist or historical pragmatics scholar. Fitzmaurice's achievements lie, *ex negativo*, in her

demonstration that traditional speech act theory cannot adequately deal with the corpus which she is analysing. She therefore suggests the addition of "pragmatic" speech acts to the Searlean list in order to account for the many quite subtle moves and strategies observable in the posturing and manipulation undertaken by her correspondents.

Where I found the book a bit disconcerting from a linguistic perspective was the fact that she does not go on to provide a typology of pragmatic speech acts or integrate these with a Gricean or Searlean account of communication. Despite the many references to pragmatic concepts — lucidly explained and thus very helpful to the non-linguist literary scholar — she never provides a set of better tools in the analysis of her texts. Her readings of the correspondence are subtle and much to the point; but, one starts to wonder, do I need to have access to a linguistic framework to conduct this type of analysis? Allow me to illustrate these misgivings with two examples. The wonderful analysis of angling for patronage in Chapter 5 makes good use of the concept of face needs. However, once we get beyond this general point, the quality of the analysis consists in the application of quite literary terminology and the exercise of what used to be called "close reading". Not that I complain about this *as a literary scholar*; but, putting on my linguistic hat, I am disappointed to find that indirection, assuming poses of humility, etc., are given no further linguistic status within the pragmatic framework. My second example is the final chapter which relies on the tenets of relevance theory. However, when we come to an analysis of the misunderstandings between Mary and her Wortley, relevance theory drops from view, and the implications that the correspondents teased from each other's letters could be formulated in any close reading of these texts without necessarily taking on pragmatics as a theoretical model.

Having said that, the value of the book lies in demonstrating that literary critics and linguists are ultimately concerned with much the same issues; the limits of formal linguistic analysis shade off into literary critical practice. For the literary scholar, this book is in several respects an eye-opener. It introduces the reader to a set of key notions from pragmatics that are quite useful in dealing with a large number of literary texts. It also, in a sense, shames eighteenth-century cultural studies representatives by doing their job for them — so far nobody in the literary camp has quite got round to devoting such in-depth study to the correspondence of Augustan authors, at least not from the perspective of letter writing as a genre with its own conventions and traditions. Fitzmaurice's book was also an incisive landmark to me personally because it points up the communicational load of the genre, its emphasis on the addressee and on role playing, face-saving and innuendo. The pragmatics of epistolary writing which Fitzmaurice explicates in her fine study go a long way towards explaining why early letter writers are such infrequent narrators. Their letters are not concerned with telling a story — this is the domain

of the epistolary novel — but with the creation of intimacy, the jockeying for favour, the creation of positive face, and the battle of wits. The epistolary medium made it possible to display oneself, to manipulate the recipient and to fine-tune one's relationship in a discourse of great verve and subtlety, improving on the hazardous and bungling performance of face-to-face conversation.

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