

# **PRESCRIPTIVISM IN ACTION**

Evaluating the production and reception of  
reviewer prescriptivism in Late Modern English

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I dedicate this thesis to those who have made its completion so challenging: my children. Above all, it is for James, Grace, Faith, and the others too tiny to be known and named, but whose lives left no less of an imprint upon my own. I dedicate myself now to making sure that your lives, and the lives of all babies like you, are known, and known to matter.

This thesis is also for Seb, for being the shining light in our storm, and to Roo, for being the rainbow after it.

# **DECLARATION**

This thesis was submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Linguistics).

This work has not been submitted in substantially the same form for any other degree or award at this or any other university or educational establishment.

This thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references, and a list of these is appended.

Beth Malory  
February 2021

## ABSTRACT

It has long been hypothesized that the literary review periodicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a consistent source of prescriptive material, and that this material had a significant impact on the language usage of reviewed authors. However, a lack of empirical research in this area has left both of these hypotheses unsubstantiated by empirical data. Difficulties have beset attempts to evaluate the success of prescriptivist endeavours in other contexts, rendering attempts to do so in relation to Late Modern review periodicals a significant challenge. However, the purpose of this thesis is to redress the data gaps which exist in relation both to our understanding of how review periodicals mediated prescriptivist discourses, and what the impact of this prescriptivism was.

In redressing the data gap relating to the production and dissemination of normative materials within the context of periodical reviewing, this thesis firstly applies discourse analytic methodologies to a purpose-built corpus of review articles from 1750-1899. These investigations demonstrate clearly, for the first time, that the vernacular literary review periodicals published in Britain from the mid-eighteenth century can indeed be considered consistent sources of prescriptive commentary.

Thereafter, attention is turned to examining the impact that normative judgments in this context could have on the authors at the receiving end of reviewer prescriptivism. In order to do this, this thesis reports the results of a single-author case study, and advocates the application of a novel statistical method to the evaluation of prescriptivism. This method, change point analysis, has previously been applied to linguistic datasets only rarely, but is shown here to be remarkably suitable for examining prescriptive impact at the idiolectal level. This case study also demonstrates the highly significant impact which prescriptivism mediated through the genre of the periodical review could have on the Late Modern author.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Late Modern English: the ‘Age of Prescriptivism’, and the myth of stasis

The Late Modern period of English, defined in this thesis as the period of history between 1700 and 1900<sup>1</sup>, is associated with two pervasive stereotypes. The first is that, because practices of codification proliferated at an unprecedented rate after 1700, the Late Modern period encompasses the so-called ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ (cf. Leonard, 1929; Milroy & Milroy, 1992; Baugh & Cable, 1993; McIntosh, 1998; Beal, 2004; Anderwald, 2014). The second is that it was a period of linguistic stasis, because prescriptivism is conjectured to have prevented natural language change from occurring (cf. Anderwald, 2012). According to Anderwald (2019), this is the “mainstream view in linguistics today”; that “prescriptivism does not, and cannot, have any effect on language” (p.89). At the same time, she notes, it is “taken for granted that...prescriptivism was all-pervasive in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth century” (2019, p.89). The creation of this odd disjuncture between prescriptivism and language use has meant that the focus of prescriptivism studies has, until recently, been on language attitudes, rather than attempts to evaluate the impact of prescriptivism on the language itself.

Much in the field has changed since 1989, when Charles Jones lamented the neglect of Late Modern English, branding it the ‘Cinderella’ of English linguistics, and arguing that it was defined neither by prescriptivism nor by stasis (p.279). Since then, the application of the label ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ has been challenged in many quarters; not least in the extensive corpus-based research of Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. Tieken-Boon van Ostade has argued that the eighteenth century should “more properly be designated the Age of Codification, as it is the *codification* of the language that characterises the period, not the effects of prescriptivism,

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<sup>1</sup> There is controversy about the terminus ad quem for Late Modern English. Kytö, Rydén and Smitherberg define it as the period in the history of English ranging from 1700 to 1950 (2006), whereas Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009) proposes a range of 1700-1900. Tieken-Boon van Ostade and van der Wurff note that, as of 2009, there was “a certain amount of consensus that the period started in 1700” (2009, p.13).

or even prescription” (2019, p.8; emphasis original). Milroy and Milroy define ‘prescription’ as the stage of the English standardization process which follows codification. During this stage, which they posit as final, they note that users of the language “have access to dictionaries and grammars, which they regard as authorities” (2012, p.22). Tieken-Boon van Ostade has recently argued, however, that prescriptivism “represents yet a further stage in this process, during which there is an excessive focus on the question of what is correct usage” (2019, p.8). On this basis, she concludes ultimately that “the Age of Prescriptivism is *now*” (2019, p.9).

That the label ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ has been used to refer to the eighteenth (Auer, 2009), nineteenth (Anderwald, 2016), and now even the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019) reveals the profound ambiguity at the heart of prescriptivism studies. Regardless of the definition being used, it is impossible to regard any of the stages of standardization as being entirely discrete. Thus, it is misleading, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade has also noted, to conceptualize codification and prescription “as consecutive” rather than overlapping (2008, p.10). In fact, she contends that there was in the eighteenth century “a period of at least twenty-five years” during which codification and prescription were “in operation simultaneously” (2008, p.10).

Uncertainty about where codification, prescription and, if we are to distinguish it as a separate stage of standardization, prescriptivism, began results from the remarkable lack of studies attempting to measure the impact of normative texts. Attempts to do so have become more frequent in the last two decades (cf. Anderwald, 2012, 2014, 2016; Auer and González-Díaz, 2005; Yáñez-Bouza, 2006), but it remains a huge challenge, and one to which a viable solution has arguably not yet been found. As will be discussed at length in §2.3.2, issues surrounding time lags between the appearance of a normative text and a noticeable trend in usage make it difficult to establish a causal link between the publication and the change. Moreover, the multitude of grammar books published from the mid-eighteenth century onwards makes identifying individual grammars as influential almost impossible. By contrast, many language scholars have hypothesized that authors altered their use of grammatical variants which were identified as nonstandard by reviewers (Basker, 1988; McIntosh, 1998; Percy, 2009). This as yet unproven hypothesis has thus far been investigated using only qualitative techniques, but it is at the heart of the quantitative investigations undertaken in Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis.

Whilst challenges of both data and methodology have beset attempts to pinpoint where the Age of Prescriptivism truly lies in the history of English, this thesis proposes two new approaches

which seek to overcome these obstacles. It will, on the one hand, suggest that analysing data at an idiolectal, or what we might consider the ‘micro’, level, in the first instance, allows the mechanisms of prescriptive influence to be established more effectively than large-scale studies of general usage.<sup>2</sup> The effectiveness of this model will be showcased with a case study of a single author’s<sup>3</sup> responsiveness to prescriptive comment. Whilst it has often been hypothesized that reviews prompted authors to amend their work, this will be the first empirical research to interrogate this theory.

This thesis will also demonstrate the remarkable suitability of a statistical method, rarely used in linguistic studies before now, to the field of prescriptivism studies. Change point detection (cf. Maguire et al., 1952; Jarrett, 1979) identifies abrupt changes in the parameters of sequential data. The goal of this is to identify moments when the behaviour of a time-series changes, and thus to reveal whether or not changes have occurred across a dataset, and to locate them. As will be discussed at length in the concluding chapter (see §10.3.2), it is possible that the application of this tool in this context may have significant implications for prescriptivism studies, once its effectiveness at the micro level has been established.

The second stereotype about Late Modern English, the so-called ‘myth of stasis’, is a testament to the strength of the association between the period in question, and codifying activity. The assumption seems to be “that once prescriptive grammar writing flourished...all natural language change had to slow down to stasis, since all incipient changes would immediately be nipped in the bud” (Anderwald, 2012, p.13). In fact, as has been shown repeatedly, the English language did undergo notable structural developments during the Late Modern period, for instance the rise of the progressive passive (cf. Pratt and Denison, 2000; Hundt, 2004; Anderwald, 2012).

Of course, to invest in the notion of Late Modern English as a period of stasis is to overlook the fact that prescriptivism is not merely a force for retarding natural language change, but is, perhaps primarily, also a force for imposing unnatural language change. This may be in the form of rules borrowed from other languages, especially the Classical languages, from other disciplines, such as logic and mathematics, or merely derived from the personal preference of

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<sup>2</sup> Following Enfield (2015, p.315), for the purposes of this study, the micro-level will be considered as “the system...embodied by individual speakers”, whilst the macro-level will be considered as “community-wide” trends.

<sup>3</sup> This single author is Frances (‘Fanny’) Burney (1752-1840, *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Burney [*married name D’Arblay*], Frances [*Fanny*]), a Late Modern author whose third novel was subjected to detailed prescriptive comment in 1796.

the normative commentator. Reframed in this way, it is to be celebrated that prescriptivism studies has begun in recent decades to focus on the impact of prescriptivism; notwithstanding the immense challenges of beginning to quantify the extent to which the imposition of these norms altered the language.

New perspectives on prescriptivism have paved the way for research such as that reported in this thesis, which seeks to forge a new path in understanding how normative writing in recent centuries has shaped the way that English is used today. In doing so, they have ceased to vilify prescriptivism as the enemy of descriptive linguistics, and instead recognised it as a crucial element in shaping present-day English; bringing prescriptivism to the heart of Late Modern English studies.

## 1.2 New perspectives on prescriptivism

The 1980s and 1990s saw the publication of two seminal works which challenged the way in which scholarly literature has traditionally conceptualized prescriptivism. James and Lesley Milroy, in the first edition of *Authority in Language* (1985), urged sociolinguists not to disregard the impact of prescriptivism. They wrote, “when we view language as fundamentally a social phenomenon, we cannot then ignore prescription and its consequences. The study of linguistic authoritarianism is an important part of linguistics.” (2012, p.11)

Deborah Cameron, in *Verbal Hygiene* (1995) then stressed the universality of prescriptive activities, arguing that they are “observed to occur in all speech communities to a greater or lesser extent” (p.5). Both Cameron and Milroy & Milroy were responding to a tradition in which literature touching on the issue of prescriptivism had tended to be polarized and lacking in empirical basis; with some authors accepting its influence uncritically, and others disregarding its role in influencing the structural history of the language. The latter approach is perhaps borne out of the vilification of prescriptivists which has accompanied the movement towards a strictly descriptive conception of linguistics as a discipline. This is an attitude exhibited, for example, by Aitchison (1981, p.27). There is also a widespread tendency for linguists, in the absence of empirical evidence, to play down the impact of prescriptivism. In the first edition of *English with an Accent* (1997), for example, Rosina Lippi-Green states that “[l]anguages change whether we like it or not. Attempts to stop spoken language from changing are not unknown in the history of the world, *but they are universally without success*” (p.10;

emphasis added). Likewise, David Crystal describes the focus of his 2006 monograph *The Fight for English* as being “the story of a group of people who tried to shape the language in their own image but, generation after generation, failed” (p.ix). As Anne Curzan has written, however, “recognizing the humanness of the prescriptive impulse is not the same as condoning all prescriptive efforts” (2014, p.8). To disregard prescriptive activities is to risk overlooking a decisive factor in the development of Late Modern English.

Moreover, as Curzan has further noted, many prescriptive endeavours have been successful. She concludes that “people who have tried to shape the language have not been unsuccessful...even if the end product does not match their ideal image” (2014, p.7). Disagreement on the success of such endeavours has traditionally resulted from a lack of data on the subject, as was recognized as early as 1980 by McKay, who writes that

Data on the effectiveness of prescriptivism and the reasons for its success or failure are clearly needed since some investigators view the work of prescriptive linguists as misguided and futile, citing cases where the linguistic community has ignored prescriptions, whereas others view prescriptivism as awesomely successful. (p.364)

Without data quantifying its impact, prescriptivism has traditionally been consigned to the remit of those considering historical developments in language attitudes. This has resulted in the creation of an artificial dichotomy between studies of language attitudes on the one hand, and those of technical, structural developments in the language, on the other. This dichotomy is only slowly beginning to be eroded, for instance by those works exploring the relationship between precept and usage described in §2.3.2 below, and also by the consistent consideration of prescriptivism as a potential explanatory factor behind observed changes; as for example is found in Leech, Hundt, Mair, and Smith (2009).

The changes that have occurred in prescriptivism studies in the last four decades have therefore ushered in a wave of studies seeking to establish the influence of prescriptive comment, and it is to this growing body of literature that the present thesis seeks to contribute. As was mentioned in §1.1 this study will examine the mechanisms and influence of prescriptivism at the micro level, in order to ascertain the effectiveness of the methodologies employed here in identifying prescriptive activity and establishing its impact. As will be outlined in detail in §1.5, the principal aims of the study are twofold.



The first purpose of this study is to demonstrate how prescriptive activity, as opposed merely to codifying activity<sup>4</sup>, can be identified using corpus linguistic methodologies. This is the focus of Chapters 5 and 6, during which discourse analytic corpus methodologies are applied to a purpose-built corpus of literary reviews, with a view to determining whether the literary review periodicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are consistent sources of linguistic prescriptivism throughout the study period of 1750-1899. In Chapter 5, the discursive construction of grammar, grammaticality and grammarians is examined in detail, to determine whether prescriptivist discourses are a feature of review periodicals during the study period. Following this, in Chapter 6, attention turns to consideration of whether the review periodicals are sources of prescriptivist content throughout the study period, or whether a discernible ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in this genre can be identified. Keyword analysis underpins both of these chapters, and concordance and collocational analysis, as well as close qualitative analysis, are also utilized. Literary review periodicals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have long been hypothesized as a consistent source of linguistic prescription, but no attempt has so far been made to use modern corpus methodologies to establish this empirically. In Chapters 5 and 6, a variety of discourse-analytic and other corpus methodologies will be applied to a purpose-built review corpus, in order to provide the first empirical evidence as to the truth of this hypothesis.

The second purpose of this study, following on from this preliminary work, is to test the effectiveness of using change point detection in analysing the impact of such prescriptive activity. This will be achieved using a case study of the prose writings of a single author, Fanny Burney (1752-1840, *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Burney [*married name D’Arblay*], Frances [*Fanny*]). Burney’s third novel, *Camilla*, was subjected to detailed prescriptive comment in a review of 1796. As such, her usage both before and after this date will be examined for evidence of responsiveness to targeted grammatical criticism; again, using a purpose-built corpus. Using corpus methodologies and change point detection, the 1796 review’s influence on Burney’s idiolect will be established. These investigations are reported in Chapters 7 and 8.

As will be outlined in detail in Chapter 4, both the corpora used in Chapters 5 and 6 and Chapters 7-9 respectively have thus been specially compiled for use in this study. The first, used in Chapters 5 and 6, is named the Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century English

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<sup>4</sup> Walsh (2016) distinguishes codification and prescriptivism as follows: codification means “explicitly laying down rules about usage”, whereas prescriptivism “labels certain usages as ‘correct’ (this implies the rejection of others)” (p.7). She notes that whilst codification “tends to be accompanied by prescriptivism”, this is not necessarily always the case (2016, p.7).

Reviews (henceforth known as CENCER). It is comprised of articles from literary review periodicals during the period 1750-1899. The second corpus, used in Chapters 7-9, is comprised of the prose writings of Fanny Burney, both published and private letters and diaries unpublished during her lifetime. The make-up of these corpora will be outlined in detail in Chapter 4, whilst a more detailed outline of the structure of this thesis may be found in §1.5.

### 1.3 The impact of review periodicals

It is impossible to overstate the cultural influence which literary review periodicals had garnered by the turn of the nineteenth century. They made and decimated literary careers, and have also been hypothesized to have shaped the language we use to this day (cf. Basker, 1989; McIntosh, 1998; Percy, 2009). The Modern period in English saw a dramatic rise in the number of periodicals of all types being published. As James Basker notes in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Literary Criticism* (Volume 4, 1997), this increase began fitfully in the seventeenth century, when the “political upheaval and various licencing acts caused erratic shifts” (p.316) in the numbers being published from one year to the next. According to Basker, there were “three periodicals in print in 1641, then fifty-nine in 1642, for example, or thirty-four in 1660 and then seven in 1661” (1989, p.316). However, both Basker and other authorities, for example Carey McIntosh, in *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800* (1998), highlight that towards the end of the seventeenth century, the turbulence of the periodical marketplace eased. From then on, there was a gradual but steady rise in the numbers appearing, with the publication of “an average of five periodicals per year from 1661 to 1678, gr[owing] to twenty-five titles by 1700, ninety in 1750 and 264 in 1800” (Basker 1989, p.316). As will be outlined in §1.5, very few of these periodicals can be identified even as progenitors of the mature review periodical, but this early periodical marketplace did establish the foundations for the runaway success which review periodicals enjoyed from the 1750s onwards.

The dramatic growth of the periodical genre coincided with the beginning of a major cultural transition, which occurred during the period covered by this study: 1750-1899. This transition, from “polite” to “educated” English, is the subject of Richard Watt’s ‘From polite language to educated language: The re-emergence of an ideology’ (2002). Here, Watt contends that “[e]ighteenth century British society...was obsessed by the idea of politeness” (p.155), but that by the twentieth century, just after the end of the study period (1750-1899), “the ideology of standardisation and the ideology of education” (p.171) were in the ascendant. Concluding that

“the acquisition and use of Standard English appeared to guarantee social climbers in the eighteenth century access to the world of politeness” (p.155), Watts argues that “‘polite language’ came to mean ‘standard language’” and that ultimately, as a result, “the acquisition and use of Standard English is misused...as a guarantor of access to the world of education” (p.155). The flipside of this, of course, is that Standard English could also be used as a guarantor of exclusion.

The period 1700-1900 is therefore witness to a sea change in the cultural acceptability of public displays of education. In ‘How book reviewers became language guardians’, Carol Percy notes that in the eighteenth century “the display of expertise was impolite: the pedant and the gentleman were often opposed” (2010a, p.57). The no-holds-barred criticism of the highly successful review periodicals of the late eighteenth century contributed, however, to the gradual erosion of this dichotomy, and ultimately laid the foundations for the emergence of literary scholarship in British universities in the late nineteenth century, and the demise of what might be considered ‘amateur’ criticism.

In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Joanne Shattock charts the development of criticism through the period in question, noting that the “encyclopaedic” monthly review periodicals of the later eighteenth century were ultimately succeeded by quarterly publications between 1800 and 1840, then “the ‘higher journalism’ of the mid-century...and the emerging literary scholarship of the universities” (2013, p.45). Focusing particular attention on the divergence of popular reviewing and the scholarly criticism which rendered periodical criticism all but obsolete towards the end of the nineteenth century, Shattock concludes that “[b]y the end of the nineteenth century, and even more certainly by 1914, the conditions and contexts of literary criticism had been completely transformed” (p.45).

In Chapter 3, the processes by which this transformation came about and its linguistic ramifications will be explored in detail. This is primarily a story of professionalization, and one which mirrors the process by which authority in linguistic matters shifted from polymathic amateurs with an interest in language, including some reviewers, in the eighteenth century, to specialist university academics in the twentieth. The decline of the system of literary patronage led to the professionalization of the author, and consequently the book reviewer. At around the same time, the norms of English began to be codified in grammar books, dictionaries and usage guides. Both the eighteenth-century book reviewer and the eighteenth-century language ‘expert’ were self-appointed and usually lacking in any relevant qualification, yet both are

hypothesized to have been enormously influential. This thesis will show how periodical reviewers attempted to impose their personal preferences on the language (the focus of Chapters 5 and 6), thereby influencing contemporary language usage (as demonstrated in Chapters 7 and 8) and, potentially, the historical development of English.

#### 1.4 A case study of prescriptive impact

As was mentioned in §1.2 above, Chapters 7, 8, and 9 constitute a case study of an author criticized in the late eighteenth century for using grammatical variants perceived by a periodical reviewer to be nonstandard. Novelist, playwright, and prolific diarist and letter-writer Frances (Fanny) Burney (*ODNB*, s.v. ‘Burney [*married name D’Arblay*], Frances [*Fanny*]) was selected as the subject of this case study. Burney was born in 1752, and lived long into the nineteenth century; dying aged 88 in 1840. As such, she was born during the decade in which grammatical criticism became a feature of review periodicals (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008, p.8), and her life spanned much of what is referred to by some (see §1.1 above) as the ‘Age of Prescriptivism’. This includes “a period of at least twenty-five years” during which two processes of standardization often conceptualized as consecutive, codification and prescription, “were in operation simultaneously” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008, p.10). This, combined with the sheer volume of her extant writings, mean that Burney is a prime candidate for idiolectal study into the impact of prescriptive commentary on individual usage.

Burney was a prolific writer from a very young age, though none of her juvenile writings survived (see §4.2.2). Her extant adult writings, however, span an impressive 71 years, between 1768, when Burney was just 15 years old, and 1739, when she was 87. In addition to these private writings moreover, Burney had six prose works published during her lifetime. Of these, four were novels. Her first novel, *Evelina*, was published anonymously in 1778 and was an immediate public success; being released in both second and third editions during the course of 1779. Capitalizing on this success, Burney published her second novel, *Cecilia*, soon after, in 1782. Her enjoyment of literary celebrity in subsequent years and her appointment as Deputy Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte during the later 1780s and into 1790 meant that her next novel, *Camilla*, was not written until the mid-1790s. It was eventually published in 1796; proving less successful than her earlier works. *Camilla* also attracted the attention of the *Monthly Review*, which published an article which was critical of Burney’s perceived used of

nonstandard linguistic variants. It is this article which underpins the investigations reported in Chapters 7 and 8 below.

Despite Burney's chagrin at having been criticized in this way (see §3.3.4), she later published a fourth novel. *The Wanderer* was published in 1814, but sales were sluggish and it was not reprinted until the twentieth century. In addition to the works of fiction for which she is now best known, Burney also published a pamphlet called *Brief Reflections relative to the Emigrant French Clergy*, in 1793. She also, in 1832, produced a laudatory biography of her father, music historian Charles Burney: *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*.

Burney's extensive private writings have traditionally been valued as historical artefacts, for their accounts of her life experiences, and have not comprehensively been mined as rich sources of linguistic data. The publication of *Evelina* catapulted Burney into the society of the literary circle at Streatham Park, making her a protégée of Samuel Johnson, whilst her novels' popularity with Queen Charlotte resulted in her appointment to Court in the 1780s, where she witnessed first-hand the 'madness' of George III. In 1793, she married a French émigré, and was forced in the early 1800s to remain in France for ten years, when the Peace of Amiens broke down and the French authorities warned her husband that to leave the country would provoke suspicion. Whilst there, she underwent an unanaesthetised mastectomy; later writing a vivid account of the experience, and in 1815 she wrote an eyewitness account of the Battle of Waterloo.

The historical value of Burney's astonishing letters and journals is recognised, therefore, but their linguistic value has not, traditionally, been fully appreciated. Although Burney's language use is a frequent subject of discussion for historians of the language engaging generally with the concept of 'eighteenth-century English', none of these studies have used a comprehensive corpus of Burney's extant prose writings. On the contrary, her current status in linguistic scholarship is as one of several individuals who tend to be heralded as exemplary users of 'eighteenth-century English'. Richard Bailey, for example, identifies Burney as "simply drawing on English that permitted the freedom to use whatever variant one might choose without fear of puristic censure" without addressing the drastic diachronic changes which, as will be shown below, take place over the course of her lifetime.

One reason for this overly simplistic depiction of Burney's idiolect as representative of pre-codification language seems to be her pervasive use of sociolinguistic markers as tools of characterization. The conscious deployment of non-standard forms in dialogue for purposes of

characterization, which will be discussed in further detail in §4.4, can confound approaches based solely on corpus frequency and requires careful manual analysis. However, as will be demonstrated, such careful analysis can bear fruit in revealing her attitudes to certain forms, and the ways in which those attitudes change and develop.

Whilst Burney's linguistic awareness can pose challenges to an analysis of her usage, therefore, it also adds a fascinating and valuable dimension to the study of her language. Chapters 7-9 will show the value of Burney's vast written output as a source for extending our understanding of Late Modern English, and also the richness and complexity of Burney's own hierarchical conception of sociolinguistic markedness. This hierarchical conception, as reported in Chapter 7, sees Burney retain variants she has come to regard as stigmatized, for purposes of characterization. This enables nuanced conclusions to be drawn about her responsiveness to the linguistic proscriptions targeted at her by the *Monthly Review*. Whilst it has long been recognised that these writings provide "an almost unique opportunity to study the variation within a single lifetime in use of particular forms which were at the time the subject of personal, i.e. Fanny's own, as well as public scrutiny" (Tieken, 1991, p.158), therefore, the value of Burney's writings as artefacts of historical language attitudes have not, heretofore, been appreciated. Chapters 7-9, in reporting the first systematic study of changes in Burney's language practice to be undertaken, demonstrate the remarkable suitability of this dataset to a study of this kind.

Further detail on Burney's language use, including her conscious deployment of linguistic variants perceived as nonstandard, may be found in §4.4, whilst her response to the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla* is outlined in §3.3.4. In what follows, a detailed outline of the contents of this thesis and the research questions which it addresses may be found.

## 1.5 Research questions and the structure of this thesis

Periodical review culture in Britain began with the founding of the first literary review periodical, the *Monthly Review*, in 1749. Founded by bookseller Ralph Griffiths, it contained linguistic criticism of published texts from its fourth issue (Griffiths, 1749). As dozens of similar publications emerged onto the market later in the decade and century, they followed suit. Percy contends that the reviewers of the mid to late eighteenth century "regularly and publicly subjected writers to imperfectly-codified grammatical standards" (2009, p.138). She

attributes this recourse to grammatical correctness to the reviewers' desire for "a seemingly objective index of a book's quality and its writer's education" (Percy, 2010a, p.79).

It is claimed that, as a result, the review periodicals became a major source of prescriptive material. Percy has contended that "the ideology of standardization was appropriated by anonymous critics" (2010a, p.79); whilst Carey McIntosh notes that the market-leaders, the *Monthly* and the *Critical Review*, "made a speciality of savaging what [they] considered bad English" (2005, p.184).

The hypothesis that review periodicals were a consistent and notable source of prescriptivism seems highly plausible; the review periodicals do appear preoccupied with grammatical correctness. However, as yet there exists no quantitative evidence to support the theory. The first goal of this thesis is therefore to provide an empirical basis for work in this field, using corpus-based methods on a corpus of reviews dating from 1750-1899. This corpus, the Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century English Reviews (CENCER) is, as will be outlined in detail in §4.2.1, comprised of randomly-sampled review articles taken from the ProQuest 'British Periodicals' database.<sup>5</sup> It contains 1.2 million words, spread across 15 decade-long sub-corpora of approximately 80,000 words each.

Using CENCER, a variety of discourse-analytic corpus linguistic methods have been used to interrogate prevailing assumptions about the content of review periodicals, and to address the following preliminary research question:

1. How are grammar, grammarians, and grammaticality discursively constructed in the literary review periodicals of the Late Modern period?

This question will be answered in Chapter 5, where a detailed examination of the discourses manifesting in the literary review periodicals of 1750-1899 may be found. Here, the frequency with which indicators of prescriptivism, such as evaluative metalinguistic labels and grammatical terminology, occur within the CENCER corpus. Keyness analysis will play an important role in both Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 5, it will underpin the identification of indicators of prescriptive discourses, by allowing evaluation of whether the frequency of such terms is unusually high by comparison with a general corpus of Late Modern English. The

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<sup>5</sup> Each text must be sourced as a graphics file, and converted into a machine-readable format compatible with corpus analysis packages. ABBYY's 'PDF Transformer' (version 3.0) will be used for this, though its output when converting texts from this period is far from perfect and requires extensive manual checking and correction. See §4.2.1 for an outline of the sampling process.

corpus used for this comparison is the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0 (CLMET). In §5.4, an investigation of how grammar and grammatical correctness are constructed discursively within CENCER (using the indicators of prescriptivism identified in foregoing sections) will be conducted.

Following this, Chapter 6 will seek to determine whether the prescriptivism identified in Chapter 5 was an ephemeral phenomenon, by addressing the following research question:

2. Is prescriptive commentary a regular feature of Late Modern review periodicals throughout the study period?

The intention here is to ascertain whether prescriptive commentary is a regular, or merely salient, feature of the Late Modern literary review periodical. As in Chapter 5, keyword analysis will underpin these investigations. In §6.2, keyness data will be analysed, to identify any trends in linguistic criticism across the 10-year sub-corpora covering the period 1750-1899. In §6.3, the frequency of other words identified in Chapter 5 as reliable indicators of linguistic criticism in CENCER will be analysed, with the intention of determining whether an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ exists within the review periodical genre. The final section of Chapter 6, §6.4, will then draw conclusions, on the basis of the foregoing analyses conducted in Chapters 5 and 6. Here, the nature of the periodical reviewers’ engagement with one another and reviewed authors will be considered, as the final research question of this portion of the thesis is addressed:

3. Can periodical reviewers can be considered to have constituted a prescriptive discourse community or community of practice?

As will be outlined in §4.3.3, the corpus analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 will be conducted using *WordSmith*, a concordancing program which allows for the compilation of frequency and alphabetical lists, the viewing of key words in context, and the calculation of collocational strength and keyness. To conduct the Keyness Analysis, a keyword list for each of the CENCER sub-corpora will be compiled in *WordSmith*, using the open-access Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) as a reference corpus. This keyword list will guide subsequent analysis, by suggesting lexical items which warrant further investigation. Its primary utility, though, is likely to be in demonstrating the saliency of matters of grammatical correctness as a preoccupation within CENCER. The discursive construction of grammar and grammatical correctness will also be investigated via the triangulation of two other methods of corpus



analysis: concordance and collocation. This approach combines the benefits of quantitative and qualitative analyses, enabling validity checks of researcher hypotheses and intuition to be carried out.

Definitions of prescriptivism, such as that provided by Anne Curzan in her book-length treatment of the issue, generally stipulate, 1) that it involves “language rules about ‘good’ or ‘better’ or ‘correct’ usage”, 2) that these rules are “created, perpetuated, and enforced by widely recognized, often institutionalized language authorities”, and 3) that they are “then subsequently perpetuated at the more individual level, often with reference to these culturally sanctioned language authorities” (2014, p.5). The corpus analysis reported in Chapter 6 will use such definitions to determine whether the review periodicals are, as has been hypothesized, a consistent source of prescriptive comment. If this is the case, this thesis will provide the first quantitative basis for claims that prescriptive material within review periodicals “tightened the screws of linguistic self-consciousness”, by “second[ing] and apply[ing] many of the rules of prescriptive grammar” (McIntosh, 1998, pp.182-4), possibly thereby “catalys[ing] the rise of prescriptivism” (Percy 2009, p.118).

There is no data in existence to prove this causation, but it is, as was mentioned above, one which many historians of the language have posited. Like McIntosh and Percy, James Basker contends that “[b]y far the most telling evidence of the power of these ‘new critics’ is the way authors took the reviewers’ advice and corrected or amended their works” (1988, p.177). Yet such hypotheses have been investigated using only qualitative, primarily bibliographical, techniques (see Basker, 1998; Bloom, 1979). Systematic, corpus-based investigation of this hypothesis will comprise Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis, as I attempt to quantify the effect which prescriptive commentary in a review periodical had on an individual’s language practice, and seek to answer the following research question:

4. Is it possible to establish a link between review periodicals’ normative commentaries and change in the language practice of a targeted author?
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Language historians have had to be vague in their treatment of the impact of prescriptivism from any source. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, for example, states that “[t]hese newly published grammars and dictionaries did not, of course, have an immediate effect on the language. Instead, throughout the period, there continued to be a considerable amount of variation” (2012, p.301). In fact, since attempts to quantify the impact of codifying texts are problematic, their effects on the language are, to all intents and purposes, unknown. It was

briefly noted above that attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of Late Modern normative grammars have become increasingly common in the past decade (cf. Auer and González-Díaz (2005), Yáñez-Bouza (2006), and Anderwald (2012; 2014)). This will be the subject of discussion in §2.3. As will be outlined there, such studies generally use two corpora in tandem, as their authors attempt to assess whether the trends in usage noted in a ‘usage’ corpus reflect the normative pronouncements made in a ‘precept’ corpus. The challenges presented by this methodology will be addressed in §2.3.2. For now, suffice it to say that one of the major issues with the design of studies at the macro level is that it is impossible to pinpoint which individual language users had access to which grammars.

However, an individual’s interaction with a negative review is often a notable experience, documented in diaries, correspondence, or subsequent publications; as is the case with Burney and the 1796 review of *Camilla* (as will be outlined in detail in §3.3.4). Even where this is not the case, human nature dictates that evaluative comment on an individual’s written output will be of interest to that individual. We might therefore assume that where prescriptive comment is targeted at an author, they may be aware of it. The apparent preoccupation of literary review periodicals with matters of grammatical correctness therefore provides a unique opportunity to quantify the effect of individually-targeted prescriptive comment.

Focusing on an individual whose writing has been targeted for criticism has several advantages; the first being manageability. Where they include criticism of specific features, reviews tend to cite only a small number of ‘ungrammatical’ constructions. Whilst it would be impractical to attempt to evaluate the impact of a grammar, containing strictures on dozens or even hundreds of grammatical variants, even if an individual’s access to that particular grammar could be established, it is relatively straightforward to evaluate the impact of a single review. Chapters 7 and 8 are therefore devoted to a case study of Burney’s language practice, in relation to grammatical features which are explicitly censured in a 1796 review of her third novel, *Camilla* (1796). This approach is not equivalent to attempts to evaluate the wholesale impact of grammars, which might be considered macro studies. It is more akin in scope to idiolectal studies of LModE, such as those conducted on the language of Robert Lowth and Jane Austen by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2011; 2013; 2014). No idiolectal studies of this period have, however, explicitly intended to measure the effects of prescriptivism on the usage of their subjects. This is perhaps because of a difficulty parallel to that experienced by those who have conducted such studies at the macro level: an inability to reliably establish causation.

Establishing causation beyond doubt is always going to be challenging, even at the micro level, as the possibility of other influences on the language of an individual can never be excluded entirely. This thesis will utilize change point detection (see §4.6) in order to establish a probability level for the link between the review and any detected changes in Burney's usage. Purpose-built change point models will be applied to each of the grammatical variants discussed in §4.5, to determine whether their frequency alters following Burney's exposure to the review of *Camilla*. Any change point for a variant targeted by the reviewer and the publication of the review which is detected to occur with a high probability level, will be considered strongly to suggest a causative, rather than merely correlatory relationship, as change point detection pinpoints such a narrow window of time during which a change has occurred. It is highly unlikely that any change point detected in the immediate vicinity of the review would occur by chance. Chapters 7 and 8 will therefore also address a further research question:

5. Does change point detection (CPD) allow for the more reliable evaluation of the impact of prescriptivism than has previously been possible?

Chapters 7 and 8 therefore comprise a case study of Burney's language, using a 3-million-word corpus of her published and private writings. Specifically, they investigate her use of a number of grammatical constructions, including some of those targeted for criticism in a review by the *Monthly Review* in 1796: adverbial *scarce* and *admirable*, past participial *strove*, and past tense intransitive *laid*. Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrate how, by providing a sophisticated correlation which can be considered indicative of causation, the CPD method can evaluate the impact of such criticism.

Chapters 7 and 8 not only demonstrate the remarkable suitability of the CPD method in establishing the impact of targeted prescriptive criticism, however. The findings reported here also suggest that change point detection may have the potential to suggest other periods of significant change at an idiolectal level. Chapter 9 therefore explores how the CPD method can be used to explore Burney's changing language practice in relation to the other linguistic variables outlined in §4.5 below, which do not seem to have been subject to prescriptive attention. In doing this, Chapter 9 will address the final research question of this thesis:

6. Does change point detection aid analysis of diachronic change in idiolectal data where targeted prescriptivism does not seem to have occurred?

It must be noted here that Burney is an ideal candidate for this type of study. Her extant writings are extensive, and cover a period of 71 years, providing ample data for analysis. In addition to her published works, moreover, there is extant a large dataset of her private writings, which doubles the word-count of the corpus used in this thesis to more than 3 million words. As will be discussed in §3.3.4, Burney's exposure to the 1796 *Monthly* review is documented in a letter to her father, and is the only known contemporary review of her works containing grammatical criticism. Chapter 9 will begin the evaluation of this method under less ideal circumstances, whilst §10.3 will outline its proposed continuation.

In what follows in Chapter 2, the processes of standardization manifesting in the language during the Late Modern period will be explored in more detail (§2.2 and §2.3). Then in Chapter 3, the culture surrounding periodical reviewing during this period will be considered in depth (§3.2 and §3.3), as will Burney's relationship to the review periodicals (§3.3.4). In Chapter 4, the corpora and methodologies used in Chapters 5-9 will be outlined in detail. As was discussed above, Chapters 5 and 6 are then devoted to establishing the role of prescriptivism in periodical reviewing; whilst Chapters 7 and 8 are devoted to examining Burney's responsiveness to the 1796 review of *Camilla*, before Chapter 9 examines the utility of the CPD method in other contexts. Finally, Chapter 10 will consider the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings presented, in relation to the six research questions outlined above, as well as the ways in which this research can be extended and continued.

## 2 CONTEXT: STANDARDIZATION PROCESSES IN LATE MODERN ENGLISH

### 2.1 An Age of Codification, Prescriptivism, or both?

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the present study in the context of the processes of standardization which occurred during the Modern period of English (1500-present day, cf. Culpeper 2015, p.15), and the literature on this subject. It takes as its starting point the most influential taxonomy of standardization processes, Haugen's (1966), which posits the following four main reference points for a discussion of standardization:

- 1) Selection of norm
- 2) Codification of form
- 3) Elaboration of function
- 4) Acceptance by the community (Haugen, 1966, p.933)

Milroy and Milroy (1992, p.27), however, propose an extended, seven-stage, model, which includes the following additional stages:

- 5) Maintenance
- 6) Prestige
- 7) Prescription

According to Bergs and Brinton (2012, p.940), "the 18<sup>th</sup> century can clearly be labelled the codification stage, with the subsequent stages partly overlapping with [codification] and also covering the rest of the Late Modern English period". The ways in which these stages overlap and co-exist will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

### 2.2 Codification

#### 2.2.1 Towards an Academy of English

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw calls for an Academy of the English language from pre-eminent figures such as John Dryden (1664), Daniel Defoe (1697), and Jonathan Swift (1712). It was proposed that an official body along the lines of France's Académie Française (established 1635) would codify the rules of correct English, and prevent deterioration or, crucially, changes that would render contemporary authors unintelligible to

future generations. In his ‘A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, & Ascertaining the English Tongue’ (1712), Jonathan Swift lobbied Queen Anne’s chief minister, the Earl of Oxford, writing:

My Lord; I do here in the Name of all the Learned and Polite Persons of the Nation, complain to your Lordship, as *First Minister*, that our Language is extremely imperfect, that its daily Improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions; and the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities; and, that in many Instances, it offends against every Part of Grammar. (1712, p.1)

According to Ayres Bennett and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2016), “discussion about the establishment of an English Academy had gained momentum” (p.110). They cite the publication of an anonymous pamphlet called *Bellum Grammaticale* in 1712 as evidence that the formation of an Academy was regarded as imminent. The *Bellum Grammaticale* compares three recently-published grammar books, favouring one and denigrating the others. It has been suggested that one of the authors of the lauded grammar was also the author of the pamphlet (Buschmann-Göbels, 2008, p.88) and that its publication was intended to promote his grammar book as the basis for the “soon-to-be established academy” (Ayres Bennett and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2016, p.110).

Queen Anne (1665-1714) was receptive to the notion of an Academy, and prepared to back it financially. It seemed therefore, in the early 1710s, that the establishment of an Academy of English was imminent. However, this prospect was destroyed when Queen Anne died in 1714 and the momentum towards this establishment was lost. After this, in the words of Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, “[c]odifying the English language...became the result of private enterprise” (2012, p.300) by a band of independent amateurs. These codifiers’ independence is highly significant, as it resulted in their normative statements differing widely. Many based their pre- and proscriptions on individual predilections alone (Finegan, 1992, p.121; 1998, pp.536-547), though many others attempted to base their guidelines variously on the usage of favourably-regarded social groups, logic, analogy, and propriety (Leonard, 1929, p.81). Whatever the basis for their pronouncements, by the late eighteenth-century, the codifiers’ *ipse dixit* statements were regarded as authoritative in many quarters.

### 2.2.2 The explosion of grammaticography

Such amateur practices of codification proliferated at an unprecedented rate after 1750, with 83% of the grammars published during the eighteenth century being produced after this date (Sundby et al., 1991, p.14). This high rate of publication continued into the nineteenth century (Michael 1991; 1997), though the majority of grammars published then were either reprints or later editions of eighteenth-century works. These grammars were actively engaged both in norm selection and norm construction, as well as in generating and maintaining what we now know as the standard language ideology; the notion that one correct way of using language exists.

As such, the efforts of the codifiers are said to have caused language attitudes to have “hardened into ideology” (Bailey, 1996, p.215), by 1800. That linguistic correctness so quickly became an ideal in Late Modern England is in part due to its association with politeness and refinement (Finegan, p.1992, p.106), both of which were highly prized in eighteenth-century society. The link between prescriptive initiatives and ideals of politeness, which Klein has called “polite prescriptivism” (1994, p.31) has been linked to high levels of linguistic and social self-consciousness during the Late Modern period, as “social shibboleths” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2012, p.302) emerged and became entrenched. As Bailey has noted, “[u]sing standard forms of the language was a requirement for gentility” (1996, p.3), meaning that the socially marginalized had ‘cheat sheets’ for gentility, both in the form of grammars and, increasingly in the nineteenth century, works on orthoepy (Mugglestone, 2007). It also, however, meant increasing self-consciousness for language users about the linguistic forms and constructions that they used.

The middle classes are thought to have been particularly susceptible to this kind of self-consciousness. The middle-class portions of society grew steadily throughout the eighteenth century, and “sought acceptance by the established elite” (Hickey, 2010, p.8). Hickey, in fact, surmises that the middle classes comprised the principal market for prescriptive works during the Late Modern period; he notes that “[f]or the poorer segments of English society...books were beyond their financial reach” and is dubious that the social elite would have been interested in publications “by their social inferiors” (8). With access to prescriptive materials, however, came ever-heightened linguistic insecurity. Hickey identifies this as “a lasting, if unintended, legacy of the eighteenth century” (2010, p.20), and as will now be discussed, it was hugely influential as a driving force behind the proliferation of normative grammars.

### 2.2.3 A climate of linguistic insecurity

The middle class was not the only demographic to experience linguistic insecurity during the eighteenth century; users of English dialects, and most especially Scottish and Irish varieties of English, were also strongly encouraged to suppress non-standard features of their usage (Hickey, 2010, p.17). James Boswell was famously, as a Scot, extremely insecure about his idiolect and accent, and has been shown as a consequence to have modelled his usage on that of Dr. Johnson (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1986, p.308).

The existence of widespread linguistic insecurity in eighteenth century England is particularly pertinent to the present study, given that the focus of Chapters 7-9 is on the usage of Fanny Burney. Modern sociolinguistic findings suggest that women are particularly responsive to norms of linguistic correctness (cf. Cameron & Coates, 1985, p.144). Added to this, Burney was both middle-class and of Scottish heritage. In an indication of how Scottish ancestry was regarded in the social circles in which the family moved, Fanny's father Charles Burney had removed the Gaelic prefix "Mac" from their surname prior to her birth (Doody, 2015, p.72). Margaret Doody, in her monograph on names in Jane Austen's works, notes however that "English people could usually tell at once whether a surname was English, Norman-English, Scottish, Welsh, or native Irish" (2015, p.72). It is likely, therefore, that the Burneys' Celtic heritage would still have been transparent, and a source of linguistic self-consciousness for Fanny.

As a middle-class woman with Scottish ancestry and a Scottish name, it is therefore reasonable to assume that Burney felt a higher degree of linguistic insecurity than many contemporaneous authors. Tieken-Boon van Ostade attributes her "careful" use of certain non-standard variants to these factors (2010, p.61). She moreover seems painfully conscious of the capacity of language to raise and obliterate social reputation in the society in which she lives. Chapters 7-9 will demonstrate how pivotal the conscious deployment of non-standard linguistic variants is to characterization in Burney's fictional writing. As will be discussed in §4.4, her complex use of grammatical variance in dialogue confounds investigative approaches based solely on corpus frequency, and requires careful close reading of her texts. Such close reading can bear fruit in revealing her attitudes to certain linguistic variants, as well as the ways in which those attitudes change and develop. This metalinguistic orientation is not confined to her published writings, though it is more commonly found there. In a highly relevant diary entry of 1779, she famously mocks Richard Sheridan's Irish "brogue" (Tieken, 2006, p.247).



One apparent consequence of this pervasive linguistic insecurity appears to be the development during the Late Modern period of widespread stylistic stratification, and the emergence of two distinguishable ‘standards’ of usage: one for published writing, the other for private. This phenomenon has been investigated in most depth for the spelling system (Osselton, 1984), though it has also been shown to manifest itself at the level of grammar (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1998; 2002; 2005a; 2011). Osselton characterises epistolary English during the eighteenth century as having “its own rules and tendencies; it is independent of, though it stands in a clear relationship to, the system used by the printers” (1984, p.125). The precise role played by what is known as the “printer’s standard” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1998) during the Late Modern period is unclear. It seems likely, however, that the routine reorganization of texts, during the printing process, increased awareness of norms of correctness, and encouraged authors, over time, to develop two differentiable styles.

The picture is complicated, however, by the documented expectation of, and even reliance on, editorial intervention during printing, by some authors, such as Sarah Fielding and Robert Lowth (Tieken, 1998, p.458). Both of these authors were writing in the mid-eighteenth century, but contemporary sources suggest that this expectation may have persisted into the nineteenth century: Caleb Stower, in his *Printer’s Grammar* (1808), for instance, notes that “[m]ost authors expect their Printer to spell, point, and digest their copy, that it may be intelligible and significant to the Reader” (quoted in Mugglestone, 2012, p.346). Whatever the complexities of this situation, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1998; 2003; 2005a) has shown repeatedly that unmonitored vernacular usage, in private and personal writings, differs significantly from more formal writings; whether in print or, for example, in formal letters, where the correspondents were not intimate (2003a, p.156). Such evidence highlights the importance of studying both vernacular and monitored usage when evaluating the impact of prescriptivism in Late Modern English.

## 2.3 Prescriptivism

### 2.3.1 Prescriptivism and Descriptivism: the Grammarians and the ‘New Philology’

As was outlined in §1.1, there is lack of consensus about where prescriptivism can be said to have begun, and the label ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ has been variously applied to the eighteenth (Auer, 2009), nineteenth (Anderwald, 2016) and twenty and twenty-first centuries (Tieken-

Boon van Ostade, 2019). It is broadly accepted by those conducting investigations into the relationship between normative precepts and general language usage, however, that the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century were a locus for prescriptive activity, and that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, prescriptivism “experience[d] a decline...while descriptivism slowly gain[ed] ground” (Yáñez-Bouza, 2015, p.93). This period in the late nineteenth century is when the so-called ‘New Philology’ took hold. Bailey conceptualizes this supposed development, which is thought to have its basis in the changing cultural relationship of language and science, as the gradual replacement of “[a]pprehension and disapproval” with “caution” (1996, p.3). It is easy to discern a change in the tone of publications in the second half of the nineteenth century. Whereas during the long eighteenth century (c.1688-1815) theories of language had centred on universal grammar, stringent notions of correctness, and *a priori* reasoning, from the mid-nineteenth century, as the New Philology from the Continent took hold, empirical and *a posteriori* methods came to predominate. Aarselff credits Dugald Stewart with paving the way for this movement, noting that he “divorced philosophy from the study of language, and thus helped prepare the ground for philology proper” (1967, p.102). It was the founders of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and historical grammarians such as Robert Latham and Henry Sweet, however, who established the new empirical methodology in the mainstream, and effected what Yáñez-Bouza calls the “transition from old to new, from amateurism to linguistic professionalism” (2015, p.16). It will be enlightening to establish whether this trajectory from prescriptivism to descriptivism is also discernible in review periodical content.

### 2.3.2 Quantifying the effects of prescriptivism

The past decades have seen a surge of interest in prescriptivism, resulting in the publication of four volumes devoted solely to the issue (Beal et al., 2008; Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2008; Percy and Davidson, 2012; Curzan, 2014). Prior to this, however, treatments of prescriptivism were generally to be found in histories of the language, within chapters on standardization or variation (e.g. Görlach, 1999; Crowley, 2008). Many histories, moreover, go further than merely side-lining of the issue, presenting prescriptivism straightforwardly as a factor which has actively impeded language change. This is the case with Elly van Gelderen’s *A History of the English Language* (2006), in which prescriptive tenets are described as factors which might “inhibit internal change” (p.8).

As Curzan notes, however, “[s]ome recent histories of the language that adhere less to the traditional periodization model have successfully integrated language attitudes into the discussion of language history” (2014, p.9). Curzan cites Crystal’s (2004) and Mugglestone’s (2006) histories as examples of this; Crystal devotes a chapter to “Standard rules” (2004, p.392), whilst Mugglestone’s edited collection contains a chapter named “English at the Onset of the Normative Tradition”, by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006, p.298). By comparison, Baugh and Cable’s *A History of the English Language* contains only a chapter called “The Appeal to Authority, 1650-1800” which addresses prescriptivism, albeit briefly, and concludes that “[i]f we attempt to view the work of eighteenth-century grammarians in retrospect and estimate the results that they achieved, we shall find them not inconsiderable” (2013, p.279). However, the following chapter, named “The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries”, fails to mention prescriptivism at all.

The increased amount of attention paid by some histories of the language to the issues surrounding prescriptivism is one manifestation of the burgeoning interest in the subject. Another, mentioned above, is the emergence of several volumes devoted to it. Most of these focus more on the production of language norms than on their impact. Beal et al.’s edited collection *Perspectives on Prescriptivism* (2008) contains contributions which principally explore language attitudes and codifying activities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though certain papers, such as Oldireva Gustafsson’s (p.83), examine empirical evidence of the influence of codified norms. Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s edited collection of the same year, *Grammars, Grammarians and Grammar-Writing in Eighteenth-Century England*, likewise contains contributions which strictly speaking relate more to the “codification” stage of the standardization process than to the “prescription” stage. The volume explores how grammatical codification became a zeitgeist during the course of the eighteenth century, and the grammars which emerged from it. Percy and Davidson’s edited volume *The Languages of Nation* (2012) also takes as its focus the emergence of language norms, but takes an interdisciplinary approach to its subject-matter, and relates its conclusions to language contact and cross-cultural contexts.

Curzan’s monograph *Fixing English* (2014), by contrast, pays close attention to the relationship of prescriptive grammar to usage. Curzan presents case studies of prescriptive forces and examines empirical evidence regarding their impact. Her case studies relate to Microsoft Word’s “Grammar Checker” (p.64), notions of lexical legitimacy (p.93), non-sexist language reform (p.114), and the re-appropriation of lexical items by communities (p.137). Whilst

Curzan provides in-depth historical backgrounds for these case studies, however, most of the data she uses relate to twentieth-century usage.

The relationship between precept and usage is an emerging field of interest for historical linguists with an interest in prescriptivism, however. This means that studies attempting to quantify the extent of prescriptive texts' influence have begun to emerge in the last decade. Prior to 2000, as Anderwald has noted, "investigations of grammar writing are typically not linked to quantitative studies of language use; if they account for language use, this is often done anecdotally or intuitively, based on a single phenomenon, and/or a single or a small number of grammars" (2012, p.36). The only exception was a study conducted by Xavier Dekeyser (1975).

Dekeyser relates comments in nineteenth-century grammars to samples from a hand-collected corpus, but his work is understandably hamstrung by his lack of access to modern computational methods. Recent work which has benefited from access to recent advances in corpus methodologies can be divided into two categories. One group aims to trace the effectiveness of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century grammatical strictures on a large scale, at the macro level. They use corpora which are intended to represent the linguistic population as accurately as is possible, and make generalizations about entire language varieties based on their findings. The other group attempts to evaluate the impact of prescriptivism on a much smaller scale, at the micro level; performing idiolectal studies which enable them to track changes and trace influences much more easily and accurately.

At the macro level, if the goal is to discern a link between prescriptive comment and language change, there seems to have been little success. Amongst the earliest studies of this kind was Auer and González-Díaz's study of the inflectional subjunctive and double periphrastic comparison in Modern English (2005). On the basis of their findings, they suggest that prescriptions on the subjunctive "caused a transitory increase in [its] usage" (Auer and González-Díaz, p.335) which they label "a blip in its development" (p.323), but that for the double comparative, "the process of stigmatization of double forms is almost complete by the end of the seventeenth century" (p.333), prior to the eighteenth-century's hyper-production of grammar books. These findings are tentative and somewhat problematic, however. The possible impact of prescriptivism on the rate of inflectional subjunctive usage appears to occur after a "time lag" (p.323); whilst their investigation of the double comparative is based on an extremely limited dataset for the Early Modern period, during which they posit a dramatic

change occurring. With only two grammar books from their precept corpus mentioning the construction, and only seven double comparatives in their usage corpus, any extrapolation must be treated with extreme caution.

As will be discussed below, ‘time lags’ in investigations of this kind are also troubling, as they erode the correlation between linguistic patterns of usage and the production of the prescriptive texts which are purported to trigger them. Such a correlation, as will also be discussed, is often the sole indicator of a relationship between prescription and language change, meaning that this erosion can have very serious consequences for the reliability of such findings.

Anderwald (2014) likewise finds that prescriptive “influence came in a rather unexpected place and at an unexpected time” (p.14). Setting out to combine historical grammaticography and historical corpus linguistics, rather as Auer and González-Díaz had, Anderwald aims to identify “which features of language were subject to prescriptive influence, and where prescriptivists’ attempts at changing (or preserving) the language had little or no effect” (2014, p.1). In her 2014 paper, she takes as her focus the purported differences between the rise of the progressive passive in British and American varieties of English during the Modern period. She notes that criticism of the form was “harsher, more protracted, and more frequent in American grammar writing” than the “milder” and more ephemeral treatment of the form by British grammarians (p.1), and attempts to establish a temporal correlation between the corpus data she examines, from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA, Davies: 2010-) and her Collection of Nineteenth-Century Grammars (CNG). Her ultimate findings, however, suggest that use of the progressive passive seems to vary by text type rather than location, in both varieties of English examined, during the nineteenth-century. In the twentieth-century, though, she posits a correlation between a decline of the construction and the publication of a popular style guide (Anderwald, 2014, p.14). Anderwald (2016) likewise concludes that “[o]verall, there seems to be very little evidence that comments in nineteenth century grammars had any impact on language change” (p.92).

Yáñez-Bouza has had more success in identifying a convincing correlation between prescriptive treatment of a grammatical construction and its pattern of usage during the Modern period. In a (2006) study of preposition stranding, she finds that there has been “a drastic decrease in frequency in the course of the eighteenth century” (Yáñez-Bouza, p.12). This pattern is attributed to “the stigmatisation of the vernacular idiom” and the “prescriptive ideals of correctness and politeness” (Yáñez-Bouza, 2006, p.12). Yáñez-Bouza stresses that her

conclusions are “tentative rather than definitive” (2006, p.12), but it is notable that she finds a compelling correlation.

Whilst this growing body of scholarship is valuable, it is troubling that correlations between outpourings of prescriptive dogma and patterns of usage have so far proven elusive in most studies. Even where correlations do seem convincing, as in Yáñez-Bouza’s (2006) study, moreover, conclusions can only ever be speculative and tentative, as no means of establishing causation has yet been suggested. As such, they cannot account, for example, for the role in language change of educators who did not publish grammars, but who, like the grammarians, may have been amateurs with their own set notions of grammatical correctness. It is conceivable that norms may have been diffused in this manner; as indeed they seem to have been via the review periodicals. Without an academy, the diffuse nature of prescriptive activity in Britain during this period renders the establishment of causation at the macro level extremely difficult. The most that studies using methodologies such as these can hope to conclude is that the language seems to have been influenced by the doctrine of correctness, but they cannot be more precise in pinpointing how that doctrine was mediated.

Studies at the micro-level, where it is easier to pinpoint and track influences and motivations for change, have found it easier to overcome such obstacles. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, for example, in her book-length study of Jane Austen’s language (2014), finds it straightforward to exclude grammar books as a potential influence on her subject’s idiolect. Surmising that “it is unlikely that [Austen’s] father’s library contained any copies of English grammars” (Tiekens-Boon van Ostade 2014, p.169), she concludes that “[s]ince Jane Austen had no access to the normative grammars of the period, it is unlikely that in changing her usage...she was influenced by the[m]” (Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2014, p.176). She attributes the major changes she finds, such as the abandonment of non-standard features like double negation, to “Austen’s growing linguistic awareness in the course of her developing authorship” (Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2014, 185).

In an earlier micro-study, of Captain James Cook, Carol Percy examines the changes to his idiolect in the final decade of his life (1996). She reaches similar conclusions about the effect writing professionally has on her subject, concluding that the “many volumes of travel and natural history which Cook read...would have been potential models for his own authorial style” (Percy, 1996, p.358). Percy, unlike Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, however, concedes that Cook “might well have consulted a contemporary grammar” (1996, p.359), though she too

finds no evidence for this. Overall, she concludes that “[p]eople rather than books may have influenced Cook’s usage” most (Percy, 1996, p.359); citing Dr Douglas, who helped prepare the text of Cook’s second journal for publication as “Cook’s most sustained source of linguistic information” (Percy, 1996, p.359). She notes also that the published edition of the first journal may have provided Cook with a model for future usage (Percy, 1996, p.358).

Neither Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2014) nor Percy (1996) set out to assess the impact of written prescriptivism on the grammar of their subjects; both aim to analyse changes in idiolectal features, and either exclude or retain prescriptivism simply as one explanatory factor of many. Whilst idiolectal studies of Late Modern English remain relatively rare, where they do exist, this formula seems to predominate. Austin (1994), for example, applies it to the letters of William Clift (1775-1849), who was born to a working-class family in Bodmin, Cornwall, but became a naturalist. Having examined Clift’s usage with regard to a number of constructions, including multiple negation and relativization, Austin concludes that “[f]rom 1792 onwards, changes in Clift’s written English show a fairly clear pattern of movement towards a standard” (1994, p.305), with a “shift from general non-educated non-standard follow[ing]...slightly later, from the end of 1794 to the early months of 1795” (p.305). This she attributes primarily to Clift’s contact with highly educated parties interested in the scientific collections he was left to curate following his master’s death in 1793. She notes, however, references in his letters to novels, and surmises that “[r]eading undoubtedly influenced his own language” (p.306).

## 2.4 Concluding remarks

The lack of idiolectal studies specifically intended to quantify the impact of written prescriptivism at the micro-level, thus far, seems something of a wasted opportunity. The letters and diaries of Late Modern language users often provide records of their interactions with grammar books and other normative influences; meaning that idiolectal studies of Late Modern English offer the greatest opportunity available at the current time for tracking such influences on usage.

This study is intended to contribute towards redressing this. There is scope for the change point detection method (which, as outlined in §1.5, detects changes in the parameters of sequential data and therefore indicates where in a time series a significant change has occurred) to be used in macro-studies. However, its efficacy must first be established at a micro level, where

disparate influences on usage can more manageably be tracked. Literary review periodical articles are ideal for this, as they target authors directly, using a medium known to attract the attention of review subjects. It is for this reason that Chapters 7, 8, and 9 trial the change-point detection method in the context of a single author case study. The single author selected for this case study, as outlined in §1.4, is Fanny Burney. Burney's suitability for this was outlined in §1.4, and there her tendency to deploy marked sociolinguistic variants as tools for characterization was also mentioned. In §3.3.4, Burney's response to the 1796 review of *Camilla* is outlined, whilst in §4.4, her complex relationship with linguistic norms and the concepts of Standard English and markedness will be unpicked. The evolution of her attitudes to variants both explicitly stigmatized and more ambiguous in their sociolinguistic status is then explored in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

As will be outlined in Chapter 3, literary review periodicals were a central cultural presence during the late eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth, and as such it is also important for their role as a prescriptive influence to be reliably established. This study will begin to do this. In what follows, Chapter 3 will outline the periodical review culture which provides the backdrop for the enforcement of linguistic norms.

### **3 CONTEXT: REVIEW CULTURE IN MODERN ENGLISH**

#### **3.1 The rise and fall of literary review periodicals**

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the present study within the context of the culture of literary reviewing in Britain between 1700 and 1900. During this period, a genre of the English-language periodical review arose which was focused on contemporary publications. The leading periodical reviews presented themselves as cultural authorities, garnered a great deal of respect and attention, and yielded a significant degree of literary and cultural influence (Basker, 1988). As was outlined in Chapter 1, the research questions which this thesis sets out to investigate relate both to the content of these periodicals, which is hypothesized to be



prescriptivist (cf. McIntosh, 1998, p.184; Percy, 2010a, p.79), and the impact of these periodicals on contemporary language usage, which is hypothesized to be considerable (Basker, 1989; McIntosh, 1998; Percy, 2009).

The sections that follow detail the development of the review periodical genre, from the seminal scholarly publications of the early eighteenth century in §3.2, through the study period of 1750-1899 in §3.3. This is the period when this genre is hypothesized to have disseminated prescriptive norms and impacted the usage of reviewed authors (Basker, 1988; McIntosh, 1998; Percy, 2009; Percy 2010a).

The evolution of the review periodicals traced during this chapter is the story of how literary criticism developed in an amateur capacity, before becoming increasingly specialized and, ultimately, an academic discipline. This is the backdrop against which the research questions laid out in Chapter 1 must be considered, and a fulsome understanding of this context is vital for appreciating the implications of the findings reported in Chapters 5-9. The changing ideological alignments and attitudes, commercial rivalries, editorial and journalistic backgrounds, and sociocultural biases of the review periodicals across this period are all sharply relevant to the questions of whether they consistently targeted authors with prescriptivist discourses on the one hand, and what if any impact they had upon Fanny Burney's language practice on the other. It is necessary, therefore, for this Chapter to describe in detail the changes which periodical reviewing culture underwent during the period 1750-1899.

Following a brief delineation of the early development of the genre in §3.2, §3.3.1 will outline the founding of the seminal and highly influential *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews* during the mid-eighteenth century. In §3.3.2, the reach of these and other eighteenth-century review periodicals will be considered, whilst in §3.3.3 the evidence as to their authority and level of cultural influence will be reflected upon. In §3.3.4, Fanny Burney's relationship with the review periodicals, and particularly her response to the prescriptivist review of *Camilla* which appeared in the *Monthly Review* in 1796, will be outlined. Finally, in §3.3.5, the evolution of the genre during the nineteenth century will be reported, before the implications of all this on the investigations reported in Chapters 5-9 are summarized in §3.4.

## 3.2 Review Culture in Britain, 1700-1749

In February 1749, what Frank Donoghue in *The Fame Machine, Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers* calls “the first English periodical devoted exclusively to reviewing” (1996, p.21) was established. This first issue of the *Monthly Review* was edited by London bookseller Ralph Griffiths, and written by a team of professional writers. Its emergence marked the culmination of more than a hundred years’ development of the review periodical genre, and the *Monthly* went on to set the tone for more than a century of English reviewing. The publication of its first issue marks, as Donoghue notes (1996, p.77), the shift from simple synopsis of subject texts in the so-called ‘abstract journals’ of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century, to their exhaustive and at times “encyclopaedic” (Shattock, 2013, p.45) appraisal from the 1750s onwards.

The roots of the mature review periodical of the late eighteenth century pre-date 1700. In his chapter on the rise of periodical culture in the *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Basker (1997) contends that there were “two journalistic genres of [the seventeenth century] that contributed most to the history of criticism- the newspaper and the learned journal” (p.317), and that their contribution to the development of the review periodical, though not equal, was shared. Newspapers had, as Basker, notes, been published in a recognisable form as early as the 1620s, but they “did not contain criticism” (1997, p.317) at this stage. They did, however, as Walter Graham points out in *English Literary Periodicals*, from the 1640s onwards regularly contain booksellers’ publication notices and advertisements (1966, p.207). Like the catalogues periodically released by booksellers, “annotated with descriptive prose” (Basker, 1997, p.317), the publication notices appearing in newspapers were puff pieces designed to attract buyers. They therefore differed significantly from the other, and arguably more significant, forerunner of the mature review periodical: the abstract journal.

The earliest example of the abstract journal seems to have been the *Journal des Sçavans*, which was first published in Paris in 1665 (Basker, 1997, p.317). Established by Denis de Sallo, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, the Journal consisted of twelve pages of abstracts, of works considered significant. The defining feature of these abstracts, in the words of Basker, is that they “made no critical assessments” (1997, p.20) whatsoever. As Derek Roper notes in his monograph on late eighteenth-century review culture, *Reviewing before the Edinburgh: 1788-1802*, they were made up “almost entirely of summaries of scholarly and scientific texts” (1978, p.19), and provided a model for a number of English periodicals of this ilk which emerged in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth (cf. Graham, 1966).

These periodicals' focus on précising expensive learned texts earned them only a small and niche readership and, as several periodical scholars note, they tended in consequence to lack longevity (Roper, 1978, p.20; Basker, 1988, p.20). Most commentators making mention of the abstract journals highlight the limits of their focus; in an article on the influence of review culture on the reading public, Antonia Forster, for example, stresses their "extremely limited coverage" (2001, p.171). Basker refers to them as "extremely limited...cover[ing] only a few books, some quite arcane" (1998, p.317).

Nonetheless, according to Basker, "the literary periodical evolved by degrees" (1998, p.319). In 1679, the pioneering Philosophical Collections began to publish a section on recent texts. Such was the tendency of these periodicals to focus on the classics, and on scholarly publications which still tended to be published in Latin, however, that forays into synopsizing more popular vernacular literature remained notable until the mid-eighteenth century. A discussion of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) by the History of the Works of the Learned is, for example, referred to by Richardson experts Keymer and Sabor as "remarkable", and attributed to Richardson's close ties with the periodical's publisher (2005, p.28-29). Likewise, Donoghue deems it notable that James Thomson's *Spring* was considered worthy of attention in 1728 (1996, p.20), whilst Carol Percy highlights a rare early foray into evaluative criticism when David Hume's "writing style" is said by the *The Works of the Learned* to have "an overabundance of personal pronouns" in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) (2009, p.21).

The names of such vernacular publications were, in the early to mid-eighteenth century, much more likely to appear in another periodical genre making significant contribution to the development of the review periodical: the magazine of essays. Notable examples of this genre, which dealt mainly in comments on manners and morals, were *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Spectator* (1711-15), as well arguably as the later *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922). As Basker notes, whilst "before 1700 important critical writings seemed to appear in every form except periodicals – prefaces, dedications, prologues, epilogues, pamphlets, treatises, and even verse epistles – after 1700 it is impossible to discuss the history of criticism without dwelling on major critical writings that appeared in periodicals" (1997, p.320). These, he contends, "opened up the subject of criticism to a readership far more diverse and numerous than that of the learned journals" (Basker, 1997, p.321), perhaps priming the market for the appearance of review periodicals at the half-century mark.

The review periodical may be regarded as an amalgam of the abstract journal and the magazine of essays which, according to Basker “combined the popular reach and cultural aspirations of the magazines with the higher pretensions of the learned journals” (1997, p.327). This amalgamation occurred at the half-century, amid what Donoghue calls a “flurry of reviewing activity and planning of Review journals” (1996, p.21). Though Ralph Griffiths’ *Monthly Review* was the first review periodical to reach fruition, it by no means emerged in isolation. Donoghue recounts how in the late 1740s, members of a literary club centred around the *Gentleman’s Magazine*’s editor Edward Cave began planning a journal that would “give an impartial account of every work published, in a 12d. monthly pamphlet” to be called the *Monthly Review* (quoted in Donoghue, 1996, p.21). Whilst this periodical never materialized, it shows the trajectory towards the marketplace saturated with reviews which would exist within a few short years.

The movement from selective reviewing of scholarly texts in the period 1700-49 to the encyclopaedic coverage of the marketplace described in what follows also lays the foundations for a culture of reviewing which treats vernacular publications and their authors with contempt, and paves the way for the disparagement of nonstandard language use in reviews after 1750.

### 3.3 Review Culture in Britain, 1750-1899

#### 3.3.1 The Founding of the *Monthly* and the *Critical*

As was mentioned briefly above, the origins of the mature review periodicals emerging from 1749 onwards appear to lie in the decline of aristocratic patronage and the emergence of a modern literary economy driven by market forces. Donoghue writes that, “[a]s the influence of aristocratic patronage began to wane toward the end of the seventeenth century, the ideal of the laureate was atomized under the pressure of an expanding literary economy” (1996, p.8). He goes on to say that

there ensued a period of curious instability, during which Alexander Pope, struggling to recreate the now obsolete *cursus honorum*, coexisted with the likes of Daniel Defoe, who wrote whatever he could sell (Donoghue, 1996, p.8)

In this climate, where “authors cum entrepreneurs” (Donoghue, 1988, p.8) such as Defoe were increasingly becoming the norm, review periodicals purported to bring objectivity into a milieu

previously directed by the subjectivity of patrons' preferences. In the words of Laura Runge, in *Gender and Language in British Literary Criticism, 1660-1790*, "the order of society [was shifting] from aristocratic notions of inherited authority to the bourgeois articulations of ethical autonomy" (1997, pp.25-26). In this emerging 'age of reason', even pseudo-objectivity seems to have appealed, and the reviews were given a resounding commercial mandate to continue supplying it.

In 1749, Henry Fielding warned "critics to mind their own business, and not to intermeddle with affairs or works, which no ways concern them: for till they produce the authority by which they are constituted judges, I shall plead their jurisdiction" (quoted in Donoghue, 1996, pp.16-17). The rejection of critical authority by authors is a common trope of the late eighteenth century, and continues into the nineteenth. There seem, however, to be two factors which, in Fielding's words, "produce the authority by which [critics] are appointed judges": the commercial viability of a large number of review periodicals, and their appeals to grammar as an objective standard against which they measure publications. As will be explored below, grammatical criticism seems to have been used extensively to shore up the review periodicals' shaky authority, and is likely, therefore, to be responsible in no small part for their runaway success.

The notion that literary production in the eighteenth century existed in what Donoghue calls "a kind of limbo, between an age of substantial aristocratic support and the fully developed literary market of the nineteenth century" (1996, p.1) is a recurrent feature of the literature on review periodicals and literary criticism during this period. Many authorities on the subject stress the dramatic increase in the number of texts being published; Donoghue, for instance, writes of a "mushrooming population of writers" (1996, p.1), whilst Terry Eagleton refers to a "marked quickening of literary production" (1984, pp.30-31). Both these writers also stress the "growth of a middle class eager for literature" (Eagleton 1984, p.30), which came to constitute a readership which "[b]y mid-century...could no longer be enumerated, either as people receiving a privately circulated manuscript or as names on a subscription list" (Donoghue 1996, p.2). In a culture accustomed to a system of aristocratic patronage, in which the preferences of the patron often directed literary energies, the booksellers were now unable to determine who was comprising their market. As a result, Donoghue notes that "[t]he most urgent question for the eighteenth century book trade became how to identify and cater for the tastes of this increasing plurality of readers" (1996, p.2).

The establishment of the *Monthly Review*, which seems to have gone on to become a major source of prescriptive material, appears to have resulted from the booksellers' desire to control this marketplace. Its founder, Ralph Griffiths, himself a bookseller, justified the *Monthly's* existence several times with reference to the large number of texts being published and the high cost of books at the time:

In an Age when the Press groans with such Loads of Books and Pamphlets, that a man's whole Time is hardly sufficient to read and well consider the Production of every Writer, it certainly is of the highest Utility to the Public to have a just and judicious Criticism upon the modern Productions, whereby Works of Merit may not only be rescued from Oblivion, but much Expence (1751, p.17)

The *Monthly's* claim, sustained for several decades, to practice comprehensive reviewing (Roper, 1978, p.37) must have added credence to such justifications of its own existence. In what can be considered a manifesto for the enterprise he was launching, in an advertisement bound with both the Bodleian and the British Library's copy of the *Monthly's* first number, however, he also hints at the benefit to himself:

[F]ew readers care to take in a book, any more than a servant, without a recommendation; to acquaint the public that a summary review of the productions of the press, as they occur to notice, was perhaps never more necessary than now, would be superfluous and vain... The cure then for this general complaint is evidently, and only, to be found in a periodical work, whose sole object should be to give a compendious account of those productions of the press, as they come out, that are worth notice; an account, in short, which should, in virtue of its candour, and justness of distinction, *obtain authority* enough for its representations to be serviceable to such as would choose to have some idea of a book before they lay out their money or time on it (Forster, 1990, p.4; emphasis added)

Here, though his principal focus is on the benefits to his readership of a medium for literary recommendations, Griffiths is quite open about his desire for the *Monthly* to "obtain authority". Within just a few decades, review periodicals became what Donoghue calls a "central cultural presence" (1996, p.2) as they "projected themselves as sole arbiters of literary production" (Donoghue, 1996, p.3).

The mechanisms by which they did this were complex. Firstly, though they eschewed the highbrow focus on classics and scholarly works which had characterised the abstract journals before them, early popular review periodicals concentrated their attention on publications which they considered worthy of literary criticism. Donoghue notes, for example, that from its

inception the *Monthly* “held particular contempt for prose fiction” (1996, p.45). He demonstrates how novel readers are “uniformly described in negative terms” (Donoghue, 1996, p.42), as “idle templars, raw prentices, and green girls”, “stale maiden[s] of quality”, and “snuff taking chambermaid[s]” in the *Critical Review* alone (quoted in Donoghue, 1996, p.42), and highlights the class and gender prejudice inherent in these descriptions. This othering of female and lower-class readers is intended, according to Donoghue, to “reinforce the Reviews’ warning that the spread of reading, and the inclination of those new readers to choose harmful books, are actually a single, urgent problem” (1996, p.42). In doing this, reviewers were not only setting themselves up in opposition to sectors of society which were, as was discussed in §2.2.3, associated with nonstandard linguistic variants. They were also positing that the public’s choice of books can often be wayward, and in doing so the review periodicals bolstered their self-avowed role as recommenders, and accrued for themselves yet more authority. Reviews were thus, as late as 1790, according to Antonia Forster, still reminding their readers of their function as “indexes or way-posts” (2001, p.187).

The need for the Reviews to justify their own existence became more pressing as their numbers increased dramatically in the second half of the eighteenth century. Since during this period there was also a dramatic increase in the number of works being published, however, the Reviews’ claims that they served a valuable purpose in recommending texts worthy of purchase can conceivably have continued to seem legitimate. Yet, the legitimacy of recommendations made on the basis of subjective worth were open to argument, leading reviewers to seek a source of authority that was beyond question. As will be considered in more depth below, the adoption of the role of grammatical critics served this purpose as, in the words of Carol Percy, “reviewers often used authors’ language as a seemingly objective index of a book’s quality” (2010b, p.55). Such reliance on grammatical correctness as a bastion of the Reviews’ authority was also boosted by the competition between the different periodicals as new ones emerged onto the market.

Basker highlights that the founding of the *Monthly Review* in 1749, and the *Critical Review* in 1753, “brought the word *review* into common usage. It had been used in the titles of periodicals before 1749 but, with one minor exception, always in the sense of a review of political or historical events...rather than a review of publications” (1988, p.173). It is clear, then, that the emergence of the *Monthly* and *Critical* marked a sea-change in reviewing culture, and, as such, they are often considered together in the literature, as here by Basker. It is important to note, however, in anticipation of the analysis reported in Chapters 5 and 6, which consider how

central grammatical criticism was to the endeavour of eighteenth-century reviewers, that the *Monthly Review* had the marketplace effectively to itself for several years before the founding of the *Critical Review*. During this period, as Carol Percy points out, “verbal criticism was sporadic and muted” (2010b, p.65). Forster quotes Griffiths as claiming in the *Monthly*’s first issue that it would “not, in the language of critics, pretend to describe, in terms of art, the beauties or imperfections...of the production”, but would instead “extract from the work itself a few such passages as we shall judge proper to give a tolerably adequate idea of the whole” (2001, p.174). As such, the pre-*Critical* editions of the *Monthly Review* bear much more of a resemblance to the abstract journal than to the mature, apparently grammar-obsessed, review periodical of the later eighteenth century. As Donoghue has noted, extracts comprised “about 70-80% of the review” during this phase of the *Monthly*’s publication (1996, pp.66-7).

The seeds of heavy reliance on their role as language guardians were sown during this period, however. Even where extracts comprised the bulk of the periodical’s content, the reviewers found means of making linguistic judgments. Both Carol Percy and Carey McIntosh point out that in the very first issue of the *Monthly Review*, “a great number of words and phrases were italicized in an extract from William Duff’s self-published serial history of Scotland” (Percy 2010b, p.65), including concord errors, a contraction, and nonemphatic *do*. McIntosh goes so far as to imply that all of these features “fall within the province of the prescriptive grammarians” (1998, p.183), casting the reviewers as middlemen disseminating prescriptive norms laid out by the grammarians. Since comparatively few eighteenth-century grammars had been published by 1749, however, this is perhaps understating the role that reviewers played as language guardians in their own right, as will be discussed below. As Percy further notes, it was not unheard of for reviewers to “articulate their judgments quite explicitly”, even in the early years of the *Monthly*’s publication, but it was when the *Critical* emerged as a competitor that linguistic correctness really became a principal battleground, not only between reviewers and authors, but also between the review periodicals themselves.

Forster characterises the *Monthly*’s commercial and cultural success as such that, by the mid-1750s, it was “spawning imitators” (2001, p.171). Donoghue notes that Tobias Smollett and Samuel Johnson both set up reviews within a week of one another in 1755. Johnson’s *Literary Magazine*, which he characteristically compiled by himself, failed in 1758, but Smollett’s *Critical Review*, in the words of Donoghue, “went on to become the foremost competitor of the *Monthly*” (1996, p.21). Unlike the *Literary Magazine*, the *Critical* was a collaborative enterprise, founded by Smollett alongside his friend Archibald Hamilton. From the first, its



founding principles contrasted starkly with the *Monthly*'s early commitment to "extract from the work itself a few such passages as we shall judge proper to give a tolerably adequate idea of the whole" (Griffiths, quoted in Forster 2001, p.174), though its ethos arguably reflects reasonably well the philosophy that the *Monthly* had adopted by 1755. According to Donoghue, the avowed intention of the *Critical* was, from the outset, the "regulation of taste" (1996, p.25), with the "reviewers' enterprise [being] that of reforming and homogenizing the taste of the reading public" (1996, p.31).

Indeed, this intention is stated in the published proposals seeking subscriptions to the periodical: the reviewers claim that "their favourite Aim is to befriend Merit, dignify the Liberal Arts, and *contribute towards the Formation of a Public Taste*, which is the Best Patron of Genius and Science" (quoted in Gibson 2007, p.23, emphasis added). Smollett biographer James Basker notes that his subject "originally envisaged the *Critical Review* as the journal of the English academy of letters that he began to propose in late 1755", describing it as "a small Branch of an extensive Plan which I last year projected for a sort of Academy of the belles Lettres" (1988, p.17). The *Critical Review* can be viewed, then, as a re-emergence of the demand for an Academy of the English language, along continental lines. Basker contends that Smollett and his colleagues assumed the role of "protectors of the language and arbiters of usage- a kind of English academy *de facto*" (1988, p.78). Demands for an Academy remained fairly common during the 1750s; in 1752, for example, Dr. George Harris, author of *Hermes, a philosophical enquiry concerning universal grammar*, proposed that Parliament establish an Academy specifically to regulate spelling. The emergence of the *Critical* can, therefore, be viewed as symptomatic of the frustration of eighteenth-century language guardians' attempts to establish an English Academy, and the outpouring of amateur prescriptions that accompanied it.

The stated aims of the *Critical* at its inception were, therefore, very different from those of the *Monthly*, and this was not the only area of divergence between the two publications. As was seen above, Griffiths cited his experience in bookselling to justify the need for, and existence of, his review periodical. Smollett, in contrast, is said by Donoghue to have believed that "the 'honour of criticism' would be jeopardized by any open association between his Review and the publishing industry" (1996, p.25). Indeed, as Donoghue notes, "a central feature of [Smollett's] many attacks on the *Monthly* was the claim that Griffiths's dual role as bookseller and reviewer presented an insoluble conflict of interest" (1996, p.25). Smollett biographer James Basker claims to have detected systemic bias in the *Monthly*'s reviewing of books

published by Griffiths, though his analysis is rather subjective. Donoghue contends that the “*Critical*, by contrast, was almost belligerently disinterested, routinely condemning books issued by the journal’s own publisher” (1996, p.25). My own impression is that the *Critical* is merely biased in a different way, towards its contributors, most of whom were authors as well as reviewers, though without a systematic analysis of the bias of periodicals’ content, claims about their individual prejudices will remain unsubstantiated.

As will be discussed in detail below, potential bias and the social marginality of association with ‘trade’ comprised the focus for the majority of the *Critical Review*’s attacks on the *Monthly*. These attacks ramped up the antagonism between the two publications and if, as hypothesized (cf. Percy, 2010a), this antagonism resulted in increased displays of grammatical pedantry as reviewers sought to prove their credibility, the intense rivalry between the two publications is directly relevant to the findings reported in Chapters 5 and 6.

Though they lacked the association with trade, the chief players in the *Critical* were socially marginal in their own way, also. Smollett, his managing editor Alexander Hamilton and contributors to the first issue, Patrick Murdoch and John Armstrong, were all Scottish. Indeed, only one individual involved in the inaugural issue of the *Critical*, Samuel Derrick, was not Scottish. Moreover, being Irish, from an eighteenth-century Anglocentric perspective, Derrick’s nationality rendered him even more marginal (cf. Hickey, 2007). Janet Sorensen, in her monograph, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing*, has written extensively on language as “one of the most important sites of Scottish negotiations of Anglo-British identity” (2000, p.105). She highlights the high levels of general national prejudice against Scotland in eighteenth-century England, and the “continuous attack[s]” levelled at Smollett personally on the basis of his nationality (Sorensen, 2000, pp.107-10).

Smollett seems to have been deeply ambivalent about his national identity. Sorensen points out that that in 1746, he penned a poignant lamentation on the failure of the Jacobite rising at Culloden, called ‘The Tears of Scotland’ (Sorensen, 2000, p.113), but that, despite Smollett’s fluency in Scots Gaelic (p.104), the poem was “written in Standard English” (p.113). She also recounts an anecdote about Smollett’s life in London at the time of the Battle of Culloden, during which he is anxious to avoid speaking, lest he reveals his nationality. On the basis of Sorensen’s analysis, it is possible to conclude that Smollett was not ashamed of his nationality, but that he was ashamed of the linguistic hallmarks of a Scottish upbringing. It seems that for him, the gold standard in English usage is language which is, to use Sorensen’s words,

“placeless and dematerialized” (2000, p.106). As such, she claims that he was “obsessed with weeding Scotticisms from his own language”, and that he intended that his “proposed academy would standardize and make available a stable version of the language to all- both native and non-native speakers of English”.

Sorensen therefore contends that Smollett “participates in the eighteenth century’s standardizing of a national vernacular in which class difference came to supersede regional linguistic difference” (2000, p.106). She further claims that this participation involved the “rewriting [of] spatial dichotomy in social terms”, meaning that borders were no longer “drawn between a fixed Celtic periphery and an English core but instead between those speakers and writers able to adopt- and stabilize- a constructed standard English and those disturbing that standard” (Sorensen, 2000, p.107). For Sorensen, Smollett’s motives in helping to do this are clear: he is “an assimilating outsider hoping more effectively to blend in with the literate London class in which he circulated” (p.108).

Quoting Leonard Sterling’s assertion in *The Doctrine of Correctness* that battles over linguistic correctness during the period in question were “fought most hotly by persons who had had to earn and prove their gentility” ([1929] 1962, p.174), Sorensen concludes that such regionally marginal reviewers as Smollett secured cultural authority by emphasising class and education; hence, “re-writing spatial dichotomy in social terms” (2000, p.107). The *Critical Review*’s criticisms both of other Reviews (the *Monthly Review* in particular), and of the authors of texts being reviewed, served as the medium for this social self-positioning, meaning that the grammatical criticism explored in Chapters 5 and 6 potentially represents an important process in the renegotiation of marginal identities in English society. Carol Percy has written that “[w]ith the *Monthly* accused of being tainted by the market and the *Critical* of being staffed by and biased towards Scots, it is not surprising that reviewers attacked ‘hireling’ and ‘North British’ authors for deviating from perceived standards.” (2010, p.77). She concludes that the review periodicals’ “attacks on authors can be interpreted as acts of self-definition” (2010a, p.77), and this is equally true of their attacks on each other.

During this period, the reviews of the *Monthly* and *Critical* were exclusively anonymous, which provided the reviewers an opportunity to emphasise the marginality of other reviewers, whilst hiding their own identities and backgrounds. In a description intended to stir up latent anti-Scotticism, for example, *Critical* reviewers were described by the *Monthly* as a “Cabal of refugee Scotchmen” (Forster, 1994, p.39), whilst the *Critical* accused the *Monthly* of hiring

“obscure hackney writers” (Forster, 2001, p.178), and attributed an attack by the *Monthly* on its first issue to a “*low-bred*, pedantic Syntax-monger, retained as *servant* or associate by any *bookseller* or bookseller’s wife, who may have an *interest* in decrying their performance” (Smollett 1756, emphasis added). The words of the latter attack have been very carefully chosen, and are calculated to at once highlight the class of those associated with the *Monthly* (‘low-bred’, ‘monger’, ‘servant’), the commercialism of the *Monthly*’s enterprise (‘monger’, ‘bookseller’), and the potential for conflicts of interest where a bookseller is also the owner of a review periodical (‘interest’). As Percy highlights, “the association of money with criticism specifically undermined its claim to neutrality” (2010a, p.60), so the emphasis being placed on the *Monthly*’s commercialism is as shrewd a strategy as the harnessing of the anti-Scottish sentiment rife in English (and particularly cosmopolitan London) society at this time.

The review periodical was a brand-new genre and, as Percy notes, “especially given the regional and social marginality of many of the reviewers, their position did not automatically come with cultural authority” (2010a, p.62). The *Monthly* and *Critical* were, from the very first appearance of the latter, therefore, locked in a fierce battle for this cultural authority, and one of their most effective weapons seems to have been the use of linguistic criticism, both against each other and the authors they were reviewing. Donoghue has noted that “the Reviews struggle[d] to find a way to legitimate their authority in literary culture” (1996, p.37), but Percy concludes that linguistic prescriptivism was harnessed as “an instrument of self-legitimation” (2009, p.135). It is conceivable, though this is impossible to verify, that the hostility between the two publications - and its focus on social and cultural marginality - spurred on their linguistic attacks on authors. For whatever reason, what is certain is that, in Percy’s words, reviewers regularly “implied that standards were violated very often from beyond or from below – by writers born outside of England or lacking proper education” (2010a, p.77). This quickly resulted in the use of “language as an index of an author’s education and a work’s quality” (Percy 2010a, p.77) in both major review periodicals.

As was discussed above, there had been “sporadic and muted” (Percy 2010a, p.65) linguistic criticism in the *Monthly Review* prior to 1755, but the founding of the *Critical* changed the tone of reviewing dramatically. Since prior to 1755, the *Monthly Review* often seemed reluctant to impose its judgements on readers, Donoghue argues that the founding of the *Critical* marks the beginning of review culture proper. He contends that

Not long after the founding of the *Critical*, the *Monthly*’s general tone changed distinctly. Slipping into many of their reviews are the new assumptions that bad writing is an aspect of

more widespread social ills, and that it is the Review's duty to resist this decline by, in effect, telling its audience what it should and should not read. (Donoghue, 1996, p.27)

Donoghue goes on to argue that the *Critical*'s conservatism influenced the political ideology of the *Monthly*, as "competitive pressure from the *Critical Review* pushed the *Monthly* into more and more opinionated articles" (1996, p.24). Many other commentators on review culture, including Robert Spector in his monograph, *English Literary Periodicals and the Climate of Opinion During the Seven Years War*, contrast the newly-founded *Critical Review*'s philosophical conservatism with the commercial motivation of the *Monthly* (1966, p.324). Donoghue, however, argues that the two periodicals had even more fundamentally opposed philosophies. As aforementioned, he highlights that Griffiths had, prior to 1755, "not diverge[d] much from the traditional aims of an abstract journal, except that he sought an audience broader than just the learned" (Donoghue, 1996, p.23), but also, crucially, that as a Presbyterian, Griffiths also brought to the *Monthly* a conception of reading, born of what N.H. Keeble has called "the literary culture of nonconformity" (1987, p.68). Donoghue contends that this perspective on reading

Dat[ed] back to the beginning of the Puritan movement and after it the Civil War ...which endorsed reading for everyone as a means to conversion...and espoused instead the pursuit of a kind of pure learning. (Donoghue, 1996, p.23)

Through this lens, the *Monthly Review* in its early years can be seen not just as a money-making scheme in its own right, and as a means to guide readers to texts sold by Griffiths and published by his associates, but also as espousing a democratic philosophy of reading. This may be considered ironic, given what it later became, and that, according to Terry Eagleton, "the critical gesture itself is typically conservative and corrective" (1984, p.12). In Donoghue's words, and referring to the eighteenth century in particular, indeed, the "very presence of Reviews suggests that the growing reading public was perceived by many as a serious threat to social stability" (1996, p.10). The review periodicals, if they were not already doing so in 1753, quickly became a force for the regulation of published material, and of the reading public's tastes. The early non-conformist leanings of the *Monthly Review* were swiftly stamped out in its editorial team's eagerness to compete with the *Critical*.

The homogenization of the major Reviews' philosophy of reading after 1755 may be the reason for Forster's contention that the "political differences between the *Monthly* and *Critical* Reviews have been exaggerated and over-simplified" (2001, p.179). She quotes Samuel

Johnson as having written that “The Monthly Reviewers...are not Deists; but they are for pulling down all establishments. The Critical Reviewers are for supporting the constitution, both in church and state” (quoted in Forster, 2001, p.179). As Donoghue acknowledges, “because of the sheer number of voices contributing to both Reviews, it is difficult to make a compelling case for the firmness of the[ir] ideological differences” (1996, p.26), but he is clear that

Underlying the rhetoric of the *Critical* was a conception of reading as an activity that clarifies social hierarchy, and that perceived the spread of reading as a potential threat to social stability that needed to be aggressively contained. (1996, p.26)

The *Monthly*'s ramping up of linguistic criticism after 1755 is merely one manifestation of its adoption of this conception of literacy. Eagleton has noted that

Leslie Stephen, with Smollett's *Critical Review* particularly in mind, writes of the emergence in eighteenth-century England of the professional critic, the rise of a 'new tribunal or literary Star Chamber' in which the interpersonal discourse of coffee-house literati gradually yields ground to the professional critic whose unenviable task is to render an account of all new books. (1984, p.33)

Whilst the *Monthly* had charted a course between the “discourse of coffee-house literati” and this “new tribunal”, after 1755 it increasingly “endorses a kind of criticism it had repudiated” (Donoghue, 1996, p.28). As soon as 1756, the *Monthly* was suddenly espousing the view that “Criticism is the result of Judgment, and the perfection of Taste. It neither extenuates beauties, nor aggravates errors; but, placing both in a proper point of light, teaches when to applaud and when to censure, with reason” (Griffiths, 1750, p.528). The days of it “enter[ing] no farther into criticism just so far as many be indispensably necessary to give some idea of such books” (Griffiths, 1750, p.260) were over, and periodical review culture had begun. The implications of this for authors using nonstandard linguistic variants appear to have been considerable, and in §3.3.2, the available evidence regarding the influence of these periodicals will be considered, to highlight the scarcity of evidence about how their normative judgments impacted upon contemporary authors.

### 3.3.2 The reach and influence of eighteenth-century reviews

To read much of the scholarship on eighteenth century periodical review culture, one would be forgiven for assuming that the only review periodicals being published were the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*. Carol Percy often purposefully focuses on these two periodicals, to the exclusion of others published during the same period (c.f. Percy, 2000, p.316), and Donoghue's *The Fame Machine* avowedly does likewise (1996, p.3). Basker points out that the *Monthly* and the *Critical* "stood unrivalled for some thirty years" (1988, p.173), whilst Derek Roper justifies his focus by noting that "the *Monthly* reigned supreme until the coming of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802" (1978, p.21). That he is right is without question, regardless of the metric used to evaluate success. Justifications of exclusions along the lines of this one, by Antonia Forster, are also reasonably common:

The judgements delivered elsewhere were not important. Indeed, one could read thirty attacks on reviewers from this period [1749-75] and not discover the existence of reviewing in any other journals than the leading ones. (Forster, 1990, p.3)

Whilst circulation numbers and the reactions of reviewed authors are noteworthy, the contributions made by other review periodicals (however transitory or insignificant their publication might be considered), to the evolution of review culture cannot be overlooked entirely. After all, though the reach of the Reviews has, to some extent, been determined, their influence has not. It is for this reason that the present study included in its sampling all review periodicals published between 1750 and 1899 that were available on the ProQuest *British Periodicals* database in its sampling (for further detail, see §4.2.1 and Appendix A). However, the runaway success of the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews* does appear to have stifled their competition. Despite random sampling, as will be detailed in §4.2.1, not a single review article from another periodical appears in the review sub-corpora for the decades 1750-59, 1760-69, 1770-79 and 1780-89. As will be discussed in §4.2.1, this is likely due to the transitory nature of rival publications, and the fact that the *Monthly* and *Critical* tended to be longer and to contain more articles than their competitors.

The supremacy of the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*, then, on the basis of scholarly work on the subject and this sampling, seems unarguable. The only other publication deemed worthy of any note by most experts on eighteenth century review periodicals is the *British Critic*, which was founded in May 1793 (Roper, 1978, p.23). As will be detailed in §4.2.1, the *British Critic* is well-represented in the 1790-99 sub-corpus used for this study, which perhaps gives an indication of the rapidity with which it encroached on the market share of the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*. Founded by "Tory churchmen" as an "orthodox" antidote to the other

“liberal” Reviews, the *British Critic* swiftly “drew contributors as well as readers away from the *Monthly* and *Critical*” (Roper, 1978, p.23). In some respects, it can be regarded as a publication embodying the transition to the more explicitly politically-motivated Reviews which were to emerge in the following decade. Like its noteworthy forebears, however, the *British Critic* seems to have aspired to comprehensive reviewing, whereas the nineteenth-century reviews it competed against in the ensuing decades eschewed this policy. Since their inception, the *Monthly*, *Critical* and even minor Reviews such as the *Analytical Review* (1788-98) had claimed to be comprehensive, and the *British Critic* appears to have followed suit, but with a much more political slant. Its popularity, then, may be taken as an indication of an appetite for the new breed of highly politicized Review which was to emerge after 1800, and which will be the subject of §3.3.5.

In the decades before 1790, then, the *Monthly* and *Critical* were unassailable in their supremacy, whilst the *British Critic* took a significant market share as the turn of the century approached. For the reasons of market dominance described above, it is these periodicals which are most frequently represented in the CENCER (Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Reviews) corpus built for use in Chapters 5 and 6 (the compilation process for which will be detailed in §4.2.1).

The cultural standing of the *Monthly Review* described here is also directly relevant to the consideration of how Fanny Burney responded to its criticism of *Camilla* which is contained within Chapters 7, 8, and 9. Donoghue notes that “[t]he act of consulting the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews* is a commonplace of mid- and later eighteenth-century literary biography, memoirs and letters”, and cites James Boswell, Thomas Gray and Joseph Craddock as having referred directly to reviews of their own work in their writings (1996, p.16). He goes on to claim that the “popularity of these two journals was so considerable that many authors would routinely check them whenever they or someone they knew had just published a book” (Donoghue, 1996, p.16). This custom, Donoghue attests, “developed over a remarkably short period of time”, given that by “1767 the *Monthly* and *Critical* were significant enough to merit discussion in the famous interview between Samuel Johnson and George III” (1996, pp.16-17). At least amongst the intelligentsia, then, it seems that the Reviews acquired cultural authority very quickly. In §3.3.3, the available evidence regarding the authority wielded by the eighteenth-century review periodicals will be considered, in preparation for Chapters 7-9, in which Burney’s responsiveness to the 1796 review periodical is investigated.



### 3.3.3 The authority of eighteenth-century review periodicals

As has been mentioned above, there are a relatively large number of extant authorial responses to reviews of published works, and they range from what Basker has referred to as the “ingratiating” (1988, p.328), to the downright furious. It is not uncommon for such writings, especially in the early years of review periodicals’ publication, to question the source of reviewers’ authority. The anonymity of reviewers was a particular bone of contention in this regard. Forster cites an author named Arthur Murphy, for example, as questioning “whether it is not the highest Presumption in a Set of Hirelings...to usurp the Seat of Criticism without declaring who and what they are” (quoted in Forster, 1994, p.31), whilst Donoghue cites an author named Lovett as accusing the reviewers of having “set themselves up as the Judges of the Labours of the Learned, and Censors in the Republic of Letters” (quoted in Donoghue, 1996, p.49). References to reviewers as “self-elected monarchs”, “self-elected tribunals”, “self-elected Censors” and “Russian autocrats” (all quoted in Forster 2001, p.182) also occur. These phrases, and “self-elected”, in particular, are clearly designed to question the authority of the critics. This is notable, because where authors were expressing scepticism as to the authority of reviewers, they are arguably less likely to take on board their normative linguistic judgments.

These tropes of rulership, judgment, and censorship are reflected, almost gleefully, however, in the writings of the review periodicals themselves. Forster cites the *Monthly Review* as referring to itself as “monitors to the public”, whilst the *Critical*’s regulatory rhetoric seems even stronger: its reviewers present themselves as “officers of the literary police”, who “bring offenders to justice” (quoted in Forster, 2001, p.184). Interestingly, as will be discussed in §3.3.4, this is also a trope employed by Burney with reference to the reviewers. In a letter to her father in which she refers to the 1796 review of *Camilla*, she makes mention of “that high Literary Tribunal [which] has brought [authors] to trial”. Burney’s reference here does not seem to be pejorative in the way that those authors quoted above do, but rather smacks of respect and deference. This arguably has implications for the likelihood that she will respond to *Monthly*’s criticisms by changing her language practice.

That the Reviews presented themselves in this way is highly significant in terms of the means by which they secured cultural authority, and has significant implications for the ways in which they discuss grammar and, potentially, influence grammatical usage. In addition to

characterising themselves like this, they also employed a number of other strategies to bolster their claim to authority. Most of these have already been mentioned: they repeated the claim that they played a valuable role in recommending books worthy of purchase, and emphasised the social marginality of other reviewers and the authors of texts in order to portray literary society as an exclusive club to which literacy did not guarantee membership, whilst remaining anonymous and above the fray themselves. Perhaps most significantly, in terms of the focus of this thesis, moreover, they accused authors of violating certain rules, in the hope that their own apparently encyclopaedic knowledge of such rules (some of which seem entirely fabricated) would ensure their cultural position. According to Forster:

Rules, implicit and explicit, are an inseparable part of eighteenth-century reviewing and even with fiction, where, according to some writers, ‘no certain rules have been laid down’, the review journals show that a massively accelerated process of establishment of ‘Rules universally acknowledged’ takes place (1994, p.45)

Donoghue also emphasises the importance of rules in the Reviews’ construction of their authority. He argues that the “Reviews present themselves as a police force or an army whose official capacity licences them to regulate the behaviour of authors and readers”, and that such analogies “legitimate what they do” (1996, p.38). Reviewers he says, “had to present themselves as *above* the literary marketplace” (1996, p.41).

Some of the rules used to position the reviewers in this way were literary and stylistic. Many literary conventions, and especially those relating to new genres such as the novel, had yet to be codified. As Carol Percy has pointed out, “literary standards existed in theory”, but in reality many of these “so-called standards were obscure or inconsistent” (2009, p.119), and therefore provided reviewers with only shaky and questionable authority. Linguistic rules and conventions in English were, likewise, during the mid- to late-eighteenth century only incompletely and inconsistently codified, but there was always the scope to appeal to analogy with other high-prestige languages, and even to other academic disciplines, in order to elevate a subjective opinion to an apparently objective judgment. As Donoghue notes,

Rather than trying to demonstrate an empirical standard of taste in reading, the reviewers preferred to assume that self-evident standards were already in place, that these tendencies and norms in reading were shared by an elite subset of the bookbuying public, and that they could eventually be conveyed to everyone else. (1996, p.46)

Already a priority for Tobias Smollett and his associates at the *Critical*, linguistic correctness was a convenient medium for bolstering the authority of the reviewer and thus, in Percy's words, "the ideology of linguistic standardization was appropriated" (2010, p.56). As has been noted above, Smollett was at the vanguard of this movement; Basker labels him "assiduous" in calling attention to linguistic "inaccuracies" (1988, p.76), and highlights that the "real bugbear of Smollett's campaign to purify and preserve the English language...was the use of Scotticisms" (1988, p.82). He concludes that "[f]or Smollett, poor language not only impaired the transmission of knowledge, it reflected a muddled intellect" (1988, p.80), and discerns in Smollett's writings and the output of the *Critical* an "implicit equation between flawed language and flawed intellect" (1988, p.77).

As was mentioned briefly above, it was also not uncommon for reviewers to link an author's actual or supposed (given that many texts were published anonymously or pseudonymously during this period) social marginality with the 'defects' they found in their language. Percy notes that "reviewers could correlate lexical variation with regional variation", and "grammatical variation with education" (2010, p.68), in order to "claim that language is an index of an author's education and a work's quality" (2010, p.69). Given Smollett's own preoccupation with so-called 'Scotticisms' (and the *Monthly*'s attempts to discredit its new rival by accusing them of regional marginality), the highlighting of 'errors' in the works of authors assumed or known to be Scottish was common in the 1750s and 1760s (Basker, 1988, p.83; Beal, 2004, pp.96-7). As Percy notes, this attack on any possible Celtic influence on the English language was also extended to the criticism of Irish authors (2010a, p.69). As far as an author's education is concerned, Percy contends that "[b]etter language is expected of well-educated authors" (2010a, p.68). Given the extremely unequal provision and availability of education across eighteenth-century society, this resulted in large social groups becoming regular targets for linguistic criticism by the Reviews also.

The chief targets of this kind of criticism were lower-class writers and women. There was significant stigma attached to the act of earning money via publication as a woman in the eighteenth century; Donoghue contends that it was considered to "require...an unfeminine temerity" (1996, p.159). This stigma forced many women to publish anonymously or pseudonymously (Donoghue, 1996, p.159), and reviewers often claimed to be able to deduce an anonymous author's gender, class, or nationality on their linguistic performance. Carol Percy argues that the "ultimate insult for a mediocre writer was to be figured as menial and female" (2000, p.320) in this context.

The figure of the novel-reading chambermaid, who represented the democratization of literacy and the inability of the public to choose for themselves worthy reading material, has already been mentioned. The publication by women of texts using language judged to be incorrect facilitated the extension of this trope, and the regular attribution of authorship to chambermaids. Percy notes that, for example, a novel by the name of *Memoirs of a Young Lady of Family* (1758) was deemed by one reviewer to be “sprinkled with vulgarisms”, and as such probably the production of a chambermaid. Even where books receiving positive reviews were published by a named author, as in the case of Mrs. Nihell’s *Treatise on the Art of Midwifry* (1760), reviewers would occasionally affect disbelief that a woman could have written so well. Percy quotes one reviewer as writing that Nihell “wrote in so peculiar a stile, with such an extreme affectation of learning, that it has not the least appearance of being a female production” (quoted in Percy, 2000, p.320).

Whilst this shows, as should be obvious, that “[i]ncorrect language, by itself, was certainly not an accurate index of female authorship” (Percy, 2000, p.321), the lack of provision of structured and Classical education for women did put female authors at a disadvantage when linguistic correctness came to be a metric by which publications were routinely judged. As authors, women were already handicapped by the difficulties they faced in securing a publisher for a text (Donoghue, 1996, p.6). The only socially acceptable “excuse for publishing used by women writers was that financial distress had forced them to earn their own money” (Donoghue, 1996, p.160). As Percy notes, “only poverty could justify immodesty” (2000, p.332), and writing for publication was deemed highly immodest. Donoghue describes how prefaces to female-authored books often “had to justify the very act of writing for publication” (1996, p.159). This association of publishing with “unfeminine temerity” (Donoghue, 1996, p.159), and the expectation that dire financial straits had led to the publication of the work in question, resulted in the Reviews “evaluat[ing] women’s writing according to sharply different standards than those...applied to writing by men” (Donoghue, 1996, p.160). Donoghue argues that this “helped entrench a double standard that all but disabled the hopes any woman author might have of achieving a level of success comparable to that enjoyed by the best male writers” and “rendered all women’s writing, regardless of specific merits or weaknesses, as second-rate” (1996, p.161).

In his contribution to the *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Basker has argued that this “segregation of women’s literature” had a lasting impact, and “affected canon formation” (p.316). A more immediate effect, argues Percy, was the Reviews’ development of a

disingenuous shorthand to refer to texts thought to be written by women. Percy has written at length on this subject, and contends that words such as “easy” and “sprightly” were used to describe women’s language use in order to suggest that it was “artless, incorrect, and spoken, implicitly uncivilized like the woman who had ventured into print” (2000, p.330). She concludes that “easy writing...contained the errors and redundancies that increasingly distinguished unpolished speech from polished public writing, and disadvantaged those writers with inadequate education” (Percy, 2000, p.326). This ‘ease’ in writing, Percy points out, was also used to “marginalize amateur aristocratic authors” (2000, p.331), as “both gentlemen and women are constructed as ignorant of the rules” (2000, p.332).

Strangely, then, where Donoghue discerns in the review periodicals’ treatment of women, lower class and non-English authors a “conflict between a cultural elite and the masses” (1996, p.10), we must consider the aristocracy among “the masses”. For the Reviews not only regard the “spread of reading as a potential threat to social stability that needed to be aggressively contained” (Donoghue, 1996, p.26), they also actively participate in the process by which the nascent ‘Standard’ language championed by members of the growing middle-class intelligentsia came to displace the ‘polite’ language associated with the aristocracy (Watt, 2002). However “conservative and corrective” (Eagleton, 1984, p.12) the endeavours of the Reviews were in the latter half of the eighteenth century, then, they promoted the bourgeois interests of their educated, middle-class editors and writers. And, as Percy has noted, linguistic criticism played an important role in this, by “implicitly promot[ing] education and ambition over birth or region” (2009, p.126). Providing an author used language which signalled their access to a similar education and range of opportunities as the reviewers, and providing they were not associated with a rival publication, their production would usually be looked kindly upon. The exclusion of all those without this access results in the discourses of exclusion which are detailed in Chapter 5.

The aspiration of the eighteenth-century Reviews to comprehensive coverage of all new works being published is likely to have promoted these discourses of exclusion, because the *Monthly*, *Critical* and their less successful competitors reviewed not only works that they felt worthy of attention, but also those which they claimed to feel duty-bound to warn the public against. Given that discourses of exclusion seem to have promoted the Reviews’ interests in the decades after their emergence, it is ironic, therefore, that their attempt to provide comprehensive coverage should lead to their downfall.

Derek Roper notes that comprehensive reviewing “can never have been easy to achieve” (1978, p.37), but in 1749, when Ralph Griffiths founded the *Monthly* and introduced comprehensiveness as an ideal, it was at least a manageable endeavour. By the turn of the century, however, Roper points out that “both books and readers were becoming very much more numerous” (1978, p.36), and that “[t]he number of new titles printed annually had increased fourfold since the *Monthly* and *Critical* had been founded” (1978, p.37). By this stage, then, Roper concludes that comprehensive reviewing “had become impossible” (1978, p.37). The inability of the *Monthly* and *Critical* to keep pace with the growth of the publishing industry, and the success of the openly partisan *British Critic* in the 1790s provided indications that their fortunes were waning. The *Critical*, even after a disastrous fire in 1802, kept publishing until 1817 when, “barely able to cover expenses” (quoted in Hawkins & Ives 2012, p.14), it was forced to fold. The *Monthly Review* struggled on until 1845, but Roper cites an encyclopaedia article of 1813 which refers to it as having been “the ablest work of its kind in Europe” but now being owed “the civility due to old age” (1978, p.27). The *British Critic*, too, survived until the 1840s, finally printing its last issue in 1843. These older Reviews may have persisted into the nineteenth century, but as will be shown in what follows, they were forced to accommodate to the new, selective style of emerging competitors and were ultimately outgunned. §3.3.5 will outline the implications of this shift for the grammatical criticism which was, by 1800, a notorious part of reviewing culture. Firstly, however, §3.3.4 will consider the impact which eighteenth century reviewing had on the early career of Fanny Burney, whose writings will be used in the case study found in Chapters 7-9 below.

### 3.3.4 Burney and the review periodicals

Burney’s third novel, *Camilla*, was published at the height of review periodical dominance, in 1796. It was a hotly anticipated publication, following on the heels of the runaway success of *Evelina* in 1778 and *Cecilia* in 1782, and as such it was reviewed by all of the major British review periodicals of the day. Unlike the reviews for *Evelina* and *Cecilia* in Burney’s youth, however, the critical reception of *Camilla* was more muted and polite than enthusiastic. Roper notes that reviewers were “respectful”, but “evidently disappointed in the novel” by comparison with Burney’s earlier works (1978, p.166).

Mary Wollstonecraft was first, anonymously, to review the novel, in an article published in the *Analytical Review* in July 1796. She opens her review by noting that “[t]he celebrity which

miss Burney has so deservedly acquired by her two former novels, naturally roused the expectation of the public for the promised production". She goes on to say, however, that she thinks "it inferior to the first-fruits of her talents" (Wollstonecraft, 1796, p.142). Other reviews take a similar tack, but the review which provides "the most detailed comment, both favourable and adverse, is William Enfield's in the *Monthly*" (1978, p.166). This review is overall, fairly positive in its appraisal of *Camilla*, but it is also thoroughgoing in its delineation of the perceived grammatical errors to be found in the first edition of the novel. The most relevant passage reads as follows:

Yet we cannot but regret that *a work of such uncommon merit*, and so elaborate in its object and extent, was suffered to make its appearance, before it passed *under the correction* of some friend, who might have saved us *the pain of noticing the following verbal* and grammatical inaccuracies : — *Scarce* for *scarcely*, in almost every page. — '*Nor have I no great disposition,*' &c. — '*A man and horse was sent off.*' — 'An admirable good joke.' — 'Has *strove.*' — 'Was it me that fled?' — 'Not equally adroit as Henry.' — '*Almost* nothing,' for *scarcely any thing*; a Scotticism. — 'The owner of the horses *laid* dead.' — 'One of the horses *laid* dead.' — 'She *laid* down in her cloaths' — 'Where *laid* the blame?' — 'Desirous to know *if*' — for *whether*— an inelegant expression which every where occurs. To these we must add examples of wrong arrangement; as — 'Without his *almost* thinking of it,' &c. — Of low or *cant* phrases, used in the narrative; as 'he *stroamed* up and down the room'; — 'seized with *wonderment*;' — 'far deeper than *what* he could attribute.' Of affected, obscure, or incorrect expressions; as — 'her love of virtue glowed warm with juvenile ardour' — 'he motioned to her;' — 'restored his plastic mind' *to its* usual satisfaction ;' — 'that no chasm should have lieu;' — 'she is peculiar, yet not impracticable ; — 'the chaise was accorded promptly;' (a *Gallicism*)

(*Monthly Review*, October 1796, p.21)

Roper describes this "judicious article" as "all the more creditable, both to reviewer and Review, in that Fanny Burney's father, Dr. Charles Burney, was a contributor and a fairly close friend of Griffiths", the *Monthly*'s founder and editor (1978, p.166). The literary world of late eighteenth-century London was a small one, as evidenced by Fanny Burney's rapid absorption into the Streatham Circle, as discussed in §1.4. As Roper notes, Burney's father, Dr. Charles Burney, was closely associated with review culture; firstly with the *Critical Review*, to which he is thought to have made regular contributions between 1771 and 1785 (Roper 1978, p.33), and latterly with the *Monthly Review*, to which he made contributions between 1788 and 1802 (Roper 1978, p.21). The publication of grammatical criticism aimed at a member of the Burney family in that publication in 1796 clearly did not deter Dr. Burney from continued association

with the *Monthly*, and nor does it seem to have deterred his son, Fanny's brother, Charles Burney II, from continuing to review for the periodical. The younger Charles Burney was, as "one of the most distinguished English scholars of his generation" (Roper, 1978, p.21), an esteemed critic. William Enfield's review was therefore at the centre of an interesting social dynamic, whereby the reviewed author was the daughter and sister of two regular *Monthly* contributors, and was therefore presumably known to its editor.

That this social dynamic did not deter Enfield from including grammatical criticism in his review, or Griffiths from publishing such content, is highly notable. It is conceivable that it was considered unremarkable that Fanny Burney should have been subject to such sustained and detailed criticism, despite her family connections to the *Monthly*, because grammatical criticism of women as the less educated sex was considered the norm (Percy, 2000). Whilst probing this issue farther is beyond the scope of the present study, it is something to bear in mind as her responsiveness to norms of correctness is examined.

Burney's experience with the reviews following the publication of *Camilla* was her first experience of less than laudatory criticism by review periodicals. Her first novel, *Evelina*, was received rapturously upon its anonymous publication in 1778, with the *Critical* reviewer opining that it "would have disgraced neither the head nor the heart of Richardson" (1778, p.202). As Crump notes in her biography of Burney, however, she had undoubtedly feared a less positive reception, "and prepared for it with a dextrous address in the dedication of *Evelina* to 'the Authors of the *Monthly* and *Critical* Reviews'" (2002, p.24). Here, she posited them not in relation to the "supplicating author", but as what Crump calls "impartial servants to the reading public, from whom she sought not favour but justice" (2002, p.24). In the event, however, *Evelina* was an instant and runaway popular success and, as Crump notes, "its popularity spread by word of mouth, and was confirmed but not created by the reviews" (2002, p.24). Reviews of *Cecilia*, published in 1782, were also broadly positive.

Accustomed as she was to such critical approbation, Burney was clearly stung by the detailed criticism to which the *Monthly* subjected *Camilla*, writing to her father:

What of *verbal* criticisms are fair, I shall certainly & gladly attend to in the second edition: but most of them are of another class, & mark a *desire* to find them that astonishes me; for I have no consciousness of any enemy, & yet only to enmity can attribute the possibility of supposing 'A man & Horse was sent off —' could be other than an error of the press. A Chambermaid, *now adays*, would have written *were*. 'An *admirable* good joke', also, is the cant of Clermont, not of



the author; who might as well be accountable for the slip slops of Dubster. 'Nor have I *no* great disposition' — must be an *invention*, I should think. Certainly I never wrote it, whether it be in the Book or not. I had not time for an errata — which might, methinks, have been observed, in some candid supposition that, otherwise, a few of the verbal errors might have been corrected. (quoted in Crump, 2002, p.289)

Here, Burney makes clear that she feels personally victimised. She accuses Enfield of “a *desire* to find” errors, and of harbouring “enmity” towards her. She attributes a concord error which he noted to “the press”, adverbial *admirable* to the “cant” of one of her characters, and denies that the instance of multiple negation which is quoted as occurring in the text can exist. She also emphasises that she did not have time to complete an erratum, in which she might have corrected any mistakes found in the text. Her use of the word “errata” is interesting (notwithstanding her use of the plural form with a singular article) because the word ‘erratum’ usually relates to production errors rather than errors of the author, which are more often denoted by the word ‘corrigendum’.

It would seem, therefore, that Burney is distancing herself as much as possible from at least some of the perceived grammatical errors which Enfield’s review attributes to her. However, she does begin the extract above by saying that she “shall certainly & gladly attend to” those criticisms she considers “fair” in the second edition. It is not clear which criticisms she feels are “fair”, but the corpus analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 will determine what effect Enfield’s review had on Burney’s use of three of the grammatical constructions he singles out. The first of these is so-called ‘flat’ and dual form adverbs (Chapter 7). Enfield comments on Burney’s use of adverbial *admirable* and adverbial *scarce*, but only his proscription of *admirable* is addressed by Burney in her letter to her father. Here, she argues that “[a]n *admirable* good joke” is the “cant” of one of her characters, but fails to address Enfield’s accusation that she uses “*scarce* for *scarcely*, in almost every page”. The alleged frequency of this usage suggests that it is used within the narrative, rather than being attributable to one of the novel’s characters, and it is moreover notable that Burney distances herself from one flat adverb targeted for criticism by Enfield, but fails to mention another. This suggests that she may, even following the *Monthly*’s review, consider some flat adverbs as more acceptable usages than others. This hypothesis will also be explored in Chapter 7.

In §8.2, Burney’s conjugation of irregular verbs will be examined, since Enfield quotes Burney as using *strove* as a past participle in *Camilla*. Finally, in §8.3, her use of forms of intransitive

*lie* will be analysed. Three instances of the perceived misuse of “laid” are quoted in the *Monthly*’s review of *Camilla*, so we might assume it to be a frequent feature of Burney’s idiolect prior to the review’s publication. Whether reform is carried out in any of these paradigms, or by analogy in any others, will suggest what, if any, impact Enfield’s review had on Burney’s idiolect.

Overall, Burney seems fairly blasé about the influence of the reviews. In the same letter to her father, she notes that she has been asked by a friend about her reaction to them:

Miss Cambridge asked me, early, if I should not take some care about the Reviews? No, I said, none. There are two species of Composition which may nearly brave them; Politics & Novels: for these will be sought & will be judged by the various Multitude, not the fastidious few. With the latter, indeed, they may be Aided, or injured, by Criticism; but it will not stop their being read, though it may prejudice their Readers. They want no Recommendation for being handed about but that of being NEW, & they frequently become established, or sink into oblivion, before that high Literary Tribunal has brought them to a trial. She laughed at my composure; but, though I am a good deal chagrined, it is not broken. (quoted in Crump, 2002, p.290)

She seems to feel, therefore, that the most noteworthy criticisms of *Camilla* are those relating to her grammar. It thus seems likely that the review might effect a change in her idiolect. Although no comprehensive linguistic study has addressed this question, it has been suggested previously that this is the case. The editors of the Oxford World’s Classics edition of *Camilla*, Edward and Lillian Bloom, note that they have expunged “grammatical inaccuracies” only “where Fanny Burney herself made the changes for the edition of 1802” (2009, p.xxix). Elsewhere, the editors reveal the limitations in their understanding of the complex patterns of variation in existence at the time, when they note that “[c]ertain spelling inconsistencies have been left untouched *as long as they conform to acceptable eighteenth century usage*” (2009, p.xxix, emphasis added).

The notion that any identifiable linguistic standard existed around the turn of the nineteenth century is problematic, and also undermines the only other paper examining in any detail Burney’s grammatical self-correction and its relationship to linguistic criticism. Also written by Lillian Bloom, this study from 1979 tracks some variants singled out by Enfield’s review, as well as by Thomas Twining, a family friend of the Burneys, in a personal letter. Bloom documents Burney’s erasure of these variants from the 1802 edition, but a monolithic view of

eighteenth-century usage and a linear conception of the trajectory of language change at this time problematize the investigation.

Bloom's account of Burney's self-correction is problematic firstly because it is predicated upon the assumption that an eighteenth-century standard of usage existed, and that it was uniform, cohesively codified, and widely disseminated across all registers. Any use of variants non-standard in either a modern sense or in terms of contemporary normative grammars are therefore glossed as deviant; they are "mistakes", "infelicities", "confusions", and, often, failures to maintain "proper distinctions" between parts of speech (Bloom, 1979, pp.384-5). This investment in the standard language ideology seems to direct the substance of Bloom's findings; she is not looking for continuing variation, but rather for a more correct *Camilla*, one which conforms to the standards she believes to exist.

There is thus no reference to paradigms other than those criticised by Enfield or Twining, and she is able in consequence to make generalisations which lack even the foundation in bibliographical scholarship claimed by her other findings. One such claim is that in the "1802 [edition] every confusion between adjective and adverb disappeared" (Bloom, 1979, p.384). As will be demonstrated in §8.2, this is simply not the case outside the paradigm singled out by Enfield. This, of course, highlights the third major objection which can be raised against Bloom's account; its lack not only of empirical data, but also of a basis of linguistic expertise. Thus, a number of her claims discredit her study of Burney's self-correction, for instance:

Apparently intimidated forever by the past tense of *to strive*, [Burney] banished it from the "new" *Camilla* by offering the synonymous "endeavoured" and "attempted" (Bloom, 1979, p.385)

As will be shown, again in §8.2, when examined empirically, Burney's treatment of this verb is revealing, but not in the way Bloom suggests. Her use of past tense *strove* declines only slightly, occurring 47 times in the first edition, and 42 in the second (a discrepancy explicable by the cuts made to the novel by 1802). It is the use of past participial *strove* to which the *Monthly* objects; and it is this form which is indeed "banished" from the second edition (see §8.2).

Writing as a literary critic in the 1970s, however, Bloom's acceptance of a conventional model of standardization is unexceptional. General histories of the language, by using the label '(Late) Modern English' and by pointing out that the "forms codified in grammars and dictionaries in the eighteenth century have changed relatively little in the course of the last two hundred years"

(Nevalainen, 1992, p.334), obscure the degree of variation on-going at this time. Nicolaisen's suggestion that "once certain periodizations become canonical, they become part of the history itself" (quoted in Curzan, 2012, p.1234) seems applicable in this context. The eighteenth century is so intimately associated with prescriptivism in the modern linguistic consciousness, that variation had until recently been somewhat marginalised as a salient linguistic feature of the period.

Studies at the micro level have however done much to establish that considerable discrepancies often existed between precept and practice (see for instance Finegan, 1992, p.124; Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2005a, p.153 on Lowth's "preference for stranded prepositions"), as well as between registers (see for instance Osselton, 1984; Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2005b) during this period. The present thesis will contribute to this field, agreeing with Richard Bailey that prior to the release of the 1796 *Camilla*, and to only a slightly lesser extent thereafter, Burney was indeed "simply drawing on English that permitted the freedom to use whatever variant one might choose without fear of puristic censure" (2010, p.198). I will demonstrate that although Burney already wrote according to a perceived standard of correctness, negative linguistic comment seems to have caused an alteration to this standard, meaning that variants singled out, where they were not marked already, became so. That Burney's vernacular continued to permit some small degree of variation after this date will, in light of her sensitivity to linguistic propriety, be taken as an indication in Chapters 7 and 8 that either she remains unaware of certain variants' nonstandard status, or that she continues to perceive them as acceptable in certain registers.

As was outlined in §1.5, Chapters 7, 8, and 9 are concerned with Burney's evolving attitude towards, and usage of, selected grammatical variants in an attempt to determine whether changes in her idiolect correspond to the *Monthly's* 1796 review of *Camilla*. Prior to this, however, Chapters 5 and 6 seek to establish how the review periodical genre constructs grammar and grammaticality, and whether it has an identifiable 'Age of Prescriptivism' within the study period of 1750-1899. It is therefore necessary to turn now to nineteenth-century review culture, and outline how the review periodical genre continued to evolve in the 1800s.

### 3.3.5 Nineteenth-century review culture

As was detailed in §3.3.3, the turn of the century marks a sea-change in the fortunes of the older generation of review periodicals which had been founded in the later eighteenth century. The nineteenth century witnessed a gradual decline of the old-guard Reviews, and the rise of a new breed of review periodical which renounced their forebears' aspirations to comprehensiveness, and inaugurated a new, and harsher, style of criticism. It was noted in the previous section that the *Monthly* and the *Critical* "stood unrivalled for some thirty years" (Basker, 1988, p.173). In *Politics and Reviewers: Edinburgh and the Quarterly in the Early Victorian Age*, though, Joanne Shattock documents their swift decline; arguing that the pre-1800 Reviews were "outmanoeuvred, indeed virtually eclipsed, when the *Edinburgh* was launched in 1802" (1989, p.4). This may be overstating the case slightly; as noted above, the *Critical* continued to be commercially viable for fourteen years after the appearance of the *Edinburgh*, and the *Monthly* and the *British Critic* survived into the 1840s. Still, for Roper, in his *Reviewing Before the Edinburgh*, "the founding of the *Edinburgh* was the most important step in the evolution of reviewing since Ralph Griffiths began the *Monthly* fifty-three years before" (1978, p.46). According to Shattock

From its beginning the *Edinburgh* established precedents. It was published four times a year rather than monthly. It was determinedly free of any connections with booksellers, one of the major criticisms of the older Reviews, and it was unashamedly partisan in its politics. It was a Whig organ, just as the *Quarterly*, founded seven years later to counter its 'deleterious doctrine' was a Tory publication. (1989, p.4)

Roper suggests that these "Whig and Tory journals on the new pattern" (1978, p.27), the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, were to the early nineteenth century what the *Monthly* and the *Critical* were to the mid and late eighteenth. Shattock emphasises the *Edinburgh's* importance in "inaugurating the era of the quarterlies, which were to become and to remain the mandarin periodical form of the nineteenth century" (1989, p.8). She also notes that "from its inception the *Edinburgh* became the Review for which most reviewers wanted to write and in which authors wished to be reviewed" (Shattock, 1980, p.8). In support of this, she cites G.H. Lewes in 1844 as writing of the "immense superiority of the *Edinburgh Review* over all other Reviews in influence", and "the chance it affords a writer of being read by those readers he most desires" (quoted in Shattock, 1989, p.8).

To appreciate the nuances in grammatical criticism over the course of the study period, 1750-1899, and the ways in which changes in reviewing culture impact the methodologies employed in Chapters 5 and 6 (and outlined in Chapter 4), it is important to understand the stark

differences in ideology and *modus operandi* between the various review periodicals on the market throughout the nineteenth century. Selective reviewing was one of the most significant changes to review culture which the *Edinburgh* introduced. As was noted above, by 1800 comprehensive reviewing had become impossible, but the *Monthly*, *Critical* and *British Critic* were still striving for thorough coverage of the book market. Roper notes that in October 1802, the *Monthly* reviewed forty-four works, the *Critical* sixty, and the *British Critic* seventy-seven (1978, p.40). By contrast, the *Edinburgh*, “which as a quarterly might be expected to deal with three times as many works as these monthly journals” (Roper, 1978, p.40), reviewed only twenty-nine books. This was no accident: Roper highlights that in the *Edinburgh*’s preliminary advertisement, its founders “renounced all claim to comprehensive coverage, wishing their journal “to be distinguished, rather for the selection, than for the number of its articles” (1978, p.40). Roper contends that quarterlies like the *Edinburgh* were “more suited to an age in which books and readers were becoming very much more numerous” (1978, p.36). In consequence, he argues, “[a]s the fame and circulation of the *Edinburgh* increased, selectivity was seen to be a prime advantage, and the number of articles in each number was reduced to a mere dozen” (1978, p.40).

The *Quarterly Review*, which was established in 1809 and the *Edinburgh Review*’s foremost competitor, emulated the pattern inaugurated by the *Edinburgh*. In her contribution to the *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Shattock notes that the average length of a quarterly review was 250 octavo pages, containing only eight to ten articles. She contends that all “the quarterlies prided themselves on being selective in the books they reviewed, and robust and opinionated in their critical judgments, in contrast to the encyclopaedic model of the monthlies” (Shattock, 2013, p.24). Roper has referred to the *Edinburgh* as being “from the first a journal of opinion”, with “the important feature of most articles [being] opinion, usually aggressively and voluminously stated” (1978, p.45). The *Quarterly*’s apparent use of the *Edinburgh* as a model, and the unmatched success of these two publications during the early decades of the nineteenth century meant that reviews became much harsher in their criticism, and feuds between authors and reviewers became commonplace rather than exceptional. This has obvious implications for the investigation of grammatical criticism as a feature of review periodicals, which is the subject of Chapters 5 and 6, since it seems likely that laudatory reviews will be less likely to contain criticism of non-standard grammatical variant use.

Derek Roper contends that, during this phase of review culture, “the most important feature of most articles was opinion, usually aggressively and voluminously stated” (1978, p.45). He

details the attacks which the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* made on the Romantic poets, noting that “[t]he *Edinburgh* ridiculed Wordsworth and Coleridge for at least twenty years” and that “[w]hen Keats’ turn came it was the *Quarterly* which ridiculed him” (Roper, 1978, p.46). Such was the association of these two reviews with what Roper has called “slashing attacks” (1978, p.46), that Lord Byron went so far as to implicate them in Keats’ death in 1821 (Schoenfield, 2009, p.172). Terry Eagleton, in discussing the “scurrility and sectarian virulence of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*” likewise contends that the *Quarterly* “savaged Keats, Hazlitt, Lamb, Shelley, [and] Charlotte Brontë” (1984, pp.38-38).

In the *Edinburgh Review*, the reviewing climate of the early nineteenth century was self-consciously contrasted with the “calm peacable period” before 1802 (quoted in Roper, 1978, p.47). Ironically, as Jon Klancher points out in his contribution to the *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, in founding the *Edinburgh*, “Francis Jeffrey and his cohort tried to restore to criticism the ideal of a ‘civil society’ and its polite commercial literary republic as ‘knit together in all its parts by a thousand means of communication and ties of mutual interest and sympathy” (2000, p.313). This high-minded ideal, however, seems to have proven incompatible with the political interests of the quarterlies. Eagleton notes that the *Edinburgh* “denounced the Lake Poets as regressive and ridiculous, a threat to social rank and the high seriousness of bourgeois morality” (1984, p.38). Literary criticism may not have warranted the “vivid polemical combat” (Klancher, 2000, p.314) which Klancher claims characterised the early nineteenth century culture of reviewing, but ideological differences did.

As had been common in the previous century, in the words of Klancher, reviewers “positioned one another as often according to their social habitus as to their critical postures” (2000, p.314). As such, he argues that “[c]lass and gender became means of crediting or discrediting a bewilderingly various array of critical positions” (Klancher, 2000, p.314). This is a situation strikingly reminiscent of the relationship between the Reviews in the previous century, and has the same implications in terms of grammatical criticism, since in the early nineteenth century both class and gender remained associated with unequal access to linguistic norms, and therefore the use of non-standard grammatical variants.

As had the editors and writers of the *Monthly* and *Critical* fifty years earlier, the staff of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* soon took to making personal attacks on each other. Klancher notes, for instance, that “William Gifford, editor of the Tory *Quarterly Review*, maligned Hazlitt as a

vulgar Cockney ‘slang-whanger’”, while Hazlitt, a reviewer for the *Edinburgh*, replied by “questioning Gifford’s credentials for the office of critic” (2000, p.314).

Just as the ideological stances of the Whig *Edinburgh* and the Tory *Quarterly* increased what Coleridge called “the sting of personal malignity” (quoted in Klancher, 2000, p.314) in reviewing, so they also seem in large part to have been responsible for the extreme antipathy between the Reviews. Terry Eagleton writes that “[c]riticism was now unabashedly political: the journals tended to select for review only those works on which they could loosely peg lengthy ideological pieces, and their literary judgments, buttressed by the authority of anonymity, were rigorously subordinated to their politics” (1984, p.38). Shattock cites Jeffrey, the *Edinburgh*’s founder, as saying that his review periodical stands on two legs, and that “literature is no doubt one of them, but its Right leg is politics” (2013, p.26). She contends that this is equally applicable to all of the “great triumvirate” of early quarterlies; the *Quarterly* and *Westminster* as much as the *Edinburgh* (Shattock, 2013, p.26).

By the 1820s, according to Shattock, “reviewing ha[d] become a dominant element of literary life” (1989, p.1). She cites a contemporary claim that “[t]o be an Edinburgh Reviewer is...the highest rank in modern literary society” (1989, p.1). By the 1840s, however, Shattock claims that the “quarterlies’ readership and their influence began a slow but inexorable decline” (1989, p.11). In part, this decline can be attributed to increasingly robust competition from magazines, which targeted a different type of audience from the Reviews, and included literary criticism alongside other content. Shattock contends that

The image of the magazines, as established primarily by *Blackwood’s* (1817) and extended by *Fraser’s* (1830) was one of at best rollicking high spirits, literary pranks and generally ‘light’ articles, and, at worst, acerbic satire, and splenetic personal attacks. Whereas the quarterlies had *gravitas* and solidity, the magazines were measured by their entertainment value even to the point of irresponsibility. (1989, pp.6-7)

According to Shattock, the magazines targeted a “large and growing readership” (2013, p.26) comprised of literate, but not necessarily wealthy, middle-class individuals. She notes that they were sold for around three shillings, making them considerably more affordable and accessible than the review periodicals (Shattock, 2013, p.27), and that their literary reviews in the 1820s and 1830s were “shorter and more informal” (Shattock, 2013, p.26) than those in the Reviews of the same period. Whereas the Reviews were still publishing individual issues using “good-quality paper, generous margins and clear type”, as “multiple parts of a book” (Shattock, 2013,



p.27) to be collected and collated, Shattock argues that the magazines aligned themselves with the more ephemeral and disposable newspaper genre by using double columns. She concludes that the magazines were “effectively miscellanies” (Shattock, 2013, p.27), with “a new style of reviewing” (Shattock, 2013, p.25).

The popularity of these magazines in the 1830s and 1840s marks the beginning of a marked divergence between highbrow literary criticism, which at this stage remained the reserve of review periodicals but was ultimately supplanted by specialist academic literary critics, and the popular reviewing of books which persists in magazines to this day. This progression in review culture must be considered for its implications in terms of any trends discerned in Chapters 5 and 6.

Josephine Guy and Ian Small, in their contribution to the *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, characterize this divergence as “the splitting of the relatively homogeneous Victorian reading culture into a variety of forms, most easily and crudely characterised as high and popular culture”, and argue that this “redefined the relationship between the critic and the reading public” (2000, pp.386-7). They note the

...advent of mass literacy, rapid developments in the technology of book publication and distribution, as well as new legislation affecting the length of the working-day and the concomitant growth of what has now come to be known as leisure and the leisure industry. (Guy & Small, 2000, p.387)

These factors, they contend, resulted in the emergence of a “‘new’ reading public”, which was engaged by “a very different kind of literature” (Guy & Small, 2000, p.387). This, argue Guy and Small, led to the “enormous growth in sales of various Victorian and Edwardian sub-genres, such as detective fiction and ghost stories”, and also “produced the crisis in sales experienced by many ‘high’ (or serious) literary artists of the time” (2000, p.387). This state of affairs appears to be mirrored in reviewing culture. By the 1830s, as has been noted, the ‘lighter’ breed of criticism appearing in magazines was displacing the high-brow articles of the review periodicals, and at the same time, notes Shattock, the “emergence of a responsible newspaper press began to erode their political power” (2013, p.24). Guy and Small suggest that in this new marketplace, “the difficulty for the amateur critic was who to address”, the “‘new’ reading public” (2000, p.387), or the Reviews’ traditional but considerably smaller readership.

At least one of the new generation of Reviews founded during the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Saturday Review* (established in 1855), was frank as to its reasons for choosing to

cater to the latter readership. According to Eagleton, the *Saturday* was “an organ of Oxford high culture, given to snobbish contempt for such popular authors as Dickens” (1984, p.59). He claims that it “poured scorn upon popular taste and the mass literary market” (Eagleton, 1984, p.59). Crucially, and in a move which would ultimately see the downfall of periodical reviewing, the *Saturday* is said by Eagleton to have “reverted to an eighteenth-century aristocratic attitude towards literary men” (1984, p.59). In a fast-moving and ever-changing marketplace, even the new generation of Reviews emerging after 1850 did not prove competitive. Though Shattock contends that these “eclipsed the original three” (2013, p.24), the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly* and *Westminster*, she concedes that the “length of their articles and their frequency ultimately proved to be their undoing” (2013, p.24).

These periodicals retained the long, detailed reviews of their forebears, and cost a considerable sum. This, as Shattock notes, provides an “indication of their readership” (2013, p.25). In a marketplace increasingly catering to a customer base seeking cheap, easy reading, the rarefied output of even this new generation of review periodicals was not met widely with enthusiasm.

The Reviews founded after the mid-century did, however, mark a departure in reviewing culture. Eagleton has, for example, pointed out that “[c]ritical partisanship is in general less ferocious in mid-century than it had been in the earlier decades” (1984, p.59). He claims that the *Fortnightly Review*, in particular, which was established in 1865, “tried to break with the rampant sectarianism of the older journals, offering itself as a ‘platform for the discussion of all questions by the light of pure reason, on lines agreeable to impartial intellect alone’” (Eagleton, 1984, p.59). He likewise contends that the *Saturday Review* “gave their utterances an oracular rather than argumentative tone” (1984, p.59).

Ultimately, though, the Marxist Eagleton concludes that “[c]ritical partisanship...still poses an obstacle to the consensual task which criticism must set itself, whether in the militant Utilitarianism of the *Westminster*, the radical free thought of the *Fortnightly* or the Toryism of the *Quarterly*” (1984, p.59). The Reviews had by no means abandoned their ideological stances altogether, and still regarded themselves as highly influential. Eagleton notes that the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* “speaks of his contributions as being entrusted with the ‘momentous task of forming public opinion’” (1984, p.51). Indeed, though their sphere of influence was shrinking, as a new, more populist literary culture blossomed around them, Shattock argues that the *Fortnightly*, the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century* shaped public opinion on a wide range of issues” (2013, p.28). At this juncture, she contends that “[i]n their

range of influence they resembled the quarterlies in the first two decades of the century” (Shattock, 2013, p.28). It is notable, however, in light of the stated intention of this thesis to investigate whether grammatical criticism was a feature of review periodicals’ content *throughout* the period 1750-1899, that much less is written about grammatical criticism in the scholarship on review culture by this era.

In revolutionising the genre, this new generation of reviews appear to have bought the periodical review a few decades more of commercial viability and cultural influence. Shattock discerns in the 1860s a “general impatience with the leisurely rhythm of the quarterlies”, and posits the *Fortnightly* and the monthly *Contemporary Review*, founded in 1865 and 1866 respectively, as responding to this (2013, p.28). In terms of cost, though such Reviews as these were expensive by comparison with the general magazines being sold at the time, they were considerably cheaper than the earlier generation of review periodicals. These, as Shattock notes, were at this time “universally” charging six shillings, whereas the new generation were priced at around two shillings (2013, p.29). Such prices, she argues, paved the way for the “founding of a number of cheaper reviews, both weekly and monthly, from the mid-1880s” (Shattock, 2013, p.30). These so-called “shilling monthlies” (2013, p.27) were, Shattock argues, made possible by the abolition of stamp duty in 1855, and a testament to the “popularity of shorter articles and to the demand for serious reviewing at popular prices” (2013, p.30).

Periodical review culture has, by 1880, then, begun to fragment. Whilst some Reviews attempted to retain the cultural authority enjoyed hitherto, as well as an elite readership, others scrambled desperately to share in the profits being made by cheap weekly and monthly magazines and newspapers. It is highly likely that these dramatic changes in the landscape of periodical reviewing will be reflected in the findings of Chapters 5 and 6, in which the reviews’ grammatical criticism in each decade of the 1750-1899 study period will be examined in detail.

Shattock also notes that the *Fortnightly* had a “policy of signed articles and an ‘open platform’ for discussion” was to set a precedent which the *Contemporary* and others would go on to emulate (2013, p.28). By the 1880s, according to Shattock, “a large proportion of literary reviews bore the signature of their authors” (2013, p.36). This new generation of review periodical thus marked the end of the culture of anonymous reviewing started by Ralph Griffiths over one hundred years earlier. In a move which signals their allegiance to the old ways, however, Shattock notes that the quarterlies founded in the early 1800s were “among the

last to relinquish anonymity” (2013, p.36). The *Edinburgh’s* reviews, to give an example, remained anonymous until 1912 (Shattock 2013, p.36).

It was noted in §3.3.1 that the early Reviews used anonymity to bolster their cultural authority, and the review periodicals of the later nineteenth century appear to have found to their cost that without this anonymity, their authority could be questioned as never before. Shattock argues that the “role of ‘the critic’...began to prompt self-conscious scrutiny by mid-century” (2013, p.22), whilst Eagleton refers to a “crisis of Victorian criticism” (1984, p.60). This crisis appears to have its roots in a growing cultural desire for specialized and verifiable authority. Guy and Small have written that

During the nineteenth century developments in science and the growth of technology led to knowledge becoming increasingly complex and diverse, and thus increasingly specialized. To claim competence in a particular field, individuals had to narrow their interests and undertake specialized training. One consequence was that the authority of the Victorian sage – that of the cultural critic or distinguished ‘man of letters’ (and they were nearly always men)- began to give way to the expert who specialized in one particular area. (2000, p.378)

Shattock writes that the “conduct of a professional literary life, the process of establishing oneself as a reviewer and earning a living by it, evolved over the period” of the nineteenth century (2013, p.37). The professionalization of reviewing as a discipline was, however, part of a larger “advent of professionalization”, according to Guy and Small (2000, p.379), which sparked a revolution in the conceptualization of intellectual authority. They argue that the figure of the Victorian ‘sage’ “derived principally from who they were” (Guy & Small, 2000, p.379), meaning that for much of the Victorian era, reviewers derived authority from the very fact that they had been entrusted with the task of reviewing. Towards the end of the century, however, Guy and Small argue that

With the advent of professionalization, authority came to be located within a scholarly community, that of a professional peer-group: research was deemed valid only insofar as it was acceptable to this community. (2000, p. 379)

The process of professionalization which had led to professional authors being reviewed during the heyday of periodical review culture was thus also responsible for its gradual decline as the turn of the century approached and criticism increasingly became the reserve of academics. According to Guy and Small, the “days of the sage who could write on any serious subject for a generally educated audience had, by 1900, virtually disappeared. But so too had his medium”

(2000, p.380). The fragmentation of reading culture was complete, and the days of review periodical dominance in the literary marketplace were over.

### 3.4 Concluding remarks

Review periodical culture in Great Britain can be considered an ephemeral phenomenon, which is confined to the period under consideration in this thesis, 1750-1899. During this period, as was described above, review periodicals experienced a discernible heyday, occurring approximately between 1760 and 1820. This period was when the readership of, and respect for, review periodicals was at its zenith. As was also described above, grammatical criticism seems to have been used by individual periodicals during this heyday to bolster their own authority.

In Chapters 5 and 6, the implications for grammatical criticism of the changing marketplace outlined above will be explored and elucidated. In answering the first and second research questions set out in §1.5, these chapters will consider how the review periodicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries deploy grammatical criticism, and whether an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in periodical reviewing can thereby be identified. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, the intricacies of review periodical culture will again be sharply relevant, as the research questions relating to Fanny Burney’s responsiveness to targeted grammatical criticism are addressed. It has therefore been necessary in this chapter to describe in great depth the enormous changes which periodical reviewing underwent during the period 1750-1899, as well as Burney’s response to Enfield’s review of *Camilla* in 1796. It seems likely that the analyses contained in these later chapters will reveal that the seismic shifts in review culture outlined above manifested as changes in the ways that reviewers used and deployed prescriptivist discourses and injunctions. Firstly, however, in Chapter 4, the corpora and methodologies employed in the remainder of this thesis will be delineated.

## 4 CORPORA AND METHODOLOGIES

### 4.1 Corpus compilation and usage

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a rundown of the corpora and methodologies used in this study. Firstly, it will describe in detail the composition and methods of compilation of the

two purpose-built corpora used during the course of this study. These are the Corpus of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Reviews (CENCER), which is used in Chapters 5 and 6 (see §4.1.1), and the Burney Corpus, which is used in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 (see §4.1.2). Then, in §4.2, the variety of corpus-based discourse-analytic methodologies employed during Chapters 5 and 6 will be considered in detail. §4.3 will then outline the specific challenges and peculiarities of Burney’s usage, and the ways in which these both confound traditional corpus approaches and reveal much about her language attitudes. §4.4 will provide detail about the grammatical variables used in Chapters 7-9 to investigate Burney’s usage and finally, in §4.5, the focus will be the novel statistical technique utilized in those chapters, change point detection, as well as its previous applications. both linguistic and non-linguistic.

## 4.2 Corpora

### 4.2.1 The Corpus of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Reviews (CENCER)

In the absence of any pre-existing corpora suitable for a study of this kind, the Corpus of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Reviews (CENCER) was compiled specifically for use in this study. It is a 1.2-million-word corpus of review periodical articles published in Britain during the period 1750-1899. It is comprised of 15 decade-long sub-corpora of approximately 80,000 words each. Table 1, below, provides a breakdown of the number of text files and words in each of these sub-corpora.

Sub-period	Number of text files	Sub-corpus word count
1750-59	23	79,764
1760-69	31	81,534
1770-79	29	80,133
1780-89	37	82,605
1790-99	34	81,133
1800-09	30	82,746
1810-19	24	82,411
1820-29	11	82,315
1830-39	8	82,158
1840-49	9	80,962
1850-59	8	81,159

1860-69	7	83,005
1870-79	5	79,978
1880-89	6	80,051
1890-99	7	81,508
<b>1749-1899</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>1,221,462</b>

**Table 1. Text files and words in each sub-corpus and in CENCER in total.**

CENCER was compiled using the ProQuest ‘British Periodicals’ database, which contains full copies of the print runs of 472 historical British periodicals published between 1681 and 1939. The periodicals this database contains are not exclusively review periodicals, therefore in order for the corpus to be compiled, the review periodicals from the target period, 1749-1899, had to be identified. For the purposes of this selection, a periodical was considered to be a general review periodical if it was a regular (be it weekly, monthly, quarterly, or annual), national (whether British or Scottish) publication, which provided content specifically intended to evaluate the general contemporaneous output of publishing houses, without an exclusive focus on a specific genre of text. Review periodicals published outside of the British mainland were considered likely to confuse findings regarding standards of grammatical correctness, given that during the study period there emerged Standard Englishes other than British English, within the British Empire (Görlach, 1990, p.11). Colonial review periodicals such as those published in Ireland and in India, for example, were therefore excluded from the sample. Other common reasons for exclusion were a high proportion of review articles devoted to content published outside of mainland Britain, or to historical literature, or the inclusion of a significant proportion of non-review content within a given periodical. The inclusion of such material was considered to indicate that the periodical was not straightforwardly a review periodical *per se*, but rather a general periodical or magazine containing literary reviews alongside other content. All 46 review periodicals published during the period 1749-1899 and fitting these inclusion criteria were found to be available via the ‘British Periodicals’ database, and are listed below:

1. *The Monthly Review* (1749-1845)
2. *The Critical Review* (1756-1817)
3. *The Edinburgh Review* (1755-56; 1802-1910)
4. *The London Review of English and Foreign Literature* (1775-1780)
5. *The Analytical Review* (1788-1798)
6. *The British Critic* (1793-1843)
7. *The London Review, and Biographica Literaria* (1799-1800)
8. *The Dramatic and Literary Censor* (1800-1801)

9. *The Imperial Review* (1804-05)
10. *The Eclectic Review* (1805-68)
11. *The General Review of British and Foreign Literature* (1806)
12. *The Quarterly Review* (1809-1906)
13. *The London Review* (1809; 1829; 1835-36)
14. *The British Review, and London Critical Journal* (1811-25)
15. *The New Review: or Monthly Analysis of General Literature* (1813)
16. *The Augustan Review* (1815-16)
17. *The Literary Gazette* (1817-62)
18. *The Edinburgh Monthly Review* (1819-21)
19. *The Westminster Review* (1824-1914)
20. *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* (1827-1847)
21. *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* (1828-32)
22. *The Literary Guardian* (1831-32)
23. *The Critic* (1843-63)
24. *The English Review* (1844-1853)
25. *The North British Review* (1844-71)
26. *The British Quarterly Review* (1845-86)
27. *The Prospective Review* (1845-55)
28. *The Weekly Review and Dramatic Critic* (1852-1853)
29. *The New Quarterly Review and Digest of Current Literature in British, American, French, and German* (1852-1861)
30. *The Scottish Review* (1853-1863)
31. *The National Review* (1855-64; 1883-1901)
32. *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* (1855-1938)
33. *Bentley's Quarterly Review* (1859-60)
34. *The Universal Review* (1859-1860; 1888-90)
35. *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science* (1860-69)
36. *The Fortnightly Review* (1865-1934)
37. *The Contemporary Review* (1866-1900)
38. *The Novel Review* (1867-92)
39. *The Illustrated Review* (1870-74)
40. *The Nineteenth Century Review and After: a Monthly Review* (1877-1906)
41. *The Modern Review: a quarterly magazine* (1880-1884)
42. *The Scottish Review* (1882-1920)
43. *The New Review* (1889-97)
44. *The Speaker: the Liberal Review* (1890-1907)
45. *The Review of Reviews* (1890-1919)
46. *The New Century Review* (1897-1900)

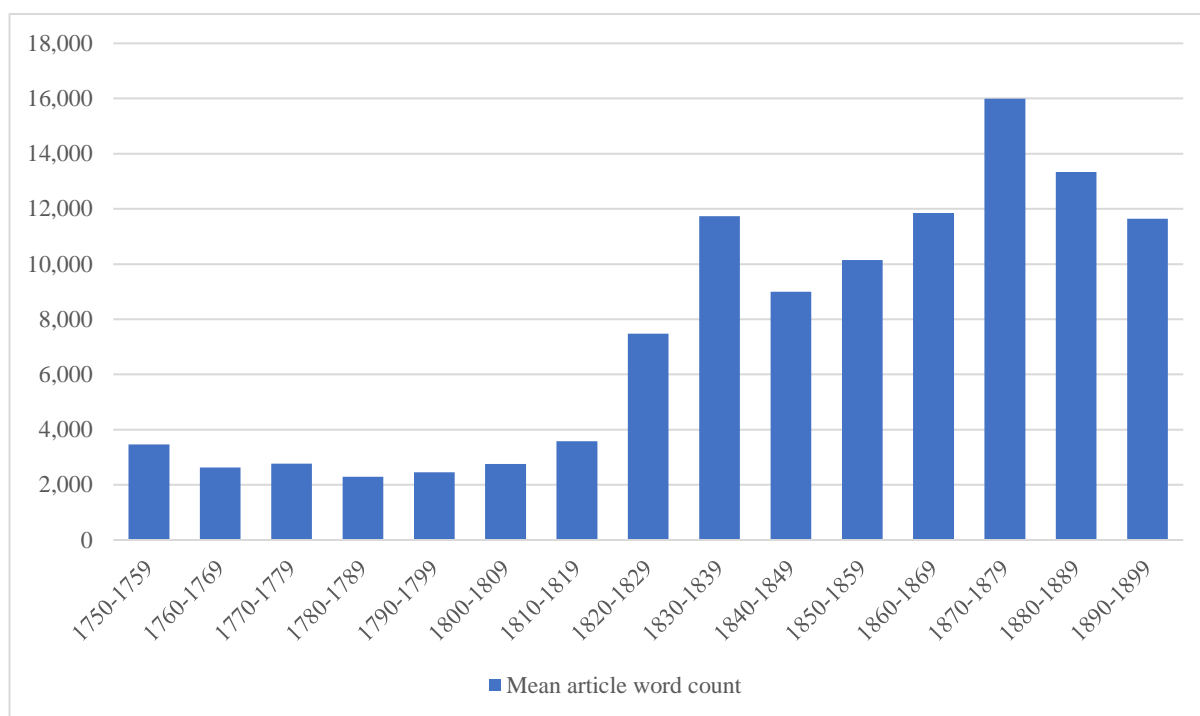
The corpus was compiled one decade at a time, using a random number generator in the software environment R (see Desagulier, 2017). Within the ‘British Periodicals’ database, the field was restricted to a single decade, and to the publications listed above. Once the number of files from these periodicals in the decade in question had been established as being  $n$ , a random number between 1 and  $n$  was generated in order to find the number of the first text file to be included in that decade’s sub-corpus. Once that file had been downloaded, a further random number between 1 and  $n$ , but excluding the number(s) generated previously, would be generated. This process was continued until the word limit of each sub-corpus had been met or exceeded. The optimal word count for each sub-corpus was considered to be 80,000, as this



number would provide adequate data for analysis, but also to be manageable in terms of text mining and conversion. Any word count between 79,500 and 82,999 was permitted, and if the final number randomly generated matched a file which would cause the sub-corpus to exceed the upper limit of 82,999 words, that text file was excluded, and further random numbers were generated until a sub-corpus within the word limit had been achieved. Likewise, where a file within the database exceeded 40 pages in length as a graphics file, it was excluded from the corpus to prevent a single review from biasing results too significantly. As in cases where the sub-corpus word limit would have been exceeded, these files were excluded, and a further random number generated to source a replacement file.

The files downloaded from the 'British Periodicals' database for the compilation of the CENCER corpus were graphics rather than text files. In order for the corpus to be compiled, these had to be converted into a machine-readable format using OCR software. Given that historical text poses significant challenges to OCR software in terms of converting archaic typographical features, this presented a problem. 20 OCR programmes were therefore individually tested, using a single graphics file from the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, which is the farthest removed from present-day English in terms of orthography and typography. This testing revealed that the software best suited to historical OCR was ABBYY's PDF Transformer, version 3.0 (which has since been superseded by newer software). Though the performance of this piece of software compares very favourably with others that were tested, such features typical of eighteenth-century typography as the long *s* and typographical ligatures still pose significant problems to the software. Extensive manual post-editing of CENCER was therefore required in order to achieve a truly 'clean' and machine-readable corpus, which could be run through *WordSmith*. The text editor VIM was used for this manual post-editing, due to its efficiency in dealing with very large text files.

The articles comprising the individual sub-corpora are listed in Appendix A, where a rundown of the contents of each of the sub-corpora may also be found. Though each sub-corpus contains around 80,000 words, Figure 1, below, shows the significant increase in the mean word count of individual articles being included in CENCER throughout the period it covers.



**Figure 1. Mean article word count across the 15 sub-corpora comprising CENCER.**

The mean word count for articles in the 1750s sub-corpus, as can be seen in Appendix A, is just 3,468, and this figure drops to 2,294 during the 1780s, before beginning a gradual rise and peaking in the 1870-1879 sub-corpus at 15,995. Every sub-corpus up to 1819 has a mean word count of less than 4,000, whereas after 1820, every sub-corpus has a mean word count of over 7,000. This marked change can, as has been mentioned previously, be attributed to the abandonment of the ideal of comprehensive reviewing which was introduced by the *Monthly Review* when it was founded in 1749 (see §3.3.1). The *Monthly*'s attempts at comprehensive coverage of the book market were emulated by all of the periodicals which contribute articles to the corpus before 1800; the *Critical*, the early incarnation of a publication called the *Edinburgh Review* (1755-1756), the *London Review of English and Foreign Literature*, the *Analytical Review*, and *The British Critic*. Such attempts to review all books published in Britain, or even England, since the publication of a Review's previous issue resulted in the inclusion in a given edition of numerous but relatively short articles.

As was noted in §3.3.5, however, when the *Edinburgh Review* was first published in 1802, its founders "renounced all claim to comprehensive coverage" (Roper, 1978, p.40) and reviewed fewer books per issue than the *Critical*, *Monthly* and *British Critic*, despite being published less frequently than these competitors. Roper contends that "[a]s the fame and circulation of the *Edinburgh* increased, selectivity was seen to be a prime advantage, and the number of articles in each number was reduced" (1978, p.40). This increasing tendency towards

selectivity explains the rise in the mean word count of articles sampled for the sub-corpora as the nineteenth century progresses, which is shown in Table 2.

Sub-corpus	Number of articles	Number of periodicals contributing to sub-corpus	Mean article word count
1750-1759	23	2	3,468
1760-1769	31	3	2,630
1770-1779	29	2	2,763
1780-1789	36	3	2,294
1790-1799	33	3	2,458
1800-1809	30	5	2,758
1810-1819	23	6	3,583
1820-1829	11	5	7,483
1830-1839	7	4	11,736
1840-1849	9	5	8,995
1850-1859	8	6	10,144
1860-1869	7	3	11,857
1870-1879	5	2	15,995
1880-1889	6	2	13,341
1890-1899	7	2	11,644

**Table 2. CENCER sub-corpora composition.**

It is notable that relatively few of the 46 periodicals listed above as fitting the inclusion criteria and being available via the ‘British Periodicals’ database actually contributed articles to CENCER. Only the following 11 make any such contribution:

1. *The Monthly Review* (1749-1845)
2. *The Critical Review* (1756-1817)
3. *The Edinburgh Review* (1802-1910)
4. *The London Review of English and Foreign Literature* (1775-1780)
5. *The Analytical Review* (1788-1798)
6. *The British Critic* (1793-1843)
7. *The Eclectic Review* (1805-68)
8. *The Quarterly Review* (1809-1906)
9. *The Literary Gazette* (1817-62)
10. *The Westminster Review* (1824-1914)
11. *The Critic* (1843-63)

Most of these periodicals ran for at least a decade, and most for much longer than that. By comparison, of the remaining 35 periodicals available for sampling, 13 (37.14%) ran for less

than 2 years, and a further 3 (8.57%) for less than 4 years. The mean lifespan of the sampled publications which contributed articles to CENCER is 58.64 years, by comparison with a mean lifespan of 18.14 years for the remaining sampled publications. This demonstrates the increased likelihood for articles from longer-running periodicals to be included in the corpus, because fewer articles from a short-lived publication would be available during sampling.

CENCER is therefore dominated by a relatively small number of more enduring publications. Several long-standing periodicals identified in the literature on review periodicals as being influential (as discussed in §3.3.2 and §3.3.5) have been excluded from the corpus. These include *The Fortnightly Review* (1865-1934) and *The Contemporary Review* (1866-1900). Though nominally ‘review’ periodicals, these publications reflect the imperative for review periodicals to diversify to survive during the late nineteenth century, so are actually more akin to the general magazine. These thus posed a threat to the integrity of CENCER as a corpus solely containing review articles, and had to be excluded.

In having such stringent inclusion criteria, CENCER may broadly be considered a ‘specialized’ corpus. However, there is little scholarly agreement on what defines ‘specialized’ corpora, or what they should be called. John Sinclair is often considered to have provided the classic definition of this term; he regards specialized corpora as those which are smaller than general corpora, and designed “with various purposes in mind” (1987, p.16). Sinclair also later defines “special” corpora, with a greater degree of specificity, as

those which do not contribute to a description of ordinary language, either because they contain a high proportion of unusual features, or their origins are not reliable as records of people behaving normally (1991, p.7)

Teubert and Cermáková (2004) use the term ‘special’ with a similar definition, but introduce the notion of focus on a specific phenomenon. The importance of this aspect of specialized corpora has been recognised in most recent definitions. Pearson defines so-called ‘Special Purpose’ corpora as those “whose composition is determined by the precise purpose” for which they are created (1998, p.48), and Bowker and Pearson later expand this definition, stating that a special purpose corpus “could be restricted to...a particular sub-field, to a specific text type, to a particular language variety or to the language used by members of a certain demographic group” (2002, p.12).

Given that this is the most precise definition, and that CENCER has been compiled from a particular text type, meeting this definition, the term ‘special purpose’ corpus will be preferred here.

#### 4.2.2 The Burney Corpus

The Burney corpus is comprised of most of Fanny Burney’s extant prose<sup>6</sup>, and is divided into two sub-corpora of roughly 1.5 million words each. The first sub-corpus consists of prose published during Burney’s lifetime. Table 3, below, provides a breakdown for the word count of this sub-corpus, which will henceforth be referred to as the ‘published sub-corpus’.

Published text	Word count
<i>Evelina</i> (1778)	154,266
<i>Cecilia</i> (1782)	331,319
<i>Brief Reflections</i> (1793)	3,851
<i>Camilla</i> (1796)	358,499
<i>The Wanderer</i> (1814)	323,776
<i>Memoirs of Doctor Burney</i> (1832)	255,914
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,427,624</b>

**Table 3. Published Burney sub-corpora word counts.**

Burney published four novels during her lifetime: *Evelina*<sup>7</sup> (1778), *Cecilia* (1782), *Camilla* (1796) and *The Wanderer* (1814). *Brief Reflections Relative to the French Emigrant Clergy* (1793) is a polemical pamphlet, and the *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* is a biography of Burney’s father. In its original form, it contains letters written by and to Dr. Burney, but these have been removed from the text in the corpus.

Removal of some material has also been necessary in the preparation of the other sub-corpus in the Burney corpus, henceforth known as the ‘private sub-corpus’. This sub-corpus contains Burney’s own surviving letters and diaries. In previous epistolary studies, Baker has distinguished between letters from the subject of study, known as “out-letters”, and those received by the subject, known as “in-letters” (1980, p.123). The private sub-corpus was compiled by removing all “in-letters” from the published editions of Burney’s private writings

<sup>6</sup> Burney was also a playwright, and eight of her plays are extant either in part or whole. As was mentioned in §1.4 and will be discussed at length in §4.4, Burney’s deployment of non-standard linguistic variants as sociolinguistic markers in her characterization necessitates careful handling of direct speech. Her plays have thus been excluded from the corpus to ensure manageability of qualitative analysis.

<sup>7</sup> *Evelina* is an epistolary novel, and must, as such, be treated with particular caution during corpus-based analyses

used, leaving only text written by Burney herself. The sources for the text-files in the private sub-corpus are the editions of Burney's private writing produced by McGill University's Burney Centre (Hemlow, Cecil, & Douglas, 1972; Hemlow & Douglas, 1972; Hemlow, Boutilier, & Douglas, 1972; Hemlow, 1973; Hemlow, 1975; Troide & Cook, 1994). These were produced with the intention of reversing revisions made both by Burney and after her death (Troide, 2007, p.13) and are available in a digitized, machine-readable format courtesy of *Intalex Past Masters*.

Burney's surviving letters and journals account for 1.6 million words of the Burney corpus. Table 4 provides a breakdown of the years from which these writings survive. No text from before 1768 is extant because Burney burned many of her juvenile writings on her 15<sup>th</sup> birthday (Thaddeus, 2000, p.10). This habit of self-editing continued into adulthood, and is also responsible for later gaps in the Burney corpus. Overall, however, Burney's journals and letters provide a prolific amount of data for the study of a changing idiolect across a long adult life.

Year of writing	Word count
1768	15,147
1769	12,852
1770	14,827
1771	9836
1772	15,172
1773	30,258
1774	19,276
1775	42,797
1776	4858
1777	23,198
1778	63,527
1779	72,439
1780	0
1781	0
1782	0
1783	0
1784	0
1785	0

1786	0
1787	0
1788	0
1789	0
1790	0
1791	30,884
1792	49,849
1793	46,231
1794	20,637
1795	16,949
1796	29,961
1797	37,277
1798	78,214
1799	49,326
1800	29,045
1801	29,188
1802	84,910
1803	12,726
1804	5443
1805	3193
1806	14,104
1807	948
1808	372
1809	0
1810	2,746
1811	8,334
1812	33,906
1813	34,179
1814	53,504
1815	158,832
1816	57,204
1817	100,103
1818	55,003

1819	29,625
1820	14,660
1821	33,494
1822	20,032
1823	22,670
1824	29,001
1825	18,957
1826	12,595
1827	3951
1828	8871
1829	2913
1830	2139
1831	1030
1832	2622
1833	12,021
1834	7794
1835	8391
1836	5191
1837	9143
1838	2853
1839	2257
1840	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,617,758</b>

**Table 4. Private Burney sub-corpora word counts.**

1.6 million words is extremely large for a single-author corpus. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade has compiled comparable corpora of Jane Austen's (2013; 2014) and Robert Lowth's (2011) letters, which consist of *ca.* 145,000 and 90,000 words respectively, whilst Sairo (2009) uses a letter-corpus of just *ca.* 30,000 words. These corpora are single-genre as well as single-author, and the survival of Burney's journal entries expands the corpus considerably. However, her long life, consistent writing habit and the archiving of private writings makes this corpus much bigger than comparable micro-corpora. This is enormously beneficial, given that in general terms, "[t]he more text there is in a corpus, the more likely it is to give an accurate



representation of the language and an adequate number of examples” (Flowerdew, 1996, p.100).

Having outlined the contents and compilation procedures of the two corpora used in Chapters 5-9 of this thesis, attention will now turn to the methodologies employed. As was outlined in §1.5, Chapters 5 and 6 utilize corpus-based discourse analytic methodologies whilst Chapters 7, 8, and 9 apply the change point detection (CPD) method to the Burney corpus. As such, §4.2 will outline the discourse analytic methodologies which are applied to the CENCER corpus in Chapters 5 and 6. Following this, §4.3 will address the challenges presented by Burney’s tendency to appropriate linguistic variants which she perceives as nonstandard in representing dialogue, and §4.4 will outline the grammatical variables used in the investigations of Burney’s language in Chapters 7-9. Finally, §4.6 contains a detailed rundown of change point detection; its previous applications and its suitability for evaluating the impact of targeted prescriptivism.

### 4.3 Corpus based discourse analysis

The field of corpus-based discourse analysis emerged from pioneering work conducted in the 1990s. Hardt-Mautner’s seminal (1995) research paper outlined a method for combining discourse studies with corpus methodologies, and was soon emulated by other researchers. For example, Krishnamurthy (1996) used a similar methodology to explore the discursive construction of race, whilst Stubbs’ (1996) micro-analysis of Baden-Powell’s letters did likewise. It was in the 2000s, however, that a discourse-focused corpus linguistic methodology really began to gain traction. Teubert’s (2001) paper on euro-sceptic discourses in Britain, Partington’s (2003, 2007) analyses of the language of press conferences, and Koller & Hardt-Mautner’s (2004) consideration of the variety of possible applications for such a methodology were all published during this decade. Baker also made numerous contributions to the field during this decade, both singly and in collaboration with others (cf. 2004; 2006; 2008; Baker & Gabrielatos, 2008).

These represent just a small proportion of the work carried out in the field during this decade, meaning that by 2010, corpus-based discourse analysis was an established field. However, Baker stresses that its development was not without growing pains. He notes that the advent of computing occurred after a “shift in the social sciences in the accepted ways that knowledge was produced via research methodologies” (Baker, 2006, p.8). This shift, he claims, moved

research away from empirical or positivist modes of producing knowledge, and towards a post-modern conceptualization of knowledge production; creating a culture in which quantitative research was regarded, in some quarters, with suspicion and scepticism (Baker, 2006, p.8). Baker cites Cicourel (1964), who argued that quantitative researchers had a tendency to interpret their results to suit their hypotheses, and Hacking (1990), who figured quantitative research as itself being a form of social regulation (p.8). He also stresses that whilst the earlier empirical conceptualization of research venerated objectivity, and was focused on removing researcher bias, post-modernists have argued that the unbiased researcher is, in the words of Burr, a “discourse of science through which a particular version...of human life is constructed” (1995, p.160). Baker endorses Burr’s contention that objectivity is illusory, and that instead of striving to eliminate their bias, researchers need to acknowledge and reflect on their role in the research, and their influence on the results that they offer. Using the phrase “critical realism” in this regard, Baker argues that “it outlines an approach to social research which accepts that we perceive the world from a particular viewpoint, but that the world acts back on us to constrain the ways that we can perceive it” (2006, p.11). He concludes that “we need to be aware that our research is constructed, but we shouldn’t deconstruct it out of existence” (Baker 2006, p.8).

For Baker, the fact that corpus-based discourse analysis exists at the interface between qualitative and quantitative methodologies is both a boon and a challenge. He writes that “corpus linguistics utilizes bodies of electronically encoded text, implementing a more quantitative methodology, for example by using frequency information about occurrences of particular linguistic phenomena” (Baker, 2006, p.1), but stresses that “functional (qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis” (p.1). He goes on to note, however, that there exist some “quite strong (and seemingly incompatible) differences about what counts as ‘good’ research in corpus linguistics and discourse analysis” and that, in consequence, “it can be quite difficult to merge both sets of research ideologies” (Baker, 2006, p.6).

For Baker, corpus-based discourse analysis combines the benefits of corpus linguistics, which “tends to be conceptualized as a quantitative method of analysis” (Baker, 2006, p.8), and discourse analysis, which is chiefly qualitative. He notes that “[b]y using a corpus, we are at least able to place a number of restrictions on our cognitive biases”, and that “with a corpus, we are selecting (hopefully) from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm existing conscious (or subconscious) biases” (Baker, 2006, p.12). He also

points out that a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis “helps to give a wider view”, whereas “[a] more qualitative, small-scale approach to analysis may mean that salience is perceived as more important than frequency...[so that] texts which present shocking or extreme positions are focused on more than those which are more frequent, yet neutral” (Baker, 2006, p.88). Baker thus presents a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis as a check to the cognitive biases of the researcher, and a happy amalgamation of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

The present study will combine the benefits that Baker highlights, gaining a statistical overview of a large dataset but also the insights gleaned from close, detailed analysis. In what follows, the methodologies of a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis which are utilized in Chapters 5 and 6 will be outlined. Firstly, however, it is necessary to define the precise way in which the term ‘discourse’ will henceforth be used.

#### 4.3.1 Defining corpus-based discourse analysis

Corpus Linguistics, as defined by McEnery and Wilson (1996), is “the study of language based on examples of real life language use” (1). As mentioned above, it relies upon bodies of electronically encoded text, from which researchers draw generalizable conclusions. Within the field of corpus-based discourse analysis, these conclusions relate to the discourses a corpus is found to contain. The term ‘discourse’ is usually defined either as “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs, 1983, p.1), or language “in use” (Brown and Yule, 1983). Baker (2006), however, prefers to follow Foucault in defining discourses as “practices which systematically form the objects of which we speak” (1972, p.49), and this is similar to the definition of discourse which will be used here:

[D]iscourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2012, pp.357-358)

This definition is preferred because this thesis will draw upon tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (see Fairclough, 2013) in exploring how power relations are negotiated within Late Modern literary reviews (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, pp.278-279), and the ways in which discourse does indeed “help to sustain and reproduce the social status quo” in this context.

As Baker stresses, discourses function incrementally. He contends that “a single word, phrase, or grammatical construction on its own may suggest the existence of a discourse” (Baker, 2006, p.13), and thus that whilst “language is not the same as discourse...we can carry out analyses of language in texts in order to uncover traces of discourse” (p.5). This notion of incremental or cumulative build-up of discourses in a text recalls Hoey’s work on lexical “priming” (2005). According to Hoey, every word “is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative effects of an individual’s encounters with the word” (2005, p.13), both within a single text and more broadly. In other words, as Stubbs notes, “[a] word, phrase, or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype” (p.215).

A chief goal of corpus-based discourse analysis is to uncover these incremental discourses by highlighting repetition and co-occurrence across large bodies of data in a way that would not be possible without computational tools. By unearthing what Baker has called “repetitive differences in the ways that certain words [are] used” (Baker, 2006, p.28), corpus analysis can therefore alert the researcher to the existence of discourses, enabling them to probe further. Baker has noted that “[o]ne criticism of corpus-based approaches is that they are too broad - they do not facilitate close readings of texts”, but in this way, corpus-based discourse analysis utilizes (and necessitates) both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. For Baker, as previously mentioned, the computational element of the analysis not only permits the use of much larger datasets than would otherwise be feasible, but also places a limit on the researcher’s ability to prejudice the results. He writes that “with corpus analysis...selectivity does come into play. But at least with a corpus, we are selecting (hopefully) from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm existing...biases” (Baker, 2006, p.12).

The limitations on a researcher’s ability to impose their biases when practising a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis are considered by some, however, to be insufficient. In outlining the distinction between corpus-based and what she calls “corpus-driven” investigations, Tognini-Bonelli (2001) contends that in the corpus-based approach, corpora are used primarily to “expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study”, and that researchers, subconsciously or otherwise, manipulate corpus data to cohere with the pre-corpus theory (2001, p.65). She claims to champion a corpus-driven approach to investigating corpus data, on the basis that an “attempt is made to suppress all received theories, axioms and precepts” (p.178), in order to maintain the “integrity of the data” (p.84), and produce results which are “fully consistent with,

and reflect directly, the evidence provided by the corpus” (p.85). According to Biber, this means that a

corpus-driven approach differs from the standard practice of linguistics in that it makes minimal a priori assumptions regarding the linguistic features that should be employed for the corpus analysis. In its most basic form, corpus-driven analysis assumes only the existence of words, while concepts like ‘phrase’ and ‘clause’ have no a priori status (2015, p.196)

McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2012), however, argue that the distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches is overstated by Tognini-Bonelli. Her perspective, they claim, is “best viewed as an idealized extreme” (2012, p.8). They problematize the corpus-driven approach’s reliance on so-called cumulative representativeness, whereby it is argued that a corpus will become representative when it reaches a critical mass (McEnery et al., 2012, p.8), and argue that “[w]hile it has been claimed that in the corpus-driven approach corpus evidence is exploited in full...in reality frequency may be used as a filter to allow the analyst to exclude some data from their analysis” (p.9), as it is in the corpus-based approach.

Baker has written that “[o]ur findings *are* interpretations, which is why we can only talk about restricting bias, not removing it completely” (Baker, 2006, p.18). He recommends triangulation, the parallel use of multiple analytical methods or forms of data, as an important means of doing this. Triangulation, he claims, “facilitates validity checks of hypotheses, it anchors findings in more robust interpretations and explanations, and it allows researchers to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems and aspects of their research” (Baker, 2006, p.3). The present study will triangulate the findings of frequency data, dispersion plots, concordancing, collocation and keyword analysis, in order to optimise the validity of the reported findings. In what follows, current thinking about the methods used for these analyses will be outlined. Firstly, however, it is necessary to address the issues arising from the creation and use of specialized corpora for corpus-based discourse analysis.

#### 4.3.2 Building corpora for corpus-based discourse analysis

It was noted in §4.1.1 that the term ‘special purpose’ will be used here to refer to the two corpora created for use in this thesis. Both the corpus used in Chapters 5 and 6, CENCER, and that used in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 were created with a specific purpose in mind, to study a

particular phenomenon within an easily identifiable text-type, and thus fit Bowker and Pearson's above-cited definition (2002, p.12) perfectly.

In Chapters 5 and 6, the special purpose CENCER corpus will be used in the course of the corpus-based discourse analysis described in §1.5. The use of *ad hoc* special purpose corpora in corpus-based discourse analysis is very common, because there are often no pre-existing corpora of the discourses under scrutiny. Such corpora are usually much smaller than general corpora, since they must be compiled by the researcher and since, in Baker's words, "[t]he more specific the use of language, the less need there is to collect millions of words of data" (Baker, 2006, p.31). Baker also notes that, in entering into a project with highly specific hypotheses and aims, "we may want to be more selective in choosing our texts, meaning that the quality of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity" (2006, p.29). In this context, precision in corpus building is crucial, in order that a researcher can be certain that the subject of the discursive construction of interest will be mentioned regularly within the finished corpus. In order to ensure this, some researchers opt to use 'query terms' to select texts for inclusion within a corpus from a pre-defined field (Gabrielatos, 2007). Using this method, a researcher would choose words relating to the subject at hand, and include in the corpus only texts in which at least one of these query terms occurred. Whilst this is clearly a useful methodological tool, it is inappropriate for use in the compilation of CENCER, which is intended for use in answering research questions relating to the extent of Late Modern review periodicals' preoccupation with grammatical correctness. To select only texts known to make reference to grammatical correctness would therefore have precluded conclusions about the periodicals' level of interest in it from being drawn. As was discussed in detail in §4.1.1, therefore, a random sampling method was instead employed.

In addressing the subject of sampling for corpus building, Paul Baker advocates the use of equally sized samples, on the basis that the researcher will then be "more likely to be able to claim that our corpus is representative" (Baker, 2006, p.27). Due to the enormous degree of variation in article length in review periodicals across the study period, this was not possible. However, another of Baker's suggestions, to include complete texts, rather than samples, was followed. As such, CENCER is comprised solely of complete articles.

Baker also suggests that a pilot study be conducted to determine what sort of texts are available, and how feasible the compilation of the actual corpus will be, and that "when text is represented as a graphics file, then it will either need to be keyed in by hand or scanned in" (Baker, 2006,

p.32). He highlights that “[t]he print quality of the document is likely to have an impact on the accuracy of the output, and the data will probably need to be hand-checked, spell-checked and corrected for errors” (Baker, 2006, p.34). As was discussed in detail in §4.1.1, this was the case for the files comprising CENCER. OCR software was used to convert graphics files into machine readable text, and the corpus was then manually checked and corrected.

Whilst the manual post-editing of corpora produced from graphics files can be arduous, particularly if historical documents have been converted and the corpus is littered with OCR errors, the process of correcting the language of a corpus does have some benefits. Baker notes the problems of using decontextualized, unfamiliar data in corpus-based discourse analyses, and recommends that a researcher “familiarize him/herself with the corpus” (2006, p.25). He cites both Hardt-Mautner and Partington as suggesting “that some prior interaction with the texts in the corpus...will ensure that the discourse analyst does not commence from the position of *tabula rasa*”, and suggests that this process “may also provide the researcher with initial hypotheses as certain patterns are noticed- and such hypotheses could form the basis for the first stages of corpus research” (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p.8; Partington, 2003, p.259, cited in Baker, 2006, p.25). From this perspective, the enforced familiarity with a dataset which is brought about by the necessity of checking and correcting it, may be viewed as beneficial.

#### 4.3.3 Using concordances in corpus-based discourse analysis

Concordance analysis is a basic but fundamental technique in corpus-based discourse studies, whereby the researcher consults a list of all occurrences of a search term in the corpus, within context. This technique will underpin the analysis reported in Chapter 5. McEnery and Hardie have outlined this technique, emphasising that in this instance it is the “linguist’s intuitive scanning of the concordance lines that yields up notable examples and patterns, not an algorithm or recoverable procedure” (2012, p.126). Stressing the usefulness of concordance analysis, Baker has written that

This is where taking an approach which combines quantitative and qualitative analysis will be more productive than simply relying on quantitative methods alone. A concordance analysis is one of the most effective techniques which allows researchers to carry out this sort of close examination (2006, p.71).

Whereas raw frequency data provides no information about the context in which a word appears, a concordance analysis can, then, reveal what Baker elsewhere refers to as “richer

data” (2010, p.22). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, it can expose “interesting patterns or clues about discourses” (Baker, 2006, p.84). Baker therefore contends that concordance analysis “elucidates semantic preference” (2006, p.86).

Semantic preference is a term coined by John Sinclair (1996), in outlining types of linguistic co-occurrence. It is defined by Stubbs as the “relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically-related words” (2001, p.65). As Baker notes, “[s]emantic preference is therefore related to the concept of collocation but focuses on a lexical set of semantic categories rather than a single word or a related set of grammatical words” (Baker, 2006, p.86).

Semantic preference is also closely related to another of Sinclair’s “categories of co-selection” (1996), semantic prosody, which is also referred to as discourse prosody. Baker outlines the concept under the latter label, by saying that “patterns in discourse can be found between a word, phrase, or lemma, and a set of related words that suggest a discourse” (Baker, 2006, p.87). Also preferring the term ‘discourse prosody’ for the emphasis it places on discourse cohesion, Stubbs has suggested that the distinction between semantic preference and discourse prosody is not clear cut. He notes that, for example, the lemma ‘cause’ has a “strong negative prosody and there are relations of semantic preference between the verb cause and sets of abstract nouns such as illness and personal feelings” (Stubbs, 2001, pp.65-66). Sinclair himself (2004, p.32), like Flowerdew and Mahlberg (2009, p.68), emphasises that semantic preference and semantic prosody may be “fused” as a result of a speaker’s choice of co-selected words. Flowerdew and Mahlberg give as an example of this the adjective ‘invisible’, in the phrase ‘invisible to the naked eye’, as an instance of “a semantic preference of visibility and a semantic prosody of difficulty that are ‘fused’ in the same word” (2009, p.68). Baker concludes that “there is some inconsistency between the exact meanings” of the terms (Baker, 2006, p.87), but ultimately emphasises the distinctions between semantic preference and what he calls discourse prosody. He contends that “semantic preference denotes aspects of meaning which are independent of speakers, whereas discourse prosody focuses on the relationship of a word to speakers and hearers, and is more concerned with attitudes” (Baker, 2006, p.87).

Concordance analysis can, then, elucidate both semantic preference and semantic/discourse prosody, and this is how the technique will be utilised in Chapter 5. However, Baker notes that the technique “can be off-putting to some researchers, particularly when dealing with large corpora or particularly frequent linguistic items” (2010, p.21). To counteract this issue, Susan



Hunston has suggested that a 30-line concordance is used for hypothesis formation, followed by additional, more targeted searches to carry out hypothesis-testing (2002, p.52). Stubbs suggests a similar strategy, whereby sets of 30-line concordance data are selected at random and examined until no new patterns are discerned (1996). Baker, however, concludes that such techniques are likely to lead to “common patterns [being] uncovered, while rare ones are missed”, and that “nothing beats an examination of every concordance line” (2010, p.21). In most studies, this strategy will be unrealistic, however as will be reported in Chapter 5, it has in this study been possible to examine every concordance line.

McEnery and Hardie (2012) emphasise the frequency with which concordance analysis is now routinely conducted as part of a corpus-based analysis, however they do cite a few dissenting voices who contest the usefulness of the technique. They cite Krishnamurthy (2000) as “strongly endors[ing] the use of significance statistics and of analysis software that uses these statistics in the generation of collocation displays, arguing that this constitutes an improvement over...manual analysis”, and referring to manual analysis as a “highly unsatisfactory” approach (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p.126). McEnery and Hardie note, however, that for what they refer to as the “neo-Firthian” school, statistical analysis “remains subordinate to the linguist’s intuitions and hand-and-eye methods” (p.127). Ultimately, McEnery and Hardie endorse Hunston’s perspective on the debate, and “caution against an over-reliance on statistical evidence alone in determining the meaning of results” (p.126). Baker, too, as we have seen, expresses a preference for an approach which balances qualitative and quantitative analyses. In relation to concordance analysis, he therefore recommends attempting to “counter some of [the] bias” introduced into a study by an intuitive appraisal of concordance lines, “by providing quantitative evidence of patterns that may be more difficult to ignore” (Baker, 2006, p.92). He thus contends that a “corpus-based approach is useful, in that it helps to give a wider view of the range of possible ways of discussing [a given subject]”, because a “qualitative, small-scale approach to analysis may mean that salience is perceived as more important than frequency—whereby texts which present shocking or extreme positions are focused on more than those which are more frequent, yet neutral” (Baker, 2006, p.88).

A combined approach, Baker claims, can therefore allow a researcher to circumvent the risk of “simply listing the [discourses] which appear in the data”, enabling them to “get a more accurate sense of which ones are naturalized, and which ones may be particularly salience *because* they are so infrequent” (p.88). Baker injects caution into his consideration of the subject, noting that a “concordance analysis is only as good as its analyst”, and points out that

“a particular subject...might also be...referred to numerous times with determiners or pronouns”, but that “taking anaphora and cataphora into account is likely to make the process of analysis more time consuming” (p.89). Overall, however, he endorses concordance analysis as an extremely useful tool in corpus-based discourse analysis, especially when combined with the method to be considered in the following section, collocation analysis.

#### 4.3.4 Analysing collocational patterns using corpus-based discourse analysis

The term ‘collocation’ was first coined in its technical linguistic sense by J.R. Firth, when he famously wrote that “you shall judge a word by the company it keeps” (1957, p.11). Firth outlined the ways in which the study of what he called “meaning by collocation” can contribute to a contextual, rather than conceptual, approach to word meaning. Meaning by collocation, he contended “is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meanings of words” (1957, p.196). Over subsequent decades, the definition of collocation has been the subject of controversy. As McEnery and Hardie note, “[d]ifferent (groups of) practitioners, and different software tools, use the term *collocation* to refer to a wide range of different co-occurrence patterns that may be extracted from a corpus” (2012, p.123). They cite Harris as an example of a researcher who defines collocation highly specifically, in terms of recurring sequences of words (2006), and Sinclair, as an authority who regards collocation as a “co-occurrence pattern that exists between two items that frequently occur *in proximity* to one another – but not necessarily adjacently or, indeed, in any fixed order” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p.123). Baker (2010) follows this school of thought, defining collocation in general terms, as “a way of demonstrating (relatively) exclusive or frequent relationships between words (or other linguistic phenomena)” (2010, p.24). He notes that “[i]f two words collocate, then they have a tendency to occur near or next to each other in naturally occurring language use” (Baker, 2010, p.24). Highlighting the symbiotic relationship which he posits between concordance and collocation analysis, Baker also emphasises that “[c]ollocation therefore indicates a relationship, but we may need to carry out concordancing work in order to identify exactly how the relationship is manifested in language” (2010, p.24).

Baker also (2006), however, highlights the need for a less theoretical and more technical definition of collocation for a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis, which stresses statistical significance as determining the existence of a collocational relationship. Here, he writes that “when a word regularly appears near another word, and the relationship is

statistically significant in some way, then such co-occurrences are referred to as collocates and the phenomenon... collocation” (Baker, 2006, p.96). He concludes that collocation is “therefore a way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis” (Baker, 2006, p.96), and thus provides insights into discourses. On this subject, Stubbs notes that when “words occur in characteristic collocations”, these “show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions which they embody” (Stubbs, 1996, p.172). He contends that “if collocations and fixed phrases are repeatedly used as underanalysed units in media discussion and elsewhere, then it is very plausible that people will come to think about things in such terms” (1996, p.195). Similarly, Hunston suggests that “[s]trong collocations become fixed phrases that represent a packaging of information, such that the assertion behind the phrase is less open to question than it would be in a less fixed expression” (2002, p.119). To put it another way, according to Baker, collocations “act as triggers, suggesting unconscious associations which are ways of maintaining discourses” (2006, p.114). He suggests that they are primarily “useful in helping to spell out mainstream discourses”, but notes that “a closer analysis of them can reveal resistant discourses too” (Baker, 2006, p.118). Baker’s caution in this regard reflects his general concern that collocational data not be “over-interpret[ed]” (2006, p.118). The researcher should, he argues, always “check the context that collocates occur in by examining concordances in more detail”, and “consider issues of semantic preference or discourse prosody, which an initial collocational analysis is likely to overlook” (Baker, 2006, p.118).

For Baker, then, conducting collocational analysis has two principal benefits. At one level, he presents it as a basic technique to be used early in a corpus analysis, alongside concordancing, which can then “provide a focus for...initial analysis” (Baker, 2006, p.114). He regards this as “particularly helpful when a large number of concordance lines need to be sorted multiple times in order to reveal lexical patterns” (Baker, 2006, p.114). At the same time, Baker contends that collocation analysis “gives us the most salient and obvious lexical patterns surrounding a subject, from which a number of discourses can be obtained” (2006, p.114), and thus that “collocates are useful in that they help to summarize the most significant relationship between words in a corpus” (2006, p.118). It is a technique, he notes in summary, that “can be incredibly time-saving and give analysts a clear focus” (Baker, 2006, p.118), but which ought not to be used in isolation.

McEnery et al. (2012) note that at the time of writing, there were a number of procedures which were commonly used for calculating collocation. Baker contends that each of these has their

own benefits and drawbacks for discourse analysis, because each “emphasises different types of relationships in terms of frequency and exclusivity” (2010, p.24). One such procedure is a statistical formula borrowed from information theory (McEnery et al. 2012, p.348), known as Mutual Information (MI). Brezina notes that MI “has traditionally been used in discourse analysis”, and that it “highlights rare and unique combinations” (2018, p.274). It is calculated, according to McEnery et al. (2012), by “dividing the observed frequency of the co-occurring word in the defined span for the search string (so-called *node word*)...by the expected frequency of the co-occurring word in that span and then taking the logarithm to the base 2 of the result” (p.56). The higher the MI score, the stronger the collocation between two items, and the lower the MI score, the greater the chance that the co-occurrence is the result of chance (McEnery et al. 2006, p.56). McEnery et al. (2006) also note that a negative MI score indicates that “two items tend to shun each other” (p.56).

Hunston (2002) suggests that a MI score of 3 or higher shows that two items collocate (p.71). However, Hunston is also at pains to point out that being able to readily identify strong collocations does not ensure that meaningful collocations will be revealed (2002, p.72). As McEnery et al. (2006) note in this regard, it is also crucial to

know the amount of evidence available for a collocation. This means that the corpus size is also important in identifying how certain a collocation is. In this regard, the *t* test is useful as it takes corpus size into account. (McEnery et al. 2006, p.56)

The results of the *t* test are more dependent on corpus size than those of MI, because the *t* score is computed by subtracting the expected frequency from the observed frequency and then dividing the result by the standard deviation (McEnery et al. 2006, p.57). A *t* score of 2 or more is generally considered to be statistically significant, but as McEnery et al. note, a table of distribution can be consulted to determine the precise probability level of the items in question collocating by chance (p.57).

The *z* score (Berry-Rogghe, 1973), which is calculated in a similar way to the *t* score, and which gives the number of standard deviations from the mean frequency, can also be used to identify collocates. As with MI, McEnery et al. note that a “higher *z* score indicates a greater degree of collocability of an item with the node word” (2006, p.57). Other means of calculating collocation have also been proposed; some with the intention of circumventing problems associated with the MI, *t* and *z* scores. Baker notes that MI3 (Oakes, 1998), log-log (Kilgarriff and Tugwell, 2001) and log-likelihood (Dunning, 1993) are all used in this way, with the

intention of “tak[ing] the frequency of collocates into account” (Baker 2006, p.100) in a way that MI does not allow. However, Baker stresses that “different algorithms tend to favour different types of words”, and gives as an example MI’s tendency “to give high scores to relatively low frequency words” (2006, p.100). He concludes that

The best technique to use...should be dependent on the type of words the researcher is obtaining - high frequency function words (Rank by frequency), low frequency content words (MI, z, log-log, observed/expected), or a mixture of both (MI3, log-likelihood). Each technique gives some sort of trade-off between frequency and saliency, so another option would be to consider the results from more than one algorithm. (Baker, 2006, p.100)

For Baker, log-log, which is essentially an extension of the MI formula (see Oakes, 1998, p.234 for a description) “focuses on lexical rather than grammatical words”, without “giv[ing] as much importance to very low-frequency words”, as MI does, is ideally suited to corpus-based discourse analysis (2006, p.100). Other authorities suggest combining several procedures in order to identify collocates. McEnery et al. (2006) are, for example, commonly cited as recommending that “words with both an MI score greater than 3 and a t-score greater than 2 have been identified as collocates of the ‘node word’, that is, the subject of the search” (p.56). They further suggest that collocations be identified using a 4:4 window, whereby words within 4 words either side of the node are considered collocates. This 4:4 policy seems to be a fairly standard procedure in exploring collocation (see, for example, Sinclair, Jones & Daley, 1969; Scott & Tribble 2006). However, Baker (2006) recommends adjusting the span considered, in light of the purpose of the research. He notes that a “-3 to +3 span...[is] most likely to include words which were included in the noun phrase” (p.103). However, he cautions against prejudicing the results of the research by “experimenting with a range of different spans and ways of calculating collocation until we arrive at the most ‘interesting’ results” (Baker, 2006, p.103). In line with McEnery et al.’s (2006) recommendation, this study will consider as collocates words with both an MI score greater than 3 and a t-score of greater than 2, with a 4:4 window.<sup>8</sup> These measures were determined before the study began, to avoid any risk of prejudicing the results as Baker describes.

#### 4.3.5 Analysing keyness using corpus-based discourse analysis

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<sup>8</sup> Since this study was started, log-ratio has increasingly been used to calculate collocation.

In §4.2.3, the limitations of raw frequency data were touched upon, as was one means of delving further into the discourses of a corpus or text: keyword analysis. According to Gabrielatos, the notion of ‘keyness’, as it is understood in corpus linguistics, has its origins in the 1990s and in “the procedure of keyness analysis [which] was first incorporated in *WordSmith Tools*” (2018, p.225). Gabrielatos notes that in the context of corpus linguistics, *WordSmith* creator Mike Scott “introduced the term ‘key word’, defined as a “word which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text [...] by comparison with a reference corpus of some kind” (2018, p.225). Keyness is calculated by comparing the frequency of word-forms in two corpora, one of which is designated the ‘target’ corpus, and one of which is used as a so-called ‘reference’ corpus. The wordlist for the target corpus is compared with the wordlist for the reference corpus, and a keyword list is generated (McEnery et al., 2006, p.308).

As with other methodologies for corpus-based discourse analysis, Baker (2006) presents keyword analysis as useful only when used in tandem with other tools. Keyness, he argues, is a useful preliminary step in a corpus analysis focusing on discursive construction, but he stresses that it is “necessary to examine individual keywords in more detail, by carrying out concordances of them, and looking at their collocates” (Baker, 2006, p.127). This, he claims, is “a useful way of determining key concepts across the [target] corpus as a whole” (Baker, 2006, p.139). The present study will adopt this model, and use a thoroughgoing keyness analysis in Chapter 5 as a jumping-off point for analysing the discursive construction of grammar, grammarians, and grammatical correctness in the CENCER corpus. The analysis of keywords will therefore underpin the methodology used to address the first research question laid out in §1.5, as the content of the CENCER corpus is evaluated.

Keyness is a measure of statistical significance, and the values returned therefore correspond to *p*-values, which, according to Wilson (2013, p.4), tell us

the probability of obtaining an equal or extreme result, given the null hypothesis...If the *p*-value is very small, then one conventionally infers that either (a) a very rare event has occurred or (b) the null hypothesis is unlikely to be true.

A lower *p*-value therefore indicates a higher level of statistical significance, and according to Scott, a word or unit is often considered to be key if “its frequency in the text when compared with its frequency in a reference corpus is such that the statistical probability as computed by an appropriate procedure is smaller than or equal to a *p* value specified by the user” (1998, p.71). Gabrielatos contends that “[u]nless the corpora compared are very similar, it is unlikely

that a study employing an explanatory keyword approach can carry out a manual analysis of all key items” (2018, p.238). Pojanapunya and Todd (2016) outline other means by which select keywords can be chosen for analysis. These include selecting the top N words, or selecting keywords that were deemed to relate to particular topics. As will be outlined below, the present study has combined two of these methods, by considering in Chapter 5 only those keywords within a specified statistical significance threshold, and focusing attention in the in-depth manual analysis on those keywords deemed to relate to language and grammar, or other relevant semantic categories.

As Gabrielatos notes, the metric used by *WordSmith* to calculate keyness is “not the size of the frequency difference itself, but its statistical significance, or, simply put, the extent to which we can trust an observed frequency difference, irrespective of its size” (2018, p.228). The statistical significance metric which *WordSmith* uses to do this, log likelihood, was in fact developed in the early 1990s in order to “accurately identify the statistical significance of rare events” (Gabrielatos, 2018, p.229).

Using a general reference corpus and a special purpose target corpus will, according to Baker, “produce a keyword list that highlights all of the words which occur in the [special purpose corpus] more frequently than we would expect in ‘normal’ language” (Baker, 2006, p.138). Keyness analysis can therefore reveal features of a corpus which “make it unique when compared to ‘general language’” (Baker, 2006, p.147). As was outlined briefly in §1.5, the keyness analysis utilised in Chapters 5 and 6 compares the special purpose CENCER corpus with the open-access Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0 (henceforth CLMET). CLMET is a large multi-genre historical corpus, comprising 5 major genres; narrative fiction, narrative non-fiction, drama, letters and treatise, as well as a number of unclassified texts. It contains approximately 34 million words and was designed to account for any potential “variation in terms of text genre and authorial social background” (De Smet, 2005, pp.70-71). It was therefore ideal for use as a reference corpus in the investigations reported in Chapter 5.

According to Scott & Tribble, keywords are often “taken to be markers of the ‘aboutness’ and the style of a text” (2006, pp.59-60). Indeed, according to Scott (1999), so-called ‘aboutness’ keywords are one of the three kinds of words that are likely to show up in a keyword list. It is these ‘aboutness’ keywords which will be the focus of the analysis reported in Chapters 5 and 6, since Baker contends that they “not only point to the existence of discourses”, but will also “help to reveal the rhetorical techniques that are used in order to present discourses as common

sense or correct ways of thinking” (Baker, 2006, p.148). This has obvious implications for a study which, in setting out to answer the first research question laid out in Chapter 1, investigates the ways in which periodical reviewers discursively construct grammatical correctness and disseminate prescriptive norms.

Raw frequency lists reveal nothing about the salience of a discourse; however keyness indicates whether a subject is discussed with statistically significant frequency in a target corpus, by comparison with a reference corpus. As Baker concludes, “[c]omparing a smaller corpus or set of texts to a larger reference corpus is therefore a useful way of determining key concepts across the smaller corpus as a whole” (Baker, 2006, p.139). Using a reference corpus in this way can also be useful in revealing words which are under-represented in a special purpose corpus, since corpus analysis software can often also give a list of negative keywords. Keyness analysis is therefore central to the investigations reported in Chapters 5 and 6, as the analysis of keywords from the CENCER corpus will help to determine whether literary review periodicals were indeed preoccupied with linguistic rectitude throughout the study period of 1750-1899.

Aside from so-called ‘aboutness’ keywords, Scott (1999) reports that keyword lists are likely to show up two other types of words. These are proper nouns and high frequency grammatical words, which he argues are likely to be more indicative of style than aboutness. Baker (2006) contends that proper nouns are an unhelpful element of the keyword list for the discourse analyst (p.6). However as will be argued in Chapter 5, there are certain contexts in which they may reveal interesting trends. High frequency grammatical words tend to be excluded from corpus-based discourse analyses, and as will be discussed in Chapter 5, they will also be excluded from the keyword lists generated from the CENCER sub-corpora.

This keyness analysis in Chapter 5 is conducted using *WordSmith*. Statistical significance thresholds vary between disciplines (Hoffmann et al., 2008, p.88), but in the social sciences the usual *p*-value is 0.05 (Wilson 2013, p.8), whereas in corpus linguistics the threshold is more usually at most 0.01 (Gabrielatos, 2018, p.238). Gabrielatos notes that “as keyness analyses (particularly of large corpora) tend to return too many [keywords] for researchers to examine manually, the usual practice (as indicated in Pojanapunya & Todd, 2016) is to set a much lower *p*-value” (Gabrielatos, 2018, p.238). This is the approach taken in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Here, *WordSmith* identified a very large number of keywords with a *p*-value of less than 0.01, which as stated above is the threshold commonly used in corpus linguistic research to establish



statistical significance. For reasons of manageability, this necessitated the imposition of a more stringent threshold for statistical significance, meaning that only words which *WordSmith* identified as having *p*-value of less than 0.0000000001 will be considered key. It should be noted here that *WordSmith* 6, which was used in this study, identifies such words as having a *p*-value of 0.0000000000, and hence this is the value given in the tables of keywords to be found in Appendix B.

These *p*-values were established using *WordSmith* to calculate log-likelihood scores. Jeaco (2020) argues that with regard to keyword analysis in corpus linguistic research, “reflection on the appropriateness of one measure or another needs to be carefully attuned to the purposes and aims of the research” (p.147), and that “[log-likelihood] based keyword calculations can be used effectively for a range of different kinds of research, but often work best with texts and moderately large collections of text” (p.148), such as the CENCER corpus. He also notes that log-likelihood is particularly good at revealing both the “thematically prominent” features of a text, and “features likely to be foregrounded/deviant/salient/marked (Leech & Short 1981/2007)” (Jeaco, 2020, p.148). As these are the features of the CENCER corpus which are the focus of the investigations reported in Chapters 5 and 6, keyword lists for each of the decade-long sub-corpora are ranked by log-likelihood. Jeaco concludes that such lists “are likely to be revealing in themselves”, and that “a researcher might use some of these keywords as good starting points for further analysis” (2020, p.147). This is how the sub-corpora keyword lists have been used in Chapter 5, where they have been manually grouped according to relevant semantic categories. Keywords relating to these relevant semantic categories have then been subjected to more rigorous analysis, used to draw tentative conclusions, and for hypothesis-formation.

#### 4.4 Analysing Burney’s language

Whereas Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the discourses of grammar and grammaticality in the CENCER corpus, Chapters 7, 8, and 9 report on the analysis conducted using the Burney corpus which was the subject of §4.1.2. As was noted there, Burney’s surviving written output provides more than seventy years’ linguistic data which can be used to inform our understanding of the individual’s experience of this stage of standardisation. This material’s provision of “an almost unique opportunity to study the variation within a single lifetime in use of particular forms which were at the time the subject of personal, i.e. Fanny’s own, as well as

public scrutiny” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1991, p.158) has long been recognised. However, this section will demonstrate that Burney’s language use also poses significant challenges to traditional corpus methodologies.

No systematic study of changes in Burney’s language practice has yet been undertaken. The present study will do this in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, tracking the occurrence of certain variants which were subject to prescriptive attention and/or controversy during her lifetime, across a corpus comprised of her extant prose writings. As was outlined both in §1.4 and in §4.1.2, Burney’s extensive writings provide a valuable resource for examining an individual’s interaction with codified norms during a time which includes “a period of at least twenty-five years” when two processes of standardisation usually conceptualised as consecutive, codification and prescription, “were in operation simultaneously” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008, p.10). As was also noted in §1.4, citations of Burney from a particular synchronic point are often used in support of overarching generalisations. This can obscure the nuances, as well as diachronic change, her usage exhibits. As this study will demonstrate, it is precisely the intricacies of, and changes in, Burney’s usage which are fascinating, revealing, and highly pertinent to the final research questions laid out in §1.5. Both diachronic variation and stylistic stratification will be significant variables in this regard. Taking account of Burney’s complex engagement with sociolinguistic marking in her construction of speakers is crucially important in analysing variant distribution in Burney’s writings. This conscious deployment of variation is, moreover, liable to be obscured by traditional corpus methods.

As was noted above, Burney has been described as “simply drawing on English that permitted the freedom to use whatever variant one might choose without fear of puristic censure” (Bailey, 2010, p.199). This comment is made in the context of a discussion of Burney’s variation which, *inter alia*, touches upon her selection of personal relative pronouns in *Evelina*. As part of his argument for widespread micro-level variation in the later eighteenth century, Bailey asserts that, in that novel, “Burney...could use all three principal relative pronouns with *person*” (2010, p.193). As will be shown in Chapter 8, however, closer examination of such variation often reveals stratification, with certain variants being appropriated as sociolinguistic markers, and distanced from Burney’s own usage via direct speech, whereas other variants appear to remain unmarked.

Other corpus studies have, likewise, made generalisations about Burney on the basis of quantitative analysis of a small number of variants, without taking Burney’s appropriation of

variants, as markers in direct speech, into account. Both Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987) and Bax (2005) have established Johnson's *Rambler* prose as a likely influence for Burney's pattern of *do*-less negative sentences, emphatically positioned prepositions, use of long noun phrases, and Latinate lexis. The same metaphor is used by both, as they conclude that Burney is "swim[ming] against the current", with her "usage developing into the opposite direction of what, in hindsight, was becoming the norm" (Bax, 2005, p.175). It is not that such studies have made divergent conclusions, or directly contradicted one another; it is indeed likely, that her usage would have been subject to diachronic variation. However, these studies do not appear to differentiate direct speech from Burney's prose, and their bold claims therefore highlight the need for consideration of the role embedded speech plays in affecting corpus-based results.

Having said this, quantitative methods are, as the present study will demonstrate, a highly effective means by which to measure the impact which the occurrence of certain variants in direct speech has on general corpus data. It is only by differentiating occurrences of non-standard variants in direct speech and those elsewhere that we can begin to discern the writer's attitude to these variants. Wholesale quantitative analysis is also important in interrogating other broad-brush claims that have been made about Burney's language, such as those which, in stark contrast to Richard Bailey, play down the variation attested in her works. An example of this can be found in the work of Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2010). She emphasises Burney's tendency to draw sociolinguistic distinctions "between her own usage and that of the people she quoted" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2010, p.61) and confines her discussion to variants which Burney apparently avoids in expository prose: *he don't* and double negation. On the basis of this evidence, Tieken-Boon van Ostade characterises Burney's language use as "careful", and attributes this perceived insecurity to her membership of the "socially aspiring middle class" and, implicitly, her gender (2010, p.61). This study does not, however, take account of Burney's use of stigmatized variants in her own prose.

As will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8, Burney does indeed discriminate between what she perceives to be nonstandard usage, distanced from her own language in direct speech, and acceptable variants which she appears to use unselfconsciously. This is, indeed, a habit she makes explicit reference to, in the letter she writes to her father about the 1796 review of *Camilla* (see §3.3.4).

As will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8, however, there are periods during which she simultaneously uses a stigmatized (or at least less prestigious) variant in direct speech in an

apparently marked way, and also in her personal writings in an apparently unmarked way. This demonstrates that Burney can be aware of particular variants' nonstandard status, and accordingly deploy them as sociolinguistic markers, but can simultaneously be willing to use them herself in certain contexts.

This raises questions both about making generalisations on the basis of evidence provided by a small number of variants, and about the reliability of qualitative readings alone in making conclusions about usage. There is a methodological balance to be struck between these two extremes, however, in addressing the challenges which Burney's usage presents the analyst. The present study will not, therefore, rely solely upon quantitative analysis of the corpus of Burney's extant prose writings. Instead, it will use statistical techniques alongside close qualitative analysis, and will demonstrate that stylistic stratification, diachronic change, and her use of sociolinguistically marked variants in characterization are all significant factors in determining grammatical variation in Burney's usage.

In Chapters 7 and 8, as has already been intimated, Burney's usage of grammatical variants singled out for criticism by Enfield will be analysed. Further analysis will also be carried out in an effort to determine whether changes were made by analogy with the paradigms mentioned. In Chapter 9, Burney's patterns of usage of variants not criticized by Enfield will then be examined, to identify influences other than prescriptive comment which are of significance in shaping Burney's usage. In what follows in §4.4, the grammatical variants studied in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, and their status in the Late Modern period, will be outlined.

## 4.5 Grammatical variables

As was outlined in §3.3.4, the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla* in October 1796 criticizes Burney's usage of, amongst other things, adverbial *admirable* and *scarce*, intransitive *laid*, and patterns of verb conjugation which are perceived to be nonstandard. Of all the variants selected for criticism by Enfield, these have been chosen for investigation in this study because they were subject to the most sustained censure in his review (see §3.3.4). In what follows, the variants studied in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 will be introduced, the procedures for their selection outlined in detail, and a rundown of their sociolinguistic status in Late Modern English will be provided.

### 4.5.1 'Flat' and dual-form adverbs

The term ‘flat adverb’, to refer to adverbs which lack the adverbial suffix *-ly* (cf. Biber et al., 2002, p.542) does not seem to be in general use amongst linguists<sup>9</sup>. It appears in the index of Quirk et al. (1985), but not in the text itself, and it does not appear at all either in Biber et al. (2002) or in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), though the phenomenon it describes is mentioned in both. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* defines flat adverbs as “[n]ot [being] distinguished by a characteristic ending, an adverb which has the same form as an adjective or substantive, or a substantive used as an adjective” (*OED*, s.v. *flat* adj., adv., and n<sup>3</sup>, 12c). The first quotation of recorded usage given by the *OED* dates from 1871, and derives from an author who seems to have coined the term (Earle, 1871 p.361). He describes flat adverbs as “rustic”, “poetic” and “archaic”, and notes that it is “all but universal with the illiterate” (1871, p.364). This suggestion of stylistic stratification is reflected in Biber et al.’s treatment of the form, which they say typically occurs in informal usage, and “is often stigmatized as non-standard” (2002, p.542).

Flat adverbs were certainly stigmatized as non-standard during the eighteenth century; as Nevalainen (2008a) notes, “suffixless adverbs in general, and intensifiers in particular, were condemned by prescriptive grammarians” (p.290). Robert Lowth (1762) is thought to have been the first grammarian proper to address the issue of flat adverbs, but Mennye (1785), Buchanan (1786), Coote (1788) and Murray (1795) also did so subsequently. Earlier in the century, Jonathan Swift had proscribed the use of adverbial *terrible*. The tone of the grammarians’ treatment of the issue is similarly normative; Lowth, for instance, quotes Swift as saying that “[a]djectives are sometimes employed as Adverbs; improperly, and not agreeably to the Genius of the English Language”, though he allows that the form “has obtained in common discourse” (1762, pp.125-6). Sundby et al. record that eighteenth-century grammarians variously labelled flat adverbs “improper”, “inelegant”, “absurd”, “unidiomatic” and “ungrammatical” (1991, pp.200-3).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013) has noted, however, that whilst Lowth criticizes the use of flat adverbs, he persists in using them himself, in his personal letters. On the basis of this, she suggests that flat adverbs, though considered inappropriate in formal writing, were “considered acceptable in spoken as well as informal written language (‘common discourse’)” (2013, p.96) during the later eighteenth century. Very few studies of flat adverb usage in Late Modern

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<sup>9</sup> Also known as “zero adverbs” (Tagliamonte & Ito, 2002; Nevalainen, 2008a)

English have been undertaken, however, so it is impossible to verify whether this is true of general usage.

Nevalainen has, however, analysed the distribution of dual-form adverbs using the Late Middle and Early Modern portions of the Helsinki corpus (1994a; 1994b; 1997), as well as the socially-stratified Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) and its eighteenth-century extension, CEECE (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003, p.43), which combined cover the period 1403-1800 (2008). She found that the suffixless forms “lose ground in the Early Modern English period” (Nevalainen, 1994b, p.142), and interprets the highly statistically significant difference in usage between Late Middle English and that of the latter part of the Early Modern period ( $p < .01$ ,  $X^2 = 7.60$ ) as an indication of “the demise of zero derivation as a regular process of adverbialization in Standard English” (1997, p.163). She notes, however, that some suffixless forms, such as *exceeding*, “persisted well into the eighteenth century” (Nevalainen, 2008a, p.311). Her conclusion was that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century normative grammars had their basis in the language of speakers of higher social status, “while the traditional usage of the lower ranks, which retained suffixless modifiers, was stigmatized” (Nevalainen, 2008a, pp.312-313).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade has also investigated the flat adverb usage of another individual whose writings date from the Late Modern period. Her idiolectal studies of Jane Austen’s language (2013; 2014) demonstrate that Austen uses the form in her own letters, but also in her novels, seemingly to “characterise the language of her lower-status characters as ‘vulgar’” (2013, p.94). On the basis of this, she concludes that, as she had suggested, “the status of these suffixless forms was...not as straightforwardly non-standard at the time as it might seem, or as Nevalainen believes it to be” (2013, p.93). Returning to the issue in her book-length study of Jane Austen’s language, Tieken-Boon van Ostade further posits that the decline which she notes occurring in Austen’s private usage over time is a result of her “growing linguistic awareness...[as] she was developing into a novelist” (2014, p.207) and honing her skills of linguistic characterization, which included “assign[ing the flat adverb] to the use of her non-standard fictional characters” (2014, p.228).

What little evidence exists therefore suggests that the status of flat adverbs in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century was complex. On the one hand, it appears to have been considered acceptable in informal contexts; on the other, it seems to have been in use as a marker of vulgarity. Clearly, the flat adverb had developed into a social marker, a linguistic feature which

shows, according to Mesthrie et al. (2009, p.88), “stratification according to style and social class”. Only Nevalainen has attempted to quantify the impact of prescriptivism on the form, though Tagliamonte and Ito (2002, p.259) suggest that one reason why flat adverbs occur more frequently in North America than in Britain may be because the variant has been less frequently proscribed there.

However, further investigation is needed before generalizations about this extremely complex picture can be made. The study of Burney’s usage reported in Chapter 7 will make a contribution towards our evolving understanding of the stratified usage of this form. These investigations will study those suffixless forms which are specifically criticized by Enfield, *admirable* and *scarce*, as well as a handful of other dual-form adverbs cited by Sundby et al. (1991, p.200) as receiving criticism by eighteenth-century grammarians. Nevalainen, quoted above, suggests that intensifiers are the class of adverbs which occur most frequently in a suffixless form (2008a, p.297), and thus the majority of those adverbs studied are intensifiers: *exceeding(ly)*, *excessive(ly)*, *extraordinary(ily)*, *extreme(ly)*, *full(y)*, *marvellous(ly)*, *mighty(ily)*, *prodigious(ly)*, *terrible(ly)*. These all function as amplifiers; scaling the meaning of the modified element upwards from an assumed norm (Quirk et al., 1985, p.445). In order to begin to gauge whether Nevalainen’s findings reflect Burney’s usage, other degree adverbs have also been included in the study: *near(ly)*, *tolerable(ly)* and *intolerable(ly)*. For the same reason, two other adverbs have also been included: *bright(ly)* and *clear(ly)*. These have all been randomly sampled from the paradigms documented as being criticized by contemporary grammarians in Sundby et al. (1991).

#### 4.5.2 Forms of intransitive *lie*

As was discussed in §3.3.4, confusion between *laid* and *lay* in such sentences as “The owner of the horse laid dead” is one of the “verbal and grammatical inaccuracies” to which most attention is paid in the 1796 review of *Camilla*. Enfield provides four quotations in which this perceived solecism occurs. Other highlighted grammatical features are represented by a single quotation or, as in the case of flat adverbs, two quotations. No indication is given as to whether this apparent over-representation reflects the frequency of *laid* for *lay* in *Camilla*, or whether it is perhaps considered to be a more grotesque error, and therefore more worthy of attention.

Unlike flat adverb use, confusion between intransitive *lie* and transitive *lay* does not seem to have appeared regularly as a proscribed usage in the prescriptive grammars of the late

eighteenth century. Although overlooked by Sundby et al. (1991), Lowth is an early source of proscription (Lowth, 1762, p.76), and Baker has been identified as another early source of prescriptive comment on this subject (Gilman, 1989, p.586; Sundby et al., 1991, p.223). Percy, however, notes that “although Fisher, Greenwood and Johnson all present *lay* as the only preterite of *lie* (Fisher, 173, pp.89-90; Greenwood, 1752, p.158, p.160; Johnson, 1755, s.v.), there is nothing explicitly proscriptive in those texts and nothing under *lay* in Johnson to warn a wealthy vulgarian” (2009, p.132). As such, Percy concludes that “these rules were codified earliest, most explicitly and most vividly in the reviews” (2009, p.132).

As early as 1758, indeed, an anonymous reviewer for the *Monthly* was writing sarcastically of their inability to determine whether the author was a chambermaid or a chicken, since she professed to have “*laid* in her apartment” (Anon., 1758, pp.182-183). Ralph Griffiths, founder of the *Monthly*, himself describes the variant as a “slight vulgarism...which we commonly observe in the news-papers” (1763, p.305) only five years later. Enfield’s 1796 criticism of intransitive *laid* in Burney’s *Camilla* seems therefore to be part of a tradition of proscription for this variance in the review periodicals. In Chapter 8, Burney’s response to this targeted prescriptivism will be evaluated.

#### 4.5.3 Conjugation of irregular verbs

In §3.3.4, it was reported that Enfield quotes Burney as using past participial *strove* in the first edition of *Camilla*. Proscription of the use of identical past tense and past participle forms by analogy with the pattern of regular<sup>10</sup> verbs was a consistent features of eighteenth-century grammar books (Sundby et al., 1991, pp.225-236). Lowth (1762, p.86) seems to have been the first grammarian to condemn the use of a single form for the past tense and past participle, and to have taken “a truly prescriptive point of view on the matter” (Tieken, 2002, p.463), whilst Priestley addressed the issue as follows:

As the paucity of inflections is the greatest defect of our language, we ought to take advantage of every variety that the practice of good authors will warrant, and, therefore, if possible, make a participle different from the preterite of a verb; as, a book is *written*, not *wrote*; the ships are *taken*, not *took*. (Priestley, 1761, p.123)

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<sup>10</sup> Following Quirk et al. 1985, the terms *regular* and *irregular* are used throughout this study. *Regularized* is used when referring to an irregular verb form which has either been used identically in past participle and past tense form, or which has been inflected like a regular verb.



It was participial *wrote* that seems to have attracted the greatest degree of prescriptive attention; as early as 1755, Burney's acquaintance and idol Samuel Johnson was describing this usage as "absurd" and "corrupt", and *written* as "better" (1792, p.104). Moreover, participial *wrote* was removed from the 1741 edition of Richardson's *Pamela* (Eaves & Kimpel 1967, p.64), suggesting that it was already subject to prescriptive forces prior to the mid-century. It has been surmised that, as a result of such proscriptions as Johnson's, Lowth's, and Priestley's, eighteenth-century grammarians were at least partly responsible for the hindrance of the process of "simplification that was taking place with [irregular] verbs" (Cheshire 1994, p.125; see also Milroy & Milroy, 1992, pp.71-2; Leonard, 1929, p.76; Hogg 1988, p.38).

As Lass has noted, however, variation in practice appears to have continued in educated spoken usage during the eighteenth century (2006, p.175). This ongoing variation was very likely accommodated by a continuing pragmatic distinction of informal and formal registers. Blake has noted, with reference to the work of Elizabeth Gaskell, that by the mid-nineteenth century, failure to make a morphological distinction between past tense and past participle forms when using high frequency irregular verbs has become a fully-fledged social marker (1981, p.153). Burney is, however, writing at a time before this markedness has become entirely established. Only the year prior to the publication of the first edition of *Camilla*, Murray deems it necessary to prescribe *eat/ate/eaten*, noting that the past tense form is used frequently in place of the participle (1795, p.70).

Oldivera Gustafsson documents variability in educated usage throughout the eighteenth century (2002, p.268-273), and indeed this is in evidence within the review periodical genre. Percy reports that *Monthly* and *Critical* reviewers use participial *wrote* during the latter half of the eighteenth century, even as their colleagues proscribe the use of a single form for the past tense and past participle.

It is against this backdrop that Burney's alleged use of *has strove* in the first edition of *Camilla* (1796) occurs. The investigations reported in Chapter 8 examine Burney's usage in relation to ten irregular verbs, including *strive*, to determine not only whether she makes a change in the criticized paradigm, but also whether she makes a change by analogy, and moves from a regularized model of conjugating irregular verbs to one which formally distinguishes the past tense and past participle. The studied verb forms are *strove/striven/strived*, which was proscribed in Enfield's 1796 review, as well as *wrote/writ/written*, *broke/broken*, *forgot/forgotten*, *forbid/forbidden*, *shook/shaken*, *arose/ arisen*, *chose/chosen*,

*mistook/mistaken, took/taken, and got/gotten*. These were chosen as paradigms in which variation was common during the eighteenth century (Lass, 1994, p.105).

Whereas Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis examine Burney's usage in relation to grammatical variants explicitly targeted as nonstandard in Enfield's 1796 review of *Camilla*, they also demonstrate the utility of the CPD method in identifying changes that are unlikely to be related to prescriptivism. Chapter 9 therefore explores Burney's usage of variants which were subject to less prescriptive attention during her lifetime, such as second person singular *you was*, use of personal relative pronouns, and *be/have* variation with mutative intransitive verbs. In what follows, these variables will be introduced, and their status in Late Modern English outlined.

#### 4.5.4 Second person singular *you was*

Second person singular *you was* is considered to have developed as a means of maintaining the number distinction in the second person which existed during the Middle English period thanks to the use of different personal pronouns. Auer notes that “[o]nce *you was* found in both the singular and the plural form, the number distinction in the second person was no longer available”, and that “the result of this development is an asymmetry in the pronoun system, which remained until today” (2014, p.163). Lass contends that language users attempted to compensate for this asymmetry by “marking number in the second person by verb concord, as in *you was* vs. *you were*” (2006, p.154).

Corpus studies of eighteenth-century usage (see for example Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2002; Nevalainen, 2006b; and Laitinen, 2009) have shown that *you was* was used to express the singular, whilst *you were* was used to express the plural. Studies also indicate that it arose in the late seventeenth-century as a “bridge phenomenon” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2002, p.97) between the earlier singular personal pronoun form *thou* and the variant prescribed by some normative grammars, *you were*. Tieken-Boon van Ostade's investigation (2002) uses a self-compiled corpus of eighteenth-century novels, and finds that use of *you was* was rare in the early decades of the eighteenth century, peaked around the mid-century point, and declined in subsequent decades (p.95). Its stigmatisation is attributed to the widespread proscription of the *was* variant in normative grammars, for instance Lowth's classification of it as an “enormous solecism” (1762, p.48). It is claimed that such prescriptive attention is responsible for raising *you was* above the level of consciousness, and promoting *you were* as the prestige form (Laitinen, 2009, p.208).

The specific focus of Laitinen's study, which uses the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Extension*, is the social diffusion of *you was*. He concludes that, in Labovian terms, the change towards *you was* occurred from below, "spreading from a relatively informal written genre" and becoming a sociolinguistic marker during the middle of the eighteenth-century (Laitinen, 2009, p.207), around the time of Burney's birth. Laitinen, however, emphasises the time-lag between the proscription which raised the *was* variant above the level of consciousness, and its widespread marginalisation. Both Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Laitinen's studies suggest that, in middle-class circles, the variants would have remained in free variation for a significant portion of Burney's young life.

Laitinen further cites Tony Fairman, who has shown that by the early "nineteenth-century, roughly 90% of YOU WAS cases occurred in letters for parish petitions, a strong indication that it characterised non-standard vernacular" (2009, p.208). He emphasises, moreover, the implications his results have with regard to the relationship between gender and adoption of standard forms. He concludes from his corpus data that it was men who led the change towards *you was*, since use of the form peaks earlier among men; between 1720 and 1739 (Laitinen, 2009, p.210). He also reports that, when the "proportions of YOU WAS begin to decline, men resort to WERE earlier than women" (Laitinen, 2009, p.210). That men appear to have been leading this change could be significant to the study of Burney's usage reported in §9.1, as does the gradual marginalization of *you was* as the eighteenth century progressed.

#### 4.5.5 Relativization strategies

Burney's use of relative pronouns provides an interesting comparator for the use of singular *you was*, since although variation between *wh*-forms and *that* was a commonplace of normative grammar (see, for instance, Buchanan, 1767, p.74; Ward, 1765, p.136), there was considerably less consensus on outright prescription of a certain variant. Lowth, for instance, notes the variation of *that* and *who(m)* with personal antecedents, but merely suggests that, "perhaps", the *wh*-form is preferable (1762, p.100). Sundby *et.al.* document that only three of the grammarians following Lowth deal at all with the variation, and then only to note that parallel clauses should have the same relative (1991, p.389). This was despite the early interventions of *The Spectator* in 1711 (*Spectator* 78, 80), with Steele's 'The Humble Petition of Who and Which' (1965, p.78). Quantitative research has shown that non-restrictive personal relative clauses tend, in formal writing, to have *who* rather than *that*, but that in genres closer to speech

both *that* and zero-relatives increase in proportion during the early eighteenth-century (Wright, 1994, p.265).

The main issue to be examined in this thesis, drawing on Bailey's aforementioned work, is Burney's relative use with an animate antecedent. In order to ensure that the data are qualitatively manageable, and to allow comparison with Bailey's findings, and between the uses, only instances of *person* + personal relative have been surveyed.

Burney's strategies, of course, varied enough at the time of *Evelina*'s composition for Bailey to hail her use of "all three principal relative pronouns with *person*" (2010, p.193); though whether he is overlooking her conscious deployment of sociolinguistic markers as a tool for characterization will be established in Chapter 9. If not, it would seem that at this point in her life, she is not self-conscious about her personal relative pronoun usage. George Brook has, however, indicated with his work on Dickens that by the decade of Burney's death, certain collocations with relatives had become sociolinguistically marked (1970, p.246). Burney's changing or stable relativization strategies may, therefore, provide interesting information regarding her attitude to the variants as sociolinguistic markers.

#### 4.5.6 *Be/have* variation with mutative intransitive verbs

Although usage of the auxiliaries *be* and *have* with mutative intransitive verbs is the subject of some discussion in eighteenth-century grammar writing, it seems in general to be even less subject to overt prescription than relativization strategies. This perception may be exaggerated by modern linguists' confusion over contemporary terminology. Both Rydén and Brorström (1987, pp.208-9), and Straaijer, (2010, p.65) address the possibility that, when using the term 'verb neuter', some grammarians may be referring to something "roughly equivalent to what we now call mutative intransitive verbs" (Straaijer, 2010, p.65). But even where it is clear that *be/have* variation in this context is the topic under discussion, comments are often vague, or even contradictory. Lowth makes a straightforward statement in which he "doubt[s] the propriety" of constructions with *be* (1762, p.63). He also, however, as Straaijer details, says, in his discussion of neuter verbs, that the "verb *am* in this case, precisely defines the Time of the action or event, but does not change the nature of it; the Passive form still expressing, not Properly a Passion, but only a State or Condition of Being" (1762, pp.61-3), "mak[ing] his position on the subject less clear" (2010, p.66). To use Priestley's phrasing, "[i]t seems not to have been determined by the English grammarians, whether the passive participles of verbs neuter require the auxiliary *am* or *have* before them" (1761, p.81).

Whilst there is, therefore, an awareness of the differences between the two auxiliaries, there is, as with relatives, very little overt linguistic guidance, according to which Burney might adjust her usage. It will therefore be interesting to see which variables are most influential when prescription is taken out of the picture.

#### 4.6 The change point detection method

Change point detection (CPD) is the statistical method for identifying changes in sequential data which is employed in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 of this study; in seeking to determine whether Burney responded to the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla* by radically altering her usage of the grammatical variants it proscribed. In statistical terms, a change point can be said to exist when the observations follow one distribution up to that point, and follow another distribution thereafter. The purpose of CPD is twofold; firstly to detect if there is any change, and secondly to locate any change point.

Though the earliest change point studies date from the 1950s (Chen & Gupta, 2013, p.vii), it is only in recent decades that the method has been applied to a wide variety of disciplines. Chen and Gupta (2013) note that “change point problems can be encountered in many disciplines such as economics, finance, medicine, psychology, geology, literature, etc., and even in our daily lives” (p.vii). Brodsky and Darkhovsky likewise acknowledge the huge array of possible applications for CPD:

Medicine, biology, physics, technology, history...Whether it is an EEG analysis which is involved, a seismogram, or data from an orbiting satellite, whether a historical text or a manuscript is the subject of our investigation – in all these cases, provided appropriate numerical parameters, we are dealing with the results of observations that form a random sequence. Any inquiry into the properties of this sequence must begin with the question: is this sequence homogenous in a statistical sense? (Brodsky & Darkhovsky, 1993, p.vii)

According to Brodsky & Darkhovsky, then, regardless of the data in question, the application of CPD remains much the same. Elsewhere, Brodsky (2016) contends that the field has had three main stages of development. Between the 1960s and 1980s, he argues, was an

initial stage...characterized by appearance of ideas and papers by Kolmogorov, Shiyayev, Page, Girschick and Rubin, Lorden, Siegmund, Lai, et al. At that time, the sphere of change point

analysis seemed to be a terra incognita with rare and courageous research projects of pioneers of science. (Brodsky, 2016, p.xix)

Between the 1980s and 2000s, Brodksy then contends that “the main bulk of theoretical results [were] created” (2016, p.xix), before the most recent phase of research got underway. During this phase, according to Brodsky, “[l]arge-scale change point problems and real-world applications, including the analysis of multivariate stationary models and changes of different types are considered” (2016, p.xix).

It is during this most recent phase that the majority of linguistic applications of CPD have been undertaken. The earliest study of this kind was however conducted during the 1980s. Srivastava and Worsley (1986) set out to detect changes in the distribution of pronouns in the First Folio of Shakespeare’s plays. They found that change points occurred at *The Winter’s Tale* and *Richard III*. These findings are remarkably consistent with the conventional generic classifications of the plays, which consider all plays bar one before *The Winter’s Tale* as comedies, all plays between *The Winter’s Tale* and *Richard III* as histories, and the remainder as tragedies. Srivastava and Worsley’s study is methodological in focus, however, and the stylistic implications of their findings are not considered to any great extent. This is also true of the majority of change point studies using related datasets since.

Exceptions include a study conducted by Tweedie, Bank and McIntyre (1998), which modelled trends in Early Modern publishing using CPD. In 2001, de Gooijer and Laan also used CPD to examine elision frequency in Euripides’ *Orestes*. In 2004, Riba and Ginebra then applied CPD to an authorship question, examining the diversity of vocabulary used in the Catalan classic *Tirant lo Blanc* by analysing 1000-word blocks of text. Using this method, they identified a “sharp boundary” at around Chapter 32, which they conclude “might indicate a switch in authorship”, since the “language used after that point is a lot less rich and diverse than before” (Riba & Ginebra, 2004, p.937).

Change point techniques have also been used in studies of language acquisition; both child (Becker & Tessier, 2011) and second-language (Bat-El, 2014), as well as in psycholinguistics. In a 2013 study, Dussias, Valdés Kroff, Guzzardo Tamargo, & Gerfen used CPD to draw conclusions about grammatical gender processing in adult learners of Spanish. CPD has also recently been used to track shifts in meaning and usage in corpora of data from Twitter, Amazon reviews and Google books (Kulkarni, Al-Rfou, Perozzi, & Skiena, 2014). Kulkarni et al. hypothesized that swift linguistic change was likely in internet discourse, and demonstrated

that CPD was able to detect semantic shifts. In content, none of these studies is directly relevant to the application of CPD in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, where it is used to identify moments at which idiolectal grammatical usage alters abruptly. However, they are noted here as previous applications of CPD to linguistic datasets.

It is also notable that of all these studies, only Srivastava and Worsley (1986) set out to test a pre-existing hypothesis about where a change point is thought to occur, as this thesis does in Chapters 7 and 8. This is the classic model of change point study, inaugurated by Maguire et al. (1952) and updated by Jarrett (1979) in studies intended to evaluate the efficacy of coal mine safety legislation. This study will follow a similar model, in setting out to test whether prescriptive comments publicly targeted at Burney by the *Monthly Review* in 1796 had a meaningful impact on her idiolect. It is in this kind of context that the results yielded by CPD are perhaps most valuable. When the results from the statistical model accord with a hypothesized change point, such as the review of Burney's *Camilla* in this study, the generic categorization of Shakespeare's plays (Srivastava & Worsley, 1986), or the enforcement of new mine safety legislation (Maguire et al., 1952; Jarrett, 1979), there exists much stronger evidence for a causal link.

In order to test this hypothesized change point, purpose-built change point models implemented in Python will be used in Chapters 7 and 8 to analyse Burney's use of three grammatical variants criticized by the *Monthly*, as well as a selection of their analogues. In Chapter 9, purpose-built change point models will be used to determine whether this method reveals anything of interest in relation to those variables outlined in §4.4 which are not subject to targeted prescriptivism.

Two different types of model were needed in order to do this. The first type was built to model Burney's usage of paradigmatic variants in individual paradigms, for example in the case of adverbial *scarce* and *scarcely*. In these instances, Burney has a choice about which of the two variants she selects, meaning that there is a probability where any given instance of adverbial *scarce/ly* occurs that she will select one variant over the other. The change point inferred by the model represents the moment at which this probability is estimated to change.

The second type of model is less straightforward. This type was used to group together variants of the same kind from different paradigms; in order to determine, for example, whether overall usage of so-called 'flat' adverbs decreased over time. This entailed comparing variants from different paradigms, which were not precisely equivalent; for example all the flat forms of the

adverbs selected for study, rather than just *scarce*, or just *near*, for example. A Poisson distribution was then used. According to Razdolsky, the Poisson distribution is a “discrete probability distribution which expresses the probability of a given number of events occurring in a fixed interval of time and/or space if these events occur with a known constant mean rate and independently of the time since the last event” (2014, p.104). In this instance, a Poisson distribution where the rate of occurrence of a given grammatical feature was scaled by the word count of the respective sub-corpora, was used to model all of the instances of the grammatical feature recorded. Unlike in the first kind of model, this type did not infer the probability that Burney would select one variant over another; but rather the probability that when she selected any word, it would be a variant of interest.

The models then approximate a probability distribution for any change detected, meaning that a percentage likelihood for a given change occurring in any year of the study period can be identified. Thus, the model could report, for instance, that the probability of a change occurring in 1800 was 60%, or that the probability of a change occurring in 1824 was 98%. The aim of the study is to identify whether any degree of correspondence exists between the date of Burney’s documented consumption of the prescriptive review in question, and a change point identified by the model. Since any such correspondence is unlikely to occur by chance, this could provide a strong indication of a causal link.

Any correspondence between the date of Burney’s documented consumption of the *Monthly*’s prescriptive review and a probable change point can be considered to provide a very strong indication of some kind of causal link, since the probability of a change point occurring in the vicinity of the review by chance is extremely low. This method may thus prove a departure from previous studies of prescriptivism, which as was outlined in §2.3.2 have struggled to extrapolate causation from any correlations found. In fact, it is likely to have more in common with the classic hypothesis-testing change point studies cited above (cf. Maguire et al., 1952; Jarrett, 1979), which provide strong evidence of a causative relationship between an event and a change in a sequential dataset.

The CPD method has been applied to both the private and published Burney sub-corpora; the contents of which were outlined in §4.1.2. As was also demonstrated in §4.1.2, in the private sub-corpus data are extant for 59 of the years between 1768 and 1840; meaning that there are only 13 years of Burney’s adult life for which we have no writing in this sub-corpus. This is a remarkably continuous time-series, given the nature of the data involved, and means that it is



more likely that in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, a specific year will be identified as the locus for any detected change. This is not, however, the case for the published sub-corpus. As was seen in §4.1.2, Burney only published prose in 6 years throughout her lifetime. With the published sub-corpus, the change point model therefore deals with a non-continuous time-series. Hence, it can only detect a change point for the published sub-corpus if it occurs between two publication dates, and cannot be any more specific than this. Relying on findings from the published sub-corpus alone, then, it would be difficult to specify a precise year in which any change occurs. However, the availability of a large sub-corpus of private writings makes the analyses conducted in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 much more straightforward and precise.

It must also be noted here that change point models are not designed to process gradual changes of the kind that usually occur in linguistic datasets. According to Killick, Fearnhead, & Eckley, CPD can “be considered to be the identification of *points* within a data set where the statistical properties change” (2012, p.1594; emphasis added). However, this is not to say that CPD is redundant in instances where more gradual changes occur. Where a very sudden change in distribution is detected, a very high probability value will be given for locating that change in a particular year of the private sub-corpus, or between two publication dates in the published sub-corpus. Thus, for example, the change point model may approximate the probability that the change occurs in 1797, or between the publication of *Camilla* in 1796 and *The Wanderer* in 1814 to be 100%. By contrast, if a gradual change were to occur, the change point model might approximate the probability of this change occurring in each year of a given decade to be 10%. In these examples, the change point model is predicting with equal certainty that the change point falls within the discrete period, but the suddenness of the change in the first example allows more certainty about the location of this change within the dataset to be expressed.

#### 4.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has laid out the methodologies and techniques utilized in this thesis. In what follows, these methodologies and techniques will be applied to the corpora which were the subject of §4.1.1 and §4.1.2. In Chapters 5 and 6, the CENCER corpus, which was the focus of §4.1.1, will be used to address the first research question laid out in §1.5, in order to determine whether Late Modern review periodicals were indeed preoccupied with linguistic rectitude. Then in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, the Burney corpus will be used to address the other

research questions laid out in §1.5, in order to ascertain Fanny Burney's response to the *Monthly's* review of her 1796 novel *Camilla* and its detailed targeted linguistic criticism.

## **5 DISCOURSES OF GRAMMATICALITY IN LITERARY REVIEW PERIODICALS, 1750-1899**

### **5.1 Identifying prescriptive discourses in review periodicals**

It has long been hypothesized that literary review periodicals were a conduit for prescriptivism in the Late Modern period (see §1.3). However, as was outlined in §3.3.2, there exists as yet no quantitative evidence to support this theory. The first stated goal of this thesis, as per the first research question laid out in §1.5, is therefore to provide an empirical basis for claims of this nature. As was explained in Chapter 1, the gaps in the available data here are twofold. Firstly, it is necessary to examine the discourses manifesting in the literary review periodicals of 1750-1899, in order to determine whether the discursive construction of grammar, grammarians, and grammatical correctness is prescriptivist in nature. This analysis will be conducted in the present chapter, using the purpose-built Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century English Reviews (CENCER, see §4.2.1). Secondly, in order to redress the gaps in knowledge regarding the prescriptivism of review periodicals, it is necessary to determine whether prescriptivism was an ephemeral or persistent feature of the review periodical genre. Moreover, if it is found to be ephemeral, it is important to identify when the ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in this genre can be said to have occurred. This will be the focus of Chapter 6.

As was noted in §4.3.5, keyword analysis can be a useful starting point for corpus analysis, and can suggest words and phrases worthy of further consideration. Keywords themselves can often indicate how a subject is being discursively constructed, and are therefore valuable in their own right, as well as in guiding further investigation. Keyword analysis will therefore be the starting point in the identification of words which can be considered to behave in the CENCER corpus as indicators that prescriptive activity is occurring. In §5.2, prescriptive behaviour will be defined for the purposes of this research, before words considered to behave as indicators of prescriptivism in the CENCER corpus will be identified in §5.3. These words are a combination of words found to be keywords, those which frequently co-occur with keywords which are indicators of prescriptivism, and those words noted during qualitative analysis to occur frequently in the context of prescriptive comment. §5.4 then contains a thoroughgoing examination of the discursive construction of grammar, grammarians, and grammatical

correctness in the CENCER corpus, using a combination of collocation and concordance analysis.

## 5.2 Defining prescriptive behaviour

As was noted in §2.3.1, prescriptivism is considered to be the attempted enforcement of linguistic norms. This study will follow the definition given in *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, where Crystal defines the term ‘prescriptive’ as follows:

A term used by linguists to characterize any approach which attempts to lay down rules of correctness as to how language should be used. Using such criteria as purity, logic, history or literary excellence, prescriptivism aims to preserve imagined standards by insisting on norms of usage and criticising departures from these norms. (1985, pp.243-4)

Behaviour in the review periodicals will therefore be considered prescriptive if it either “insist[s] on norms of usage”, or “criticis[es] departures from these norms”. Insistence on norms of usage means that any linguistic criticism, even if no specific exemplification of transgression is provided, may be considered prescriptive. Crystal goes on to note that:

A distinction is sometimes made between prescriptive and proscriptive rules, the latter being rules which forbid rather than command. (1985, p.244)

Any linguistic proscription in the review periodicals will be considered broadly prescriptive, though finer distinctions will be drawn during the close analysis to be found in §5.4. Evaluation of linguistic performance in the CENCER corpus is, however, not exclusively negative, and for the purposes of this study, positive evaluation will also be considered prescriptive if it too posits the existence of norms or standards of usage which the reviewer requires must be met. In the following section, the selection of indicators of prescriptivism used to identify behaviour considered prescriptive within the CENCER corpus will be delineated.

## 5.3 Indicators of Prescriptivism

As was outlined above, the starting point in the identification of indicators of prescriptivism was the keyness analysis conducted in *WordSmith*. *WordSmith* was used to compare each of the 15 CENCER sub-corpora with the open-source Corpus of Late Modern English Texts

(CLMET), with a keyword list of between 117 and 308 keywords being returned for each decade<sup>11</sup>. These keywords were then manually grouped into broad semantic categories, which can be found tabulated in Appendix B.

The vast majority of these keywords, as can be seen in Appendix B, fall under the broad semantic category of ‘literary reviewing’. These words relate to periodical reviewing directly, or to publication, bookselling, writing, stylistic analysis, literary criticism, or typography. Others are proper nouns connected with the production or publication of literary texts, such as the names of authors, publishers, or characters in works of fiction. As was noted in §4.3.5, such so-called ‘aboutness’ keywords, those which highlight the preoccupations of the target corpus by comparison with the reference corpus, comprise a large proportion of any keyword list. In the context of the present study, where each sub-corpus is comprised of articles covering a huge range of subject areas, this tendency of keyword analysis to highlight topics of preoccupation has the potential to reveal commonalities between different review articles and different sub-corpora.

This is the case with the semantic field of language and grammar, which accounts for a significant minority of the keywords listed in Appendix B. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the frequency with which words from this semantic field occur in the respective sub-corpora is revealing in terms of identifying a potential ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in periodical reviewing. In the present chapter, however, the issue of greatest pertinence is whether any of these words can be regarded as reliable indicators of prescriptive activity; since this reliability underpins the integrity of the findings reported in §5.4, below.

It is important to note, however, that keyness analysis was only the starting point in identifying indicators of prescriptivism used in the investigation of the discourses of grammar and grammaticality reported in §5.4. Other categories of words considered to function in this way include 1) words found to occur regularly in the context of the keywords found to function most reliably as indicators of prescriptivism, 2) statistical collocates of these keywords, 3) words noted to be used in the corpus in the analysis of grammaticality, and 4) other words and phrases which were noted in the course of corpus building and analysis to occur frequently in the context of linguistic criticism. In this section, a number of potential indicators of prescriptivism will therefore be earmarked for further investigation in §5.4 and in Chapter 6.

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<sup>11</sup> The procedures for identifying these keywords are outlined in §4.3.5.

Ultimately, in Chapter 6, conclusions will be drawn as to whether an era of prescriptivism in review periodicals can be identified using these linguistic indicators.

The keywords judged most significant for the purposes of addressing the first research question (laid out in §1.5) by exploring the discursive construction of grammar and grammatical correctness are *grammatical* and *ungrammatical*. Across the 15 sub-corpora comprising the CENCER corpus, *grammatical* occurs in the keyword lists of all but 4 sub-corpora. As can be seen in Table 5, below, this means that it is key in 10 consecutive sub-corpora, spanning the century from 1760 until 1859.

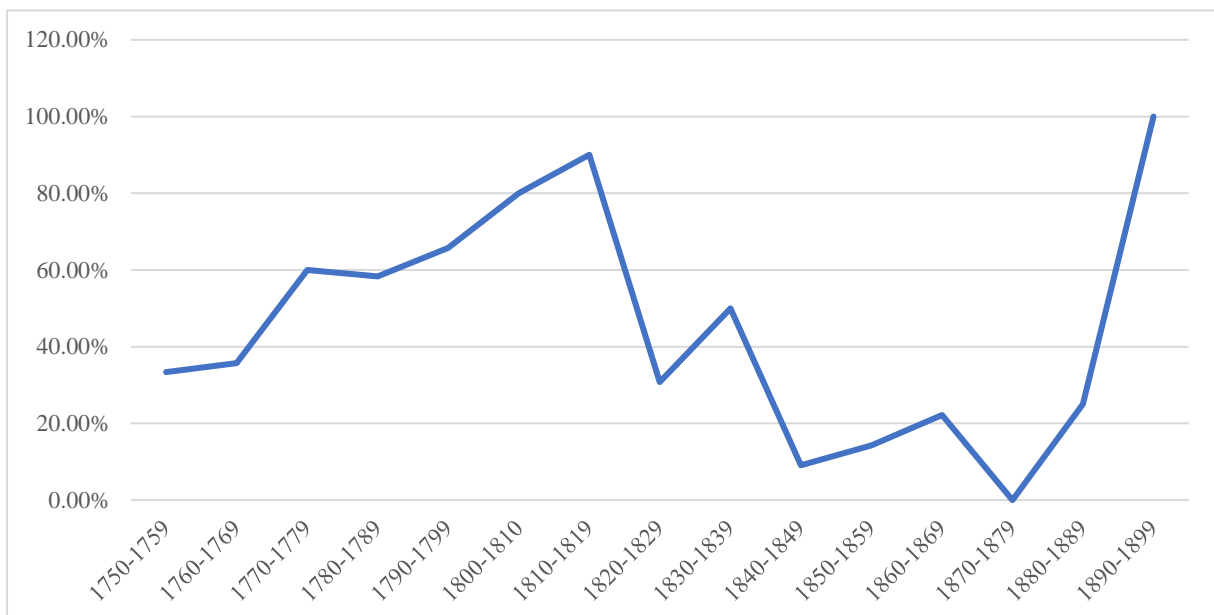
Sub-corpus	<i>Grammatical</i> as keyword
1750-59	No
1760-69	Yes
1770-79	Yes
1780-89	Yes
1790-99	Yes
1800-09	Yes
1810-19	Yes
1820-29	Yes
1830-39	Yes
1840-49	Yes
1850-59	Yes
1860-69	No
1870-79	Yes
1880-89	No
1890-99	No

**Table 5. CENCER sub-corpora in which *grammatical* appears as a keyword.**

It is important to note that *grammatical* remains key in some of the later nineteenth-century sub-corpora. However, close analysis reveals that whilst it occurs frequently in the context of

linguistic criticism in earlier sub-corpora, this is a much less pronounced trend by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Whilst *grammatical* can be considered to act as an indicator of prescriptive activity in the earlier decades of the study period, therefore, it provides us with a salutary demonstration that close analysis of the contexts in which these indicators occur is always necessary.

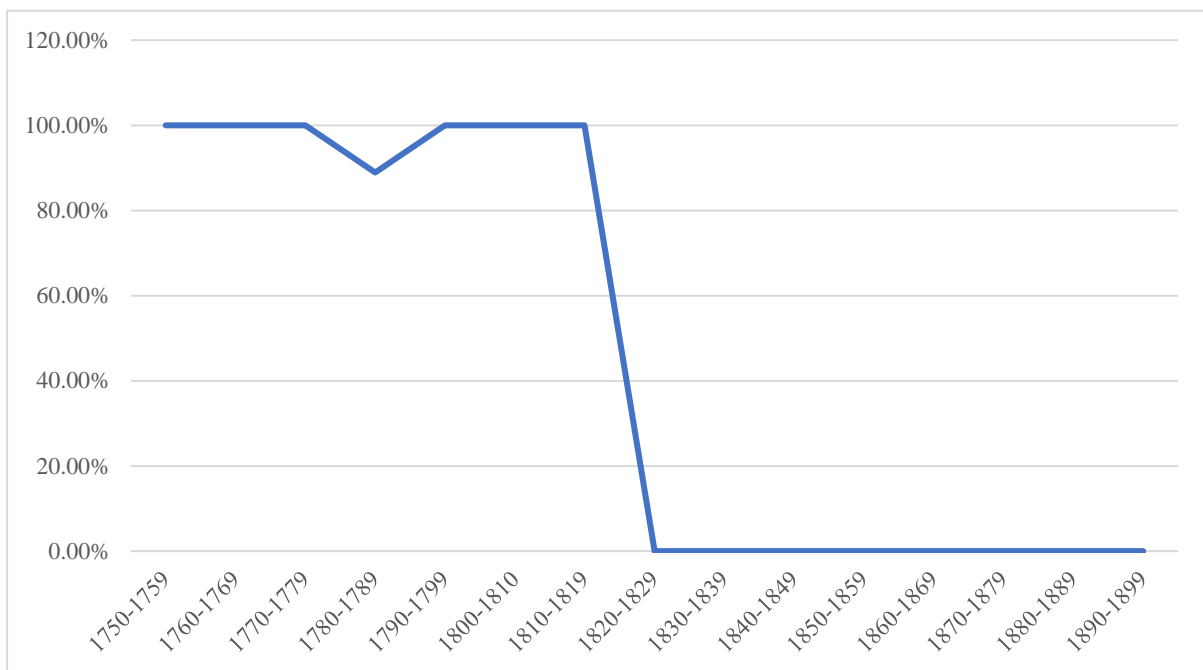
Indeed, across the corpus as a whole, only 48.55% of hits for *grammatical* occur in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers of a specific author, text, or extract of writing. The likelihood of locating prescriptive activity if *grammatical* is present is therefore less than 50% across the corpus as a whole. However, these odds are much higher within those sub-corpora around the turn of the nineteenth century. Figure 2, below, shows the proportion of instances of *grammatical* which occur in the context of linguistic criticism.



**Figure 2. Proportion of occurrences of *grammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism, across the CENCER corpus.**

Figure 2 shows that only in the final sub-corpus of CENCER, that covering the period 1890-1899, do 100% of occurrences of *grammatical* relate to linguistic criticism. However, given that only a single instance of *grammatical* occurs in this sub-corpus, and just happens to be in the context of linguistic criticism, this is something of an anomaly. Overall, from the 1770s to the 1810s, the proportion of instances of *grammatical* relating to linguistic criticism never falls below 50%. The mean proportion of occurrences of *grammatical* occurring in this context during these five decades is 70.81%, meaning that if we encounter *grammatical* within these sub-corpora, the likelihood is that it is in the context of linguistic criticism.

*Ungrammatical* is another notable keyword from the results tabulated in Appendix B, and analysis of the contexts in which it occurs are also revealing. This shows that that outside the context of linguistic criticism, only a single instance of *ungrammatical* occurs in the CENCER corpus, in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus. This means that *ungrammatical* is much more strongly associated with linguistic criticism than *grammatical*; with 96.88% of hits for *ungrammatical* occurring in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers of a specific author, text, or extract. Figure 3, below, shows the proportion of instances of this word which occur in the context of linguistic criticism across CENCER.



**Figure 3. Proportion of occurrences of *ungrammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism across the CENCER corpus.**

The fact that *ungrammatical* does not appear at all after 1819 means that there is very clearly a discrete period during which it acts as an indicator of linguistic criticism. In every sub-corpus from the beginning of the study period until 1819, if we encounter *ungrammatical* then the overwhelming likelihood is that it is in the context of linguistic criticism.

The probability of locating prescriptive activity if either *grammatical* or *ungrammatical* is present is therefore reasonably high across the corpus as a whole. In §5.4, in-depth analysis of the contexts in which these keywords occur may be found, and in §6.2, the ramifications of such keyword data for the identification of a potential heyday of linguistic criticism in the periodical reviews will be considered. Here, however, these findings are of greatest relevance



in terms of their endorsement of *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* as reliable indicators of prescriptive activity within the CENCER corpus.

Although to differing degrees, it is therefore clear that both *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* are often found to occur in the context of linguistic criticism. For the purposes of the present study, these words, and especially *ungrammatical*, may therefore be considered to act as indicators of prescriptivism in CENCER. The procedures for selecting other words considered to function as indicators of prescriptivism must now be detailed. None of the other keywords tabulated in Appendix B were found to reliably signal the presence of prescriptivist content, so the remaining indicators of prescriptivism have been identified using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative techniques. Many were revealed during concordance analysis of keywords, and found to co-occur frequently with those keywords shown above to indicate the presence of prescriptivism. Others were noted during the course of corpus building, post-editing and in the early stages of analysis to occur frequently in the context of grammatical evaluation. In what follows, the procedures for selecting these words, which like *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* are considered to function as indicators of prescriptivism, will be detailed. Having identified *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* as indicators of prescriptivism, the first stage is to examine the environments in which they occur, to determine whether any other indicators of prescriptivism can be found there. Table 6 shows a breakdown by sub-corpora of evaluative words found, in the concordance analyses of *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* for each sub-corpus, to co-occur with those words.

Sub-corpus	Evaluative words co-occurring with <i>grammatical</i> in a positive context	Evaluative words co-occurring with <i>grammatical</i> in a negative context	Evaluative words co-occurring with <i>ungrammatical</i> in a positive context	Evaluative words co-occurring with <i>ungrammatical</i> in a negative context
1750-1759	None	None	None	<b><i>Inaccuracy, defect, obscure, typographical, inaccurate, negligence</i></b>
1760-1769	None	<b><i>Error, inaccuracy, propriety, errors (2)</i></b>	None	<b><i>Barbarous, inelegant, incorrect, stile</i></b>

1770-1779	None	<i>Disfigured, errors (5), impurities, provincial</i>	None	<i>Imperfection, confused, vulgar</i>
1780-1789	None	<i>Error (2), errors (5), propriety, impiety, defect, accuracy</i>	None	<i>Illiterate, coarse, elegant, mean, awkward, unintelligible, deformed, Scotticisms, unpolished</i>
1790-1799	<i>Taste, accuracy (2)</i>	<i>Aukward, confused, incorrect, accuracy (2), deviation, propriety, omission, wrongly, violating, inaccuracies (2), errors (5), confusion, barbarism, vulgar, illiterate, vulgarisms, inaccuracy</i>	None	<i>Deficient, inelegant (2), mean, incorrect</i>
1800-1809	<i>Imperfection</i>	<i>Errors (3), inaccuracies (2), peculiarities, correctness, negligence, error</i>	None	<i>Obscurity, unintelligible, inaccurate, vulgar, loose, negligent, nonsense</i>
1810-1819	<i>Felicity</i>	<i>Pure, error (3), mistakes, deficiency, correctness, propriety (3), loose, errors (3), accuracy, Hibernicisms, inaccuracies</i>	None	None
1820-1829	None	<i>Error, errors (2), faults, accuracy, deficient</i>	None	None
1830-1839	None	<i>Errors, inaccuracies, neglect, purity</i>	None	None
1840-1849	None	<i>Inaccuracies, uncouth, irregularities, strictly</i>	None	None

1850-1859	None	<i>Errors (3), purity (2), barbarisms, law, violation, vulgar</i>	None	None
1860-1869	None	<i>Mistakes (2), pure, purest, inaccuracies, errors (3), purity (2), barbarisms, law, violation, vulgar</i>	None	None
1870-1879	None	<i>Inaccuracies</i>	None	None
1880-1889	None	<i>Disfigured, vulgarity, style, solecisms</i>	None	None
1890-1899	None	None	None	None

**Table 6. Words and phrases which co-occur with *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* in the context of evaluating linguistic performance, in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

As can be seen from Table 6, none of the sub-corpora contain instances of positive evaluation co-occurring with *ungrammatical*, and only the sub-corpora covering the decades 1790-1799, 1800-1810, and 1810-1819 contain instances of positive evaluation co-occurring with *grammatical*. This is, in itself, notable, and provides further indication that the decades around the turn of the nineteenth century constitute the heyday for grammatical evaluation in review periodicals. This is a finding that will be highly relevant when the second research question of this thesis is addressed in Chapter 6.

Of greater relevance to the present chapter, however, is that only three instances of positive evaluation of grammaticality occur with *grammatical* across the corpus. Since there are so few, it is possible to consider them individually. They are as follows:

1. we have found in the course of our enquiries, many remarks and emendatory criticisms which partake strongly of good taste and grammatical **accuracy** (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
2. The good effect of his studies will be perceived...in his general observance of grammatical and idiomatic **accuracy** (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
3. If the construction is occasionally too much involved, or the parentheses too long and frequent, it is the more extraordinary that they never have betrayed him into a single grammatical **imperfection**. (*The Critical Review*, 1800-1809 sub-corpus)

From these extracts from the corpus and Table 6 above, it is clear that certain words tend to co-occur with *grammatical*. Those which tend to co-occur with *grammatical* are shown with bold font in Table 6. Although these are not statistical collocates (which will be discussed in §5.4), many of these co-occur so frequently as to demand further investigation, to determine whether they also act as indicators of prescriptivism independently of *grammatical*. These are *accuracy*, which occurs in the context of both positive and negative evaluation of an author's grammaticality, *inaccuracy*, *inaccuracies*, *error*, *errors*, *propriety*, *barbarism*, *disfigured*, *violating*, *violation*, *barbarism(s)*, *vulgar(ity)*, *correctness*, *mistakes*, *purity*, *defect*, *negligence*, *negligent*, *inelegant*, *incorrect*, *illiterate*, *mean*, *awkward/aukward*, *unintelligible*, and *obscurity*.

Some of these words co-occur frequently with *grammatical*, whilst others only appear in the context of *grammatical* a couple of times in the entire corpus. *Errors*, for example, occurs within a five-word span of *grammatical* 14 times across the corpus, whereas *mistakes* does so only twice. Nonetheless, all of these words will be investigated further, as potential indicators of prescriptive activity, and findings of significance will be reported in §5.4.

As will by now be clear, not all of those words considered to act as indicators of prescriptivism were identified quantitatively. Others were identified during the course of compiling and editing the corpus, and in the early stages of analysis. Baker notes that the degree of familiarity with a corpus that this kind of work affords can “provide the researcher with initial hypotheses as certain patterns are noticed” (2006, p.25). Indeed, during the course of corpus building, post-editing and the early stages of analysis, it was noted that certain words and phrases tend to be used in the context of grammatical evaluation. Potential indicators of prescriptivism identified in this way include *error/s of the press*, *solecism*, *barbarism*, *vulgarism*, and *impropriety*. Several of these are also identified within CENCER as labels used for violations of linguistic norms. In the *Critical Review*'s 1776 review of *Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric*, one of the text files comprising the 1770-1779 sub-corpus, for example, we find the following passage:

The third chapter is employed on grammatical purity, of which the violations are distinguished into three different kinds; namely, barbarism, solecism and impropriety. By the first of these terms is denominated the fault which arises when the words used may not be English. By the second, the error when the construction of the sentence may not be in the English idiom; and by the third, when the words and phrases may not be employed to express the precise meaning which custom has affixed to them. (1770-1779 sub-corpus)

Whilst this passage is written by a *Critical* reviewer, it merely reports on a classification system for perceived grammatical errors devised by the reviewed author, Campbell, and does not necessarily reflect the definitions of these words used by the reviewer. However, the passage does indicate that these words are in use in the context of grammatical evaluation during the later eighteenth century, and provides further indication that they should be considered as potential indicators of prescriptivism.

As has therefore been outlined, there are five categories of words considered to be potential indicators of prescriptive activity in CENCER. These are, 1) words arising from keyword analysis, which tend to occur in the context of linguistic criticism (only *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* belong to this category), 2) words found to occur regularly in the context of *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* (see Table 6 above), 3) statistical collocates of *grammatical* and *ungrammatical*, 4) words stated in the corpus to be used in the analysis of grammaticality, and 5) words and phrases which were noted in the course of corpus building and analysis to occur in the context of linguistic criticism.

The aims of the present study go beyond the identification and analysis of prescriptivist discourses, however, and relate also to the discursive construction of grammar and grammar writers. In what follows, corpus-based discourse analytic methodologies will be employed to determine how grammar, grammar writing, grammarians, and grammaticality are discursively constructed. In Chapter 6, the dispersion of confirmed indicators of prescriptivism across the corpus will be explored, and conclusions regarding the heyday of prescriptivism mooted here will be made.

#### 5.4 The discursive construction of grammar, grammarians, and grammaticality

In this section, the ways in which the words identified above as indicators of prescriptivism are used in the CENCER corpus will be investigated. The aim of this is to clarify whether the review periodicals are, as the data analysed thus far indicate, a consistent source of linguistic evaluation and, if so, whether any such linguistic criticism is tantamount to prescriptivism. However, as aforementioned, the stated aims of the present study are not restricted to the identification and analysis of prescriptive discourses. This thesis also seeks to determine how grammar and grammaticality are discursively constructed within the review periodicals of the study period, and this can also be achieved by examining the contexts in which *grammar* and

related words occur. Although found in §5.2 to be sporadically key throughout the CENCER sub-corpora, *grammar* and *grammarians* revealed little about the discourses surrounding grammar and grammaticality in the corpus. This may, however, be because only sub-corpora in which they were key were scrutinised further, and it is possible that across the corpus as a whole, they are associated with more revealing discourses. In what follows, a collocational analysis for *grammar* and *grammarian* will be conducted, to reveal the most frequent lexical patterns surrounding these words. Concordance analysis will then be used to examine more closely the environments in which these words are used.

#### 5.4.1 Grammar and the grammarians: discourses of education, rules, and standards.

Table 7, below, shows the content words with which *grammar* collocates in CENCER, with an MI score of greater than 3, and a *t* score of greater than 1.5 (see §4.3.4). It should be noted at this juncture that function words have been removed from this list, as they rarely reveal much of interest in terms of discourses (Baker, 2006, p.100).

<b>Collocate</b>	<b>MI</b>	<b>T Score</b>
<i>Grammar</i>	13.212	11.488
<i>Rules</i>	8.942	3.156
<i>English</i>	6.401	3.125
<i>Persian</i>	10.319	2.644
<i>Verse</i>	7.628	2.437
<i>Latin</i>	6.823	2.428
<i>Knowledge</i>	6.357	2.209
<i>Study</i>	7.268	2.222
<i>School</i>	7.217	2.221
<i>Greek</i>	6.518	2.212
<i>Language</i>	4.982	1.937

<i>Philology</i>	9.753	1.730
<i>Prosody</i>	10.549	1.731
<i>Principles</i>	6.121	1.707
<i>One</i>	3.163	1.539
<i>Most</i>	3.727	1.601
<i>Common</i>	5.569	1.696
<i>Considered</i>	6.598	1.714
<i>Sense</i>	5.588	1.701
<i>Schools</i>	6.971	1.718
<i>System</i>	5.789	1.701
<i>Taught</i>	7.598	1.723
<i>Author</i>	4.368	1.648
<i>According</i>	6.310	1.710
<i>First</i>	4.002	1.624
<i>Eton</i>	8.549	1.727
<i>Hebrew</i>	6.775	1.1716
<i>Mere</i>	6.535	1.713
<i>Logic</i>	8.843	1.728
<i>Application</i>	6.837	1.402
<i>Thought</i>	5.081	1.372

**Table 7. Collocates of *grammar* in the CENCER corpus.**

These collocates indicate that *grammar* is associated within CENCER with a variety of different discourses. The strongest collocation exists between *grammar* and *rules*. This relationship has an MI score of 8.942 and a *t* score of 3.156; both of which indicate that the collocation between these two words is strong. It therefore seems likely that discourses in which grammar is conceived as a body of rules are frequent within the corpus. *Rules* has connotations of enforcement and authority, and suggests that grammar is being conceptualised as a set of guidelines imposed ‘from above’. Other collocates of *grammar* also indicate, albeit less directly, that this is a mainstream discourse within the corpus. Many of the collocates relate to the semantic field of education. These include *school/s*, *study*, and *taught*. Other collocates indicate that grammar is being conceptualized as a subject that can be taught and learned, and as a system with its own internal logic. These include *knowledge*, *principles*, *system*, *application*, and *logic*. Grouped together, these collocates give the impression that grammar is presented within CENCER as an inflexible body of rules, knowledge of which is acquired via teaching and studying in a formal educational setting, rather than acquired organically in early childhood.

Grammar also seems to be discussed in terms of its relationship to various languages, or possibly as a means of learning these languages. *English*, *Persian*, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* all collocate with *grammar* to a statistically significant degree. The presence of these language names in the collocate list may also indicate that *grammar* is being used as shorthand for the phrase ‘grammar book’ in CENCER, though further investigation is needed to confirm this hypothesis. Other collocates indicate that the word *grammar* is used frequently in the context of stylistic literary evaluation; *verse*, *prosody*, and *author* all collocate with *grammar* above the set significance levels. Finally, *philology* appears in Table 7 as a significant collocate. This is an interesting finding, providing further evidence to support the hypothesis presented in §5.2 that discussion of grammar becomes more specialized and descriptive than prescriptive as the study period progresses.

The individual sub-corpora comprising CENCER have also been subject to collocational analysis. This has found that *grammar* has a number of noteworthy collocates in the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, once function words and those collocates below the set significance threshold have been removed. These are shown in Table 8, below.

	MI	T score
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<i>Grammar</i>	12.145	3.741
<i>Verse</i>	11.560	2.449
<i>Greek</i>	8.214	1.993
<i>According</i>	8.445	1.727
<i>Rules</i>	8.730	1.728
<i>Hebrew</i>	6.923	1.718

**Table 8. Collocates of *grammar* in 1750-1759 sub-corpus.**

It is notable that, as in the CENCER corpus as a whole, *rules* appears as a collocate of *grammar* at this early stage of the study period. This indicates that grammar is already being discursively constructed as a body of knowledge in the earliest decade of the corpus. It is interesting, given that *rules* has connotations of enforcement and authority, that *according* also collocates with *grammar*. This reflects the habit of reviewers of citing ‘rules of grammar’, as in passage 4, below:

4. This, as Quintilian observeth, is a very great abuse; because there is a vast difference betwixt speaking according to the **rules of grammar**, and according to the purity of the language. (*The Monthly Review*, 1750-1759 sub-corpus)

There are no content words which are statistically significant collocates of *grammar* in the 1760-1769 sub-corpus, and in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus, there are only two, shown in Table 9, below.

	MI	T score
<i>Grammar</i>	16.760	2.645
<i>English</i>	11.445	1.412
<i>Prefixed</i>	13.560	1.414

**Table 9. Collocates of *grammar* in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus.**

This collocate, *prefixed*, provides the first concrete indication that *grammar* is being used within CENCER as shorthand for the phrase ‘grammar book’, as was hypothesized above. This is because *prefixed* is a word commonly used in publication titles and reviews to differentiate between different sections of a text, as for instance in the following example, a title of a text reviewed within the 1770-1779 sub-corpus:

A New Dictionary of the English Language: containing, not only the explanation of words, with their orthography, etymology, and idiomatic writing; but likewise their orthopia or pronunciation in speech, according to the present practice of polished speakers in the metropolis; which is rendered obvious at sight, in a manner perfectly simple, and principally new. To which is **prefixed** a Rhetorical Grammar; in which the elements of speech in general, and those of the English tongue in particular, are analysed; and the rudiments of articulation, pronunciation, and prosody intelligibly displayed. (1770-1779 sub-corpus, emphasis added)

There is further evidence that *grammar* is being used in this way in the collocate list for the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, as shown in Table 10 below.

	MI	T score
<i>Grammar</i>	13.281	2.827
<i>Eton</i>	12.281	1.732
<i>Taught</i>	10.145	1.413

**Table 10. Collocates of *grammar* in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus.**

As Table 10 shows, *Eton* is a collocate of *grammar* in this sub-corpus. This is due to the presence in this sub-corpus of a number of references to “the Eton grammar”, as in the following passage:

5. The compilers of that part of the Eton **Grammar** copied Lilly too servilely. (*The Monthly Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)

The name by which the Eton Grammar is known indicates that it was created with an educational purpose in mind. The other significant collocate of *grammar* from the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, *taught*, also provides indication that grammar is being conceptualised within this sub-corpus as a body of knowledge to be imparted in an educational context.

*Grammar* has only a single collocate in both the 1790-1799 and 1800-1810 sub-corpora, and both are language names, reflecting the fact that both of these sub-corpora contain reviews of texts whose titles use ‘grammar’ as shorthand for ‘grammar book’, as in passage 6:

6. Among all these instances of plagiarism, the new Persian **Grammar** is certainly by far the most indecent. (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

	MI	T score
<i>Grammar</i>	12.508	4.242
<i>Persian</i>	10.248	2.644

**Table 11. Collocates of *grammar* in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus.**

	MI	T score
<i>Grammar</i>	17.338	2.827
<i>English</i>	10.030	1.730

**Table 12. Collocates of *grammar* in the 1800-1809 sub-corpus.**

In the sub-corpora for the decades 1810-1819, 1820-1829, 1830-1839, 1840-1849, and 1850-1859, *grammar* lacks any collocates of statistical significance, however in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus, it has a number of collocates above the threshold set. Amongst these, as is shown in Table 13, are *Latin* and *English*, which reflects the fact that references to grammar books, as in passage 7 account for a significant proportion of instances of the word *grammar* in the CENCER corpus.

7. When the lion's share of school study was first given to the Latin and Greek **grammars**, they were fairly entitled to claim it; for at that time neither our own, nor any other modern language, was perfectly formed. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1860-1869 sub-corpus).

	MI	T score
<i>Grammar</i>	13.338	5.656

<i>Latin</i>	8.788	1.995
<i>Knowledge</i>	10.445	1.999
<i>Language</i>	8.176	1.726
<i>Schools</i>	12.730	1.732
<i>English</i>	10.030	1.730
<i>Considered</i>	8.975	1.729

**Table 13. Collocates of *grammar* in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus.**

Other collocates of *grammar* in this sub-corpus include *knowledge* and *schools*. *Knowledge* reflects the fact that grammar continues to be conceptualized as a body of rules acquired in a formal educational setting, as does *school*. There are no collocates of *grammar* above the significance threshold in the 1870-1879, 1880-1889, or 1890-1899 sub-corpora.

The collocates of *grammar* in both CENCER as a whole and in the individual sub-corpora therefore suggest that grammar is discursively constructed in a number of dominant ways. Firstly, it appears to be constructed as a body of fixed rules, which are not, as modern linguists would contend, acquired organically in early childhood, but must rather be taught and learned in a formal educational setting. As such, it would appear that grammar is conceptualized as being subject to ‘top-down’ imposition. There are also strong indications from the collocation data that the word *grammar* occurs frequently within CENCER as an abbreviation of the phrase “grammar book”. Such apparently frequent recourse to such texts again suggests an authoritarian understanding of grammar, as well as veneration of reference texts as sources of objective, and perhaps unquestioned, authority.

Close analysis of the concordance data for CENCER confirms that these discourses are indeed predominant. The word *grammar* most commonly appears as shorthand for a grammar book. 38 of the 132 instances of *grammar* in the CENCER corpus, or 28.36%, are used in this way. This confirms that *grammar* is most frequently used in reference to a text which is presented as a source of authority. *Grammar* is also commonly presented as a subject that must be taught, or at least acquired with scholarly endeavour. Examples of these discourses, which account for

34 of the 132 occurrences of *grammar* in the CENCER corpus, or 23.88%, include the following:

8. The object he more especially seems to aim at in this work, **is gradually to lead his pupil, by means of an exact knowledge of grammar**, to understand the best and purest authors, to the end, that by a judicious imitation, they may form to themselves an elegant style, and rise at length to a noble and manly eloquence, the great end of grammatical institution. (*The Monthly Review*, 1750-1759 sub-corpus)
9. From these remarks he proceeds to shew, **that a competent skill in grammar** would have prevented many tautologies and improprieties, many inconsistencies and improbabilities, which appear upon the face of our English version. (*The Critical Review*, 1760-1769 sub-corpus)
10. The second proposition is founded partly on the argument of long possession, partly on the **value of grammar as a study** and the merits of classical literature. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1860-1869)

In passage 8, it is implied that knowledge of grammar can be acquired by reading the grammar book in question. In passage 9, the word “skill” is used, to likewise suggest that understanding of grammar is acquired with education. In passage 10 above, grammar is described as a “study”, which implies that scholarly endeavour is required to gain familiarity with the subject. All of these passages therefore exemplify the construction of grammatical knowledge as being attainable only through education, and with effort.

This discursive construction of grammar seems to be predicated on the assumption that the grammar of a given language is fixed, immutable, and unquestioned. Nowhere in the CENCER corpus is there any suggestion that notions of grammar might be subjective, or variable. Rather, grammar is presented as a body of unambiguous and authoritative rules, which can be learned and taught in the same way as mathematical formulae or rules of logic, and which is remote from actual usage. This discursive construction accounts for 20 of the 134 instances of *grammar* in the CENCER corpus, or 14.93%, and is exemplified in the following passages:

11. For in order to enable boys to write, not only according to the **rules of grammar**, but to the purity of stile, it has long been the practice to make them read books of phraseologies and idioms. (*The Monthly Review*, 1750-1759 sub-corpus)
12. In p.29, Mr. T. says, ‘this new Vallum had probably been reared in the idea, that the country to the north of it was hardly worth preserving.’ Such expressions cannot be reconciled with the **rules of grammar**. (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

13. In the third line of this quotation, the ancient editors, from a conviction that the line was corrupt, and the article was absolutely necessary, in support of the **laws of grammar**, but in defiance of all morality and common sense... (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

All three of these passages construct *grammar* as a body of rules or laws of unquestioned authority. In passages 12 and 13, this unquestioned authority is invoked in the evaluation of reviewed texts. The implication here, is that the body of rules the reviewers are referencing, can be used to evaluate an author's linguistic performance. Elsewhere, this implication is made explicit, as in the following passages:

14. In the same volume are many **little slips of grammar**, which the author will, no doubt, correct in the second edition (*The Monthly Review*, 1770-1779 sub-corpus)
15. Mr. Craik is more indulgent to the Shakespearian **infractions of grammar** than might have been expected. (*The Literary Gazette*, 1850-1859 sub-corpus)

The construction of grammar as a body of rules subject to transgression by contemporary and historical authors at these two distinct junctures in the study period is intriguing, given that a standard English grammar certainly had yet to emerge when the first of these examples was written, and arguably when the second was written also. Indeed, in another related but distinct discursive construction of grammar in the CENCER corpus, it is presented as a standard, which linguistic performance either meets or fails to meet. Only 14 of the 132 occurrences of *grammar* in the CENCER corpus fall under this category, meaning that only 10.45% of instances occur in this context. However, it remains a highly significant discourse to the present study, as it may be a manifestation of the nascent standard language ideology. Examples of this discourse in CENCER include:

16. They should not have every possible **defect in grammar**, in the selection and application of words, and in spelling, presented to them in print, in a work affirmed in its own preface to be **the standard of authority** on the subject of which it treats. Elegance is not universally requisite, nor is it always attainable: **but grammatical and orthographical correctness are indispensable**; nor is perspicuity of less importance. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1800-1809 sub-corpus)
17. When an authoress has the gift of sublimity and elegance, **is it too much to insist on grammar** into the bargain. (*The British Critic*, 1810-1819 sub-corpus)

18. Cobbett need not have confined his examples of **bad grammar** to selections from speeches from the throne. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1860-1869 sub-corpus)

Passage 16 is particularly interesting, as not only does the phrase “defect in grammar” suggest that a standard in linguistic performance exists, but the reviewer also suggests that the author claims to be a “standard of authority” on such matters, and goes on to contend that “grammatical and orthographical correctness are indispensable”. From this it is clear that by the first decade of the nineteenth century, writers consider a standard language to exist. What is particularly telling about this passage is that it reveals the divergence which persists between different individuals’ notions of a standard. Whilst it is possible to detect a nascent ideology of standardization during this period, then, the standard language itself remains fragmentary and seems to remain subject to individual preference.

It is notable that two of the passages above are excerpts from reviews of works by women. Though they were not selected intentionally to represent reviews in which gender is correlated with linguistic correctness, it is interesting that in an era when publishing was so much dominated by men, that two reviews of female authors’ works should be found to contain a similar discursive construction. This may be merely be evidence of bias on the part of the male reviewers, or it may possibly be an indication that a standard language was perceived to exist within certain communities, for example those with similar educational backgrounds. As was noted in §2.2.3, women were educated very differently from men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and consequently women tended not to have a classical education which would acquaint them with many of the Latin rules which were being applied to English in the late eighteenth century. This idea will be explored further in §6.3, where it will be suggested that the review periodicals functioned as a prescriptive discourse community for a period.

The word *grammar* therefore appears predominantly as shorthand for a grammar book, or is discursively constructed as an educational subject that can be learned and taught, a body of rules that must be followed, or standard that must be met. All of these presentations presuppose the existence of a standard language, even those written in the eighteenth century. This is despite the fact that, as was discussed at length in Chapter 2, no recognisable standard English emerged until the nineteenth century.

Investigations of how the word *grammarian* is used in the CENCER corpus have been less fruitful. Due to the widespread proliferation of grammaticography during the study period, it

might be expected that *grammarian* would occur frequently in the review articles of the study period. In fact, however, it occurs only 6 times in the whole of the CENCER corpus. This is, in itself, notable. The word *grammarian*, defined by the *OED* as

One versed in the knowledge of grammar, or of language generally; a philologist; often signifying also a writer upon, or teacher of grammar (last updated 1900)

The earliest citation from the *OED* entry for *grammarian* is in 1380. From the seventeenth century until the entry's publication date in 1900, three quotations are given per century to exemplify the word. This shows that it was in use during the study period; indeed, Henry Hitchings notes that it was "current" by the turn of the sixteenth century (2011, p.45). Little has been written about the word, though by the twentieth century it appears to have become pejorative. In 1972, in reference to Browning's poem 'The Grammarian's Funeral', literary critic Norton B. Crowell writes that "the word grammarian in our day, when grammar had become a dirty word, has a pejorative force" (p.200). However, Browning's poem, published in 1855, is an elegy for an accomplished scholar, who is taken to be buried away from all things prosaic, "on a tall mountain...crowded with culture" (Cook, 1994, p.350). The quotations given by the *OED* to exemplify the word's usage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further confuse this picture. An excerpt from Chambers' 1728 *Cyclopaedia* is given, which certainly gives the impression that *grammarian* was pejorative:

The Denomination Grammarian is, like that of Critic, **now frequently used as a Term of Reproach**; A mere Grammarian; A dry, plodding Grammarian, &c.

It is, however, beyond the scope of the present study to confirm that this is a representative usage of the word in the eighteenth century, and it may merely reveal Chambers' own feelings on grammarians as well as reviewers. It is notable that the later eighteenth-century quotation given in the *OED*'s entry for *grammarian* is written by none other than Tobias Smollett, the founder of the *Critical Review*. This quotation, from 1771, suggests no negative feelings on his part towards grammarians:

They serve only as exceptions; which, in the Grammarian's phrase, confirm and prove a general canon.

However, the next quotation given, dated 1806, does indicate disapproval:

All that arithmeticians know, Or **stiff grammarians** quaintly teach.



This latter example suggests that the endeavour of grammarians is outdated and archaic, but it is at odds with Browning's approving poem of half a century later. The picture, then, as to how *grammarian* is used, is a confused one. All that can be said with confidence is that it was in usage during the period in question, and that it was used pejoratively by some authors.

It is possible that it occurs so seldom within the CENCER corpus because reviewers perceived grammarians to be rival sources of prescriptive injunctions, and wanted neither to endorse nor publicize their works. Close analysis of the contexts in which *grammar* appears revealed that the grammar books referred to are often those of other (often dead) languages than English, rather than the slew of English grammar books which emerged from efforts to codify the language in the late eighteenth century. Books codifying the rules of static classical languages, such as Latin and Ancient Greek, may have been of little concern to the periodical reviewers. However, if, as has been hypothesized, the reviewers were using claims of expertise on linguistic matters to shore up their cultural authority, it would be understandable that they would not like to acknowledge alternative sources of authority on grammatical matters. Such reluctance to acknowledge contemporary English grammarians may have manifested itself in attempts to ignore new publications of prescriptive grammars. It is also possible that the sampling methods employed in building the CENCER corpus have, by chance, not sampled reviews of many such grammar books, and that this is the explanation for the scarcity of the word *grammarian* in the corpus. However, it is notable that in the *OED* citation above, Smollett refers to "the grammarian's phrase", when the authority of grammarians is invoked so seldom in the CENCER corpus. This indicates that avoidance of the term *grammarian*, and its implicit acknowledgment of alternative authorities on language, by reviewers may well be deliberate.

Although there is scant data to analyse, close analysis of the contexts in which the 6 instances of *grammarian* in the corpus do occur reveal that 2 occur in the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, 3 occur in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, and 1 occurs in the 1850-1859 sub-corpus. Both instances in the 1750s are within the same article, a *Monthly* review of *A New Method of learning with facility the Latin Tongue* from 1758, and both occur within the phrase "able grammarian".

19. The business, therefore, of an **able grammarian**, is to reduce this figurative construction to the laws of the simple. (*The Monthly Review*, 1750-1759 sub-corpus)

20. He has avoided also some observations that seemed of little utility, mindful of this excellent saying, it becomes an **able grammarian** to know, that there are many things not worth his knowledge. (*The Monthly Review*, 1750-1759 sub-corpus)

Passage 20 is positive in its evaluation of the grammarian in question, though the reviewer's tone of is somewhat condescending and didactic. There are two notable features of this review. The first is that it is of a Latin grammar. As has been suggested above, reviewers may only have considered English grammar to be their remit, and may only have been proprietorial about prescriptive writings on English. It is also notable that this review is from the earliest decade of the study period. It was suggested in §3.3.1 that the founding of the *Critical Review* in 1756 resulted in a gradual increase in linguistic commentary in the *Monthly*, as attempts by both reviews to undermine the other focused on linguistic manifestations of social marginality. As this review is from only 2 years after the *Critical's* first issue, it is likely that the linguistic battle lines between the two review periodicals are still to be drawn, and that, in consequence, the *Monthly* reviewers do not yet construct themselves as ultimate authorities in linguistic matters.

The first occurrence of *grammarian* in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus is ambiguous. It appears in a review of a text entitled *Remarks in Vindication of Dr. Priestley, on that Article of the Monthly Review for June 1783 which relates to the first Part of Dr. Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. This is a review of a response to a critical review of noted grammarian Joseph Priestley's work from an earlier edition of the *Monthly Review*. As such, we might expect it to be both defensive and critical, and so it proves to be. In the following passage, the reviewer refers to the author of the reviewed text as "the Remarker". He seems to refer to Priestley, the author of the original reviewed text, as "the grammarian", and to himself as "the Critic".

The clause is put out of joint by this Remarker's construction of it: and all that he advances, with the air of a pedagogue, about *participles* and *definite verbs*, is idle parade and solemn trifling. His doctrine of *equivalents* is liable to a thousand objections: and, to convince the Reader that his rule is absolutely nugatory when made a general one, we beg leave to refer him to the following passages in the New Testament: Matth. ii. 8. καὶ πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς Βηθλέεμ εἶπε, which verse, according to the rule of this grammarian, should be thus translated – "And he *said* that he sent them to Bethlehem." Matth. ix. 12. ἀκούσας εἶπε, according to this Critic's doctrine of equivalents, should be rendered – "He *told* them that he heard." See also Mark ix. 24. which, on the same principles, should be translated in the following manner: "And

immediately the father of the child said with tears that he had cried aloud.”[...]These translations are ‘*exactly equivalent*’ to the Remarker’s *εἰποιεὺν may have told, me, δοβασὺνῖες they have thought, τὰὐτὰ the same things*, i.e. as the Ebionites! Surely – surely, this is as bad as it could have been in “*thy age*,” (emphasis original)

Here, the reviewer is highlighting perceived discrepancies in translations made by Dr. Priestley, in an effort to discredit him and defend the *Monthly*’s original review of *The History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. In his biography of Priestley, Robert Schofield contends that this publication was generally reviewed harshly because it challenged central doctrines of Christian faith, including the divinity of Christ, and the miracle of the virgin birth (1997, pp.216-223). However, it is notable that the *Remarks* published in answer to the *Monthly*’s original review were received positively by the *Critical Review*, in a review of the same year which does not appear in the CENCER corpus. Here, the *Remarks* are said to be “the production of a learned and ingenious writer, well acquainted with theological systems, and the writers of antiquity” (Smollett, 1783, p.232). Antipathy between the *Monthly* and *Critical* seems therefore, as would be expected by the 1780s based on the background provided in §3.3.1, to be well established, and this may have a bearing on the apparent increase in the hostility with which the word *grammarian* is used.

However, the remaining two instances of *grammarian* used by reviewers in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus betray no antipathy towards grammar writers. In the first, “the grammarian” is mentioned alongside “the historian” and “the critic” in a grouping of scholars to whom Virgil’s fourth eclogue remains of interest. There does not appear to be any evaluation involved here.

21. The fourth eclogue of Virgil has been given rife to various controverts...it has repeatedly exercised the sagacity of the ablest commentators of almost every nation of Europe; and it, perhaps, still opens not an unfruitful field of investigation to the **grammarian**, the historian; and the critic. (*The Monthly Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)

Likewise, the final instance of *grammarian* in this sub-corpus also appears to be free from evaluation, occurring in the context of a quotation from a reviewed work:

22. He ‘was at the same time furnished with a number of commentators, and a variety of editions of the Works of Hippocrates; and therefore made the translation rather a study than a mere verbal interpretation: being willing to translate rather as a physician than as a **grammarian**.’ (*The Monthly Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)

Passage 22 reveals that, for the reviewed author, grammarians are associated with literal, or “mere verbal” translation. He claims, by contrast, as a physician, to have made “a study” of the works of Hippocrates, rather than just translating them directly. Although this indicates that grammarians lack medical knowledge, it does not amount to evaluation, and reveals little about the way in which the word *grammarian* is used, beyond, perhaps, the fact that translators might be labelled with this term.

The final occurrence of *grammarian* in the CENCER corpus, which is found in the 1850-1859 sub-corpus, is, however, clearly in the context of negative appraisal:

23. It is not quite clear whether Mr. Craik **himself is inclined in such cases to justify the neglect of grammatical law**...This mode of trying to vindicate a palpable blunder by conjuring up a superlative within a superlative within a superlative commits the **grammarian** to a **fanciful result**. (*The Literary Gazette*, 1850-1859 sub-corpus)

Here, the reviewer accuses the reviewed author of a “palpable blunder” in “justify[ing] the neglect of grammatical law”, and says that he commits himself “to a fanciful result”. It is in this context that the reviewer labels the author a “grammarian”, and whilst the term itself does not appear to have pejorative intent, its appearance in the context of criticism does not imply respect.

There is therefore relatively little to go on, in determining how grammarians are discursively constructed in the CENCER corpus. What evidence exists suggests that they are not treated with a significant degree of respect, however. In the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, the reviewer stipulates what a grammarian must achieve in order to be considered “able”. In the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, one *Monthly* reviewer disparages Priestley as an inconsistent translator, whilst elsewhere another author is quoted as attributing “mere verbal interpretation” to grammarians. Subsequently, the only instance of *grammarian* to occur in any of the nineteenth century sub-corpora appears in the context of criticism, when a reviewed “grammarian” is accused of “justify[ing] the neglect of grammatical law”.

Perhaps more significant, however, is the scarcity of references to grammarians, which might be expected to occur frequently, at least during the latter half of the eighteenth century, when grammar books were being published at an unprecedented rate (see §2.2.2). In §6.3, there will be in-depth discussion of the hypothesis offered above; that this scarcity may result from a calculated effort on the part of reviewers to position themselves as authorities on linguistic

matters. Here, it will be suggested that periodical reviewers constituted a prescriptive discourse community which was perhaps in part constructed as an alternative source of authority to the grammarians on linguistic matters.

#### 5.4.2 Grammaticality: discourses of correctness, obedience, purity, and status

In investigating the discursive construction of grammaticality in the CENCER corpus, the first step was to identify the statistical collocates of the two words already determined to function within the corpus as indicators of linguistic criticism, *grammatical* and *ungrammatical*, and to examine in detail the contexts in which these words appear. The next step was then to examine the contexts in which their collocates are used, to determine whether they themselves act independently as indicators of linguistic criticism, or only function in this way when co-occurring with *grammatical* or *ungrammatical*. In addition, consideration will be given to those words identified in §5.3 as co-occurring with *grammatical* and *ungrammatical*, but which do not appear as statistical collocates of those words. This will ensure that potentially salient discourses are not overlooked, even if they are relatively infrequent. Patterns of discourses around these indicators of prescriptivism will therefore be identified, and the strategies for the discursive construction of grammaticality analysed, before conclusions are made in Chapter 6 about the existence of an era of prescriptivism within the CENCER corpus.

Table 14, below, lists the statistical collocates for *grammatical* across the CENCER corpus, using both Mutual Information (MI) and *t* score to calculate the relationship between *grammatical* and its collocates.

	<b>Collocate</b>	<b>MI</b>	<b>T Score</b>
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	12.687	13.926
2	<i>Errors</i>	9.983	5.380
3	<i>Construction</i>	10.117	3.996
4	<i>Inaccuracies</i>	11.399	3.463
5	<i>Error</i>	8.180	3.151
6	<i>Language</i>	5.764	3.104

7	<i>More</i>	4.318	3.004
8	<i>Knowledge</i>	6.494	2.797
9	<i>Some</i>	4.580	2.875
10	<i>Accuracy</i>	8.925	2.640
11	<i>Propriety</i>	8.940	2.640
12	<i>Questions</i>	8.097	2.441
13	<i>Very</i>	4.149	2.311
14	<i>Latin</i>	6/019	2.202
15	<i>Few</i>	5.457	2.185
16	<i>According</i>	6.506	2.211
17	<i>Words</i>	5.545	2.188
18	<i>No</i>	3.324	2.013
19	<i>Moods</i>	10.470	2.234
20	<i>Too</i>	5.172	2.174
21	<i>Simple</i>	7.062	2.219
22	<i>Little</i>	4.629	1.919
23	<i>Now</i>	4.234	1.894
24	<i>Structure</i>	8.443	1.994
25	<i>Mr</i>	3.302	1.797
26	<i>Most</i>	3.602	1.835
27	<i>Style</i>	6.164	1.972

28	<i>Own</i>	4.290	1.873
29	<i>Rules</i>	7.079	1.985
30	<i>English</i>	4.539	1.914
31	<i>Examination</i>	7.683	1.990
32	<i>Point</i>	5.732	1.962
33	<i>Purity</i>	8.332	1.994
34	<i>General</i>	4.842	1.930
35	<i>Mood</i>	8.502	1.727
36	<i>Mistakes</i>	8.831	1.728
37	<i>Forms</i>	6.522	1.713
38	<i>Method</i>	6.251	1.709
39	<i>Certainly</i>	5.741	1.700
40	<i>Clear</i>	6.257	1.709
41	<i>Greek</i>	5.240	1.686
42	<i>Neither</i>	6.004	1.705
43	<i>Nor</i>	4.517	1.656
44	<i>Work</i>	3.892	1.615
45	<i>Numerous</i>	6.814	1.717
46	<i>Besides</i>	6.789	1.716
47	<i>Must</i>	3.524	1.581
48	<i>Always</i>	5.130	1.683

49	<i>Verbal</i>	9.350	1.729
50	<i>Correctly</i>	9.212	1.729
51	<i>Often</i>	5.251	1.687
52	<i>Expression</i>	5.995	1.705
53	<i>Sound</i>	5.254	1.687
54	<i>Learning</i>	4.753	1.668
55	<i>Correction</i>	9.169	1.729
56	<i>Essays</i>	7.882	1.725

**Table 14. Collocates of *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus.**

These collocates indicate that the predominant discourses around the word *grammaticality* in the CENCER corpus relate to correctness and incorrectness. *Accuracy*, *correctly*, and *correction* are all collocates which appear to relate to discourses of correctness, whilst *errors*, *inaccuracies*, *error*, and *mistakes* all appear to relate to discourses of incorrectness. Other collocates indicate that grammatical analysis is taking place in the corpus, for example *construction*, *moods*, *structure*, *forms*, and *method*, or that the grammar of different languages, for example *Latin*, *English*, and *Greek*, are discussed in the corpus. There are also indications in the collocate list that *grammatical* occurs in the context of discourses of authority (as *rules* is a collocate), clarity (as *clear* is a collocate), courtesy (as *propriety* is a collocate), and purity (as *purity* is itself a collocate). There are relatively few collocates of *grammatical* in the individual sub-corpora, but those which do occur point to the changing preoccupations of the review periodicals as the study period progresses.

In the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, no content words collocate with *grammatical* at or above the set significance threshold. As Table 15, below, shows, in the 1760-1769 sub-corpus, only *essays* collocates with *grammatical* with a sufficient combined MI and *t* score. This is probably due to the presence in this sub-corpus of a review entitled *Two Grammatical Essays*, and reveals nothing of interest about discourses surrounding *grammatical*.



	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	16.590	3.742
2	<i>Essays</i>	14.952	1.732

**Table 15. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1760-1769 sub-corpus.**

The single collocate of *grammatical* above the set significance threshold for the 1770-1779 and 1780-1789 sub-corpus, *errors*, is more revealing, suggesting that discourses of grammatical incorrectness are beginning to predominate.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	12.922	3.162
2	<i>Errors</i>	11.642	2.645

**Table 16. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus.**

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	12.177	4.582
2	<i>Errors</i>	9.310	2.233

**Table 17. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus.**

*Errors* also has high significance scores as a collocate of *grammatical* in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus. Here, however, there are also other collocates above the significance threshold, as is shown in Table 18, below. One of these, *accuracy* also relates to the discourse of correctness and incorrectness which has already been mentioned. Others, such as *moods*, *mood*, and *construction*, suggest that grammatical analysis is taking place within the corpus.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	11.363	6.162
2	<i>Errors</i>	8.860	2.444

3	<i>Moods</i>	9.877	2.234
4	<i>Language</i>	5.497	1.694
5	<i>Mood</i>	8.363	1.727
6	<i>Accuracy</i>	9.363	1.729
7	<i>Construction</i>	9.363	1.729

**Table 18. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus.**

In the 1790-1799 sub-corpus, *errors* once again appears as the most statistically significant collocate of *grammatical*, indicating that discourses of incorrectness continue to predominate. As Table 19, below, shows, *few* also appears as a collocate in this sub-corpus. This indicates that grammaticality is being discussed in terms of its frequency. This is more often the case with *ungrammatical* than *grammatical*, and as such discourses around frequency of grammatical correctness will be explored in detail below.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	12.483	6.162
2	<i>Errors</i>	9.746	1.730
3	<i>Few</i>	7.960	1.725

**Table 19. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1800-1809 sub-corpus.**

In the 1810-1819 corpus, singular *error* appears as the most statistically significant collocate of *grammatical*, indicating that discourses of incorrectness persist into this decade. As Table 20, below, shows, *propriety* also appears as a collocate above the set significance level. This indicates that grammaticality is being discursively constructed in terms of adherence to societal, rather than purely linguistic norms, as will be explored further in the close analysis of the contexts in which indicators of linguistic criticism occur below.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	11.974	4.471
2	<i>Error</i>	9.726	1.998
3	<i>Propriety</i>	10.389	1.731

**Table 20. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1810-1819 sub-corpus.**

The discursive construction of grammaticality in terms of correctness and incorrectness appears to be less central in the remaining sub-corpora. Thus, in the 1820-1829 sub-corpus, the only collocate of *grammatical* above the set significance threshold is *construction*. This indicates, significantly, that *grammatical* is being used predominantly in contexts relating to grammatical analysis than grammatical correctness.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	12.604	3.605
2	<i>Construction</i>	11.019	1.731

**Table 21. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1820-1829 sub-corpus.**

There are no collocates of *grammatical* above the set significance threshold in the 1830-1839 sub-corpus, and in the 1840-1849 sub-corpus only *without* is a statistically significant collocate (for reasons of co-occurrence which are not pertinent here), as shown in Table 22, below.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	13.969	3.464
2	<i>Without</i>	8.741	1.728

**Table 22. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1840-1849 sub-corpus.**

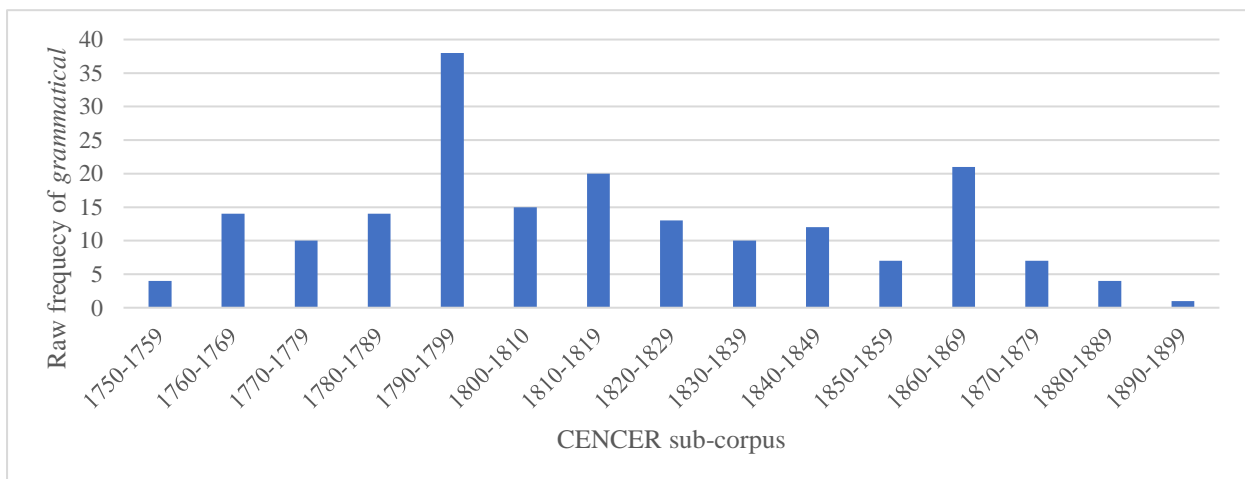
Once again, there are no collocates of *grammatical* above the set significance threshold in the 1850-1859 sub-corpus, but there are a number of collocates above this threshold in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus. Many of these again indicate that discussions relating to grammatical analysis have superseded discourses which construct grammaticality in binary terms of correctness or

incorrectness. *Questions, method, simple, and answer* all appear to relate more to grammatical analysis than grammatical correctness. However, as Table 23, below, shows, there is also a collocate for *grammatical* in this sub-corpus which reveals that grammaticality is still discussed in those terms: *correctly*. Thus, whilst it appears from the collocation data that grammatical correctness is less of a concern in the mid to late nineteenth century than it is in the eighteenth century and in the early decades of the nineteenth, it remains a discursive construction of note.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	15.133	4.582
2	<i>Questions</i>	12.741	2.000
3	<i>Method</i>	13.133	1.732
4	<i>Simple</i>	11.812	1.732
5	<i>Answer</i>	12.812	1.732
6	<i>Correctly</i>	15.133	1.732

**Table 23. Collocates of *grammatical* in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus.**

No collocates of *grammatical* above the set significance threshold exist for the final three sub-corpora, covering the period 1870-1899. This indicates that *grammatical* occurs too infrequently for collocation to be calculated, which is in itself notable. Figure 4, below, shows that *grammatical* is indeed infrequent in these decades, by comparison with earlier decades.



**Figure 4. Occurrences of *grammatical* in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

Collocational data for the word *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus and its sub-corpora therefore indicate that the predominant discourses in which it occurs are those of correctness and incorrectness. Close analysis of the contexts in which *grammatical* occurs, both through concordance analysis and examination of expanded context, reveals that these are indeed the predominant discourses associated with the word *grammatical*. Of the 192 hits in the corpus for this word, 88, or 45.8%, are found to occur in the context of such discourses.

These discourses are strongly dualistic, and present grammaticality in binary terms, using words like *error(s)*, *mistakes*, *(in)accuracy*, *inaccuracies*, *vulgarisms*, *solecisms*, and *felicity*; many of which appear as statistical collocates of *grammatical* in Table 14, above. The majority of these reveal discourses of incorrectness, in the context of negative evaluation of a reviewed author's grammaticality. Examples of this include the following:

24. He mentions this as an apology for the **grammatical errors** that may be found in the work, and which indeed are too palpable to escape the observation of any reader. (*The Critical Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)
25. The *wise-men*, said to have come from the east, are denominated *magi* in the Persian, but with a *wrong plural*; and indeed the **grammatical errors** are no less numerous than the mistakes in *idiom* and *phraseology*. (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
26. There is a sentence which will pass muster with the careless reader, but it is disfigured by a vulgarity of style which lies deeper than **grammatical solecisms**. (*The Quarterly Review*, 1880-1889 sub-corpus)

Others, however, reveal discourses of correctness, in the context of positive evaluation of a reviewed author's grammaticality, as for example in the passages 27 and 28:

27. The **grammatical errors and vulgarisms**, which disgrace many even of our most celebrated novels, have here no place (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
28. The Essay on Criticism, appears to have engaged in a high degree the Editor's labours; and we have found, in the course of our enquiries, many remarks and emendatory criticisms, which partake strongly of good taste and **Grammatical accuracy**. (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

Though these extracts contain many of the words associated with the discourses of correctness and incorrectness from the collocate list for *grammatical*, they also contain a number of words which did not appear as statistically significant collocates for *grammatical*; including *vulgarity*, *solecisms*, and *vulgarisms*. Such passages in fact indicate that a much more diverse range of

vocabulary is engaged in the discursive construction of grammatical correctness as a binary state than would appear from the collocate list for *grammatical*. This indicates that close, qualitative analysis is likely to prove fruitful in unearthing less mainstream discourses within the CENCER corpus, and also that such analysis could reveal patterns of words that are, individually, not frequent enough for discovery using corpus methods, but which may collectively show an important semantic pattern. This also suggests that a consensus lexicon for discussing issues of grammaticality has yet to be established, at least within the genre of periodical reviewing. Given that for much of the study period Standard English itself has yet to be established, it would be unsurprising if a mainstream vocabulary to discuss it had yet to emerge.

*Errors* is the collocate of *grammatical* that appears most worthy of further attention, with the highest *t* score of all collocates of *grammatical* in the CENCER, at 5.380, and the third highest MI score, of 9.983. As was noted above, *errors* also appears as a collocate for *grammatical* in 4 consecutive sub-corpora, 1770-1779, 1780-1789, 1790-1799, and 1800-1809. It is also notable that *grammatical* is the highest scoring collocate of *errors*, as is shown in Table 24, below.

Collocate	MI	<i>T</i> Score
<i>Errors</i>	12.756	13.890
<b><i>Grammatical</i></b>	<b>9.983</b>	<b>5.380</b>
<i>Many</i>	5.907	3.545
<i>Very</i>	4.602	2.712
<i>Numerous</i>	8.267	2.819
<i>Point</i>	6.355	2.420
<i>Corrected</i>	9.540	2.446
<i>Several</i>	6.301	2.418
<i>Work</i>	4.667	2.148

<i>Most</i>	3.962	2.093
<i>Little</i>	4.667	1.921
<i>Comedy</i>	10.462	1.999
<b><i>Press</i></b>	<b>7.666</b>	<b>1.990</b>
<i>False</i>	7.443	1.989
<i>Great</i>	3.864	1.863
<i>Mr</i>	2.925	1.504
<i>Frequently</i>	6.501	1.713
<i>Two</i>	3.916	1.617
<i>Learned</i>	5.752	1.700
<b><i>Language</i></b>	<b>4.065</b>	<b>1.629</b>
<i>Past</i>	7.449	1.722
<i>Page</i>	6.520	1.713
<i>Pointed</i>	7.803	1.724
<i>Correct</i>	7.125	1.720
<i>Much</i>	3.605	1.590
<i>Find</i>	4.898	1.674
<i>Important</i>	5.916	1.703
<i>Discovered</i>	7.412	1.722

**Table 24. Collocates of errors in the CENCER corpus.**

Table 24 also shows that *language* and *press* collocate with *errors* at a level above the set significance threshold. As will be discussed below, this is due to the presence in the corpus of

the multi-word unit *error of the press*, a phrase used by reviewers to excuse linguistic infelicities and attribute them to the printers, or, in many cases, to pre-empt a response to linguistic criticism which shifts the blame away from the author. The collocate list for *errors* therefore indicates that it is a word often used in the context of linguistic criticism. However, close analysis reveals that it is used in other contexts almost as frequently as it is used in this one. Across the CENCER corpus, it appears 97 times in the context of linguistic criticism, and 90 times in other contexts. Other notable collocates of *errors* include a group of words which indicate that discourses of frequency may regularly accompany the use of *errors* in the CENCER corpus. *Many, very, numerous, several, and frequency* all collocate with *errors* at a level of MI and *t* score above the set significance thresholds. Close analysis of the concordance lines for *errors* and their expanded context reveals that reviewers using *errors* in linguistic criticism often stress the frequency of perceived mistakes. The following extracts exemplify this:

29. [I]ndeed the grammatical errors are no less **numerous** than the mistakes in idiom and phraseology (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
30. We have carefully avoided noticing the **very numerous** errors that may be attributable to the press. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1800-1809 sub-corpus)
31. We perceive **numerous** little errors of this sort: too **many** mistakes to be assigned altogether to the account of the press. (*The Monthly Review*, 1810-1819 sub-corpus)

This strategy seems calculated to indict the linguistic correctness of an entire publication, and to present any examples given not as isolated instances, but rather as an endemic issue throughout the reviewed text. It is notable that two of these three examples, without using the phrase “error(s) of the press”, refer to the role of printers in producing a text. In passage 30, the reviewed author is partially excused for their “very numerous errors”, as the reviewer provides the excuse of the printing process, and potential for interference with the authorial text. In the third example, however, the reviewer forestalls any possible objections on the grounds that the printers had used language deemed incorrect, by stating that “too many mistakes” had been detected, for them “to be assigned altogether to the account of the press”.

This dualism is a common feature of discourses surrounding the phrases *error of the press* and *errors of the press* in the CENCER corpus also. Within otherwise laudatory reviews, straightforward attributions of perceived linguistic errors to “the press” are sometimes found, as in the following examples:



32. The text is given from Warburton's edition, and is fairly, and for the most part, accurately printed. Some few **errors of the press** which have occurred to us on the perusal, we shall notice in their places. (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
33. This is probably made worse by an **error of the press** (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

Reviewers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seem to feel compelled to point out linguistic incorrectness where they perceive it to occur, but in otherwise positive evaluations of a text, they excuse it with reference to the printing process and the risk of adulteration of a text there. This does not just apply to typographical mistakes, but also the use of grammatical variants perceived to be non-standard. This also gave authors a convenient excuse for linguistic errors, and it was not uncommon for authors to attribute the errors they were accused of making by reviewers to the printers. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, indeed, Fanny Burney used this defence in response to the *Critical's* 1796 review of *Camilla*. Perhaps as a result of authors' attempts to blame all perceived incorrectness on the printers of their works, reviewers began to pre-empt such claims, as in the following examples:

34. The above instance does not arise from an **error of the press**, for the same phrase occurs in several different places, among her best specimens. (1770-1779 sub-corpus)
35. The mistake is not very capital, and we might have taken it for an **error of the press**, had not a similar one occurred again in the same page. (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
36. [w]e thought it was a mere **error of the press**, but when we find the error repeated ten times, in the text, and in the index, and in the Table of Contents, we are obliged to ascribe it to the ignorance of the real editor. (*The Quarterly Review*, 1830-1839 sub-corpus)

This is a more common context in which to find *error(s) of the press*. As such, as will be discussed in §6.2, it can be considered a reliable indicator of linguistic criticism for the purposes of frequency analysis. So too can *inaccuracy*, which occurs only 20 times in the CENCER corpus; of which 14 instances occur in the context of linguistic criticism. *Inaccuracy* has no relevant collocates above the set significance threshold, however, close analysis of the concordance lines for its hits in the corpus, as well as examination of the expanded context in which it appears, reveals that although it occurs several times in close proximity to *grammatical* or *ungrammatical*, it also functions as an independent indicator of linguistic criticism, as do the related word forms *inaccuracies* and *inaccurate*. *Inaccuracies* occurs 29 times in the CENCER corpus, and 27 of these instances are in the context of linguistic criticism. Likewise, *inaccurate* occurs 30 times, with 22 of these instances appearing in the context of linguistic

criticism. All of these words are associated with quotation from the reviewed text, as in the following examples:

37. [A] few grammatical **inaccuracies**, such as *is* for *are*, page 3; *began* for *begun*, page 7; *is* for *are*, line 16, page 114 (*The Monthly Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)
38. A similar **inaccuracy** occurs in line 196 of the same ode (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
39. “Aims perfection’s goal,” in the same stanza, is also **inaccurate**, the verb “to aim” requiring a preposition (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

Discourses of inaccuracy are therefore strongly associated with exemplification, in a way that does not seem to be true of more general discourses of incorrectness within CENCER. Other indicators of linguistic criticism, as will be demonstrated, often occur in the context of vague references to lack of grammaticality, and specific examples of usages reviewers object to are by no means the norm. It is not clear why word forms related to *inaccurate* should be distinctive in this way, however it may relate to the fact that *inaccuracy* implies lack of precision, rather than flat out incorrectness. Using this and related words when giving examples of perceived grammatical incorrectness may therefore be a way for the reviewers to hedge their criticism, given that no consensus standard exists for most of the study period. Administering specific grammatical criticism with examples leaves reviewers open to attack by those who disagree with their analysis. Discourses which imply imprecision may therefore be preferred to those which categorically posit error, in cases where quotations from reviewed text are provided.

Discourses of imprecision are also associated with other words relating to correctness or incorrectness, which are proposed above to be potential indicators of linguistic criticism. *Mistakes*, *incorrect*, *solecism/s*, and *correctness* are all words associated with this discourse. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, of these only *solecism/s* and *correctness* appear to be reliable indicators of linguistic criticism independently. Of the 35 hits for *correctness* in the CENCER corpus, 26, or 74.29%, are found to be used in relation to linguistic correctness. Likewise, of the 10 hits for *solecism* or *solecisms* in the corpus, 8, or 80%, occur in such a context. By contrast, however, only 13 of the 43 occurrences of *mistakes*, or 30.23%, are found to relate to linguistic criticism, and only 12 of the 25 hits for *incorrect*, or 48 %, occur in such a context. In §6.2, only words which occur in the context of linguistic criticism at least 70% of the time in the CENCER corpus will be considered reliable independent indicators of linguistic criticism, however the environments in which all these words appear are still revealing about

how grammaticality is constructed in the corpus, and they appear to be united by their association with discourses of precision or imprecision and care or carelessness. These discourses are exemplified in the following extracts:

40. In a work of this kind, where every part is finished with elegance, correctness, and **precision**, it is not easy to point out passages of superior merit (*The Critical Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)
41. All that is **incorrect** or **careless** reflects disgrace upon his editor. (*The British Critic*, 1820-1829 sub-corpus)
42. There is a sentence which can pass muster with the **careless** reader, but it is disfigured by a vulgarity of style which lies deeper than grammatical **solecisms**. (*The Quarterly Review*, 1880-1889 sub-corpus)

These discourses indicate not only that reviewers require precision in the writing of reviewed texts, but also that they value precision as a critical faculty. Passage 40, above, is positive in its evaluation of the reviewed author's "precision", whereas 41 and 42 negatively evaluate "clumsy" or "careless" writing. The author of passage 41 expresses his opinion that "careless" writing is said to "reflect disgrace" upon the editor of the reviewed text, whilst in passage 42 the reader is posited as capable of this sort of careless neglect of grammar. This discourse presents precision and care as requisite in linguistic composition, giving the impression that effort is necessary in order to achieve the standard of English usage which the reviewers clearly believe in.

This is reminiscent of the discourses surrounding the word *grammar* in the CENCER corpus, which present grammar primarily as a subject with fixed rules, requiring formal education to achieve proficiency. Grammatical correctness is thus presented as requiring effort and care, rather than as a set of internal norms acquired organically. The examples given above also indicate that precision is needed in detecting grammatical errors. Phrases such as "it is not easy to point out", "almost begging for notice", and "pass muster with the careless reader" construct reading as a similarly effortful endeavour, requiring attention to detail. Grammaticality is therefore constructed as something that can neither be achieved nor critically evaluated casually, but requires effort on the part of both the writer and the reader.

*Grammatical* and some other related words are therefore closely associated with discourses of correctness and incorrectness, many of which are dualistic in nature, and present grammatical

correctness as binary. Some may be found, however, which posit a grey area of imprecision and carelessness in between the extremes of grammatical correctness and incorrectness, and these also reveal how some reviewers regard the critical endeavour itself.

Other closely related discourses may also be discerned within the concordance lines for *grammatical*. Firstly, it is clear that the discourses of obedience and transgression, which were indicated to exist by the presence of *rules* as a collocate for *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus as a whole, play a significant role in the discursive construction of grammaticality in the corpus. Much of the time, when these discourses can be discerned, it is in the context of *rule(s)*, as in the following examples:

43. Mr Moises has given, as a **grammatical rule**, one of the most common and most glaring barbarisms of speech, used by the illiterate vulgar! (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
44. Although, throughout this ample poem, the composition of so young an author, we discover less **violation of the rules** of grammatical propriety than in many of the comparatively short productions of popular poets of the day, yet we meet with some obnoxious irregularities of this description. (*The Monthly Review*, 1810-1899 sub-corpus)
45. What is commonly called the Saxon Chronicle is continued after the death of Stephen, in 1154, and in the same language, though with some loss of purity. Besides the neglect of several **grammatical rules**, French words now and then obtrude themselves, but not very frequently, in the latter pages of this Chronicle. (*The Monthly Review*, 1830-1839 sub-corpus).

In these passages, the phrases “grammatical rule”, “rules of grammatical propriety”, and “grammatical rules” once again clearly demonstrate that the writers of these reviews believe a contemporary standard of grammaticality to exist, and that the rules of that standard are being transgressed. Elsewhere, this discourse can also be found to occur without the word *rules*, as for instance in the following extracts:

46. These Essays contain remarks on Butler’s Analogy; a Review of Locke’s Philosophy; Grammatical **Strictures**; and Letters on Wit and Humour. (*The English Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)
47. See the grammatical **mischief** of this. (*The Critical Review*, 1800-1809 sub-corpus)
48. Against the ensuing lines, however, we have still heavier **charges to bring**; since the author has not only entirely lost sight of the sense of the original text, but has suffered inattention to betray him into a decided **violation** of grammatical propriety. (*The Monthly Review*, 1810-1819 sub-corpus)

49. It is not quite clear whether Mr. Craik himself is inclined in such cases to justify the neglect of grammatical **law**; but there is no doubt that in the following instance he sanctions its direct **violation**. (*The Literary Gazette*, 1850-1859 sub-corpus)

In these passages, grammaticality is clearly figured as a set of injunctions which may either be obeyed or transgressed. The word “stricture”, used in the passage 46, has connotations of tight control, whilst “mischief”, used in passage 47, implies misbehaviour. In passages 48 and 49 above, grammaticality is figured in even starker terms, as “law” which has been violated, rather than merely a set of rules. In passage 48, indeed, the reviewer discursively constructs his own role in terms of law enforcement, writing “we have still heavier charges to bring”. Later in this passage, the discourse of obedience is combined with the discourse of courtesy, which will be discussed below, but even here the word “violation” implies transgression rather than mere impropriety. In passage 49, the reviewer makes explicit the construction of grammaticality in legal terms, again using the word “violation”, in addition to the phrase “grammatical law”. These discourses of obedience and transgression clearly reveal these periodical reviewers’ investment in a chimerical set of rules constituting a standard.

In a closely related discourse, grammaticality is also constructed as a means of signalling obedience to social norms, and therefore participating in politeness culture (see §2.2.1). The word *propriety*, itself a collocate of *grammatical*, appears to be the chief indicator of this discourse, which is exemplified by the following examples:

50. It were to be wished that the translator had expressed himself with more grammatical **propriety**. (*The Monthly Review*, 1760-1769 sub-corpus)
51. Indeed, the poet glides into an address, but not without sacrificing some grammatical **propriety**. (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
52. Effect is more studied than grammatical **propriety**, in the structure of their language; and regularity is sacrificed to a brave disorder in their versification. (*The Monthly Review*, 1810-1819 sub-corpus)

In the concordance lines for *grammatical*, the phrase “grammatical propriety” occurs a total of 6 times, but propriety has not been noted to co-occur with *grammatical* elsewhere. This phrase alone may explain the appearance of *propriety* in the collocate list for grammatical, but the apparent infrequency of the two words’ co-occurrence suggests that further investigation may prove fruitful. Table 25 shows the collocates of *propriety* above the set significance threshold in the CENCER corpus.

Collocate	MI	T Score
<b><i>Propriety</i></b>	<b>13.718</b>	<b>9.643</b>
<i>Great</i>	5.680	2.594
<b><i>Grammatical</i></b>	<b>8.940</b>	<b>2.640</b>
<i>More</i>	4.627	2.350
<i>Equal</i>	7.523	1.989
<i>Part</i>	5.098	1.681
<i>Perhaps</i>	6.079	1.706
<i>Less</i>	5.779	1.701
<i>Applied</i>	7.710	1.724

**Table 25. Collocates of *propriety* in the CENCER corpus.**

This list shows that *grammatical* is a relatively strong collocate of *propriety*, just as *propriety* is a reasonably strong collocate of *grammatical*. This indicates that the two occur relatively frequently together, in comparison with other words. Concordance analysis of the contexts in which the 93 hits for *propriety* occur in the corpus confirm that this it is predominantly used in the non-linguistic sense of general good conduct in society, as in the following passage:

53. In their exterior, they are remarkable for a decency and apparent **propriety of conduct**. (*The Monthly Review*, 1820-1829)

69 of the 93 hits for *propriety* occur in this context, meaning that only 25.8% of instances of *propriety* relate to grammatical correctness. Analysis of these concordance lines and the expanded context, however, reveals that *propriety* is also used in linguistic criticism without the word *grammatical*, or an equivalent indicator of linguistic focus, as in the following examples:

54. The whole so calculated that any lady may, in a very short time, be enabled to write her thoughts with a becoming **propriety** and ease. (*The Monthly Review*, 1770-1771 sub-corpus)

55. The particle could not with elegance or **propriety** precede the verb (*The Monthly Review*, 1780-1789)
56. We doubt the **propriety** of this construction. (*The British Critic*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)

Passage 54 discusses linguistic propriety only in general terms, but 55 and 56 demonstrate that *propriety* is used in the context of specific grammatical criticism. *Improper*, a related word form, is used in a similar way; tending to be associated with exemplification of error through quotation, as in the following instances:

57. With respect to the last paragraph, it may also be observed, that the personal pronoun *who* is **improperly** used for *the government*, and that a *pest* is not the object of *extirpation*. (*The Monthly Review*, 1760-1769 sub-corpus)
58. In the translation of Acts xxvi. 26. ‘also’ is used **improperly**; before whom I *also* speak freely. (*The Critical Review*, 1780-1789)
59. The fifth is where the definite article ‘the’ is **improperly** used (*The Critical Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)

Like word forms related to *inaccurate*, discussed above, the word *improperly* is therefore associated with exemplification of error. It was suggested above that *inaccurate*, *inaccuracy* and *inaccuracies* may be used in this way in an attempt to soften grammatical criticism, and make reviewers’ grammatical judgments less open to dispute. Just as those word forms implied imprecision rather than outright incorrectness, so too does *improperly* suggest that a grammatical form is merely inappropriate, in the sense of transgressing convention, rather than incorrect, in the sense of transgressing rules. 13 of the 18 hits for this word in the CENCER corpus occur in the context of linguistic criticism, meaning that in 4.4 it will be considered an indicator of linguistic criticism. It is notable that *improperly* was not initially a word earmarked for investigation, however, it was noted to occur a number of times in proximity to *inaccuracy*. This highlights the value of concordance analysis for hypothesis forming, as well as the clear link between how these two words are used.

The discourses of discourtesy detected in the CENCER corpus indicate that failure to use language in line with the reviewers’ notions of a standard is considered tantamount to transgression of societal norms. This will be explored in more depth in Chapter 6, where the evidence from CENCER that grammatical correctness is being used as an index of socio-economic status will be evaluated. Suffice it to note here that the use of the word *propriety* in this context indicates that a relationship is understood to exist between acquaintance with

societal and linguistic norms. Lack of acquaintance with the conventions of polite society would have been associated with lower socio-economic status, and quite possibly also lack of literacy. It is possible, therefore, that the selection of *propriety* in such contexts reveals hegemonic discourses borne out of reviewers' fear of losing control of the book market as literacy rates increased (as was discussed in §3.3.1). These discourses appear to figure grammatical rules as being transgressed from below, by writers of lower socio-economic status. As well as being discussed in Chapter 6, this discursive construction will also be considered below, as discourses relating grammaticality to a lack of refinement are revealed within the CENCER corpus.

The final discourse of note to emerge from the concordance analysis for the hits of *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus relates strongly to another of its statistical collocates, *purity*. Both *purity* and *pure*, as well as words relating to a process of purification, are used to discursively construct English grammar as adulterated by grammatical incorrectness. Examples of this include the following:

60. The third chapter is employed on **grammatical purity**, of which the **violations** are distinguished into three different kinds; namely barbarism, solecism and impropriety. (*The Critical Review*, 1770-1779 sub-corpus)
61. Policy should have dictated the necessity of carefully editing papers, which had not passed under the revision of their author. They should have been **purified from grammatical errors**, and defective quotation (*The British Critic*, 1820-1829 sub-corpus)
62. 'I have laboured,' he says, 'to **refine** our language to **grammatical purity** and to clear it from **colloquial barbarisms**' (*The Quarterly Review*, 1850-1859 sub-corpus)

In passage 60 above, "violation" is once again used to refer to perceived grammaticality, as "grammatical purity" is figured as being violated. In passages 61 and 62, language is discursively constructed as requiring purification. The reference to "colloquial barbarisms" in the final extract is especially interesting, as it indicates once again a perception of grammatical norms as being violated "from below", by writers of lower down in the social hierarchy, or from "outside", by users of regionally marked English. Elsewhere in the corpus, discourses of linguistic purity are found in the context of positive evaluation, as in the following extracts:

63. Yet this unexpectedness, as we termed it before, is not the effect of quaintness or confusion of construction; so far from it, that we believe foreigners of different nations, especially Germans



and Italians, have often borne very remarkable testimony to the **grammatical purity and simplicity** of this language (*The Quarterly Review*, 1830-1839)

64. The **purest and most grammatical writers** of their own language have rarely, if ever, formed their style by exclusive study of verse composition in Greek and Latin. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1860-1869)

Close analysis for the concordance lines for *purity* within CENCER indicates that it is also used independently as an indicator of linguistic criticism, away from *grammatical*. Table 26, below, shows the collocates of *purity* in the CENCER corpus with significance levels above the set threshold.

Collocate	MI	T Score
<i>Purity</i>	13.917	8.999
<b><i>Language</i></b>	<b>7.009</b>	<b>3.138</b>
<b><i>Grammatical</i></b>	<b>8.332</b>	<b>1.994</b>
<i>Strength</i>	7.851	1.725
<b><i>Elegance</i></b>	<b>9.415</b>	<b>1.730</b>

**Table 26. Collocates of *purity* in the CENCER corpus.**

These collocates suggest that it occurs commonly in the context of linguistic criticism, however in reality only 32 of the 81 hits for *purity* in CENCER occur in this sort of context. Nonetheless, those instances where it is used in linguistic criticism are interesting. They reveal a discursive construction of languages which relates to the revival of the Inkhorn Controversy (see Nevalainen, 2008b, p.213), whereby any influence of other languages on a given language is considered adulteration. Thus, we find instances of *purity* being used in contexts such as these:

65. [T]he return to the study of the Latin language in its ancient models of **purity**. (*The Monthly Review*, 1830-1839)
66. On further consideration he may have reflected that in becoming a national language the **purity of West Saxon** would have been sacrificed to the introduction of innumerable alien additions. (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1880-1889)

In passage 65, Latin is described as having “ancient models of purity”; the implication being that its purity has declined over time and, presumably, due to language contact. In passage 66, the discursive construction of language contact as malign is more explicit, as reference is made to the potential for “innumerable alien additions” that accompanied the selection of an Old English dialect as the nascent standard language.

The collocation and concordance analyses for *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus have revealed dominant discourses of correctness and incorrectness, obedience and transgression, courtesy and purity. The collocates for *ungrammatical* indicate that a different set of related but distinct discourses also exist within the CENCER corpus. Table 27, below, shows the collocates for *ungrammatical* with statistical significance levels of above the set threshold of an MI score  $>3$  and *t* score  $>1.5$ .

Collocate	MI	T Score
<i>Ungrammatical</i>	15.303	5.568
<i>Language</i>	7.880	2.635
<i>Inelegant</i>	13.187	1.732
<i>Incorrect</i>	12.187	1.732
<i>Instances</i>	9.215	1.729
<i>Style</i>	8.380	1.727
<i>Unintelligible</i>	12.133	1.732
<i>Frequently</i>	9.093	1.729

**Table 27. Collocates of *ungrammatical* in the CENCER corpus.**

These collocates indicate that across the CENCER corpus, lack of grammaticality is most often discussed in terms of style, intelligibility, incorrectness, and frequency. Discourses of incorrectness, indicated to exist by the appearance of *incorrect* in the collocate list above, come as little surprise, given the discourses that were shown above to be associated with the use of *grammatical* in the CENCER corpus. However, the other collocates in Table 27, above, indicate that the discursive construction of *ungrammatical* is different from that of

*grammatical*. The presence of *inelegant* and *style* in the collocate list for *ungrammatical* indicate that lack of *grammaticality* is often constructed in terms of its impact on the literary quality of a published text. The presence of *unintelligible* in the collocate list for *ungrammatical* likewise indicates a departure from the discourses surrounding *grammatical*, where intelligibility did not seem to be a dominant concern, whilst the presence of *frequently* and *instances* in the collocate list indicate that discourses of frequency often accompany accusations of grammatical incorrectness. As Tables 28 and 29, below, show, collocates of *ungrammatical* above the set significance threshold exist in only two of the sub-corpora: *language* in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus, and *frequently* in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus. The former indicates that, as is obvious, issues of grammaticality relate to language, and the latter provides further indication that discourses concerning the frequency of examples of ungrammatical language are of significance within the corpus.

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Ungrammatical</i>	13.659	2.449
2	<i>Language</i>	10.044	1.998

**Table 28. Collocates of *ungrammatical* in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus.**

	Collocate	MI	T Score
1	<i>Grammatical</i>	13.111	3.000
2	<i>Frequently</i>	10.111	1.730

**Table 29. Collocates of *ungrammatical* in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus.**

Examination of the concordance lines for the 31 hits of *ungrammatical* in the CENCER corpus as a whole reveals it to appear almost exclusively in the context of linguistic criticism. 30 of the 31 hits in the corpus for this word, or 96.77%, occur in this context. Close analysis of the concordance lines and the expanded context moreover reveals that the dominant discourses around *ungrammatical* are not those indicated by the collocate list in Table 27, above, but rather relate to lack of refinement, or vulgarity. This discourse, as was suggested above, posits an association between a perceived lack of grammaticality and lower socio-economic status, as in the following examples:

67. By use and familiarity, we seem to be reconciled to many expressions, which, in reality, are **barbarous** and ungrammatical. (1760-1769 sub-corpus)
68. In the second volume we meet with many examples of ungrammatical and **vulgar** language. (1770-1779 sub-corpus)
69. A **superficial** declamation, in **a mean** and ungrammatical style, on the want of ready employment for manufacturers (1790-1799 sub-corpus)

In all of these examples, *ungrammatical* appears adjacent to a co-ordinating conjunction and another adjective which, according to the *OED*, relates to a lack of refinement. The first entry for “barbarous” in the *OED*, which has not been updated since 1885, reads as follows:

Of language: (*a*) *orig.* not Greek; subsequently not Greek or Latin; *hence*, not classical or pure (Latin or Greek), abounding in ‘barbarisms’; (*b*) unpolished, without literary culture; pertaining to an illiterate people.

The earliest citation for this word given by the *OED* is 1526, whilst four citations from the study period indicate that it was in common usage at this stage. It is notable that this definition relates directly to language, and its deviation from a classical model of purity. The relevant *OED* definition for ‘vulgar’ likewise indicates a concern with deviation from a linguistic standard:

Of language or speech: commonly or customarily used by the people of the country; ordinary, vernacular.

Again, several citations from the study period indicate this word to be in current usage between 1750-1899, however it is notable that the entry states that the usage is “now archaic”. The adjective used alongside *ungrammatical* in the final example given above is unique amongst the three for not having a specifically linguistic definition listed in the *OED*. ‘Mean’ is defined as:

Inferior in rank or quality; unpleasant.

The examples given above all clearly indicate, therefore, that lack of grammaticality is associated with lack of class or refinement on the part of the reviewed author. It is unclear whether the precise nuances of these words as defined by the *OED* are being invoked by the reviewers, or whether they are all just used generally, to signal lower social status. The wider context in which these three examples appear give no indication that the author of the text

reviewed in the first extract lacks a classical education, or that the author of the text reviewed in the second is considered to be of rural extraction. It is quite possible that these distinctions have been lost by this period, and that these words are used more or less interchangeably to refer to lack of refinement manifested in language use. This explains the lack of evidence for these prevalent discourses within the collocate list for *ungrammatical*, and once again indicates a lack of a consensus lexicon with which issues surrounding grammatical correctness can be discussed. This lack of consensus contributes heavily to the need for qualitative as well as quantitative analysis of the discourses surrounding grammaticality, as such diversity of vocabulary in constructing a discourse can often only be detected manually.

A number of the words suggested as potential indicators of linguistic criticism in the previous section appear to be associated with these discourses, including *vulgar* and *mean*, from the examples given above, as well as *barbarism* and *illiterate*. *Vulgar* has a number of collocates of relevance above the set statistical significance threshold; most notably *style*, *expression*, *language*, and *mean*. However, as Table 30, below, shows, it also has a number of collocates of less obvious relevance.

Collocate	MI	T Score
<i>Vulgar</i>	13.702	9.695
<i>Most</i>	4.954	2.164
<i>One</i>	4.389	2.129
<b><i>Style</i></b>	<b>7.194</b>	<b>1.986</b>
<b><i>Expression</i></b>	<b>8.974</b>	<b>1.996</b>
<i>Opinions</i>	7.488	1.989
<i>Aera</i>	10.702	1.999
<b><i>Mean</i></b>	<b>7.493</b>	<b>1.722</b>
<i>Slight</i>	8.828	1.728
<i>Must</i>	4.554	1.658

<i>Language</i>	<b>5.057</b>	<b>1.680</b>
<i>Christian</i>	7.461	1.722
<i>Prejudice</i>	9.287	1.729
<i>Sense</i>	6.078	1.706

**Table 30. Collocates of *vulgar* in the CENCER corpus.**

Whether *vulgar* occurs predominantly in the context of linguistic criticism is therefore unclear from the collocation analysis, and closer examination of the environments in which it appears is necessary. This analysis reveals that only 21 of the 94 instances of *vulgar*, or 22.34%, occur in relation to linguistic performance. Concordance analysis and examination of the expanded context for the hits of *vulgar* in the corpus reveal that these 21 instances of *vulgar* in the context of linguistic criticism tend to occur alongside other words identified as indicators of linguistic criticism, as in the following passages:

70. The translation quoted (Luke xii. 29), ‘neither be ye of doubtful mind,’ is indeed **inaccurate** as well as **inelegant**. A few of the **vulgar** expressions may also mislead: ‘whose fan is in his hand; and he will thoroughly purge his floor,’ can **scarcely be understood even by our threshers and winnowers**. (*The Critical Review*, 1780-1789 sub-corpus)
71. Here Mr Moises has given, as a **grammatical** rule, one of the most common and most glaring **barbarisms** of speech, used by the **illiterate vulgar!** (*The Monthly Review*, 1790-1799 sub-corpus)
72. We cannot flatter the author so much for his instructions on English **grammar**: since, though his precepts on the art of spelling be very judicious, when he advances to the division of words and their changes, he falls into the **vulgar error** of authors on **grammar**. (*The Critical Review*, 1800-1810 sub-corpus)

It appears, therefore, that in relation to linguistic correctness, *vulgar* appears only in the context of other indicators of linguistic criticism, which narrow its focus to linguistic matters. In passage 70, the phrase “vulgar expressions” is used only after *inaccurate* and *inelegant*, both of which have been proposed as potential indicators of linguistic criticism. It is significant that the reviewer stresses his belief that the quotation given is barely intelligible to “threshers and winnowers”. These professions have presumably been chosen as those who would understand

the role of the fan in winnowing, but may suggest that the *OED* definition of *vulgar* given above, in relation to its connotations concerning ‘the people of the country’, is still current.

In passage 71, there is an association between *vulgar* and illiteracy, as a marker of social status. Although it is not clear whether, in line with the *OED* definition and the sense in which *vulgar* is used in the first example above, “illiterate vulgar” denotes ‘the people of the country’, it is evident that the phrase certainly relates to those of lower socio-economic status than the reviewer. Discourses surrounding *illiterate* will be explored below. It is notable that both the second and third examples above appear to contain criticism of writers on grammar, who are unlikely to be either provincial or uneducated, but to whom the word *vulgar* is applied regardless. This suggests that *vulgar* is being used in a more general sense in these instances, and denotes associations of lower social status with deviation from a perceived language norm. Likewise, in passage 71, the use of “supplement” as a verb is described as *vulgar*. This is unlikely to be a usage associated with the provincial working classes, and it must therefore be presumed that *vulgar* is being used in a more general sense here too.

Discourses surrounding *vulgar* in the context of linguistic criticism therefore associate lack of grammaticality with low social status. This is likewise the case with *mean*, which also occurs much less frequently in the context of linguistic criticism than it does in other contexts. Only 10 of the 222 instances of *mean* in the corpus are adjectival usages in the specific context of linguistic criticism, and all of these occur in the context of other indicators of linguistic criticism. This means that close analysis reveals little further, and will as a result not be reported here. This is also true of both *barbarism* and *unintelligible*, both of which are found to occur predominantly in contexts other than that of linguistic criticism, and the proximity of other indicators of linguistic criticism when they are found in such contexts. This chapter has therefore demonstrated that many of the words which occur frequently in the context of linguistic criticism occur just as frequently, or even more so, in other contexts.

This means that they could not be considered reliable indicators of linguistic criticism. Some of those words which yielded the most interesting discourses in the concordance analysis above fall into this category; including *grammatical*, *errors*, *propriety*, *vulgar*, *mean*, *unintelligible*, *mistakes*, and *purity*. Many other words earmarked as potential indicators of linguistic criticism were, however, confirmed to behave as such. These are words which have been found to occur in the context of linguistic criticism the majority (at least 70%) of the time.

## 5.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has been concerned with determining whether matters of grammar and grammatical correctness were of importance to periodical reviewers, and with examining the discourses used to construct them. In §5.2, the parameters of prescriptive behaviour, for the purposes of this study, were established. In §5.3, potential indicators of prescriptivism, words which could be used to identify passages in which linguistic criticism takes place, were identified, and in §5.4 the discourses surrounding many of these words were then examined in detail, to determine whether they actually function as indicators of linguistic criticism.

Looking ahead to Chapter 6, the focus of §6.2 and §6.3 will be the shifting focus of periodical reviewers across the study period, 1750-1899, to determine whether an era of prescriptivism can be identified and, if so, when it is. §6.4 then considers whether, on the basis of these findings, the periodical reviewers can be considered either a prescriptive discourse community or community of practice.

## **6 AN ‘AGE OF PRESCRIPTIVISM’ IN PERIODICAL REVIEWING?**



## 6.1 A defining feature of periodical reviewing?

Chapter 5 of this thesis was concerned with establishing that the literary review periodicals of the Late Modern period of English were indeed sources of prescriptivist discourses. In providing the first empirical evidence of this, Chapter 5 addressed the first research question laid out in §1.5; demonstrating that the discursive construction of grammatical correctness by the reviews was often prescriptivist in nature. The second stated goal of this thesis, as laid out in §1.5, is to determine whether such prescriptive commentary was a regular feature of review periodical content throughout the study period, 1750-1899, or whether it was a more ephemeral focus for reviewers. The investigation of this issue will comprise this chapter, which attempts to establish whether an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ for literary review periodicals can be identified using the CENCER corpus (Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth Century Reviews) which was introduced in §4.2.1 and also utilised in Chapter 5, above.

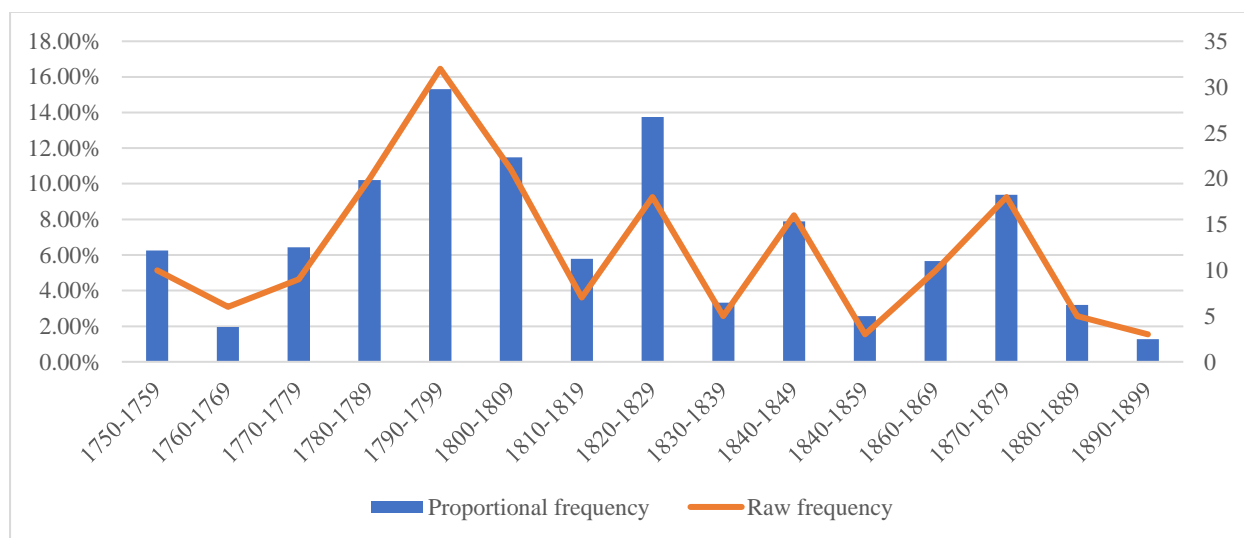
As in Chapter 5, the starting point for this analysis will be keyword data. In §6.2, relevant trends in keyness across the 15 10-year sub-corpora covering the period 1750-1899 will be outlined. In §5.4, it was noted that occurrences of *grammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism gradually increase over the course of the late eighteenth century, peaking in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus and declining gradually thereafter. It was also noted that a similar pattern could be discerned in the frequency data for *ungrammatical*, and it was suggested as a result that an era in which prescriptive activity by review periodicals reached its zenith might be identified by analysing frequency data in this way. In §6.3, the frequency of other words identified as reliable indicators of linguistic criticism in CENCER will therefore be analysed, to determine whether any such era exists. §6.4 then addresses the third research question laid out in §1.5, in considering whether Chapters 5 and 6 have provided any evidence that the periodical reviewers constituted either a prescriptive discourse community or a prescriptive community of practice.

In Chapter 5, it was demonstrated that the discourses used to construct grammar and grammatical correctness were, as has long been hypothesized, prescriptivist in nature. These findings addressed the first research question laid out in §1.5. The purpose of this chapter is to address the second research question laid out in §1.5, by determining whether prescriptive commentary is a regular feature of periodical reviewing throughout the study period, 1750-1899, or whether an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ within this period can be identified. It concludes in §6.4 by considering whether the shared endeavour of the periodical reviewers in attempting

to impose linguistic norms on reviewed authors effectively constitutes them as either a discourse community or a community of practice.

## 6.2 The shifting focus of literary reviews, 1750-1899

The semantic field of language and grammar is a consistent feature of all of 15 keyword lists (see Appendix B). Figure 5, below, shows the frequency of keywords from this semantic field both in terms of raw frequency and when expressed as a proportion of the overall number of keywords for a given sub-corpus.

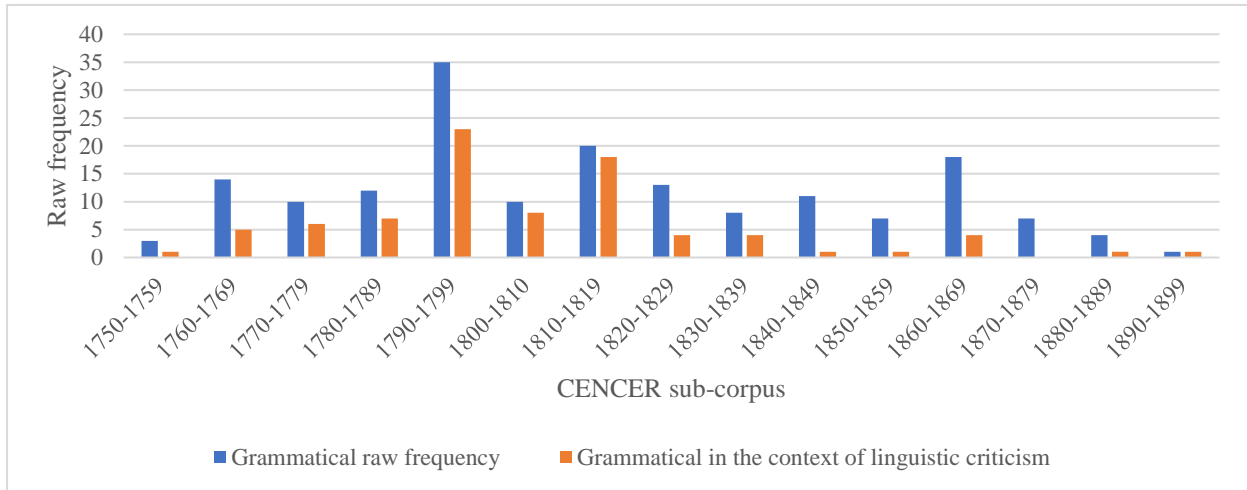


**Figure 5. Proportional and raw frequency of keywords relating to language and grammar across the CENCER sub-corpora.**

Figure 5 shows a fairly rapid increase in the number and proportion of keywords from this semantic category during the later eighteenth century, with a peak in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus. This peak is followed by a sharp downturn in the numbers of keywords of this kind appearing in sub-corpora keyword lists. This provides an early indication that review periodicals become increasingly preoccupied with issues surrounding language and grammar as the eighteenth century progresses, and that this preoccupation may reach its zenith around the turn of the nineteenth century.

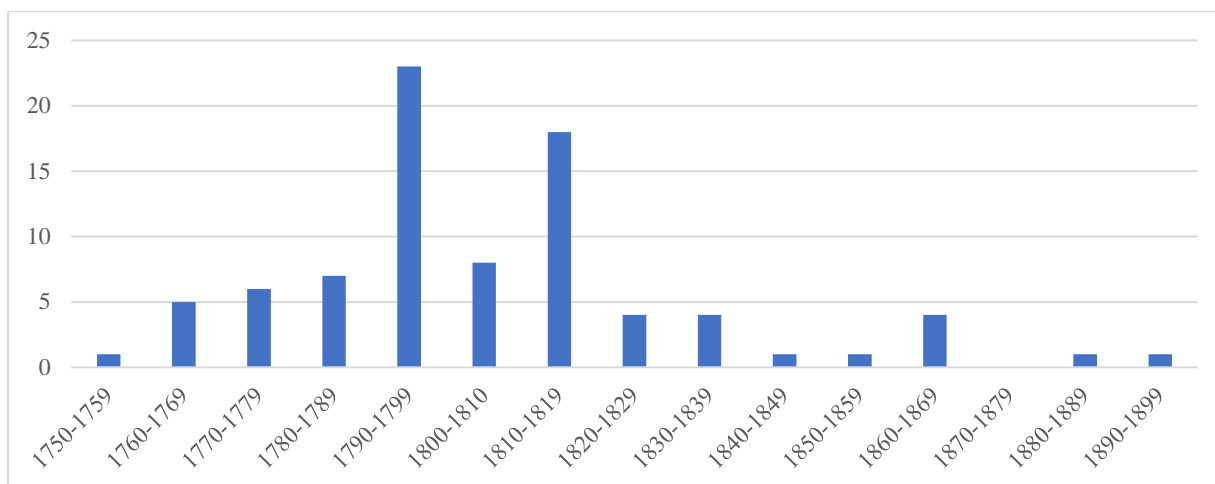
Of course, any such preoccupation with linguistic matters does not equate to prescriptivism, and close qualitative analysis is required below to tease out the findings of the keyness analysis. Whilst the presence of *grammatical* within the keyword list of a sub-corpus is not a guarantor of the presence of linguistic criticism, therefore, it is an indication that issues surrounding

grammaticality are being discussed. Those sub-corpora where *grammatical* appears most often seem to be those in which it occurs in the context of linguistic criticism of reviewed authors by reviewers. Figure 6, below, shows the raw frequency data for the usage of *grammatical* both in the context of linguistic criticism and in other contexts, across the CENCER sub-corpora.



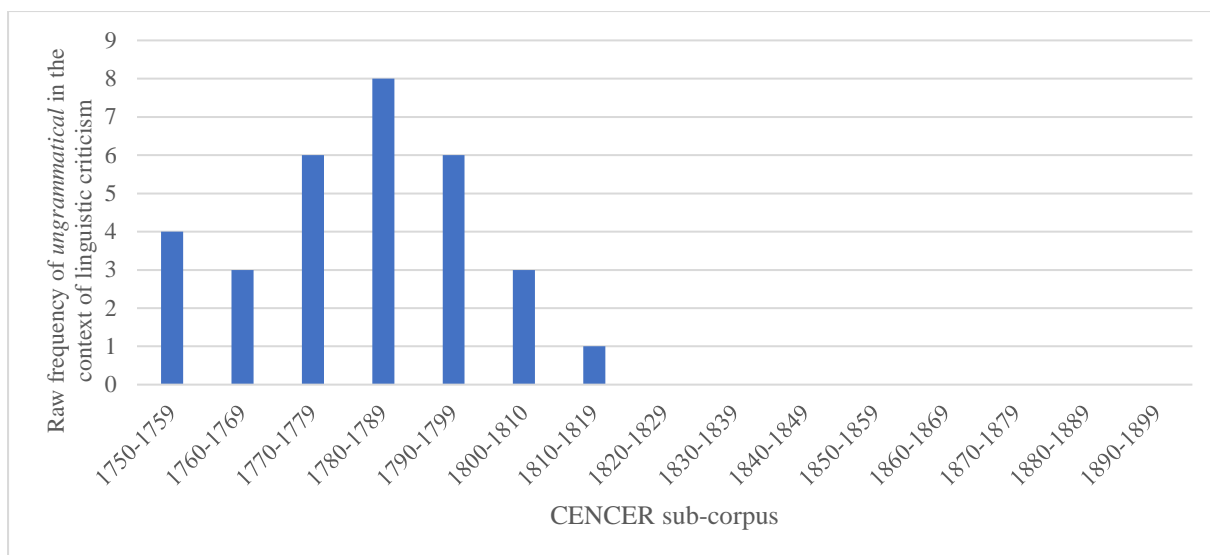
**Figure 6. Raw frequency of *grammatical*, and *grammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers, across the sub-corpora.**

Figure 6 confirms that those sub-corpora where *grammatical* occurs most often tend to be those in which it occurs frequently in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers. It is clear from Figure 6 that *grammatical* is used less frequently at the beginning of the study period, in the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, and at the end, in the final three sub-corpora. Keyword data from CENCER therefore suggests that the general preoccupation with grammar which has been observed to be a feature of periodical reviewing across the study period has its heyday between 1760 and 1869. This must, of course, be differentiated from the specific preoccupation with the grammatical correctness of reviewed texts. Figure 7, below, charts the frequency of *grammatical* in this context across the study period. Here a period of preoccupation with grammatical correctness may be discerned more clearly.



**Figure 7. Raw frequency of *grammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers, across the sub-corpora.**

Figure 7 shows that occurrences of *grammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers increases gradually throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, peaking in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus. Thereafter, in the decades immediately following the turn of the nineteenth century, levels remain high but begin slowly to decline. By the 1840s and 1850s, only a single instance of *grammatical* in this context can be found in each sub-corpus. Though there is a rise in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus, subsequent sub-corpora contain only a single instance of *grammatical* in this context or, as in the case of the 1870-1879 sub-corpus, none at all. This suggests that the heyday of grammatical criticism, or what we might consider prescriptive activity, in the sense of the attempted enforcement of linguistic norms by reviewers, is between 1760 and 1819. Frequency data from another keyword discussed in previous sections, *ungrammatical*, also suggests that this period witnessed a peak in prescriptive activity by reviewers. Illustrative examples of the ways in which these keywords are being used were given and discussed in §5.4, but Figure 8, below, charts the frequency of *ungrammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism across the study period. *Ungrammatical* does not occur in the corpus at all after 1820, so a peak in usage may clearly be discerned.



**Figure 8. Frequency of *ungrammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism by reviewers, across the sub-corpora.**

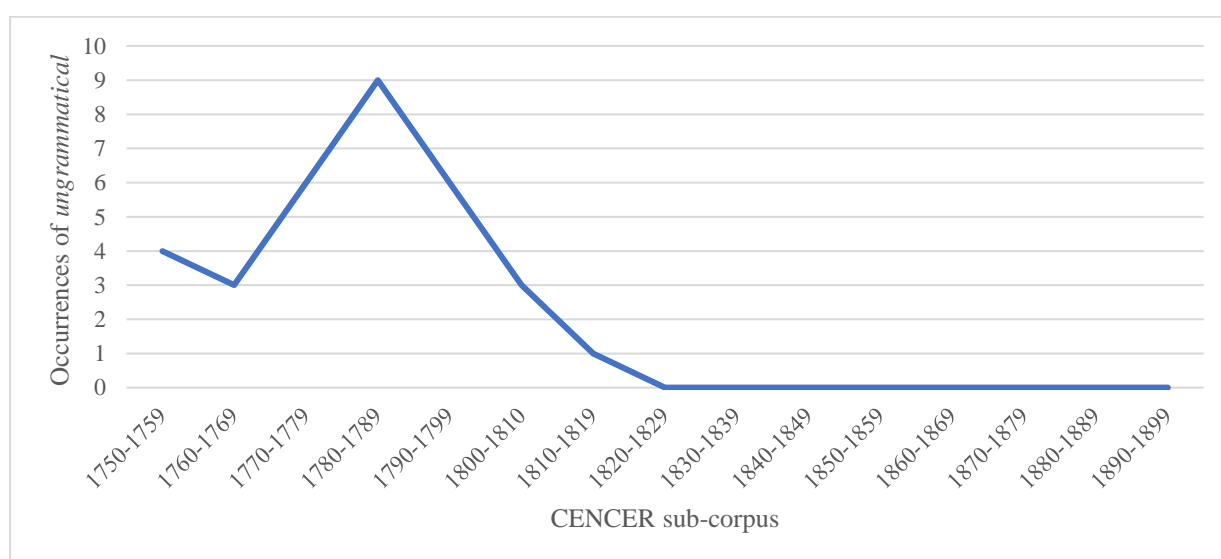
Occurrences of *ungrammatical* increase gradually from the beginning of the study period, peaking in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, and gradually declining thereafter. It is remarkable, given that *ungrammatical* occurs in every sub-corpus from 1750 to 1819 that it is completely absent from the corpus thereafter. Whilst it suggests a slightly different heyday for grammatical criticism than Figure 7 therefore, the dispersion of both *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* in the context of linguistic criticism across the sub-corpus suggest the late eighteenth century and the turn of the nineteenth century as periods in which prescriptive activity by reviewers seems to have been at its zenith. This provides a hypothesis regarding the era in which the prescriptive activity of review periodicals appears to have been concentrated. This hypothesis will be reviewed and refined in light of the investigations reported.

### 6.3 An ‘Age of Prescriptivism’, identified?

In §6.2, data from the keyword analysis of the CENCER corpus was analysed to determine whether any of the CENCER sub-corpora can be considered more focused on matters of language and grammar than others. On the basis of data from all the keywords grouped into the semantic field of language and grammar (see Appendix B), as well as the data for *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* individually, it was hypothesized that the late eighteenth century might have constituted an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in periodical review culture. In the

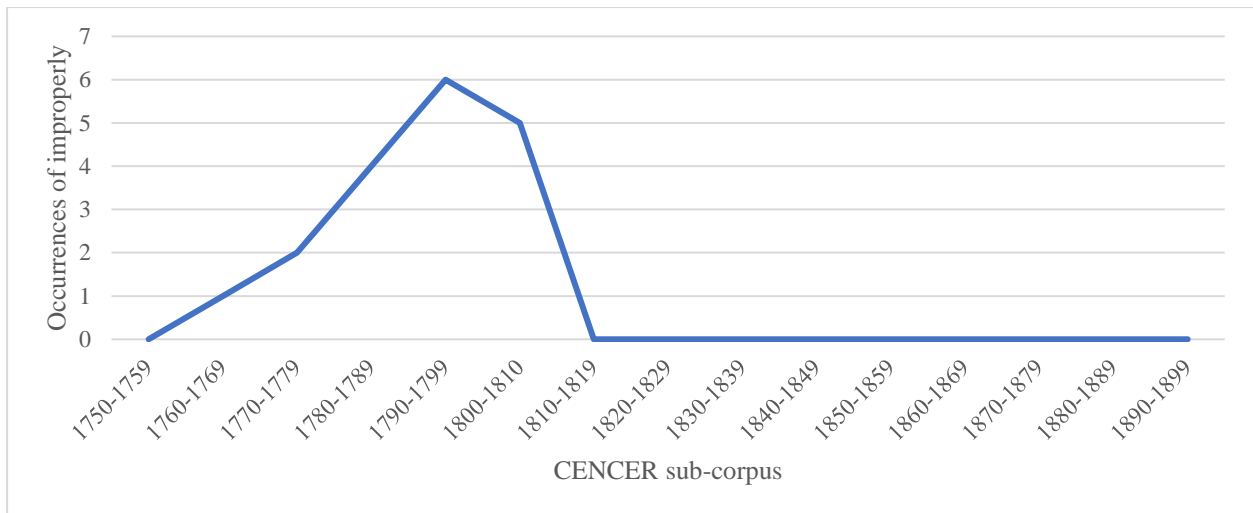
present section, this hypothesis will be explored in more detail, as the frequency data for those indicators of prescriptivism identified in §5.3 are analysed.

For the purposes of this investigation, a word will be considered a reliable indicator of linguistic criticism if more than 70% of the hits for that word in CENCER are found to occur in the context of linguistic criticism. *Ungrammatical*, for example, which has been the focus of significant attention already, meets this criterion. As was mentioned in §5.4.2, 30 of the 31 hits for this word in the CENCER corpus, or 96.77%, occur in such a context. These hits are found to be concentrated in the sub-corpora covering the second half of the eighteenth century, and the first decades of the nineteenth century. This pattern of usage is shown in Figure 9, below.



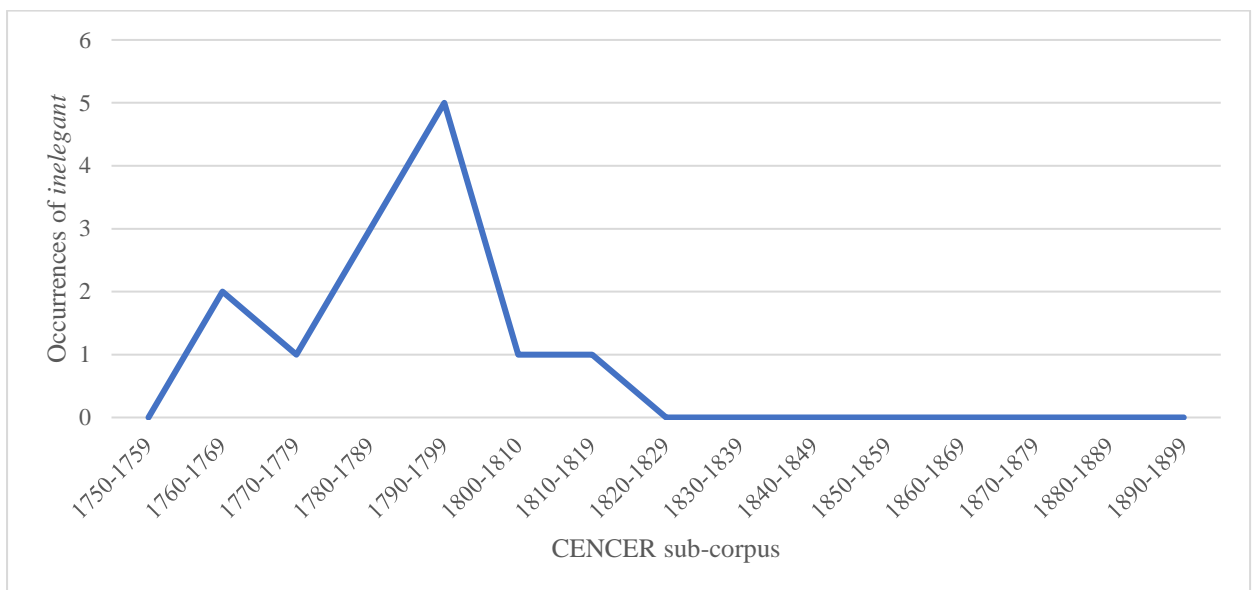
**Figure 9. Occurrences of *ungrammatical* in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

It is notable that, as Figure 9 shows, the word *ungrammatical* does not appear at all in the CENCER corpus after 1820. This is also the case for *improperly*, which occurs 18 times in the corpus, and 13 times (72.22%) in the context of linguistic criticism. Figure 10 shows this pattern, which again manifests as a gradual rise in the late eighteenth century, followed by a peak and steep decline.



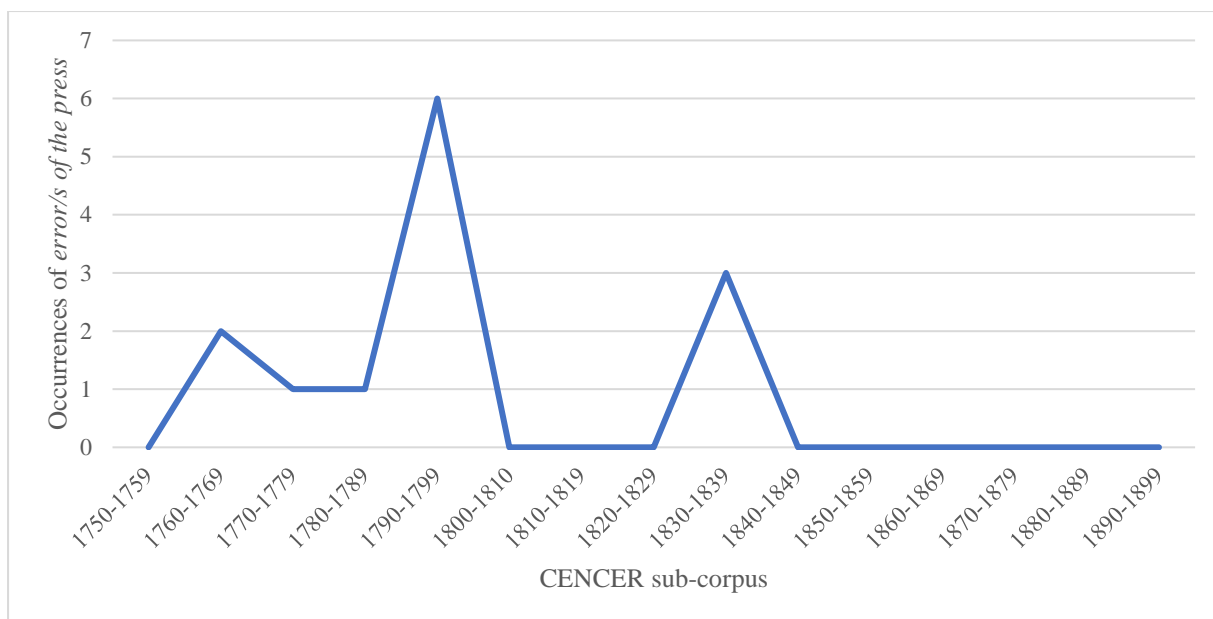
**Figure 10. Occurrences of *improperly* in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

*Inelegant* has 13 hits in the CENCER corpus, and 100% of these are found in the context of linguistic criticism. Figure 11 shows that its dispersion across the sub-corpora is reminiscent of the frequency patterns for both *ungrammatical* and *improperly*. Once again, a gradual rise is followed by a peak in the late eighteenth century, and a dramatic reduction in occurrences.



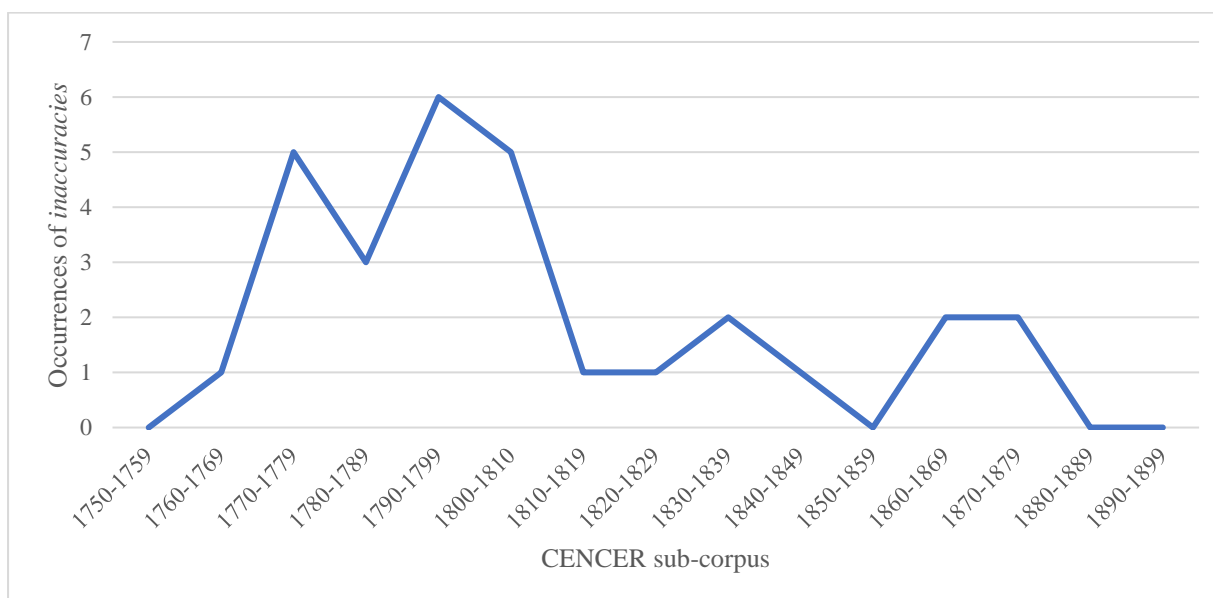
**Figure 11. Occurrences of *inelegant* in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

As Figure 12 shows, use of the phrase *error/s of the press* also shows a gradual increase, with clear peak in the final decade of the eighteenth century, though is also used several times in the 1830-1839 sub-corpus.



**Figure 12. Occurrences of error/s of the press in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

*Error/s of the press* occurs 13 times in the sub-corpus, always in the context of linguistic criticism. Frequency data for *inaccuracies* across the CENCER sub-corpora exhibit a similar pattern, as Figure 13 shows. *Inaccuracies* appears 29 times in the CENCER corpus, and 27 of these hits, or 93.10%, are found to occur in the context of linguistic criticism.

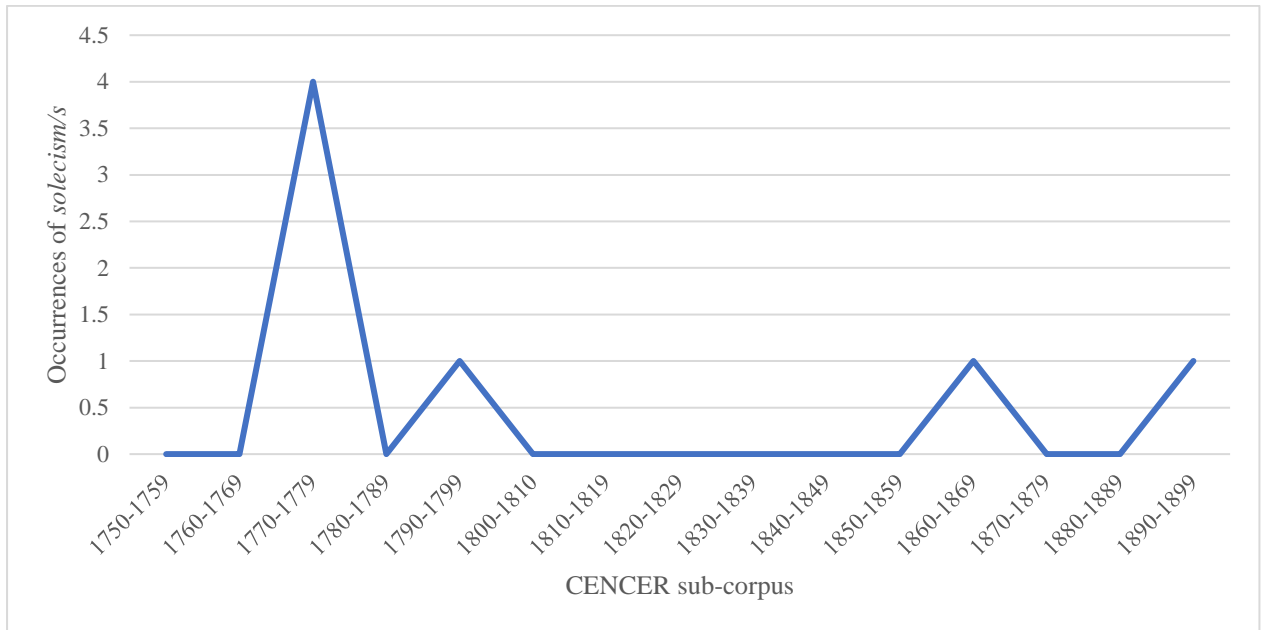


**Figure 13. Occurrences of inaccuracies in the CENCER sub-corpora.**

Since usage of *inaccuracies* persists past 1820, and continues until the 1860s and 1870s, this pattern of dispersion is less clear-cut, but a peak in the late eighteenth century may still clearly be discerned. This is likewise the case for *solecism/s*, as is shown in Figure 14, below.

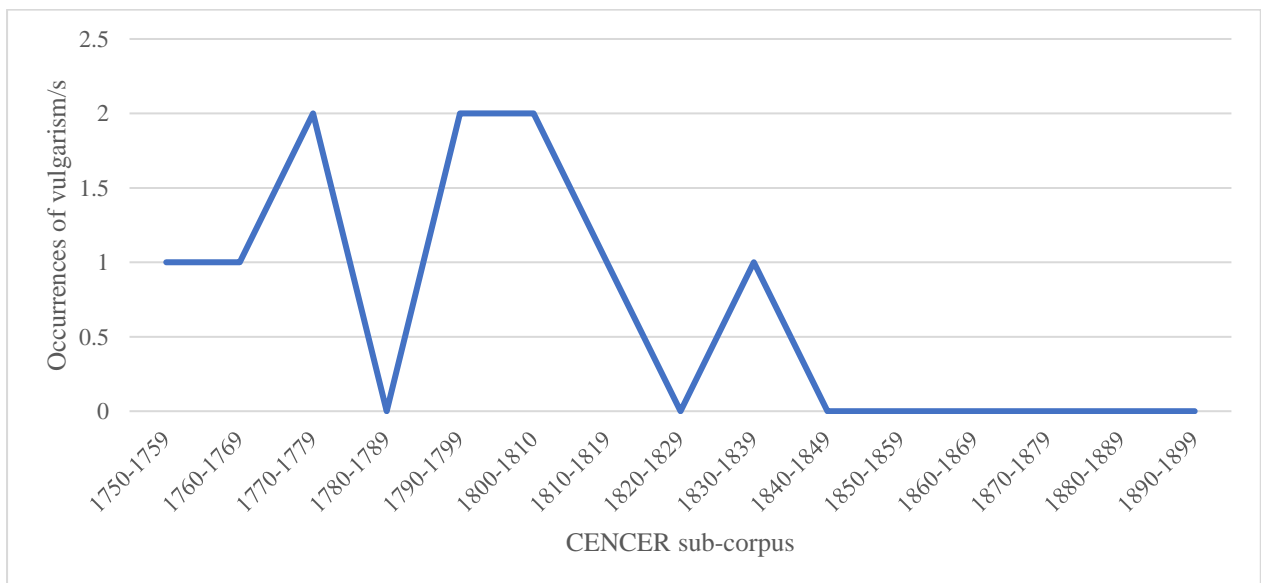


*Solecism/s* occurs 10 times in the CENCER corpus, as 80% of these instances are found to be in the context of linguistic criticism.



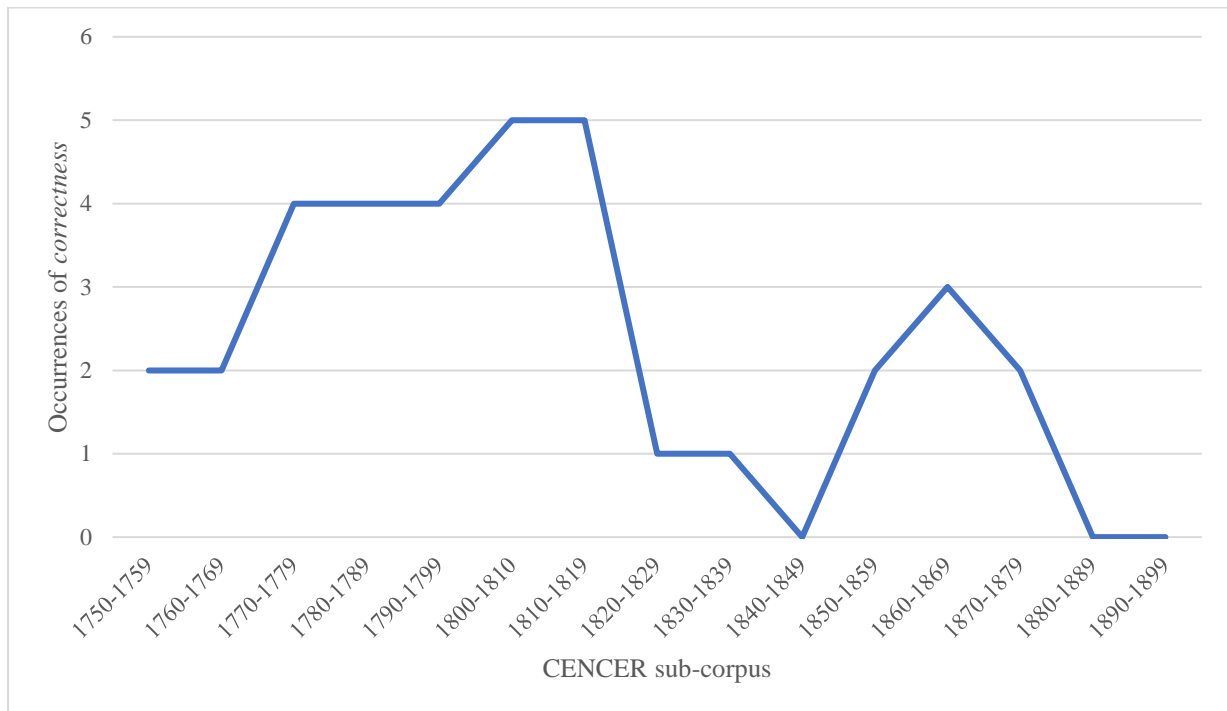
**Figure 14. Occurrences of *solecism/s* in the CENCER corpus.**

As Figure 14 shows, frequency of *solecism/s* peaks in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus. This early peak is unusual amongst the indicators of linguistic criticism identified. Most, as has been demonstrated, peak in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus, and *ungrammatical* peaks in the 1780-1789 sub-corpus. Occurrences of *vulgarism/s*, however, peaks twice; firstly in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus, and later in the 1790-1799 and 1800-1809 sub-corpora.



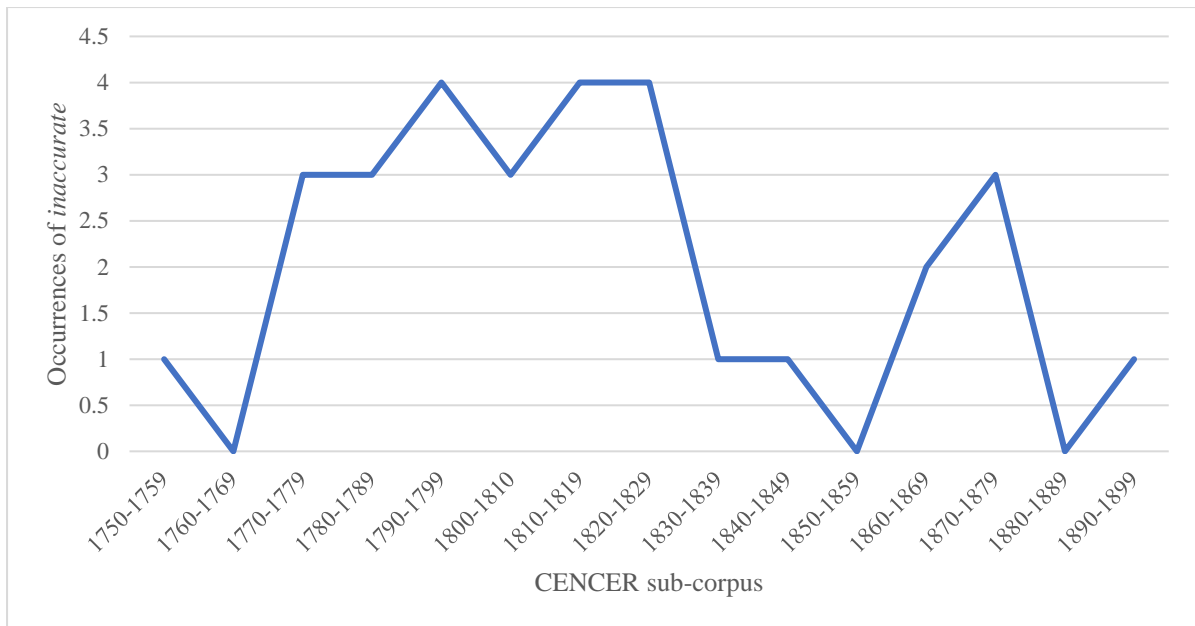
**Figure 15. Occurrences of *vulgarism/s* in the CENCER corpus.**

The later of these twin peaks indicates that use of *vulgarism/s* is high during the final decade of the eighteenth century, and the first decade of the nineteenth, in line with the findings for other indicators of linguistic criticism considered above. The remaining indicators of linguistic criticism to be discussed, however, exhibit a later or more sustained peak in usage, as is exemplified by Figure 16, below.



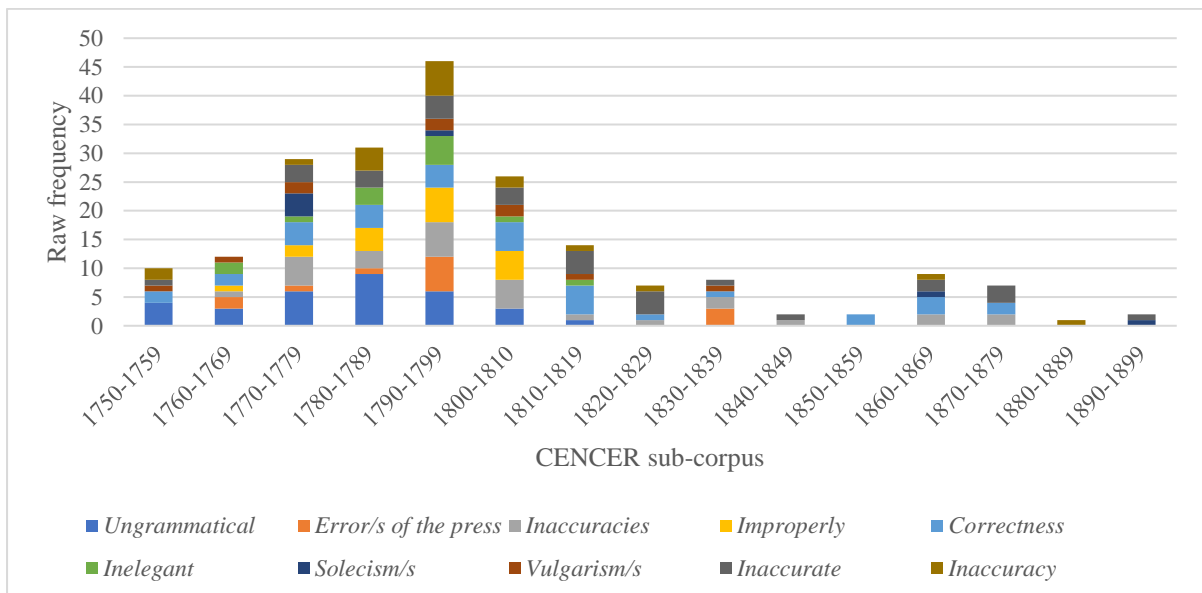
**Figure 16. Occurrences of *correctness* in the CENCER corpus.**

Figure 16 shows the frequency data for *correctness*, which appears 35 times in the CENCER corpus. 29 of these hits, or 82.86%, are found to be in the context of linguistic criticism. Use of *correctness* peaks in the 1800-1809 sub-corpus, and remains at this level in the 1810-1819 sub-corpus, before falling dramatically in the following decade. Figure 17 shows the dispersion across the sub-corpora of hits for *inaccurate*, which occurs 30 times in the CENCER corpus, and 22 times (73.33%) in the context of linguistic criticism. Occurrences of this word peak in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus, and again in the 1810-1819 and 1820-1829 sub-corpora.



**Figure 17. Occurrences of *inaccurate* in the CENCER corpus.**

This is the only indicator of linguistic criticism identified which peaks after the end of the 1810-1819 sub-corpus. From these indicators, it is therefore possible to identify a portion of the study period during which linguistic criticism appears to have reached its peak. Figure 18 shows the amalgamation of all of these indicators, and clearly indicates that this peak begins in the late eighteenth century.



**Figure 18. Occurrences of indicators of linguistic criticism in the CENCER corpus.**

On the basis of these amalgamated data, the period 1770-1819 may be considered the portion of the study period during which most linguistic criticism occurs. This period may therefore be considered an era of prescriptivism for the review periodicals.

#### 6.4 A prescriptive discourse community or community of practice?

The question of whether a group of individuals publishing normative content during the Late Modern period can be considered a prescriptive discourse community or community of practice is not a new one. Watts (1999; 2008) discusses eighteenth-century grammar writers as a potential discourse community and community of practice. He concludes that grammarians established prescriptive conventions within a discourse community, but that they were ultimately engaged in a “common enterprise” but “did not *share* an enterprise” (2009, pp.50-51, emphasis original). Following Watts, Sturiale (2014) has argued that an eighteenth-century community of orthoepists and lexicographers used the pages of their dictionaries and treatises to debate the fundamentals of their subjects.

The term “discourse community” was originally coined by Nystrand (1982), but here Swales’ (1990) definition will be followed. Swales suggests that six “defining characteristics” must be met in order to denominate a group of language users a discourse community, which are as follows:

1. A broadly agreed set of common public goals
2. Mechanisms for intercommunication
3. Participatory mechanisms to provide information and feedback
4. Utilization of possession of one or more genres in the furtherance of its aims
5. Specific lexis used by members in order to fulfil its goals
6. A threshold level of members with suitable degree of expertise

It has been noted in many quarters, as for instance by Jucker and Kopaczyck (2013) that “Swales’s concept seems remarkably similar to the “community of practice” delineated by Lave and Wenger (1991)” (p.4). Other authorities, including Watts, are however careful to distinguish these two concepts, and to argue that a social grouping may fit the criteria for a discourse community, without constituting a community of practice. Watts defines a discourse community as

a set of individuals who can be interpreted as constituting a community on the basis of the ways in which their oral or written practices reveal common interests, goals and beliefs, i.e. on the degree of institutionalization that their discourse displays. The members of the community may or may not be conscious of sharing these discourse practices. Thus, a discourse community may only become “visible” through the course of time. (1999, p.43)

Watts argues that eighteenth century grammarians fit this definition, though he stops short of labelling them as a community of practice. Eighteenth century periodical reviewers can also be considered a discourse community in relation to their prescriptive activities, and, as will be shown below, arguably even constitute a community of practice. To take Swales’ (1990) definition of a discourse community, it is clear that the reviewers have a set of common public goals: to impose language norms on reviewed authors and readership. The sparring which went on between rival publications, as outlined in §3.3, demonstrates that they had both mechanisms for intercommunication and the capacity to provide one another with feedback. They self-evidently utilized a genre of writing, the periodical review, to further the aims of the discourse community of reviewers, and it was demonstrated in §6.1 that they used specific lexis to achieve these goals. Periodical reviewers could not self-appoint in the same way that grammarians could, so the requirement for a threshold level of members considered to have a suitable degree of expertise is also met.

The periodical reviewers can therefore be considered to belong to a discourse community, though whether they can also be considered to have constituted a community of practice has yet to be established. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet define a community of practice as follows:

A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from [a] traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p.464)

Watts follows Wenger (1998), however, in identifying three crucial criteria for defining a community of practice. Firstly, there must be “mutual engagement” of the members. Thus, the members of a community of practice must interact in order to engage in their shared practices. Secondly, there must be a “joint negotiated enterprise”. This is the shared purpose driving the mutual engagement, and involves “the complex relationship of mutual accountability that becomes part of the practice of the community” (Wenger, 1998, p.80). It is not enough for the

language users to engage with each other; there must actually be a meaningful purpose around which this engagement takes place. Finally, a community of practice must have a “shared repertoire”, since through the development of appropriate ways of talking and behaving within the community of practice, members come to share a repertoire of resources for negotiating meaning (Wenger, 1998, p.85). These are not only linguistic resources but also other practices and modes of behaviour.

Watts’ (2008) contention that the grammarians of the eighteenth century do not constitute a community of practice is based on his conclusion that although they have a “shared repertoire of expressions, rules, examples, prohibitions and admonitions”, and that these are “a reflection of a form of joint enterprise” (p.41), “there was no real mutual engagement” (p.51). It was noted above that according to Watts, the “grammar writers had a *common enterprise*, which did not prevent them from being in competition with one another, but they did not *share* an enterprise” (2008, p.50, emphasis original). For Watts, the failure of the grammarians’ community to meet Wenger’s first prerequisite precludes it from being a community of practice.

The periodical reviewers arguably exhibit a much higher degree of mutual engagement, however, than the grammarians, and as such may be considered a potential community of practice. As was outlined in §3.3.1, from the 1750s the early review periodicals interacted. As Donoghue notes, “the anxious rivalry” between the *Monthly* and *Critical* Reviews began as soon as the *Critical* was founded. Its establishment “initiated a struggle that was conducted in a rhetoric of professionalism even as both parties sought to define the profession of reviewing”. (1996, p.32). As was noted in §3.3.1, during the early years this struggle manifested itself through attacks on the rival publication, printed within the copy of the given Review. The *Monthly* called the staff of the *Critical* a “Cabal of refugee Scotchmen” (Forster, 1994, p.39), and the *Critical* accused the *Monthly* staff of being “obscure hackney writers” (2001, p.178). Interaction between rival publications seems to have become less common as the study period wore on, however it is clear that in the early decades, during which the *Monthly* and *Critical* dominated the marketplace, a degree of mutual engagement, albeit antagonistic, can indeed be discerned. Wenger himself acknowledges that mutual engagement may be harmonious or conflicting, and that a community of practice does not necessarily entail a union of allies (1998, pp.77, 85). Meyerhoff and Strycharz (2018) also make this point;

[A] group might be characterized by the continual re-enactment of personal feuds, or repetitions of complaints about undue favouritism of one group over another. The practices than evolve in

a situation like this may be unhelpful and simply perpetuate the existing conflicts, but we could still talk of the group as a CofP as it satisfied the requirement for mutual engagement. (2018, p.429)

This description is applicable to the community of feuding eighteenth-century periodical reviewers, meaning that Wenger's requirement for mutual engagement is met. The periodical reviewers also satisfy his second criterion, the joint negotiated enterprise. The way in which the *Critical's* conservatism rapidly influenced the political ideology of the *Monthly* was outlined in §3.3.1. Whereas the *Monthly* had been founded with a conception of reading influenced by the nonconformist beliefs of its founder, the *Critical* was intended as a corrective force, one calculated to slow the democratization of print culture (Donoghue, 1996, p.10). The findings reported in Chapter 5 also, of course, indicate that the review periodicals shared the joint enterprise of imposing linguistic norms on reviewed authors. The ramping up of the *Monthly's* linguistic criticism after the *Critical* was established, as well as this imposition of norms, can therefore be viewed as a manifestation of the two Reviews' joint negotiated enterprise. Here again, the hostility between the different periodicals is less significant than their engagement in a mutual endeavour.

It is also clear that the review periodicals of the era identified as prescriptive in §6.3 shared a repertoire, both in terms of the vocabulary used to discuss norms of correctness in language, and in terms of other practices. §6.2 showed clearly that when compared with a corpus of general Late Modern English, the review periodicals are preoccupied with matters of linguistic performance and, specifically, rectitude. In Chapter 3, it was noted that at all stages of the study period, the literary review periodicals in print shared a number of practices. In the 1750s, '60s, '70s, and '80s, these were practices largely determined by those put in place at the *Monthly* when it was founded. These included reviewer anonymity, a monthly publication schedule, attempts at encyclopaedic coverage of the book market, and the practice of including a 'catalogue' of publications with a very brief synopsis, alongside longer, more in-depth review articles. Reviewer anonymity continued during later portions of the study period, and was accompanied by other manifestations of a shared repertoire, including less or more frequent publication schedules, and abandonment of attempts at encyclopaedic coverage of the market. As was outlined in §4.2.1, trends in length and number of review articles can be discerned across the study period (see also Appendix A), indicating that periodicals were influenced to a significant degree by one another's practices.

If a community of practice is a grouping which comes together for a particular purpose, and thereby learns to negotiate interactive behaviours which define the community of practice, the periodical reviewers can therefore be considered as a community of practice. Satisfying Wenger's criteria for defining a community of practice, the reviewers are "people who engage in a process of collective learning in shared domain of human endeavour" (2006, p.1). As an antagonistic community of practice, engaged in commercial and ideological rivalry, the reviewers constitute what might be considered an unusual community of practice. However, it is the mutual (albeit hostile) engagement of its members which prompts and sustains the prescriptive activities identified in Chapter 5 and earlier in this chapter, and the definition of the group as a community of practice is thus a significant finding.

## 6.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has been concerned with determining whether the preoccupation of periodical reviewers with grammatical correctness that was established in the foregoing chapter was consistent and persisted throughout the study period, 1750-1899. In §6.3, keyword analysis was used to demonstrate that an intense preoccupation with language, grammar, and especially linguistic rectitude, was an ephemeral phenomenon in periodical review culture, and did not persist throughout the entire study period. In §6.3, the indicators of linguistic criticism identified in §5.3 were used to show that an 'Age of Prescriptivism' can indeed be identified as occurring between 1770 and 1819. In §6.4, the theoretical frameworks of discourse community and community of practice were applied in the context of periodical reviewing between 1750 and 1899. Here, it was determined that the prescriptive activities of literary reviewers can be considered to constitute them as a community of practice.

Looking ahead to Chapters 7 and 8, the focus of Chapter 7 is on Burney's use of dual-form adverbs (see §4.5.1), and the application of change point models (see §4.6) to this usage. Chapter 8 then considers Burney's usage of other grammatical variants subject to prescriptive attention in Enfield's 1796 review of *Camilla* (see §3.3.4, §4.5). Chapter 9 then examines Burney's usage of variants not criticized by Enfield, and the application of change point detection with respect to grammatical variants not overtly targeted for prescriptive comment.



## 7 BURNEY'S CONFORMITY TO OVERTLY-PRESCRIBED NORMS: THE CASE OF DUAL-FORM ADVERBS

### 7.1 Establishing causation for linguistic reforms motivated by prescriptivism

It was established in Chapters 5 and 6 that the English literary review periodicals of the Late Modern period were indeed (as has long been hypothesized) consistent sources of prescriptivist commentary, at least during the later eighteenth century. The first three research questions of this thesis, laid out in §1.5, have therefore been addressed. However, the two remaining research questions laid out there have yet to be addressed. These relate to the level of influence which prescriptive reviewers had on the language use of reviewed authors, and to the effectiveness of change point detection (CPD) in evaluating the impact of prescriptivism at the idiolectal level. The investigation of these questions will be the focus of Chapters 7, 8, and 9 of this thesis. As was outlined in §1.5, these chapters will constitute a case study examining the impact of the 1796 prescriptive review on the idiolect of author Fanny Burney (see also §3.3.4).

As was also outlined in §1.5, many authorities on eighteenth century review culture have claimed that “authors took the reviewers’ advice and corrected or amended their works” (Basker, 1988, p.177; see also McIntosh, 1998, pp.182-4; Percy, 2009, p.118). However, as was also discussed, there is no data in existence to prove this causation. The first purpose of these chapters is therefore to establish whether a change point exists in Burney’s usage which corresponds with the prescriptive review of *Camilla* quoted in §3.3.4. Any such correspondence is highly unlikely to occur by chance, and can therefore be considered to indicate that Burney did respond to the *Monthly*’s 1796 review by altering her language practice. It can also be considered to establish that the CPD method can be instrumental in identifying moments of transition within language practice which are secondary to targeted prescriptivism.

The focus of this chapter is on Burney’s use of flat and dual-form adverbs, since her use of “*Scarce* for *scarcely*, in almost every page” was criticized by Enfield. The investigations reported here will establish both that Burney did alter her flat adverb usage in response to Enfield’s review, but also that the CPD method can be useful in identifying other change points in idiolectal language data. Chapter 7 not only showcases the suitability of the CPD method in investigating specific hypothesized change points, therefore. It also suggests other loci for

changes in Burney's idiolect which shed further light on her evolving language attitudes throughout her long writing career. This is also true of Chapter 8, where investigation of Burney's conjugation of irregular verbs and her usage of different forms of intransitive *lie* are reported. These are also variants for which her linguistic performance in *Camilla* is questioned by Enfield.

However, the investigations reported in Chapters 7 and 8 show that there is much more going on within Burney's idiolect in terms of evolving attitudes towards norms of correctness than just contact with targeted prescriptivism in the late 1790s. Looking ahead, Chapter 9 therefore explores how CPD functions at an idiolectal level when considering how Burney uses grammatical variants for which she does not seem to have been publicly criticized.

Firstly, however, it is necessary both to establish Burney's responsiveness to targeted prescriptivism, and the utility of the CPD method in such contexts. In §7.2, the finding of a change point in 1797, the year after the publication of both *Camilla* and Enfield's scathing review of it in the *Monthly Review*, is reported. Here, it is demonstrated that this change point is detected when considering all of the flat adverb paradigms in combination. However, it is shown that this result appears to be influenced by the strength of the change point for *scarce/ly*. In §7.3, it is reported that a second change point has also been detected to occur in Burney's usage in the 1770s, before §7.4 discusses the dual form adverbs for which no change point can be detected.

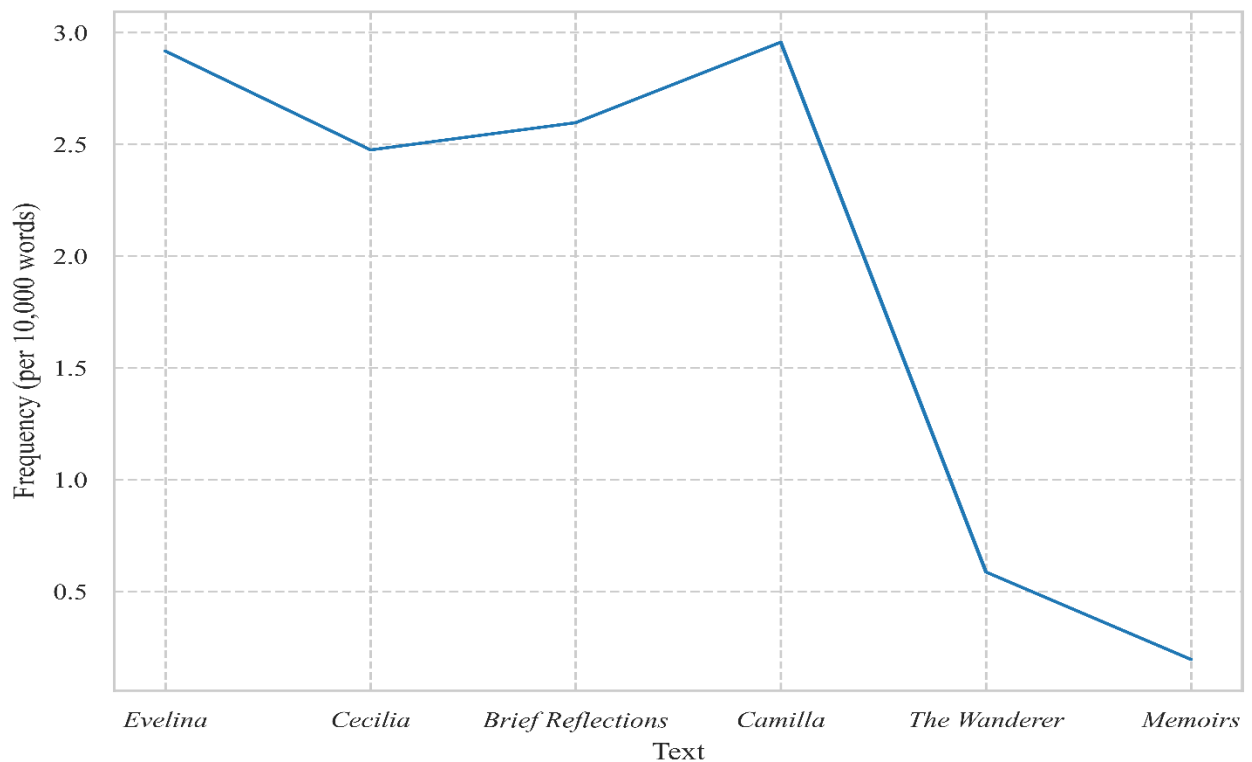
## 7.2 A 1797 change-point

In the published sub-corpus of Burney's writings, the change point model detects a single change in Burney's combined use of the adverbs selected for study. As outlined in §4.5, these are *scarce(ly)*, *admirable(/ly)*, *exceeding(ly)*, *excessive(ly)*, *extraordinary(ily)*, *extreme(ly)*, *full(y)*, *marvellous(ly)*, *mighty(ily)*, *prodigious(ly)*, *terrible(ly)*, *near(ly)*, *tolerable(ly)*, *intolerable(ly)*, *bright(ly)* and *clear(ly)*. The procedures for selecting these variants were also outlined in §4.5.

As was outlined in §4.6, it is impossible for the change point model to pinpoint a change within a specific year in the published sub-corpus of Burney's writings. This is because the change-point model for the published sub-corpus deals with a non-continuous time-series, as Burney did not produce a published text for all of the years in the time-period studied. Hence, it can

only detect a change point for the published sub-corpus if it occurs between two publication dates, and cannot be more any more specific than this. Relying on findings from the published sub-corpus alone, then, it would be difficult to specify a precise year in which any change occurs. The results from the published sub-corpus remain valuable, however, as in combination with those from the sub-corpus of Burney's private writings, they contribute to bettering our understanding of the changes Burney's usage undergoes.

This can be seen in Figure 19<sup>12</sup>, below, as a dramatic decline occurring between the publication of *Camilla* (1796) and that of *The Wanderer* (1814). The probability that the change occurs here is approximated by the model to be 100%. As *Camilla* is the novel reviewed in 1796, these change point results are consistent with the hypothesized change in Burney's usage resulting from exposure to Enfield's overtly targeted prescriptive comment.

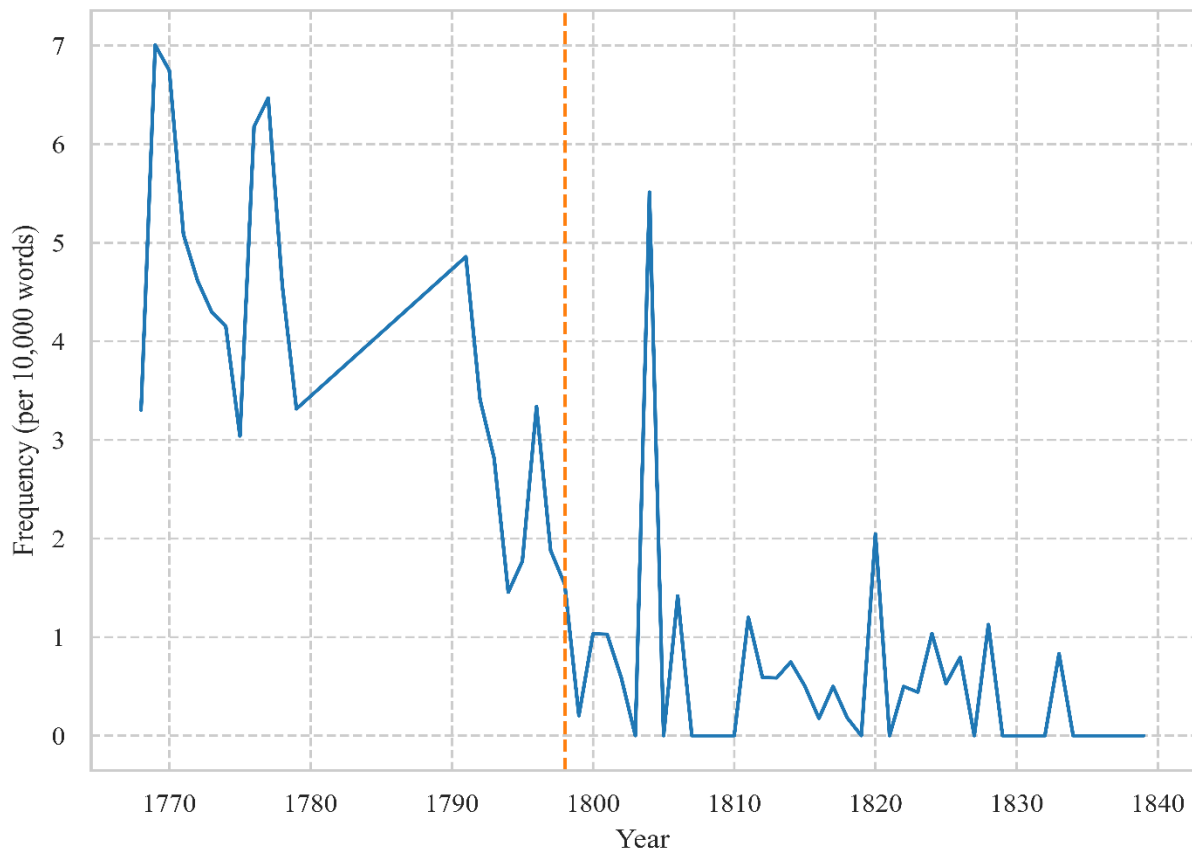


**Figure 19. Normalized frequency of flat adverb occurrence in the published sub-corpus.**

As Burney produced writings in most years included in the study, and most are extant and digitized, the change point model deals with a near-continuous time-series in the private sub-corpus. This allows for the more precise detection of a change point, to within a year of a period of a few years.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix C for the raw frequency data behind the figures in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

As was the case in the published sub-corpus, a single change in Burney’s usage of the selected adverbs is detected within the private sub-corpus. As Figure 20, below, shows, however, unlike the change in the published sub-corpus, this change is not easily discernible from a graph of normalized frequency.



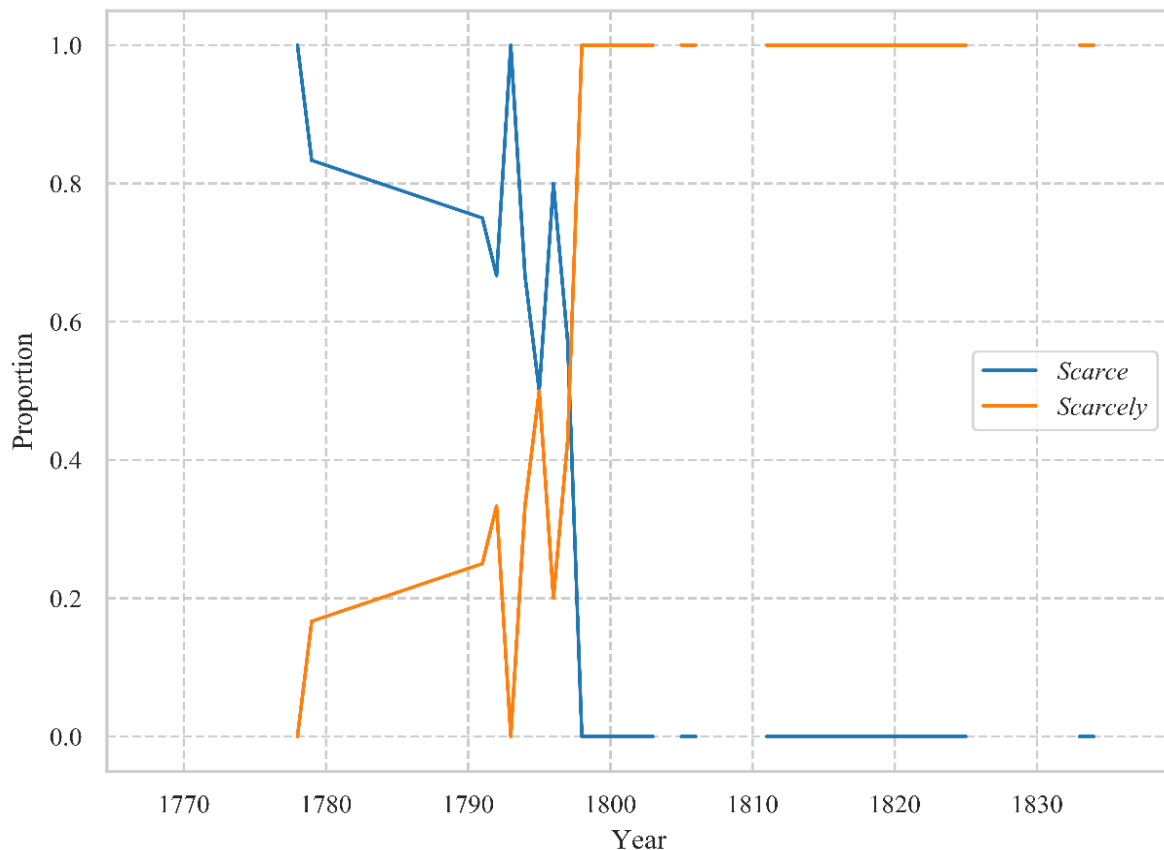
**Figure 20. Normalized frequency of flat adverb occurrence in the private sub-corpus, with change point shown.**

The change point model is, however, designed to detect what humans may not perceive, and approximates the probability that a change occurs in 1796, 1797, or 1799 to be 99.7%. Of these years, it calculates 1797 to be the mode, meaning that this is the year in which the change detected most probably occurred. The probability that this is the case is approximated to be 57.58%. As Enfield’s review of *Camilla* was published in late 1796, these results are consistent with a change resulting from the criticism it contained. In what follows, the patterns of usage of the individual variants selected for study will be examined, to determine whether this pattern may be discerned across all these paradigms.

Alongside *admirable*, the suffixless adverbial “*scarce* for *scarcely*” is one of the variants criticized as a “grammatical inaccurac[y]” by the *Monthly*’s review of October 1796 (Enfield,

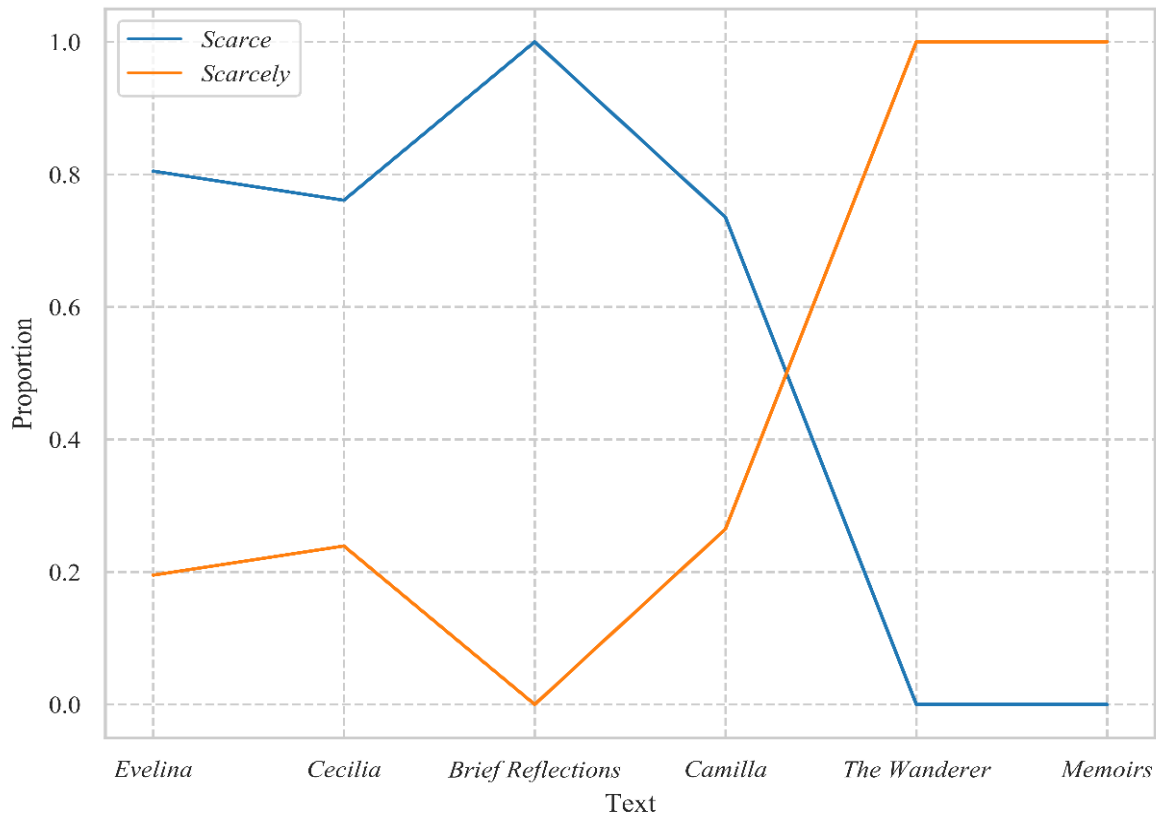
1796, p.162). It disappears entirely from Burney's usage after 1797, and the change point model approximates a 100% probability that the change point for this change lies in 1797.

Figure 21, which plots Burney's proportional usage of the two forms in the private sub-corpus, shows this change and its locus very strikingly. Prior to 1797, *scarce* is clearly predominant, but a dramatic change in the distribution of the two forms is discernible after that year, with the suffixed form then being used 100% of the time.



**Figure 21. Normalized frequency of *scarce* and *scarcely* occurrences in the private sub-corpus.**

This pattern is reflected in the published sub-corpus, where Burney likewise radically alters her distribution of the two forms. This is shown in Figure 22, which shows the proportional usage of the two forms in Burney's published works. As was the case for the selected variants combined, the lack of a continuous time-series renders the change point less easily discernible. Nevertheless, it is clear from Figure 22, below, that suffixless *scarce* disappears after 1797, supplanted completely by suffixed *scarcely*.



**Figure 22. Normalized proportional frequency of *scarce* and *scarcely* occurrences in the published sub-corpus.**

Revisions made to the text of *Camilla* prior to the publication of its second edition in 1802 suggest that Burney methodically replaced the suffixless form with the suffixed:

- 73. whose own benign countenance could **scarce** refrain from a smile (1796, p.37)
- 74. whose own benign countenance could **scarcely** refrain from a smile 1802, p.59)
- 75. cried she, **scarce** conscious she answered at all (1796, p.539)
- 76. cried she, **scarcely** conscious she answered at all (1802, p.312)

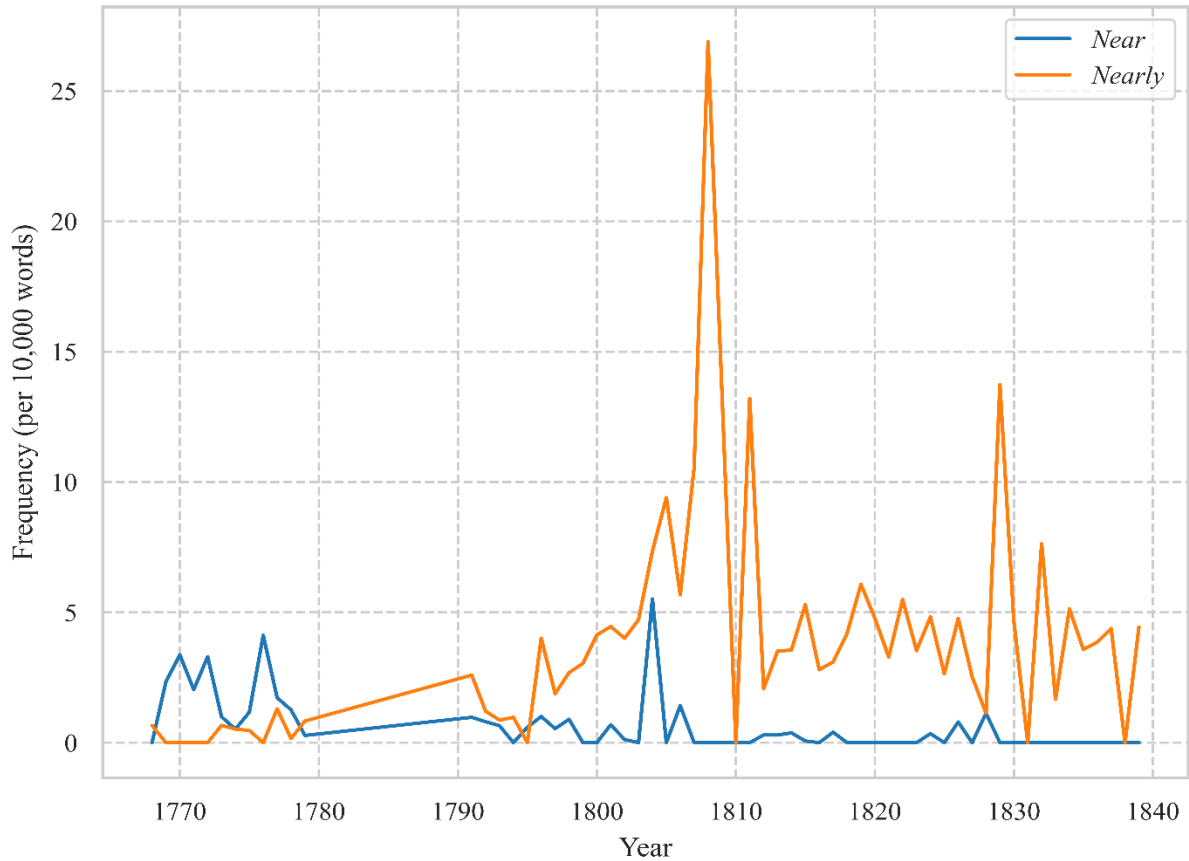
Burney does not appear to have considered adverbial *scarce* to be a sociolinguistically marked form prior to her exposure to the *Monthly's* review. She seems rather to have regarded the suffixless variant as acceptable in any syntactic environment. That she abandons this form completely following the review's publication therefore indicates that where one of two directly competing variants is targeted for criticism, it is possible for that variant, even if previously dominant, to become marked for Burney very quickly. The effect of this acquired perception of markedness is stark, as Burney abandons the suffixless variant entirely after 1797. The four uses of adverbial *scarce* which occur in 1797, after Burney's known exposure to the review, are interesting, however. These suggest a time lag between her consumption of the

review and the complete eradication of the stigmatized variant from her idiolect. These occurrences may therefore be considered vestigial, since the likelihood of such a dramatic change as that observed occurring coincidentally, just a year after Burney's exposure to a review criticizing the variant, is low.

We appear to have, therefore, a genuine example of periodical prescriptivism in action; whereby a reviewer has proscribed a given variant, and the reviewed author has carried out a wholesale reform of her usage as a consequence. Questions remain, however, as to whether this reform was confined to the targeted paradigms, or whether it also occurred by analogy in other paradigms.

In fact, only one other paradigm exhibits a change point in the late 1790s; the change point model for *near(ly)* detects a change point in the year following that for *scarce(ly)*, in 1798, with a probability of 64%. This is a relatively low approximated probability, and it is not bolstered by significant probability levels that the change occurred in adjacent or nearby years. Figure 23, below, shows a discernible decline in the usage of flat *near*, but it also shows that the variant is retained to some degree. This accounts for the lower probability given by the change point model, and may also explain why the change point is a year later than that found for the dual-form adverbs combined, or for *scarce* individually.

1798 is, however, only two years after the publication of the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla*, so these findings can still be regarded tentatively as evidence that Burney may be changing her usage of other flat adverbs by analogy with *scarce*. A change by analogy might, after all, be expected to occur more slowly than a directly-motivated change. With a relatively low probability, however, and only this single paradigm showing a change point close to 1797, there is little evidence of a change by analogy in Burney's idiolectal usage of dual form adverbs.

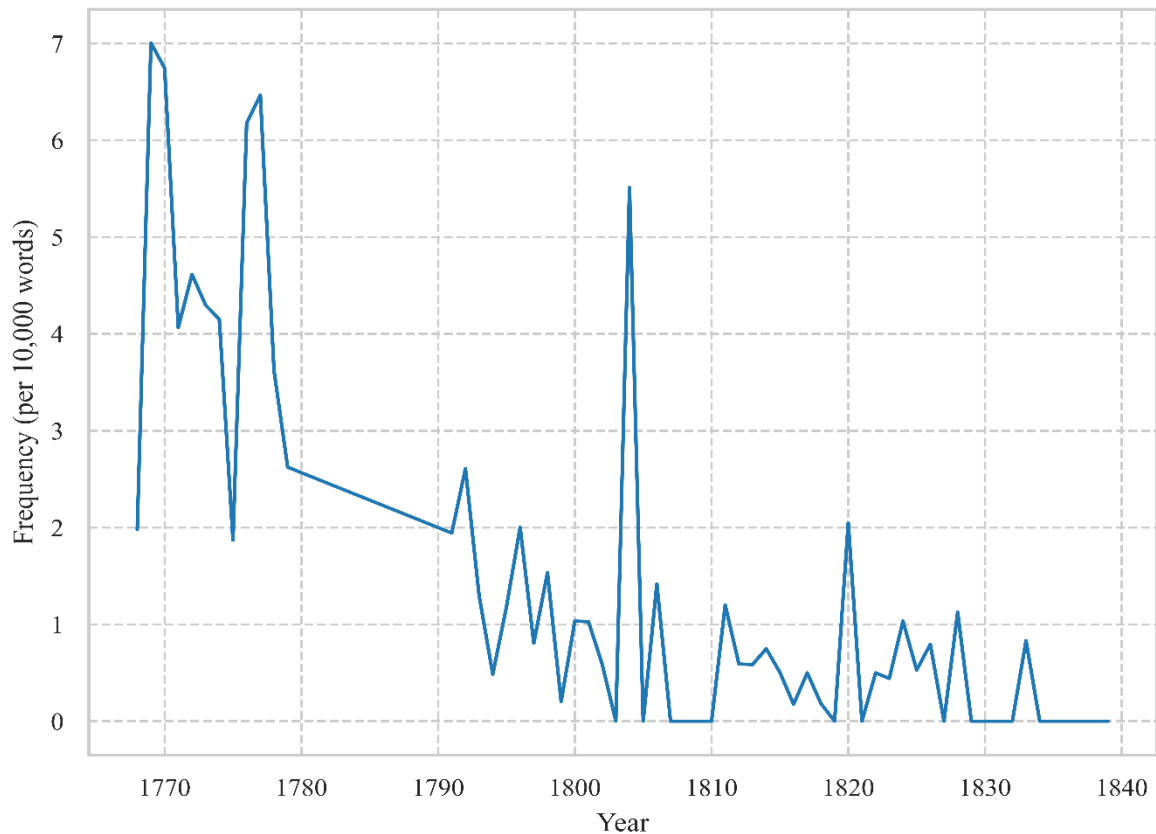


**Figure 23. Normalized frequency of *near* and *nearly* occurrences in the private sub-corpus**

### 7.3 The 1770s as a locus for change

The overall patterns discussed in §7.2, and the change points which they show, might at first glance be suggestive of changes by analogy with *scarce(ly)*. In fact, however, these patterns seem to be strongly influenced by the presence of data for *scarce(ly)*, exhibiting as it does such a pronounced change, within those datasets. If the data for *scarce(ly)* are removed, and those for the remaining 15 adverbs studied are subjected to change point detection, a different change point is detected. This change point lies in 1779, and the change point model approximates the probability of the change occurring in this year to be 94%. This pattern may be discernible from Figure 24, below, though the lack of data for the 1780s and the anomalous spike in usage in the early 1800s complicate matters.

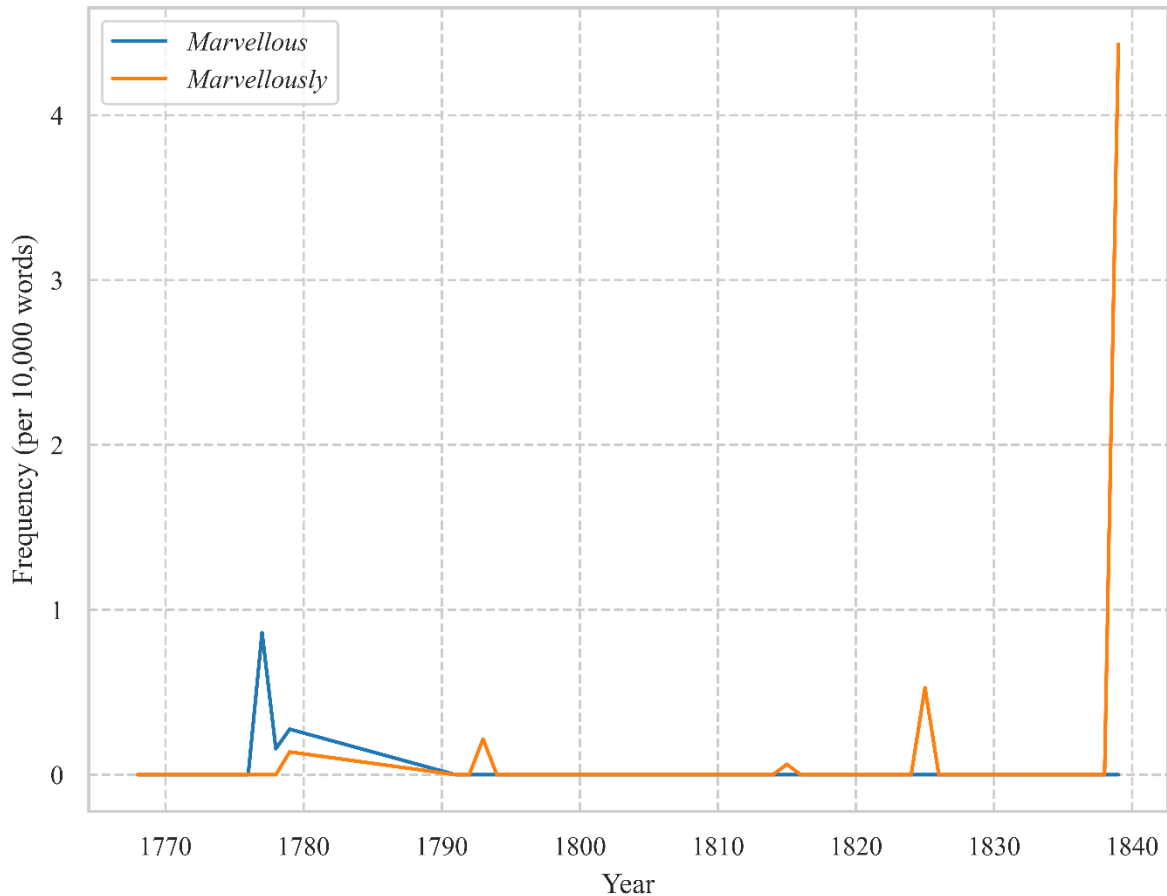




**Figure 24. Normalized frequency of flat adverb occurrence, excluding *scarce*, in the private sub-corpus, with change point.**

An additional change point is an interesting finding. It raises questions about Burney’s attitude to dual-form adverbs, and indicates that reform may have been prompted by other factors than the documented prescriptive comment. The answer to these questions seems to lie in the types of adverbs whose usage appears to alter in the late 1770s. These paradigms are *marvellous(ly)*, *prodigious(ly)*, *exceeding(ly)*, and *mighty(ily)*. Several of the flat forms of these adverbs, as will be shown below, experience notable spikes in frequency in the late 1770s, whilst two, *prodigious* and *excessive*, have been listed among the “common cant intensifiers” of the LMod period (Stokes, 1991, p.17). It seems, therefore, that these may have been fashionable usages, or what Tieken-Boon van Ostade has called, with reference to Jane Austen’s language, “vogue words” (2014, p.151). This term seems to refer to highly informal, fashionable and ephemeral linguistic forms which occur relatively frequently for a time, but are rarely used thereafter.

Forms of *marvellous(ly)* occur only four times each across the private sub-corpus, but as Figure 25, below, shows, the instances of *marvellous* occur within three consecutive years (1777, 1778, 1779), whilst the instances of *marvellously* are spread out. This clustering in the late 1770s suggests that suffixless *marvellous* is a fashionable variant, though no firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of such scant data.



**Figure 25. Normalized frequency of *marvellous* and *marvellously* occurrence in the private sub-corpus.**

Other possible vogue words, such as *prodigious*, are used more frequently, however. As with *marvellous*, use of flat *prodigious* peaks in raw frequency in the late 1770s. As Figure 26, below, shows it is a fairly regular feature of Burney’s idiolect prior to 1780, accounting for a significant minority of occurrences within this paradigm. After 1793, however, it is used only in direct speech in the published sub-corpus, and not at all in the private sub-corpus. *Prodigiously*, likewise, occurs only in direct speech in the published sub-corpus. The change point model cannot detect a change within this paradigm, as there are too few data-points, but Figure 26, below, suggests that this paradigm may be contributing to the 1779 change point detected overall when data for *scarce(ly)* are excluded.

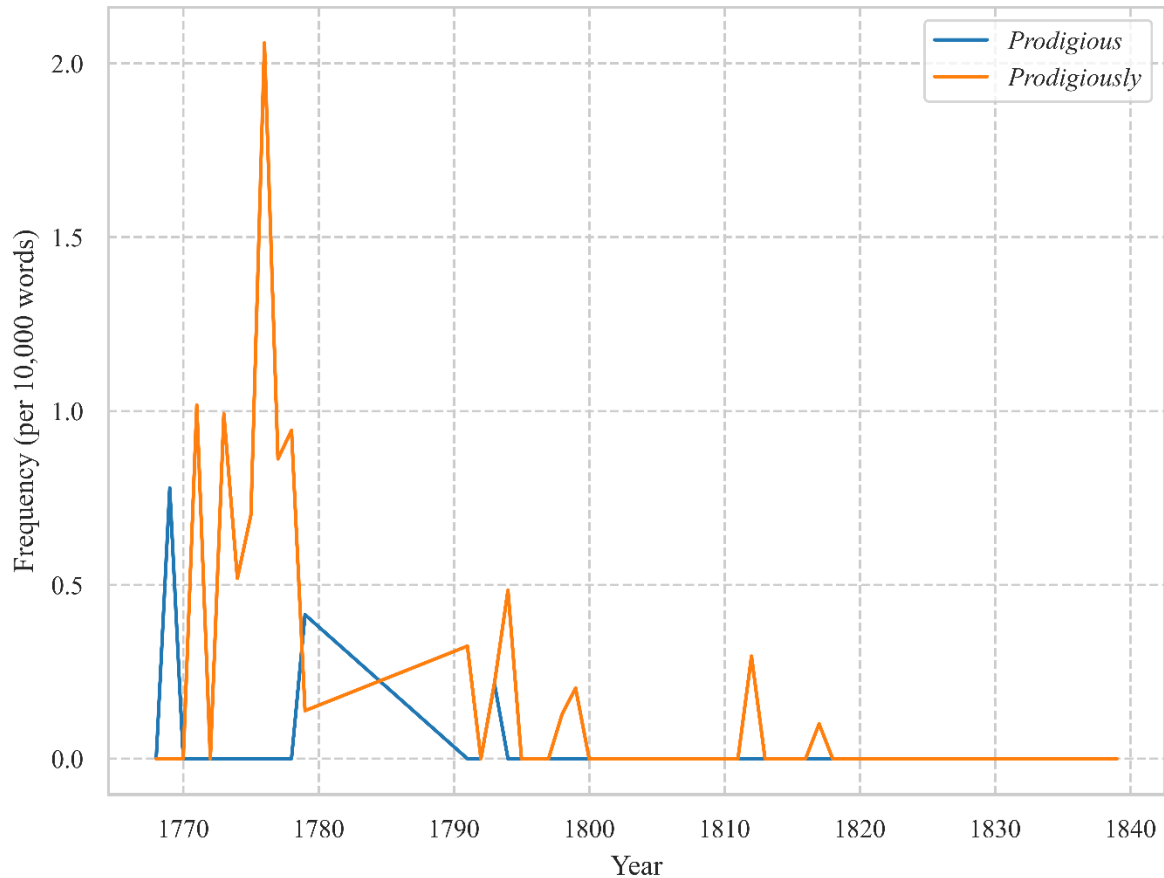


Figure 26. Normalized frequency of *prodigious* and *prodigiously* occurrence in the private sub-corpus.

The uses of *prodigious* in the published sub-corpus are telling in another regard: since they cluster in the speech of a small number of characters, they may be considered to indicate that, for Burney, the variant is sociolinguistically marked. A closer look at the characters in whose speech the clustering occurs appears to corroborate this, since they are all either of ‘low’ birth, or are associated with the superficial society of the ‘ton’, defined by the *OED* as “[t]he fashion, the vogue, the mode; fashionable air or style” and as “[p]eople of fashion, fashionable society” (*OED*, s.v. ‘ton’). Both of these backgrounds were associated in the late eighteenth century with cant forms (Stokes, 1991). Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, defines ‘cant’ as either “a corrupt dialect used by beggars and vagabonds”, or “a particular form of speaking peculiar to some certain class or body of man” (1792, p.143). The characters in whose direct speech these features cluster include the foolish but fashionable Miss Larolles in *Cecilia* (1782) (77), the servant Jacob (78) and the low-born but upwardly-mobile Mrs. Mittin (79), in *Camilla* (1796).

77. I have a **prodigious** immense favour to ask of you, Mr Meadows (*Camilla*, 1796)

78. But, for all that, he takes on **prodigious** bad (*Camilla*, 1796)

79. I thought it would be a good opportunity to oblige her, and be a way to make a **prodigious** genteel acquaintance besides (*Camilla*, 1796)

By contrast, Burney's virtuous heroines use only the suffixed form, as for instance Camilla does in passage 80:

80. She's prodigiously pretty. (*Camilla*, 1796)

There is an apparent inconsistency here, between Burney's willingness to use the suffixless form herself, but also her use of it in an apparently sociolinguistically marked manner. It is, however, notable that Burney does not seem to use *prodigious* as a sociolinguistic marker in *Evelina* (1778), but that she does appear to do so in *Cecilia* (1782). This change, alongside the decline in her usage of the flat form in the private sub-corpus between the late 1770s and early 1790s may suggest that the process of writing *Cecilia* (1782) and using the form in her linguistic characterization of 'vulgar' characters caused her to begin to avoid using it herself.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade posits a similar change in Jane Austen's usage of a number of non-standard grammatical variants and attributes it to her "growing linguistic awareness...[as] she was developing into a novelist" (2014, p.205). Without data for the 1780s, however, it is impossible to test this theory. All that it is possible to conclude is that the late 1770s appear to be the locus for a change in usage, which would be consistent with the overall change point for the adverbs studied excluding *scarce*.

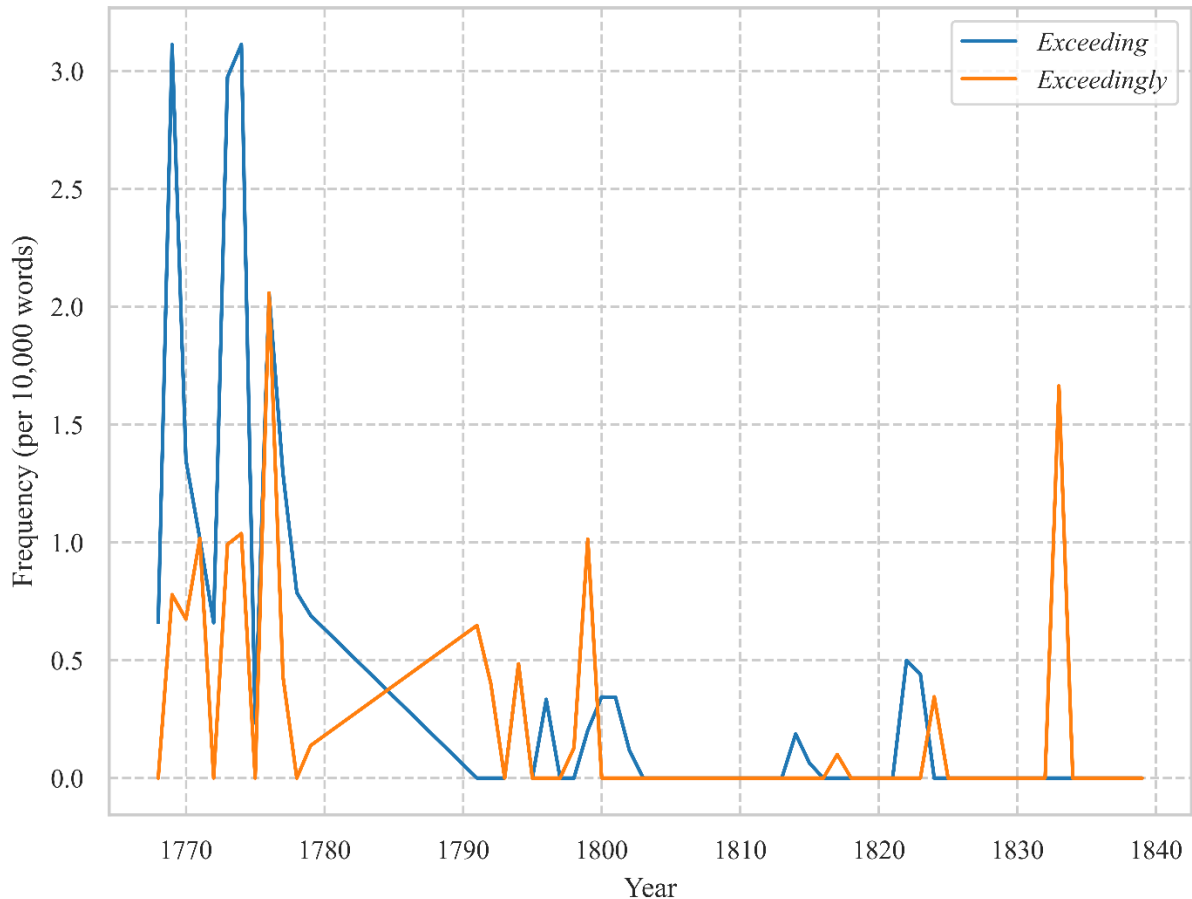
*Prodigious* and *excessive* are the flat forms which Stokes (1991) identifies together as "cant intensifiers" (p.17). It is notable, however, that whilst Burney uses suffixless *prodigious* in her unmonitored usage in her youth, she avoids suffixless *excessive* almost entirely. It occurs only once in the private sub-corpus, in a letter to her sister of 1791. In the published sub-corpus, it appears 20 times, but all of these instances are in direct speech and, again, cluster in the speech of a small number of characters who are either low-born or associated with the frivolity of fashionable society, and therefore associated with cant usage. This suggests strongly that Burney considers the variant to be sociolinguistically marked, and the type of characters in whose speech this clustering occurs again seems to corroborate this. 17 of the 20 occurrences of adverbial *excessive* in the public sub-corpus occur in the speech of a single character in *Cecilia* (1782), Miss Larolles. One other instance of *excessive* is found in *Cecilia*, whilst the other two occurrences are found later, in *Camilla*.

All of the characters who are represented as using the variant are associated with the superficial society of the ‘ton’. That Burney confines use of adverbial *excessive* to the speech of these characters in the published sub-corpus, and that it occurs very seldom elsewhere in the Burney corpus, suggests that as a variant it too is associated with the ton.

The data for *excessive* therefore show that whilst some apparent vogue forms, such as *marvellous* and *prodigious*, develop sociolinguistic markedness for Burney, others seem to be sociolinguistically marked from the outset. Burney’s attitude towards different flat adverbs therefore appears to differ significantly. In light of this, it is perhaps unsurprising that her usage does not seem to undergo change by analogy with *scarce*.

Suffixless adverbial *exceeding* is not a variant which I have found to be identified as a “vogue word” in literature on contemporary usage (though its *OED* entry indicates that it may have been used in this way). The data and results of the CPD for this paradigm, however, indicate that this may be how it functioned in Burney’s idiolect. There is enough data for *exceeding(ly)* for the change point model to function, and it detects a change in Burney’s usage in 1779; approximating the probability that the change occurs in this year to be 95%.

This pattern is easily discernible in Figure 27, below. Flat *exceeding* is a regular feature of Burney’s idiolect in the earlier portion of the private sub-corpus, with its uses outnumbering those of the suffixed form in the first decade of the corpus. Despite its frequency in Burney’s private writings, however, the suffixless form never appears outside of direct speech in the published sub-corpus. This is consistent with its hypothesized status as a vogue form, as we might expect the use of such variants to be stylistically stratified.

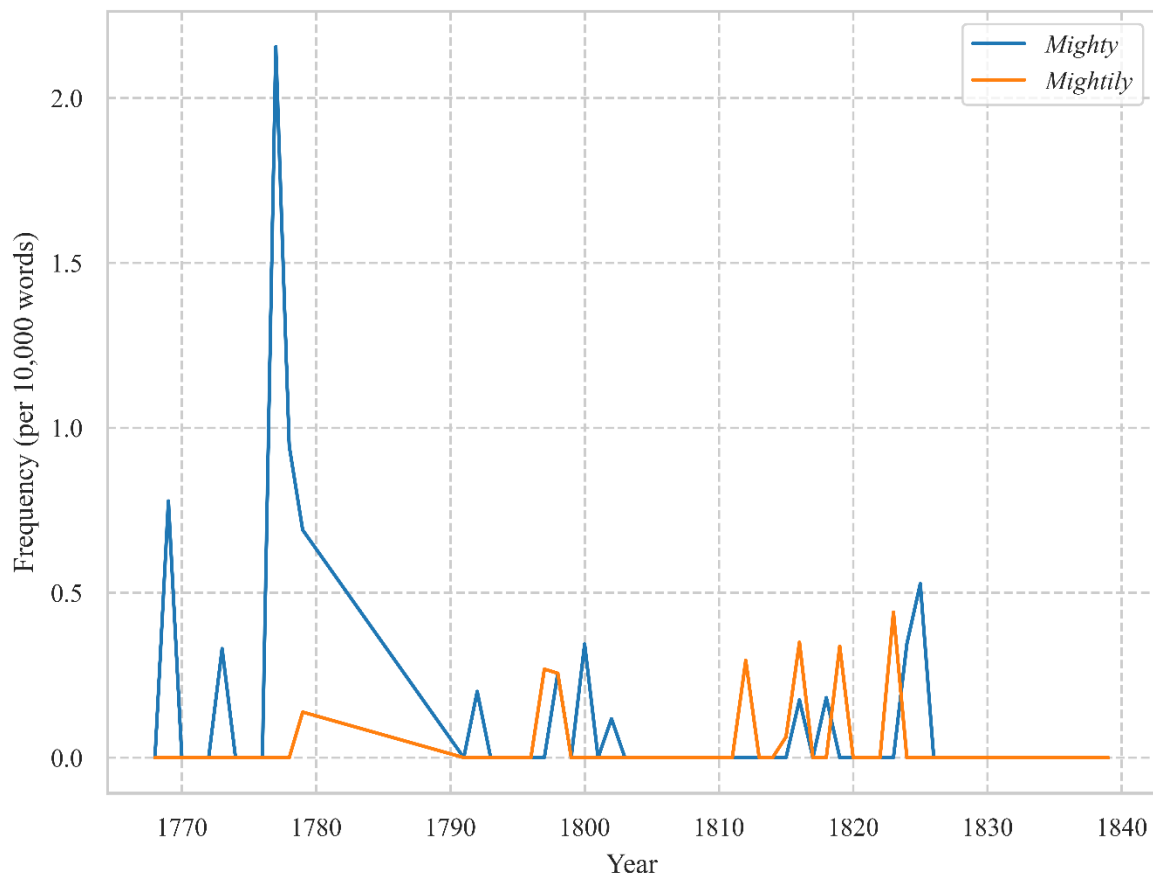


**Figure 27. Normalized frequency of *exceeding* and *exceedingly* occurrence in the private sub-corpus.**

After the detected change point, use of *exceedingly* clearly surpasses that of *exceeding*. However, the suffixless form persists in usage. This may suggest that, for Burney, it retained its own distinct functionality to some extent, as it appears that *exceeding* continues to modify attributive adjectives, whereas *exceedingly* competes with it in the modification of predicate adjectives. Though confirmation of this theory is beyond the scope of this paper, Percy noted an identical pattern of usage in the writings of Captain Cook and Jane Austen, so it is possible to conclude, as she does, that “persisting usage of *exceeding*” in the former environment may “reflect contemporary educated usage” (1996, p.352).

Suffixless adverbial *mighty* is another variant which I have not found to be identified previously as an eighteenth-century “vogue word”. Its use, however, peaks in the late 1770s, in the same way as those variants already discussed in this section, and it is therefore plausible that Burney regards it as such. The significant degree to which *mighty* is retained, past the overall change

point of 1779, discernible from Figure 28, below, to some extent distinguishes this paradigm from those discussed previously, however.



**Figure 28. Normalized frequency of *mighty* and *mightily* occurrence in the private sub-corpus.**

As Figure 28 shows, suffixless adverbial *mighty* appears to occur in the private sub-corpus with considerably less frequency after 1779. Like *exceeding*, though, it is retained nonetheless. It is possible that its retention can likewise be explained with reference to its function: *mightily* tends to modify verbs, whereas *mighty* tends to modify adjectives. In the public sub-corpus, 100% of instances of *mighty* modify adjectives, whilst the majority, 72%, of instances of *mightily* modify verbs. Of the remainder, 100% of occurrences see *mightily* modifying participial adjectives, whilst *mighty* never functions in this way.

This pattern of usage is replicated in the private sub-corpus, where, notably, both forms are found occurring frequently in direct speech, though only one instance (of *mightily*) occurs outside speech. Here, again, 100% of instances of *mighty* modify adjectives, whilst 67% of instances of *mightily* modify verbs. Of the remainder, 75% of occurrences see *mightily* modifying participial adjectives, whilst *mighty* never functions in this way. These findings

suggest that Burney regards the two forms as having distinct functions; the suffixless form being used solely in the modification of adjectives, and the suffixed form being used primarily in the modification of verbs and their derivatives.

Burney was still in her twenties in the late 1770s, and enjoying the celebrity which her first publication, *Evelina* (1778), had earned her. The spike in forms which might be considered fashionable might therefore be attributed to her relative youth, and exposure to new linguistic norms and fashions. It seems, however, that Burney quickly turned against many of these variants, and began using them to characterize the speech of those in her novels whom she considered to be ‘vulgar’, or too invested in fashionable society. The status of flat adverbs for Burney therefore appears to be in flux at this point in her life.

#### 7.4 No change point detected

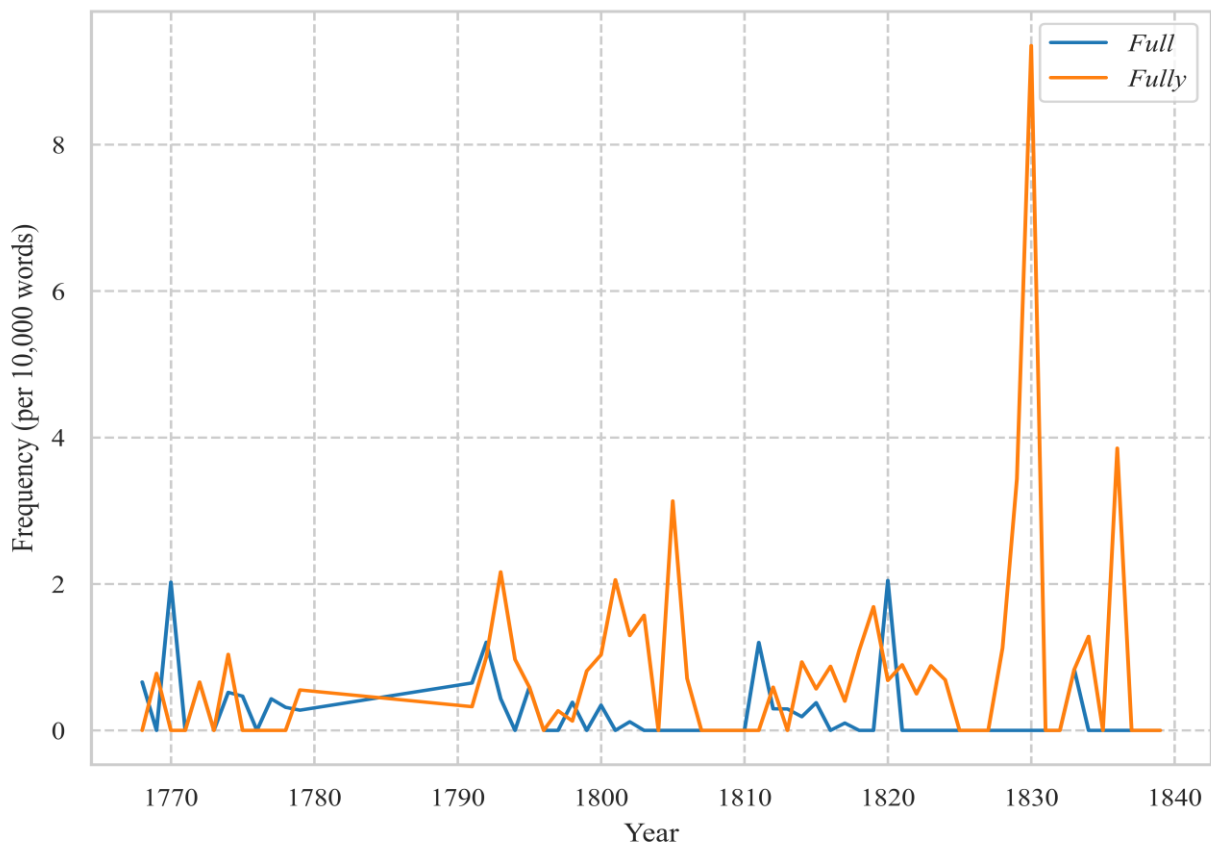
For some of the paradigms discussed above, no change point could be detected. This could be due to insufficient quantities of data, because Burney did not use them frequently enough, or because of genuine consistency in Burney’s usage diachronically. This is also the case for flat *clear(ly)*, *intolerable(ly)*, *terrible(ly)*, *extraordinar(y/ily)*, *bright(ly)*, *extreme(ly)*, and *tolerable(ly)*, *full(y)*, as well as one of the forms explicitly criticized by the 1796 review: *admirable*. Of these, only the data for *full* and *admirable* appear to reveal anything about Burney’s language attitudes, and as such, only these paradigms will be discussed here.

Where no change point can be detected, but sufficient data are present, we can reliably conclude that no change point occurs in the data. This is the case for suffixless *full*. The change point model approximates that the probability that no change occurs in this paradigm to be 96%. Here, too, the theory that retention of a flat variant is conditioned by discrete functionality appears compelling. An overwhelming majority of instances of *fully*, 83.75% in the published sub-corpus, and 97.3% in the private sub-corpus, modify verbs or participial adjectives. The remaining 2.7% in the private sub-corpus, as well as 11.25% in the published sub-corpus modify other adjectives, whilst the remaining instances in the private sub-corpus modify adverbs or adverbial phrases. By contrast, only 37.5% of occurrences of adverbial *full* in the private sub-corpus modify verbs or participial adjectives; with the majority, 57.5%, modifying adverbs or adverbial phrases, and the remaining 5% modifying other adjectives.



These findings suggest that, as with adverbial *mighty* and *mightily*, Burney may have regarded the suffixless and suffixed forms as having distinct functions. Indeed, it is notable that *fully* modifies a much wider range of verbs and participial adjectives than *full* does: 54 and 9, respectively, across the entire corpus. This indicates that whilst *fully* has general functionality with verbs and participial adjectives, *full* has only limited functionality with them.

The reverse, moreover, appears to be true for the modification of adverbs. 47.44% of occurrences of adverbial *full* across the entire corpus modify other adverbs or adverbial phrases, compared with the mere 5% mentioned previously, of instances of *fully*. Burney’s retention of adverbial *full*, shown in Figure 29, below, may therefore be attributed to her perception of the differing functionality of the suffixed and suffixless variants of the adverb.



**Figure 29. Normalized frequency of *full* and *fully* occurrence in the private sub-corpus.**

As was mentioned previously, no change point can be detected for Burney’s use of adverbial *admirable* and *admirably*, either. This is because there are only three instances of suffixless *admirable* in the entire corpus: two in direct speech, in 1792 and 1796, and one in Burney’s prose, also in 1792. Given these figures, it is perhaps surprising that the reviewer finds an

instance of flat *admirable* to criticize. This instance is, however, found in direct speech, as Burney notes indignantly in the letter to her father in which she responds to the review:

81. 'An *admirable* good joke', also, is the cant of Clermont, not of the author; who might as well be accountable for the slip slops of Dubster. (quoted in Crump, 2002, p.289)

As was touched upon above, the term 'cant' had two principal meanings in the eighteenth century. It was noted that Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, defines it as either "a corrupt dialect used by beggars and vagabonds", or "a particular form of speaking peculiar to some certain class or body of man" (1792, p.143). Burney's attribution of flat *admirable* to Clermont Lynmere is, in fact, mistaken; it appears in the direct speech of Mrs. Arlbery, in *Camilla*. The characterization of these two characters is pertinent here. Clermont Lynmere is a young, foppish, superficial young man; whilst Mrs Arlbery is also associated with the duplicity, frivolity and superficiality of the 'ton'. Both characters suggest that Burney, like Johnson, associates cant with a "certain class or body of man" (or woman) (1792: 143).

Burney's misattribution of "an admirable good joke" to Clermont Lynmere rather than Mrs Arlbery is primarily telling, however, because it demonstrates that she has not consulted her novel and is relying on recollection of her linguistic characterization. Her ability to identify *admirable* as the "cant" of one of her characters therefore provides us with a very clear insight into her attitude to suffixless adverbial *admirable* in 1796. It is clearly a variant which she regards as sociolinguistically marked, and would not consider using herself.

This interpretation of her reaction to the review is corroborated by the usage data for her private writings, where, as aforementioned, she herself uses *admirable* only once in the entire corpus, in a 1792 letter to her sister and frequent correspondent, Mrs. Phillips. This occurs in the same year as the third instance of flat *admirable* in the corpus, in direct speech within a letter. It is therefore possible that this too can be considered a vogue form, or that it is considered appropriate in the context of informal correspondence, where as discussed in §2.2.2, different stylistic conventions seem to have prevailed. This theory is certainly consistent both with Burney's misattribution of the instance in *Camilla* to Clermont Lynmere, and with the actual presence of the instance within the direct speech of Mrs Arlbery. Both of these characters are presented as fashionable and superficial, and are closely associated with the 'ton'. Whilst suffixless adverbial *admirable* is not a regular feature of Burney's idiolect, therefore, its pattern of usage still allows deductions to be made about Burney's language attitudes, and provides

further evidence of her tendency to utilize sociolinguistically marked grammatical variants in her dialogues for the purposes of characterization.

## 7.5 Concluding remarks

The most significant findings from the dual-form adverb dataset are therefore that Burney does abruptly change her usage within the paradigm criticized by Enfield in which she regularly uses a flat form. Her abandonment of adverbial *scarce* is sudden, stark, and coincides almost precisely with Burney's exposure to the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla*. However, it is notable that there is little evidence of reform to her usage by analogy. In fact, the 1770s, when Burney was entering adulthood and acquiring literary celebrity, seem more of a turning-point for her cross-paradigm reform of dual-form adverb usage. In what follows in Chapter 8, Burney's conjugation of irregular verbs and use of forms of intransitive *lay* will be examined and subjected to CPD, to determine whether Enfield's review was also influential with regard to these variables.

## 8 BURNEY'S CONFORMITY TO OTHER OVERTLY-PRESCRIBED NORMS

### 8.1 A broader perspective

It was established in Chapter 7 that Burney responded to Enfield's 1796 review of *Camilla* by abruptly eradicating adverbial *scarce* from her idiolect. Enfield had accused her of using both the flat forms *scarce* and *admirable*, but it was shown in §7.2 that Burney used the latter only as tool for linguistic characterization. Her abandonment of adverbial *scarce*, which the change point model pinpoints in 1797, seems to be a direct response to Enfield's criticisms, but Burney does not seem to have changed her usage by analogy. In what follows, Burney's conjugation of irregular verbs (in §8.2) and use of forms of intransitive *lie* (in §8.3) both before and after Enfield's review will also be examined, to determine whether this responsiveness was more widespread or confined to the flat adverb form *scarce*. Since Chapter 7 also determined that the application of the CPD method to Burney's language data can also be valuable in suggesting other forces at work in the evolution of her language attitudes, Chapter 9 will then examine her usage of variants not criticized by Enfield.

### 8.2 Conjugation of irregular verbs

As was outlined in §4.5, proscription of the use of identical past tense and past participle forms by analogy with the pattern of regular verbs was a consistent feature of eighteenth-century grammar books (Sundby et al., 1991, pp.225-236). Prominent grammarians such as Lowth (1762, p.86), Priestley (1761, p.123), and Murray (1795, p.118) explicitly advocated a formal distinction between these forms, and it has been surmised that it is as a result of such prohibitions that the process of "simplification that was taking place with [irregular] verbs" (Cheshire 1994, p.125; see also Milroy & Milroy, 1999, pp.71-2; Leonard, 1929, p.76; Hogg, 1988, p.38) was impeded. As was also noted in §4.5, however, variation in practice appears to have continued in educated spoken usage during the eighteenth century (Lass, 2006, p.175), and this continuing variation was very likely accommodated by a continuing pragmatic distinction of informal and formal registers.

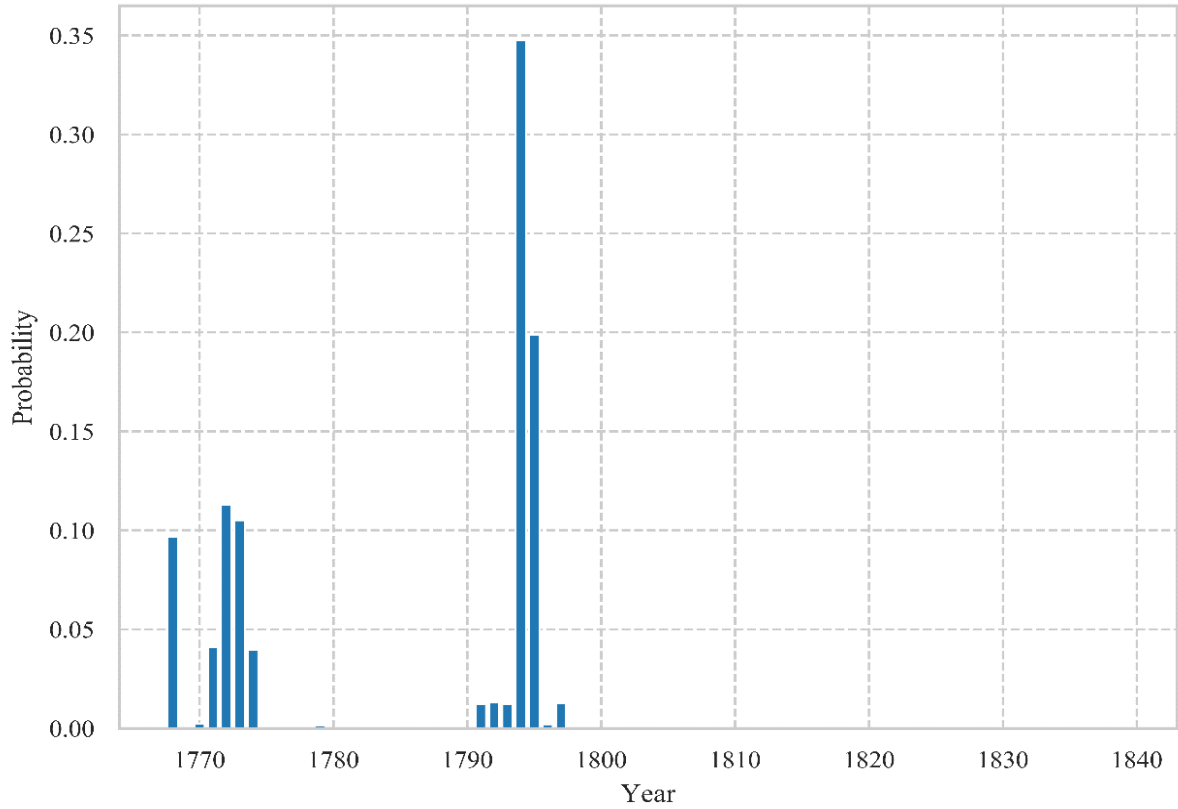
Burney's *Camilla* seems therefore to have been written during a period when marked and unmarked regularized participle forms seem to co-exist. This complicates the interpretation of

her usage reported in this chapter, but as was the case in Chapter 7 above, suggests that for Burney, variants had a hierarchical arrangement of sociolinguistic status. Here, it was demonstrated that Burney confined linguistic reforms made as a result of prescriptive comment to paradigms which were criticized specifically.

Her conjugation of irregular verbs is equivocal in this regard, however, as there is some evidence, reported below, that her practice in other paradigms changes by analogy with that of *strive*. Enfield's review of *Camilla* in 1796 criticizes Burney's regularized use of *strove*. In consequence, Burney's use of ten irregular verbs, including *strive*, has been studied in order to investigate whether she does make a change by analogy, and moves from a regularized model of conjugating irregular verb forms to one which formally distinguishes the past tense and past participle. The studied verb forms are *strove/striven/strived*, which was proscribed in Enfield's 1796 review, as well as *wrote/writ/written*, *broke/broken*, *forgot/forgotten*, *forbid/forbidden*, *shook/shaken*, *arose/arisen*, *chose/chosen*, *mistook/mistaken*, *took/taken*, and *got/gotten*. As was noted in §4.5, these were selected as paradigms in which variation was common during the eighteenth century (Lass 2012: 105).

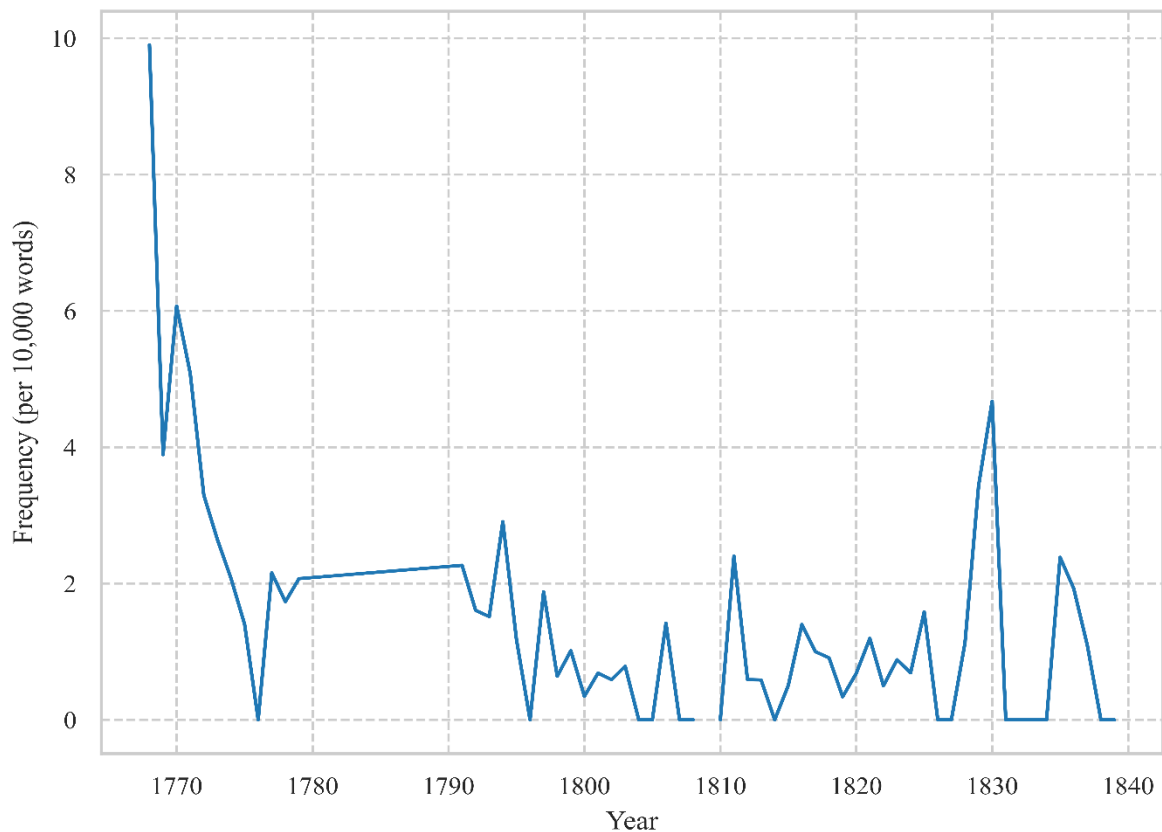
As with the dual-form adverbs discussed in Chapter 7, two distinct change points of note have been detected for these irregular verbs. The first of these lies in the late 1790s, around the time at which the *Monthly's* review of *Camilla* was published. The second lies in the late 1770s, and thus coincides with some of the findings from §7.3, which suggested that the 1770s and in particular the publication of *Evelina* in 1778 may have been a turning point for Burney in terms of her developing awareness of linguistic norms.

In the private sub-corpus, the change point model is unable to detect a single change point at which Burney switched from using a regularized form of the irregular verbs selected for study to one which is irregular. Instead, the change point model proposes that the change point could occur in between 1769 and 1775, or it could occur in the 1790s. It approximates the probability that the change occurs between 1769 and 1775 to be 39.8%, and the probability that it occurs in the 1790s to be 60.1%. Figure 30 shows the probability distribution for these change points.



**Figure 30. Probability distribution for a change point in irregular verb usage in the private sub-corpus.**

The most likely explanation for this probability distribution is that, as with flat adverbs, Burney’s usage of different irregular verbs changes at two different points during the study period, necessitating individual analysis of the studied verbs. Figure 31, below, shows the normalized frequency in the private sub-corpus of irregular verb forms which are identical to the past tense form.

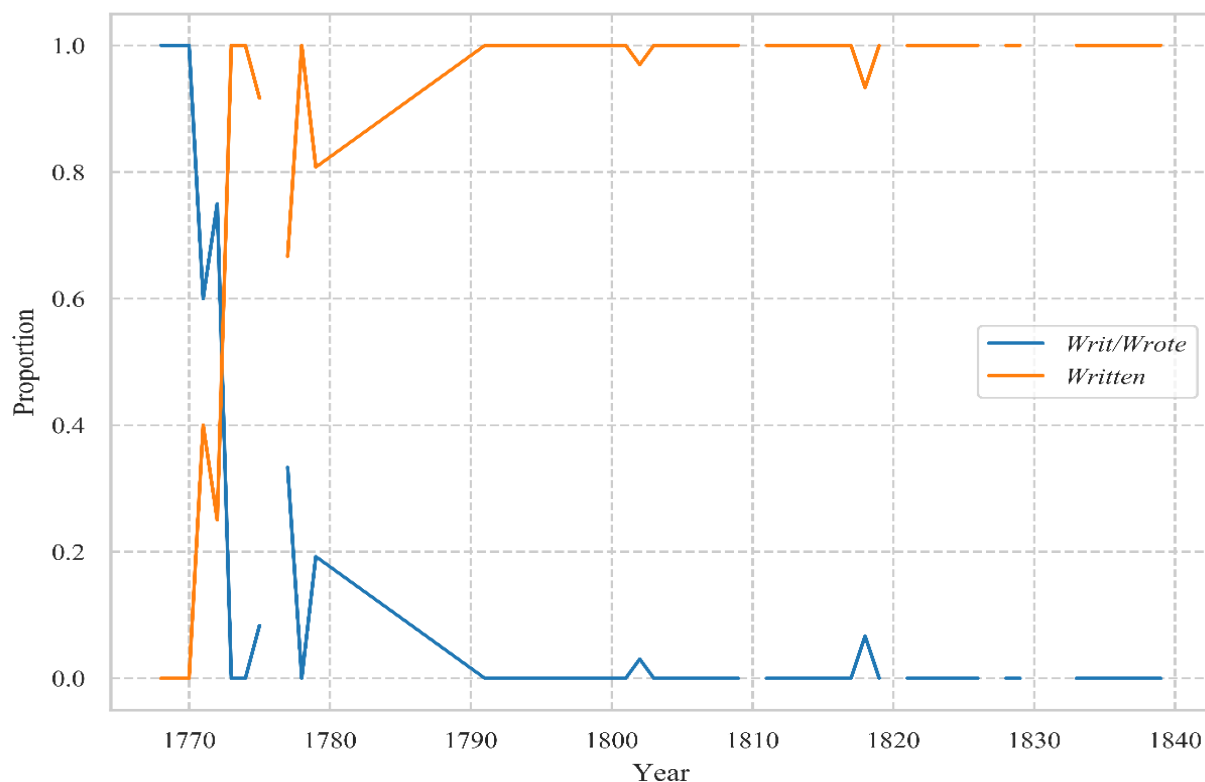


**Figure 31. Normalized frequency (per ten thousand words) of the studied irregular verbs in regularized form in the private sub-corpus.**

Although it is possible to discern an overall reduction in the number of these verb forms being used across the private sub-corpus, the detected change points cannot be discerned from Figure 31. In the published sub-corpus, no change can be detected for the combined verb paradigms due to insufficient data. Burney very seldom uses the regularized verb forms in her published prose, indicating that any variation in the early decades of the study period may result from stylistic stratification. In what follows, the change point findings for the individual verb paradigms will be examined.

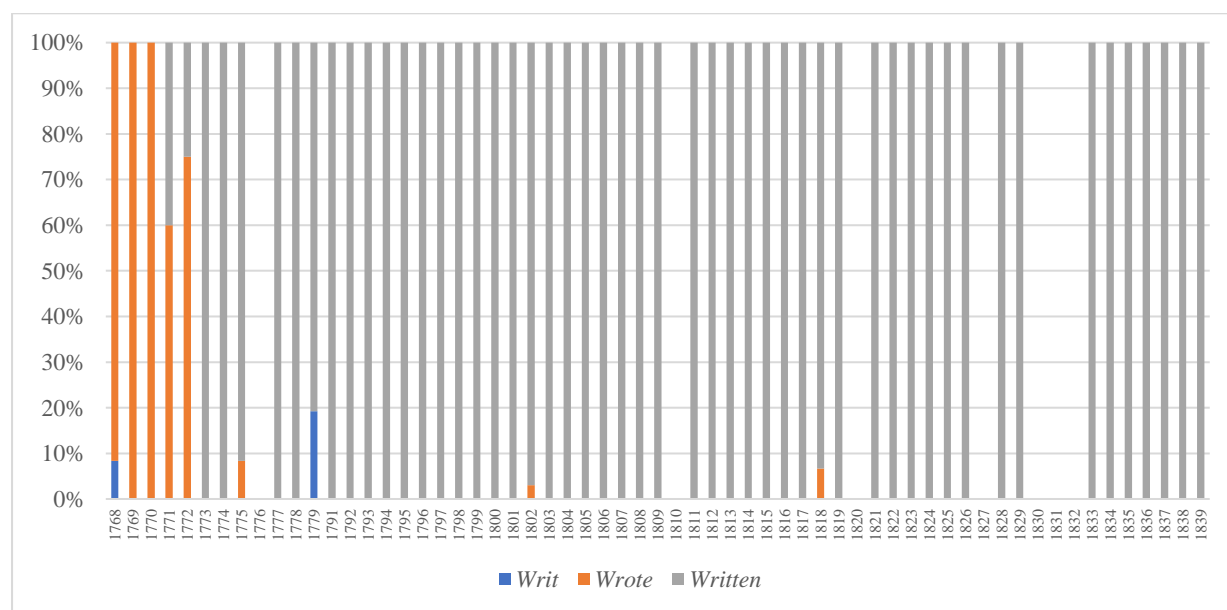
### 8.2.1 A change point in the 1770s

The change point model detects a single change in the time series for use of past participial *wrote/writ/written* in the private sub-corpus. This change is approximated with a probability of 100% to have occurred in 1773. The strength of this probability approximation is notable. This is likely due to Burney's complete abandonment of the non-standard variants, *writ* and *wrote* as past participles in the prose of the private sub-corpus after the 1770s. Figure 32, below, shows the proportional frequency of *writ* and *wrote* by comparison with the more standard *written* in the private sub-corpus.



**Figure 32. Proportional frequency of writ and wrote vs. written in the private sub-corpus.**

As Figure 32 shows, the non-standard variants within this paradigm are used relatively frequently in the early years of the study period, before being abandoned altogether in favour of *written*. Figure 33, below, shows that *wrote* is the dominant variant during this early period, with *writ* appearing only occasionally.



**Figure 33. Proportional frequency of past-participial writ, wrote and written in the private sub-corpus.**



*Writ* and *wrote* are used very seldom in prose in the published sub-corpus, though they do appear relatively frequently in direct speech in Burney's novels. As such, there is insufficient data for the change point model to detect a change in prose usage within this paradigm. However, the clustering of *writ* and *wrote* in direct speech in the published sub-corpus is telling. It indicates that, as with many of the flat adverb forms discussed in §7.2, Burney is using *writ* and *wrote* as sociolinguistic markers, even as she also uses them herself in her unmonitored private writings. As was also observed to be the case with flat adverbs, *writ* and *wrote* as past participles cluster with other variants which Burney seems to perceive as non-standard, and which do not appear in her published prose, such as contractions and multiple negation in the examples given below.

82. "O as to that, I'm a going to him directly; but only I want first to see M. Du Bois; for the oddest thing of all is, that he has **wrote** to me, and never said nothing of where he is, nor what's become of him, nor nothing else." (Madame Duval, *Evelina*, 1778).
83. The repeated calls of Mr. Dubster procuring no further satisfaction; "Why, then, I don't see," he said, "but what I'm as bad off, as if the young gentleman had not **writ** the letter, for I've got to speak for myself at last." (Mr. Dubster, *Camilla*, 1796)
84. "My Tom would ha' been well licked if he'd **wrote** no better at school. And as to his being a twelvemonth a scrawling such another, I'll no more believe it than I'll fly. It's as great a fib as ever was told!" (Mary, *Camilla*, 1796)

Passage 82 is an extract from the speech of Madame Duval in *Evelina*. Madame Duval is Evelina's maternal grandmother, but even before she appears in the narrative, her lowly origins are firmly established. It is reported that she met Evelina's grandfather whilst working "as a waiting-girl at a tavern", and that they were married "contrary to the advice and entreaties of all his friends" (1778, p.6). English by birth but a resident of France for most of her life, her English has been described by critics as "fractured" (Yeazell, 1991, p.132) and "hopelessly corrupted" (Zunshine 2005, p.144). It is, indeed, subject to comment within the novel by another character, Captain Mirvan, who says she could be "taken for [a] wash-woman" (1778, p.78).

Passage 83 is an extract from *Camilla*, in which a character by the name of Dubster uses past participial *writ*. Dubster is one of the characters mentioned by Burney in the letter she wrote to her father, following her exposure to Enfield's review. There, in writing that she "might as well be accountable for the slip slops of Dubster", Burney demonstrates that her deployment of

sociolinguistic markers is an intentional act of grammatical characterization. Passage 84 is an extract from the speech of Mary, a maid, also from *Camilla*.

The association of past participial *writ* and *wrote* with such characters in the works of someone who consciously uses sociolinguistic markedness in this way is telling. It suggests that Burney considered both variants to be vulgar. It is interesting that she should appropriate *wrote* in this way as early as 1778, in *Evelina*, when only a few years earlier, it was the dominant variant in her own idiolect within this paradigm, and when she would continue to use participial *wrote* in her private writings for several more decades.

85. [H]ints & cautions, were given me, relative to the lady I have already **wrote** about so fully, that seemed to call upon me, almost authoritatively, to be on my guard against intimacy, — if not acquaintance — with her! (private sub-corpus, 1802)

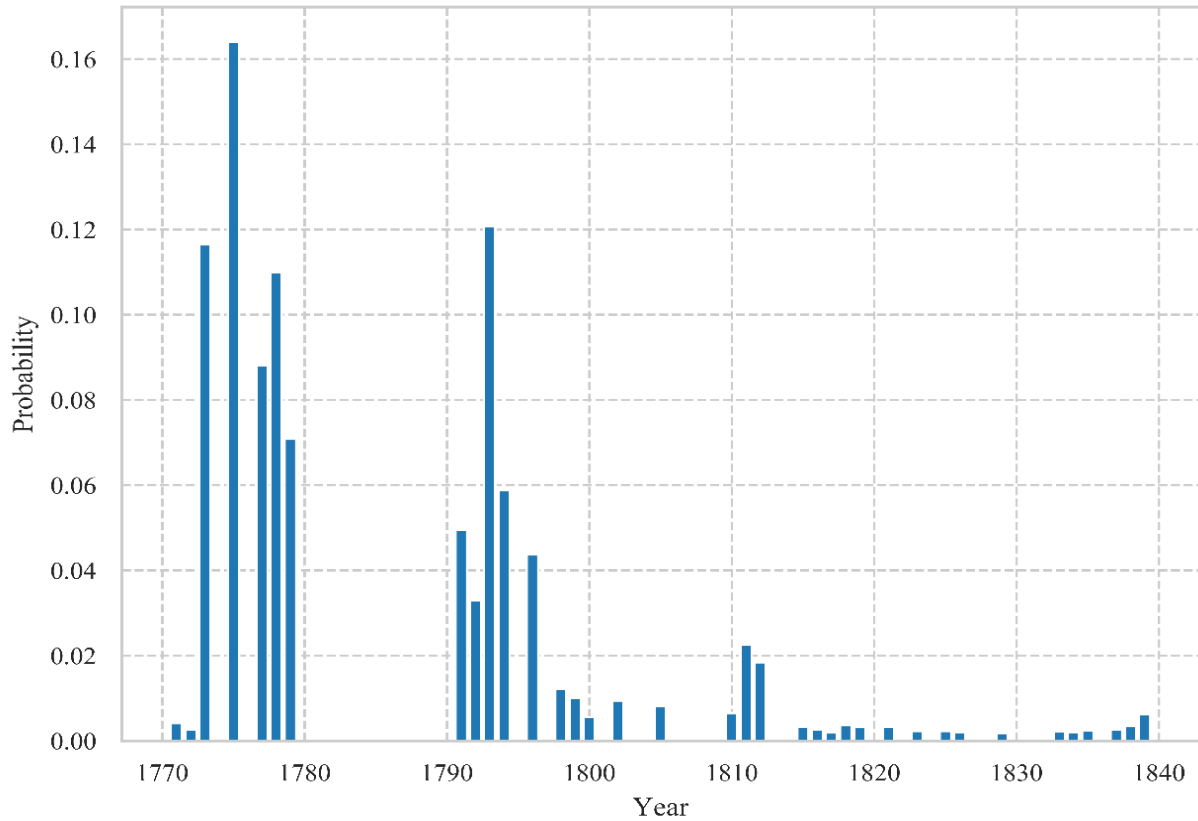
Thus, in *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, and *Camilla*, Burney consciously exploits linguistic variability as a tool for sociolinguistic characterization, whilst also continuing to use *wrote* in her private letters and diaries. It is even more interesting that she should also occasionally use *wrote* in her published prose, as in the following extract:

86. ...she then owned that she had picked up, from the stairs, a sort of love letter, in which Miss Eugenia had **wrote** couplets upon Mr Melmond. (*Camilla*, 1796)

The instances of *wrote* in direct speech in *Camilla* occur both in the 1796 and 1802 editions. It is notable, however, that the appearance of the variant in the 1796 narrative is expunged by the time the second edition is published. Whilst Burney uses this variant in her own private usage in 1802, therefore, it is clear that by this time she has come to view it as inappropriate in the context of published narrative. As in §7.3, therefore, the abandonment of non-standard forms which previously occurred frequently in unmonitored usage appears to coincide with the publication of a novel. In this instance, moreover, it would appear that usage of *wrote* is altered by Enfield's criticism, if only in a very specific context.

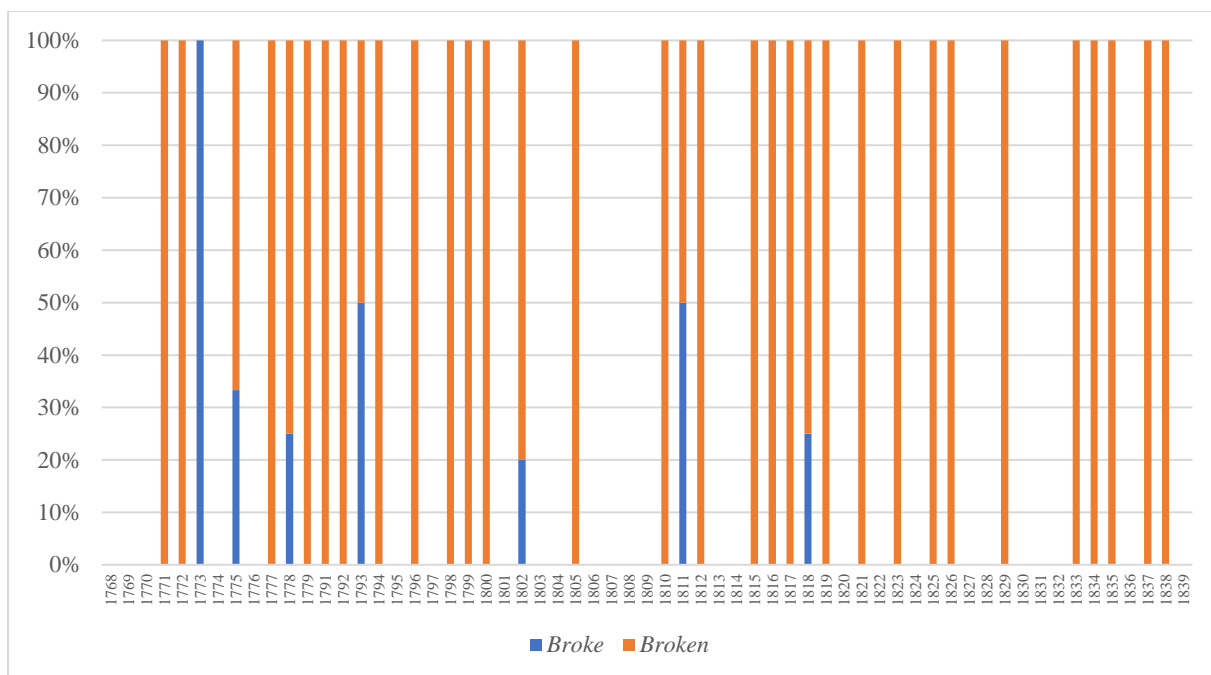
For *broke* vs. *broken*, the 1770s are likewise the probable turning point for usage. Here again, however, the CPD results are equivocal. In the private sub-corpus, the change point model suggests 1775 as the most likely year for the change to have occurred. The probability of the change point falling within this year is approximated to be 16.4%. The probability that it occurred within 1775 or elsewhere during the same decade is approximated to be 55.6%. The probability that the change point occurred in the 1790s is approximated to be 33.5%. As with

the data for the irregular verbs combined, therefore, there is some uncertainty about the decade during which this change occurred, which is indicative of a more drawn-out change. Figure 34, below, shows the probability distribution for this.



**Figure 34. Probability distribution for the change point occurring in the *broke* vs. *broken* paradigm in the private sub-corpus.**

What can be said for certain is that Burney does appear to abandon past participial *broke* in her private prose. This in itself is a significant finding, regardless of where precisely the change occurs. However, on the basis of the probability approximations given above, it is unlikely that this change results from the review of 1796, given that the probability of the change occurring prior to 1796 is approximated to be 81.9%. Figure 35 shows the proportional frequency of *broke* and *broken* as past participles across the private sub-corpus, and shows that *broke* is completely abandoned by the 1820s.



**Figure 35. Proportional frequency of *broke* and *broken* in the private sub-corpus.**

As Figure 35 shows, however, that use of *broke* does persist past the turn of the nineteenth century, with complete abandonment only occurring later. This indicates a very different pattern of abandonment from that displayed by *forgot*, and many of the flat adverbs already considered in Chapter 7. Many of these were abandoned abruptly, and their usage did not persist past the turn of the nineteenth century. However, the fact that past participial *broke* in prose is confined to the private corpus suggests that whilst Burney considers it an acceptable usage for longer than many comparable variants, its use is strictly stylistically stratified, and she does not consider it an appropriate form for use in published prose.

Interestingly, it appears that despite ongoing variation within this paradigm, *broke* is also used occasionally as a sociolinguistic marker in the three novels published by Burney in the eighteenth century. Again, this is indicated by the clustering of non-standard variants together, as in passage 87:

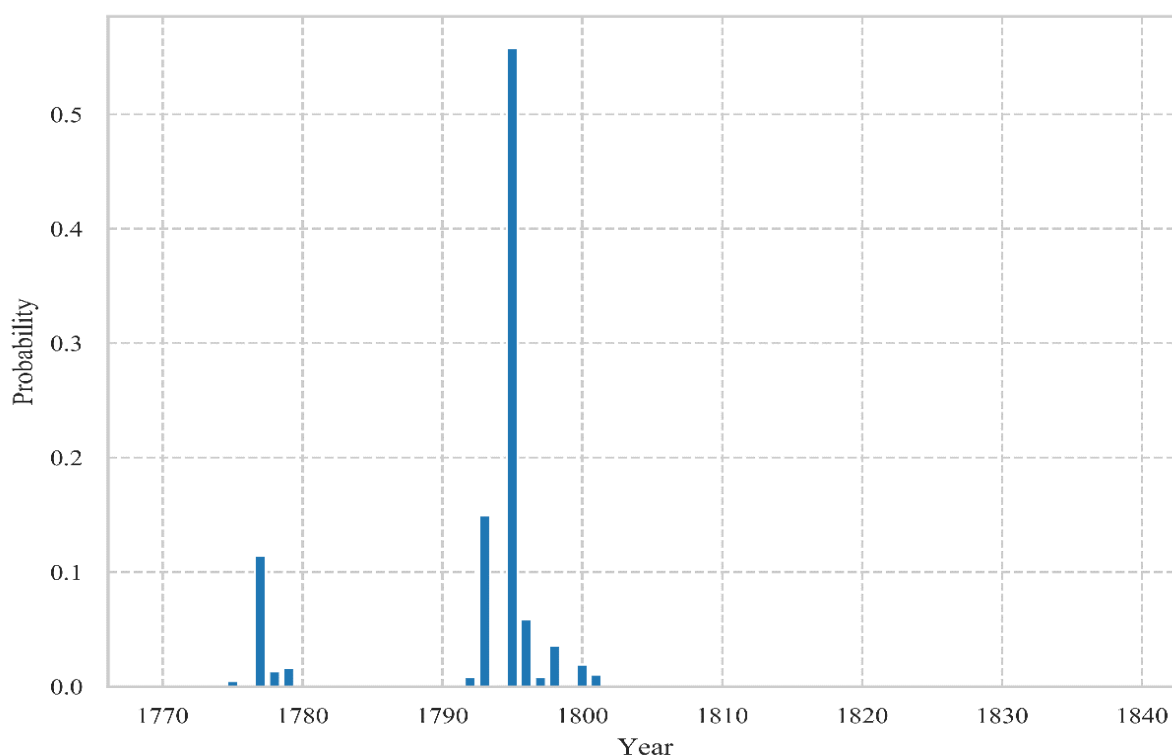
87. "I desire, now, you **won't** begin joking," cried she, "for I assure you it's an **excessive** serious affair. I was never so rejoiced in my life as when I found I was not killed. I've been so squeezed you've no notion. I thought for a full hour I had **broke** both my arms."  
(Miss Larolles, *Cecilia*, 1782)

This extract, from *Cecilia*, contains contractions and the use of adverbial *excessive*. The speaker is Miss Larolles, who was noted in §7.3 to be portrayed as foolish and fashionable, and who is associated with the ton (see §7.3). Whilst *broke* is also used occasionally by characters portrayed as lower class and vulgar, it seems particularly to be associated with fashionable society. This may explain her continued use of this variant into the nineteenth century, whilst grammatical forms shown to be associated with lower class characters are discarded earlier and more abruptly.

### 8.2.2 A change point in the late 1790s

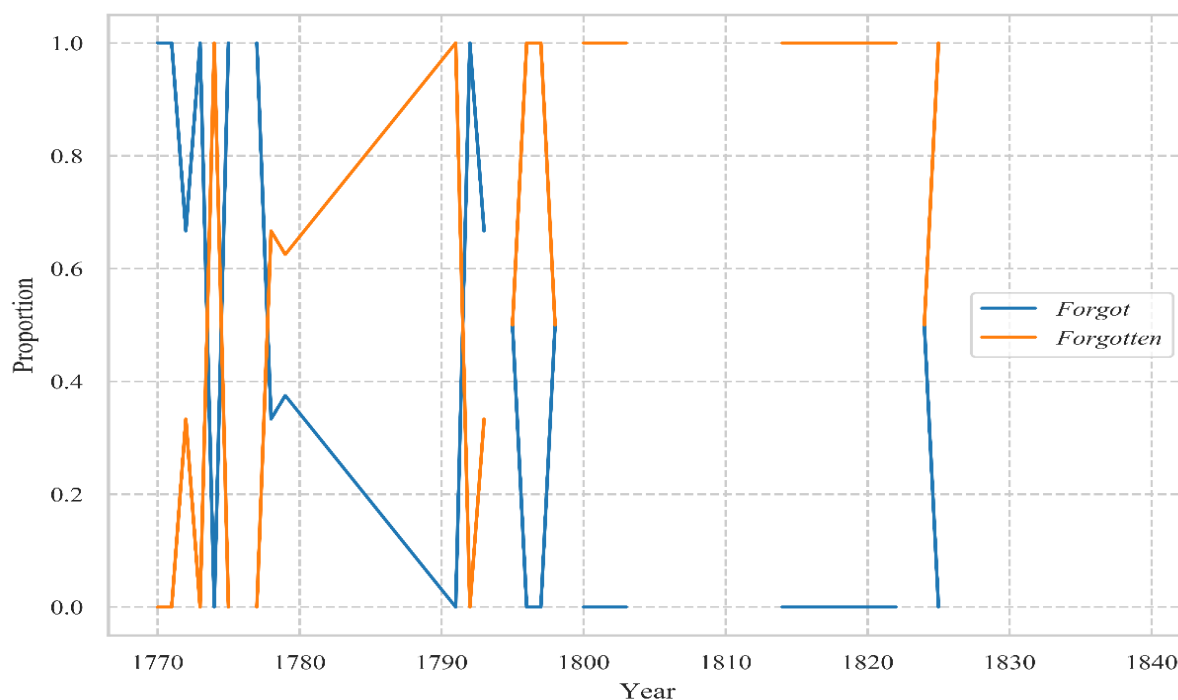
The change point model for the *strive* paradigm is unable to detect a change point for *strove* vs. *striven/strived*, because none of the variants within this paradigm are used with sufficient frequency. Nonetheless, by comparing the first and second editions of *Camilla*, published in 1796 and, following Burney's exposure to Enfield's review, in 1802, it is possible to conclude that a change in usage certainly occurred. Burney systematically eradicates any past participle of *strive* from the second edition, and also avoids it in subsequent private writings. In completely eschewing this past participle, Burney once again showcases her extreme sensitivity to targeted linguistic criticism.

In the private sub-corpus, the change point model detects a single change in Burney's use of *forgot* vs. *forgotten* as the past participle form of *forget*. The probability distribution for this change is shown in Figure 36, below.



**Figure 36. Probability distribution for a change point in *forgot* vs. *forgotten* in the private sub-corpus.**

As Figure 36 shows, the probability that this change occurs between 1791 and 1801 is approximated to be 83.4%. Although the change point model also suggests that the change may occur in the 1770s, it approximates the probability of this to be only 16.6%. Overall, the change point model approximates that the change is most likely to have occurred in 1795. The probability of this is approximated to be 56%. The next most likely year for the change to have occurred is 1793, closely followed by 1777. This might be suggestive of a change that took a decade or more to complete, and is thus more typical of linguistic change than the very sudden changes to Burney’s idiolect that seem to be motivated by targeted prescriptivism. As was noted in §4.6, and will be discussed in §10.3, CPD models are not designed to process this kind of change. These results in any case suggest that the likelihood of the detected change in this paradigm occurring as a result of Burney’s exposure to Enfield’s review in 1796 is very low. What is clear, however, as Figure 37, below, shows, is that whilst past participial *forgot* is a fairly frequent feature of Burney’s idiolect in the late eighteenth century, it is not a feature of her nineteenth-century idiolect. The fact that the change point model is unable to pinpoint a specific year during which the change occurs may indicate that this change is more protracted, and more typical of linguistic change, as opposed to the kind which has been documented in other paradigms.

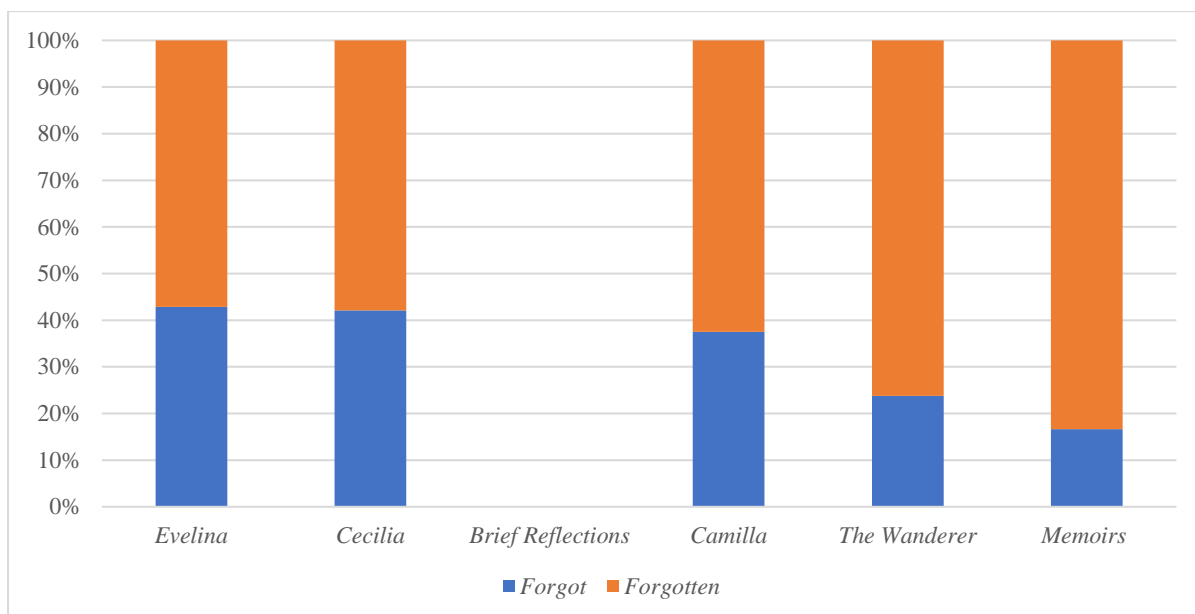


**Figure 37. Proportional frequency of past participial *forgot* and *forgotten* in the private sub-corpus.**

As Burney very seldom uses any of the regularized forms in her published prose, there is insufficient data for the change point model to determine whether any such change also occurs in the published sub-corpus. In fact, only a single prose usage of past participial *forgot* occurs in the published sub-corpus. This occurrence appears in *Cecilia*, which was published in 1782, before the proposed change point in the 1790s, and reads as follows:

88. Cecilia, who, thus happy, **had forgot** to mark the progress of time, was now all amazement to find the term of her absence so soon past. (*Cecilia*, 1782)

Other eighteenth-century appearances of past-participial *forgot* in the published sub-corpus all appear in the context of direct speech. As Figure 38, below, shows, the variant is a feature of direct speech across the Burney corpus, though it seems to be used less frequently in the nineteenth century publications than those of the eighteenth century. This may be related to declining general usage as stigmatization took hold.



**Figure 38. Proportional frequency of *forgot* and *forgotten* as past participles in the published sub-corpus.**

There is some evidence that, as with many of the flat adverb forms discussed in Chapter 7, as well as *writ*, *wrote*, and *broke*, Burney is using *forgot* as a sociolinguistic marker. As was also noted to be the case with those variants, *forgot* as a past participle clusters with other variants which Burney seems to perceive as non-standard, and which do not appear in her published prose, such as contractions in the examples given below.

89. "Who, I? – what, d’you suppose I had **forgot** I was an *Englishman*, a filthy, beastly *Englishman*?" (Captain Mirvan, *Evelina*, 1778)
90. "No good, no good; nothing to say to you; found fault with my nose! ha’n’t **forgot** it." (Mr Briggs, *Cecilia*, 1782)
91. However, he answered tolerably civilly, and only desired that nobody might go into his room till he came home from the sail, for he’d **forgot** to lock it. (Clermont Lynmere, *Camilla*, 1796)
92. "Why, now, you won't make me believe," said Mr. Dubster, "you've **forgot** how your patten broke; and how I squeezed my finger under the iron?" (Mr Dubster, *Camilla*, 1796)

Passage 89 is an extract from *Evelina* of the speech of Captain Mirvan, whom Evelina describes as "surly, vulgar, and disagreeable" (1778, p.44), and who has just returned from seven years at sea on naval duty. The linguistic characterization of Captain Mirvan has been the subject of extensive discussion by literary critics, including in terms of its association with military and



nautical jargon, discourtesy, misogyny, and violence (see, for instance, Doody, 1989, p.53; Maunu, 2007, p.68; Mackie, 2010, p.158). Passage 90 is an extract from *Cecilia* of the speech of Mr. Briggs, one of Cecilia's guardians. He is a character often described by critics in relation to his vulgarity, and as a comical miser. (see, for example, Lynch 2006: 329). Passages 91 and 92 are both extracts from *Camilla*. The former is taken from the speech of Camilla's cousin, Clermont Lynmere. Clermont was introduced in Chapter 7, as an upper-class but superficial and foolish character associated with the fripperies of fashionable society. He is in fact the character to whom Burney attributes the use of 'cant' in the letter to her father in which she addresses Enfield's charges in relation to her grammar in *Camilla*:

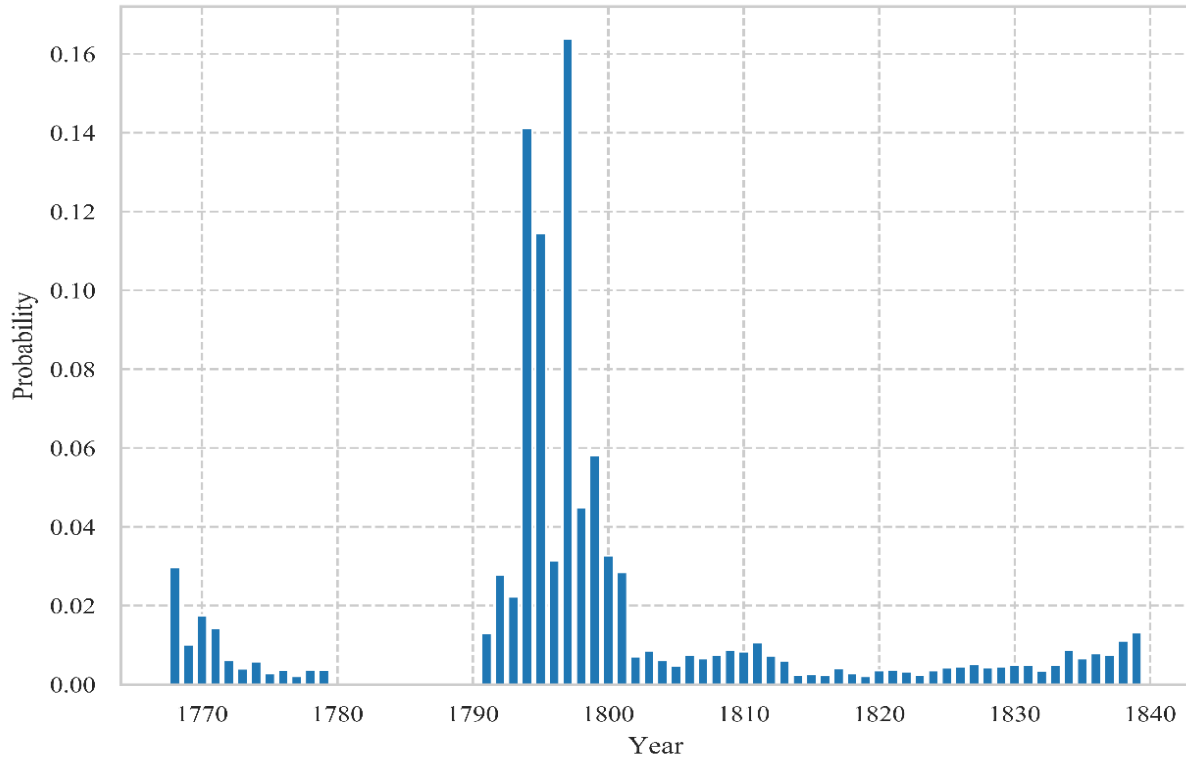
'An *admirable* good joke', also, is the cant of Clermont, not of the author; who might as well be accountable for the slip slops of Dubster.

Passage 92 contains excerpts from the speech of Mr. Dubster. As was discussed above, Dubster is the second character Burney mentions in her letter. As was also noted above, in saying that she "might as well be accountable for the slip slops of Dubster", Burney is demonstrating that her deployment of sociolinguistic markers is an intentional act of grammatical characterization.

The association of past participial *forgot* with such characters in the works of someone who consciously uses sociolinguistic markedness in this way is telling. It suggests not only that Burney regards such use of *forgot* to be vulgar, but also, as was the case for some of the vogue flat adverbs discussed in §7.3, associates it with the superficial society of the ton. Clermont Lynmere's use of the variant, quoted above, indicates this link, and examination of the remaining instances of *forgot* as a past participle in *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, and *Camilla* confirms this link, as it is either used by vulgar lower class, or 'society' characters.

The other irregular verbs whose usage was examined are used too infrequently for a change point model to detect any change in their individual usage. As was discussed above, when grouped together, the change point model detects a change to have most probably occurred in the 1770s. However, for *forgot/forgotten*, *writ/wrote/written*, and *broke/broken*, individual change points have been found. If the data for these paradigms are excluded from consideration, a change point can be detected for the remaining irregular verbs. The change point model approximates that this change is most likely to have occurred in the 1790s. It

approximates the probability of this to be 61.7%, with 1797 as the year showing the greatest probability of change, at 16.4%. Figure 39 shows the probability distribution for this.



**Figure 39. Probability distribution for a change point in all of the paradigms except for *break*, *forget* and *write*.**

As Figure 39 shows, the change point model also approximates the probability of the change occurring in the late 1760s or during the 1770s to be 10.5%. However, the fact that the year exhibiting the highest probability of change is 1797, the year following the publication of Enfield’s review of *Camilla*, is a notable finding. As was the case for *wrote*, this again suggests that, although there is insufficient data to draw definitive conclusions, Burney did reform her usage to some extent by analogy with *strove*.

This evidence of change by analogy represents a departure from the findings reported in Chapter 7, where there was little evidence of change within paradigms not specifically targeted for criticism by Enfield. This section has also reported on further indications that the 1770s were a period of great linguistic change for Burney, as she entered adulthood and was absorbed into fashionable literary society. There are also consistent indications that analogous variants are subject to hierarchical markedness for Burney, with some continuing to be considered

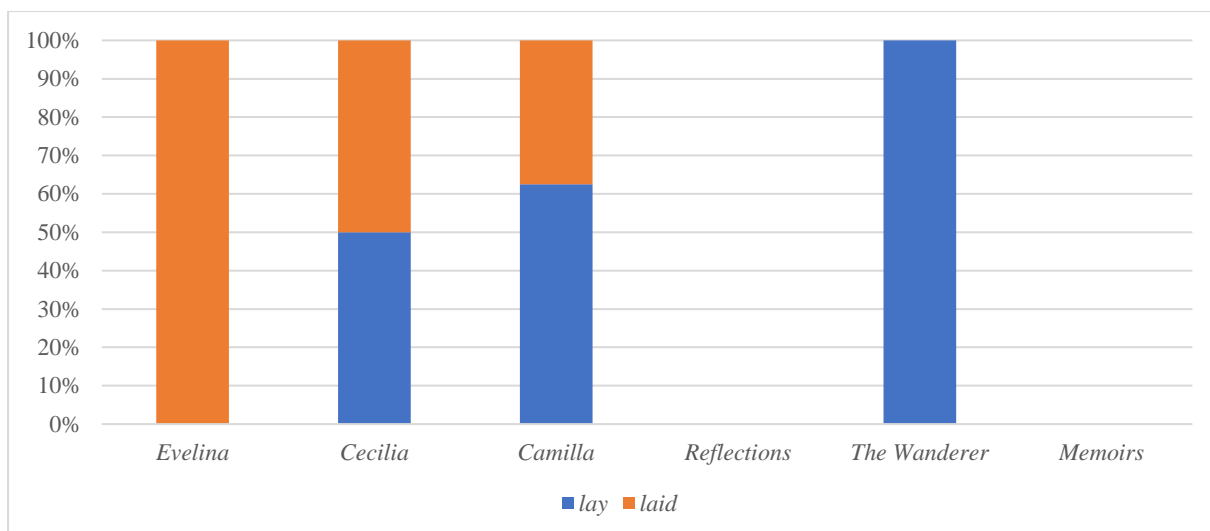
acceptable for many decades after others have been consigned to the direct speech of vulgar or ‘tonnish’ characters.

### 8.3 Forms of intransitive *lie*

As was noted in §3.3.4, the use of transitive *lay* in place of intransitive *lie* is one of the “verbal and grammatical inaccuracies” highlighted in Enfield’s 1796 review of *Camilla*. Indeed, Enfield provides four quotations in which this perceived solecism occurs, whereas other highlighted grammatical variants are represented by only one or, at most, two quotations each. It is remarkable that Enfield should have found four such instances in a single novel, given that confusion of the two is extremely rare in Burney’s writings. Such confusion seems, however, as was noted in §4.5.2 to have been of particular concern to the periodical reviewers. Sundby *et al.* identify Baker as the earliest of the grammarians to discuss the need for a clear distinction between intransitive *lie* and transitive *lay* (Sundby et al., 1991, p.223), however, Percy identifies Lowth “as an early source of proscription” (2009, p.132). She concludes, however, that the rules surrounding the usage of intransitive *lie* were “codified earliest, most explicitly and most vividly in the reviews”

Thus, whilst Baker seems to have been the earliest of the grammarians to have discussed the need for a clear distinction between intransitive *lie* and transitive *lay* (Sundby et al., 1991, p.223), reviewers had, as Percy notes, been commenting on authors’ usage in relation to this issue since the 1750s (1996, p.350). It was noted in §4.5.2, for example, that Percy quotes Ralph Griffiths as describing *lay* for *lie* in 1763 as a “slight vulgarism...which we commonly observe in the news-papers” (1996, p.350).

In the Burney corpus, any confusion between the two paradigms occurs almost exclusively in the past tense. Here, as Figure 40, below, shows, Burney gradually alters her usage over time in the published sub-corpus, moving from exclusive use of *laid* as the past tense form of the intransitive verb in *Evelina*, to exclusive use of *lay* in this context in *The Wanderer*. In *Cecilia* and *Camilla*, as Figure 40 also shows, there is variation between the two past tense forms. Instances of past tense intransitive *laid* and *lay* occurring in direct speech are rare, but have been removed from the data presented here.



**Figure 40. Proportional frequency of past tense intransitive *laid* and *lay* in the published sub-corpus.**

As the numbers being considered here are so small, the change point model has been unable to pinpoint the locus of this change. However, comparison of the first two editions of *Camilla* show the abruptness of the change occurring here. Table 31 shows how Burney edited the novel following the publication of the 1796 edition, to expunge any confusion of transitive *lay* and intransitive *lie*.

		1796	1802
Infinitive	<i>lie</i>	3	4
	<i>lay</i>	0	0
Present participle	<i>lying</i>	2	2
	<i>laying</i>	0	0
Present singular	<i>lies</i>	0	0
	<i>lays</i>	0	0
Present plural	<i>lie</i>	5	3
	<i>lies</i>	0	0
	<i>lay</i>	0	0
	<i>lays</i>	0	0
Past tense	<i>lay</i>	5	2
	<i>laid</i>	3	0
Past participle	<i>laid</i>	0	0
	<i>lain</i>	0	1

**Table 31. Forms of intransitive *lie* in early editions of Burney's *Camilla*.**

Table 31 shows that in the first edition of *Camilla*, past tense *laid* as a form of intransitive *lie* occurs 3 times, but that all 3 of these instances are removed from the text by the time the second edition is published. As such, in the 1796 *Camilla*, we find such sentences as “one of the horses laid dead”, and “she laid down in her cloaths” (both quoted by Enfield in his review, 1796, p.162), in 1802 we find that these have both been emended to “one of the horses lay dead at the bottom of the hill”, and “she lay down in her clothes”.

Alongside the data presented in Figure 40, above, this indicates an abrupt change in Burney’s perception of intransitive *laid*, occurring between 1796 and 1802. Whereas prior to 1796, it seems to have been considered an acceptable variant for use in published prose, by 1802 it is no longer regarded as such. This is strongly suggestive of a change brought about by Burney’s exposure to Enfield’s review of *Camilla*.

In the private sub-corpus, where occurrences of relevant forms are more frequent, a single change point is detected. This change point does not, however, correspond to Enfield’s review. Nor does it correspond to either of those periods of significant change identified in §7.3 and §8.2.1. Whereas most change points identified to this point have either fallen in the 1770s or the 1790s, the change point model detects the change in usage of forms of intransitive *lie* to occur in the 1810s. Figure 41 shows the probability distribution for this change point.

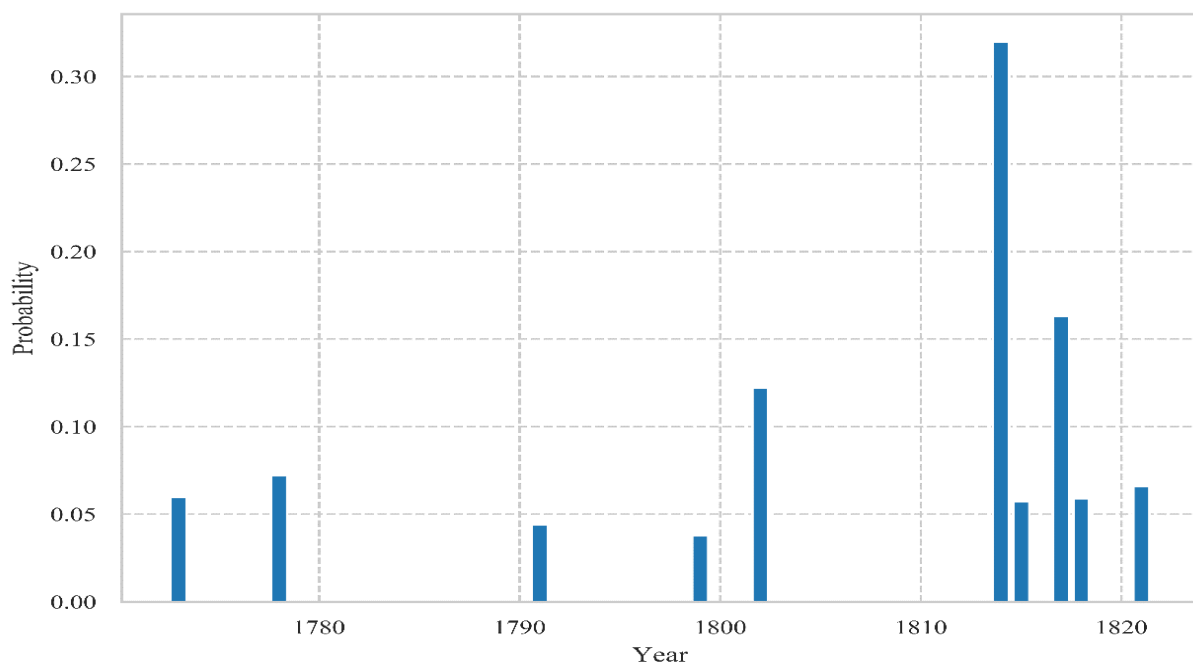


Figure 41. Probability distribution for a change point in forms of intransitive *lie*.

As Figure 41 shows, the probability of the detected change occurring in the 1810s is approximated to be 59.9%, with 1814 approximated to be the most likely locus. The probability of the change occurring in this year is approximated to be 32%, whilst the probability of it occurring in 1817 is approximated to be 16.3%, and in 1802, 12.2%.

A nineteenth-century change point is an interesting finding, since all the indications up to this point have been that Burney’s usage was variable in the eighteenth century but relatively stable in the nineteenth. Whilst it is possible that this finding genuinely reflects an abrupt change of usage occurring in or around 1814, as was the case for many of the change points already discussed, it is also possible that it highlights a flaw in the CPD method. As was outlined in §4.6, the change point models for the variables examined here are designed to detect a single change point, and to provide a confidence level for a single change point occurring at a given stage in the corpus. The models are therefore not designed or equipped to deal with gradual changes, of the kind already shown to have occurred for forms of intransitive *lie* in the published sub-corpus. Further investigations are therefore necessary in this instance to determine whether such a gradual change also occurs for the relevant variants in the private sub-corpus.

Figure 42, below, shows the proportional frequency for forms of intransitive *lie* in the private sub-corpus.

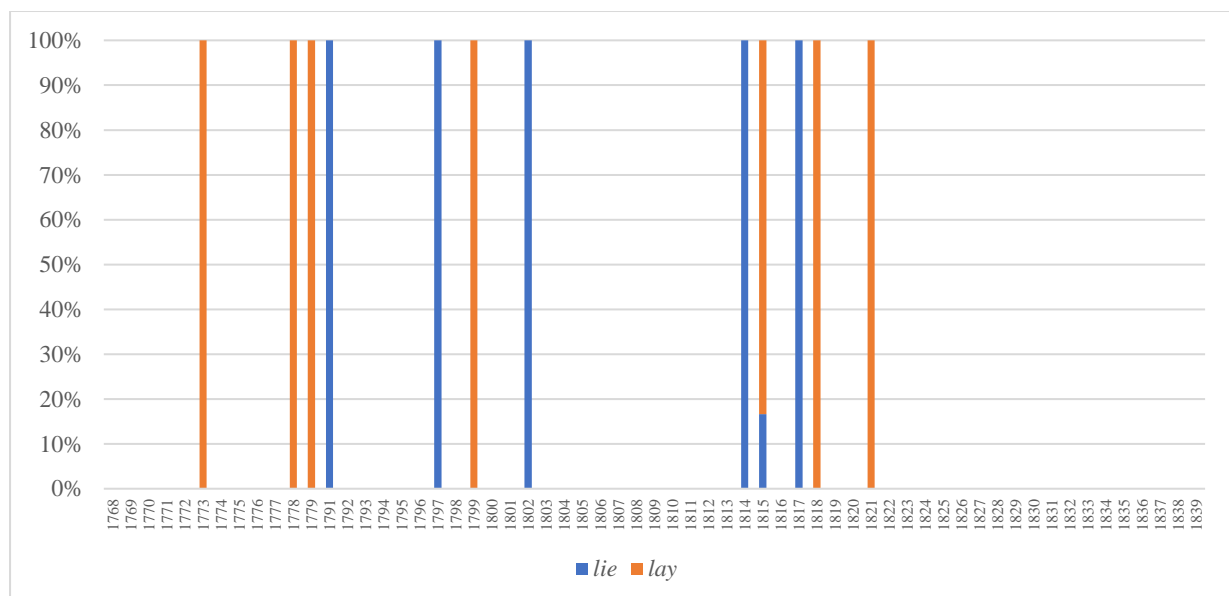


Figure 42. Proportional frequency of forms of intransitive *lie* in the private sub-corpus.

The most striking feature of Figure 42 is that ongoing variation of the forms used for intransitive *lie* continues until two decades after the turn of the nineteenth century, and that competition for dominance between the forms also continues to this date. Unlike in the private sub-corpus, where in the past tense, *laid* was dominant early on but was gradually replaced by *lay*, with 1796 as an apparent locus for change, variants from the paradigm for transitive *lay* continue to be used within the paradigm for intransitive *lie* until the 1820s. This would appear to confirm that the change point model is not correct in positing 1814 as a locus for change in this instance. In fact, it would appear that no such change in usage occurs within this paradigm in the private sub-corpus.

It is therefore interesting that such an obvious change should occur in the published sub-corpus whilst no corresponding change should occur in the private sub-corpus. As was the case with past participial *wrote*, this indicates that Burney perceives the appropriacy of non-standard forms of intransitive *lie* to be register-dependent, and that as a result their usage is stylistically stratified.

Ultimately, Burney appears to abandon non-standard forms of intransitive *lie* in both sub-corpora, however it would appear that there is a period of several decades during which they are regarded as inappropriate for use in the published sub-corpus, but appropriate for use in private correspondence. It is likely that this is a vestige of the early eighteenth-century phenomenon by which informality correlated with intimacy in personal writings (see for instance Oldireva Gustavsson, 2002).

#### 8.4 Concluding remarks: Burney's responsiveness to overtly-prescribed norms

The findings presented in Chapters 7 and 8 indicate that Burney is indeed extremely responsive to overtly-prescribed norms, but that she makes only limited changes by analogy with targeted paradigms. Two periods of Burney's life have emerged from the change point analysis as loci for changes to her idiolect. One is the late 1790s, coinciding with the publication of Enfield's review of *Camilla*. Her reforms at this stage tend to be confined to paradigms which have been specifically criticized.

However, the identification of an earlier, arguably more significant locus for change to Burney's idiolect is intriguing. It would appear that during the 1770s, Burney altered her usage significantly across paradigms, as she matured and entered fashionable literary society. It has

also been demonstrated that Burney's tendency to attribute variants which she considers stigmatized to vulgar or fashionable characters can be pivotal in revealing her language attitudes.

The CPD method has not only been used above to confirm that Enfield's review did prompt Burney to change her language practice in significant and sustained manner, therefore. It has also suggested other periods of interest in the evolution of Burney's language attitudes and relationship to norms of correctness. In what follows, Burney's usage of 3 further grammatical variants will be examined. As was outlined in §4.5, these are not variants which Enfield criticized Burney's use of; nor could changes to her use of these variants have occurred by analogy as a result of Enfield's review of *Camilla*. These variants are less consistently stigmatized by eighteenth century grammarians, and the investigations reported in Chapter 9 will allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the effectiveness of the CPD method as a means not only of assessing the impact of targeted prescriptivism, but also in investigating language change at an idiolectal level more generally.



## 9 BURNEY’S USAGE OF GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS NOT TARGETED BY THE *MONTHLY*

### 9.1 Second person singular *you was*

As was shown §4.5.4, *you was* was a highly frequent feature of normative grammars in the eighteenth century, thought to have been proscribed first by Lowth (Leonard, 1929, p.275), who refers to it as an “enormous Solecism” (1762, p.48). This widespread proscription is, as was described in §4.5.4, considered responsible for promoting *you were* as the prestige form (Laitinen, 2009, p.208). This was a process which occurred during Burney’s lifetime, and corpus studies suggest that in middle-class circles, *you was* and *you were* would have remained in free variation throughout Burney’s youth.

Despite this, analysis of the published sub-corpus reveals that *you was* is entirely confined to direct speech. This suggests that, for Burney, it is a marked variant from the publication of *Evelina* in 1778. It must be noted, however, that only *Evelina* is written in the first person; meaning that it is extremely unlikely that second person singular *you was* should be found outside of direct speech in her subsequent publications.

In the private sub-corpus, *you was* is used a handful of times in the first decades of the period covered by the corpus, but completely abandoned thereafter. This pattern of usage can be seen in Figure 43, below.

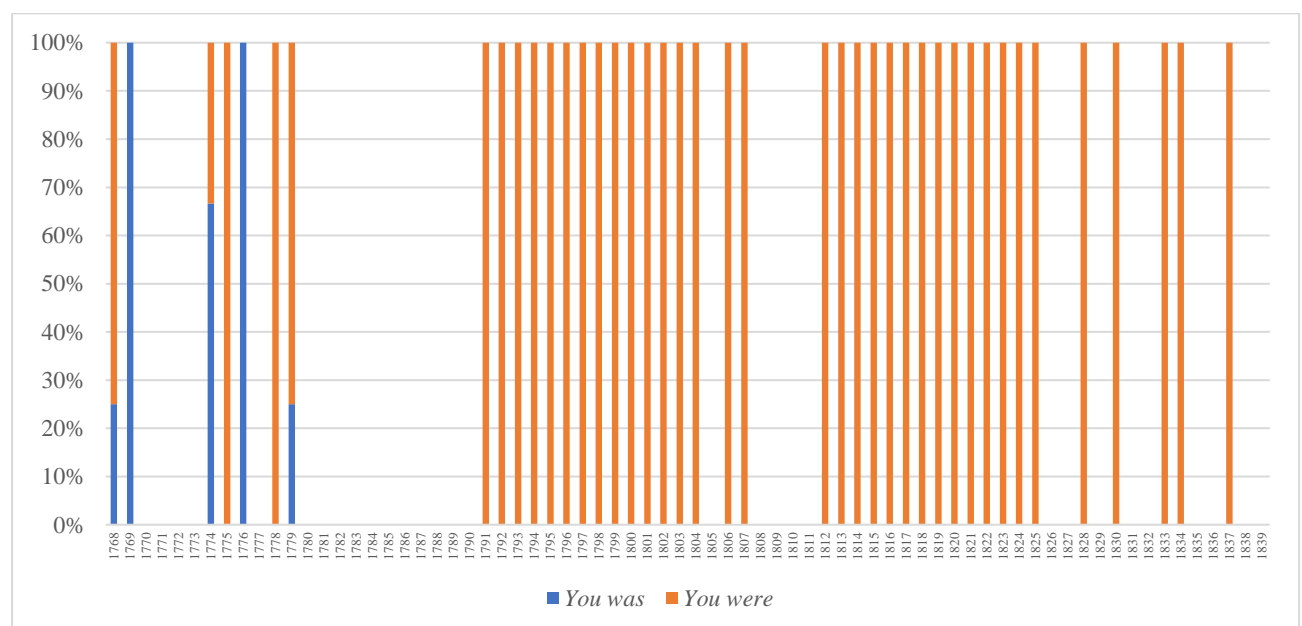
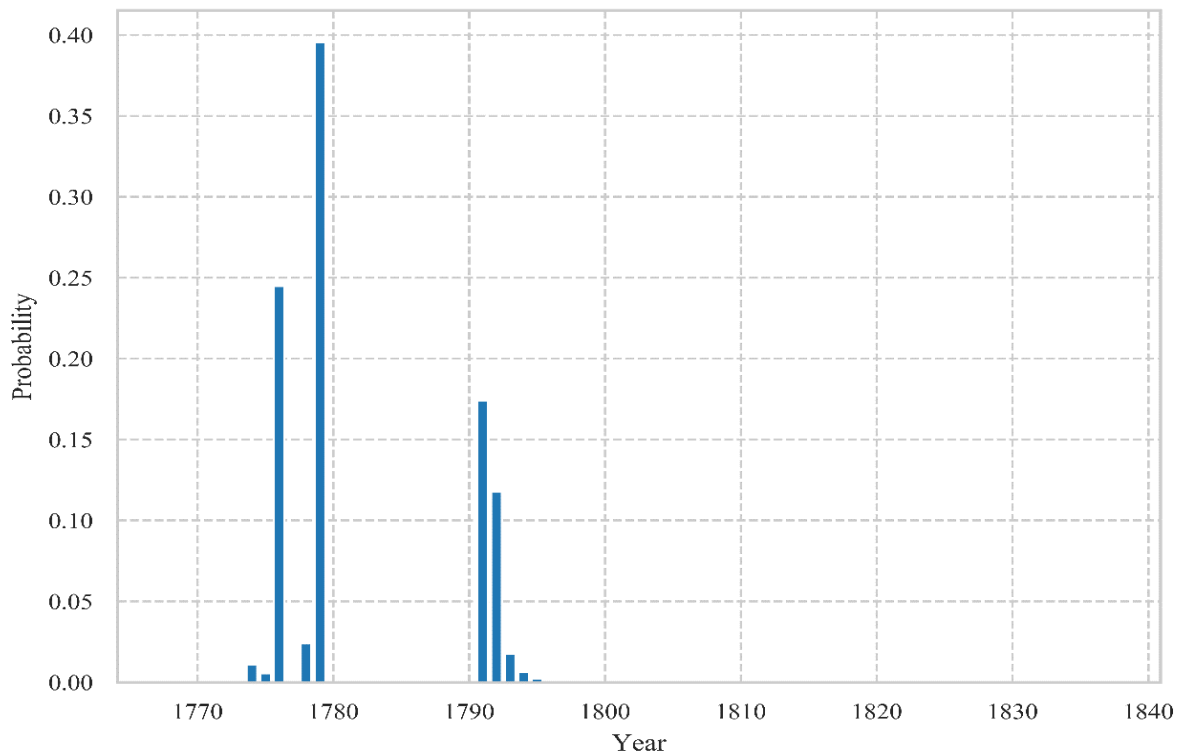


Figure 43. Proportional frequency of *you was* and *you were* in the private sub-corpus.

As a result of the distribution shown in Figure 43, above, the change point model for the private sub-corpus detects a single change in Burney’s use of *you was* and *you were*, in the late 1770s or early 1790s. This change point is more equivocal than most of those reported thus far. Partially, this results from the lack of textual data available for the 1780s, which results in the pattern of probability distribution shown in Figure 44, below.



**Figure 44. Probability that change point for *you was* vs. *you were* in the private sub-corpus occurred in a given year.**

As was seen in Chapter 8, it is not unusual for the change point models to approximate the probability of a change in this manner, with one or more year approximated to be the most likely locus of the change, and surrounding years approximated to have lower probabilities. However, the lack of data for the 1780s and the year of 1790 has resulted in the change point model being unable to discern that 1791 is not the year adjacent to 1779, and as a result the distribution of the approximated probability for this change spreads from 1775 to 1795, covering a decade in terms of textual data, but a much longer period in real time. Nonetheless, the change point model approximates that the change point is most likely to lie between 1775 and 1779. It approximates the probability of this to be 63%, with the highest probability that it occurred in 1779 approximated to be 39%. As there are no hits for *you was* after 1779, the

likelihood of the change point occurring in the early 1790s would appear to be very low. This highlights the importance of using manual checks to verify the findings of CPD, which are by no means infallible.

True variation between *was* and *were* in relevant contexts therefore ends very early, around the time that *Evelina* is published in 1778. Whilst Burney used *you was* in her private writings in the early decades, she uses it as a sociolinguistically marked form in her early novels, and this usage coincides with the abandonment of the variant in her own writings. As was noted in §7.2, this also appears to be the case with some of the studied flat adverbs. As was also noted there, Tieken-Boon van Ostade has noted a similar change in Jane Austen's usage of non-standard grammatical variants and attributed this pattern to Austen's "growing linguistic awareness...[as] she was developing into a novelist" (2014, p.205).

This pattern is even more striking in Burney's oeuvre than in Austen's, since grammatical characterization is a much more prevalent feature of Burney's works than Austen's. Thus whereas Tieken-Boon van Ostade could detect a decline in the use of variants identified as non-standard as Austen became a professional author, in the Burney corpus it is actually possible to discern a period of switchover, during which *you was*, like some flat adverb forms, ceases to be a feature of the private corpus, and becomes a feature of direct speech in the published sub-corpus.

Whereas in the early decades of the study period and as late as 1776, *you was* appears to compete with *you were* as a fairly regular feature of Burney's unmonitored private usage, by the time of the publication of *Evelina* in 1778, it has been consigned almost completely to cluster in direct speech with other apparent markers of vulgar usage. After the publication of *Evelina*, it appears only once in the private sub-corpus, in the surviving fragment of a letter to her sister Susanna:

93. **you was** very affronting to my Goods, & I should have been very glad to have had them (private sub-corpus, 1779)

This apparently unmonitored usage of the *was* variant seems to be a remnant of Burney's earlier tendency to use it in an informal, personal context. As has already been discussed, informal correspondence of the eighteenth century has been identified as a "written vernacular", which is "characterised by its own linguistic rules and regularities" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2005b, p.119). This is attributable to the "subordinat[ion of] 'art' to 'nature', the composed to the unplanned" in the epistolary theory of the century (Anderson and Ehrenpreis, 1966, p.272). In

1773, Samuel Crisp, a close friend of the family whom Burney called ‘Daddy’, had urged her not to “form” personal letters in this way: “I hate it if once You set about framing studied letters, that are to be correct, nicely grammatical & run in smooth Periods” (quoted in Crump, 2002, p.82). Crisp, being from Burney’s father’s generation, rather than her own, was more likely to be invested in the habit of stylistically stratifying different genres of writing. Although this was becoming old-fashioned, to an individual of Crisp’s age, it would have been a means of signalling intimacy and friendliness in written correspondence (Anderson and Ehrenpreis, 1966).

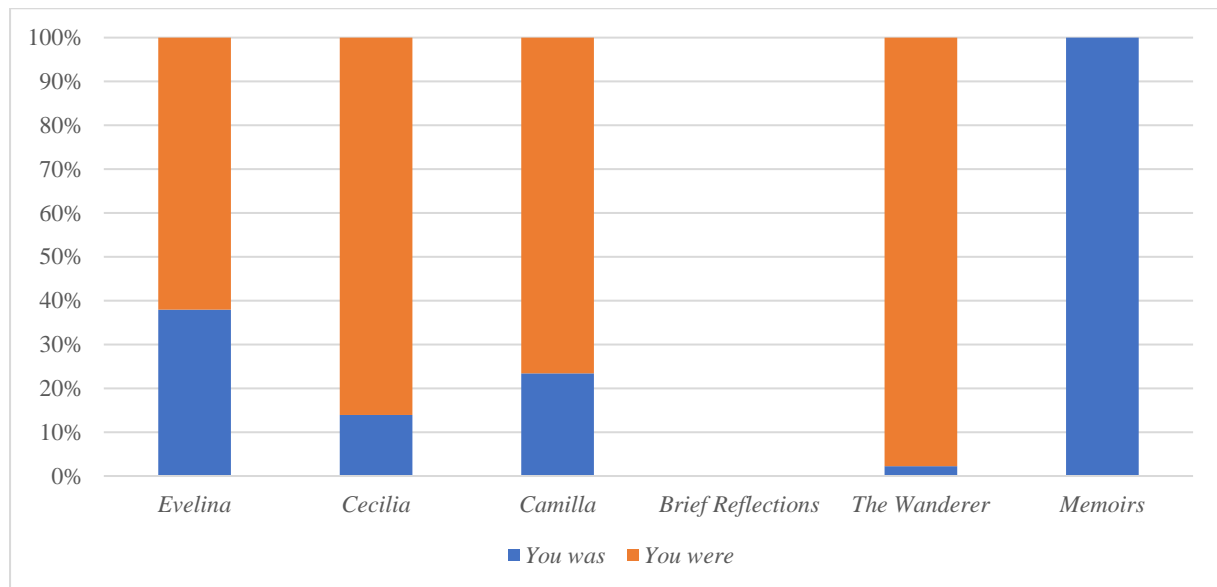
Despite this single unmonitored private use of *you was*, however, it is clear from examination of the contexts in which *you was* appears in direct speech in *Evelina* that Burney regards it as a stigmatized variant. As with other variants already discussed, it clusters to a significant degree with other apparent markers of vulgarity which Burney avoids outside of the context of direct speech. These include contractions, multiple negation and double superlatives, as in the following examples.

94. "Pray now, Madam, don't be so close; come tell us all about it – what does he say? how did he relish the horse-pond? – which did he find best, sousing *single* or *double*? 'Fore George, 'twas plaguy unlucky **you was** not with him!" (Captain Mirvan, *Evelina*, 1778)
95. "O *Pardi*, Sir," cried she, "I don't desire none of your company; and if **you wasn't** the most boldest person in the world, you would not dare look me in the face." (Madame Duval, *Evelina*, 1778)

The first of these examples is an extract of the speech of Captain Mirvan, whose characterization as “surly, vulgar, and disagreeable” (1778, p.44) was discussed in §7.3. The second example is an extract from the speech of Madame Duval, *Evelina*’s maternal grandmother. As was outlined in §8.2.1, Madame Duval is established as a vulgar character, whose English has been described by critics as “fractured” (Yeazell, 1991, p.132) and “hopelessly corrupted” (Zunshine, 2005, p.144).

As can be seen in Figure 45, below, Burney continues to use *you was* in direct speech in this way throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. In both *Cecilia* and *Camilla*, it is used relatively frequently as a sociolinguistic marker. By the time of *The Wanderer*’s publication in 1814, however, as was discussed above, *you was* had been firmly established as a stigmatized variant. This may be reflected in the infrequency with which it is selected by Burney in her grammatical characterization even of vulgar characters in that novel. It is also notable that it

occurs very frequently in the direct speech of *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*. This indicates that *you was* may, by the 1830s, not only have been considered vulgar, but also antiquated. It is possible that its frequent use in this text is to signal eighteenth-century usage, as Burney reflects on the life of her father, who died in 1814 at the age of 88.



**Figure 45. *You was* and *you were* in direct speech in the published sub-corpus.**

Burney uses *you was* as a marker of non-standard speech in the private sub-corpus, after the abandonment of the variant in her private writings. It is important to note at this juncture that although she uses *you were* in the context of self-quotation in the private sub-corpus, Burney never quotes herself as using *you was*. The examples given below show how *you was* is being used by Burney in the 1790s.

96. “O yes, she said, before I was married, I met you at Mrs. Montagu's. I was Miss Sellon. I should have known *you* again, because I took such good note of you, as Mrs. Montagu said **you was** an Authoress, before you came in, which made me look at you.” Ha, He, He! (private sub-corpus, 1791)
97. After various other topics, the Queen said “Duchess, Mad<sup>e</sup>. d'Arblay is Aunt of the pretty little Boy **you was** so good to.” (private sub-corpus, 1796).

Mrs Latrobe, who is quoted in the first example above, is clearly presented as a figure of fun. She is described as “a natural, cheerful, good character, very unformed” (27 November 1792). Burney seems to be presenting her as unused to polite society and refined social norms. In the second example, Queen Charlotte is reported to have used *you was*. The twenty-first century reader, accustomed to ‘the Queen’s English’ being used as a byword for Standard English, may be surprised by this usage. As was noted in Chapter 2, however, the titled classes were

associated with grammatical incorrectness during the Late Modern period; and George III's German Queen Consort was particularly notorious for using English that was perceived by her contemporaries to be incorrect (Ożarska, 2013, p.89). Burney herself never explicitly mocks the Queen's language, and in fact as Ożarska notes, rarely quotes Queen Charlotte directly (2013, p.89). However, Burney "mercilessly ridicules" her court colleague Mrs. Schwollenberg, Queen Charlotte's First Keeper of the Robes, who was also German (Ożarska, 2013, p.89). We might reasonably assume, therefore, that Burney refrains from commenting openly on the Queen's perceived deviations from correct usage out of respect for her title and position, but the appearance of *you was* may be a subtle indication to her correspondent that these deviations do not go unnoticed.

There is, therefore, a clear distinction to be made between, on the one hand, the unselfconscious use of *you was* in the early decades of the private sub-corpus, and the deliberate deployment of the variant in direct speech later. Burney's developing skill in linguistic characterization therefore appears responsible for the abandonment of what had been a neutral marker of informality in familiar correspondence, and her conscious appropriation of it as a multifunctional sociolinguistic marker of non-standard speech.

The 1770s once again, therefore, emerge as a period of significant reform and development in terms of Burney's conception of correctness. Moreover, the CPD method is shown to be valuable in pinpointing changes outside of the context in which it was used in Chapters 7 and 8, to find a change point with obvious and identifiable causality. In this section, it has proven useful in identifying a change point which was not hypothesized to exist before the study began, but which allows additional deductions about Burney's changing language attitudes to be made. In what follows in §9.2 and §9.3, Burney's use of grammatical variants which were much less overtly stigmatized during the eighteenth century will be analysed, to investigate whether the CPD method also has even wider potential applications.

## 9.2 Relativization strategies

As was noted in §4.5.5, Burney's use of relative pronouns provides an interesting point of comparison for the use of singular *you was*, since although discussions of variation between *wh*-forms and *that* were a commonplace of normative grammar (see, for instance, Buchanan, 1767, p.74; Ward, 1765, p.136), there was considerably less consensus on outright prescription

of any variant. Sundby et.al. document that only four grammarians deal at all with the variation, and then only to note that parallel clauses should have the same relative (1991, p.389). As was noted in Chapter 4, this was despite the early interventions of *The Spectator* in 1711 (*Spectator* 78, 80), with Steele's 'The Humble Petition of Who and Which' (pp.334-336).

Quantitative research has shown that non-restrictive personal relative clauses tend, in formal writing, to have *who* rather than *that*, but that in genres closer to speech both *that* and zero-relatives increase in proportion during the early eighteenth-century (Wright, 1994, p.265). As was outlined in §4.5.5, the main issue to be examined in the present chapter, drawing on Bailey's aforementioned work, is Burney's relative pronoun use with an animate antecedent. In order to ensure that the data are qualitatively manageable, and to allow comparison with Bailey's findings, and between the uses, only instances of *person* + personal relative have been surveyed.

It was noted in Chapter 4 that Burney's strategies are varied enough at the time of *Evelina*'s composition for Bailey to hail her use of "all three principal relative pronouns with *person*" (2010, p.193). Bailey does not seem to distinguish between direct speech and prose, and concludes that at this point in her life, she is not self-conscious about relativization. Burney's tendency to appropriate variants for purposes of characterization is therefore a major factor that must be considered in analysing Burney's use of relative pronouns.

For a number of reasons, relatives reveal a much more complex pattern of variation than second-person singular *you was*, and the conscious deployment of certain variants as sociolinguistically marked, as will be demonstrated, plays no small part in this. So too does the fact that during the eighteenth century, as Susan Wright argues, relativization is not "undergoing a change as such" (1994, p.248), and that no outright consensus existed amongst the grammarians on the subject (Wright, 1994, p.248; see also Grijzenhout, 1992). At the same time, as Wright further notes, the *wh*-relative markers were generally perceived to be "highly prestigious and more significantly, indicative of formal or distinctly literary styles" (1994, p.263).

The corpus data seem to suggest that Burney concurs with this view, since comparison of the data for the two sub-corpora reveal that her usage is stylistically stratified. In order to facilitate corpus analysis, Burney's relative pronouns have been counted only where they co-occur with *person*. Table 32 shows the frequency per ten thousand words with *person* of *who*, *whom*,

*whose, which, and that*, as well as zero-relatives. The predominant variants for each published text are marked in bold.

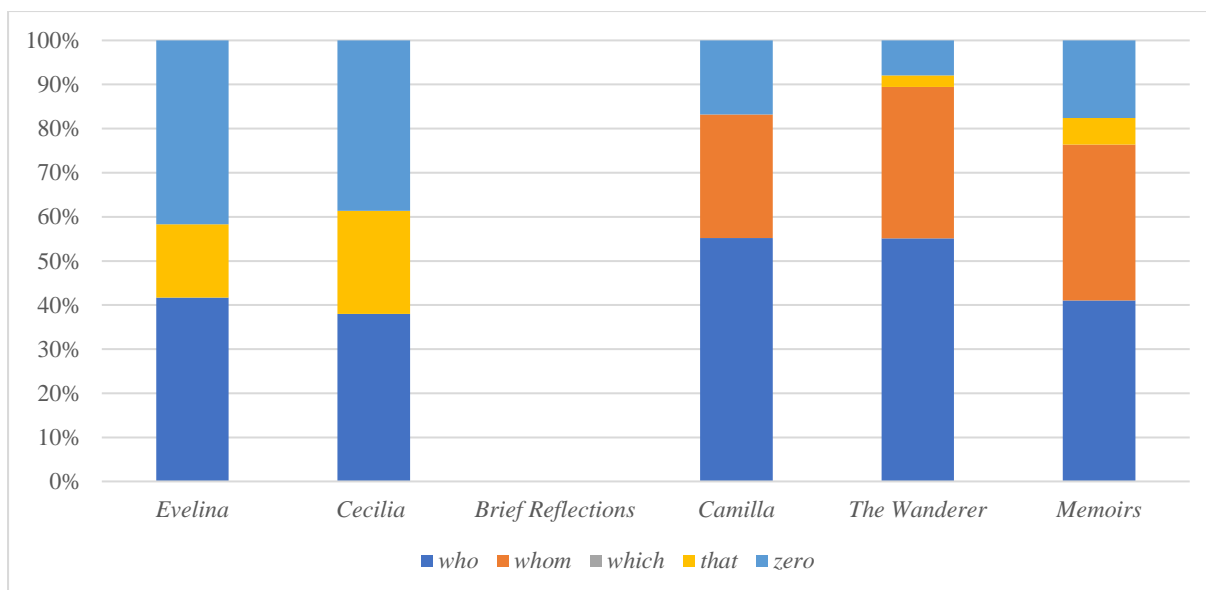
	<i>who</i>	<i>whom</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>zero</i>
<i>Evelina</i> (1778)	<b>3.25 (41.67%)</b>	0	0	1.3 (16.67%)	<b>3.25 (41.67%)</b>
<i>Cecilia</i> (1782)	0.6 (39.74%)	0	0	0.3 (24.49%)	<b>0.61 (40.39%)</b>
<i>Brief Reflections</i> (1793)	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i> (1796)	<b>2.76 (52.37%)</b>	1.4 (26.57%)	0	0	0.84 (15.94%)
<i>The Wanderer</i> (1814)	<b>6.48 (52.34%)</b>	4.04 (32.63%)	0	0.31 (2.5%)	0.93 (7.51%)
<i>Memoirs</i> (1832)	<b>2.73 (42.32%)</b>	2.35 (36.43%)	0	0.4 (6.2%)	1.17 (18.14%)

**Table 32. Normalized frequency of relative clause markers with *person*, in restrictive relative clauses in the prose of the published sub-corpus.**

Table 32 shows that, when those relatives used in direct speech are excluded, personal *wh*-forms predominate. In *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, Burney's relativization strategies seem flexible, and here personal *wh*-forms compete with zero-relatives for dominance. From the publication of *Camilla* onwards, however, *wh*-forms seem to become markedly more dominant. This would appear to indicate that a change point may occur, at which point *wh*-forms and zero-relatives stopped competing, and *wh*-forms became dominant. No such change point can be detected in either sub-corpus, however, suggesting that the change is in fact a gradual one, more typical of linguistic change than those noted above to occur where prescriptive comment has been targeted at Burney. As was discussed in §8.2, the change point models are not equipped to deal with gradual changes, so shed little light on Burney's growing preference for *wh*-forms over zero-relatives.

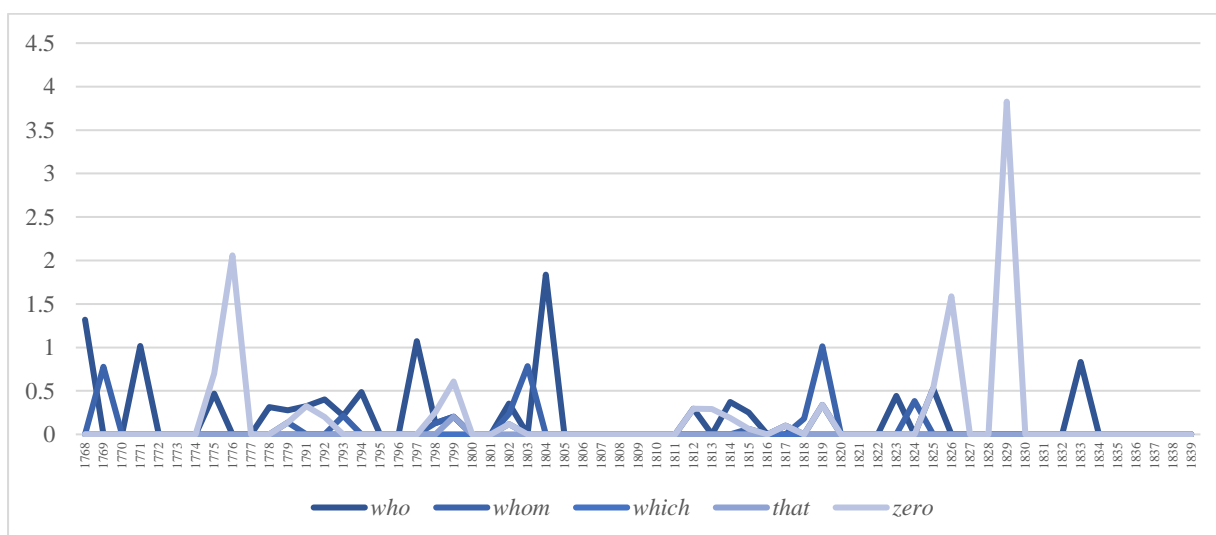
Even without verification from the change point model, however, it remains evident that Burney's relativization strategies are subject to diachronic change, with *wh*-forms growing increasingly dominant as the study period progresses. As Figure 46 shows, this may be partially due to a large increase in Burney's use of *whom* between 1782, when *Cecilia* was published, and 1796, when *Camilla* was. Figure 46 also shows a marked decrease in Burney's use of zero relativization between *Cecilia* and *Camilla*.





**Figure 46. Proportional frequency of relative pronouns occurring with *person* in restrictive relative clauses in the published sub-corpus.**

Personal *wh*-forms account for 84.06% of relatives in *Camilla*, and in *The Wanderer*, this proportion is even higher, at 89.99%. It is lower in the *Memoirs*, at 75.66%, though this may be due to extensive quotation of Dr. Burney in that text, and therefore a manifestation of linguistic norms from a previous generation. Figure 47, below, shows the frequency per ten thousand words of the same relative pronouns with *person* in the private sub-corpus.



**Figure 47. Normalized frequency of relative clause markers with *person*, in restrictive relative clauses in the prose of the private sub-corpus.**

By contrast with the published sub-corpus, Burney's use of relatives in the private sub-corpus is highly variable. There are several years in which the number of zero-relatives used by Burney

outnumber the total number of *wh*-forms used, and a large spike in zero-relatives in 1829 indicates that it remains an acceptable variant for Burney into her old age.

This contrast between the two sub-corpora clearly indicates that Burney’s idiolectal use of relative pronouns is stylistically stratified. That this is the case more generally has been established by Romaine in her work on Middle Scots, as well as late twentieth-century American and Scottish usage (1982, pp.201-209). It has, as a result of such research, been stated that “we should expect there to be a continuum according to style in the eighteenth-century too” (Wright, 1994, p.265). Moreover, contemporary metalinguistic commentary (albeit prescriptive) can be found which indicates that certain strategies are more acceptable in informal than formal registers. Baker’s treatment of zero-marking, quoted below, provides an example of this:

It may likewise now and then be borne with in common Conversation. Yet in general it has a bad Effect in conversation, and a still much worse in Writing. (1770, p.3)

It is, then, perhaps unsurprising that Burney should, as with *you was* in her earlier writings, distinguish between ‘polite’, monitored usage, where she is demonstrably more likely to use personal *wh*-forms, and informal monitored usage, where she can be more flexible in her choice of relative markers.

Although Burney’s usage appears to exhibit a significant degree of register-dependency, however, it must be noted that she continues to use zero-relatives outside of direct speech in both sub-corpora. This is by comparison with her near-total avoidance of the more obviously non-standard use of *which* as a personal relative. It is therefore possible to distinguish between, on the one hand, her awareness that *which* with a personal antecedent is stigmatized, and her perception that zero-relatives are less appropriate in some contexts and registers than others.

As with *you was*, this perception of appropriacy seems to be decisive in determining which variants she appropriates and deploys as sociolinguistic markers. Table 33 gives the normalized frequencies for relatives occurring with *person* in direct speech only, in the published sub-corpus, as well as the proportion of the total number of occurrences these account for.

	<i>who</i>	<i>whom</i>	<i>whose</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>zero</i>
<i>Evelina</i>	<b>1.94</b> (37.38%)	0	0	0	0.65 (33.33%)	<b>1.94</b> (37.38%)
<i>Cecilia</i>	<b>1.21</b> (66.85%)	0.3 (100%)	0.3 (100%)	0	0.3 (50%)	0.3 (32.97%)

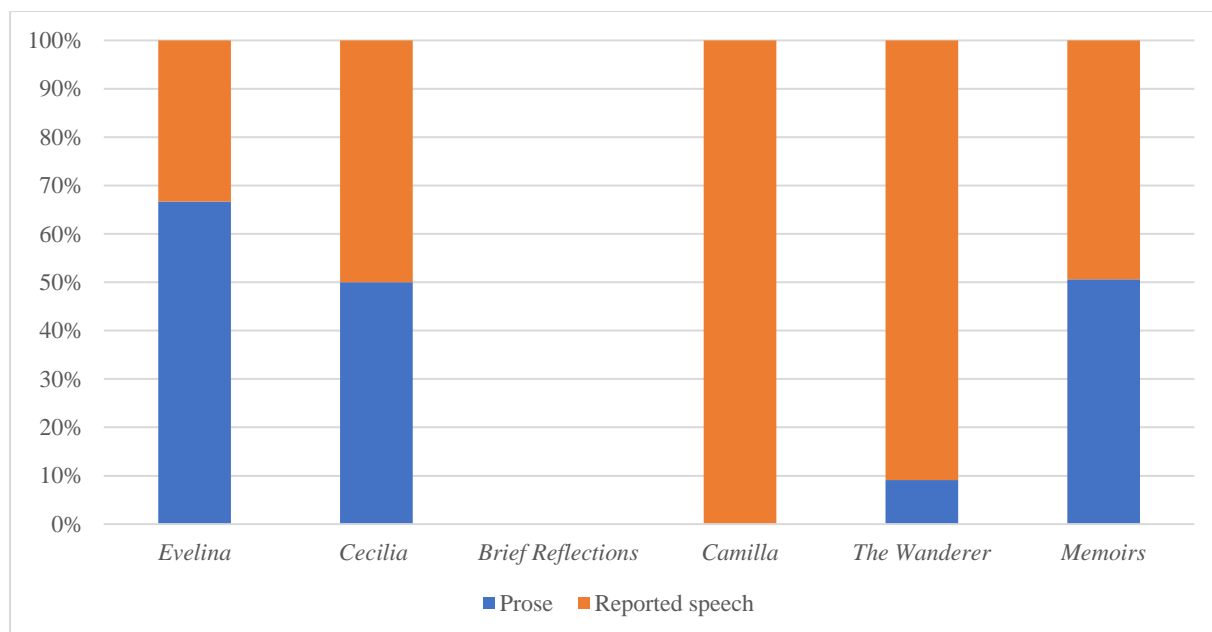
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	<b>0.84</b> (23.33%)	0	0.29 (20.71%)	0	2.23 (100%)	1.95 (69.89%)
<i>The Wanderer</i>	<b>4.02</b> (38.29%)	2.16 (34.84%)	0.62 (50%)	0	3.09 (90.88%)	2.47 (72.65%)
<i>Memoirs</i>	<b>1.18</b> (30.18%)	0	0	0	0.39 (50%)	0

**Table 33. Normalized frequency of (restrictive) relative clause markers with *person* as antecedent in the direct speech of the published sub-corpus.**

Table 33 shows that, in *Evelina*, *who*, *that* and  $\emptyset$  are used roughly equally, in proportion to their total use. These figures so not appear, at first glance, to suggest that any of these relatives are being deployed as sociolinguistic markers. However, closer analysis reveals that *that*, in fact, is. *That* appears only once with *person* in *Evelina*, and it is attributed to one of Evelina’s ‘vulgar’ (1776, Vol.2, p.19) cousins, Tom Branghton.

98. “Miss, if you should hear of a **person that** wants a room, I assure you it is a very good one, for all it's up three pair of stairs.” (*Evelina*, 1778)

As has been discussed previously, the clustering of non-standard linguistic variants and colloquialisms in Burney’s direct speech can usually be considered an element of her characterization. When considered in relation to later trends, moreover, the attribution of this *that* with personal antecedent to an avowedly vulgar character provides an early indication that *that* was marked for Burney as a personal relative. It is important to note that across both sub-corpora, Burney herself uses this variant only 8 times, and that it is much more frequent in her eighteenth-century writings than it is after the turn of the nineteenth century. Only 27.6% of occurrences of *that* with a personal antecedent are Burney’s own, whilst the remainder are attributed to characters or others via direct speech. Furthermore, this markedness appears to increase significantly in the years following the publication of *Evelina*, with the proportion of direct speech instances of *that* rising from 33.33% to 100% between the publication date of *Evelina* in 1778 and that of *Camilla* in 1796, as Figure 48, below, shows.



**Figure 48. Proportional frequency of *that* with *person* as its antecedent in restrictive relative clauses in the published sub-corpus.**

Figure 49 shows that the proportion of instances of *that* occurring in direct speech falls with the publication of *The Wanderer*, but remains high, at 90.88%. Close analysis reveals that its usage in direct speech in these novels tends to be associated with ignorance or insensitivity, as in the examples given below.

In passage 99, from *Camilla*, we once again see the clustering of markers of non-standard usage; in this case contraction and *don't* for *does not*. In this instance, it is Sir Hugh, Camilla's foppish and irresponsible uncle, to whom the usage is attributed. Passage 100, from *The Wanderer* demonstrates the association between *that* relativization with *person* and rudeness. The character speaking here is Miss Maple, who is variously described as "ill bred" (Vol. 1, p.7) and "contemptuous" (p.14). That both of these characters are of relatively high social status exemplifies Burney's use of relativization to draw much more subtle sociolinguistic distinctions between characters than she does with *you was*.

99. "Don't trouble yourself about that, my dear,' he answered; for it's what I take all into my own hands; your **cousin being a person that don't talk** much; by which, how can any thing be forward, if nobody interferes? A girl, you know, my dear, can't speak for herself, let her wish it never so much." (*Camilla*, 1796)
100. "To be sure I shall!" said Mrs Maple, seating herself on a sofa, and taking out her snuff-box. 'I have a great right to know the name of a **person that comes**, in this manner, into my parlour. Why do you not answer, young woman?" (*The Wanderer*, 1814)

Though not as overtly stigmatized as *you was*, then, there are still clues as to the distinction Burney apparently draws between the more prestigious or polite personal *wh*-forms, and *that*, which she generally avoids. A similar, though apparently much less clear-cut, trajectory can be seen to occur with zero-relativization, which proportionally occurs more often in direct speech than prose or narrative as the study period progresses. These patterns, though apparently governed primarily by stylistic stratification, conscious deployment as tools of characterization, and diachronic change, would be obscured by a traditional corpus methodology failing to take into consideration the act of detachment which occurs when a variant is deployed in direct speech.

However, despite an obvious decline of the variant which was becoming stigmatized during Burney’s lifetime, the CPD method has not proven useful in investigating Burney’s relativization strategies, indicating that its application is perhaps limited to more consistently stigmatized variants. In the final section of this chapter, Burney’s usage in relation to variants undergoing change not necessarily involving stigmatization will be examined. This is intended to shed light upon Burney’s responsiveness to general language change, as opposed to norms of correctness specifically, and to examine the performance of the CPD method under these very challenging circumstances.

### 9.3 *Be/have* variation with participles of mutative intransitive verbs

*Be/have* variation with participles of mutative intransitive verbs was the subject of very little prescriptive consensus in the eighteenth century, and was in consequence particularly susceptible to idiolectal variation (Straaijer, 2010, p.66). It is unsurprising, therefore, that the variation of these auxiliaries in Burney’s writing is even more complicated than that of personal relatives.

Only the most frequently occurring participles of mutative intransitive verbs in the corpus have been included in this study. These are, in decreasing order of frequency, *go*, *come*, *arrive*, and *return*. Each occurs at least 100 times in the Burney corpus. Table 34, below, shows their normalized frequencies across both sub-corpora.

Verb	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>
<i>go</i>	39.88 (85.54%)	6.74 (14.46%)
<i>come</i>	13.55 (77.08%)	4.03 (22.92%)

<i>return</i>	11.17 (86.25%)	1.78 (13.74%)
<i>arrive</i>	9.8 (86.8%)	1.49 (13.2%)

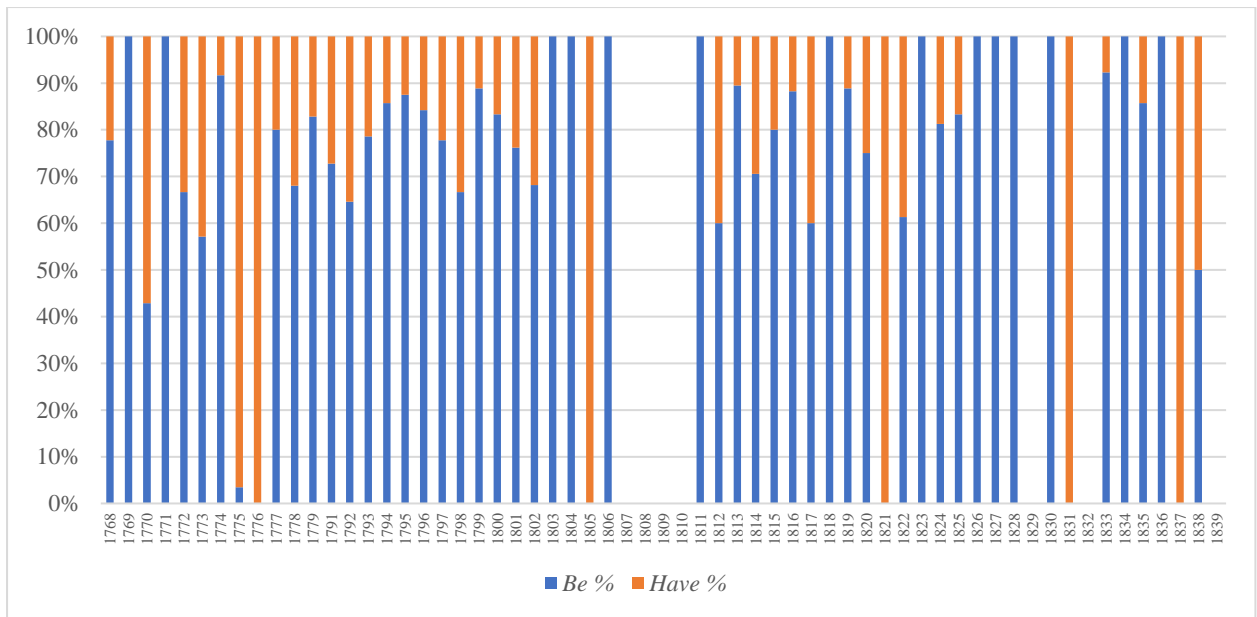
**Table 34. Normalized frequencies of *be/have* auxiliaries with the most commonly occurring mutative intransitive verbs in the corpus.**

As Table 34 shows, across the corpus as a whole, Burney strongly favours *be* with these verbs. This corroborates Rydén and Brorström’s findings that, during the eighteenth-century, *be* remains “heavily predominant” (1987, p.44). As Table 35, below, shows, however, the published sub-corpus appears to provide some evidence of diachronic variation consistent with the direction of change in the language as a whole.

Published sub-corpus	<i>be</i>		<i>have</i>	
	Normalized frequency	Proportional frequency	Normalized frequency	Proportional frequency
<i>Evelina</i>	2.528	73.83%	1.167	34.08%
<i>Cecilia</i>	1.841	69.31%	0.815	30.68%
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	2.597	100%	0	0%
<i>Camilla</i>	2.287	70.69%	0.948	29.30%
<i>The Wanderer</i>	2.255	74.50%	0.772	25.50%
<i>Memoirs</i>	0.823	53.93%	0.703	46.07%

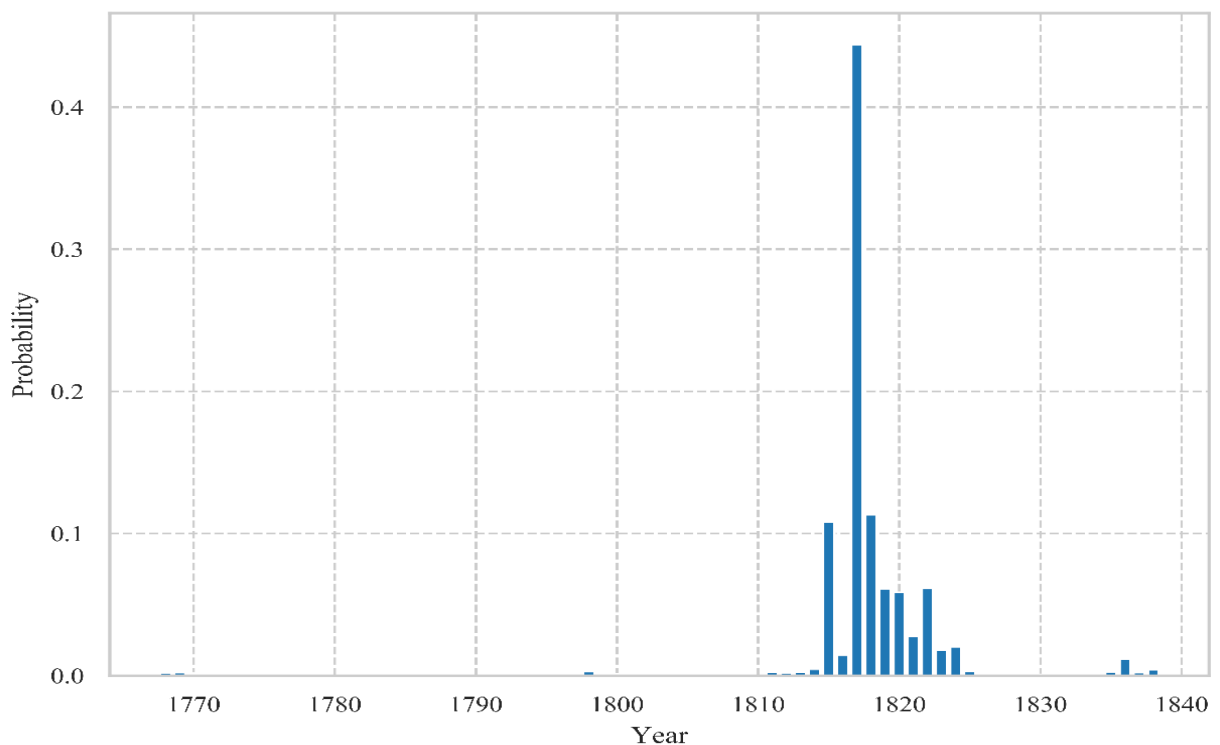
**Table 35. Normalized frequencies in the published sub-corpus of *be/have* with the most commonly occurring mutative intransitive verbs.**

The pattern of auxiliary selection displayed here shows that, with the verbs in question, neither *have* nor *be* experiences little diachronic change in frequency. This suggests that time is not a significant variable in determining Burney’s auxiliary selection in these contexts. Nor can any such diachronic change can be discerned in the private sub-corpus, as the proportional frequencies for *be* and *have* with participles of mutative intransitive verbs in this sub-corpus, plotted in Figure 49, below, show.



**Figure 49. Proportional frequencies in the private sub-corpus of *be/have* with the most commonly occurring mutative intransitive verbs.**

However, the change point model detects a single change to occur within the private sub-corpus, within the 1810s. It approximates the probability of a change occurring during between 1815 and 1825 to be 92.6%.



**Figure 50. Probability distribution for a change point in *be/have* usage with participles, in the private sub-corpus.**

The pattern of probability distribution shown in Figure 50 shows that the change point detected is highly likely to occur in the 1810s, around the time that Burney published *The Wanderer*, and lost her father and husband. During this period, she was travelling back and forth to France, ensuring that her son would not be conscripted into the French army, and looking after her ailing father and later husband. Aside from this upheaval, no explanation is apparent for a change point occurring in the 1810s. This diachronic pattern of auxiliary selection is not the only finding of note, however, and that there also seems to be another factor at play within the Burney corpus which also accounts in part for changes in her usage. This is indicated by the differences between the normalized frequencies of *be* and *have* with the individual participles of mutative intransitive verbs studied in the two sub-corpora, as shown in Table 36, below.

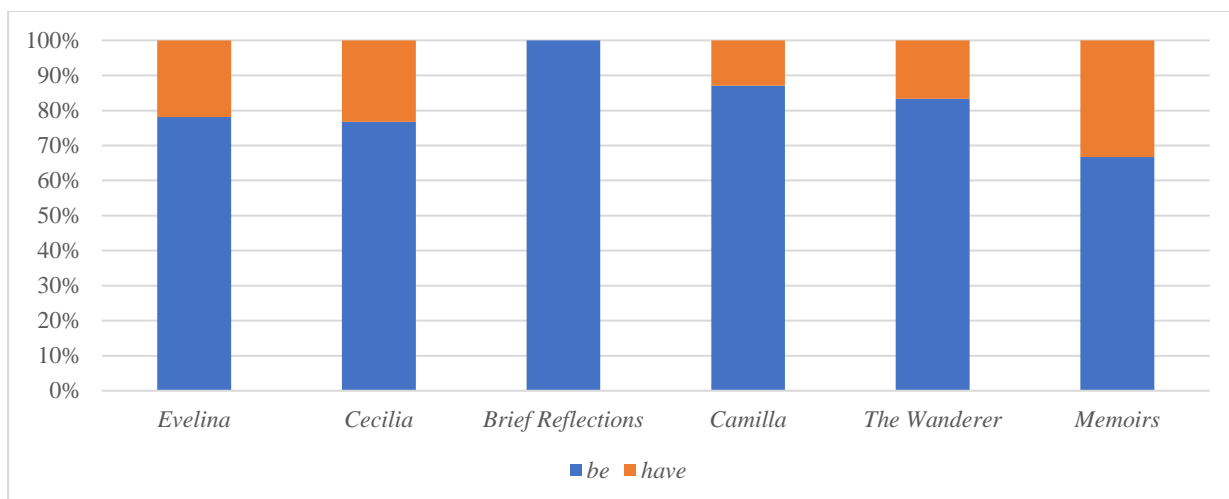
Verb	Published sub-corpus		Private sub-corpus	
	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>
<i>Go</i>	15.83 (93.78%)	1.05 (6.22%)	24.05 (80.86%)	5.69 (19.13%)
<i>Come</i>	7 (75.76%)	2.24 (24.24%)	6.55 (78.54%)	1.79 (21.46%)
<i>Return</i>	2.52 (85.71%)	0.42 (14.29%)	8.65 (86.41%)	1.36 (13.59%)
<i>Arrive</i>	2.94 (84%)	0.56 (16%)	6.86 (88.1%)	0.93 (11.9%)
Mean	7.07 (62.35%)	4.27 (37.65%)	11.53 (54.13%)	9.77 (45.87%)

**Table 36. Normalized frequency occurrences in the Burney corpus of *be/have* auxiliaries with the most commonly occurring mutative intransitive verbs.**

Table 36 shows that whilst *be* predominates in both sub-corpora, it is more commonly selected in the published sub-corpus, at a rate of 62.35%, than the private sub-corpus, where it only appears in 54.13% of relevant contexts. This suggests that stylistic stratification may be more significant in determining auxiliary selection in Burney’s writings than diachrony. One potential explanation for this is that contexts of ‘pastness’ have been established as promoting the use of *have*, whilst contexts of ‘recentness’ have been shown to favour the use of *be*. For example, in a micro-study of the usage of Joseph Priestley, a contemporary of Burney, Robin Straaijer has established this pattern to occur (2010, p.70). Straaijer identifies contexts of ‘pastness’ and ‘recentness’ “as being signalled primarily by the use of temporal adverbials denoting past and present” (2010, p.70). As will be demonstrated, temporal contexts also seem to be decisive in determining Burney’s auxiliary selection.

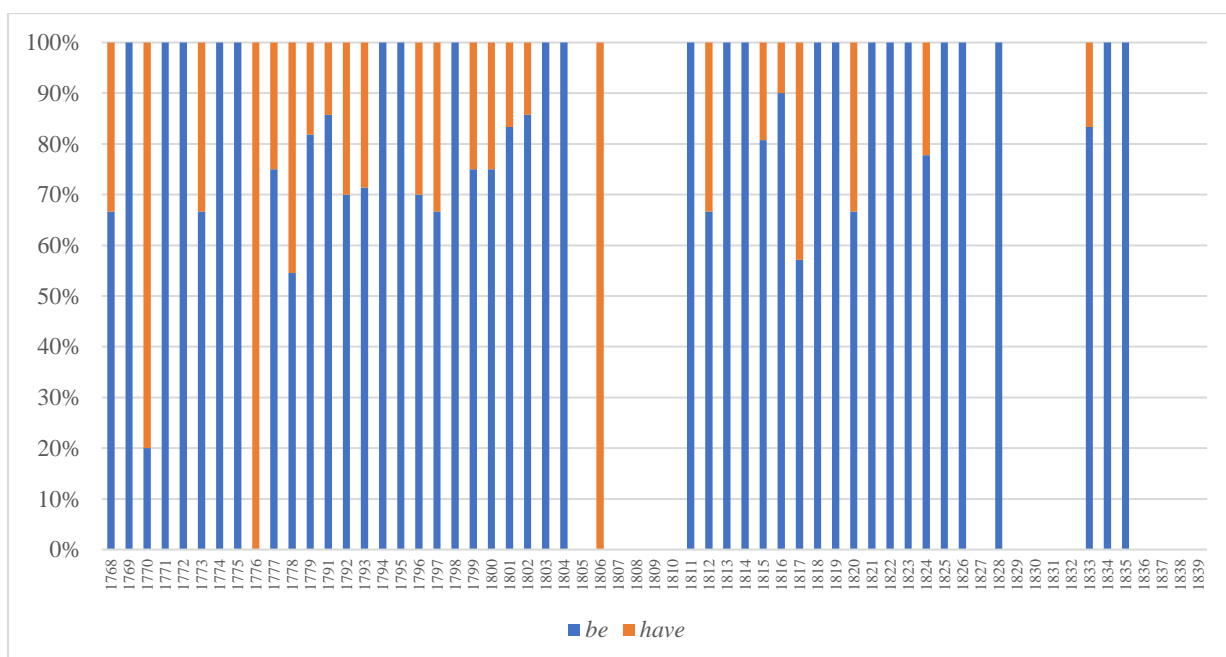
Figure 51, below, shows that with *go*, *be* remains the dominant auxiliary throughout the published sub-corpus, with little evidence of diachronic variation.





**Figure 51. Proportional frequency of *be/have* auxiliaries with *go* in the published sub-corpus.**

This is also the case in the private sub-corpus, where *be* likewise remains dominant. In this sub-corpus, it would actually appear that *have* becomes less common towards the end of the study period.



**Figure 52. Proportional frequency of *be/have* auxiliaries with *go* in the private sub-corpus.**

Only a small proportion of instances of either auxiliary co-occur with a participle of a mutative intransitive verb and a temporal adverbial: 15.35% in the published sub-corpus and 17.43% in the private sub-corpus. However, it is in these instances that a temporal context can easily be established, and these are therefore the occurrences which have been studied further. The

results of this analysis clearly show that temporal adverbials denoting recentness do indeed promote the use of *be*. Of the total number of occurrences of *be* or *have* with *go*, *come*, *arrive* or *return* and a temporal adverbial, 91.9% in the published sub-corpus and 86% in the private sub-corpus are a participle of a mutative intransitive verb with *be* and a temporal adverbial of recentness. The following examples illustrate this pattern with *just*:

101. The express **was but just gone**, when a packet, which ought to have arrived two days before, by the stage, was delivered to Camilla (*Camilla*, 1796)
102. Her young lord **is just gone** to Ireland, upon urgent business, & she will remain here not only till his return, but till she is brought to bed, & has inoculated her Child (private sub-corpus, 1799)

The paucity of instances of *have* + *go/come/return/arrive* renders statistical analysis of the remaining occurrences with temporal adverbials futile. It is worth noting, however, Burney's tendency to favour *have* when reporting something that is decidedly past. The following example illustrates this with *arrive*:

103. The time **had arrived**, and now was passed, for the long-settled project of Mr. Burney of conveying to Paris his second and, then, youngest daughters, Frances and Charlotte, to replace his eldest and his third, Esther and Susanna (*Memoirs*, 1832)

It therefore seems reasonable to assume that register differences are at least partially responsible for the apparent diachronic variation occurring in Table 35, and the stylistic stratification in evidence in Table 36. It is even possible that Burney's tendency to reflect on long-past events in her later letters and diaries, as well as in the *Memoirs* gives the impression of diachronic change where only register-dependency truly exists.

This is another variant, then, which highlights the need for nuance in approaching Burney's idiolectal usage, as distinction between the two sub-corpora is needed to adequately account for the differences in registers between the various text-types comprising the corpus. The apparent diachronic change in the corpus can be re-framed in light of the findings relating to temporal contexts, and in fact be considered possibly to offer further evidence of register dependence. As the published sub-corpus contains a variety of text-types, closer examination of frequency data for the individual texts in this sub-corpus is also likely to prove fruitful.

The highest proportional frequency for *be* in this sub-corpus is found in *Brief Reflections*, where *have* does not occur at all with *go*, *come*, *return* or *arrive*. However, *Brief Reflections* only contains 3851 words, and only one instance of any of these mutative intransitive verbs

with *be*, so does not reveal anything of value to the study. The second highest proportion of *be* in this sub-corpus occurs in *The Wanderer*. Here, *be* is found to occur in 74.50% of relevant contexts. This is very similar to the proportion of occurrences in which *be* occurs in the other novels published by Burney. In *Evelina*, *be* accounts for 73.83%; in *Cecilia*, 69.31%, and in *Camilla*, 70.69%. Only *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* stands out as having a starkly different ratio of *be*: *have*. In this text, *be* accounts for only 53.93%, and *have* accounts for the remaining 46.07%. In light of the evidence suggesting that temporal context plays a significant role in determining auxiliary selection, it seems likely that this higher proportion of *have* auxiliaries is due to the *Memoirs*' reporting of events in the distant past, as in the following example:

104. Dr. Johnson, himself, **had come** with the full intention of passing two or three hours, with well chosen companions, in social elegance. (*Memoirs*, 1832)

The normalized frequencies for *be* and *have* thus far have not distinguished between prose and direct speech, as norms of correctness were not considered to be a likely factor in determining auxiliary selection in this context. However, given the apparent significance of temporal context in determining this selection, drawing this distinction at this juncture may be revealing, as it is possible that direct speech will reflect the tendency for contexts of recentness to promote the use of *be*, and past tense narrative, like that occurring in *Cecilia*, *Camilla* and *The Wanderer*, to be associated with greater use of *have*. Table 37, below, gives the normalized frequency per ten thousand words of *go*, *come*, *return*, and *arrive* with *be* and *have* in direct speech, across the two sub-corpora. It also gives in percentage terms the proportion of total occurrences these direct speech instances account for.

			<i>Go</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Return</i>	<i>Arrive</i>	Mean
Published sub-corpus	<i>Be</i>	Normalized frequency	0.56	0.42	0.07	0.14	0.298
		Proportional frequency	3.54%	6%	2.78%	4.76%	4.27%
	<i>Have</i>	Normalized frequency	0	0.07	0	0	0.0175
		Proportional frequency	0%	0.003%	0%	0%	0.00075%
Private sub-corpus	<i>Be</i>	Normalized frequency	0.49	0.25	0.062	0.062	0.216
		Proportional frequency	2.04%	3.82%	0.72%	0.9%	1.87%

	<i>Have</i>	Normalized frequency	0	0	0	0	0
		Proportional frequency	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**Table 37. Normalized frequency occurrences of *be/have* auxiliaries in direct speech in the Burney corpus, also expressed as percentages of the total normalized frequencies given in Table 34.**

Table 37 shows that in the published sub-corpus, as hypothesized, a much larger proportion of instances of *be* with the verbs in question occur in direct speech than do equivalent instances of *have*. On average, *be* occurs in relevant contexts in direct speech 0.298 times per ten thousand words in the published sub-corpus, meaning that 4.27% of total *be* occurrences are found in direct speech in this sub-corpus. By comparison, *have* occurs in relevant contexts in direct speech only 0.0175 times per ten thousand words in the published sub-corpus, meaning that 0.00075% of total *have* occurrences in this sub-corpus occur in direct speech. This is notable, suggesting that within the published sub-corpus, *be* predominates, as a marker of immediacy. This pattern is, moreover, reflected in the private sub-corpus. Here, *be* occurs in relevant contexts in direct speech 0.216 times per ten thousand words, whereas *have* does not occur in relevant contexts at all in this sub-corpus. Whilst only 1.87% of total relevant *be* occurrences are found in direct speech in the private sub-corpus, therefore, this is by comparison with 0% of equivalent *have* occurrences.

The more frequent occurrence of *be* than *have* across the corpus is likely to reflect a tendency for direct speech to contain *be* as a marker of immediacy, and narrative or other prose to contain more occurrences of *have*. This is further indication that, as for Priestley, the auxiliaries appear to have different roles for Burney, with *be* denoting recentness and *have* being more associated with pastness. This distinction is exemplified by the following excerpts, both from *Cecilia*:

105. “Is it possible you **are come** hither without already knowing it?” (*Cecilia*, 1782)
106. The schoolmaster had already been gone some time. (*Cecilia*, 1782)

The specific functionality which *be* and *have* seem to have for Burney throughout her life therefore seems to determine her selection. Whether there is also an element of diachronic change, or whether the apparent change towards the end of her life is due to a tendency to reflect on the past during this period in both corpora is not clear. This calls into question the utility of using the CPD method in case studies of Burney’s usage for variants which are not stigmatized.

Overall, it is very clear that the CPD method is most successful with variants such as flat adverbs, regularized verbs, past tense intransitive *laid*, and second person singular *you was*. The process of stigmatization which these forms underwent during Burney's lifetime makes them perfectly suited to CPD, whereas it seems unable to accommodate the more gradual changes more typical of linguistic change. It would seem, therefore, that it is eminently well-suited to idiolectal studies of targeted prescriptivism, but less well-suited to contexts in which gradual changes occur. The implications of this for potential applications of the CPD method at the macro level will be the subject of §10.3.2. In what follows, the combined findings of Chapters 7, 8, and 9 will be summarized, in terms of the generalizations which they allow to be made regarding Burney's evolving conception of grammatical correctness over the course of her adult life.

#### 9.4 Concluding remarks: Burney's conception of grammatical correctness

The evidence presented in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 has demonstrated that the application of a purely quantitative methodology to Burney's language runs the risk of obscuring trends; by failing to take account of register dependency, and of her appropriation of variants as sociolinguistic markers in direct speech. The findings of this study, which take these fundamental features of her usage into careful consideration, are therefore valuable for a number of reasons. Most obviously, they allow a more accurate impression of the complexities of Burney's idiolectal usage to be attained. Moreover, they allow deductions to be made about her attitudes, and changing attitudes, towards the variants studied. This includes revealing her response to targeted grammatical criticism, and highlighting a period in her youth during which she seems to have made concerted efforts to reform her usage.

The foregoing sections have also demonstrated both the potential benefits of applying the CPD method to historical idiolectal data, and the challenges and limitations of this. The ramifications of the findings presented here, in terms of quantifying the impact of prescriptivism and of the scope for using CPD in idiolectal and historical linguistic studies, will be explored in §10.2 and §10.3. Here, the conclusions that can be drawn about Burney's conception of grammatical correctness on the basis of the findings presented will be considered.

It is apparent from very early in the study period that Burney's idiolect is shaped by norms of correctness and appropriacy. She uses variants which she seems to perceive as non-standard in

direct speech almost from the beginning of the corpus, attributing them to individuals whom she portrays as unattractive in some way, both in her private writings and her published works. From the 1770s, moreover, we witness the wholesale abandonment of variants apparently perceived to be non-standard. As was noted above, Tieken-Boon van Ostade attributes a similar pattern in Jane Austen's usage to "growing linguistic awareness...[as] she was developing into a novelist" (2014, p.205). It appears, then, that in becoming more adept at linguistic characterization and using grammatical variants to portray her characters, Burney develops a firmer sense of what she perceives as correct and incorrect.

After the 1770s, the next period of significant change in Burney's usage is the late 1790s. Here, after documented exposure to a review criticizing, amongst other things, her use of adverbial *scarce* and *admirable*, past participial *strove*, and *laid* as the past tense of intransitive *lie*, Burney reforms her usage within these specific paradigms. She also alters her usage to some small degree by analogy with these paradigms.

Burney seems, therefore, to be extremely responsive to norms of correctness that are overtly targeted at her, and also to the norms of the society she entered in the 1770s. She seems limited, however, in her ability to recognise that the examples given by Enfield in his 1796 review of *Camilla* are not specific to the paradigm/s mentioned, but rather intended to exemplify an error which it is possible to make in other paradigms, too. Thus, the reforms prompted by the *Monthly* review are limited, and though it seems clear that Burney's exposure to the article prompts reform, this reform remains limited in its scope.

The CPD method has allowed these conclusions to be drawn, and proven useful in Chapters 7 and 8, in testing hypothesized change points and determining whether Burney responded to targeted criticism of stigmatized linguistic variants. However, Chapter 9 has demonstrated clearly that its utility is limited to such contexts as those. In §9.2, it was concluded that the CPD method had not proven useful in investigating Burney's relativization strategies. This was considered a potential indication that its application might be limited to more consistently stigmatized variants. In §9.3, it was then determined that the method did not reveal anything of relevance about Burney's use of *be/have* with the mutative intransitive verbs selected for study. This provides further evidence that the CPD method offers the greatest utility in linguistic studies in contexts where a sudden and significant change in usage occurs. In what follows in Chapter 10, the implications and ramifications of the findings reported in these

chapters and the remainder of this thesis will be considered; including, in §10.3, how these relate to the CPD method.

## 10 CONCLUSIONS: THE AGE OF PRESCRIPTIVISM IN LITERARY REVIEWING

### 10.1 Redressing the data gaps

As was discussed in §1.1 and in Chapter 3, it has long been hypothesized that literary review periodicals were a consistent source of prescriptive commentary during the Late Modern Period (cf. Percy, 2009, 2010a; McIntosh, 2005). It has also been claimed that this prescriptivism changed the language practice of reviewed authors (cf. Basker, 1989; McIntosh, 1998; Percy, 2009). Until now, there has been no empirical basis for claims of this kind, but this thesis has provided some; proving for the first time both that literary review periodicals did consistently disseminate normative judgments, and that these were capable of influencing reviewed authors in significant and persistent ways. The findings reported in Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate that the discursive construction of grammar and grammaticality in the periodical reviews of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was prescriptivist; whilst the findings reported in Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrate that this prescriptivism did have an impact on Burney, who was chosen for a case study of authors exposed to targeted prescriptivism during this period. In what follows in §10.2, the findings of these chapters will be summarized, before §10.3 outlines the limitations of the studies reported, and the scope for related future research.

### 10.2 Prescriptivism in action

The first goal of this thesis was to establish an empirical basis for claims that Late Modern literary review periodicals were a source of prescriptivist commentary. The first research question laid out in §1.5 therefore related to the discursive construction of grammar, grammarians, and grammaticality in the literary review periodicals of 1750-1899. The findings reported in Chapter 5 constitute the first empirical results to show that these periodicals were indeed a source of prescriptive commentary. In §5.2 and §5.3, indicators of prescriptive activity in the context of the review periodical genre were identified. The ways in which these indicators of prescriptivism were used in the purpose-built Corpus of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century English Reviews (CENCER) were then analysed in §5.4. This analysis reveals that grammar is persistently constructed as a body of rules and an unquestioned source of authority, whilst grammaticality is variously constructed in terms of correctness, obedience, purity, and status (see §5.4). Chapter 5 therefore satisfies the first research question laid out in §1.5, by



determining that literary review periodicals do indeed contain discourses of grammar and grammaticality which are prescriptivist in nature; which is to say, insist on norms of usage and criticise departures from those norms (cf. Crystal, 1985, p.244).

It was established in §1.1 that there is significant disagreement as to the identification of an ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in the history of English. Scant data on the impact of prescriptive material on usage, as was outlined in §2.3.2, has resulted in the label being variously applied to the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and even twenty-first centuries (cf. Auer, 2009; Anderwald, 2016; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to comment on the existence of such an Age, or to locate it historically. However, the second research question laid out in §1.5 borrows the phrase ‘Age of Prescriptivism’ in seeking to determine whether prescriptive commentary was an ephemeral feature of periodical review culture, or whether it persisted throughout the study period of 1750-1899. This research, reported in the early sections of Chapter 6, therefore uses the sub-corpus subdivisions which were built into CENCER to explore whether prescriptivist discourses were present in equal measure throughout the study period, or whether they were particularly frequent at any stage. It is shown that an Age of Prescriptivism can indeed be identified as occurring in the late eighteenth century. These findings reveal that this is the period during which prescriptive comment is most frequent. Chapter 6 also reports the findings of the investigations prompted by the third research question laid out in §1.5. This research question relates to the nature of the endeavour which reviewers from different periodicals shared, in seeking to impose linguistic norms upon reviewed authors, and disseminating them amongst their readerships. Research question 3 seeks to determine whether this shared endeavour could qualify the reviewers as a prescriptive discourse community (Swales, 1990) or community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). §6.4 therefore explores these concepts, in seeking resolution to this question. It is concluded that the periodical reviewers can indeed be considered to function as a prescriptive community of practice, since they meet Wenger’s criteria as “people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour” (2006, p.1). It is stressed in §6.4, however, that this is an antagonistic community of practice, since the reviewers competed against one another commercially, and were often ideologically opposed too.

The first three research questions laid out in §1.5 are therefore addressed within Chapters 5 and 6. These are the research questions which relate directly to the prescriptive content of review periodicals during the study period: 1750-1899. The remaining three research questions laid

out in §1.5 shift the focus of the thesis from the prescriptive content of the review periodicals in Chapters 5 and 6 to the putative impact of this prescriptive content in Chapters 7 and 8.

When it comes to drawing conclusions about whether prescriptive statements have, or have had, an effect on language use, Anderwald (2019) concludes that “it remains an open empirical question whether in the nineteenth century, language change was caused, or at least influenced by value judgments in prescriptive grammars” (p.89). This conclusion is made on the basis of a finding of “very little influence that comments in nineteenth century grammars had on language change” (Anderwald, 2019, p.92). As was outlined in §2.3.2, the vast majority of previous studies attempting to evaluate the impact of prescriptivism on Late Modern English have been at the macro level, and have been stymied by an inability to establish clear correlation, let alone causal links, between normative statements and observed changes in usage. It was proposed in Chapter 1 and in §2.3.2, on the basis of findings in previous micro studies of idiolectal Late Modern usage, that a study examining prescriptive influence at the micro level might enjoy more success and may even, as will be discussed in §10.2, form a model for further macro-level investigations.

Burney is, as has been demonstrated and was discussed in §1.4 and §4.2.2, an ideal subject for a study of this kind. Her extant writings amount to over 3 million words, and cover a period of 71 years. Her exposure, and outraged response, to the *Monthly*'s review of *Camilla* in 1796 are documented, whilst the ample quantity of her extant prose from both before and after this exposure allows reliable conclusions to be drawn as to where detected changes in usage are located. All this has meant that those change points identified in Chapters 7 and 8 which coincide with the publication of Enfield's review can be assumed to relate to Burney's exposure to overtly-targeted prescriptive materials in the *Monthly Review*. This satisfies the fourth research question laid out in §1.5, in demonstrating that it is indeed possible to establish a link between targeted normative material in review periodicals and change in language practice at an idiolectal level.

This is a significant finding in terms of Burney's language attitudes, and indicates that the change point detection (CPD) method holds promise as a means to explore diachronic variation in idiolectal usage. However, its chief significance lies in demonstrating how change-point detection can establish for the first time a reliable causal link between prescriptive activity and change in language usage. In short, the evidence presented, showing Burney's decisive

response to Enfield's criticism, shows prescriptivism in action, and these findings are bolstered (and perhaps even enabled) by the CPD method.

The fifth research question laid out in §1.5 set out the intention of this thesis to establish whether the CPD method allows for the more reliable evaluation of prescriptivism than has previously been possible. Chapters 7 and 8 also demonstrate that this is indeed the case. In §7.2, it is reported that a change point was identified for all of the flat adverbs studied combined. This change point is located by the model as occurring between the publication of *Camilla* (1796) and *The Wanderer* (1814) in the published sub-corpus, and in 1796, 1797, or 1799 in the private sub-corpus. It gives probability approximations for these changes as 100% and 99.7% respectively. Likewise, in §8.2.2, the CPD method is used to determine that Burney does alter her patterns of verb conjugation by analogy with *strove* to some extent. These patterns are not discernible without CPD, and would otherwise have gone unnoticed. The fifth research question is therefore satisfied by Chapters 7 and 8, which demonstrate that CPD does allow for the more reliable evaluation of the impact of prescriptivism than has previously been possible heretofore; at the idiolectal level, at least.

Whilst it remains, therefore, “an open empirical question” whether in the Late Modern period language change was caused, or “influenced by value judgments” in grammar books (Anderwald, 2019, p.89), there now exists compelling evidence that on the cusp of the nineteenth century, the value judgments being disseminated by review periodicals were indeed causing language change, at least at an individual level. Moreover, Chapters 7 and 8 suggest that CPD is also of value in analysing idiolectal data where targeted prescriptivism does not seem to be influential.

The consistent finding of a change point in the 1770s in both Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 suggests that the CPD method may have wider applicability to the study of diachronic idiolectal change. In highlighting periods during which significant changes occur that do not appear to be motivated by prescriptivism, Chapters 7 and 8 suggest that this method may be valuable beyond prescriptivism studies. As in §7.3 and §8.2, such change points can be used as starting points for investigations into language change at an idiolectal level. With this in mind, Chapter 9 addresses the final research question laid out in §1.5; setting out to determine whether the CPD method aids the analysis of idiolectal data in the case of variants which have not been overtly prescribed.

The findings reported in Chapter 9 indicate, however, that the CPD method is after all most valuable in contexts in which targeted prescriptivism is known to have occurred. The method appears to have limited utility in wider contexts; a finding which is significant in considering how this research can be extended in future. In the sections that follow, the potential for extending the application of the CPD method will be explored.

### 10.3 Limitations and scope for future research

Random sampling and a corpus which is large by special purpose standards mean that Chapters 5 and 6 can claim to offer generalizable results regarding the review periodical genre during the period 1750-1899. However, it was never the goal of this thesis to offer generalisable results regarding the impact of this prescriptive activity, or to demonstrate that review periodicals altered the language at the macro level. It has arguably been established beyond reasonable doubt that a periodical review impelled an author to reform her usage in a limited way. However, this in no way indicates that all authors had this response to periodical review prescriptivism, even in those cases where the author saw the review. Burney's apparent vulnerability to linguistic criticism was outlined in §2.2.3; and it may well be the case that her gender, socio-economic and ethnic background, and social position predisposed her to linguistic insecurity and sensitivity to targeted prescriptivism. This study's principal limitation is therefore its application of the proposed method to the idiolect of only one individual. To do more would have been beyond the scope of a study of this size, however in what follows in §10.3.1, the extended micro applications of the method utilised here will be outlined. In §10.3.2, the possible macro applications of the CPD method will then be considered.

#### 10.3.1 Extended micro applications for the change point detection method

It has been suggested that “an author's perceptions of how people spoke and wrote” may provide an “historical equivalent to information obtained through subjective reaction tests carried out in modern sociolinguistic research” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2005b, p.127), but this is uncharted territory, and such notions have, for the most part, remained theoretical. At this conjectural stage, however, it has been proposed that historical sociolinguistics should not only seek to uncover social conditioning factors, but should also explore “attitudes towards variation and varieties, since these may also play an important role in determining the speed and the direction of linguistic change” (Kastovsky & Mettinger, 2000, p.xi).

This study has suggested a practical method by which we might approach historical language users' attitudes towards different variants. Admittedly, Burney's legacy of a wealth of data, much of it replete with embedded speech, makes her a perfect candidate for this kind of study. The crucial element is, however, the distancing mechanism, by which the writer abdicates responsibility for a variant used. Wherever this type of usage can be distinguished from language which an author takes ownership of, this methodology can be applied. This has already been done, in a piecemeal way, in micro-studies of literary language, for instance Brook's *The Language of Dickens* (1970), or Page's *The Language of Jane Austen* (1972).

Such works recognise the importance of nonstandard variant clustering, and the avoidance of certain variants in expository prose and self-quotation, but most lack an approach which integrates quantitative and qualitative techniques. And this, as has been demonstrated, is a crucial element in fully being able to understand the co-variation and variant appropriation in expository prose and direct speech.

For the CPD method to yield accurate results for Burney's language data, it was necessary to distinguish hits in direct speech from those elsewhere. It is only by ensuring this distinction that the change-point detection method could reveal anything about Burney's language attitude. However, given her tendency to embed direct speech in her writing both in private and published prose, this tool for making deductions about responsiveness to targeted prescriptivism may not be quite so readily available if this same model were to be applied to studies of other authors' idiolects.

The next logical step in exploring the functionality of this methodology would therefore be to investigate how it performs under less ideal circumstances, for instance in cases where a more limited dataset is available, or where an author's consumption of a review is not documented. The groundwork for this research has been laid, and suitable subjects for further micro studies identified. These subjects have to meet stringent criteria. Firstly, in order for the change point model to function effectively, a large enough dataset was required both before and after the hypothesized change-point, i.e. the date of a prescriptive review's publication. Secondly, the review of the author's works needed to contain explicit criticism or proscription of at least one grammatical variant. Thirdly, the review identified needed to be the only known review published in which the grammatical variant selected for study was criticized. These criteria excluded a number of more famous authors, whose publications were reviewed regularly.

Finally, the review and all of the authors' works had to have been published during the study period, between 1750 and 1899.

Eight authors meeting all of these criteria have been identified. They are Delabere Pritchett Blaine (1768-1845), William Bingley (1774-1823, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Bingley, William'), Walter Scott (1771-1832, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Scott, Sir Walter'), John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Lockhart, John Gibson'), Hester Thrale Piozzi (1741-1821, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Piozzi [*née* Salusbury; *other married name* Thrale], Hester Lynch'), Hannah More (1745-1833, *ODNB*, s.v. 'More, Hannah'), Elizabeth Inchbald (1753-1821, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Inchbald [*née* Simpson], Elizabeth') and Elizabeth Hamilton (c.1756-1816, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Hamilton, Elizabeth'). Whilst it would have been ideal for the authors chosen to have been criticized for using the same or analogous grammatical variants, the stringent selection criteria and tendency for reviews to be vague in their prescriptivism rendered this infeasible. As such, three of the authors selected, Scott, Blaine, and Inchbald, were criticized for the manner in which they conjugated given irregular verbs. A further pair of authors; Thrale Piozzi and More, are criticized for their objective use of first-person singular *I*. The remaining authors; Bingley, Lockhart and Hamilton, are criticized for their forms of intransitive *lie*, flat adverbs and grammatical concord respectively.

These authors were chosen not only because they met the strict selection criteria but also in the interest of achieving gender balance, in order to compare male and female responsiveness to overtly targeted prescriptivism. As was mentioned in §2.2.3, it is widely accepted in modern sociolinguistics that "women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed" (Labov, 2001, p.44; cf. Cameron & Coates, 1985, p.144). It is important to note, however, that tenet this has not been established to apply trans-historically or trans-culturally. Hudson and Anderson (1996) are prudently circumspect in acknowledging the possibility that it does not: they specify that it is only in a "society where males and females have equal access to the standard form, [that] females use standard variants of any stable variable which is socially stratified for both sexes more often than men do" (p.195). The proposed extension to the research presented here would therefore begin to explore this historically, and to question whether women are indeed more responsive to norms which are overtly prescribed, or whether the lack of equal access to classical and in many cases formal education of any kind means that women are less responsive than women nowadays.

The CPD method therefore has the potential to shed more light on the mechanisms by which prescriptivism influenced language usage in the Late Modern period. Whilst this proposed research is still micro-level and focused on idiolectal influences, its wider scope may allow more generalisable conclusions to be drawn on the basis of the results. As will be explored in what follows, however, there is also potential to utilise this method at the macro level. In providing more sophisticated correlations than researchers investigating the link between normative influences and language change have previously had access to, the CPD method has the potential to reinvigorate this field of study by shedding light on the impact which normative grammars had on the English language at the macro level.

### 10.3.2 Macro applications for the Change-Point Detection Method

Having attained encouraging results when using the CPD method to aid in quantifying targeted prescriptivism, its potential for application at the macro level could now be explored, with a view to determining whether it could help to evaluate the impact of grammarians' non-targeted prescriptions. If successful, this work has the potential to revolutionize prescriptivism studies. Until now, as has been discussed at length, the question of whether prescriptivism impedes or promotes language change has been unanswered. Few of the attempts that have been made to quantify its impact have found correlations between the proscription of a given grammatical variant and a decline in its usage. Where a decline has been discerned, it is often at an "unexpected time" (Anderwald, 2014, p.14), or after a "time lag" (Auer & González-Díaz, 2005, p.323). Any time lag between proscription and usage decline begs questions as to whether other, independent factors might be impacting usage. Ultimately, lack of clear correlation undermines the findings of such studies, insofar as they propose to identify features which have been "subject to prescriptive influence" (Anderwald, 2014, p.1).

Attempting to track potential influences and account for patterns of usage at the macro level in this way is, of course, significantly more challenging than doing so at the micro level. As in this study, two corpora will be needed; one to examine precept in the grammar books, and one to track practice in terms of language usage. Unlike Burney, the authors whose writings will comprise the 'usage' corpus will not have been targeted for criticism, and are likely in consequence to be less sensitive to prescriptions, and less likely to document their exposure to prescriptive materials. Grammar books, moreover, being significantly more expensive, were also more enduring than review periodicals. As such, they were produced, reproduced, sold

and sold again throughout the study period. Many grammarians also echo their antecedents and, whilst consensus among grammarians is remarkably rare (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2012, p.217), it is unlikely that it would often be possible to assert with any confidence that an individual grammar is responsible for a specific pattern of usage.

A change-point corresponding neatly to a publication date, of the kind reported in §7.2, would therefore be unlikely in this new phase of research. Nonetheless, the highly sophisticated correlation which the CPD method provides would allow for the more manageable tracking of potential influences on usage than was possible in the studies cited in §2.3.2. It is hoped that this statistical technique may therefore mitigate some of the challenges which have beset such previous attempts to quantify the impact of prescriptions at the macro level in English. With its capacity for processing huge quantities of data and revealing correlations undetectable to humans, the CPD method can provide evidence where so little currently exists, and thereby effect a step-change in the field of prescriptivism studies. It is hoped that this thesis has initiated that step-change at the micro level; the macro level is now the obvious next step.



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## APPENDIX A

### The composition of CENCER sub-corpora

The first sub-corpus, which covers the period 1750-1759, contains 23 review articles from only two periodicals, the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*. Only one other sampled periodical, the very short-lived *Edinburgh Review*, was published during this decade, so the inclusion of only *Monthly* and *Critical* articles is unsurprising. Table 38, below, shows the composition of this sub-corpus.

	Abbreviated article title	Periodical	Word count
1	A treatise of midwifery, chiefly with regard to the operation...	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	986
2	Occasional reflections on the importance of the war in America	<i>The Critical Review</i>	288
3	The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ asserted and defended	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	226
4	An account of the European settlements in America	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2,488
5	A New Method of learning with facility the Latin Tongue	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3,371
6	Remarks on Dr. Batties Treatise of Madness	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1,421
7	An Explanatory Defence of the Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3,253
8	A Commentary on the Book of Job	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4266
9	Dr Lardners Supplement	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4594
10	Chronological Antiquities	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	11145
11	The London Pocket-Book	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	447
12	A Compleat Key to the Late Battle	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	425
13	The Book of Lamentations	<i>The Critical Review</i>	474
14	The Seventeenth Epistle	<i>The Critical Review</i>	389
15	Memoirs of the Court of Augustus	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	9245
16	The Nature and Obligation of Morality	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4241
17	The Works of Virgil	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6242
18	Account of the Early Jews	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2828
19	Principles of Religion	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3965
20	Commentaries of the Late War	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3679
21	The State of the Hebrew Text	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	7331
22	The Principles of Politic Law	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4683
23	The Importance of the Name of England	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3777
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>79764</b>

**Table 38. Contents of 1750-1759 CENCER sub-corpus.**

As Table 39, below, shows, the second sub-corpus, covering the period 1760-1769, contains 31 review articles. Here, the articles again derive exclusively from the *Monthly* and *Critical*.

	Abbreviated article title	Periodical	Word count
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1	Two Grammatical Essays	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2901
2	A Dictionary of French and English	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2743
3	The Conquest of Quebec	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1186
4	Letter to the Right Hon ET	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2627
5	Enquiries concerning the varieties of the pulse	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2647
6	A Dissertation on ancient Tragedy	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3855
7	The Pocket Conveyancer	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1561
8	Remarks on the Life and Works of Plato	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3150
9	The Grand Question, is Marriage fit for Literary Men	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1188
10	Propositions for Improving the Manufactures	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2293
11	A History of the Military Transactions	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3350
12	The Quack Doctors	<i>The Critical Review</i>	422
13	Long Life to their most excellent Britannic Majesties	<i>The Critical Review</i>	472
14	An Essay on the Medicinal Nature of Hemlock	<i>The Critical Review</i>	5082
15	An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2754
16	An Account of the Eclipse	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1187
17	The Doctrine of Grace	<i>The Critical Review</i>	7606
18	An Account of a Meteor	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1451
19	Arcadia, or the Shepherds Wedding	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	791
20	Experimental Essays on the following subjects	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4277
21	Treatise on Ship-Building	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4926
22	Nature and Virtues of Buxton	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2636
23	The Nature and Power of the Baths	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2866
24	Answer to Essay on Fevers	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2744
25	Philosophical Transactions 1766	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3996
26	Medical Transactions	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4714
27	The Materia Medica	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5547
28	Lectures on Select Subjects	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3864
29	Georgical Essays	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2056
30	An Essay on the Bite of a Mad Dog	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4269
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>81534</b>

**Table 39. Contents of 1760-1769 CENCER sub-corpus.**

As Table 40 shows, the third sub-corpus, covering the period 1770-1779, contains 29 review articles. Again, these are derived only from the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*, since no other sampled periodicals were published during the 1770s.

	<b>Abbreviated article title</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3793
2	Remarks on different opinions relative to the American colonies	<i>The Critical Review</i>	501
3	The History of Miss Dorinda Catesby, and Miss Emilia Faulkner	<i>The Critical Review</i>	590
4	Free Thoughts on Quacks	<i>The Critical Review</i>	488
5	Calculations deduced from first principles	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3030
6	Party Dissected	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1680
7	Two Letters on the subject of Subscription	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	585
8	Lectures on the Materia Medica	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2805
9	Letters of Mr the Abbot	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1715
10	Ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman	<i>The Critical Review</i>	512
11	Sentimental Fables	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1392

12	A Treatise on Practical Seamanship	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3476
13	Chambaud's French and English Dictionary	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1362
14	Cursory Remarks on Dr Prince's Observations	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	628
15	The Lady's Polite Secretary	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1074
16	Narcissus	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1012
17	A Most Plea for the Property of Copyright	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3695
18	A Discourse delivered to the students	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5318
19	A Tour through Sicily and Malta	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6662
20	An Experimental Enquiry into the changes	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5413
21	Experiments upon the human bile	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2430
22	The Complete English Farmer	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6602
23	The Gentleman and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4702
24	Directions for impregnating water	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1848
25	A Dictionary of Chemistry	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3510
26	The Present State of Music in Germany	<i>The Critical Review</i>	7964
27	A Treatise of Optics	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2875
28	Six Essays or Discourses	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3405
29	A second Check to Antinomianism	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1066
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>80,133</b>

Table 40. Contents of 1770-1779 CENCER sub-corpus.

The fourth sub-corpus, covering the period 1780-1789, contains 36 review articles. Again, as Table 41 shows, these are derived chiefly from the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*, with a single review from *The Analytical Review* (1788-1798) also included.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	Reveries; Philosophical, Political and Military	<i>The Critical Review</i>	496
2	Shepherd's Free Examination	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1546
3	Observations upon the expediency of Revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3816
4	The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3412
5	School-Book	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	536
6	Poems on Various Subjects	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1140
7	A Complete Physico-Medical and Chirurgical Treatise	<i>The Critical Review</i>	550
8	The Trifler	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1213
9	Juvenile Indiscretions	<i>The Critical Review</i>	947
10	Remarks in Vindication of Dr Priestley	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	8862
11	Pratt's Humanity	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2350
12	Notices and Descriptions of Antiquities	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2735
13	A Review of some Interesting Periods of Irish History	<i>The Analytical Review</i>	1404
14	Anecdotes of William Bowyer	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4275
15	Historical Account of the Settlement and Possession of Bombay	<i>The Critical Review</i>	67
16	Ivar, a Tragedy	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	541
17	Essays on Various Subjects, critical and moral	<i>The Critical Review</i>	488
18	The New Rosciad	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1272
19	Translation of Huntingford's First Collection	<i>The Critical Review</i>	490
20	One the Origin of Feudal Tenure	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3484
21	Hervey's Letters from Portugal	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2782
22	A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1949

23	A New Experimental Enquiry into Cheltenham Water	<i>The Critical Review</i>	481
24	Airopaidia	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3711
25	Philosophical Transactions	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2338
26	A Letter Addressed to Mr Priestley	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1975
27	An Essay on Epic Poetry	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4580
28	The History of Greece	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5578
29	The Poetical Works of John Scott	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2912
30	Peru, a Poem	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2109
31	De Statu Libri	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3201
32	Principles of Anatomy and Physiology	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1370
33	The New Art of Land Measuring	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1744
34	The Progress of Romance	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2810
35	Transactions of the Society of Arts	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2994
36	The History of Epidemics	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2447
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>82,605</b>

Table 41. Contents of 1780-1789 CENCER sub-corpus.

The fifth sub-corpus covers the period 1790-99, and contains 33 review articles. The largest proportion of these, 45.45% (n=15) are from the *Monthly Review*, but only 18.18% (n=6) are from the *Critical*. The remaining 12 are from *The British Critic*, established in 1793. The composition of this sub-corpus, shown in Table 42, below, reflects this periodical's immediate success and its rapid encroachment upon the market share of the previously dominant *Monthly* and *Critical*.

	Abbreviated article name	Periodical	Word count
1.	Tatham's Lectures	<i>The Critical Review</i>	4511
2.	Poems by GD Harley	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1618
3	A Critical Inquiry into the Life of Alexander the Great	<i>The British Critic</i>	3652
4	Odes, Moral and Descriptive	<i>The British Critic</i>	2245
5	Mr Malkin's Essay	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6046
6	The Deluge	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2437
7	A Treatise on Practical Navigation	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1461
8	Lavater's Secret Journal of a Self-Observer	<i>The British Critic</i>	3563
9	A Farewell Ode	<i>The Critical Review</i>	860
10	Transactions of the Royal Society	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6088
11	The Persian Interpreter	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2312
12	Falsehood, Paine, and Company	<i>The British Critic</i>	945
13	The Fair Hibernian	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	550
14	A Gossip's Story	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	557
15	Letters on Subjects of Importance	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	577
16	The Mysterious Warning	<i>The Critical Review</i>	449
17	An Appeal to Manufacturers	<i>The British Critic</i>	438
18	The Supplement to the Treatise on Carriages	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	604
19	Chalmers's Apology	<i>The British Critic</i>	4598
20	Collier's Defence of Double-Entry	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1367
21	Bishop Watson's Apology	<i>The British Critic</i>	4438
22	The Lounger's Common-Place Book	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1157
23	Regulations of Parochial Police	<i>The British Critic</i>	1044
24	Paine's Letter to Erskine	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2840
25	Hampshire	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1069



26	The State of the Poor	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	7104
27	Principles of Legislation	<i>The British Critic</i>	7668
28	Beddoes's Essay on Consumption	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5061
29	Regulations of Parochial Police	<i>The British Critic</i>	261
30	The Insufficiency of the Light of Nature	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	624
31	Jesus	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1085
32	Miscellanies	<i>The British Critic</i>	2088
33	Supplement on the Signs of the Times	<i>The British Critic</i>	1816
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>81133</b>

Table 42. Contents of 1790-1799 CENCER sub-corpus.

Reflecting the proliferation of successful review periodicals around the turn of the nineteenth century, the sixth sub-corpus covers the period 1800-09 and contains 30 review articles from 5 periodicals. As Table 43 shows, the largest proportion of these are derived from the ‘old-guard’ periodicals, the *Monthly* and the *Critical*; each of these periodicals contributes a third of the total number of articles in the corpus, 10 each. Of the remainder, *The British Critic* accounts for 7 articles, whilst the newly-founded *Eclectic Review* (1805-1868) and *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1910) contribute 2 and 1 article respectively.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	Freylinghausen on the Christian Religion	<i>The British Critic</i>	4343
2	System of Mineralogy	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	6601
3	Thoughts on the Creation, Generation, Growth and Evolution of the Body	<i>The British Critic</i>	2857
4	Inquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine of Marriage	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2053
5	A Treatise on Telegraphic Communication	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	4117
6	The Life of Nelson	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	7316
7	Pitt's Speeches	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2596
8	Wisdom better than Weapons	<i>The British Critic</i>	2767
9	A Refutation of the Libel	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1898
10	The Law of Evidence	<i>The British Critic</i>	1724
11	The Art of Teaching	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2701
12	Remarks on Venereal Disease	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1078
13	Morcar and Elina	<i>The Critical Review</i>	387
14	The Elements of Euclid	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2751
15	The Minstrel	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3667
16	Priestley on the Scriptures	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	2517
17	The Apocalypse	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3346
18	The Bees	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2419
19	My Pocket Book	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	598
20	Faber's Supplement	<i>The Critical Review</i>	3154
21	Essays to do Good	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	1369
22	Pye's Comments	<i>The British Critic</i>	2166
23	The Pleader's Guide	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2147
24	A Tour in America	<i>The Critical Review</i>	2235
25	Chemical Nomenclature	<i>The British Critic</i>	2429
26	Treatise on Febrile Diseases	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2870
27	Alfred, an Epic Poem	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1979
28	Wordsworth's Poems	<i>The Critical Review</i>	1941
29	Harmony in Language	<i>The British Critic</i>	4002
30	Bayley's Poems	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2718

<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>	<b>82,746</b>
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**Table 43. Contents of 1800-1809 CENCER sub-corpus.**

By far the largest proportion of the 23 articles in the 1810-1819 sub-corpus are from the *Monthly Review*. As Table 44 shows, this periodical accounts for 12, whilst the *British Critic* contributes the second largest number, 4, the *Eclectic Review* contributes 3, the newly-founded *Literary Gazette* (1817-62) 2, and the *Critical* and *Quarterly* (1809-1906) each contribute a single article. On the basis of this sampling, the *Monthly Review* may seem at first glance to be maintaining its position within the marketplace. However, it is likely that it is over-represented in the 1810-19 sub-corpus, due to the newer Reviews' abandonment of the ideal of comprehensive reviewing (see §3.2.5), which led to fewer, longer articles comprising many nineteenth-century review periodicals. It is also for this reason that the number of articles comprising individual sub-corpora begins, at this stage, to decline significantly. That the newer Reviews are beginning to eclipse the *Monthly* and *Critical* is also apparent from the marked decline in the number of *Critical* articles appearing in the corpus between 1800-09 and 1810-19. Whereas in the 1800-09 sub-corpus, as many *Critical* articles as *Monthly* articles appear, the *Critical* contributes only one article to the 1810-19 sub-corpus. It was during this decade that the *Critical* folded, having become financially inviable.

The 1810-19 sub-corpus is also the first to include articles from the *Quarterly Review* (1809-1906) and the *Literary Gazette* (1817-62). There are marked differences between these two publications, which foreshadow the divergence of 'high' and popular literary culture (see §3.2.4) later on in the nineteenth century. The *Quarterly* was ideologically-driven, renowned for its harsh criticism, and relatively expensive, whereas the *Literary Gazette* was self-consciously aligned more with the developing newspaper genre than with the review periodical tradition. Not only was the term 'gazette' included in its title, it was also comprised of relatively short articles, arranged in columns, and was relatively cheap. The 1810-19 sub-corpus therefore reflects the momentous changes in review periodical culture in the first decades of the nineteenth century which were discussed in §3.2.5.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	History of Merchant Taylor's	<i>The British Critic</i>	2284
2	Farewell Sermons	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1059
3	Lyrical Dramas	<i>The Literary Gazette</i>	2826
4	Translation of Claudian	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3673
5	Child Harold's Pilgrimage	<i>The Literary Gazette</i>	6117
6	Amatory	<i>The Critical Review</i>	795

7	The Treatise of Bees	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5924
8	Beauty and Deformity	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	3291
9	Dermid, or Erin in the Days of Boru	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3092
10	Ancient Drama	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6397
11	Correspondence of Mr Wakefield and Mr Fox	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	7989
12	The Dramatic Works of John Ford	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6597
13	Bibliomania, a Romance	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6794
14	Electra of Sophocles	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	2013
15	Dudley	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	195
16	Letters from the North Highlands	<i>The British Critic</i>	3209
17	Poems by Mary Russell Mitford	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	946
18	Jerusalem Delivered	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6653
19	Double Entry by Single	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	1579
20	The Elements of Plane Geometry	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	3707
21	The Doctrine of Interest and Annuities	<i>The British Critic</i>	3294
22	Memoirs of Lady Hamilton	<i>The British Critic</i>	4778
23	Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	5852
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>82411</b>

**Table 44. Contents of 1810-1819 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The eighth sub-corpus covers the period 1820-29, and contains only 11 articles. This, as was previously noted, marks a sharp decline in the number of review articles comprising a sub-corpus of approximately 80,000 words. Again, as Table 45 shows, the largest proportion of the articles are from the *Monthly Review*, which contributes 4. This may, again, be due to over-representation resulting from its continued, and increasingly vain, attempts to maintain near-comprehensive coverage of the book market, meaning that more articles from this periodical were available for sampling than the other periodicals of the time. The *British Critic*, which also aspired to comprehensiveness during its early decades, contributes 3 articles to this sub-corpus, and the *Eclectic Review* contributes 2. A single article from the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as one from the *Literary Gazette*, complete the 1820-29 sub-corpus.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	A View of the American Indians	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	<b>8370</b>
2	Dr Issac Milner's Sermons	<i>The British Critic</i>	<b>11116</b>
3	Lectures on Sculpture	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	<b>12602</b>
4	On English Versification	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	<b>6494</b>
5	On the Origin of Several Empires	<i>The British Critic</i>	<b>10517</b>
6	On the Principles of Interpretation	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	<b>4104</b>
7	Italy, a Poem	<i>The Literary Gazette</i>	3910
8	The Book of the Boudoir	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	9910
9	A Compendium of Domestic Medicine	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	3842
10	Travels to and From Constantinople	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	9530
11	Bibliotheca Biblica	<i>The British Critic</i>	<b>5830</b>
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>82315</b>

**Table 45. Contents of 1820-1829 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The ninth sub-corpus covers the period 1830-39, and contains only 7 review articles. As Table 46 shows, 3 of these are derived from the *Monthly*, 2 from the *Quarterly*, and 1 each from both the *British Critic* and the *Eclectic Review*. The mean article length for this sub-corpus is 11,879.71 words, by comparison with a mean article length of 3,468 for the 1750-59 sub-corpus, for example, or 2,294 for the 1780-89 sub-corpus.

	Abbreviated article name	Periodical	Word count
1	Memoires de Louis XVII	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	12798
2	The Present State of Ethical Philosophy	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	12667
3	Philosophy of History	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	7826
4	Introduction to the Literature of Europe	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	7438
5	The Poetical Works of Coleridge	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	17419
6	The Law of Moses	<i>The British Critic</i>	12529
7	Jacqueline of Holland	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	12481
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>82158</b>

Table 46. Contents of 1830-1839 CENCER sub-corpus.

The tenth sub-corpus covers the period 1840-1849, and contains 9 review articles from 5 different publications. As Table 47 shows, 3 of these are derived from the *Monthly Review*, whilst the *Eclectic Review* and *Quarterly Review* each contribute 2 articles, and the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Literary Gazette* each contribute 1.

	Abbreviated article name	Periodical	Word count
1	Commentary upon the Psalms	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	7535
2	On the Tomb of Alyattes	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	10533
3	The Art of Composition	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	6325
4	Introduction to the New Testament	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	9210
5	The Eve of the Conquest	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	12888
6	The History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht	<i>The Literary Gazette</i>	5139
7	The Child's Book on the Soul	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	15228
8	Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	8281
9	Scriptural Interepretations	<i>The Monthly Review</i>	5823
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>80962</b>

Table 47. Contents of 1840-1849 CENCER sub-corpus.

The eleventh sub-corpus covers the period 1850-1859, and contains 8 review articles. It is the first sub-corpus to which the *Monthly Review* does not make a significant contribution. In fact, no articles from the *Monthly* appear in this sub-corpus, because it ceased to exist in 1845. As Table 48 shows, the largest contributions to this sub-corpus are made by the *Eclectic* and the *Quarterly*; 3 articles are derived from the former, and 2 from the latter. In addition, *The Critic* (1843-1863), *The Westminster Review* (1824-1914), and the *Edinburgh Review* all contribute 1 article apiece.

	Abbreviated article name	Periodical	Word count
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1	Ramus, His Life, Writings, and Opinions	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	6601
2	Boswell's Life of Johnson	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	27667
3	The English of Shakespeare Illustrated	<i>The Critic</i>	3017
4	Trollope's Tuscany	<i>The Westminster Review</i>	7216
5	The Book of Rugby School	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	12611
6	Travels in Devon and Cornwall	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	9189
7	The Struggles against Aggressive Taxation	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	6184
8	The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin	<i>The Eclectic Critic</i>	8674
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>81159</b>

**Table 48. Contents of 1850-1859 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The twelfth sub-corpus covers the period 1860-1869, and contains 7 review articles. As Table 49 shows, 5 of these are from the *Edinburgh Review*, whilst the *Quarterly Review* and the *London Review* each contribute a single article to this sub-corpus.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	Liberal Education in England	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	15383
2	Her Majesty's Commissioners into Public Schools	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	12734
3	The Poem Ascribed to Milton	<i>The London Review</i>	3241
4	History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	13957
5	Miscellaneous Remains	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	16631
6	Josh Billings, His Book of Sayings	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	11613
7	The Ring	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	9446
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>83005</b>

**Table 49. Contents of 1860-1869 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The thirteenth sub-corpus covers the period 1870-1879, and contains 5 review articles from only two publications; those which were identified in §3.2.4 as dominating the market during the nineteenth century. As Table 50 shows, the *Edinburgh Review* accounts for 3 of these articles, whilst the *Quarterly* accounts for the remaining 2.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	The History of the English Bible	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	18701
2	The Science of Religion	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	11383
3	Parliamentary Anecdotes	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	20176
4	History of Merchant Shipping	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	16232
5	The Works of John Hookham Frere	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	13486
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>79978</b>

**Table 50. Contents of 1870-1879 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The fourteenth sub-corpus covers the period 1880-1889, and contains 6 review articles. As Table 51 shows, these are derived only from the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*; with each contributing 3 articles to this sub-corpus.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	Mr Morris's Novels	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	14133
2	The Life of William Barnes	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	8026
3	A Book of Nonsense	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	13262
4	Sketches from my Life	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	15325
5	History of the Invasion of the Crimea	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	15098
6	A History of our Own Times	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	12207
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>80051</b>

**Table 51. Contents of 1880-1889 CENCER sub-corpus.**

The fifteenth and final sub-corpus covers the period 1890-1899, and contains 7 review articles. As in the sub-corpora immediately preceding this one, these articles are derived from the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*. As Table 52 shows, 4 of the articles in this sub-corpus are derived from the *Edinburgh Review*, whilst 3 are derived from the *Quarterly*.

	<b>Abbreviated article name</b>	<b>Periodical</b>	<b>Word count</b>
1	The Platform, its Rise and Progress	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	7853
2	The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	13015
3	The Works of Mr Rudyard Kipling	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	10616
4	Town Life in the Fifteenth Century	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	14187
5	A Guide to Cookery	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	10636
6	Notes from a Diary	<i>The Quarterly Review</i>	10377
7	Forty One Years in India	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>	14824
<b>Total sub-corpus word count</b>			<b>81508</b>

**Table 52. Contents of 1890-1899 CENCER sub-corpus.**

## APPENDIX B

### Keywords of the CENCER sub-corpora

#### 1750-1759 sub-corpus

*WordSmith* was used to compare the 1750-1759 sub-corpus of CENCER with CLMET, with 160 keywords resulting (see Table 53, below). Of these, 152 were identified by *WordSmith* as having a p value of 0.0000000000.

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness	P value
HEBREW	112	902.25	0.0000000000
CHRONOLOGY	75	613.73	0.0000000000
SEPTUAGINT	42	401.79	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	124	337.81	0.0000000000
JOSEPHUS	36	329.52	0.0000000000
YEARS	156	261.26	0.0000000000
JEWS	51	260.61	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	35	259.46	0.0000000000
REVIEW	46	251.95	0.0000000000
ANTIEN	44	247.57	0.0000000000
FLOOD	47	240.00	0.0000000000
DR	90	239.47	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURE	40	220.99	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	20	190.86	0.0000000000
GREEK	61	178.91	0.0000000000
COPIES	37	172.39	0.0000000000
ABRAHAM	29	166.19	0.0000000000
CAINAN	16	163.39	0.0000000000
BOOK	67	162.33	0.0000000000
ENOCH	17	153.20	0.0000000000
SONG	38	150.75	0.0000000000
TEXT	36	149.73	0.0000000000
COMPUTATION	23	140.26	0.0000000000
MOSES	27	136.58	0.0000000000
EPISTLE	35	134.10	0.0000000000
JARED	13	132.76	0.0000000000
EXODUS	13	132.76	0.0000000000
AERA	21	125.53	0.0000000000
VERSION	25	125.32	0.0000000000
CREATION	32	121.06	0.0000000000
WRITER	41	117.95	0.0000000000
JOB	21	116.99	0.0000000000
SOVEREIGNTY	26	116.96	0.0000000000
SAMARITAN	14	116.32	0.0000000000
REVIEWERS	14	116.32	0.0000000000
WRITERS	38	113.82	0.0000000000
PATRIARCHS	19	111.57	0.0000000000
REMARKS	28	105.01	0.0000000000
JEWISH	21	104.36	0.0000000000
LATIN	41	102.79	0.0000000000
O'ER	26	99.72	0.0000000000
CONSIDERS	22	97.38	0.0000000000

OBSERVES	28	93.95	0.0000000000
PROCEEDS	27	93.31	0.0000000000
BRITISH	34	92.76	0.0000000000
SEM	9	91.91	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	25	91.33	0.0000000000
BATTIE	10	91.33	0.0000000000
NOAH	13	85.94	0.0000000000
BATTIE'S	9	85.42	0.0000000000
BEGAT	8	85.42	0.0000000000
WORK	59	82.75	0.0000000000
RULES	32	82.59	0.0000000000
MOURO	8	81.70	0.0000000000
EPISTLES	19	80.35	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	47	77.23	0.0000000000
SWAINS	11	77.09	0.0000000000
LEARNED	39	76.93	0.0000000000
CHRONOLOGERS	7	71.48	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	26	70.99	0.0000000000
ANTEDILUVIAN	9	70.06	0.0000000000
PETER	22	67.14	0.0000000000
CONCERNING	40	65.66	0.0000000000
SYNTAX	7	65.47	0.0000000000
TESTAMENT	15	65.34	0.0000000000
GRAMMAR	14	64.82	0.0000000000
PUBLIC	66	62.97	0.0000000000
PAMPHLET	16	62.75	0.0000000000
LARDNER'S	7	61.99	0.0000000000
RESSECTION	6	61.97	0.0000000000
EGREGORI	6	61.27	0.0000000000
ALPHEUS	6	61.27	0.0000000000
KNOWLEDGE	13	60.91	0.0000000000
LITERARY	15	60.91	0.0000000000
ANTIQUITIES	13	60.59	0.0000000000
GOSPELS	9	59.43	0.0000000000
WRIT	20	58.26	0.0000000000
CONSTITUTION	32	58.26	0.0000000000
APOSTLES	14	56.88	0.0000000000
EFFEMINATE	12	56.05	0.0000000000
REVIEWED	10	55.37	0.0000000000
ISRAEL	7	55.24	0.0000000000
CHRISTIANS	28	54.90	0.0000000000
TREATISE	16	54.43	0.0000000000
PERFORMANCE	22	54.25	0.0000000000
COMPUTATIONS	8	53.94	0.0000000000
RELIGIONS	11	53.18	0.0000000000
REFLECTIONS	26	52.94	0.0000000000
APOSTLE	15	52.58	0.0000000000
ART	50	51.90	0.0000000000
CERES	7	50.85	0.0000000000
VIRTUE	59	50.45	0.0000000000
CHRIST	22	50.26	0.0000000000
READERS	19	50.00	0.0000000000
DOCTOR	35	49.80	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	19	49.70	0.0000000000
MADNESS	17	49.64	0.0000000000
EUSEBIUS	9	49.14	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	14	49.12	0.0000000000
ST	44	49.01	0.0000000000



LARDNER	7	48.57	0.000000000
ENDEAVOURS	22	48.06	0.000000000
SYLLOGISMS	6	47.86	0.000000000
SETH	6	47.86	0.000000000
YEAR	59	47.48	0.000000000
SOUND	28	47.45	0.000000000
BIRTH	29	46.89	0.000000000
MANNERS	33	46.81	0.000000000
HISTORY	46	46.78	0.000000000
SOVEREIGN	31	46.50	0.000000000
JUDE	6	46.17	0.000000000
SOUNDED	14	45.86	0.000000000
SUPREME	18	45.78	0.000000000
NEBUCHADNEZZAR	5	45.67	0.000000000
MEXICANS	5	45.67	0.000000000
ISRAELITES	5	45.67	0.000000000
ELI	5	45.67	0.000000000
ORIGINAL	31	45.54	0.000000000
TEMPLE	23	45.53	0.000000000
ACCOUNT	68	45.15	0.000000000
SECTION	14	44.59	0.000000000
WARBURTON	9	43.79	0.000000000
CANAAN	6	43.79	0.000000000
STILE	15	43.00	0.000000000
UNCORRUPT	5	42.71	0.000000000
PERIOD	26	41.97	0.000000000
DODSLEY	8	41.62	0.000000000
CITED	8	41.62	0.000000000
GOVERNMENT	43	41.29	0.000000000
UNGRAMMATICAL	4	40.85	0.000000000
CLEOPHAS	4	40.85	0.000000000
CHALDAA	4	40.85	0.000000000
ARPHAXAD	4	40.85	0.000000000
ANTIOCH	4	40.85	0.000000000
AGREE	19	40.73	0.000000000
BEGINNERS	5	40.51	0.000000000
DIDACTIC	6	40.22	0.000000000
INGENIOUS	17	39.55	0.000000000
LITERATURE	13	39.32	0.000000000
COPY	20	39.10	0.000000000
ANTIENTS	8	38.93	0.000000000
SACRED	24	38.84	0.000000000
ITALIC	5	38.74	0.000000000
GENUINENESS	5	38.74	0.000000000
GENERATIONS	10	38.40	0.000000000
AGES	21	38.33	0.000000000
SCRIPTURES	9	38.17	0.000000000
DOCTRINE	18	37.85	0.000000000
TERM	19	37.82	0.000000000
AUTHORITY	37	37.46	0.000000000
GOVERNMENTS	11	37.13	0.000000000
SIRE	8	36.65	0.000000000
FIX	17	36.45	0.000000001
ACCORDING	39	35.96	0.000000001
SALA	4	35.86	0.000000001
ARID	4	35.86	0.000000001
ANTIGALLICIAN	4	35.86	0.000000001
GENUINE	15	35.63	0.000000002

CONCLUDES	10	35.62	0.0000000002
STATES	16	35.21	0.0000000004

**Table 53. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1750-1759 sub-corpus.**

Perhaps unsurprisingly, more of these keywords fall under the broad semantic category of ‘literary reviewing’ than relate to anything else. As Table 54 shows, 51 of the 160 keywords (31.88%) only appear in relation to literary reviewing, or appear in this context predominantly. Words are considered to fall under this semantic category if they relate to periodical reviewing directly, or to the process of publication, bookselling, writing, stylistic or literary criticism, typography, or if they contain proper nouns connected with the production or publication of literary texts, for example the names of authors, publishers, or characters in works of fiction. As Table 54 also shows, a number of the keywords in this category for 1750-59 relate directly to the act of literary reviewing. These include *Monthly*, *review*, and *periodical*. Genres of publication account for a further handful of keywords. *Epistle(s)*, *pamphlet*, *journal*, and *treatise* fall under this category. Words relating to text production and reception, such as *book*, *author*, *author’s*, *writers*, *copies*, *writings* and *readers* also appear in the keyword list for this sub-corpus. Surnames of the authors of texts reviewed, such as *Battie*, *Lardner* and *Warburton* also appear as key, as does *Dodsley*, the surname of a successful English bookseller. These keywords indicate that the review articles of this decade are concerned with relatively high-brow literary genres.

As is noted in §4.2.5, so-called ‘aboutness’ keywords, those which highlight the preoccupations of a target corpus by comparison with a reference corpus, are one of the principal types of words which emerge in a keyword list. In the context of the present study, where each sub-corpus is comprised of articles from disparate sources, covering a huge range of subject areas, this tendency of keyword analysis to highlight topics of preoccupation has the potential to skew the results of analysis. A single review article about a topic never (or rarely) discussed in the reference corpus may yield a large number of keywords, and a semantic category may therefore be made to seem more significant within a given sub-corpus than is strictly warranted. Each semantic category deemed relevant and discussed in this thesis has therefore been investigated carefully, to ensure that a single review article about a niche subject area is not afforded more importance than it deserves. This has also involved checks which ensure that semantic categories which are truly significant across a sub-corpus are given proper consideration.

The semantic field of language and grammar accounts for only 10 (6.25%) of the 160 keywords for this sub-corpus, however it is highly significant to the present study that *ungrammatical* appears here as a keyword. This indicates that even at this early juncture in the study period,

grammaticality is already a preoccupation of the literary review periodicals. *Grammar* also appears in the keyword list, but examination of the concordance lines for this word in this sub-corpus reveals that its keyness is not an indication that reviewers are preoccupied with norms of correctness in this decade. Rather, *grammar* is being used in this sub-corpus as shorthand in referring to grammar books. Whilst this suggests a general preoccupation with linguistic correctness, these instances of *grammar* do not originate with the reviewer, but occur in the reviewed texts. They therefore tell us little about the attitudes of reviewers to grammar during this decade.

Aside from *grammar* and *ungrammatical*, the remaining keywords falling under this semantic category relate primarily to other languages, all of them classical. *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latin*, as well as *translation*, all appear on the keyword list. This is largely due to the appearance of these words in religious texts and in relation to Biblical translations. The appearance of *language* and *term* as keywords reveal little beyond a preoccupation with linguistic performance which is unsurprising given the context of literary reviewing. Both are dispersed throughout the text files comprising this sub-corpus, and do not appear to cluster to any significant degree in a single text file. The final keyword relating to this semantic field is *syntax*, which occurs exclusively within a single text file, an article from the *Monthly Review* of a work entitled *A New Method of Learning with Facility the Latin Tongue*. All 7 occurrences of *syntax* in this text file appear to originate in the reviewed text, and do not reveal anything about the reviewer's language attitudes.

The semantic field of rules and hierarchy accounts for a further 6 keywords (3.75%). This is a very small proportion of the total number of keywords, however given the preoccupation with rules and rectitude which is hypothesized in the literature on review culture (§3.2.3), this may be significant. The word *rules* itself appears in the keyword list, and of its 32 occurrences, 22 appear in the context of linguistic rules, again exclusively within the review of *A New Method of Learning with Facility the Latin Tongue*. The full name of the reviewed text actually contains the phrase “containing the rules of genders, declensions, preterites, syntax, and Latin accents”. The majority of occurrences of *rules* in this sub-corpus therefore reflect the discursive construction of language as a set of rules which can be learned by rote. This has obvious implications for the discourses surrounding grammatical correctness, and is, in consequence, explored in detail in §5.3. *Authority* also appears in the keyword list, however only 2 of the 37 occurrences of this word in the sub-corpus relate to language use, so it is unlikely to warrant closer examination. *Learned* also appears in the keyword list, and is dispersed throughout the

sub-corpus, with 33 of the 39 occurrences of this word being adjectival. This word's dispersion across the sub-corpus indicates general usage, and concordance analysis suggests that it co-occurs regularly with *author*. This indicates that authors are, at this stage of the study period, being treated with respect. This has potential significance for the exploration of the enforcement of linguistic norms in the review periodicals.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	GREEK, HEBREW, LATIN, LANGUAGE, SYNTAX, GRAMMAR, TRANSLATION, UNGRAMMATICAL, TERM	10
Rules/hierarchy	DR, RULES, LEARNED, DOCTOR, MANNERS, AUTHORITY	6
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, MONTHLY, REVIEW, PERIODICALS, COPIES, BOOK, TEXT, EPISTLE, VERSION, WRITER, REVIEWERS, WRITERS, REMARKS, O'ER, CONSIDERS, OBSERVES, AUTHOR'S, WORK, EPISTLES, SWAINS, WRITINGS, CONCERNING, PAMPHLET, LITERARY, REVIEWED, TREATISE, PERFORMANCE, REFLECTIONS, READERS, JOURNAL, ACCOUNT, SECTION, CITED, GENIUS, LITERATURE, COPY, ITALIC, SIRE JOSEPHUS, BATTIE'S, BATTIE, MOURO , EGREGORI, ALPHEUS, LARDNER'S, CERES, EUSEBIUS, LARDNER, Warburton, Dodsley, Sala	51
Religious/Biblical references	JEWS, FLOOD, SCRIPTURE, CREATION, SAMARITAN, PATRIARCHS, JEWISH, BEGAT, TESTAMENT, GOSPELS, CHRISTIANS, APOSTLES, RELIGIONS, ST, TEMPLE, SACRED, SCRIPTURES, DOCTRINE, SEPTUAGINT, ABRAHAM, CAINAN, ENOCH, MOSES, EXODUS, JARED, JOB, NOAH, PETER, ISRAEL, CHRIST, JUDE, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, ISRAELITES, ELI, CANAAN, CLEOPHAS, ARPHAXAD	37
History	CHRONOLOGY, CHRONOLOGERS, ANTEDILUVIAN, ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY, PERIOD, GENERATIONS, AGES, CHALDEA, ANTIOCH	8
Law/governance	SOVEREIGNTY, WRIT, CONSTITUTION, SUPREME, GOVERNMENT, UNCORRUPT, GOVERNMENTS	7
Variant spellings	ANTIEN, AERA, ANTIENS	3
Miscellaneous	YEARS, SONG, COMPUTATION, PROCEEDS, BRITISH, SEM, PUBLIC, RESSECTION, KNOWLEDGE, EFFEMINATE, COMPUTATIONS, VIRTUE, MADNESS, ENDEAVOURS, SYLLOGISMS, SOUND, YEAR, BIRTH, SOUNDED, MEXICANS, ORIGINAL, AGREE, BEGINNERS, GENUINENESS, FIX, ACCORDING, ARID, ANTIGALLICAN, GENUINE	29
<b>Total</b>		<b>160</b>

Table 54. Keyword results for the 1750-1759 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

## 1760-1769 sub-corpus

*WordSmith* identifies many more keywords with a p value of 0.0000000000 in this sub-corpus than in the last; 308, by comparison with 160 in 1750-1759. This indicates a greater divergence between the subject matter discussed in this sub-corpus and in the reference corpus, CLMET (see §4.2.5). Even a cursory glance at the keyword list in Table 55 reveals that this divergence is primarily due to the prolific quantity of medical and scientific terminology occurring in this sub-corpus.

<b>Key word</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Keyness</b>	<b>p value</b>
WATER	207	488.50	0.0000000000
PULSE	69	461.56	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	153	383.11	0.0000000000
PILLS	40	329.41	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	31	281.30	0.0000000000
SOUND	88	269.02	0.0000000000
REVIEW	52	262.54	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	52	254.76	0.0000000000
BARK	59	245.27	0.0000000000
CASES	74	236.23	0.0000000000
HEMLOCK	26	221.25	0.0000000000
PATIENT	56	212.20	0.0000000000
HEAT	58	204.92	0.0000000000
MEDICINES	33	202.81	0.0000000000
WATERS	54	196.60	0.0000000000
SOLUTION	30	183.67	0.0000000000
COLD	74	179.51	0.0000000000
CURE	51	171.42	0.0000000000
OBSERVATIONS	56	170.38	0.0000000000
PULSATIONS	20	169.64	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	26	164.84	0.0000000000
GLANDS	20	163.21	0.0000000000
AIR	94	156.61	0.0000000000
NITRE	20	155.43	0.0000000000
PUTREFACTION	21	152.11	0.0000000000
PLATO	32	148.81	0.0000000000
LOFT	18	148.08	0.0000000000
ULCERS	19	146.62	0.0000000000
CYLINDER	17	145.66	0.0000000000
DR	78	144.76	0.0000000000
GRAINS	22	144.55	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	76	142.75	0.0000000000
ART	94	138.95	0.0000000000
MEDICINE	29	136.72	0.0000000000
PISTON	15	135.93	0.0000000000
PARTICLES	22	134.88	0.0000000000
ANTISEPTIC	14	133.84	0.0000000000
NODE	14	133.84	0.0000000000

CHERUS	14	133.84	0.0000000000
PUTRID	18	131.90	0.0000000000
EXPERIMENTS	30	130.72	0.0000000000
REMARKS	36	128.94	0.0000000000
CASTOR	16	127.28	0.0000000000
SCHIRROUS	13	124.28	0.0000000000
BAREGES	13	124.28	0.0000000000
IMMERSED	18	115.12	0.0000000000
BRITISH	44	113.93	0.0000000000
READERS	36	113.47	0.0000000000
FLUID	17	111.81	0.0000000000
QUANTITY	63	108.09	0.0000000000
MEDICAL	19	105.95	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	28	105.56	0.0000000000
CANCEROUS	11	105.16	0.0000000000
TURBID	11	105.16	0.0000000000
DOSES	14	105.13	0.0000000000
ESSAY	31	103.75	0.0000000000
OILY	15	102.06	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	14	101.40	0.0000000000
TREATISE	27	100.33	0.0000000000
FEVERS	18	99.48	0.0000000000
PATIENTS	19	97.69	0.0000000000
CENTER	18	97.45	0.0000000000
DISEASE	31	97.42	0.0000000000
MERCURIAL	12	96.79	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	29	95.88	0.0000000000
SOMENTATION	10	95.60	0.0000000000
EXTRACT	21	93.02	0.0000000000
FLUIDS	16	90.10	0.0000000000
OIL	25	90.01	0.0000000000
SECTIONS	12	89.83	0.0000000000
PUS	10	88.91	0.0000000000
SOLIDS	13	88.45	0.0000000000
SHIPBUILDING	9	86.04	0.0000000000
VAMP	9	86.04	0.0000000000
ARTICLE	33	85.08	0.0000000000
ETC	39	84.86	0.0000000000
MOON'S	12	84.57	0.0000000000
DISTILLED	18	84.09	0.0000000000
INFUSION	13	83.51	0.0000000000
CURED	22	83.15	0.0000000000
FEE	19	83.04	0.0000000000
SPECIFIC	16	82.93	0.0000000000
USE	94	82.77	0.0000000000
OECONOMY	20	81.75	0.0000000000
ACIDS	10	81.60	0.0000000000
DICTIONARY	17	81.28	0.0000000000
DEVELOPED	11	81.22	0.0000000000
ALKALINE	9	79.55	0.0000000000
EVACUATION	13	79.40	0.0000000000
LITERARY	20	78.98	0.0000000000
TRANSLATOR	15	78.40	0.0000000000

FEVER	31	78.25	0.0000000000
SINUSSES	8	76.48	0.0000000000
DISSERTATOR	8	76.48	0.0000000000
ANTISEPTICS	8	76.48	0.0000000000
FIZY	8	76.48	0.0000000000
BULK	21	76.39	0.0000000000
SALIVA	11	76.26	0.0000000000
DISEASES	21	75.90	0.0000000000
LIME	13	75.07	0.0000000000
PERUVIAN	11	74.84	0.0000000000
QUERY	9	72.59	0.0000000000
HEBERDEN	9	72.59	0.0000000000
MERCURY	18	72.35	0.0000000000
SMALLPOX	11	72.27	0.0000000000
RECTIFIED	12	71.81	0.0000000000
ESSAYS	17	71.01	0.0000000000
EXPERIMENTAL	12	70.94	0.0000000000
CONTAINS	24	70.44	0.0000000000
MIDSHIP	8	70.22	0.0000000000
DIAMETER	12	70.10	0.0000000000
MILLAR	9	70.06	0.0000000000
ANNALS	21	69.82	0.0000000000
PARTS	68	69.77	0.0000000000
MANURE	11	68.93	0.0000000000
SOPHOCLES	11	68.93	0.0000000000
METHOD	46	68.71	0.0000000000
PERFORMANCE	29	68.52	0.0000000000
TESTICLE	7	66.92	0.0000000000
LIVIDITY	7	66.92	0.0000000000
CANCERS	7	66.92	0.0000000000
BOUGUER	7	66.92	0.0000000000
DECOSTION	7	66.92	0.0000000000
DECOCTIONS	8	66.50	0.0000000000
PENIS	8	66.50	0.0000000000
LIQUIDS	9	65.95	0.0000000000
REMEDIES	17	65.77	0.0000000000
USEFUL	40	65.50	0.0000000000
PLATO'S	10	65.48	0.0000000000
KNOWLEGE	15	64.62	0.0000000000
BATHING	12	64.32	0.0000000000
SCALE	19	64.25	0.0000000000
ECLIPSE	13	63.81	0.0000000000
HENCE	34	63.20	0.0000000000
PULSES	9	62.66	0.0000000000
BLOOD	51	61.41	0.0000000000
SALTS	10	61.22	0.0000000000
COMPOST	7	60.91	0.0000000000
MANURES	7	60.91	0.0000000000
CAMPHOR	7	60.91	0.0000000000
AESCHYLUS	7	60.91	0.0000000000
LYDDA	7	60.91	0.0000000000
WRITER	32	60.39	0.0000000000
TREATS	14	60.39	0.0000000000

STILE	21	60.09	0.0000000000
ULCER	8	59.24	0.0000000000
DUNG	11	59.23	0.0000000000
SPIRIT	70	58.77	0.0000000000
DIFFERENT	82	58.54	0.0000000000
ERUPTION	10	57.74	0.0000000000
DISSERTATION	14	57.64	0.0000000000
SALT	30	57.60	0.0000000000
HYDROPHOBIA	8	57.46	0.0000000000
SYRINGE	7	57.42	0.0000000000
RUSHA	6	57.36	0.0000000000
ABSORBENT	6	57.36	0.0000000000
EMPYREUMA	6	57.36	0.0000000000
TUTTY	6	57.36	0.0000000000
SOLANO	6	57.36	0.0000000000
CHAMBAUD	6	57.36	0.0000000000
RESISTANCES	6	57.36	0.0000000000
GEORGICAL	6	57.36	0.0000000000
REMARKER	6	57.36	0.0000000000
SCHIRRUSSES	6	57.36	0.0000000000
READER	44	57.26	0.0000000000
TRANSACTIONS	20	56.91	0.0000000000
ANIMAL	28	56.24	0.0000000000
OUNCES	16	56.23	0.0000000000
PROCEEDS	22	55.09	0.0000000000
CONCLUDES	15	54.99	0.0000000000
EXTRACTS	14	54.87	0.0000000000
OUNCE	15	54.74	0.0000000000
MAY	281	54.68	0.0000000000
QUICKSILVER	9	54.54	0.0000000000
GRAIN	17	54.38	0.0000000000
SWEAT	14	54.29	0.0000000000
SYMPTOMS	19	54.21	0.0000000000
COLOUR	29	54.00	0.0000000000
PALSY	11	53.61	0.0000000000
PRINCIPLES	46	53.21	0.0000000000
MINERAL	10	52.87	0.0000000000
IDIOMS	9	52.78	0.0000000000
BITTEN	7	52.56	0.0000000000
WESLEY	7	52.56	0.0000000000
OINTMENT	7	52.56	0.0000000000
WEIGHTS	10	52.27	0.0000000000
ASTRINGENCY	6	51.63	0.0000000000
DUHAMEL	6	51.63	0.0000000000
SALINE	6	51.63	0.0000000000
SCROTUM	6	51.63	0.0000000000
PULVIS	6	51.63	0.0000000000
EXTERNAL	24	49.98	0.0000000000
PUMP	12	49.83	0.0000000000
HEAVIER	12	49.83	0.0000000000
STOMACH	19	49.71	0.0000000000
WEIGHT	38	49.47	0.0000000000
DOG	24	48.68	0.0000000000



DECOCTION	6	48.39	0.0000000000
SUPPURATION	6	48.39	0.0000000000
RHUBARB	6	48.39	0.0000000000
INGENIOUS	22	48.29	0.0000000000
EXTERNALLY	8	47.87	0.0000000000
IMMERGED	5	47.80	0.0000000000
POCKS	5	47.80	0.0000000000
LIMESTONE	5	47.80	0.0000000000
QUOTIENT	5	47.80	0.0000000000
CICUTA	5	47.80	0.0000000000
TUMOR	5	47.80	0.0000000000
SCHIRRUS	5	47.80	0.0000000000
SCHOR	5	47.80	0.0000000000
FEND	5	47.80	0.0000000000
FISTULAS	5	47.80	0.0000000000
VELOCITY	10	47.57	0.0000000000
DEGREE	56	47.41	0.0000000000
DISSOLVED	15	47.20	0.0000000000
EXPERIMENT	17	46.96	0.0000000000
BATHS	13	46.95	0.0000000000
BITE	12	46.74	0.0000000000
TINCTURE	11	46.61	0.0000000000
INDICATES	8	46.20	0.0000000000
FOLLOWING	53	45.95	0.0000000000
ACCOUNT	85	45.82	0.0000000000
PRACTICE	37	45.77	0.0000000000
METAL	15	45.75	0.0000000000
IMPREGNATED	9	45.46	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	15	45.40	0.0000000000
PHRASES	11	45.27	0.0000000000
PHYSICIANS	18	45.18	0.0000000000
INDOSTAN	9	44.41	0.0000000000
FIX	22	44.35	0.0000000000
VOLATILE	10	44.20	0.0000000000
LIQUID	10	44.20	0.0000000000
SOILS	6	43.97	0.0000000000
JUICES	9	43.42	0.0000000000
APPLIED	30	42.92	0.0000000000
PRACTICAL	11	42.82	0.0000000000
CONTAINING	19	42.77	0.0000000000
THEORY	16	42.67	0.0000000000
ARID	5	42.41	0.0000000000
DISSOLUBLE	5	42.41	0.0000000000
BARBADOS	5	42.41	0.0000000000
ZINC	5	42.41	0.0000000000
UTERUS	5	42.41	0.0000000000
BOILER	6	42.28	0.0000000000
LEVER	6	42.28	0.0000000000
FORM	49	41.85	0.0000000000
APPLICATION	26	41.27	0.0000000000
INFLAMMATORY	7	41.24	0.0000000000
EVACUATIONS	7	41.24	0.0000000000
HEATED	11	41.17	0.0000000000

VELOCITIES	6	40.82	0.0000000000
INOCULATION	6	40.82	0.0000000000
MAD	22	40.36	0.0000000000
ELOQUENCE	24	40.18	0.0000000000
ALSO	60	40.04	0.0000000000
OBSERVES	19	39.94	0.0000000000
LIVID	7	39.65	0.0000000000
MATERIA	6	39.53	0.0000000000
FERGUSON	5	39.46	0.0000000000
TUMOURS	5	39.46	0.0000000000
WILKIE	5	39.46	0.0000000000
MATTER	60	38.79	0.0000000000
CATALOGUE	13	38.66	0.0000000000
NEARLY	26	38.62	0.0000000000
FREQUENTLY	41	38.46	0.0000000000
AXIS	6	38.37	0.0000000000
MEPHITIC	4	38.24	0.0000000000
SARON	4	38.24	0.0000000000
NOBBES	4	38.24	0.0000000000
INTESTINAL	4	38.24	0.0000000000
SPASMODIC	4	38.24	0.0000000000
COOLERS	4	38.24	0.0000000000
BOUGUER'S	4	38.24	0.0000000000
CUTICLE	4	38.24	0.0000000000
SWINTON	4	38.24	0.0000000000
ACRID	4	38.24	0.0000000000
LIGATURE	4	38.24	0.0000000000
STORCK	4	38.24	0.0000000000
ANTISPASMODIC	4	38.24	0.0000000000
GLOBULES	4	38.24	0.0000000000
SURFACE	15	37.96	0.0000000000
MURRAY	11	37.79	0.0000000000
PART	137	37.66	0.0000000000
ORBIT	6	37.32	0.0000000000
BRAMINS	5	37.26	0.0000000000
GRAVITIES	5	37.26	0.0000000000
FAKE	5	37.26	0.0000000000
VITRIOL	5	37.26	0.0000000000
PALSIES	5	37.26	0.0000000000
AIL	5	37.26	0.0000000000
WATERY	7	36.95	0.0000000000
WRITERS	23	36.57	0.0000000000
JOB	10	36.49	0.0000000002
EFFECTS	39	36.44	0.0000000002
EQUILIBRIUM	6	36.36	0.0000000002
BLEEDING	11	36.30	0.0000000002
WORMS	9	36.17	0.0000000002
CURIOUS	25	35.87	0.0000000002
MEDICINAL	7	35.78	0.0000000002
DATA	7	35.78	0.0000000002
EFFICACY	13	35.68	0.0000000002
WORK	50	35.58	0.0000000002
WARM	25	35.52	0.0000000002

RABBET	5	35.50	0.0000000002
GLOUCESTER'S	5	35.50	0.0000000002
INTESTINES	6	35.47	0.0000000003
GRAVITY	15	35.20	0.0000000005

**Table 55.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1760-1769 sub-corpus.

As Table 56, below, shows, 114 medical terms occur as key, whilst 88 more broadly scientific terms appear in the keyword list. These account for 37.01% and 28.57% of keywords arising from this sub-corpus respectively, and therefore account for the almost 100% increase in the number of keywords overall between this decade and the last. 12 of the 30 review articles sampled for this sub-corpus relate either to medicine or to other branches of scientific endeavour, accounting for 41.27% of its words.

Whilst this clearly means that these subjects are of significance to the sub-corpus, they are over-represented in the keyword list by comparison with the number of words devoted in the sub-corpus to each medical or scientific review. This again highlights one of the features of keyness analysis; its tendency to over-represent specialist lexis when a specialized corpus is being compared with a general reference corpus. This, of course, is beneficial in the context of the present study, and ‘noise’, in the way of irrelevant keywords, is only to be expected. However, the presence of so many medical and scientific texts and keywords is not completely irrelevant. It shows a preoccupation with scientific endeavour which may relate to the review periodicals’ pursuit and veneration of objective truth as a guarantor of authority, as discussed in §3.2.3.

As can also be seen in Table 56, 43 (13.96%) of the 308 keywords from this sub-corpus relate directly to literary reviewing. Although this accounts for a much smaller proportion of the keywords by comparison with the last sub-corpus, there is actually little difference in raw frequency between the two decades with regard to keywords in this semantic category, as 51 of the keywords from the 1750s related to it. The kinds of keywords occurring in this sub-corpus in relation to this semantic field are also very similar to those which occurred in the previous sub-corpus. As then, many relate to the endeavour of literary reviewing itself, including the names of the publications from which articles have been sampled, the *Monthly* and *Critical*, as well as *periodical*, *review*, and *catalogue*, which refers to the list of publications included in each issue. Names of textual genres also appear as key, including *essay*, *treatise*, *dissertation*, *journal* and *article*. The surnames of contemporary and historical authors, as well as booksellers, for instance *Millar*, *Aeschylus* and *Murray* also appear in the keyword list. There is also, significantly, more indication than in the last sub-corpus that evaluation is taking place. *Performance*, *eloquence* and *stile* (a common alternative spelling for *style* at this time) all appear in the keyword list. This supports the theory which Carol Percy has put forward regarding the movement from an extract journal model of reviewing towards the explicit articulation of literary judgments in the years following the founding of the *Critical* in 1754 (2010a, p.65).

The 6 keywords relating to the semantic field of language and grammar, however, give little indication that linguistic judgments are also being made. *Language* again appears as a keyword; merely reflecting the fact that language is the medium being reviewed. The 58 occurrences of this word in the sub-corpus are dispersed across the text files, and do not appear to cluster to any significant degree in any single text file. Interestingly, this is also the case for another of

the keywords from this sub-corpus, *idioms*, whereas a related keyword, *phrases*, occurs predominantly in the review article relating to a text entitled *A Dictionary of French and English*. Another of the keywords from this semantic field, *translator*, occurs 18 times across the sub-corpus, with 9 of these appearances being confined to a single text, and 9 occurring elsewhere. *Grammatical*, the only keyword from this corpus which directly indicates that linguistic norms may be being discussed, occurs 13 times in the sub-corpus. It might be assumed that the majority of these instances would be within the review of a text entitled *Two Grammatical Essays*, however fewer than half of the hits for *grammatical* occur in this text. Occurrences of *grammatical*, are in fact dispersed across the corpus. This indicates that *grammatical* is a word being used by reviewers, rather than originating in reviewed texts. A cursory examination of the concordance lines for *grammatical* indicates that it is involved in occasional grammatical criticism at this stage in the study period.

It is notable that *ungrammatical*, which was key in the previous sub-corpus, is not key in this one. *Grammatical* is a more ambiguous keyword in terms of drawing conclusions about the review periodicals' preoccupation with grammaticality during this decade, because unlike *ungrammatical*, it can be used both positively, to endorse something as grammatical, or negatively, to highlight a perceived lack of grammaticality. The presence of *grammatical* as a keyword therefore provides an indication that grammaticality is a concern, but is by no means sufficient to draw conclusions about prescriptive activity or intent. The use of both *ungrammatical* and *grammatical* across the CENCER corpus are therefore analysed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	GRAMMATICAL, TRANSLATOR, IDIOMS, PHRASES, DICTIONARY, LANGUAGE	6
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, PERIODICALS, REVIEW, CRITICAL, MONTHLY, READERS, LITERATURE, ESSAY, TREATISE, AUTHOR'S, SECTIONS, ARTICLE, LITERARY, DISSERTATOR, ESSAYS, ANNALS, PARTS, PERFORMANCE, WRITER, DISSERTATION, READER, JOURNAL, FORM, CATALOGUE, WORK, WRITERS, ELOQUENCE, STILE  MILLAR, SOPHOCLES, BOUGUER, PLATO'S, AESCHYLUS, CHAMBAUD, FERGUSON, BOUGUER'S, GLOUCESTER'S, STORCK, MURRAY, SOLANO, NOBBES, SWINTON, WILKIE	43
Science	WATER, HEAT, WATERS, AIR, NITRE, CYLINDER, PARTICLES, EXPERIMENTS, IMMERSSED, FLUID, TURBID, OILY, EXTRACT, FLUIDS, OIL, SOLIDS, MOON'S,	88

	<p>DISTILLED, INFUSION, ACIDS, ALKALINE, BULK, LIME, EXPERIMENTAL, DIAMETER, MANURE, METHOD, DECOCTION, DECOCTIONS, LIQUIDS, ECLIPSE, COMPOST, MANURES, DUNG, SPIRIT, ERUPTION, RUSHA, ABSORBENT, TUTTY, RESISTANCES, TRANSACTIONS, PROCEEDS, PRINCIPLES, MINERAL, WEIGHTS, DUHAMEL, PUMP, EXTERNALLY, LIMESTONE, QUOTIENT, SCALE, VELOCITY, DEGREE, DISSOLVED, EXPERIMENT, METAL, VOLATILE, LIQUID, SOILS, JUICES, APPLIED, PRACTICAL, CONTAINING, THEORY, DISSOLUBLE, ZINC, BOILER, LEVER, HEATED, VELOCITIES, OBSERVES, MATERIA, MATTER, AXIS, MEPHITIC, SARON, COOLERS, ACRID, GRAVITY, DATA, GLOBULES, SURFACE, ORBIT, GRAVITIES, EQUILIBRIUM, WATERY, VITRIOL</p>	
Medicine	<p>PULSE, PILLS, BARK, CASES, HEMLOCK, PATIENT, MEDICINES, SOLUTION, COLD, CURE, OBSERVATIONS, PULSATIONS, GLANDS, PUTREFACTION, ULCERS, DR, GRAINS, MEDICINE, PISTON, ANTISEPTIC, NODE, PUTRID, CASTOR, SCHIRROUS, MEDICAL, CANCEROUS, DOSES, FEVERS, PATIENTS, DISEASE, MERCURIAL, SOMENTATION, PUS, CURED, EVACUATION, FEVER, SINUSSES, ANTISEPTICS, FIZY, SALIVA, DISEASES, HEBERDEN, MERCURY, SMALLPOX, TESTICLE, LIVIDITY, CANCERS, PENIS, REMEDIES, BATHING, PULSES, BLOOD, SALTS, CAMPHOR, TREATS, ULCER, SALT, HYDROPHOBIA, SYRINGE, EMPYREUMA, SCHIRRUSSES, OUNCES, EXTRACTS, OUNCE, QUICKSILVER, GRAIN, SWEAT, SYMPTOMS, PALSY, BITTEN, OINTMENT, ASTRINGENCY, SALINE, SCROTUM, HEAVIER, STOMACH, WEIGHT, DOG, DECOCTION, SUPPURATION, FISTULAS, RHUBARB, POCKS, CICUTA, TUMOR, SCHIRRUS,</p>	114

	SCHOR, BATHS, BITE, TINCTURE, ACCOUNT, PRACTICE, IMPREGNATED, PHYSICIANS, UTERUS, APPLICATION, INFLAMMATORY, EVACUATIONS, INOCULATION, MAD, LIVID, TUMOURS, INTESTINAL, SPASMODIC, CUTICLE, LIGATURE, INTESTINES, EFFICACY, MEDICINAL, WORMS, BLEEDING, ANTISPASMODIC, PALSIES, AIL	
Maritime	SHIPBUILDING, MIDSHIP	2
Religious/Biblical references	LYDDA, WESLEY, BRAMINS, JOB	3
Agricultural references	GEORGICAL, ANIMAL, ARID	3
Art	ART, COLOUR	2
OCR failures	SOUND, LOFT, CHERUS, FEE,	4
Variant spellings	CENTER, OECONOMY, KNOWLEDGE, RABBET,	4
Miscellaneous	REMARKS, BRITISH, BAREGES, QUANTITY, VAMP, ETC, SPECIFIC, USE, DEVELOPED, PERUVIAN, QUERY, RECTIFIED, CONTAINS, USEFUL, HENCE, DIFFERENT, REMARKER, CONCLUDES, MAY, INGENIOUS, EXTERNAL, PULVIS, IMMERGED, INDICATES, FOLLOWING, INDOSTAN, FIX, BARBADOS, ALSO, NEARLY, FREQUENTLY, CURIOUS, PART, FAKE, EFFECTS	35
<b>Total</b>		308

**Table 56. Keyword results for the 1760-1769 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

### 1770-1779 sub-corpus

Following the exclusions discussed above, 140 keywords were found for the 1770-1779 sub-corpus. These are listed in Table 57, below. This is less than half the number found in the previous sub-corpus (where the quantity was inflated by the random sampling of such a high proportion of medical and scientific review articles), and is more in line with the number found in the first sub-corpus of the study period (160). As in that sub-corpus, the largest proportion of keywords in this decade relate to the semantic field of literary reviewing. These semantic groupings can be found in Table 58, below.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
AUTHOR	184	561.07	0.0000000000
EXPERIMENTS	65	383.71	0.0000000000
FERMENTATION	38	307.42	0.0000000000

REVIEW	51	268.29	0.0000000000
BILE	30	261.98	0.0000000000
SUBSTANCES	38	251.01	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	27	250.37	0.0000000000
FARMER	53	239.85	0.0000000000
COLOURS	60	229.99	0.0000000000
WORK	102	198.36	0.0000000000
AIR	100	197.30	0.0000000000
PARTICLES	29	196.88	0.0000000000
BODIES	61	195.96	0.0000000000
ART	105	194.85	0.0000000000
DICTIONARY	32	194.30	0.0000000000
COLOURING	34	193.78	0.0000000000
ETC	61	193.25	0.0000000000
ACID	22	171.87	0.0000000000
LAVA	17	166.78	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	25	163.24	0.0000000000
LITERARY	32	160.20	0.0000000000
COLOUR	51	154.96	0.0000000000
ETNA	16	149.38	0.0000000000
SOUND	58	148.64	0.0000000000
WATER	99	136.50	0.0000000000
MUSIC	46	136.05	0.0000000000
CHANGES	37	131.44	0.0000000000
MOUNTAIN	33	126.28	0.0000000000
PROCESS	25	121.23	0.0000000000
TULL	13	120.35	0.0000000000
PRACTICAL	22	117.29	0.0000000000
REMARKS	32	115.52	0.0000000000
CANON	21	115.40	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	31	113.40	0.0000000000
CHEMISTRY	16	110.22	0.0000000000
VEGETABLE	22	108.82	0.0000000000
PAINTER	31	106.93	0.0000000000
PERFORMANCE	36	106.51	0.0000000000
OBSERVATIONS	39	103.08	0.0000000000
ACIDS	12	102.76	0.0000000000
READERS	31	96.76	0.0000000000
AGE	83	96.57	0.0000000000
COLOURED	22	95.82	0.0000000000
CHALK	15	94.61	0.0000000000
ANNUITY	22	94.53	0.0000000000
INCLOSURES	13	93.10	0.0000000000
STILE	26	90.11	0.0000000000
TREATISE	24	89.89	0.0000000000
COPYRIGHT	9	88.30	0.0000000000
EDITORS	14	87.69	0.0000000000
SUBJECT	84	87.09	0.0000000000
HUSBANDRY	17	84.50	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	23	84.19	0.0000000000
HUSBANDMAN	15	83.93	0.0000000000
INGENIOUS	29	83.78	0.0000000000
ANIMAL	33	82.55	0.0000000000

RED	34	82.51	0.0000000000
PERMANENTLY	10	81.41	0.0000000000
PUTREFACTION	12	80.85	0.0000000000
ARTIST	20	80.62	0.0000000000
TRANSPARENT	14	78.59	0.0000000000
PUBLICATION	19	76.46	0.0000000000
DIGBY	12	74.78	0.0000000000
OPTICS	10	71.95	0.0000000000
SOLUTION	14	71.83	0.0000000000
VIZ	25	71.47	0.0000000000
DR	51	70.95	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	60	70.68	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	10	70.53	0.0000000000
VOLS	12	69.98	0.0000000000
MINERAL	12	69.98	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	20	69.45	0.0000000000
REFRANGIBLE	7	68.67	0.0000000000
COLOURLESS	8	68.51	0.0000000000
CADELL	9	68.19	0.0000000000
PAINTING	23	68.17	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	49	68.16	0.0000000000
CATALOGUE	18	68.00	0.0000000000
NEWTON	15	67.53	0.0000000000
WRITER	32	67.17	0.0000000000
PHIAL	10	66.81	0.0000000000
VITRIOL	8	65.64	0.0000000000
OPAQUE	8	65.64	0.0000000000
LIME	11	63.27	0.0000000000
GLUCK	8	63.27	0.0000000000
ERUPTIONS	8	63.27	0.0000000000
POTSDAM	7	62.66	0.0000000000
SOIL	23	62.56	0.0000000000
MUSICAL	15	61.79	0.0000000000
CHEMICAL	8	61.24	0.0000000000
ANNUITIES	13	60.80	0.0000000000
CALCULATIONS	11	60.68	0.0000000000
PUTRID	9	59.79	0.0000000000
VARIETY	32	59.34	0.0000000000
LEGARD'S	6	58.86	0.0000000000
TURBID	6	58.86	0.0000000000
UNGRAMMATICAL	6	58.86	0.0000000000
CONCERTOS	6	58.86	0.0000000000
COAGULABLE	6	58.86	0.0000000000
IMPREGNATING	6	58.86	0.0000000000
LAVAS	6	58.86	0.0000000000
CRATER	6	58.86	0.0000000000
OIL	18	58.63	0.0000000000
PUBLICATIONS	9	57.71	0.0000000000
BERLIN	10	56.60	0.0000000000
FAKE	7	56.50	0.0000000000
OBSERVES	22	56.50	0.0000000000
ISAAC	16	55.68	0.0000000000
FOLLOWING	53	55.13	0.0000000000



CURIOUS	29	54.25	0.0000000000
VOLUME	27	53.42	0.0000000000
YELLOW	16	53.19	0.0000000000
SERMONS	14	53.18	0.0000000000
BROUWER	6	53.14	0.0000000000
FERMENTABLE	6	53.14	0.0000000000
COAGULATED	6	53.14	0.0000000000
EXPENCE	22	52.99	0.0000000000
VARIOUS	38	52.82	0.0000000000
PERSPICUITY	11	52.27	0.0000000000
RELATIVE	17	52.22	0.0000000000
GENERAL	85	52.21	0.0000000000
PROPERTIES	16	52.12	0.0000000000
SPIRITUOUS	10	51.95	0.0000000000
PARTICULARLY	36	51.07	0.0000000000
PAINTERS	14	50.89	0.0000000000
COMBUSTION	7	50.82	0.0000000000
PLOUGHING	6	49.90	0.0000000000
SEEMS	58	49.78	0.0000000000
HEAT	23	49.78	0.0000000000
MATERIA	7	49.37	0.0000000000
GLACTER	5	49.05	0.0000000000
LEGARD	5	49.05	0.0000000000
FAB	5	49.05	0.0000000000
FACINI	5	49.05	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	15	48.86	0.0000000000
PHRASES	11	47.91	0.0000000000
DIFFERENT	70	47.31	0.0000000000
PURCHASES	11	46.95	0.0000000000
MILK	18	46.64	0.0000000000
BUBBLES	7	45.79	0.0000000000
BOOKSELLERS	10	45.50	0.0000000000
CHYMISTRY	6	45.46	0.0000000000
ERUPTION	8	45.28	0.0000000000
FIGURES	18	45.27	0.0000000000
WRITERS	24	44.70	0.0000000000
LOFT	6	43.78	0.0000000000
ALCALI	5	43.66	0.0000000000
PROCEEDS	18	42.92	0.0000000000
RELIGIONS	10	42.80	0.0000000000
BOOK	37	42.53	0.0000000000
TIDE	18	42.51	0.0000000000
EXPRESSION	25	41.94	0.0000000000
SCIENCE	22	41.38	0.0000000000
REGION	11	41.29	0.0000000000
ACADEMY	12	41.12	0.0000000000
BOARDS	9	41.02	0.0000000000
LYMPH	5	40.71	0.0000000000
JORTIN	5	40.71	0.0000000000
HOEING	5	40.71	0.0000000000
EDITIONS	10	39.90	0.0000000000
ANNALS	14	39.86	0.0000000000
MISCELLANEOUS	8	39.82	0.0000000000

PHENOMENA	9	39.29	0.0000000000
OPTICAL	4	39.24	0.0000000000
KENNICOTT	4	39.24	0.0000000000
GIZZIELLO	4	39.24	0.0000000000
MONPELIERI	4	39.24	0.0000000000
FERMENTATIVE	4	39.24	0.0000000000
BRYDONE	4	39.24	0.0000000000
SOLVENTS	4	39.24	0.0000000000
ANTINOMIANISM	4	39.24	0.0000000000
ARETHUFI	4	39.24	0.0000000000
PRONOUN	4	39.24	0.0000000000
PRISMATIC	4	39.24	0.0000000000
CULLEN	4	39.24	0.0000000000
DECOMPOSED	4	39.24	0.0000000000
HOMESTEAD	4	39.24	0.0000000000
DIVIDEND	8	38.93	0.0000000000
EXTRACT	11	38.88	0.0000000000
INCLOSING	6	38.81	0.0000000000
CONTAINING	17	38.79	0.0000000000
LIQUOR	21	38.76	0.0000000000
DRAPERY	8	38.50	0.0000000000
PRODUCED	35	38.43	0.0000000000
STYLE	24	38.36	0.0000000000
COMPOSITION	19	38.15	0.0000000000
JUDICIOUS	14	37.89	0.0000000000
DITTO	11	37.87	0.0000000000
FLUIDS	8	37.69	0.0000000000
SEVERAL	74	37.38	0.0000000000
SOOT	6	36.95	0.0000000000
RETINA	6	36.95	0.0000000000
OPTIC	5	36.75	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHICAL	14	35.96	0.0000000001
MANY	113	35.93	0.0000000001
ILLUSTRATED	11	35.66	0.0000000002
PRUSSIAN	8	35.48	0.0000000002
ARTISTS	10	35.44	0.0000000003
COMPOSER	6	35.36	0.0000000003
CONTAINS	15	35.29	0.0000000004
DILUTED	5	35.26	0.0000000004
MANUSCRIPTS	8	35.14	0.0000000005

**Table 57. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1770-1779 sub-corpus.**

As Table 58 shows, 53 of the 140 keywords, or 37.86%, relate directly to the endeavour of reviewing, or to the production or publication of texts, or the book market. Many of these keywords are, by now, familiar. As in previous sub-corpora, *Monthly*, *Critical*, *review*, *catalogue*, and *periodicals* occur in the keyword list, again showing the continuing supremacy of the two major review periodicals. Labels relating to literary professions also, unsurprisingly, appear on this list, including the familiar *writers*, *writer* and *author*, as well as the novel *bookseller* and *editors*. *Bookseller* also indicates that books may be being discussed not as creative artefacts but as commodities, as does the appearance in the keyword list of *copyright*. This is perhaps unsurprising given the *Monthly Review*'s strong links to the book industry and the review periodical genre's apparent interest in controlling book-buying habits (see §3.2).

The presence in the keyword list of *Cadell*, the surname of a prominent publisher, provides further indication of commercial concerns in the review articles in this sub-corpus.

The semantic category of language and grammar contributes only 9 of the 140 keywords for the sub-corpus, or 6.43%. *English* and *language* both appear as keywords, and though *language* has appeared as key in both previous sub-corpora, *English* is novel. Both are dispersed across the 30 text files of the corpus, and do not cluster to any significant degree in any single text. This indicates either that linguistic matters are a pervasive concern for reviewers, regardless of the subject of the reviewed text, or that linguistic matters are discussed in a large proportion of the texts reviewed within this sub-corpus. Either way, it can be concluded that this sub-corpus exhibits a general preoccupation with linguistic performance.

The lack of foreign languages appearing in the keyword list is also notable. Alongside the total lack of keywords relating to translation in this sub-corpus, this is an indication of a shift in focus by comparison with previous sub-corpora. Whereas the linguistic or grammatical focus of review articles in previous decades seems to have been on the quality of translations into English, this may now be secondary to considerations of how language is used stylistically in English writing. The keyword list also yields evidence of close stylistic analysis, with *style*, *stile*, *expression* and *phrases* all appearing as keywords. The contexts in which these words appear indicate that authors' lexical selection is being scrutinised within the reviews of this decade. Whether there is a shift at this stage from a focus on translations to an increased interest in stylistic analysis will be explored below.

Interestingly, this is also the first decade during which both *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* have appeared in the keyword list. This perhaps signals a growing preoccupation with linguistic rectitude, as the reviews continue to move away from the extract journal model of reviewing. The move away from this model was also indicated by the increase in lexis relating to literary analysis. *Ungrammatical* occurs 5 times across the corpus, appearing in 4 different text files, and is engaged in direct grammatical criticism in all of these instances. *Grammatical* occurs 8 times, and clusters in the *Critical's* review of *Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Only 3 hits for this word occur outside of this text file, though here it too appears to be engaged in the enforcement of linguistic norms. In §5.3, the ways in which these words are used are explored in greater detail.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	ENGLISH, GRAMMATICAL, LANGUAGE, UNGRAMMATICAL, PHRASES, DICTIONARY, EXPRESSION, PRONOUN, STYLE, STILE	9
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, REVIEW, PERIODICALS, WORK, BOOKSELLERS, WRITERS, BOOK, MONTHLY, LITERARY, CANON, AUTHOR'S, PERFORMANCE, READERS, COPYRIGHT, EDITORS, SUBJECT, LITERATURE, TREATISE, CRITICAL, VOLS, PUBLICATION, CATALOGUE, WRITER, PUBLICATIONS, VOLUME, SERMONS, JOURNAL, EDITIONS,	53

-	ANNALS, EXTRACT, COMPOSITION, MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATED, TULL, DIGBY, GLUCK, NEWTON, LEGARD'S, BRYDONE, BROUWER, GLACTER, LEGARD, FACINI, JORTIN, MONPELIERI, GIZZIELLO, KENNICOTT, ARETHUFI, CULLEN, CADELL	
RULES/AUTHORITY	DR	1
Science	EXPERIMENTS, FERMENTATION, SUBSTANCES, COLOURS, AIR, PARTICLES, COLOURING, ACIDS, ACID, CHEMISTRY, WATER, PRACTICAL, OBSERVATIONS, CHALK, SOLUTION, MINERAL, TRANSPARENT, LIME, PHIAL, VITRIOL, COLOURLESS, REFRACTIBLE, TURBID, SOIL, CHEMICAL, COAGULABLE, OIL, COMBUSTION, FERMENTABLE, COAGULATED, SCIENCE, ALCALI, BUBBLES, PHENOMENA, DECOMPOSED, PRISMATIC, SOLVENTS, FERMENTATIVE, FLUIDS, DILUTED	40
Medicine	BILE, BODIES, PUTREFACTION, PUTRID, LYMPH, OPTICS, OPTIC, OPTICAL, RETINA, VEGETABLE, MATERIA	10
Volcanic activity	LAVA, ETNA, ERUPTIONS, ERUPTION, CRATER, LAVAS	6
Finance/accountancy	ANNUITY, CALCULATION, ANNUITIES, EXPENCE, PURCHASES, FIGURES, PROCEEDS, DIVIDEND	8
Music	CONCERTOS, MUSICAL, COMPOSER	3
Religious/Biblical references	ISAAC, RELIGION, ANTINOMIANISM	3
Agricultural references	FARMER, HUSBANDRY, HUSBANDMAN, ANIMALS, IMPREGNATING, PLOUGHING, MILK, HOEING, HOMESTEAD	9
Art	ART, PAINTER, MUSIC, ARTIST, PAINTING, PAINTERS, ARTISTS	7
OCR failures	SOUND, LOFT, SOOT	3
Variant spellings	INCLOSURES, OPAKE, CHYMISTRY	4
Miscellaneous	ETC, CHANGES, MOUNTAIN, PROCESS, REMARKS, AGE, INGENIOUS, COLOURED, VIZ, PERMANENTLY, RED, VARIETY, POTSDAM, BERLIN, FAKE, OBSERVES, FOLLOWING, CURIOUS, YELLOW, VARIOUS, PERSPICUITY, RELATIVE, GENERAL, PROPERTIES, SPIRITUOUS, PARTICULARLY, SEEMS, HEAT, DIFFERENT, TIDE,	47

	REGION, ACADEMY, BOARDS, MISCELLANEOUS, INCLOSING, CONTAINING, LIQUOR, DRAPERY, PRODUCED, PRODUCED, JUDICIOUS, DITTO, SEVERAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, MANY, PRUSSIAN, CONTAINS	
<b>Total</b>		<b>140</b>

Table 58. Keyword results for the 1770-1779 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

### 1780-1789 sub-corpus

As Table 60, below, shows, the largest proportion of keywords during this decade again relate to the endeavour of literary reviewing. This semantic field accounts for 61 of the 196 keywords listed in Table 59 for this sub-corpus, or 31.12%. Many of these keywords are those which have appeared in previous keyword lists, such as *review*, *periodicals*, *Monthly*, and *Critical*. Others, however, such as *quotations*, *criticism*, *opinions*, and *account* are again indicative of a movement away from the extract journal model towards a more thoroughgoing and opinionated form of criticism. This sub-corpus also yields many more keywords which indicate that evaluation is taking place. Where only *performance* has occurred as key in previous sub-corpora, this keyword now appears alongside *ingenious*, *elegant*, *elegance* and *merit*, all in the context of positively appraising quality of writing.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
AUTHOR	157	616.66	0.0000000000
REVIEW	82	340.68	0.0000000000
REMARKER	35	331.70	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	35	306.77	0.0000000000
AIR	138	282.21	0.0000000000
DR	104	280.91	0.0000000000
ACID	40	229.70	0.0000000000
INFLAMMABLE	29	218.24	0.0000000000
JUSTIN	32	218.13	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	99	216.62	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	39	213.17	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	32	171.99	0.0000000000
LATIN	20	170.72	0.0000000000
THY	106	163.29	0.0000000000
GREEK	53	153.23	0.0000000000
HATH	48	150.03	0.0000000000
VOWEL	19	147.80	0.0000000000
PEERAGES	15	146.06	0.0000000000
CORCEBUS	15	146.06	0.0000000000
BALLOON	20	142.45	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	35	139.96	0.0000000000
VOWELS	16	139.27	0.0000000000
OBSERVATIONS	49	138.30	0.0000000000
PAUFANIAS	14	136.32	0.0000000000
PHLOGISTON	15	129.89	0.0000000000
VERSION	25	127.85	0.0000000000
BRITISH	47	123.71	0.0000000000

SOUND	72	122.66	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	31	122.52	0.0000000000
PRIESTLEY	19	122.02	0.0000000000
BOARDS	23	120.45	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	19	119.08	0.0000000000
WRITER	45	117.02	0.0000000000
VITRIOLIC	12	116.85	0.0000000000
HISTORIAN	22	114.63	0.0000000000
OLYMPIAD	12	109.81	0.0000000000
READERS	35	107.26	0.0000000000
OLYMPIADS	11	107.11	0.0000000000
BELLENDENUS	11	107.11	0.0000000000
O'ER	31	104.23	0.0000000000
EMPYREAL	12	101.88	0.0000000000
ANNALS	20	100.00	0.0000000000
ERRORS	33	99.77	0.0000000000
RIFE	15	99.69	0.0000000000
HEIRS	17	99.58	0.0000000000
CONTAINS	30	97.66	0.0000000000
VIZ	26	97.52	0.0000000000
PASSAGES	33	97.13	0.0000000000
GRECIAN	21	95.47	0.0000000000
ART	63	93.93	0.0000000000
CHRONOLOGY	14	92.74	0.0000000000
FAKE	11	92.61	0.0000000000
TRANSLATED	22	91.44	0.0000000000
RESERVOIR	15	90.88	0.0000000000
MATTH	10	90.69	0.0000000000
STRABO	10	90.69	0.0000000000
SYMONDS	10	90.69	0.0000000000
LITERARY	35	90.23	0.0000000000
PREMIUMS	13	89.41	0.0000000000
CATALOGUE	20	89.22	0.0000000000
WORK	99	87.45	0.0000000000
WATER	76	86.17	0.0000000000
HISTORY	64	84.47	0.0000000000
PASSAGE	47	84.01	0.0000000000
VERSE	28	83.40	0.0000000000
HIPPOCRATES	10	83.37	0.0000000000
JUDICIOUS	21	82.77	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	31	81.39	0.0000000000
GREECE	20	79.50	0.0000000000
EDITOR	23	78.61	0.0000000000
IPHITUS	8	77.90	0.0000000000
JUSTIN'S	9	77.24	0.0000000000
AUTHORS	24	75.01	0.0000000000
BOOK	61	73.77	0.0000000000
LEARNED	40	73.71	0.0000000000
ETC	39	72.08	0.0000000000
FOLLOWING	60	71.76	0.0000000000
APPEARS	47	71.49	0.0000000000
CRITIC	20	70.98	0.0000000000
EPIC	16	70.88	0.0000000000

DISEASES	15	70.66	0.0000000000
CICERO	15	70.66	0.0000000000
STYLE	37	69.64	0.0000000000
UNGRAMMATICAL	9	69.46	0.0000000000
HERACLEIDS	7	68.16	0.0000000000
DEPHLOGISTICATED	7	68.16	0.0000000000
PHEIDON	7	68.16	0.0000000000
PREEXISTENCE	7	68.16	0.0000000000
ARTKEN	7	68.16	0.0000000000
CHRONOLOGERS	7	68.16	0.0000000000
EBIONITES	8	67.92	0.0000000000
ARABIC	13	65.56	0.0000000000
READER	40	65.53	0.0000000000
MUSE	18	65.37	0.0000000000
ACCURATE	19	64.71	0.0000000000
LETTERS	52	64.66	0.0000000000
OBSERVES	17	64.64	0.0000000000
ANCIENT	39	63.51	0.0000000000
CLAUSE	13	61.91	0.0000000000
EXPERIMENTS	20	61.76	0.0000000000
DESCENT	18	60.74	0.0000000000
SOCINUS	8	60.65	0.0000000000
TRANSLATORS	9	60.28	0.0000000000
CONSTRUCTION	17	60.24	0.0000000000
VOLUMES	23	60.17	0.0000000000
REMARKS	27	60.08	0.0000000000
THO	17	59.39	0.0000000000
WRITERS	28	58.96	0.0000000000
URINE	6	58.42	0.0000000000
ROMAN	24	58.03	0.0000000000
HERODOTUS	8	57.28	0.0000000000
TREATISE	17	56.98	0.0000000000
TRANSLATOR	10	56.55	0.0000000000
HAYLEY	11	56.01	0.0000000000
NEWTON	16	55.60	0.0000000000
HONOURS	19	55.44	0.0000000000
VOLUME	31	55.06	0.0000000000
LUKE	10	54.00	0.0000000000
ANATOMY	11	52.75	0.0000000000
FEND	6	52.70	0.0000000000
CHRIST	23	52.34	0.0000000000
LOFT	10	51.76	0.0000000000
DECOMPOSITION	9	51.31	0.0000000000
BALDWIN	9	51.31	0.0000000000
EDITION	26	50.69	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	20	50.09	0.0000000000
PREFIXED	11	49.56	0.0000000000
TRYPHO	6	49.46	0.0000000000
BAROMETER	9	49.33	0.0000000000
BELLOWED	9	49.33	0.0000000000
USEFUL	29	49.28	0.0000000000
TENSE	7	48.86	0.0000000000
KNOWLEGE	5	48.69	0.0000000000

REMARKERS	5	48.69	0.0000000000
OXYLUS	5	48.69	0.0000000000
PHLOGISTICATED	5	48.69	0.0000000000
HADDON	5	48.69	0.0000000000
BALDWIN'S	5	48.69	0.0000000000
MESSIAHSHIP	5	48.69	0.0000000000
MAILER	5	48.69	0.0000000000
SOE	5	48.69	0.0000000000
SEEMS	53	47.82	0.0000000000
CLARK	9	47.56	0.0000000000
INGENIOUS	16	47.28	0.0000000000
APPENDIX	12	47.10	0.0000000000
ANTIEN	8	46.82	0.0000000000
HISTORICAL	17	46.60	0.0000000000
PERFORMANCE	17	46.60	0.0000000000
ELEGANT	20	46.52	0.0000000000
IGNATIUS	9	45.96	0.0000000000
SOUNDED	16	45.52	0.0000000000
BALLOONS	6	45.03	0.0000000000
IDIOMS	6	45.03	0.0000000000
TRIFLER	6	45.03	0.0000000000
TERRITORIAL	6	45.03	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	20	44.92	0.0000000000
WORKS	35	44.78	0.0000000000
BOWYER	7	44.27	0.0000000000
ECLOGUE	6	43.34	0.0000000000
ORTHOGRAPHY	7	43.34	0.0000000000
FARR	5	43.30	0.0000000000
GENEALOGIES	5	43.30	0.0000000000
ZAMOR	5	43.30	0.0000000000
FIEFS	5	43.30	0.0000000000
PLUMBAGO	5	43.30	0.0000000000
HOMER	13	42.18	0.0000000000
VERB	9	41.91	0.0000000000
RHUBARB	6	41.88	0.0000000000
CONFIDENT	15	41.26	0.0000000000
REFER	16	41.20	0.0000000000
PRECIPITATE	9	41.13	0.0000000000
ELEGANCE	15	41.00	0.0000000000
PRIESTLEY'S	6	40.59	0.0000000000
LADLE	6	40.59	0.0000000000
EARLDOM	5	40.34	0.0000000000
AERONAUT	5	40.34	0.0000000000
VINDICATOR	5	40.34	0.0000000000
GOSPELS	7	40.14	0.0000000000
VITRIOL	6	39.43	0.0000000000
DOCTRINE	30	39.38	0.0000000000
MERIT	23	39.34	0.0000000000
POEM	27	39.14	0.0000000000
NUMEROUS	27	39.03	0.0000000000
TREATS	9	38.99	0.0000000000
ATALIBA	4	38.95	0.0000000000
COROEBUS	4	38.95	0.0000000000



DESCENDIBLE	4	38.95	0.0000000000
ROMANA	4	38.95	0.0000000000
CAFLILIS	4	38.95	0.0000000000
MADAN'S	4	38.95	0.0000000000
COCHUC	4	38.95	0.0000000000
CHARACTERS	26	38.54	0.0000000000
CHARCOAL	8	38.36	0.0000000000
USE	51	38.23	0.0000000000
PROPRIETY	19	38.02	0.0000000000
SULPHUR	8	37.94	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHICAL	17	37.91	0.0000000000
OPINION	49	37.78	0.0000000000
FEE	10	37.67	0.0000000000
CRITICISM	15	37.66	0.0000000000
REVIEWER	8	37.52	0.0000000000
SUBJOINED	8	37.52	0.0000000000
PURE	26	37.45	0.0000000000
AIL	6	37.41	0.0000000000
AQUEDUCT	6	37.41	0.0000000000
THRO	8	37.12	0.0000000000
RULE	24	36.67	0.0000000000
MODERN	24	36.56	0.0000000000
PRATT'S	5	36.38	0.0000000001
NITRE	5	36.38	0.0000000001
SPECIMEN	14	36.35	0.0000000001
ANTIQUARIAN	8	36.35	0.0000000001
FROM	496	36.16	0.0000000001
QUOTATIONS	8	35.98	0.0000000001
CYCLOPAEDIA	6	35.69	0.0000000002
REVISING	6	35.69	0.0000000002
ENGLISH	44	35.50	0.0000000002
ACCOUNT	55	35.38	0.0000000003
TRANSACTIONS	14	34.94	0.0000000005

**Table 59. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1780-1789 sub-corpus.**

A wider variety of genres are also named in the keyword list than in previous sub-corpora. In addition to *treatise*, which has appeared in previous keyword lists, *poem*, *eclogues*, and *cyclopaedia* are also key. This may signal a shift in the focus on the part of the review periodicals, which although comprehensive were selective in deciding which texts to devote long evaluative articles to, and which merely to synopsise. The keyword evidence so far indicates that an increasing number of these longer articles, which were sampled from for the present study, are concerned with creative writing. This is may be significant in terms of the increased scrutiny on linguistic performance that accompanies close textual analysis of literary text.

There is a shift in the number of keywords from the semantic field of language and grammar between the previous sub-corpus and this one. Whereas only 6.43% of keywords in the 1770-1779 sub-corpus related to this semantic field, 10.20% of keywords in this sub-corpus do (n=20). Again, both *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* appear in the keyword list, indicating that grammaticality is a preoccupation for the review periodicals at this juncture of the study period. A number of the 12 occurrences of *grammatical* appear to be engaged in grammatical criticism, and 8 of the 9 instances of *ungrammatical* are. Again, the use of both these words

both are explored in depth in §5.3. Here, suffice it to say that there are strong indications that these words are closely associated with the imposition of linguistic norms by reviewers.

By contrast with the previous sub-corpus, keywords relating to languages other than English are very frequent during this decade. *Greek, Latin, Arabic, translation, translator, and translators* all appear as keywords. Of these, only *Arabic* clusters in a single text file (the *Monthly's* review of *The History of Greece*) to any meaningful extent. *Translator* clusters within the *Critical's* review of *Observations upon the Expediency of Revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels*, but to a much lesser extent. An interest in translation and classical languages therefore seems to pervade this sub-corpus, suggesting that the focus of the previous sub-corpus on English stylistics instead of translation from other languages was a result of the random sampling process, rather than a shift in the focus of the review periodicals over time. However, further analysis is needed to clarify this, especially as there is notable increase between the 1770s and 1780s in specialist linguistic lexis appearing as key. In their linguistic sense, *vowels, clause, tense, orthography, and verb* all appear in the keyword list for the 1780-1789 sub-corpus. However, all of these keywords cluster in single text files, and their keyness cannot therefore be taken as an indication of a gradual increase in linguistic analysis of reviewed texts.

The semantic field of history and mythology contributes a significant minority of keywords in this sub-corpus, 18 of the total 196, or 9.18%. This is notable because a preoccupation with mythology could be linked to an interest in classical antiquity, which itself is likely to be a remnant of what Joan Beal has called the “veneration of classical literature”, which characterised the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, or so-called ‘Augustan Age’ (2004, p.19). Beal’s (2004) focus is lexical, emphasising the revival after 1750 of the sixteenth century’s Inkhorn Controversy, during which the borrowing of foreign words into English was strenuously opposed by some. She quotes a number of periodical reviewers in the late eighteenth century, who call for plain English and criticise authors who they perceive to be using too many Latinisms, as well as citing Samuel Johnson’s reluctance to admit into his dictionary too many borrowed words (2004, p.19). However, the influence of classical languages on English during this period was not exclusively, or arguably even primarily, lexical. Their influence on the grammaticography of the period must also be considered.

As is discussed in §2.2.2, it was not unusual for prescriptions in English grammar books of the eighteenth century to be based on Latin models. In *Grammar Wars*, Linda Mitchell cites the “centuries-old” double negative as just one of the victims of “Latin distort[ion] of English grammar” (2001, p.35). According to Mitchell, the double negative “became stigmatized because it did not conform to the Latin pattern” (2017, p.478). She concludes that “[p]roblems arose when grammarians forced rules from Latin to fit whatever rule in English they were teaching”, but that “Grammarians in favor of applying Latin rules to English grammar reasoned that Latin forms were inherently better than the corresponding ones in English” (2001, p.35).

Roswitha Fischer likewise contends that eighteenth-century grammarians “disregarded structural differences between Latin and English” (2011, p.264) in upholding Latin as a model for English grammatical usage. Both Fischer and Mitchell cite Lowth as a specific example of a grammarian who made prescriptions by “false analogy with Latin” (Fischer, 2011, p.264). According to Mitchell, Lowth for example

applies the Latin to gerunds: “The Participle with a Preposition before it, and still retaining its Government answers to what is called in Latin the Gerund: as, ‘Happiness is to be attained, by avoiding evil, and by doing good; by seeking peace, and by pursuing it’” (2001, p.35)

She also notes Lowth’s famous opposition to preposition stranding, and his insistence that “[t]he Verb to Be has always a Nominative Case after it” (2001, p.35), concluding that

Latin grammar was attractive to eighteenth-century grammarians because it was no longer spoken but only encountered in written form; it was a fixed, codified language safe to transfer to English (i.e., it was not going to do anything surprising). Consequently, they subjected grammatical variants in English to their static equivalents in Latin. (2001, p.36)

Mitchell therefore characterises the grammarians of this period as highly resistant to change and steeped in the classical linguistic tradition. She further highlights that eighteenth-century students were “accustomed to seeing Latin only in textbooks”, and that this gave it “unquestionable authority” (2001, p.36). It is therefore reasonable to assume that any serious or sustained preoccupation with classical antiquity on the part of the review periodicals indicates that reviewers themselves had received classical education and may, like the grammarians, have been inculcated with the ideology of the Latin language’s superiority. This is also, of course, indicated by the fairly consistent keyness of the names of classical languages across the sub-corpora to this point, and their dispersion across the text files of the sub-corpora where they appear as key. Reviewers’ veneration of classical education is the subject of in-depth discussion in §5.3.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, LATIN, GREEK, VOWEL, GRAMMATICAL, TRANSLATION, VOWELS, ERRORS, UNGRAMMATICAL, ARABIC, ACCURATE, LETTERS, CLAUSE, TRANSLATORS, TRANSLATOR, TENSE, IDIOMS, ORTHOGRAPHY, VERB, ENGLISH,	20
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, REVIEW, REMARKER, PERIODICALS, AUTHOR’S, MONTHLY, WRITER, CRITICAL, VERSION, READERS, ANNALS, PASSAGES, WRITERS, READER, MUSE, VOLUMES, REMARKS, TREATISE, VOLUME, EDITION, JOURNAL, REMARKERS, INGENIOUS, APPENDIX, PERFORMANCE, ELEGANT, IDIOMS, WRITINGS, WORKS, ECLOGUE, REFER, ELEGANCE, MERIT, POEM, OPINION, PHILOSOPHICA, CHARACTERS, CRITICISM, REVIEWER, QUOTATIONS, REVISING, CYCLOPAEDIA, ACCOUNT, TRANSACTIONS, BOARDS  ARTKEN, HAYLEY, NEWTON, BALDWIN, FARR, BOWYER,	61

	HADDON, BALDWIN'S, MAILER, CLARK, TRIFLER, ZAMOR, ATALIBA, MADAN'S, PRATT'S, PRIESTLEY, PRIESTLEY'S	
RULES/AUTHORITY/manners	DR, RULE, PROPRIETY	3
Science	AIR, ACID, INFLAMMABLE, PHLOGISTON, VITRIOLIC, HERACLEIDS, DEPHLOGISTICATED, EXPERIMENTS, DECOMPOSITION, PHLOGISTICATED, SULPHUR, NITRE, SPECIMEN, BALLOON	14
Medicine	URINE, ANATOMY	2
Social hierarchy	PEERAGES, HEIRS, FIEFS, EARLDOM, DESCENDIBLE, CAFLILIS	6
Religious/Biblical/theological references	JUSTIN, EBIONITES, SOCINUS, LUKE, CHRIST, TRYPHO, MESSIAHSHIP, IGNATIUS, GOSPELS, DOCTRINE,	10
Horticultural references	PLUMBAGO, RHUBARB	9
History/mythology	CORCEBUS, PAUSANIAS, HISTORIAN, OLYMPIAD, OLYMPIADS, BELLENDENUS, PHEIDON, CHRONOLOGERS, ANCIENT, ROMAN, HERODOTUS, OXYLUS, HISTORICAL, GENEALOGIES, HOMER, COROEBUS, ANTIQUARIAN, ROMANA	18
OCR failures	LOFT, FEE	2
Variant spellings	THO, KNOWLEGE, ANTIENT, THRO,	4
Archaic/poetic usages	THY, HATH, O'ER	3
Miscellaneous	BOARDS, BRITISH, EMPYREAL, RIFE, CONTAINS, PREEXISTENCE, OBSERVES, DESCENT, CONSTRUCTION, HONOURS, FEND, PREFIXED, BELLOWED, USEFUL, BAROMETER, SEEMS, SOE, SOUNDED, BALLOONS, TERRITORIAL, AERONAUT, VINDICATOR, VITRIOL, PRECIPITATE, CONFIDENT, LADLE, NUMEROUS, TREATS, CHARCOAL, SUBJOINED, PURE, AIL, MODERN, AQUEDUCT, FROM, USE, CAFAS	37
<b>Total</b>		<b>196</b>

**Table 60.** Keyword results for the 1780-1789 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

## 1790-1799 sub-corpus

Once again, the semantic field most populated with keywords in this sub-corpus is literary reviewing, and again many of the words appearing as key here have also appeared as key in previous sub-corpora. These include those relating to the act of reviewing and to the review periodicals themselves, but in addition to those which are now familiar, *quotation* and *passage* also appear in this keyword list. This indicates that the transition from the extract journal model to a method of reviewing relying on close analysis and exposition is continuing; or is, perhaps, complete. As in the previous sub-corpus, there are also indications in the keyword list of a more opinionated breed of criticism than in the early decades. *Opinions*, *opinion*, and *performance* all appear as key. Concordance analysis of the contexts in which these words appear suggests that they often occur in the context of direct evaluation of a reviewed text. *Performance* is associated particularly strongly with evaluation of literary quality, but *opinions* and, to an even greater extent, *opinions*, also commonly occur in this kind of context.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
AUTHOR	169	613.06	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	175	481.86	0.0000000000
VERSE	82	362.56	0.0000000000
LATIN	77	321.74	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	33	273.00	0.0000000000
GREEK	81	260.16	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	38	258.45	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	55	239.24	0.0000000000
BOOK	122	234.48	0.0000000000
ART	102	192.17	0.0000000000
VERBS	27	182.12	0.0000000000
BRITISH	65	180.78	0.0000000000
DR	88	178.02	0.0000000000
VERSION	32	162.69	0.0000000000
VERB	27	162.12	0.0000000000
PERSIAN	31	160.47	0.0000000000
SUBJUNCTIVE	17	157.82	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	32	150.18	0.0000000000
MICHELL	17	150.12	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	41	136.61	0.0000000000
VOLUME	57	136.42	0.0000000000
REVIEW	48	134.27	0.0000000000
SYLLABLE	31	130.96	0.0000000000
ORONDATES	14	129.97	0.0000000000
READERS	43	129.28	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	27	125.50	0.0000000000
JONES'S	18	123.52	0.0000000000
ACCENTS	29	122.66	0.0000000000
OBSERVATIONS	50	122.58	0.0000000000
PHTHISIS	13	120.69	0.0000000000
ARE	593	118.38	0.0000000000
BIBLE	35	117.95	0.0000000000
ACCENT	28	117.51	0.0000000000
GOVERNMENT	70	116.54	0.0000000000
TRANSLATORS	16	112.26	0.0000000000

ETC	55	111.49	0.0000000000
TATHAM	12	111.41	0.0000000000
AZORA	12	111.41	0.0000000000
STANZA	26	108.04	0.0000000000
CIRCUMFLEX	12	104.37	0.0000000000
WORK	122	104.24	0.0000000000
CATALOGUE	24	104.15	0.0000000000
PENULT	11	102.12	0.0000000000
CONSUMPTION	29	100.88	0.0000000000
MERIT	42	97.13	0.0000000000
PAINE	18	96.77	0.0000000000
VOWELS	12	96.45	0.0000000000
SOUND	71	94.01	0.0000000000
ACCENTUATION	12	93.49	0.0000000000
ORIGINAL	53	93.42	0.0000000000
DOCS	10	92.84	0.0000000000
ACUTE	26	92.59	0.0000000000
ERRORS	34	90.57	0.0000000000
AUTHORS	29	88.09	0.0000000000
REMARKS	37	87.28	0.0000000000
RULES	34	84.82	0.0000000000
ALEXANDER	25	83.80	0.0000000000
MOIFES	9	83.55	0.0000000000
MICHELL'S	9	83.55	0.0000000000
LEARNED	47	81.19	0.0000000000
TRANSLATOR	14	80.42	0.0000000000
WALPOLE	17	80.19	0.0000000000
ANTIEN	13	79.96	0.0000000000
OBSERVES	21	78.60	0.0000000000
BOOKKEEPING	9	77.07	0.0000000000
SHAKSPEARE	24	76.49	0.0000000000
SECOND	78	74.21	0.0000000000
LOFT	14	74.06	0.0000000000
EDITOR	24	73.73	0.0000000000
WHICH	907	71.78	0.0000000000
MOOD	24	69.83	0.0000000000
PUBLICATION	26	69.51	0.0000000000
RIGHTS	31	69.26	0.0000000000
LITERARY	33	68.75	0.0000000000
SEWED	11	68.10	0.0000000000
VERSIONS	11	68.10	0.0000000000
ARRIAN	8	68.01	0.0000000000
GRIMALDI	8	68.01	0.0000000000
ERROR	37	67.76	0.0000000000
CONSTITUTION	39	66.91	0.0000000000
BISHOP	30	66.69	0.0000000000
VOWEL	10	65.31	0.0000000000
LUBIN	7	64.99	0.0000000000
OROIX	7	64.99	0.0000000000
DETASTED	7	64.99	0.0000000000
EDITION	33	64.58	0.0000000000
WORKS	47	64.53	0.0000000000
APOLOGY	22	63.73	0.0000000000

HAS	327	63.70	0.0000000000
AMI	11	63.06	0.0000000000
MAY	276	62.79	0.0000000000
WRITER	35	62.73	0.0000000000
GRAMMAR	18	62.56	0.0000000000
LEDGER	9	61.76	0.0000000000
FOXGLOVE	8	61.44	0.0000000000
BEDDOES	11	61.34	0.0000000000
BOARDS	15	61.03	0.0000000000
USEFUL	36	60.22	0.0000000000
WORD	92	60.03	0.0000000000
PP	27	59.95	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	21	59.86	0.0000000000
LEGISLATION	14	59.75	0.0000000000
SUBJOINED	12	59.26	0.0000000000
GRAMMARIANS	8	59.07	0.0000000000
MOODS	14	58.95	0.0000000000
HI	9	58.77	0.0000000000
INGENIOUS	20	58.56	0.0000000000
CHAPTERS	15	58.26	0.0000000000
USE	69	58.06	0.0000000000
VITRIFIED	8	57.04	0.0000000000
IDIOM	11	56.92	0.0000000000
MISCELLANEOUS	15	56.67	0.0000000000
REV	21	56.29	0.0000000000
CRITICISM	21	56.29	0.0000000000
TATHAM'S	6	55.70	0.0000000000
BIAH	6	55.70	0.0000000000
KNOWLEGE	6	55.70	0.0000000000
ELEGY	11	55.63	0.0000000000
WRITERS	30	55.09	0.0000000000
ODE	17	54.82	0.0000000000
MODERN	33	54.68	0.0000000000
OPINION	65	54.47	0.0000000000
TEXT	19	53.60	0.0000000000
ACCOUNT	74	53.59	0.0000000000
LEARNING	28	53.18	0.0000000000
CONTENDS	9	53.04	0.0000000000
CRITIC	18	53.03	0.0000000000
PASSAGES	25	51.78	0.0000000000
PULSE	15	51.11	0.0000000000
ODES	12	51.04	0.0000000000
PREFACE	18	51.01	0.0000000000
PUBLIC	74	50.68	0.0000000000
CURTIUS	7	50.64	0.0000000000
SYMONDS	6	49.98	0.0000000000
CONCEIVES	10	49.58	0.0000000000
INDICATIVE	10	49.00	0.0000000000
PRONUNCIATION	11	48.80	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	57	48.07	0.0000000000
SYLLABLES	10	47.35	0.0000000000
PRINCIPLES	51	47.34	0.0000000000
RELIGIONS	11	47.09	0.0000000000

GERMAN	25	46.75	0.0000000000
MALONE	6	46.74	0.0000000000
ACCENTUAL	5	46.42	0.0000000000
KETT	5	46.42	0.0000000000
WHITEHOUSE'S	5	46.42	0.0000000000
SPARKE'S	5	46.42	0.0000000000
CASTALIO	5	46.42	0.0000000000
DOMESDAY	5	46.42	0.0000000000
OXYTON	5	46.42	0.0000000000
ROBINSONS	5	46.42	0.0000000000
CAESURA	5	46.42	0.0000000000
DILL	5	46.42	0.0000000000
ANTEPENULT	5	46.42	0.0000000000
TYNDAL	5	46.42	0.0000000000
D'ANVILLE	5	46.42	0.0000000000
LENGTHENED	11	45.52	0.0000000000
SAYS	66	45.46	0.0000000000
PASSAGE	39	44.81	0.0000000000
CORRECTION	12	44.79	0.0000000000
TINS	6	44.30	0.0000000000
ORFORD	6	44.30	0.0000000000
COMPILER	7	43.23	0.0000000000
CLASSICAL	15	43.04	0.0000000000
LUKE	9	43.04	0.0000000000
ATTENTION	58	42.98	0.0000000000
MARKS	21	42.56	0.0000000000
INTERPRETER	9	42.00	0.0000000000
AUTHORITY	33	41.04	0.0000000000
SYSTEM	49	40.99	0.0000000000
ACCOUNTS	22	40.81	0.0000000000
PRONOUNS	6	40.64	0.0000000000
UNGRAMMATICAL	6	40.64	0.0000000000
EXPLANATORY	8	40.51	0.0000000000
GEO	7	40.21	0.0000000000
PRACTICE	30	39.99	0.0000000000
PERFORMANCE	17	39.75	0.0000000000
ADDITIONS	12	39.72	0.0000000000
EARNINGS	10	39.40	0.0000000000
NOUNS	6	39.18	0.0000000000
ANCIENT	35	39.13	0.0000000000
REPRESENTATION	17	38.99	0.0000000000
TESTAMENT	14	38.69	0.0000000000
QUOTATIONS	9	38.38	0.0000000000
READER	35	38.18	0.0000000000
CERTAINLY	53	37.64	0.0000000000
LINE	40	37.57	0.0000000000
QUEEN	31	37.35	0.0000000000
LABOURS	20	37.31	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	20	37.22	0.0000000000
MANY	151	37.20	0.0000000000
BEDDOES'S	4	37.13	0.0000000000
MASKIN'S	4	37.13	0.0000000000
MATTER'S	4	37.13	0.0000000000



PAROXYTON	4	37.13	0.0000000000
DIPHTHONGS	4	37.13	0.0000000000
RECOMMENDERS	4	37.13	0.0000000000
FUNDON	4	37.13	0.0000000000
ORAIGPHADRICK	4	37.13	0.0000000000
ORIT	4	37.13	0.0000000000
HYPHESIS	4	37.13	0.0000000000
JUDGMENT	34	37.10	0.0000000000
TRANSLATED	13	36.60	0.0000000000
RECKONING	10	36.30	0.0000000001
COPYRIGHT	8	36.20	0.0000000001
OPINIONS	29	35.99	0.0000000001
PULMONARY	5	35.89	0.0000000001
TOR	5	35.89	0.0000000001
MATT	5	35.89	0.0000000001
CONCLUDES	9	35.76	0.0000000001
PARTS	43	35.42	0.0000000001
SOUNDED	15	34.96	0.0000000003
INACCURACY	6	34.73	0.0000000004

**Table 61.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1790-1799 sub-corpus.

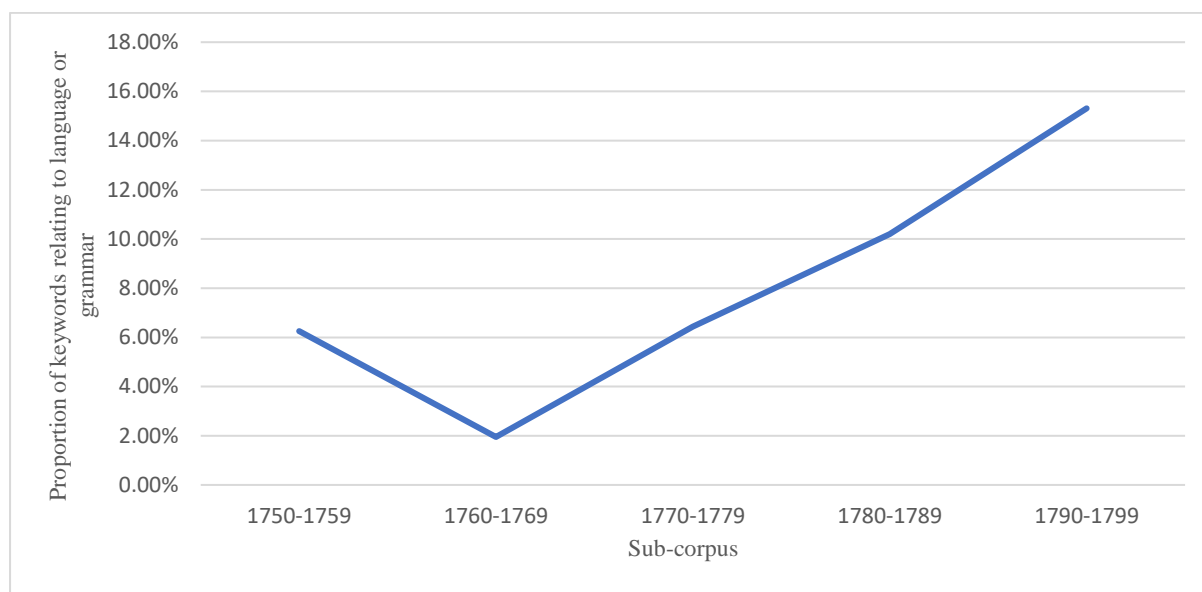
Concordance analysis of other apparently evaluative keywords also indicates that evaluation is becoming an increasingly significant element of periodical reviewing. *Ingenious*, *learned*, *inaccuracy*, *error*, *merit*, and *correction* all appear either exclusively or predominantly in this context. Of these, concordance analysis reveals *inaccuracy*, *error* and *correction* to be of most relevance to the present study, since they often appear in the context of the evaluation of linguistic correctness. Of the 6 occurrences of *inaccuracy* in this sub-corpus, 4 appear in this context. 17 of the 75 occurrences of *errors*, and 10 of the 17 occurrences of *correction* also appear in this context. These may therefore be considered potential indicators of prescriptivism, and their usage will be explored in detail below. Overall, the keywords discussed here continue to suggest a change in reviewing style, which has significant implications for the amount of linguistic criticism review articles are likely to contain.

As in previous sub-corpora, there are also many words in the keyword list which highlight that published texts are the focus of the reviews, including *author*, *book*, *publication*, *writer*, *text*, *chapters*, *preface* and *reader*. These also show that analysis is taking place, and that the periodicals are no longer primarily presenting abstracts for their readers' perusal. Novel keywords relating to generic categorisation can also be found in the keyword list for this sub-corpus, including *ode*, *odes*, and *elegy*, whilst keywords relating to aspects of poetry, such as *verse*, *stanza* and *caesura*, provide further indication that close stylistic analysis is a feature of this sub-corpus.

As in the earlier sub-corpora, the proper nouns in the keyword list are mainly the names of authors whose works are being reviewed. This is the first keyword list in which the names of authors who arguably belong to the English literary canon appear, with *Walpole* and *Paine* both appearing as key. As in previous sub-corpora, many genitive proper nouns are also present, because authors' works are being referred to.

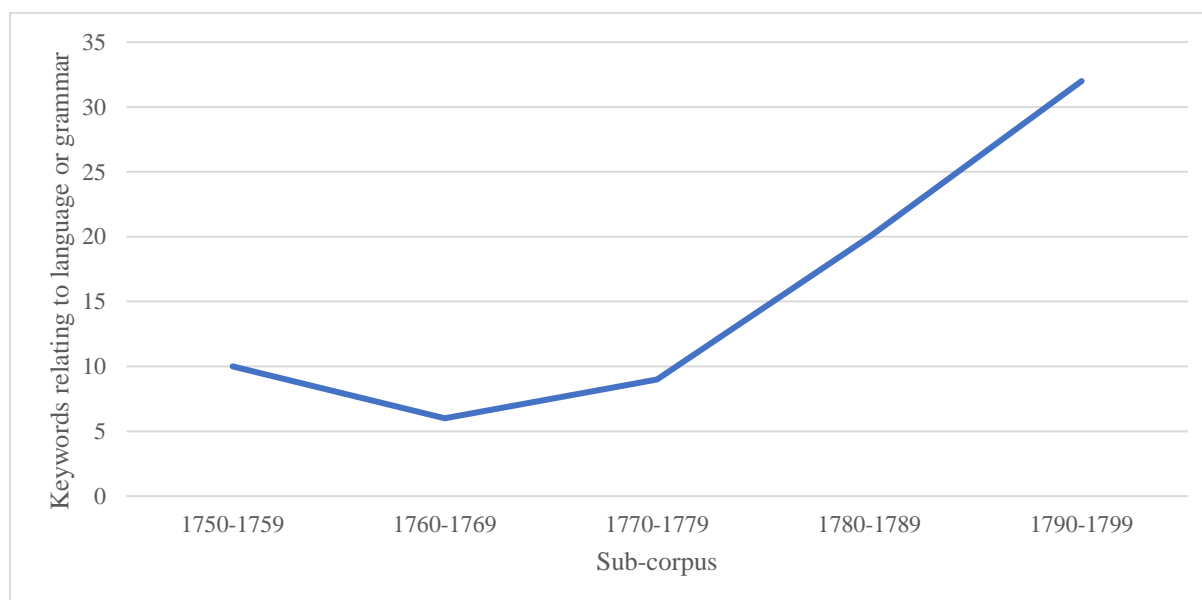
As in the previous sub-corpus, a significant minority of keywords in this decade's word list relate to language and grammar, and again there is an increase in the proportion of keywords relating to this semantic field. 32 of the 209 keywords in this decade, or 15.31%, belong to this

semantic category. As can be seen in Figure 53, this continues the gradual increase in such keywords that has occurred throughout the study period to this point.



**Figure 53. Percentage of keywords in each eighteenth-century sub-corpus relating to language or grammar.**

Notwithstanding the anomalously low proportion of keywords relating to this semantic field in the 1760s, which is largely due to the much larger keyword list resulting from the high numbers of medical and scientific keywords during this decade, Figure 53 shows a gradual increase in the numbers of keywords relating to language and grammar. This increase is also reflected in the raw frequency data, as is shown in Figure 54, below.



**Figure 54. Raw frequency of keywords in each eighteenth-century sub-corpus relating to language or grammar.**

This provides an indication that the review periodicals have become increasingly preoccupied with issues surrounding language and grammar, as the study period has progressed to this point. Many of the keywords in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus are those which have also been key in previous sub-corpora, such as *language* and *translation*. Occurrences of both these words are

dispersed throughout the corpus and only on rare occasions do they appear to be linked to reviewers' evaluation of linguistic correctness. The increase between the number of keywords in this sub-corpus and in the previous sub-corpus seems, however, to be accounted for by a significant increase in the amount of specialist lexis used in the 1790s. These include grammatical terms, such as *subjunctive*, *pronouns*, *nouns*, and *verbs*, as well as orthographic and phonetic terminology, including *circumflex*, *oxyton*, *paroxyton*, *accent(s)*, *vowel(s)*, *diphthongs*, *syllable*, and *pronunciation*. This indicates that interest in technical linguistic subject matter is increasing, though further investigation reveals that the majority of these keywords occur exclusively in the *Monthly's* review of *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. That they cluster so strongly in this review suggests that they originate in the reviewed text, and do not indicate a sub-corpus wide increase in linguistic discussion by reviewers. This probably reflects the surge in publication of linguistically-oriented texts in the later eighteenth century (see §2.2.2). Whilst it is therefore likely to be a manifestation of a general cultural preoccupation with language, rather than an indication of specific instances of linguistic criticism, this is itself notable.

There are also indications of a growing preoccupation with grammatical correctness in the review articles CENCER contains as the study period progresses. This is the third consecutive sub-corpus in which both *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* have appeared in the keyword list. Concordance analysis reveals that many of instances of both these words appear in the context of a reviewer evaluating the linguistic correctness of a reviewed text. This is more often the case with *ungrammatical*; all of the 6 instances of this word in the sub-corpus are found to be in the context of linguistic criticism of a reviewed text. By contrast, only 14 of the 38 instances of *grammatical* occur in this context. Though this is proportionally lower, there is still valuable information to be derived from the concordance lines for *grammatical*. It co-occurs, for example, with "propriety", "accuracy", "inaccuracies", "inaccuracy", and modifies "errors" not once but 7 times. These are all words which may therefore be considered potential indicators of linguistic criticism, and are investigated further in §5.3.

In the 1770-1779 and 1780-1789 sub-corpora, *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* were the sole indicators of a preoccupation with grammaticality, but in the 1790-1799 sub-corpus, both *grammar* and, highly significantly, *grammarians*, also appear in the keyword list. Neither of these words occur in the context of direct linguistic criticism by reviewers of reviewed texts, but they do indicate a cultural climate in which issues of grammaticality are of pressing concern. None of the articles within this sub-corpus directly review linguistic texts, so it is clear from the keyword list and a very brief concordance analysis both that reviewers are prompting discussion of linguistic issues, and that they are working within a climate of linguistic uncertainty and insecurity, in which interest in linguistic performance is significant.

As has been the case in several of the earlier sub-corpora, the keyword list for this decade contains the names of several foreign languages. In previous sub-corpora, these have tended to be classical languages, but in 1790-1799 *German* and *Persian* are keywords, alongside the more familiar *Latin*, *Greek*, and *English*. The presence of *Persian* in the keyword list is due to the presence in the text file of a 1794 review by the *Monthly* of *The Persian Interpreter*, whilst *German* clusters in the aforementioned review of *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Likewise, alongside *translation*, which was also key in the 1750-1759 and 1780-1789 sub-corpora, *translator*, *translators*, and *interpreter* also appear in the keyword list. We might reasonably assume *interpreter* to occur exclusively in the review of *The Persian*

*Interpreter*, but although it clusters in that review, it also appears elsewhere. Occurrences of *translator*, *translators*, and *translation* are even more dispersed through the sub-corpus. On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that translation into English continues to be a preoccupation of the review periodicals during this decade.

Although it is impossible to draw meaningful conclusions on the basis of the keyness analysis and brief consideration of concordance lines, it would certainly appear that interest in close stylistic analysis, and the evaluation of linguistic performance, are by this stage in the study period extremely important elements of periodical reviewing. The investigation of this is a focus of Chapters 5 and 6.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, LATIN, GREEK, TRANSLATION, GRAMMATICAL, VERB, SUBJUNCTIVE, SYLLABLE, ACCENTS, ACCENT, TRANSLATORS, PERSIAN, CIRCUMFLEX, TRANSLATOR, VOWELS, VOWEL, GRAMMARIANS, GRAMMAR, WORD, IDIOM, PRONUNCIATION, ENGLISH, GERMAN, SYLLABLES, OXYTON, INTERPRETER, UNGRAMMATICAL, PRONOUNS, NOUNS, PAROXYTON, DIPHTHONGS, TRANSLATED	32
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, VERSE, PERIODICAL, BOOK, VERSION, VOLUME, REVIEW, READERS, MONTHLY, OBSERVATIONS, WORK, CATALOGUE, VERSION, AUTHOR'S, JOURNAL, VOLUME, STANZA, OBSERVATIONS, AUTHORS, REMARKS, LEARNED, MERIT, OBSERVES, APOLOGY, EDITION, WORKS, PUBLICATION, LITERARY, VERSIONS, EDITOR, ERROR, WRITER, CRITICAL, PASSAGES, CRITIC, CONTENDS, LEARNING, ACCOUNT, TEXT, OPINION, WRITERS, ODE, ELEGY, CRITICISM, CHAPTERS, INGENIOUS, WRITINGS, ODES, PREFACE, COMPILER, CLASSICAL, CORRECTION, PASSAGE, READER, QUOTATION, ACCOUNTS, PERFORMANCE, INACCURACY, COPYRIGHT, OPINIONS, CAESURA  JONES'S, TATHAM, WALPOLE, MICHELL'S, MOIFES, ALEXANDER, PAINE, ORONDATE, LUBIN,	89

	GRIMALDI, BEDDOES, TATHAM'S, MALONE, SPARKE'S, WHITEHOUSE'S, KETT, SYMONDS, CURTIUS, ROBINSON, D'ANVILLE, ORFORD, BEDDOES'S, MASKIN'S, MATTER'S, DOMESDAY, CASTALIO	
RULES/AUTHORITY (3)	DR, AUTHORITY, RULES	3
Medicine (5)	PHTHISIS, CONSUMPTION, DETASTED, PULSE, PULMONARY	5
Religious/Biblical/theological references	BIBLE, BISHOP, REV, RELIGION, LUKE, TESTAMENT, RECKONING,	7
Law/governance (4)	GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTION, RIGHT, LEGISLATION,	4
History/mythology (3)	ARRIAN, ANCIENT, HYPHISIS,	3
Art (1)	ART	1
OCR failures (2)	LOFT, ORAIGPHADRICK,	2
Variant spellings (3)	ANTIEN, SHAKSPEAR, KNOWLEGE,	3
Miscellaneous (62)	BRITISH, ARE, ETC, AZORA, ACUTE, DOCS, ORIGINAL, SOUND, ACCENTUATION, PENULT, SECOND, WHICH, MOOD, SEWED, OROIX, HAS, AMI, MAY, SUBJOINED, LEDGER, FOXGLOVE, BOARDS, USEFUL, MODERN, MISCELLANEOUS, MOODS, HI, USE, VITRIFIED, PUBLIC, CONCEIVES, INDICATIVE, ACCENTUAL, PRINCIPLES, DILL, ANTEPENULT, LENGTHENED, SAYS, TINS, ATTENTION, MARKS, LABOURS, QUEEN, LINE, CERTAINLY, EXPLANATORY, GEO, PRACTICE, ADDITIONS, EARNINGS, REPRESENTATIONS, RECOMMENDERS, FUNDON, ORIT, JUDGMENT, RECKONING, TOR, CONCLUDES, PARTS, SOUNDED, TOR, MATT,	62
<b>Total</b>		<b>209</b>

**Table 62. Keyword results for the 1790-1799 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

### 1800-1809 sub-corpus

Here, again, more keywords relate to the semantic field of literary reviewing than to any other. 59 of the 183 keywords (32.24%) relate in some way to the act of reviewing or the subject matter being reviewed. Many of these have appeared in the keyword lists of several or all of the previous sub-corpora, such as *review*, *Monthly*, *Critical*, *periodicals*, *author*, and *book*. Others, however, are novel; including many which appear to be hallmarks of literary criticism in a recognisably modern form, such as *interpretation*, *delineation*, *style*, *erudition*, and *irony*. Concordance analysis confirms that in the majority of instances, these words appear in the

context of literary evaluation. Several other keywords also occur in this context, though to a lesser extent. These include *composition* and *merits*. Despite the size of this category, however, it gives away little further about review culture in this decade, insofar as it relates to the present study.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
PENDANT	98	832.55	0.0000000000
FLAG	82	464.27	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	127	433.47	0.0000000000
FLAGS	62	395.67	0.0000000000
SIGNALS	52	376.60	0.0000000000
BOOK	148	370.81	0.0000000000
CIPHER	44	363.85	0.0000000000
DIGIT	36	345.14	0.0000000000
SUBSTITUTE	61	328.99	0.0000000000
NUMBERS	84	281.85	0.0000000000
TELEGRAPH	32	260.85	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	30	255.27	0.0000000000
JAMESON	33	248.42	0.0000000000
NUMERAL	26	240.73	0.0000000000
URINE	22	210.91	0.0000000000
DR	90	208.91	0.0000000000
ART	98	203.29	0.0000000000
REVIEW	56	187.19	0.0000000000
FABER	19	182.15	0.0000000000
BRITISH	61	179.75	0.0000000000
PENDANTS	20	178.37	0.0000000000
NUMBER	110	176.83	0.0000000000
APOCALYPSE	23	162.98	0.0000000000
UNITS	24	161.29	0.0000000000
ALPHABETICAL	18	151.77	0.0000000000
WORK	129	147.50	0.0000000000
MINERALOGY	18	143.03	0.0000000000
READERS	43	141.28	0.0000000000
NOMENCLATURE	23	132.64	0.0000000000
IS	1105	131.61	0.0000000000
PARKINSON	15	131.52	0.0000000000
TENS	20	131.51	0.0000000000
DENOTES	22	129.25	0.0000000000
SUBSTANCES	35	128.38	0.0000000000
NUMERICAL	23	123.53	0.0000000000
AUXILIARY	19	123.52	0.0000000000
RED	61	123.06	0.0000000000
PROPHECY	27	122.22	0.0000000000
DENOTE	24	118.55	0.0000000000
DIGITS	12	115.04	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	73	114.61	0.0000000000
JAMESON'S	13	112.88	0.0000000000
WERNER	13	112.88	0.0000000000
PYE	16	112.17	0.0000000000
CHEMICAL	27	106.52	0.0000000000
REPRESENTED	37	104.93	0.0000000000
WOODHOUSE	16	102.03	0.0000000000

PLACED	64	100.94	0.0000000000
SKINNER	15	99.85	0.0000000000
VERSE	32	98.35	0.0000000000
TREATISE	25	97.20	0.0000000000
BOARDS	20	97.07	0.0000000000
HALYARD	10	95.87	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	22	95.58	0.0000000000
ETC	47	95.23	0.0000000000
SYSTEM	65	94.86	0.0000000000
PROPHETIC	22	94.50	0.0000000000
SYLLABLES	16	92.82	0.0000000000
SOUND	65	92.61	0.0000000000
ELECTIVE	13	91.71	0.0000000000
SKINNER'S	9	86.28	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	15	86.23	0.0000000000
COMPOUND	22	85.93	0.0000000000
NELSON	39	84.47	0.0000000000
SECTIONS	19	82.79	0.0000000000
WHITE	62	80.51	0.0000000000
EXHIBITED	27	78.56	0.0000000000
WRITERS	34	78.20	0.0000000000
REMARKS	32	76.16	0.0000000000
ADDS	23	74.99	0.0000000000
EUCLID	12	71.26	0.0000000000
INFLECTED	8	70.43	0.0000000000
HOISTING	10	69.73	0.0000000000
EXTRA	17	69.50	0.0000000000
MINERALS	10	68.31	0.0000000000
ATTRACTIONS	16	67.87	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	60	67.48	0.0000000000
DICTIONARY	17	67.36	0.0000000000
LATIN	26	67.03	0.0000000000
MINSTREL	14	66.87	0.0000000000
OBSERVATIONS	33	66.69	0.0000000000
STRAIGHT	30	66.58	0.0000000000
DISTINCTIVE	13	66.24	0.0000000000
LINE	47	65.45	0.0000000000
MAY	245	62.66	0.0000000000
SEDIMENT	11	62.28	0.0000000000
EX	17	60.07	0.0000000000
VERB	12	60.04	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	15	58.89	0.0000000000
CAPSIDED	6	57.52	0.0000000000
OFFUSION	6	57.52	0.0000000000
CONOLLY	6	57.52	0.0000000000
PARKINSON'S	6	57.52	0.0000000000
TELEGRAPHING	6	57.52	0.0000000000
REV	20	57.41	0.0000000000
CODE	13	57.23	0.0000000000
CONTAINS	22	56.77	0.0000000000
TREATS	12	56.23	0.0000000000
BEATTIE	11	55.97	0.0000000000
COMMENTATORS	11	55.97	0.0000000000

REVELATION	19	55.95	0.0000000000
MR	269	55.92	0.0000000000
GOD	84	55.61	0.0000000000
FOLLOWING	56	55.45	0.0000000000
MINERALOGICAL	7	54.94	0.0000000000
CALVIN	8	54.65	0.0000000000
USE	61	53.82	0.0000000000
CREATED	24	53.82	0.0000000000
HOIST	10	53.76	0.0000000000
SIXTH	17	53.67	0.0000000000
PORTABLE	10	53.14	0.0000000000
ANTIEN	9	53.02	0.0000000000
CADENCE	9	52.21	0.0000000000
LOWERMOST	6	51.80	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	18	51.48	0.0000000000
VOLUME	31	51.26	0.0000000000
PREFACE	17	51.18	0.0000000000
ACCENT	15	50.97	0.0000000000
PERSPICUITY	9	50.69	0.0000000000
SERMONS	13	50.15	0.0000000000
DISEASES	12	50.14	0.0000000000
VIAL	8	49.00	0.0000000000
RHYTHMUS	6	48.56	0.0000000000
CHEMISTRY	13	48.28	0.0000000000
ACIDS	8	48.09	0.0000000000
SIGNAL	20	48.02	0.0000000000
FRANGIBLE	5	47.93	0.0000000000
CULLEN'S	5	47.93	0.0000000000
FORNICATION	5	47.93	0.0000000000
KNOWLEGE	5	47.93	0.0000000000
ACID	13	47.78	0.0000000000
INTERPRETATION	14	47.74	0.0000000000
HUNDREDS	18	47.44	0.0000000000
TESTAMENT	15	47.39	0.0000000000
COMPOSITION	22	47.20	0.0000000000
EPISCOPAL	9	46.81	0.0000000000
TELEGRAPHIC	6	46.11	0.0000000000
TINS	6	46.11	0.0000000000
GENEALOGICAL	6	46.11	0.0000000000
ERROR	28	45.82	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURE	18	45.61	0.0000000000
GENERAL	88	45.43	0.0000000000
NOTES	29	44.49	0.0000000000
STEEVENS	6	44.13	0.0000000000
PREDICTION	11	43.99	0.0000000000
CONSONANT	8	43.52	0.0000000000
DENOTING	8	43.52	0.0000000000
DENOTED	11	43.11	0.0000000000
ALFRED	11	43.11	0.0000000000
OPINION	54	43.07	0.0000000000
STYLE	30	42.92	0.0000000000
REPRESENTS	12	42.65	0.0000000000
CONCRETIONS	5	42.54	0.0000000000



COPIOUS	11	42.54	0.0000000000
LARD	6	42.45	0.0000000000
SECOND	57	42.36	0.0000000000
SOOT	8	42.27	0.0000000000
BEES	12	42.19	0.0000000000
ORIGINAL	33	42.02	0.0000000000
EXTRACT	13	41.48	0.0000000000
HARMONY	18	41.40	0.0000000000
O'ER	18	41.18	0.0000000000
FEVERS	8	41.10	0.0000000000
ERRORS	20	40.75	0.0000000000
PERSPIRATION	8	40.03	0.0000000000
MERITS	18	39.92	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	16	39.92	0.0000000000
TABLE	47	39.88	0.0000000000
LINES	33	39.79	0.0000000000
DELINEATION	8	39.52	0.0000000000
STROKES	9	39.45	0.0000000000
DEFINITIONS	13	39.32	0.0000000000
SYLLABLE	13	38.98	0.0000000000
NELSON'S	11	38.98	0.0000000000
SPECIMEN	15	38.71	0.0000000000
SEC	6	38.53	0.0000000000
INFLECTION	6	38.53	0.0000000000
TOGGLES	4	38.35	0.0000000000
MARALDI	4	38.35	0.0000000000
DEFFICIENCY	4	38.35	0.0000000000
MOLECULE	4	38.35	0.0000000000
CONOLLY'S	4	38.35	0.0000000000
PRONUNTIATION	4	38.35	0.0000000000
ANTIENTS	4	38.35	0.0000000000
KARSTEN	4	38.35	0.0000000000
KEIR'S	4	38.35	0.0000000000
CHRIST	20	38.32	0.0000000000
WILLIAMS	13	38.32	0.0000000000
DIVINE	29	38.08	0.0000000000
ERUDITION	8	38.08	0.0000000000
DEFINITION	20	37.91	0.0000000000
SECTION	17	37.68	0.0000000000
INSPIRATION	13	37.67	0.0000000000
HI	6	37.48	0.0000000000
FAKE	5	37.40	0.0000000000
ADULTERESS	5	37.40	0.0000000000
CHUBB	5	37.40	0.0000000000
OCCURS	14	37.32	0.0000000000
IRONY	7	37.13	0.0000000000
DESCRIPTION	27	36.86	0.0000000000
QUOTED	13	36.44	0.0000000001
BISHOP	20	36.32	0.0000000001
IMMORTAL	15	36.24	0.0000000001
SOUL	50	36.12	0.0000000001
PAGE	43	35.90	0.0000000001
MURPHY	5	35.64	0.0000000002

CANNOT	88	35.55	0.0000000002
LONGMAN	7	35.42	0.0000000003
SYMBOLS	9	35.22	0.0000000004
FIFTH	17	34.96	0.0000000004

**Table 63.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1800-1809 sub-corpus.

The semantic field of language and grammar accounts for 21 of the 183 keywords. This means that a smaller proportion of keywords from this decade relate to language or grammar than the last, only 11.48% by comparison with 15.31%. This may be an early sign of a reduction in interest in language and grammar on the part of the review periodicals and in more general cultural terms, but it remains to be seen whether it is the beginning of a trend. In terms of the specific semantic field of grammaticality, *grammatical* appears as a keyword, as it has done in every decade since 1760, however *ungrammatical*, which was key in the 1770-1779, 1780-1789, and 1790-1799 sub-corpora, is absent from the keyword list. *Grammatical* is dispersed across the text files of the sub-corpus, occurring 19 times in total, and almost exclusively in the context of negative evaluation of the grammatical correctness of a reviewed text. It co-occurs with *error*, *errors*, *inaccuracies*, *peculiarities*, *correctness*, *violations*, and *imperfection*, amongst others. The discourses surrounding *grammatical* across all of the sub-corpora are explored in detail in §4.3, but suffice it to say here that despite the absence of *ungrammatical* from the keyword list, the issue of grammatical correctness would still appear to be a pressing concern for reviewers in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

However, it is also notable that fewer technical linguistic terms are also key than in the previous decade. Only *verb*, *inflection*, and *inflected* occur by way of grammatical lexis, whilst *accent*, *syllable(s)*, and *consonant* are also key. Upon examination of the contexts in which these words appear in the sub-corpus, it transpires that they cluster within the *British Critic* review of *Harmony in Language*, and the *Monthly* review of *A Treatise on Telegraphic Communication*. Whilst *translation* appears in the keyword list for a third consecutive decade, fewer foreign language names appear alongside it. Only *English* and *Latin*, both of which have been key in several previous sub-corpora, are keywords. Occurrences of all three of these keywords are dispersed throughout the sub-corpus, and do not cluster to any significant degree within any single text file, indicating a sustained general interest in linguistic issues.

Overall, however, there does seem to have been a slight decline in interest in linguistic matters by comparison with the foregoing sub-corpora. This may be the result of the random sampling of two relatively small sub-corpora, or it may signal the beginning of a slow-down in reviewers' interest in language in general, and grammaticality in particular. It would of course come as no great surprise if this decade were found to be a turning point in terms of the discourses surrounding language and grammar. As is discussed at length in §3.2.5, the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 marked a sea-change in review culture, inaugurating an era of much harsher, more openly politicized, literary criticism. It may be that by this stage in the study period, the heyday of prescriptivism in reviews is over. Further investigations in Chapters 5 and 6, and especially in §5.3 and §6.1, help to establish whether that is indeed the case.

Three other individual semantic fields account for more than ten keywords each. Two of these are familiar from previous sub-corpora, with scientific terminology accounting for 13 keywords, and theological lexis accounting for 14 keywords (7.10% and 7.65% of total keywords respectively). Mathematical terminology accounts for a further 14 keywords, or 7.65% of all those in the keyword list. As most review periodicals are no longer striving for

encyclopaedic coverage of the book market by this juncture in the study period, and selectivity is playing a much more significant role in review culture (see §3.2.5), the semantic categories of keywords which reveal the focus of texts reviewed now become more significant. It was noted earlier that the tendency of eighteenth-century review periodicals to devote longer reviews (those which have been sampled for CENCER) to theological and scientific texts may be linked to the veneration of objective truth by reviewers seeking to bolster their own authority. The same may be true of the new breed of nineteenth-century reviewers, who, in selecting a small number of texts for review from a large and expanding marketplace may have been guided by similar impulses. However, by the early nineteenth century, periodical reviewers had arguably secured cultural authority, and were no longer scrabbling to discredit their competitors by questioning their credentials and social status. By now, partisanship and ideological differences accounted for most of the competitive sparring between the different review periodicals, so it is less likely that text selection is based on their attempts to carve out cultural authority for themselves. A more likely explanation for the continued preoccupation with these subject areas is that they reflect dominant cultural preoccupations, and that growth areas of the era, like science and medicine were the focus of general interest, whilst religion continued to play a significant role in the cultural life of the nation.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar (21)	ALPHABETICAL, GRAMMATICAL, SYLLABLES, LANGUAGE, COMPOUND, INFLECTED, ENGLISH, DICTIONARY, LATIN, VERB, ACCENT, CONSONANT, SYLLABLE, INFLECTION, TRANSLATION, DEFINITION	21
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, BOOK, PERIODICALS, REVIEW, READERS, WORK, NOMENCLATURE, AUTHOR'S, TREATISE, VERSE, REMARKS, ADDS, OBSERVATIONS, MONTHLY, COMMENTATORS, CRITICAL, VOLUME, PREFACE, SERMONS, COMPOSITION, INTERPRETATION, NOTES, OPINION, STYLE, ORIGINAL, EXTRACT, DENOTING, DENOTED, MERITS, DELINEATION, DEFINITIONS, PAGE, SECTION, IRONY, ERUDITION, QUOTED, INSPIRATION, DESCRIPTION, WRITERS, MR, BOARDS  JAMESON, FABER, PARKINSON, SKINNER, WOODHOUSE, PYE, WERNER, JAMESON'S, BEATTIE, HALYARD, SKINNER'S, NELSON, SECTIONS, PARKINSON'S, CONOLLY, CULLEN'S, STEEVENS, ALFRED, NELSON'S, CONOLLY'S, MARALDI'S, KARSTEN, KEIR'S,	59

	WILLIAMS, MURPHY, LONGMAN	
Correctness	ERROR, ERRORS,	2
RULES/AUTHORITY	DR,	1
Science	MINERALOGY, SUBSTANCES, CHEMICAL, SEDIMENT, MINERALS, CHEMISTRY, VIAL, MINERALOGICAL, ACIDS, FRANGIBLE, SPECIMEN, MOLECULE,	13
Mathematical references	DIGIT, SUBSTITUTE, NUMBERS, NUMERAL, NUMBER, UNITS, TENS, NUMERICAL, AUXILIARY, DIGITS, EUCLID, HOISTING, TELEGRAPHING, CODE	14
Medicine	URINE, DISEASES, PERSPIRATION, FEVERS,	4
Religious/Biblical/theological references	REV, GOD, REVELATION, CALVIN, EPISCOPAL, SCRIPTURE, TESTAMENT, CHRIST, DIVINE, BISHOP, IMMORTAL, SOUL, APOCALYPSE, PROPHECY	14
Maritime references	FLAG, FLAGS, SIGNALS, CIPHER, DIGIT, TELEGRAPH, HOIST, TELEGRAPHIC, SIGNAL	9
Art	ART	1
Variant spellings	OFFUSION, CAPSISED, ANTIEN, KNOWLEDGE, DEFFICIENCY, ANTIENTS, PRONUNTIATION	4
Miscellaneous	PENDANT, BRITISH, PENDANTS, DENOTES, RED, SOUND, ELECTIVE, , GENEALOGICAL, EXHIBITED, DENOTE, REPRESENTED, PLACED, ETC, SYSTEM, PROPHETIC, WHITE, EXTRA, ATTRACTIONS, MINSTREL, STRAIGHT, DISTINCTIVE, LINE, MAY, EX, TREATS, CONTAINS, FOLLOWING, USE, CREATED, SIXTH, PORTABLE, PERSPICUITY, CADENCE, LOWERMOST, FORNICATION, HUNDREDS, TINS, GENERAL, PREDICTION, REPRESENTS, CONCRETIONS, COPIOUS, LARD, SECOND, SOOT, BEES, HARMONY, O'ER, TABLE, LINES, STROKES, SEC, TOGGLES, HI, FAKE, ADULTERESS, CHUBB, OCCURS, CANNOT, SYMBOLS, FIFTH	47
<b>Total</b>		<b>183</b>

*Table 64. Keyword results for the 1800-1809 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.*

## 1810-1819 sub-corpus

The keyword list for this decade is smaller than for any previous sub-corpus, indicating that there is more similarity between this sub-corpus and the reference corpus than there has been previously. Whilst this may simply be a result of the sampling method used, it may also signal the beginning of a trend.

Of the 121 keywords found for this sub-corpus, more than half relate in some direct way to literary reviewing. 66, or 54.55% of the keywords, belong to this semantic field, and a large proportion are words which have also occurred as key in some or all of the earlier sub-corpora. It is notable that *Monthly* is key, as it has been in all of the foregoing corpora, but that *Critical* is no longer a keyword. This reflects the composition of the 1810-1819 sub-corpus and, as is outlined in §3.2.5, the fact that the *Critical Review* was in terminal decline for much of the decade, finally folding in 1817. This is reflected in CENCER by its contribution of only a single review article to this sub-corpus, out of the total of 23.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
BEES	61	388.42	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	112	371.12	0.0000000000
HIVE	41	321.54	0.0000000000
BOOK	117	259.98	0.0000000000
BIBLIOMANIA	20	186.32	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	91	184.80	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	22	184.77	0.0000000000
HIVES	21	182.14	0.0000000000
READERS	49	178.18	0.0000000000
LATIN	44	159.00	0.0000000000
WAKEFIELD	22	157.45	0.0000000000
MONTHLY	28	143.65	0.0000000000
MR	323	140.48	0.0000000000
ART	77	137.86	0.0000000000
WEBER	23	137.17	0.0000000000
FOX	39	136.79	0.0000000000
DRAMATIC	29	134.74	0.0000000000
TASSO	29	133.16	0.0000000000
EDITOR	33	133.12	0.0000000000
EDITION	45	128.69	0.0000000000
BEE	24	128.66	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	20	126.51	0.0000000000
SHAKSPEARE	31	125.27	0.0000000000
ORIGINAL	55	120.34	0.0000000000
AUTHOR'S	25	117.28	0.0000000000
REVIEW	40	115.00	0.0000000000
FOX'S	15	112.26	0.0000000000
VERSIFICATION	18	110.06	0.0000000000
TRANSLATOR	17	109.93	0.0000000000
HUISH	11	106.89	0.0000000000
TAYLORS	12	98.67	0.0000000000
THEOREMS	16	97.35	0.0000000000
KNOWLEGE	10	97.17	0.0000000000
WORK	103	95.00	0.0000000000
VOLUME	42	94.84	0.0000000000

TASTE	53	92.62	0.0000000000
PEEVISH	17	88.41	0.0000000000
PRINTED	34	88.22	0.0000000000
THEOREM	18	87.72	0.0000000000
HUBER	9	87.45	0.0000000000
SPENCE	12	86.44	0.0000000000
BRITISH	38	85.61	0.0000000000
EXTRACT	20	81.38	0.0000000000
LITERARY	33	81.16	0.0000000000
ELECTRA	10	78.15	0.0000000000
BIBLIOMANIAC	9	77.05	0.0000000000
EXPRESSION	48	76.91	0.0000000000
PUBLICATION	25	74.95	0.0000000000
APOLLONIUS	10	74.24	0.0000000000
SPECIMEN	22	74.02	0.0000000000
PASSAGES	28	73.94	0.0000000000
COMBS	11	72.81	0.0000000000
JOURNAL	25	71.76	0.0000000000
CONTEMPORARIES	17	71.29	0.0000000000
CATALOGUE	17	70.67	0.0000000000
HOOLE	9	69.28	0.0000000000
POETRY	37	68.94	0.0000000000
ANDRUGIO	7	68.02	0.0000000000
APIARY	7	68.02	0.0000000000
LYSAND	7	68.02	0.0000000000
POEM	36	67.94	0.0000000000
CLAUDIAN	8	67.76	0.0000000000
DIBDIN	9	67.36	0.0000000000
VOL	37	67.17	0.0000000000
DRONES	10	64.79	0.0000000000
WORKS	42	64.68	0.0000000000
CRITICISM	21	64.55	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	27	64.04	0.0000000000
ANNUITIES	10	63.75	0.0000000000
VERSION	15	63.16	0.0000000000
POETICAL	21	63.09	0.0000000000
HONEY	15	62.54	0.0000000000
APIARIAN	7	62.01	0.0000000000
ANTIEN	10	61.84	0.0000000000
SENSE	66	61.57	0.0000000000
GEOMETRY	16	61.53	0.0000000000
PASSAGE	40	60.67	0.0000000000
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL	7	58.51	0.0000000000
EPIC	14	58.47	0.0000000000
ELEAZ	6	58.30	0.0000000000
DERMID	6	58.30	0.0000000000
DRENNAN	6	58.30	0.0000000000
SOPHOCLES	9	57.89	0.0000000000
LONGMAN	10	57.76	0.0000000000
EUCLID	10	57.76	0.0000000000
WARBURTON	10	55.68	0.0000000000
BOARDS	13	55.04	0.0000000000
ERRORS	23	54.81	0.0000000000

VIRGIL	18	54.08	0.0000000000
EDITIONS	13	52.60	0.0000000000
FORD'S	6	52.58	0.0000000000
BAILY	6	52.58	0.0000000000
PUBLICK	6	52.58	0.0000000000
TEXT	17	51.39	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	18	50.64	0.0000000000
APPEARS	40	50.46	0.0000000000
OVID	9	49.79	0.0000000000
COMPARISON	24	49.48	0.0000000000
WARBURTON'S	6	49.33	0.0000000000
FAUSTUS	8	49.11	0.0000000000
APIARIANS	5	48.58	0.0000000000
GENIUS	37	48.21	0.0000000000
WRITERS	25	47.55	0.0000000000
ERIN	6	46.89	0.0000000000
KEITH'S	6	46.89	0.0000000000
TREATISE	15	46.70	0.0000000000
BEAUTY	42	46.30	0.0000000000
SPRIGHTLY	10	45.71	0.0000000000
CORRESPONDENCE	19	44.84	0.0000000000
SUBLIME	19	43.80	0.0000000000
VERSE	19	43.60	0.0000000000
BORU	5	43.19	0.0000000000
CENSURE	15	43.09	0.0000000000
DEMONSTRATED	11	43.07	0.0000000000
STYLE	29	42.93	0.0000000000
INGENIOUS	15	42.37	0.0000000000
HEBER	6	41.76	0.0000000000
VERB	9	41.73	0.0000000000
VIZ	15	41.53	0.0000000000
BOOKS	38	41.37	0.0000000000
CRITIC	14	40.68	0.0000000000
METRICAL	9	40.57	0.0000000000
WRITER	25	40.30	0.0000000000
HAMILTON	14	40.09	0.0000000000
FORD	8	39.55	0.0000000000
COLLECTORS	6	39.30	0.0000000000
VOLUMES	18	39.29	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	46	39.15	0.0000000000
PREFACE	14	39.09	0.0000000000
LISARDO	4	38.87	0.0000000000
OXYMURIATIC	4	38.87	0.0000000000
GEOMETRIA	4	38.87	0.0000000000
INTITLED	4	38.87	0.0000000000
FECUNDATED	4	38.87	0.0000000000
TERM	24	38.73	0.0000000000
AUTHORS	16	38.51	0.0000000000
SWARM	9	38.15	0.0000000000
PAGES	21	38.13	0.0000000000
PLAYS	14	38.00	0.0000000000
FOLLOWING	46	37.52	0.0000000000
EXTRACTS	11	37.51	0.0000000000

JUDGMENT	30	36.87	0.0000000000
HISTORY	45	36.56	0.0000000000
DISEASE	16	36.52	0.0000000000
HURD	6	36.40	0.0000000001
LOMBARD	7	36.31	0.0000000001
QUARTOS	5	36.28	0.0000000001
TREATISES	8	36.19	0.0000000001
METHOD	26	35.99	0.0000000001
POETS	19	35.57	0.0000000002
LINES	30	34.91	0.0000000005

**Table 65.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1810-1819 sub-corpus.

Alongside the many familiar words appearing in the keyword list for this decade are a number of novel ones, many of which give the impression of a more sophisticated brand of literary criticism than characterised the early sub-corpora. There appears to have been a further expansion in the range of vocabulary used by reviewers to discuss literary and specifically poetic achievement, for example, with *poetical*, *versification*, and *metrical* all appearing as keywords for the first time. Usage of all three of these is dispersed across the corpus, and does not cluster to any significant degree in a single text file. Likewise, a number of novel keywords again highlight the evaluative role of periodical reviews. *Ingenious* has appeared in keyword lists previously, but *genius*, *taste*, and *sprightly* are novel. Concordance analysis indicates that, of these, *ingenious*, *genius*, and *taste* occur predominantly in the context of direct literary evaluation. *Taste* is of particular note, as it demonstrates that the reviewers of this decade are not shying away from expressions of subjectivity, as it has been proposed that their eighteenth-century counterparts had done (see §3.2.3). *Sprightly* would also appear, at first glance, to be a highly significant keyword, as it has been identified by Carol Percy as gendered; used by literary reviewers to disparage the writing of female authors (2000, p.330; see §3.2.3). Against the backdrop of Percy’s research, the presence of this word as key in a single sub-corpus is indication that further investigation may prove fruitful, however analysis of the 10 uses of *sprightly* in this sub-corpus does not give any indication that it is being used in this way. In fact, it occurs exclusively in the *Eclectic*’s review of *Theory on the Classification of Beauty and Deformity*, itself written by a woman, in the context of discussion of the term, which is used in the author’s classification. The reviewer does not embrace *sprightly*, but rather criticises the “ambiguity of the term”. It is found to occur only 4 more times in CENCER as a whole, and in only one of those cases is it used to appraise a woman’s writing. CENCER therefore yields insufficient evidence with regard to Percy’s hypothesis for any comment to be made on the use of *sprightly* by reviewers during this period.

It is notable that in an era strongly associated with so-called “slashing attacks” (Roper, 1978, p.46) on authors, the only keywords indicating that any evaluation is taking place are not explicitly negative. Of those keywords cited above as indicating evaluative intent, only *sprightly* seems to appear in the context of criticism. Elsewhere in the keyword list for this sub-corpus, only *censure* and *judgment* give any indication that the reviews may express disapproval, and concordance analysis has revealed that only *censure* is predominantly used in this context. This may of course result from the over-representation of words signalling negative evaluation in the reference corpus used, but it remains notable that no explicitly negative keywords whatsoever are listed for this sub-corpus. It will be interesting to see whether any emerge in subsequent sub-corpora. If none do, this would suggest that the harsh criticism with which this period of review culture is associated is more salient than it is



prevalent. This would highlight once again the value of employing quantitative tools, rather than relying on purely impressionistic research. As Baker has noted, the corpus-based approach to discourse analysis “helps to give a wider view of the range of possible ways of discussing” a given subject, whereas a “more qualitative, small-scale approach to analysis may mean that salience is perceived as more important than frequency”. He contends that this risks “texts which present shocking or extreme positions [being] focused on more than those which are more frequent, yet neutral” (2006: 88).

It may also be significant, after earlier indications of declining interest in linguistic matters, that the semantic field of language and grammar is not the second most populous semantic category in this sub-corpus. For three consecutive decades up to this point, in the 1780-1789, 1790-1799, and 1800-1809 sub-corpora, language and grammar has accounted for more keywords than any other semantic category, apart from that of literary reviewing. By contrast, here only 7 of the 121 keywords, or 5.78%, relate to this semantic category.

Most of the keywords from this semantic field for this decade are familiar, and the implications of the presence of *language*, *Latin*, *translator*, and *translation* as keywords tells us little beyond what has been discussed above. All of these are frequent and occur across the text files of the corpus, not clustering to any notable degree. Whilst language remains a pervasive preoccupation, therefore, there is much less evidence of close linguistic analysis than in earlier sub-corpora. Only *verb* and *term* appear as key to suggest that any analysis of this kind is taking place. Though it only occurs 5 times, *verb* appears in three different text files, and is associated with close grammatical analysis. *Term* clusters in the aforementioned discussion of *sprightly*, but is also used in a number of other text files in the sub-corpus, in the context of close analysis.

*Grammatical* remains key in this sub-corpus, suggesting that grammatical correctness may remain a preoccupation of the review periodicals of this period. Usage of this word is spread across the corpus, and whilst some of its occurrences are neutral or positive, the majority of its 20 hits reveal it to be engaged in grammatical criticism. Thus, it co-occurs with *knowledge*, *treatises*, *accuracy*, *composition*, *correctness*, *felicity*, *mistakes* and *inaccuracies*, as well as with *error* four times, *errors* twice, and *propriety* three times. It is clear from the briefest concordance analysis, therefore, that *grammatical* remains an indicator of prescriptivism into the 1810s. The comparative paucity of keywords in this semantic field, however, combined with the apparent reduction in interest in linguistic matters, suggests that as a feature of periodical reviewing, linguistic criticism may be on the decline. Further investigation within Chapters 5 and 6, particularly in §5.3 and §6.1, seeks to shed further light on this.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, LATIN, GRAMMATICAL, TRANSLATOR, ENGLISH, VERB, TERM, TRANSLATION	7
Correctness	ERRORS	1
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, BOOK, BIBLIOMANIA, PERIODICALS, READER, MONTHLY, DRAMATIC, EDITOR, MR, EDITION, ORIGINAL, AUTHOR'S, REVIEW, VERSIFICATION, WORK, VOLUME, TASTE, PRINTED, EXTRACT, LITERARY,	66

-	BIBLIOMANIAC, EXPRESSION, PUBLICATION, PASSAGES, JOURNAL, CONTEMPORARIES, CATALOGUE, POEM, VOL, WORKS, CRITICISM, TEXT, TRANSLATION, PASSAGE, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, EDITIONS, VERSION, POETICAL, POETRY, EPIC, TEXT, COMPARISON, GENIUS, WRITERS, TREATISE, SPRIGHTLY, BOOKS, CRITIC, WRITER, CORRESPONDENCE, SUBLIME, VERSE, STYLE, INGENIOUS, VOLUMES, PREFACE, METRICAL, AUTHORS, PAGES, PLAYS, POETS, LINES, TREATISES, QUARTOS, EXTRACTS, WAKEFIELD, TASSO, WEBER, FOX, HUIH, TAYLORS, FOX'S, HUBER, SPENCE, BAILY, FORD'S, WARBURTON, LONGMAN, HOOLE, BORU, ERIN, ANDRUGIO, LYSAND, DIBDIN, DRENNAN, DERMID, ELEAZ, WARBURTON'S, FAUSTUS, KEITH'S, HAMILTON, FORD, HEBER, HURD, LOMBARD	
RULES/AUTHORITY	CENSURE, JUDGMENT,	2
Science	THEOREMS, THEOREM, SPECIMEN, OXYMURIATIC,	4
Mathematical references	EUCLID, GEOMETRY, GEOMETRIA	3
Beekeeping 11	BEEES, HIVE, HIVES, BEE, HONEY, APIARY, FECUNDATED, APIARIAN, DRONES, APIARIANS, SWARM	11
History/mythology	APOLLONIUS, CLAUDIAN, VIRGIL, SOPHOCLES, OVID,	5
Art	ART	1
OCR failures	KNOWLEGE	1
Variant spellings	SHAKSPEARE, ANTIENT, PUBLICK	3
Miscellaneous	PEEVISH, BRITISH, ELECTRA, COMBS, ANNUITIES, SENSE, BOARDS, APPEARS, BEAUTY, DEMONSTRATED, VIZ, COLLECTORS, LISARDO, INTITLED, DISEASE, FOLLOWING, HISTORY, METHOD	18
<b>Total</b>		<b>121</b>

Table 66. Keyword results for the 1810-1819 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

## 1820-1829 sub-corpus

Once again, the semantic field of literary reviewing contributes the largest proportion of words to the keyword list from this sub-corpus. 41 of the total 131 keywords, or 31.29%, relate to this semantic category. Despite a significant proportion of the text files in this sub-corpus being review articles from the *Monthly Review* (4 out of 11, or 36.36%), it is significant to note that this is the first sub-corpus in which *Monthly* does not appear as a keyword. As is noted in §3.2.5, the *Monthly* was published until 1845, but was regarded by this decade of the study period as passé (Roper, 1978, p.27). *Monthly*, in relation to the review periodical, in fact only appears 5 times in this sub-corpus, by comparison with 28 occurrences in the 1810-1819 sub-corpus, and 15 occurrences in the 1800-1809 sub-corpus. That its title no longer appears as a keyword seems primarily to be due to a reduction in intertextual references to the *Monthly Review* by rival periodicals, and highlights the terminal decline of this seminal publication. This has important ramifications for the investigation of discourses around language and grammar, as the inaugural periodical reviews, the *Monthly* and the *Critical*, are thought to have been the driving forces behind the genre's preoccupation with grammaticality. It would not be surprising, therefore, if their (albeit gradual) disappearance from the review scene, were to coincide with a reduction in interest in these matters. The newer review periodicals are, after all, considered by scholars of the history of literary criticism to be more preoccupied with partisan politics than with linguistic performance (see §3.2.5).

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness	p value
NINUS	49	465.74	0.0000000000
NIMROD	51	424.43	0.0000000000
SCULPTURE	53	402.26	0.0000000000
NINEVEH	43	400.96	0.0000000000
ASSYRIAN	35	309.59	0.0000000000
TIN	42	259.58	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	82	226.16	0.0000000000
ORIGINES	23	214.90	0.0000000000
TURKS	34	210.57	0.0000000000
ASSYRIA	20	186.06	0.0000000000
STATUES	34	185.69	0.0000000000
FLAXMAN	20	176.32	0.0000000000
TIGRIS	18	174.68	0.0000000000
FRANKLAND	17	157.26	0.0000000000
SYLLABLE	33	156.33	0.0000000000
BIBLIOTHECA	16	147.68	0.0000000000
ART	80	147.31	0.0000000000
INDIANS	37	145.86	0.0000000000
ABRAHAM	23	133.76	0.0000000000
BIBLICAL	18	131.04	0.0000000000
MILNER	14	128.53	0.0000000000
TRIBES	29	127.26	0.0000000000
VOL	53	127.19	0.0000000000
BELUS	13	126.15	0.0000000000
AMERICAN	42	125.70	0.0000000000
SYLLABLES	20	125.29	0.0000000000
BABYLON	20	125.29	0.0000000000
MOSUL	12	116.45	0.0000000000

ASSHUR	12	116.45	0.0000000000
WORSLEY'S	12	116.45	0.0000000000
HEBREW	23	115.55	0.0000000000
DR	63	115.42	0.0000000000
WORKS	57	115.05	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	71	115.05	0.0000000000
CROWE	14	114.04	0.0000000000
SERMONS	22	107.46	0.0000000000
PHIDIAS	14	107.14	0.0000000000
KIRWAN	11	106.75	0.0000000000
LEARNED	49	105.24	0.0000000000
ORME	12	105.00	0.0000000000
DOCTRINES	31	99.35	0.0000000000
ACCENT	23	97.94	0.0000000000
LANGUAGES	28	97.70	0.0000000000
WORSLEY	10	97.04	0.0000000000
ANCIENT	49	96.41	0.0000000000
DENON	11	89.41	0.0000000000
ISRAEL	17	89.29	0.0000000000
INTERPRETATION	21	88.88	0.0000000000
SACRED	39	87.53	0.0000000000
BABYLONIA	10	86.26	0.0000000000
TURK	16	85.77	0.0000000000
JEWISH	19	82.11	0.0000000000
DEAN	24	81.84	0.0000000000
AFRICANUS	9	80.85	0.0000000000
DYNASTY	12	79.59	0.0000000000
VERSE	27	77.89	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	10	75.97	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	13	73.23	0.0000000000
EDITOR	22	72.79	0.0000000000
CTESIAS	8	71.37	0.0000000000
ULCERS	9	71.35	0.0000000000
WRITERS	31	69.65	0.0000000000
MILNER'S	7	67.93	0.0000000000
LYCUS	7	67.93	0.0000000000
BOOK	59	67.07	0.0000000000
EMPIRE	24	66.64	0.0000000000
NATIONS	31	66.51	0.0000000000
DRUMMOND	14	65.01	0.0000000000
COLBURN	8	64.79	0.0000000000
AUTHORS	22	64.75	0.0000000000
HISTORICAL	21	64.63	0.0000000000
REMARKS	28	63.21	0.0000000000
EVANGELICAL	11	62.82	0.0000000000
STATUE	20	62.32	0.0000000000
BISHOP	26	61.07	0.0000000000
DISCOURSES	13	60.25	0.0000000000
CLERGY	19	60.20	0.0000000000
ACCENTED	7	58.43	0.0000000000
PROSODY	7	58.43	0.0000000000
SYNCELLUS	6	58.22	0.0000000000
UNACCENTED	6	58.22	0.0000000000

SCULPTOR	10	57.64	0.0000000000
WELSH	12	57.59	0.0000000000
WORK	85	56.78	0.0000000000
GREEKS	17	56.65	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURE	20	56.40	0.0000000000
TEXT	18	56.00	0.0000000000
TRAVELLER	22	55.83	0.0000000000
BOUDOIR	9	55.82	0.0000000000
DIODORUS	8	54.27	0.0000000000
CONTEMPORARIES	14	53.77	0.0000000000
BOSPHORUS	7	53.57	0.0000000000
PAINTING	18	53.09	0.0000000000
DRUMMOND'S	8	53.06	0.0000000000
TRAVELLERS	21	53.01	0.0000000000
VOCABULARIES	6	52.50	0.0000000000
BIBLICA	6	52.50	0.0000000000
MEXICAN	8	51.94	0.0000000000
MONARCHY	12	51.82	0.0000000000
EUPHRATES	7	51.71	0.0000000000
TURKISH	13	51.59	0.0000000000
HYPOTHESIS	20	51.52	0.0000000000
ORIGIN	23	51.48	0.0000000000
CIVILIZATION	17	50.88	0.0000000000
ASIA	16	50.37	0.0000000000
HOOKS	9	50.33	0.0000000000
DIALECTS	9	50.33	0.0000000000
HEBREWS	8	49.93	0.0000000000
PRINCIPLES	46	49.74	0.0000000000
IRISH	18	49.46	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURES	14	49.06	0.0000000000
HERODOTUS	7	48.63	0.0000000000
BALKAN	5	48.52	0.0000000000
VET	5	48.52	0.0000000000
RHYTHMICAL	5	48.52	0.0000000000
PROSODISTS	5	48.52	0.0000000000
RELIGIOUS	29	47.91	0.0000000000
DYNASTIES	7	47.33	0.0000000000
TRADITION	14	47.01	0.0000000000
VOLUMES	20	46.98	0.0000000000
TOR	6	46.81	0.0000000000
PROCEEDS	15	46.70	0.0000000000
RELIGION	36	46.66	0.0000000000
TREATISE	15	46.53	0.0000000000
RESEMBLANCE	22	45.79	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	49	45.40	0.0000000000
LEARNING	23	44.43	0.0000000000
REIGN	20	44.35	0.0000000000
CHRIST	21	44.00	0.0000000000
WO	9	43.30	0.0000000000
ROMISH	8	43.18	0.0000000000
BABYLONIAN	6	43.14	0.0000000000
SHINAR	5	43.13	0.0000000000
CLEMENTINA	5	43.13	0.0000000000

AUTHORITY	30	42.66	0.0000000000
OPINIONS	28	42.33	0.0000000000
CARLISLE	9	42.03	0.0000000000
VOLUME	27	41.35	0.0000000000
PATRIARCH	9	40.84	0.0000000000
INSTANCES	31	40.20	0.0000000000
PERUVIANS	5	40.18	0.0000000000
PRAXITELES	5	40.18	0.0000000000
CONTROVERSIAL	7	39.91	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	15	39.77	0.0000000000
SEMITIC	4	38.82	0.0000000000
RACONTEUR	4	38.82	0.0000000000
DISSYLLABIC	4	38.82	0.0000000000
STADIA	4	38.82	0.0000000000
CAESURA	4	38.82	0.0000000000
CNIDOS	4	38.82	0.0000000000
POULTICE	4	38.82	0.0000000000
FORM	55	38.59	0.0000000000
FRANKS	7	38.56	0.0000000000
CHRONOLOGY	7	38.56	0.0000000000
INS	6	38.18	0.0000000000
PARTS	39	38.18	0.0000000000
TINS	5	37.98	0.0000000001
EFFENDI	5	37.98	0.0000000001
REPRESENT	15	37.21	0.0000000002
HUMBOLDT	8	36.86	0.0000000003
ANTIQUITY	13	36.65	0.0000000003
RULES	19	35.90	0.0000000003
PRACTICAL	21	35.16	0.0000000004
SERMON	13	35.14	0.0000000005

Table 67. Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1820-1829 sub-corpus.

However, in spite of the declining influence of the *Monthly Review*, *grammatical* remains a keyword in this decade. This indication that grammatical correctness remains of some concern to reviewers suggests either that the presence of articles from older periodicals such as the *Monthly* and the *British Critic* in this decade is continuing to keep *grammatical* key, or that the new generation of periodical reviews have taken up the preoccupation of their forebears. Concordance analysis reveals the latter to be the case, since the 13 occurrences of *grammatical* are spread across review articles from the *Eclectic*, the *British Critic*, and the *Edinburgh*, as well as one of the three *Monthly* text files. The concordance lines, however, give the impression that fewer instances of *grammatical* are engaged in grammatical criticism than in previous sub-corpora. *Grammatical*, though, still co-occurs three times with *errors*, once with *error*, and once with *inaccuracy*, suggesting that grammatical criticism is still a feature of periodical reviewing into the 1820s, even if its role has been much reduced.

The other keywords in this decade's list from the semantic field of language and grammar show other languages than English to be of continued importance within CENCER. Interestingly, however, for the second consecutive sub-corpus, none of the keywords relate in any way to translation or interpreting. Nonetheless, *Hebrew*, *Welsh* and *Irish* are all other languages to appear in the keyword list alongside *English*. These keywords occur predominantly in a review

of a text called ‘A View of the American Indians’, in which it is contended that indigenous North American populations were known to speak languages closely related to Celtic or Semitic languages. The presence of this review in the corpus is also the reason for the occurrence in the keyword list of *dialect*, *vocabularies*, and *dialects*. Likewise, most of the other keywords in this decade’s list occur in another individual text file, that of a review of a work entitled *On English Versification*. *Syllables*, *disyllabic*, *accent*, *unaccented*, *accented*, and *prosody* all occur either exclusively or predominantly in this review.

Although at first glance there may appear, therefore, to be a sustained interest in language and grammar within the review articles of this decade, reviewers are in actual fact not instigating discussion of these issues very often, but tend instead to be reviewing texts which refer to or revolve around linguistic issues. In fact, of the 18 words from this semantic field in this decade’s keyword list, only *language*, *languages*, *English* and *grammatical* are not confined to a single text. The continued keyness of *grammatical* does suggest some continued interest in grammatical correctness, but the decline in the number of occurrences which appear to be engaged in grammatical criticism suggests a reduction in interest in grammaticality. Overall, there are strong indications from the keyword list in this sub-corpus of a decline in interest in linguistic matters on the part of reviewers. This is explored more fully in §6.1.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	SYLLABLE, LANGUAGE, HEBREW, SYLLABLES, LANGUAGES, ACCENT, GRAMMATICAL, ACCENTED, PROSODY, UNACCENTED, WELSH, VOCABULARIES, ENGLISH, DIALECTS, HEBREWS, IRISH, DISYLLABIC, CAESURA	18
Literary reviewing	AUTHOR, WORKS, VOL, LEARNED, INTERPRETATION, WRITERS, EDITOR, PERIODICALS, VERSE, BOOK, AUTHORS, REVIEW, REMARKS, DISCOURSES, WORK, TEXT, HYPOTHESIS, TREATISE, RHYTHMICAL, VOLUMES, PROSODY, PROSODIST, CRITICAL, VOLUME, OPINIONS, FORM, FRANKLAND, MILNER, WORSLEY’S, CROWE, KIRWAN, ORME, WORSLEY, MILNER’S, DRUMMOND, COLBURN, DRUMMOND’S, FRANKS, CLEMENTINA, CARLISLE, HUMBOLDT	41
RULES/AUTHORITY	DR, AUTHORITY, RULES	3
Social hierarchy	MONARCHY, REIGN, DYNASTIES, DYNASTY, PATRIARCH	5
Foreign travel 10	ASIA, TURKISH, EUPHRATES, BOSPHORUS, TRAVELLERS,	

	TIGRIS, TRAVELLER, TURK, BALKAN, EFFENDI	
Colonial references	INDIANS, TRIBES, AMERICAN, EMPIRE, NATIONS, MEXICAN, PERUVIANS,	7
Religious/Biblical/theological references	NIMROD, ASSYRIAN, NINEVEH, BIBLICAL, CHRIST, ABRAHAM, ASSYRIA, BIBLICAL, SERMONS, BABYLON, ASSHUR, SEMITIC, DOCTRINES, ISRAEL, SACRED, DEAN, BABYLONIA, BISHOP, SCRIPTURE, EVANGELICAL, CLERGY, BIBLICA, SCRIPTURES, RELIGION, RELIGIOUS, ROMISH, BABYLONIAN, SHINAR, SERMON	29
History/mythology	NINUS, PHIDIAS, BELUS, AFRICANUS, CTESIAS, LYCUS, SYNCCELLUS, HISTORICAL, GREEKS, DIODORUS, HERODOTUS, CHRONOLOGY, PRAXITELES, CNIDOS, ANTIQUITY	15
Art	SCULPTURE, STATUES, STATUE, SCULPTOR, PAINTING,	5
Miscellaneous	TIN, ORIGINES, BIBLIOTHECA, DENON, ULCERS, BOUDOIR, CONTEMPORARIES, HOOKS, ORIGIN, PRINCIPLES, VET, TRADITION, TOR, PROCEEDS, RESEMBLANCE, LEARNING, WO, INSTANCES, CONTROVERSIAL, RACONTEUR, STADIA, POULTICE, INS, PARTS, TINS, REPRESENT, PRACTICAL	27
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>

Table 68. Keyword results for the 1820-1829 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

### 1830-1839 sub-corpus

Accounting for 90 of the 150 words in this decade's keyword list, or 60%, literary reviewing remains the dominant semantic field in this sub-corpus. It is notable, however, that this is the first keyword list in which the word *review* has not appeared. Whilst this is presumably in large part as a result of the disappearance of *Critical* and *Monthly* as keywords, it may also reflect a shift in reviewers' perception of their role. The disappearance of *review* as key occurs despite the fact that the majority of the new generation of review periodicals also have *review* in their title. The 1830-39 sub-corpus is, for instance, comprised of articles from the *Quarterly Review*, the *Eclectic Review*, and the *British Critic*, in addition to the *Monthly Review*; with the *British Critic* the only publication without *review* in its title. As is discussed in §4.1.1 and shown in Appendix A, review articles have lengthened by this point in the study period, meaning that each nineteenth-century sub-corpus contains fewer individual text files than earlier sub-



corpora, and that the titles of review periodicals will appear fewer times in article titles. This may be the reason that no other periodical titles have, as yet, replaced *Critical* and *Monthly* in the keyword lists of sub-corpora. However, this may also be because reviewers are increasingly identifying themselves as critics, rather than reviewers. This kind of explicit self-referential labelling is uncommon in review articles, but the appearance in the keyword list for this sub-corpus of the word *criticism* signals that such a shift may be underway.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
JACQUELINE	50	451.30	0.0000000000
VOL	90	289.36	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHY	85	285.48	0.0000000000
BACHAUMONT	27	239.60	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	108	238.71	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	86	235.78	0.0000000000
HISTORY	106	211.82	0.0000000000
WRITER	61	182.83	0.0000000000
VAN	30	167.53	0.0000000000
WORK	131	153.42	0.0000000000
HISTORICAL	36	141.14	0.0000000000
MEMOIRES	28	138.77	0.0000000000
LECTURES	34	138.62	0.0000000000
INTELLECTUAL	47	128.06	0.0000000000
VOLUMES	38	127.63	0.0000000000
PENTATEUCH	14	122.30	0.0000000000
SCHLEGEL	16	120.99	0.0000000000
WORKS	60	120.60	0.0000000000
COLERIDGE'S	32	119.11	0.0000000000
VOLUME	49	118.15	0.0000000000
NOCTON	12	115.14	0.0000000000
GERMAN	39	112.67	0.0000000000
ANCIENT	54	109.86	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	38	108.23	0.0000000000
MEMOIRS	27	107.90	0.0000000000
LEARNING	39	106.26	0.0000000000
AUBINEAU	11	105.54	0.0000000000
SYBRANDT	11	105.54	0.0000000000
CATALINA	11	105.54	0.0000000000
VRANK	11	105.54	0.0000000000
MORAL	66	99.95	0.0000000000
PHILIP	27	99.43	0.0000000000
LATIN	33	98.88	0.0000000000
READERS	34	98.05	0.0000000000
NARRATIVE	32	98.05	0.0000000000
ALVAR	10	95.95	0.0000000000
HALLAM	10	95.95	0.0000000000
BORSELEN	10	95.95	0.0000000000
POSTEL	10	95.95	0.0000000000
THEOLOGICAL	21	94.90	0.0000000000
THEOLOGY	22	94.66	0.0000000000
OOST	9	86.35	0.0000000000
EDWARDS	18	85.14	0.0000000000
PHYSICAL	33	84.93	0.0000000000
SCIENCE	53	83.33	0.0000000000

METAPHYSICAL	20	82.09	0.0000000000
DIVINE	42	79.68	0.0000000000
POETRY	40	75.51	0.0000000000
FAUST	11	75.22	0.0000000000
LUTHER	18	74.52	0.0000000000
XVIII	15	73.04	0.0000000000
COLERIDGE	41	69.47	0.0000000000
LOUIS	28	68.93	0.0000000000
PSEUDO	10	68.39	0.0000000000
SHAKSPEARE	21	68.09	0.0000000000
EDWARDS'S	7	67.16	0.0000000000
NEVERS	7	67.16	0.0000000000
GAST	8	66.78	0.0000000000
BISHOP	28	66.59	0.0000000000
ETHICAL	13	65.80	0.0000000000
PROFESSOR	24	65.40	0.0000000000
DYKE	12	64.73	0.0000000000
NOTABLES	13	64.25	0.0000000000
METAPHYSICS	15	62.37	0.0000000000
TRUTH	79	61.27	0.0000000000
WRITTEN	55	60.97	0.0000000000
EDITOR	20	60.82	0.0000000000
SCHILLER	10	58.90	0.0000000000
LEO	13	57.71	0.0000000000
GLOCESTER	6	57.57	0.0000000000
TRIA	6	57.57	0.0000000000
HULSEAN	6	57.57	0.0000000000
VANCOUR	6	57.57	0.0000000000
GILFILLAN	6	57.57	0.0000000000
HOLLAND	18	57.40	0.0000000000
REMARKS	27	56.77	0.0000000000
GILES	10	56.56	0.0000000000
MODERN	31	56.17	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHICAL	22	55.90	0.0000000000
D'ARTOIS	10	55.84	0.0000000000
DURAS	7	54.99	0.0000000000
BIBLE	20	53.72	0.0000000000
GERMANY	21	53.55	0.0000000000
CRITICISM	19	52.98	0.0000000000
WRITERS	27	51.98	0.0000000000
INTRODUCTORY	12	51.60	0.0000000000
AUTHENTICITY	9	50.76	0.0000000000
BOOK	54	50.54	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHER	21	50.51	0.0000000000
PAGES	25	49.92	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	7	49.32	0.0000000000
ZAPOLYA	6	48.60	0.0000000000
ORD	6	48.60	0.0000000000
PETRARCH	11	48.42	0.0000000000
WALLENSTEIN	8	48.15	0.0000000000
NEOLOGISTIC	5	47.97	0.0000000000
BACHAUMONT'S	5	47.97	0.0000000000
LAYAMON	5	47.97	0.0000000000

MONFOORT	5	47.97	0.000000000
RATIONALIST	5	47.97	0.000000000
STUDY	31	47.73	0.000000000
II	32	46.79	0.000000000
PRIMITIVE	14	46.79	0.000000000
COGNAC	7	45.38	0.000000000
RELIGIOUS	29	45.36	0.000000000
POET	36	43.60	0.000000000
READER	34	43.46	0.000000000
LANGUAGES	17	42.88	0.000000000
PASSAGE	35	42.77	0.000000000
IMPORTANT	38	42.77	0.000000000
ROSE'S	7	42.35	0.000000000
VERSE	19	41.59	0.000000000
MAJESTY'S	15	41.00	0.000000000
SHAKSPEARE'S	8	40.62	0.000000000
ERASMUS	7	39.89	0.000000000
SYSTEM	44	39.75	0.000000000
POINT	58	39.66	0.000000000
PHILIP'S	5	39.63	0.000000000
COMPILERS	5	39.63	0.000000000
ORIGINAL	32	39.48	0.000000000
CHRISTIANITY	21	38.56	0.000000000
SEIGNELAY	4	38.38	0.000000000
SEGUIRAN	4	38.38	0.000000000
JACQUELINE'S	4	38.38	0.000000000
VLYETT	4	38.38	0.000000000
FABRICATOR	4	38.38	0.000000000
HUMAN	67	38.23	0.000000000
ABSTRACTIONS	8	38.14	0.000000000
GRAMMATICAL	8	37.69	0.000000000
GRATTAN	5	37.44	0.000000000
ABSTRUSE	8	37.25	0.000000000
VERSIFICATION	8	37.25	0.000000000
V	20	37.07	0.000000000
DATE	17	36.98	0.000000000
M	39	36.83	0.000000000
LATER	21	36.60	0.000000000
XVI	10	36.57	0.000000000
QUOTED	13	36.53	0.000000000
ART	43	36.12	0.000000001
TITLE	21	35.95	0.000000001
PROCEEDS	13	35.94	0.000000001
RATIONALISM	6	35.68	0.000000002
BRABANT	5	35.67	0.000000002
ETHICS	8	35.63	0.000000002
MARINER	9	35.57	0.000000002
COUNTESS	18	35.27	0.000000004
CENTURY	21	35.25	0.000000004
ABSTRACT	17	35.16	0.000000005

Table 69. Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1830-1839 sub-corpus.

Such a shift would tally with the impression gleaned from recent sub-corpora of an increasingly sophisticated brand of literary criticism. This is in evidence within the 1830-1839 sub-corpus also, with critical terms such as *narrative* and *metaphysical* occurring as keywords for the first time. It is also striking that so many of the proper nouns appearing as keywords in this sub-corpus are recognisable to the modern reader. *Schlegel*, *Coleridge*, *Erasmus*, *Petrarch*, *Faust*, *Luther*, and *Layamon* are all keywords, which may indicate a greater concern with canonical authors than was demonstrated in earlier periods. Partially, this is likely to result from the increased selectivity of review periodicals during this period, by comparison with attempts at encyclopaedic coverage of the book market in the eighteenth century. These keywords also indicate a concern with the literary and intellectual legacy of the past, which contrasts strikingly with the early review periodicals' tendency to review a diverse range of highly specialized contemporary texts. The significance of this to the present study is that reviewers may be less inclined to criticize the grammar of established or historical authors. This shift in focus may therefore be related to the gradual decline of interest in grammaticality that seems to be occurring as the nineteenth century progresses.

The semantic field of language and grammar accounts for only 5 of the keywords in this sub-corpus, or 3.33%. It is becoming increasingly clear that the review periodicals' preoccupation with linguistic performance is in decline. Only *language*, *German*, *Latin*, *languages* and, remarkably, *grammatical* appear in the keyword list from this semantic category. It seems extraordinary to still find *grammatical* occurring as a keyword, in the absence of any other concrete indication that linguistic correctness remains a preoccupation. Concordance analysis, however, reveals that of the 8 occurrences of *grammatical* across the sub-corpus, only 2 appear in an evaluative context. Thus, *grammatical* co-occurs with *errors*, *inaccuracies*, and *purity*, but also with *nature*, *construction*, *rules*, and *structure*. This indicates a marked decline in concern with authors' grammaticality on the part of reviewers, and demonstrates that caution must be exercised in considering the raw frequency of *grammatical* across CENCER, as is done in §6.1.

With the exception of *German*, which appears chiefly in the review of a translation from German of one of Schlegel's works, the other keywords from the semantic field of language and grammar are spread throughout the corpus, rather than clustering in one particular text file. This suggests that linguistic matters continue to be of some concern to reviewers, though the level of interest displayed appears to have fallen significantly since the eighteenth century, or even the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, GERMAN, LATIN, LANGUAGES, GRAMMATICAL	5
Literary reviewing	VOL, AUTHOR, WRITER, WORK, MEMOIRES, LECTURES, INTELLECTUAL, VOLUMES, WORKS, VOLUME, LITERATURE, LITERATURE, MEMOIRS, READERS, NARRATIVE, POETRY, METAPHYSICAL, METAPHYSICS, WRITTEN, EDITOR, REMARKS, CRITICISM, WRITERS, INTRODUCTORY, BOOK,	90

-	PHILOSOPHER, PAGES, POET, READER, PAGES, PERIODICALS, VERSE, PASSAGE, COMPILERS, ABSTRACT, TITLE, QUOTED, VERSIFICATION, ABSTRACTIONS, COMPILERS, SCHLEGEL, COLERIDGE'S, JACQUELINE, BACHAUMONT, NOCTON, EDWARDS, PHILIP, AUBINEAU, SYBRANDT, CATALINA, HALLAM, OOST, VRANK, BORSELEN, POSTEL, ALVAR, EDWARDS, FAUST, LUTHER, COLERIDGE, EDWARDS'S, GAST, VANCOUR, GILFILLIAN, HULSEAN, ROSE'S, ERASMUS, PHILIP'S, MONFOORT, PETRARCH, WALLENSTEIN, BACHAUMONT'S, ZAPOLYA, LAYAMON, PHILIP'S, SEIGNELAY, SEGUIRAN, JACQUELINE'S, VLYETT, GRATTAN, BRABANT SCHILLER, LEO, GLOCESTER, D'ARTOIS, DURAS, GILES, HOLLAND	
RULES/AUTHORITY	PROFESSOR	1
Social hierarchy	LOUIS, XVIII, COUNTESS, MAJESTY'S	4
Religious/Biblical/theological references	PENTATEUCH, THEOLOGICAL, THEOLOGY, MORAL, DIVINE, BISHOP, BIBLE, RELIGIOUS, CHRISTIANITY	9
Philosophy	TRUTH, RATIONALISM, RATIONALIST, ETHICS, ABSTRACTIONS, ABSTRUSE, ETHICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, PHILOSOPHY	9
History/mythology	ANCIENT, HISTORICAL, HISTORY	3
Variant spellings	SHAKSPEARE, SHAKSPEARE'S, PRIMITTIVE,	3
Miscellaneous	PHYSICAL, LEARNING, NOTABLES, NEVERS, DYKE, PSUEDO, SCIENCE, MODERN, AUTHENTICITY, NEOLOGISTIC, STUDY, COGNAC, IMPORTANT, SYSTEM, ORIGINAL, LATER, SYSTEM, POINT, ORIGINAL, FABRICATOR, HUMAN, DATE, PROCEEDS, MARINER, CENTURY, ART	27
<b>Total</b>		<b>150</b>

**Table 70. Keyword results for the 1830-1839 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

## 1840-1849 sub-corpus

The semantic field of literary reviewing again contributes the largest proportion of words to the keyword list in this sub-corpus, accounting for 59, or 29.06% of the total of 203. As was the case in the previous sub-corpus, *review* is absent from the keyword list, but *criticism* is present, providing further indication that the shift in review culture hypothesized above is indeed taking place. It seems likely that this shift is related to the process of professionalization which is discussed in §3.2.5, whereby, according to Joanne Shattock, “the process of establishing oneself as a reviewer and earning a living by it, evolved” over the course of the nineteenth century (2013, p.37).

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
PSALMS	66	510.35	0.0000000000
ETRUSCAN	51	471.52	0.0000000000
LEARNING	98	434.43	0.0000000000
THIERSCH	36	349.16	0.0000000000
TAYLOR'S	39	328.82	0.0000000000
LYDIAN	36	328.05	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	123	310.09	0.0000000000
INFORMATION	92	299.42	0.0000000000
HEBREW	46	282.92	0.0000000000
POETRY	86	282.38	0.0000000000
ETRUSCANS	28	271.56	0.0000000000
GOSPELS	33	258.41	0.0000000000
TESTAMENT	45	232.84	0.0000000000
BETHAM	24	232.77	0.0000000000
DAVIDSON'S	24	224.39	0.0000000000
INTERPRETATION	39	206.35	0.0000000000
ARC	29	198.64	0.0000000000
JEBB	20	185.95	0.0000000000
GOSPEL	45	181.16	0.0000000000
HUT	33	179.64	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	92	171.76	0.0000000000
CONQUEST	36	170.85	0.0000000000
EVE	36	161.30	0.0000000000
HERODOTUS	19	154.09	0.0000000000
ETRURIA	18	153.78	0.0000000000
ART	81	150.40	0.0000000000
GREEK	52	146.79	0.0000000000
TRUTH	111	146.73	0.0000000000
GRAY	32	144.96	0.0000000000
ETRURIAN	17	144.49	0.0000000000
COMPANY	78	141.24	0.0000000000
DAVIDSON	16	138.65	0.0000000000
LITERAL	26	136.43	0.0000000000
PORTFOLIOS	16	132.20	0.0000000000
BOOKS	67	130.32	0.0000000000
WRITERS	45	129.55	0.0000000000
INTRODUCTION	41	129.32	0.0000000000
TYRRHENIAN	13	126.08	0.0000000000
POETIC	32	125.97	0.0000000000
GOVETT	12	116.38	0.0000000000

ORIGIN	37	112.80	0.0000000000
WORKS	56	111.14	0.0000000000
COLLECTIONS	19	110.00	0.0000000000
MATTHEW	18	103.36	0.0000000000
CHILD'S	24	102.85	0.0000000000
COMMENTARIES	16	101.71	0.0000000000
ERSE	12	101.42	0.0000000000
PHILLIPS	21	101.22	0.0000000000
CHILD	82	97.38	0.0000000000
TRADITION	23	97.17	0.0000000000
EXPOSITION	19	95.48	0.0000000000
PROPHECY	22	94.11	0.0000000000
LATIN	31	92.46	0.0000000000
ANTIQUITIES	17	91.52	0.0000000000
STYLE	43	90.13	0.0000000000
AUTHORS	27	88.99	0.0000000000
COMMENTARY	16	88.15	0.0000000000
HENGSTENBERG	9	87.29	0.0000000000
NAUTILUS	10	86.20	0.0000000000
SCHOLARSHIP	13	83.15	0.0000000000
NIEBUHR	10	82.99	0.0000000000
INSCRIPTIONS	14	79.05	0.0000000000
PIROMI	8	77.59	0.0000000000
GALLAUDET	8	77.59	0.0000000000
RESE	8	77.59	0.0000000000
ARAMAEAN	8	77.59	0.0000000000
LANZI	8	77.59	0.0000000000
EGG	16	77.44	0.0000000000
EGGS	22	77.35	0.0000000000
DIONYSIUS	13	76.06	0.0000000000
EGYPTIAN	25	75.98	0.0000000000
WHICH	760	73.43	0.0000000000
CHILDREN	69	72.63	0.0000000000
JUVENILE	15	71.80	0.0000000000
PHOENICIAN	9	71.30	0.0000000000
COMPOSITION	27	69.91	0.0000000000
THEORY	38	69.89	0.0000000000
READERS	27	69.66	0.0000000000
BOOK	60	69.40	0.0000000000
SLATES	10	68.09	0.0000000000
SCHOLARS	17	68.01	0.0000000000
HIRD	7	67.89	0.0000000000
LYDIANS	7	67.89	0.0000000000
ALYATTES	7	67.89	0.0000000000
RHAETIAN	7	67.89	0.0000000000
PERIODICALS	9	67.19	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURAL	11	66.67	0.0000000000
MODERN	33	66.01	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	12	65.95	0.0000000000
HOOKS	11	65.02	0.0000000000
AUTHORITY	37	64.56	0.0000000000
PRIMITIVE	17	64.27	0.0000000000
ORAL	10	63.57	0.0000000000

XANTHUS	7	61.88	0.0000000000
MONUMENTS	13	61.85	0.0000000000
TEXT	19	60.81	0.0000000000
COOKERY	11	60.72	0.0000000000
APOCALYPSE	10	59.92	0.0000000000
DEPARTMENT	18	59.90	0.0000000000
NARRATIVE	23	59.50	0.0000000000
PARLEY	11	59.47	0.0000000000
VOLUMES	23	59.38	0.0000000000
COLONY	13	58.63	0.0000000000
RASENA	6	58.19	0.0000000000
SENSE	64	56.27	0.0000000000
HYPOTHESIS	21	55.75	0.0000000000
PIETY	16	55.02	0.0000000000
CRITICISM	19	54.77	0.0000000000
DIALECT	14	54.48	0.0000000000
CLASSICAL	16	53.81	0.0000000000
PHILOLOGY	7	53.53	0.0000000000
PROPHECIES	11	53.21	0.0000000000
SOUL	56	52.84	0.0000000000
RACES	13	52.67	0.0000000000
NATIVE	30	52.26	0.0000000000
ASIATIC	11	51.91	0.0000000000
GERMAN	24	51.70	0.0000000000
VERSION	13	51.25	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	36	50.48	0.0000000000
WRITTEN	49	50.01	0.0000000000
CONNEXION	17	49.55	0.0000000000
BIBLICAL	8	48.97	0.0000000000
EXEGESIS	5	48.49	0.0000000000
EUGUBIAN	5	48.49	0.0000000000
WETTE	5	48.49	0.0000000000
LYDO	5	48.49	0.0000000000
JIVE	5	48.49	0.0000000000
JEWISH	13	47.45	0.0000000000
QUOTED	15	47.31	0.0000000000
LYDIA	15	47.13	0.0000000000
HELLENIC	6	46.78	0.0000000000
EPISTLES	10	46.73	0.0000000000
SPIRIT	58	46.10	0.0000000000
HISTORICAL	17	46.00	0.0000000000
INGENUITY	16	45.67	0.0000000000
PASSION	37	45.50	0.0000000000
CHICKENS	9	44.63	0.0000000000
RELIGIOUS	28	44.59	0.0000000000
LANGUAGES	17	44.45	0.0000000000
SUBJECTS	31	44.40	0.0000000000
STUDY	29	44.05	0.0000000000
INTELLECTUAL	25	44.01	0.0000000000
BI	5	43.10	0.0000000000
ITALY	21	42.68	0.0000000000
PALESTINE	11	42.09	0.0000000000
ARGUMENT	29	41.85	0.0000000000



TRANSLATION	16	41.50	0.0000000000
PUPIL	16	41.38	0.0000000000
AGE	48	41.36	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	21	40.70	0.0000000000
CONES	7	40.60	0.0000000000
ITALICS	7	40.60	0.0000000000
ABSTRACT	18	40.55	0.0000000000
TONGUE	24	39.84	0.0000000000
KNOWLEDGE	53	39.79	0.0000000000
FACT	59	39.67	0.0000000000
FULFILLED	14	39.42	0.0000000000
ORIGINAL	31	39.22	0.0000000000
GALLAUDET'S	4	38.79	0.0000000000
DOCS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
PELASGIANS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
TYRRHENUS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
UMBRIAN	4	38.79	0.0000000000
UNTRUTHFULNESS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
PAPIAS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
FILLER	4	38.79	0.0000000000
NIEBUHR'S	4	38.79	0.0000000000
PARKHURST	4	38.79	0.0000000000
NORREYS	4	38.79	0.0000000000
VOLUME	26	38.19	0.0000000000
PSALM	9	37.99	0.0000000000
PHILOLOGICAL	5	37.95	0.0000000000
IDEAS	32	37.62	0.0000000000
APOSTLES	11	37.52	0.0000000000
CHARACTER	69	37.51	0.0000000000
APRIL	22	37.27	0.0000000000
TRUTHFUL	6	37.18	0.0000000000
SPIRITUAL	17	37.14	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	18	36.68	0.0000000000
MESSIANIC	5	36.19	0.0000000001
ACQUIREMENT	8	36.05	0.0000000001
GENUINE	18	36.00	0.0000000001
SKILL	22	35.96	0.0000000001
LEARNED	28	35.26	0.0000000004

**Table 71. Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1830-1839 sub-corpus.**

As is also noted in in §3.2.5, the revolution in the conceptualization of intellectual authority in the early Victorian era resulted in the emergence of the figure of the “sage”, glossed by Guy and Small as “the cultural critic” (2000, p.378). Sage writing is most commonly associated with writers such as Thomas Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, and John Ruskin, and involved instructing the reader on contemporary social issues. According to Guy and Small, the “authority of the Victorian sage largely depended upon a public recognition of his worth as an individual” (2000, p.386), whereas “the real difficulty faced by the amateur critics lay in the ambiguous ways in which they identified the origins of their authority” (2000, p.385). It seems, then, that almost a hundred years on from the founding of the first modern review periodical, the question of from where they derive their authority continues to haunt reviewers. It seems likely therefore that any shift in the discourses surrounding the act of reviewing, and reviewers’ self-identification, is related to their continued attempts to secure cultural authority, and

ultimately to justify their existence. As these issues may have ramifications for the ways in which the periodicals use and discuss linguistic matters, which have been hypothesized to act as a crutch for cultural authority during the eighteenth century, the ways in which words such as *review* and *criticism* are used are explored further in Chapters 5 and 6 (see §5.3 and §6.1). It seems plausible that any shift in the discursive construction of reviewing itself may be symptomatic of an attempt to distance the periodicals of the mid-nineteenth century from the earlier reviewing tradition, to align them instead to sage writing and the figure of “the cultural critic” (Guy & Small, 2000, p.378), and therefore to associate themselves with that figure’s cultural authority.

There are also a number of keywords from both this semantic field and that of language and grammar which may be early signs of the academic specialisation which would make review periodicals all but redundant during the twentieth century. Although we do not seem to quite be in the realm of the “crisis of Victorian criticism” (Eagleton, 1984, p.60) which is discussed in §3.2.5, it certainly seems that specialisation is beginning. As was noted earlier, the specialization of knowledge in the second half of the nineteenth century meant that “[t]o claim competence in a particular field, individuals had to narrow their interests and undertake specialized training” (Guy & Small, 2000, p.378). Guy and Small contend that, in consequence, “the authority of the Victorian sage...began to give way to the expert who specialized in one particular area” (2000, p.378). From the literature on this topic, we might expect this process to have started after the mid-century point, but the keyword list for this sub-corpus provides indications that it is already underway.

From the semantic field of literary reviewing, the keywords *scholars*, *scholarship* and *exposition*, all of which are dispersed throughout the sub-corpus rather than clustered in a single text-file or group of files, indicate a concern with specialized intellectual endeavour. Likewise, from the semantic field of language and grammar, we find *philology* and *philological* as keywords for the first time. This is highly significant, both in terms of review culture more broadly, and as an indication of how language attitudes are developing diachronically. These two words are not confined to a single text file, but rather appear in 3 of the 9 review articles comprising this sub-corpus, none of which are linguistic in focus. This indicates either a general cultural concern with philology, or that reviewers remain preoccupied with language use, and are adopting specialist vocabulary. Concordance analysis of the 14 occurrences of both words reveals that they are used both by reviewers and in quotation from reviewed texts.

The preoccupation with philology which the keyword list from this sub-corpus demonstrates indicates that academic professionalization is indeed underway by this stage of the study period. As is discussed in §3.2.5, academic professionalization was the process by which “authority came to be located within a scholarly community”, and “research was deemed valid only insofar as it was acceptable” to “a professional peer-group” (Guy and Small, 2000, p.379). We would expect this process of professionalization to entail specialization of lexis. As *philology* was used to refer to the study of language, before *linguistics* came into common usage, its appearance as a keyword indicates that this is indeed the case.

In terms of the development of the academic discipline we now call linguistics, the appearance of *philology* and associated words as key also provides an early indication of the shift from prescriptive amateurism towards descriptive specialism, which is described in §3.2.5. Further

investigation in Chapters 5 and 6 provides more basis for these claims (see §5.3 and §6.1), but the indications based on keyword data alone are that scholars on the history of literary criticism may have underestimated how early the impact of academic specialization was felt within periodical review culture, at least insofar as linguistic study was concerned.

Other notable keywords from the semantic field of language and grammar include *Phoenician*, which results primarily from the presence within the sub-corpus of a review of a text known as *Etrurian Antiquities*. *English*, *Greek*, *Latin* and *German* also appear in the keyword list and are dispersed across a number of text files, indicating a general preoccupation with these languages by comparison with the reference corpus. It would seem that even approaching a century from the founding of the *Monthly Review*, therefore, linguistic matters continue to be of some concern for the periodical reviewers. This is also indicated by the continued, and indeed remarkable, presence of *grammatical* as a keyword. This is the ninth consecutive sub-corpus in which this word has been key, meaning that it has appeared in the keyword lists of all sub-corpora bar the earliest one. This provides a strong indication that grammaticality is a significant preoccupation for at least the first century of the study period, in spite of indications that this preoccupation is gradually declining.

That *grammatical* occurs 12 times in this sub-corpus suggests that grammatical issues it remains a preoccupation, but it has already been established that this does not necessarily indicate that the reviewers are behaving prescriptively. Here, again, very few of the instances of *grammatical* occur in the context of the evaluation of an author's grammaticality. Only 3 of the 12 occurrences appear in this context. Whilst grammaticality remains a topic of interest for the review periodicals, therefore, it no longer seems to be the indicator of prescriptive activity that it was in earlier sub-corpora. Further investigation in Chapters 5 and 6 explores the nuances of the review periodicals' concern with grammaticality (see §5.3 and §6.1), but keyword analysis seems to have revealed it to be an enduring preoccupation.

The presence in the keyword list for this sub-corpus of *Erse* is also interesting. It has been unusual thus far for the names of Celtic languages to appear on keyword lists (only in the 1820-1829 sub-corpus has this occurred), so to find a colloquial reference to a Celtic language is notable. Very little seems to have been written about the word *Erse*, which is defined by the *OED* as

Designating either of the Gaelic languages spoken in Ireland or Scotland, or the words and other linguistic features constituting it; of or relating to (one of) these languages.

The *OED* further notes that it was, from the “16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> cent. applied chiefly to Scottish Gaelic. In later use sometimes applied exclusively to Irish”. The word is now archaic, but was during the twentieth century considered pejorative, in Ireland at least. Irish historian Laura Cahillane notes in *Drafting the Irish Free State Constitution* that the Irish language is recognised in the Constitution of Ireland primarily through the naming of political institutions and figureheads, and that

Originally, many other Irish terms had been included in the Constitution; however, the British had objected to the abundance of ‘Erse’ terminology. (2016, p.108)

Cahillane notes that by the time that this drafting took place, in 1922, that *Erse* was “considered a pejorative term in Ireland” (2016, p.108). Within the 1840-1849 sub-corpus, it does seem to be used to refer to the Irish language specifically, as opposed to the Gaelic languages collectively, or to Scottish Gaelic. This is indicated by references to anglicizations of Irish surnames, such as ‘O’Clery’, and by one reference to a writer’s “Hiberno-Etruscan” dialect. ‘Hibernia’ being the Latin word for Ireland, this suggests that in this context, *Erse* refers to the Irish language. This is a deliberate lexical selection, preferred to ‘Irish’, or ‘Gaelic’, and its pejorative associations within a century of this decade mean that its usage in the corpus warrants further investigation.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, HEBREW, ENGLISH, GREEK, LATIN, ERSE, PHOENICIAN, GRAMMATICAL, DIALECT, PHILOLOGY, TRANSLATION, LANGUAGES, GERMAN, PHILOLOGICAL, ITALICS, TONGUE	16
Literary reviewing	POETRY, INTERPRETATION, PORTFOLIOS, BOOKS, WRITERS, INTRODUCTION, POETIC, WORKS, COLLECTIONS, COMMENTARIES, EXPOSITION, PERIODICALS, SCHOLARS, READERS, BOOK, STYLE, AUTHORS, WRITINGS, COMMENTARY, SCHOLARSHIP, VOLUMES, NARRATIVE, TEXT, ARGUMENT, QUOTED, VERSION, AUTHOR, WRITTEN, LEARNED, SKILL, VOLUME, COMPOSITION, CLASSICAL, CRITICISM, ABSTRACT, LITERATURE, HYPOTHESIS, INTELLECTUAL, STUDY, TAYLOR’S, JEBB, BETHAM, ETRURIA, THIERSCH, LYDIAN, DAVIDON’S, ETRURIAN, PHILLIPS, DAVIDSON, GRAY, GOVETT, HENGSTENBERG, HIRD, NIEBUHR, PIROMI, GALLAUDET, LANZI, RASENA, NORREYS, PARKHURST, NIEBUHR’S, GALLAUDET’S	59
Religious/Biblical/theological references	PSALMS, GOSPEL, TESTAMENT, GOSPELS, MATTHEW, APOCALYPSE, SCRIPTURAL, PIETY, BIBLICAL, EXEGESIS, EPISTLES, JEWISH, PALESTINE, RELIGIOUS, SOUL, SPIRIT, MESSIANIC, SPIRITUAL, APOSTLES, PSALM, PAPIAS,	21
History/mythology	ETRUSCAN, ETRUSCANS, HERODOTUS, ANTIQUITIES, TYRRHENIAN, RHAETIAN, ALYATTES, LYDIANS,	14

	DIONYSIUS, XANTHUS, HELLENIC, EUGUBIAN, PELASGIANS, TYRRHENUS,	
Variant spellings	CONNEXION,	1
Miscellaneous	LEARNING, INFORMATION, ARC, HUT, CONQUEST, EVE, ART, TRUTH, CHILD'S, CHILD, COMPANY, LITERAL, ORIGIN, CHILD, TRADITION, PROPHECY, NAUTILUS, INSCRIPTIONS, RESE, ARAMAEAN, EGG, EGGS, EGYPTIAN, WHICH, CHILDREN, THEORY, JUVENILE, STATES, COOKERY, MODERN, HOOKS, PRIMITIVE, ORAL, MONUMENTS, DEPARTMENT, PARLEY, SENSE, PROPHECIES, ITALY, BI, SUBJECTS, CHICKENS, PASSION, INGENUITY, LYDIA, JIVE, LYDO, RACES, NATIVE, ASIATIC, NATIVE, RACES, CONES, ARGUMENT, PUPIL, AGE, KNOWLEDGE, FACT, FULFILLED, ORIGINAL, DOCS, UMBRIAN, UNTRUTHFULNESS, FILLER, CHARACTER, APRIL, ARGUMENT, PUPIL, AGE, KNOWLEDGE, FACT, COLONY, FULFILLED, ORIGINAL, DOCS, UMBRIAN, UNTRUTHFULNESS, FILLER, CHARACTER, APRIL, TRUTHFUL, ACQUIREMENT, GENUINE, AUTHORITY	84
Total		203

**Table 72. Keyword results for the 1840-1849 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

### 1850-1859 sub-corpus

There are 117 words in the edited keyword list for this sub-corpus, and almost half, 49.57% of them ( $n = 58$ ) are from the semantic field of literary reviewing. The predominance of words relating to reviewing has almost been a constant throughout the study period so far, with this semantic field unsurprisingly contributing more words to each keyword list except for that of the sub-corpus for 1760-1769. As usual, many of these keywords are proper nouns, and in this sub-corpus that grouping of keywords highlights the extent to which a single text file in a small corpus can influence the keyword results. This is because a large number of proper nouns from the keyword list for this decade occur exclusively in a single text file; a review of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. These include *Johnson*, *Johnson's*, *Boswell*, *Thrale*, *Thrales*, *Garrick*, *Goldsmith*, and *Lichfield*. The presence of this text file within this sub-corpus also explains the presence of the keyword *dictionary*, as this word appears only because its compilation accounted for a significant epoch in Johnson's professional life, and does not shed any light on the way in which language is being discussed within this sub-corpus. Nonetheless, the presence

of so many keywords from a single corpus is a salient reminder that keyword data alone can rarely be used to draw reliable conclusions.

Keyness	Frequency	Keyness	p value
JOHNSON	220	1748.30	0.0000000000
RAMUS	82	812.18	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	86	500.64	0.0000000000
LEARNING	101	468.10	0.0000000000
CORNWALL	51	368.41	0.0000000000
INFORMATION	95	339.07	0.0000000000
DEVON	41	296.98	0.0000000000
BOSWELL	38	286.83	0.0000000000
COMPANY	102	270.62	0.0000000000
RUGBY	42	261.43	0.0000000000
THRALE	20	200.71	0.0000000000
TOM'S	37	194.49	0.0000000000
TROLLOPE'S	20	192.69	0.0000000000
TUSCANY	25	190.97	0.0000000000
TROLLOPE	22	186.10	0.0000000000
STOWE	21	176.69	0.0000000000
RAMBLER	19	173.19	0.0000000000
TAXES	32	165.37	0.0000000000
TIN	36	160.79	0.0000000000
CABIN	34	136.69	0.0000000000
OPINIONS	42	128.21	0.0000000000
JAN	27	128.20	0.0000000000
WADDINGTON	15	128.11	0.0000000000
DUTY	67	120.94	0.0000000000
SLAVE	36	119.86	0.0000000000
SCHOOL	71	115.28	0.0000000000
JOHNSON'S	17	113.24	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	56	109.76	0.0000000000
LANGTON	13	109.26	0.0000000000
KNOWLEDGE	78	106.53	0.0000000000
LIFE	194	103.94	0.0000000000
REAMS	11	99.26	0.0000000000
TAX	24	94.30	0.0000000000
ITALIAN	33	87.40	0.0000000000
TOM	55	86.70	0.0000000000
LEVETT	10	86.35	0.0000000000
COPIES	21	84.86	0.0000000000
SALE	25	84.76	0.0000000000
ITALY	30	84.74	0.0000000000
CELTIC	13	78.88	0.0000000000
PAPER	56	75.02	0.0000000000
REMINISCENCES	15	71.87	0.0000000000
REAM	8	70.30	0.0000000000
TINTAGEL	7	70.25	0.0000000000
SOUTHER	7	70.25	0.0000000000
SAXON	17	69.71	0.0000000000
SEWER	10	69.04	0.0000000000
NEGROES	17	68.95	0.0000000000
CYCLOPAEDIA	9	68.48	0.0000000000

CORNISH	12	68.07	0.0000000000
PUBLISHED	31	64.31	0.0000000000
KEY	28	64.24	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	33	63.31	0.0000000000
RASSELAS	8	63.03	0.0000000000
ARNOLD	16	62.94	0.0000000000
WORKS	39	62.10	0.0000000000
POPULATIONS	12	61.90	0.0000000000
ARC	11	60.79	0.0000000000
DICTIONARY	14	57.40	0.0000000000
ARISTOTLE	12	57.06	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	32	55.75	0.0000000000
GARRICK	10	55.21	0.0000000000
GOLDSMITH	10	53.64	0.0000000000
PARISHES	10	53.15	0.0000000000
PUBLICATION	17	51.33	0.0000000000
TAMAR	6	51.24	0.0000000000
LICHFIELD	6	51.24	0.0000000000
STOWE'S	6	51.24	0.0000000000
SAXONS	9	50.19	0.0000000000
RAMISM	5	50.18	0.0000000000
ATHELSTANE	5	50.18	0.0000000000
BOOKSELLER	10	49.59	0.0000000000
SLAVES	18	49.56	0.0000000000
BOOK	65	49.14	0.0000000000
POLITICAL	33	48.87	0.0000000000
STAMP	15	48.36	0.0000000000
WROTE	38	47.75	0.0000000000
BROWN'S	10	47.67	0.0000000000
STYLE	29	47.53	0.0000000000
MORAL	40	46.83	0.0000000000
BEAUCLERK	6	46.81	0.0000000000
PRESS	25	46.30	0.0000000000
ITALIANS	12	46.13	0.0000000000
MURPHY	6	45.12	0.0000000000
AUD	5	44.78	0.0000000000
BATHURST	5	44.78	0.0000000000
WEEKLY	15	44.65	0.0000000000
UNCLE	37	44.30	0.0000000000
DESMOULINS	6	43.66	0.0000000000
READERS	20	43.65	0.0000000000
SLAVERY	14	43.58	0.0000000000
AMONGST	30	43.44	0.0000000000
VIRGINIA	14	43.15	0.0000000000
THO	9	42.98	0.0000000000
OSTLER	6	42.36	0.0000000000
IDLER	7	42.19	0.0000000000
PRINCIPLES	26	41.62	0.0000000000
BRYDGES	4	40.14	0.0000000000
TEDESCHI	4	40.14	0.0000000000
THRALES	4	40.14	0.0000000000
KAMI'S	4	40.14	0.0000000000
KAMI'SHIS	4	40.14	0.0000000000

WADDINGTON'S	4	40.14	0.0000000000
PRESLES	4	40.14	0.0000000000
GIOBERTI	4	40.14	0.0000000000
DANMONIAN	4	40.14	0.0000000000
CENSORSHIP	5	39.63	0.0000000000
DRYDEN'S	5	39.63	0.0000000000
AUSTRIA	9	39.36	0.0000000000
TOOT	6	38.28	0.0000000000
CHARACTER	54	38.00	0.0000000000
ABOLITIONISTS	5	37.87	0.0000000000
DUCHIES	5	37.87	0.0000000000
WILLIAMS	13	37.23	0.0000000000
GRAMMATICAL	7	36.96	0.0000000000
DISTRICTS	15	36.88	0.0000000000
POPE	14	36.77	0.0000000000
TUSCAN	6	36.69	0.0000000000
RELIGIOUS	31	35.95	0.0000000001
POETS	14	35.32	0.0000000003
NATIONALITY	8	34.99	0.0000000004

**Table 73.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1840-1849 sub-corpus.

Aside from *dictionary*, only two other keywords relate to the semantic field of language and grammar. These are *language* and, remarkably, *grammatical*. *Language* has been a keyword in every CENCER sub-corpus apart from that covering the period 1820-1829. Like *grammatical*, it has been almost constantly key for a century. Unlike *grammatical*, however, it tells us little beyond the fact that the review periodicals have an enduring preoccupation with language, which is unsurprising for a genre engaged in literary reviewing. The continued keyness of *grammatical*, already discussed extensively and explored in more detail below, is the most salient detail from the 1850-1859 sub-corpus. The appearance of *grammatical* in this keyword list reveals that the cultural preoccupation with grammaticality, although on the wane, endures to some degree. Concordance analysis, however, reveals stark differences between how the word is used in this decade and how it was used in earlier sub-corpora. As in the 1840-1849 sub-corpus, few of the hits for *grammatical* appear in the context of evaluation of an authors' grammaticality. Indeed, of the 7 hits for this word in this sub-corpus, only a single one occurs in this sort of context, when *grammatical* co-occurs with *errors* in the *Eclectic's* review of *Ramus: His Life, Writings, and Opinions*.

That *grammatical* should continue to be key, however, even when only two other words from the semantic field of language and grammar are, indicates an enduring preoccupation with grammatical issues. None of the text files in this corpus relate directly to linguistic matters, and the other two keywords from this sub-corpus which do relate to language and grammar are either vague (*language*) or specific but exclusive to a single text (*dictionary*). The keyness of *grammatical* therefore indicates that non-linguistic texts are discussing grammaticality, even though they are infrequently evaluating the grammatical correctness of reviewed texts. This has obvious relevance to the research questions laid out in §1.5, and is explored further in §5.3 and §6.1.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LANGUAGE, DICTIONARY, GRAMMATICAL	3



Literary reviewing	WRITINGS, RAMBLER, OPINIONS, PAPER, REMINISCENCES, COPIES, REAMS, BOOKSELLER, WORKS, PUBLISHED, CYCLOPAEDIA, AUTHOR, RAMISM, IDLER, LITERATURE, PUBLICATION, POETS, BOOK, WROTE, STYLE, PRESS, CHARACTER, READERS, WEEKLY, JOHNSON, RAMUS, BOSWELL, WADDINGTON, THRALE, TOM'S, TROLLOPE'S, JAN, TROLLOPE, JOHNSON'S, LEVETT, TOM, LANGTON, RASSELAS, ARNOLD, ARISTOTLE, GARRICK, GOLDSMITH, TAMAR, LICHFIELD, WILLIAMS, DRYDEN'S, THRALES, BRYDGES, WADDINGTON'S, BROWN'S, MURPHY, BEAUCLERK, BATHURST, KAMI'S, GIOBERTI, KAMI'SHIS, TEDESCHI, PRESLES, DESMOULINS,	58
Education	SCHOOL, STOWE, RUGBY, STOWE'S	4
Italy	ITALIAN, ITALY, TUSCANY, ITALIANS, AUSTRIA, TUSCAN, DUCHIES	7
Slavery	NEGROES, SLAVE, SLAVES, SLAVERY, ABOLITIONISTS	5
South West England	CELTIC, TINTAGEL, CORNWALL, DEVON, CORNISH, TIN, CORNISH	7
Religious/Biblical/theological references	PARISHES, RELIGIOUS, POPE	3
History/mythology	ATHELSTANE, SAXON, SAXONS, DANMONIAN, CENSORSHIP	5
Archaic/poetic usages	AUD	1
Miscellaneous	KNOWLEDGE, LIFE, TAX, SALE, SOUTHER, INFORMATION, COMPANY, TAXES, CABIN, DUTY, SEWER, KEY, POPULATIONS, ARC, POLITICAL, STAMP, MORAL, UNCLE, AMONGST, VIRGINIA, OSTLER, PRINCIPLES, TOOT, DISTRICTS, NATIONALITY	25
Total		117

**Table 74. Keyword results for the 1850-1859 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

### 1860-1869 sub-corpus

The 1860-1869 sub-corpus is only the second sub-corpus of the study period so far in which the semantic category of literary reviewing does not contribute the largest proportion of words

to the keyword list. In this decade's keyword list, there appear 30 keywords from the semantic field of literary reviewing, but 39 keywords from the semantic field of education. This means that literary reviewing accounts for 16.95% of keywords, whilst education accounts for 22.03%. The proportion of keywords relating to literary reviewing in this decade's keyword list is not especially low, however, the preoccupation of the review periodicals with education may well reflect a cultural shift that is directly relevant to the study. Of the 7 text files comprising this sub-corpus, 2 relate to education: reviews of *Liberal Education in England*, and *Her Majesty's Commissioners into Public Schools*. Combined, these text files account for 28,117 words of this 83,005 word corpus, so the fact that their influence on the corpus is evident in the keyword list is unsurprising. The presence in the sub-corpus of not one but two reviews of texts about the education system may merely be an accident of the sampling process, or it may be symptomatic of a cultural preoccupation with educational matters which accompanied academic specialization and the growth of universities in the late nineteenth century (see §3.2.5). Many of the words in the keyword list which relate specifically to university education, including *matriculation*, *trips*, *tripses*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, do not occur exclusively in a single text file, but are instead dispersed through the corpus. Hits for these words are not even confined to the reviews of texts relating to the education sector. This suggests that education, and in particular university education and institutions, may well be a cultural preoccupation reflected in the selection of texts for review.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
SCHOOLS	159	863.51	0.0000000000
EDUCATION	185	795.71	0.0000000000
LATIN	100	503.02	0.0000000000
HUMOUR	110	497.67	0.0000000000
YANKEE	68	451.57	0.0000000000
WHATELY	47	435.74	0.0000000000
CLASSICAL	75	420.96	0.0000000000
PUBLIC	162	417.69	0.0000000000
ETON	59	408.92	0.0000000000
RATIONALISM	42	364.76	0.0000000000
LECKY'S	36	332.97	0.0000000000
SYSTEM	125	315.61	0.0000000000
GREEK	86	314.15	0.0000000000
UNIVERSITY	67	296.43	0.0000000000
UNIVERSITIES	48	292.67	0.0000000000
LECKY	32	279.12	0.0000000000
LEARNING	69	268.89	0.0000000000
LANGUAGES	53	262.71	0.0000000000
VOL	51	257.38	0.0000000000
ARCHBISHOP	48	250.58	0.0000000000
LIBERAL	55	245.71	0.0000000000
COMMISSIONERS	37	244.64	0.0000000000
SCHOOL	108	243.45	0.0000000000
STUDY	80	200.70	0.0000000000
KNOWLEDGE	108	196.85	0.0000000000
GRAMMAR	32	167.53	0.0000000000
INTELLECTUAL	58	160.90	0.0000000000
OXFORD	46	155.59	0.0000000000

GRAMMATICAL	21	146.29	0.0000000000
TEACHING	47	145.97	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	64	136.00	0.0000000000
MILTON	25	133.52	0.0000000000
WHATELY'S	15	130.04	0.0000000000
POMPILIA	13	129.61	0.0000000000
MODERN	64	126.50	0.0000000000
CLASSICS	23	119.08	0.0000000000
INFLUENCE	64	118.88	0.0000000000
BOYS	70	117.26	0.0000000000
INSTRUCTION	31	116.08	0.0000000000
HUT	30	113.58	0.0000000000
PERSECUTION	25	109.26	0.0000000000
FARRAR	14	108.91	0.0000000000
JULY	32	94.32	0.0000000000
POLITICAL	47	93.61	0.0000000000
SUBJECTS	39	92.32	0.0000000000
HISTORY	66	90.81	0.0000000000
WINCHESTER	17	90.50	0.0000000000
GUIDO	11	89.86	0.0000000000
TRUTH	80	86.87	0.0000000000
MATRICULATION	10	85.69	0.0000000000
SPIRIT	68	84.84	0.0000000000
STUDENTS	24	83.53	0.0000000000
ECCLESIA	9	83.24	0.0000000000
OPINIONS	32	80.66	0.0000000000
FALLACIES	13	79.53	0.0000000000
SUBJECT	73	78.17	0.0000000000
ENGLAND	83	78.12	0.0000000000
DOGMATIC	15	78.03	0.0000000000
EXAMINATION	30	76.96	0.0000000000
JOSH	9	76.27	0.0000000000
BIGLOW	9	76.27	0.0000000000
MEN	162	75.91	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	38	74.71	0.0000000000
EDUCATIONAL	22	74.56	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	83	72.65	0.0000000000
ARGUMENTS	27	71.39	0.0000000000
DUBLIN	15	70.19	0.0000000000
THEOLOGICAL	17	69.93	0.0000000000
CAPONSACCHI	7	69.79	0.0000000000
NATIONAL	31	69.77	0.0000000000
COLLEGIATE	9	69.62	0.0000000000
SEELEY	10	69.55	0.0000000000
EXAMINATIONS	14	69.02	0.0000000000
RELIGIOUS	43	68.93	0.0000000000
EVIDENCE	44	68.77	0.0000000000
ARITHMETIC	16	68.38	0.0000000000
OPINION	53	67.83	0.0000000000
CHARACTER	69	67.65	0.0000000000
GERMAN	37	67.09	0.0000000000
COMPOSITION	23	66.51	0.0000000000
CAMBRIDGE	20	64.57	0.0000000000

STROPS	7	63.77	0.0000000000
MASTERS	23	63.26	0.0000000000
INFORMATION	35	62.85	0.0000000000
MILTON'S	9	62.35	0.0000000000
CHRISTIANITY	24	61.99	0.0000000000
AMERICAN	34	60.08	0.0000000000
BOWEN	6	59.82	0.0000000000
ARTEMUS	6	59.82	0.0000000000
WERO	6	59.82	0.0000000000
FITZPATRICK	6	59.82	0.0000000000
WHATELEIAN	6	59.82	0.0000000000
BELIEF	36	59.56	0.0000000000
STUDENT	20	59.27	0.0000000000
STATUTES	10	58.83	0.0000000000
MASTER	54	58.30	0.0000000000
COLLEGE	28	57.87	0.0000000000
ATHLETICISM	7	57.61	0.0000000000
TAUGHT	32	57.60	0.0000000000
STUDIES	21	56.70	0.0000000000
MATHEMATICS	20	56.41	0.0000000000
THEOLOGY	15	55.92	0.0000000000
RING	33	55.92	0.0000000000
THINKERS	11	55.66	0.0000000000
DIVIDEND	11	55.23	0.0000000000
VIOLANTE	6	54.09	0.0000000000
RUDIMENTS	10	53.51	0.0000000000
ASCENDANCY	9	53.36	0.0000000000
ESSAY	17	52.42	0.0000000000
WIT	20	52.09	0.0000000000
CONSTRUE	9	52.02	0.0000000000
TRAINING	23	51.79	0.0000000000
REPORT	27	51.70	0.0000000000
HUMAN	63	51.26	0.0000000000
CHURCH	58	51.16	0.0000000000
CULTURE	19	50.28	0.0000000000
EPITAPH	10	50.21	0.0000000000
TRIPOSES	5	49.85	0.0000000000
TENDENCY	23	49.13	0.0000000000
COMPANY	42	49.01	0.0000000000
PRESENT	85	48.85	0.0000000000
AMERICANS	16	48.33	0.0000000000
CENTURY	34	47.92	0.0000000000
FAGGING	7	46.89	0.0000000000
MR	179	46.28	0.0000000000
CONTROVERSY	15	45.67	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	28	44.83	0.0000000000
GRAMMARS	6	44.73	0.0000000000
FELLOWSHIPS	6	44.73	0.0000000000
EXCLUSIVE	13	44.27	0.0000000000
MANKIND	22	44.17	0.0000000000
ECCLESIASTICAL	14	43.91	0.0000000000
SCHOLARSHIP	10	43.70	0.0000000000
PROTESTANT	12	43.30	0.0000000000

PIETRO	6	43.26	0.0000000000
DOGMATISM	7	43.25	0.0000000000
POETS	16	43.11	0.0000000000
TOLERATION	10	43.10	0.0000000000
TUTORS	8	43.01	0.0000000000
SOCIAL	38	43.00	0.0000000000
RUGBY	11	42.48	0.0000000000
HARROW	9	42.40	0.0000000000
SENIOR	11	42.25	0.0000000000
CLASS	46	42.06	0.0000000000
SCHOLARS	11	42.03	0.0000000000
LIMITED	21	41.55	0.0000000000
HOSEA	5	41.50	0.0000000000
DOCTRINES	14	41.48	0.0000000000
CHRISTCHURCH	6	40.81	0.0000000000
SORCERY	6	40.81	0.0000000000
BILLINGS	8	40.60	0.0000000000
SERVATION	4	39.88	0.0000000000
GLANVIL	4	39.88	0.0000000000
EWART'S	4	39.88	0.0000000000
SEDGEWICK	4	39.88	0.0000000000
D'ARCY	4	39.88	0.0000000000
THRU	4	39.88	0.0000000000
ENDOWMENTS	8	39.74	0.0000000000
SCEPTICISM	9	39.70	0.0000000000
PUNISHMENT	17	39.65	0.0000000000
PRACTICAL	31	39.48	0.0000000000
REFORM	16	39.46	0.0000000000
TRIPOS	5	39.30	0.0000000000
CONNEXION	12	39.00	0.0000000000
WITCHCRAFT	8	38.92	0.0000000000
USURY	6	38.79	0.0000000000
GOVERNING	10	38.45	0.0000000000
CLASSES	29	38.28	0.0000000000
REASONING	17	38.23	0.0000000000
INTELLECT	19	37.97	0.0000000000
PUNISHMENTS	9	37.66	0.0000000000
MORAL	37	37.48	0.0000000000
CENTURIES	17	37.05	0.0000000000
LOWELL	7	36.51	0.0000000001
ARCHBISHOP'S	5	36.05	0.0000000001
SIXTEENTH	10	35.72	0.0000000002
TUTOR	11	34.97	0.0000000004

*Table 75. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1860-1869 sub-corpus.*

Many of the keywords from the semantic field of language and grammar are also key because of their presence in these two education-oriented text files. A clear preoccupation with the teaching of grammar accounts for the presence in the keyword list of both *grammar*, defined

several times within this sub-corpus as “the logic of language”<sup>13</sup>, and occurring most often in the context of a subject taught in an educational setting, and grammar book, in the sense of texts devoted to explicating the ‘rules’ of grammar. The enduring cultural importance of ‘the classics’ accounts for the presence in the keyword list of *classics*, *classical*, *Latin*, and *Greek*, which all either occur exclusively in the two text files relating to education, or heavily predominate in those. *German*, *language*, and *languages* also occur many times in these texts, and although they also appear in other text files in the sub-corpus, are probably key as a result.

Linguistic matters and in particular grammar are clearly a preoccupation of some of the works reviewed in this sub-corpus, and this is also reflected in the concordance analysis for the final keyword from the semantic field of language and grammar, that stalwart of all except one keyword list in the study period so far: *grammatical*. Only 4 of the 18 instances of *grammatical* in this sub-corpus appear in the context of linguistic commentary originating with a reviewer. In those instances, *grammatical* co-occurs with *error*, *inaccuracies*, and *mistakes* twice, indicating that it is still being used sporadically to enforce linguistic norms. However, the remaining 14 occurrences merely indicate a general interest in grammar, as opposed to being indicators of prescriptive activity. The way in which *grammatical* is used both in this sub-corpus and across CENCER is explored further in §5.3 §6.1.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	LATIN, LANGUAGES, GRAMMAR, LANGUAGE, GREEK, CLASSICS, CLASSICAL, ENGLISH, GERMAN, GRAMMARS, GRAMMATICAL	10
Literary reviewing	VOL, HUMOUR, LITERATURE, OPINIONS, ARGUMENTS, COMPOSITION, OPINION, CHARACTER, AUTHOR, ESSAY, POETS, MILTON, LECKY’S, LECKY, POMPILIA, BIGLOW, JOSH, GUIDO, FITZPATRICK, BOWEN, MILTON’S, ARTEMUS, CAPONSACCHI, SEELEY, PIETRO, LOWELL, GLAVIL, EWART’S, SEDGEWICK, D’ARCY	30
Education	SCHOOLS, EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY, STUDENTS, UNIVERSITIES, OXFORD, SCHOOL, STUDY, TEACHING, LEARNING, PUBLIC, ETON, EXAMINATION, MATRICULATION, WINCHESTER, EDUCATIONAL, MASTERS, CAMBRIDGE, EXAMINATIONS, COLLEGIATE, FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIP,	39

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<sup>13</sup> The phrase ‘Grammar School’ does not appear in this sub-corpus, so does not account for the keyness of *grammar*.

	STATUTES, STUDENT, MASTER, COLLEGE, STUDIES, MATHEMATICS, TAUGHT, TRIPOSES, TUTORS, RUGBY, HARROW, SENIOR, CLASS, SCHOLARS, TUTOR, TRIPOS, CHRISTCHURCH	
Variant spellings	CONNEXION	1
Religious/Biblical/theological references	ARCHBISHOP, SPIRIT, ECCLESIA, THEOLOGICAL, RELIGIOUS, CHRISTIANITY, DOGMATISM, ECCLESIASTICAL, PROTESTANT, THEOLOGY, BELIEF, CHURCH, DOGMATISM, ARCHBISHOP'S, DOCTRINES, HOSEA, DOGMATIC, WHATELEIAN, WHATELEY'S, WHATELEY	20
United States of America	YANKEE, PERSECUTION, AMERICANS, SORCERY, WITCHCRAFT.	5
Miscellaneous	RATIONALISM, SYSTEM, LIBERAL, COMMISSIONERS, KNOWLEDGE, INTELLECTUAL, MODERN, INFLUENCE, BOYS, INSTRUCTION, HUT, JULY, POLITICAL, SUBJECTS, TRUTH, FALLACIES, SUBJECT, ENGLAND, MEN, ARGUMENTS, DUBLIN, NATIONAL, EVIDENCE, ARITHMETIC, STROPS, INFORMATION, AMERICAN, WERO, ATHLETICISM, RING, THINKERS, DIVIDEND, VIOLANTE, RUDIMENTS, ASCENDANCY, WIT, CONSTRUE, TRAINING, REPORT, HUMAN, CULTURE, EPITAPH, TENDENCY, COMPANY, PRESENT, CENTURY, FAGGING, MR, CONROVERSY, EXCLUSIVE, MANKIND, TOLERATION, SOCIAL, LIMITED, BILLINGS, SERVATION, ENDOWMENTS, SCEPTICISM, PUNISHMENT, PRACTICAL, REFORM, USURY, GOVERNING, CLASSES, REASONING, INTELLECT, PUNISHMENTS, MORAL, CENTURIES, SIXTEENTH	71
Total		176

**Table 76. Keyword results for the 1860-1869 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

## 1870-1879 sub-corpus

*Grammatical* is key once again in the 1870-1879 sub-corpus. However, this does not seem to reflect a renewed interest in evaluating the grammaticality of reviewed texts, as only 1 of the 7 occurrences of *grammatical* from this decade relates to the grammatical correctness of a reviewed author. The other 6 occur in contexts which reveal that discussion of issues relating to grammar is taking place within reviewed texts, as *grammatical* co-occurs with, for example, *gender*, *knowledge*, and *derivation*.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
BIBLE	175	1069.69	0.0000000000
FRERE	99	915.63	0.0000000000
VERSION	103	657.44	0.0000000000
LEARNING	133	645.73	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	253	618.69	0.0000000000
TESTAMENT	90	554.02	0.0000000000
INFORMATION	121	453.22	0.0000000000
RELIGION	129	429.72	0.0000000000
VOL	75	412.77	0.0000000000
COMPANY	138	405.21	0.0000000000
TYNDALE	38	371.19	0.0000000000
TYNDALE'S	37	361.42	0.0000000000
MAX	44	360.45	0.0000000000
TRANSLATION	72	358.17	0.0000000000
LINDSAY'S	36	351.65	0.0000000000
MULLER	38	316.26	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	107	302.09	0.0000000000
ELOQUENCE	56	299.34	0.0000000000
SHIPPING	44	291.20	0.0000000000
RELIGIONS	46	267.44	0.0000000000
APRIL	67	266.59	0.0000000000
HOOKHAM	27	263.73	0.0000000000
REVISION	35	236.41	0.0000000000
PUBLISHED	71	231.51	0.0000000000
FRERE'S	23	224.66	0.0000000000
HISTORY	110	222.42	0.0000000000
ANCIENT	86	221.15	0.0000000000
PITT	35	213.38	0.0000000000
COMMERCE	49	211.68	0.0000000000
PRINTED	52	210.67	0.0000000000
HEBREW	38	202.53	0.0000000000
WYCLIFFE	20	195.36	0.0000000000
MERCHANT	50	186.93	0.0000000000
VULGATE	19	185.59	0.0000000000
REVISED	27	181.66	0.0000000000
TEXT	44	175.79	0.0000000000
CANNING	25	175.26	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURE	32	164.72	0.0000000000
COMMONS	44	161.79	0.0000000000
SAXON	32	158.40	0.0000000000
GALLEYS	20	155.20	0.0000000000
EDITION	43	154.38	0.0000000000



TRANSLATIONS	23	153.71	0.0000000000
TRANSLATED	33	150.40	0.0000000000
SCRIPTURES	26	149.47	0.0000000000
WORKS	66	146.83	0.0000000000
OLERON	15	146.52	0.0000000000
LATIN	43	144.21	0.0000000000
GREEK	54	143.16	0.0000000000
LORDS	44	143.01	0.0000000000
MALTA	20	137.56	0.0000000000
SPEECH	64	136.76	0.0000000000
MULLER'S	14	136.75	0.0000000000
WALPOLE	22	136.61	0.0000000000
LINDSAY	17	134.83	0.0000000000
WHATELY	16	133.31	0.0000000000
MUTTER'S	13	126.98	0.0000000000
TRANSLATORS	16	125.85	0.0000000000
CENTURY	58	121.61	0.0000000000
PARLIAMENT	49	117.62	0.0000000000
REVELATION	31	113.49	0.0000000000
HUT	31	113.26	0.0000000000
PROLOGUE	15	108.04	0.0000000000
GENEVAN	11	107.45	0.0000000000
WYCLIFFE'S	11	107.45	0.0000000000
GALLEY	16	104.89	0.0000000000
DEBATE	26	104.76	0.0000000000
SCIENCE	64	104.37	0.0000000000
ANGLO	22	102.44	0.0000000000
VERSIONS	15	101.32	0.0000000000
ENGLAND	98	100.80	0.0000000000
LORD	117	97.18	0.0000000000
PSALTER	12	96.69	0.0000000000
COVERDALE	11	92.94	0.0000000000
BRITISH	52	92.33	0.0000000000
NAVAL	31	91.50	0.0000000000
SEMITIC	12	90.41	0.0000000000
ARYAN	13	89.80	0.0000000000
WHISTLECRAFT	9	87.91	0.0000000000
MARITIME	21	87.66	0.0000000000
BIBLICAL	15	87.39	0.0000000000
SCHOLARS	19	87.22	0.0000000000
BODLEIAN	10	86.89	0.0000000000
MOORE	16	86.76	0.0000000000
PEEL	22	86.15	0.0000000000
ARCHBISHOP	23	86.01	0.0000000000
COPIES	22	85.12	0.0000000000
SPEECHES	22	83.37	0.0000000000
CRANMER	12	82.79	0.0000000000
OXFORD	32	82.08	0.0000000000
TWISS	9	81.42	0.0000000000
COMPARATIVE	23	81.10	0.0000000000
LANGUAGES	24	80.90	0.0000000000
PREFACE	21	80.51	0.0000000000
ANTWERP	11	80.06	0.0000000000

TITLE	34	79.68	0.0000000000
AUTHORIZED	11	78.53	0.0000000000
HANSA	8	78.14	0.0000000000
VEDA	8	78.14	0.0000000000
COVERDALE'S	8	78.14	0.0000000000
CRITICAL	28	77.03	0.0000000000
PASSAGES	29	75.86	0.0000000000
DISRAELI	11	75.79	0.0000000000
ORIGINAL	43	73.24	0.0000000000
ORIGIN	35	72.94	0.0000000000
WHATELY'S	9	71.92	0.0000000000
SHIPS	33	71.70	0.0000000000
RUSSELL	14	70.75	0.0000000000
PANTERA	7	68.37	0.0000000000
PANTERO	7	68.37	0.0000000000
SOUTHEY	11	68.30	0.0000000000
SCHOLARSHIP	14	66.70	0.0000000000
ORATORS	11	66.58	0.0000000000
EDITIONS	15	66.21	0.0000000000
DEITY	16	66.17	0.0000000000
KNIGHTS	15	65.87	0.0000000000
MODERN	48	65.25	0.0000000000
JOHN	85	64.93	0.0000000000
JACOBIN	9	64.52	0.0000000000
MAY	230	63.85	0.0000000000
TRAVERS	9	63.09	0.0000000000
GLOSSES	8	62.93	0.0000000000
SHEIL	7	62.36	0.0000000000
MEMBER	30	61.43	0.0000000000
GUIDO	8	60.89	0.0000000000
LECTURES	21	60.60	0.0000000000
EDITED	12	60.16	0.0000000000
NOBLE	36	59.63	0.0000000000
ARISTOPHANES	9	59.41	0.0000000000
WYE	7	58.87	0.0000000000
BROUGHAM	13	58.75	0.0000000000
BEZA	6	58.61	0.0000000000
POMPILIA	6	58.61	0.0000000000
RHEMISH	6	58.61	0.0000000000
EDITORS	14	58.54	0.0000000000
SANSKRIT	8	57.52	0.0000000000
PENTATEUCH	8	57.52	0.0000000000
FRENCH	52	57.39	0.0000000000
PIRACY	9	57.33	0.0000000000
PHILOLOGY	9	57.33	0.0000000000
AUTHORISED	12	56.64	0.0000000000
RENDERINGS	7	56.20	0.0000000000
CHATHAM	10	56.18	0.0000000000
NAUTICAL	11	55.83	0.0000000000
NEW	127	55.77	0.0000000000
OARS	15	55.51	0.0000000000
FOX	18	54.92	0.0000000000
GRENVILLE	8	54.77	0.0000000000

ORATOR	12	54.69	0.0000000000
BISHOP	29	54.38	0.0000000000
MALTESE	7	54.01	0.0000000000
FOXÉ	7	54.01	0.0000000000
MARGINAL	9	53.81	0.0000000000
LUTHER	8	53.56	0.0000000000
RELIGIOUS	40	53.37	0.0000000000
COMPLETED	22	53.01	0.0000000000
ROMANA	6	52.88	0.0000000000
TURANIAN	6	52.88	0.0000000000
PIRATES	11	52.64	0.0000000000
ANTI	14	52.61	0.0000000000
DISTINGUISHED	30	52.46	0.0000000000
MONOTHEISM	7	52.15	0.0000000000
REVISERS	7	52.15	0.0000000000
CONNEXION	15	51.84	0.0000000000
RENDERED	26	51.75	0.0000000000
CAMBRIDGE	18	51.47	0.0000000000
CELEBRATED	22	51.45	0.0000000000
CORRUPTIONS	8	51.40	0.0000000000
MANKIND	25	51.19	0.0000000000
TRANSLATOR	9	50.89	0.0000000000
CONSULATE	7	50.52	0.0000000000
MYTHOLOGY	11	49.88	0.0000000000
BYRON	11	49.88	0.0000000000
DIALECTS	9	49.60	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	31	49.57	0.0000000000
PITT'S	7	49.07	0.0000000000
O'CONNELL	7	49.07	0.0000000000
PICKERING	7	49.07	0.0000000000
BARTOLOMEO	5	48.84	0.0000000000
OLDE	5	48.84	0.0000000000
CRESCENTIO	5	48.84	0.0000000000
LIIBECK	5	48.84	0.0000000000
EARLY	60	48.83	0.0000000000
THEOLOGY	14	47.84	0.0000000000
BROWNING'S	8	47.83	0.0000000000
PUBLIC	58	47.60	0.0000000000
OAR	11	47.46	0.0000000000
BILL	29	47.44	0.0000000000
MONSON	6	47.19	0.0000000000
ROMA	6	47.19	0.0000000000
COMPASS	14	46.68	0.0000000000
PROTESTANT	13	46.28	0.0000000000
MYTHOLOGIES	6	45.21	0.0000000000
GENEVA	10	45.08	0.0000000000
HAMBURG	8	44.94	0.0000000000
SPAIN	15	44.67	0.0000000000
ORATORY	10	44.37	0.0000000000
CRUMWELL	6	43.52	0.0000000000
MEDITERRANEAN	13	43.28	0.0000000000
PULTENEY	8	43.09	0.0000000000
BASIS	18	42.76	0.0000000000

SHERIDAN	7	42.67	0.0000000000
BURKE	14	42.24	0.0000000000
PEERS	13	42.18	0.0000000000
MITCHELL	8	41.44	0.0000000000
EARLIEST	20	41.20	0.0000000000
SPANISH	16	41.04	0.0000000000
PRIMEVAL	9	41.02	0.0000000000
SCHOLAR	15	41.01	0.0000000000
GRAFTON	5	40.49	0.0000000000
LIBER	5	40.49	0.0000000000
NAVIGATION	12	40.45	0.0000000000
SACRED	23	39.98	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	29	39.91	0.0000000000
INTERPOLATIONS	6	39.61	0.0000000000
MERIDIAN	8	39.48	0.0000000000
POLITICAL	32	39.35	0.0000000000
BYBLE	4	39.07	0.0000000000
SARTORIUS	4	39.07	0.0000000000
PURVEY'S	4	39.07	0.0000000000
CHURCHILL'S	4	39.07	0.0000000000
FORSHALL	4	39.07	0.0000000000
HEXAPLA	4	39.07	0.0000000000
ACHARNIANS	4	39.07	0.0000000000
CORNEWALL	4	39.07	0.0000000000
PATRIOTISM	11	39.06	0.0000000000
MERCHANTS	15	38.76	0.0000000000
PRELATES	6	38.55	0.0000000000
ITALIAN	22	38.31	0.0000000000
SLUYS	5	38.30	0.0000000000
THORNE	5	38.30	0.0000000000
GLADSTONE	15	38.18	0.0000000000
EXTANT	10	37.96	0.0000000000
WESTCOTT	9	37.65	0.0000000000
HISTORICAL	18	37.65	0.0000000000
MR	185	37.52	0.0000000000
MANUSCRIPT	14	36.98	0.0000000000
VERSIFICATION	6	36.70	0.0000000000
ECCLESIASTICAL	13	36.70	0.0000000000
VOLS	8	36.58	0.0000000000
POPULAR	25	36.36	0.0000000001
SPANIARDS	10	36.32	0.0000000001
STUDY	35	36.28	0.0000000001
STANHOPE	7	36.13	0.0000000001
QUARTO	7	36.13	0.0000000001
DELIVERY	9	35.65	0.0000000002
TRANSLATE	9	35.65	0.0000000002
ORIGINALS	7	35.62	0.0000000002
PALMERSTON	8	35.50	0.0000000002
PRINTING	11	35.39	0.0000000003
SAME	132	35.18	0.0000000005
GRAMMATICAL	7	35.13	0.0000000005

**Table 77. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1870-1879 sub-corpus.**

Linguistic matters are clearly a preoccupation within this sub-corpus, with 18 words in the keyword list relating to the semantic field of language and grammar, by comparison with only 10 in the 1860-1869 sub-corpus, and 3 in the 1850-1879 sub-corpus. This is accounted for by the presence in the corpus of a review concerning a text by the philologist and orientalist Max Müller. Although entitled *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, there is clearly a strong linguistic component to this text, since 78 of the 131 occurrences (59.54%) of *language* in this sub-corpus occur in this text file. *Sanskrit, Turanian*, and, notably, *philology* are also key because they appear exclusively or predominantly in this text.

There is also a second text in this sub-corpus which, though not explicitly linguistic in focus, contributes most of the remaining words from this semantic field to the keyword list. This is the review of *The History of the English Bible*, which narrates the translations from language to language of the Bible over the centuries, and consequently contributes *translation/s, translator/s, translate/d, Hebrew, Latin, and French* to the keyword list. These all appear exclusively or predominantly in this text, and are key as a result. In fact, of the 18 words in the keyword list from the semantic field of language and grammar, only *Greek* is dispersed across the sub-corpus, rather than clustering in a single text file. This is highly suggestive of lexis originating in the reviewed texts, rather than with the reviewers, as was also the case for *grammatical*. Whilst at first glance, therefore, it may seem that the review periodicals may be exhibiting a renewed interest in linguistic matters, the increase in keywords relating to this semantic field is actually a by-product of the selection for review of these two publications. On the surface they appear only tangentially related to language, but it would seem that linguistic subject matter is actually central to them. The 1870-1879 sub-corpus does not therefore, as it would appear at first glance, seem to exhibit a renewed interest in linguistic matters.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	ENGLISH, TRANSLATION, LANGUAGE, HEBREW, LATIN, TRANSLATORS, GREEK, TRANSLATIONS, TRANSLATED, LANGUAGES, PHILOLOGY, FRENCH, SANSKRIT, TURANIAN, DIALECTS, TRANSLATOR, GRAMMATICAL, TRANSLATE	18
Literary reviewing	PRINTING, EXTANT, QUARTO, VOL, VERSION, TEXT, REVISED, PRINTED, PUBLISHED, REVISION, ELOQUENCE, PROLOGUE, EDITION, WORKS, PREFACE, TITLE, COPIES, VERSIONS, CRITICAL, PASSAGES, GLOSSES, LECTURES, EDITED, ORATORS, EDITIONS, REVISERS, MARGINAL, ORATOR, EDITORS, AUTHOR, ORATORY, LITERATURE, INTERPOLATIONS, VOLS, MANUSCRIPT, VERSIFICATION, STUDY, FRERE, LINDSAY'S, MULLER, RUSSELL, BYRON, PULTENEY,	74

	FRERE'S, HOOKHAM, WALPOLE, LINDSAY, WHATELY, FOXE, FOX, GRENVILLE, MUTTER'S, SHERIDAN, BURKE, MITCHELL, GRAFTON, MULLER'S, TWISS, MOORE, BODLEIAN, WHISTLECRAFT, PANTERA, PANTERO, WHATELY'S, JOHN, PICKERING, THORNE, WESTCOTT, BARTOLOMEO, FORSHALL, PURVEY'S, CHURCHILL'S, MR, TRAVERS, MAY, BROUGHAM, WYE, GUIDO, SOUTHEY, CHATHAM, ROMANA, BROWNING, CRUMWELL, MONSON, STANHOPE	
Education	LEARNING, SCHOLARS, SCHOLARSHIP, SCHOLAR, CAMBRIDGE, OXFORD	6
Law/governance	COMMONS, LORDS, PARLIAMENT, SPEECH, PITT'S, SPEECHES, PITT, PEEL, LORD, DISRAELI, MEMBER, CANNING, SHEIL, O'CONNELL, PEERS, BILL, POLITICAL, GLADSTONE, PALMERSTON	18
Commerce	COMPANY, COMMERCE, HANSA, MERCHANT, OLERON	5
Nautical/maritime references	OARS, SHIPPING, NAUTICAL, MARITIME, OARS, PIRACY, PIRATES, OAR, COMPASS, NAVIGATION, MERIDIANS, NAVAL, SHIPS, GALLEYS	14
Religious/Biblical/theological references	BIBLE, TESTAMENT, RELIGION, TYNDALE'S. TYNDALE, WYCLIFFE, AUTHORISED, VULGATE, RELIGIONS, PENTATEUCH, WYCLIFFE'S, SCRIPTURE, SCRIPTURES, REVELATION, GENEVAN, ARCHBISHOP, CRANMER, OXFORD, COVERDALE'S, BIBLICAL, AUTHORIZED, COVERDALE, PSALTER, DEITY, SEMITIC, VEDA, ANTWERP, JACOBIN, RHEMISH, BEZA, DEITY, MONOTHEISM, BISHOP, LUTHER, RELIGIOUS, THEOLOGY, CRESCENTIO, CORRUPTIONS, PROTESTANT, GENEVA, SACRED, ECCLESIASTICAL, HEXAPLA, PRELATES	44
History/mythology	HISTORY, ANCIENT, SAXON, ARISTOPHANES, POMPILIA,	9

	MYTHOLOGY, MYTHOLOGIES, HISTORICAL, SLUYS	
Variant spellings	CONNEXION, OLDE, BYBLE, CORNEWALL	4
Miscellaneous	INFORMATION, MAX, APRIL, CENTURY, HUT, DEBATE, SCIENCE, ENGLAND, BRITISH, ARYAN, COMPARATIVE, ORIGINAL, ORIGIN, KNGITHS, MODERN, NOBLE, MALTESE, RENDERINGS, NEW, COMPLETED, ANTI, DISTINGUISHED, CELEBRATED, MANKIND, CONSULATE, OLDE, EARLY, PUBLIC, HAMBURG, SPAIN, MEDITERRANEAN, BASIS, EARLIEST, SPANISH, PRIMEVAL, LIBER, SARTORIUS, PATRIOTISM, ITALIAN, POPULAR, SPANIARDS, STUDY, DELIVERY, ORIGINALS, SAME	45
<b>Total</b>		<b>237</b>

Table 78. Keyword results for the 1870-1879 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.

## 1880-1889 sub-corpus

As has been the case for the vast majority of CENCER sub-corpora across the study period, the semantic category of literary reviewing once again contributes the largest proportion of words to the keyword list for this decade. 72 of the 156 keywords for this sub-corpus, or 46.15%, relate to this semantic field. This in itself is not unusual, but the keywords for this sub-corpus are strikingly different to those of any previous sub-corpus, and this is worthy of note. The keywords from this decade seem to relate much less to the high-brow genres appearing in the keyword lists of previous sub-corpora, and much more to popular forms. *Fiction, parody, rhymes, nonsense, story, sketches, and caricature* all appear as keywords, indicating that the reviews are focused much more on popular culture than they have been up to this point. Despite the significance of literary sketches as a form to Victorian popular culture, this is the first appearance of this word in a decade's keyword list, because the review periodicals have focused on higher forms of literature until now. A further indication of this is that the keyword list is heavily dominated by references to prose narrative forms, which have been conspicuously absent from previous decades' keyword lists, where only *narrative* has appeared.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
HOBART	77	785.52	0.0000000000
KINGLAKE	76	737.84	0.0000000000
MCCARTHY	70	649.88	0.0000000000
RAGLAN	52	487.57	0.0000000000
Œ	46	427.96	0.0000000000
NONSENSE	92	424.95	0.0000000000

MR	342	398.86	0.0000000000
MCCARTHY'S	29	287.07	0.0000000000
NORRIS	30	285.96	0.0000000000
LORD	166	275.90	0.0000000000
COMMANDER	45	249.18	0.0000000000
BARNES	34	247.71	0.0000000000
KINGLAKE'S	25	246.56	0.0000000000
HOBART'S	22	224.42	0.0000000000
NORRIS'S	19	193.81	0.0000000000
SLAVER	22	184.79	0.0000000000
WINNINGTON	18	183.61	0.0000000000
ARMY	69	177.29	0.0000000000
YON	28	177.03	0.0000000000
WAR	81	170.25	0.0000000000
DISCOBBOLOS	16	163.21	0.0000000000
YONGHY	15	153.01	0.0000000000
MERSAC	15	153.01	0.0000000000
BONGHY	15	153.01	0.0000000000
LEAR	19	147.34	0.0000000000
PANMURE	20	144.90	0.0000000000
HOHART	14	142.81	0.0000000000
DESPATCH	25	141.81	0.0000000000
LUC	15	136.83	0.0000000000
WOAK	13	132.61	0.0000000000
BLOCKADE	19	130.73	0.0000000000
SECRETARY	36	128.09	0.0000000000
WIT	34	127.56	0.0000000000
OFFICER	41	122.01	0.0000000000
DOLPHIN	16	119.05	0.0000000000
TURKISH	23	110.97	0.0000000000
HUMOUR	38	108.59	0.0000000000
JEANNE	16	107.71	0.0000000000
BARRINGTON	11	101.07	0.0000000000
RIO	20	100.42	0.0000000000
THACKERAY	15	99.48	0.0000000000
BARNES'S	10	95.32	0.0000000000
WOONE	9	91.81	0.0000000000
HOHART'S	9	91.81	0.0000000000
MAINWAIRING	9	91.81	0.0000000000
SBIP	9	91.81	0.0000000000
HISTORY	62	90.50	0.0000000000
ENGLISH	83	85.88	0.0000000000
POEMS	23	85.86	0.0000000000
NEWCASTLE	13	82.49	0.0000000000
CUMMING	11	81.84	0.0000000000
TOPAS	8	81.60	0.0000000000
COMMISSARIAT	12	81.26	0.0000000000
PAGES	32	80.58	0.0000000000
NARRATIVE	29	79.20	0.0000000000
PERSONAL	46	77.54	0.0000000000
RESPONSIBLE	25	74.61	0.0000000000
SHIP	39	74.09	0.0000000000
SERVICE	47	73.62	0.0000000000



LITERARY	34	73.00	0.0000000000
RAGLAN'S	8	71.62	0.0000000000
THRYM	7	71.40	0.0000000000
STANNIFORTH	7	71.40	0.0000000000
HEROINES	11	71.28	0.0000000000
NAVAL	24	69.55	0.0000000000
CRIMEA	12	69.43	0.0000000000
PHILOLOGIST	8	68.75	0.0000000000
CHIEF	42	68.50	0.0000000000
ART	50	67.46	0.0000000000
SAYS	67	67.45	0.0000000000
SKETCHES	16	67.37	0.0000000000
FICTION	22	67.16	0.0000000000
STATE	71	66.39	0.0000000000
COMMAND	33	66.05	0.0000000000
BALACLAVA	8	64.34	0.0000000000
READER	29	63.32	0.0000000000
STELLA	10	63.28	0.0000000000
SOVEREIGN	22	62.83	0.0000000000
LEON	8	62.56	0.0000000000
DIALECT	13	62.42	0.0000000000
VOL	18	61.64	0.0000000000
CARICATURE	11	61.50	0.0000000000
POET	27	61.41	0.0000000000
HWOME	6	61.20	0.0000000000
KENYON	6	61.20	0.0000000000
JINGLY	6	61.20	0.0000000000
VROM	6	61.20	0.0000000000
CHAUNTECLERE	6	61.20	0.0000000000
MINISTRY	17	59.99	0.0000000000
POLITICAL	35	59.68	0.0000000000
DORSET	10	59.16	0.0000000000
PARLIAMENT	30	58.56	0.0000000000
WELLINGTON	11	57.27	0.0000000000
AVE	14	56.50	0.0000000000
PARODY	9	55.41	0.0000000000
STORY	51	55.25	0.0000000000
TORPEDO	8	54.83	0.0000000000
MINISTERS	18	54.06	0.0000000000
PALMERSTON'S	8	53.85	0.0000000000
OSWALD	10	53.80	0.0000000000
HEYWOOD	6	52.23	0.0000000000
PINNACE	7	52.08	0.0000000000
GUARDS	14	51.98	0.0000000000
HOARD	9	51.65	0.0000000000
BLEAKE	5	51.00	0.0000000000
PERTELOTE	5	51.00	0.0000000000
LEAR'S	5	51.00	0.0000000000
MØCARTHY	5	51.00	0.0000000000
CLOWN	10	50.79	0.0000000000
DESPATCHES	9	50.56	0.0000000000
LIBERALS	10	50.40	0.0000000000
ADMIRAL	17	50.18	0.0000000000

NAVY	19	50.00	0.0000000000
CHAUCER	8	49.73	0.0000000000
RHYMES	9	48.10	0.0000000000
RUNNER	8	47.70	0.0000000000
PARTISAN	8	47.08	0.0000000000
CONSTITUTIONAL	14	46.60	0.0000000000
CAPTURE	14	46.30	0.0000000000
ROVER	7	45.67	0.0000000000
AYRES	5	45.61	0.0000000000
PALMERSTON	9	45.56	0.0000000000
FUN	19	44.85	0.0000000000
PHILOLOGICAL	7	44.84	0.0000000000
DORSETSHIRE	8	44.82	0.0000000000
MILITARY	25	43.52	0.0000000000
MALVOLIO	5	42.65	0.0000000000
TROLLOPE	6	42.18	0.0000000000
CONSERVATIVES	8	41.96	0.0000000000
PRIZE	16	41.95	0.0000000000
LANGUAGE	33	41.67	0.0000000000
PUSSY	7	41.35	0.0000000000
SHAKSPEARE	11	41.31	0.0000000000
THIRLBY	4	40.80	0.0000000000
MWORE	4	40.80	0.0000000000
REDECRAFT	4	40.80	0.0000000000
VIDAL	4	40.80	0.0000000000
WHEEL'D	4	40.80	0.0000000000
CUMMING'S	4	40.80	0.0000000000
MOWBRAY	5	40.45	0.0000000000
PASHA'S	5	40.45	0.0000000000
BUENOS	5	40.45	0.0000000000
LIBERAL	16	40.06	0.0000000000
QUOTE	14	39.95	0.0000000000
GOVERNMENT	42	39.14	0.0000000000
DANUBE	7	39.09	0.0000000000
CONSERVATIVE	11	38.62	0.0000000000
CLAIM	22	38.32	0.0000000000
BOARD	27	37.68	0.0000000000
HILDA	5	37.20	0.0000000000
LEADER	16	36.74	0.0000000000
DUKE	27	36.55	0.0000000000
PATHOS	11	35.97	0.0000000001
COLERIDGE	8	35.97	0.0000000001
WOO'D	4	35.81	0.0000000001
FREYA	4	35.81	0.0000000001
CRETAN	4	35.81	0.0000000001
SCOTT	13	35.73	0.0000000002

**Table 79.** Keyness results obtained using *WordSmith*, for the 1880-1889 sub-corpus.

This overall impression of light-heartedness indicates an abrupt *volte-face* on the part of the review periodicals. As is discussed in §3.2.5, the 1820s and 1830s witnessed a change in reviewing culture, whereby reviews of popular literary forms began to appear in magazines and newspapers (Shattock, 2013, p.24). The response of the review periodicals was to embrace their reputation for refinement, and their elite audience, and to turn their backs on the new and

multiplying readership of popular literature. In the 1880s, however, as is also noted in §3.2.5, periodical review culture began to fragment, with the establishment of the so-called “shilling monthlies” (Shattock, 1989, p.27). These were cheap review publications, founded to compete with the magazines following the abolition of stamp duty. It is well-documented, then, that review periodical culture changed orientation during the 1880s, and the keyword lists from CENCER reflect this change.

In terms of the semantic field of language and grammar, only 5 words appear in this decade’s keyword list. These are *English* and *language*, both of which have been reasonably constant as keywords across the CENCER sub-corpora, as well as *philologist*, *dialect*, and *philological*. By this stage, much longer review article lengths mean that only 6 text files comprise this sub-corpus. As may be expected in light of this, occurrences of *language* and *English* are dispersed across the corpus, rather than confined to individual text files. By contrast, *dialect*, *philological*, and *philologist* appear exclusively in *The Life of William Barnes*, an autobiography of a Church of England priest and amateur philologist and dialect poet. This indicates that these words originate in the reviewed text, rather than with the reviewer, and therefore have little significance to the study. Whilst the dispersion of *language* and *English* indicate that the English language as a medium for literary output remains a preoccupation for reviewers, *grammatical* is once again absent from the keyword list. This indicates strongly that grammaticality is no longer a significant concern for the review periodicals, an issue that is discussed further in §5.3 and §6.1.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	ENGLISH, PHILOGIST, DIALECT, PHILOLOGICAL, LANGUAGE,	5
Literary reviewing	NONSENSE, LEAR, BONGHY, YONGHY, POEMS, PAGES, NARRATIVE, LITERARY, READER, FICTION, SKETCHES, ART, HEROINES, VOL, CARICATURE, POET, JINGLY, PARODY, STORY, RHYMES, PATHOS, QUOTE  HOBART, KINGLAKE, MCCARTHY, RAGLAN, COLERIDGE, FREYA, SCOTT, HILDA, MOWBRAY, MCCARTHY’S, NORRIS, BARNES, TROLLOPE, THIRLBY, KINGLAKE’S, HOBART’S, PASHA’S, NORRIS’, WINNINGTON, MR, JEANNE, BARRINGTON, WOAK, LUC, MERSAC, DISCOBBOLOS, THACKERAY, BARNES’S, MAINWARING, NEWCASTLE, CUMMING, TOPAS, RAGLAN’S, STANNIFORTH, STELLA, CHAUNTECLERE, KENYON, DORSET, CHAUCER, PERTELOTE, LEAR’S, HEYWOOD, OSWALD, BLACKMORE, BLEAKE, VIDAL, SHAKSPEARE, MALVOLIO, DORSETSHIRE, CUMMING’S,	72

Representations of dialect	VROM, HWOME, WOAK, WOONE, MWORE, WHEEL'D, WOO'D, YON, WIT	9
Politics/governance	LORD, SECRETARY, PANMURE, MINISTRY, PARLIAMENT, WELLINGTON, POLITICAL, SOVEREIGN, LIBERALS, PALMERSTON'S, MINISTERS, PARTISAN, LEADER, CONSTITUTIONAL, PALMERSTON, CONSERVATIVES, LIBERAL, GOVERNMENT, CONSERVATIVE	19
Naval/military references	ARMY, COMMANDER, WAR, BLOCKADE, SHIP, OFFICER, DESPATCHES, DOLPHIN, COMMISARIAT, CHIEF, COMMAND, NAVAL, CRIMEA, BALACLAVA, SERVICE, NAVY, ADMIRAL, TORPEDO, PINNACE, MILITARY,	20
OCR failures	HOHART, HOHART'S, SBIP, MØCARTHY	4
Archaic/poetic usages	REDECRAFT	1
Miscellaneous	TURKISH, HUMOUR, RIO, PERSONAL, RESPONSIBLE, STATE, LEON, AVE, GUARDS, HOARD, CLOWN, RUNNER, CAPTURE, ROVER, AYRES, FUN, PRIZE, PUSSY, BUENOS, DANUBE, CLAIM, BOARD, DUKE, CRETAN, THRYM, SLAVER	25
Total		156

**Table 80. Keyword results for the 1880-1889 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

### 1890-1899 sub-corpus

Perhaps more than any other sub-corpus in CENCER, the keyword list for this decade reflects the division of the sub-corpus into individual text files concerned with disparate subject areas. As is outlined in §4.1.1, this sub-corpus is comprised of only 7 review articles, and many of these are represented by 20-40 specialised keywords. The semantic fields of politics, colonialism, medieval settlement, and cookery are all represented in this way.

Key word	Frequency	Keyness	p value
POMPONATIUS	110	1097.60	0.0000000000
LEARNING	137	700.04	0.0000000000
COOKERY	79	604.07	0.0000000000
ROBERTS	71	576.65	0.0000000000
INFORMATION	137	570.50	0.0000000000
RENAISSANCE	75	548.45	0.0000000000
COMPANY	149	486.21	0.0000000000
FIFTEENTH	66	475.07	0.0000000000
SCEPTIC	57	470.60	0.0000000000
KABUL	47	459.23	0.0000000000
CENTURY	126	457.33	0.0000000000
COMMONS	81	400.95	0.0000000000
TOWNS	81	343.43	0.0000000000

ENGLISH	170	333.18	0.0000000000
IMMORTALITATE	32	319.27	0.0000000000
PLATFORM	63	296.56	0.0000000000
AFFGHAN	27	269.39	0.0000000000
KIPLING	36	261.25	0.0000000000
PADUA	33	259.27	0.0000000000
COSMOPOLITANS	26	250.87	0.0000000000
INDIA	67	242.13	0.0000000000
VOL	46	224.24	0.0000000000
AFFGHANISTAN	22	219.50	0.0000000000
FOREIGN	73	211.68	0.0000000000
URQUHART	23	203.27	0.0000000000
ARISTOTLE	32	202.92	0.0000000000
LORD	150	199.45	0.0000000000
PALMERSTON	29	195.99	0.0000000000
GUILD	26	189.07	0.0000000000
AFFGHANS	18	179.59	0.0000000000
FIorentINO	17	169.61	0.0000000000
ELECTIONS	26	163.27	0.0000000000
DISHES	32	163.10	0.0000000000
DELHI	20	161.49	0.0000000000
BRITISH	67	158.99	0.0000000000
BOLOGNA	22	157.45	0.0000000000
MUNICIPAL	25	157.09	0.0000000000
CITIZENS	37	156.87	0.0000000000
VANINI	15	149.66	0.0000000000
OWEN	28	145.30	0.0000000000
RUDYARD	19	141.52	0.0000000000
KANDAHAR	14	139.68	0.0000000000
CONTARINI	14	139.68	0.0000000000
ACHILLINI	14	139.68	0.0000000000
AMIR	17	138.38	0.0000000000
TOWN	88	136.89	0.0000000000
POMPONAZZI	13	129.70	0.0000000000
DEFENSORIUM	13	129.70	0.0000000000
LYNN	20	127.92	0.0000000000
DISH	31	127.19	0.0000000000
MAYOR	25	125.70	0.0000000000
WORKS	57	123.10	0.0000000000
JAN	26	120.26	0.0000000000
TROOPS	38	120.13	0.0000000000
ROBERTS'S	12	112.69	0.0000000000
PUNJAB	13	111.21	0.0000000000
SHER	11	109.75	0.0000000000
BOOK	92	109.42	0.0000000000
POLITICAL	51	108.80	0.0000000000
FORTY	46	107.72	0.0000000000
NORWICH	16	107.15	0.0000000000
COMMONALTY	13	106.09	0.0000000000
GOVERNMENT	70	105.76	0.0000000000
BURGHERS	15	105.65	0.0000000000
MEDIEVAL	18	105.49	0.0000000000
URQUHART'S	11	102.88	0.0000000000

POLICY	36	102.05	0.0000000000
BEMBO	10	99.77	0.0000000000
BOROUGH	21	99.21	0.0000000000
ANIMA	12	99.20	0.0000000000
MANTUA	13	96.75	0.0000000000
APOLOGIA	13	96.75	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHICAL	27	93.74	0.0000000000
ADMINISTRATION	26	89.97	0.0000000000
PARLIAMENT	40	89.59	0.0000000000
TREATISE	19	88.14	0.0000000000
PIETRO	11	87.76	0.0000000000
PESHAWUR	10	85.77	0.0000000000
MILITARY	38	85.17	0.0000000000
COUNCIL	27	84.03	0.0000000000
IMMORTALITY	19	83.85	0.0000000000
DIPLOMATIC	16	80.88	0.0000000000
BAILIFFS	10	80.74	0.0000000000
RECIPES	10	80.74	0.0000000000
FEUDAL	16	80.01	0.0000000000
CAVAGNARI	8	79.82	0.0000000000
INCANTATIONIBUS	8	79.82	0.0000000000
SOLUTIONES	8	79.82	0.0000000000
FRONTIER	18	79.22	0.0000000000
KIPLING'S	10	78.68	0.0000000000
LITERATURE	39	78.59	0.0000000000
BURGESSES	11	78.07	0.0000000000
DISRAELI	11	78.07	0.0000000000
CITY	52	77.93	0.0000000000
DOCTRINES	21	77.39	0.0000000000
AFFAIRS	37	76.35	0.0000000000
POPULAR	35	75.87	0.0000000000
CONTRA	10	75.15	0.0000000000
UNIONIST	10	75.15	0.0000000000
ARMY	45	75.07	0.0000000000
PRINTED	25	73.89	0.0000000000
AUTHOR	36	72.44	0.0000000000
INDIAN	36	71.71	0.0000000000
JAVELLI	7	69.84	0.0000000000
APHRODISIAS	7	69.84	0.0000000000
CURY	7	69.84	0.0000000000
GONZAGA	7	69.84	0.0000000000
AMIR'S	7	69.84	0.0000000000
SIMLA	7	69.84	0.0000000000
AYUB	7	69.84	0.0000000000
POUNDED	11	68.85	0.0000000000
ENGLAND	78	67.32	0.0000000000
MOUNTSTUART	8	66.97	0.0000000000
WRITINGS	20	64.39	0.0000000000
MUTINY	11	64.39	0.0000000000
SEPOYS	9	63.64	0.0000000000
INTEREST	60	62.74	0.0000000000
MIXTURES	9	61.28	0.0000000000
CHARTER	12	61.22	0.0000000000

OPINIONS	27	60.43	0.0000000000
SKEPTICS	6	59.86	0.0000000000
MAISIE	6	59.86	0.0000000000
BOOKE	6	59.86	0.0000000000
PANTLER	6	59.86	0.0000000000
MEERUT	6	59.86	0.0000000000
TANSY	6	59.86	0.0000000000
TALITATE	6	59.86	0.0000000000
DEVELOPEMENT	6	59.86	0.0000000000
MEAT	25	57.86	0.0000000000
YEARS	113	57.60	0.0000000000
PUDDING	15	56.89	0.0000000000
PUBLIC	58	55.80	0.0000000000
TRANSLATIONS	10	55.76	0.0000000000
TOWNSMEN	9	55.67	0.0000000000
TRENCHERS	7	55.47	0.0000000000
COBDEN	8	55.22	0.0000000000
NOTTINGHAM	9	54.89	0.0000000000
REGIMENTS	11	54.46	0.0000000000
AGRA	6	54.13	0.0000000000
GUILDS	8	54.10	0.0000000000
BOILED	16	53.89	0.0000000000
LEET	7	53.61	0.0000000000
FORME	7	53.61	0.0000000000
RUSSIA	22	53.20	0.0000000000
LUCKNOW	8	52.08	0.0000000000
PALMERSTON'S	8	52.08	0.0000000000
AQUINAS	7	51.98	0.0000000000
SLANG	11	51.03	0.0000000000
INFLUENCE	42	50.88	0.0000000000
GLADSTONE	17	50.15	0.0000000000
LIBERTIES	11	50.00	0.0000000000
KURAM	5	49.88	0.0000000000
BARTOLOMEO	5	49.88	0.0000000000
IMMORIALITATE	5	49.88	0.0000000000
COKERY	5	49.88	0.0000000000
NIPHUS	5	49.88	0.0000000000
BOKE	5	49.88	0.0000000000
SPINA	5	49.88	0.0000000000
FOURTEENTH	10	49.85	0.0000000000
PHILOSOPHY	34	49.77	0.0000000000
PROSPERITY	18	49.67	0.0000000000
RENAN	8	49.48	0.0000000000
CITIZEN	15	49.30	0.0000000000
MR	181	49.10	0.0000000000
TRADERS	14	49.04	0.0000000000
AUTHORITY	31	49.01	0.0000000000
POLITICS	22	48.79	0.0000000000
LYTTON	6	48.45	0.0000000000
ORDINANCES	8	47.97	0.0000000000
COMMON	62	47.31	0.0000000000
TREATISES	8	47.26	0.0000000000
IRELAND	19	47.02	0.0000000000

RAISINS	7	46.94	0.0000000000
SIXTEENTH	12	46.83	0.0000000000
CHIEF	37	46.73	0.0000000000
HISTORY	49	46.67	0.0000000000
CAWNPORE	6	46.46	0.0000000000
UNIVERSITY	20	46.20	0.0000000000
YOLK	7	45.93	0.0000000000
CORPORATION	9	45.25	0.0000000000
ALMONDS	7	44.99	0.0000000000
BREAD	29	44.96	0.0000000000
MUTINEERS	6	44.77	0.0000000000
ALEXANDER	17	44.57	0.0000000000
OMELET	5	44.49	0.0000000000
EARLE	5	44.49	0.0000000000
COMMENTATOR	6	43.31	0.0000000000
FLOUR	12	43.18	0.0000000000
PERMANENT	21	43.00	0.0000000000
INTERNATIONAL	12	42.41	0.0000000000
POSITION	55	42.03	0.0000000000
SAFFRON	7	41.79	0.0000000000
VENETIIS	5	41.54	0.0000000000
UNIONISTS	6	40.85	0.0000000000
EDITION	18	40.81	0.0000000000
COMMANDER	13	40.77	0.0000000000
POTENTIORES	4	39.91	0.0000000000
ENTHRONIZATION	4	39.91	0.0000000000
TITLEPAGE	4	39.91	0.0000000000
INFERIORES	4	39.91	0.0000000000
MULVANEY	4	39.91	0.0000000000
SCHOLASTICISM	4	39.91	0.0000000000
GANESH	4	39.91	0.0000000000
SHERPUR	4	39.91	0.0000000000
GLOSSAR	4	39.91	0.0000000000
SHUTURGARDAN	4	39.91	0.0000000000
OMELETS	4	39.91	0.0000000000
RESIDENCY	4	39.91	0.0000000000
MEDIOCRES	4	39.91	0.0000000000
RABISHA	4	39.91	0.0000000000
FATO	4	39.91	0.0000000000
SACHSBOHEA	4	39.91	0.0000000000
CUSTARD	6	39.79	0.0000000000
INTERVENTION	9	39.77	0.0000000000
SPEECHES	13	39.74	0.0000000000
FORMIDABLE	15	39.72	0.0000000000
GENERAL	64	39.47	0.0000000000
NEVILLE	5	39.34	0.0000000000
MEETINGS	15	39.28	0.0000000000
PARTY	39	39.23	0.0000000000
COVENTRY	7	39.21	0.0000000000
DEBATE	13	39.03	0.0000000000
FREEDOM	24	38.58	0.0000000000
TRINITY	9	37.72	0.0000000000
SEVENTEENTH	11	37.35	0.0000000000



CENTURIES	17	37.15	0.0000000000
OLIGARCHY	6	37.11	0.0000000000
LIBERAL	16	36.92	0.0000000000
DIPLOMACY	9	36.91	0.0000000000
KHAN	11	36.84	0.0000000000
EUROPEAN	20	36.58	0.0000000000
CARVING	9	36.40	0.0000000001
SALT	18	36.40	0.0000000001
DURING	58	35.99	0.0000000001
BARRACK	8	35.77	0.0000000001
EASTERN	19	35.52	0.0000000002
TREATY	9	35.18	0.0000000005
SECRETARY	17	34.94	0.0000000005
HALLIWELL	4	34.92	0.0000000005

**Table 81. Keyness results obtained using WordSmith, for the 1890-1899 sub-corpus.**

The largest proportion of keywords (54 of 234, or 23.08%) relate to literary reviewing, but these other semantic fields account for large groups of keywords also. By contrast, the semantic field of language and grammar accounts for only 3 keywords in this sub-corpus, or 1.28%. Only *English*, *slang*, and *translations* appear as keywords from this semantic field. Once again, uses of *English* are dispersed across the text files, but usage of the other two words is confined to individual review articles, with *slang* occurring only within a review of *The Works of Mr Rudyard Kipling*, and *translations* occurring only within a review of *The Skeptics of the Renaissance*. On the strength only of the appearance of these words as key, it is impossible to discern any particular preoccupation with linguistic correctness within this sub-corpus. *Grammatical*, which occurred as a keyword so commonly throughout the study period, is not key in this sub-corpus. On the basis of keyword analysis of CENCER sub-corpora alone, therefore, it would seem that the review periodicals are no longer concerned with matters of grammaticality, and that there was a gradual decline in their interest during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Further analysis using a variety of other corpus linguistic methodologies will be used in the coming sections, to confirm these findings, and investigate further.

Semantic field	Keyword	Number of keywords
Language/grammar	ENGLISH, SLANG, TRANSLATIONS	3
Literary reviewing	VOL, TREATISE, BOOK, WORK, APOLOGIA, PRINTED, AUTHOR, LITERATURE, DOCTRINES, WRITINGS, OPINIONS, COMMENTATOR, TREATISES, TITLEPAGE, EDITION, GLOSSAR, KIPLING, ARISTOTLE, POMPONATIUS, ROBERTS, RUDYARD, AMIR, OWEN, VANINI, ACHILLINI, CONTARINI, POMPONAZZI, FIORENTINO, DEFENSORIUM, PIETRO, SHER, ROBERTS'S, BEMBO, KIPLING'S, CAVAGNARI, JAVELLI, APHRODISIAS, GONZAGA, AMIR'S, AYUB, MAISIE,	55

	LUCKNOW, BARTOLOMEO, COBDEN, NIPHUS, SPINA, RENAN, MR, ALEXANDER, HALLIWELL, FATO, MULVANEY, GANESH, RABISHA,	
Politics/governance	PALMERSTON, LORD, POLITICAL, URQUHART, FOREIGN, COMMONS, COSMOPOLITANS, ELECTIONS, PARLIAMENT, POLICY, UNIONIST, URQUHART'S, GOVERNMENT, DISREAELI, DIPLOMATIC, COUNCIL, MOUNTSTUART, PALMERSTON'S, GLADSTONE, RUSSIA, LIBERTIES, POLITICS, EARLE, LYTTON, IRELAND, SECRETARY, TREATY, LIBERAL, DIPLOMACY, BARRACK, EASTERN, UNIONISTS, SPEECHES, INTERNATIONAL, DEBATE, EUROPEAN	36
Colonial references	INDIA, KABUL, KANDAHAR, DELHI, PUBJAB, PESHAWUR, FRONTIER, INDIAN, MUTINY, SIMLA, SEPOYS, KURAM, MEERUT, REGIMENTS, AGRA, CAWNPORE, MUTINEERS, KHAN, COMMANDER, SHERPUR, SHUTURGARDAN, RESIDENCY,	22
Medieval Settlements	TOWN, MAYOR, BOROUGH, BURGHES, GUILD, MEDIEVAL, NORWICH, COMMONALTY, LYNN, TOWNS, FIFTEENTH, BURGESSES, MILITARY, BAILIFFS, FEUDAL, CITY, CHARTER, TOWNSMEN, NOTTINGHAM, GUILDS, LEET, CITIZEN, TRADERS, FOURTEENTH, PROSPERITY, ORDINANCES, OLIGARCHY, POTENTIORES, INFERIORES, MEDIOCRE, COVENTRY,	32
The history of cookery	COOKERY, DISH, DISHES, RECIPES, POUNDED, MIXTURES, MEAT, PUDDING, BOILED, TANSY, PANTLER, TRENCHERS, OMELET, RAISINS, YOLK, ALMONDS, FLOUR CUSTARD, OMELETS, SAFFRON, ENTHRONIZATION, SEVENTEENTH, CARVING	23
Variant spellings	AFFGHANISTAN, AFFGHAN, AFFGHANS, SOLUTIONES, BOOKE, CURY, SKEPTICS, DEVELOPMENT, FORME, COKERY, BOKE	11

Miscellaneous	LEARNING, INFORMATION, RENAISSANCE, COMPANY, SCEPTIC, IMMORTALITATE, PLATFORM, PADUA, BRITISH, BOLOGNA, MUNICIPAL, CITIZENS, JAN, MANTUA, FORTY, ANIMA, PHILOSOPHICAL, ADMINISTRATION, COUNCIL, IMMORTALITY, AFFAIRS, POPULAR, CONTRA, ARMY, ENGLAND, INTEREST, PUBLIC, YEARS, INFLUENCE, IMMORTALITE, PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY, SIXTEENTH, CHIEF, HISTORY, DEBATE, CORPORATION, BREAD, SALT, SACHSBOHEA, PARTY, INTERVENTION, FORMIDABLE, GENERAL, PERMANENT, POSITION, MEETINGS, FREEDOM, TRINITY, CENTURIES, DURING, AUTHORITY, SCHOLASTICISM, AQUINAS	52
<b>Total</b>		<b>234</b>

**Table 82. Keyword results for the 1890-1899 sub-corpus, grouped by semantic field.**

## APPENDIX C

### Raw frequency data for Chapters 7-9

#### Dual-form adverbs

Publication	Flat adverbs	Suffixed adverbs
<i>Evelina</i>	45	120
<i>Cecilia</i>	82	169
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	1	0
<i>Camilla</i>	106	239
<i>The Wanderer</i>	19	356
<i>Memoirs of Dr B</i>	5	230

**Table 83. Forms of dual-form adverbs in the published Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	Flat adverbs	Suffixed adverbs
1768	5	4
1769	9	17
1770	10	14
1771	5	14
1772	7	20
1773	13	49
1774	8	20
1775	13	52
1776	3	5
1777	15	39
1778	29	46
1779	24	55
1791	15	41
1792	17	44
1793	13	36
1794	3	16
1795	3	9
1796	10	34
1797	7	33
1798	12	110
1799	1	49
1800	3	38
1801	3	36
1802	5	129
1803	0	15
1804	3	8
1805	0	9
1806	2	18

1807	0	1
1808	0	2
1810	0	4
1811	1	13
1812	2	31
1813	2	29
1814	4	56
1815	8	165
1816	1	59
1817	5	89
1818	1	47
1819	0	43
1820	3	18
1821	0	25
1822	1	18
1823	1	21
1824	3	40
1825	1	16
1826	1	8
1827	0	3
1828	1	8
1829	0	5
1830	0	3
1831	0	0
1832	0	2
1833	1	16
1834	0	11
1835	0	7
1836	0	7
1837	0	4
1838	0	0
1839	0	4

**Table 84. Forms of dual-form adverbs in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Publication	<i>Scarce</i>	<i>Scarcely</i>
<i>Evelina</i>	33	8
<i>Cecilia</i>	70	22
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	1	0
<i>Camilla</i>	86	31
<i>The Wanderer</i>	0	90
<i>Memoirs of Dr B</i>	0	38

**Table 85. Forms of adverbial *scarce/ly* in the published Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Scarce</i>	<i>Scarcely</i>
1768	2	0

1769	0	0
1770	0	0
1771	1	0
1772	0	0
1773	0	0
1774	0	0
1775	5	0
1776	0	0
1777	0	0
1778	6	0
1779	5	1
1791	9	3
1792	4	2
1793	7	0
1794	2	1
1795	1	1
1796	4	1
1797	4	3
1798	0	7
1799	0	5
1800	0	6
1801	0	4
1802	0	15
1803	0	3
1804	0	0
1805	0	2
1806	0	2
1807	0	0
1808	0	1
1810	0	0
1811	0	1
1812	0	3
1813	0	3
1814	0	5
1815	0	26
1816	0	6
1817	0	14
1818	0	8
1819	0	7
1820	0	3
1821	0	1
1822	0	1
1823	0	4
1824	0	5
1825	0	1
1826	0	0

1827	0	0
1828	0	1
1829	0	0
1830	0	0
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	0	1
1834	0	1
1835	0	0
1836	0	1
1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	0

**Table 86. Forms of adverbial *scarce/ly* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Prodigious</i>	<i>Prodigiously</i>
1768	0	0
1769	1	0
1770	0	0
1771	0	1
1772	0	0
1773	0	3
1774	0	1
1775	0	3
1776	0	1
1777	0	2
1778	0	6
1779	3	1
1791	0	1
1792	0	0
1793	1	1
1794	0	1
1795	0	0
1796	0	0
1797	0	0
1798	0	1
1799	0	1
1800	0	0
1801	0	0
1802	0	0
1803	0	0
1804	0	0
1805	0	0
1806	0	0
1807	0	0

1808	0	0
1810	0	0
1811	0	0
1812	0	1
1813	0	0
1814	0	0
1815	0	0
1816	0	0
1817	0	1
1818	0	0
1819	0	0
1820	0	0
1821	0	0
1822	0	0
1823	0	0
1824	0	0
1825	0	0
1826	0	0
1827	0	0
1828	0	0
1829	0	0
1830	0	0
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	0	0
1834	0	0
1835	0	0
1836	0	0
1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	0

**Table 87. Forms of adverbial *prodigious/ly* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Exceeding</i>	<i>Exceedingly</i>
1768	1	0
1769	4	1
1770	2	1
1771	1	1
1772	1	0
1773	9	3
1774	6	2
1775	1	0
1776	1	1
1777	3	1
1778	5	0



1779	5	1
1791	0	2
1792	0	2
1793	0	0
1794	1	1
1795	0	0
1796	1	0
1797	0	0
1798	0	1
1799	1	5
1800	1	0
1801	1	0
1802	1	0
1803	0	0
1804	0	0
1805	0	0
1806	0	0
1807	0	0
1808	0	0
1810	0	0
1811	0	0
1812	0	0
1813	0	0
1814	1	0
1815	1	0
1816	0	0
1817	0	1
1818	0	0
1819	0	0
1820	0	0
1821	0	0
1822	1	0
1823	1	0
1824	0	1
1825	0	0
1826	0	0
1827	0	0
1828	0	0
1829	0	0
1830	0	0
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	0	2
1834	0	0
1835	0	0
1836	0	0

1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	0

**Table 88. Forms of adverbial *exceeding/ly* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Marvellous</i>	<i>Marvellously</i>
1768	0	0
1769	0	0
1770	0	0
1771	0	0
1772	0	0
1773	0	0
1774	0	0
1775	0	0
1776	0	0
1777	2	0
1778	1	0
1779	2	1
1791	0	0
1792	0	0
1793	0	1
1794	0	0
1795	0	0
1796	0	0
1797	0	0
1798	0	0
1799	0	0
1800	0	0
1801	0	0
1802	0	0
1803	0	0
1804	0	0
1805	0	0
1806	0	0
1807	0	0
1808	0	0
1810	0	0
1811	0	0
1812	0	0
1813	0	0
1814	0	0
1815	0	1
1816	0	0
1817	0	0
1818	0	0

1819	0	0
1820	0	0
1821	0	0
1822	0	0
1823	0	0
1824	0	0
1825	0	1
1826	0	0
1827	0	0
1828	0	0
1829	0	0
1830	0	0
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	0	0
1834	0	0
1835	0	0
1836	0	0
1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	1

**Table 89. Forms of adverbial *marvellous/ly* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Mighty</i>	<i>Mightily</i>
1768	0	0
1769	1	0
1770	0	0
1771	0	0
1772	0	0
1773	1	0
1774	0	0
1775	0	0
1776	0	0
1777	5	0
1778	6	0
1779	5	1
1791	0	0
1792	1	0
1793	0	0
1794	0	0
1795	0	0
1796	0	0
1797	0	1
1798	2	2
1799	0	0

1800	1	0
1801	0	0
1802	1	0
1803	0	0
1804	0	0
1805	0	0
1806	0	0
1807	0	0
1808	0	0
1810	0	0
1811	0	0
1812	0	1
1813	0	0
1814	0	0
1815	0	1
1816	1	2
1817	0	0
1818	1	0
1819	0	1
1820	0	0
1821	0	0
1822	0	0
1823	0	1
1824	1	0
1825	1	0
1826	0	0
1827	0	0
1828	0	0
1829	0	0
1830	0	0
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	0	0
1834	0	0
1835	0	0
1836	0	0
1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	0

**Table 90. Forms of adverbial *mighty/ily* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	<i>Near</i>	<i>Nearly</i>
1768	0	1
1769	3	0
1770	5	0
1771	2	0
1772	5	0

1773	3	2
1774	1	1
1775	5	2
1776	2	0
1777	4	3
1778	8	1
1779	2	6
1791	3	8
1792	4	6
1793	3	4
1794	0	2
1795	1	0
1796	3	12
1797	2	7
1798	7	21
1799	0	15
1800	0	12
1801	2	13
1802	1	34
1803	0	6
1804	3	4
1805	0	3
1806	2	8
1807	0	1
1808	0	1
1810	0	0
1811	0	11
1812	1	7
1813	1	12
1814	2	19
1815	1	84
1816	0	16
1817	4	31
1818	0	23
1819	0	18
1820	0	7
1821	0	11
1822	0	11
1823	0	8
1824	1	14
1825	0	5
1826	1	6
1827	0	1
1828	1	1
1829	0	4
1830	0	1

1831	0	0
1832	0	2
1833	0	2
1834	0	4
1835	0	3
1836	0	2
1837	0	4
1838	0	0
1839	0	1

**Table 91.** Forms of adverbial *near/ly* in the private Burney sub-corpus.

Publication	<i>Near</i>	<i>Nearly</i>
<i>Evelina</i>	7	8
<i>Cecilia</i>	8	10
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	9	123
<i>The Wanderer</i>	0	181
<i>Memoirs of Dr Burney</i>	0	128

**Table 92.** Forms of adverbial *near/ly* in the published Burney sub-corpus.

Year	<i>Full</i>	<i>Fully</i>
1768	1	0
1769	0	1
1770	3	0
1771	0	0
1772	1	1
1773	0	0
1774	1	2
1775	2	0
1776	0	0
1777	1	0
1778	2	0
1779	2	4
1791	2	1
1792	6	5
1793	2	10
1794	0	2
1795	1	1
1796	0	0
1797	0	1
1798	3	1
1799	0	4
1800	1	3
1801	0	6
1802	1	11

1803	0	2
1804	0	0
1805	0	1
1806	0	1
1807	0	0
1808	0	0
1810	0	0
1811	1	0
1812	1	2
1813	1	0
1814	1	5
1815	6	9
1816	0	5
1817	1	4
1818	0	6
1819	0	5
1820	3	1
1821	0	3
1822	0	1
1823	0	2
1824	0	2
1825	0	0
1826	0	0
1827	0	0
1828	0	1
1829	0	1
1830	0	2
1831	0	0
1832	0	0
1833	1	1
1834	0	1
1835	0	0
1836	0	2
1837	0	0
1838	0	0
1839	0	0

**Table 93.** Forms of adverbial *full/y* in the private Burney sub-corpus.

### Irregular verbs

Year	Verb paradigm								
	<i>To strive</i>			<i>To break</i>		<i>To forget</i>		<i>To shake</i>	
	<i>Strove</i>	<i>Striven</i>	<i>strived</i>	<i>Broke</i>	<i>Broken</i>	<i>Forgot</i>	<i>forgotten</i>	<i>Shook</i>	<i>Shaken</i>
1768	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

1769	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1770	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
1771	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
1772	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0
1773	0	0	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	0
1774	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1775	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
1776	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1777	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
1778	0	0	0	1	3	2	4	0	0	0
1779	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	0	0	0
1791	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0
1792	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
1793	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0
1794	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1795	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1796	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	1
1797	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
1798	0	0	0	0	5	1	1	0	1	1
1799	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1800	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	2
1801	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1802	0	0	0	1	4	0	4	1	2	2
1803	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
1804	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1805	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1806	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
1807	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
1812	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1813	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1814	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1815	0	0	0	0	12	0	10	0	0	0
1816	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1
1817	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	2	2
1818	0	0	0	1	3	0	5	0	2	2
1819	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
1820	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
1821	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	1
1822	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1
1823	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0



1824	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
1825	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
1826	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
1827	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1833	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1835	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1836	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1837	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1838	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0

**Table 94.** Irregular verb forms for *strive*, *break*, *forget* and *shake* in the private Burney sub-corpus.

Year	Verb paradigm								
	<i>To write</i>			<i>To arise</i>		<i>To choose</i>		<i>To forbid</i>	
	<i>Writ</i>	<i>Wrote</i>	<i>Written</i>	<i>Arose</i>	<i>Arisen</i>	<i>Chose</i>	<i>Chosen</i>	<i>Forbid</i>	<i>forbidden</i>
1768	1	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1769	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1770	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1771	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1772	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1773	0	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0
1774	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1775	0	1	11	0	0	0	1	0	0
1776	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1777	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1778	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
1779	5	0	21	0	0	0	0	1	0
1791	0	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	0
1792	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
1793	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	1	0
1794	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
1795	0	0	11	0	0	0	1	0	0
1796	0	0	11	0	1	0	0	0	0
1797	0	0	20	0	0	0	1	0	1
1798	0	0	32	0	0	0	1	0	1
1799	0	0	52	0	1	0	1	0	0
1800	0	0	15	0	0	0	1	0	0
1801	0	0	17	0	0	0	1	0	0

1802	0	1	32	0	0	0	3	0	0
1803	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
1804	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1805	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1806	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1807	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1808	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1809	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1812	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	1	0
1813	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	1	0
1814	0	0	76	0	1	0	1	0	3
1815	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
1816	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	1
1817	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
1818	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
1819	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
1820	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1821	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	0
1822	0	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0
1823	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	0	0
1824	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
1825	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1826	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
1827	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1829	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1833	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
1835	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
1836	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
1837	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
1838	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1839	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 95. Irregular verb forms for *write*, *arise*, *choose* and *forbid* in the private Burney sub-corpus.**

Year	Verb paradigm					
	<i>To mistake</i>		<i>To take</i>		<i>To get</i>	
1768	0	0	0	3	3	0
1769	0	0	0	2	0	0
1770	0	0	0	5	2	0
1771	0	0	0	5	1	0
1772	0	1	0	5	0	0
1773	0	1	0	16	1	1
1774	0	1	0	5	4	0
1775	0	2	0	14	2	0
1776	0	0	0	1	0	0
1777	0	0	0	8	2	0
1778	0	0	0	19	8	0
1779	0	0	0	25	6	0
1791	0	1	0	14	7	0
1792	0	1	0	22	6	0
1793	0	2	0	10	3	0
1794	0	2	0	8	6	0
1795	0	0	0	1	1	0
1796	0	0	0	4	0	0
1797	0	0	0	10	7	0
1798	0	0	0	20	4	0
1799	0	0	0	16	5	0
1800	0	0	0	7	1	0
1801	0	0	0	5	2	0
1802	0	1	0	31	2	0
1803	0	0	0	2	1	0
1804	0	0	0	4	0	0
1805	0	0	0	0	0	0
1806				1	2	
1807	0	0	0	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0	0	1	0
1810	0	0	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0	0	1	0
1812	0	0	0	13	1	0
1813	0	0	0	10	1	0
1814	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815	0	0	0	42	8	1
1816	0	1	0	12	8	2
1817	0	1	0	15	10	0
1818	0	2	0	11	3	0
1819	0	2	0	0	1	2

1820	0	0	0	5	1	0
1821	3	0	0	13	1	0
1822	0	2	0	6	1	0
1823	0	0	0	5	2	1
1824	0	1	0	12	1	0
1825	0	0	0	3	3	1
1826	0	0	0	0	0	0
1827	0	0	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	0	3	1	0
1829	0	0	0	1	1	0
1830	0	0	0	0	1	1
1831	0	0	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0	0	0
1833	0	1	0	3	0	0
1834	0	0	0	5	0	0
1835	0	0	0	1	2	0
1836	0	0	0	2	0	0
1837	0	0	0	3	1	0
1838	0	0	0	2	0	0
1839	0	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 96.** Irregular verb forms for *mistake*, *take*, and *get* in the private Burney sub-corpus.

### Intransitive *lie*

Publication	Infinitive		Present participle		Pres. sg.		Pres. pl.		Past		Past part.	
	<i>Lie</i>	<i>Lay</i>	<i>Lying</i>	<i>Laying</i>	<i>Lies</i>	<i>Lays</i>	<i>Lie/lies</i>	<i>Lay/lays</i>	<i>Lay</i>	<i>Laid</i>	<i>Lain</i>	<i>Laid</i>
<i>Evelina</i>	2 (2 RP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (RP)	0	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	6	0	3	1 (RP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	7 (2 RP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	11 (4 RP)	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>Memoirs</i>	1	1 (1 RP)	0	1 (1RP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 97.** Forms of intransitive *lay* in the published Burney sub-corpus.

Year	Infinitive		Present participle		Pres. sg.		Pres. pl.		Past		Past part.	
	<i>Lie</i>	<i>Lay</i>	<i>Lying</i>	<i>Laying</i>	<i>Lies</i>	<i>Lays</i>	<i>Lie/lies</i>	<i>Lay/lays</i>	<i>Lay</i>	<i>Laid</i>	<i>Lain</i>	<i>Laid</i>
1768	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1769	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1770	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1771	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1772	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1773	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
1774	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1775	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1776	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1777	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1778	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1779	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1780	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1781	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1782	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1783	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1784	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1786	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1787	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1788	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1789	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1790	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1791	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1792	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1793	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1794	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1795	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1796	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1797	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1798	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1799	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1801	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1802	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
1803	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1804	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1805	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1806	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1807	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1809	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1810	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

1812	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1813	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1814	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1816	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1817	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1818	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
1819	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1820	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1821	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1822	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1823	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1824	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1825	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1826	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1827	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1833	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1835	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1836	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1837	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1838	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 98. Forms of intransitive *lay* in the private Burney sub-corpus.

## Second person singular *you was*

Publication	<i>You was</i>		<i>You were</i>	
	Prose	Direct speech	Prose	Direct speech
<i>Evelina</i>	0	11	4	19
<i>Cecilia</i>	0	11	0	62
<i>Camilla</i>	0	10	0	36
<i>The Wanderer</i>	0	0	2	42
<i>Memoirs</i>	0	0	0	7

<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0	0
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**Table 99. Instances of *you was* and *you were* in the published Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>You was</i>		<i>You were</i>	
	Prose	Direct speech	Prose	Direct speech
1768	1	0	3	0
1769	1	1	0	0
1770	0	0	0	1
1771	0	0	0	0
1772	0	0	0	1
1773	0	0	0	1
1774	2	1	1	0
1775	0	1	1	5
1776	1	0	0	0
1777	0	0	0	1
1778	0	0	4	8
1779	1	0	3	8
1780	0	0	0	0
1781	0	0	0	0
1782	0	0	0	0
1783	0	0	0	0
1784	0	0	0	0
1785	0	0	0	0
1786	0	0	0	0
1787	0	0	0	0
1788	0	0	0	0
1789	1	0	0	1
1790	1	0	0	1
1791	0	1	2	1
1792	0	1	1	5

1793	0	0	6	0
1794	0	0	4	0
1795	0	0	5	0
1796	0	1	6	1
1797	0	0	6	0
1798	0	0	8	0
1799	0	0	10	1
1800	0	0	4	1
1801	0	0	10	0
1802	0	0	2	0
1803	0	0	1	0
1804	0	0	1	0
1805	0	0	0	0
1806	0	0	1	0
1807	0	0	1	0
1808	0	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0	0
1812	0	0	4	0
1813	0	0	4	0
1814	0	0	8	1
1815	0	0	21	0
1816	0	0	16	0
1817	0	0	20	0
1818	0	0	4	0
1819	0	0	7	0
1820	0	0	2	0
1821	0	0	8	0
1822	0	0	6	0
1823	0	0	3	0



1824	0	0	10	0
1825	0	0	1	0
1826	0	0	0	0
1827	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	1	0
1829	0	0	0	0
1830	0	0	1	0
1831	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	2	0
1834	0	0	1	0
1835	0	0	0	0
1836	0	0	0	0
1837	0	0	1	0
1838	0	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0	0

**Table 100. Instances of *you was* and *you were* in the private Burney corpus.**

## Relativization

	who	whom	which	that	Zero
<i>Evelina</i>	1	1	0	2	3
<i>Cecilia</i>	1	1	0	1	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	4	1	0	0	5
<i>The Wanderer</i>	25	29	0	1	0
<i>Memoirs</i>	3	6	0	2	0

**Table 101. Relative pronouns used with *person* in the published Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>who</i>	<i>whom</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>that</i>	zero
1768	2	0	0	0	0
1769	0	1	0	0	0
1770	0	0	0	0	0

1771	1	0	0	0	0
1772	0	0	0	0	0
1773	0	0	0	0	0
1774	0	0	0	0	0
1775	2	0	0	0	3
1776	0	0	0	0	1
1777	0	0	0	0	0
1778	2	0	0	0	0
1779	2	1	0	0	1
1791	1	0	0	0	1
1792	2	0	0	0	1
1793	1	1	0	0	0
1794	1	0	0	0	0
1795	0	0	0	0	0
1796	0	0	0	0	0
1797	4	0	0	0	0
1798	1	1	0	0	2
1799	1	1	0	1	3
1800	0	0	0	0	0
1801	0	0	0	0	0
1802	3	2	1	0	1
1803	0	1	0	0	0
1804	1	0	0	0	0
1805	0	0	0	0	0
1806	0	0	0	0	0
1807	0	0	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0	0	0
1812	1	0	0	0	1
1813	0	0	0	0	1
1814	2	0	0	0	1
1815	4	1	0	0	1
1816	0	0	0	0	0
1817	1	0	0	1	1
1818	0	1	0	0	0
1819	1	3	0	0	1
1820	0	0	0	0	0
1821	0	0	0	0	0
1822	0	0	0	0	0
1823	1	0	0	0	0
1824	0	1	0	0	0
1825	1	0	0	0	1

1826	0	0	0	0	2
1827	0	0	0	0	0
1828	0	0	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0	0	1
1830	0	0	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0	0	0
1833	1	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	0	0	0
1835	0	0	0	0	0
1836	0	0	0	0	0
1837	0	0	0	0	0
1838	0	0	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 102. Relative pronouns used with *person* in the private Burney corpus.**

*Be/have* with mutative intransitive verbs

Publication	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
<i>Evelina</i>	30	12	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	46	17	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	1	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	60	23	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	39	21	0
<i>Memoirs</i>	19	16	0

**Table 103. *Be/have* counts with *gone, come, returned* and *arrived* in the published Burney corpus.**

Publication	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
<i>Evelina</i>	25 (4)	7 (2)	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	43 (8)	13 (3)	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	1	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	54 (12)	8 (2)	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	35 (13)	7 (2)	0

<i>Memoirs</i>	14 (1)	7 (1)	0
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**Table 104. Be/have counts with *gone* in the published Burney corpus.**

Publication	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
<i>Evelina</i>	9 (4)	8 (4)	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	10 (5)	8 (6)	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	17 (10)	17 (8)	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	25 (20)	9 (2)	0
<i>Memoirs</i>	4	6 (1)	0

**Table 105. Be/have counts with *come* in the published Burney corpus.**

Publication	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
<i>Evelina</i>	1	3	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	6	5	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	9	5	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	3	5	0
<i>Memoirs</i>	1	1	0

**Table 106. Be/have counts with *returned* in the published Burney corpus.**

Publication	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
<i>Evelina</i>	3	1	0
<i>Cecilia</i>	0	0	0
<i>Brief Reflections</i>	0	0	0
<i>Camilla</i>	2	3	0
<i>The Wanderer</i>	9	4	0

<i>Memoirs</i>	1	4	0
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**Table 107. *Be/have* counts with *arrived* in the published Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
1768	7	2	0
1769	8	0	0
1770	3	4	0
1771	7	0	0
1772	6	3	0
1773	7	6	0
1774	11	1	0
1775	18	5	0
1776	0	1	0
1777	4	1	0
1778	15	8	0
1779	23	6	0
1791	8	3	0
1792	14	9	0
1793	11	3	0
1794	6	1	0
1795	6	1	0
1796	15	3	0
1797	15	9	0
1798	18	9	1
1799	16	2	0
1800	10	2	0
1801	16	5	0
1802	15	7	0
1803	4	0	0
1804	2	0	0
1805	0	1	0
1806	1	2	0
1807	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0
1811	2	0	0
1812	6	4	0
1813	17	2	0
1814	24	10	0
1815	58	6	0
1816	30	4	0
1817	18	12	0
1818	9	0	0
1819	8	1	0
1820	3	1	0
1821	2	0	0

1822	7	5	0
1823	9	0	0
1824	13	3	0
1825	5	1	0
1826	10	0	0
1827	2	0	0
1828	2	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	1	0	0
1831	0	1	0
1832	0	0	0
1833	12	1	0
1834	4	0	0
1835	6	1	0
1836	3	0	0
1837	0	3	0
1838	1	1	0
1839	0	0	0

**Table 108.** *Be/have* counts with *gone*, *come*, *returned* and *arrived* in the private Burney corpus.

Year	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
1768	4	2	0
1769	5	0	0
1770	1	4	0
1771	3	0	0
1772	5	0	0
1773	6	3	0
1774	7	0	0
1775	11	0	0
1776	0	1	0
1777	3	1	0
1778	4	5	0
1779	15	4	0
1791	6	1	0
1792	7	3	0
1793	5	2	0
1794	3	0	0
1795	4	0	0
1796	7	3	0
1797	6	3	0
1798	7	0	0
1799	6	2	0
1800	3	1	1

1801	5	1	0
1802	6	1	0
1803	2	0	0
1804	1	0	0
1805	0	0	0
1806	0	1	0
1807	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0
1811	1	0	0
1812	2	1	0
1813	1	0	0
1814	12	0	0
1815	21	5	0
1816	9	1	0
1817	8	6	0
1818	7	0	0
1819	3	0	0
1820	2	1	0
1821	4	0	0
1822	2	0	0
1823	4	0	0
1824	7	2	0
1825	20	0	0
1826	2	0	0
1827	0	0	0
1828	2	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0
1833	4	1	0
1834	2	0	0
1835	1	0	0
1836	0	0	0
1837	0	0	0
1838	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0

**Table 109. *Be/have* counts with *gone* in the private Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
1768	3	0	0

1769	2	0	0
1770	1	0	0
1771	0	0	0
1772	1	2	0
1773	3	2	0
1774	1	0	0
1775	2	2	0
1776	0	0	0
1777	0	0	0
1778	5	3	0
1779	5	2	0
1791	0	1	0
1792	3	4	0
1793	1	0	0
1794	0	1	0
1795	1	1	0
1796	2	0	0
1797	4	3	0
1798	2	4	0
1799	1	0	0
1800	1	0	0
1801	3	1	0
1802	2	2	0
1803	0	0	0
1804	1	0	0
1805	0	1	0
1806	0	1	0
1807	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0
1811	1	0	0
1812	3	0	0
1813	4	2	0
1814	3	1	0
1815	8	7	0
1816	4	0	0
1817	2	2	0
1818	1	0	0
1819	1	1	0
1820	0	0	0
1821	1	2	0
1822	0	1	0
1823	3	0	0



1824	1	1	0
1825	0	1	0
1826	3	0	0
1827	1	0	0
1828	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	1	0	0
1831	0	1	0
1832	0	0	0
1833	1	0	0
1834	0	0	0
1835	2	0	0
1836	0	1	0
1837	0	3	0
1838	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0

**Table 110. *Be/have* counts with *come* in the private Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
1768	0	0	0
1769	0	0	0
1770	1	0	0
1771	3	0	0
1772	0	0	0
1773	1	1	0
1774	3	1	0
1775	4	0	0
1776	0	0	0
1777	0	0	0
1778	4	0	0
1779	2	0	0
1791	2	1	0
1792	2	1	0
1793	3	1	0
1794	1	0	0
1795	0	1	0
1796	4	0	0
1797	3	3	0
1798	5	3	0
1799	3	0	0
1800	5	1	0
1801	3	1	0
1802	3	1	0

1803	1	0	0
1804	0	0	0
1805	0	0	0
1806	0	0	0
1807	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0
1811	0	0	0
1812	1	1	0
1813	8	0	0
1814	4	3	0
1815	5	9	0
1816	13	1	0
1817	1	3	0
1818	0	0	0
1819	4	0	0
1820	1	0	0
1821	10	0	0
1822	5	1	0
1823	2	0	0
1824	4	0	0
1825	0	0	0
1826	3	0	0
1827	1	0	0
1828	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0
1833	2	0	0
1834	0	0	0
1835	2	0	0
1836	3	0	0
1837	0	0	0
1838	0	0	0
1839	0	0	0

**Table 111. *Be/have* counts with *returned* in the private Burney corpus.**

Year	<i>be</i>	<i>have</i>	Contraction
1768	0	0	0
1769	1	0	0
1770	0	1	0

1771	1	0	0
1772	0	0	0
1773	1	0	0
1774	0	0	0
1775	1	0	0
1776	0	0	0
1777	1	0	0
1778	2	0	0
1779	1	0	0
1791	0	0	0
1792	2	0	0
1793	2	1	0
1794	2	0	0
1795	0	0	0
1796	2	0	0
1797	2	1	0
1798	4	2	0
1799	5	0	0
1800	1	0	0
1801	5	2	0
1802	4	1	0
1803	1	0	0
1804	0	0	0
1805	0	0	0
1806	1	0	0
1807	0	0	0
1808	0	0	0
1809	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0
1811	0	3	0
1812	5	0	0
1813	4	5	0
1814	5	6	0
1815	24	2	0
1816	4	1	0
1817	7	0	0
1818	1	0	0
1819	0	0	0
1820	2	0	0
1821	0	0	0
1822	0	1	0
1823	0	0	0
1824	1	0	0
1825	2	0	0

1826	2	0	0
1827	0	1	0
1828	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0
1832	0	0	0
1833	2	0	0
1834	2	0	0
1835	1	0	0
1836	1	0	0
1837	0	0	0
1838	1	0	0
1839	0	0	0

**Table 112. Be/have counts with *arrived* in the private Burney corpus.**

## APPENDIX D

### Change point model code

```
import numpy as np
import numba as nb

@nb.njit
def sample_idx(weights):
    """ Sample an index with probability proportional to its weight. """
    weights = weights / np.sum(weights)
    u = np.random.uniform(0, 1)
    partial_sum = weights[0]
    idx = 0
    while u > partial_sum:
        idx += 1
        partial_sum += weights[idx]
    return idx

@nb.jit(fastmath=True)
def binomial_changepoint_model_samples(
    x1: np.ndarray, x2: np.ndarray, init_t1: np.float64, init_t2:
    np.float64,
    init_k: np.int64, n_iters: np.int64, seed: np.int64
) -> np.ndarray:
    """
    Run the Gibbs sampler for the Binomial changepoint model.

    This function will run a Gibbs sampler for the binomial changepoint
    model where the
    number of occurrences of one variant over time is given by `x1` and the
    number of occurrences
    of the alternative variant over the same time frame is given by `x2`.

    The Binomial changepoint model assumes that  $X1 \sim \text{Binom}(n, t1)$  before
    the changepoint. That is,
    for each period of time  $\leq k$ . Here,  $n$  is the total number of occurrences
    of either variant
    (i.e.  $n = X1 + X2$ ),  $X1$  is the number of occurrences of one variant
    (and, therefore,  $X2$ 
    is the number of occurrences of the alternative variant), and  $k$  is the
    index at which the
    change occurred.

    The Binomial changepoint model assumes that  $X2 \sim \text{Binom}(n, t2)$  after the
    changepoint. That is,
    for each period of time  $> k$ .

    Parameters
    -----
    x1: np.ndarray
        An array containing, over a given time frame, the number of
        occurrences of one variant.
        E.g.  $x1[0]$  is the number of occurrences of near in 1771,  $x1[1]$  is
        the number of
        occurrences of near in 1772, and so on.
    x2: np.ndarray
```

An array containing, over a given time frame, the number of occurrences of the variant that is alternative to the variant which is tracked in `x1`. E.g. `x2[0]` is the number of occurrences of nearly in 1771, `x1[1]` is the number of occurrences of nearly in 1772, and so on.

`init_t1: np.float64`

An initial value for the Binomial probability parameter before the changepoint. That is, a value for `t1` at which to start the Gibbs sampler.

`init_t2: np.float64`

An initial value for the Binomial probability parameter after the changepoint. That is, a value for `t2` at which to start the Gibbs sampler.

`init_k: np.int64`

An initial value for the index at which the change occurred.

`n_iters: np.int64`

The number of iterations for which to run the Gibbs sampler.

`seed: np.int64`

The seed for the random number generator. Ensures reproducibility.

Returns

-----

`t1_out: np.ndarray`

The sampled values for t1.

`t2_out: np.ndarray`

The sampled values for t2.

`k_out: np.ndarray`

The sampled values for k.

"""

`n_years = len(x1)`

`total_occ = x1 + x2`

`t1_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.float64)`

`t2_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.float64)`

`k_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.int64)`

`ws = np.empty(n_years, dtype=np.float64)`

`t1_out[0], t2_out[0], k_out[0] = init_t1, init_t2, init_k`

`np.random.seed(seed)`

**for** `i` **in** `range(n_iters)`:

`t1, t2, k = t1_out[i], t2_out[i], k_out[i]`

`sum_x_before = np.sum(x1[:k + 1])`

`sum_occ_before = np.sum(total_occ[:k + 1])`

`sum_all_x = np.sum(x1)`

`sum_all_occ = np.sum(total_occ)`

`t1 = np.random.beta(sum_x_before + 1.0, sum_occ_before - sum_x_before + 1.0)`

`t2 = np.random.beta(sum_all_x - sum_x_before + 1.0, (sum_all_occ - sum_occ_before) - (sum_all_x - sum_x_before) + 1.0)`

**for** `j` **in** `range(n_years)`:

`sum_x_before = np.sum(x1[:j + 1])`

`sum_occ_before = np.sum(total_occ[:j + 1])`

`log_weight = (`

`sum_x_before * (np.log(t1) - np.log(t2)) +`

`(sum_occ_before - sum_x_before) * (np.log(1.0 - t1) -`

`np.log(1.0 - t2))`

`)`

```

        ws[j] = np.exp(log_weight)
        k = sample_idx(ws)
        t1_out[i + 1], t2_out[i + 1], k_out[i + 1] = t1, t2, k
    return t1_out, t2_out, k_out

```

```
@nb.jit(fastmath=True)
```

```
def poisson_changepoint_model_samples(
    x: np.ndarray, wc: np.ndarray, init_t1: np.float64, init_t2:
np.float64, init_k: np.int64,
    n_iters: np.int64, eps: np.float64, seed: np.int64
) -> np.ndarray:
    """

```

```

        Run the Metropolis-Within-Gibbs sampler for the Poisson changepoint
        model.

```

```

        This function will run a Metropolis-Within-Gibbs sampler for the
        poisson changepoint model
        where the number of occurrences of a particular variant over time is
        given by `x` and the
        number of words over the same time frame is given by `wc`.

```

```

        The Poisson changepoint model assumes that  $X \sim \text{Poisson}(n * t1)$  before
        the changepoint. That is,
        for each period of time  $\leq k$ . Here,  $n$  is the total number of words in a
        given
        year/corpus/text/etc.,  $X$  is the number of occurrences of a particular
        variant, and  $k$  is the
        index at which the change occurred.

```

```

        The Poisson changepoint model assumes that  $X \sim \text{Poisson}(n * t2)$  after
        the changepoint. That is,
        for each period of time  $> k$ .

```

```

        The marginals for the parameters `t1`, `t2`, are only known up to a
        constant of
        proportionality so a full Gibbs' step for these parameters is not
        possible. Instead, then,
        we make a Metropolis-Hastings step for these parameters.

```

```
Parameters
```

```
-----
```

```

x: np.ndarray
    An array containing, over a given time frame, the number of
    occurrences of a particular
    variant. E.g. x[0] is the number of flat adverbs in 1771, x[1] is
    the number of flat
    adverbs in 1772, and so on.
wc: np.ndarray
    An array containing, over a given time frame, the number of words
    in total. E.g. wc[0]
    is the number of words in 1771, x[1] is the number of words in
    1772, and so on.
init_t1: np.float64
    An initial value for the scaled Poisson rate parameter before the
    changepoint. That is,
    a value for `t1` at which to start the sampler.
init_t2: np.float64
    An initial value for the scaled Poisson rate parameter after the
    changepoint. That is,

```

```

    a value for `t2` at which to start the sampler.
init_k: np.int64
    An initial value for the index at which the change occurred.
n_iters: np.int64
    The number of iterations for which to run the sampler.
seed: np.int64
    The seed for the random number generator. Ensures reproducibility.

Returns
-----
t1_out: np.ndarray
    The sampled values for t1.
t2_out: np.ndarray
    The sampled values for t2.
k_out: np.ndarray
    The sampled values for k.
acc_rate: np.ndarray
    The acceptance rate of the sampler.
"""
n_years = len(x)
t1_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.float64)
t2_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.float64)
k_out = np.empty(n_iters + 1, dtype=np.int64)
ws = np.empty(n_years, dtype=np.float64)
t1_out[0], t2_out[0], k_out[0] = init_t1, init_t2, init_k
np.random.seed(seed)
acc_rate = 0
for i in range(n_iters):
    t1, t2, k = t1_out[i], t2_out[i], k_out[i]
    for j in range(n_years):
        sum_x_after = np.sum(x[j + 1:])
        wc_after = np.sum(wc[j + 1:])
        log_weight = (t1 - t2) * wc_after + sum_x_after * (np.log(t2) -
np.log(t1))
        ws[j] = np.exp(log_weight)
    k = sample_idx(ws)
    k_out[i + 1] = k
    sum_x_before = np.sum(x[:k + 1])
    wc_before = np.sum(wc[:k + 1])
    sum_x_after = np.sum(x[k + 1:])
    wc_after = np.sum(wc[k + 1:])
    t1_new = np.exp(np.log(t1) + eps * np.random.normal())
    t2_new = np.exp(np.log(t2) + eps * np.random.normal())
    log_acc = (1.0 + sum_x_before) * (np.log(t1_new) - np.log(t1))
    log_acc += (t1 - t1_new) * wc_before
    log_acc += (1.0 + sum_x_after) * (np.log(t2_new) - np.log(t2))
    log_acc += (t2 - t2_new) * wc_after
    acc = min(1.0, np.exp(log_acc))
    u = np.random.uniform(0, 1)
    if u < acc:
        t1, t2 = t1_new, t2_new
        acc_rate += 1
    t1_out[i + 1], t2_out[i + 1] = t1, t2
acc_rate /= n_iters
return t1_out, t2_out, k_out, acc_rate

```